

UNIT

2

CHAPTER 5

Shaping a New Nation

1781–1788

The Living Constitution

CHAPTER 6

Launching the New Nation

1789–1816

CHAPTER 7

Balancing Nationalism and Sectionalism

1815–1840

CHAPTER 8

Reforming American Society

1820–1850

UNIT

PROJECT

Constitution

Work with a small group of classmates to create a constitution for your class or school. Explain how laws will be passed and changed.

Signing of the Constitution by Howard Chandler Christy

A New Nation 1781–1850





CHAPTER 5

SHAPING A NEW NATION

Essential Question

What challenges did the new American republic face, and how did the U.S. Constitution reflect those challenges?



What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will examine domestic challenges faced by the new nation and understand the American beliefs reflected in its form of government.

SECTION 1: Experimenting with Confederation

Main Idea Americans adopted the Articles of Confederation but found the new government too weak to solve the nation's problems.

SECTION 2: Drafting the Constitution

Main Idea At the Philadelphia convention in 1787, delegates rejected the Articles of Confederation and created a new constitution.

SECTION 3: Ratifying the Constitution

Main Idea During the debate on the Constitution, the Federalists promised to add a bill of rights in order to get the Constitution ratified.



Washington (on the far right) addressing the Constitutional Congress

1781 The Articles of Confederation, which John Dickinson helped write five years earlier, go into effect.



1783 The Treaty of Paris at the end of the Revolutionary War recognizes United States independence.

1784 Russians found colony in Alaska.

1784 Spain closes the Mississippi River to American commerce.

1785 New York state outlaws slavery.

1785 The Treaty of Hopewell concerning Native American lands is signed.

USA
WORLD

1782

1784

1781 Joseph II allows religious toleration in Austria.

1782 Rama I founds a new dynasty in Siam, with Bangkok as the capital.



1783 Russia annexes the Crimean Peninsula.

1783 Ludwig van Beethoven's first works are published.



1785 Jean-Pierre Blanchard and John Jeffries cross the English Channel in a balloon.



INTERACT WITH HISTORY

The year is 1787. You have recently helped your fellow patriots overthrow decades of oppressive British rule. However, it is easier to destroy an old system of government than to create a new one. In a world of kings and tyrants, your new republic struggles to find its place.

Explore the Issues

- Which should have more power—the states or the national government?
- How can the new nation avoid a return to tyranny?
- How can the rights of all people be protected?

1786 Daniel Shays leads a rebellion of farmers in Massachusetts.

1786 The Annapolis Convention is held.

1786 The Virginia legislature guarantees religious freedom.

1787 The Northwest Ordinance is passed.

1788 The Constitution, which James Madison helped write at the Pennsylvania State House, is ratified.



1786

1788

1786 Charles Cornwallis becomes governor-general of India.

1787 Sierra Leone in Africa becomes a haven for freed American slaves.

1787 War breaks out between Turkey and Russia.

1788 Austria declares war on Turkey.

1788 Bread riots erupt in France.

Experimenting with Confederation

MAIN IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS NOW	Terms & Names	
Americans adopted the Articles of Confederation but found the new government too weak to solve the nation's problems.	The reaction to the weak Articles of Confederation led to a stronger central government that has continued to expand its power.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • republic • republicanism • Articles of Confederation • confederation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land Ordinance of 1785 • Northwest Ordinance of 1787

One American's Story



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes about the Articles of Confederation.

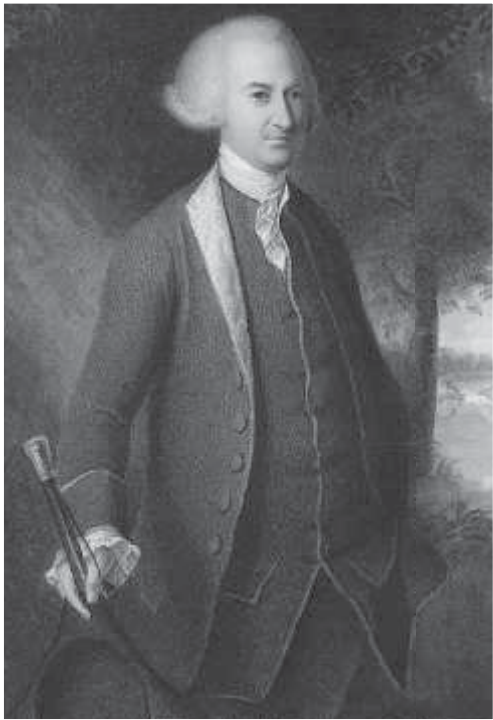
Although John Dickinson had once opposed American independence, he later worked hard to help create a government for the new United States. In 1779 John Dickinson returned to the Continental Congress as a delegate from Delaware. At that time he explained the principles that guided his political decisions.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN DICKINSON

“Two rules I have laid down for myself throughout this contest . . . first, on all occasions where I am called upon, as a trustee for my countrymen, to deliberate on questions important to their happiness, disdaining all personal advantages to be derived from a suppression of my real sentiments . . . openly to avow [declare] them; and, secondly, . . . whenever the public resolutions are taken, to regard them though opposite to my opinion, as sacred . . . and to join in supporting them as earnestly as if my voice had been given for them.”

—quoted in *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732–1808*

Dickinson’s two rules became guiding principles for the leaders who faced the formidable task of starting a new nation.



John Dickinson

Americans Debate Republicanism

The task of creating a new government posed a great challenge. Among many other issues, the relationship between the new states and the national government was difficult to define. The debate over the nature of the new government of the United States would consume the political energies of the new nation.

MAIN IDEA

Developing Historical Perspective

A What relics of the colonial period survived in the new system of government?

Background

In *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith (1723–1790) argued that social order and progress were the natural result of individualism and self-interest.

COLONIES BECOME STATES British settlers in North America had founded not one colony but many, each with its own governor, council, and colonial assembly. This system of distinct, self-governing colonies encouraged people to think of the colony as the primary political unit. Because of this, most people's allegiance was to the colony in which they lived. The Revolutionary War gave the colonies a common goal, but as these colonies became states, they remained reluctant to unite under a strong central government. The challenge was to develop a system of government that balanced the interests of the several states with those of the nation. **A**

UNITY THROUGH A REPUBLIC Eighteenth-century Americans believed that a democracy, or government directly by the people, placed too much power in the hands of the uneducated masses. Therefore, they favored a **republic**—a government in which citizens rule through their elected representatives. However, **republicanism**, the idea that governments should be based on the consent of the people (which should not be confused with the Republicanism of the modern-day political party), meant different things to different Americans.

Some, like John Dickinson, believed that a republic required a virtuous people. The new government could only succeed, they argued, if people placed the good of the nation above their personal interests.

Other Americans, influenced by the writings of the philosopher and economist Adam Smith, believed that a republic would benefit from self-interest. They asserted that if a government allowed independent citizens to pursue their own economic and political interests, the whole nation would benefit.

STATE CONSTITUTIONS As the states created their own constitutions, they wrestled with how to put republican ideals into practice. Many state constitutions shared certain similarities. They limited the powers of government leaders. They guaranteed specific rights for citizens, including freedom of speech, religion, and the press. In general, state constitutions emphasized liberty rather than equality and reflected a fear of centralized authority.

At the same time, state constitutions differed widely in granting the right to vote. Although the new states were more democratic than any western nation at this time, it was still only a very limited democracy by modern standards. African Americans were generally not allowed to vote. Some states granted voting rights to all white males. Other states, like Maryland, continued to make property ownership a requirement for voting.

Despite the more active political role that women had played during the Revolution, they were still denied the right to vote in most states. However, New Jersey gave voting rights to all free property owners but neglected to specify males. Consequently, some New Jersey women gained the right to vote—at least until 1807, when this right was revoked.

POLITICAL PRECEDENTS In a world where most nations were still governed by kings, there were few political systems that could serve as models for the new republic. The nation's founders searched history for political precedents for the

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT



REPUBLICAN MOTHERHOOD

An important issue in the early years of the nation was the role that women should play in the republic. In the years before and during the Revolutionary War, many women became politically active, organizing boycotts of British goods and helping raise money for the army. This involvement in public affairs was an important departure for women, who had traditionally been confined to the private sphere of family life.

After the Revolution, as the nation readjusted to peace, the new ideal of republican motherhood helped channel women's newfound political awareness and activism back into the home. Women were expected to raise the next generation of patriots by instilling democratic values in their children.

Political Precedents

ATHENS AND ROME

In the 18th century, American leaders revered the political achievements of ancient Athens and Rome. The Greek city of Athens was acknowledged as the birthplace of democracy, while the early Romans were admired for overthrowing monarchy and establishing a republic. However, Greek democracy, like the democracy of the New England town meeting, was workable only at a local level. It was the democracy of a city, not of a huge nation. Neither Greek democracy nor the Roman republic had endured.



▲ Engraving of the ancient Roman Senate

THE ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH

In the mid-17th century the English parliament executed the king and established a republic, which lasted from 1649 to 1660. This republic, called the Commonwealth and Protectorate, was controlled first by Oliver Cromwell and later by his son Richard. The Commonwealth was continually threatened by anarchy and bad leadership and did not long survive Cromwell's death. The failure of the English Commonwealth must have haunted American political leaders as they planned the government of their republic.

◀ The execution of King Charles I



new government. In the previous century, the English had established a short-lived republic after the execution of King Charles I. During the Middle Ages, Italian cities such as Florence, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice had become self-governing city-states. Swiss communities also had resisted royal control, forming alliances that developed into the Swiss Confederation. In ancient times, republics and various democratic systems had existed in Greece and in Rome. However, none of these models could be adapted easily to the political situation of the new United States, with its need to balance the concerns of state and national governments.

The Continental Congress Debates

While the states developed their individual constitutions, the Continental Congress tried to draft one for the states as a whole. However, there was much disagreement over the role of the national government. The delegates had to answer three basic questions.

REPRESENTATION BY POPULATION OR BY STATE? Although the states were equal as political entities, they were unequal in size, wealth, and population. These differences posed a serious dilemma. Should delegates to a new government represent people or states? Should each state elect the same number of representatives regardless of its population? Or should states with large populations have more representatives than states with small populations?

For the time being, the members of the Continental Congress saw themselves as representing independent states. As a result, they made the decision that each state would have one vote regardless of population. **B**

SUPREME POWER: CAN IT BE DIVIDED? Until this time most people assumed that a government could not share supreme power with smaller administrative units, such as provinces or states.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

B Why did differences between the states cause problems of representation in the new government?

However, the Congress proposed a new type of government in a set of laws called the **Articles of Confederation**—one in which two levels of government shared fundamental powers. State governments were supreme in some matters, while the national government was supreme in other matters. The delegates called this new form of government a **confederation**, or alliance.

In true Enlightenment fashion, John Dickinson hoped that the new system of government would reflect the order and harmony found in nature.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN DICKINSON

“Let our government be like that of the solar system. Let the general government be like the sun and the states the planets, repelled yet attracted, and the whole moving regularly and harmoniously in their several orbits.”

—from *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

C What is a confederation?

The Articles of Confederation gave the new national government power to declare war, make peace, and sign treaties. It could borrow money, set standards for coins and for weights and measures, establish a postal service, and deal with Native American peoples. The Articles, however, created no separate executive department to carry out and enforce the acts of Congress and no national court system to interpret the meaning of laws. **C**

WESTERN LANDS: WHO GETS THEM? By 1779, 12 states had agreed to accept the new government, but conflict over western lands delayed final approval for two more years. Some states had claims to lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. Maryland, which had no such claims, feared that states with land claims would expand and overpower smaller states. It refused to approve the Articles until all states turned over their western lands to the United States. Consequently, the landed states gave up their western claims, and with Maryland’s approval, the Articles of Confederation went into effect in March 1781.

GOVERNING THE WESTERN LANDS The Confederation Congress then faced the question of how to govern the public lands west of the Appalachians and north of the Ohio River that offered rich land for settlers. Congress passed the **Land Ordinance of 1785**, which established a plan for surveying the land. (See the Geography Spotlight on page 138.) In the **Northwest Ordinance of 1787**, Congress provided a procedure for dividing the land into territories. The Northwest Ordinance also set requirements for the admission of new states, which, however, seemed to overlook Native American land claims. There were three basic stages for becoming a state:

1. Congress would appoint a territorial governor and judges.
2. When a territory had 5,000 voting residents, the settlers could write a temporary constitution and elect their own government.
3. When the total population of a territory reached 60,000 free inhabitants, the settlers could write a state constitution, which had to be approved by Congress before it granted statehood.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 became the Confederation’s greatest achievements. These laws established a blueprint for future growth of the nation. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

D What was the basic difference between the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787?

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

JOHN BAPTIST DE COIGNE

John Baptist de Coigne, a Kaskaskia chief, was among a group of Indians from the Northwest Territory who met with leaders of the U.S. government in 1793. He expressed the Native American view of the westward expansion of white settlers during the previous ten years:

“Order your people to be just. They are always trying to get our lands. They come on our lands, they hunt on them; kill our game and kill us. Keep them on one side of the line, and us on the other. Listen, my father, to what we say, and protect the nations of the Wabash and the Mississippi in their lands.”

The Confederation Encounters Problems

After its success in dealing with the Northwest Territory, the Confederation encountered overwhelming problems in dealing with more immediate issues. These problems ranged from economic issues, such as taxation and the national debt, to political issues, such as the nature of Congressional representation. In addition to these domestic issues, there were also many foreign-relations problems that the Confederation was powerless to solve.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS The most serious problem was that the country under the Confederation lacked national unity. Each state functioned independently by pursuing its own interests rather than those of the nation as a whole. In addition, the Confederation didn't recognize the differences in population among the states. Each state, regardless of its population, had only one vote in Congress. Thus, the political power of Georgia, with a population of 23,375 in 1770, was equal to that of Massachusetts, with a population of 235,308. Furthermore, the Articles could not be amended without the consent of every state; a single state could stall the amendment process. Therefore, changes in government were difficult to achieve.

The most serious economic problem was the huge debt that the Congress had amassed during the Revolutionary War. The war had cost the nation \$190 million—a huge amount of money in those days. The Continental Congress had borrowed from foreign countries and had printed its own paper money. After the war, Continental currency became worthless.

Lacking the power to tax, the Congress requested the states' approval to impose a tariff, or tax on imported goods. It planned to use the revenue to repay foreign loans. However, one state, Rhode Island, rejected the proposed tax, so it was not adopted. Unable to impose taxes, the Confederation Congress also had no control over interstate or foreign trade. **E**

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

E What weakness in the Confederation was highlighted by the actions of Rhode Island?



Currency, such as this early example from Connecticut, was issued by the colonies and the states.

BORROWERS VERSUS LENDERS Another problem caused by the debt from the Revolution was the struggle between creditors (lenders of money) and debtors (borrowers of money). After the war, wealthy people who had lent money to the states favored high taxes so that the states would be able to pay them back. However, high taxes sent many farmers into debt. When a creditor sued a farmer in court for repayment and won the case, the government seized the farmer's land and animals and sold them at auction.

Debtors and creditors also disagreed over the usefulness of paper money. Debtors wanted to increase the supply of money to lessen its value and enable them to pay off their debts with cheap currency. Creditors, in contrast, wanted to keep the supply of money low so that it would keep its full value. Both groups had much to lose.

FOREIGN-RELATIONS PROBLEMS The lack of support from states for national concerns led to foreign-relations problems for the Congress. First, since the United States could not repay its debts to British merchants and would not compensate Loyalists for property losses suffered during the Revolutionary War, Britain refused to evacuate its military forts on the Great Lakes. Furthermore, Spain's presence on the borders of the United States posed another threat to westward expansion. In 1784, Spain closed the Mississippi River to American navigation. This action deprived Western farmers of a means of shipping their crops

Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation

- Congress could not enact and collect taxes.
- Congress could not regulate interstate or foreign trade.
- Regardless of population, each state had only one vote in Congress.
- Two-thirds majority—9 out of 13 states needed to agree to pass any law.
- Articles could be amended only if all states approved.
- There was no executive branch to enforce the laws of Congress.
- There was no national court system to settle legal disputes.
- There were 13 separate states that lacked national unity.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

1. How many states' votes were needed to approve changes in the Articles of Confederation?
2. Why did the listed weaknesses lead to an ineffective government?

to Eastern markets through New Orleans. Though Northerners were willing to give up navigation rights on the Mississippi in exchange for more profitable trade concessions, Westerners and Southerners insisted on access to the Mississippi. However, Congress was too weak to resolve either of these challenges by Spain and Britain.

The problems the Congress encountered in dealing with foreign nations revealed the basic weaknesses of the Confederation government. Americans' fear of giving the national government too much power had resulted in a government that lacked sufficient power to deal with the nation's problems. The forthcoming Constitutional Convention would change all of this.



ASSESSMENT

- 1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

•republic
•republicanism

•Articles of Confederation
•confederation

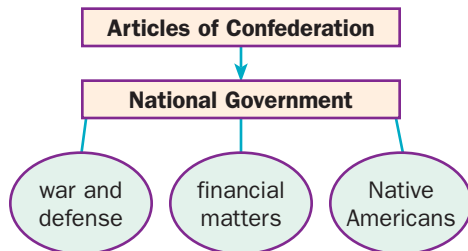
•Land Ordinance of 1785

•Northwest Ordinance of 1787

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a diagram like the one below, describe the powers given to the national government by the Articles of Confederation.



What were the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES

Why were the states afraid of centralized authority and a strong national government?

4. IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS

What was the main problem with the system of representation by state (rather than by population) that was adopted by the Confederation?

5. HYPOTHESIZING

Do you think that the United States would have become a world power if the Articles of Confederation had remained the basis of government? Explain the reasons for your opinion.

Think About:

- the power that the Articles gave the states
- foreign affairs and the Confederation Congress
- the Confederation Congress's taxation powers

The Land Ordinance of 1785



▲ Aerial photograph showing how the Land Ordinance transformed the landscape into a patchwork of farms.

When states ceded, or gave up, their western lands to the United States, the new nation became “land rich” even though it was “money poor.” Government leaders searched for a way to use the land to fund such services as public education.

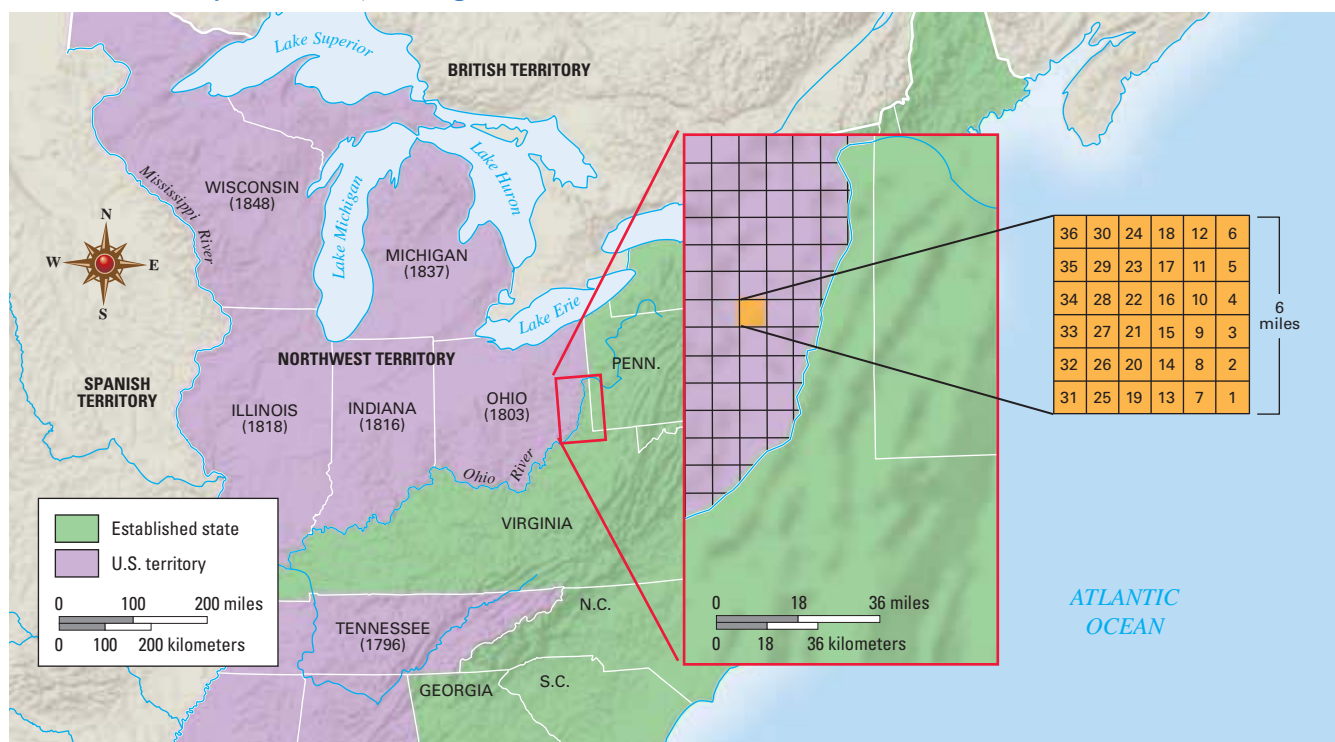
The fastest and easiest way to raise money would have been to sell the land in huge parcels. However, only the rich would have been able to purchase land. The Land Ordinance of 1785 made the parcels small and affordable.

The Land Ordinance established a plan for dividing the land. The government would first survey the land, dividing it into townships of 36 square miles, as shown on the map below. Then each township would be divided into 36 sections of 1 square mile, or about 640 acres, each. An individual or a family could purchase a section and divide it into farms or smaller units. A typical farm of the period was equal to one-quarter section, or 160 acres. The minimum price per acre was one dollar.

Government leaders hoped the buyers would develop farms and establish communities. In this way settlements would spread across the western territories in an orderly way. Government surveyors repeated the process thousands of times, imposing frontier geometry on the land.

In 1787, the Congress further provided for the orderly development of the Northwest Territory by passing the Northwest Ordinance, which established how states would be created out of the territory.

▼ The map below shows how an eastern section of Ohio has been subdivided into townships and sections, according to the Land Ordinance of 1785.



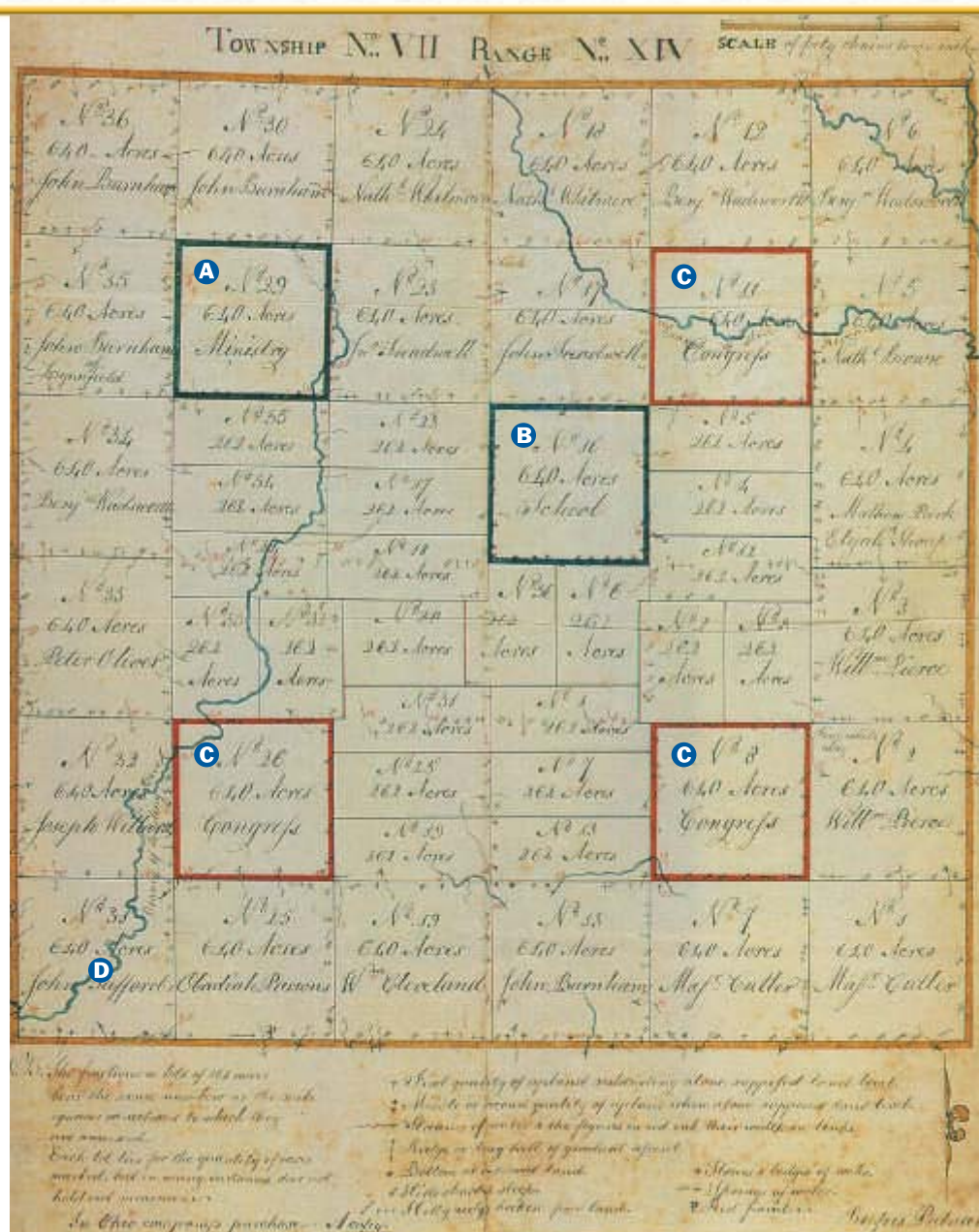
This map shows how a township, now in Meigs County, Ohio, was divided in 1787 into parcels of full square-mile sections and smaller, more affordable plots. The names of the original buyers are written on the full sections.

A RELIGION To encourage the growth of religion within the township, the surveyors set aside a full section of land. Most of the land within the section was sold to provide funds for a church and a minister's salary. This practice was dropped after a few years because of concern about the separation of church and state.

B EDUCATION The ordinance encouraged public education by setting aside section 16 of every township for school buildings. Local people used the money raised by the sale of land within this section to build a school and hire a teacher. This section was centrally located so that students could reach it without traveling too far.

C REVENUE Congress reserved two or three sections of each township for sale at a later date. Congress planned to sell the sections then at a tidy profit. The government soon abandoned this practice because of criticism that it should not be involved in land speculation.

D WATER Rivers and streams were very important to early settlers, who used them for transportation. Of most interest, however, was a meandering stream, which indicated flat bottomland that was highly prized for its fertility.



THINKING CRITICALLY

- Analyzing Distributions** How did the Land Ordinance of 1785 provide for the orderly development of the Northwest Territory? How did it make land affordable?
- Creating a Chart** Create a table that organizes and summarizes the information in the map above. To help you organize your thoughts, pose questions that the map suggests and that a table could help answer.




SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R30.

hmhsocialstudies.com RESEARCH WEB LINKS

Drafting the Constitution

MAIN IDEA	WHY IT MATTERS NOW	Terms & Names
At the Philadelphia convention in 1787, delegates rejected the Articles of Confederation and created a new constitution.	The Constitution remains the basis of our government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shays’s Rebellion • James Madison • Roger Sherman • Great Compromise • Three-Fifths Compromise • federalism • legislative branch • executive branch • judicial branch • checks and balances • electoral college

One American's Story



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes about issues debated at the Constitutional Convention.

Daniel Shays was angry. A veteran of the Revolutionary War battles at Bunker Hill and Saratoga, he had returned to his farm in western Massachusetts. Because of the heavy debt that he carried, however, he faced debtors’ prison. Shays felt that he was the victim of too much taxation.

During the summer and fall of 1786, farmers like Shays kept demanding that the courts be closed so they would not lose their farms to creditors. Their discontent boiled over into mob action in September of 1786 when Daniel Shays led an army of farmers to close the courts. In 1787, Shays’s army, 1,200 strong, marched through the snow toward the arsenal at Springfield.

State officials hurriedly called out the militia. Four of the rebels were killed and the rest were scattered. Clearly, though, if so many farmers were rebelling, there was something seriously wrong.



▲ **Shays’s Rebellion in 1786–1787 not only resulted in the death of four rebels but also unsettled some of the nation’s leaders.**

Nationalists Strengthen the Government

Shays’s Rebellion, as the farmers’ protest came to be called, caused panic and dismay throughout the nation. Every state had debt-ridden farmers. Would rebellion spread from Massachusetts elsewhere? Not only was private property in danger, but so was the new nation’s reputation. As George Washington himself exclaimed, “What a triumph for our enemies . . . to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves.”

It was clearly time to talk about a stronger national government. In order to prevent abuse of power, the states had placed such severe limits on the government that the government was too weak.

Fearing that the new nation was about to disintegrate, George Washington addressed this issue.

A PERSONAL VOICE GEORGE WASHINGTON

“The consequences of . . . [an] inefficient government are too obvious to be dwelt upon. Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the federal head will soon bring ruin on the whole. . . . Let us have [government] by which our lives, liberty, and property will be secured or let us know the worst at once.”

CALL FOR CONVENTION One of the nation’s biggest problems was trade between the states, which led to quarrels over the taxes that states imposed on one another’s goods and disagreements over navigation rights. In September 1786, leaders such as **James Madison** of Virginia and Alexander Hamilton called a meeting of state delegates to discuss issues of interstate trade. Only five states sent representatives to the convention, held in Annapolis, Maryland. Delegates decided to call for another meeting the following year in Philadelphia to deal with trade and other problems.

Meanwhile, the disturbing news of Shays’s Rebellion in Massachusetts spread throughout the states. The incident convinced 12 states to send delegates to the Philadelphia convention. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

A Why do you think news of Shays’s Rebellion made states decide to participate in the Philadelphia convention?

CONVENTION HIGHLIGHTS

In May 1787, delegates from all the states except Rhode Island gathered at the Philadelphia State House—in the same room in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed 11 years earlier. In spite of the sweltering heat, the windows were tightly closed to prevent outsiders from eavesdropping on the discussions.

Most of the 55 delegates were lawyers, merchants, or planters. Most were rich, well-educated men in their thirties or forties. They included some of the most outstanding leaders of the time, such as Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and George Washington. Washington was elected presiding officer by a unanimous vote.

KEY PLAYERS



JAMES MADISON
1751–1836

The oldest of 12 children, James Madison grew up in Virginia. He was a sickly child who suffered all his life from physical ailments. Because of a weak voice, he decided not to become a minister and thus entered politics.

Madison’s Virginia Plan resulted from extensive research on political systems that he had done before the convention. He asked Edmund Randolph, a fellow delegate from Virginia, to present the plan because his own voice was too weak to be heard throughout the assembly.

Besides providing brilliant political leadership, Madison kept a record of the debates that took place at the convention. Because of his plan and his leadership, Madison is known as the “Father of the Constitution.”



ROGER SHERMAN
1721–1793

Born in Massachusetts, Roger Sherman spoke a New England dialect that some people found laughable. As a young man, he became a successful merchant. Sherman also studied law and became so active in politics that he had to quit his business.

Sherman helped draft the Declaration of Independence. When he returned to Philadelphia in 1787 for the Constitutional Convention, he was 66 years old. He introduced a plan—later called the Great Compromise—that resolved the issue of state representation in the national legislature. Roger Sherman was the only man to sign the Continental Association of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution.

Conflict Leads to Compromise

Most of the delegates recognized the need to strengthen the central government. Within the first five days of the meeting, they gave up the idea of revising the Articles of Confederation and decided to form a new government.

BIG STATES VERSUS SMALL STATES One big issue the delegates faced was giving fair representation to both large and small states. Madison's Virginia Plan proposed a bicameral, or two-house, legislature, with membership based on each state's population. The voters would elect members of the lower house, who would then elect members of the upper house.

Delegates from the small states vigorously objected to the Virginia Plan because it gave more power to states with large populations. Small states supported William Paterson's New Jersey Plan, which proposed a single-house congress in which each state had an equal vote.

Proponents of the plans became deadlocked. Finally, **Roger Sherman**, a political leader from Connecticut, suggested the **Great Compromise**, which offered a two-house Congress to satisfy both small and big states. Each state would have equal representation in the Senate, or upper house. The size of the population of each state would determine its representation in the House of Representatives, or lower house. Voters of each state would choose members of the House. The state legislatures would choose members of the Senate.

Sherman's plan pleased those who favored government by the people insofar as it allowed voters to choose representatives. It also pleased those who defended states' rights insofar as it preserved the power of state legislatures. **B**

SLAVERY-RELATED ISSUES Representation based on population raised the question of whether slaves should be counted as people. Southern delegates, whose states had many slaves, wanted slaves included in the population count that determined the number of representatives in the House. Northern delegates, whose states had few slaves, disagreed. Not counting Southern slaves would give the Northern states more representatives than the Southern states in the House of Representatives. The delegates eventually agreed to the **Three-Fifths Compromise**, which called for three-fifths of a state's slaves to be counted as population.

The Three-Fifths Compromise settled the political issue but not the economic issue of slavery. Slaveholders, especially in the South, worried that if Congress were given power to regulate foreign trade, it might do away with the

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

B Why was Sherman's compromise a success?

Key Conflicts in the Constitutional Convention

STRONG CENTRAL GOVERNMENT vs. STRONG STATES

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Authority derives from the people.• The central government should be stronger than the states. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Authority derives from the states.• The states should remain stronger than the central government. |
|---|---|

LARGE STATES vs. SMALL STATES

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Congress should be composed of two houses.• Delegates should be assigned according to population. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A congress of one house should be preserved.• Each state should have one vote. |
|--|---|

NORTH vs. SOUTH

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Slaves should not be counted when deciding the number of delegates.• Slaves should be counted when levying taxes. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Slaves should be counted when determining congressional representation.• Slaves should not be counted when levying taxes. |
|--|--|

slave trade. To resolve this issue, the convention gave Congress the power to regulate trade but prevented it from interfering with the slave trade for at least 20 years. Although the proposal passed, not all the delegates agreed with it. James Madison predicted, “Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the national character than to say nothing about it in the Constitution.”

Creating a New Government

After reaching agreement on questions of slavery and representation, the delegates dealt with other issues. They divided power between the states and the national government and separated the national government’s power into three branches.

DIVISION OF POWERS The new system of government was a form of **federalism** that divided power between the national government and the state governments. The powers granted to the national government by the Constitution are known as delegated powers, or enumerated powers. These include such powers as control of foreign affairs, providing national defense, regulating trade between the states, and coining money. Powers kept by the states are called reserved powers. These include powers such as providing and supervising education, establishing marriage laws, and regulating trade within a state. **C**

Both levels of government share such important powers as the right to tax, to borrow money, and to pay debts. They also share the power to establish courts.

SEPARATION OF POWERS The delegates protected the rights of the states, but they also granted some powers exclusively to the national government. At the same time, they limited the authority of the government. First, they created three branches of government—a **legislative branch** to make laws, an **executive branch** to carry out laws, and a **judicial branch** to interpret the law.

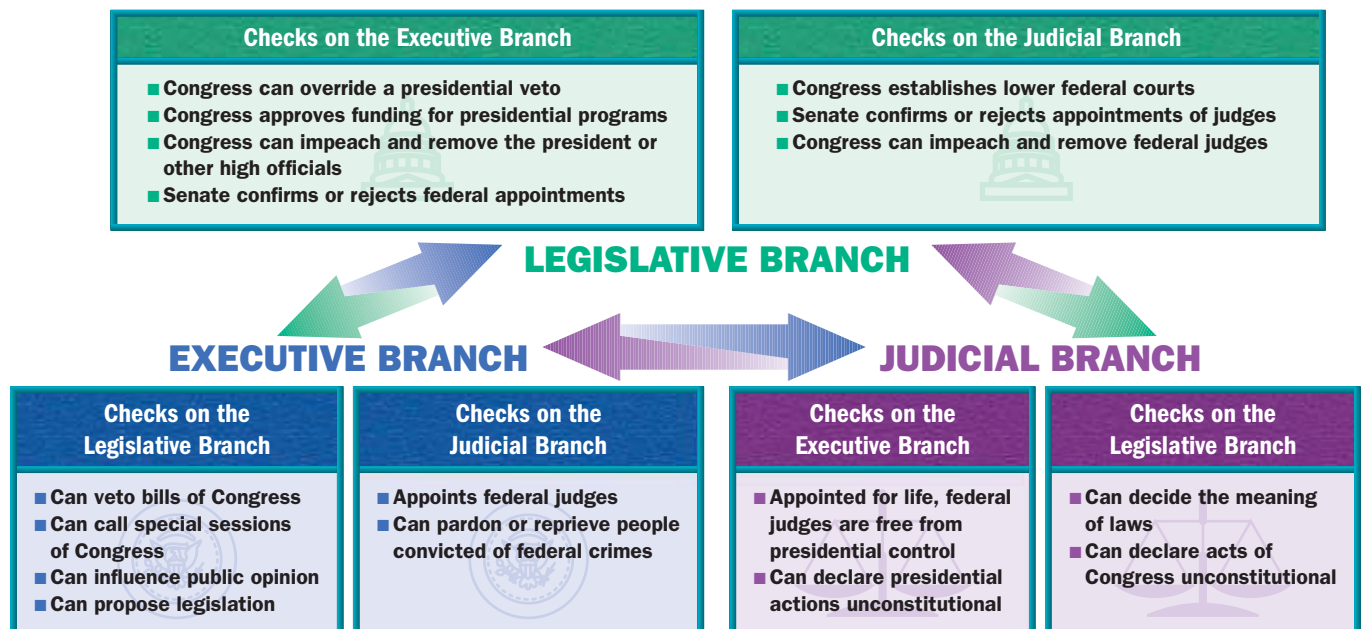
Then the delegates established a system of **checks and balances** to prevent one branch from dominating the others. (See the chart below.) For example, the president has considerable power, but the Senate has to approve some of the president’s decisions. The president can veto acts of Congress, but Congress can override a veto by a

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

C Which powers were granted to the national government and to the state governments?

The Checks and Balances of the Federal System





THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Distrust of popular sovereignty led the framers of the Constitution to devise a complicated system of electing the president. The creation of an electoral college ensured that a college of electors, or representatives, would have the last say in the vote.

In the 2000 presidential election, the electoral college played a decisive role in choosing the president. Even though Al Gore won the popular vote by a margin of almost 540,000, the electors gave George W. Bush 271 electoral votes—one vote more than the 270 votes needed to win the presidency.

two-thirds vote. The Supreme Court assumes the power to interpret the Constitution, but the president appoints the justices, and Congress can bring them to trial for abuses of power.

The procedure for electing the president reflected two main concerns. Because there were no national political parties and because travel and communication were limited, there was a fear that the popular vote would be divided among many regional candidates. Also, many among the upper classes distrusted and feared the lower classes. Some did not trust the common people to vote wisely; others trusted them to vote the upper class out of power. So the delegates came up with a new system of electing the president. Instead of voters choosing the president directly, each state would choose a number of electors equal to the number of senators and representatives the state had in Congress. The group of electors chosen by the states, known as the **electoral college**, would cast ballots for the candidates.

CREATING THE CONSTITUTION Finally, the delegates provided a means of changing the Constitution through the amendment process. After nearly four months of debate and compromise, the delegates succeeded in creating a constitution that was flexible enough to last through the centuries to come. Yet when George Washington adjourned the convention on September 17, 1787, he was somewhat uncertain about the future of the new plan of government. Washington remarked to a fellow delegate, “I do not expect the Constitution to last for more than 20 years.”

The convention’s work was over, but the new government could not become a reality until the voters agreed. So the Constitution of the United States of America was sent to the Congress, which submitted it to the states for approval.



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Shays’s Rebellion
- Great Compromise
- legislative branch
- checks and balances
- James Madison
- Three-Fifths Compromise
- executive branch
- electoral college
- Roger Sherman
- federalism
- judicial branch

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Re-create the web below on your paper, and fill it in with specific issues that were debated.



Choose one issue and explain how the delegates resolved that issue.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES

In what ways did the new system of government fulfill the nation’s need for a stronger central government and at the same time allay its fear of a government having too much power?

4. SUMMARIZING

What was the Great Compromise and how did it reconcile the interests of the small states with the interests of the more populous states?

5. EVALUATING DECISIONS

Do you agree or disagree with the creation of a system of checks and balances? Explain your answer.

Think About:

- the main task of each branch
- how the branches function
- the efficiency of governmental operations

SECTION 3

Congress of the United States.
 begun and held at the City of New York,
 on Wednesday the fourth of March one thousand seven hundred and
 eighty nine, at the time of their adjournment, and as extending to

Ratifying the Constitution

MAIN IDEA

During the debate on the Constitution, the Federalists promised to add a bill of rights in order to get the Constitution ratified.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Bill of Rights continues to protect ordinary citizens.

Terms & Names

- ratification
- Federalists
- Antifederalists
- *The Federalist*
- Bill of Rights

One American's Story

hmhsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes about the Federalists and the Antifederalists.

When John Jay was in college, he refused to reveal the identity of a student who had broken school property. As he was being interrogated, Jay pointed out that the college rules did not require one student to inform on another.

Years later, Jay argued for ratification of the newly written constitution. He warned how other nations would view the United States if it did not unify itself.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN JAY

“What a poor pitiful figure will America make in their eyes! How liable would she become not only to their contempt, but to their outrage; and how soon would dear-bought experience proclaim that when a people or family so divide, it never fails to be against themselves.”

—*The Federalist*, Number 4

Whether Jay was defending his peers or his country's Constitution, his strong principles and commitment to unity gave his arguments tremendous force. Men like John Jay played a key role in ratifying the Constitution.



John Jay

Federalists and Antifederalists

The delegates to the Philadelphia convention had spent four months drafting the Constitution. When newspapers printed the full text of the new Constitution, many Americans were shocked by the radical changes it proposed. They had expected the convention to merely amend the Articles of Confederation. Supporters and opponents battled over controversies that threatened to shatter the framers' hope of uniting the states.



“ They . . . divided the powers, that each [branch of the legislature] might be a check upon the other . . . and I presume that every reasonable man will agree to it.”

ALEXANDER HAMILTON



“ You are not to inquire how your trade may be increased, nor how you are to become a great and powerful people, but how your liberties can be secured. . . .”

PATRICK HENRY

CONTROVERSIES OVER THE CONSTITUTION The framers set up a procedure for ratification that called for each state to hold a special convention. The voters would elect the delegates to the convention, who would then vote to accept or reject the Constitution. **Ratification**—official approval—required the agreement of at least nine states. This system largely bypassed the state legislatures, whose members were likely to oppose the Constitution, since it reduced the power of the states. It also gave the framers an opportunity to campaign for delegates in their states who would support ratification.

Supporters of the Constitution called themselves **Federalists**, because they favored the new Constitution’s balance of power between the states and the national government. Their opponents became known as **Antifederalists** because they opposed having such a strong central government and thus were against the Constitution.

The Federalists insisted that the division of powers and the system of checks and balances would protect Americans from the tyranny of centralized authority. Antifederalists countered with a long list of possible abuses of power by a strong central government. These included a fear that the government would serve the interests of the privileged minority and ignore the rights of the majority. Antifederalists also raised doubts that a single government could manage the affairs of a large country. Their leading argument, however, centered on the Constitution’s lack of protection for individual rights. **A**

THE OPPOSING FORCES Leading Federalists included framers of the Constitution such as George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. They used their experience and powers of persuasion to win support for the document they had drafted. They received heavy support from urban centers, where merchants, skilled workers, and laborers saw the benefit of a national government that could regulate trade. Small states and those with weak economies also favored a strong central government that could protect their interests.

Leading Antifederalists included revolutionary heroes and leaders such as Patrick Henry, Samuel Adams, and Richard Henry Lee. They received support from rural areas, where people feared a strong government that might add to their tax burden. Large states and those with strong economies, such as New York, which had greater freedom under the Articles of Confederation, also were unsupportive of the Constitution at first.

