

# DBQ: Nationalism & Sectionalism

## DIRECTIONS:

The following DBQ is based upon the accompanying documents and your knowledge of the time period involved. This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived mainly from the documents, however, you may refer to historical facts, materials, and developments NOT mentioned in the documents. You should assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.

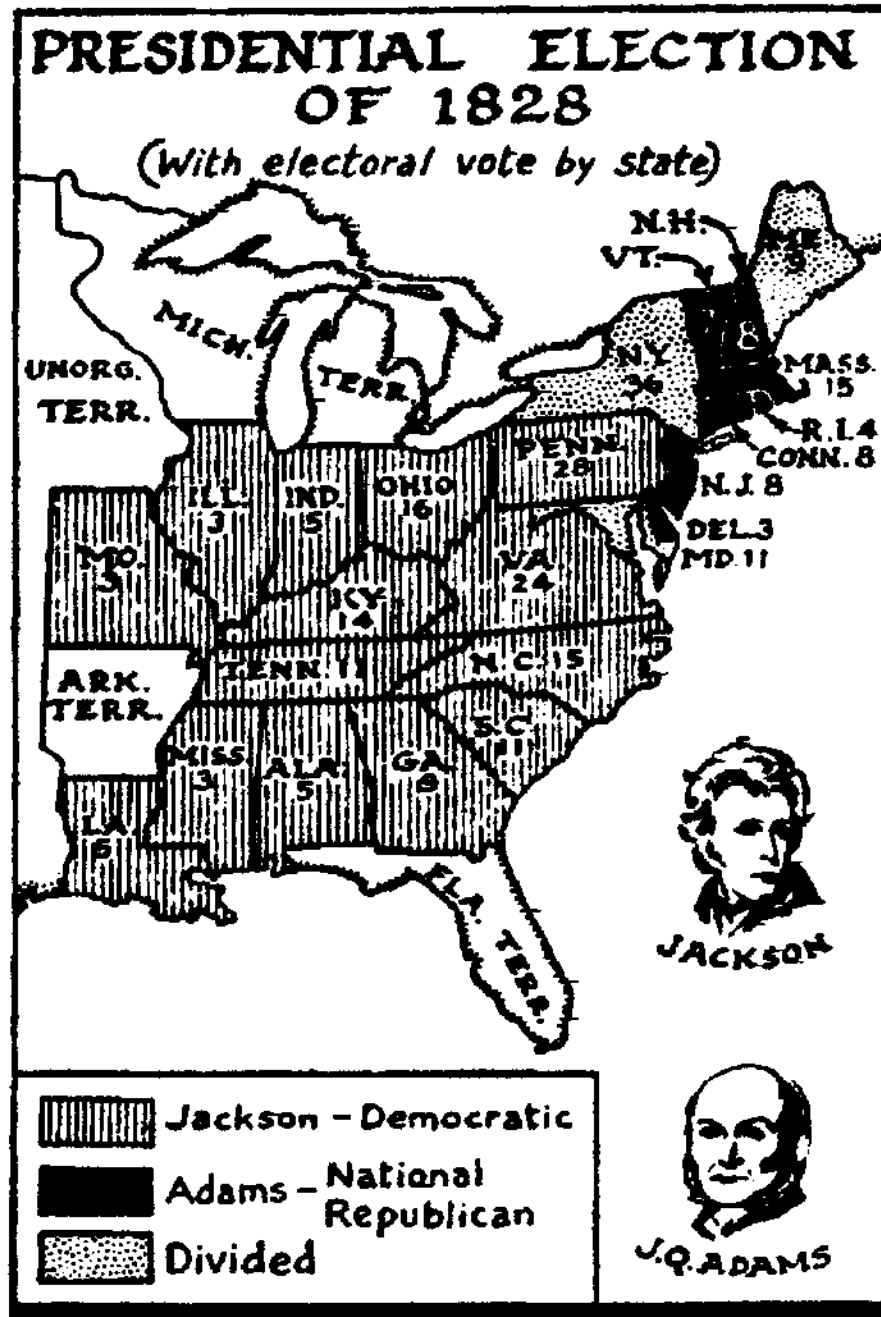
## QUESTION FOR ANALYSIS:

