



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER REGION What two slave states bordered the free state of Illinois? **REGION** In what two territories was slavery permitted?

ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE

SLAVERY AND THE UNION

Former president Thomas Jefferson feared for the Union's future after the Missouri Compromise. His words would prove prophetic:

"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."

THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to John Holmes, April 22, 1820

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 of the line, slavery was legal. North of the line—except in Missouri—slavery was banned.

President Monroe signed the Missouri Compromise in 1820. For a generation, the problem of slavery in federal territories seemed settled.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY C. Synthesizing What agreements did Congress reach that are regarded collectively as the Missouri Compromise. Why were they important at the time?

3 The Age of Jackson

- TERMS & NAMES**
- Andrew Jackson
 - Democratic Republican Party
 - spoils system
 - Sequoia
 - Indian Removal Act
 - Trail of Tears

LEARN ABOUT Andrew Jackson's rise to power and his political views **TO UNDERSTAND** why his administration instituted policies that expressed the views of the common people but violated the rights of Native Americans.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

During an extended conversation with John Adams in 1776, Thomas Jefferson had tried to convince Adams to draft the Declaration of Independence.

A PERSONAL VOICE

I [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."

JOHN ADAMS, quoted in *John Adams: A Biography in His Own Words*



This portrait of Thomas Jefferson (above left) was painted when he was 78 by the artist Thomas Sully. The portrait of John Adams was begun in 1798 by Gilbert Stuart and finished after 1828 by Jane Stuart.

Thus began a mutual regard that would last for 50 years. Then, on July 4, 1826, exactly 50 years after the delegates approved the Declaration of Independence that Jefferson had drafted, both men died. "Thomas Jefferson survives," were Adams's last words, but a few hours earlier and many miles away, Jefferson had already died.

Adams's and Jefferson's deaths represented the passing of the era of the leaders who founded the nation. Now the presidency moved on to another generation, first to John Quincy Adams and then to Andrew Jackson. Jackson would be the dominating figure of this era—so much so that it has often been called the Age of Jackson.

Expanding Democracy Changes Politics

When John Adams died, his son John Quincy Adams was in the second year of his single term as president. John Quincy Adams, who had succeeded James Monroe as president, was not effective as the nation's chief executive. The principal reason was **Andrew Jackson**, his chief political opponent.

TENSION BETWEEN ADAMS AND JACKSON Trouble for Adams began with his election in 1824. Andrew Jackson actually won the most popular votes but lacked the majority of electoral votes required to take office. 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. Jackson's supporters urged Clay to support their candidate because he had the largest popular vote. Clay, however, 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. The two men held a private talk, and Adams was elected president by a majority of the states represented in the House.

Jacksonians, or followers of Jackson, accused Adams of stealing the presi-

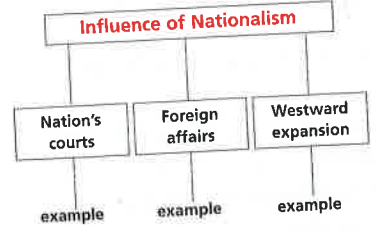
Section 2 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

- Identify:**
- John Quincy Adams
 - nationalism
 - Monroe Doctrine
 - Missouri Compromise

2. SUMMARIZING

Recreate the organizational tree diagram below on your paper, and fill it in with historical examples that illustrate the main idea in the top box.



3. HYPOTHESIZING

Speculate on the short- and long-term goals that President Monroe might have had in mind when he formulated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. Support your answer with reasons.

THINK ABOUT

- European nations' presence in the Western Hemisphere during this time
- the influence of nationalism on foreign policy
- the nation's westward expansion

4. FORMING OPINIONS

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 with reasons.