Both sides waged a war of words in the public debate over ratification. **The Federalist**, a series of 85 essays defending the Constitution, appeared in New York newspapers between 1787 and 1788. They were published under the pseudonym *Publius*, but were written by Federalist leaders Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist* provided an analysis and an explanation of Constitutional provisions, such as the separation of powers and the limits on the power of majorities, that remain important today.

Letters from the Federal Farmer, most likely written by Richard Henry Lee, was the most widely read Antifederalist publication. Lee listed the rights the Antifederalists believed should be protected, such as freedom of the press and of religion, guarantees against unreasonable searches of people and their homes, and the right to a trial by jury.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

A What were the Antifederalists’ major arguments against the Constitution?

The Bill of Rights Leads to Ratification

The proposed U.S. Constitution contained no guarantee that the government would protect the rights of the people or of the states. Some supporters of the Constitution, such as Thomas Jefferson, viewed the Constitution's lack of a bill of rights—a formal summary of citizens' rights and freedoms, as a serious drawback to ratification.

A PERSONAL VOICE THOMAS JEFFERSON

"I like much the general idea of framing a government, which should go on of itself, peaceably, without needing continual recurrence to the State legislatures. . . . I will now tell you what I do not like. First, the omission of a bill of rights. . . . Let me add, that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular; and what no just government should refuse. . . ."

—letter to James Madison from Paris, December 20, 1787

PEOPLE DEMAND A BILL OF RIGHTS Antifederalists argued that since the Constitution weakened the states, the people needed a national bill of rights. They wanted written guarantees that the people would have freedom of speech, of the press, and of religion. They demanded assurance of the right to trial by jury and the right to bear arms.

Federalists insisted that the Constitution granted only limited powers to the national government so that it could not violate the rights of the states or of the people. They also pointed out that the Constitution gave the people the power to protect their rights through the election of trustworthy leaders. In the end, though, the Federalists yielded to people's overwhelming desire and promised to add a bill of rights if the states would ratify the Constitution. **B**

RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION Delaware led the country in ratifying the Constitution in December 1787. In June 1788, New Hampshire fulfilled the requirement for ratification by becoming the ninth state to approve the Constitution. Nevertheless, Virginia and New York had not voted, and the new government needed these very large and influential states.

Powerful adversaries squared off in Virginia. Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and James Monroe led the opposition. Richard Henry Lee, a prominent political

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B What were the arguments made by Antifederalists and Federalists over adding a bill of rights to the Constitution?

A parade in New York in 1788 celebrates the new Constitution and features the "Ship of State" float. Alexander Hamilton's name emphasizes the key role he played in launching the new government.



figure of his time, claimed that those in favor of the Constitution were voluntarily placing themselves under the power of an absolute ruler.

A PERSONAL VOICE RICHARD HENRY LEE

“ ’Tis really astonishing that the same people, who have just emerged from a long and cruel war in defense of liberty, should now agree to fix an elective despotism [absolute power] upon themselves and their posterity.”

The struggle for New York pitted John Jay and Alexander Hamilton against a strong Antifederalist majority. Jay, Hamilton, and Madison launched an effective public campaign through *The Federalist*. News of ratification by New Hampshire and Virginia strengthened the Federalists' cause. On July 26, 1788, New York ratified by a vote of 30 to 27. Although Rhode Island did not accept the Constitution until 1790, the new government became a reality in 1789.

NOW & THEN

SOUTH AFRICA CREATES A BILL OF RIGHTS

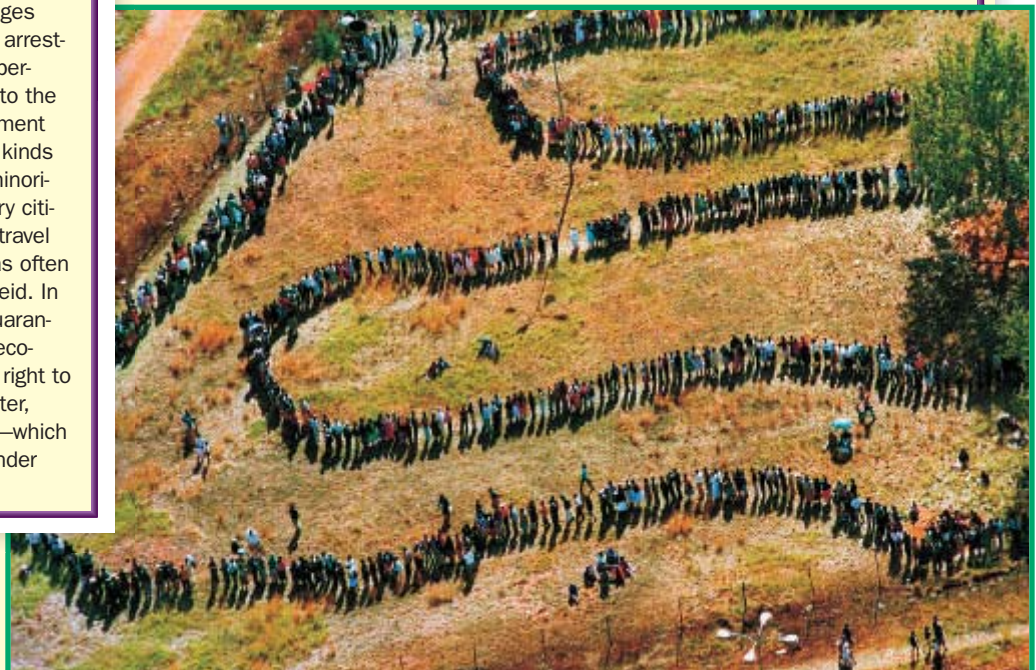
On May 8, 1996, South African lawmakers danced in the aisles of South Africa's Parliament. They had just approved a landmark constitution guaranteeing equal rights for blacks and whites in the new South Africa. Included in this constitution was a bill of rights modeled in part on the United States Bill of Rights, though with significant differences.

The South African bill of rights is a much broader and more detailed document than the U.S. Bill of Rights. For example, two pages are devoted to the rights of arrested, detained, and accused persons. One page is devoted to the rights of children. The document forbids discrimination of all kinds and protects the rights of minorities. It also guarantees every citizen the right to freedom of travel within the country, which was often denied blacks under apartheid. In addition, the bill of rights guarantees a range of social and economic rights—including the right to adequate housing, food, water, education, and health care—which were often denied blacks under apartheid.

People outside the polling station in the black township of Soweto waiting to vote in South Africa's first multiracial election. ►



Nelson Mandela, the first black president of South Africa, greets a crowd celebrating the new constitution May 8, 1996. ▼



ADOPTION OF A BILL OF RIGHTS In several states, ratification had hinged on the Federalists' pledge to add a bill of rights. In September 1789, Congress submitted 12 amendments to the state legislatures for ratification. By December 1791, the required three-fourths of the states had ratified ten of the amendments, which became known as the **Bill of Rights**.

The first eight amendments spell out the personal liberties the states had requested. The Ninth and Tenth Amendments impose general limits on the powers of the federal government.

- The *First Amendment*—guarantees citizens' rights to freedom of religion, speech, the press, and political activity.
- The *Second* and *Third Amendments*—grant citizens the right to bear arms as members of a militia of citizen-soldiers and prevent the government from housing troops in private homes in peacetime.
- The *Fourth* through *Eighth Amendments*—guarantee fair treatment for individuals suspected or accused of crimes.
- The *Ninth Amendment*—makes it clear that people's rights are not restricted to just those specifically mentioned in the Constitution.
- The *Tenth Amendment*—clarifies that the people and the states have all the powers that the Constitution does not specifically give to the national government or deny to the states.

The protection of rights and freedoms did not apply to all Americans at the time the Bill of Rights was adopted. Native Americans and slaves were excluded. Women were not mentioned in the Constitution. Although some northern states permitted free blacks to vote, the Bill of Rights offered them no protection against whites' discrimination and hostility. The expansion of democracy came from later amendments. Nevertheless, the flexibility of the U.S. Constitution made it a model for governments around the world.

The Bill of Rights

1. Religious and political freedom
2. Right to bear arms
3. Freedom from quartering troops
4. Freedom against unreasonable search and seizure
5. Rights of accused persons
6. Right to a speedy, public trial
7. Right to a trial by jury
8. Limits on fines and punishments
9. Rights of the people
10. Powers of states and the people



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

•ratification
•Federalists

•Antifederalists

•The Federalist

•Bill of Rights

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Use a chart like the one below to show which groups and public figures supported the Federalists and which supported the Antifederalists.

	Public Figures	Groups
Federalists		
Antifederalists		

Which group would you have supported? Explain why.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING

Do you think the Federalists or the Antifederalists had the more valid arguments? Support your opinion with examples from the text.

Think About:

- whom each group represented
- Americans' experience with the Articles of Confederation
- Americans' experience with British rule

4. ANALYZING MOTIVES

Why did the Antifederalists demand the Bill of Rights?

5. HYPOTHESIZING

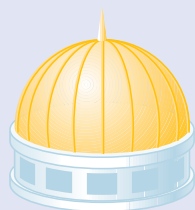
How might the course of American history have changed if the Bill of Rights had forbidden discrimination of all kinds and had protected the rights of minorities?

VISUAL SUMMARY

SHAPING A NEW NATION

The Articles of Confederation were too weak to provide a basis for government.

The Articles were replaced by a new system of government that divided power between



the
NATIONAL
government

AND

the
STATE
governments.



The new
Constitution
was
ratified

when

the
Bill of
Rights
was
accepted.

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance for the United States in the 1780s.

1. republic
2. Articles of Confederation
3. Land Ordinance of 1785
4. Shays's Rebellion
5. James Madison
6. checks and balances
7. electoral college
8. Federalist
9. Antifederalist
10. Bill of Rights

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Experimenting with Confederation (pages 132–137)

1. Why did the new states prefer a republic rather than a democracy for their government?
2. Why did the states fear a strong central government?
3. In what ways was the confederation too weak to handle the nation's problems?

Drafting the Constitution (pages 140–144)

4. What issues and events led to the Constitutional Convention?
5. In what ways did compromise play a critical role in the drafting of the Constitution?
6. Why was the slave trade an issue at the Constitutional Convention?
7. Briefly explain the separation of powers established by the Constitution.

Ratifying the Constitution (pages 145–149)

8. What were the arguments for and against ratifying the Constitution?
9. What was *The Federalist* and what effect did this publication have on ratification?
10. Why did the states ratify the Constitution once a bill of rights was promised?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** In a chart like the one below, list the beliefs and goals of the Federalists and Antifederalists.

	Federalists	Antifederalists
Beliefs		
Goals		

2. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** How might the United States have developed if the Articles of Confederation had continued to provide the basis for government?
3. **MAKING INFERENCES** In what ways was the land of the Northwest Territory distributed democratically?

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the quotation below and your knowledge of United States history to answer questions 1 and 2.

“Among the numerous advantages promised by a well-constructed Union, none deserves to be more accurately developed than its tendency to break and control the violence of faction. . . . By a faction, I understand a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or a minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community. . . . A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views.”

—James Madison, *The Federalist*, Number 10

1. As used by Madison, the term *faction* means —

- A any interest group.
- B a religious cult.
- C either of the two political parties.
- D anyone who does not own property.

2. Madison believed that factions were —

- F necessary to the working of government.
- G characteristic of British government only.
- H extremely destructive and divisive.
- J outdated and insignificant.

3. The Constitution was finally ratified because —

- A the Federalists agreed to grant additional powers to the states.
- B the Federalists agreed to add a Bill of Rights.
- C the electoral college voted for ratification.
- D the Antifederalists agreed to additional restrictions on the power of the states.

4. Why was it so difficult to devise a system of government for the United States?

- F The new nation was too big.
- G No one wanted a national government.
- H Many feared that a national government would infringe upon the power of the states.
- J Some states did not want to rejoin Britain.

 hmhsocialstudies.com **TEST PRACTICE**

For additional test practice, go online for:

- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Think about the issues you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Imagine you are living in the 1780s. Write an article for either *The Federalist* or *Letters from the Federal Farmer*, arguing either for or against giving the national government more power.

FOCUS ON WRITING

You are a representative of one of the former colonies and you have just returned from the Constitutional Convention. Write a letter explaining how the U.S. Constitution is an improvement upon the Articles of Confederation. Support your explanation with reasoning and examples from the chapter.

COLLABORATIVE LEARNING



Organize into pairs and choose an issue debated at the Constitutional Convention. Read the section of the Constitution that contains the final compromise as well as documents that show the various sides of the issue before a compromise was reached. Then prepare a debate of the issue to present to the class. Each partner should draft a three-minute speech defending one side of the issue. The opposing partner should give a short rebuttal after each point of view is presented. Have the class evaluate the two sides of the argument before you remind your classmates how the issue was resolved.

The Living Constitution

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“The Constitution was not made to fit us like a straightjacket. In its elasticity lies its chief greatness.”

President Woodrow Wilson

PURPOSES OF THE CONSTITUTION

The official charge to the delegates who met in Philadelphia in 1787 was to amend the Articles of Confederation. They soon made a fateful decision, however, to ignore the Articles and to write an entirely new constitution. These delegates—the “framers”—set themselves five purposes to fulfill in their effort to create an effective constitution.

1. ESTABLISH LEGITIMACY

First, the framers of the Constitution had to establish the new government’s legitimacy—its right to rule. The patriots’ theory of government was set out in the Declaration of Independence, which explained why British rule over the colonies was illegitimate. Now the framers had to demonstrate that their new government met the standards of legitimacy referred to in the Declaration.

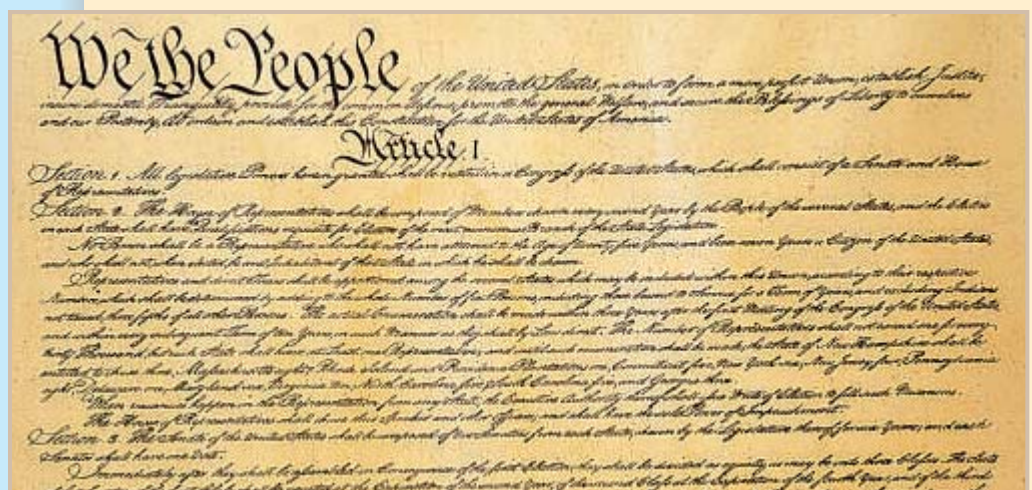
For the framers of the Constitution, legitimacy had to be based on a compact or contract among those who are to be ruled. This is why the Constitution starts with the words “We the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution.”

2. CREATE APPROPRIATE STRUCTURES

The framers’ second purpose was to create appropriate structures for the new government. The framers were committed to the principles of representative democracy. They also believed that any new government must include an important role for state governments and ensure that the states retained some legitimacy to rule within their borders.

To achieve their goals, the framers created the Congress, the presidency, and the judiciary to share the powers of the national government. They also created a system of division of powers between the national government and the state governments.

The original manuscript of the Constitution is now kept in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. ►





3. DESCRIBE AND DISTRIBUTE POWER

The framers had as their third purpose to describe governmental powers and to distribute them among the structures they created. The powers of the legislative branch, which are those of Congress, are listed in Article 1, Section 8, of the Constitution. Many of the executive powers belonging to the president are listed in Article 2, Sections 2 and 3. The courts are given judicial powers in Article 3. The words of Article 4 imply that the states retain authority over many public matters.

4. LIMIT GOVERNMENT POWERS

The fourth purpose of the framers was to limit the powers of the structures they created. Limits on the Congress's powers are found in Article 1, Section 9. Some of the limits on the powers of state governments are found in Article 1, Section 10. There the framers enumerate functions that are delegated to the national government and so cannot be directed by the states.

5. ALLOW FOR CHANGE

The framers' fifth purpose was to include some means for changing the Constitution. Here they faced a dilemma: they wanted to make certain that the government endured by changing with the times, but they did not want to expose the basic rules of government to so many changes that the system would be unstable. So in Article 5 they created a difficult but not impossible means for amending the Constitution.

CONSTITUTION

PROJECT

RESEARCHING A CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTION

As you study the Constitution, think about a constitutional question that interests you. Here are some possible questions:

- How much, if at all, can the federal government or a state government restrict the sale of firearms?
- Under what conditions does the president have the power to order American troops into battle without congressional approval?
- Under what conditions may a police officer conduct a search of the inside of an automobile?

Once you have chosen a constitutional question, research that question in articles and books on the Constitution. Also check the indexes of well-known newspapers, such as the *New York Times*, for articles that are relevant.

HOW TO READ THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution, which appears on pages 154–173, is printed on a beige background, while the explanatory notes next to each article, section, or clause are printed on blue. Each article is divided into sections, and the sections are subdivided into clauses. Headings have been added and the spelling and punctuation modernized for easier reading. Portions of the Constitution no longer in use have been crossed out. The Constitutional Insight questions and answers will help you understand significant issues related to the Constitution.

The Constitution

PREAMBLE

Constitutional Insight Preamble

Why does the Preamble say “We the people of the United States . . . ordain and establish” the new government? The Articles of Confederation was an agreement among the states. But the framers of the Constitution wanted to be sure its legitimacy came from the American people, not from the states, which might decide to withdraw their support at any time. This is a basic principle of the Constitution.

ARTICLE 1

Constitutional Insight Section 1

Why does the first article of the Constitution focus on Congress rather than on the presidency or the courts? The framers were intent on stressing the central role of the legislative branch in the new government because it is the branch that most directly represents the people and is most responsive to them.

A CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think Congress is still the branch of the federal government that is most directly responsible to the people? Why or why not?

Constitutional Insight Section 2.1

Why are members of the House of Representatives elected every two years? The House of Representatives was designed to be a truly representative body, with members who reflect the concerns and sentiments of their constituents as closely as possible. The framers achieved this timely representation by establishing two years as a reasonable term for members of the House to serve.

B CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think electing members of the House of Representatives every two years is a good idea? Why or why not?

PREAMBLE. Purpose of the Constitution

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE 1. The Legislature

SECTION 1. CONGRESS All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

1. ELECTIONS The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. QUALIFICATIONS No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

3. NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, ~~which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.~~ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one Representative; ~~and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.~~

4. VACANCIES When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. OFFICERS AND IMPEACHMENT The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Requirements for Holding Federal Office

POSITION	MINIMUM AGE	RESIDENCY	CITIZENSHIP
Representative	25	state in which elected	7 years
Senator	30	state in which elected	9 years
President	35	14 years in the United States	natural-born
Supreme Court Justice	none	none	none



SECTION 3. THE SENATE

- 1. NUMBERS** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, ~~chosen by the legislature thereof,~~ for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.
- 2. CLASSIFYING TERMS** Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; ~~and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.~~
- 3. QUALIFICATIONS** No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.
- 4. ROLE OF VICE-PRESIDENT** The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.
- 5. OFFICERS** The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.
- 6. IMPEACHMENT TRIALS** The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.
- 7. PUNISHMENT FOR IMPEACHMENT** Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

- 1. REGULATIONS** The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.
- 2. SESSIONS** The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, ~~and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.~~

Constitutional Insight Section 3.1

Why are members of the Senate elected every six years? The framers feared the possibility of instability in the government. So they decided that senators should have six-year terms and be elected by the state legislatures rather than directly by the people. The Seventeenth Amendment, as you will see later, changed this. The framers also staggered the terms of the senators so that only one-third of them are replaced at any one time. This stabilizes the Senate still further.

C CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think it is important today for the Senate to have more stability than the House of Representatives? If so, why?

Constitutional Insight Sections 3.6 and 3.7

Must an impeached president step down from office? Not necessarily. An impeachment is a formal accusation of criminal behavior or serious misbehavior. By impeaching the president, the U.S. House of Representatives is officially accusing the nation's chief executive of one or more wrongdoings that warrant possible removal from office. It is then the responsibility of the Senate to conduct a trial to determine whether the president is guilty or not guilty of the charges—and thus whether or not the president must step down. Conviction requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate.

D CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think a president should be put on trial for a crime while he or she is still in office? Explain.

Constitutional Insight Section 5.2

What kinds of rules does Congress make for itself? The Constitution gives each house control over most of its rules of procedure and membership. Rules are important, for they help shape the kinds of laws and policies that pass each body. Senate rules allow a filibuster, whereby a senator holds the floor as long as he or she likes in order to block consideration of a bill he or she dislikes. In recent years, a “cloture” rule has been used to end debate if 60 or more members vote to do so.

In contrast, the House of Representatives has rules to limit debate. A rules committee has the primary task of determining how long a bill on the floor of the House may be discussed and whether any amendments can be offered to the bill. In recent years, the power of the Rules Committee has been limited, but being able to shape the rules remains a powerful tool of members of Congress.

E CRITICAL THINKING

Why do you think the chair of the Rules Committee is in a powerful position?

Constitutional Insight Section 7.1

Why must all bills to raise revenue originate in the House? Because its members all stand for election every two years, the House was expected to be more directly responsive to the people. The tradition of restricting the powers of taxation to the people’s representatives dates prior to the English Bill of Rights (1689), which granted to Parliament and withheld from the king the right to raise taxes. When colonists protesting the Stamp Act and the Intolerable Acts protested “no taxation without representation,” they were appealing to a longstanding right codified in the English Bill of Rights.

Constitutional Insight Section 7.2

How often do presidents use the veto, and how often is that action overridden? The use of the veto, which is the refusal to approve a bill, depends on many factors, especially the political conditions of the time. Until 1865, only nine presidents exercised the veto for 36 pieces of legislation, including Andrew Jackson who used it 12 times. Since 1865, every president has used the veto power, some on relatively few occasions, others as frequently as over a hundred times. Usually, Congress is unable to produce the votes (those of two-thirds of the members present in each house) needed to override presidential vetoes.

F CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think it should be easier for Congress to override a president’s veto? Why or why not?

SECTION 5. RULES AND PROCEDURES

- 1. QUORUM** Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.
- 2. RULES AND CONDUCT** Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.
- 3. CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS** Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.
- 4. ADJOURNMENT** Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. PAYMENT AND PRIVILEGES

- 1. SALARY** The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.
- 2. RESTRICTIONS** No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

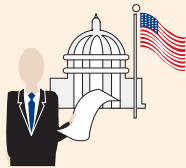
SECTION 7. HOW A BILL BECOMES A LAW

- 1. TAX BILLS** All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.
- 2. LAWMAKING PROCESS** Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such

cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

How a Bill in Congress Becomes a Law



1 A bill is introduced in the House or the Senate and referred to a standing committee for consideration.



2 A bill may be reported out of committee with or without changes—or it may be shelved.



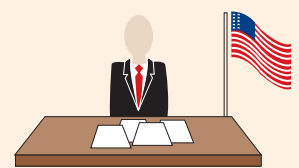
3 Either house of Congress debates the bill and may make revisions. If passed, the bill is sent to the other house.



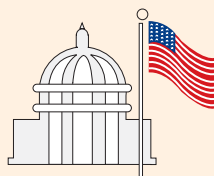
4 If the House and the Senate pass different versions of a bill, both versions go to a conference committee to work out the differences.



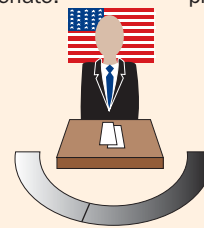
5 The conference committee submits a single version of the bill to the House and the Senate.



6 If both houses accept the compromise version, the bill is sent to the president to be signed.



7 If the president signs the bill, it becomes law.



8 If the president vetoes the bill, the House and the Senate may override the veto by a vote of two thirds of the members present in each house, and then the bill becomes law.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

How is the constitutional principle of checks and balances reflected in the process of a bill's becoming a law?

Constitutional Insight Section 8 The powers given to Congress are in Section 8 of Article 1. The first 17 clauses of Section 8 are often called the enumerated powers because they name individually Congress's specific powers. These powers deal with issues ranging from taxation and the national debt to calling out the armed forces of the various states to governing the nation's capital district (Washington, D.C.).

The 18th and final clause is different. It gives Congress the power to do what is "necessary and proper" to carry out the enumerated powers. Thus, the enumerated powers of Congress "to lay and collect taxes," "to borrow money," "to regulate commerce," and "to coin money" imply the power to create a bank in order to execute these powers. Early in the country's history, this Elastic Clause, as it has been called, was used by Congress to establish the controversial Bank of the United States in 1791 and the Second Bank of the United States in 1816.

G CRITICAL THINKING

Why do you think the Elastic Clause is still important today?

NOW & THEN

MODERN MONEY

Technological advances such as color copiers have led to increased counterfeiting. In response the Bureau of Engraving and Printing (BEP), the federal agency that prints U.S. currency, began adding advanced security features to paper money. The BEP also made a commitment to redesign the nation's currency every seven to ten years to stay ahead of counterfeiters. The \$5, \$10, \$20, \$50, and \$100 bills were all redesigned between 2003 and 2010.



SECTION 8. POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS

- 1. TAXATION** The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;
- 2. CREDIT** To borrow money on the credit of the United States;
- 3. COMMERCE** To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;
- 4. NATURALIZATION, BANKRUPTCY** To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;
- 5. MONEY** To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;
- 6. COUNTERFEITING** To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;
- 7. POST OFFICE** To establish post offices and post roads;
- 8. PATENTS, COPYRIGHTS** To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;
- 9. FEDERAL COURTS** To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;
- 10. INTERNATIONAL LAW** To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;
- 11. WAR** To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;
- 12. ARMY** To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;
- 13. NAVY** To provide and maintain a navy;
- 14. REGULATION OF ARMED FORCES** To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;
- 15. MILITIA** To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;
- 16. REGULATIONS FOR MILITIA** To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;
- 17. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—and
- 18. ELASTIC CLAUSE** To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.



SECTION 9. POWERS DENIED CONGRESS

- 1. ~~SLAVE TRADE~~** ~~The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.~~
- 2. HABEAS CORPUS** The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.
- 3. ILLEGAL PUNISHMENT** No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.
- 4. ~~DIRECT TAXES~~** ~~No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.~~
- 5. EXPORT TAXES** No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.
- 6. NO FAVORITES** No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.
- 7. PUBLIC MONEY** No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.
- 8. TITLES OF NOBILITY** No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. POWERS DENIED THE STATES

- 1. RESTRICTIONS** No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.
- 2. IMPORT AND EXPORT TAXES** No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

Constitutional Insight Section 9

Why didn't the framers include a bill of rights in the original Constitution? Actually, they did.

Article 1, Section 9, defines limits on the powers of Congress, just as the first ten amendments (which we call the Bill of Rights) do. While some of the provisions focus on such issues as slavery and taxation, there are three explicit prohibitions dealing with citizens' rights:

- *Writ of habeas corpus.* Section 9, Clause 2 says that, except in time of rebellion or invasion, Congress cannot suspend people's right to a writ of habeas corpus. This means that people cannot be held in prison or jail without being formally charged with a crime.
- *Bill of attainder.* Clause 3 prohibits the passage of any law that convicts or punishes a person directly and without a trial. Any legislative action that would punish someone without recourse to a court of law is called a bill of attainder.
- *Ex post facto law.* The same clause prohibits ex post facto laws. Such a law would punish a person for an act that was legal when it was performed.

The fact that these particular rights were protected by the original document issued by the framers reflects both the framers' experiences during the Revolution and their fear of excessive government power.

CRITICAL THINKING

Why are American citizens today so intent on having protections against government violations of their rights?

ARTICLE 2

Constitutional Insight Section 1.1

What exactly is “executive power”? We know the president has it, but nowhere is it explicitly defined. It is most often defined as the power to carry out the laws of the land, but of course no one person can handle such a chore alone. A more appropriate definition is found in Section 3 of this article, which empowers the president to “take care that the laws be faithfully executed.” In this sense, the president is the chief administrator.

CRITICAL THINKING

Why is it important to have an executive who is the chief administrator?

3. PEACETIME AND WAR RESTRAINTS No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE 2. *The Executive*


SECTION 1. THE PRESIDENCY

1. TERMS OF OFFICE The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. ELECTORAL COLLEGE Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. FORMER METHOD OF ELECTING PRESIDENT ~~The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.~~

4. ELECTION DAY The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.



5. QUALIFICATIONS No person except a natural-born citizen, ~~or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution,~~ shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. SUCCESSION In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. SALARY The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. OATH OF OFFICE Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT

1. MILITARY POWERS The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. TREATIES, APPOINTMENTS He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. VACANCIES The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Constitutional Insight Section 1.6

What happens when the vice-president succeeds a dead or incapacitated president?

Section 1.6 provides that the vice-president shall assume the powers and duties of the presidential office. But until the Twenty-fifth Amendment was added to the Constitution in 1967, there was no explicit statement in the document that the vice-president is to become president. That procedure owes its origin to John Tyler, the tenth president of the United States, who in 1841 succeeded William Henry Harrison—the first president to die in office. Tyler decided to take the oath of office and assume the title of president of the United States. Congress voted to go along with his decision, and the practice was repeated after Lincoln was assassinated. It would take another century for the written provisions of the Constitution to catch up with the practice.

J CRITICAL THINKING

Why is it important to know the order of succession if a president dies in office?

Constitutional Insight Section 2.1

Just how much authority does the president have as "commander in chief" of the armed forces?

The president has the power to give orders to American military forces. There have been several instances in U.S. history when presidents have used that authority in spite of congressional wishes.

President Harry Truman involved the armed forces of the United States in the Korean War from 1950 to 1953 without a congressional declaration of war.

Reacting to criticism of the Vietnam War, Congress in 1973 enacted the War Powers Resolution, making the president more accountable to Congress for any military actions he or she might take. Every president since Richard Nixon has called the resolution unconstitutional. Nevertheless, every president has reported to Congress within 48 hours of sending troops into an international crisis, as is required by the War Powers Resolution.

K CRITICAL THINKING

Why is it important that the commander in chief of the armed forces of the United States be a civilian (the president) rather than a military general?

Constitutional Insight Section 3

Is it necessary for the president to deliver a State of the Union address before a joint session of Congress at the start of each legislative year? The Constitution requires only that the president report to Congress on the state of the Union from time to time, and nowhere does it call for an annual address. In 1913, President Woodrow Wilson wanted to influence Congress to take action without delay on some legislation that he thought was important. Wilson revived the tradition—which had been discontinued by Jefferson—of delivering the State of the Union address in person.

L CRITICAL THINKING

How does the president use the State of the Union address today?

Constitutional Insight Section 4

Have high-level public officials ever been impeached? In all of American history, the House has impeached two presidents, and neither had to leave office. In 1868, the Senate found President Andrew Johnson not guilty by one vote after the House impeached him, charging him with violating a Congressional Act. In 1999, senators acquitted President Bill Clinton after the House impeached him with charges of lying under oath and obstructing justice in the attempted cover-up of a White House scandal.

The only other president to come close to impeachment was Richard Nixon. In 1974, the House Judiciary Committee, in what is the first step of the impeachment process, recommended three articles of impeachment against Nixon for his role in the infamous Watergate scandal. Before the full House could vote for or against the articles of impeachment, however, Nixon resigned from office.

M CRITICAL THINKING

Why do you think the framers of the Constitution created such an elaborate and seemingly difficult procedure for removing a sitting president?

SECTION 3. PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. IMPEACHMENT The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.



(above) Rep. Henry Hyde, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, swears in Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr during the Committee's hearings on impeachment charges against President Bill Clinton in 1998; (right) President Andrew Johnson is handed the articles of impeachment before his trial in 1868.



ARTICLE 3. The Judiciary

SECTION 1. FEDERAL COURTS AND JUDGES The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. THE COURTS' AUTHORITY

- 1. GENERAL AUTHORITY** The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more states;~~—between a state and citizens of another state;~~—between citizens of different states;—between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, ~~and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.~~
- 2. SUPREME COURT** In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.
- 3. TRIAL BY JURY** The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. TREASON

- 1. DEFINITION** Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.
- 2. PUNISHMENT** The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE 3

Constitutional Insight Section 2.1

What is judicial review? Is it the same as judicial power? Actually, they are not the same. Judicial power is the authority to hear cases involving disputes over the law or the behavior of people. Judicial review, in contrast, is a court's passing judgment on the constitutionality of a law or government action that is being disputed. Interestingly, nowhere does the Constitution mention judicial review. There are places where it is implied (for example, in Section 2 of Article 6), but the only explicit description of the responsibility of the courts is the reference to judicial power in Section 1 of Article 3. The Supreme Court's power to review laws passed by Congress was explicitly affirmed by the Court itself in *Marbury v. Madison*. (See page 206.)

N CRITICAL THINKING

Why is judicial review, although not mentioned in the Constitution, an important activity of the Supreme Court?

The Supreme Court of the United States as of 2007. In the front row (left to right) are Associate Justices Anthony Kennedy and John Paul Stevens, Chief Justice John Roberts, and Associate Justices Antonin Scalia and David Souter. In the back row are Associate Justices Stephen Breyer, Clarence Thomas, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, and Samuel Alito. ▼



ARTICLE 4

Constitutional Insight Section 2.1

Why do college students attending public universities outside their state of residence have to pay higher tuition fees?

The Supreme Court has interpreted the “privileges and immunities” clause to allow higher tuition fees (and fees for hunting permits, etc.) for nonresidents when a state can give a “substantial reason” for the difference. Since state colleges and universities receive some financial support from the states’ taxpayers, the difference is regarded as justified in most states. If a student establishes residency in the state, he or she can pay in-state tuition after one year.

CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think it is fair that a nonresident must pay higher tuition fees at a state college than a resident of the state must pay? Explain.

Constitutional Insight Section 3.1

Should there be a West Virginia? The Constitution states that “no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state” without the permission of the legislature of the state involved and of the Congress. Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Maine were created from territory taken from existing states, with the approval of the sitting legislatures.

West Virginia, however, is a different story.

During the Civil War, the residents of the westernmost counties of Virginia were angry with their state’s decision to secede from the Union. They petitioned Congress to have their counties declared a distinct state. Congress agreed, and so the state of West Virginia was created. After the Civil War, the legislature of Virginia gave its formal approval, perhaps because it was in no position to dispute the matter.

CRITICAL THINKING

Suppose a section of Texas should decide to become a new state today. Could it do this? Why or why not?

ARTICLE 4. Relations Among States

SECTION 1. STATE ACTS AND RECORDS Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. RIGHTS OF CITIZENS

1. CITIZENSHIP The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. EXTRADITION A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

~~**3. FUGITIVE SLAVES** No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.~~

SECTION 3. NEW STATES

1. ADMISSION New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. CONGRESSIONAL AUTHORITY The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION 4. GUARANTEES TO THE STATES The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE 5. Amending the Constitution

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; ~~provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article;~~ and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.



ARTICLE 6. *Supremacy of the National Government*

SECTION 1. VALID DEBTS All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

SECTION 2. SUPREME LAW This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

SECTION 3. LOYALTY TO CONSTITUTION The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE 7. *Ratification*

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same. Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington—President and deputy from Virginia

Delaware: George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom

Maryland: James McHenry, Dan of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll

Virginia: John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina: William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson

South Carolina: John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler

Georgia: William Few, Abraham Baldwin

New Hampshire: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts: Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King

Connecticut: William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman

New York: Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey: William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton

Pennsylvania: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas FitzSimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris

ARTICLE 6

Constitutional Insight **Section 2** *Just how “supreme” is the “law of the land”?*

The Constitution and all federal laws and treaties are the highest law of the land. (To be supreme, federal laws must be constitutional.) All state constitutions and laws and all local laws rank below national law and cannot be enforced if they contradict national law. For example, if the United States enters into a treaty protecting migratory Canadian birds, the states must change their laws to fit the provisions of that agreement. That was the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Missouri v. Holland* (1920). The state of Missouri argued that the national government could not interfere with its power to regulate hunting within its borders, but the Supreme Court concluded that the treaty was a valid exercise of national power and therefore took priority over state and local laws. The states had to adjust their rules and regulations accordingly.

CRITICAL THINKING

What would happen if the national law were not supreme?

ARTICLE 7

Constitutional Insight *Why was ratification by only 9 states sufficient to put the Constitution into effect?* In taking such a momentous step as replacing one constitution (the Articles of Confederation) with another, the framers might have been expected to require the agreement of all 13 states. But the framers were political realists. They knew that they would have a difficult time winning approval from all 13 states. But they also knew that they had a good chance of getting 9 or 10 of the states “on board” and that once that happened, the rest would follow. Their strategy worked, but just barely. Although they had the approval of 9 states by the end of June 1788, 2 of the most important states—Virginia and New York—had not yet decided to ratify. Without the approval of these influential states, the new government would have had a difficult time surviving. Finally, by the end of July, both had given their blessing to the new constitution, but not without intense debate.

And then there was the last holdout—Rhode Island. Not only had Rhode Island refused to send delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, but it turned down ratification several times before finally giving its approval in 1790 under a cloud of economic and even military threats from neighboring states.

CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think all 50 states would ratify the Constitution today? Why or why not?

The Bill of Rights

and Amendments 11–27

BILL OF RIGHTS

Constitutional Insight Amendment 1

Do Americans have an absolute right to free speech? The right to free speech is not without limits. In the case of *Schenck v. United States* (1919), Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote that this right does “not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic.” Thus, there are some forms of speech that are not protected by the First Amendment, and Congress is allowed to make laws regarding certain types of expression. (See *Schenck v. United States* on page 602.)

A CRITICAL THINKING

Why is there controversy over freedom of speech today?

Constitutional Insight Amendment 4

Can the police search your car without a court-issued search warrant when they stop you for speeding? The answer, according to Supreme Court decisions, depends on whether they have good reasons—called “probable cause”—for doing so. If a state trooper notices bloody clothing on the back seat of a vehicle she stops for a traffic violation, there might be probable cause for her to insist on searching the vehicle. There is probably not sufficient reason for a search if the trooper is merely suspicious of the driver because of the way he is acting. In such cases, the trooper may make a casual request, such as “Do you mind if I look inside your vehicle?” If the answer is no, then according to the Court, the driver has waived his or her constitutional right against unreasonable searches.

B CRITICAL THINKING

Why do you think the right against unreasonable searches and seizures is highly important to most people?

Constitutional Insight Amendment 5

Can you be tried twice for the same offense? The prohibition against “double jeopardy” protects you from having the same charge twice brought against you for the same offense, but you can be tried on different charges related to that offense.

C CRITICAL THINKING

What do you think could happen if a person could be tried twice for the same offense?

Amendments 1–10

Proposed by Congress September 25, 1789. Ratified December 15, 1791.

AMENDMENT 1. RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL FREEDOM (1791)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

AMENDMENT 2. RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS (1791) A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT 3. QUARTERING TROOPS (1791) No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT 4. SEARCH AND SEIZURE (1791) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT 5. RIGHTS OF ACCUSED PERSONS (1791) No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Analyzing

Political Cartoons

“THE FEDERAL EDIFICE”

This 1788 cartoon celebrated the ratification of the Constitution by New York, the 11th state to ratify it. This left only North Carolina and Rhode Island to complete all 13 pillars of the federal structure.

SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What details in the cartoon convey the unity of the states who have voted for ratification?
2. How does the cartoonist contrast the states who have voted for ratification with those who have not? What message does this convey?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.

AMENDMENT 6. RIGHT TO A SPEEDY, PUBLIC TRIAL (1791)

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

AMENDMENT 7. TRIAL BY JURY IN CIVIL CASES (1791) In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT 8. LIMITS OF FINES AND PUNISHMENTS (1791) Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT 9. RIGHTS OF PEOPLE (1791) The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT 10. POWERS OF STATES AND PEOPLE (1791) The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 6

What are the Miranda rights? The term comes from the Supreme Court's decision in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), in which the justices established basic rules that the police must follow when questioning a suspect. If suspected of a crime, you must be told that you have a right to remain silent and that anything you say "can and will" be used against you. You also need to be informed that you have a right to an attorney and that the attorney may be present during questioning. (See *Miranda v. Arizona* on page 900.)

D CRITICAL THINKING

How do the Miranda rights protect you?

Constitutional Insight Amendment 7

What are the "rules of the common law"?

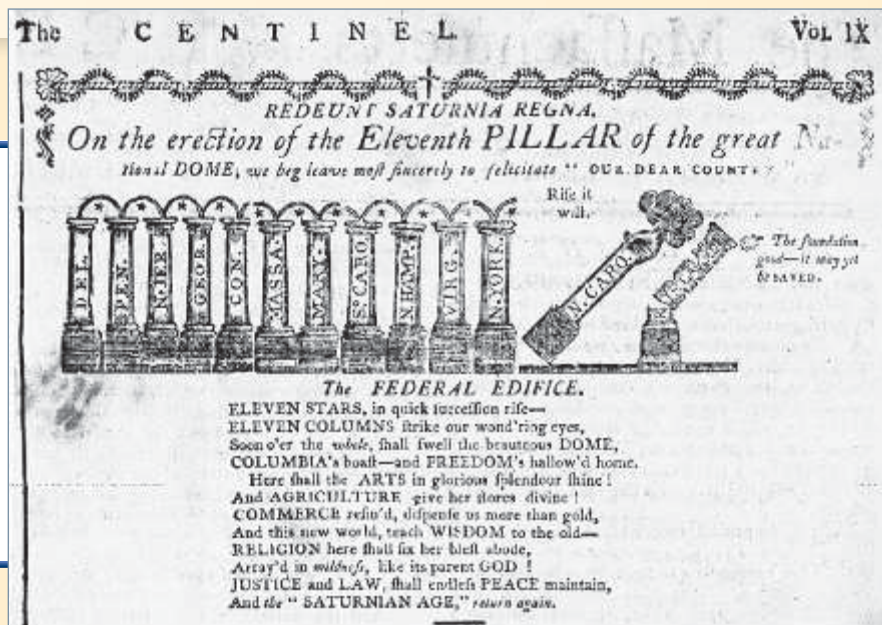
The common law is the body of legal practices and decrees developed in England and English-speaking America from A.D. 1066 through the present. It includes Magna Carta (1215), which acknowledges versions of rights affirmed in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Amendments, as well as the English Bill of Rights (1689), which codified rights asserted in the First, Second, Seventh, and Eighth Amendments. The common law also includes the decisions and published opinions of state and federal appeals courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 9

Do you have a right to privacy? Until 1965, no such right had ever been explicitly stated by the courts. That year, in the case of *Griswold v. Connecticut*, the Court said there is an implied right of American citizens to make certain personal choices without interference from the government; this case concerned the right to use birth control. Years later, in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), the same logic was used to declare unconstitutional a Texas law restricting a woman's right to an abortion in the first stages of pregnancy. Since that decision, both the right to privacy and abortion rights have become the focus of major political controversies.

E CRITICAL THINKING

How do you define the right to privacy?



Constitutional Insight Amendment 12

How did the election of 1800 lead to the Twelfth Amendment? The election ended in a tie vote between the Republican running mates. The election was decided in Jefferson's favor on the House's 36th ballot. Almost immediately Alexander Hamilton and others designed an amendment that established that the presidential electors would vote for both a presidential and a vice-presidential candidate. This amendment prevents a repeat of the problem experienced in the 1800 election.

F CRITICAL THINKING
Why is the Twelfth Amendment important?

NOW & THEN

ELECTION REFORM

A new wave of electoral reform efforts was triggered by the controversial presidential election of 2000, in which George W. Bush's narrow victory over Al Gore left many Americans questioning the system in which a candidate can lose the popular vote but win the election.

Eliminating or reworking the electoral college has been historically the most frequently proposed constitutional amendment. Other reform proposals have included improving access to polling places by allowing voting on weekend hours or making Election Day a national holiday. Still other proposals would modernize inaccurate polling and counting machines or replace them with computer stations or online voting.

