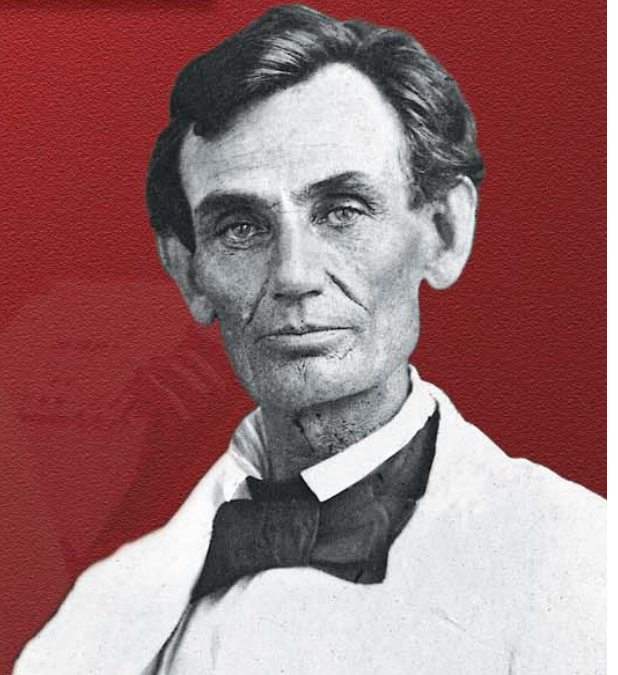
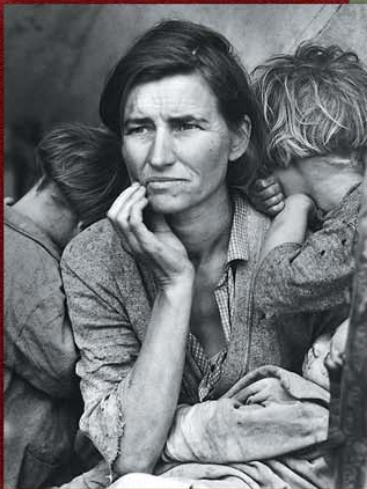


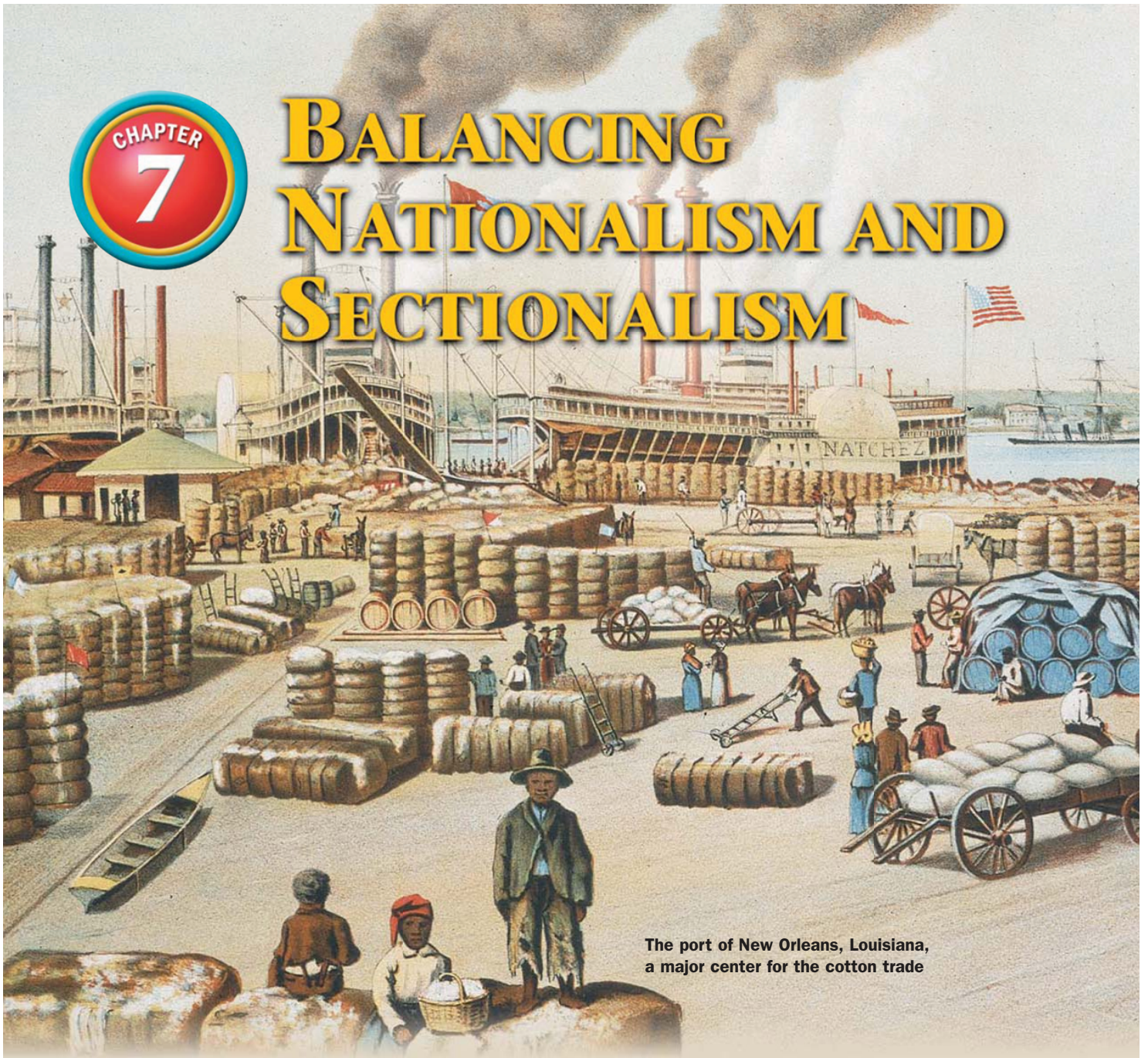
McDougal Littell

The AMERICANS



CHAPTER
7

BALANCING NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM



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

USA
WORLD

1815

1820

1825

1815 Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo.

1819 Simón Bolívar becomes president of Colombia.



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

1824 Mexico becomes a republic.

1817 Construction begins on the Erie Canal.

1819 U.S. acquires Florida from Spain.

1820 James Monroe is reelected president.

1820 Congress agrees to the Missouri Compromise.

1824 John Quincy Adams is elected president.

INTERACT WITH HISTORY

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

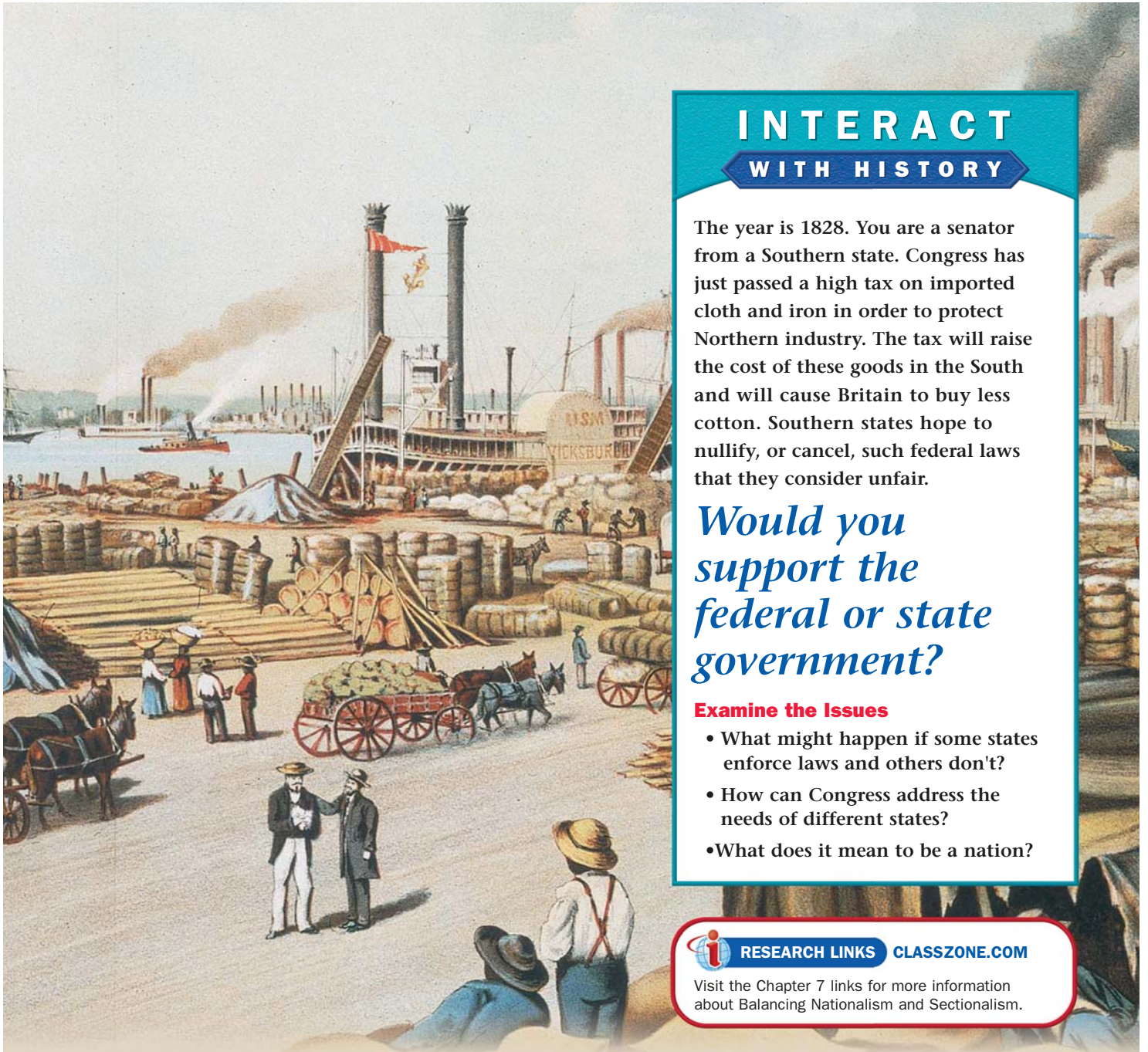
Would you support the federal or state government?

Examine the Issues

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

RESEARCH LINKS CLASSZONE.COM

Visit the Chapter 7 links for more information about Balancing Nationalism and Sectionalism.



1828 Andrew Jackson is elected president.



1832 Andrew Jackson is reelected.

1836 Martin Van Buren is elected president.

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



1840 William Henry Harrison is elected president.

1830

1830 France invades Algeria.

1835

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



1837 Victoria becomes queen of England.

1840

1839 Opium War breaks out in China.



Regional Economies Create Differences

MAIN IDEA

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

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

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

Terms & Names

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

One American's Story

In a dramatic presentation in front of President John Adams in 1801, inventor **Eli Whitney** demonstrated the first musket made of **interchangeable parts**, parts that are exactly alike. He assembled a musket from pieces chosen at random from crates full of parts. Whitney had made his musket parts the old-fashioned way, by hand. Nonetheless, his efforts were the first steps toward developing tools with which unskilled workers could make uniform parts.

A PERSONAL VOICE ELI WHITNEY

“One of my primary objects is to form the tools so the tools themselves shall fashion the work and give to every part its just proportion—which when once accomplished will give expedition, uniformity, and exactness to the whole. . . . In short, the tools which I contemplate are similar to an engraving on copper plate from which may be taken a great number of impressions exactly alike.”