THINK ABOUT

- the definition of nationalism
- the slavery-related issues debated in Congress
- the series of agreements constituting the Missouri Compromise

Difficult Decisions IN HISTORY

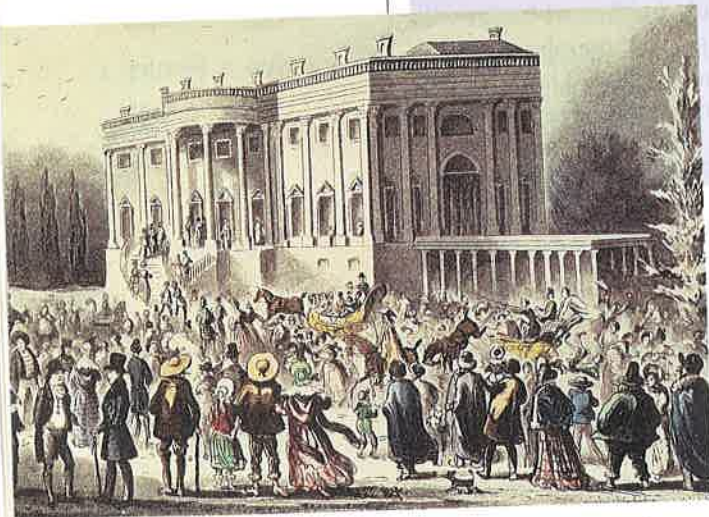
VOTING RESTRICTIONS

In 1821, New York legislator Nathan Sanford argued that the old requirements that restricted voting rights to property holders should change. At the time, only those white males who owned property could vote. Those who agreed with this restriction argued that the vested interest of property owners in the stability of the government made them more responsible. Those who disagreed with property restrictions argued that those who did not own property were also affected by the laws and so should be able to vote.

Sanford believed that all taxpayers should have the right to vote, and not just those paying property taxes. He proposed that every white male citizen who had lived within the state for six months should be entitled to vote.

1. Examine the issues Sanford raised about who should vote. What other issues would you have brought up in the debate?
2. If you had been a New York legislator taking part in this debate in 1821, would you have revised voting restrictions or not? Explain your reasons.

Robert Cruikshank created this satirical print entitled *The President's Levee, or All Creation Going to the White House* in 1829.



dency. Then, because Adams appointed Clay secretary of state, the Jacksonians claimed Adams had struck a corrupt bargain. The Jacksonians withdrew from the Republican Party to form the **Democratic Republican Party** (forerunner of today's Democratic Party).

Over the next four years, Jacksonians did whatever they could to sabotage Adams's policies. Aware that many voters distrusted the national bank and disliked tariffs, Jacksonians opposed both.

DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP During Adams's presidency, most states had eased voting requirements a citizen had to fulfill to be able to vote, thereby enlarging the voting population. Fewer states had property qualifications for voting, which also meant that many more individuals could vote. White males in most states now voted directly for the members of the Electoral College rather than through their legislators. In the election of 1824, approximately 350,000 white males voted for the presidency. In 1828, over three times that number voted, and their votes helped Andrew Jackson.

However, certain groups still lacked political power. Free blacks and women did not enjoy the freedoms and privileges of white males.

Jackson's New Presidential Style

The expansion of voting rights meant that a candidate for president had to be able to speak to the concerns and hopes of common people. Andrew Jackson had this common touch to an extraordinary degree.

JACKSON'S APPEAL TO THE COMMON CITIZEN During the 1828 election campaign, Jackson characterized Adams as an intellectual elitist and, by contrast, portrayed himself as a man of humble origins—even 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. Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith described the scene.

A PERSONAL VOICE

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. Punch and other articles had been carried out in tubs and buckets, but had it been in hogsheads [casks] it would have been insufficient; ice creams and cake and lemonade for 20,000 people, for it is said that number were there, though I think the estimate exaggerated. 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.

MRS. SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH, from a letter dated March 1829

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 in order to give common people a chance to participate in government, his appointees to federal jobs would serve a maximum of four-year terms. Unless there was a regular turnover of personnel, he

declared, officeholders would become inefficient and corrupt.

This policy of “rotation in office” enabled Jackson to give away huge numbers of jobs to friends and political allies. 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. Jackson's administration essentially practiced the **spoils system** of government, so-called from the saying “To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy.” In the spoils system, incoming officials throw out former appointees and replace them with their own friends.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
A. Clarifying
What is the spoils system?