Amendments 11–27

AMENDMENT 11. LAWSUITS AGAINST STATES (1795) Passed by Congress March 4, 1794. Ratified February 7, 1795.

Note: Article 3, Section 2, of the Constitution was modified by the Eleventh Amendment.

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

AMENDMENT 12. ELECTION OF EXECUTIVES (1804) Passed by Congress December 9, 1803. Ratified June 15, 1804.

Note: A portion of Article 2, Section 1, of the Constitution was superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, ~~before the fourth day of March next following,~~ then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

AMENDMENT 13. SLAVERY ABOLISHED (1865) Passed by Congress January 31, 1865. Ratified December 6, 1865.

Note: A portion of Article 4, Section 2, of the Constitution was superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment.

SECTION 1 Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2 Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT 14. CIVIL RIGHTS (1868) Passed by Congress June 13, 1866. Ratified July 9, 1868.

Note: Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution was modified by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

SECTION 1 All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2 Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SECTION 3 No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4 The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5 The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 14, Section 1 Which personal status takes priority—that of U.S. citizen or that of state citizen? The Fourteenth Amendment firmly notes that Americans are citizens of both the nation and the states but that no state can “abridge the privileges or immunities” of U.S. citizens, deprive them “of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,” or deny them “equal protection of the laws.”

What does it mean to have “equal protection of the laws”? Equal protection means that the laws are to be applied to all persons in the same way. The legal system may discriminate between persons—treat them differently, or unequally—if there are relevant reasons to do so. For example, a person’s income and number of dependants are relevant for how much income tax the person should pay; a person’s gender is not. The Supreme Court’s 1954 decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (see page 914), which declared segregated public schools unconstitutional, was based on an Equal Protection claim; a child’s race is not a relevant reason for the state to assign that child to a particular school.

G CRITICAL THINKING

Do you agree or disagree with the Supreme Court’s decision that separate educational facilities are unequal? Explain your position.



The lawyers who successfully challenged segregation in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case in 1954 included (left to right) George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit, Jr.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 15

Can you be denied the right to vote? The Fifteenth Amendment prohibits the United States or any state from keeping citizens from voting because of race or color or because they were once slaves. However, a person convicted of a crime can be denied the right to vote, as can someone found to be mentally incompetent.

H CRITICAL THINKING

Why do you think so many people do not exercise the right to vote?

Constitutional Insight Amendment 16

How has the ability of Congress to impose taxes been amended? The Sixteenth Amendment permits a federal income tax and in so doing changes Article 1, Section 9, Clause 4, by stating that Congress has the power to levy an income tax—which is a direct tax—without apportioning such a tax among the states according to their populations.

I CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think Congress should have the power to impose an income tax on the people of the nation? Explain your answer.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 17

How has the way senators are elected been changed? The Seventeenth Amendment changes Article 1, Section 3, Clause 1, by stating that senators shall be elected by the people of each state rather than by the state legislatures.

J CRITICAL THINKING

Why is the direct election of senators by the people of each state important?



Federal agents enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment prepare to smash containers of illegal whiskey.

AMENDMENT 15. RIGHT TO VOTE (1870) Passed by Congress February 26, 1869. Ratified February 3, 1870.

SECTION 1 The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2 The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT 16. INCOME TAX (1913) Passed by Congress July 12, 1909. Ratified February 3, 1913.

Note: Article 1, Section 9, of the Constitution was modified by the Sixteenth Amendment.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

AMENDMENT 17. DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS (1913) Passed by Congress May 13, 1912. Ratified April 8, 1913.

Note: Article 1, Section 3, of the Constitution was modified by the Seventeenth Amendment.

CLAUSE 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

CLAUSE 2 When vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

CLAUSE 3 This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

AMENDMENT 18. PROHIBITION (1919) Passed by Congress December 18, 1917. Ratified January 16, 1919. Repealed by Amendment 21.

SECTION 1 ~~After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.~~

SECTION 2 ~~The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.~~

SECTION 3 ~~This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.~~

AMENDMENT 19. WOMAN SUFFRAGE (1920) Passed by Congress June 4, 1919. Ratified August 18, 1920.

CLAUSE 1 The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

CLAUSE 2 Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT 20. “LAME DUCK” SESSIONS (1933) Passed by Congress March 2, 1932. Ratified January 23, 1933.

Note: Article 1, Section 4, of the Constitution was modified by Section 2 of this amendment. In addition, a portion of the Twelfth Amendment was superseded by Section 3.

SECTION 1 The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 3 If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice-President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice-President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4 The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SECTION 5 Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

SECTION 6 This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission.

AMENDMENT 21. REPEAL OF PROHIBITION (1933) Passed by Congress February 20, 1933. Ratified December 5, 1933.

SECTION 1 The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECTION 2 The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 19
When did women first get the right to vote in the United States? Women had the right to vote in the state of New Jersey between 1776 and 1807. In the late 19th century, some states and territories began to extend full or limited suffrage to women. Then, in 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment prohibited the United States or any state from denying women the right to vote.

K CRITICAL THINKING

How does the right of women to vote affect politics today?

Constitutional Insight Amendment 20
Why is the Twentieth Amendment usually called the “Lame Duck” amendment? A lame duck is a person who continues to hold office after his or her replacement has been elected. Such a person is called a lame duck because he or she no longer has any strong political influence. The Twentieth Amendment reduces the time between the election of a new president and vice-president in November and their assumption of the offices, which it sets at January 20 instead of March 4. It also reduces the time new members of Congress must wait to take their seats from 4 months to about 2 months. They are now seated on January 3 following the November election. As a result, the lame duck period is now quite short.

L CRITICAL THINKING

Why may the framers have specified a longer lame duck period?

Constitutional Insight Amendment 21
What is unique about the Twenty-first Amendment? Besides being the only amendment that explicitly repeals another, it was the first, and is so far the only one, to have been ratified by the state convention method outlined in Article 5. Congress, probably fearing that state legislatures would not deal swiftly with the issue of repeal, chose to have each state call a special convention to consider the amendment. The strategy worked well, for the elected delegates to the conventions represented public opinion on the issue and ratified the amendment without delay.

M CRITICAL THINKING

Why is it necessary to pass another amendment to revoke or remove an existing amendment?

NOW & THEN

CONGRESSIONAL TERM LIMITS

In 1995, the Supreme Court struck down all state laws limiting congressional terms, stating that they were unconstitutional. The Court ruled that only a constitutional amendment—such as the Twenty-second, which limits the president to two terms—could impose term limits on members of Congress.

Proposed constitutional amendments for Congressional term limits were defeated in Congress in 1995 and in 1997.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 23

Why were residents of the District of Columbia without a vote in presidential elections? First, the district was merely an idea at the time the Constitution was written. Second, no one expected the district to include many residents. Third, the framers designed the electoral college on a state framework. By 1960, however, the fact that nearly 800,000 Americans living in the nation's capital could not vote in presidential elections was an embarrassment. The Twenty-third Amendment gives Washington, D.C., residents the right to vote in presidential elections by assigning them electoral votes.

N CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think the District of Columbia should be made a separate state?

Constitutional Insight Amendment 24

Why was the poll tax an issue important enough to require an amendment? The poll tax was used in some places to prevent African-American voters—at least the many who were too poor to pay the tax—from participating in elections. As the civil rights movement gained momentum, the abuse of the poll tax became a major issue, but the national government found it difficult to change the situation because the constitutional provisions in Article 1, Section 4, leave the qualifications of voters in the hands of the states. The Twenty-fourth Amendment changed this by prohibiting the United States or any state from including payment of any tax as a requirement for voting.

O CRITICAL THINKING

What impact do you think the Twenty-fourth Amendment has had on elections?

SECTION 3 This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

AMENDMENT 22. LIMIT ON PRESIDENTIAL TERMS (1951) Passed by Congress March 21, 1947. Ratified February 27, 1951.

SECTION 1 No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. ~~But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.~~

SECTION 2 This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission to the states by the Congress.

AMENDMENT 23. VOTING IN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA (1961) Passed by Congress June 17, 1960. Ratified March 29, 1961.

SECTION 1 The district constituting the seat of government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as Congress may direct: a number of electors of President and Vice-President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the district would be entitled if it were a state, but in no event more than the least populous state; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the states, but they shall be considered, for the purposes of the election of President and Vice-President, to be electors appointed by a state; and they shall meet in the district and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

SECTION 2 The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT 24. ABOLITION OF POLL TAXES (1964) Passed by Congress August 27, 1962. Ratified January 23, 1964.

SECTION 1 The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, for electors for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

SECTION 2 The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT 25. PRESIDENTIAL DISABILITY, SUCCESSION (1967) Passed by Congress July 6, 1965. Ratified February 10, 1967.

Note: Article 2, Section 1, of the Constitution was affected by the Twenty-fifth Amendment.

SECTION 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice-President shall become President.

SECTION 2 Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice-President, the President shall nominate a Vice-President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

SECTION 3 Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as Acting President.

SECTION 4 Whenever the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department[s] or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two thirds vote of both houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

AMENDMENT 26. 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE (1971) Passed by Congress March 23, 1971. Ratified July 1, 1971.

Note: Amendment 14, Section 2, of the Constitution was modified by Section 1 of the Twenty-sixth Amendment.

SECTION 1 The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of age.

SECTION 2 The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT 27. CONGRESSIONAL PAY (1992) Proposed by Congress September 25, 1789. Ratified May 7, 1992.

No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 26

Why was the Twenty-sixth Amendment passed? Granting 18-year-olds the right to vote became an issue in the 1960s, during the Vietnam War, when people questioned the justice of requiring 18-year-old men to submit to the military draft but refusing them the right to vote. In 1970, Congress passed a voting rights act giving 18-year-olds the right to vote in elections. When the constitutionality of this act was challenged, the Supreme Court decided that states had to honor the 18-year-old vote for congressional and presidential elections but could retain higher age requirements for state and local elections. To avoid confusion at the polls, the Twenty-sixth Amendment was passed. It guarantees 18-year-olds the right to vote in national and state elections.

P CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think 18-year-olds should have the right to vote? Why or why not?



(above) President Richard M. Nixon signs the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1971.

Constitutional Insight Amendment 27

How long did it take to ratify this amendment? Although the Twenty-seventh Amendment was one of the 12 amendments proposed in 1789 as part of the Bill of Rights, it was not ratified until 1992. This amendment, which deals with congressional compensation, allows the members of Congress to increase Congressional pay, but delays the increase until after a new Congress is seated.

Q CRITICAL THINKING

Do you think members of Congress should be able to vote themselves a pay increase? Explain your answer.

Voting Rights

When the American colonists declared their independence from Great Britain in 1776, their struggle to create a representative government was just beginning. The state constitutions that were drafted at that time established voting rights, but only for certain citizens. The Articles of Confederation did not address voting rights; therefore, existing state laws remained intact.

Even the new Constitution that replaced the Articles in 1788 did not extend voting rights to many groups of people living in the new United States. As the Constitution has been amended over the years however, things changed. The right to vote was gradually extended to more and more citizens, enabling them to participate in local and national government.

1789

MALE PROPERTY OWNERS ►

In the early years of the United States, property qualifications were relaxed in some states (Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, Georgia, and Vermont) to include all male taxpayers. With few exceptions, women were not allowed to vote. Most state constitutions also required that a voting male be at least 21 years of age.

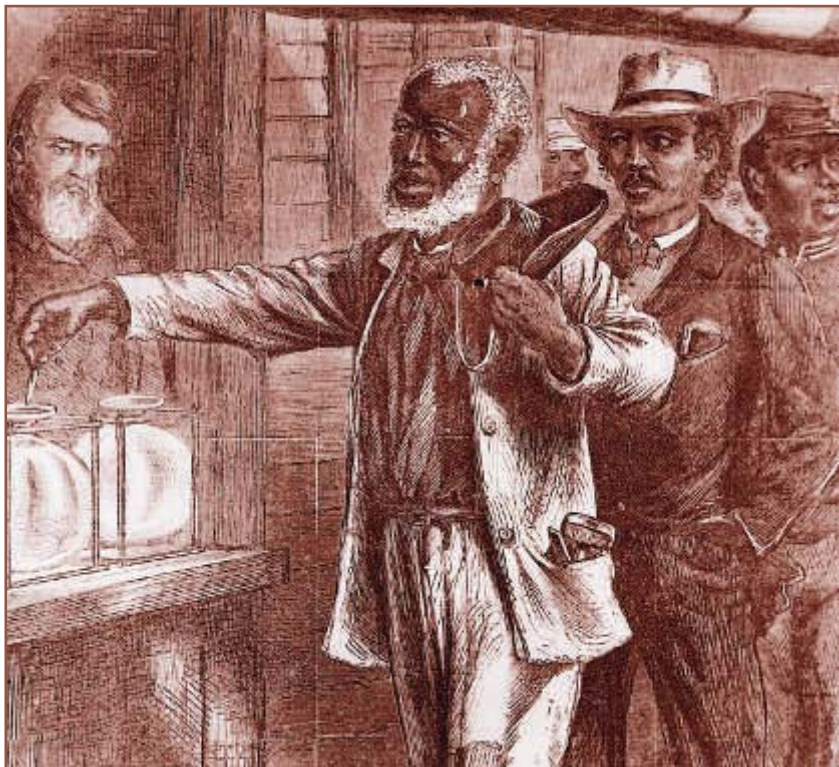
Those who qualified to vote were generally white, although some states allowed free African Americans to vote.



1870

◀ AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution attempted to guarantee African-American males the right to vote by stating that the right of U.S. citizens “to vote shall not be denied or abridged [limited] by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” The picture to the left shows African-American males voting in a state election in 1867. African-American males, however, were often kept from voting through the use of poll taxes, which were finally abolished by the Twenty-fourth Amendment in 1964, and literacy tests, which were suspended by the Voting Rights Act of 1965.



1920

◀ WOMAN SUFFRAGE

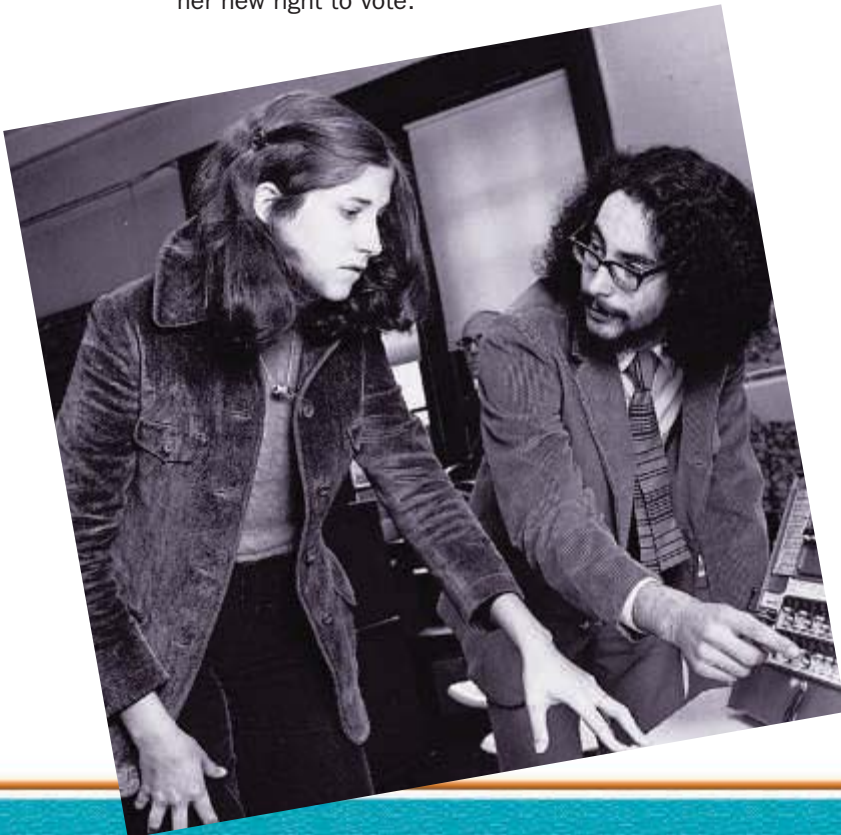
In 1920, the Nineteenth Amendment, granting voting rights to women, was finally ratified. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and many other women, such as those shown at left marching in a woman suffrage parade in 1919, worked tirelessly for women's voting rights.

Four years after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, in 1924, citizenship—including the right to vote—was extended to Native Americans.

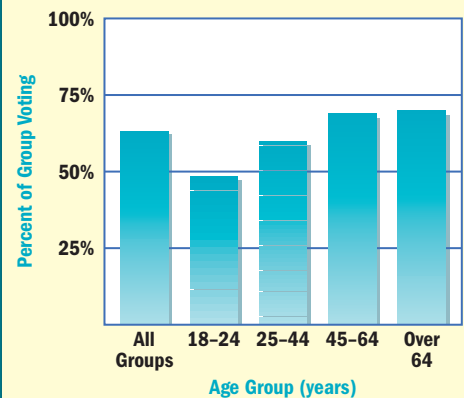
1971

▼ EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLD VOTE

The Twenty-sixth Amendment, ratified in 1971, granted the right to vote to citizens "eighteen years of age or older." Voting rights for young people had become an issue in the 1960s during the Vietnam War. Many people questioned drafting 18-year-olds to fight but refusing them the right to vote. The picture below shows a young woman exercising her new right to vote.



Voter Turnout 2008 Federal Elections



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

- Forming Generalizations** What does the information on these pages demonstrate about how voting rights in the United States have changed? How did the Constitution help bring about the changes?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R21.

CONNECT TO TODAY

- Interpreting Data** Research voter turnout statistics from a recent election. What age group scored highest? Which scored lowest?



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RESEARCH WEB LINKS

THE LIVING CONSTITUTION ASSESSMENT

MAIN IDEAS

Article 1. The Legislature

1. Why does the legislative branch of the government represent the people most directly? What is the principal job of this branch?
2. Why are there more members of the House of Representatives than of the Senate?
3. Name four powers Congress has.
4. What powers are denied to Congress? to the states?

Article 2. The Executive

5. What is the main function of the executive branch?
6. Who officially elects the president of the United States? Explain.
7. How can the president lose his or her job before election time?

Article 3. The Judiciary

8. How are Supreme Court justices appointed?
9. What kinds of cases go before the Supreme Court? Why is the Court's decision whether to hear a case important?

Article 4. Relations Among States

10. To extradite is to send a fugitive back to the state in which he or she is accused of committing a crime. How is this an example of relations among states?

Article 5. Amending the Constitution

11. How many states must ratify an amendment for it to become part of the Constitution? Why do you think it takes that many?

Article 6. Supremacy of the National Government

12. How does Article 6 establish the supremacy of the Constitution?

The Amendments

13. Does the First Amendment allow complete freedom of speech—the right to say anything you want at any time, anywhere? Explain your answer.
14. What is the newest amendment? What protection does that amendment give to the American people?

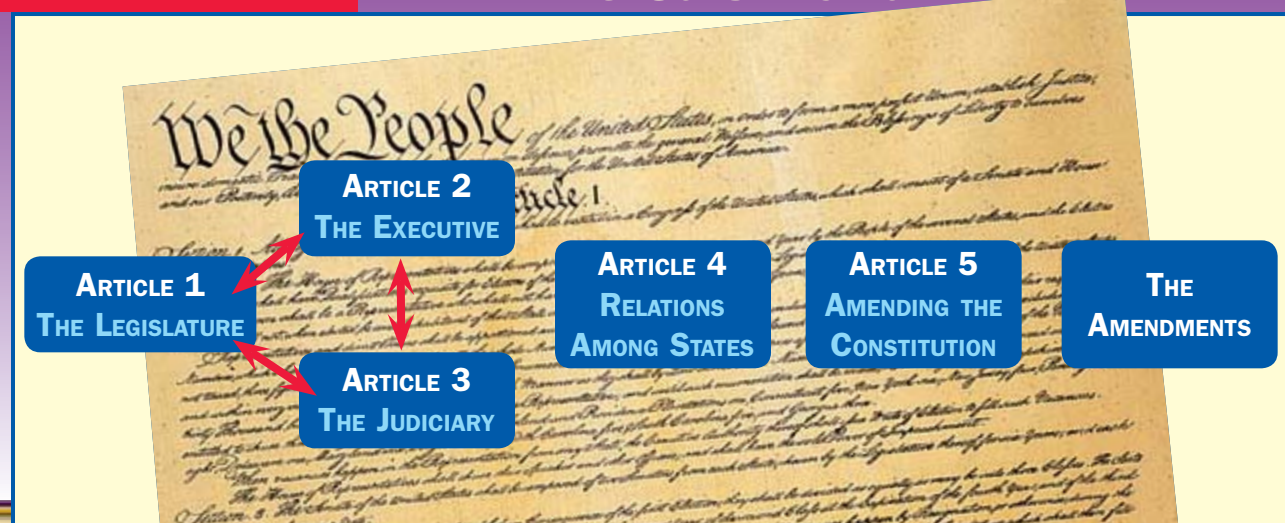
THINKING CRITICALLY

1. **TAKING NOTES** The powers of the federal government are separated among the three branches. Create a chart like the one below that shows how the Constitution's framers used checks and balances to ensure that no one branch of the government could become too much stronger than the others.

Executive	Legislative	Judicial

2. **MAKING INFERENCES** How does the Constitution reflect the fear of too strong a central government?
3. **EVALUATING** The Bill of Rights guarantees a defendant a speedy, public trial. Do you think it is being observed today? Explain.
4. **ANALYZING MOTIVES** Why did the framers make it so difficult to amend the Constitution? Do you agree or disagree with their philosophy? Explain.
5. **DEVELOPING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE** The Fifteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-sixth amendments give voting rights to specific groups. Why was it necessary for Congress to spell out these groups' rights in amendments?

VISUAL SUMMARY THE LIVING CONSTITUTION



STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the cartoon and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.

a 1968 Herblock Cartoon, copyright by The Herb Block Foundation



"It's Awful The Way They're Trying To Influence Congress.
Why Don't They Serve Cocktails And Make Campaign
Contributions Like We Do?"

1. In the Constitutional Convention, the framers adopted certain principles to be embodied in the Constitution. Which of the following Constitutional principles does the cartoon support?
 - A The federal government's power should be divided into separate branches.
 - B The federal government should be stronger than the state governments.
 - C The federal legislature should be responsive to the will of the people.
 - D The legislature and the president should check each other's power.

Use the quotation and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 2.

"[The president] shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States . . ."

—U.S. Constitution, Art. 2, Sec. 2, part 2

2. The passage describes checks on the power of—
 - F the president.
 - G the Senate.
 - H the judiciary.
 - J the states.
3. Which of the following must ratify Constitutional amendments?
 - A Congress
 - B the people
 - C the states
 - D the president

hmhsocialstudies.com **TEST PRACTICE**

For additional test practice, go online for:

- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

FOCUS ON WRITING

Imagine that it is 1787, and you are a citizen of one of the original thirteen states. Your vote is necessary to ratify the new Constitution that has been approved by the convention in Philadelphia. You have studied the seven articles and listened to spirited discussions about how you and your state will be affected. Write a journal entry in which you express your views about this document that is so important for the new United States. Make sure you include references to what you have read and heard about the Constitution.

MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY



Visit the links for Chapter Assessment to learn more about how bills become law. Because of the process by which bills become laws, problems may occur when the president and a majority of members of Congress are from different political parties. Using the Internet, research bills that were proposed by the president but became stalled in Congress because of party differences. Then divide into groups. Have each group research a different bill. Try to follow the debate and see how party differences affected the discussion. Did the bill pass and become law? Present your findings to the class.

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PROJECTS FOR CITIZENSHIP

Applying the Constitution

The United States Constitution is admired the world over. But a healthy democracy depends on the continuing participation of its citizens—including you. Here are four projects that will help you learn the rewards and challenges of responsible citizenship.



hmhsocialstudies.com **RESEARCH WEB LINKS**

Visit the links for the Constitution for more information that will help you with these Projects for Citizenship.

PROJECT 1

BECOMING AN EDUCATED VOTER

ENDORISING A CANDIDATE

Choose a campaign for elective office and learn about the issues and the candidates in the campaign. After doing your research, write an endorsement, or a statement in favor, of one of the candidates.



LEARNING ABOUT THE CANDIDATES

- ✓ **Examine news media and news services.** During campaigns, some services and publications offer endorsements that explain why particular candidates are worthy of support.
- ✓ **Get information from political parties.** They provide information on the candidates, but their perspective is biased toward their own candidates. The major parties have Internet sites, as do many local groups and individual candidates.
- ✓ **Contact interest groups,** such as the Sierra Club and the National Association of Manufacturers. They often list candidates' positions on issues and support candidates who share their beliefs.
- ✓ **Look at databases and voters' guides** published by nonpartisan organizations such as the League of Women Voters and Project Vote Smart.

As you use each source, try to identify any bias. Think about the following questions.

- What does the author of this source stand to gain from supporting a particular candidate?
- Is the information in the source complete and accurate?
- Does the author use loaded or inflammatory language?

PRESENTING YOUR PROJECT

After you have written your endorsement, you might send it to a media outlet, such as a newspaper or a television station, or post it on the Internet. Or you might send it to your local or school newspaper.

PROJECT 2

EXPRESSING POLITICAL OPINIONS

WRITING A LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Identify an issue that concerns you. Then write a letter or send an e-mail message about that issue to the editor of a newspaper or magazine.

WRITING A PERSUASIVE LETTER

- ✓ **Find an issue** that has been in the news lately and about which you feel strongly.
- ✓ **Read recent articles,** editorials, and cartoons in newspapers or magazines. Notice how they have addressed this issue.
- ✓ **Compose a letter** that clearly and concisely explains your views about the issue you have chosen. Your letter should also include reasons and facts that support your opinion on the issue. It might also advocate some specific action to be taken to address the issue.
- ✓ **Identify the person** to whom you should send your letter, and note any requirements the newspaper or magazine has for writing letters to the editor.
- ✓ **Edit your letter carefully.** Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.

PRESENTING YOUR PROJECT

Present the letter you wrote to the rest of the class. When you do, explain why you chose to write about this issue.

A student expresses her political opinions as she addresses an audience.



PROJECT 3

UNDERSTANDING HOW TO LOBBY

PLANNING A LOBBYING CAMPAIGN

Form a committee with other students to organize a lobbying campaign—a campaign to influence legislation or public policy. Create a plan for the campaign that includes materials to be presented to government officials. In creating your plan, keep the following points in mind.

CREATING A LOBBYING PLAN

- ✓ **Establish a clear goal** of what you want to achieve. Make sure all members of the group understand and agree with the established goal.
- ✓ **Identify the appropriate people to lobby**—the people who can best help you to achieve your goal. For example, if your group is planning to lobby to have a bill passed, you would lobby the legislators who will vote on the bill. However, if your group wants to lobby for a local improvement—such as cleaning up an abandoned factory site—you should lobby the local officials who make those decisions.
- ✓ **Gather statistics** and other information that support your case. Explore a variety of resources, including the library, the Internet, and news services. Conduct interviews with appropriate state or local officials. Use the information you gather to develop a brief written report that can be given to the officials you intend to lobby.
- ✓ **Organize public opinion** in favor of your case. Gather signatures on petitions or conduct a letter-writing campaign to encourage people who support your goal to contact government officials. You can also create fliers calling attention to your cause.
- ✓ **Present your case** to government officials firmly but politely. Practice your presentation several times before you actually appear before them.

PRESENTING YOUR PROJECT

Share your lobbying plan with the rest of the class in the form of a written proposal that includes materials, such as petition forms, that you will use in your lobbying effort. If you implement your lobbying plan, describe to the class what response you received from the officials you lobbied.

PROJECT 4

VOLUNTEERING IN YOUR COMMUNITY

MAKING AN ORAL REPORT

Identify a local community organization that you might want to help. Find out what kinds of volunteer activities the organization has, such as answering phones in the office, serving food to the homeless, or cleaning vacant lots. Then volunteer to participate in one of those activities. Prepare an oral report to present to the rest of the class about your experiences as a volunteer. Keep the following points in mind as you choose which organization to help.



A group of young volunteers in the Summer of Service project discusses plans with carpenters.

SUGGESTIONS FOR VOLUNTEERING

- ✓ **Decide what kinds of public service projects might interest you.** You might talk to your parents, a teacher, friends, a local church, or a local political organization to learn what kinds of volunteer services are needed in your community.
- ✓ **Call local community organizations** to find out what kinds of volunteer opportunities they offer and decide whether you would like to volunteer for those projects.
- ✓ **Decide what cause you want to support** and identify an organization that addresses that cause.
- ✓ **Decide what type of work you want to do** and work with that organization.

PRESENTING YOUR PROJECT

Deliver an oral report to your class about your experiences as a volunteer. Explain why you chose the specific volunteer activity that you did. Describe the activity you performed. Then explain what effect your volunteering had as well as whether you felt the experience was a good one.

CHAPTER 6

LAUNCHING THE NEW NATION

Essential Question

What major domestic and foreign problems faced the leaders of the new Republic?



What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will learn how the Constitution was put into effect and how two rival political parties developed.

SECTION 1: Washington Heads the New Government

Main Idea President Washington transformed the ideas of the Constitution into a real government.

SECTION 2: Foreign Affairs Trouble the Nation

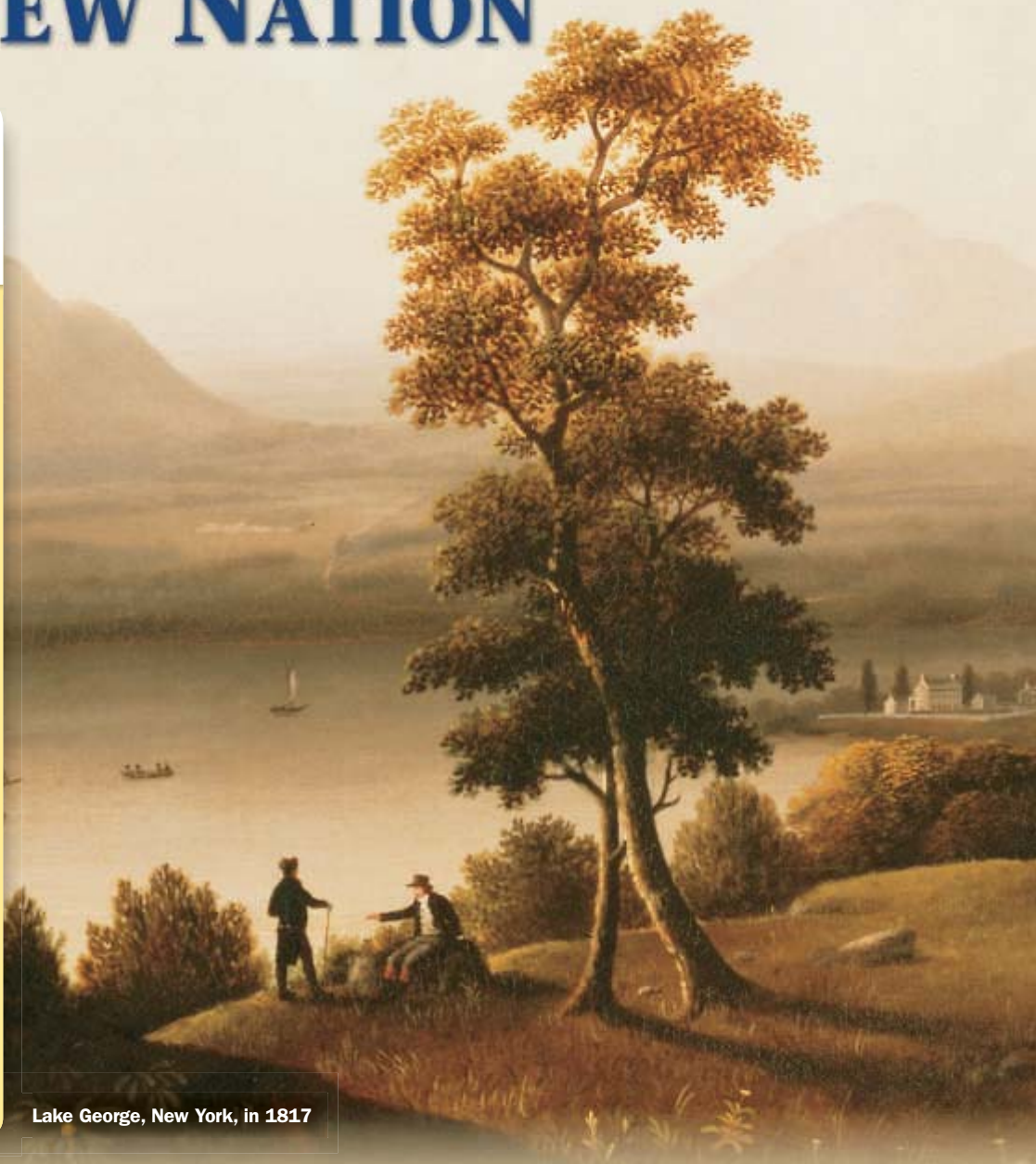
Main Idea Events in Europe sharply divided American public opinion in the late 18th century.

SECTION 3: Jefferson Alters the Nation's Course

Main Idea The United States expanded its borders during Thomas Jefferson's administration.

SECTION 4: The War of 1812

Main Idea War broke out again between the United States and Britain in 1812.



Lake George, New York, in 1817



1789 George Washington is elected president.

1792 George Washington is reelected president.

1794 The Whiskey Rebellion breaks out.

1796 John Adams is elected president.

1800 Thomas Jefferson is elected president.

USA
WORLD

1790

1795

1800

1789 The French Revolution begins.

1791 Slaves revolt in Saint Domingue, now known as Haiti.

1793 French King Louis XVI is executed in the French Revolution.



1799 Napoleon Bonaparte seizes control of the French government.

1801 Act of Union, uniting Great Britain and Ireland, goes into effect.



INTERACT WITH HISTORY

You are a teacher in a small town on the western frontier in 1789. You ask your students what the new government means to them. A girl whose parents own the general store says that her father worries about taxes. Her brother says that he wants to join the army. A boy from a small farm in the backcountry replies that the government is only for town people.

Explore the Issues

- How can a government win people's trust?
- How can a government build a unified nation out of a people with diverse interests and concerns?



1803 France and the United States sign the Louisiana Purchase.

1804 Thomas Jefferson is reelected president.

1808 James Madison is elected president.

1812 James Madison is reelected.

1814 The Treaty of Ghent ends the War of 1812.

1816 James Monroe is elected president.

1805

1804 Haiti declares itself independent from France.

1810

1807 Great Britain outlaws the slave trade.

1815

1815 Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo.



Washington Heads the New Government

MAIN IDEA

President Washington transformed the ideas of the Constitution into a real government.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The Cabinet, an institution Washington created, is still a key element of every presidential administration.

Terms & Names

- Judiciary Act of 1789
- Alexander Hamilton
- Cabinet
- Bank of the United States
- Democratic-Republicans
- two-party system
- protective tariff
- excise tax

One American's Story



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the country's first political parties.

George Washington had no desire to be president after the Constitutional Convention. His dream was to settle down to a quiet life at his Virginia estate, Mount Vernon. The American people had other ideas, though. They wanted a strong national leader of great authority as their first president. As the hero of the Revolution, Washington was the unanimous choice in the first presidential ballot. When the news reached him on April 16, 1789, Washington reluctantly accepted the call to duty. Two days later he set out for New York City to take the oath of office.

A PERSONAL VOICE GEORGE WASHINGTON

"About ten o'clock I bade adieu [farewell] to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity [happiness]; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York . . . with the best dispositions [intentions] to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

—The Diaries of George Washington



George Washington

When Washington took office as the first president of the United States under the Constitution, he and Congress faced a daunting task—to create an entirely new government. The momentous decisions that these early leaders made have resounded through American history.

The New Government Takes Shape

Washington took charge of a political system that was a bold experiment. Never before had a nation tried to base a government on the Enlightenment ideals of republican rule and individual rights. No one knew if a government based on the will of the people could really work.

Although the Constitution provided a strong foundation, it was not a detailed blueprint for governing. To create a working government, Washington and Congress had to make many practical decisions—such as how to raise revenue and provide for defense—with no precedent, or prior example, for American leaders to follow. Perhaps James Madison put it best: “We are in a wilderness without a single footstep to guide us.”

JUDICIARY ACT OF 1789 One of the first tasks Washington and Congress tackled was the creation of a judicial system. The Constitution had authorized Congress to set up a federal court system, headed by a Supreme Court, but it failed to spell out the details. What type of additional courts should there be and how many? What would happen if federal court decisions conflicted with state laws?

The **Judiciary Act of 1789** answered these critical questions, creating a judicial structure that has remained essentially intact. This law provided for a Supreme Court consisting of a chief justice and five associate justices. It also set up 3 federal circuit courts and 13 federal district courts throughout the country. (The numbers of justices and courts increased over time.) Section 25 of the Judiciary Act, one of the most important provisions of the law, allowed state court decisions to be appealed to a federal court when constitutional issues were raised. This section guaranteed that federal laws remained “the supreme Law of the Land,” as directed by Article 6 of the Constitution. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

A Why did federal law have to be “the supreme Law of the Land” in the new nation?

WASHINGTON SHAPES THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH At the same time that Congress shaped the judiciary, Washington faced the task of building an executive branch to help him make policies and carry out the laws passed by Congress. In 1789, when Washington took office, the executive branch of government consisted of two officials, the president and the vice-president. To help these leaders govern, Congress created three executive departments: the Department of State, to deal with foreign affairs; the Department of War, to handle military matters; and the Department of the Treasury, to manage finances.

To head these departments, Washington chose capable leaders he knew and trusted. He picked Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, **Alexander Hamilton** as secretary of the treasury, and Henry Knox, who had served as Washington’s general of artillery during the Revolution, as secretary of war. Finally, he chose Edmund Randolph as attorney general, the chief lawyer of the federal government. These department heads soon became the president’s chief advisers, or **Cabinet**.

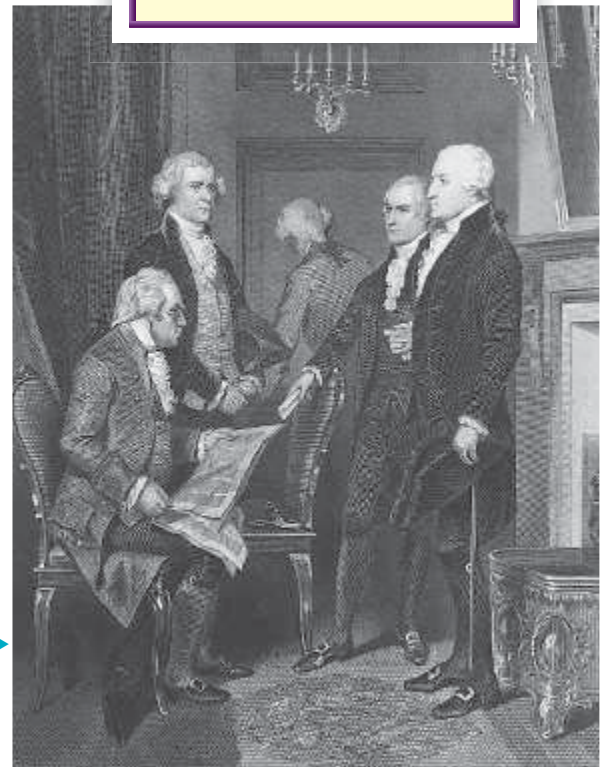
President Washington (far right) meets with his first Cabinet: (from left to right) Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph (with back turned), and Alexander Hamilton.

NOW & THEN

THE CABINET

The Constitution provided the president the right to “require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments.” Washington chose to seek those opinions, in person, on a regular basis. In 1793, James Madison called this group the Cabinet, a term used in Britain for advisers to the king.

Since Washington’s time the number of departments has increased to 15. In addition to the secretaries of these 15 departments, Cabinet officers include other executive branch officials such as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the vice-president. The Cabinet meets at the request of the president and frequency varies from administration to administration.



Hamilton and Jefferson Debate

Hamilton and Jefferson were brilliant thinkers, but they had very different political ideas. The differences between the two also caused bitter disagreements, many of which centered on Hamilton's plan for the economy.

HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON IN CONFLICT Political divisions in the new nation were great. No two men embodied these differences more than Hamilton and Jefferson. Hamilton believed in a strong central government led by a prosperous, educated elite of upper-class citizens. Jefferson distrusted a strong central government and the rich. He favored strong state and local governments rooted in popular participation. Hamilton believed that commerce and industry were the keys to a strong nation. Jefferson favored a society of farmer-citizens.

Overall, Hamilton's vision of America was that of a country much like Great Britain, with a strong central government, commerce, and industry. His views found more support in the North, particularly New England, whereas Jefferson's views won endorsement in the South and the West. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

B How did Jefferson's and Hamilton's views of government differ?

KEY PLAYERS



THOMAS JEFFERSON
1743–1826

The writer of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson began his political career at age 26, when he was elected to Virginia's colonial legislature. In 1779 he was elected governor of Virginia, and in 1785 he was appointed minister to France. He served as secretary of state from 1790 to 1793. A Southern planter, Jefferson was also an accomplished scholar, the architect of Monticello (his Virginia house), an inventor (of, among other things, a machine that made copies of letters), and the founder of the University of Virginia in 1819. Despite his elite background and his ownership of slaves, he was a strong ally of the small farmer and average citizen.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON
1755–1804

Born into poverty in the British West Indies, Alexander Hamilton was orphaned at age 13 and went to work as a shipping clerk. He later made his way to New York, where he attended King's College (now Columbia University). He joined the army during the Revolution and became an aide to General Washington. Intensely ambitious, Hamilton quickly moved up in society. Although in his humble origins Hamilton was the opposite of Jefferson, he had little faith in the common citizen and sided with the interests of upper-class Americans. Hamilton said of Jefferson's beloved common people: "Your people, sir, your people is a great beast!"

HAMILTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN

As secretary of the treasury, Hamilton's job was to set in order the nation's finances and to put the nation's economy on a firm footing. To do this, he proposed a plan to manage the country's debts and a plan to establish a national banking system.

According to Hamilton's calculations in his *Report on the Public Credit*, the public debt of the United States in 1790 (most of it incurred during the Revolution) was many millions of dollars. The national government was responsible for about two-thirds of this debt, and individual states were responsible for the rest. The new nation owed some of the debt to foreign governments and some to private citizens, including soldiers who had received bonds—certificates that promised payment plus interest—as payment for their service during the war.

Hamilton proposed to pay off the foreign debt and to issue new bonds to cover the old ones. He also proposed that the federal government assume the debts of the states. Although this would increase the federal debt, Hamilton reasoned that assuming state debts would give creditors—the people who

Contrasting Views of the Federal Government

HAMILTON	JEFFERSON
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concentrating power in federal government • Fear of mob rule • Republic led by a well-educated elite 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing power with state and local governments; limited national government • Fear of absolute power or ruler • Democracy of virtuous farmers and tradespeople
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loose interpretation of the Constitution • National bank constitutional (loose interpretation) • Economy based on shipping and manufacturing • Payment of national and state debts (favoring creditors) • Supporters: merchants, manufacturers, landowners, investors, lawyers, clergy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strict interpretation of the Constitution • National bank unconstitutional (strict interpretation) • Economy based on farming • Payment of only the national debt (favoring debtors) • Supporters: the “plain people” (farmers, tradespeople)

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

1. Whose view of the federal government was a wealthy person more likely to favor? Why?
2. How do you think Jefferson differed from Hamilton in his view of people and human nature?

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

C Why did the new nation need to pay off its debts?

originally loaned the money—an incentive to support the new federal government. If the government failed, these creditors would never get their money back. However, this proposal made many people in the South furious. Some Southern states had already paid off most of their debts. Southerners resented assumption of state debts because they thought that they would be taxed to help pay the debts incurred by the Northern states. **C**

PLAN FOR A NATIONAL BANK Hamilton’s line of reasoning also motivated his proposal for a national bank that would be funded by both the federal government and wealthy private investors. Hamilton hoped to tie wealthy investors to the country’s welfare. The **Bank of the United States** would issue paper money and handle tax receipts and other government funds.