*In the period from 1815 to 1858, two giant forces—nationalism and sectionalism--ostensibly in opposition to each other—prevailed simultaneously in the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century America. Describe these two forces and discuss the geographic, political, constitutional, economic, and diplomatic contrasts of both forces.*

## PROMPT:

- Formulate a thesis statement
- Use documents as well as your own outside knowledge of the period.
- Deal evenly with all aspects of the questions
- Be sure to cover the time period given
- Assess the validity of the documents
- Draw effective and specific conclusions whenever possible

Document A



Election of Andrew Jackson 1828, map. John D. Hicks. *The Federal Union*. p.366

## Document B

### Election Results of 1856 election. Candidates and statistical results & commentary

<u>Name</u> <u>Vote</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Popular Vote</u>	<u>Electoral</u>
James Buchanan	Democratic	1,832,955	174
John C. Fremont	Republican	1,382,713	114
Millard Fillmore	American	871,731	8

This election resulted in 78.9% of the people voting in US.

“The election of 1856 was the long awaited election of the rise of sectional parties.” (David Kennedy-McLaughlin Professor of History at Stanford University). Taped lecture at ASA, summer institute of 2000.

“By 1859, sectionalism had taken a tremendous toll on national political parties and the American political culture. The Whigs had collapsed. The Democrats hovered near break-up. The Republicans were rising but uncertain about how to compromise the strands of difference in the party. Crises in the territories and Border States throughout 1857 and 1858 threatened not to subside, but to spread. More and more Americans began to doubt that there was a political solution to these crises, and to forecast a disastrous social collision of sectional interests. (Steve Gillon) *The American Experiment*.

“Second, although in existence scarcely more than a year, lacking any base in the South, and running a political novice, the Republican Party did very well. A purely sectional party had come within reach of capturing the Presidency” (Michael Holt, Professor of History at the University of Virginia. Taped lecture at ASA summer institute, in possession of John A. Braithwaite)

## Document C

**Clay's "American System" provides for...**

**"Nationalism likewise manifested itself in manufacturing. Patriotic Americans took pride in the factories that had recently mushroomed forth, largely as a result of the self-imposed embargoes and the war**

**"A nationalist Congress, out-Federalizing the old Federalists, responded by passing the path-breaking Tariff of 1816—roughly 20 to 25 percent on the value of dutiable imports.**

**"Nationalism was further highlighted by a grandiose plan of Henry Clay for developing a profitable home market. Still radiating the nationalism of war-hawk days, he (Clay) threw himself behind an elaborate scheme known by 1824 as the American System. This had three main parts. It began with a strong banking system. Clay also advocated a protective tariff. The third component of the American System—a network of roads, canals, and railroads...in the burgeoning Ohio Valley." (See accompanying map. Robert B. Grant, *Surveying the Land*, Volume 1.)**

*Document D*

**Ostend Manifesto. Aix la Chapelle, Oct 28, 1854.**

**We arrived at the conclusion, and are thoroughly convinced, that an immediate and earnest effort ought to be made buy the government of the United States to purchase Cuba from Spain at any price for which it can be obtained...**

**Yours, very respectfully,**

**James Buchanan  
J.Y. Mason  
Pierre Soule**

**To: Hon. William L. Marcy, Secretary of State.**

## *Document E*

**Monroe Doctrine calls for...**

**“... that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subject for the future colonization by any European powers...**

**“... that we should consider any attempt on their (European powers) part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.**

**“Our policy in regard to Europe... (is) not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers... (but) to cultivate friendly relations... and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and many policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of ever power, submitting to injuries from none.”**