The Removal of Native Americans

Since the 1600s, the attitude of white settlers toward Native Americans had fluctuated. Sometimes many whites seemed to favor the displacement and dispossession of all Native Americans. At other times dedicated individuals tried 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 had begun to adopt the European culture of their white neighbors. These tribes—the Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, and Chickasaw—came to be called the Five Civilized Tribes. The Cherokee, for example, had created a formal government with a legislature consisting of two houses, just as the United States had; a court system; and, by 1827, a constitution modeled after the U.S. Constitution. Using an alphabet devised by the Cherokee George Guess (**Sequoya**), the tribe also published its own bilingual newspaper. However, these “civilized tribes” still occupied large areas of valuable land in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee—and 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 own areas—would have required too many troops to keep the areas free of white settlers who wanted tribal lands. 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 provided funds to negotiate 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,” because it would enable Native Americans to maintain their way of life.

THE TRAIL OF TEARS Jackson began using his newly won authority immediately. In 1830, he 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.

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

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
B. Analyzing
Issues Why did Jackson think that Native Americans should be moved west of the Mississippi?

KEY PLAYER



ANDREW JACKSON
1767–1845

Andrew Jackson thought of himself as a man of the people. He had been born in poverty in the Carolina backcountry, the son of Scots-Irish immigrants. 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 was hardly one of the common people. He had built a highly successful career in Tennessee in law, politics, land speculation, cotton planting, and soldiering. His home, the Hermitage, was a mansion, not a log cabin. Anyone who owned more than a hundred slaves, as Jackson did, was a very wealthy man.

Because he had a suspicious nature, he disliked special-interest groups and men whose power came from privilege. Lurking beneath the surface of his iron will was a deep streak of anger. When crossed, he lashed out, and he found it hard to forgive. He was also the only president to have killed a man in a duel. Jackson had only 90 dollars in cash when he left the presidency. He also was thousands of dollars in debt for the Hermitage.

teamed up with Samuel Austin Worcester, a missionary who had been jailed for teaching Indians without a state license—they knew the Court would have to recognize a citizen's right to be heard.

The Court ruled on *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1832. The Cherokee finally won all the rights that were their due. The Court recognized the Cherokee Nation as a distinct political community whose people Georgia was not entitled to regulate by law and whose lands Georgia was not entitled to invade. 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 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 in Oklahoma. 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. A Baptist missionary who was a witness to the forced evacuation of the Cherokee sent dispatches describing the scene to the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*.

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?"

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

- ANALYZING ISSUES** 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 1046

- WRITING A PROPOSAL** Research the history of one of the Eastern tribes and write a proposal different from the Indian Removal Act that might have served the tribe better.

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 encroachment. He found support for his point of view from Secretary of War Lewis Cass, who defended "the progress of civilization and

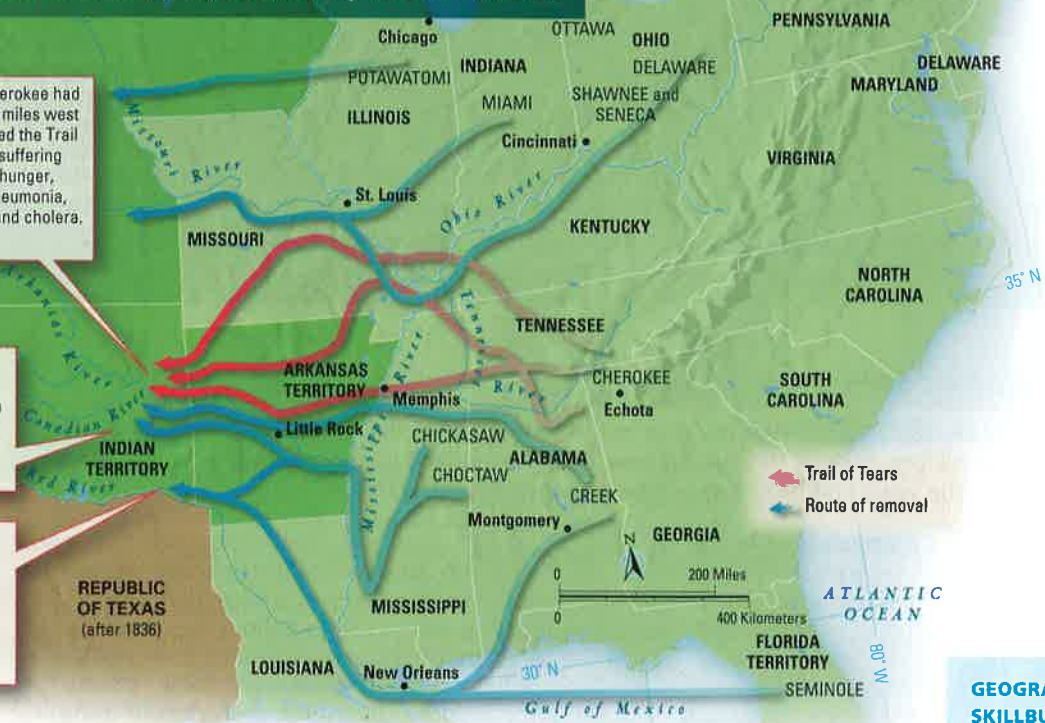
improvement." Cass wished "that the aboriginal population had accommodated themselves to the inevitable change of their condition," but asserted that "such a wish is vain."