Hamilton’s proposals aroused a storm of controversy. Opponents of a national bank, including James Madison, claimed that the bank would forge an unhealthy alliance between the government and wealthy business interests. Madison also argued that since the Constitution made no provision for a national bank, Congress had no right to authorize it. This argument began the debate between those who favored a “strict” interpretation of the Constitution, one in which the federal government has very limited powers, and a “loose” interpretation, which favors greater federal powers. The latter group appealed to the so-called elastic clause of the Constitution (Article 1, Section 8, Clause 18), which gives Congress the authority to do whatever is “necessary and proper” to carry out its specific enumerated powers, such as regulating commerce. In the end, however, Hamilton convinced Washington and a majority in Congress to accept his views, and the federal government established the Bank of the United States.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA To win support for his debt plan from Southern states, Hamilton offered a suggestion: What if the nation’s capital were moved from New York City to a new city in the South, on the banks of the Potomac River? This idea pleased Southerners, particularly Virginians such as Madison and Jefferson, who believed that a Southern site for the capital would make the government more responsive to their interests. With this incentive, Virginians agreed to back the debt plan. In 1790, the debt bill passed Congress, along with authorization for the construction of a new national capital in the District of Columbia, located between Maryland and Virginia.



Pierre L'Enfant, a French engineer, drew up plans for the new capital. L'Enfant was later fired by George Washington for being obstinate. He was replaced by Andrew Ellicott, who redrew L'Enfant's plan, but kept much of the grand vision. An African-American surveyor, Benjamin Banneker, assisted Ellicott with the surveying work. They made their plan on a grand scale, incorporating boulevards, traffic circles, and monuments reminiscent of European capitals. By 1800, the capital had been moved to its new site on the Potomac.

▲ Pierre L'Enfant proposed a federal capital of spacious, tree-lined boulevards, symbolizing the freedom of the young republic.

The First Political Parties and Rebellion

President Washington tried to remain above the arguments between Hamilton and Jefferson and to encourage them to work together despite their basic differences. These differences were so great, however, that the two men continued to clash over government policy. Their conflict divided the cabinet and fueled a growing division in national politics.

FEDERALISTS AND DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS The split in Washington's cabinet helped give rise to the country's first political parties. The two parties formed around one of the key issues in American history—the power and size of the federal government in relation to state and local governments. Those who shared Hamilton's vision of a strong central government called themselves Federalists. Those who supported Jefferson's vision of strong state governments called themselves Republicans. No relation to today's Republican Party, Jefferson's Republicans—later called **Democratic-Republicans**—were in fact the ancestors of today's Democratic Party. **D**

The very existence of political parties worried many leaders, including Washington, who saw parties as a danger to national unity. At the close of his presidency, Washington criticized what he called “the spirit of party.”

A PERSONAL VOICE GEORGE WASHINGTON

“It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment[s] occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption. . . .”

—“Farewell Address,” 1796

Despite criticism, the two parties continued to develop. The **two-party system** was well established by the time Washington left office.

THE WHISKEY REBELLION During Washington's second term, an incident occurred that reflected the tension between federal and regional interests. In 1789, Congress had passed a **protective tariff**, an import tax on goods produced in Europe. This tax, meant to encourage American production, brought in a great deal of revenue, but Secretary Hamilton wanted more. So he pushed through an **excise tax**—a tax on a product's manufacture, sale, or distribution—to be levied on the manufacture of whiskey.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

D How did the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans differ from each other?

Background

In addition to promoting American goods, the Tariff Act of 1789, as well as tariffs that followed, provided the majority of the federal government's revenue until the 20th century.



◀ A group of rebels taking part in the Whiskey Rebellion tar and feather a tax collector.

Most whiskey producers were small frontier farmers. Their major crop was corn. Corn was too bulky to carry across the Appalachian Mountains and sell in the settled areas along the Atlantic. Therefore, the farmers distilled the corn into whiskey, which could be more easily sent to market on the backs of mules.

Since whiskey was the main source of cash for these frontier farmers, Hamilton knew that the excise tax would make them furious. And it did. In 1794, farmers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay the tax. They beat up federal marshals in Pittsburgh, and they even threatened to secede from the Union.

Hamilton looked upon the Whiskey Rebellion as an opportunity for the federal government to show that it could enforce the law along the western frontier. Accordingly, some 15,000 militiamen were called up. Accompanied by Washington part of the way and by Hamilton all the way, the federal troops hiked over the Alleghenies and scattered the rebels without the loss of a single life.

The Whiskey Rebellion was a milestone in the consolidation of federal power in domestic affairs. At the same time, the new government was also facing critical problems and challenges in foreign affairs—particularly in its relations with Europe and with Native American peoples west of the Appalachians.



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Judiciary Act of 1789
- Cabinet
- Democratic-Republicans
- protective tariff
- Alexander Hamilton
- Bank of the United States
- two-party system
- excise tax

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a chart, list the leaders, beliefs, and goals of the country's first political parties.

Federalists	Democratic-Republicans

If you had lived in that time, which party would you have favored?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING DECISIONS

How would you judge President Washington's decision to put two such opposed thinkers as Hamilton and Jefferson on his Cabinet?

Think About:

- both men's merits
- their philosophies
- the conflicts that developed

4. ANALYZING ISSUES

How was the Whiskey Rebellion an opportunity for the federal government to demonstrate its authority?

5. ANALYZING

Would you have supported Hamilton's economic plan? Explain why or why not. **Think About:**

- the money problems the nation faced
- other problems the nation faced

Young People in the Early Republic

Whether in farms on the frontier or in any of the cities and towns sprouting up throughout the nation, life in the early United States required energy and perseverance. This was especially true for young people, who were expected to shoulder responsibilities that, in our own time, even an adult would find challenging. Children worked alongside adults from the time they could walk and were considered adults at 14. School and leisure-time activities were work oriented and were meant to prepare young people for the challenges that lay ahead.



▲ EDUCATION

Country children attended school only when they weren't needed to do chores at home or in the fields. Schoolhouses were one-room log cabins and supplies were scarce. Younger and older children learned their lessons together by reciting spelling, multiplication tables, and verses from the Bible. Schoolmasters, seldom more learned than their students, punished wrong answers and restless behavior with severe beatings.

Some city children were either tutored at home or attended private schools. Girls studied etiquette, sewing, and music. Boys prepared for professional careers. "Professors" punished poor students by beating their hands. There were no laws requiring a child to attend school until the mid-1800s.



◀ WORK

Country children were expected to work alongside their parents from the time they were about six. Even when children went to school, they were expected to put in many hours performing such chores as chopping wood, watering the horses, gathering vegetables, and spooling yarn.

City boys as young as eight years old—especially poorer ones—went to work as “apprentices” for a tradesman who taught them such trades as printing, or, like the boys pictured here, dying cloth. Other boys worked in shops or went to sea. Girls learned from their mothers how to sew, spin, mend, and cook.

▼ LEISURE

Young people from the country gathered for events that were both entertaining as well as practical, such as the “husking bee” pictured here. Huskers were divided into teams, and the team that stripped the husks off the most ears of corn was the winner. Cheating, though resented, was expected and was usually followed by a fight.



Young people from the city gathered for cultured social events such as the cotillion, or dance, pictured at right. Young men and women were expected to follow the lead of their elders with regard to the strict social codes that determined how one behaved in polite society.



DATA FILE

CHILD MORTALITY

In Puritan America, one out of every two children died before they reached their teens. Child mortality remained high throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Common causes of death for children were cholera, smallpox, diphtheria, and dysentery.

CHILDREN IN THE MILITARY

From the American Revolution until World War I, boys 14 and younger served in the United States military. Some as young as six were musicians and aides in the army and marines, while others served as deckhands and cartridge carriers in the United States Navy.

CHILDREN AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Colonial law forbade the execution of children under 14, but exceptions were made. In December 1786, in New London, Connecticut, 12-year-old Hannah Ocuish was hanged for killing a six-year-old girl who had accused her of stealing strawberries.

CHILD LABOR

Apprentices who learned a trade could later go into business for themselves, but children who worked in factories had no such future. Virtually every industry in the country depended on child labor. Children worked in mills, mines, factories, and laundries.

Child Labor Data

- **1790:** All of the workers—seven boys and two girls—in the first American textile mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, were under the age of 12.
- **1830s:** One third of the labor force in New England was under the age of 16.
- **1842:** For the first time, Massachusetts law limited the workday of children under the age of 12 to ten hours a day.

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

- Identifying Problems** What types of physical hardships were young people exposed to during this period in history?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R5.

CONNECT TO TODAY

- Researching Jobs** In our own day, young people work at many different kinds of jobs. Some have even started their own businesses and have been very successful. Research some of the businesses that youths run on their own and present a report to the class.



hmhsocialstudies.com RESEARCH WEB LINKS

Foreign Affairs Trouble the Nation

MAIN IDEA

Events in Europe sharply divided American public opinion in the late 18th century.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Foreign policy remains a key element of every presidential administration.

Terms & Names

- neutrality
- Edmond Genêt
- Thomas Pinckney
- Little Turtle
- John Jay
- sectionalism
- XYZ Affair
- Alien and Sedition Acts
- nullification

One American's Story



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on some of the disputes discussed in this section.

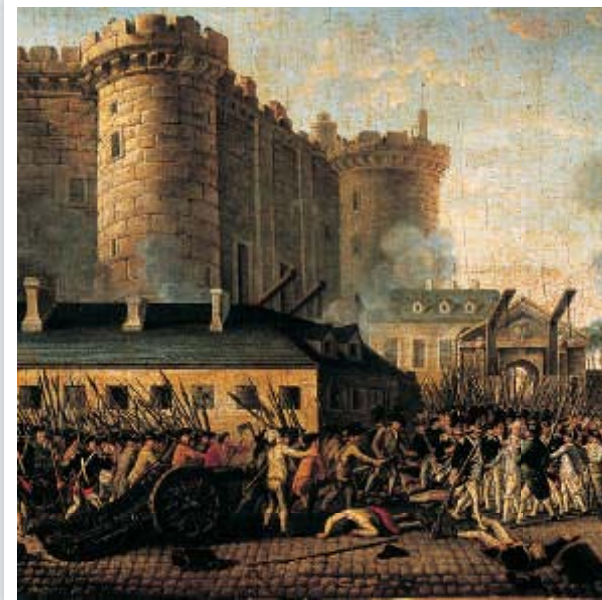
Gouverneur Morris, the man responsible for the final draft of the Constitution, witnessed one of the great events of history—the French Revolution. On July 14, 1789, a mob stormed the Bastille, the infamous Paris prison, releasing the prisoners and killing the prison governor. Not long afterward, while walking on a Paris street, Morris got a close look at revolutionary violence.

A PERSONAL VOICE GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

“[T]he Head and Body of Mr. de Foulon are introduced in Triumph. The Head on a Pike, the Body dragged naked on the Earth. Afterwards this horrible Exhibition is carried thro the different Streets. His crime [was] to have accepted a Place in the Ministry. This mutilated form of an old Man of seventy five is shewn to Bertier, his Son in Law, the Intend't. [another official] of Paris, and afterwards he also is put to Death and cut to Pieces, the Populace carrying about the mangled Fragments with a Savage Joy.”

—quoted from his journal

Morris was appointed minister to France in 1792. Despite his horror at the violence around him, Morris remained at his post throughout the bloodiest days of the Revolution. Meanwhile, at home, Americans were divided in their views concerning the events underway in France.



▲ French revolutionaries storm the Bastille in Paris, France, on July 14, 1789.

U.S. Response to Events in Europe

Most Americans initially supported the French Revolution because, like the American Revolution, it was inspired by the ideal of republican rule. Heartened by the American struggle against royal tyranny, the French set out to create a government based on the will of the people. The alliance between France and the United States, created by the Treaty of 1778, served as an additional bond

between the two nations. Whether or not the United States should support the French Revolution was one of the most important foreign policy questions that the young nation faced.

REACTIONS TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION Despite the bonds between the nations, Americans soon became divided over the Revolution. In early 1793, a radical group called the Jacobins seized power in France. They beheaded the French king, Louis XVI, and launched the Reign of Terror against their opponents, sending moderate reformers and royalists alike to the guillotine. In an excess of revolutionary zeal, the Jacobins also declared war on other monarchies, including Great Britain.

Because of their alliance with the United States, the French expected American help. The American reaction tended to split along party lines. Democratic-Republicans, such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, wanted to honor the 1778 treaty and support France. Federalists, such as Alexander Hamilton, wanted to back the British. President Washington took a middle position. On April 22, 1793, he issued a declaration of **neutrality**, a statement that the United States would support neither side in the conflict. Hamilton and Jefferson came to agree; entering a war was not in the new nation's interest. **A**

Earlier in April, the French had sent a young diplomat, **Edmond Genêt**, to win American support. Before following diplomatic procedure and presenting his credentials to the Washington administration, Genêt began to recruit Americans for the war effort against Great Britain. This violation of American neutrality and diplomatic protocol outraged Washington, who demanded that the French recall Genêt. By then, however, Genêt's political backers had fallen from power in Paris. Fearing for his life, the young envoy remained in the United States and became a U.S. citizen. Although Jefferson protested against Genêt's actions, Federalists called Jefferson a radical because he supported France. Frustrated by these attacks and by his ongoing feud with Hamilton, Jefferson resigned from the cabinet in 1793.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

A Why did the United States want to maintain its neutrality?

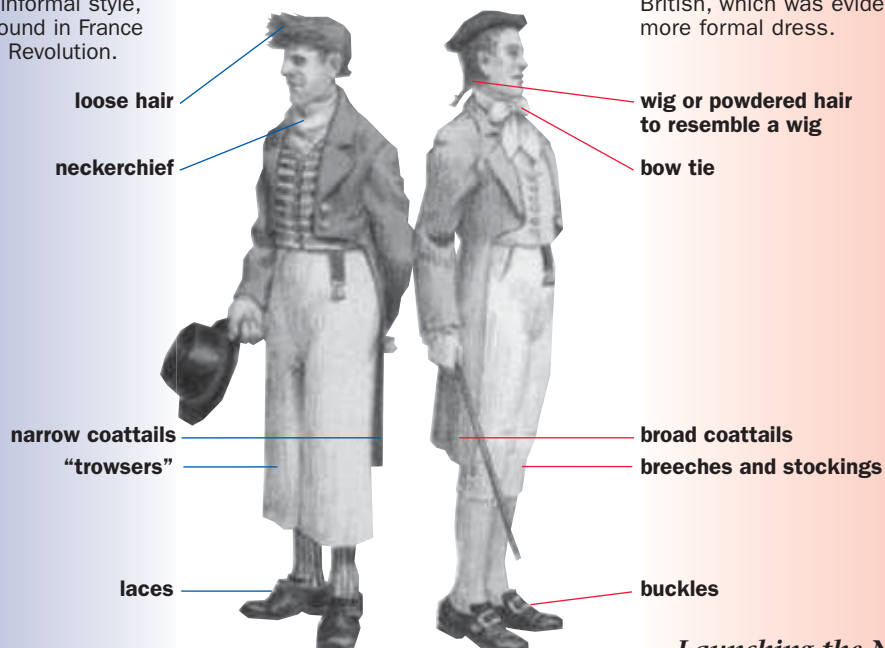
Politics and Style

Events in France not only affected politics in the United States, they influenced styles of clothing as well. Political differences could often be detected by observing different styles of dress and appearance.

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS

avored a more informal style, similar to that found in France after the French Revolution.

FEDERALISTS tended to be pro-British, which was evident in their more formal dress.



TREATY WITH SPAIN The United States wanted to secure land claims west of the Appalachian mountains and to gain shipping rights on the Mississippi River. To do this, it needed to come to an agreement with Spain, which still held Florida and the Louisiana Territory, a vast area of land west of the Mississippi River.

Negotiations stalled because of the turmoil in Europe. Spain, unlike Britain, signed a treaty with France. Spain then feared British retaliation and suspected that a joint British-American action might be launched against the Louisiana Territory. Suddenly, Spain agreed to meet with U.S. minister to Great Britain **Thomas Pinckney**, and on October 27, 1795, both sides signed a treaty.

Pinckney's Treaty of 1795, also known as the Treaty of San Lorenzo, included virtually every concession that the Americans desired. Spain gave up all claims to land east of the Mississippi (except Florida) and recognized the 31st parallel as the southern boundary of the United States and the northern boundary of Florida. Spain also agreed to open the Mississippi River to traffic by Spanish subjects and U.S. citizens, and to allow American traders to use the port of New Orleans. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Recognizing Effects

B Why did the United States want access to the Mississippi River?

Native Americans Resist White Settlers

Pioneers moving west assumed that the 1783 Treaty of Paris, in which Great Britain had ceded its land rights west of the Appalachians, gave them free rein to settle the area. But the British still maintained forts in the Northwest Territory—an area that included what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—in direct violation of the treaty. In addition to this continued British presence, the settlers met fierce resistance from the original inhabitants.





▲ The Miami war chief Little Turtle negotiates with General Anthony Wayne.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

C Why did Native Americans demand negotiations with the United States over the Northwest Territory?

FIGHTS IN THE NORTHWEST Having been excluded from the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Paris, Native Americans in the Northwest Territory never accepted the provisions. They continued to claim their tribal lands and demanded direct negotiations with the United States. They also took heart from the presence of British troops, who encouraged their resistance. When white settlers moved into their territory, Native Americans often attacked them. **C**

To gain control over the area that would become Ohio, the federal government sent an army led by General Josiah Harmar. In 1790, Harmar's troops clashed with a confederacy of Native American groups led by a chieftain of the Miami tribe named **Little Turtle**. The Native Americans won that battle. The following year, the Miami Confederacy inflicted an even worse defeat on a federal army led by General Arthur St. Clair.

BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS Finally, in 1792, Washington appointed General Anthony Wayne to lead federal troops against the Native Americans. Known as "Mad Anthony" for his reckless courage, Wayne spent an entire year drilling his men. Greatly impressed, Little Turtle urged his people to seek peace.

★ A PERSONAL VOICE LITTLE TURTLE

"We have beaten the enemy twice under different commanders. . . . The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. . . . We have never been able to surprise him. . . . It would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

—speech to his allies

The other chiefs did not agree with Little Turtle and replaced him with a less able leader. On August 20, 1794, Wayne defeated the Miami Confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, near present-day Toledo, Ohio. After the battle, Wayne's army marched defiantly past the British Fort Miami, only two miles away, and then built an American post nearby.

This victory ended Native American resistance in Ohio. The following year, the Miami Confederacy signed the Treaty of Greenville, agreeing to give up most of the land in Ohio in exchange for \$20,000 worth of goods and an annual payment of nearly \$10,000. This settlement continued a pattern in which settlers and the government paid Native Americans much less for their land than it was worth. Meanwhile, in the Northwest Territory, new sources of conflict were developing between Britain and the United States.

JAY'S TREATY At the time of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, **John Jay**, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, was in London to negotiate a treaty with Britain. One of the disputed issues was which nation would control territories west of the Appalachian Mountains. When news of Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers arrived, the British agreed to evacuate their posts in the Northwest Territory and a treaty was signed on November 19, 1794. The treaty managed to pass the Senate, but many Americans, especially western settlers, were angry at its terms, which allowed the British to continue their fur trade on the American side of the U.S.-Canadian border. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

D Why were so many Americans dissatisfied with Jay's treaty with Britain?

Adams Provokes Criticism

The bitter political fight over Jay's Treaty, along with the growing division between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans, convinced Washington not to seek a third term in office. In his "Farewell Address" he urged the United States to "steer clear of permanent alliances" with other nations. Then, in 1797, Washington retired to his home at Mount Vernon.

In the presidential election of 1796, Americans faced a new situation: a contest between opposing parties. The Federalists nominated Vice-President John Adams for president and Thomas Pinckney for vice-president. The Democratic-Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice-president.

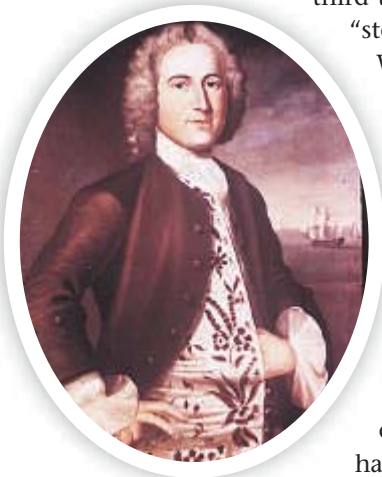
In the election, Adams received 71 electoral votes, while Jefferson received 68. Because the Constitution stated that the runner-up should become vice-president, the country found itself with a Federalist president and a Democratic-Republican vice-president. What had seemed sensible when the Constitution was written had become a problem because of the unexpected rise of political parties.

The election also underscored the growing danger of **sectionalism**—placing the interests of one region over those of the nation as a whole. Almost all the electors from the southern states voted for Jefferson, while all the electors from the northern states voted for Adams. **E**

ADAMS TRIES TO AVOID WAR Soon after taking office, President Adams faced his first crisis: a looming war with France. The French government, which regarded the Jay treaty with Britain as a violation of the French-American alliance, refused to receive the new American ambassador and began to seize American ships bound for Britain. Adams sent a three-man delegation consisting of Charles Pinckney, minister to France; future Chief Justice John Marshall; and Elbridge Gerry to Paris to negotiate a solution.

By this time, the Reign of Terror had ceased and the French government consisted of a legislature and a five-man executive branch called the Directory. French power and prestige were at a high point because of the accomplishments of a young general named Napoleon Bonaparte who had conquered most of western Europe. The Directory had little patience with the concerns of the Americans.

The American delegation planned to meet with the French foreign minister, Talleyrand. Instead, the Directory sent three low-level officials, whom Adams in



▲
Portrait of a young John Adams by Joseph Badger

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

E How did political parties affect the results of the election of 1796?

Analyzing Political Cartoons

“THE PARIS MONSTER”

“Cinque-tetes, or the Paris Monster,” is the title of this political cartoon satirizing the XYZ Affair. On the right, the five members of the French Directory, or ruling executive body, are depicted as a five-headed monster demanding money. The three American representatives, Elbridge Gerry, Charles Pinckney, and John Marshall, are on the left, exclaiming “Cease bawling, monster! We will not give you six-pence!”

SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. How would you contrast the cartoon’s depiction of the American representatives with its depiction of the French Directory?
2. What other details in the cartoon show the cartoonist’s attitude toward the French?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



his report to Congress called “X, Y, and Z.” These officials demanded a \$250,000 bribe as payment for seeing Talleyrand. News of this insult, which became known as the **XYZ Affair**, provoked a wave of anti-French feeling at home. “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute” became the slogan of the day. The mood was so anti-French that audiences refused to listen to French music.

In 1798, Congress created a navy department and authorized American ships to seize French vessels. Twelve hundred men marched to the president’s residence to volunteer for war. Congress authorized the creation of an army of 50,000 troops and brought George Washington yet again out of retirement to be “Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the armies raised or to be raised.” While war was never officially declared, for the next two years an undeclared naval war raged between France and the United States.

Vocabulary

alien: belonging to or coming from another country; foreign

Vocabulary

sedition: rebellion against one’s country; treason

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS Anti-French feeling continued to flourish, and many Federalists believed that French agents were everywhere, plotting to overthrow the government. New arrivals from foreign countries were soon held in particular suspicion, especially because many immigrants were active in the Democratic-Republican party. Some of the most vocal critics of the Adams administration were foreign-born. They included French and British radicals as well as recent Irish immigrants who lashed out at anyone who was even faintly pro-British, including the Federalist Adams.

To counter what they saw as a growing threat against the government, the Federalists pushed through Congress in 1798 four measures that became known as the **Alien and Sedition Acts**. Three of these measures, the Alien Acts, raised the residence requirement for American citizenship from five years to 14 years and allowed the president to deport or jail any alien considered undesirable.

The fourth measure, the Sedition Act, set fines and jail terms for anyone trying to hinder the operation of the government or expressing “false, scandalous, and malicious statements” against the government. Under the terms of this act, the federal government prosecuted and jailed a number of Democratic-Republican editors, publishers, and politicians. Outraged Democratic-Republicans called the laws a violation of freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment.

VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS The two main Democratic-Republican leaders, Jefferson and James Madison, saw the Alien and Sedition Acts as a serious misuse of power on the part of the federal government. They decided to organize opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts by appealing to the states. Madison drew up resolutions that were adopted by the Virginia legislature,

while Jefferson wrote resolutions that were approved in Kentucky. The Kentucky Resolutions in particular asserted the principle of **nullification**—that states had the right to nullify, or consider void, any act of Congress that they deemed unconstitutional. Virginia and Kentucky viewed the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional violations of First Amendment citizens rights. **F**

The resolutions warned of the dangers that the Alien and Sedition Acts posed to a government of checks and balances guaranteed by the Constitution.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

F How did the Kentucky Resolutions challenge the authority of the federal government?

A PERSONAL VOICE THOMAS JEFFERSON

“Let the honest advocate of confidence [in government] read the alien and sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits.”

—8th Resolution, The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

Moreover, Virginia and Kentucky claimed the right to declare null and void federal laws going beyond powers granted by the Constitution to the Federal government.

The resolutions also called for other states to adopt similar declarations. No other state did so, however, and the issue died out by the next presidential election. Nevertheless, the resolutions showed that the balance of power between the states and the federal government remained a controversial issue. In fact, the election of 1800 between Federalist John Adams and Republican Thomas Jefferson would center on this critical debate.

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON Throughout 1799, George Washington remained active, writing letters to recruit possible generals and making plans for the army that might be needed in a possible war against France. However, on December 14, Washington died after catching a severe cold. Washington was buried according to his wishes with a military funeral at Mount Vernon.

Ironically, Washington’s death was instrumental in improving relations with France. Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul of France, hoped to lure American friendship away from the British and back to the French. Napoleon ordered ten days of mourning to be observed in the French armies for the American leader. Soon, Napoleon would offer even greater concessions to the Americans.



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- neutrality
- Little Turtle
- sectionalism
- Alien and Sedition Acts
- Edmond Genêt
- John Jay
- XYZ Affair
- nullification
- Thomas Pinckney

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

List some of the disputes mentioned in this section. Indicate the dispute and each side’s arguments.

Dispute	
One side	Other side

Choose one dispute and defend one side’s arguments.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES

Do you agree with the Democratic-Republicans that the Alien and Sedition Acts were a violation of the First Amendment? Were they necessary? Support your opinion. **Think About:**

- the intent of the First Amendment
- what was happening in Europe
- what was happening in America

4. EVALUATING DECISIONS

Should the United States have officially supported the French revolutionaries against the British? Support your opinion with examples from the text. **Think About:**

- Federalist and Republican attitudes toward France and Great Britain
- the Reign of Terror
- U.S. gratitude to France for its support against Britain

SECTION 3

Jefferson Alters the Nation's Course

MAIN IDEA

The United States expanded its borders during Thomas Jefferson's administration.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Part or all of 15 states now occupy the territory Jefferson acquired in the Louisiana Purchase.

Terms & Names

- Lewis and Clark
- Aaron Burr
- John Marshall
- Judiciary Act of 1801
- midnight judges
- *Marbury v. Madison*
- judicial review
- Louisiana Purchase
- Sacajawea

One American's Story



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the accomplishments of Jefferson's presidency.

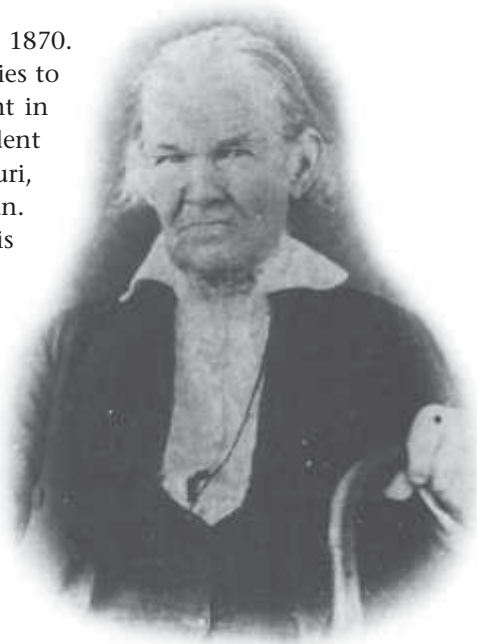
Patrick Gass was born on June 12, 1771 and died on April 2, 1870. During that time, the country grew from the original 13 colonies to 37 states. Gass played a part in that expansion as a participant in the **Lewis and Clark** expedition commissioned by President Jefferson to explore the West. Setting out from St. Louis, Missouri, in 1804, the expedition traveled overland to the Pacific Ocean. Along the way, Gass kept a journal. The following passage is from his journal entry of May 14, 1805.

A PERSONAL VOICE PATRICK GASS

"This forenoon we passed a large creek on the North side and a small river on the South. About 4 in the afternoon we passed another small river on the South side near the mouth of which some of the men discovered a large brown bear, and six of them went out to kill it. They fired at it; but having only wounded it, it made battle and was near seizing some of them, but they all fortunately escaped, and at length succeeded in dispatching it."

—A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery

By charting unexplored territory, the Lewis and Clark expedition helped lay the foundations for western expansion. It was one of the great achievements of the Jefferson presidency.



▲ Patrick Gass

Jefferson Wins Presidential Election of 1800

The presidential campaign of 1800 was a bitter struggle between Thomas Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican, and his Federalist opponent, President John Adams. Each party hurled wild charges at the other. To Democratic-Republicans, Adams was a tool of the rich who wanted to turn the executive branch into a British-style monarchy. To Federalists, Jefferson was a dangerous supporter of revolutionary France and an atheist bent on destroying organized religion.

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT



BURR AND HAMILTON DUEL

After losing to Jefferson in the election of 1800, Aaron Burr needed to revive his failing political career. Shortly thereafter, Burr read unflattering remarks made about him by Alexander Hamilton, his longtime political enemy. Burr, hoping for publicity, challenged Hamilton to a duel.

Usually, after a challenge was made, differences were resolved peacefully. But Hamilton and Burr did not reconcile. On the morning of July 11, 1804, they threw dice to see who would fire first. Hamilton won but fired into the air. Burr then shot his opponent in the stomach, and Hamilton died the next day. Burr was charged with murder but fled before he was brought to trial. In 1806, he became involved in a failed plot to annex Mexico. Charged with treason, Burr was found not guilty. With further charges pending, he briefly fled to Europe before returning to New York.

ELECTORAL DEADLOCK In the balloting, Jefferson defeated Adams by eight electoral votes. However, since Jefferson's running mate, **Aaron Burr**, received the same number of votes in the electoral college as Jefferson, the House of Representatives was called upon to choose between the two highest vote getters. For six feverish days, the House took one ballot after another—35 ballots in all. Finally, Alexander Hamilton intervened. Hamilton persuaded enough Federalists to cast blank votes to give Jefferson a majority of two votes. Burr then became vice-president. Although Hamilton opposed Jefferson's philosophy of government, he regarded Jefferson as much more qualified for the presidency than Burr was.

The deadlock revealed a flaw in the electoral process as spelled out in the Constitution. As a result, Congress passed the Twelfth Amendment, which called for electors to cast separate ballots for president and vice-president. This system is still in effect today.

The Jefferson Presidency

In his inaugural address, Jefferson extended the hand of peace to his opponents. "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle," he said. "We are all [Democratic-] Republicans; we are all Federalists." Nevertheless, Jefferson planned to wage a "peaceful revolution" to restore what he saw as the republican ideals of 1776 against the strong-government policies of Federalism. Under Washington and Adams, Federalists had filled the vast majority of government positions. Jefferson reversed this pattern by replacing some Federalist officials with Democratic-Republican ones. By 1803, the government bureaucracy was more evenly balanced between Democratic-Republicans and Federalists.

SIMPLIFYING THE PRESIDENCY Jefferson believed that a simple government best suited the needs of a republic. In a symbolic gesture, he walked to his own inauguration instead of riding in a carriage. As president, he took off his powdered

wig and sometimes wore work clothes and frayed slippers when receiving visitors.

In accord with his belief in decentralized power, Jefferson also tried to shrink the government and cut costs wherever possible. He reduced the size of the army, halted a planned expansion of the navy, and lowered expenses for government social functions. He also rolled back Hamilton's economic program by eliminating all internal taxes and reducing the influence of the Bank of the United States. Jefferson strongly favored free trade rather than government-controlled trade and tariffs. He believed that free trade would benefit the United States because the raw materials and food that Americans were producing were in short supply in Europe. **A**

SOUTHERN DOMINANCE OF POLITICS Jefferson was the first president to take office in the new federal capital, Washington, D.C. Though in appearance the city was a primitive place of dirt roads and few buildings, its location between Virginia and Maryland reflected the growing importance of the South in national politics. In fact, Jefferson and the two presidents who followed him—James Madison and James Monroe—all were from Virginia.

MAIN IDEA

Drawing Conclusions

A How did Jefferson's actions reflect his philosophy of government?

This pattern of Southern dominance underscored the declining influence of both New England and the Federalists in national political life. The decline of the Federalists was hastened by Jefferson's political moderation. Also, many Federalists refused to participate in political campaigns because they did not want to appeal to the common people for support. Furthermore, national expansion worked against the Federalists because settlers in the new states tended to vote for the Democratic-Republicans, who represented farmers' interests.

JOHN MARSHALL AND THE SUPREME COURT Federalists continued to exert great influence in the judicial branch, however. Adams had appointed **John Marshall**, a staunch Federalist, as chief justice of the Supreme Court. Marshall served on the Court for more than 30 years, handing down decisions that would strengthen the power of the Supreme Court and the federal government.

Some of Adams's other judicial appointments proved to be less effective, however. Just prior to leaving office as president, Adams had pushed through Congress the **Judiciary Act of 1801**, which increased the number of federal judges by 16. In an attempt to control future federal judicial decisions, Adams promptly filled most of these positions with Federalists. These judges were called **midnight judges** because Adams signed their appointments late on the last day of his administration.

Adams's packing of the courts with Federalists angered Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans. Since the documents authorizing some of the appointments had not been delivered by the time Adams left office, Jefferson argued that these appointments were invalid.

MARBURY v. MADISON This argument led to one of the most important Supreme Court decisions of all time: **Marbury v. Madison** (1803). William Marbury was one of the midnight judges who had never received his official papers. James Madison was Jefferson's Secretary of State, whose duty it was to deliver the papers. The Judiciary Act of 1789 required the Supreme Court to order that the papers be delivered, and Marbury sued to enforce this provision. Chief Justice Marshall decided that this provision of the act was unconstitutional because the Constitution did not empower the Supreme Court to issue such orders. (See *Marbury v. Madison* on page 206). The decision was later recognized as significant for affirming the principle of **judicial review**—the ability of the Supreme Court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B What is judicial review, and why is it important?

The United States Expands West

During Jefferson's presidency, Americans continued their westward migration across the Appalachians. For instance, between 1800 and 1810, the population of Ohio grew from 45,000 to 231,000. Although pioneer life was hard, the pioneers kept coming.

A PERSONAL VOICE F. A. MICHAUX

"The houses that they inhabit are built upon the borders of the river, . . . whence they enjoy the most delightful prospects [views]; still, their mode of building does not correspond with the beauties of the spot, being nothing but miserable log houses, without windows, and so small that two beds occupy the greatest part of them."

—from *Travels to the West of the Allegheny Mountains*



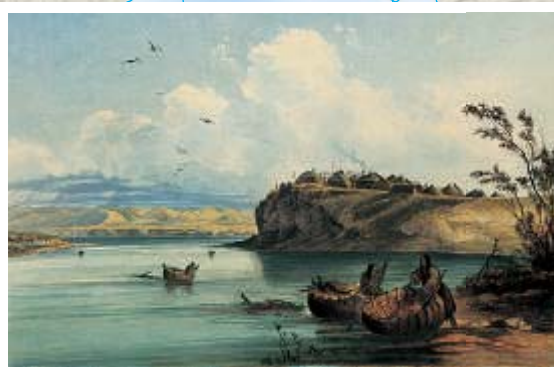
Supplies for the journey west.

Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806

hmhsocialstudies.com INTERACTIVE MAP



This dollar coin honors Sacajawea, a young Shoshone woman, who served as an interpreter and guide for the expedition.



Mandan Village, by Karl Bodmer

4 April 7, 1805

A party of 32, including Clark's black servant York, French-Canadian trader Charbonneau, his wife Sacajawea, and their son, depart at 5 P.M. to continue the journey. High northwest wind but otherwise fair weather.

5 April 25–26, 1805

In high winds and cold, Lewis searches by land for the Yellowstone River. He rejoins Clark at the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers.

3 November 3, 1804

A hard wind from the northwest sets in as the party makes camp.

December 17, 1804

In minus-45-degree weather, sentries have to be changed every half-hour.

2 August 20, 1804

Sergeant Floyd dies, the only fatality of the expedition.

**6 December 8, 1805–
March 23, 1806**

Lack of provisions forces departure from winter camp.

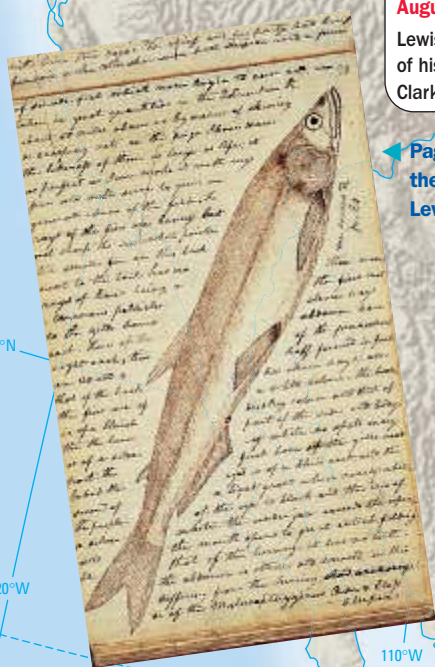
7 July 3, 1806

The party divides. Lewis takes the direct route to the falls of the Missouri. Clark heads toward the Jefferson and Yellowstone rivers.

August 11, 1806

Lewis is accidentally shot by a member of his own party. In pain, he rejoins Clark's party the next day.

Page from the journal of Lewis and Clark



LOUISIANA PURCHASE (1803)

8 September 23, 1806

Taking a shortcut that saves about 580 miles, the party reaches Saint Louis at 12 noon. Total mileage: 7,690.

1 May 14, 1804

The party departs camp near Saint Louis about 4 P.M. in heavy rain.



Compass of Lewis and Clark

NEW SPAIN

← Journey west, 1804–1805

→ Journey home, 1806

--- Lewis's route home

--- Clark's route home

■ Fort

0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers



PACIFIC OCEAN

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Movement** About how many miles did the expedition travel on its route to the Pacific Ocean?
- 2. Movement** On average, how many miles per day did they travel from Fort Clatsop to the place where the party split up on July 3, 1806?

Most of the settlers who arrived in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee came through the Cumberland Gap, a natural passage through the Appalachians near where Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia meet. A generation earlier, in 1775, Daniel Boone, one of America's great frontier guides, had led the clearing of a road from Virginia, through the Cumberland Gap, into the heart of Kentucky. When it was finished, the Wilderness Road became one of the major routes for westward migration.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE In 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte of France persuaded Spain to return the Louisiana Territory, which it had received from France in 1762. When news of the secret transfer leaked out, Americans reacted with alarm. Jefferson feared that a strong French presence in the midcontinent would force the United States into an alliance with Britain. **C**

MAIN IDEA
Analyzing Issues

C Why was the United States concerned about the Louisiana Territory?

Jefferson wanted to resolve the problem by buying New Orleans and western Florida from the French. He sent James Monroe to join American ambassador Robert Livingston in Paris. Before Monroe arrived, however, Napoleon had abandoned his hopes for an American empire. He had failed to reconquer France's most important island colony, Saint Domingue (now known as Haiti). By the time that Monroe arrived in Paris in April 1803, Napoleon had decided to sell the entire Louisiana Territory to the United States.

With no time to consult their government, Monroe and Livingston went ahead and closed the deal for \$15 million. Jefferson, though, was not certain that the purchase was constitutional. As a strict constructionist, he doubted whether the Constitution gave the government the power to acquire new territory. But, after a delay, he submitted the treaty finalizing the purchase, and the Senate ratified it. With the **Louisiana Purchase**, which included all the land drained by the western tributaries of the Mississippi River, the size of the United States more than doubled.

Background
Even before the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson had planned to explore the West. In February 1803, Congress approved Jefferson's request for funds to finance an expedition.

LEWIS AND CLARK Jefferson was eager to explore the new territory. In 1803, he appointed Meriwether Lewis to lead the expedition he called the Corps of Discovery from St. Louis to the Pacific coast. Jefferson ordered the Corps to collect scientific information about unknown plants and animals en route to the Pacific and to learn as much as possible about the Native American tribes encountered along the way. Lewis chose William Clark to be second in command. Starting off with some 50 soldiers and woodsmen, including Patrick Gass, the expedition later became smaller but added a Native American woman, **Sacajawea**, who served as interpreter and guide. The Lewis and Clark expedition took two years and four months and recorded invaluable information about the western territories.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Lewis and Clark
- Judiciary Act of 1801
- judicial review
- Aaron Burr
- midnight judges
- Louisiana Purchase
- John Marshall
- *Marbury v. Madison*
- Sacajawea

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Make a chart like the one below listing the major accomplishments of Jefferson's presidency and the significance of each.

Event	Significance

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING

How did the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition affect the expansion of the United States?

4. ANALYZING ISSUES

Why was *Marbury v. Madison* such an important case? **Think About:**

- Judge Marshall's decision
- its effects on the future



5. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

How does this sketch—from Patrick Gass's journal—of a man treed by a grizzly bear illustrate fanciful ideas about the West?

The War of 1812

MAIN IDEA

War broke out again between the United States and Britain in 1812.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The War of 1812 confirmed American independence and strengthened nationalism.

Terms & Names

- blockade
- impressment
- embargo
- William Henry Harrison
- Tecumseh
- war hawk
- Andrew Jackson
- Treaty of Ghent
- armistice

One American's Story

hmhsocialstudies.com
TAKING NOTES

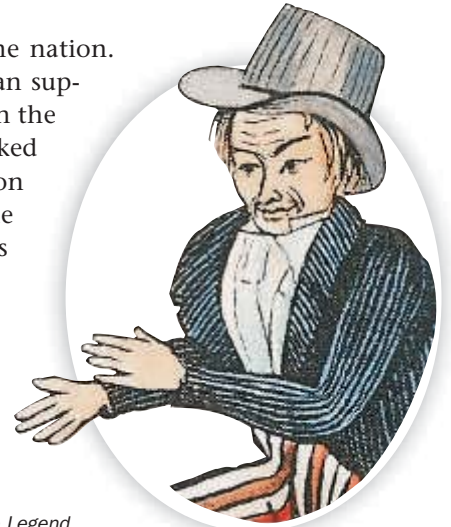
Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on why the war hawks wanted war with Great Britain.

During the War of 1812, Samuel Wilson became a symbol for the nation. The owner of a meat-packing business in Troy, New York, he began supplying barrels of salted meat to the army, stamping the barrels with the initials "U.S.," for United States. One of Wilson's employees joked that the letters stood for "Uncle Sam," Wilson's nickname. Soon army recruits were calling themselves "Uncle Sam's soldiers." One of Wilson's great-nephews, Lucius Wilson, spoke about his famous relative in 1917.

A PERSONAL VOICE LUCIUS E. WILSON

"He was the old original Uncle Sam that gave the name to the United States. . . . [He] engaged in many enterprises, employed many hands [workers], had extensive acquaintance, was jolly, genial, generous, and known [as] and called "Uncle Sam" by everyone."

—*Uncle Sam: The Man and the Legend*



▲ One of the earliest depictions of Uncle Sam

The story took on the features of a legend. Uncle Sam came to symbolize American values of honesty and hard work. The war during which the phrase caught on was just around the corner for the United States.

The War Hawks Demand War

Jefferson's popularity soared after the Louisiana Purchase, and he won reelection in 1804. During his second term, renewed fighting between Britain and France threatened American shipping. In 1806, Napoleon decided to exclude British goods from Europe. In turn, Great Britain decided that the best way of attacking Napoleon's Europe was to **blockade** it, or seal up its ports and prevent ships from entering or leaving. By 1807, Britain had seized more than 1,000 American ships and confiscated their cargoes, and France had seized about half that number.

