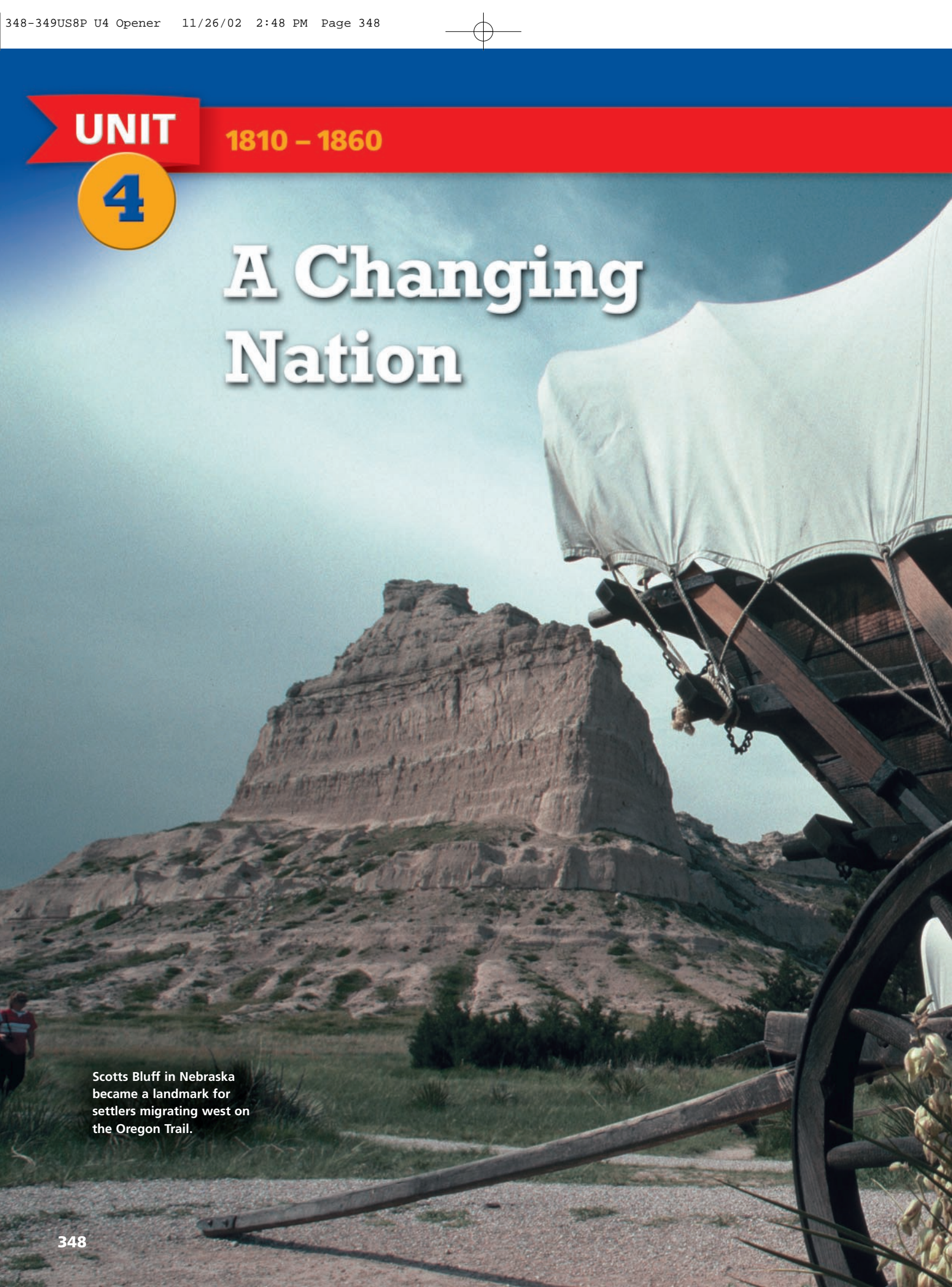


UNIT

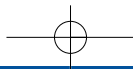
1810 – 1860

4

A Changing Nation

A photograph of a large, flat-topped rock formation (Scotts Bluff) in a desert landscape. In the foreground, a wooden wagon with a white canvas cover is partially visible on the right. A person is walking in the distance on the left.

Scotts Bluff in Nebraska became a landmark for settlers migrating west on the Oregon Trail.



*“Our manifest destiny is to
overspread the continent.”*

—John L. O’Sullivan



CHAPTER
12

The Age of Jackson 1824-1840

Section 1 **Politics of the People**

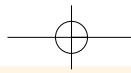
Section 2 **Jackson's Policy Toward Native Americans**

Section 3 **Conflicts over States' Rights**

Section 4 **Prosperity and Panic**

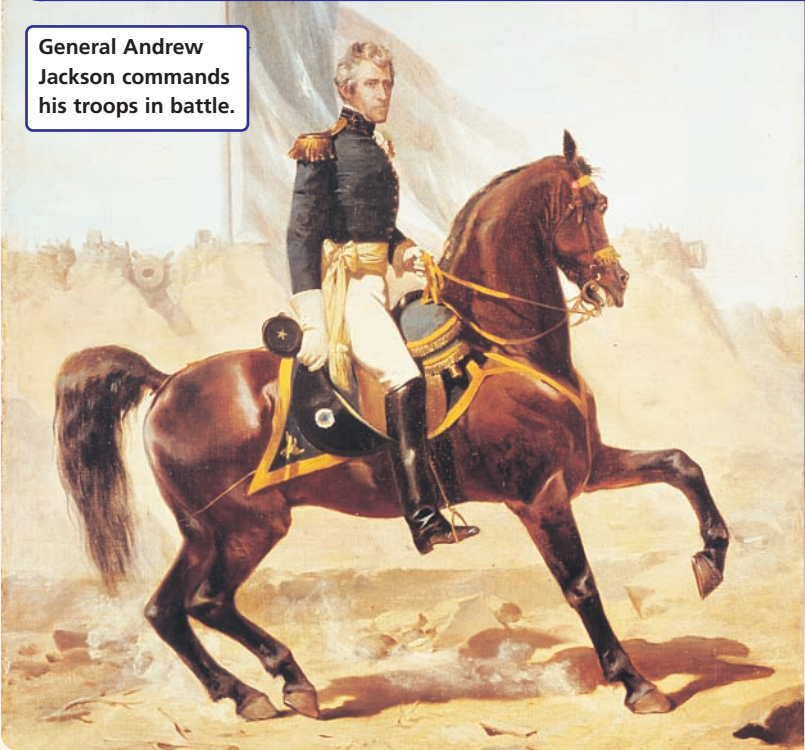
The people came by the thousands to the White House on Inauguration Day to see their president—Andrew Jackson.





Interact *with* History

General Andrew Jackson commands his troops in battle.



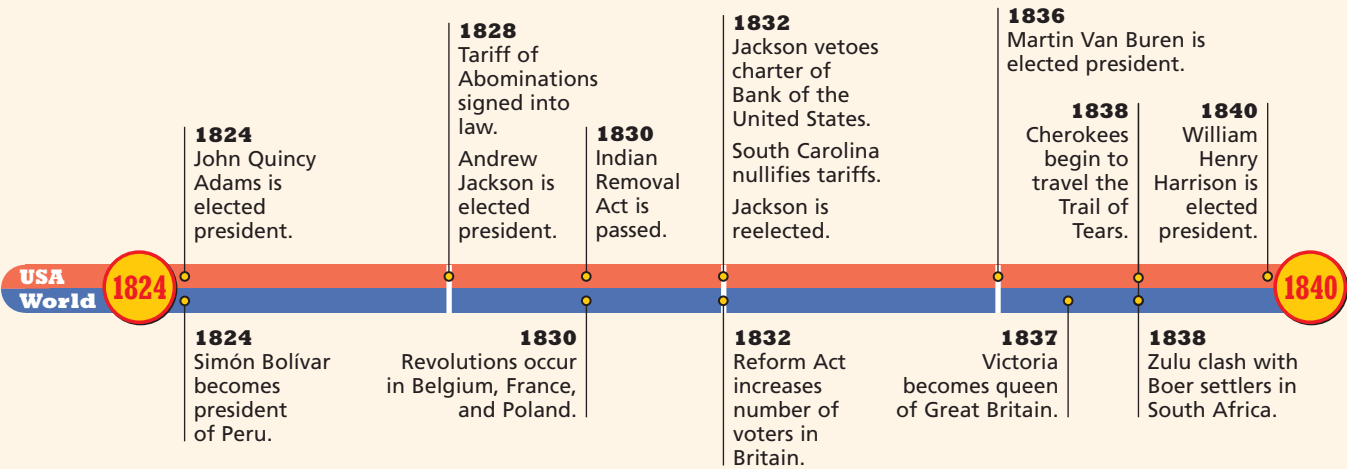
The year is 1828. You will vote for president for the first time.

Important economic, social, and political issues face the country. The favored candidate is Andrew Jackson, a military hero. Before you vote, you should decide what qualities make a strong leader.

What qualities do you think make a strong leader?

What Do You Think?

- What qualities are suggested by this image?
- Which earlier presidents would you consider strong leaders and which not?
- Would qualities that make a military leader also make a good president? Why or why not?