—quoted in *Eli Whitney and the Birth of American Technology*

Better tools sped up the manufacture of goods and improved their reliability. Inventions and ideas such as these would affect different regions of the young nation in different ways.



▲ In 1798, Eli Whitney manufactured 10,000 muskets in just two years. At that time, arms factories could produce only around 300 guns a year.

Another Revolution Affects America

During the 19th century, new approaches to manufacturing, such as Whitney's interchangeable parts, took industry out of American households and artisans' workshops. Factories became the new centers of industry. The factory system (using power-driven machinery and laborers assigned to different tasks) made **mass production**—the production of goods in large quantities—possible. These changes in manufacturing brought about an **Industrial Revolution**—social and economic reorganization that took place as machines replaced hand tools and large-scale factory production developed.

GREAT BRITAIN STARTS A REVOLUTION The Industrial Revolution actually first began in Great Britain. It was in Britain, during the 18th century, that inventors came up with ways to generate power using swiftly flowing streams and bountiful supplies of coal. Inventors then developed power-driven machinery and ways to use this machinery to quickly mass-produce goods such as textiles. British merchants built the first factories. When these factories prospered, their owners had the money to build more factories, invent more labor-saving machines, and industrialize the nation.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES The primary source of income in America after the War of Independence was international trade, not manufacturing. Farms and plantations produced agricultural products such as grain and tobacco, which were shipped to Great Britain, southern Europe, and the West Indies. However, two events—the passage of President Thomas Jefferson’s Embargo Act of 1807 and the War of 1812—turned the attention of Americans toward the development of domestic industries. Jefferson’s embargo, which prohibited Americans from shipping goods to Europe, brought to a standstill the once-thriving foreign trade. In fact, by the time Congress repealed the act in 1809, many shipping centers—especially those in New England—had shut down.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

A What effects did the Embargo Act of 1807 and the War of 1812 have on Americans involved in shipping and foreign trade?

Then, just as these seaports recovered, the War of 1812 broke out, and the British navy blockaded much of the coastline. With ships unable to get into or out of U.S. harbors, Americans had to invest their capital in ventures other than overseas shipping. **A**

NEW ENGLAND INDUSTRIALIZES Probably nowhere else in the nation was the push to invest in industry as great as in New England. There, citizens had depended heavily upon shipping and foreign trade for income. Agriculture in the region was not highly profitable.

In 1793, a British immigrant named Samuel Slater had established in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, the first successful mechanized textile factory in America. However, Slater’s factory and those modeled after it still only mass-produced one part of the textile, or finished cloth: thread.

Then, in 1813, three Bostonians revolutionized the American textile industry by mechanizing all the stages in the manufacture of cloth. Using plans from an English mill, Francis Cabot Lowell, Nathan Appleton, and Patrick Tracy Jackson built a weaving factory in Waltham, Massachusetts, and outfitted it with power machinery. By 1822 Appleton and Jackson had made enough money to build a larger operation. The changes that their factory triggered in the town of Lowell—named for their deceased partner, Francis Cabot Lowell—exemplify the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution. By the late 1820s, quiet little Lowell had become a booming manufacturing center. Thousands of people—mostly young women who came to Lowell because their families’ farms were in decline—journeyed there in search of work. **B**

Samuel Slater’s cotton mill drew its power from the Blackstone River in Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

MAIN IDEA

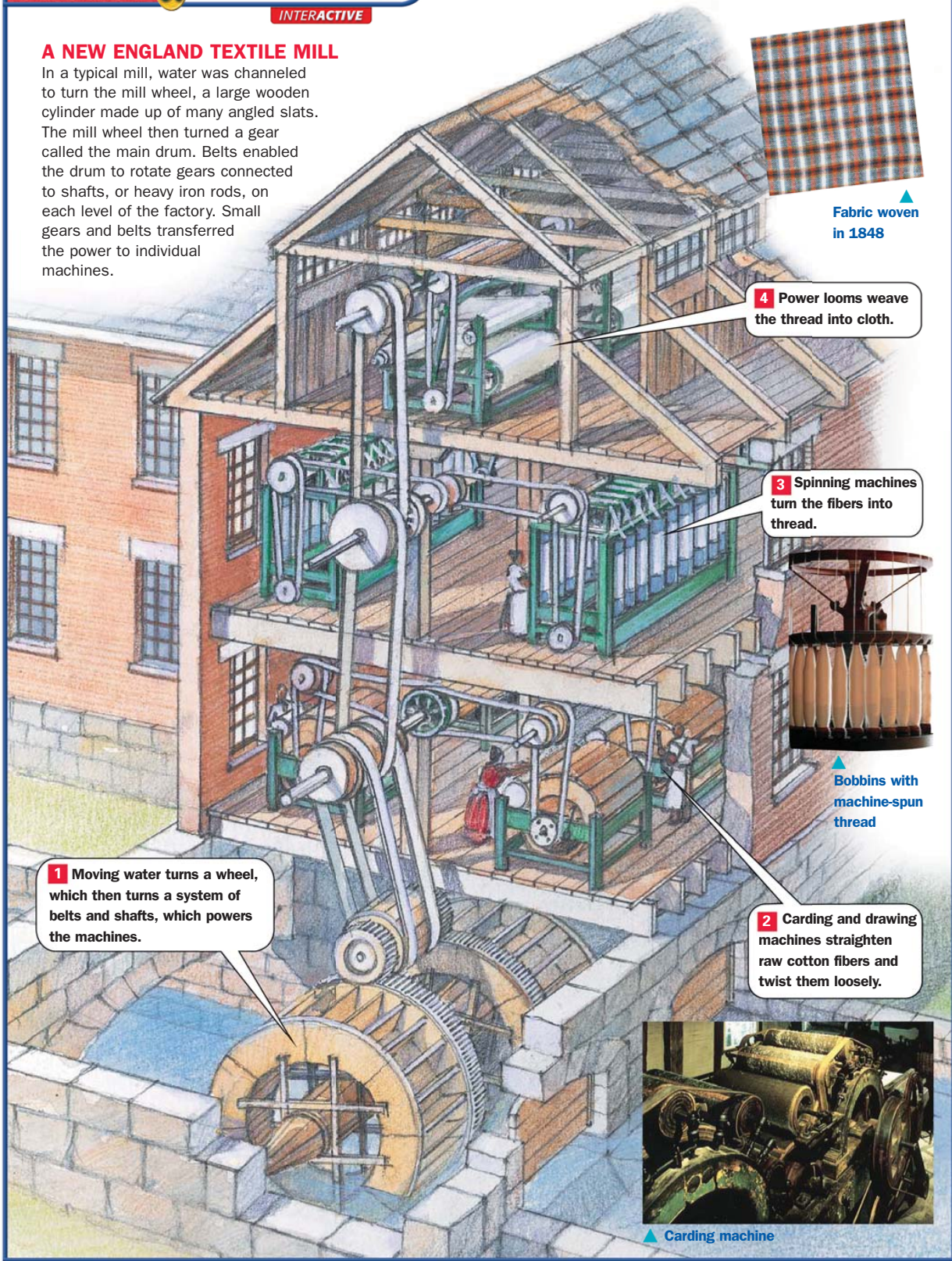
Summarizing

B How did manufacturing develop in New England?



A NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE MILL

In a typical mill, water was channeled to turn the mill wheel, a large wooden cylinder made up of many angled slats. The mill wheel then turned a gear called the main drum. Belts enabled the drum to rotate gears connected to shafts, or heavy iron rods, on each level of the factory. Small gears and belts transferred the power to individual machines.



1 Moving water turns a wheel, which then turns a system of belts and shafts, which powers the machines.

4 Power looms weave the thread into cloth.

3 Spinning machines turn the fibers into thread.

2 Carding and drawing machines straighten raw cotton fibers and twist them loosely.

▲ Fabric woven in 1848

▲ Bobbins with machine-spun thread

▲ Carding machine

Two Economic Systems Develop

Northeasters, prompted by changing economic conditions, invested their capital in factories and manufacturing operations. Cash crops did not grow well in the Northern soil and climate. Southerners, on the other hand, had begun to reap huge profits from cotton by the mid-1790s. The South had little incentive to industrialize. As a result, the North and the South continued to develop two distinct economies, including very different agricultural systems.

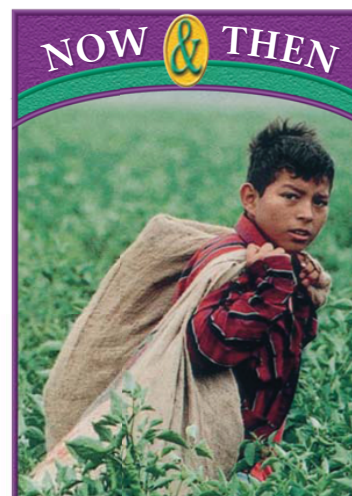
AGRICULTURE IN THE NORTH The North had not eliminated agriculture. However, the type of land and the growth of cities in the North encouraged farmers to cultivate smaller farms than Southerners did, and to grow crops that did not require much labor to flourish.

Farmers in the North usually started out growing only what their families needed. Then farming practices in the Old Northwest—the area north of the Ohio River, encompassing what is now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan—diverged from farming practices in the Northeast. As cities grew, farmers in the Old Northwest discovered that they could raise one or two types of crops or livestock (corn and cattle, for example), and sell what they produced at city markets. They could then purchase from stores whatever else they needed. Such grain crops as corn did not require much labor to grow, nor were they hugely profitable, so there was little demand for slaves. In the Northeast, farms were even smaller than those in the Northwest, so here too there was little demand for slavery.

By the late 1700s, slavery in the North was dying out. Farmers had little economic motivation to use slaves, and an increasing number of Northerners began to voice their religious and political opposition to slavery. Consequently, by 1804 almost all of the Northern states had voluntarily abolished slavery. **C**

COTTON IS KING IN THE SOUTH Eli Whitney's invention of a **cotton gin** (short for "cotton engine") in 1793 had helped to set the South on a different course of development from the North. Short-staple (or short-fiber) cotton was easier to grow but harder to clean than long-staple cotton. Whitney's gin made it possible for Southern farmers to grow short-staple cotton for a profit. Since cotton was in great demand in Britain and, increasingly, in the North, an efficient machine for cleaning the seeds from short-staple cotton proved a major breakthrough. Armed with the cotton gin, poor, nonslaveholding farmers quickly claimed land in the area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi south of the Ohio to begin cultivating this cash-producing crop. Wealthier planters followed, bought up huge areas of land, and then put an enormous slave labor force to work cultivating it. By 1820, this plantation system of farming had transformed Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama into a booming Cotton Kingdom. In this way, the cotton gin accelerated the expansion of slavery. **D**

SLAVERY BECOMES ENTRENCHED Although slave importation had declined during the American Revolution, by the 1820s the demand for slaves had begun



AGRICULTURE AND MIGRATION

Changes in agricultural technology often cause large population movements. Today's agricultural technology enables farmers to plant and grow crops with fewer workers than in the past, but many hands are still needed at harvest time. The United States has about half a million migrant agricultural workers. Whole families may move seasonally following the harvest. Children of migrant workers, like this 11-year old boy in Plainview, Texas, often help in the fields at peak harvest times.

In the early 1800s, the cotton gin led to a mass movement of planters and slaves into Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Mechanical cotton pickers replaced huge communities of field hands in the 1930s. Many laborers were African Americans, who then migrated from rural to urban areas in search of work.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

C Why was slavery abolished in the North?