GRIEVANCES AGAINST BRITAIN Although both France and Britain engaged in these acts of aggression, Americans focused their anger on the British. One reason was the British policy of **impressment**, the practice of seizing Americans at sea

and “impressing,” or drafting, them into the British navy. Another reason was the *Chesapeake* incident. In June 1807, the commander of a British warship demanded the right to board and search the U.S. naval frigate *Chesapeake* for British deserters. When the U.S. captain refused, the British opened fire, killing 3 Americans and wounding 18.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

A What was Jefferson's reasoning behind the embargo of 1807?

Jefferson convinced Congress to declare an **embargo**, a ban on exporting products to other countries. He believed that the Embargo Act of 1807 would hurt Britain and the other European powers and force them to honor American neutrality. The embargo hurt America more than Britain, and in 1809 Congress lifted the ban on foreign trade—except with France and Britain. **A**

TECUMSEH'S CONFEDERACY Another source of trouble appeared in 1809, when General **William Henry Harrison**, the governor of the Indiana Territory, invited several Native American chiefs to Fort Wayne, Indiana, and persuaded them to sign away three million acres of tribal land to the U.S. government.

Not all chiefs gave in. Like Little Turtle and chiefs from other tribes, the Shawnee chief **Tecumseh** believed that the only way for Native Americans to protect their homeland against intruding white settlers was to form a confederacy, a united Native American nation.

Tecumseh was aided by his younger brother, known as the Prophet. Around 1805, the Prophet had started a reform movement within the Shawnee tribe to cast off all traces of the white “civilization,” including Christianity. Both the Prophet and Tecumseh warned that the Great Spirit was angry with all of the tribes who had abandoned their traditional practices and beliefs. The time had come to return to those beliefs, they urged, and to implore the aid of the Great Spirit in driving out the invaders.

More practical than his brother, Tecumseh was a brilliant strategist and a skillful diplomat. While continuing to press Harrison to withdraw from Native American land, Tecumseh began negotiations with the British for assistance in what seemed like an inevitable war with the Americans. Throughout 1810 and 1811, Tecumseh traveled throughout the Midwest and the South, trying to win followers to his confederacy. Unfortunately, many tribes had already accepted payment for their lands. Others were reluctant to give up tribal autonomy by joining the kind of confederacy that Tecumseh proposed.

THE WAR HAWKS In November 1811, while Tecumseh was absent, his brother led the Shawnee in an attack on Harrison and his troops. Harrison struck back. On the banks of the Tippecanoe river, he burned the Shawnee capital known as Prophetstown to the ground. Harrison's victory at what came to be known as the Battle of Tippecanoe made him a national hero, but his troops suffered heavy losses. When it was discovered that the Native American confederacy was using arms from British Canada, a group of young congressmen from the South and the West known as the **war hawks** called for war against Britain. Led by Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky, the war hawks rallied behind their motto: “On to Canada!” **B**



“The Great Spirit gave this great land to his red children.”

TECUMSEH

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

B Why did the war hawks call for the war with Britain?

The War Brings Mixed Results

In the election of 1808, another Virginia Democratic-Republican—James Madison—coasted to victory against a weak Federalist opponent, Charles C. Pinckney. By the spring of 1812, President Madison had decided to go to war against Britain. Madison believed that Britain was trying to strangle American trade and cripple the American economy. Congress approved the war declaration in early June.

THE WAR IN CANADA Declaring war was one thing—but fighting it was another. The American military was unprepared for war. Detroit was captured by the British shortly after war was declared and the Americans suffered numerous setbacks, including a failed attempt to take Montreal. The following year, a fleet commanded by Oliver Hazard Perry defeated a British fleet on Lake Erie, and American soldiers retook Detroit and won several battles. Different Native American groups allied with British or U.S. forces, depending on relationships they had developed before the war. Tecumseh, like many Native Americans, had fought for the British with the hopes of continuing British aid in stopping U.S. expansion. The Shawnee leader was killed at the Battle of the Thames in 1813.

THE WAR AT SEA The war was an opportunity for the relatively young U.S. Navy to test its ability. Badly outnumbered with only 16 ships, the United States was aided by its three 44-gun frigates, or warships, the *President*, the *United States*, and the *Constitution*. Known for their speed and ability to sail close to enemy vessels and open fire, these ships sailed alone. Each scored victories against British vessels.

However, the superior numbers of the British navy began to tell. In November of 1812, the British government ordered a blockade of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays (see the map below). As the war progressed and U.S. frigates scored



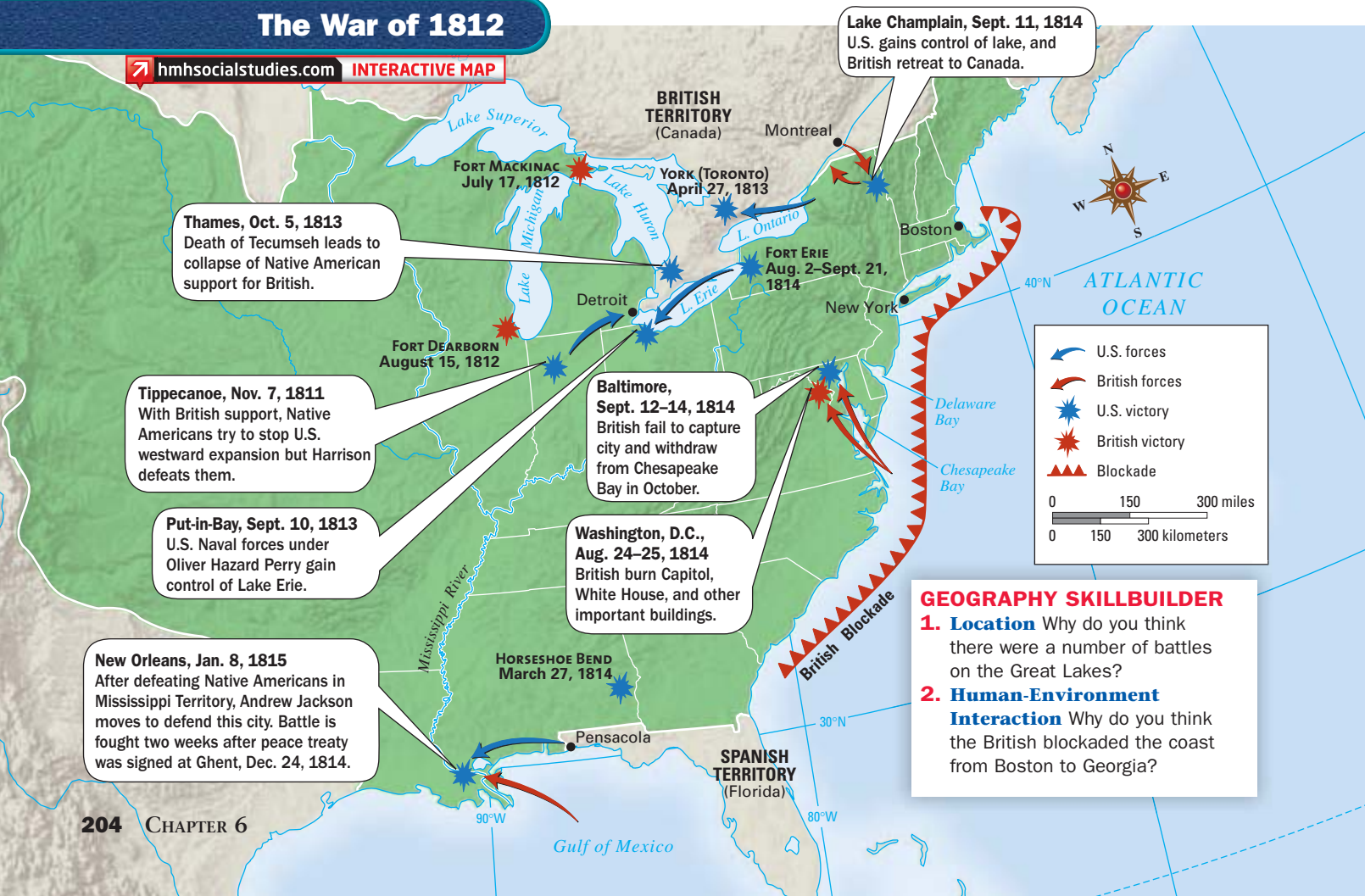
VIDEO

War of 1812:
Madison
Declares War

hmhsocialstudies.com

The War of 1812

hmhsocialstudies.com INTERACTIVE MAP



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Location** Why do you think there were a number of battles on the Great Lakes?
- 2. Human-Environment Interaction** Why do you think the British blockaded the coast from Boston to Georgia?

more victories against British ships, the blockade was extended along the east coast. By the end of 1813, most American ships were bottled up in port.

BRITISH BURN THE WHITE HOUSE By 1814, the British were raiding and burning towns all along the Atlantic coast. The redcoats brushed aside some hastily assembled American troops and entered Washington, D.C. In retaliation for the U.S. victory at the Battle of York, the capital of Upper Canada, in which U.S. forces burned the governor's mansion and the legislative assembly buildings, the British burned the Capitol, the White House, and other public buildings. On August 24, Madison and other federal officials had to flee from their own capital.

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS At the same time, a general from Tennessee named **Andrew Jackson** was winning a series of battles that gained him national fame. After a six months' campaign involving four battles, Jackson defeated Native Americans of the Creek tribe at the battle of Horseshoe Bend in March of 1814. The Creeks had earlier been victorious at the battle of Fort Mims in which all but 36 of the fort's 553 inhabitants were killed. Jackson's victory at Horseshoe Bend destroyed the military power of Native Americans in the south.

Ironically, Jackson's greatest victory came after the war was over. On January 8, 1815, Jackson's troops defeated a superior British force at the Battle of New Orleans. Hundreds of British troops died, while just a handful of Americans lost their lives.

THE TREATY OF GHENT Unknown to Jackson, British and American diplomats had already signed a peace agreement. The **Treaty of Ghent**, signed on Christmas Eve 1814, declared an **armistice**, or end to the fighting. Although it did not address the issues of impressment or neutral shipping rights, Americans were eager for peace and welcomed the treaty.

Within a few years, the United States and Great Britain were able to reach agreement on many of the issues left open at Ghent. In 1815, a commercial treaty reopened trade between the two countries. In 1817, the Rush-Bagot agreement limited the number of warships on the Great Lakes. In 1818, a British-American commission set the northern boundary of the Louisiana Territory at the 49th parallel as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The two nations then agreed to a ten-year joint occupation of the Oregon Territory. But at home, Americans were unable to resolve differences that had already begun to divide the nation.



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- blockade
- impressment
- embargo

- William Henry Harrison
- Tecumseh

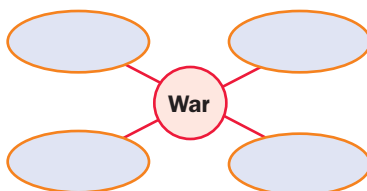
- war hawk
- Andrew Jackson

- Treaty of Ghent
- armistice

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In the web below, show the reasons why the war hawks wanted war with Great Britain.



CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING

What was the most important achievement of the U.S. in this period? **Think About:**

- relations between the U.S. and Britain
- the results of the war

4. ANALYZING

Even though it was fought after an armistice had been signed, why was the Battle of New Orleans an important victory for the Americans?

5. EVALUATING

Do you think that Tecumseh's confederacy helped or hurt the cause of Native Americans? **Think About:**

- the loss of Native American lands
- the reluctance of certain tribes to join the confederacy
- Tecumseh's role in the War of 1812



MARBURY v. MADISON (1803)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE A few days before Thomas Jefferson's inauguration, outgoing president John Adams appointed William Marbury to be a justice of the peace. But the commission was not delivered to Marbury. Later, Jefferson's new secretary of state, James Madison, refused to give Marbury the commission. Marbury asked the Supreme Court to force Madison to give him his commission.

THE RULING The Court declared that the law on which Marbury based his claim was unconstitutional, and therefore it refused to order Madison to give Marbury his commission.

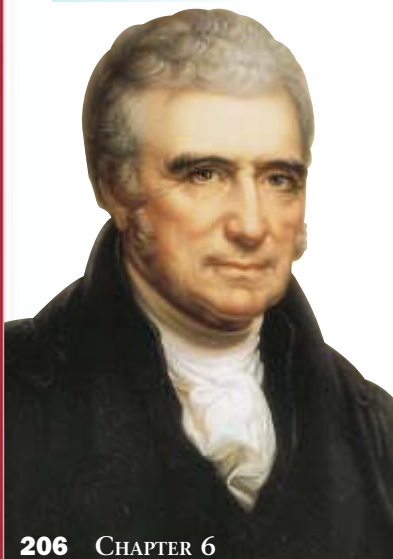
LEGAL REASONING

Writing for the Court, Chief Justice John Marshall decided that Marbury had a right to his commission, and he scolded Madison at length for refusing to deliver it.

However, he then considered Marbury's claim that, under the Judiciary Act of 1789, the Supreme Court should order Madison to deliver the commission. As Marshall pointed out, the powers of the Supreme Court are set by the Constitution, and Congress does not have the authority to alter them. The Judiciary Act attempted to do just that.

Marshall reasoned that, since the Constitution is the "supreme law of the land, no law that goes against the Constitution can be valid."

"If . . . the courts are to regard the constitution, and the constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the constitution, and not such ordinary act, must govern the case to which they both apply."



If an act of Congress violates the Constitution, then a judge must uphold the Constitution and declare the act void. In choosing to obey the Constitution, the Supreme Court did declare the Judiciary Act unconstitutional and void, and so refused to grant Marbury's request.

◀ Chief Justice John Marshall

LEGAL SOURCES

U.S. CONSTITUTION

U.S. CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE III, SECTION 2 (1789)

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases . . . arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made . . . under their authority."

U.S. CONSTITUTION, ARTICLE VI, CLAUSE 2 (1789)

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby."

RELATED CASES

FLETCHER v. PECK (1810)

The Court ruled a state law unconstitutional for the first time.

COHENS v. VIRGINIA (1821)

The Court overturned a state court decision for the first time.

GIBBONS v. OGDEN (1824)

The Court ruled that the federal Congress—not the states—had the power under the Constitution to regulate interstate commerce.



◀ William Marbury

WHY IT MATTERED

In 1803, interest in Marbury's commission was primarily about partisan politics. The fight was just one skirmish in the ongoing battle between Federalists, such as Adams, and Democratic-Republicans, led by Jefferson and Madison, which had intensified in the election of 1800.

When Jefferson won the election, Adams made a final effort to hinder Jefferson's promised reforms. Before leaving office, he tried to fill the government with Federalists, including the "midnight" justices such as Marbury. Madison's refusal to deliver Marbury's appointment was part of Jefferson's subsequent effort to rid his administration of Federalists.

Marshall's opinion in *Marbury* might seem like a victory for Jefferson because it denied Marbury his commission. However, by scolding Madison and extending the principle of judicial review—the power of courts to decide whether or not specific laws are valid—the Court sent a message to Jefferson and to the Congress that the judiciary had the power to affect legislation. The Marshall Court, however, never declared another act of Congress unconstitutional.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

In striking down part of the Judiciary Act, an act of Congress, Marshall gave new force to the principle of judicial review. The legacy of John Marshall and of *Marbury* is that judicial review has become a cornerstone of American government. One scholar has called it "America's novel contribution to political theory and the practice of constitutional government." As Justice Marshall recognized, judicial review is an essential component of democratic government; by ensuring that Congress exercises only those powers granted by the Constitution, the courts protect the sovereignty of the people.

Perhaps more importantly, the principle of judicial review plays a vital role in our federal system of checks and balances. With *Marbury*, the judicial branch secured its place as one of three coequal branches of the federal government. The judiciary has no power to make laws or to carry them out. However, judges have an important role in deciding what the law is and how it is carried out.

In *City of Boerne v. Flores* (1997), for instance, the Supreme Court declared void the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993. Members of Congress had passed the act in an attempt to change the way federal courts apply the First Amendment's Free Exercise Clause. The Supreme Court ruled that Congress does not have the authority to decide what the First Amendment means—in effect, to define its own powers. The Court, and not Congress, is the interpreter of the Constitution.

Through the 2007–2008 term, the Court had rendered 162 decisions striking down—in whole or part—acts of Congress. It had also voided or restricted the enforcement of state laws 1,179 times. That the entire country has with few exceptions obeyed these decisions, no matter how strongly they disagreed, proves Americans' faith in the Supreme Court as the protector of the rule of law.

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

1. **Comparing** Read encyclopedia articles about another Marshall Court decision, such as *Fletcher v. Peck*, *Cohens v. Virginia*, or *Gibbons v. Ogden*. Compare that decision with *Marbury* and consider what the two cases and opinions have in common. Write a paragraph explaining the major similarities between the cases.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

CONNECT TO TODAY

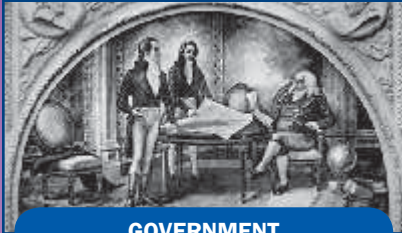


2. Visit the links for Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court to research a recent Supreme Court decision involving judicial review of an act of Congress. Write a case summary in which you describe the law's purpose, the Court's ruling, and the potential impact of the decision.



hmhsocialstudies.com INTERNET ACTIVITY

VISUAL SUMMARY

LAUNCHING THE
NEW NATION

GOVERNMENT

- Washington forms the Cabinet.
- The Judiciary Act of 1789 establishes the Supreme Court.
- Hamilton founds the Bank of the United States.
- National capital is established in the District of Columbia.

CONFLICTS

- The Federalist and Democratic-Republican parties emerge.
- The Whiskey Rebellion protests Hamilton's excise tax.
- The Alien and Sedition Acts restrict protest.
- The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions assert nullification.

TERRITORIES

- The Louisiana Purchase more than doubles the size of the U.S.
- Lewis and Clark explore the new territory.
- Differences between North and South continue to grow.
- More and more settlers push west.

WAR AND PEACE

- Native Americans, aided by the British, fight loss of their lands.
- War hawks urge war with Britain.
- War of 1812 occurs.
- Treaty of Ghent is signed.

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the new United States.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Alexander Hamilton | 6. Louisiana Purchase |
| 2. Cabinet | 7. Meriwether Lewis |
| 3. neutrality | 8. embargo |
| 4. Alien and Sedition Acts | 9. Tecumseh |
| 5. John Marshall | 10. Andrew Jackson |

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Washington Heads the New Government

(pages 182–187)

1. What were the first steps taken by the Washington administration in building a new government?
2. Why did President Washington want both Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton to be among his closest advisers?
3. Why was the Whiskey Rebellion a significant event in the early days of the new government?

Foreign Affairs Trouble the Nation (pages 190–196)

4. What were three major international issues at this time, and how did the United States respond to them?
5. How did the United States manage to stay out of war during this period?
6. How did the expanding nation deal with Native Americans?

Jefferson Alters the Nation's Course (pages 197–201)

7. What were some of the accomplishments of Jefferson's first administration?
8. How did the Louisiana Purchase change the United States?

The War of 1812 (pages 202–205)

9. What events led to the War of 1812?
10. What did the Treaty of Ghent accomplish?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **CONTRASTING** Create a chart listing some of the more important differences in the beliefs and goals of the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans. Whose ideas appeal to you more?

Federalists	Democratic-Republicans

2. **HYPOTHESIZING** What if you had been your current age in 1800? What might have been some of the advantages and disadvantages of growing up in this period? Write two paragraphs describing what you like and dislike about the U.S. at that time. Provide examples from the text in your answer.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE



Use the cartoon and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer the question below.

- The British cartoon above entitled “The Fall of Washington—or Maddy [Madison] in full flight” was published in 1814. In it, a character exclaims, “The great Washington fought for Liberty, but we are fighting for shadows.” The character is contrasting the Revolutionary War and —
 - Shays’s Rebellion.
 - the XYZ Affair.
 - the War of 1812.
 - Washington’s declaration of neutrality.

hmhsocialstudies.com **TEST PRACTICE**

For additional test practice, go online for:

- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Recall the issues that you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Imagine that it is now 1814, and one of your former students has written to ask your opinion about how the United States has grown as a nation. Write a response in which you mention events from the chapter that show key challenges and achievements that helped to shape the young republic.

FOCUS ON WRITING

Imagine you are a citizen during the early years of the United States. Select an important issue from that time period. Write a persuasive letter to the federal government in opposition to its decision or policy. In your letter, clearly present why you are opposed to the government’s actions and present an alternate plan of action that you feel the government should pursue.

COLLABORATIVE LEARNING



In a small group read and discuss the “One American’s Story” at the beginning of Section 3. Then consider the following questions: Who do you think are the explorers of our time? What challenges do they face in their journeys of exploration? Prepare a report and present it to the class.

Lewis and *Clark*

In 1804 Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the 33-man Corps of Discovery began a 8,000-mile journey across uncharted territory. Under orders from President Thomas Jefferson, the expedition mapped a route across the Louisiana Purchase to the Pacific Ocean. From St. Louis, Missouri, they traveled west up the Missouri River, then across the Rocky Mountains, and to the Pacific. They met Native American peoples and cataloged geography,

plants, and animals. Not only was their mission one of history's greatest explorations, it also secured an American claim to the Pacific Coast and helped inspire millions to migrate west.

Explore entries from Lewis's journal and other primary sources online. You can find a wealth of information, video clips, activities, and more at

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CLICK THROUGH
INTER / ACTIVITIES
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*...the Indian woman
recognized the point of a
high plain to our right
which she informed us
was not very distant from
the summer retreat of her
nation on a river beyond
the mountains which runs
to the west."*

— Meriwether Lewis



"Lewis's Journal, Entry 1"

Read an excerpt from Meriwether Lewis's journal that details Sacagawea's assistance during the journey.



Underway on the Missouri

Watch the video to see how the Corps of Discovery sailed up the Missouri River to begin their expedition.



Making Friends Upriver

Watch the video to see which Native American peoples the Corps met and traded with as they made their journey west.



The Shores of the Pacific

Watch the video to see how the Corps tried to adapt to a different climate and the new peoples that they met along the Pacific coast.

CHAPTER 7

BALANCING NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM

Essential Question

How did regional differences contribute to the growing conflict over states' rights versus federal power?



What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will analyze how nationalism gave way to sectionalism and influenced the conflict over states' rights.

SECTION 1: Regional Economies Create Differences

Main Idea The North and the South developed different economic systems that led to political differences between the regions.

SECTION 2: Nationalism at Center Stage

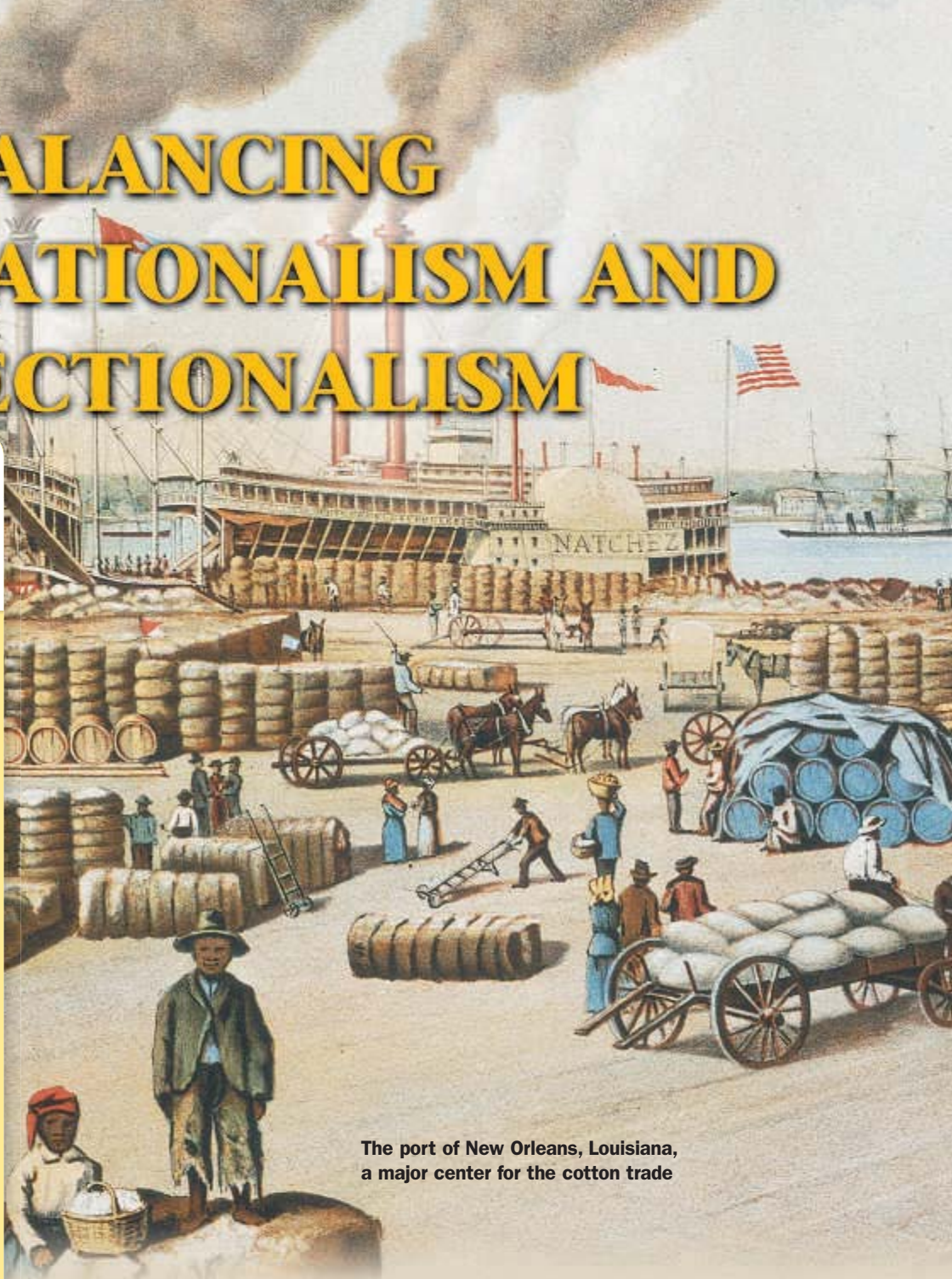
Main Idea Nationalism exerted a strong influence in the courts, foreign affairs, and westward expansion in the early 1800s.

SECTION 3: The Age of Jackson

Main Idea Andrew Jackson's policies spoke for the common people but violated Native American rights.

SECTION 4: States' Rights and the National Bank

Main Idea Andrew Jackson confronted two important issues during his presidency—states' rights and a national bank.



The port of New Orleans, Louisiana, a major center for the cotton trade

1817 Construction begins on the Erie Canal.

1819 U.S. acquires Florida from Spain.

1820 James Monroe is reelected president.

1820 Congress agrees to the Missouri Compromise.

1824 John Quincy Adams is elected president.

USA
WORLD

1815

1820

1825

1815 Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo.

1819 Simón Bolívar becomes president of Colombia.



1822 Freed U.S. slaves found Liberia on the west coast of Africa.

1824 Mexico becomes a republic.



James Monroe

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

The year is 1828. You are a senator from a Southern state. Congress has just passed a high tax on imported cloth and iron in order to protect Northern industry. The tax will raise the cost of these goods in the South and will cause Britain to buy less cotton. Southern states hope to nullify, or cancel, such federal laws that they consider unfair.

Explore the Issues

- What might happen if some states enforce laws and others don't?
- How can Congress address the needs of different states?
- What does it mean to be a nation?

1828 Andrew Jackson is elected president.



1832 Andrew Jackson is reelected.

1836 Martin Van Buren is elected president.

1838 Removal of the Cherokee along the Trail of Tears begins.



1840 William Henry Harrison is elected president.

1830

1830 France invades Algeria.

1835

1833 British Parliament takes steps to end employment of children under nine years of age.



1837 Victoria becomes queen of England.

1840

1839 Opium War breaks out in China.

SECTION 1

Regional Economies Create Differences

MAIN IDEA

The North and the South developed different economic systems that led to political differences between the regions.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Different regions of the country continue to have differing political and economic interests today.

Terms & Names

- Eli Whitney
- interchangeable parts
- mass production
- Industrial Revolution
- cotton gin
- Henry Clay
- American System
- National Road
- Erie Canal
- Tariff of 1816

One American's Story



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the different economic systems of the North and South.

In a dramatic presentation in front of President John Adams in 1801, inventor **Eli Whitney** demonstrated the first musket made of **interchangeable parts**, parts that are exactly alike. He assembled a musket from pieces chosen at random from crates full of parts. Whitney had made his musket parts the old-fashioned way, by hand. Nonetheless, his efforts were the first steps toward developing tools with which unskilled workers could make uniform parts.



A PERSONAL VOICE ELI WHITNEY

“One of my primary objects is to form the tools so the tools themselves shall fashion the work and give to every part its just proportion—which when once accomplished will give expedition, uniformity, and exactness to the whole. . . . In short, the tools which I contemplate are similar to an engraving on copper plate from which may be taken a great number of impressions exactly alike.”

—quoted in *Eli Whitney and the Birth of American Technology*

Better tools sped up the manufacture of goods and improved their reliability. Inventions and ideas such as these would affect different regions of the young nation in different ways.

▲ In 1798, Eli Whitney manufactured 10,000 muskets in just two years. At that time, arms factories could produce only around 300 guns a year.

Another Revolution Affects America

During the 19th century, new approaches to manufacturing, such as Whitney's interchangeable parts, took industry out of American households and artisans' workshops. Factories became the new centers of industry. The factory system (using power-driven machinery and laborers assigned to different tasks) made **mass production**—the production of goods in large quantities—possible. These changes in manufacturing brought about an **Industrial Revolution**—social and economic reorganization that took place as machines replaced hand tools and large-scale factory production developed.

GREAT BRITAIN STARTS A REVOLUTION The Industrial Revolution actually first began in Great Britain. It was in Britain, during the 18th century, that inventors came up with ways to generate power using swiftly flowing streams and bountiful supplies of coal. Inventors then developed power-driven machinery and ways to use this machinery to quickly mass-produce goods such as textiles. British merchants built the first factories. When these factories prospered, their owners had the money to build more factories, invent more labor-saving machines, and industrialize the nation.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES The primary source of income in America after the War of Independence was international trade, not manufacturing. Farms and plantations produced agricultural products such as grain and tobacco, which were shipped to Great Britain, southern Europe, and the West Indies. However, two events—the passage of President Thomas Jefferson’s Embargo Act of 1807 and the War of 1812—turned the attention of Americans toward the development of domestic industries. Jefferson’s embargo, which prohibited Americans from shipping goods to Europe, brought to a standstill the once-thriving foreign trade. In fact, by the time Congress repealed the act in 1809, many shipping centers—especially those in New England—had shut down.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

A What effects did the Embargo Act of 1807 and the War of 1812 have on Americans involved in shipping and foreign trade?

Then, just as these seaports recovered, the War of 1812 broke out, and the British navy blockaded much of the coastline. With ships unable to get into or out of U.S. harbors, Americans had to invest their capital in ventures other than overseas shipping. **A**

NEW ENGLAND INDUSTRIALIZES Probably nowhere else in the nation was the push to invest in industry as great as in New England. There, citizens had depended heavily upon shipping and foreign trade for income. Agriculture in the region was not highly profitable.

In 1793, a British immigrant named Samuel Slater had established in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, the first successful mechanized textile factory in America. However, Slater’s factory and those modeled after it still only mass-produced one part of the textile, or finished cloth: thread.

Then, in 1813, three Bostonians revolutionized the American textile industry by mechanizing all the stages in the manufacture of cloth. Using plans from an English mill, Francis Cabot Lowell, Nathan Appleton, and Patrick Tracy Jackson built a weaving factory in Waltham, Massachusetts, and outfitted it with power machinery. By 1822 Appleton and Jackson had made enough money to build a larger operation. The changes that their factory triggered in the town of Lowell—named for their deceased partner, Francis Cabot Lowell—exemplify the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution. By the late 1820s, quiet little Lowell had become a booming manufacturing center. Thousands of people—mostly young women who came to Lowell because their families’ farms were in decline—journeyed there in search of work. **B**

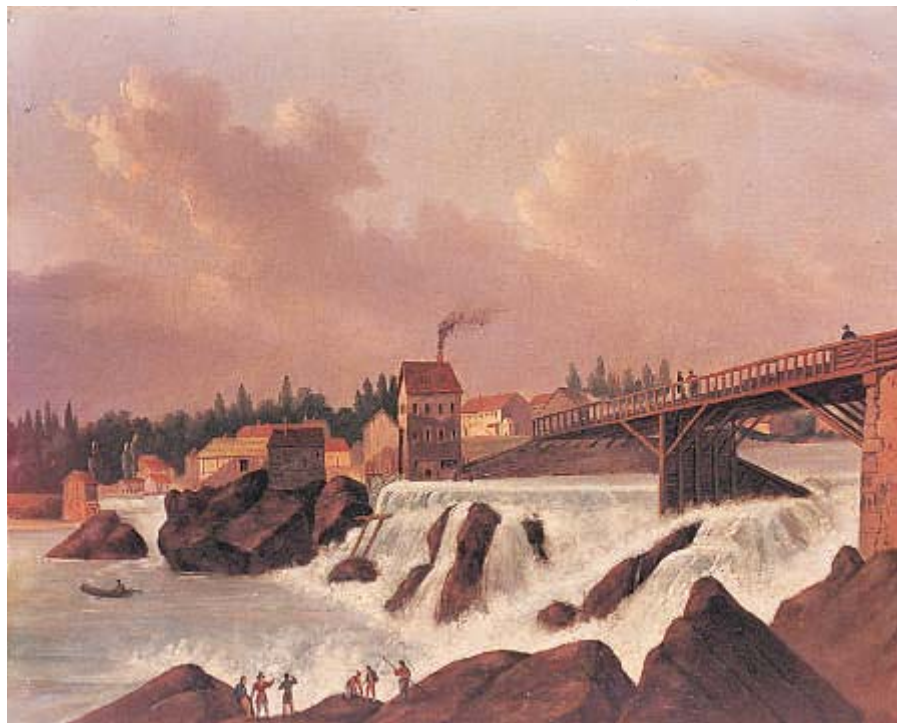
Samuel Slater’s cotton mill drew its power from the Blackstone River in Pawtucket, Rhode Island.



MAIN IDEA

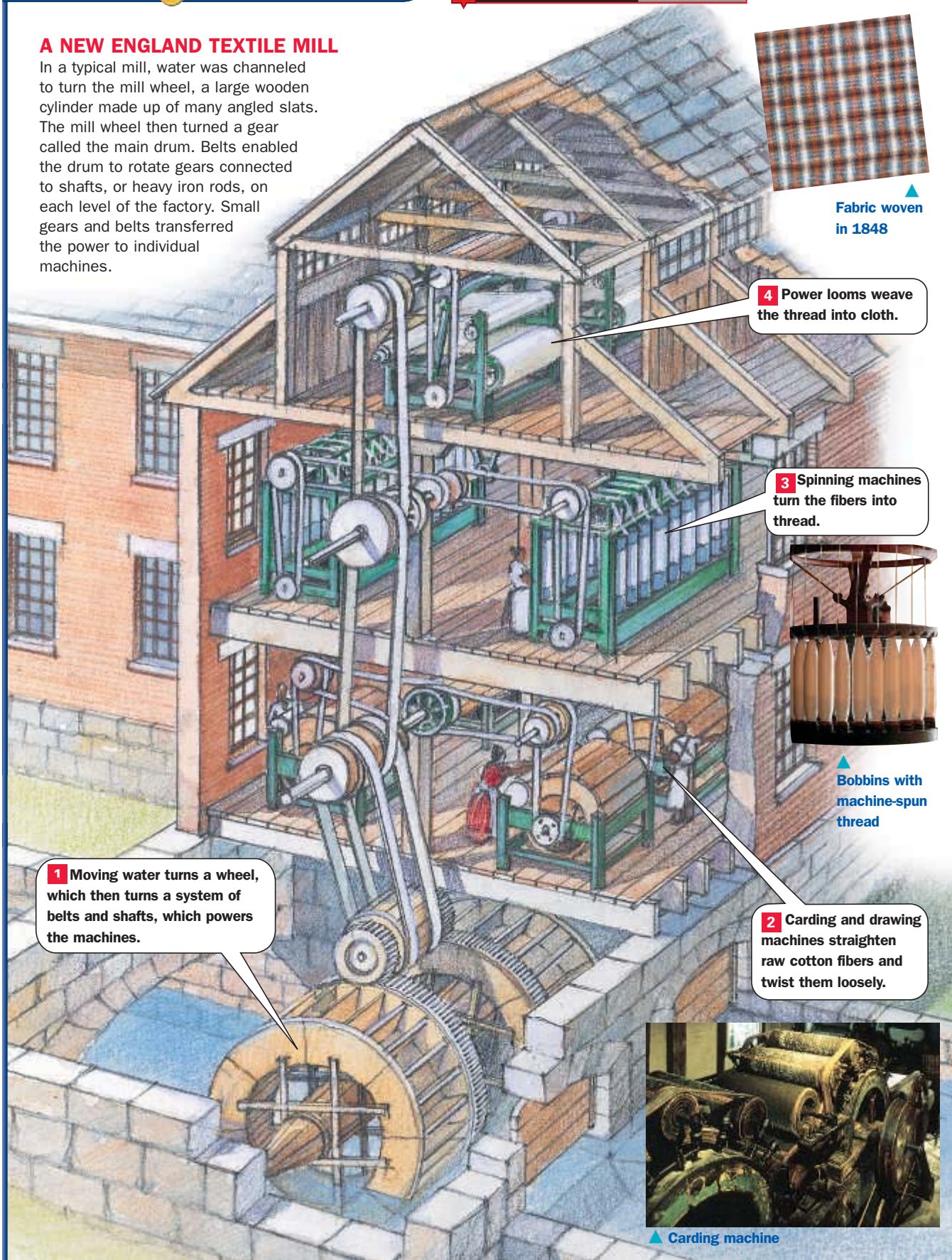
Summarizing

B How did manufacturing develop in New England?



A NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE MILL

In a typical mill, water was channeled to turn the mill wheel, a large wooden cylinder made up of many angled slats. The mill wheel then turned a gear called the main drum. Belts enabled the drum to rotate gears connected to shafts, or heavy iron rods, on each level of the factory. Small gears and belts transferred the power to individual machines.



4 Power looms weave the thread into cloth.

3 Spinning machines turn the fibers into thread.



▲ Bobbins with machine-spun thread

1 Moving water turns a wheel, which then turns a system of belts and shafts, which powers the machines.

2 Carding and drawing machines straighten raw cotton fibers and twist them loosely.



▲ Carding machine



▲ Fabric woven in 1848

Two Economic Systems Develop

Northeasterners, prompted by changing economic conditions, invested their capital in factories and manufacturing operations. Cash crops did not grow well in the Northern soil and climate. Southerners, on the other hand, had begun to reap huge profits from cotton by the mid-1790s. The South had little incentive to industrialize. As a result, the North and the South continued to develop two distinct economies, including very different agricultural systems.

AGRICULTURE IN THE NORTH The North had not eliminated agriculture. However, the type of land and the growth of cities in the North encouraged farmers to cultivate smaller farms than Southerners did, and to grow crops that did not require much labor to flourish.

Farmers in the North usually started out growing only what their families needed. Then farming practices in the Old Northwest—the area north of the Ohio River, encompassing what is now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan—diverged from farming practices in the Northeast. As cities grew, farmers in the Old Northwest discovered that they could raise one or two types of crops or livestock (corn and cattle, for example), and sell what they produced at city markets. They could then purchase from stores whatever else they needed. Such grain crops as corn did not require much labor to grow, nor were they hugely profitable, so there was little demand for slaves. In the Northeast, farms were even smaller than those in the Northwest, so here too there was little demand for slavery.

By the late 1700s, slavery in the North was dying out. Farmers had little economic motivation to use slaves, and an increasing number of Northerners began to voice their religious and political opposition to slavery. Consequently, by 1804 almost all of the Northern states had voluntarily abolished slavery. **C**

COTTON IS KING IN THE SOUTH Eli Whitney's invention of a **cotton gin** (short for "cotton engine") in 1793 had helped to set the South on a different course of development from the North. Short-staple (or short-fiber) cotton was easier to grow but harder to clean than long-staple cotton. Whitney's gin made it possible for Southern farmers to grow short-staple cotton for a profit. Since cotton was in great demand in Britain and, increasingly, in the North, an efficient machine for cleaning the seeds from short-staple cotton proved a major breakthrough. Armed with the cotton gin, poor, nonslaveholding farmers quickly claimed land in the area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi south of the Ohio to begin cultivating this cash-producing crop. Wealthier planters followed, bought up huge areas of land, and then put an enormous slave labor force to work cultivating it. By 1820, this plantation system of farming had transformed Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama into a booming Cotton Kingdom. In this way, the cotton gin accelerated the expansion of slavery. **D**

SLAVERY BECOMES ENTRENCHED Although slave importation had declined during the American Revolution, by the 1820s the demand for slaves had begun

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

C Why was slavery abolished in the North?

MAIN IDEA

Comparing

D How were the agricultural systems of the North and South different?



AGRICULTURE AND MIGRATION

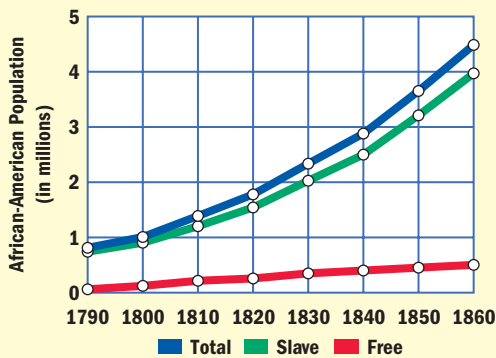
Changes in agricultural technology often cause large population movements. Today's agricultural technology enables farmers to plant and grow crops with fewer workers than in the past, but many hands are still needed at harvest time. The United States has about half a million migrant agricultural workers. Whole families may move seasonally following the harvest. Children of migrant workers, like this 11-year old boy in Plainview, Texas, often help in the fields at peak harvest times.

In the early 1800s, the cotton gin led to a mass movement of planters and slaves into Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Mechanical cotton pickers replaced huge communities of field hands in the 1930s. Many laborers were African Americans, who then migrated from rural to urban areas in search of work.

THE COTTON GIN

In 1794, Eli Whitney was granted a patent for a “new and useful improvement in the mode of Ginning [cleaning] Cotton.” Workers who previously could clean only one pound of cotton per day could now, using the gin, clean as much as fifty thousand bales in 1790 to more than two million bales in 1850. Increased cotton production meant an increase in the number of slaves needed on plantations.

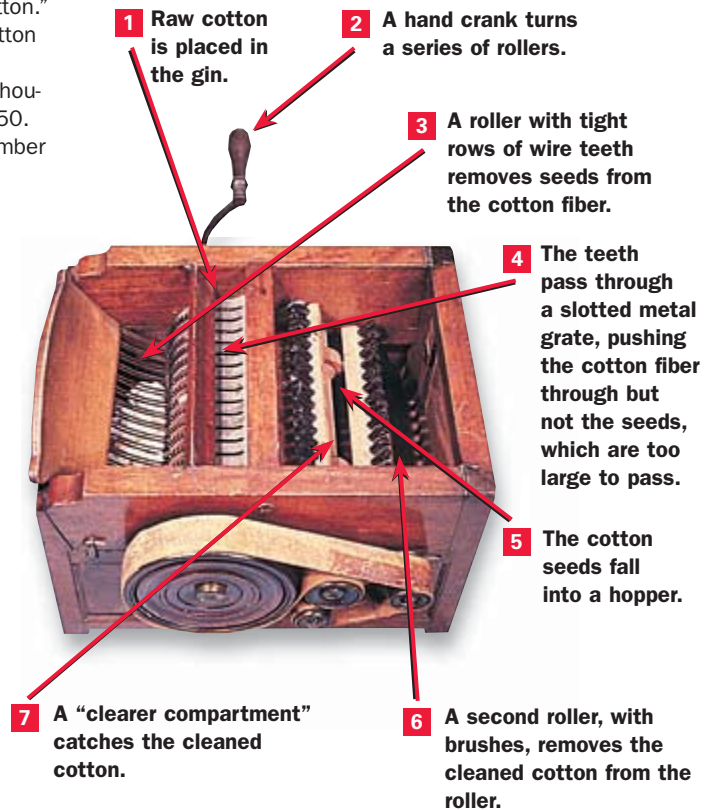
African-American Population in the United States, 1790–1860



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population: 1790–1915*.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs

1. About how many African-American slaves were in the United States in 1860?
2. How do the number of free African Americans and the number of slaves compare from 1790 to 1860?



to grow. Increases in cotton production and increases in the number of slaves owned paralleled each other. From 1790 to 1810, cotton production surged from 3,000 bales a year to 178,000 bales, while the number of slaves in the South leapt from 700,000 to 1,200,000. By 1808 slave traders had brought 250,000 additional Africans to the United States—as many as had been brought to the mainland American colonies between 1619 and 1776.