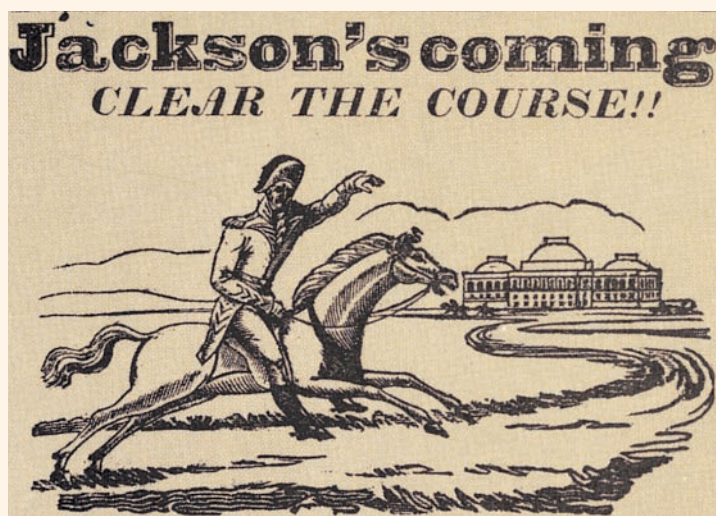


Chapter 12 SETTING THE STAGE

BEFORE YOU READ

Previewing the Theme

Economics in History Americans elected Andrew Jackson president in 1828. Many believed that he would bring sweeping changes to the government. This chapter explains how President Jackson made decisions that had far-reaching effects on the American economy and on political life. In fact, because he so dominated the life of the nation, his time in office has been called the Age of Jackson.




What Do You Know?

What do you already know about the issues that faced the nation in the first half of the 19th century? How did presidents before Jackson deal with problems?

THINK ABOUT

- what you have learned about Andrew Jackson from books and movies
- how American life is affected by the actions of a president, by conflicts among different parts of the country, and by the will of the people


What Do You Want to Know?

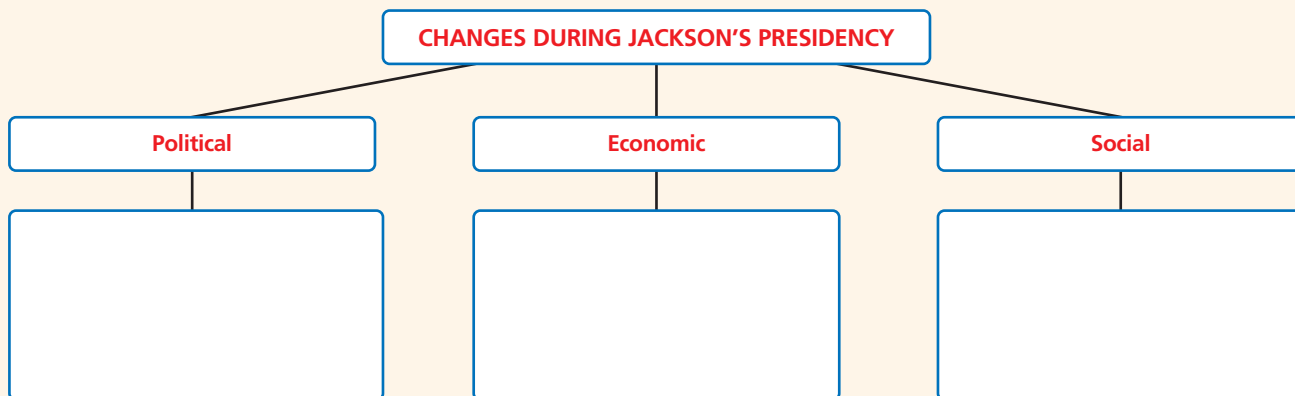
 What questions do you have about Jackson and his presidency? Record them in your notebook before reading the chapter.

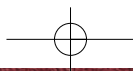
READ AND TAKE NOTES

Reading Strategy: Finding Main Ideas To make it easier for you to understand what you read, learn to find the main idea of each paragraph, topic heading, and section. Remember that the supporting details help explain the main ideas. On the chart

below, write down the main ideas about the political, economic, and social changes during Jackson's presidency.

 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R5.





1 Politics of the People

TERMS & NAMES

John Quincy Adams

Andrew Jackson

Jacksonian democracy

spoils system

MAIN IDEA

Andrew Jackson's election to the presidency in 1828 brought a new era of popular democracy.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Jackson's use of presidential powers laid the foundation of the modern presidency.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Margaret Bayard Smith was 22 years old when she married and moved to Washington, D.C., in 1800. For the next 40 years, she and her husband, a government official, were central figures in the political and social life of Washington. They entertained presidents from Jefferson to Jackson.

Smith wrote magazine articles and numerous letters describing life in Washington. In 1824, she described how John Quincy Adams reacted to his election as president.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

When the news of his election was communicated to Mr. Adams by the Committee . . . the sweat rolled down his face—he shook from head to foot and was so agitated that he could scarcely stand or speak.

Margaret Bayard Smith, *The First Forty Years of Washington Society*



Margaret Bayard Smith wrote about life in the nation's capital in the first half of the 19th century.

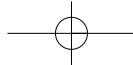
Adams had reason to be shaken by his election. It had been hotly contested, and he knew that he would face much opposition as he tried to govern. In this section, you will learn how Adams defeated Andrew Jackson in 1824, only to lose to him four years later.

The Election of 1824

In 1824, regional differences led to a fierce fight over the presidency. The Democratic-Republican Party split apart, with four men hoping to replace James Monroe as president. **John Quincy Adams**, Monroe's secretary of state, was New England's choice. The South backed William Crawford of Georgia. Westerners supported Henry Clay, the "Great Compromiser," and **Andrew Jackson**, a former military hero from Tennessee.

Jackson won the most popular votes. But he did not receive a majority of electoral votes. According to the Constitution, if no person wins a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives must choose the president. The selection was made from the top three vote getters.

Clay had come in fourth and was out of the running. In the House vote, he threw his support to Adams, who then won. Because Adams



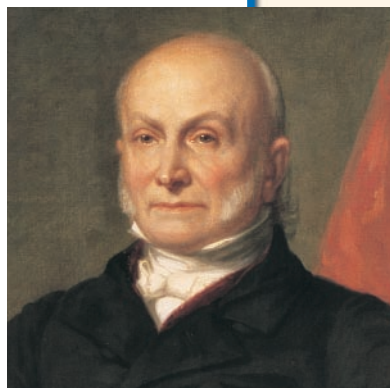
AMERICA'S HISTORY MAKERS

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

1767–1848

John Quincy Adams was born into wealth and social position. He was the son of President John Adams. Like his father, he had a sharp mind, spoke

eloquently, worked tirelessly in public service, and had high principles. But he was sometimes vain, and unwilling to compromise. This made him unpopular with many people and often ineffective. After his presidency, he served with distinction in Congress.



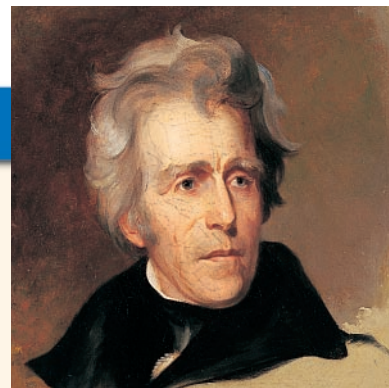
ANDREW JACKSON

1767–1845

Andrew Jackson was the son of a poor farm couple from South Carolina. Orphaned by age 14, he was a wild and reckless youth.

Jackson moved on to become a successful lawyer and plantation owner in Tennessee. But his quick temper still got him into brawls and duels. Bullets in his body from two duels frequently caused him pain.

Jackson's humble background and reputation for toughness endeared him to voters. They considered him one of their own.



Why do you think Jackson was popular but Adams was not?

later named Clay as his secretary of state, Jackson's supporters claimed that Adams gained the presidency by making a deal with Clay. Charges of a "corrupt bargain" followed Adams throughout his term.

Adams had many plans for his presidency. He wanted to build roads and canals, aid education and science, and regulate the use of natural resources. But Congress, led by Jackson supporters, defeated his proposals.

Jacksonian Democracy

Jackson felt that the 1824 election had been stolen from him—that the will of the people had been ignored. Jackson and his supporters were outraged. He immediately set to work to gain the presidency in 1828.

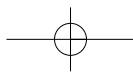
For the next four years, the split in the Democratic-Republican Party between the supporters of Jackson and of Adams grew wider. Jackson claimed to represent the "common man." He said Adams represented a group of privileged, wealthy Easterners. This division eventually created two parties. The Democrats came from among the Jackson supporters, while the National Republicans grew out of the Adams camp.

The election of 1828 again matched Jackson against Adams. It was a bitter campaign—both sides made vicious personal attacks. Even Jackson's wife, Rachel, became a target. During the campaign, Jackson crusaded against control of the government by the wealthy. He promised to look out for the interests of common people. He also promoted the concept of majority rule. The idea of spreading political power to all the people and ensuring majority rule became known as **Jacksonian democracy**.

Actually, the process of spreading political power had begun before Jackson ran for office. When Jefferson was president in the early 1800s,

ReadingHistory

A. Analyzing Causes What was the main reason John Quincy Adams was not effective as president?



additional people had gained the right to vote as states reduced restrictions on who could vote. Before, for example, only those who owned property or paid taxes could vote in many states. This easing of voting restrictions increased the number of voters. But voting was still limited to adult white males.

The expansion of voting rights helped Jackson achieve an overwhelming win in the 1828 presidential election. Jackson's triumph was hailed as a victory for common people. Large numbers of Western farmers as well as workers in the nation's cities supported him. Their vote put an end to the idea that the government should be controlled by an educated elite. Now, the common people would be governed by one of their own. (See chart "Changes in Ideas About Democracy," page 357.)