MAIN IDEA

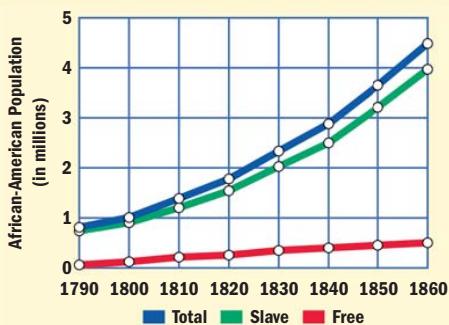
Comparing

D How were the agricultural systems of the North and South different?

THE COTTON GIN

In 1794, Eli Whitney was granted a patent for a “new and useful improvement in the mode of Ginning [cleaning] Cotton.” Workers who previously could clean only one pound of cotton per day could now, using the gin, clean as much as fifty pounds per day. Cotton production increased from three thousand bales in 1790 to more than two million bales in 1850. Increased cotton production meant an increase in the number of slaves needed on plantations.

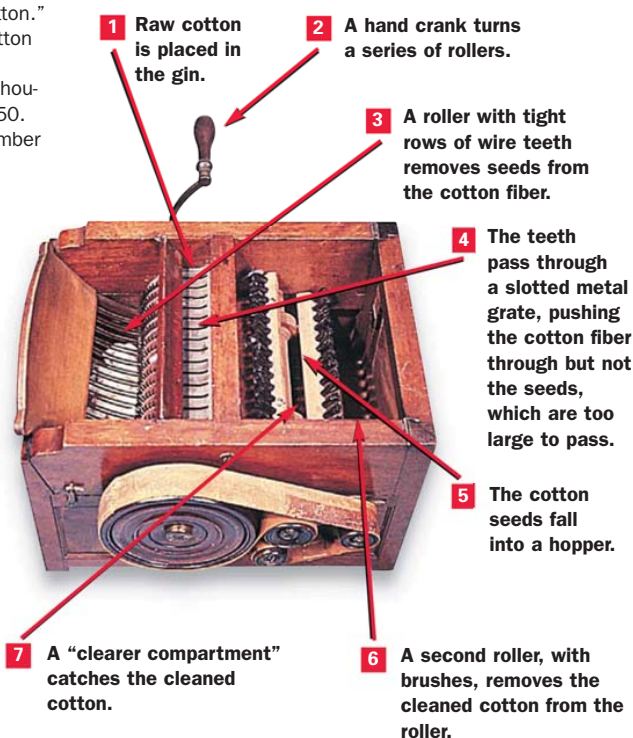
African-American Population in the United States, 1790–1860



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population: 1790–1915*.

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Graphs

1. About how many African-American slaves were in the United States in 1860?
2. How do the number of free African Americans and the number of slaves compare from 1790 to 1860?



to grow. Increases in cotton production and increases in the number of slaves owned paralleled each other. From 1790 to 1810, cotton production surged from 3,000 bales a year to 178,000 bales, while the number of slaves in the South leapt from 700,000 to 1,200,000. By 1808 slave traders had brought 250,000 additional Africans to the United States—as many as had been brought to the mainland American colonies between 1619 and 1776.

Clay Proposes the American System

As the North and South developed different economies, the creation of a plan to unify the nation became increasingly important. In 1815, President Madison presented such a plan to Congress. He hoped his agenda would both unite the different regions of the country and create a strong, stable economy that would make the nation self-sufficient. His plan included three major points:

- developing transportation systems and other internal improvements
- establishing a protective tariff
- resurrecting the national bank (established during Washington’s administration under Hamilton’s guidance, and then much reduced in influence under Jefferson)

The plan held promise. Recognizing this, even former critics of the president—Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun—rallied behind it. House Speaker **Henry Clay** began to promote it as the **American System**.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

E What was the intention of the American System?

As Clay explained it, the American System would unite the nation's economic interests. An increasingly industrial North would produce the manufactured goods that farmers in the South and West would buy. Meanwhile, a predominantly agricultural South and West would produce most of the grain, meat, and cotton needed in the North. A nationally accepted currency and improved transportation network would facilitate the exchange of goods. With each part of the country sustaining the other, Americans would finally be economically independent of Britain and other European nations. **E**

ERIE CANAL AND OTHER INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS For people in different regions to do business with one another and for the economy to grow, they had to communicate, travel, and transport goods. The first steam locomotive in the United States was built in 1825. Railroads offered several advantages over existing modes of transport; they were fast, able to cross almost any terrain, and possible to operate in severe weather. Most transportation at this time, however, was still accomplished using roads and canals. Eventually, better roads and canals would lower costs. But in the short run, they would cost money.

Many states built turnpikes, which paid for themselves through the collection of tolls paid by users who, literally, turned a pike (or spiked pole) to continue their journey along the road. At the same time the federal government experimented with funding highways, which would connect different regions by land. Construction of the **National Road** began in 1811. By 1838 the new road extended from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois.

One of the most impressive projects, the **Erie Canal**, stretched 363 miles. The "Big Ditch," as it was called, took eight years to dig, and by 1825 had linked the Hudson River to Lake Erie—or, in effect, the Atlantic Ocean to the Great Lakes. Just 12 years after it had opened, canal tolls had completely paid for its construction. New York City had become the dominant port in the country. In their rush to make similar profits, other states built over 3,000 miles of canals by 1837.



TARIFFS AND THE NATIONAL BANK Why were the tariffs on imports proposed by Madison and promoted by Clay necessary? Ever since the end of the War of 1812, British goods such as iron and textiles—stockpiled during the war—were sold far below the cost of American-made merchandise. Consequently, few bought the more expensive American products. Placing a tariff on imports would increase the cost of foreign goods and thereby eliminate their price advantage. Moreover, tariff revenues would help pay for internal improvements, such as roads, canals, and lighthouses. For these reasons, President James Madison proposed the **Tariff of 1816**.

Most Northeasterners welcomed protective tariffs with relief. However, people in the South and West, whose livelihoods did not depend on manufacturing, were not as eager to tax European imports. They resented any government intervention that would make goods more expensive. Nevertheless, Clay, who was from the West (Kentucky), and Calhoun, a Southerner from South Carolina, managed to sway congressmen from their regions to approve the Tariff of 1816 in the national interest.

Attitudes toward the proposed Second Bank of the United States (BUS) were less divided. Most leaders agreed that a national bank would benefit all. The Second Bank would make available a currency guaranteed to be accepted nationwide, thus making it easier for people in different regions to do business with one another. In 1816, Congress chartered the Second Bank of the United States for a 20-year period.

People were pleased with the way the country was developing. In 1816, they elected James Monroe of Virginia as president. Soon after his inauguration in 1817, Monroe took a goodwill tour of New England, receiving a warm welcome in Boston. The idea of a Republican from Virginia being welcomed in this northern Federalist stronghold impressed the nation. The Boston *Columbian Centinel* declared that Americans had entered an “Era of Good Feelings.”

SECTION 1

ASSESSMENT

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

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

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a two-column chart like the one shown, describe the economic systems of the North and the South with regard to both agriculture and manufacturing.

| Economies | |
|---------------|---------------|
| North | South |
| Agriculture | Agriculture |
| Manufacturing | Manufacturing |

CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING EFFECTS

What shifts in population might be attributed to advances in technology and changes in regional economies during America’s Industrial Revolution? Support your answer with examples from the text.

Think About:

- the industrialization of New England
- agricultural changes in the South
- improvements in internal transportation systems

4. SYNTHESIZING

How was the American System expected to unite the nation’s economic interests? Provide several examples.

5. PREDICTING EFFECTS

Do you think the invention of the railroad would hasten or slow the construction of new roads and canals? Why?



Nationalism at Center Stage

MAIN IDEA

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

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

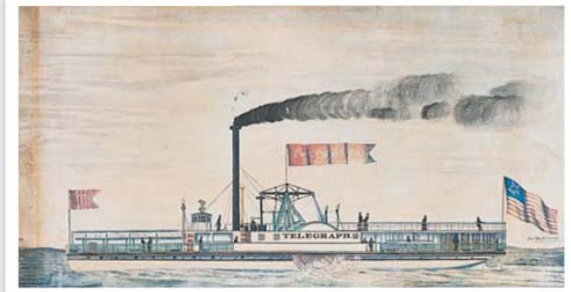
Nationalism continues to affect such decisions as whether or not we should involve the country in foreign conflicts and what limits can be placed on business, communications, and other trade.

Terms & Names

- *McCulloch v. Maryland*
- John Quincy Adams
- nationalism
- Adams-Onís Treaty
- Monroe Doctrine
- Missouri Compromise

One American's Story

In 1807 Robert Fulton's boat, the *Clermont*, propelled by a steam engine, cruised the 150 miles up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany in 32 hours. This successful demonstration marked the beginning of the steamboat era. Another one of Fulton's boats was so luxurious that it had a wood-paneled dining room and private bedrooms. Fulton posted regulations on his opulent steamboats.



A PERSONAL VOICE ROBERT FULTON

“As the steamboat has been fitted up in an elegant style, order is necessary to keep it so; gentlemen will therefore please to observe cleanliness, and a reasonable attention not to injure the furniture; for this purpose no one must sit on a table under the penalty of half a dollar each time, and every breakage of tables, chairs, sofas, or windows, tearing of curtains, or injury of any kind must be paid for before leaving the boat.”

—quoted in *Steamboats Come True: American Inventors in Action*

▲ Like Fulton's *Clermont*, the *Telegraph* was a 19th-century steamboat.

Steamboats carried freight as well as passengers, and this new method of transportation spread quickly to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. For the next 20 years, the steamboat was one factor that helped to unite the economic life of the North and the South. It thus contributed to the growing national spirit.

The Supreme Court Boosts National Power

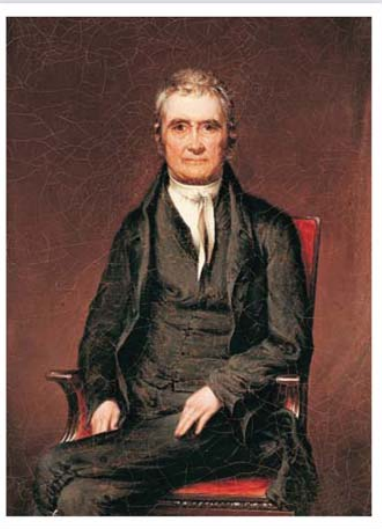
In 1808, Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston received a charter from the New York legislature that gave them the exclusive right to run steamboats on rivers in that state. They profited from this state charter, which granted them a

monopoly (exclusive legal control of a commercial activity), by charging steamboat operators for licenses to operate on various stretches of river.

One of these operators was Aaron Ogden. Ogden was licensed by Fulton and Livingston under the laws of New York State to run his steamship line between New York and New Jersey. Ogden believed that he was the only operator legally entitled to run a steamboat service on that stretch of the Hudson. Then Thomas Gibbons began to run a similar service in the same area, claiming that he was entitled to do so according to federal law. Ogden took Gibbons to court to stop him. However, in 1824 the Supreme Court ruled that interstate commerce could be regulated only by the federal government. In other words, Ogden’s “exclusive” right granted by New York was not legal, since the route crossed state lines.

More important, by clarifying that Congress had authority over interstate commerce, the *Gibbons v. Ogden* decision helped to ensure that the federal government has the power to regulate just about everything that crosses state lines. In modern life, that authority means everything from air traffic to television and radio waves to interstate cellular communications. In addition, this decision led to future rulings favoring competition over monopolies. In this way, nationalism exerted a strong influence on the legal system.