Clay Proposes the American System

As the North and South developed different economies, the creation of a plan to unify the nation became increasingly important. In 1815, President Madison presented such a plan to Congress. He hoped his agenda would both unite the different regions of the country and create a strong, stable economy that would make the nation self-sufficient. His plan included three major points:

- developing transportation systems and other internal improvements
- establishing a protective tariff
- resurrecting the national bank (established during Washington’s administration under Hamilton’s guidance, and then much reduced in influence under Jefferson)

The plan held promise. Recognizing this, even former critics of the president—Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun—rallied behind it. House Speaker **Henry Clay** began to promote it as the **American System**.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

E What was the intention of the American System?

As Clay explained it, the American System would unite the nation's economic interests. An increasingly industrial North would produce the manufactured goods that farmers in the South and West would buy. Meanwhile, a predominantly agricultural South and West would produce most of the grain, meat, and cotton needed in the North. A nationally accepted currency and improved transportation network would facilitate the exchange of goods. With each part of the country sustaining the other, Americans would finally be economically independent of Britain and other European nations. **E**

ERIE CANAL AND OTHER INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS For people in different regions to do business with one another and for the economy to grow, they had to communicate, travel, and transport goods. The first steam locomotive in the United States was built in 1825. Railroads offered several advantages over existing modes of transport; they were fast, able to cross almost any terrain, and possible to operate in severe weather. Most transportation at this time, however, was still accomplished using roads and canals. Eventually, better roads and canals would lower costs. But in the short run, they would cost money.

Many states built turnpikes, which paid for themselves through the collection of tolls paid by users who, literally, turned a pike (or spiked pole) to continue their journey along the road. At the same time the federal government experimented with funding highways, which would connect different regions by land. Construction of the **National Road** began in 1811. By 1838 the new road extended from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois.

One of the most impressive projects, the **Erie Canal**, stretched 363 miles. The “Big Ditch,” as it was called, took eight years to dig, and by 1825 had linked the Hudson River to Lake Erie—or, in effect, the Atlantic Ocean to the Great Lakes. Just 12 years after it had opened, canal tolls had completely paid for its construction. New York City had become the dominant port in the country. In their rush to make similar profits, other states built over 3,000 miles of canals by 1837.

Major Roads, Canals, and Railroads, 1840

hmhsocialstudies.com INTERACTIVE MAP



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- 1. Movement** Were roads or canals a more powerful factor in unifying the United States in the first half of the 1800s?
- 2. Region** Which region had the heaviest concentration of roads, canals, and railroads? Why?

TARIFFS AND THE NATIONAL BANK Why were the tariffs on imports proposed by Madison and promoted by Clay necessary? Ever since the end of the War of 1812, British goods such as iron and textiles—stockpiled during the war—were sold far below the cost of American-made merchandise. Consequently, few bought the more expensive American products. Placing a tariff on imports would increase the cost of foreign goods and thereby eliminate their price advantage. Moreover, tariff revenues would help pay for internal improvements, such as roads, canals, and lighthouses. For these reasons, President James Madison proposed the **Tariff of 1816**.

Most Northeasterners welcomed protective tariffs with relief. However, people in the South and West, whose livelihoods did not depend on manufacturing, were not as eager to tax European imports. They resented any government intervention that would make goods more expensive. Nevertheless, Clay, who was from the West (Kentucky), and Calhoun, a Southerner from South Carolina, managed to sway congressmen from their regions to approve the Tariff of 1816 in the national interest.

Attitudes toward the proposed Second Bank of the United States (BUS) were less divided. Most leaders agreed that a national bank would benefit all. The Second Bank would make available a currency guaranteed to be accepted nationwide, thus making it easier for people in different regions to do business with one another. In 1816, Congress chartered the Second Bank of the United States for a 20-year period.

People were pleased with the way the country was developing. In 1816, they elected James Monroe of Virginia as president. Soon after his inauguration in 1817, Monroe took a goodwill tour of New England, receiving a warm welcome in Boston. The idea of a Republican from Virginia being welcomed in this northern Federalist stronghold impressed the nation. The Boston *Columbian Centinel* declared that Americans had entered an “Era of Good Feelings.”



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- **Eli Whitney**
- **interchangeable parts**
- **mass production**
- **Industrial Revolution**
- **cotton gin**
- **Henry Clay**
- **American System**
- **National Road**
- **Erie Canal**
- **Tariff of 1816**

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a two-column chart like the one shown, describe the economic systems of the North and the South with regard to both agriculture and manufacturing.

Economies	
North	South
Agriculture	Agriculture
Manufacturing	Manufacturing

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING EFFECTS

What shifts in population might be attributed to advances in technology and changes in regional economies during America's Industrial Revolution? Support your answer with examples from the text.

Think About:

- the industrialization of New England
- agricultural changes in the South
- improvements in internal transportation systems

4. SYNTHESIZING

How was the American System expected to unite the nation's economic interests? Provide several examples.

5. PREDICTING EFFECTS

Do you think the invention of the railroad would hasten or slow the construction of new roads and canals? Why?

Nationalism at Center Stage

MAIN IDEA

Nationalism exerted a strong influence in the courts, foreign affairs, and westward expansion in the early 1800s.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Nationalism continues to affect such decisions as whether or not we should involve the country in foreign conflicts and what limits can be placed on business, communications, and other trade.

Terms & Names

- *McCulloch v. Maryland*
- John Quincy Adams
- nationalism
- Adams-Onís Treaty
- Monroe Doctrine
- Missouri Compromise

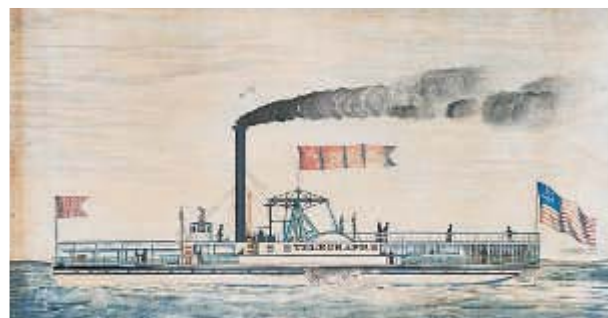
One American's Story



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes about how nationalism influenced the United States.

In 1807 Robert Fulton's boat, the *Clermont*, propelled by a steam engine, cruised the 150 miles up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany in 32 hours. This successful demonstration marked the beginning of the steamboat era. Another one of Fulton's boats was so luxurious that it had a wood-paneled dining room and private bedrooms. Fulton posted regulations on his opulent steamboats.



A PERSONAL VOICE ROBERT FULTON

"As the steamboat has been fitted up in an elegant style, order is necessary to keep it so; gentlemen will therefore please to observe cleanliness, and a reasonable attention not to injure the furniture; for this purpose no one must sit on a table under the penalty of half a dollar each time, and every breakage of tables, chairs, sofas, or windows, tearing of curtains, or injury of any kind must be paid for before leaving the boat."

—quoted in *Steamboats Come True: American Inventors in Action*

▲ Like Fulton's *Clermont*, the *Telegraph* was a 19th-century steamboat.

Steamboats carried freight as well as passengers, and this new method of transportation spread quickly to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. For the next 20 years, the steamboat was one factor that helped to unite the economic life of the North and the South. It thus contributed to the growing national spirit.

The Supreme Court Boosts National Power

In 1808, Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston received a charter from the New York legislature that gave them the exclusive right to run steamboats on rivers in that state. They profited from this state charter, which granted them a

monopoly (exclusive legal control of a commercial activity), by charging steamboat operators for licenses to operate on various stretches of river.

One of these operators was Aaron Ogden. Ogden was licensed by Fulton and Livingston under the laws of New York State to run his steamship line between New York and New Jersey. Ogden believed that he was the only operator legally entitled to run a steamboat service on that stretch of the Hudson. Then Thomas Gibbons began to run a similar service in the same area, claiming that he was entitled to do so according to federal law. Ogden took Gibbons to court to stop him. However, in 1824 the Supreme Court ruled that interstate commerce could be regulated only by the federal government. In other words, Ogden's "exclusive" right granted by New York was not legal, since the route crossed state lines.

More important, by clarifying that Congress had authority over interstate commerce, the *Gibbons v. Ogden* decision helped to ensure that the federal government has the power to regulate just about everything that crosses state lines. In modern life, that authority means everything from air traffic to television and radio waves to interstate cellular communications. In addition, this decision led to future rulings favoring competition over monopolies. In this way, nationalism exerted a strong influence on the legal system.

STRENGTHENING GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC CONTROL

In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), as in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, Chief Justice John Marshall had also guided the Supreme Court to a ruling that strengthened the federal government's control over the economy. The Court's ruling also supported the national government over the state governments.

Maryland had levied a heavy tax on the local branch of the Bank of the United States, hoping to make it fail. Marshall declared that if this were allowed, states would in effect be overturning laws passed by Congress. The Chief Justice denied the right of Maryland to tax the Bank, stating that "the power to tax is the power to destroy." He declared the Bank of the United States constitutional.

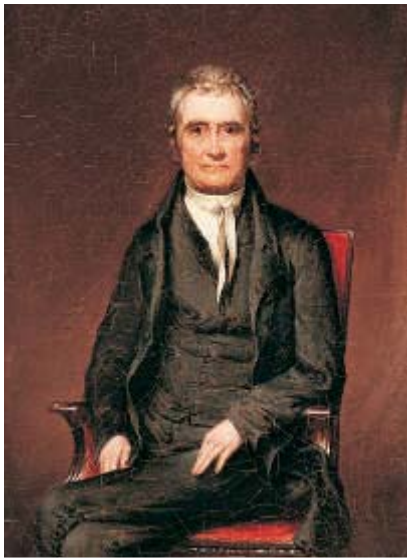
LIMITING STATE POWERS Under Chief Justice Marshall, the Supreme Court made several rulings that blocked state interference in business and commerce—even when this meant overturning state law. In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), for example, the Court nullified a Georgia law that had violated individuals' constitutional right to enter into contracts. In the *Dartmouth College*

v. Woodward (1819) decision, the Court declared that the state of New Hampshire could not revise the original charter it had granted to the college's trustees in colonial times. A charter was a contract, the Court said, and the Constitution did not permit states to interfere with contracts. **A**

Nationalism Shapes Foreign Policy

Chief Justice Marshall guided the Supreme Court to decisions that increased the power of the federal government over the state government. At the same time, Secretary of State **John Quincy Adams** established foreign policy guided by **nationalism**—the belief that national interests should be placed ahead of regional concerns or the interests of other countries.

TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES Working under President James Monroe, Adams prioritized the security of the nation and expansion of its territory. To further these interests, Adams worked out a treaty with Great Britain to reduce the Great Lakes fleets of both countries to only a few military vessels. The Rush-Bagot



▲ John Marshall was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1801 by Federalist President John Adams.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

A In what ways did the Supreme Court boost federal power?

U.S. Boundary Settlements, 1803–1819



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- Place** What rivers did the Adams-Onís Treaty line follow?
- Region** What body of water lies due south of the eastern lands gained by the U.S. in the Adams-Onís Treaty?

Treaty (1817) eventually led the United States and Canada to completely demilitarize their common border. Adams also arranged the Convention of 1818, which fixed the U.S. border at the 49th parallel up to the Rocky Mountains. Finally, he reached a compromise with Britain to jointly occupy the Oregon Territory, the territory west of the Rockies, for ten years.

There remained one outstanding piece of business. Most Americans assumed that Spanish Florida would eventually become part of the United States. In 1819, too weak to police its New World territories, Spain ceded Florida to the United States in the **Adams-Onís Treaty** and gave up its claims to the Oregon Territory.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE After Spain and Portugal defeated Napoleon in 1815, these European powers wanted to reclaim their former colonies in Latin America. Meanwhile, the Russians, who had been in Alaska since 1784, were establishing trading posts in what is now California.

With Spain and Portugal trying to move back into their old colonial areas, and with Russia pushing in from the northwest, the United States knew it had to do something. Many Americans were interested in acquiring northern Mexico and the Spanish colony of Cuba. Moreover, the Russian action posed a threat to American trade with China, which brought huge profits.

Hence, in his 1823 message to Congress, President Monroe warned all outside powers not to interfere with affairs in the Western Hemisphere. They should not attempt to create new colonies, he said, or try to overthrow the newly independent republics in the hemisphere. The United States would consider such action “dangerous to our peace and safety.” At the same time, the United States would not involve itself in European affairs or interfere with existing colonies in the Western Hemisphere. These principles became known as the **Monroe Doctrine**.

MAIN IDEA

Synthesizing

B How did the foreign policies of John Quincy Adams and James Monroe serve national interests?

Nationalism Pushes America West

While Presidents Adams and Monroe established policies that expanded U.S. territory, American settlers pushed into the Northwest Territory (present-day Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan), felling forests, turning lush prairies into farms and waterfronts into city centers.

EXPANSION TO THE WEST While some settlers went west to escape debts or even the law, most pushed westward in search of economic gain—for land was not only plentiful and fertile but cheap. There were also social gains to be made. For example, one could change occupations more easily on the frontier. Jim Beckwourth (1798–1867), the son of a white man and an African-American woman, ventured westward with a fur-trading expedition in 1823. He lived among the Crow, who gave him the name “Bloody Arm” because of his skill as a fighter. Later he served as an Army scout. In California in 1850, he decided to settle down and become a rancher, yet this was not the last of his occupations.

A PERSONAL VOICE JIM BECKWOURTH

“In the spring of 1852 I established myself in Beckwourth Valley, and finally found myself transformed into a hotel-keeper and chief of a trading-post. My house is considered the emigrant’s landing-place, as it is the first ranch he arrives at in the golden state, and is the only house between this point and Salt Lake. Here is a valley two hundred and forty miles in circumference, containing some of the choicest land in the world.”

—quoted in *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*



Jim Beckwourth

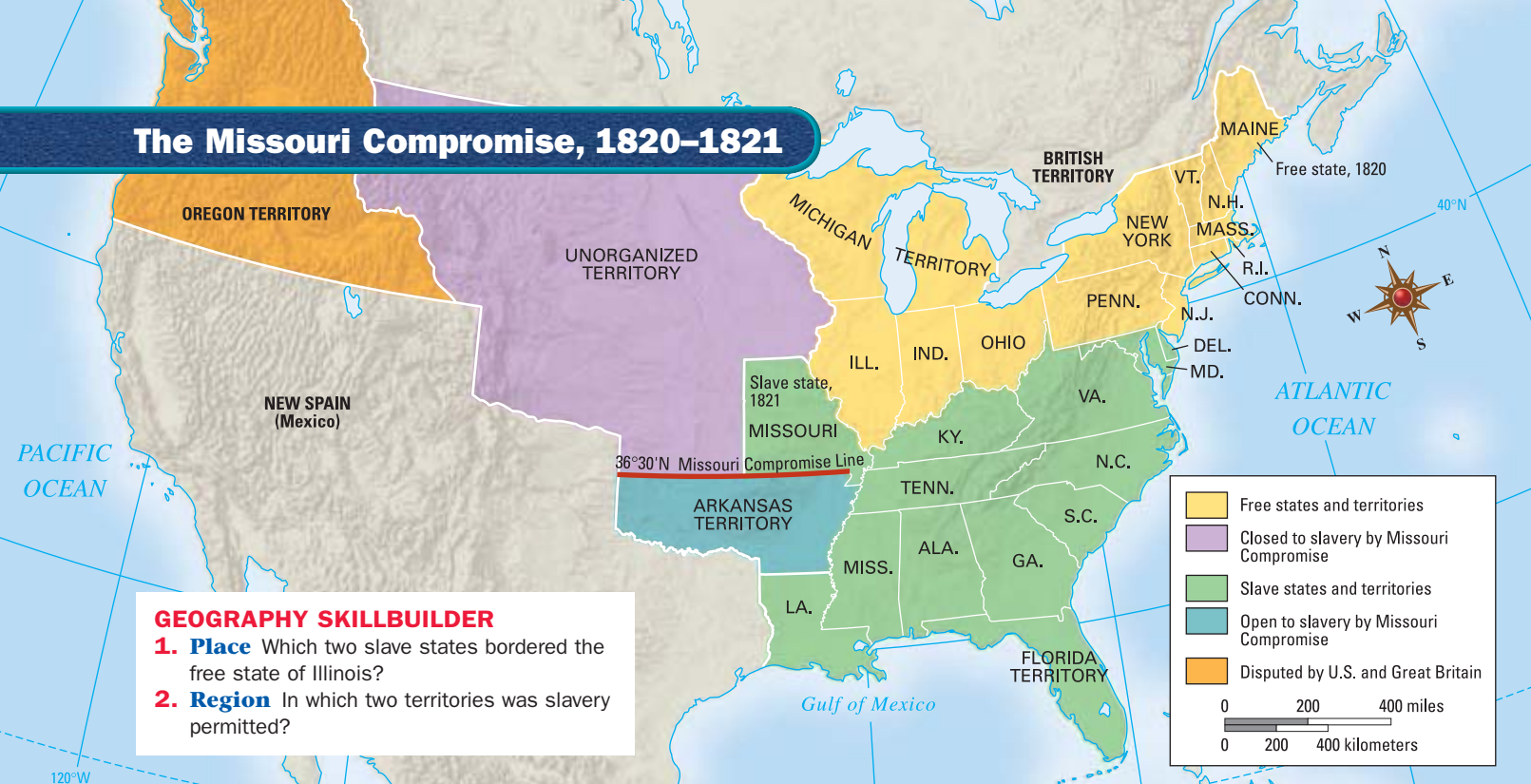
THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE When a territory’s population reached about 60,000, the people of the territory could petition the Union for admission, draft a state constitution, elect representatives, and become part of the United States, once Congress approved. In 1819, however, when settlers in Missouri requested admission into the Union, conflict arose. In Missouri, the new spirit of nationalism was challenged by an issue that had previously confronted the framers of the Constitution. That issue was the question of slavery.

Until 1818, the United States had consisted of ten free and ten slave states. The government admitted Illinois as the eleventh free state in 1818. Southerners then expected that Missouri would become the eleventh slave state, thereby maintaining the balance between free states and slave states in Congress. However, New York Congressman James Tallmadge amended the Missouri statehood bill to require Missouri to gradually free its slaves, a bill that passed the House. Southerners, perceiving a threat to their power, blocked the bill’s passage in the Senate. As arguments raged, Alabama was then admitted to the Union as a slave state. With 11 free to 11 slave states, Missouri’s status became crucial to the delicate balance.

The slaveholding states claimed that Northerners were trying to end slavery. Northerners accused Southerners of plotting to extend the institution into new territories. Hostilities became so intense that at times people on both sides even mentioned civil war and the end of the Union. Indeed, the issues that came to light during these debates foreshadowed the war to come. “We have the wolf by the ears,” wrote the aging Thomas Jefferson of this crisis, “and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go.”

Under the leadership of Henry Clay, however, Congress managed to temporarily resolve the crisis with a series of agreements collectively called the **Missouri Compromise**. Maine was admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state, thus preserving the sectional balance in the Senate. The rest of the Louisiana Territory was split into two spheres of interest, one for slaveholders and one for free settlers. The dividing line was set at 36° 30′ north latitude. South

The Missouri Compromise, 1820–1821



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- Place** Which two slave states bordered the free state of Illinois?
- Region** In which two territories was slavery permitted?

of the line, slavery was legal. North of the line—except in Missouri—slavery was banned. Thomas Jefferson was among those who feared for the Union’s future after the Missouri Compromise. His words would prove prophetic.

A PERSONAL VOICE THOMAS JEFFERSON

“This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence.”

—letter to John Holmes, April 22, 1820

President Monroe signed the Missouri Compromise in 1820. For a generation, the problem of slavery in federal territories seemed settled.

SECTION 2

ASSESSMENT

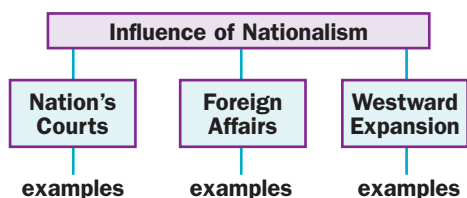
- 1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- *McCulloch v. Maryland*
- nationalism
- Monroe Doctrine
- John Quincy Adams
- Adams-Onís Treaty
- Missouri Compromise

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a diagram like the one shown, write historical examples that illustrate the influence of nationalism.



CRITICAL THINKING

3. HYPOTHESIZING

What short- and long-term goals might President Monroe have had in mind when he formulated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823? Support your answer. **Think About:**

- European nations’ presence in the Western Hemisphere
- the influence of nationalism on foreign policy
- the nation’s westward expansion

4. SYNTHESIZING

What agreements did Congress reach that are regarded collectively as the Missouri Compromise? Why were they important at the time?

5. EVALUATING

From what you know about the Missouri Compromise and the controversy that preceded it, do you think the new spirit of nationalism in the United States was strong or fragile? Support your opinion.

SECTION 3

The Age of Jackson

MAIN IDEA

Andrew Jackson's policies spoke for the common people but violated Native American rights.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The effects of land losses and persecution faced by Native Americans in the 1800s continue to be reflected in their legal struggles today.

Terms & Names

- Andrew Jackson
- Democratic-Republican Party
- spoils system
- Indian Removal Act
- Trail of Tears

One American's Story



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on key events during the Age of Jackson.

The era of the leaders who had founded the nation passed with Adams's and Jefferson's deaths in 1826. During an extended conversation with John Adams in 1776, Thomas Jefferson had tried to convince him to draft the Declaration of Independence.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN ADAMS

"[Adams] said 'I will not.' . . .

'What can be your reasons?'

'Reason first—You are a Virginian, and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second—I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third—You can write ten times better than I can.'

'Well,' said Jefferson, 'if you are decided, I will do as well as I can.'"

—quoted in *John Adams: A Biography in His Own Words*

Thus began a mutual regard that would last for 50 years. On July 4, 1826, exactly 50 years after the delegates approved the Declaration of Independence, both men died. Now the presidency belonged to another generation.



▲ This Gilbert Stuart portrait of John Adams was begun in 1798, when Adams was 63.

Expanding Democracy Changes Politics

When John Adams died, his son John Quincy Adams was in the second year of his single term as president. He had succeeded James Monroe as president but was not effective as the nation's chief executive. The principal reason was **Andrew Jackson**, his chief political opponent.

TENSION BETWEEN ADAMS AND JACKSON In the election of 1824, Andrew Jackson won the popular vote but lacked the majority of electoral votes. The House of Representatives had to decide the outcome, since no candidate had received a majority of the votes of the electoral college.

Because of his power in the House, Henry Clay could swing the election either way. Clay disliked Jackson personally and mistrusted his lack of political experience. “I cannot believe,” Clay commented, “that killing twenty-five hundred Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies [him] for the various difficult and complicated duties of [the presidency].” Adams, on the other hand, agreed with Clay’s American System. In the end, Adams was elected president by a majority of the states represented in the House.

Jacksonians, or followers of Jackson, accused Adams of stealing the presidency. When Adams appointed Clay secretary of state, the Jacksonians claimed that Adams had struck a corrupt bargain. The Jacksonians left the Republican Party to form the **Democratic-Republican Party** (forerunner of today’s Democratic Party) and did whatever they could to sabotage Adams’s policies.

DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP During Adams’s presidency, most states eased the voting requirements, thereby enlarging the voting population. Fewer states now had property qualifications for voting. In the presidential election of 1824, approximately 350,000 white males voted. In 1828, over three times that number voted, and their votes helped Andrew Jackson. However, certain groups still lacked political power. Free African Americans and women did not enjoy the political freedoms of white males. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Predicting Effects

A How might reducing property requirements for voting affect political campaigns?

Background

The Battle of New Orleans in 1815 made Jackson a national hero. The British attacked Jackson’s forces at New Orleans in January 1815. American riflemen mowed down advancing British forces. American casualties totaled 71, compared to Britain’s 2,000.

Jackson’s New Presidential Style

The expansion of voting rights meant that candidates had to be able to speak to the concerns of ordinary people. Andrew Jackson had this common touch.

JACKSON’S APPEAL TO THE COMMON CITIZEN During the 1828 campaign, Jackson characterized Adams as an intellectual elitist and, by contrast, portrayed himself as a man of humble origins—though he was actually a wealthy plantation owner. Jackson won the election by a landslide. He was so popular that record numbers of people came to Washington to see “Old Hickory” inaugurated.

President-elect Andrew Jackson on his way to Washington, D.C., to be inaugurated in 1829



Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith described the scene.



VIDEO

Jackson's
Personality and
Legacy

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A PERSONAL VOICE MRS. SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH

“The President, after having been *literally* nearly pressed to death and almost suffocated and torn to pieces by the people in their eagerness to shake hands with Old Hickory [Jackson], had retreated through the back way, or south front, and had escaped to his lodgings at Gadsby’s. Cut glass and china to the amount of several thousand dollars had been broken in the struggle to get the refreshments. . . . Ladies fainted, men were seen with bloody noses, and such a scene of confusion took place as is impossible to describe; those who got in could not get out by the door again but had to scramble out of windows.”

—from a letter dated March 1829

KEY PLAYER



ANDREW JACKSON 1767–1845

Andrew Jackson thought of himself as a man of the people. The son of Scots-Irish immigrants, he had been born in poverty in the Carolinas. He was the first president since George Washington without a college education.

At the time of his election at the age of 61, however, Jackson had built a highly successful career. He had worked in law, politics, land speculation, cotton planting, and soldiering. Victory at New Orleans in the War of 1812 had made him a hero. His Tennessee home, the Hermitage, was a mansion. Anyone who owned more than a hundred slaves, as Jackson did, was wealthy.

Underlying Jackson’s iron will was a fiery temper. He survived several duels, one of which left a bullet lodged near his heart and another of which left his opponent dead. His ire, however, was most often reserved for special-interest groups and those whose power came from privilege.

JACKSON’S SPOILS SYSTEM If Jackson knew how to inspire loyalty and enthusiasm during a campaign, he also knew how to use the powers of the presidency upon gaining office. He announced that his appointees to federal jobs would serve a maximum of four-year terms. Unless there was a regular turnover of personnel, he declared, office-holders would become inefficient and corrupt.

Jackson’s administration practiced the **spoils system**—so called from the saying “To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy”—in which incoming officials throw out former appointees and replace them with their own friends. He fired nearly 10 percent of the federal employees, most of them holdovers from the Adams administration, and gave their jobs to loyal Jacksonians. Jackson’s friends also became his primary advisers, dubbed his “kitchen cabinet” because they supposedly slipped into the White House through the kitchen. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B What is the spoils system?

Removal of Native Americans

Since the 1600s, white settlers had held one of two attitudes toward Native Americans. Some whites favored the displacement and dispossession of all Native Americans. Others wished to convert Native Americans to Christianity, turn them into farmers, and absorb them into the white culture.

Since the end of the War of 1812, some Southeastern tribes—the Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, and Chickasaw—had begun to adopt the European culture of their white neighbors. These “five civilized tribes,” as they were called by whites, occupied large areas in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Many white planters and miners wanted that land.

INDIAN REMOVAL ACT OF 1830 Jackson thought that assimilation could not work. Another possibility—allowing Native Americans to live in their original areas—would have required too many troops to keep the areas free of white settlers. Jackson believed that the only solution was to move the Native Americans from their lands to areas farther west.

Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act** in 1830. Under this law, the federal government funded negotiation of treaties that would force the Native Americans to move west.

About 90 treaties were signed. For Jackson, the removal policy was “not only liberal, but generous,” but his arguments were mainly based on the rights of states to govern within their own boundaries. **C**

In 1830, Jackson pressured the Choctaw to sign a treaty that required them to move from Mississippi. In 1831, he ordered U.S. troops to forcibly remove the Sauk and Fox from their lands in Illinois and Missouri. In 1832, he forced the Chickasaw to leave their lands in Alabama and Mississippi.

THE CHEROKEE FIGHT BACK Meanwhile, the Cherokee Nation tried to win just treatment through the U.S. legal system. Chief Justice John Marshall refused to rule on the first case the Cherokee brought against Georgia, though, because in his view the Cherokee Nation had no federal standing; it was neither a foreign nation nor a state, but rather a “domestic dependent nation.” Undaunted, the Cherokee teamed up with Samuel Austin Worcester, a missionary who had been jailed for teaching Indians without a state license. The Cherokee knew the Court would have to recognize a citizen’s right to be heard.

In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the Cherokee Nation finally won recognition as a distinct political community. The Court ruled that Georgia was not entitled to regulate the Cherokee nor to invade their lands. Jackson refused to abide by the Supreme Court decision, saying: “John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it.”

Cherokee leader John Ross still tried to fight the state in the courts, but other Cherokee began to promote relocation. In 1835, federal agents declared the

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

C Why did Jackson think that Native Americans should be moved west of the Mississippi?



VIDEO

Jackson v. the Cherokee and South Carolina

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POINT

“The Indian Removal Act of 1830 was a terrible injustice.”

John Marshall, chief justice of the Supreme Court, believed that the Cherokee had “an unquestionable right” to their territory “until title should be extinguished by voluntary cession to the United States.”

In their protest against the Indian Removal Act, the Cherokee people referred to past treaties with the federal government and stated, “We have a perfect and original right to remain without interruption and molestation.” Congressman Edward Everett of Massachusetts described Indian removal as “inflicting the pains of banishment from their native land on seventy or eighty thousand human beings.” Rejecting claims that the removal was necessary to protect the Indians against white settlers, Everett demanded, “What other power has the Executive over a treaty or law, but to enforce it?”

In their 1832 protest against the Act, the Creek pointedly asked, “Can [our white brethren] exempt us from intrusion in our promised borders, if they are incompetent to our protection where we are?”

COUNTERPOINT

“The Indian Removal Act of 1830 was unfortunate but necessary.”

Blame for the displacement of Native Americans was sometimes placed on the states or on the law, which, it was argued, all people must obey. As Secretary of War John Eaton explained to the Creek of Alabama: “It is not your Great Father who does this; but the laws of the Country, which he and every one of his people is bound to regard.”

President Andrew Jackson contended that the Indian Removal Act would put an end to “all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians.”

Jackson also claimed that the Indian Removal Act would protect Native Americans against further removal from their lands. He found support for his point of view from Secretary of War Lewis Cass, who defended “the progress of civilization and improvement.” Cass wished “that the aboriginal population had accommodated themselves to the inevitable change of their condition,” but asserted that “such a wish is vain.”

THINKING CRITICALLY

1. CONNECT TO HISTORY Analyzing Primary Sources

On what central issue regarding the Indian Removal Act did Jackson and Native American tribes disagree? Explain your opinion of the Act.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R22.

2. CONNECT TO TODAY Analyzing Issues

Research how one of the five tribes was affected by the Indian Removal Act. Write a proposal for how the U.S. government might today make reparations to the group for land losses in the 19th century.

minority who favored relocation the true representatives of the Cherokee Nation and promptly had them sign the Treaty of New Echota. This treaty gave the last eight million acres of Cherokee land to the federal government in exchange for approximately \$5 million and land “west of the Mississippi.” The signing of this treaty marked the beginning of the Cherokee exodus. However, when by 1838 nearly 20,000 Cherokee still remained in the East, President Martin Van Buren (Jackson’s successor) ordered their forced removal. U.S. Army troops under the command of General Winfield Scott rounded up the Cherokee and drove them into camps to await the journey. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

D How did the Cherokee react to the Indian Removal Act?

THE TRAIL OF TEARS Beginning in October and November of 1838, the Cherokee were sent off in groups of about 1,000 each on the long journey. The 800-mile trip was made partly by steamboat and railroad but mostly on foot. As the winter came on, more and more of the Cherokee died en route.

A PERSONAL VOICE TRAIL OF TEARS SURVIVOR

“Children cry and many men cry, and all look sad like when friends die, but they say nothing and just put heads down and keep on go towards West. Many days pass and people die very much.”

—quoted in *From the Heart: Voices of the American Indian*

Along the way, government officials stole the Cherokee’s money, while outlaws made off with their livestock. The Cherokee buried more than a quarter of their people along what came to be known as the **Trail of Tears**. When they reached their final destination, they ended up on land far inferior to that which they had been forced to leave.



NATIVE AMERICAN LANDS

Native Americans continue to struggle for recognition of land rights.

In the 2002 picture above, Native American leaders testify during a Congressional hearing on the protection of sacred sites. Many of these sites are threatened by development, pollution, or vandalism.

Other present-day Native Americans have won recognition of their land claims. Over the past 30 years, the federal government has settled property disputes with several tribes in Connecticut, Maine, and other states and has provided them with funds to purchase ancestral lands.



ASSESSMENT

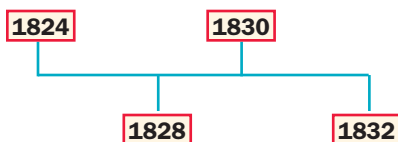
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Andrew Jackson
- Democratic-Republican Party
- spoils system
- Indian Removal Act
- Trail of Tears

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Create a time line like the one shown here, listing key events relating to Jackson’s political career.



Do you think Jackson was an effective leader? Why or why not?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING

If you were a U.S. citizen voting in the 1828 presidential election, would you cast your ballot for John Quincy Adams or Andrew Jackson? Support your choice. **Think About:**

- each candidate’s background and political experience
- each candidate’s views of the national bank and tariffs
- where you might live—the South, the West, or New England

4. ANALYZING EVENTS

In your opinion, what factors set the stage for the Indian Removal Act? Support your answer. **Think About:**

- the attitude of white settlers toward Native Americans
- Jackson’s justification of the Indian Removal Act
- why Jackson was able to defy the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Worcester v. Georgia*

States' Rights and the National Bank

MAIN IDEA

Andrew Jackson confronted two important issues during his presidency—states' rights and a national bank.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The conflict between states' rights and federal government control continues to flare up in such arenas as education, commerce, and law enforcement.

Terms & Names

- Daniel Webster
- John C. Calhoun
- Tariff of Abominations
- Bank of the United States
- Whig Party
- Martin Van Buren
- panic of 1837
- William Henry Harrison
- John Tyler

One American's Story

On January 26, 1830, Massachusetts senator **Daniel Webster** rose in the Senate and delivered one of the great speeches of American history.

A PERSONAL VOICE DANIEL WEBSTER

“When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union. . . . Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic . . . bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as ‘What is all this worth?’ nor those other words of delusion and folly, ‘Liberty first and Union afterwards’; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, . . . that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!”

—speech delivered in the Senate on January 26 and 27, 1830

Daniel Webster defended the federal government's power to make laws that applied to all states in the Union.

“Liberty first and Union afterwards” was favored by John C. Calhoun, one of Webster's greatest opponents in the struggle between states' rights and federal authority. The question of how much power the federal—as opposed to the state—government should have come to a head over the issue of tariffs.

A Tariff Raises the States' Rights Issue

When the War of 1812 ended, British manufacturers wanted to destroy their American competitors by flooding the U.S. market with inexpensive goods. In response, Congress in 1816 passed a tariff to protect the infant American industries. The tariff was increased in 1824 and again in 1828.

THE NULLIFICATION THEORY Jackson's vice-president, **John C. Calhoun** of South Carolina, called the 1828 tariff a **Tariff of Abominations**, a “disgusting and loathsome” tariff. As an agricultural region dependent on cotton, the South had to compete in the world market. The high tariff on manufactured goods reduced British exports to the United States and forced the South to buy the more

Webster's Reply to Hayne (date unknown), G.P.A. Healy. Courtesy of the Boston Art Commission 2007



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TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes about key issues during Jackson's presidency.

expensive Northern manufactured goods. From the South's point of view, the North was getting rich at the expense of the South. One observer remarked that when Southerners "see the flourishing villages of New England they cry, 'We pay for all this.'"

Calhoun was in an unusual and politically dangerous position. He had long been known as a nationalist spokesman, and he had supported the protective tariff of 1816. Calhoun was building a career as a national statesman, having served under both Adams and Jackson as vice-president. The situation in his home state, however, had made him change his views. South Carolina's economy had failed to recover fully from an economic depression. Cotton prices remained low because planters and their slaves were moving to more fertile lands in Alabama and in the lower Mississippi River valley. Some South Carolinians began to wonder if Calhoun really cared about the needs of his state. He soon showed them that he did.

Calhoun devised a nullification theory, which basically questioned the legality of applying some federal laws in sovereign states. Calhoun's argument was that the United States Constitution was based on a compact among the sovereign states. If the Constitution had been established by 13 sov-

ereign states, he reasoned, then each had the right to nullify, or reject, a federal law that it considered unconstitutional. In 1828 Calhoun wrote down his theory in a document entitled "The South Carolina Exposition," but he did not sign his name to it. Nor did he say what he privately felt. Calhoun believed that if the federal government refused to permit a state to nullify a federal law, the state had the right to withdraw from the Union. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

A What was Calhoun's nullification theory?

HAYNE AND WEBSTER DEBATE STATES' RIGHTS The tariff question (and the underlying states' rights issue) was discussed in one of the great debates in American history. In January 1830, visitors to the Senate listened to Senator

KEY PLAYERS



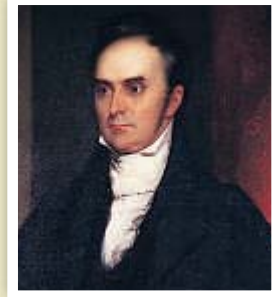
JOHN C. CALHOUN
1782–1850

John Caldwell Calhoun entered national politics in 1811 when he was elected to the House of Representatives. There he was labeled a War Hawk for his support of the War of 1812. As President Monroe's secretary of war starting in 1817, Calhoun improved the army's organization.

This ambitious and handsome man with dark, flashing eyes served as vice-president under two presidents—John Quincy Adams, elected in 1824, and Andrew Jackson, elected in 1828.

Calhoun had a hard and humorless side. He took a tough position on slavery, arguing that it was not only necessary but even good:

"There never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not . . . live on the labor of the other."



DANIEL WEBSTER
1782–1852

In New England he was known as the "godlike Daniel." New Hampshire native Daniel Webster actually began his career in favor of states' rights. After moving to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1816, however, his views changed. New England's textile manufacturers needed a strong national government to protect their interests. As a lawyer and a congressman, Webster represented Boston's business interests. He argued several landmark cases before the Supreme Court, including *Gibbons v. Ogden*.

Webster was best known for his skill as an orator, but he hungered after the presidency. He ran for the highest office twice, never winning. Late in his career he said:

"I have given my life to law and politics. Law is uncertain and politics is utterly vain."

Robert Hayne of South Carolina debate Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Hayne delivered a pointed condemnation of the tariff.

A PERSONAL VOICE SENATOR ROBERT HAYNE

“The measures of the federal government . . . will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. But even this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest—a principle, which substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the constitution, brings the States and the people to the feet of the federal government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own.”

—from a speech to Congress, January 21, 1830

On January 26 Webster replied that he could not conceive of a “middle course, between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution, or rebellion, on the other.”

Once the debates ended, the people wanted to hear President Jackson’s position. On April 13, at a public dinner, he clarified his position in a toast: “Our Union: it must be preserved.” Calhoun replied with an equally pointed toast: “The Union, next to our liberty, the most dear; may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union.” The two men would not work together again; in fact, Calhoun resigned the vice-presidency in 1832. Jackson would run for reelection with former secretary of state Martin Van Buren.

South Carolinians wore emblems made from palmetto leaves to show their support for nullification.



SOUTH CAROLINA REBELS The issue of states’ rights was finally put to a test in 1832 when Congress passed a tariff law that South Carolina legislators still found unacceptable. They responded by declaring the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 “unauthorized by the Constitution” and “null, void, and no law.” Then they threatened to secede, or withdraw, from the Union, if customs officials tried to collect duties.

Jackson was furious. Although himself a Southerner and a slaveholder, he believed that South Carolina’s action in declaring a federal law null and void flouted the will of the people as expressed in the U.S. Constitution. He declared South Carolina’s actions treasonous and threatened to hang Calhoun and march federal troops into South Carolina to enforce the tariff. To make good on his threats, Jackson next persuaded Congress to pass the Force Bill in 1833. This bill allowed the federal government to use the army and navy against South Carolina if state authorities resisted paying proper duties.

A bloody confrontation seemed inevitable until Henry Clay stepped in. In 1833 the Great Compromiser proposed a tariff bill that would gradually lower duties over a ten-year period. For now, the crisis between states’ rights and federal authority was controlled, but the issue would continue to cause conflict in the 1840s and 1850s and would be a major cause of the Civil War. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

B What were Jackson’s and Calhoun’s differing opinions on states’ rights versus federal authority?

Jackson Attacks the National Bank

Although Andrew Jackson never did resort to sending troops into South Carolina, he did wage a very personal war on the **Bank of the United States (BUS)**. In fact, during the same year he dealt with the South Carolina crisis, 1832, he vetoed the bill to recharter the Bank.

JACKSON OPPOSES THE BANK The Second Bank's 20-year charter was not due to expire until 1836, but Henry Clay and Daniel Webster wanted to introduce the renewal earlier to make it a campaign issue. They thought that Jackson might veto a new charter and, in so doing, lose some of his support. They underestimated, however, both the public's dislike of the BUS and Jackson's political skill.

Jackson and his allies made certain that the general public came to think of the BUS as a privileged institution. Jacksonians did have some powerful facts to support their opinions. Since all federal tax revenues were deposited in the BUS rather than state or private banks, the Second Bank had an unfair advantage over other banks. Furthermore, BUS stockholders, not average American taxpayers, earned the interest from these deposits. A privileged few were making money that should have benefited all the taxpayers. In addition, the bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, often extended loans to congressmen at much lower rates of interest than the bank gave to the average citizen. **C**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

C What were some of Jackson's reasons for opposing the Second Bank of the United States?

PET BANKS In 1832, Jackson told his running mate, Martin Van Buren, that the BUS was a "monster" that corrupted "our statesmen" and wanted "to destroy our republican institution." "The bank, Mr. Van Buren, is trying to kill me, but *I will kill it.*" After Jackson's reelection in 1832, he tried to kill the BUS before its charter ran out in 1836. He appointed a secretary of the treasury who was willing to place all government funds in certain state banks. The banks were called "pet banks" because of their loyalty to the Democratic Party.

In an attempt to save the BUS, Nicholas Biddle decided to have the bank call in—or demand repayment of—loans. He also refused to make new loans. He hoped that these actions would cause a frustrated public to demand the passage of a new bank charter. Businessmen descended on Washington, D.C., to plead



VIDEO

Jackson v. the Bank of America

hmhsocialstudies.com

Analyzing Political Cartoons

"KING ANDREW THE FIRST"

Andrew Jackson once justified his tendency to place personal prerogative above constitutional law or national policy by stating that "One man with courage makes a majority." His critics replied with accusations of tyranny. The *New York American* condemned Jackson as a "maniac," who would "trample the rights of our people under his feet." The Whig convention of 1834 declared, "your president has become your MONARCH."

Both of those sentiments are reflected in this political cartoon which portrays Jackson as a king. Ancient portraits of kings often depicted them grinding their conquered enemies beneath their heels. Notice that beneath Jackson's feet are the torn pages of the Constitution. Notice, too, that in one hand Jackson is holding a scepter, a symbol of kingly power, while in the other he is holding the veto, a symbol of presidential power.

SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What does this cartoon suggest about Jackson's attitude towards the Constitution?
2. How does this cartoon specifically comment on Jackson's use of presidential power?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



with Jackson for help. Jackson firmly told them they were talking to the wrong man. “Go to Nicholas Biddle,” he said.