Reading History

B. Recognizing Effects What factor made Jackson's appeal to the "common man" especially important in the election of 1828?

The People's President

Jackson's humble background, and his reputation as a war hero, helped make him president. Many saw his rise above hardship as a real American success story. He was the first president not from an aristocratic Massachusetts or Virginia family, and the first from the West.

Jackson indeed had had a hard life. His father died shortly before his birth, and Jackson grew up on a frontier farm in South Carolina. At 13, he joined the militia with his older brother to fight in the Revolutionary War. In 1781, they were taken prisoner by the British. While captive, he allegedly refused when commanded to shine an officer's boots. The officer struck Jackson with a sword, leaving scars on his hand and head. Later, Jackson's mother obtained her sons' release from a military prison, where they had become ill with smallpox. Jackson's brother died, but his mother nursed Jackson back to health. A short time later, she also died. Jackson's experiences during the Revolution left him with a lifelong hatred of the British.

After the war, Jackson moved to the Tennessee frontier. In 1784, he began to study law. He built a successful legal practice and also bought and sold land. Jackson then purchased a plantation near Nashville and ran successfully for Congress. After the War of 1812 broke out, he was appointed a general in the army. At the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, Jackson soundly defeated the British even though his troops were greatly outnumbered. He became a national war hero. He earned the nickname "Old Hickory," after a soldier claimed that he was "tough as hickory."

Jackson Takes Office

Jackson's success in the presidential election of 1828 came at a high price. Shortly after he won, his wife, Rachel, died of a heart attack. Jackson believed that the campaign attacks on her reputation had killed her. She was a private woman who preferred a quiet life. In fact, she had

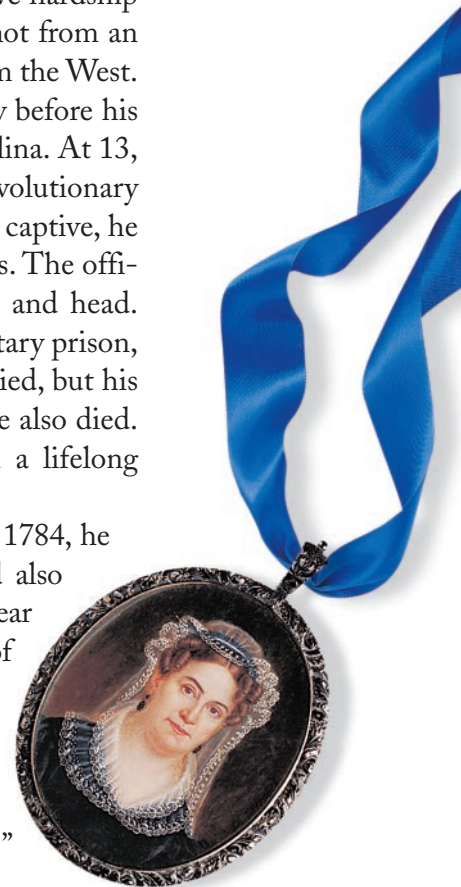
STRANGE but True

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON

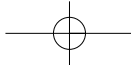
John Adams and Thomas Jefferson died on the same day—the Fourth of July, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

Both Adams and Jefferson were founders of the nation, signers of the Declaration, and presidents. They were also political enemies who had become friends late in life.

Adams was 90; Jefferson, 83. Adams's last words were "Jefferson still survives." He was unaware that Jefferson had died hours earlier.



Jackson usually wore this miniature oil portrait of his beloved wife, Rachel, around his neck.



said that she would “rather be a doorkeeper in the house of God than . . . live in that palace at Washington.” Margaret Bayard Smith described Rachel’s importance to Jackson, saying she “not only made him a happier, but a better man.”

Jackson looked thin, pale, and sad at his inauguration on March 4, 1829. But the capital was full of joy and excitement. Thousands of people were there. Senator Daniel Webster wrote about the inauguration.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

I have never seen such a crowd before. Persons have come five hundred miles to see General Jackson, and they really seem to think that the country has been rescued from some dreadful danger.

Daniel Webster, *Correspondence*

At the inauguration ceremony, the crowd shouted, waved, applauded, and saluted its hero. He bowed low to the people in turn. A throng followed Jackson to the White House reception. One person described the crowd as containing “all sorts of people, from the highest and most polished, down to the most vulgar and gross in the nation.”

The crowd grew rowdy. People broke china and glasses as they grabbed for the food and drinks. The pushing and shoving finally drove the new president to flee the White House. As Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story observed, “The reign of King Mob seemed triumphant.”

ReadingHistory

C. Drawing Conclusions Why did Jackson’s supporters react with such enthusiasm at his inauguration?

CITIZENSHIP TODAY

Exercising the Vote

During the Age of Jackson, rules on who could vote were eased. This increased the number of voters. But voting was still limited to adult white males. Over the years, other groups gained the right to vote, including African Americans, women, and Native Americans. Today’s elections are open to all citizens aged 18 and over.

Future voters can practice casting their votes in mock, or pretend, elections. The National Student/Parent Mock Election teaches students to be informed voters. Mock presidential elections attract coverage by the media. Television stations may even broadcast live from schools, interviewing student voters.


One high school student, Charlie Tran from San Jose, California, said, “Students seem to catch the important political events surrounding them. Some students are taking their views . . . to a new level by campaigning for the candidate they support.”

Students register to vote in a mock election.



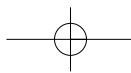
How Do You Set Up a Mock Election?

1. Choose issues and candidates and then set up a mock election in your classroom. (You could focus on the national, state, or local level.)
2. Create the materials of an election, such as the polling place, ballots, and posters.
3. Campaign for the candidates or the issues you support.
4. Conduct the voting.
5. Prepare mock media reports on the election’s outcome. You may want to interview voters.

 See *Citizenship Handbook*, page 267.

For more about citizenship and voting . . .





Changes in Ideas About Democracy	
JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY	JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY
government for the people by capable, well-educated leaders	government by the people
democracy in political life	democracy in social, economic, and political life
championed the cause of the farmer in a mainly agricultural society	championed the cause of the farmer and the laborer in an agricultural and industrial society
limited government	limited government, but with a strong president



SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

1. What do you think was the most important change in democracy?
2. Did Jefferson or Jackson exercise more power?

A New Political Era Begins

Jackson’s inauguration began a new political era. In his campaign, he had promised to reform government. He started by replacing many government officials with his supporters. This practice of giving government jobs to political backers became known as the **spoils system**. The name comes from a statement that “to the victor belong the spoils [possessions] of the enemy.” Jackson’s opponents charged that the practice was corrupt. But he defended it, noting that it broke up one group’s hold on government.

As president, Jackson would face three major issues—the status of Native Americans, the rights of the states, and the role of the Bank of the United States. In the next section, you will learn how Jackson’s policies affected Native Americans.

Section **1** Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- John Quincy Adams
- Andrew Jackson
- Jacksonian democracy
- spoils system

2. Taking Notes

Use a chart to identify important biographical information about Andrew Jackson.

Life of Andrew Jackson	
Youthful life	
Road to Congress	
War hero	
Appeal to voters	

3. Main Ideas

- a. How did Andrew Jackson react to the election of 1824? Why?
- b. What factors helped Jackson win the presidency in 1828?
- c. What was the effect of expanding voting rights?

4. Critical Thinking

Analyzing Points of View
What are reasons for and against the spoils system?

THINK ABOUT

- the effects of giving government workers lifetime jobs
- the effects of rewarding political supporters

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

GEOGRAPHY

MATH

Find out which states Jackson and Adams won in the 1828 election. Show the results on a **map** or **chart** that includes vote totals and percentages.



2 Jackson's Policy Toward Native Americans

TERMS & NAMES

Sequoya
Indian Removal Act
Indian Territory
Trail of Tears
Osceola

MAIN IDEA

During Jackson's presidency, Native Americans were forced to move west of the Mississippi River.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

This forced removal forever changed the lives of Native Americans in the United States.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

For 12 years, a brilliant Cherokee named **Sequoya** (sih KWOY uh) tried to find a way to "teach the Cherokees to talk on paper like the white man." In 1821, he reached his goal. Sequoya invented a writing system for the Cherokee language without ever having learned to read or write in any other language. Helped by his young daughter, he identified all the sounds in Cherokee and created 86 characters to stand for syllables.

Using this simple system, the Cherokees soon learned to read and write. They even published a newspaper and books in their own language. A traveler in 1828 marveled at how many Cherokees had learned to read and write without schools or even paper and pens.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

I frequently saw as I rode from place to place, Cherokee letters painted or cut on the trees by the roadside, on fences, houses, and often on pieces of bark or board, lying about the houses.

Anonymous traveler, quoted in the *Advocate*

Sequoya hoped that by gaining literacy—the ability to read and write—his people could share the power of whites and keep their independence. But even Sequoya's invention could not save the Cherokees from the upheaval to come. In this section, you will learn about President Jackson's policy toward Native Americans and its effects.

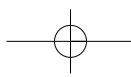


Sequoya invented a writing system of 86 characters, shown here, for the Cherokee language.

Native Americans in the Southeast

Since the 1600s, white settlers had pushed Native Americans westward as they took more and more of their land. However, there were still many Native Americans in the East in the early 1800s. Some whites hoped that the Native Americans could adapt to the white people's way of life. Others wanted the Native Americans to move. They believed this was the only way to avoid conflict over land. Also, many whites felt that Native Americans were "uncivilized" and did not want to live near them.

