An engraving titled "Stump Speaking" showing a man in a dark coat and hat standing and speaking to a large group of people seated on the ground. The scene is outdoors, with a simple wooden building in the background. The people are dressed in 19th-century attire, including hats and coats. The overall atmosphere is one of a public gathering or election rally.

*“[President] Jackson is the majority's slave; he yields to its intentions, desires, and half-revealed instincts, or rather he anticipates...them.”*

—Alexis de Tocqueville,  
*Democracy in America, 1835*

This engraving, *Stump Speaking*, captures the energy of an election rally during the era of Jacksonian democracy.

# CHAPTER 10

## What You Will Learn

### Section 1

#### **BUILDING A NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Congress, the President, and the Supreme Court all acted to increase federal authority.

### Section 2

#### **DEALING WITH OTHER NATIONS**

By issuing the Monroe Doctrine the United States signaled its interest in shaping events in the Americas.

### Section 3

#### **THE AGE OF JACKSON**

There was a growing spirit of democracy during Andrew Jackson's presidency.

### Section 4

#### **INDIAN REMOVAL**

Despite a Supreme Court ruling in their favor, Native Americans of the Southeast were forced to move.

### Section 5

#### **STATES' RIGHTS AND THE ECONOMY**

Andrew Jackson fought the Bank of the United States and stood firm against a state's threat to secede.

### Reading Skill

**Analyze Cause and Effect** In this chapter, you will learn to identify causes and their effects to help connect and understand historical events and issues.



# How did the nation reflect a growing

## A Changing Nation

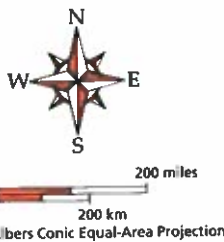
### Growing National Power, 1815–1840

- 1 **Building Infrastructure:** Government uses tax revenues to build a network of canals and roads.
- 2 **Second Bank of the United States:** Congress reestablishes the national bank to issue loans and control the money supply.
- 3 **Protective Tariffs:** Congress passes taxes on foreign goods to help American manufacturers.
- 4 **Supreme Court Rulings:** Court promotes national economic growth and the power of the federal government.
- 5 **Relations With Spain:** Andrew Jackson recaptures runaway slaves in Spanish Florida; attack leads Spain to sell Florida to the United States.
- 6 **Monroe Doctrine:** United States will not allow European colonies or influence in the Americas.
- 7 **Relations With Canada:** Border disputes are settled with Britain; United States further stabilizes its northern border.
- 8 **Indian Removal:** Native Americans are pressured to move west of the Mississippi; some leave Southeast peacefully, others removed by force.
- 9 **Nullification Crisis:** South Carolina cancels federal tariff laws and threatens to secede; Jackson and Calhoun divided over states' rights.

**OREGON COUNTRY**  
(Occupied jointly by U.S. and Great Britain)

**SPANISH TERRITORY**

*Jackson's Landslide Victory*



**Election of 1828**

- Andrew Jackson (Democrat)
- John Quincy Adams (National Republican)



**U.S. Events**

Congress passes Tariff of 1816.

**1816**

**1819**

*McCulloch v. Maryland* strengthens federal government.

**1823**

Monroe Doctrine is issued.

**1810**

**1818**

**1826**



**World Events**

Spain cedes Florida to United States.

**1819**

**1821**

Spain recognizes independence of Mexico.

# sense of national pride and identity?



VISUAL PREVIEW

KEY	
<span style="display:inline-block; width:15px; height:10px; background-color:lightgreen; border:1px solid black;"></span>	United States
<span style="display:inline-block; width:15px; border-bottom:1px solid black;"></span>	Roads
<span style="display:inline-block; width:15px; border-bottom:1px dashed black;"></span>	Canals
<span style="display:inline-block; width:15px; height:10px; background-color:lightcoral; border:1px solid black;"></span>	Indian removal

1826

1834

1837

1838-1839

1842

Act of Union unites Upper and Lower Canada.

1841



## Drawing the Country Together

“There are existing powers in Congress to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, the effect of which would be to draw the different parts of the country more closely together.”

—Henry Clay, speech to House of Representatives, 1818

◀ Seaports like Charleston (left) were vital to America’s growing economy.

# Building a National Identity

## Objectives

- Describe the feeling of national unity that followed the War of 1812.
- Explain how Congress tried to strengthen the national economy.
- Discuss how Supreme Court rulings supported federal power and economic growth.

## Reading Skill

**Analyze Cause and Effect** Events in history are often linked by cause and effect. This means that one event makes another happen. However, you cannot assume that because events occur together or in sequence they have a cause-and-effect link. Ask yourself: Why did this event or result happen? What happened because of this event? The answers will show if a cause-and-effect relationship exists.

## Key Terms and People

Henry Clay	contract
John C. Calhoun	capitalism
Daniel Webster	interstate commerce
charter	
dumping	

**Why It Matters** With peace restored after the War of 1812, the United States focused more on internal affairs. American leaders wanted to build national unity and improve the nation’s economy.

**Section Focus Question: How was the power of the federal government strengthened during the Era of Good Feelings?**

## The Era of Good Feelings

With the end of the War of 1812, the Republicans took firm control of the government. The presidential election of 1816 resulted in a landslide victory for Republican candidate James Monroe of Virginia. He defeated Rufus King, the Federalist candidate, by 183 to 34 electoral votes. Stung by this defeat, the Federalist Party began to lose power. Within a few years, the party had disappeared.

President Monroe wanted to promote national unity. In the spring and summer of 1817, he made a goodwill circuit of the middle and northern sections of the country. He was warmly greeted in Connecticut and Massachusetts, the only states that had not voted for him in 1816. The old arguments over the War of 1812 seemed to have faded away.

While Monroe was in Boston, a local newspaper described the new sense of national unity as the “Era of Good Feelings.” The name stuck and was used to describe Monroe’s two terms in office. When he ran for reelection in 1820, no candidate opposed him.

**Checkpoint** What happened to the Federalist Party after the War of 1812?

## Building the National Economy

After 1815, many Americans believed the federal government should take action to increase economic prosperity in all regions of the country. Even the Republicans began to see merit in certain federal programs. This was a change, because in previous years Republicans had been known for stressing states' rights. Support for federal measures to promote economic prosperity came from many regions.

These beliefs were expressed by a number of bright young members of Congress from different regions. Outstanding among those who favored federal action were **Henry Clay** of Kentucky, **John C. Calhoun** of South Carolina, and **Daniel Webster** of Massachusetts.

- Clay spoke for people in the West who thought the country needed better roads and canals to transport goods from one region to another.
- Calhoun spoke for the interests of the South. While first a defender of national unity, he later put more emphasis on the idea of states' rights.
- Webster became a spokesperson for the Northeast. At first, he opposed high tariffs, but he later came to support them as a way of protecting industry.



### Analyze Cause and Effect

Explain what Americans believed was needed to make national unity grow. What would cause that growth to happen?

### Vocabulary Builder

**emphasis** (EM fuh sis) *n.* special importance or significance



## New Leaders Speak for Their Regions

During the Era of Good Feelings, three young members of Congress became spokespersons for their regions.

### Daniel Webster - Massachusetts

*He supported tariffs because they allowed New England's factories to compete against European manufacturers.*

### John C. Calhoun - South Carolina

*He opposed tariffs because they raised the price of goods that southerners bought.*

### Henry Clay - Kentucky

*He supported the construction of roads and canals because they would enable the three regions of the country to trade with one another.*

### Critical Thinking: Apply

**Information** Which of the three leaders would you expect to be the strongest supporter of slavery? Explain.

**How Tariffs Work**

By increasing the cost of imported goods, tariffs helped U.S. manufacturers to compete with foreign manufacturers. But the higher prices hurt consumers.

**Critical Thinking: Identify**

**Economic Costs** Why was the cost of cloth higher in the United States than in Britain?

	United States	Great Britain
Cost of cloth	\$6.00	\$5.00
Cost to manufacture final product	\$0.85	\$0.50
Shipping costs	\$0.20	\$0.25
Tariff	—	\$1.50
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$7.05</b>	<b>\$7.25</b>

**The Second Bank of the United States** As you have read, Congress passed a law in 1791 creating the first Bank of the United States. In 1811, the Bank ceased to exist. Its **charter**—a legal document giving certain rights to a person or company—had run out. Without the Bank, the economy suffered. State banks made too many loans and issued too much money. This caused an increase in spending and led to rising prices.

To cure these problems, Congress established the second Bank of the United States in 1816. Like the first Bank, the new Bank was privately owned and had a charter to operate for twenty years. It lent money to individuals and controlled the money supply. This gave a boost to American businesses.

**The Tariff of 1816** Another problem the nation faced after the War of 1812 was foreign competition. Most British goods had been kept out of the United States by the Embargo Act and the War of 1812. This helped American industry grow rapidly. New American factories made textiles, smelted iron, and produced many other products.