Pressure from financial leaders finally forced Biddle to adopt a more generous loan policy. However, the entire chain of events had by this time cost Biddle much of his backing. In 1836, when its charter expired, the Second Bank of the United States became just another Philadelphia bank. Five years later, it went out of business.

WHIG PARTY FORMS Jackson’s tactics and policies had angered many people, including some members of his own Democratic Party. In 1834 the discontented—including Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster—channeled their frustrations into action; they formed a new political party called the **Whig Party**. The Whigs backed the ideals of the American System, as promoted by Henry Clay. Besides a protective tariff, they wanted to use federal money to construct roads and canals to foster the exchange of goods between regions. The Whigs also backed federal control of the banking system and a nationally accepted currency. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

D Why was this a good time for the formation of the Whig Party?

Van Buren Deals with Jackson’s Legacy

When Jackson announced that he would not run for a third term, the Democrats chose Vice-President **Martin Van Buren** as their candidate. The newly formed Whig Party, which in 1836 was not able to agree on a single candidate, ran three regional candidates against him. With Jackson’s support Van Buren won the election easily. Along with the presidency, however, Van Buren inherited the dire consequences of Jackson’s bank war and money policies.

JACKSON’S LEGACY Many of Jackson’s pet banks—where federal funds had been deposited—were wildcat banks. These banks printed bank notes wildly in excess of the gold and silver they had on deposit, and were doomed to fail when many people attempted to redeem their currency for gold or silver.

Since the notes printed by wildcat banks were nearly worthless, the federal government was left holding the bag when people used them to purchase land from the government. Jackson realized what was happening. He caused the Treasury Department to issue an order that made only gold and silver, called specie, acceptable payment for public land. The order went into effect on August 15, 1836, and sent people rushing to banks to trade paper currency for gold and silver. In turn, many banks, which had limited specie, suspended the redemption of bank notes.

By May 1837, New York banks stopped accepting all paper currency. Other banks soon did the same. In the **panic of 1837**, bank closings and the collapse of the credit system cost many people their savings, bankrupted hundreds of businesses, and put more than a third of the population out of work.

Van Buren tried to help by reducing federal spending, but that caused already declining prices to drop further. Then he tried to set up an independent treasury that would use only gold and silver coin. In 1840 Congress established this treasury, but the demand for gold and silver it created only worsened matters. **E**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

E How did Jackson’s actions hurt the nation’s economy?

NOW & THEN

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS

In 1840, the campaign slogan “Tippecanoe and Tyler, too” helped William Henry Harrison win the White House. Harrison’s party, the Whigs, printed their slogan on ribbons, metal badges, and even dinner plates.

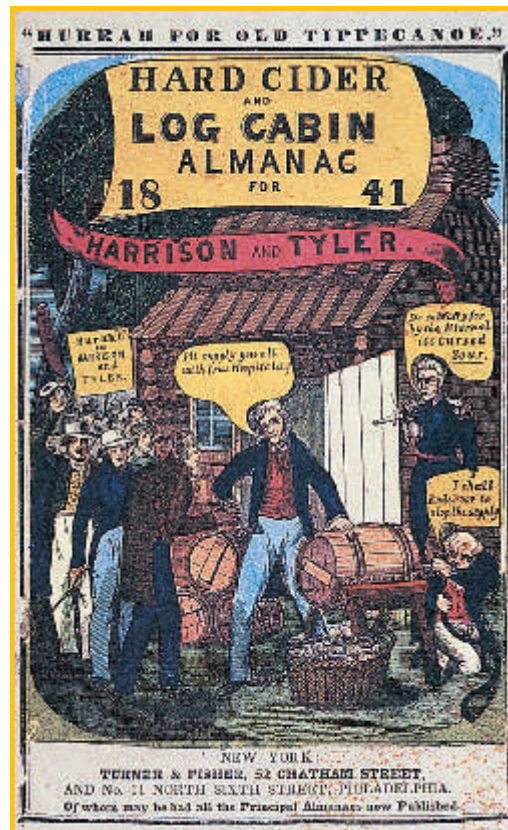
Today, politicians find TV an efficient way to reach a large audience. During the 2000 election cycle, political parties, candidates, and issue advocacy groups spent 77 percent more on TV ads than they had in 1996.

However, critics believe that television ads have a negative impact on the democratic process. Candidates outside the two-party system rarely can afford as many TV ads as the major-party candidates. In 1998, a presidential advisory committee recommended that TV stations voluntarily provide five minutes a day of candidate coverage to help balance this inequality; only seven percent of TV stations participated in 2000.

HARRISON AND TYLER That same year, the Democratic Party candidate Van Buren ran for reelection against Whig Party candidate **William Henry Harrison**—but this time the Whigs had an advantage. They portrayed Harrison, the old war hero, as a man of the people and Van Buren as a pampered, privileged aristocrat. Actually, Van Buren was more of a common man; he was the son of a tavern owner and never earned much money. Harrison, on the other hand, came from a wealthy family and lived in a 16-room mansion.

Harrison won and immediately took steps to enact the Whig program to revitalize the economy, which was still in a severe depression. However, just a month after his inauguration he died of pneumonia.

John Tyler, Harrison's vice-president and successor, opposed many parts of the Whig program for economic recovery. The Whigs had put Tyler on the ballot to pick up Southern votes; they never thought he would play much of a role in government. During the next four years, however, they would see his inclusion on the ticket as a grave mistake—and would begin referring to President Tyler as “His Accidency.”



◀ An almanac cover celebrating the election of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. His campaign symbols, hard cider (an alcoholic beverage) and a log cabin, were meant to show that Harrison was a man of the people.

SECTION 4

ASSESSMENT

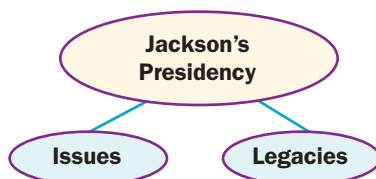
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Daniel Webster
- Bank of the United States
- Martin Van Buren
- William Henry Harrison
- John C. Calhoun
- Whig Party
- panic of 1837
- John Tyler
- Tariff of Abominations

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a chart like the one shown, list the key issues that Jackson confronted and the important legacies of his administration.



In what ways does one of these legacies continue today?

THINKING CRITICALLY

3. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS

In what ways do you think the tariff crises of 1828 and 1832 might be considered important milestones in American history before the Civil War? Use evidence from the text to support your response.

Think About:

- Calhoun's nullification theory
- the Hayne-Webster debate
- why Jackson pushed Congress to pass the Force Bill

4. ANALYZING ISSUES

How do you think Jackson might have countered his critics' accusation that he was acting like a king? Support your answer.

5. COMPARING

Compare the strategy William Henry Harrison used in the 1840 presidential campaign to strategies used in today's political campaigns. In what ways are they alike? Give examples.

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance during the early 19th century.

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Eli Whitney | 7. spoils system |
| 2. Industrial Revolution | 8. Trail of Tears |
| 3. John Quincy Adams | 9. Bank of the United States (BUS) |
| 4. nationalism | 10. Whig Party |
| 5. Missouri Compromise | |
| 6. Andrew Jackson | |

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Regional Economies Create Differences

(pages 212–218)

1. What key changes in technology and methods of organizing manufacturing spurred the Industrial Revolution?
2. How did people in the Northeast, the South, and the West react to the Tariff of 1816?

Nationalism at Center Stage (pages 219–223)

3. Cite two ways in which the *Gibbons v. Ogden* decision set the stage for future Supreme Court rulings.
4. Why did conflict arise when Missouri requested admission into the Union?

The Age of Jackson (pages 224–229)

5. What changes occurred in the voting population and in voting patterns between the presidential elections of 1824 and 1828?
6. What alternatives did Jackson have in shaping a policy to tackle the problem of Native Americans?

States' Rights and the National Bank

(pages 230–235)

7. What measures was Jackson willing to take in response to South Carolina's threat to secede in 1832?
8. Why did Jackson oppose the Bank of the United States?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Create a continuum similar to the one below, labeled with *compromise* at one end and *confrontation* at the other. Mark where you think Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun would fall on the continuum. Support your ratings by citing historical events in which these men played critical roles.

compromise

confrontation



2. **HYPOTHESIZING** What do you think would have happened if the Indian Removal Act of 1830 had not been passed, and Native Americans had remained on their lands? Use evidence to support your answer.
3. **ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES** Read the quotation from John C. Calhoun. How does his choice of words reflect issues of the time? Explain your response.

"I never use the word 'Nation' in speaking of the United States. We are not a Nation, but a Union, a confederacy of equal and sovereign States."

VISUAL SUMMARY**BALANCING NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM****FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO NATIONALISM**

- The American System
- U.S. Supreme Court under John Marshall
- John Quincy Adams's foreign policy
- Monroe Doctrine
- Missouri Compromise
- Westward expansion
- Indian Removal Act of 1830

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SECTIONALISM

- Industrial Revolution
- Development of different economic systems in the North and South
- Slavery
- Tariffs of 1828 and 1832



STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the quotation below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.

“Every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant . . . exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act [to recharter the Second Bank of the United States] before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.”

—Andrew Jackson, from *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1902*

1. The excerpt suggests that Jackson’s vision of government’s role in a democracy is to —
 - A address the rights and concerns of all citizens.
 - B increase the power of wealthy citizens.
 - C provide a national bank for its citizens.
 - D support only the poor citizens.
2. Which reason best explains why the theory of nullification was widely supported in the South?
 - F Southerners believed that states had the right to determine whether federal laws were constitutional.
 - G Southerners wanted to continue buying manufactured goods from Britain.
 - H Southerners wanted to divide the United States into two separate countries.
 - J Southerners did not want to pay the high tariffs that Congress passed.
3. Two politicians who each were elected president after campaigning as the candidate of the “common man” were —
 - A John C. Calhoun and Andrew Jackson.
 - B William Henry Harrison and John Tyler.
 - C Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison.
 - D Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay.

 hmhsocialstudies.com **TEST PRACTICE**

For additional test practice, go online for:

- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Think about the issues you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Now that you know more about nullification and the fight over tariffs and states’ rights, form small groups and discuss the following question: Would you have supported the federal or state government?

FOCUS ON WRITING

The clash between supporters of states’ rights and the federal government has come to a head. This conflict has divided the nation. Write a persuasive essay arguing for or against states’ rights. In your essay, include a clear argument for your position. Use examples to support your point of view.

MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY



Choose a technological development of the early 1800s and create a Web site to advertise it. Visit the Chapter Assessment links for research leads. Possible inventions include the cotton gin, the steam engine, and the spinning mule. Use vivid language to describe how the invention works, what it accomplishes, what kind of labor it requires, and its effects on how people live or work. Include an image of the invention.

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CHAPTER 8

REFORMING AMERICAN SOCIETY

Essential Question

What were the causes and effects of the Second Great Awakening and the various reform movements that swept the nation in the first half of the 19th century?



What You Will Learn

In this chapter you will learn how the Second Great Awakening started a period of great social reform.

SECTION 1: Religion Sparks Reform

Main Idea A renewal of religious sentiment—known as the Second Great Awakening—inspired a host of reform movements.

SECTION 2: Slavery and Abolition

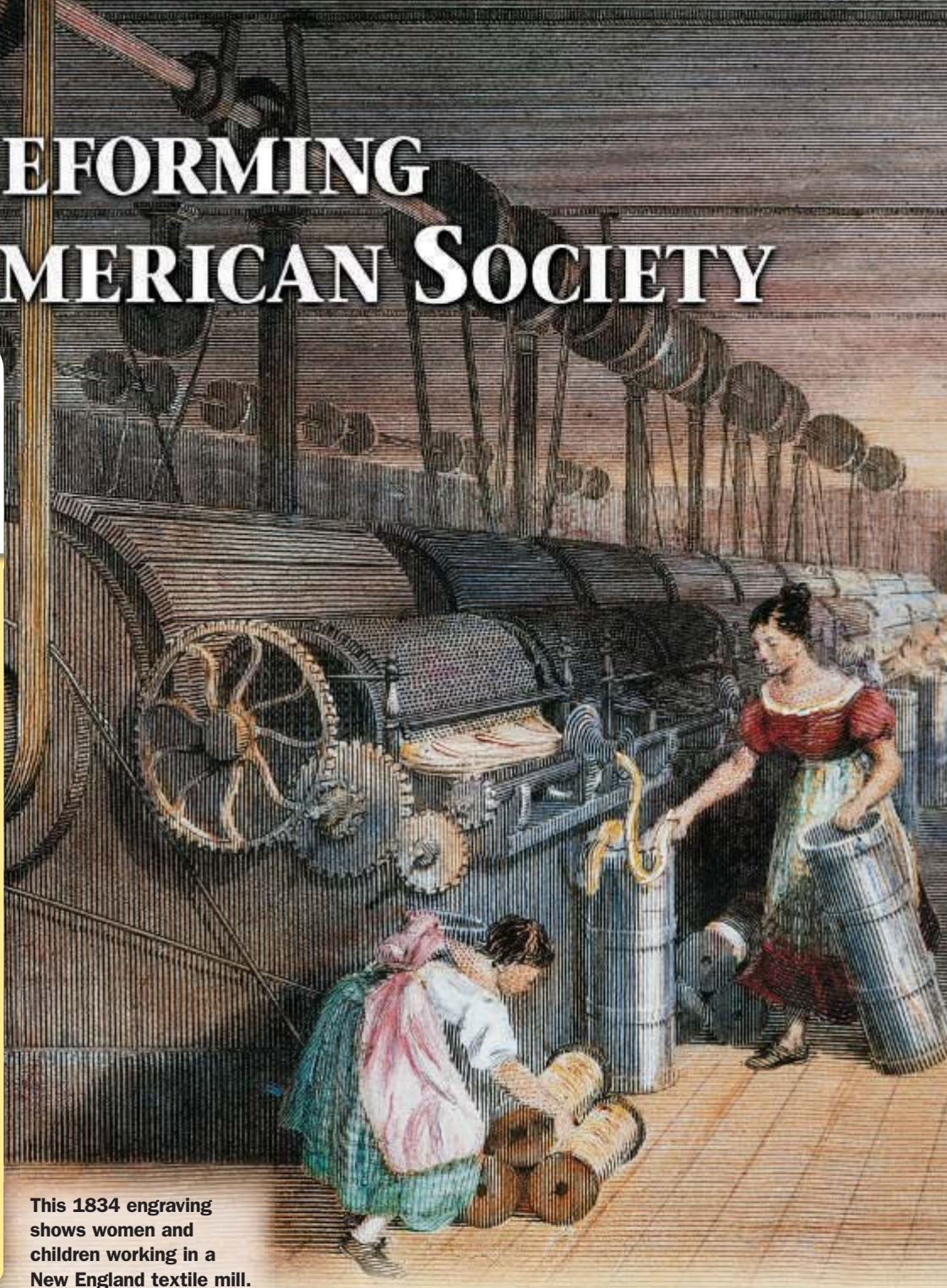
Main Idea Slavery became an explosive issue, as more Americans joined reformers working to put an end to it.

SECTION 3: Women and Reform

Main Idea Women reformers expanded their efforts from movements such as abolition and temperance to include women's rights.

SECTION 4: The Changing Workplace

Main Idea A growing industrial workforce faced problems arising from manufacturing under the factory system.



This 1834 engraving shows women and children working in a New England textile mill.



1822 Large textile mill opens in Lowell, Massachusetts.

1827 Sojourner Truth is freed from slavery.

1829 David Walker prints *Appeal*, a pamphlet urging slaves to revolt.

1831 Nat Turner leads slave rebellion.

1834 National Trades' Union is formed.

USA
WORLD

1820

1830

1820 Revolts break out in Spain and Portugal.

1832 Britain passes its first Reform Bill.

1833 Britain abolishes slavery in its empire.



HISTORY

Freedom's Road:
Slavery and the
Opposition

hmhsocialstudies.com VIDEO ACTIVE MAP

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

The year is 1834. You work in the textile mills in Massachusetts and provide most of the income for your family. The mill owners have gradually increased your workload to 12 hours a day. Now they are going to cut your pay by 15 percent. Coworkers are angry and are discussing what they can do.

Explore the Issues

- What are some conditions you would not tolerate?
- What actions pressure businesses to change?
- What moral arguments would you present?

1838

Frederick Douglass flees to New York City to escape slavery.



1841 Utopian community is established at Brook Farm.

1845 Henry David Thoreau moves to Walden Pond.



1848 Seneca Falls Convention on women's rights is held.

1840

1839

French and British introduce first forms of photography.



1840 World's Anti-Slavery Convention is held in London.

1845 Great Potato Famine begins in Ireland.



1850

1848 Revolutions erupt across Europe, causing many Germans and others to move to America.



Religion Sparks Reform

MAIN IDEA

A renewal of religious sentiment—known as the **Second Great Awakening**—inspired a host of reform movements.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Many modern social and political reform movements grew out of the reform movements of 19th-century America.

Terms & Names

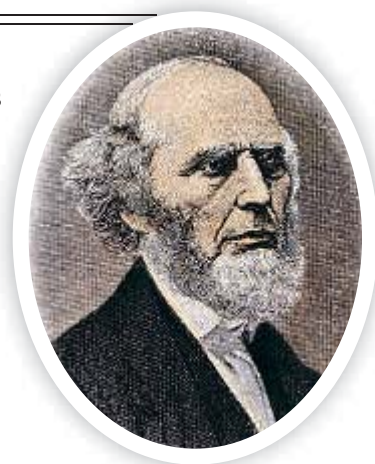
- Charles Grandison Finney
- Second Great Awakening
- revival
- Ralph Waldo Emerson
- transcendentalism
- Henry David Thoreau
- civil disobedience
- utopian community
- Dorothea Dix

One American's Story

hmhsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the Second Great Awakening.

When **Charles Grandison Finney** preached, his listeners shrieked, moaned, and fainted. The most famous preacher of the era, Finney inspired emotional religious faith, using a speaking style that was as much high drama as prayer or sermon. Converted at the age of 29, Finney traveled by horseback to deliver his message. Finney seated the most likely converts in his audiences on a special “anxious bench,” where he could fasten his eyes upon them. He lectured on the depth of the conversion experience.



Charles Grandison Finney

A PERSONAL VOICE CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY

“I know this is all so much algebra to those who have never felt it. But to those who have experienced the agony of wrestling, prevailing prayer, for the conversion of a soul, you may depend upon it, that soul . . . appears as dear as a child is to the mother who brought it forth with pain.”

—*Lectures on Revivals of Religions*

The convert's duty was to spread the word about personal salvation to others. This religious activism—or evangelism—was part of an overall era of reform that started in the 1830s. Reforms of the period included women's rights, school reform, and abolition, the movement to outlaw slavery. All of these movements emerged as responses to rapid changes in American society such as early industrial growth, increasing migration and immigration, and new means of communication.

The Second Great Awakening

Much of the impulse toward reform was rooted in the revivals of the broad religious movement that swept the United States after 1790, known as the **Second Great Awakening**. Finney and his contemporaries were participants in

the Second Great Awakening. These preachers rejected the 18th-century Calvinistic belief that God predetermined one's salvation or damnation—whether a person went to heaven or hell. Instead, they emphasized individual responsibility for seeking salvation, and they insisted that people could improve themselves and society.

Religious ideas current in the early 19th century promoted individualism and responsibility, similar to the emphasis of Jacksonian democracy on the power of the common citizen. Christian churches split over these ideas, as various denominations competed to proclaim the message of a democratic God, one who extends the possibility of salvation to all people. The forums for their messages were large gatherings, where some preachers could draw audiences of 20,000 or more at outdoor camps.

REVIVALISM Such a gathering was called a **revival**, an emotional meeting designed to awaken religious faith through impassioned preaching and prayer. A revival might last 4 or 5 days. During the day the participants studied the Bible and examined their souls. In the evening they heard emotional preaching that could make them cry out, burst into tears, or tremble with fear.

Revivalism swept across the United States in the early 19th century. Some of the most intense revivals took place in a part of western New York known as the burned-over district because of the religious fires that frequently burned there. Charles Finney fanned these flames, conducting some of his most successful revivals in Rochester, New York. The Rochester revivals earned Finney the reputation of “the father of modern revivalism.” Revivalism had a strong impact on the public. According to one estimate, in 1800 just 1 in 15 Americans belonged to a church, but by 1850, 1 in 6 was a member. **A**

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHURCH The Second Great Awakening also brought Christianity on a large scale to enslaved African Americans. There was a strong democratic impulse in the new churches and a belief that all people—black or white—belonged to the same God. Thus, the camp meetings and the new Baptist or Methodist churches were open to both blacks and whites. Slaves in the rural South—though they were segregated in pews of their own—worshiped in the same churches, heard the same sermons, and sang the same hymns as did the slave owners. Enslaved African Americans, however, interpreted the Christian message as a promise of freedom for their people.

In the East, many free African Americans worshiped in separate black churches, like Richard Allen's Bethel African Church in Philadelphia, which by 1816 would



MODERN REVIVALISM

Evangelical Christianity reemerged in several different religious organizations in the late 20th century. One example is the Christian Coalition, a religiously based citizen-action organization with almost 2 million members.

As with the Second Great Awakening, members of these religious organizations often are active in political movements that spring from personal religious beliefs. Indeed, some of the organizations use television much like Finney used the revival meeting to encourage believers to act on their faith.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

A How did the Second Great Awakening revolutionize the American religious tradition?

This early-19th-century tray depicts Lemuel Haynes preaching in his Vermont Congregational Church.



become the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Allen inspired his congregation to strengthen its faith as well as to fight against slavery.

A PERSONAL VOICE RICHARD ALLEN

“Our only design is to secure to ourselves, our rights and privileges to regulate our affairs temporal and spiritual, the same as if we were white people, and to guard against any oppression which might possibly arise from the improper prejudices or administration of any individual having the exercise of Discipline over us.”

—quoted in *Segregated Sabbaths*

Membership in the African Methodist Episcopal Church grew rapidly. It became a political, cultural, and social center for African Americans, providing schools and other services that whites denied them.

Eventually the African-American church developed a political voice and organized the first black national convention, held in Philadelphia in September 1830. Richard Allen convened the meeting, in which participants agreed to explore the possible settlement of free African Americans and fugitive slaves in Canada. Allen’s convention was the first of what would become an annual convention of free blacks in the North. The African-American church gave its members a deep inner faith, a strong sense of community—and the spiritual support to oppose slavery. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B How did the African-American church support its followers?

History Through

Art

A VIEW OF THE MOUNTAIN PASS CALLED THE NOTCH OF THE WHITE MOUNTAINS (CRAWFORD NOTCH) (1839)

This painting by Thomas Cole is an example of the Hudson River school. Like the transcendentalists, its painters celebrated the beauty of the American landscape, and the truth found in personal emotion.

What relationship between humans and nature does Cole’s painting portray?

Transcendentalism and Reforms

Many reformed-minded individuals sought an alternative to traditional religion but found revivalism too public a forum for religious expression.

TRANSCENDENTALISM By the mid-1800s, some Americans were taking new pride in their emerging culture. **Ralph Waldo Emerson**, a New England writer, nurtured this pride. He led a group practicing **transcendentalism**—a philosophical




and literary movement that emphasized living a simple life and celebrated the truth found in nature and in personal emotion and imagination.


Exalting the dignity of the individual, the transcendentalists spawned a literary movement that stressed American ideas of optimism, freedom, and self-reliance. Emerson's friend **Henry David Thoreau** put the idea of self-reliance into practice. Abandoning community life, he built himself a cabin on the shore of Walden Pond near Concord, Massachusetts, where he lived alone for two years. (See Literature of the Transcendentalists, page 246.) In *Walden* (1854), Thoreau advised readers to follow their inner voices.

A PERSONAL VOICE HENRY DAVID THOREAU

"I learned this, at least, by my experiment; that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours. . . . If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them."

—*Walden*

Because Thoreau believed in the importance of individual conscience, he urged people not to obey laws they considered unjust. Instead of protesting with violence, they should peacefully refuse to obey those laws. This form of protest is called **civil disobedience**. For example, Thoreau did not want to support the U.S. government, which allowed slavery and fought the War with Mexico. Instead of paying taxes that helped finance the war, Thoreau went to jail. 

UNITARIANISM Rather than appealing to the emotions, Unitarians emphasized reason and appeals to conscience as the paths to perfection. In New England, Unitarians quickly attracted a wealthy and educated following. In place of the dramatic conversions produced by the revivals, Unitarians believed conversion was a gradual process. William Ellery Channing, a prominent Unitarian leader, asserted that the purpose of Christianity was "the perfection of human nature, the elevation of men into nobler beings." Unitarians agreed with revivalists that individual and social reform were both possible and important. 


Americans Form Ideal Communities

Some of the optimism of religious and social reform also inspired the establishment of **utopian communities**, experimental groups who tried to create a "utopia," or perfect place. These communities varied in their philosophies and living arrangements but shared common goals such as self-sufficiency. One of the best-known utopian communities was established in New Harmony, Indiana. Another was Brook Farm, located near Boston.

In 1841 transcendentalist George Ripley established Brook Farm to "prepare a society of liberal, intelligent and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions." A fire destroyed the main building at Brook Farm in 1847, and the community immediately disbanded. Most utopias lasted no more than a few years.


MAIN IDEA

Synthesizing

 In what way did Thoreau's experience at Walden reflect transcendentalist beliefs?

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

 How did the Unitarians' approach to religious experience differ from the revivalists'?

ANOTHER

PERSPECTIVE

HAWTHORNE AT BROOK FARM

New England writer Nathaniel Hawthorne spent about six months at Brook Farm in 1841. He hoped to find solitude in which to write, but instead spent close to ten hours a day working in the barns and fields. He was forced to conclude that life there was "unnatural and unsuitable" for him.

Ten years after he left Brook Farm, Hawthorne, now considered an established author, wrote *The Blithedale Romance* (1852). A fictional account of communal life based on Brook Farm, the book suggests that striving for perfection may yield unexpected results.



▲ These fine oval wooden boxes were made in the Shaker village in Canterbury, New Hampshire. They were used for storing small items.

The failure of the utopian communities did not lessen the zeal of the religious reformers. Many became active in humanitarian reform movements, such as the abolition of slavery and improved conditions for women.

SHAKER COMMUNITIES Religious belief spurred other ideal communities. The Shakers, who followed the teachings of Ann Lee, set up their first communities in New York, New England, and on the frontier. Shakers shared their goods with each other, believed that men and women are equal, and refused to fight for any reason. When a person became a Shaker, he or she vowed not to marry or have children. Shakers depended on converts and adopting children to keep their communities going. In the 1840s, the Shakers had 6,000 members—their highest number. In 2009, only about three Shakers remained in the entire United States.

Schools and Prisons Undergo Reform

By the mid-19th century, thousands of Americans holding a variety of philosophical positions had joined together to fight the various social ills that troubled the young nation. Some social reformers focused their attention on schools and other institutions.

REFORMING ASYLUMS AND PRISONS In 1831, French writer Alexis de Tocqueville had visited the United States to study its penitentiary system. Observing prisoners who were physically punished or isolated for extended periods, de Tocqueville concluded that “While society in the United States gives the example of the most extended liberty, the prisons of the same country offer the spectacle of the most complete despotism [rigid and severe control].” Reformers quickly took up the cause.

Dorothea Dix was compelled by personal experience to join the movement for social reform. On visiting a Massachusetts house of correction, Dix was horrified to discover that jails often housed mentally ill people.

A PERSONAL VOICE DOROTHEA DIX

“I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the present state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth. . . . Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience! . . . Injustice is also done to the convicts: it is certainly very wrong that they should be doomed day after day and night after night to listen to the ravings of madmen and madwomen.”

—Report to the Massachusetts Legislature



▲ Dorothea Dix (ca. 1846)

In 1843 she sent a report of her findings to the Massachusetts legislature, who in turn passed a law aimed at improving conditions. Between 1845 and 1852, Dix persuaded nine Southern states to set up public hospitals for the mentally ill.

Prison reformers—and Dorothea Dix in her efforts on behalf of the mentally ill—emphasized the idea of rehabilitation, treatment that might reform the sick or imprisoned person to a useful position in society. There was, as revivalists suggested, hope for everyone. **E**

IMPROVING EDUCATION Before the mid-1800s, no uniform educational policy existed in the United States. School conditions varied across regions. Massachusetts and Vermont were the only states before the Civil War to pass a compulsory school

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

E How did the reformers change the treatment of the mentally ill and prisoners?

attendance law. Classrooms in the early schools were not divided by grade, so younger and older pupils were thrown together. Few children continued in school beyond the age of ten.

In the 1830s, Americans increasingly began to demand tax-supported public schools. For example, in 1834 Pennsylvania established a tax-supported public school system. Although the system was optional, a storm of opposition erupted from well-to-do taxpayers. They saw no reason to support schools that their children, who were mostly enrolled in private schools, would not attend. Opposition also came from some German immigrants who feared that their children would forget the German language and culture. Within three years, however, about 42 percent of the elementary-school-age children in Pennsylvania were attending public schools.

One remarkable leader in the public school reform movement was Horace Mann of Massachusetts. After a childhood spent partly at work and partly in poor schools, Mann declared, "If we do not prepare children to become good citizens, . . . if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have gone before it." In 1837 he became the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. In 12 years of service, Mann established teacher-training programs and instituted curriculum reforms. He also doubled the money that the state spent on schools.

Other states soon followed Massachusetts's and Pennsylvania's good example. By the 1850s every state had provided some form of publicly funded elementary schools. In states in the far West and in Southern states, however, it took years before public schools were firmly established. **F**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

F What efforts were made to improve education in the 1830s?

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

MCGUFFEY'S READERS

If you attended school during the mid- to late-1800s, you probably would have used a McGuffey's reader. William H. McGuffey, a teacher and preacher in Ohio, first published his popular grade-school reading books in the 1830s.

The readers, which had sold more than 60 million copies by 1879, taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as the democratic cultural values of hard work, honesty, and love of country. They also contained little moral lessons to live by, such as "Idleness is the nest in which mischief lays its eggs."



SECTION 1

ASSESSMENT

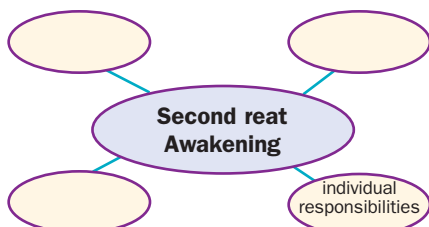
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Charles Grandison Finney
- Ralph Waldo Emerson
- Henry David Thoreau
- utopian community
- Second Great Awakening
- transcendentalism
- civil disobedience
- Dorothea Dix
- revival

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a web similar to the one shown, fill in events and ideas that relate to the Second Great Awakening.



Why did revivalism catch hold in the early 19th century?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. SYNTHESIZING

Consider the philosophical and religious ideas expressed during the Second Great Awakening and other religious reform movements. What were the key values and beliefs that guided 19th-century reformers' actions? **Think About:**

- concepts of individualism and individual salvation
- attitudes toward social responsibility
- the viewpoints of Finney, Channing, and Emerson

4. ANALYZING ISSUES

How do you think the 19th-century reform movements in schools, prisons, and asylums might have influenced reform movements today?

5. COMPARING

Why might the idea of utopian communities appeal to the transcendentalists?

The Literature of the Transcendentalists

1820–1850 One of the most influential American thinkers of the 19th century was Ralph Waldo Emerson. A poet, essayist, and lecturer, Emerson traveled to England in the early 1830s, where he met writers who were part of the romantic movement. Romanticism embodied a style of art, literature, and thought that stressed the human development of emotional forms of expression. Building on these ideas, Emerson developed transcendentalism—a distinctly American philosophical and literary movement that emphasized living a simple life that is not dictated by any organized system of belief.

Members of the transcendentalist movement included New England writers Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, and Henry David Thoreau. Although the movement was kindled by European romanticism, threads of transcendentalist thinking can be found in New England puritan thought, and some transcendentalists were students of Buddhism and other Asian traditions.

◀ MARGARET FULLER

Margaret Fuller was one of the editors of the transcendentalist journal *The Dial*. In 1845, Fuller published *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, a work that demanded equality and fulfillment for women.



“Is it not enough,” cries the irritated trader, “that you have done all you could to break up the national union, and thus destroy the prosperity of our country, but now you must be trying to break up family union, to take my wife away from the cradle and the kitchen-hearth to vote at polls and preach from a pulpit? Of course, if she does such things, she cannot attend to those of her own sphere. She is happy enough as she is. She has more leisure than I have—every means of improvement, every indulgence.”

“Have you asked her whether she was satisfied with these *indulgences*?”

“No, but I know she is. . . . I will never consent to have our peace disturbed by any such discussions.”

“Consent—you? It is not consent from you that is in question—it is assent from your wife.”

“Am not I the head of my house?”

“You are not the head of your wife. God has given her a mind of her own.”

—*Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845)

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

Henry David Thoreau believed that people must be free to act by their own idea of right and wrong. His work helped shape many reform movements of his time. In *Walden*, published in 1854, Thoreau wrote about living alone in the woods. Thoreau urged people to reject the greed and materialism that was affecting Americans in their daily lives.



Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity! I say, let your affairs be as two or three, and not a hundred or a thousand; instead of a million count half a dozen, and keep your accounts on your thumb-nail. . . . Simplify, simplify. Instead of three meals a day, if it be necessary eat but one; instead of a hundred dishes, five; and reduce other things in proportion. . . .

If we respected only what is inevitable and has a right to be, music and poetry would resound along the streets. When we are unhurried and wise, we perceive that only great and worthy things have any permanent and absolute existence, that petty fears and petty pleasures are but the shadow of the reality. . . .

Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away, but eternity remains. I would drink deeper; fish in the sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars. I cannot count one. I know not the first letter of the alphabet. I have always been regretting that I was not as wise as the day I was born. . . .

—*Walden* (published 1854)



RALPH WALDO EMERSON

Emerson's poem "Berrying" expresses his celebration of the truth found in nature and in personal emotion and imagination.

"May be true what I had heard,
Earth's a howling wilderness
Truculent with fraud and force,"
Said I, strolling through the pastures,
And along the riverside.
Caught among the blackberry vines,
Feeding on the Ethiops sweet,
Pleasant fancies overtook me:
I said, "What influence me preferred
Elect to dreams thus beautiful?"
The vines replied, "And didst thou deem
No wisdom to our berries went?"

—"Berrying"
(published 1846)

THINKING CRITICALLY

1. **Comparing and Contrasting** What does each selection reveal about habits and attitudes in 1850s America? Cite details to help explain your answers.

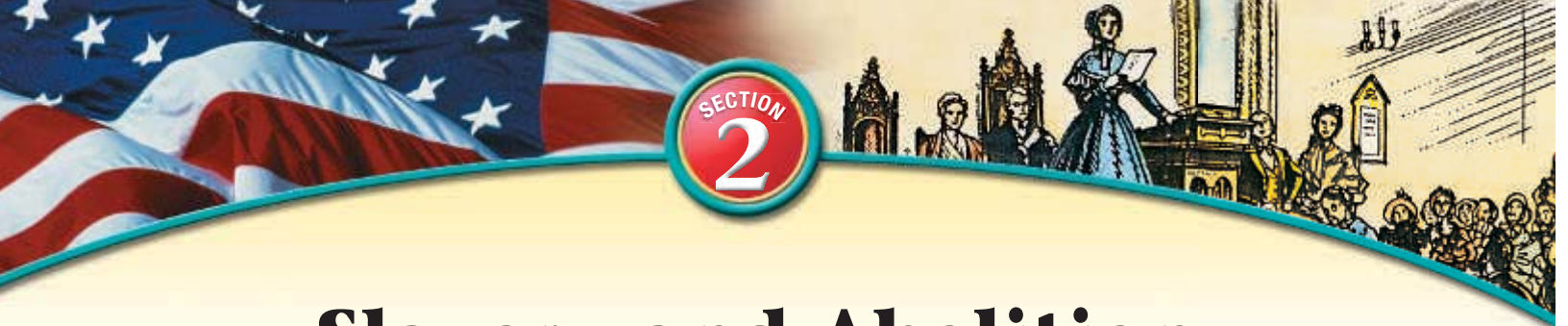


SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

2.  hmhsocialstudies.com **INTERNET ACTIVITY**



Use the links for American Literature to research and create an annotated book of famous transcendentalist quotations. Well-known examples might include: Emerson's "Hitch your wagon to a star," or Thoreau's "The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation." The quotations you choose for each writer should contain information on the source of the quotation and a short description of how each quotation expresses transcendentalist beliefs.



Slavery and Abolition

MAIN IDEA

Slavery became an explosive issue, as more Americans joined reformers working to put an end to it.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The people of the United States continue to be challenged by questions of economic and social inequality.

Terms & Names

- abolition
- William Lloyd Garrison
- emancipation
- David Walker
- Frederick Douglass
- Nat Turner
- antebellum
- gag rule

One American's Story



hmhsocialstudies.com

TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on antislavery and proslavery activities during the years from 1820 to 1850.

James Forten's great-grandfather had been brought from Africa to the American colonies in chains, but James was born free. In 1781, the 15-year-old James went to sea to fight for American independence. Captured by the British and offered passage to England, the patriotic youth refused, saying, "I am here a prisoner for the liberties of my country. I never, NEVER shall prove a traitor to her interests."

By the 1830s Forten had become a wealthy sailmaker in Philadelphia, with a fortune rumored to exceed \$100,000. Though some people argued that free blacks should return to Africa, Forten disagreed and responded with sarcasm.



A PERSONAL VOICE JAMES FORTEN

"Here I have dwelt until I am nearly sixty years of age, and have brought up and educated a family. . . . Yet some ingenious gentlemen have recently discovered that I am still an African; that a continent three thousand miles, and more, from the place where I was born, is my native country. And I am advised to go home. . . . Perhaps if I should only be set on the shore of that distant land, I should recognize all I might see there, and run at once to the old hut where my forefathers lived a hundred years ago."

—quoted in *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720–1840*

James Forten, a wealthy leader of Philadelphia's free black community, took an active role in a variety of political causes.

Forten's unwavering belief that he was an American led him to oppose the effort to resettle free blacks in Africa and also pushed him fervently to oppose slavery.

Abolitionists Speak Out

By the 1820s more than 100 antislavery societies were advocating for resettlement of blacks in Africa—based on the belief that African Americans were an inferior race that could not coexist with white society. Yet most free blacks considered America their home, and only about 1,400 blacks emigrated to Africa between

1820 and 1830. As one black pastor from New York angrily proclaimed, “We are natives of this country. We only ask that we be treated as well as foreigners.”

African Americans increasingly were joined by whites in public criticism of slavery. White support for **abolition**, the call to outlaw slavery, was fueled by preachers like Charles G. Finney, who termed slavery “a great national sin.”

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON The most radical white abolitionist was an editor named **William Lloyd Garrison**. Active in religious reform movements in Massachusetts, Garrison started his own paper, *The Liberator*, in 1831 to deliver an uncompromising message: immediate **emancipation**—the freeing of slaves, with no payment to slaveholders.



▲ William Lloyd Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, bore the motto: “Our country is the world—Our countrymen are all mankind.”

★ A PERSONAL VOICE WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

“[I]s there not cause for severity? I will be harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject [immediate emancipation], 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.”

—The Liberator

As white abolitionists began to respond to Garrison's ideas, he founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, followed by the national American Anti-Slavery Society a year later. Garrison enjoyed core black support; three out of four early subscribers were African Americans. Whites who opposed abolition, however, hated him. Some whites supported abolition but opposed Garrison when he attacked churches and the government for failing to condemn slavery. Garrison alienated whites even more when he associated with fiery abolitionist David Walker.

FREE BLACKS In his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, published in 1829, **David Walker**, a free black, advised blacks to fight for freedom rather than to wait for slave owners to end slavery. He wrote, “The man who would not fight . . . ought to be kept with all of his children or family, in slavery, or in chains, to be butchered by his cruel enemies.”

Many free blacks, more willing to compromise than Walker, had joined one of many antislavery societies active by the end of the 1820s. In 1850, most of the 434,000 free blacks in the South worked as day laborers, but some held jobs as artisans. Northern free blacks discovered that only the lowest-paying jobs were open to them. Recalling his youth in Rhode Island in the 1830s, William J. Brown wrote, “To drive carriages, carry a market basket after the boss, and brush his boots . . . was as high as a colored man could rise.” Frederick Douglass, however, rose above such limitations. A



VIDEO

Frederick Douglass

▶ hmhsocialstudies.com

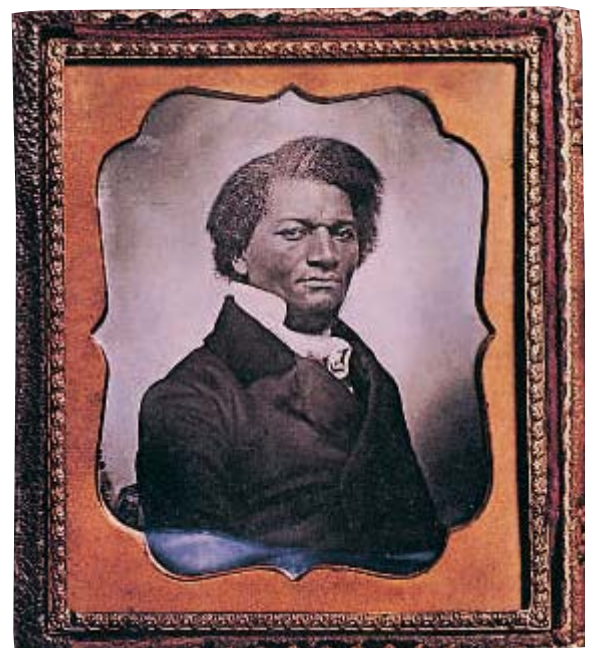
Frederick Douglass, 1851

MAIN IDEA

Synthesizing

A What was radical at the time about Garrison's and Walker's ideas on abolition?

FREDERICK DOUGLASS Born into slavery in 1817, **Frederick Douglass** had been taught to read and write by the wife of one of his owners. Her husband ordered her to stop teaching Douglass, however, because reading “would forever unfit him to be a slave.” When Douglass realized that knowledge could be his “pathway from slavery to freedom,” he studied even harder.



By 1838, Douglass held a skilled job as a ship caulker in Baltimore. He earned the top wages in the yard but was not allowed to keep any of his earnings. After a disagreement with his owner, Douglass decided to escape. Borrowing the identity of a free black sailor and carrying official papers, he reached New York and tasted freedom for the first time.

Douglass became an eager reader of *The Liberator*, which, he said, “sent a thrill of joy through my soul, such as I had never felt before.” When Garrison heard him speak of his experiences, he was so impressed he sponsored Douglass as a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society. A superb speaker, Douglass thrilled huge audiences. “I appear before the immense assembly this evening as a thief and a robber,” he would say. “I stole this head, these limbs, this body from my master and ran off with them.” Hoping that abolition could be achieved through political actions, Douglass broke with Garrison in 1847 and began his own anti-slavery newspaper. He named it *The North Star*, after the star that guided runaway slaves to freedom. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

B How did the various antislavery groups differ in approach?

Life Under Slavery

After 1830, Americans hotly debated the issue of slavery, but many African Americans still lived in bondage. In fact, the population of slaves in America had nearly doubled in the years between 1810 and 1830, growing from 1.2 million to roughly 2 million.

The institution of slavery had changed substantially since the 18th century. In those days, most slaves had recently arrived from the Caribbean or Africa and spoke one of several non-English languages. Most of these slaves worked on small farms alongside people with whom they could not easily communicate. By 1830, the majority had been born in America and spoke enough English to be able to communicate with other slaves. The rise of the plantation in the mid-18th century brought further change to the lives of the enslaved.

RURAL SLAVERY On large plantations, men, women, and even children toiled from dawn to dusk in the fields. The whip of the overseer or slave driver compelled them to work faster. Solomon Northup, who was born free and later enslaved, recalled the never-ending labor.



▲ Planters' children—like Charlotte Helen Middleton, shown with her nurse Lydia in 1857—often were tended by slaves who had been forced to give up their own children.

A PERSONAL VOICE SOLOMON NORTHUP

“The hands are required to be in the cotton field as soon as it is light in the morning, and, with the exception of ten or fifteen minutes, which is given them at noon to swallow their allowance of cold bacon, they are not permitted to be a moment idle until it is too dark to see, and when the moon is full, they often times labor till the middle of the night. They do not dare to stop even at dinner time, nor return to the quarters, however late it be, until the order to halt is given by the driver.”