Background
See *monopoly* on page R43 in the Economics Handbook.



▲ John Marshall was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1801 by Federalist President John Adams.

STRENGTHENING GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC CONTROL

In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), as in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, Chief Justice John Marshall had also guided the Supreme Court to a ruling that strengthened the federal government’s control over the economy. The Court’s ruling also supported the national government over the state governments.

Maryland had levied a heavy tax on the local branch of the Bank of the United States, hoping to make it fail. Marshall declared that if this were allowed, states would in effect be overturning laws passed by Congress. The Chief Justice denied the right of Maryland to tax the Bank, stating that “the power to tax is the power to destroy.” He declared the Bank of the United States constitutional.

LIMITING STATE POWERS Under Chief Justice Marshall, the Supreme Court made several rulings that blocked state interference in business and commerce—even when this meant overturning state law. In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), for example, the Court nullified a Georgia law that had violated individuals’ constitutional right to enter into contracts. In the *Dartmouth College*

v. Woodward (1819) decision, the Court declared that the state of New Hampshire could not revise the original charter it had granted to the college’s trustees in colonial times. A charter was a contract, the Court said, and the Constitution did not permit states to interfere with contracts. **A**

MAIN IDEA

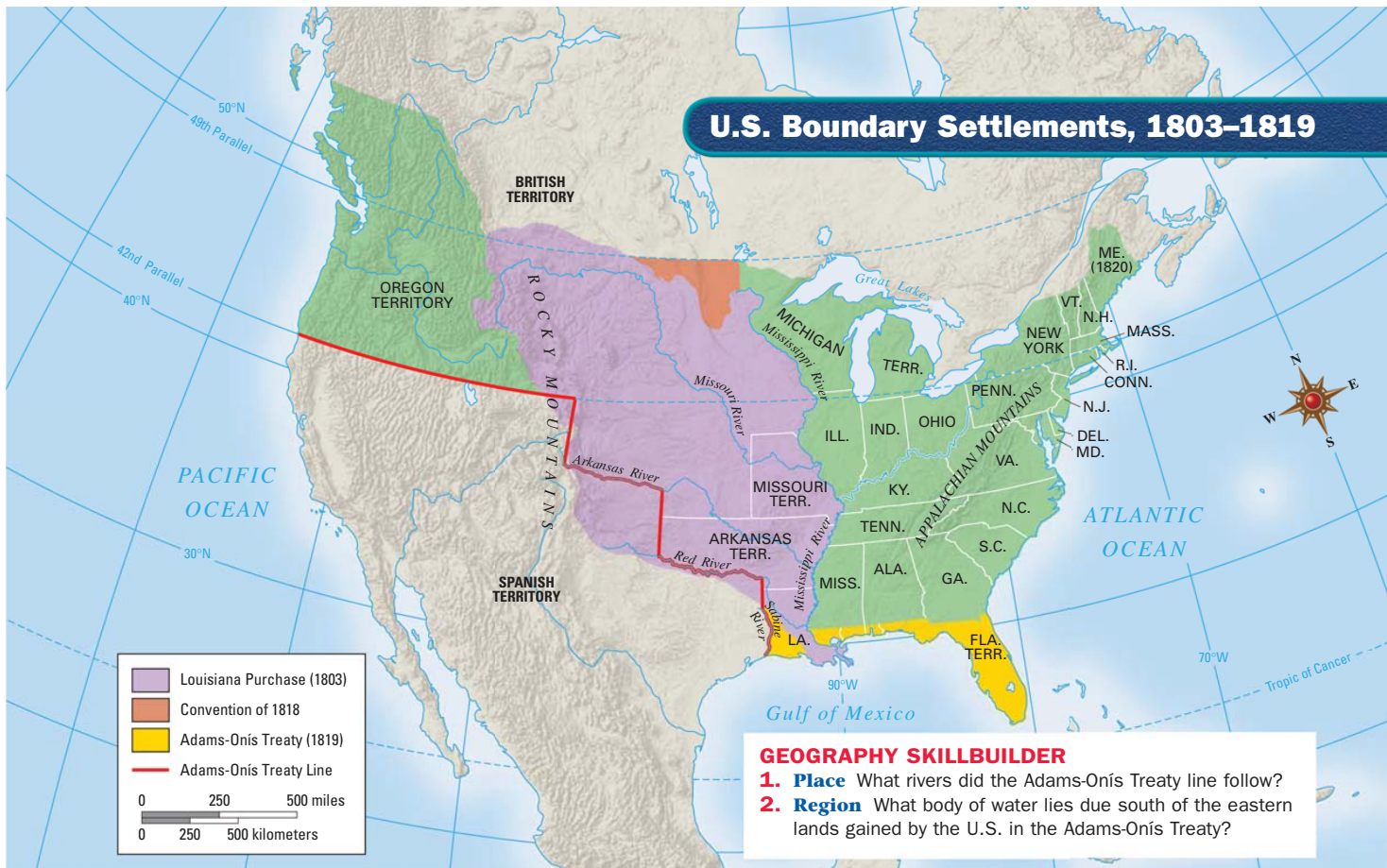
Summarizing

A In what ways did the Supreme Court boost federal power?

Nationalism Shapes Foreign Policy

Chief Justice Marshall guided the Supreme Court to decisions that increased the power of the federal government over the state government. At the same time, Secretary of State **John Quincy Adams** established foreign policy guided by **nationalism**—the belief that national interests should be placed ahead of regional concerns or the interests of other countries.

TERRITORY AND BOUNDARIES Working under President James Monroe, Adams prioritized the security of the nation and expansion of its territory. To further these interests, Adams worked out a treaty with Great Britain to reduce the Great Lakes fleets of both countries to only a few military vessels. The Rush-Bagot



Treaty (1817) eventually led the United States and Canada to completely demilitarize their common border. Adams also arranged the Convention of 1818, which fixed the U.S. border at the 49th parallel up to the Rocky Mountains. Finally, he reached a compromise with Britain to jointly occupy the Oregon Territory, the territory west of the Rockies, for ten years.

There remained one outstanding piece of business. Most Americans assumed that Spanish Florida would eventually become part of the United States. In 1819, too weak to police its New World territories, Spain ceded Florida to the United States in the **Adams-Onís Treaty** and gave up its claims to the Oregon Territory.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE After Spain and Portugal defeated Napoleon in 1815, these European powers wanted to reclaim their former colonies in Latin America. Meanwhile, the Russians, who had been in Alaska since 1784, were establishing trading posts in what is now California.

With Spain and Portugal trying to move back into their old colonial areas, and with Russia pushing in from the northwest, the United States knew it had to do something. Many Americans were interested in acquiring northern Mexico and the Spanish colony of Cuba. Moreover, the Russian action posed a threat to American trade with China, which brought huge profits.

Hence, in his 1823 message to Congress, President Monroe warned all outside powers not to interfere with affairs in the Western Hemisphere. They should not attempt to create new colonies, he said, or try to overthrow the newly independent republics in the hemisphere. The United States would consider such action “dangerous to our peace and safety.” At the same time, the United States would not involve itself in European affairs or interfere with existing colonies in the Western Hemisphere. These principles became known as the **Monroe Doctrine**.

MAIN IDEA

Synthesizing

B How did the foreign policies of John Quincy Adams and James Monroe serve national interests?

Nationalism Pushes America West

While Presidents Adams and Monroe established policies that expanded U.S. territory, American settlers pushed into the Northwest Territory (present-day Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan), felling forests, turning lush prairies into farms and waterfronts into city centers.

EXPANSION TO THE WEST While some settlers went west to escape debts or even the law, most pushed westward in search of economic gain—for land was not only plentiful and fertile but cheap. There were also social gains to be made. For example, one could change occupations more easily on the frontier. Jim Beckwourth (1798–1867), the son of a white man and an African-American woman, ventured westward with a fur-trading expedition in 1823. He lived among the Crow, who gave him the name “Bloody Arm” because of his skill as a fighter. Later he served as an Army scout. In California in 1850, he decided to settle down and become a rancher, yet this was not the last of his occupations.

A PERSONAL VOICE JIM BECKWOURTH

“In the spring of 1852 I established myself in Beckwourth Valley, and finally found myself transformed into a hotel-keeper and chief of a trading-post. My house is considered the emigrant’s landing-place, as it is the first ranch he arrives at in the golden state, and is the only house between this point and Salt Lake. Here is a valley two hundred and forty miles in circumference, containing some of the choicest land in the world.”

—quoted in *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*



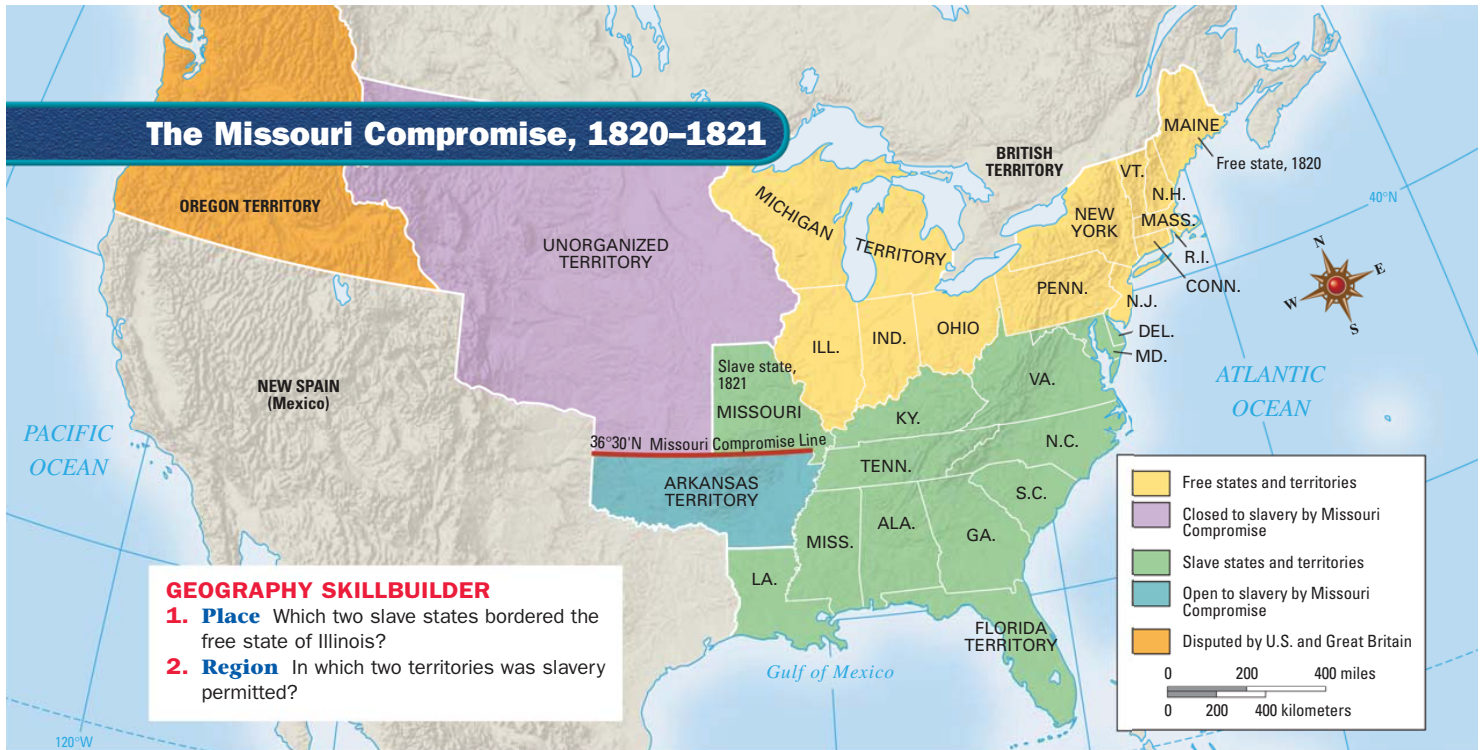
Jim Beckwourth

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE When a territory’s population reached about 60,000, the people of the territory could petition the Union for admission, draft a state constitution, elect representatives, and become part of the United States, once Congress approved. In 1819, however, when settlers in Missouri requested admission into the Union, conflict arose. In Missouri, the new spirit of nationalism was challenged by an issue that had previously confronted the framers of the Constitution. That issue was the question of slavery.