After the War of 1812, British manufacturers looked to sell their goods in the United States. They could still produce goods more cheaply than the Americans because they had well-established factories and more customers. This gave the British an opportunity to drive their American competitors out of business by dumping their goods in the United States. **Dumping** is selling goods in another country below market prices.

British dumping caused dozens of New England businesses to fail. As their investments collapsed, angry factory owners turned to Congress for help. They demanded protective tariffs to raise the price of foreign goods.

Congress responded with the Tariff of 1816, which put a tax on foreign textiles, iron, leather goods, paper, and other products. In 1818 and 1824, Congress passed even higher tariffs.

These tariffs were popular in the North, where most factories were located. However, the tariffs were deeply resented in the South, where they forced southerners to pay more for their goods. John C. Calhoun became a bitter foe of tariffs. He argued that they made northern manufacturers rich at the expense of the South.

**Clay's American System** As the debate over tariffs raged, Henry Clay came up with a plan that he believed would help the economy of each section of the country. He called his plan the American System. It proposed high tariffs and a federal program of public works.

Clay believed that high tariffs helped all regions of the country, not just the North. According to Clay, the wealth produced by tariffs would enable northerners to buy farm products from the West and the South. The tariff also would provide revenue for the federal government. The government could then use the money to build up the infrastructure—roads, bridges, and canals—in the South and West.

Clay's American System never fully became government policy. Presidents Madison and Monroe both refused to support some of Clay's projects. Also, southerners continued to oppose protective tariffs. They were not convinced by Clay's argument that high tariffs would aid the South in the long run.

**✓Checkpoint** According to Henry Clay, how would his American System benefit the economy?

## Three Important Supreme Court Rulings

The Supreme Court also promoted national economic growth and the power of the federal government during this era. Led by Chief Justice John Marshall, a Federalist sympathizer, the Court issued a series of important rulings between 1819 and 1824.

In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), the Court protected the second Bank of the United States. The case grew out of an attempt by the state of Maryland to put a tax on the branch of the Bank operating in that state. The Bank refused to pay the tax.

The Court's 1819 decision, written by Marshall, strengthened the power of the federal government. It ruled that states had no power to interfere with federal institutions. A tax, said the Court, was a dangerous interference because "the power to tax involves the power to destroy." Moreover, according to Marshall, a state cannot pass any law that violates a federal law. This reasoning would be used in future years to expand the power of the federal government.

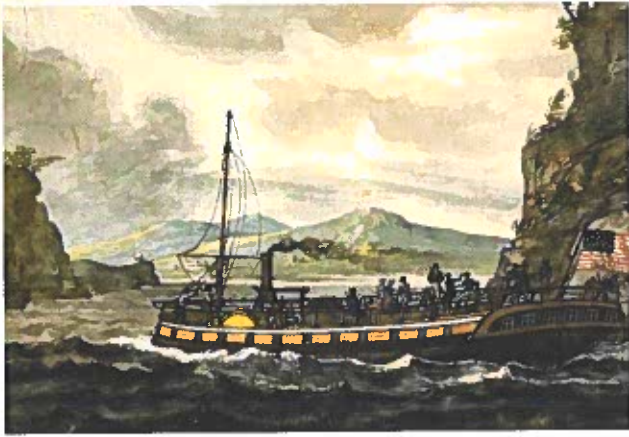


### **British Leather Boots**

The U.S. tariff on imports such as leather goods helped New England manufacturers to compete.

### **Vocabulary Builder**

**infrastructure** (IHN frah struhk chahr) *n.* basic public works, like bridges and roads, needed for a society to function



### Interstate Commerce

No individual state could grant a monopoly to a steamboat company to use a river that divides two states, the Supreme Court ruled in *Gibbons v. Ogden*.

Two other decisions helped shape American life. In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), the Court ruled that the charter of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire was a private contract. A **contract is an agreement between two or more parties that can be enforced by law**. Since the Constitution protected private contracts, New Hampshire could not change Dartmouth's charter. In protecting private contracts, the Court was protecting private businesses. In doing that, it helped promote **capitalism—the economic system in which privately owned businesses compete in a free market**.

In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Court again supported federal power. It ruled that New York State could not give a steamboat company a monopoly to carry passengers on the Hudson River. The Court pointed out that travel on the Hudson River included stops in New Jersey as well as New York. Therefore, it was **interstate commerce—trade between two or more states**. Under the Constitution, only Congress can regulate interstate commerce. Again, the Court had strengthened the federal government at the expense of the states.

**✓ Checkpoint** How did the Supreme Court ruling in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* support economic growth?

**★ Looking Back and Ahead** Americans turned their attention to economic growth after the War of 1812. But while Americans were debating Henry Clay's American System, events in Latin America were drawing the concern of American leaders.

## Section 1 | Check Your Progress

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### Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) **Recall** Which groups supported and which opposed tariffs?  
(b) **Draw Conclusions** Do you think the American System offered a good solution to regional differences? Explain.
- (a) **Recall** What did *McCulloch v. Maryland* decide?  
(b) **Compare** What did the Supreme Court decisions in *McCulloch v. Maryland* and *Gibbons v. Ogden* have in common?

### Reading Skill

- Analyze Cause and Effect**  
Reread the text following the headings "The Tariff of 1816" and "Clay's American System." What did Clay believe would result from high tariffs?

### Key Terms

- Fill in the blanks with the correct key terms.
- To set up the Bank of the United States, the government granted it a \_\_\_\_\_.
  - Private businesses compete in the American economic system called \_\_\_\_\_.

### Writing

- Decide which is the best closing sentence for an essay on James Monroe. Explain your choice.  
**Sentences:**
  - James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, won two landslide victories.
  - Clearly, James Monroe deserved to have his presidency called the Era of Good Feelings.
  - James Monroe is, without a doubt, one of the greatest men ever elected President.





### The Monroe Doctrine

“In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part. . . . We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.”

—President James Monroe,  
address to Congress, 1823

◀ President James Monroe

## Dealing With Other Nations

### Objectives

- Explain why Spain ceded Florida to the United States.
- Describe how Spanish territories in the Americas gained independence.
- Explain why the Monroe Doctrine was issued.
- Discuss how Canada became self-governing.

### Reading Skill

**Identify Multiple Effects** As you read about historical events, note that some events have multiple, or more than one, effects. Several effects may happen at the same time or one effect may lead to the next. As you read this section, look for multiple effects of each event.

### Key Terms and People

cede  
Miguel Hidalgo  
Simón Bolívar  
James Monroe

John Quincy Adams  
self-government

**Why It Matters** After the War of 1812, the United States took a firm position against European influence in the Americas. President Monroe established a policy that would have a lasting impact on U.S. relations with Latin America.

**Section Focus Question: How did U.S. foreign affairs reflect new national confidence?**

### Relations With Spain

At the time of the War of 1812, the United States and Haiti were the only parts of the Americas not under European control. Spain controlled more territory in the Americas than any other European country. However, Spain’s power had steadily weakened over several hundred years.

Spain’s control was especially weak in Florida. Spain could not stop enslaved African Americans who escaped from plantations in Georgia and Alabama from crossing into Florida. Once in Florida, many of the escapees joined the Seminole Nation. The Seminoles often crossed into the United States to raid American settlements.

In 1817, the U.S. government sent Andrew Jackson to recapture those who had escaped slavery. Jackson attacked and destroyed Seminole villages. He then went far beyond his orders. He seized two important Spanish towns and forced the governor to flee Florida.

Jackson’s attack on Florida showed that the United States could take over Florida whenever it wanted. Since Spain could not protect Florida, it decided to give up the territory. In the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819, Spain **ceded**, or **gave up**, Florida to the United States.

**Checkpoint** What effect did Andrew Jackson’s attack on Florida have on the government of Spain?

## Spanish Colonies Win Independence

By 1810, opposition to Spanish rule ran strong in Spain's American colonies. The American and French revolutions had inspired Latin Americans to want to control their own affairs. Revolutionary movements were growing in almost all of the Spanish colonies. Spain seemed unable to control the pressure for change in Latin America.

**Mexico Breaks Away** Mexico's struggle for independence began in 1810. In that year, Father **Miguel Hidalgo** (ee DAHL goh) organized an army of Native Americans that freed several Mexican provinces. However, in 1811, Hidalgo was captured and executed by troops loyal to Spain.

Another revolution broke out in Mexico in 1820. This time, Spain was unable to end the fighting. In 1821, Spain agreed to Mexico's independence.

At first, Mexico was ruled by an emperor. Then, in 1823, the monarchy was overthrown. A new constitution, patterned after the United States Constitution, made Mexico a federal republic of nineteen states and four territories.

**Independence for South and Central America** South America, too, was affected by revolutionary change. Here, the best-known leader of the struggle for independence from Spain was **Simón Bolívar** (see MOHN boh LEE vahr).

### Vocabulary Builder

**province** (PRAHV ahns)

**n.** governmental division of a country, similar to a state



### Identify Multiple Effects

What other nations were influenced by the American and French revolutions?