Effects of the Indian Removal Act, 1830s–1840s

By 1840, about 16,000 Cherokee had been forcibly moved 800 miles west on routes afterward called the Trail of Tears because of the suffering they endured from cold, hunger, and diseases such as pneumonia, tuberculosis, smallpox, and cholera. One-fourth died.

Nearly 15,000 Creek, many in manacles and chains, were moved from Alabama and Georgia to the Canadian River in Indian Territory in 1835.

By 1834, about 14,000 Choctaw had relocated along the Red River under the terms of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. About 7,000 remained in Mississippi.



A PERSONAL VOICE

The Cherokees are nearly all prisoners. They had been dragged from their houses and encamped at the forts and military places, all over the nation. In Georgia especially, multitudes were allowed no time to take anything with them except the clothes they had on. Well-furnished houses were left a prey to plunderers, who, like hungry wolves, follow in the train of the captors. These wretches rifle the houses, and strip the helpless, unoffending owners of all they have on earth. Females who have been habituated to comforts and comparative affluence are driven on foot before the bayonets of brutal men.

EVAN JONES, *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, June 16, 1838

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. 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 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.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

PLACE Where were most of the tribes moved? **MOVEMENT** What do you think were the effects of this removal on Native Americans?

Section 3 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify:

- Andrew Jackson
- Democratic Republican Party
- spoils system
- Sequoya
- Indian Removal Act
- Trail of Tears

- SUMMARIZING** Create a time line in which you list key events relating to Jackson's political career. Write the events above or below the dates.



Now make a time line of key events in the political career of a current politician.

- MAKING DECISIONS** 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 live—the South, the West, or New England

- INTERPRETING** In your opinion, what factors set the stage for the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the Trail of Tears? 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*

4 Jackson, States' Rights, and the National Bank

LEARN ABOUT Jackson's policies on states' rights and economic issues
TO UNDERSTAND why there were growing divisions and economic problems that threatened the spirit of nationalism.

TERMS & NAMES

- Daniel Webster
- John C. Calhoun
- Tariff of Abominations
- Bank of the United States (BUS)
- Whig
- Martin Van Buren
- Panic of 1837
- William Henry Harrison
- John Tyler

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

On January 26, 1830, **Daniel Webster** rose in the Senate and delivered one of the great speeches of American history. Parts of this speech have been memorized by thousands of schoolchildren over the years and have helped shape their view of the Union.

A PERSONAL VOICE

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!

DANIEL WEBSTER, speech delivered in the Senate on January 26 and 27, 1830

The idea that Webster dismissed as folly—"Liberty first and Union afterwards"—was favored by John C. Calhoun, one of Webster's great opponents in the struggle between states' rights and federal authority. The question of how much power the federal government should have and how much power the states should have came 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. Yet the high tariff on manufactured goods reduced British exports to the United States, and because of this, Britain bought less cotton. With the decline of British goods, the South was now forced to buy the more 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 a peculiar and dangerous position. He had long been known as a nationalist spokesman, and he had supported the protective tariff of 1816. He 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, which produced much more cotton. Some South



Daniel Webster

Carolina politicians 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 sovereign states, he reasoned, then they must still be sovereign, and each had the right to determine whether an act of Congress was constitutional. If it was not, then each state had the right to declare the offending law nullified, or illegal, within its borders. If the states did not have this right, Calhoun argued, then a majority in the federal government might trample on the rights of a minority. 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. (See Tracing Themes on states' rights, page 306.)