By the 1820s, about 100,000 Native Americans remained east of the Mississippi River. The majority were in the Southeast. The major tribes



ReadingHistory

A. Reading a

Map Use the map on page 360 to locate Native American lands in the Southeast.

were the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole. Whites called them the Five Civilized Tribes because they had adopted many aspects of white culture. They held large areas of land in Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

The Cherokee Nation

More than any other Southeastern tribe, the Cherokee had adopted white customs, including their way of dressing. Cherokees owned prosperous farms and cattle ranches. Some even had slaves. From Sequoia, they acquired a written language, and they published their own newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Some of their children attended missionary schools. In 1827, the Cherokees drew up a constitution based on the U.S. Constitution and founded the Cherokee Nation.

A year after the Cherokees adopted their constitution, gold was discovered on their land in Georgia. Now, not only settlers but also miners wanted these lands. The discovery of gold increased demands by whites to move the Cherokees. The federal government responded with a plan to remove all Native Americans from the Southeast.

Jackson's Removal Policy

Andrew Jackson had long supported a policy of moving Native Americans west of the Mississippi. He first dealt with the Southeastern tribes after the War of 1812. The federal government ordered Jackson, then acting as Indian treaty commissioner, to make treaties with the Native Americans of the region. Through these treaties forced on the tribes, the government gained large tracts of land.

Jackson believed that the government had the right to regulate where Native Americans could live. He viewed them as conquered subjects who lived within the borders of the United States. He thought that Native Americans had one of two choices. They could adopt white culture and become citizens of the United States. Or they could move into the Western territories. They could not, however, have their own governments within the nation's borders.

After the discovery of gold, whites began to move onto Cherokee land. Georgia and other Southern states passed laws that gave them the right to take over Native American lands. When the Cherokee and other tribes protested, Jackson supported the states.

To solve the problem, Jackson asked Congress to pass a law that would require Native Americans to either move west or submit to state laws. Many Americans objected to Jackson's proposal. Massachusetts congressman Edward Everett opposed removing Native Americans against their will to a distant land. There, he said, they would face "the

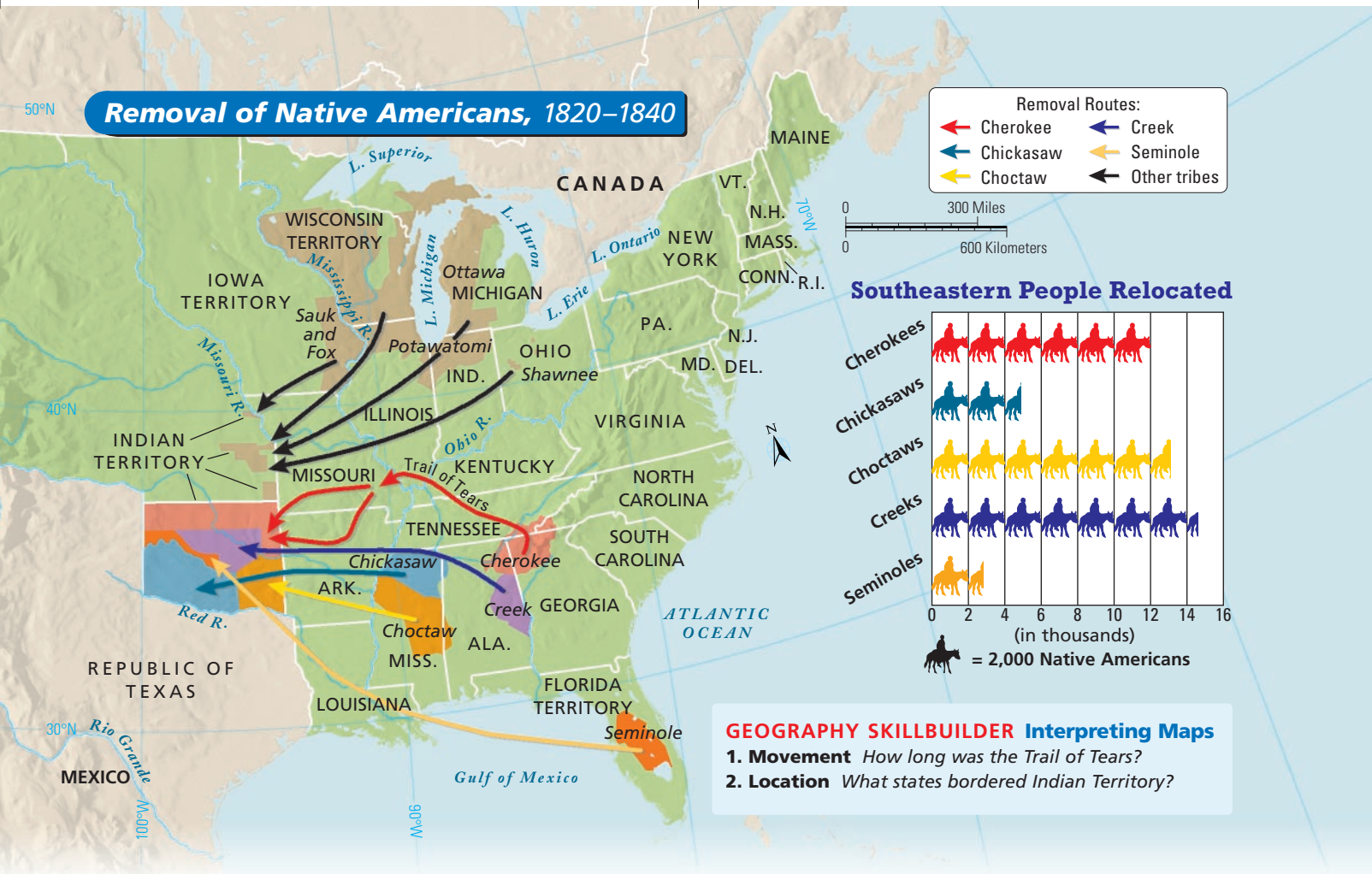
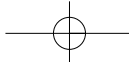
Now and then

CHEROKEE PEOPLE TODAY

Today, there are more than 300,000 Cherokees. They are part of three main groups—the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, the United Keetoowah Band in Oklahoma, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina.

Wilma Mankiller, shown below, was the first woman elected principal chief of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma. She has said that the "Cherokee people possess an extraordinary ability to face down adversity and continue moving forward. We are able to do that because our culture, though certainly diminished, has sustained us since time immemorial."





perils and hardships of a wilderness.” Religious groups such as the Quakers also opposed forced removal of Native Americans. After heated debate, Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act** in 1830. The act called for the government to negotiate treaties that would require Native Americans to relocate west.

Jackson immediately set out to enforce the law. He thought his policy was “just and liberal” and would allow Native Americans to keep their way of life. Instead, his policy caused much hardship and forever changed relations between whites and Native Americans.

The Trail of Tears

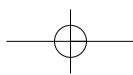
As whites invaded their homelands, many Native Americans saw no other choice but to sign treaties exchanging their land for land in the West. Under the treaties, Native Americans would be moved to an area that covered what is now Oklahoma and parts of Kansas and Nebraska. This area came to be called **Indian Territory**.

Beginning in the fall of 1831, the Choctaw and other Southeast tribes were removed from their lands and relocated to Indian Territory. The Cherokees, however, first appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court to protect their land from being seized by Georgia. In 1832, the Court, led by Chief Justice John Marshall, ruled that only the federal government, not the states, could make laws governing the Cherokees. This ruling meant that

ReadingHistory

B. Drawing Conclusions

What were reasons for and against the Indian Removal Act?



the Georgia laws did not apply to the Cherokee Nation. However, both Georgia and President Jackson ignored the Supreme Court. Jackson said, “John Marshall has made his decision. . . . Now let him enforce it.”

A small group of Cherokees gave up and signed a treaty to move west. But the majority of the Cherokees, led by John Ross, opposed the treaty. Jackson refused to negotiate with these Cherokees.

In 1838, federal troops commanded by General Winfield Scott rounded up about 16,000 Cherokees and forced them into camps. Soldiers took people from their homes with nothing but the clothes on their backs. Over the fall and winter of 1838–1839, these Cherokees set out on the long journey west. Forced to march in the cold, rain, and snow without adequate clothing, many grew weak and ill. One-fourth died. The dead included John Ross’s wife. One soldier never forgot what he witnessed on the trail.

ReadingHistory

C. Recognizing Effects What happened to the Cherokees as a result of the Indian Removal Act?

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Murder is murder and somebody must answer, somebody must explain the streams of blood that flowed in the Indian country in . . . 1838. Somebody must explain the four-thousand silent graves that mark the trail of the Cherokees to their exile. I wish I could forget it all, but the picture of six-hundred and forty-five wagons lumbering over the frozen ground with their cargo of suffering humanity still lingers in my memory.