## New Nations of Latin America

## MAP MASTER

### Skills Activity

Wars of independence led to the creation of many new countries in Latin America in the first half of the 1800s.

(a) **Read a Map** What parts of Latin America remained colonies of European nations?

(b) **Apply Information** Use the world map in the Atlas in this textbook to identify how the border between the United States and Mexico has changed.

### MapMaster Online

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Bolívar is often called the Liberator for his role in leading independence movements in the northern part of South America. In August 1819, he led an army on a daring march from Venezuela over the ice-capped Andes Mountains and into Colombia. There, he defeated the Spanish and became president of the independent Republic of Great Colombia. It included today's nations of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama.

Farther north, the people of Central America declared their independence from Spain in 1821. Two years later, they formed the United Provinces of Central America. It included today's nations of Nicaragua, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala.

In 1822, Brazil announced its independence from Portugal. Soon after, the United States recognized the independence of Mexico and six other former colonies in Central and South America. By 1825, most parts of Latin America had thrown off European rule.

 **Checkpoint** Why was Miguel Hidalgo important to the history of Mexico?

## The Monroe Doctrine

The future of these new countries was soon clouded. Several European powers, including France and Russia, indicated that they might help Spain regain its colonies.

This worried President **James Monroe** and Secretary of State **John Quincy Adams**. It also worried the British. Both nations wanted to protect trade with Latin America. In 1823, Britain suggested that the two countries issue a joint statement. The statement would announce their determination to protect the freedom of the new nations of Latin America.

Adams told President Monroe he thought the United States should take action alone. He believed a joint statement would make the United States look like Britain's junior partner. Monroe agreed.

In a message to Congress in December 1823, the President stated what is known as the Monroe Doctrine. The United States would not allow European nations to create American colonies or interfere with the free nations of Latin America. The United States would consider any attempt to do so "dangerous to our peace and safety."

At the time, the United States was not strong enough to block European action. Only the British navy could do that. As U.S. power grew, however, the Monroe Doctrine boosted the influence of the United States in the region.

 **Checkpoint** What was Adams's advice to Monroe?

## Links Across Time

### Beyond the Monroe Doctrine

**1823** The Monroe Doctrine warned European nations not to interfere in Latin America.

**1900s** U.S. Presidents cited the Monroe Doctrine to justify armed actions in Latin America. The actions often angered Latin Americans.

**1930s** President Franklin D. Roosevelt launched a Good Neighbor Policy. It stressed cooperation and trade to promote U.S. interests in the hemisphere.

### Link to Today

**Connection to Today** What is the state of our relations with the countries of Latin America today?

**For:** U.S. relations with Latin America today

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## Relations With Canada


Canada remained a British colony after the American Revolution. In 1791, the country was divided into two parts. Upper Canada was mainly English, and Lower Canada was mainly French. In 1837, there were rebellions against British rule in both parts of Canada.

Although the British put down the rebellions, they learned a lesson. They could no longer deny rights to Canadians. Britain would have to give Canadians more powers of **self-government—the right of people to rule themselves independently**. The Act of Union of 1841 was a major step in that direction. It merged Canada's two parts into a single unit governed by a Canadian legislature. Britain, however, still had ultimate control.

Canada and the United States had their own disagreements. Tensions were particularly high when the United States unsuccessfully tried to invade Canada during the War of 1812.

The situation slowly improved after the war. Between 1818 and 1846, the United States and Britain settled several border disputes regarding Canada. Eventually, the United States and Canada established excellent relations. Their relations remain strong to this day.

 **Checkpoint** Why did Britain grant some self-government to Canada?

 **Looking Back and Ahead** The Monroe Doctrine convinced Americans that their southern borders were safe from European expansion. Treaties with Britain lessened the tensions along the northern border with Canada. With a new sense of confidence, Americans prepared to make great strides on the **domestic** front. The 1820s and 1830s would see an upsurge in the democratic spirit.

### Vocabulary Builder

**domestic** (doh MEHS tihk) *adj.*  
relating to one's country; internal

Section 2

## Check Your Progress

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### Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) **Summarize** What was the Monroe Doctrine?

(b) **Clarify Problems** Would the United States have looked weak if it had jointly issued a warning with Britain? Explain.
- (a) **List** Name six of today's Latin American countries that were independent by 1825.

(b) **Identify Economic Benefits** How did Great Britain and the United States benefit from the independence of Spain's American colonies?

### Reading Skill

- Identify Multiple Effects** European powers, such as France and Russia, considered helping Spain regain its South and Central American colonies. What were the effects of this situation? Reread the text under the heading "The Monroe Doctrine."

### Key Terms

- Answer the following questions in complete sentences that show your understanding of the key terms.
- What did Spain **cede** to the United States in the Adams-Onís Treaty?

- How did Canadians benefit when Britain granted them more **self-government**?

### Writing

- Revise the following sentences to make them flow better.  
**Sentences:** The Monroe Doctrine stated that the United States would not allow Spain to take back its former colonies. The doctrine helped the new Latin American states remain free. The doctrine supported the cause of democracy in the Western Hemisphere.

**Jackson Forever!**  
The Hero of Two Wars and of Orleans!  
**The Man of the People!**  
HE WHO COULD NOT BARTER HIS HAIR FOR THE  
**PRESIDENCY!**

Although a "Military Chieftain," valued the purity of elections and of the  
office, MORE than the Office of PRESIDENT itself! Although the greatest  
gift of his countrymen, and the highest in point of dignity of any in the world.

**BECAUSE**  
It should be derived from the  
**PEOPLE!**

No King! No Black Chamber! No Reign of Terror! No Standing Army  
of Vices Officers, who under the pretense of Government, to break out, as

**KNOCK DOWN**

the Revolutionary Principles, or our Representatives while in the discharge of  
their duty. For the Poll-tax and vote for those who will support  
**OLD HICKORY**  
AND THE ELECTORAL LAW.

### Election Fever

“The election fever which is constantly raging through the land . . . engrosses every conversation, it irritates every temper, it substitutes party spirit for personal esteem. . . .”

—Frances Trollope, comments on the election of 1832

◀ Supporters of Andrew Jackson were proud of his military exploits and elected him President.

# The Age of Jackson

## Objectives

- Discuss the conflict between Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams over the election of 1824.
- Explain how the right to vote expanded in the United States.
- Describe Andrew Jackson’s victory in the election of 1828.

## Reading Skill

**Identify Short-Term Effects** Some events have effects that take place shortly after the event. Other events create changes that last only a short time. Both of these types of effects are short-term effects. As you read Section 3, look for examples of the short-term effects of events.

## Key Terms and People

**Andrew Jackson**  
**suffrage**  
**caucus**

**nominating convention**  
**spoils system**

**Why It Matters** The Constitution had established a system based on representative government. But not all citizens could fully participate in the early American republic. During the Age of Jackson, however, the democratic spirit grew and more Americans played an active role in government.

**Section Focus Question: How did the people gain more power during the Age of Jackson?**

## Adams and Jackson in Conflict

**Andrew Jackson** served two terms as President, from 1829 to 1837. His presidency marked the opening of a new and more democratic era in American political life. So great was his influence that the twenty-year period after he became President is often called the Age of Jackson.

Andrew Jackson was a wealthy man by the time he became President. However, he began life with very little. Born in a log cabin on the border of North and South Carolina, he was an orphan by the age of 14. Jackson was ambitious, brave, and tough. He survived smallpox as a child and severe gunshot wounds as an adult.

During a difficult march with his troops in 1812, one soldier described him as “tough as hickory.” Hickory trees are extremely strong, and their wood is very hard. The description fit Jackson so well that it stuck as a nickname. Jackson became known as Old Hickory.

Jackson stood for the idea that ordinary people should participate in American political life. As a general and later as President, Andrew Jackson was deeply loved by millions of ordinary Americans. They loved him for his humble beginnings and his firm leadership.

**The Election of 1824** Jackson first ran for President in 1824. His opponents were John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and William H. Crawford of Georgia. Jackson received the most electoral votes, but not a majority. According to the Constitution, the House of Representatives would have to decide the election.

The choice was between Jackson and Adams, the two who had received the most votes. As Speaker of the House, Clay had great influence. He told his supporters to vote for Adams. The House then elected Adams on the first ballot.

Jackson **reacted** with fury. He had won the most popular votes and the most electoral votes, but still had lost the election. When Adams appointed Clay secretary of state, Jackson's supporters claimed the two men had made a "corrupt bargain."

**The Presidency of John Quincy Adams** Adams was burdened by the charges of a secret deal. He accomplished little, even though he had ambitious plans for the nation. He supported Clay's American System and wanted the federal government to play a larger role in supporting the American economy.

Adams proposed a national program to build roads and canals and a high tariff to protect industry. He also planned to set up a national university and an observatory for astronomers in Washington, D.C. However, he lacked the political skill to push his programs through Congress. Adams never won the trust of the American people. As a result, he served only one term.