**James Monroe, *Annual Message to Congress*. 1923**

## Document F

### McCulloch vs Maryland (1819)

<b>FACTS:</b>	Since the establishment of the Bank of the United States in 1781, Anti-Federalist (Republicans) had argued that a national bank was unconstitutional since the Constitution did not specifically give Congress the authority to create such a bank. Federalist advocates of a strong national government had used the “ <i>necessary and proper</i> ” or “ <i>elastic clause</i> ” to justify creation of the Bank. According to the preamble of the Bank charter, the Bank would aid the government in getting emergency loans, serve as depository for tax funds, and produce advantages for trade and industry. The original charter of the Bank of the United States had expired in 1811, but a second Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816. Several states opposed the national Bank put taxes or special restrictions on operations of the Bank of United States. When the cashier of the Bank of United States in Maryland refused to pay a state tax on the Bank, Maryland brought suit against him Maryland won a judgment against the Bank...in a <i>Maryland</i> Court, but McCulloch, the federally employed cashier, appealed the decision to the Supreme Court of the United States.
<b>ISSUE:</b>	May a state tax a federal establishment?
<b>DECISION:</b>	John Marshall, in writing the majority of the Supreme Court, overturned the lower court’s decision and declared the Maryland tax “null and void,” thereby upholding not only the supremacy clause of the Constitution, but the Federal “ <i>Implied powers</i> ” were also upheld as constitutionally supreme.
<b>RATIONALE:</b>	The Court ruled that the Federal government has the authority to do what is necessary and proper to carry out the enumerated powers of Congress, and that included establishing the Bank of the United States. According to John Marshall, “The power to tax is the power to destroy.” A state cannot take any action that will destroy an agency properly established by the Federal government. Therefore, Maryland could not tax the Maryland branch of the Bank of the United States, nor could it pass laws contrary to federal law.
<b>SIGNIFICANCE:</b>	The decision sanctioned the federal government’s use of implied powers, established the supremacy of the national government over the states, and paved the way for vast expansions of federal power in the future through a broad definition of “implied powers”

## *Document G*

*Dred Scott vs Sanford*, 1857. **19 Howard, 393.**

**“Now . . . the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States, in every State that might desire it, for twenty years. And the Government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time, if the slave escapes from his owner...”**

**“Neither Dred Scott, himself, nor any of his family were made free by being carried into such territory: even if they had been carried there by their owner with the intention of becoming permanent residents.”**



## Document H

**Manifest Destiny is a policy of...** (Artist portrayal) Adapted from *Democratic Review* "Annexation" July-August, 1846.



## Document I

**“It is now time for opposition to the annexation of Texas to end. It is time for the common duty of patriotism to the country to take over. If this duty is not recognized, it is at least time for common sense to give in to what is inevitable.**

**If we needed a reason for taking Texas into the Union, it surely is to be found in the manner which other nations have interfered in the matter. Their object is to oppose our policy and to check the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to spread over the continent. This we have seen done by England.**

**And these people will have a right to independence—to self-government, to possession of home conquered from the wilderness by their own labors and dangers, sufferings, and sacrifices. They will have a better and truer right here than Mexico, a thousand miles away.” (Quotation of John L. O’Sullivan.)**

## *Document J*

### **Compromise of 1820 by Henry Clay.**

**“The Territory of Missouri was part of the Louisiana Purchase; by the terms of this purchase the inhabitants of the Territory were guaranteed in their liberty, property, and religion. When in 1818 Missouri petitioned for admission to the Union as a State, the question arose whether this covered property in slaves of whom there were some two or three thousand in the territory...Representative Tallmadge offered an amendment excluding slavery from the State. That summer and fall the Missouri question was the chief political issue before the country....”**

**“Section 8. That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the terms of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees, and thirty minutes north latitude, not included within the limits of the state, contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby, forever prohibited.”**

**The application of Maine for admission as State offered Congress a way out of this difficult.**

**A conference committee reported bills to admit Maine to Statehood, and Missouri to Statehood with the Thomas Amendment. [solved the slavery issue of balance in the US Senate]**

## Document K

The Fugitive Slave Act, 1850, a provision of the Compromise of 1850.

*Section 6:*     ...That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, has heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service or labor may be due...may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person...In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence...

*Section 7:*     ...That any person who shall knowingly and willingly obstruct hinder, or prevent such claimant...from arresting such a fugitive from service or labor...or shall rescue, or attempt to rescue, such fugitive from service or labor, from the custody of such claimant...or shall aid, abet, or assist such person so owing service or labor as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from such claimant, or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person...shall, for either of said offenses, be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months...and shall moreover forfeit and pay, by way of civil damages to the party injured by such illegal conduct, the sum of one thousand dollars, for each fugitive so lost.