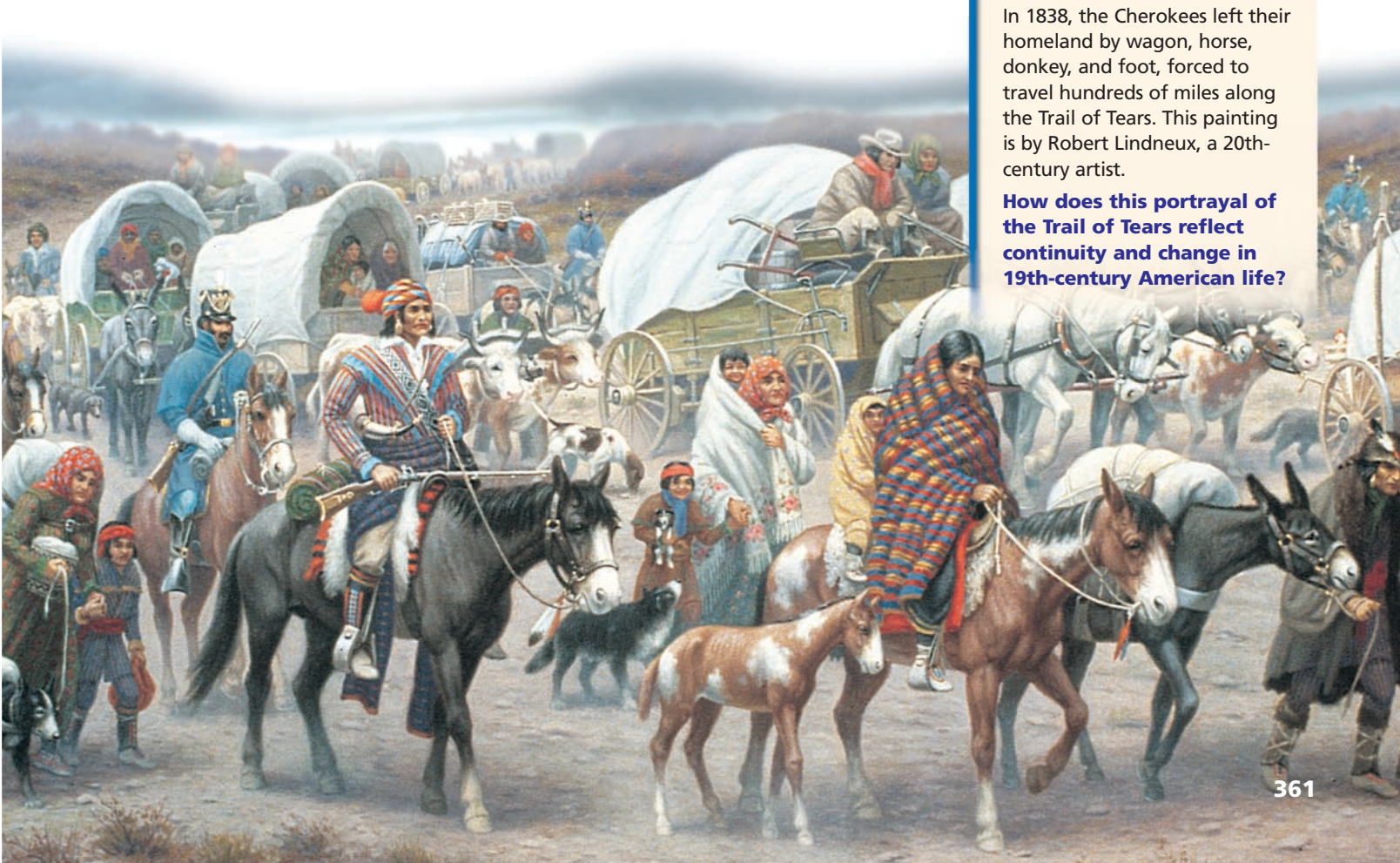
John G. Burnett, quoted in *The Native Americans*, edited by Betty and Ian Ballantine

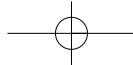
This harsh journey of the Cherokee from their homeland to Indian Territory became known as the Trail of Tears.

HISTORY throughART

In 1838, the Cherokees left their homeland by wagon, horse, donkey, and foot, forced to travel hundreds of miles along the Trail of Tears. This painting is by Robert Lindneux, a 20th-century artist.

How does this portrayal of the Trail of Tears reflect continuity and change in 19th-century American life?





Osceola led the Seminoles in their fight against removal.

Native American Resistance

Not all the Cherokees moved west in 1838. That fall, soldiers had rounded up an old Cherokee farmer named Tsali and his family, including his grown sons. On the way to the stockade, they fought the soldiers. A soldier was killed before Tsali fled with his family to the Great Smoky Mountains in North Carolina. There they found other Cherokees. The U.S. Army sent a message to Tsali. If he and his sons would give themselves up, the others could remain. They surrendered, and all except the youngest son were shot. Their sacrifice allowed some Cherokees to stay in their homeland.

Other Southeast tribes also resisted relocation. In 1835, the Seminoles refused to leave Florida. This refusal led to the Second Seminole War. One elderly Seminole explained why he could not leave: “If suddenly we tear our hearts from the homes around which they are twined [wrapped around], our heart strings will snap.”

One of the most important leaders in the war was **Osceola** (AHS ee OH luh). Hiding in the Everglades, Osceola and his band used surprise attacks to defeat the U.S. Army in many battles. In 1837, Osceola was tricked into capture when he came to peace talks during a truce. He later died in prison. But the Seminoles continued to fight. Some went deeper into the Everglades, where their descendants live today. Others moved west. The Second Seminole War ended in 1842.

Some tribes north of the Ohio River also resisted relocation. The Shawnee, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Sauk, and Fox were removed to Indian Territory. But in 1832, a Sauk chief named Black Hawk led a band of Sauk and Fox back to their lands in Illinois. In the Black Hawk War, the Illinois militia and the U.S. Army crushed the uprising.

In the next section, you will learn about other issues Jackson faced, especially increasing tensions between various sections of the country.

Background

The Seminoles fought three wars against the U.S. government between 1817 and 1858, when their resistance ended.

Section 2 Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- Sequoia
- Indian Removal Act
- Indian Territory
- Trail of Tears
- Osceola

2. Taking Notes

Use a chart to list the reasons for Jackson’s Native American removal policy.

Reasons Native Americans Were Forced West		
Economic	Political	Social

What do you think was the main reason?

3. Main Ideas

- How did President Jackson justify the Indian Removal Act?
- In what ways did Native Americans resist the Indian Removal Act?
- What were the consequences of the Indian Removal Act?

4. Critical Thinking

Recognizing Effects

What were some economic effects of the Indian Removal Act on Native Americans? On whites?

THINK ABOUT

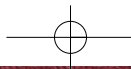
- what the Native Americans lost
- what the white settlers gained

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

GEOGRAPHY

MATH

Use the map on page 376 to estimate the distance traveled by each of the five Southeastern tribes. Show your calculation on a **map** or **chart**.



3 Conflicts Over States' Rights

TERMS & NAMES

John C. Calhoun
 Tariff of Abominations
 doctrine of nullification
 Webster-Hayne debate
 Daniel Webster
 secession

MAIN IDEA

Jackson struggled to keep Southern states from breaking away from the Union over the issue of tariffs.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Disputes about states' rights and federal power remain important in national politics.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Early in his political career, **John C. Calhoun** was hailed as "one of the master-spirits who stamp their name upon the age in which they live." This was praise indeed for someone from the backwoods of South Carolina who had little formal education before age 18. Elected to the U.S. Congress at 28, Calhoun soon was one of its leaders. He supported the need for a strong central government and became something of a hero to the nation's young people. He spoke out against sectionalism.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

What is necessary for the common good may apparently be opposed to the interest of particular sections. It must be submitted to [accepted] as the condition of our [nation's] greatness.

John C. Calhoun, quoted in *John C. Calhoun: American Portrait* by Margaret L. Coit

But Calhoun's concern for the economic and political well-being of his home state of South Carolina, and the South in general, later caused him to change his beliefs. He became the foremost champion of states' rights, rigid in his views and increasingly bitter.

In this section, you will learn how two strong-willed men—Calhoun and Jackson—came in conflict over the issue of states' rights.

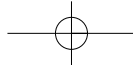
Rising Sectional Differences

Andrew Jackson had taken office in 1829. At the time, the country was being pulled apart by conflicts among its three main sections—the Northeast, the South, and the West. Legislators from these regions were arguing over three major economic issues: the sale of public lands, internal improvements, and tariffs.

The federal government had acquired vast areas of land through conquests, treaties, and purchases. It raised money partly by selling these public lands. However, Northeasterners did not want public lands in the West to be sold at low prices. The cheap land would attract workers who were needed in the factories of the Northeast. But Westerners wanted



The bitter debate over states' rights took a physical toll on John C. Calhoun. He is shown here in about 1825 and in 1849.



low land prices to encourage settlement. The more people who moved West, the more political power the section would have.

The issue of internal improvements also pulled the sections apart. Business leaders in the Northeast and West backed government spending on internal improvements, such as new roads and canals. Good transportation would help bring food and raw materials to the Northeast and take manufactured goods to Western markets. Southerners opposed more federal spending on internal improvements because the government financed these projects through tariffs, which were taxes on imported goods. The South did not want any increase in tariffs.