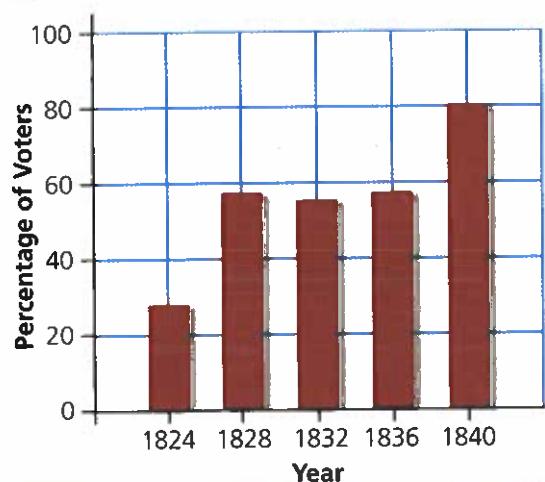
### Vocabulary Builder

**react** (ree AKT) *v.* to act in response to another action

## ● INFOGRAPHIC

# Democracy in Action

**Voter Participation in Presidential Elections, 1824–1840**



The Age of Jackson saw the first stirrings of democracy in action in the United States. More men could and did vote, and many more people joined political parties and participated in election campaigns.

It would be many years until women and African Americans also gained the right to vote. However, the kinds of political contests that are familiar to Americans today had their beginnings in the presidential elections of the 1820s and 1830s. **Critical Thinking:** *Draw Conclusions* Why would people become more actively involved in political campaigns as the right to vote was extended to new groups?

Despite his failures, Adams was an eloquent supporter of what he saw as America's special place in the world. He stated his ideas in a Fourth of July speech in 1821. He said the United States had no designs on the territory of other nations:

“Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her [America's] heart, . . . and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all.”

—John Quincy Adams, Fourth of July 1821 Address

**✓Checkpoint** Why did Jackson's supporters claim there had been a “corrupt bargain” in the election of 1824?

## A New Era in Politics

The election of 1824 disappointed Andrew Jackson and his followers. Still, that election began a new era in American politics.

Back in the 1790s, states had begun extending **suffrage**—the right to vote. Many states dropped the requirement that men had to own property to be able to **participate** in voting. Voting requirements varied slightly from state to state. However, almost all adult white males now could vote and hold office.

### Vocabulary Builder

**participate** (pah-TEEHS-ah-payt)

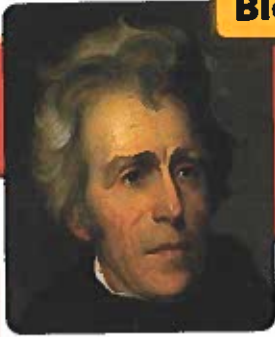
**v.** to take part in; to share in an activity



◀ *The County Election,*  
George Caleb Bingham

◀ Portrait of Andrew  
Jackson shown inside  
a souvenir box from  
an early presidential  
campaign.

## Biography Quest



**Andrew Jackson**  
1767–1845

Andrew Jackson was a Tennessee landowner, lawyer, and judge. His military campaigns against the British in the War of 1812 and against Native Americans in Florida made him a war hero. Political opponents called him a country hick. But supporters admired him as a self-made man who spoke out for ordinary people. His election as President was a sign that the United States was becoming a more democratic nation.

### Biography Quest

**How did Jackson gain a reputation as a supporter of ordinary people?**

**For:** The answer to the question about Jackson

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### Identify Short-Term Effects

What was the immediate effect of using nominating conventions to choose presidential candidates?

States also were changing how they chose presidential electors. Previously, state legislatures chose them. Now, that right went to the voters. In 1824, voters chose the presidential electors in 18 out of 24 states.

Of course, suffrage was still restricted in the United States. Women could not participate in government. Nor could enslaved African Americans, male or female. In most states, even free African Americans could not vote.

### Democracy in the Age of Jackson

Extending the right to vote was part of a larger spread of democratic ideas. Supporters of Andrew Jackson believed that ordinary people should vote in elections, hold public office, and do anything else they had the ability to do. Jackson's supporters strongly opposed special privileges for those of high social status.

Wealthy observers were sometimes dismayed by this spirit of equality. One visitor complained, "the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the polite and the vulgar, all . . . feed at the same table."

Jackson and his supporters did not trust government. They believed it often favored the rich and powerful. The Jacksonians also were suspicious of banks, which they believed favored the rich.

### New Political Parties

The Age of Jackson brought back the two-party system that had briefly ended during the Era of Good Feelings. During the 1824 election, the Republican Party split. Supporters of Adams called themselves National Republicans. Jackson's supporters used the name Democrats.

In 1831, the National Republicans nominated Henry Clay to run against Jackson. Jackson won easily, with strength in all parts of the country. However, by 1836, the anti-Jackson forces had formed a new party, the Whigs. From then until 1852, the Democrats and the Whigs were the country's two major political parties.

The new parties adopted a new way of choosing their presidential candidates. Previously, a party's members of Congress held a **caucus**—a meeting of members of a political party. These caucuses involved only a small group of people. Beginning in 1831, political parties started holding national **nominating conventions**—large meetings of party delegates to choose candidates for office. National conventions opened the nominating process to many more people and made it more democratic.

 **Checkpoint** Which groups did not benefit from increased suffrage in the United States?



## Jackson Becomes President

Three times as many people voted in the election of 1828 as had voted in 1824. Most of these new voters supported Jackson, who easily defeated Adams.

The election revealed growing sectional and class divisions among American voters. Jackson did best in the West and the South, where planters and small farmers supported him. He also did well among small business people, artisans, and workers in cities and towns nationwide. Adams was most popular in his home region of New England.

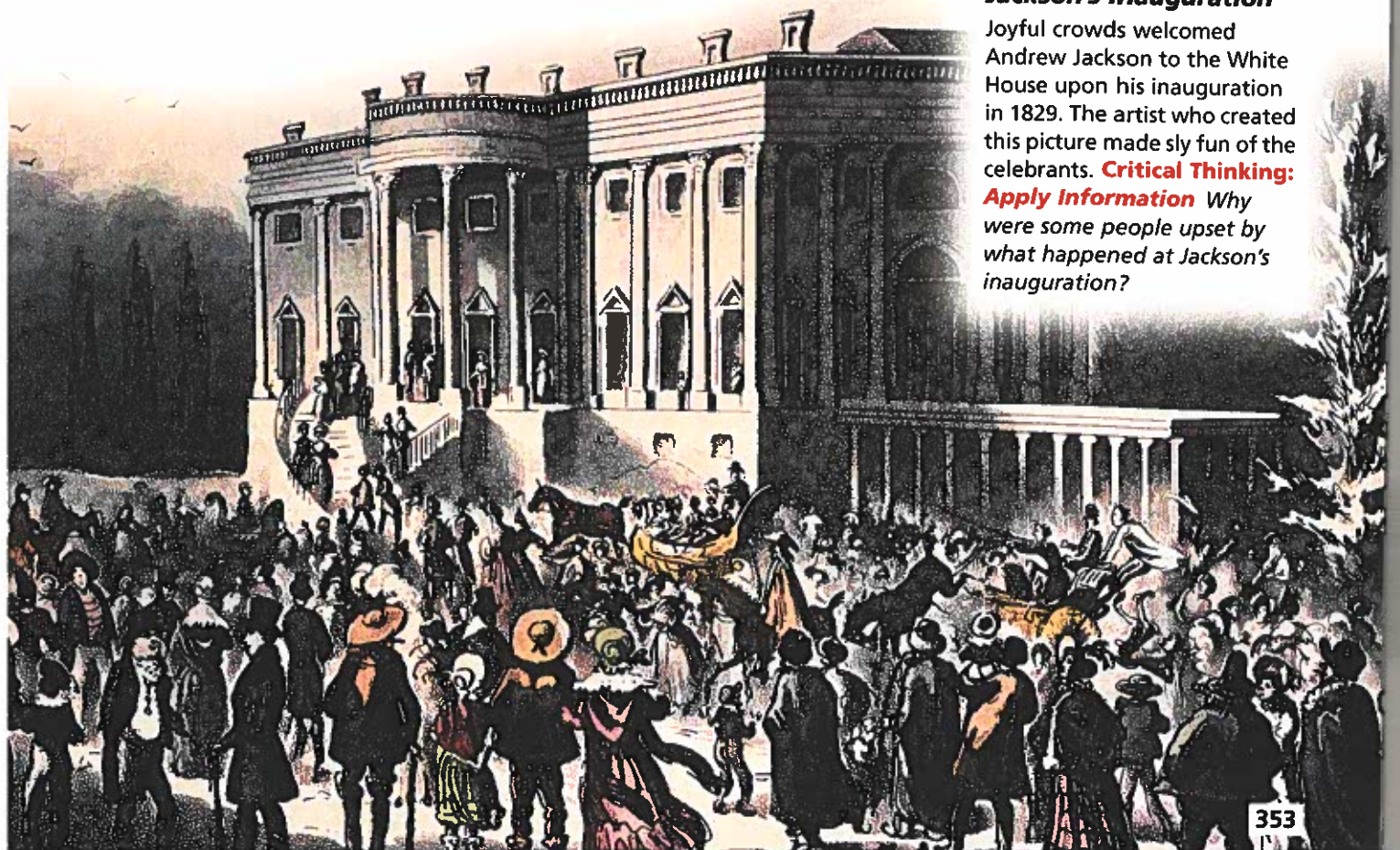
**Jackson's Inauguration** Jackson's supporters called the election a victory for the "common man." His inauguration in March 1829 showed what they meant. Thousands of ordinary working people jammed into Washington for the event. After the inauguration at the Capitol, Jackson rode a horse to the White House. A journalist described the scene:

“As far as the eye could reach, the sidewalks of the Avenue were covered with people on foot . . . with . . . carriages and persons on horseback. . . . For a full half hour, I stood waiting for the stream to run by; but like a never failing fountain people continued pouring forth.”