Until 1818, the United States had consisted of ten free and ten slave states. The government admitted Illinois as the eleventh free state in 1818. Southerners then expected that Missouri would become the eleventh slave state, thereby maintaining the balance between free states and slave states in Congress. However, New York Congressman James Tallmadge amended the Missouri statehood bill to require Missouri to gradually free its slaves, a bill that passed the House. Southerners, perceiving a threat to their power, blocked the bill’s passage in the Senate. As arguments raged, Alabama was then admitted to the Union as a slave state. With 11 free to 11 slave states, Missouri’s status became crucial to the delicate balance.

The slaveholding states claimed that Northerners were trying to end slavery. Northerners accused Southerners of plotting to extend the institution into new territories. Hostilities became so intense that at times people on both sides even mentioned civil war and the end of the Union. Indeed, the issues that came to light during these debates foreshadowed the war to come. “We have the wolf by the ears,” wrote the aging Thomas Jefferson of this crisis, “and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go.”

Under the leadership of Henry Clay, however, Congress managed to temporarily resolve the crisis with a series of agreements collectively called the **Missouri Compromise**. Maine was admitted as a free state and Missouri as a slave state, thus preserving the sectional balance in the Senate. The rest of the Louisiana Territory was split into two spheres of interest, one for slaveholders and one for free settlers. The dividing line was set at 36° 30′ north latitude. South



of the line, slavery was legal. North of the line—except in Missouri—slavery was banned. Thomas Jefferson was among those who feared for the Union’s future after the Missouri Compromise. His words would prove prophetic.

A PERSONAL VOICE THOMAS JEFFERSON

“This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence.”

—letter to John Holmes, April 22, 1820

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

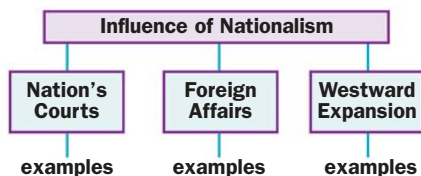
SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

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

- *McCulloch v. Maryland*
- nationalism
- Monroe Doctrine
- John Quincy Adams
- Adams-Onís Treaty
- Missouri Compromise

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES
In a diagram like the one shown, write historical examples that illustrate the influence of nationalism.



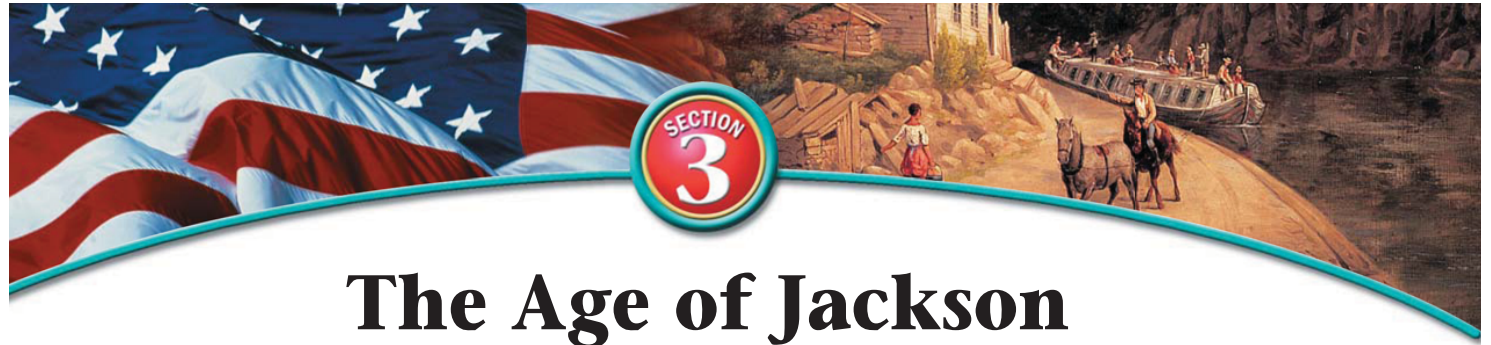
CRITICAL THINKING

3. HYPOTHESIZING
What short- and long-term goals might President Monroe have had in mind when he formulated the Monroe Doctrine in 1823? Support your answer. **Think About:**

- European nations’ presence in the Western Hemisphere
- the influence of nationalism on foreign policy
- the nation’s westward expansion

4. SYNTHESIZING
What agreements did Congress reach that are regarded collectively as the Missouri Compromise? Why were they important at the time?

5. EVALUATING
From what you know about the Missouri Compromise and the controversy that preceded it, do you think the new spirit of nationalism in the United States was strong or fragile? Support your opinion.



The Age of Jackson

| MAIN IDEA | WHY IT MATTERS NOW | Terms & Names |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Andrew Jackson's policies spoke for the common people but violated Native American rights.</p> | <p>The effects of land losses and persecution faced by Native Americans in the 1800s continue to be reflected in their legal struggles today.</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrew Jackson • Democratic-Republican Party • spoils system • Indian Removal Act • Trail of Tears |

One American's Story

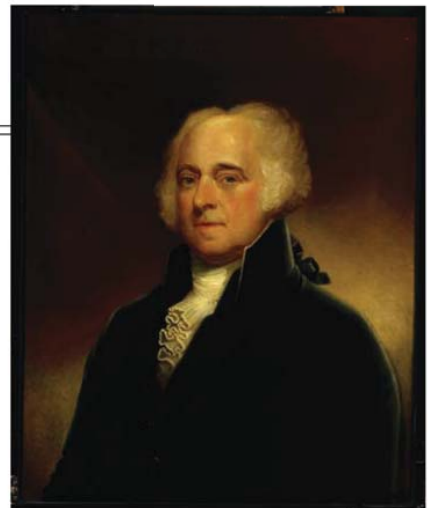
The era of the leaders who had founded the nation passed with Adams's and Jefferson's deaths in 1826. During an extended conversation with John Adams in 1776, Thomas Jefferson had tried to convince him to draft the Declaration of Independence.

A PERSONAL VOICE JOHN ADAMS

"[Adams] said 'I will not.' . . .
 'What can be your reasons?'
 'Reason first—You are a Virginian, and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second—I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third—You can write ten times better than I can.'
 'Well,' said Jefferson, 'if you are decided, I will do as well as I can.'"

—quoted in *John Adams: A Biography in His Own Words*

Thus began a mutual regard that would last for 50 years. On July 4, 1826, exactly 50 years after the delegates approved the Declaration of Independence, both men died. Now the presidency belonged to another generation.



▲ This Gilbert Stuart portrait of John Adams was begun in 1798, when Adams was 63.

Expanding Democracy Changes Politics

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

TENSION BETWEEN ADAMS AND JACKSON In the election of 1824, Andrew Jackson won the popular vote but lacked the majority of electoral votes. The House of Representatives had to decide the outcome, since no candidate had received a majority of the votes of the electoral college.

Because of his power in the House, Henry Clay could swing the election either way. Clay disliked Jackson personally and mistrusted his lack of political experience. “I cannot believe,” Clay commented, “that killing twenty-five hundred Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies [him] for the various difficult and complicated duties of [the presidency].” Adams, on the other hand, agreed with Clay’s American System. In the end, Adams was elected president by a majority of the states represented in the House.

Jacksonians, or followers of Jackson, accused Adams of stealing the presidency. When Adams appointed Clay secretary of state, the Jacksonians claimed that Adams had struck a corrupt bargain. The Jacksonians left the Republican Party to form the **Democratic-Republican Party** (forerunner of today’s Democratic Party) and did whatever they could to sabotage Adams’s policies.

MAIN IDEA

Predicting Effects

A How might reducing property requirements for voting affect political campaigns?

DEMOCRACY AND CITIZENSHIP During Adams’s presidency, most states eased the voting requirements, thereby enlarging the voting population. Fewer states now had property qualifications for voting. In the presidential election of 1824, approximately 350,000 white males voted. In 1828, over three times that number voted, and their votes helped Andrew Jackson. However, certain groups still lacked political power. Free African Americans and women did not enjoy the political freedoms of white males. **A**

Background

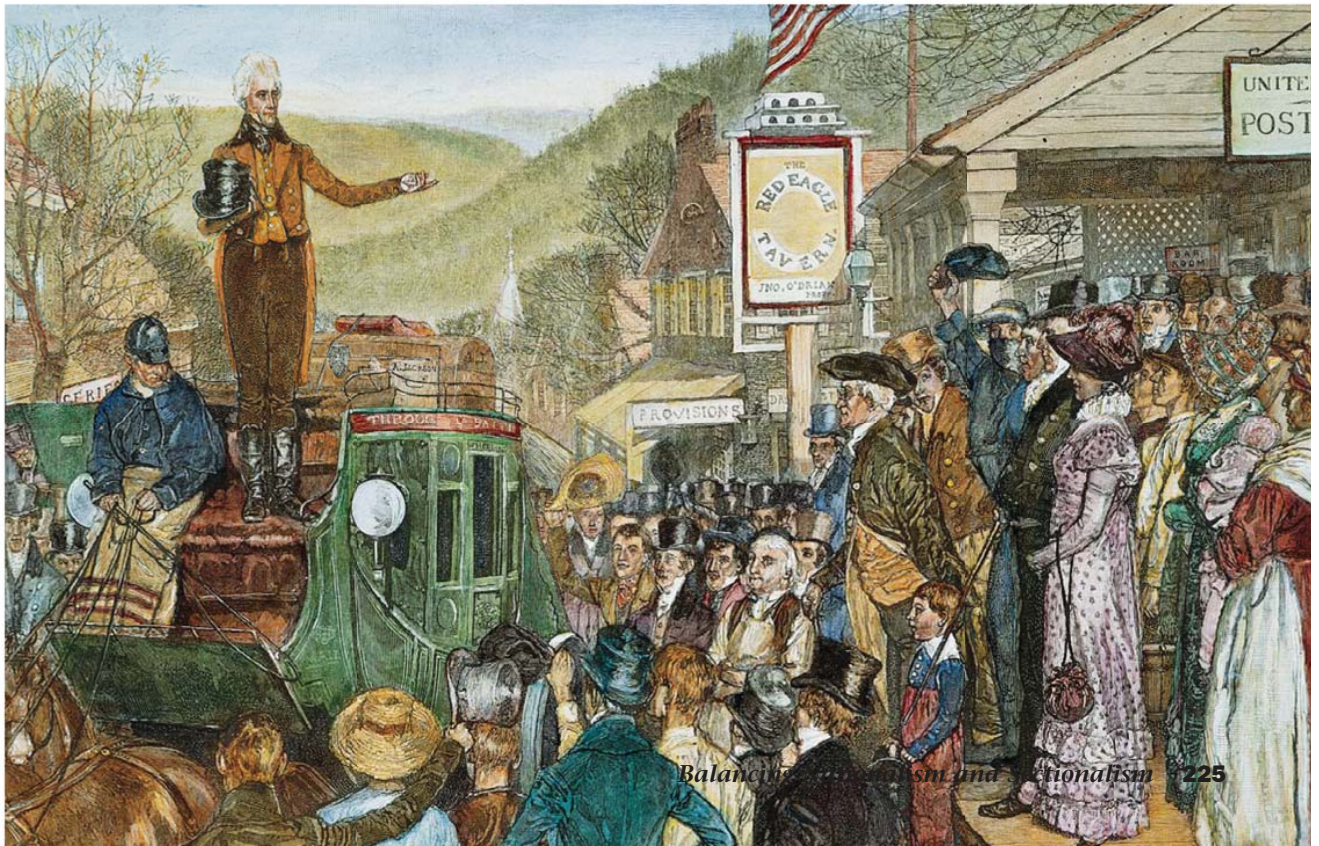
The Battle of New Orleans in 1815 made Jackson a national hero. The British attacked Jackson’s forces at New Orleans in January 1815. American riflemen mowed down advancing British forces. American casualties totaled 71, compared to Britain’s 2,000.