Since 1816, tariffs had risen steadily. They had become the government's main source of income. Northerners supported high tariffs because they made imported goods more expensive than American-made goods. The Northeast had most of the nation's manufacturing. Tariffs helped

Background

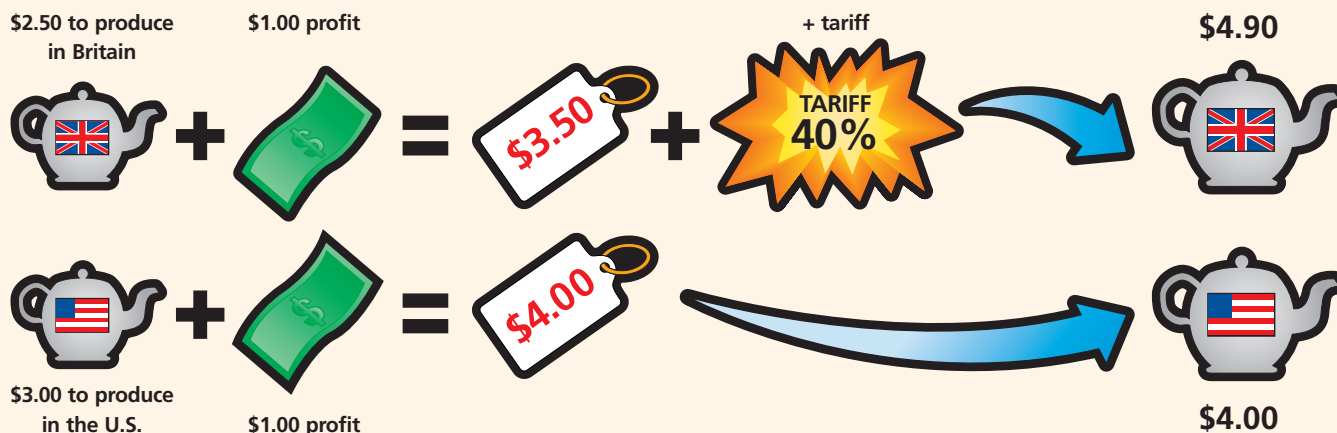
During the Jackson era, the West included states that are now considered part of the Midwest.

Economics *in* History

How Tariffs Work


Tariffs are taxes added to the cost of goods imported from another country. There are two kinds of tariffs—revenue tariffs and protective tariffs. **Revenue tariffs** are used to raise money, like the sales taxes that states add to purchases today. These tariffs tend to be fairly low. **Protective tariffs** usually are much higher. They have another goal: to persuade consumers to buy goods made in their own country instead of purchasing foreign-made products. Congress passed a protective tariff in 1828 to help American companies.

The illustration shows how a protective tariff works. A British-made teapot sells for \$3.50, and a similar teapot made in the United States sells for \$4.00. Most shoppers will buy the British teapot and save 50 cents. But when the government adds a 40 percent tariff to British goods, the price of the British teapot soars to \$4.90. The result: consumers buy the now-cheaper American teapots.



CONNECT TO HISTORY

- 1. Recognizing Effects** Do consumers benefit from high tariffs? Why or why not?

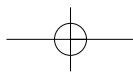
 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R11.

CONNECT TO TODAY

- 2. Making Inferences** Today, many leaders around the world promote the idea of "free trade." What do you think "free trade" means?

For more about tariffs . . .





ReadingHistory

A. Analyzing

Causes Why did the three sections of the country differ on the sale of public lands, internal improvements, and tariffs?

American manufacturers sell their products at a lower price than imported goods.

The South opposed rising tariffs because its economy depended on foreign trade. Southern planters sold most of their cotton to foreign buyers. They were not paid in money but were given credit. They then used the credit to buy foreign manufactured goods. Because of higher tariffs, these foreign goods cost more. Eventually, the tariff issue would lead to conflict between North and South.

Tariff of Abominations

In 1828, in the last months of John Quincy Adams's presidency, Congress passed a bill that significantly raised the tariffs on raw materials and manufactured goods. Southerners were outraged. They had to sell their cotton at low prices to be competitive. Yet tariffs forced them to pay high prices for manufactured goods. Southerners felt that the economic interests of the Northeast were determining national policy. They hated the tariff and called it the **Tariff of Abominations** (an abomination is a hateful thing).

Differences over the tariff helped Jackson win the election of 1828. Southerners blamed Adams for the tariff, since it was passed during his administration. So they voted against him.

Crisis over Nullification

The Tariff of Abominations hit South Carolinians especially hard because their economy was in a slump. Some leaders in the state even spoke of leaving the Union over the issue of tariffs. John C. Calhoun, then Jackson's vice-president, understood the problems of South Carolina's farmers because he was one himself. But he wanted to find a way to keep South Carolina from leaving the Union. The answer he arrived at was the **doctrine of nullification**. A state, Calhoun said, had the right to nullify, or reject, a federal law that it considers unconstitutional.

Calhoun was not the first person to propose the doctrine of nullification. Thomas Jefferson developed it in 1799 in the Kentucky Resolutions. He argued that the Union was a league of sovereign, or self-governing, states that had the right to limit the federal government. Calhoun extended the doctrine. He said that any state could nullify, or make void, a federal law within its borders. He believed that Congress had no right to impose a tariff that favored one section of the country. Therefore, South Carolina had the right to nullify the tariff. Calhoun's doctrine was an extreme form of states' rights—the theory that states have the right to judge whether a law of Congress is unconstitutional.

In the summer of 1828, Calhoun wrote a document called the “South Carolina Exposition and Protest.” It stated his theory. Calhoun allowed the document to be published, but he did not sign his name. He knew his ideas would cause controversy.



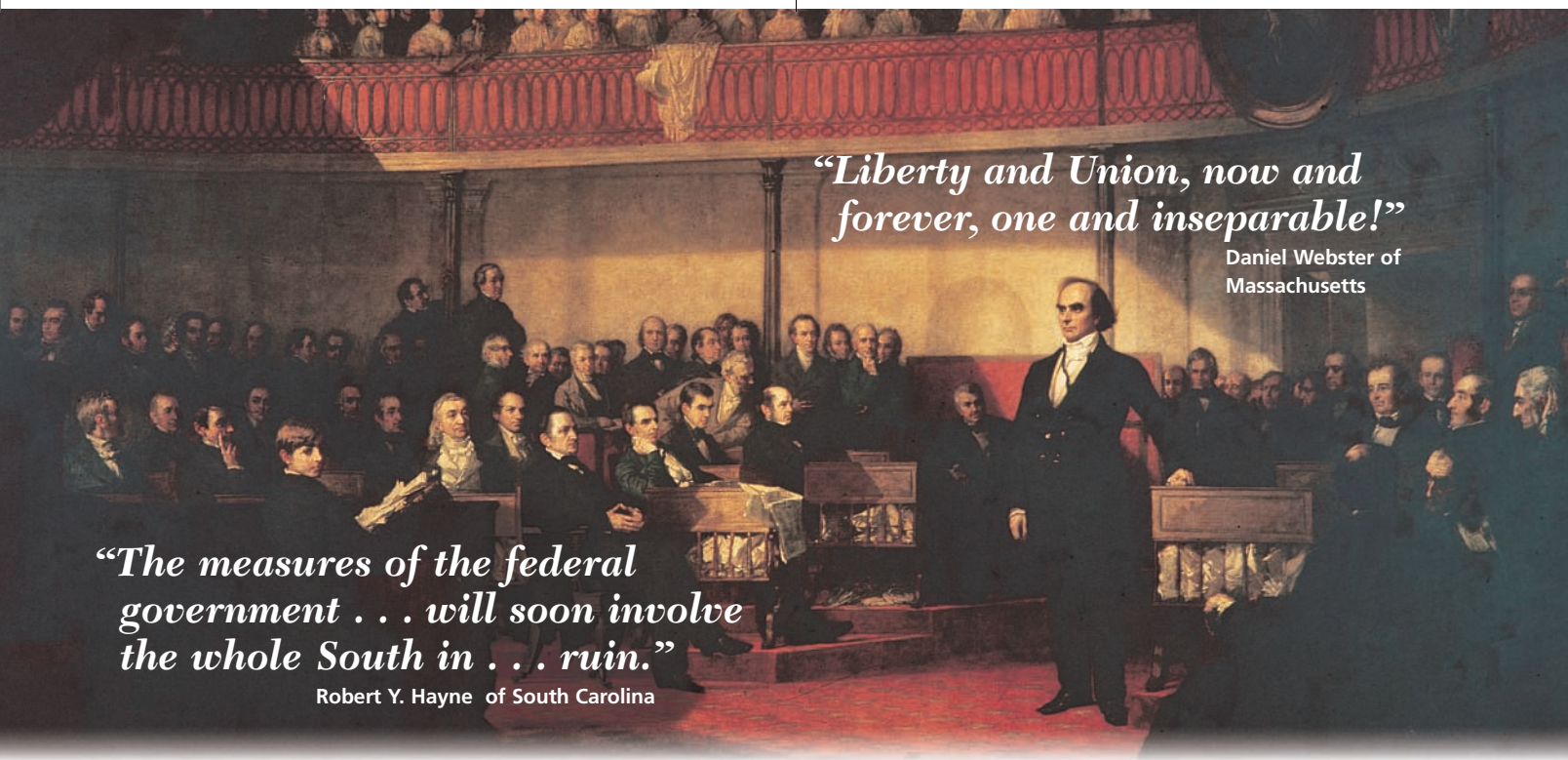
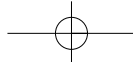
A South Carolina woman sews a palmetto emblem (inset) to her hat to show her support for nullification. The palmetto is a South Carolina symbol.

ReadingHistory

B. Summarizing

How did the issue of tariffs threaten to tear the Union apart?

Vocabulary
controversy: a public dispute



“Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!”

Daniel Webster of Massachusetts

“The measures of the federal government . . . will soon involve the whole South in . . . ruin.”

Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina

Daniel Webster (standing) and Robert Y. Hayne (seated, with hands extended) debated nullification in the U.S. Senate in 1830.

The States' Rights Debate

Calhoun was right. His ideas added fuel to the debate over the nature of the federal union. This debate had been going on since independence from Britain. More and more people took sides. Some supported a strong federal government. Others defended the rights of the states. This question would be a major political issue from this time until the Civil War was fought to resolve it some 30 years later.