## *Document L*

**Andrew Jackson's Proclamation to the people of South Carolina. Dec. 10, 1832, Richardson, ed. *Messages & Papers*. Vol. II, p640.**

**"The Ordinance of Nullification is not based on the right to resist acts, which are unconstitutional and oppressive, but rather on the strange position that any one state may declare an act of Congress void and prohibit the act from being carried out. If this Ordinance had been put into effect when our nation was young, the Union would have been dissolved in its infancy.**

**"I consider that the power of one state to annul a law of the United States is not consistent with the survival of the Union. Nullification is forbidden by the Constitution; it violates the spirit of the Constitution...it is destructive of the great object for which the Constitution was written.**

**"To preserve this bond of our political existence from destruction, to maintain inviolate this state of national honor and prosperity...I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States, though proper to issue this my proclamation, stating my views of the Constitution and laws applicable to the measures adopted by the convention of South Carolina....**

**"The ordinance is founded, not on the indefeasible right of resisting acts which are plainly unconstitutional and too oppressive to be endured, but on the strange position that any one State may not only declare an act of Congress void, but prohibit its execution; that they may do this consistently with the Constitution; that the true construction of that instrument permits a State to retain its place in the Union and yet be bound by no other of its laws than those it may choose to consider as constitutional.**

**"This right to secede is deduced from the nature of the Constitution, which, they say, is a compact between sovereign States who have preserved their whole sovereignty and therefore are subject to superior forces..."**

*Document M*

**John Boles argues that...**

**“Cotton was—and became—the giant magnet that was the all encompassing force of southern sectionalism. It determined the economic affairs of the region. It was the force behind political structures in the Antebellum South, and it was the social and cultural determinant of the region from 1793 until modern times. Cotton and slavery were the two characteristics of southern sectionalism beyond dispute. It was the cotton that begat the slavery issue, and slave labor was the economic back bone of southern agriculture during the developing Market Revolution.”**

**John Boles, Professor of Southern History at Rice University, and Editor of *The Journal of Southern History*. (ASA Institute Tapes for summer of 2003)  
In possession of John Braithwaite.**

## *Document N*

**Compromise of 1850, by Daniel Webster, March 7, 1850. Congressional Globe, 31 Cong., 1<sup>st</sup> Session. Pp480-483.**

*Mr. President*,—I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a northern man, but as an American, and a member of Senate of the United States.

There is no such thing as peaceable secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. Is the great Constitution under which we live—covering this whole country—it is to be thawed and melted away by secession.

...let us enjoy the fresh air of liberty and union; let us cherish those hopes which belong to us; let us devote ourselves to those great object that are fit for our consideration and our action... Never did there devolve on any generation of men, higher trusts than now devolve upon us for the preservation of this Constitution and the harmony and peace of all who are destined to live under it. Let us make our generation one of the strongest and brightest links in the golden chain which is destined, I fully believe, to grapple the people of all the States to this Constitution, for ages to come.

## Document O

### Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858

**...I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories... The first one is:**

*Question 1*—**If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State Constitution and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants.'**

*Question 2*—**Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State constitution?**

*Question 3*—**If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action.**

#### *Senator Douglas's Reply*

**I will answer this question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as the population enough to constitute a slave State, she has people enough a free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union.**

**I answer emphatically, ...that in my opinion the people of a Territory can by lawful means exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution.**

**The third question...He [Mr. Lincoln] casts an imputation on the Supreme Court, by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States, I tell him that such a thing is impossible. It would be an act of moral treason...**



## *Document P*

### **Nullification of the Force Bill, March 18, 1833**

#### **An Ordinance**

**To nullify an Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An Act further to provide for the collection of duties on Imports.” Commonly called the force bill**

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**We, the People of the State of South Carolina in Convention assembled, do Declare and Ordain, that the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled “An Act further to provide for the collection of duties on imports approved the second day of March, 1833 is unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, subversive of that Constitution, and destructive of political liberty; and that the same is, and shall be deemed, null and void within the limits of this state.**

## *Document Q*

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