Jackson’s New Presidential Style

The expansion of voting rights meant that candidates had to be able to speak to the concerns of ordinary people. Andrew Jackson had this common touch.

JACKSON’S APPEAL TO THE COMMON CITIZEN During the 1828 campaign, Jackson characterized Adams as an intellectual elitist and, by contrast, portrayed himself as a man of humble origins—though he was actually a wealthy plantation owner. Jackson won the election by a landslide. He was so popular that record numbers of people came to Washington to see “Old Hickory” inaugurated.

President-elect Andrew Jackson on his way to Washington, D.C., to be inaugurated in 1829

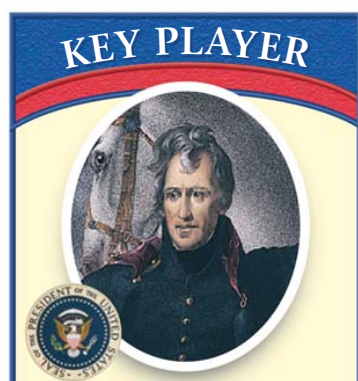


Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith described the scene.

A PERSONAL VOICE MRS. SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH

“The President, after having been *literally* nearly pressed to death and almost suffocated and torn to pieces by the people in their eagerness to shake hands with Old Hickory [Jackson], had retreated through the back way, or south front, and had escaped to his lodgings at Gadsby’s. Cut glass and china to the amount of several thousand dollars had been broken in the struggle to get the refreshments. . . . Ladies fainted, men were seen with bloody noses, and such a scene of confusion took place as is impossible to describe; those who got in could not get out by the door again but had to scramble out of windows.”

—from a letter dated March 1829



ANDREW JACKSON
1767–1845

Andrew Jackson thought of himself as a man of the people. The son of Scots-Irish immigrants, he had been born in poverty in the Carolinas. He was the first president since George Washington without a college education.

At the time of his election at the age of 61, however, Jackson had built a highly successful career. He had worked in law, politics, land speculation, cotton planting, and soldiering. Victory at New Orleans in the War of 1812 had made him a hero. His Tennessee home, the Hermitage, was a mansion. Anyone who owned more than a hundred slaves, as Jackson did, was wealthy.

Underlying Jackson’s iron will was a fiery temper. He survived several duels, one of which left a bullet lodged near his heart and another of which left his opponent dead. His ire, however, was most often reserved for special-interest groups and those whose power came from privilege.

JACKSON’S SPOILS SYSTEM If Jackson knew how to inspire loyalty and enthusiasm during a campaign, he also knew how to use the powers of the presidency upon gaining office. He announced that his appointees to federal jobs would serve a maximum of four-year terms. Unless there was a regular turnover of personnel, he declared, officeholders would become inefficient and corrupt.

Jackson’s administration practiced the **spoils system**—so called from the saying “To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy”—in which incoming officials throw out former appointees and replace them with their own friends. He fired nearly 10 percent of the federal employees, most of them holdovers from the Adams administration, and gave their jobs to loyal Jacksonians. Jackson’s friends also became his primary advisers, dubbed his “kitchen cabinet” because they supposedly slipped into the White House through the kitchen. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

B What is the spoils system?

Removal of Native Americans

Since the 1600s, white settlers had held one of two attitudes toward Native Americans. Some whites favored the displacement and dispossession of all Native Americans. Others wished to convert Native Americans to Christianity, turn them into farmers, and absorb them into the white culture.

Since the end of the War of 1812, some Southeastern tribes—the Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, and Chickasaw—had begun to adopt the European culture of their white neighbors. These “five civilized tribes,” as they were called by whites, occupied large areas in Georgia, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Many white planters and miners wanted that land.

INDIAN REMOVAL ACT OF 1830 Jackson thought that assimilation could not work. Another possibility—allowing Native Americans to live in their original areas—would have required too many troops to keep the areas free of white settlers. Jackson believed that the only solution was to move the Native Americans from their lands to areas farther west.

Congress passed the **Indian Removal Act** in 1830. Under this law, the federal government provided funds to negotiate treaties that would force the Native Americans to

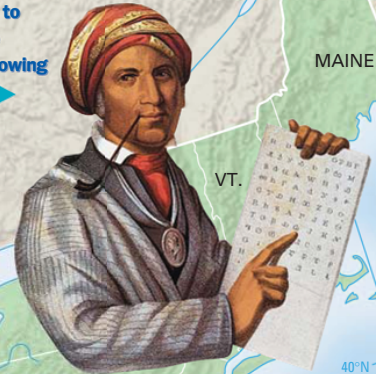
Effects of the Indian Removal Act, 1830s–1840s

INTERACTIVE

Sequoyah, or George Guess, devised the Cherokee alphabet in 1821 to help preserve the culture of the Cherokee Nation against the growing threat of American expansion. ▶



Many Cherokee in the western territory, like the woman pictured here, taught their children at home in order to keep the Cherokee language and customs alive.



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 tuberculosis, smallpox, and cholera, one-fourth died.

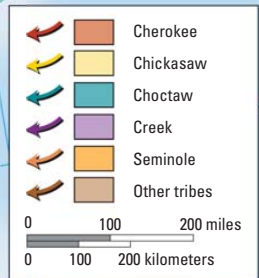
Nearly 15,000 Creek, many in manacles and chains, were moved from Alabama and Georgia to the Canadian River in Indian Territory in 1835.

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.

REPUBLIC OF TEXAS (after 1836)



Detail from "Trail of Tears," a painting by Robert Lindeux



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

- Place** Where were most of the tribes moved?
- Movement** What do you think were the long-term effects of this removal on Native Americans?

move west. About 90 treaties were signed. For Jackson, the removal policy was “not only liberal, but generous,” but his arguments were mainly based on the rights of states to govern within their own boundaries. **C**

In 1830, Jackson pressured the Choctaw to sign a treaty that required them to move from Mississippi. In 1831, he ordered U.S. troops to forcibly remove the Sauk and Fox from their lands in Illinois and Missouri. In 1832, he forced the Chickasaw to leave their lands in Alabama and Mississippi.

THE CHEROKEE FIGHT BACK Meanwhile, the Cherokee Nation tried to win just treatment through the U.S. legal system. Chief Justice John Marshall refused to rule on the first case the Cherokee brought against Georgia, though, because in his view the Cherokee Nation had no federal standing; it was neither a foreign nation nor a state, but rather a “domestic dependent nation.” Undaunted, the Cherokee teamed up with Samuel Austin Worcester, a missionary who had been jailed for teaching Indians without a state license. The Cherokee knew the Court would have to recognize a citizen’s right to be heard.

In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the Cherokee Nation finally won recognition as a distinct political community. The Court ruled that Georgia was not entitled to regulate the Cherokee nor to invade their lands. Jackson refused to abide by the Supreme Court decision, saying: “John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it.”

Cherokee leader John Ross still tried to fight the state in the courts, but other Cherokee began to promote relocation. In 1835, federal agents declared the

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Issues

C Why did Jackson think that Native Americans should be moved west of the Mississippi?

P O I N T

“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?”

C O U N T E R P O I N T

“The Indian Removal Act of 1830 was unfortunate but necessary.”

Blame for the displacement of Native Americans was sometimes placed on the states or on the law, which, it was argued, all people must obey. As Secretary of War John Eaton explained to the Creek of Alabama: “It is not your Great Father who does this; but the laws of the Country, which he and every one of his people is bound to regard.”

President Andrew Jackson contended that the Indian Removal Act would put an end to “all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians.”

Jackson also claimed that the Indian Removal Act would protect Native Americans against further removal from their lands. He found support for his point of view from Secretary of War Lewis Cass, who defended “the progress of civilization and improvement.” Cass wished “that the aboriginal population had accommodated themselves to the inevitable change of their condition,” but asserted that “such a wish is vain.”

THINKING CRITICALLY

1. CONNECT TO HISTORY Analyzing Primary Sources

On what central issue regarding the Indian Removal Act did Jackson and Native American tribes disagree? Explain your opinion of the Act.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R22.

2. CONNECT TO TODAY Analyzing Issues

Research how one of the five tribes was affected by the Indian Removal Act. Write a proposal for how the U.S. government might today make reparations to the group for land losses in the 19th century.

minority who favored relocation the true representatives of the Cherokee Nation and promptly had them sign the Treaty of New Echota. This treaty gave the last eight million acres of Cherokee land to the federal government in exchange for approximately \$5 million and land “west of the Mississippi.” The signing of this treaty marked the beginning of the Cherokee exodus. However, when by 1838 nearly 20,000 Cherokee still remained in the East, President Martin Van Buren (Jackson’s successor) ordered their forced removal. U.S. Army troops under the command of General Winfield Scott rounded up the Cherokee and drove them into camps to await the journey. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

D How did the Cherokee react to the Indian Removal Act?

THE TRAIL OF TEARS Beginning in October and November of 1838, the Cherokee were sent off in groups of about 1,000 each on the long journey. The 800-mile trip was made partly by steamboat and railroad but mostly on foot. As the winter came on, more and more of the Cherokee died en route.

A PERSONAL VOICE TRAIL OF TEARS SURVIVOR
“Children cry and many men cry, and all look sad like when friends die, but they say nothing and just put heads down and keep on go towards West. Many days pass and people die very much.”
 —quoted in *From the Heart: Voices of the American Indian*

Along the way, government officials stole the Cherokee’s money, while outlaws made off with their livestock. The Cherokee buried more than a quarter of their people along what came to be known as the **Trail of Tears**. When they reached their final destination, they ended up on land far inferior to that which they had been forced to leave.

NOW & THEN



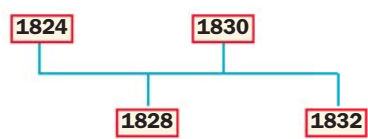
NATIVE AMERICAN LANDS
 Native Americans continue to struggle for recognition of land rights. In the 2002 picture above, Native American leaders testify during a Congressional hearing on the protection of sacred sites. Many of these sites are threatened by development, pollution, or vandalism. Other present-day Native Americans have won recognition of their land claims. Over the past 30 years, the federal government has settled property disputes with several tribes in Connecticut, Maine, and other states and has provided them with funds to purchase ancestral lands.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

- 1. TERMS & NAMES** For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Andrew Jackson
 - Democratic-Republican Party
 - spoils system
 - Indian Removal Act
 - Trail of Tears

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES
 Create a time line like the one shown here, listing key events relating to Jackson’s political career.