One of the great debates in American history took place in the U.S. Senate over the doctrine of nullification—the **Webster-Hayne debate** of 1830. On one side was **Daniel Webster**, a senator from Massachusetts and the most powerful speaker of his time. On the other was Robert Y. Hayne, a senator from South Carolina. Hayne defended nullification. He argued that it gave the states a lawful way to protest and to maintain their freedom. He also said that the real enemies of the Union were those “who are constantly stealing power from the States, and adding strength to the Federal Government.”

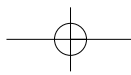
Webster argued that it was the people and not the states that made the Union. In words that were printed and spread across the country, Webster declared that freedom and the Union go together.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

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. . . . Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

Daniel Webster, a speech in the U.S. Senate, January 26, 1830

Jackson had not yet stated his position on the issue of states' rights, even though Calhoun was his vice-president. He got his chance in April at a dinner in honor of the birthday of Thomas Jefferson. Calhoun and other



ReadingHistory

C. Analyzing

Points of View

What do you think Calhoun meant by “the benefits and burdens of the Union” should be equally distributed?

supporters of nullification planned to use the event to win support for their position. Jackson learned of their plans and went to the dinner prepared.

After dinner, Jackson was invited to make a toast. He stood up, looked directly at Calhoun, and stated bluntly, “Our Federal Union—it must be preserved.” As Calhoun raised his glass, his hand trembled. Called on to make the next toast, Calhoun stood slowly and said, “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 benefits and burdens of the Union.” From that time, the two men were political enemies.

South Carolina Threatens to Secede

Even though Jackson made it clear that he opposed the doctrine of nullification, he did not want to drive the South out of the Union. He asked Congress to reduce the tariff, and Congress did so in 1832. But Southerners thought the reduced rates were still too high. South Carolina nullified the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 and voted to build its own army. South Carolina’s leaders threatened **secession**, or withdrawal from the Union, if the federal government tried to collect tariffs.

Jackson was enraged. He told a South Carolina congressman that if the state’s leaders defied federal laws, he would “hang the first man of them I can get my hands on.” Jackson ran for reelection in 1832, this time without Calhoun as his running mate. After he won, he made it clear that he would use force to see that federal laws were obeyed and the Union preserved.

In the Senate, Henry Clay came forward with a compromise tariff in 1833. He hoped that it would settle the issue and prevent bloodshed. Congress quickly passed the bill, and the crisis ended. South Carolina stayed in the Union. In the next section, you will read about another issue of Jackson’s presidency—his war on the national bank.

Section 3 Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- John C. Calhoun
- Tariff of Abominations
- doctrine of nullification
- Webster-Hayne debate
- Daniel Webster
- secession

2. Taking Notes

Use a chart to indicate how each section stood on these issues.

	North-east	West	South
Sale of public lands			
Internal improvements			
High tariffs			

3. Main Ideas

- a. Why did the South oppose high tariffs?
- b. What were Calhoun’s reasons for proposing the doctrine of nullification?
- c. Why did South Carolina threaten secession, and how was the crisis resolved?

4. Critical Thinking

Recognizing Effects In what ways would the doctrine of nullification have made it difficult for the federal government to operate?

THINK ABOUT

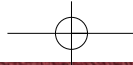
- its effect on the enforcement of laws
- its effect on the power of the federal government

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

SPEECH

TECHNOLOGY

Research Daniel Webster’s speech; a part of it appears on page 382. Deliver a **speech** for or against nullification to the class, or record it on an **audiocassette**.



4 Prosperity and Panic

TERMS & NAMES

inflation
 Martin Van Buren
 Panic of 1837
 depression
 Whig Party
 William Henry
 Harrison
 John Tyler

MAIN IDEA

Jackson's policies caused the economy to collapse after he left office and affected the next election.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The condition of the economy continues to affect the outcomes of presidential elections.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Nicholas Biddle was the kind of person that Andrew Jackson neither liked nor trusted. Biddle was wealthy, well educated, and came from a socially prominent Philadelphia family. He was also the influential president of the powerful Second Bank of the United States—the bank that Jackson believed to be a monster of corruption. Jackson declared war on Biddle and the bank during his 1832 reelection campaign. But Biddle felt sure of his political power.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

I have always deplored making the Bank a [political] question, but since the President will have it so, he must pay the penalty of his own rashness. . . . [m]y hope is that it will contribute to relieve the country of the domination of these miserable [Jackson] people.

Nicholas Biddle, from a letter to Henry Clay dated August 1, 1832

For his part, Jackson vowed to “kill” the bank. In this section, you will read about his war on the bank and its effect on the economy.

Mr. Biddle's Bank

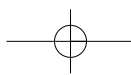
The Second Bank of the United States was the most powerful bank in the country. It held government funds and issued money. As its president, Nicholas Biddle set policies that controlled the nation's money supply.

Although the bank was run efficiently, Jackson had many reasons to dislike it. For one thing, he had come to distrust banks after losing money in financial deals early in his career. He also thought the bank had too much power. The bank made loans to members of Congress, and Biddle openly boasted that he could influence Congress. In addition, Jackson felt the bank's lending policies favored wealthy clients and hurt the average person.

To operate, the bank had to have a charter, or a written grant, from the federal government. In 1832, Biddle asked Congress to renew the bank's charter, even though it would not expire until 1836. Because 1832 was an election year, he thought Jackson would agree to renewal rather than risk angering its supporters. But Jackson took the risk.



Nicholas Biddle was the president of the powerful Second Bank of the United States, located in Philadelphia.



Jackson's War on the Bank

When Congress voted to renew the bank's charter, Jackson vetoed the renewal. In a strongly worded message to Congress, Jackson claimed the bank was unconstitutional. He said the bank was a monopoly that favored the few at the expense of the many. The Supreme Court earlier had ruled that the bank was constitutional. But Jackson claimed elected officials had to judge the constitutionality of a law for themselves. They did not need to rely on the Supreme Court. His veto message also contained this attack on the bank.

Vocabulary

monopoly: a company or group with complete control over a product or service

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. . . . Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. . . . [B]ut when the laws undertake to . . . make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society . . . have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government.

Andrew Jackson, veto message, July 10, 1832

ReadingHistory

A. Analyzing Points of View

What reasons did Jackson have for wanting to destroy the Second Bank of the United States?

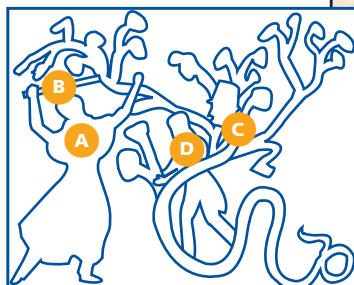
Jackson's war on the bank became the main issue in the presidential campaign of 1832. The National Republican Party and its candidate, Henry Clay, called Jackson a tyrant. They said he wanted too much power as president. The Democrats portrayed Jackson as a defender of the people. When he won reelection, Jackson took it as a sign that the public approved his war on the bank.

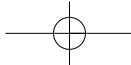
In his second term, Jackson set out to destroy the bank before its charter ended in 1836. He had government funds deposited in state banks, which opponents called Jackson's "pet banks." Biddle fought back by making it harder for people to borrow money. He hoped the resulting economic troubles would force Jackson to return government deposits to the bank. Instead, the people rallied to Jackson's position. Eventually, the bank went out of business. Jackson had won the war, but the economy would be a victim.

Jackson Fights the Second Bank

In this political cartoon, Jackson fights the many-headed monster—the Second Bank of the United States and its branches—with a cane labeled "VETO."

- A** President Jackson
- B** Cane labeled "VETO"
- C** Nicholas Biddle
- D** Vice-President Van Buren





Prosperity Becomes Panic

Most of the nation prospered during Jackson's last years in office. Because it was easier to borrow money, people took out loans to buy public lands, and the economy boomed. But the "pet banks" issued too much paper money. The rise in the money supply made each dollar worth less. As a result, prices rose. **Inflation**, which is an increase in prices and decrease in the value of money, was the outcome. To fight inflation, Jackson issued an order that required people to pay in gold or silver for public lands.

America's HERITAGE

POLITICAL PARTIES

Today's Democratic and Republican parties were born more than a century ago. Andrew Jackson's supporters first called themselves Democratic-Republicans. But in the 1830s, they became known simply as Democrats. They stood for states' rights and saw themselves as defenders of the common people. The modern Republican Party was formed in 1854 as the successor to the Whig Party, founded in 1834.

In the Jackson era, political parties campaigned for their candidates by staging parades and rallies. Participants often carried banners like the one below with a log cabin, the symbol for the campaign of William H. Harrison in 1840.

Jackson left office proud of the nation's prosperity. But it was a puffed-up prosperity. Like a balloon, it had little substance. Because of Jackson's popularity, his vice-president, **Martin Van Buren**, was elected president in 1836. Within a few months after Van Buren took office, a panic—a widespread fear about the state of the economy—spread throughout the country. It became known as the **Panic of 1837**.

People took their paper money to the banks and demanded gold or silver in exchange. The banks quickly ran out of gold and silver. When the government tried to get its money from the state banks, the banks could not pay. The banks defaulted, or went out of business. A **depression**, or severe economic slump, followed.

The depression caused much hardship. Because people had little money, manufacturers no longer had customers for their goods. Almost 90 percent of factories in the East closed in 1837. Jobless workers had no way of buying food or paying rent. People went hungry. They lived in shelters or on the streets, where many froze in the winter. Every section of the country suffered, but the depression hit hardest in the cities. Farmers were hurt less because they could at least grow their own food. The depression affected politics, too.