—*Twelve Years a Slave*

By 1850 most slaves lived on plantations or large farms that employed ten or more slaves, but many lived on small farms, laboring beside their owners. Others lived and worked in the cities. **C**

URBAN SLAVERY By the 1830s the promise of cotton wealth had lured many Southern whites into farming, thus creating a shortage of white laborers for such

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

C Describe typical work experiences of rural Southern slaves.

Southern Plantations

Plantations were virtually self-contained, self-sufficient worlds over which owners ruled with absolute authority. Owners established the boundaries that a slave could not cross without punishment or death. But no boundary protected a slave from the owner's demands or cruel treatment.

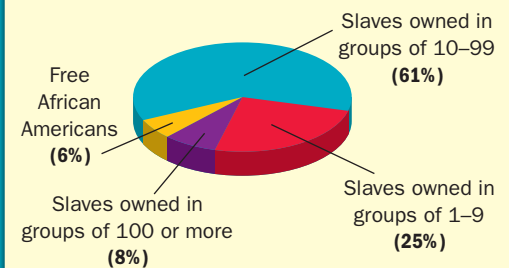


Slave quarters, from a photograph taken around 1865

industries as mining and lumber. As a result, a demand arose for slaves as workers in mills and on ships. Slaves who had developed specialized skills on plantations were now in demand in Southern cities. For example, slaves filled skilled occupations such as blacksmithing or carpentry, resulting in a new class of skilled black laborers. Most slaves lived rurally—2.8 million in 1850, compared with the 400,000 slaves living in cities. However, enslaved blacks could hire themselves out as artisans in Southern cities, often more easily than free blacks in the North, where racial discrimination prevailed.

Many enslaved women and children worked the same jobs as men in Southern industry. Slave owners “hired out” their slaves to factory owners. In return, the slave owners collected the pay of their slaves without having to supervise their activities. Thus, urban slaves spent more time beyond the watchful eye of their slave owners. Frederick Douglass remarked on differences between rural and urban slavery, noting that “a city slave is almost a freeman, compared with a slave on the plantation. He is much better fed and clothed, and enjoys privileges altogether unknown to the slave on the plantation.” Douglass also noted that “a vestige of decency” in the cities limited the acts of “atrocious cruelty” to slaves that were common on plantations.

African Americans in the South, 1860



Sources: 1860 figures from *Eighth Census of the United States*; Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States*.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs

1. According to the pie graph, what was the smallest group of African Americans living in the American South in 1860?
2. Under what conditions did 61% of slaves in the South live? Explain.



▲ Artist Felix Darley completed this tinted drawing in 1863 for a history book. Nat Turner is shown (standing) preaching to his followers.

Still slaves never lost sight of their goal of freedom. For some, it was time to take more drastic and organized action.

NAT TURNER'S REBELLION Nat Turner was born into slavery in 1800 in Southampton County, Virginia. A gifted preacher, Turner believed that he had been chosen to lead his people out of bondage. In August, 1831, Turner judged an eclipse of the sun to be a divine signal for action. With nearly 80 followers, Turner's band attacked four plantations and killed almost 60 white inhabitants before being captured by state and federal troops.

Though Turner himself hid out for several weeks, eventually he was captured, tried, and hanged. In the retaliation that

followed, whites killed as many as 200 blacks—many of them innocent of any connection with the uprising. Turner's bloody rebellion strengthened the resolve of Southern whites to defend slavery and to control their slaves.

Slave Owners Defend Slavery

In some states, in the aftermath of the Turner rebellion, people argued that the only way to prevent further slave revolts was through emancipation. Others, however, chose to tighten restrictions on all African Americans.

VIRGINIA DEBATE Virginia governor John Floyd wrote of his wish for a "law . . . gradually abolishing slavery in this State." By January 1832 the state legislature was hotly debating that very prospect. "Nothing else could have prompted [the discussions]," reported the *Richmond Enquirer*, "but the bloody massacre [Turner's Rebellion] in the month of August."

The debate over the future of slavery in Virginia resulted in a motion for abolition in the state legislature. The motion lost by a 73 to 58 vote, primarily because the state legislature was balanced toward eastern slaveholders rather than non-slaveholders in the western part of the state. That loss closed the debate on slavery in the **antebellum** (pre-Civil War) South.

BACKLASH FROM REVOLTS In addition to forcing the Virginia debate, whites' fear of future slave revolts had another important effect. Most slave owners believed that education and privilege inspired revolt. Thus, many slave owners pushed their state legislatures to further tighten controls on African Americans. These controls became known as slave codes. **D**

In 1833, for example, Alabama forbade free and enslaved blacks from preaching the gospel unless "respectable" slaveholders were present. Georgia followed suit. In 1835 North Carolina became the last Southern state to deny the vote to free blacks. In some states, free blacks lost the right to own guns, purchase alcohol, assemble in public, and testify in court. In some Southern cities, African Americans could no longer own property, learn to

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

SLAVE REVOLTS

Armed rebellion was an extreme form of resistance to slavery. Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion was merely the most recent example of slave desperation.

In 1811, more than 300 slaves had rebelled in Louisiana and marched on New Orleans with spikes and axes before a well-trained militia with firearms stopped them. Gabriel Prosser had hatched a plot to take over Richmond in 1800, and Denmark Vesey had led a conspiracy to control Charleston in 1822. Both of these conspiracies were thwarted by the authorities before larger rebellions occurred.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

D How did Turner's revolt harden Southern white attitudes about basic liberties for blacks?

read and write, or work independently as carpenters or blacksmiths.


PROSLAVERY DEFENSES Some proslavery advocates used the Bible to defend slavery, citing passages that counseled servants to obey their masters. Slavery, Southern slave owners argued, actually benefited blacks by making them part of a prosperous and Christian civilization. Even Southern white Christian ministers gradually shifted toward accepting slavery during this period. Some had attacked slavery in the early 1800s, but by the 1830s most white ministers in the South agreed that slavery and Christianity could coexist.

Slave owners invented the myth of the happy slave, a cherished addition to the plantation family. To this image they contrasted that of the Northern wage slave, a wage-earning immigrant or free black who worked for pennies in dark and airless factories. George Fitzhugh, a Virginia slave owner, argued that whereas Northern mill owners fired their workers when they became too old or sick to work, Southerners cared for their slaves for a lifetime.

Abolitionists, however, continued to campaign for emancipation. One maneuver was to swamp Congress with petitions to end slavery in the District of Columbia. Southern representatives countered in 1836 by securing the adoption of a **gag rule**, a rule limiting or preventing debate on an issue—which meant that citizens submitting petitions were deprived of their right to have them heard. The gag rule eventually was repealed in 1844.

Nevertheless, as abolitionists' efforts intensified during the 1850s, some turned to violence. The more clear-sighted began to sound the alarm: this turmoil over slavery would lead to a divided nation.

WORLD STAGE



SLAVERY IN THE AMERICAS

Slaves formed a smaller portion of the total population in the American South than in the Caribbean and in Brazil. African slaves formed almost 80 percent of the population of Jamaica, a colony of Great Britain. Because so many slaves in that colony died, slave owners demanded a constant renewal of their supply from Africa, thus maintaining the Atlantic slave trade. Slavery ended in the British empire in 1833.

Brazil also had a large proportion of slaves. During the 1800s slaves made up more than half the colonial population of Brazil and worked primarily on large coffee plantations. Slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888.

SECTION
2

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • abolition • William Lloyd Garrison 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • emancipation • David Walker 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frederick Douglass • Nat Turner 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • antebellum • gag rule
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MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a two-column chart, list the major antislavery and proslavery actions that occurred from 1820 to 1850.

Antislavery Actions	Proslavery Actions

Which activity do you think was most effective? Explain.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. SYNTHESIZING

Which do you think was a more effective strategy for achieving the abolitionists' goal of eliminating slavery—violence or nonviolence? Why? **Think About:**

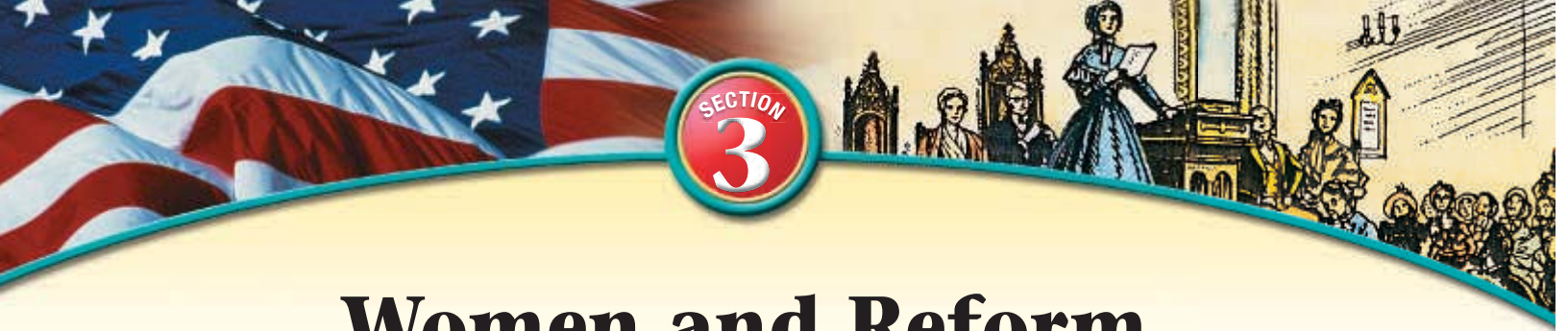
- Garrison's and Walker's remarks
- Frederick Douglass's views
- Southerners' reactions to Nat Turner's rebellion

4. SUMMARIZING

What arguments did Southern proslavery whites employ to defend slavery?

5. COMPARING

Compare the similarities and differences between the situations of free blacks in the North and slaves in the South.



Women and Reform

MAIN IDEA

Women reformers expanded their efforts from movements such as abolition and temperance to include women's rights.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The efforts of 19th-century women reformers inspired both woman suffragists in the early-1900s and present-day feminist movements.

Terms & Names

- Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- Lucretia Mott
- cult of domesticity
- Sarah Grimké
- Angelina Grimké
- temperance movement
- Seneca Falls Convention
- Sojourner Truth

One American's Story



Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on how women approached the question of inequality.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton timed her marriage in 1840 so that she could accompany her husband to London for the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, where her husband was a delegate. At the antislavery convention, Stanton and the other women delegates received an unpleasant surprise.

A PERSONAL VOICE ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

“Though women were members of the National Anti-Slavery society, accustomed to speak and vote in all its conventions, and to take an equally active part with men in the whole antislavery struggle, and were there as delegates from associations of men and women, as well as those distinctively of their own sex, yet all alike were rejected because they were women.”

—quoted in *Elizabeth Cady Stanton*

At the convention, Stanton found a friend in the Quaker abolitionist **Lucretia Mott**. Stanton and Mott vowed “to hold a convention as soon as we returned home, and form a society to advocate the rights of women.” They kept their pledge and headed the first women's rights convention, assembled at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848.



▲
Elizabeth Cady
Stanton

Women's Roles in the Mid-1800s

In the early 19th century, women faced limited options. Prevailing customs demanded that women restrict their activities after marriage to the home and family. Housework and child care were considered the only proper activities for married women. Later that tradition became known as the **cult of domesticity**.

By 1850, roughly one in five white women had worked for wages a few years before they were married. About one in ten single white women worked outside

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

A What were the main problems faced by women in the mid-1800s?

the home, earning about half the pay men received to do the same job. Women could neither vote nor sit on juries in the early 1800s, even if they were taxpayers. Typically, when a woman married, her property and any money she earned became her husband's. In many instances, married women lacked guardianship rights over their children. **A**

Women Mobilize for Reform

Despite such limits, women actively participated in all the important reform movements of the 19th century. Many middle-class white women were inspired by the optimistic message of the Second Great Awakening. Women were often shut out of meetings by disapproving men, and responded by expanding their efforts to seek equal rights for themselves.

WOMEN ABOLITIONISTS Sarah and Angelina Grimké, daughters of a South Carolina slaveholder, spoke eloquently for abolition. In 1836 Angelina Grimké published *An Appeal to Christian Women of the South*, in which she called upon women to “overthrow this horrible system of oppression and cruelty.” Women abolitionists also raised money, distributed literature, and collected signatures for petitions to Congress.

Some men supported women's efforts. William Lloyd Garrison, for example, joined the determined women who had been denied participation in the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. Garrison said, “After battling so many long years for the liberties of African slaves, I can take no part in a convention that strikes down the most sacred rights of all women.” Other men, however, denounced the female abolitionists. The Massachusetts clergy criticized the Grimké sisters for assuming “the place and tone of man as public reformer.”

Opposition only served to make women reformers more determined. The abolitionist cause became a powerful spur to other reform causes, as well as to the women's rights movement. **B**

WORKING FOR TEMPERANCE The **temperance movement**, the effort to prohibit the drinking of alcohol, was another offshoot of the influence of churches and the women's rights movement. Speaking at a temperance meeting in 1852, Mary C. Vaughan attested to the evils of alcohol.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B In what ways were women excluded from the abolitionist movement?

KEY PLAYER



LUCRETIA MOTT
1793–1880

History has it that Lucretia Mott was so talkative as a child that her mother called her Long Tongue. As an adult, she used her considerable public-speaking skills to campaign against slavery.

Mott became interested in women's rights when she learned that her salary as a teacher would be roughly half of what a man might receive. She was a prominent figure at the Seneca Falls Convention, at which she delivered the opening and closing addresses. Mott and her husband later acted on their abolitionist principles by taking in runaway slaves escaping on the Underground Railroad.

A PERSONAL VOICE MARY C. VAUGHAN

“There is no reform in which woman can act better or more appropriately than temperance. . . . Its effects fall so crushingly upon her . . . she has so often seen its slow, insidious, but not the less surely fatal advances, gaining upon its victim. . . . Oh! the misery, the utter, hopeless misery of the drunkard's wife!”

—quoted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*

In the early 19th century, alcohol flowed freely in America. Liquor helped wash down the salted meat and fish that composed the dominant diet and, until the development of anesthetics in the 1840s, doctors dosed their patients with whiskey or brandy before operating.

Many Americans, however, recognized drunkenness as a serious problem. Lyman Beecher, a prominent Connecticut minister, had begun lecturing against all use of liquor in 1825. A year later, the American Temperance Society was founded. By 1833, some 6,000 local temperance societies dotted the country.



They held rallies, produced pamphlets, and brought about a decline in the consumption of alcohol that would continue into the 1860s.

EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Until the 1820s, American girls had few educational avenues open to them beyond elementary school. As Sarah Grimké, who ran a school for women with her sister Angelina, complained in *Letters on the*

Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman (1838), a woman who knew “chemistry enough to keep the pot boiling, and geography enough to know the location of the different rooms in her house,” was considered learned enough.

▲ This engraving is from a temperance society tract of around 1840. It depicts a family driven to despair by alcohol.

A PERSONAL VOICE SARAH GRIMKÉ

“During the early part of my life, my lot was cast among the butterflies of the fashionable world, I am constrained to say . . . that their education is miserably deficient. . . . Our brethren may reject my doctrine . . . but I believe they would be ‘partakers of the benefit’ . . . and would find that woman, as their equal, was unspeakably more valuable than woman as their inferior, both as a moral and an intellectual being.”

—*Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman*



In 1821 Emma Willard opened one of the nation's first academically rigorous schools for girls in Troy, New York. The Troy Female Seminary became the model for a new type of women's school. Despite much mockery that “they will be educating cows next,” Willard's school prospered.

In 1837 Mary Lyon overcame heated resistance to found another important institution of higher learning for women, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (later Mount Holyoke College) in South Hadley, Massachusetts. In the same year Ohio's Oberlin College admitted four women to its degree program, thus becoming the nation's first fully coeducational college.

African-American women faced greater obstacles to getting an education. In 1831 white Quaker Prudence Crandall opened a school for girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. Two years later she admitted an African-American girl, but the townspeople protested so vigorously against desegregated education that Crandall decided to admit only African-American students. This aroused even more opposition, and in 1834 Crandall was forced to close the school and leave town. Only after the Civil War would the severely limited educational opportunities for African-American women finally, though slowly, begin to expand. **C**

WOMEN AND HEALTH REFORM In the mid-19th century, educated women also began to work for health reforms. Elizabeth Blackwell, who in 1849 became the first woman to graduate from medical college, later opened the New York Infirmary for Women and Children. In the 1850s, Lyman Beecher's daughter, Catharine, undertook a national survey of women's health. To her dismay, Beecher found three sick women for every healthy one. It was no wonder: women

▲ Sarah Grimké (above) and her sister Angelina spoke out against slavery and gender inequality.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

C What gains did women make in education in the 1820s and 1830s? Did these gains extend to African-American women?

rarely bathed or exercised, and the fashion of the day included corsets so restrictive that breathing sometimes was difficult.

Amelia Bloomer, publisher of a temperance newspaper, rebelled. Bloomer often wore a costume of loose-fitting pants tied at the ankles and covered by a short skirt. Readers besieged her with requests for the sewing pattern. Most women who sewed the “bloomers,” however, considered it a daring venture, as many men were outraged by women wearing pants.

Women’s Rights Movement Emerges

The various reform movements of the mid-19th century fed the growth of the women’s movement by providing women with increased opportunities to act outside the home.

SENECA FALLS In 1848 Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott decided to hold a women’s rights convention. They announced what would become known as the **Seneca Falls Convention** (for the New York town in which it was held). Stanton and Mott composed an agenda and a detailed statement of grievances. Stanton carefully modeled this “Declaration of Sentiments” on the Declaration of Independence. The second paragraph began with a revision of very familiar words: “We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal.” Some of the resolutions that were also proposed at the convention spoke to the circumstances with which women reformers had struggled.



▲ Amelia Bloomer adopted the full trousers that became known as bloomers in 1851.

★ A PERSONAL VOICE

“Resolved, That all laws which prevent women 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.”

—Resolutions adopted at Seneca Falls Convention, 1848

Nearly 300 women and men gathered at the Wesleyan Methodist Church for the convention. The participants approved all parts of the declaration unanimously—including several resolutions to encourage women to participate in all public issues on an equal basis with men—except one. The one exception, which still passed by a narrow majority, was the resolution calling for women “to secure to



◀ In 1888, delegates to the First International Council of Women met to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Seneca Falls. Stanton is seated third from the right.

KEY PLAYER



SOJOURNER TRUTH
1797–1883

Sojourner Truth, born Isabella Van Wagener (or Baumfree), became legally free on July 4, 1827, when slavery was abolished in New York. A deeply spiritual woman, Truth became a traveling preacher dedicated to pacifism, abolitionism, and equality. She earned a reputation for tenacity, successfully suing for the return of her youngest son who had been illegally sold into slavery.

Truth was not taught to read or write but dictated her memoirs, published in 1850 as *The Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave*.

After the Emancipation Proclamation, Truth's final cause was to lobby (unsuccessfully) for land distribution for former slaves.

themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise," the right to vote. The vote remained a controversial aim. Some thought suffrage was an extreme solution to a nonexistent problem. As Lucy Stone's sister wrote in 1846, "I can't vote, but what care I for that, I would not if I could." **D**

SOJOURNER TRUTH Women reformers made significant contributions to improving social conditions in the mid-19th century. Yet conditions for slaves worsened. Isabella Baumfree, a slave for the first 30 years of her life, took the name **Sojourner Truth** when she decided to sojourn (travel) throughout the country preaching, and later, arguing for abolition. At a women's rights convention in 1851, the tall, muscular black woman was hissed at in disapproval. Because Truth supported abolition, some participants feared her speaking would make their own cause less popular. But Truth won applause with her speech that urged men to grant women their rights.

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

D How did the Seneca Falls Convention differ from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention held in 1840?

A PERSONAL VOICE SOJOURNER TRUTH

"Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?"

—quoted in *Narrative of Sojourner Truth: A Northern Slave*

As Truth showed, hard work was a central fact of life for most women. In the mid-19th century, this continued to be the case as women entered the emerging industrial workplace. Once there, they continued the calls for women's rights and other social reforms.



ASSESSMENT

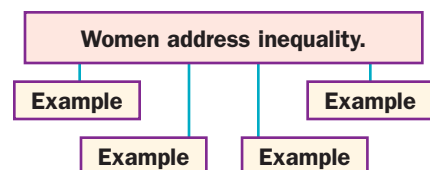
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- culture of domesticity
- temperance movement
- Sojourner Truth
- Lucretia Mott
- Sarah and Angelina Grimké
- Seneca Falls Convention

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a diagram similar to the one shown, fill in historical events, ideas, or people that relate to the main idea.



CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES

The Seneca Falls "Declaration of Sentiments" asserted that "Woman is man's equal." In what ways would that change the status women held at that time? Cite facts to support your answer. **Think About:**

- women's social, economic, and legal status in the mid-1800s
- married women's domestic roles
- single women's career opportunities and wages

4. EVALUATING

In what ways did the reform movements affect the lives of women—both white and African American? Use details from the section to support your answer.

5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Why do you think that many of the people who fought for abolition also fought for women's rights?

The Changing Workplace

MAIN IDEA

A growing industrial work force faced problems arising from manufacturing under the factory system.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The National Trades' Union was the forerunner of America's labor unions today.

Terms & Names

- cottage industry
- master
- journeyman
- apprentice
- strike
- National Trades' Union

One American's Story

hmsocialstudies.com TAKING NOTES

Use the graphic organizer online to take notes on the changing workplace in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In 1841 a brief narrative appeared in the *Lowell Offering*, the first journal written by and for female mill workers. A young girl who toiled in the mill—identified only by the initials F.G.A.—wrote about the decision of “Susan Miller” to save her family’s farm by working in the Lowell, Massachusetts, textile mills.

At first, Susan found the factory work dispiriting, but she made friends, and was proud of the wages she sent home.

A PERSONAL VOICE F.G.A.

“Every morning the bells pealed forth the same clangor, and every night brought the same feeling of fatigue. But Susan felt. . . that she could bear it for a while. There are few who look upon factory labor as a pursuit for life. It is but a temporary vocation; and most of the girls resolve to quit the Mill when some favorite design is accomplished. Money is their object—not for itself, but for what it can perform.”

—*Lowell Offering*, 1841

Just a few decades earlier, work outside the home might not have been an option for girls like Susan. At the same time that women’s roles began to expand, changes occurred in the way goods were manufactured.

Industry Changes Work

Before “Susan” and other girls began to leave the farms for New England’s textile mills, women had spun and sewn most of their families’ clothing from raw fibers. In fact, in the early 19th century almost all clothing manufacturing was produced at home. Moving production from the home to the factory split families, created new communities, and transformed traditional relationships between employers and employees. The textile industry pioneered the new manufacturing techniques that would affect rules and behavior required of most American workers.



▲ A young worker from the mills in Waltham, or Lowell, 1850.



RURAL MANUFACTURING

Until the 1820s, only the first step in the manufacture of clothing—the spinning of cotton into thread—had been mechanized widely in America. People then finished the work in a **cottage industry** system in which manufacturers provided the materials for goods to be produced at home. Though women did most of this work, men and children sometimes helped too. The participants in this cottage industry brought the fin-

▲ Families used spinning wheels to spin yarn, which they wove into cloth on home looms. They sold their cloth to local merchants.

ished articles to the manufacturer, who paid them by the piece and gave them new materials for the next batch of work.

When entrepreneurs like Patrick Jackson, Nathan Appleton, and Francis Cabot Lowell opened their weaving factories in Waltham and later Lowell, Massachusetts (see Chapter 7, page 213), their power looms replaced the cottage industries. Mechanizing the entire process and housing the tools in the same place slashed the production time, as well as the cost, of textile manufacture. By the 1830s, the company that Lowell and his partners had formed owned eight factories in Massachusetts with over 6,000 employees, at an investment of over \$6 million.

EARLY FACTORIES Textiles led the way, but other areas of manufacture also shifted from homes to factories. In the early 19th century, skilled artisans had typically produced items that a family could not make for itself—furniture and tools, for example. As in cottage industries, the artisans usually worked in shops attached to their own homes. The most experienced artisans had titles: a **master** might be assisted by a **journeyman**, a skilled worker employed by a master, and assisted by an **apprentice**, a young worker learning a craft. Master artisans and their assistants traditionally handcrafted their products until the 1820s, when manufacturers began using production processes that depended on the use of interchangeable parts.

The rapid spread of factory production revolutionized industry. The cost of making household items and clothing dramatically dropped. In addition, new machines allowed unskilled workers to perform tasks that once had employed trained artisans. Unskilled artisans shifted from farm work to boring and repetitive factory work and to the tight restrictions imposed by factory managers. Nowhere were these restrictions more rigid than in the factory town of Lowell, Massachusetts. **A**

Farm Worker to Factory Worker

Under the strict control of female supervisors, a work force—consisting almost entirely of unmarried farm girls—clustered in Lowell and the other mill towns that soon dotted New England. At their boarding houses, the “mill girls” lived under strict curfews. The girls’ behavior and church attendance was closely monitored, but despite this scrutiny, most mill girls found time to enjoy the company of their coworkers. By 1828 women made up nine-tenths of the work force in the New England mills, and four out of five of the women were not yet 30 years old.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

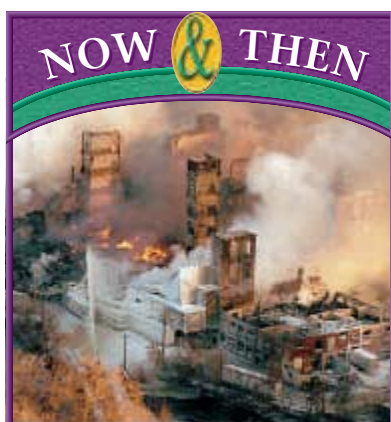
A How did factory production change American manufacturing?

Northern Cities and Industry, 1830–1850



This depiction of Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1834 shows the factories along the river banks.





FROM THE ASHES

Malden Mills, the largest employer in Lawrence, Massachusetts (near Lowell) was devastated by fire in December 1995, as shown above.

The mills' owner, septuagenarian Aaron Feuerstein, not only announced that he intended to rebuild but pledged to keep his employees on the payroll during reconstruction.

To much acclaim for his generosity, Mr. Feuerstein said:

"Everything I did after the fire was in keeping with the ethical standards I've tried to maintain my entire life. . . . Whether I deserve it or not, I guess I became a symbol of what the average worker would like corporate America to be in a time when the American dream has been pretty badly injured."

After it was rebuilt, production of Malden Mills' popular synthetic product—Polartec—doubled.

THE LOWELL MILL Mill owners hired females because they could pay them lower wages than men who did similar jobs. To the girls in the mills, though, textile work offered better pay than their only alternatives: teaching, sewing, and domestic work. In an 1846 letter to her father in New Hampshire, 16-year-old Mary Paul expressed her satisfaction with her situation at Lowell.

★ A PERSONAL VOICE MARY PAUL

"I am at work in a spinning room tending four sides of warp which is one girl's work. The overseer tells me that he never had a girl get along better than I do. . . . I have a very good boarding place, have enough to eat. . . . The girls are all kind and obliging. . . . I think that the factory is the best place for me and if any girl wants employment, I advise them to come to Lowell."

—quoted in *Women and the American Experience*

Like Mary Paul, who eventually left factory work to pursue other work, most female workers stayed at Lowell for only a few years. Harriet Hanson Robinson, a mill girl who later became involved in the abolition and women's rights movements, applauded the mill girls' influence in carrying "new fashions, new books, new ideas" back to their homes.

CONDITIONS AT LOWELL The workday at Lowell began at 5 A.M., Mary Paul wrote her father, with a bell ringing "for the folks to get up. At seven they are called to the mill. At half past twelve we have dinner, are called back again at one and stay until half past seven."

These hours probably didn't seem long to farm girls, but heat, darkness, and poor ventilation in the factories contributed to discomfort and illness. Overseers would nail windows shut to seal in the humidity they thought prevented the threads from breaking, so that in the summer the weaving rooms felt like ovens. In the winter, pungent smoke from whale-oil lamps blended with the cotton dust to make breathing difficult.

Mill conditions continued to deteriorate in the 1830s. Managers forced workers to increase their pace. Between 1836 and 1850, Lowell owners tripled the number of spin-

dles and looms but hired only 50 percent more workers to operate them. Factory rules tightened too. After gulping a noon meal, workers now had to rush back to the weaving rooms to avoid fines for lateness. Mill workers began to organize. In 1834, the Lowell mills announced a 15 percent wage cut. Eight hundred mill girls conducted a **strike**, a work stoppage in order to force an employer to respond to demands. **B**

STRIKES AT LOWELL Under the heading "UNION IS POWER," the Lowell Mills strikers of 1834 issued a proclamation declaring that they would not return to work "unless our wages are continued to us as they have been." For its part, the company threatened to recruit local women to fill the strikers' jobs. Criticized by the Lowell press and clergy, most of the strikers agreed to return to work at reduced wages. The mill owners fired the strike leaders.

In 1836, Lowell mill workers struck again, this time over an increase in their board charges that was equivalent to a 12.5 percent pay cut. Twice as many

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

B What factors contributed to the worsening conditions workers endured at Lowell beginning in the 1830s?



women participated as had two years earlier. Only 11 years old at the time of the strike, Harriet Hanson later recalled the protest.


A PERSONAL VOICE HARRIET HANSON

“As I looked back at the long line that followed me, I was more proud than I have ever been since at any success I may have achieved, and more proud than I shall ever be again until my own beloved State gives to its women citizens the right of suffrage [voting].”

—quoted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*


 **Lowell mill workers often lived in company-owned boarding houses.**

Again, the company prevailed. It fired the strike leaders and dismissed Harriet Hanson's widowed mother, a boarding-house supervisor. Most of the strikers returned to their spindles and looms.

In the 1840s, the mill girls took their concerns to the political arena. In 1845, Sarah Bagley founded the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association to petition the Massachusetts state legislature for a ten-hour workday. The proposed legislation failed, but the Lowell Association was able to help defeat a local legislator who opposed the bill. 

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating Decisions

 Based on the results, do you think the decision to strike at Lowell was a good one? Explain.

Workers Seek Better Conditions

Conditions for all workers deteriorated during the 1830s. Skilled artisans, who had originally formed unions to preserve their own interests, began to ally themselves with unskilled laborers. When Philadelphia coal workers struck for a 10-hour day and a wage increase in 1835, for example, carpenters, printers, and other artisans joined them in what became the first general strike in the United States.

Although only 1 or 2 percent of U.S. workers were organized, the 1830s and 1840s saw dozens of strikes—many for higher wages, but some for a shorter workday. Employers won most of these strikes because they could easily replace unskilled workers with strikebreakers who would toil long hours for low wages. Many strikebreakers were immigrants who had fled even worse poverty in Europe.

“I regard my work people just as I regard my machinery.”

TEXTILE MILL MANAGER, 1840s

IMMIGRATION INCREASES European immigration rose dramatically in the United States between 1830 and 1860. In the decade 1845–1854 alone nearly

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

IRISH IMMIGRANTS STRIKE

Smarting from the hostility around them, Irish immigrants soon began to view unions as an opportunity to advance their prospects. In fact, Irish dock workers organized New York City's most famous strike of the 1840s.

When Irish women tailors organized the Ladies Industrial Association in New York City in 1845, their leader, Elizabeth Gray, denounced "tyrant employers."

Though employers retained great power through the 1840s, unions did manage to win a few victories.

3 million immigrants were added to the U.S. population that had numbered just over 20 million. The majority of the immigrants were German or Irish.

Most immigrants avoided the South because slavery limited their economic opportunity. What's more, Southerners were generally hostile to European, particularly Catholic, immigrants. German immigrants clustered in the upper Mississippi Valley and in the Ohio Valley. Most German immigrants had been farmers in Europe, but some became professionals, artisans, and shopkeepers in the United States.

A SECOND WAVE Irish immigrants settled in the large cities of the East. Nearly a million Irish immigrants had settled in America between 1815 and 1844. Between 1845 and 1854 Irish immigration soared after a blight destroyed the peasants' staple crop, potatoes, which led to a famine in Ireland. The Great Potato Famine killed as many as 1 million of the Irish people and drove over 1 million more to new homes in America.

Irish immigrants faced bitter prejudice, both because they were Roman Catholic and because they were poor. Frightened by allegations of a Catholic conspiracy to take over the country, Protestant mobs in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston rampaged through Irish neighborhoods.

Native-born artisans, whose wages had fallen because of competition from unskilled laborers and factory production, considered Irish immigrants the most unfair competition of all. Their willingness to work for low wages under terrible conditions made the desperate Irish newcomers easy prey for employers who sought to break strikes with cheap labor.

NATIONAL TRADES' UNION In their earliest attempts to organize, journeymen formed trade unions specific to each trade. For example, journeymen shoemakers

This 1848 engraving shows immigrants arriving in New York City from Europe.



organized one of the nation's earliest strikes in 1806. During the 1830s, the trade unions in different towns began to join together to establish unions for such trades as carpentry, shoemaking, weaving, printing, and comb making. By means of these unions, the workers sought to standardize wages and conditions throughout each industry.

In a few cities the trade unions united to form federations. In 1834, for example, journeymen's organizations from six industries formed the largest of these unions, the **National Trades' Union**, which lasted until 1837. The trade-union movement faced fierce opposition from bankers and owners, who threatened the unions by forming associations of their own. In addition, workers' efforts to organize were at first hampered by court decisions declaring strikes illegal. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Evaluating

D Why was the national trade union movement important?

COURT BACKS STRIKERS In 1842, however, the Massachusetts Supreme Court supported workers' right to strike in the case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt*. In this case, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw declared that Boston's journeymen bootmakers could act "in such a manner as best to subserve their own interests." A prominent American court finally had upheld the rights of labor. Although by 1860 barely 5,000 workers were members of what would now be called labor unions, far larger numbers of workers, 20,000 or more, participated in strikes for improved working conditions and wages.

The religious and social reform movements in the nation in the mid-19th century went hand in hand with economic changes that set in place the foundation for the modern American economy. While some Americans poured their efforts into reforming society, others sought new opportunities for economic growth and expansion. As the nation adjusted to the newly emerging market economy, migration west became a popular option.



▲ This trade union banner was made for the glass cutters organization around 1840.

SECTION 4

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

•cottage industry
•master

•journeyman
•apprentice

•strike
•National Trades' Union

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a chart like the one shown, name things that contributed to the changing workplace in the first half of the 19th century.



Which of these are still part of the workplace today?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING ISSUES

Do you think the positive effects of mechanizing the manufacturing process outweighed the negative effects? Why or why not?

Think About:

- changes in job opportunities for artisans, women, and unskilled male laborers
- changes in employer-employee relationships
- working conditions in factories
- the cost of manufactured goods

4. EVALUATING DECISIONS

If you were working in a factory during the mid-1800s, would you be a striker or a strikebreaker? Support your choice with details from the text.

5. IDENTIFYING PROBLEMS

How did the influx of new immigrants from Germany and Ireland affect circumstances in the American workplace?

Working at Mid-Century

In the years before the Civil War, most workers labored from dawn to dusk, six days a week, without benefits. Although many Northerners criticized the South for exploiting slave labor, Southerners criticized the industrial wage system, mostly in the North, for exploiting free workers. Both North and South used children—cheap labor—for full workdays. While 10-year-old slave children worked in the fields like adults, one Northern mill employed 100 children ages four to ten.



◀ COTTON PLANTATION FIELD SLAVES

The field slave's day during cotton harvest began with a bell an hour before dawn, a quick breakfast, and then a march to the fields. Men, women, and children spent the entire day picking cotton, bundling it, and coming back after dark carrying bales of cotton to the gin house. They then made their own suppers and ate quickly before falling asleep on wooden planks. No other antebellum workers had such harsh, brutal treatment imposed on them. For most field slaves, the master's whip was a constant threat.

Length of Day: pre-dawn until after dark

Type of Labor: picking and bundling cotton

Payment: substandard food and shelter

MILL WORKERS ▶

Approximately 80 percent of textile-mill workers were young women between the ages of 15 and 30. The day began with a bell for a quick breakfast in the boarding house, followed by a march to the factory, and the tending of machines all day. Workers put up with heavy dust, the roar of machines, and hot air with windows nailed shut to keep in the humidity. When competitive pressure increased on the owners, workers had to speed up their work for lower wages. Children made \$1 a week; older girls and women, \$3; men, \$6.

Length of Day: 12 hours

Type of Labor: operating machines

Payment: \$1 to \$6 a week

Courtesy George Eastman House





Haymaking (1864), Winslow Homer. Oil on Canvas, 16" x 11". Museum purchase, Howard Fund/Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio

▲ FARMERS

Because farmers' livelihoods depended on the weather, soil conditions, and the market prices of crops, their earnings were unpredictable—but usually very low. Generally men spent their days clearing land, plowing, planting, and hoeing the fields, while women raised vegetables for family consumption, helped harvest fields, cared for livestock and for the family, and made clothing.

Length of Day: dawn until after dark

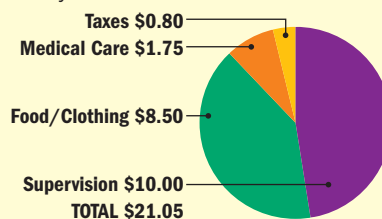
Type of Labor: planting, tending crops, caring for livestock

Payment: dependent on crop prices

DATA FILE

ANNUAL COST OF MAINTAINING A FIELD SLAVE

A typical Southern plantation owner in 1848–1860 would spend the following to take care of a field slave for one year.



Source: *Slavery and the Southern Economy*, Harold D. Woodman, editor

WORKERS IN THE MID-19TH CENTURY

Average monthly earnings from 1830 to 1850 for a few common occupations:

Job	Year	Monthly Earnings
Artisan	1830	\$ 45
Laborer	1830	\$ 26
Teacher, male	1840	\$ 15
Teacher, female	1840	\$ 7
Northern farmhand	1850	\$ 13
Southern farmhand	1850	\$ 9

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

WORKERS IN THE EARLY 21ST CENTURY

Average monthly salaries for each profession:

Job	Monthly Salary
Teacher—elementary	\$ 4,353
Teacher—high school	\$ 4,533
Construction worker	\$ 3,529
Service worker	\$ 2,423

Source: *Occupational Employment and Statistics*, May 2008. U.S. Department of Labor

THINKING CRITICALLY

CONNECT TO HISTORY

- 1. Drawing Conclusions** What attitudes about women and children do you see reflected in work patterns during the mid-19th century?



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R18.

CONNECT TO TODAY

- 2. Researching Children's Rights** Report on labor laws and societal changes that protected children's rights and prevented child labor in factories.



hmhsocialstudies.com RESEARCH WEB LINKS

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance during the mid-19th century.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Second Great Awakening | 6. Frederick Douglass |
| 2. revival | 7. Elizabeth Cady Stanton |
| 3. Ralph Waldo Emerson | 8. temperance movement |
| 4. abolition | 9. strike |
| 5. William Lloyd Garrison | 10. National Trades' Union |

MAIN IDEAS

Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.

Religion Sparks Reform (pages 240–245)

1. What new religious ideas set the stage for the reform movements of the mid-19th century?
2. How did Dorothea Dix contribute to reform?

Slavery and Abolition (pages 248–253)

3. How did William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and David Walker each propose ending slavery?
4. What steps did white Southerners take to suppress slave revolts?

Women and Reform (pages 254–258)

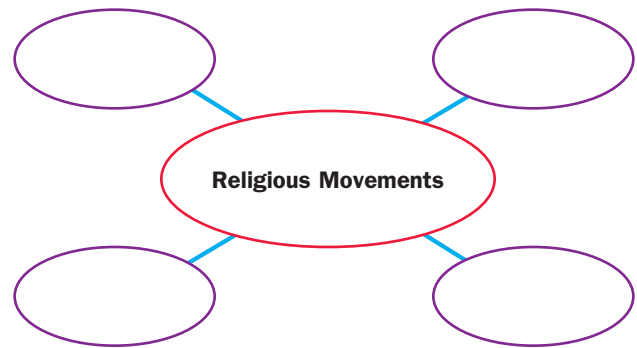
5. What was the cult of domesticity?
6. What was the purpose of the Seneca Falls Convention?

The Changing Workplace (pages 259–265)

7. How did working conditions in the Lowell textile mills present new opportunities and new hazards?
8. Describe the two waves of U.S. immigration in the mid-1800s.

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Use a diagram similar to the one shown below to list the various reform movements that grew out of early-19th-century religious movements.



2. **EVALUATING** What was the most important reform of this period? Support your answer with references to the text.
3. **INTERPRETING MAPS** Look at the map on page 261. From the pattern of industries shown on the map, what conclusions can you draw about the kinds of industries that were the first to develop in the West? Support your answer with references to the text.
4. **SYNTHESIZING** What means did the abolitionists use to try to convince the public that slavery should be abolished?

VISUAL SUMMARY**REFORMING AMERICAN SOCIETY****RELIGION SPARKS REFORM**

The Second Great Awakening brings religious revival, social reform, and a new awareness of what it means to be an American.

SLAVERY AND ABOLITION

Slavery becomes an explosive issue as growing numbers of white and black Americans join reformers working for abolition.

**WOMEN AND REFORM**

Women reformers expand their reform efforts from movements such as abolition and temperance to include women's social and political rights.

THE CHANGING WORKPLACE

A growing industrial work force faces problems arising from changes in manufacturing and the creation of the factory system.

IMPACT OF SOCIAL REFORM

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

Use the quotation below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 1.

“ We affirm that while women are liable to punishment for acts, which the laws call criminal, or while they are taxed in their labor or property for the support of government, they have a self-evident and indisputable right to a direct voice in the enactment of those laws and the formation of that government. . . . Who are citizens? Why males? Why foreigners? because they pay a poll-tax—the intemperate, the vicious, the ignorant, anybody and everybody who has the wit to elude pauperism and guardianship, if they are only *males*. And yet women are to live under this city charter, obey, be taxed to support, and no pauper establishment or guardianship is thought necessary for them . . . How inconsistent is all this!”

—Harriot Kezia Hunt, letter to “Frederick U. Tracy . . . of the City of Boston, and the Citizens generally, and the Legislature in particular, November 15, 1854.”

1. In this passage, Dr. Harriot Kezia Hunt, an early-19th-century feminist, is asking that —
 - A women be entitled to vote.
 - B women pay their share of taxes.
 - C immigrants be subject to taxation.
 - D only intelligent people be entitled to vote.
2. The National Trades’ Union was supported by all of the following groups *except* —
 - F factory workers and farmers.
 - G immigrants.
 - H business owners and bankers.
 - J journeymen and apprentices.

Use the quotation below and your knowledge of U.S. history to answer question 3.

“ What is a man born for but to be a Reformer, a Remaker of what man has made; a renouncer of lies; a restorer of truth and good . . . The power, which is at once spring and regulator in all efforts of reform, is the conviction that there is infinite worthiness in man which will appear at the call of worth, and that all particular reforms are the removing of some impediment. . . . I see at once how paltry is all this generation of unbelievers, and what a house of cards their institutions are, and I see what one brave man, what one great thought executed might effect.”

—Ralph Waldo Emerson, “Man the Reformer”

3. How does Emerson characterize his belief in reform?
 - A All people are capable of positive reform.
 - B Some people are good; others are not.
 - C Most people are too selfish for reform.
 - D Most institutions are ungodly and will fall.
4. The Seneca Falls Convention agenda modeled its resolutions on —
 - F the cult of domesticity.
 - G the Declaration of Independence.
 - H the Fourteenth Amendment.
 - J the temperance movement.

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INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Recall the issues that you explored at the beginning of the chapter. Now that you know more about the changing workplace, address some specific actions to address workers’ grievances. Work with a small group to develop a plan of action.

FOCUS ON WRITING

Reread the excerpt from the Declaration of Sentiments on page 257. Then write a paragraph explaining whether or not the resolutions proposed in the document have been achieved.

MULTIMEDIA ACTIVITY



Visit the links for Chapter Assessment to find out more about utopian communities. If you were a utopian reformer, what kind of community would you form? Prepare an oral report that describes your plans for a utopian community.

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