Do you think Jackson was an effective leader? Why or why not?

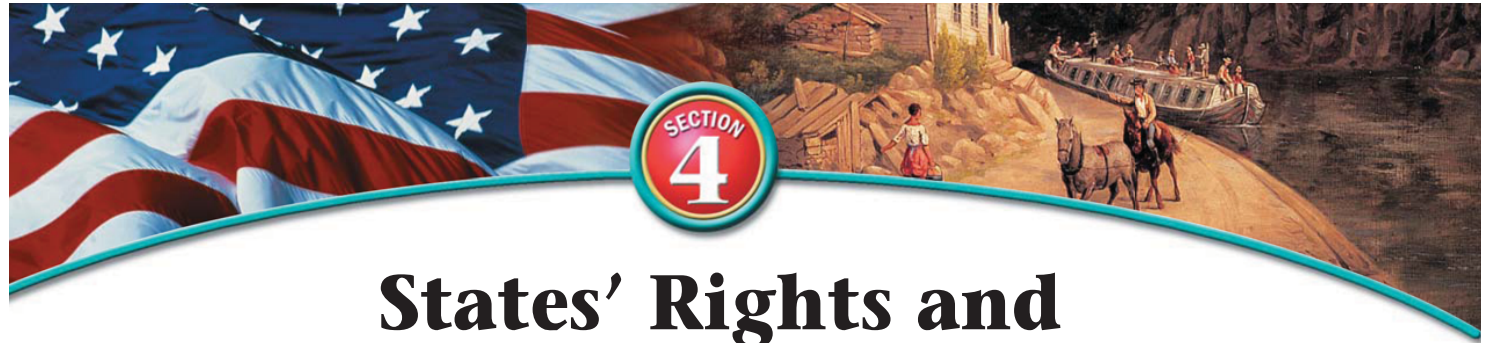
CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING
 If you were a U.S. citizen voting in the 1828 presidential election, would you cast your ballot for John Quincy Adams or Andrew Jackson? Support your choice. **Think About:**

- each candidate’s background and political experience
- each candidate’s views of the national bank and tariffs
- where you might live—the South, the West, or New England

4. ANALYZING EVENTS
 In your opinion, what factors set the stage for the Indian Removal Act? Support your answer. **Think About:**

- the attitude of white settlers toward Native Americans
- Jackson’s justification of the Indian Removal Act
- why Jackson was able to defy the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Worcester v. Georgia*



States' Rights and the National Bank

MAIN IDEA

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

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The conflict between states' rights and federal government control continues to flare up in such arenas as education, commerce, and law enforcement.

Terms & Names

- Daniel Webster
- John C. Calhoun
- Tariff of Abominations
- Bank of the United States
- Whig Party
- Martin Van Buren
- panic of 1837
- William Henry Harrison
- John Tyler

One American's Story



On January 26, 1830, Massachusetts senator **Daniel Webster** rose in the Senate and delivered one of the great speeches of American history.

A PERSONAL VOICE DANIEL WEBSTER

“When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union. . . . Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic . . . bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as ‘What is all this worth?’ nor those other words of delusion and folly, ‘Liberty first and Union afterwards’; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, . . . that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!”

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

Daniel Webster was an ardent nationalist. He defended the federal government's power to make laws that applied to all states in the Union.

Webster's Reply to Hayne (date unknown), G.P.A. Healy, Courtesy of the Boston Art Commission 2007

“Liberty first and Union afterwards” was favored by John C. Calhoun, one of Webster's greatest opponents in the struggle between states' rights and federal authority. The question of how much power the federal—as opposed to the state—government should have come to a head over the issue of tariffs.

A Tariff Raises the States' Rights Issue

When the War of 1812 ended, British manufacturers wanted to destroy their American competitors by flooding the U.S. market with inexpensive goods. In response, Congress in 1816 passed a tariff to protect the infant American industries. The tariff was increased in 1824 and again in 1828.

THE NULLIFICATION THEORY Jackson's vice-president, **John C. Calhoun** of South Carolina, called the 1828 tariff a **Tariff of Abominations**, a “disgusting and loathsome” tariff. As an agricultural region dependent on cotton, the South had to compete in the world market. The high tariff on manufactured goods reduced British exports to the United States and forced the South to buy the more

expensive Northern manufactured goods. From the South's point of view, the North was getting rich at the expense of the South. One observer remarked that when Southerners "see the flourishing villages of New England they cry, 'We pay for all this.'"

Calhoun was in an unusual and politically dangerous position. He had long been known as a nationalist spokesman, and he had supported the protective tariff of 1816. Calhoun was building a career as a national statesman, having served under both Adams and Jackson as vice-president. The situation in his home state, however, had made him change his views. South Carolina's economy had failed to recover fully from an economic depression. Cotton prices remained low because planters and their slaves were moving to more fertile lands in Alabama and in the lower Mississippi River valley. Some South Carolinians began to wonder if Calhoun really cared about the needs of his state. He soon showed them that he did.

Calhoun devised a nullification theory, which basically questioned the legality of applying some federal laws in sovereign states. Calhoun's argument was that the United States Constitution was based on a compact among the sovereign states. If the Constitution had been established by 13 sovereign states, he reasoned, then each had the right to nullify, or reject, a federal law that it considered unconstitutional. In 1828 Calhoun wrote down his theory in a document entitled "The South Carolina Exposition," but he did not sign his name to it. Nor did he say what he privately felt. Calhoun believed that if the federal government refused to permit a state to nullify a federal law, the state had the right to withdraw from the Union.

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

A What was Calhoun's nullification theory?

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 each had the right to nullify, or reject, a federal law that it considered unconstitutional. In 1828 Calhoun wrote down his theory in a document entitled "The South Carolina Exposition," but he did not sign his name to it. Nor did he say what he privately felt. Calhoun believed that if the federal government refused to permit a state to nullify a federal law, the state had the right to withdraw from the Union.

HAYNE AND WEBSTER DEBATE STATES' RIGHTS The tariff question (and the underlying states' rights issue) was discussed in one of the great debates in American history. In January 1830, visitors to the Senate listened to Senator

KEY PLAYERS



JOHN C. CALHOUN
1782–1850

John Caldwell Calhoun entered national politics in 1811 when he was elected to the House of Representatives. There he was labeled a War Hawk for his support of the War of 1812. As President Monroe's secretary of war starting in 1817, Calhoun improved the army's organization.

This ambitious and handsome man with dark, flashing eyes served as vice-president under two presidents—John Quincy Adams, elected in 1824, and Andrew Jackson, elected in 1828.

Calhoun had a hard and humorless side. He took a tough position on slavery, arguing that it was not only necessary but even good:

"There never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not . . . live on the labor of the other."



DANIEL WEBSTER
1782–1852

In New England he was known as the "godlike Daniel." New Hampshire native Daniel Webster actually began his career in favor of states' rights. After moving to Boston, Massachusetts, in 1816, however, his views changed. New England's textile manufacturers needed a strong national government to protect their interests. As a lawyer and a congressman, Webster represented Boston's business interests. He argued several landmark cases before the Supreme Court, including *Gibbons v. Ogden*.

Webster was best known for his skill as an orator, but he hungered after the presidency. He ran for the highest office twice, never winning. Late in his career he said:

"I have given my life to law and politics. Law is uncertain and politics is utterly vain."

Robert Hayne of South Carolina debate Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Hayne delivered a pointed condemnation of the tariff.

★ A PERSONAL VOICE SENATOR ROBERT HAYNE

“The measures of the federal government . . . will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. But even this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest—a principle, which substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the constitution, brings the States and the people to the feet of the federal government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own.”

—from a speech to Congress, January 21, 1830

On January 26 Webster replied that he could not conceive of a “middle course, between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution, or rebellion, on the other.”

Once the debates ended, the people wanted to hear President Jackson’s position. On April 13, at a public dinner, he clarified his position in a toast: “Our Union: it must be preserved.” Calhoun replied with an equally pointed toast: “The Union, next to our liberty, the most dear; may we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the States and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union.” The two men would not work together again; in fact, Calhoun resigned the vice-presidency in 1832. Jackson would run for reelection with former secretary of state Martin Van Buren.

South Carolinians wore emblems made from palmetto leaves to show their support for nullification.



SOUTH CAROLINA REBELS The issue of states’ rights was finally put to a test in 1832 when Congress passed a tariff law that South Carolina legislators still found unacceptable. They responded by declaring the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 “unauthorized by the Constitution” and “null, void, and no law.” Then they threatened to secede, or withdraw, from the Union, if customs officials tried to collect duties.

Jackson was furious. Although himself a Southerner and a slaveholder, he believed that South Carolina’s action in declaring a federal law null and void flouted the will of the people as expressed in the U.S. Constitution. He declared South Carolina’s actions treasonous and threatened to hang Calhoun and march federal troops into South Carolina to enforce the tariff. To make good on his threats, Jackson next persuaded Congress to pass the Force Bill in 1833. This bill allowed the federal government to use the army and navy against South Carolina if state authorities resisted paying proper duties.

A bloody confrontation seemed inevitable until Henry Clay stepped in. In 1833 the Great Compromiser proposed a tariff bill that would gradually lower duties over a ten-year period. For now, the crisis between states’ rights and federal authority was controlled, but the issue would continue to cause conflict in the 1840s and 1850s and would be a major cause of the Civil War. **B**

MAIN IDEA

Contrasting

B What were Jackson’s and Calhoun’s differing opinions on states’ rights versus federal authority?

Jackson Attacks the National Bank

Although Andrew Jackson never did resort to sending troops into South Carolina, he did wage a very personal war on the **Bank of the United States** (BUS). In fact, during the same year he dealt with the South Carolina crisis, 1832, he vetoed the bill to recharter the Bank.

JACKSON OPPOSES THE BANK The Second Bank's 20-year charter was not due to expire until 1836, but Henry Clay and Daniel Webster wanted to introduce the renewal earlier to make it a campaign issue. They thought that Jackson might veto a new charter and, in so doing, lose some of his support. They underestimated, however, both the public's dislike of the BUS and Jackson's political skill.

Jackson and his allies made certain that the general public came to think of the BUS as a privileged institution. Jacksonians did have some powerful facts to support their opinions. Since all federal tax revenues were deposited in the BUS rather than state or private banks, the Second Bank had an unfair advantage over other banks. Furthermore, BUS stockholders, not average American taxpayers, earned the interest from these deposits. A privileged few were making money that should have benefited all the taxpayers. In addition, the bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, often extended loans to congressmen at much lower rates of interest than the bank gave to the average citizen.

PET BANKS In 1832, Jackson told his running mate, Martin Van Buren, that the BUS was a "monster" that corrupted "our statesmen" and wanted "to destroy our republican institution." "The bank, Mr. Van Buren, is trying to kill me, but *I will kill it.*" After Jackson's reelection in 1832, he tried to kill the BUS before its charter ran out in 1836. He appointed a secretary of the treasury who was willing to place all government funds in certain state banks. The banks were called "pet banks" because of their loyalty to the Democratic Party.

In an attempt to save the BUS, Nicholas Biddle decided to have the bank call in—or demand repayment of—loans. He also refused to make new loans. He hoped that these actions would cause a frustrated public to demand the passage of a new bank charter. Businessmen descended on Washington, D.C., to plead

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

What were some of Jackson's reasons for opposing the Second Bank of the United States?