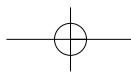
ReadingHistory

B. Recognizing Effects What were the short-term and long-term effects of Jackson's war on the bank?



The Rise of the Whig Party

In the depths of the depression, Senators Henry Clay and Daniel Webster argued that the government needed to help the economy. Van Buren disagreed. He believed that the economy would improve if left alone. He argued that "the less government interferes with private pursuits the better for the general prosperity." Many Americans blamed Van Buren for the Panic, though he had taken office only weeks before it started. The continuing depression made it almost impossible for him to win reelection in 1840.



Van Buren faced a new political party in that election. During Jackson's war on the national bank, Clay, Webster, and other Jackson opponents had formed the **Whig Party**. It was named after a British party that opposed royal power. The Whigs opposed the concentration of power in the chief executive—whom they mockingly called “King Andrew” Jackson. In 1840, the Whigs chose **William Henry Harrison** of Ohio to run for president and **John Tyler** of Virginia to run for vice-president.

ReadingHistory

C. Making

Inferences Why did the Whigs want to nominate a candidate like Harrison, who did not have strong political views?

The Whigs nominated Harrison largely because of his military record and his lack of strong political views. Harrison had led the army that defeated the Shawnees in 1811 at the Battle of Tippecanoe. He also had been a hero during the War of 1812. The Whigs made the most of Harrison's military record and his nickname, “Old Tippecanoe.” The phrase “Tippecanoe and Tyler too” became the Whig election slogan.

The Election of 1840

During the 1840 election campaign, the Whigs emphasized personalities more than issues. They tried to appeal to the common people, as Andrew Jackson had done. Harrison was the son of a Virginia plantation owner. However, because he had settled on a farm in Ohio, the Whigs said Harrison was a true Westerner. They used symbols of the frontier, such as a log cabin, to represent Harrison. The Whigs contrasted Harrison with the wealthy Van Buren. Harrison won in a close election.

At his inauguration, the 68-year-old president spoke for nearly two hours in cold March weather with no hat or coat. Later, he was caught in the rain. He came down with a cold that developed into pneumonia. On April 4, 1841, one month after being inaugurated, Harrison died—the first president to die in office. Vice-President Tyler became president.

The election of 1840 showed the importance of the West in American politics. In the next chapter, you'll learn more about the lure of the West and the westward expansion of the United States.

Section 4 Assessment

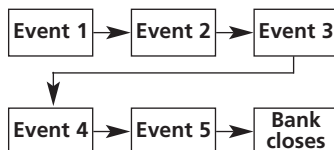
1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- inflation
- Martin Van Buren
- Panic of 1837
- depression
- Whig Party
- William Henry Harrison
- John Tyler

2. Taking Notes

Use a diagram to list the events that led to the closing of the Second Bank of the United States.



What was the most significant event?

3. Main Ideas

- Why did Jackson declare war on the Second Bank of the United States?
- How did Jackson kill the bank?
- What role did Jackson's popularity play in the elections of 1836 and 1840?

4. Critical Thinking

Comparing What strategy did the Whig Party use in the 1840 election?

THINK ABOUT

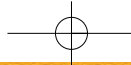
- how Harrison was portrayed
- what group of voters it was trying to attract

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

LANGUAGE ARTS

ART

Imagine yourself as a presidential candidate in 1840. Focusing on the economy as an issue, write a campaign **slogan** or create a **banner** to rally support.



Chapter 12 ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

Briefly explain the significance of each of the following.

1. John Quincy Adams
2. Jacksonian democracy
3. spoils system
4. Sequoia
5. Indian Removal Act
6. Trail of Tears
7. secession
8. inflation
9. depression
10. Whig Party

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Politics of the People (pages 353–357)

1. How was Jackson different from earlier presidents?
2. How did Jackson appeal to voters in his election campaign of 1828?

Jackson’s Policy Toward Native Americans (pages 358–362)

3. What were Georgia’s policies toward Native Americans?
4. What was Jackson’s position on Native Americans in the United States?
5. How did the Indian Removal Act affect Native Americans?

Conflicts over States’ Rights (pages 363–367)

6. How did the issue of tariffs divide the country?
7. Why did nullification threaten the nation?
8. How was the nullification crisis resolved?

Prosperity and Panic (pages 368–371)

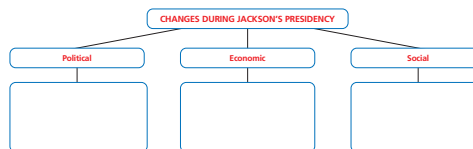
9. Why did Jackson oppose the Second Bank of the United States?
10. What were the effects of Jackson’s war on the bank?

VISUAL

SUMMARY

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES



Use your completed chart to answer the questions.

- a. What do you think was the most positive change of the Jackson era? Explain.
- b. What was the most negative change? Explain.
- c. Based on these changes, how would you describe the characteristics of the Jackson era?

2. ANALYZING LEADERSHIP

What was the basis of Andrew Jackson’s power as president?

3. APPLYING CITIZENSHIP SKILLS

How did the majority of voters in the presidential elections of 1828 and 1840 exercise their vote in a similar way?

4. THEME: ECONOMICS IN HISTORY

Based on its economic effects, was Jackson’s decision to end the national bank a good one? Explain.

5. MAKING INFERENCES

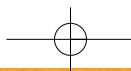
In what ways did Andrew Jackson’s policy toward Native Americans reflect bias?

Interact *with* History

Now that you have read the chapter, do you think the qualities that made Jackson a strong military leader made him a good president? Explain your answer.

Major Issues of Jackson’s Presidency

POLICY TOWARD NATIVE AMERICANS	CONFLICT OVER STATES' RIGHTS	WAR ON BANK OF THE UNITED STATES
White settlers wanted Native American lands.	Sectional differences developed.	Second Bank of the United States had economic and political power.
Jackson proposed Indian Removal Act of 1830.	Jackson supported strong central government.	Jackson opposed bank and vetoed renewal of its charter.
Thousands of Native Americans removed to Indian Territory.	South Carolina threatened to secede over tariff issue, but compromise reached.	Bank driven out of business, but Jackson’s policies eventually led to inflation and depression.

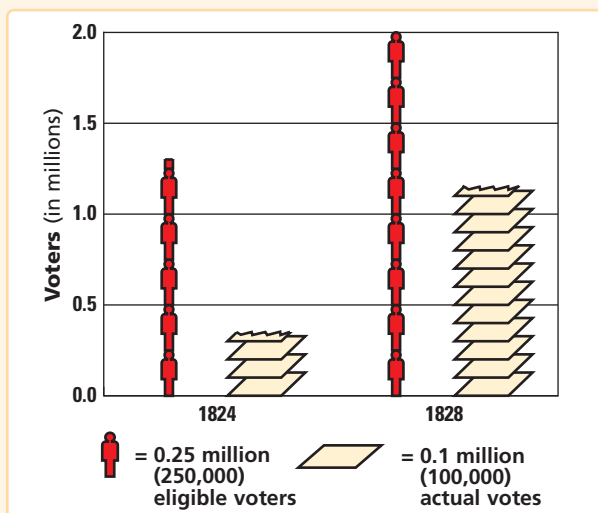


HISTORY SKILLS

1. INTERPRETING GRAPHS

Study the graph. Answer the questions.

Voter Participation, 1824 & 1828 Elections



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

Basic Graph Elements

- What is the subject of the graph?
- What do the symbols represent?

Interpreting the Graph

- How many more eligible voters were there in 1828 than in 1824?
- What percentage of eligible voters cast their ballots in 1824? in 1828?

2. INTERPRETING PRIMARY SOURCES

This is a political cartoon from the 1832 election campaign. It is entitled "King Andrew the First."

- Is the comparison of Jackson to a king meant as praise or criticism? Explain.
- What does it mean that he is standing on torn papers entitled "U.S. Constitution" and "U.S. Bank"?



ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

1. INTERDISCIPLINARY ACTIVITY: Speech

Presenting a Debate Working with a partner, take sides on the doctrine of nullification and prepare a debate for the class.

2. COOPERATIVE LEARNING ACTIVITY

Preparing a Problem-Solving Proposal Plan and write a proposal outlining a solution to the problems between white settlers and Native Americans in the Southeast in the early 1800s. Working in a small group, first brainstorm ideas and make a list. Then identify the positives and negatives of each idea. Agree on an outline for a final plan. Then write, revise, and make a final copy of your proposal. Present your proposal to the class and defend it.

3. TECHNOLOGY ACTIVITY

Designing a Political Campaign Web Site Andrew Jackson was one of the more colorful figures in American history. His election as president brought significant changes to the nation. Plan a Web site for candidate Jackson for the 1828 presidential campaign. Use the Internet or search the library for information on Jackson's life before the presidency and on the 1828 election.

For more about Andrew Jackson . . .



Design the Web site using the suggestions below.

- Include biographical facts.
- Select images that tell Jackson's story.
- Present his views on the major issues of the day using quotations from speeches and other documents.
- Locate appropriate links for visitors to your Web site.

4. HISTORY PORTFOLIO

Option 1 Review your section and chapter assessment activities. Select one that you think was your best work. Then use comments made by your teacher or classmates to improve your work and add it to your portfolio.

Option 2 Review the questions that you wrote for What Do You Want to Know? on page 352. Then write a short report in which you explain the answers to your questions. Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation in your report. Add your work to your history portfolio.

Additional Test Practice,
pp. S1-S33



TEST PRACTICE
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