—Amos Kendall in the *Argus of Western America*,  
March 29, 1829

### **Jackson's Inauguration**

Joyful crowds welcomed Andrew Jackson to the White House upon his inauguration in 1829. The artist who created this picture made sly fun of the celebrants. **Critical Thinking:** **Apply Information** Why were some people upset by what happened at Jackson's inauguration?




Twenty thousand people crowded in and around the White House for a reception in Jackson's honor. They did not all behave well. Some broke furniture, spilled drinks, trampled rugs, and broke several thousand dollars worth of glassware and dishes. Officials finally lured the unruly crowd outside by moving the punch bowl onto the White House lawn.

Jackson's opponents were shocked. One member of the Supreme Court complained about the "reign of King Mob." A Jackson supporter saw things more positively: "It was the People's day, and the People's President, and the People would rule."

**The Spoils of Victory** Jackson began his term by replacing some government officials with his supporters. Previous Presidents had done the same thing. In fact, during his two terms Jackson replaced only about 20 percent of federal officeholders.

The difference was that Jackson openly defended what he was doing. He claimed putting new people into government jobs furthered democracy. One of his supporters put it more selfishly when he compared the process to a conquering army after a war, saying "to the victors belong the spoils [loot]." People quickly applied the term **spoils system** to the practice of rewarding government jobs to loyal supporters of the party that wins an election.

 **Checkpoint** How did Andrew Jackson justify the spoils system?

 **Looking Back and Ahead** As President, Andrew Jackson supported the right of ordinary people to participate in government. Jackson's belief in equality, however, left out many, including Native Americans. In the next section, you will read how government policies denied basic rights to Native Americans.

## Section 3 | Check Your Progress

### Progress Monitoring Online

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### Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) Recall** What was the "corrupt bargain"?

**(b) Evaluate Information** Who benefited from accusations of a "corrupt bargain"?
- (a) Recall** How did the United States become more democratic between the 1790s and the 1830s?

**(b) Draw Conclusions** How did these democratic changes contribute to Jackson's election in 1828?

### Reading Skill

- Identify Short-Term Effects**  
What was the immediate effect when Henry Clay told his supporters to vote for Adams?

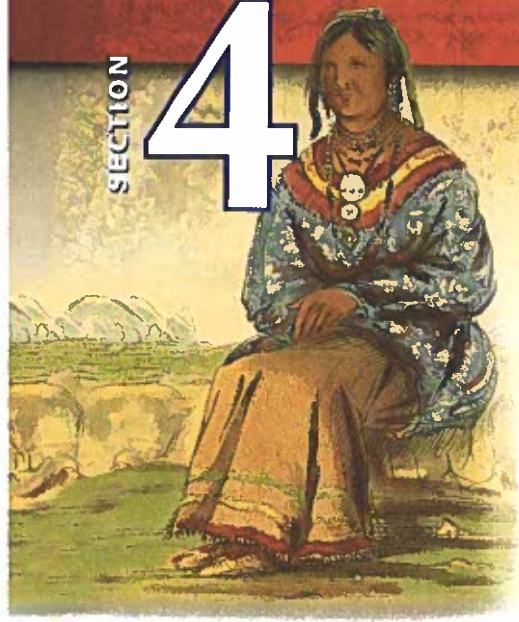
### Key Terms

- Read each sentence below. If the sentence is true, write YES. If the sentence is not true, write NO and explain why.
- By 1828, **suffrage** had been extended to white women and African Americans.
  - In 1824, a **nominating convention** chose John Quincy Adams to run for President.

- Tens of thousands of ordinary citizens showed up for the **caucus** celebrating Jackson's victory.

### Writing

- Using vivid, specific words will make your writing livelier and more accurate. Rewrite these sentences using more specific, colorful words. **Sentences:** Many people liked Andrew Jackson, and he was very popular. People liked Jackson better than John Quincy Adams. They felt Jackson was a man of the people and Adams was not a man of the people.



### Jackson's Viewpoint

“It will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier and render the adjacent states strong enough to repel future invasions without remote aid . . . and enable those states to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power.”

—Andrew Jackson, explaining the benefits of Indian removal, 1830

◀ Seminole woman

## Indian Removal

### Objectives

- Describe the culture of Native Americans in the Southeast.
- Describe the conflict over land occupied by Native Americans in the Southeast.
- Discuss the forced removal of Native Americans.

### 🎯 Reading Skill

**Identify Long-Term Effects** Many historical events have long-term effects—lasting effects that build up over time. As you read Section 4, look for events that have long-term effects. Think about why these causes have had such a lasting effect.

### Key Person Sequoyah

**Why It Matters** As a general, Andrew Jackson won great popularity for his victories over Indians in Georgia and Florida. As President, he worked to remove Native Americans from their homelands. This forced migration still affects Native Americans today.

🔗 **Section Focus Question: Why did Jackson use force to remove Indians from the Southeast?**

### Native Americans of the Southeast

When Andrew Jackson became President, more than 100,000 Native Americans still lived east of the Mississippi River. Many were farmers or lived in towns.

The Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Creek nations lived in parts of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The Seminoles, who lived in Florida, had an unusual origin. They were a combination of Creeks who had moved into Florida, Florida Native Americans, and escaped African American slaves.

The Cherokees had adopted some white customs. Aside from farming, they ran successful businesses, such as grain and lumber mills. Some could speak and read English. Many had converted to Christianity.

The Cherokees even had a written alphabet for their language. It had been created by a learned leader named **Sequoyah** (seh KWOY uh). In 1827, the Cherokees established a government based on a written constitution. They claimed status as a separate nation. The next year, they started a newspaper in both English and Cherokee.

✅ **Checkpoint** What were some of the customs and ways of life of the Cherokees?

# Indian Removal



**KEY**

- Ceded to Native Americans
- Ceded by Native Americans
- Common removal route
- Cherokee removal route (Trail of Tears)
- Chickasaw removal route
- Choctaw removal route
- Creek removal route
- Seminole removal route
- Forts

## MAP MASTER Skills Activity

In the 1830s, some 100,000 Native Americans of the Southeast were driven from their homes and forced to walk to a new home across the Mississippi River.

- (a) **Read a Map** Which five Southeast nations were affected by the movement?
- (b) **Apply Information** Use the scale of miles and the map above to answer the following question: About how far did the Seminoles have to travel to get from Florida Territory to New Orleans?

**MapMaster Online**

**For:** Interactive map  
**Visit:** PHSchool.com  
**Web Code:** myp-3064

## Conflict Over Land

To government leaders, the presence of Native Americans in the Southeast stood in the way of westward expansion of the United States. Furthermore, the Native Americans lived on fertile land. White farmers wanted that land for growing cotton.

**Forced Movement** Policies to move Native Americans from their lands dated from the presidency of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson hoped the movement would be voluntary. He believed that moving west was the only way the Native Americans could preserve their cultures.

After the War of 1812, the federal government signed treaties with several Native American groups of the Old Northwest. Under those treaties, the groups gave up their lands and moved west of the Mississippi River.

However, the Native Americans of the Southeast would not move. In 1825, President James Monroe suggested a plan to move all Native Americans living east of the Mississippi to land west of the river. However, nothing came of the plan. Yet, year by year, the pressure on the Native Americans of the Southeast grew. By the 1820s, many white southerners were demanding that Native Americans be removed by force.

In 1825 and 1827, the state of Georgia passed a law forcing the Creeks to give up most of their land. In 1828, Georgia tried to get the Cherokees to do the same. The state said the Cherokees were not a separate nation and they had to move off their land.

**Support for Native Americans** Georgia's actions were challenged in two suits that reached the Supreme Court. The decision in the first suit went against the Cherokees. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the Court refused to stop Georgia from enforcing its law. But in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the Court declared that Georgia's laws "can have no force" within Cherokee territory.

Chief Justice John Marshall wrote the Court's majority opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia*. He quoted treaties that the United States had signed, guaranteeing certain territory to Native Americans. Under the Constitution, treaties are the supreme law of the land. Therefore, Marshall said, Georgia had no say over Cherokee territory.