Analyzing Political Cartoons

"KING ANDREW THE FIRST"

Andrew Jackson once justified his tendency to place personal prerogative above constitutional law or national policy by stating that "One man with courage makes a majority." His critics replied with accusations of tyranny. The *New York American* condemned Jackson as a "maniac," who would "trample the rights of our people under his feet." The Whig convention of 1834 declared, "your president has become your MONARCH."

Both of those sentiments are reflected in this political cartoon which portrays Jackson as a king. Ancient portraits of kings often depicted them grinding their conquered enemies beneath their heels. Notice that beneath Jackson's feet are the torn pages of the Constitution. Notice, too, that in one hand Jackson is holding a scepter, a symbol of kingly power, while in the other he is holding the veto, a symbol of presidential power.

SKILLBUILDER Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What does this cartoon suggest about Jackson's attitude towards the Constitution?
2. How does this cartoon specifically comment on Jackson's use of presidential power?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



with Jackson for help. Jackson firmly told them they were talking to the wrong man. “Go to Nicholas Biddle,” he said.

Pressure from financial leaders finally forced Biddle to adopt a more generous loan policy. However, the entire chain of events had by this time cost Biddle much of his backing. In 1836, when its charter expired, the Second Bank of the United States became just another Philadelphia bank. Five years later, it went out of business.

WHIG PARTY FORMS Jackson’s tactics and policies had angered many people, including some members of his own Democratic Party. In 1834 the discontented—including Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and Daniel Webster—channeled their frustrations into action; they formed a new political party called the **Whig Party**. The Whigs backed the ideals of the American System, as promoted by Henry Clay. Besides a protective tariff, they wanted to use federal money to construct roads and canals to foster the exchange of goods between regions. The Whigs also backed federal control of the banking system and a nationally accepted currency. **D**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

D Why was this a good time for the formation of the Whig Party?

Van Buren Deals with Jackson’s Legacy

When Jackson announced that he would not run for a third term, the Democrats chose Vice-President **Martin Van Buren** as their candidate. The newly formed Whig Party, which in 1836 was not able to agree on a single candidate, ran three regional candidates against him. With Jackson’s support Van Buren won the election easily. Along with the presidency, however, Van Buren inherited the dire consequences of Jackson’s bank war and money policies.

JACKSON’S LEGACY Many of Jackson’s pet banks—where federal funds had been deposited—were wildcat banks. These banks printed bank notes wildly in excess of the gold and silver they had on deposit, and were doomed to fail when many people attempted to redeem their currency for gold or silver.

Since the notes printed by wildcat banks were nearly worthless, the federal government was left holding the bag when people used them to purchase land from the government. Jackson realized what was happening. He caused the Treasury Department to issue an order that made only gold and silver, called specie, acceptable payment for public land. The order went into effect on August 15, 1836, and sent people rushing to banks to trade paper currency for gold and silver. In turn, many banks, which had limited specie, suspended the redemption of bank notes.

By May 1837, New York banks stopped accepting all paper currency. Other banks soon did the same. In the **panic of 1837**, bank closings and the collapse of the credit system cost many people their savings, bankrupted hundreds of businesses, and put more than a third of the population out of work.

Van Buren tried to help by reducing federal spending, but that caused already declining prices to drop further. Then he tried to set up an independent treasury that would use only gold and silver coin. In 1840 Congress established this treasury, but the demand for gold and silver it created only worsened matters. **E**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

E How did Jackson’s actions hurt the nation’s economy?

NOW & THEN

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS

In 1840, the campaign slogan “Tippecanoe and Tyler, too” helped William Henry Harrison win the White House. Harrison’s party, the Whigs, printed their slogan on ribbons, metal badges, and even dinner plates.

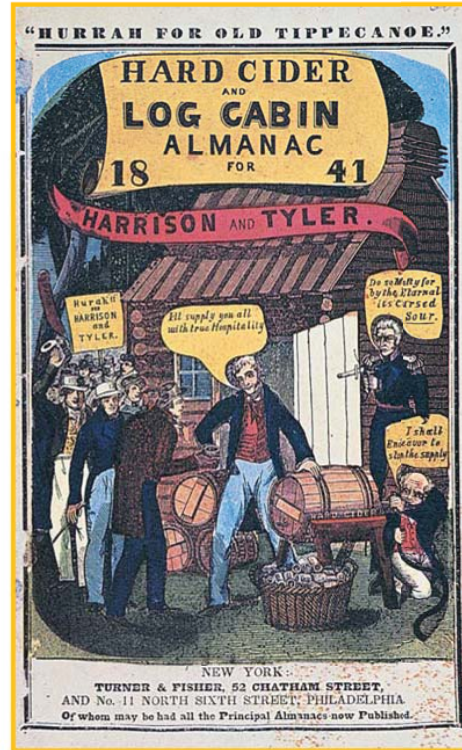
Today, politicians find TV an efficient way to reach a large audience. During the 2000 election cycle, political parties, candidates, and issue advocacy groups spent 77 percent more on TV ads than they had in 1996.

However, critics believe that television ads have a negative impact on the democratic process. Candidates outside the two-party system rarely can afford as many TV ads as the major-party candidates. In 1998, a presidential advisory committee recommended that TV stations voluntarily provide five minutes a day of candidate coverage to help balance this inequality; only seven percent of TV stations participated in 2000.

HARRISON AND TYLER That same year, the Democratic Party candidate Van Buren ran for reelection against Whig Party candidate **William Henry Harrison**—but this time the Whigs had an advantage. They portrayed Harrison, the old war hero, as a man of the people and Van Buren as a pampered, privileged aristocrat. Actually, Van Buren was more of a common man; he was the son of a tavern owner and never earned much money. Harrison, on the other hand, came from a wealthy family and lived in a 16-room mansion.

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

John Tyler, Harrison’s vice-president and successor, opposed many parts of the Whig program for economic recovery. The Whigs had put Tyler on the ballot to pick up Southern votes; they never thought he would play much of a role in government. During the next four years, however, they would see his inclusion on the ticket as a grave mistake—and would begin referring to President Tyler as “His Accidency.”



◀ An almanac cover celebrating the election of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler. His campaign symbols, hard cider (an alcoholic beverage) and a log cabin, were meant to show that Harrison was a man of the people.

SECTION 4

ASSESSMENT

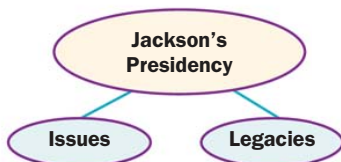
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Daniel Webster
- Bank of the United States
- Martin Van Buren
- William Henry Harrison
- John C. Calhoun
- Whig Party
- panic of 1837
- John Tyler
- Tariff of Abominations

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

In a chart like the one shown, list the key issues that Jackson confronted and the important legacies of his administration.



In what ways does one of these legacies continue today?

THINKING CRITICALLY

3. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS

In what ways do you think the tariff crises of 1828 and 1832 might be considered important milestones in American history before the Civil War? Use evidence from the text to support your response.

Think About:

- Calhoun’s nullification theory
- the Hayne-Webster debate
- why Jackson pushed Congress to pass the Force Bill

4. ANALYZING ISSUES

How do you think Jackson might have countered his critics’ accusation that he was acting like a king? Support your answer.

5. COMPARING

Compare the strategy William Henry Harrison used in the 1840 presidential campaign to strategies used in today’s political campaigns. In what ways are they alike? Give examples.

TERMS & NAMES

For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance during the early 19th century.

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Eli Whitney | 7. spoils system |
| 2. Industrial Revolution | 8. Trail of Tears |
| 3. John Quincy Adams | 9. Bank of the United States (BUS) |
| 4. nationalism | 10. Whig Party |
| 5. Missouri Compromise | |
| 6. Andrew Jackson | |

MAIN IDEAS

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

Regional Economies Create Differences

(pages 212–218)

1. What key changes in technology and methods of organizing manufacturing spurred the Industrial Revolution?
2. How did people in the Northeast, the South, and the West react to the Tariff of 1816?

Nationalism at Center Stage (pages 219–223)

3. Cite two ways in which the *Gibbons v. Ogden* decision set the stage for future Supreme Court rulings.
4. Why did conflict arise when Missouri requested admission into the Union?

The Age of Jackson (pages 224–229)

5. What changes occurred in the voting population and in voting patterns between the presidential elections of 1824 and 1828?
6. What alternatives did Jackson have in shaping a policy to tackle the problem of Native Americans?

States' Rights and the National Bank

(pages 230–235)

7. What measures was Jackson willing to take in response to South Carolina's threat to secede in 1832?
8. Why did Jackson oppose the Bank of the United States?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. **USING YOUR NOTES** Create a continuum similar to the one below, labeled with *compromise* at one end and *confrontation* at the other. Mark where you think Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun would fall on the continuum. Support your ratings by citing historical events in which these men played critical roles.



2. **HYPOTHESIZING** What do you think would have happened if the Indian Removal Act of 1830 had not been passed, and Native Americans had remained on their lands? Use evidence to support your answer.
3. **ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES** Read the quotation from John C. Calhoun. How does his choice of words reflect issues of the time? Explain your response.

“I never use the word ‘Nation’ in speaking of the United States. We are not a Nation, but a Union, a confederacy of equal and sovereign States.”

VISUAL SUMMARY**BALANCING NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM****FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO NATIONALISM**

- The American System
- U.S. Supreme Court under John Marshall
- John Quincy Adams's foreign policy
- Monroe Doctrine
- Missouri Compromise
- Westward expansion
- Indian Removal Act of 1830

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SECTIONALISM

- Industrial Revolution
- Development of different economic systems in the North and South
- Slavery
- Tariffs of 1828 and 1832



Standardized Test Practice

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

“Every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant . . . exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act [to recharter the Second Bank of the United States] before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.”

—Andrew Jackson, from *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1902*

- The excerpt suggests that Jackson’s vision of government’s role in a democracy is to —
 - address the rights and concerns of all citizens.
 - increase the power of wealthy citizens.
 - provide a national bank for its citizens.
 - support only the poor citizens.
- Which reason best explains why the theory of nullification was widely supported in the South?
 - Southerners believed that states had the right to determine whether federal laws were constitutional.
 - Southerners wanted to continue buying manufactured goods from Britain.
 - Southerners wanted to divide the United States into two separate countries.
 - Southerners did not want to pay the high tariffs that Congress passed.
- Two politicians who each were elected president after campaigning as the candidate of the “common man” were —
 - John C. Calhoun and Andrew Jackson.
 - William Henry Harrison and John Tyler.
 - Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison.
 - Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay.

ADDITIONAL TEST PRACTICE, pages S1–S33.

 **TEST PRACTICE** CLASSZONE.COM

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

-  **INTERACT WITH HISTORY** Recall your discussion of the question on page 211:

Would you support the federal or state government?

Now that you know more about the nullification theory and the fight over tariffs and states’ rights, would you change your response to this question? Discuss your thoughts with a small group. Then write a three-paragraph essay. State whether or not you would change your response and support your position with information from the chapter.

-  **INTERNET ACTIVITY** CLASSZONE.COM

Choose a technological development of the early 1800s and write an application to patent it. Visit the Chapter Assessment links for research leads. Possible inventions include the cotton gin, the steam engine, and the spinning mule.

- Include a picture of what you are applying to patent and refer to it in your application. (Draw a picture yourself or download or copy one.)
- Describe how the invention works, what it accomplishes, what kind of labor it requires, and its effects on how people live or work.
- Display the patent application in your classroom.