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

A. Summarizing

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. For more than a week in January 1830, visitors to the Senate listened to Senator Robert Hayne of South Carolina debate Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Hayne delivered a pointed condemnation of the tariff.

A PERSONAL VOICE

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.

SENATOR ROBERT HAYNE from a speech to Congress, January 21, 1830

On January 26 Webster replied to Hayne's argument, saying 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."

KEY PLAYERS



JOHN C. CALHOUN
1782–1850

John Caldwell Calhoun entered national politics in 1811 with his election to the House of Representatives, where he was labeled a War Hawk for his support of the War of 1812. Then, in 1817, President Monroe asked him to become his Secretary of War. In this capacity, he improved the army's organization.

In 1824, this brilliant, ambitious, and handsome man with dark, flashing eyes won by a landslide the office of vice-president—a position he held under John Quincy Adams. In 1828, he won the vice-presidency again, this time as the running mate of Adams's opponent, Andrew Jackson.

A hard and humorless man, Calhoun 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, famous for his eloquent speeches on behalf of a strong national government, actually began his career in the opposite camp—in favor of states' rights. After moving to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1816, however, his views on states' rights changed. New England was becoming a booming textile manufacturing center, and manufacturers needed a strong national government to protect their interests.

Webster was best known for his skill as an orator. As a congressman and, later, a senator, he captivated Congress with his speeches. However, Webster always had his eye on the presidency. Thus, it was his great disappointment that he failed to win this office despite several attempts to do so. At the end of his life he said, "I have given my life to law and politics. Law is uncertain and politics is utterly vain."

He then identified the key question: was the Union the creation of state legislatures or of the people? If it was the creation of state legislatures, Webster conceded that they should be entitled to control the Union—if they could agree how to do so. He believed, however, that the Union was “made for the people; made by the people; and answerable to the people.”

Once the debates ended, the people wanted to hear President Jackson’s position. He kept them waiting until the spring. Then, on April 13, at a public dinner, he clarified his position in a toast: “Our Union: it must be preserved.” (For the record, he agreed to have it reported as, “Our Federal Union: it must and shall be preserved.”) Calhoun replied with a toast of his own: “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.

SOUTH CAROLINA REBELS Two years later, in 1832, the issue of states’ rights was finally put to a test 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”—and then they threatened to secede, or withdraw, from the Union, if customs officials tried to collect duties.

Jackson was furious. He took South Carolina’s action as a challenge to him personally as well as to the nation as a whole. 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 urged Congress to pass the Force Bill, which it did 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 and forged a compromise in 1833 between all the parties concerned. 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.

Jackson Attacks the National Bank

Although Andrew Jackson never did go to war against South Carolina, he did wage a war—a very personal war—on the **Bank of the United States (BUS)**, located in Philadelphia. In fact, during the same year he dealt with the South Carolina crisis, 1832, he made his first attack on the bank by vetoing the bill to recharter it.

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.

Early in his career Jackson had lost money in financial speculations, and that experience made him deeply suspicious of banks. He believed that the national bank’s conservative credit policies had helped to bring about the financial Panic of 1819. In Jackson’s eyes, the national bank symbolized Eastern wealth and power. He regarded the national bank as an agent of the wealthy,

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
B. Synthesizing
How was the nullification theory an expression of states’ rights?

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
D. Analyzing Motives What were some of Jackson’s reasons for opposing the Second Bank of the United States?

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
C. Contrasting What were Jackson’s and Calhoun’s differing opinions on states’ rights versus federal authority?

“Disunion by armed force is treason.”

ANDREW JACKSON



whose members cared nothing for Jackson’s common people. Because of the bank’s financial strength and influence on the economy, Jackson saw it as a threat to American democracy. He thought it might bribe officials and even try to buy elections with the intent of controlling the government and changing its character.