Like the state of Georgia, President Jackson wanted to remove the Native Americans from their land. He was furious when he heard of the ruling in *Worcester v. Georgia*. "John Marshall has made his decision," he is reported to have said. "Now let him enforce it!"

Jackson was already putting into effect a federal law called the Indian Removal Act of 1830. The law gave him authority to offer Native American nations land west of the Mississippi in exchange for their lands in the East. It also provided money so the law could be carried out.

 **Checkpoint** According to Marshall, why was Georgia barred from applying its laws to Cherokee territory?

### Vocabulary Builder

voluntary (VAHL əhn tair ee)  
**adj.** done willingly, of one's own free will

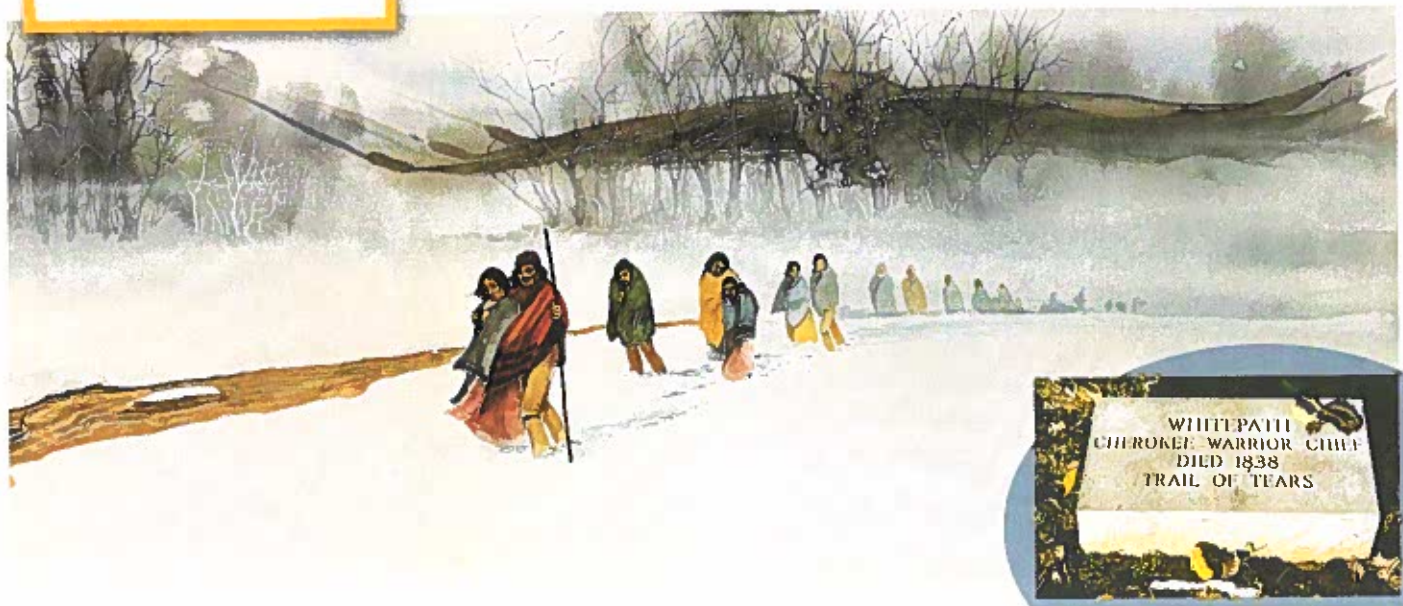
### Vocabulary Builder

quote (kwōht) **v.** to repeat the exact words spoken or written

**Explore More Video**

To learn more about the Cherokees' journey, view the video.

**A Tragic Journey** This painting, *Shadow of the Owl*, by Cherokee artist John Guthrie portrays the Trail of Tears. More than 4,000 Cherokees died along the trail. The tombstone of one of them is shown below. **Critical Thinking: Interpret Art** What do you think the owl in the main picture represents?



## On the Trail of Tears

Believing they had no choice, most Native American leaders signed new treaties giving up their lands. They agreed to move to what was called the Indian Territory. Today most of that area is in the state of Oklahoma.

**Removal of the Choctaws** The Choctaws signed the first treaty in 1830. The Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek stated that

“the United States under a grant . . . shall cause to be conveyed to the Choctaw Nation a tract of country west of the Mississippi river . . .”

—Article II, Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, 1830

Closely guarded by American soldiers, the Choctaws moved west between 1831 and 1833.

The federal government did not provide enough tents, food, blankets, shoes, winter clothes, or other supplies. Heavy rain and snow caused enormous suffering. An army lieutenant wrote that one group “walked for 24 hours barefoot through the snow and ice” before reaching shelter.

**Cherokee Removal** The Cherokees held out a few years longer. They were still on their land in 1837 when Jackson left office.


Finally, in 1838, President Martin Van Buren forced the Cherokees to move. In the winter of 1838–39, they went to Indian Territory, guarded by 7,000 soldiers. The route is called the Trail of Tears. A soldier’s description helps explain why:


“On the morning of November 17th, we encountered a terrific sleet and snow storm with freezing temperatures, and from that day until we reached the end of the fateful journey on March the 26th, 1839, the sufferings of the Cherokee were awful. The trail of the exiles was a trail of death.”

—Memoirs of Private John G. Burnett, December 1890

The Cherokees were forced to march hundreds of miles. They had little food or shelter. Many did not survive. Of 15,000 Cherokees who began the trip, 4,000 died along the way.

One group refused to move. The Seminoles fought three wars against removal. However, in the 1840s most Seminoles were forced to move. In their new homes in the Indian Territory, Native Americans struggled to rebuild their lives under very difficult conditions.

 **Checkpoint** What mistakes in planning did the government make before removing Native Americans?

 **Looking Back and Ahead** Andrew Jackson was determined to be a strong President. He defied the Supreme Court by enforcing the Indian Removal Act. In Section 5, you will learn about his stands against the nation’s bankers and his dramatic actions to save the Union.

### Identify Long-Term Effects

President Jackson sent federal agents to finalize treaties for Native American removal. Summarize the long-term effects of this policy. Explain how the policy affected the Native Americans in the region.

## Section 4 | Check Your Progress

### Progress Monitoring Online

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### Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) **Recall** How did the Supreme Court rule in the case of *Worcester v. Georgia*?

(b) **Detect Bias** Why do you suppose President Jackson objected to the Court’s decision?
- (a) **Compare and Contrast** Describe the removal of the Choc-taws and the Cherokees.

(b) **Identify Economic Benefits** Why would the Cherokees be particularly opposed to removal from their land?

### Reading Skill

- Identify Long-Term Effects** A long-term effect is an effect that lasts over a long period of time. White farmers wanted the lands belonging to Native Americans of the Southeast. Write three sentences summarizing the long-term effects of this desire for land.

### Writing

- A paragraph should focus on a single topic. Rewrite the following paragraph to get rid of any sentences that stray from the topic. **Paragraph:** By the 1830s, Native Americans had fought several legal battles over land. Many Native Americans wore traditional clothing. The states tried to make the Native Americans move. However, the Supreme Court decided that states could not force them from their homes.



# Sequoyah and the Cherokee Alphabet

by Robert Cwiklik

## Prepare to Read

### Introduction

The leader Sequoyah became convinced that the Cherokee needed a system to write in their own language. The following selection is from a biography of Sequoyah. In this excerpt, Sequoyah becomes interested in the “talking leaves” of an English book.

### Reading Skill

**Analyze Motivation** A character’s motives are the reason for his or her actions. As you read this excerpt, look for clues that tell why Sequoyah wanted the book.

### Vocabulary Builder

As you read this literature selection, look for the following underlined words:

**leaves** (leevz) *n.* pages or sheets

**wampum belt** (WAHM pum) *n.* belt woven with images made with beads or shells, used to record historic events

**pelts** (pehlts) *n.* animal skins

**bristled** (BRIHS ahld) *v.* became angry

### ★ Background

The images on the wampum belt were a record of events in Cherokee history. Details like names of people and places were passed down from one medicine man to the next. The medicine men would tell the history of the tribe based on the images on the belt.

Sequoyah picked up the book to examine it. He saw that it was made of thin leaves of paper. Instead of the pictures on a wampum belt, there were marks of some kind on the paper, like the footprints of a crow. And the marks were in neat rows like the rows of corn planted in a garden. When the reader looked at those rows, the leaves of the book “talked” to him. The reader then told his friends what the leaves said. Sequoyah found these talking leaves fascinating.

Sequoyah mentally compared the markings on the talking leaves to the designs on a wampum belt. The colorful belt was much prettier, but the book was filled with many thin leaves, each covered with markings. It must surely “remember” more than the wampum belt. Wu The had told Sequoyah that books made the white people’s medicine powerful. She had said that just one of their books of talking leaves could remember more than all the medicine men of Taskigi together. And the white men had many, many such books. This is why Wu The wanted Sequoyah to learn English—so he could learn the secret of the talking leaves, the secret of the white people’s powerful medicine.

Sequoyah was so curious about the talking leaves that he bought the book from the hunter for two good deer pelts. The men laughed, thinking they had again cheated an Indian. Sequoyah knew his pelts were worth more in silver than this book. Still he wished to have it. He wanted to ponder the secret of its talking leaves.

Agi Li and Rabbit Eyes kidded Sequoyah as the three hiked home after the rain stopped, “You gave good pelts for a book you cannot even understand,” they said, laughing.

Later the boys fell to talking about the talking leaves. “Surely,” Rabbit Eyes said, “it was a magic power of the white man to be able to put his speeches into books.”



"Surely," Agi Li said, "one must learn the white man's language to gain the power of the talking leaves."

Sequoyah bristled at this. "Bah," he said. "These are mere scratchings, mere crow's prints. It is not magic. I could invent them for the Cherokee language, and we, too, could have our own talking leaves."

The other boys laughed at this. "How can you do such a thing?" asked Agi Li, chuckling.

Sequoyah picked up a flat stone and scratched out a picture of a deer on it with the blade of his knife. "There," he said, showing them the stone. "That means 'deer,' see?" Then Sequoyah drew an arrow through the deer. "And that means 'to hunt a deer,'" he said.

His friends laughed again. "At this rate, you will be scratching on stones until you are an old man, Sequoyah, to make pictures of every word there is in our language. It is impossible. The talking leaves belong to the white man. They are not meant for us."

Sequoyah stood his ground. "You are wrong," he said. "You think the white man has special medicine. That is why you wear his clothes," Sequoyah said, pointing to their trousers and shirts. "Well, our medicine can be just as strong, if we wish it."

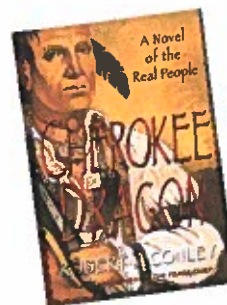
From *Sequoyah and the Cherokee Alphabet*, by Robert Cwiklik.  
© 1989 Silver Burdett Press.

### ✓ **Checkpoint** Why did Wu The want Sequoyah to learn English?



Sequoyah and his Cherokee alphabet

**Analyze Motivation**  
At the beginning of the excerpt, Sequoyah's curiosity motivates him to buy the book. What is his motivation for wanting to write his language?



If you liked this story about Sequoyah, you might want to read more about the Cherokees in *The Cherokee Dragon: A Novel of the Real People* by Robert J. Conley. St. Martin's Press. 2000.

### **Analyze LITERATURE**

Sequoyah went on to create an alphabet for the Cherokees. Imagine that you are Sequoyah. Write a paragraph explaining to the Cherokees why they should learn to write.



▲ U.S. Custom House in Charleston, South Carolina

## An Interfering Government

“We must be blind to the lessons of reason and experience not to see that the more a government interferes with the labor and wealth of a community, the more it exacts from one portion and bestows on another. . . .”

—Vice President John C. Calhoun, protesting tariffs collected by U.S. Customs agents, 1832

# States’ Rights and the Economy

## Objectives

- Describe the disagreement over the Bank of the United States.
- Discuss the differing viewpoints on the balance of federal and state powers.
- Explain why South Carolina threatened to secede from the Union.
- Describe the economic crisis that began in 1837.

## Reading Skill

**Identify Multiple Causes** Just as events can have multiple effects, so too can they have multiple causes. Major events in history often have many causes. As you read Section 5, look for events that have multiple causes.

## Key Terms and People

nullification  
Martin Van Buren

William Henry  
Harrison

**Why It Matters** The issue of states’ rights versus the power of the federal government had been debated since the founding of the United States. The debate became more urgent when Americans disagreed on important economic measures.

**Section Focus Question:** How did old issues take a new shape in the conflict over a national bank and tariffs?

## The Bank War

Between 1816 and the early 1830s, the second Bank of the United States earned strong support from business people. They liked the fact that the Bank made loans to businesses. Moreover, the Bank was a safe place for the federal government to keep its money. The paper money it issued formed a stable currency. Its careful policies helped create confidence in banks all over the country.

On the other hand, many Americans disliked the Bank. They opposed the way the Bank restricted loans made by state banks. Fearing that state banks were making too many loans, Bank directors often limited the amount of money banks could lend. This angered farmers and merchants who wanted to borrow money to buy land. Many southerners and westerners blamed the Bank for the economic crisis that broke out in 1819. In that crisis, many people lost their farms.

The Bank’s most powerful enemy was Andrew Jackson, who called the Bank “the Monster.” According to Jackson, the Bank allowed a small group of the wealthy people to enrich themselves at the expense of ordinary people. Jackson believed that the wealthy stood for unfair privilege. Jackson especially disliked Nicholas Biddle, the Bank’s president. Biddle, who came from a wealthy Philadelphia family, was skilled at doing favors for powerful politicians.

Biddle got Congress to renew the Bank's charter in 1832, although the charter still had four years to go. The news reached Jackson when he was sick in bed. The President vowed, "The Bank . . . is trying to kill me, but I will kill it!"

Jackson immediately vetoed the bill. The fight over the Bank became a major issue in the 1832 presidential election. Henry Clay, who ran against Jackson, strongly supported the Bank. But most voters stood solidly behind Jackson's veto of the Bank bill. Jackson won reelection by a huge margin.

Jackson's victory over the Bank helped to increase the powers of the presidency. It showed that a determined President could stir up the voters and face down powerful opponents in Congress.

The second Bank ceased to exist when its charter ran out in 1836. Unfortunately for Jackson's successor, an economic crisis struck a few months after Jackson left office. Without a Bank of the United States, it was harder for the new President to end the crisis.

**✓Checkpoint** What were the arguments for and against the second Bank of the United States?

## The Question of States' Rights

Since the founding of the United States, Americans had debated what should be the balance between the powers of the states and the powers of the federal government.

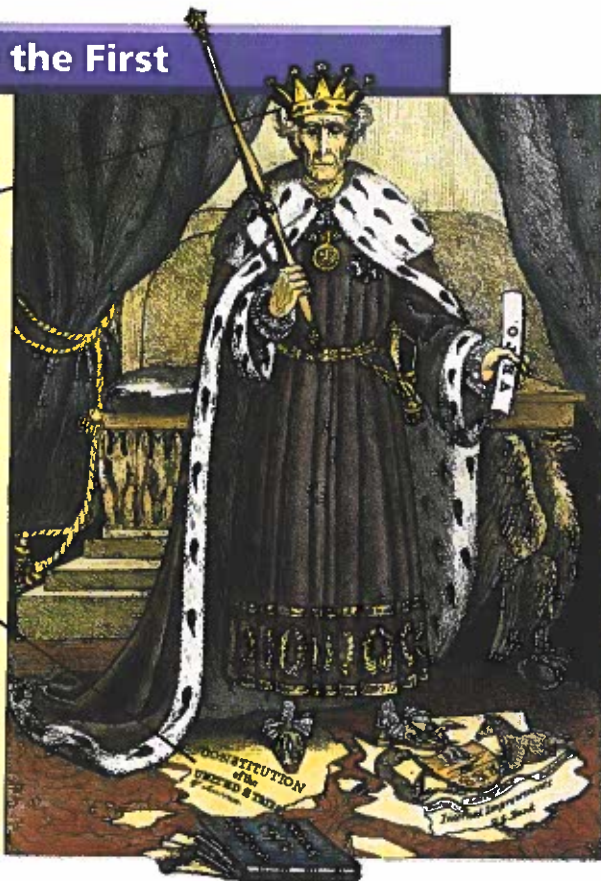
### King Andrew the First



A king's crown



Trampling on rights



### Reading Political Cartoons

#### Skills Activity

The national press ridiculed Jackson for his quick temper and steely will.

- Detect Points of View** Name two negative images in the cartoon. Why do you think Jackson is shown stepping on the bank document?
- Distinguish Relevant Information** Would this cartoon have the same impact in Britain if, instead of Jackson, it showed a British leader? Explain your answer.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 had created a government based on federalism, the division of power between the national government and the states. The Constitution gave the federal government many significant powers. At the same time, the Tenth Amendment set limits on federal power. It states that any powers not specifically given to the federal government are “reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

Over the years, the issue of balancing federal and state power had come up repeatedly. The Alien and Sedition acts had raised the issue. So had the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and the Hartford convention. The issue could never be fully resolved. During Andrew Jackson’s presidency, arguments over federal power and states’ rights caused a serious crisis.

### Vocabulary Builder

**resolve** (ree SAHLV) **v.** to decide; to solve

 **Checkpoint** How does the Tenth Amendment limit federal powers?

## The Nullification Crisis

The crisis erupted when Congress passed a law in 1828 raising the tariff on iron, textiles, and other products. The tariff helped manufacturers in the North and some parts of the West. But it made southerners pay more for manufactured goods. It seemed to southerners that the federal government was forcing them to obey an unfair law.

Vice President John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that the states had the right of **nullification**, an action by a state that cancels a federal law to which the state objects. If accepted, Calhoun’s ideas would seriously weaken the federal government.