Jackson and his allies made certain that the general public came to think of the BUS as a privileged institution that served to “make the rich richer and the potent more powerful,” as Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, a Jackson supporter, described it. 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 did have an unfair advantage over other banks. Furthermore, since 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.

PET BANKS In 1832, Jackson told Martin Van Buren (who would become his next vice-president) that the bank 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 his reelection in 1832, he tried to kill the BUS before its charter ran out in 1836 by pressuring the secretary of the treasury to withdraw all government deposits from the bank’s branches and place them in certain state banks—called “pet banks” because of their loyalty to the Democratic Party. When the secretary refused to carry out Jackson’s orders, the president fired him and then appointed a new secretary who undermined the national bank by placing all new deposits in pet banks.

In an attempt to save the BUS, Nicholas Biddle decided to have the bank call in—or demand repayment of—loans to individuals and privately owned businesses. He also refused to make new loans. He claimed that he was forced to do this because the bank was not being rechartered; he hoped that this news would cause a frustrated public to demand the passage of a new bank charter.

This practice did succeed in forcing many merchants and manufacturers into bankruptcy, and these businessmen did, in turn, descend on Washington, D.C., to plead 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, even with the Eastern business community. In 1836, when its charter expired, the Second Bank of the United States became just another Philadelphia bank. Five years later, it had to close its doors.

CONSEQUENCES OF JACKSON’S POLICIES While the owners of Jackson’s pet banks—state banks loyal to Jackson in which federal funds were held—voiced joy at this turn of events, New York bankers were even more delighted. They picked up the pieces of the Philadelphia BUS, and established New York as the new financial capital of the United States.

Jackson’s tactics and policies, however, had angered many people, including some members of his own Democratic Party. Believing that Jackson had



In this cartoon, Andrew Jackson (portrayed as a king) tramples on the Constitution.

SKILLBUILDER
INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS
What does this cartoon suggest about Andrew Jackson’s attitude toward the constitutional limits on the powers of the presidency?

acted more like a king than a president, his foes dubbed him “King Andrew the First.” Then, in 1834, the discontented—including Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—channeled their frustrations into action; they formed a new political party called the **Whig** Party. Their choice of names summed up their beliefs, for the Whigs were a group in Britain that tried to limit royal power, and *Whig* had come to mean anyone opposed to an excessively powerful chief executive.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
E. Summarizing
 Why was the Whig party formed?

Successors Deal 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.

MARTIN VAN BUREN Along with the presidency, however, Van Buren inherited the dire consequences of Jackson's bank war and money policies. When Jackson had his secretary of the treasury deposit all new federal funds into pet banks rather than the BUS, many of these were wildcat banks. These were banks that printed bank notes wildly in excess of the gold and silver they had on deposit. Such wildcat banks 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 and issued the Specie Circular, which made only gold and silver, called specie, acceptable payment for public land. This order, which went into effect on August 15, 1836, sent people rushing to banks to trade paper currency for gold and silver and, in turn, many banks, which had limited specie, suspended the redemption of bank notes for gold and silver.

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 worsened matters.

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 used the campaign strategy that had won Jackson his elections; 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.

The editor of a Democratic newspaper, intending to insult the Whig candidate, declared that if Harrison were given an annual pension of \$2,000 and a barrel of hard cider (an alcoholic beverage), the old man would be content to live in a log cabin. This played into Whig hands; a log cabin and hard cider became campaign symbols of Harrison as a man of the people.

ON THE WORLD STAGE

THE INTERNATIONAL PANIC OF 1837

Although the financial crisis that came to be known as the Panic of 1837 was in part caused by Jackson's policies toward the Bank of the United States, these were not the only causes. The U.S. economy was affected by the economies of other nations.

During the 1830s, for example, British investment in the United States boomed as British banks made huge loans to U.S. banks. Then, when hard times came to European nations, they recalled their loans to Britain, which forced the British banks to recall their loans to American banks.

However, since U.S. banks had already lent this money, they, in turn, had to ask their customers to repay their loans. This forced many people to sell their goods, which caused the prices of goods to plummet.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY
F. Analyzing Causes How did Jackson's actions hurt the nation's economy?

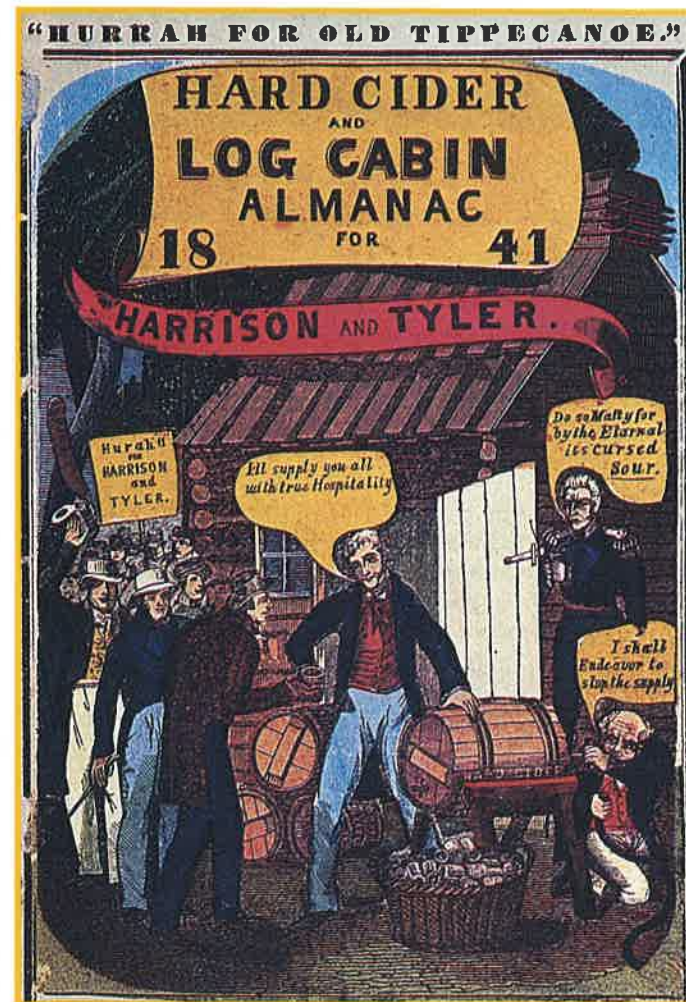
THINK THROUGH HISTORY
G. Summarizing
 In what ways did Jackson influence the political process?

Harrison won and began his term with confidence. He immediately took steps to enact the Whig program to revitalize the economy, which was still in a severe depression. Then, just a month after his inauguration, he died of pneumonia.

John Tyler, Harrison's vice-president and successor, was a strong-minded Virginian who 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 come to see his inclusion on the ticket as a grave mistake—and would begin referring to President Tyler as His Accidency.

A LEGACY OF TWO PARTIES Just as in the 1790s, when people had divided politically into Jeffersonian Republicans and Hamiltonian Federalists, people in the 1830s divided into two distinct parties, each with loyal followers. They identified themselves either as Jacksonian Democrats (as the Democratic Republicans that had broken away from the Republican party in the election of 1824 came to be called) or as Whigs. These parties held center stage until the 1850s.

The style of politics, however, had drastically changed since the 1790s. The new politicians appealed more to passion than to reason. They courted popularity in a way that John Quincy Adams and his predecessors never would have. Political speeches became a form of mass entertainment, involving far more Americans in the political process. The average citizen became more politically aware and had more political involvement than ever before.



This almanac cover promoted the candidacy of William Henry Harrison for president.

Section 4 Assessment

1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify:

- Daniel Webster
- John C. Calhoun
- Tariff of Abominations
- Bank of the United States (BUS)
- Whig
- Martin Van Buren
- Panic of 1837
- William Henry Harrison
- John Tyler

2. SUMMARIZING In a two-column chart, list the key issues that Jackson confronted and the important legacies that he left to the nation.

Jackson's Presidency	
Issues	Legacies

Explain how one of these legacies has continued to today.

3. GENERALIZING 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 How do you think Jackson might have countered the Whig Party's accusation that he was acting like a king? Support your answer with reasons.

THINK ABOUT

- his policies and political appeal
- the image of himself that Jackson projected to his supporters