**Arguments for Nullification** To many southerners, the tariff issue was part of a much larger problem. If the federal government could enforce what they considered an unjust law, could it also use its power to end slavery?

John C. Calhoun had based his theory of nullification on his view of how the Union was formed. He said the Union grew from an agreement between the various states. After the Union was formed, each state kept certain powers. One of them was the power to nullify federal laws the people of the state considered unfair.

## Milestones in the States’ Rights Debate

**1787:** The Constitution divides power between the states and federal government.

1787

**1798:** Kentucky and Virginia claim that states can nullify laws deemed unconstitutional.

1802

**1814–1815:** At the Hartford Convention, opponents of the War of 1812 insist that states have the right to secede.

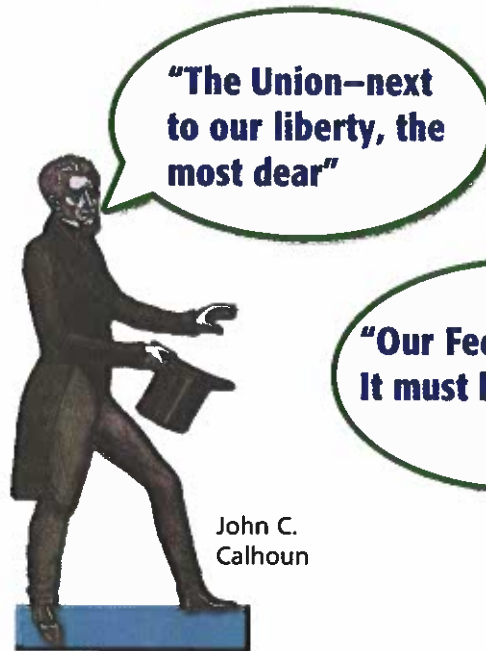
1817

**1832:** South Carolina claims the right to nullify tariffs, but it backs down when President Jackson threatens to use force against it.

1832

## Federal Power Versus States' Rights

President Andrew Jackson and Vice President John C. Calhoun took opposing views on states' rights and nullification. They had once been friends. However, by 1830, the two men were fierce enemies. **Critical Thinking: Detect Points of View** How may Andrew Jackson's views about nullification have been affected by his responsibility as President of the United States?



John C. Calhoun



Andrew Jackson

**Arguments Against Nullification** The clearest argument against nullification came from Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster. He argued that the United States had not been formed by the states, but by the entire American people. In a dramatic speech on the floor of the Senate in January 1830, Webster defended his belief, saying "We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people."

A few months later, President Jackson dramatically defended the Union. At a banquet, Jackson stared directly at Vice President Calhoun and said, "Our Federal Union—It must be preserved." Ominously, Calhoun responded: "The Union—next to our liberty, the most dear." The challenge was clear. To Calhoun, states' rights was more important than saving the Union.

**South Carolina Threatens to Secede** In 1832, Congress passed another tariff law. Although it lowered some tariffs, it passed high tariffs on iron and textiles. South Carolina then called a state convention, which voted to nullify the tariffs. The tariffs of 1828 and 1832, it said, did not apply to South Carolina. The state also warned the federal government not to use force to impose the tariffs. If it did, South Carolina would secede from the Union.

A furious Jackson responded strongly. In December 1832, he put federal troops in South Carolina on alert. Then he issued a "Proclamation to the People of South Carolina." It said that the Union could not be dissolved. It also warned that "disunion by armed force is treason." With tensions running high, Calhoun resigned as Vice President.

Early in 1833, Jackson asked Congress to allow the federal government to collect its tariff in South Carolina by force if necessary. At the same time, he supported a compromise bill that would lower the tariffs. In March 1833, Congress passed both laws.

Unable to win support for its position from other states, South Carolina then repealed its tariff nullification. Many Americans breathed a sigh of relief. The crisis had been settled peacefully.

### Vocabulary Builder

**dissolve** (dih ZAHLV) *v.* break up into smaller parts

### The Election of 1840

Both the Whigs and the Democrats tried new methods in the presidential election of 1840. They broadened their appeal, hoping to win the vote of the "common man."

**Critical Thinking: Link Past and Present** How are presidential campaigns today similar to the 1840 campaign? How are they different?



Jackson had successfully defended federal power, while states' rights supporters had suffered a setback. However, the issue of states' rights would not go away. Americans would continue to debate the balance between states' rights and federal powers until the Civil War broke out in 1861.

**✓Checkpoint** What was the position of Vice President John C. Calhoun on nullification?

### The End of the Jackson Era

A weary Andrew Jackson retired from office after two terms. **Martin Van Buren** was Andrew Jackson's choice to succeed him. Van Buren, the son of a New York tavern owner, had played a central role in organizing Jackson's first election victory in 1828. He had been secretary of state during Jackson's first term and Vice President during his second term. He had long been a close political adviser to Jackson.


In the election of 1836, the Whigs ran three candidates, each from a different region of the country. Their goal was to prevent any candidate from receiving a majority of electoral votes. This would throw the election into the House of Representatives. However, the strategy did not work. Van Buren received a majority of both the electoral and the popular vote.

**The Panic of 1837** Van Buren took office at a time when the American economy was beginning a severe slump. Because Britain was experiencing an economic slowdown, British manufacturers were buying less cotton. This caused cotton prices to fall sharply. American banks could not collect on the loans they had made to cotton growers. As a result, hundreds of banks went bankrupt.

The result was an economic collapse in the United States called the Panic of 1837. The economic hard times that followed lasted six years. The hardships of those years ruined Van Buren's presidency.

**The Election of 1840** Van Buren ran for reelection in 1840 against the Whig candidate, **William Henry Harrison**. This time the Whigs ran a skillful campaign. They used parades, barbecues, and other forms of entertainment to reach ordinary voters. They portrayed Harrison as a "man of the people" who would feel right at home in a simple log cabin. Helped by his "log cabin" campaign, Harrison easily defeated Van Buren. The Whigs were in power and the Age of Jackson was over.

 **Checkpoint** What was the main cause of the Panic of 1837?

 **Looking Back and Ahead** Throughout the administrations of John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, and Martin Van Buren, Americans continued to push westward. By the 1830s, Americans had settled most of the land east of the Mississippi River. By the 1840s, they were crossing the Mississippi in large numbers. You will read about this movement in the next unit.



### Identify Multiple Causes

In 1837, the United States experienced an economic collapse. What were two causes of this collapse?

## Section 5 | Check Your Progress

### Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with instant help

Visit: [PHSchool.com](http://PHSchool.com)

Web Code: mya-3065

### Comprehension and Critical Thinking

- (a) **Recall** Why did states' rights become an issue in the 1820s?

(b) **Distinguish Relevant Information** Agree or disagree with the following statement and provide relevant facts to support your position: "The issue of states' rights had plagued the nation from the time of the Constitutional Convention."
- (a) **Summarize** What were John C. Calhoun's and Daniel Webster's positions on nullification?

(b) **Detect Points of View** What did John C. Calhoun mean when he said, "The Union—next to our liberty, the most dear"?



### Reading Skill

- Identify Multiple Causes** After the nullification crisis, South Carolina repealed its nullification of the federal tariffs. What were two causes of the state's action?

### Key Terms

- Write two definitions for the key term **nullification**. First, write a formal definition for your teacher. Second, write a definition in everyday English for a classmate.

### Writing

- Correct the errors in grammar, spelling, and punctuation in the following passage. **Passage:** The Nullification Crises represent a conflict between the South and the federal government. president Jackson at a banquet said that the Union must be preserved. John Calhoun answered "The Union—next to our liberty, the most dearest."

Bias is slanted writing that communicates a certain point of view about an idea or event. The writer either leaves out information or purposely changes the facts in order to create a certain impression. Bias is different from objective writing, which presents the facts in a balanced way.

The following excerpt, from Andrew Jackson's seventh annual message to Congress, focuses on his Indian removal policy.

Primary Source

"... The plan of removing the [native] people to ... country west of the Mississippi River approaches its [conclusion]. ... All preceding experiments for the improvement of the Indians have failed. It seems now to be an established fact that they can not live in contact with a civilized community and prosper. ...

The plan for their removal ... is founded upon the knowledge we have gained of their character and habits, and has been dictated by a spirit of [generosity]. A territory exceeding in extent that [given up] has been granted to each tribe. Of its climate, fertility, and capacity to support an Indian population the representations are highly favorable. ...

... A country west of Missouri and Arkansas has been assigned to them, into which the white settlements are not to be pushed. ... A barrier has thus been raised for their protection ... guarding the Indians as far as possible from those evils which have brought them to their present condition."

—Andrew Jackson, December 7, 1835

**Learn the Skill**

Use these steps to identify bias.

- 1 **Identify the source.** Knowing the speaker or writer and the audience helps you understand why the point of view might be biased.
- 2 **Find the main idea.** Summarize the main point in the primary source.
- 3 **Compare the primary source with objective writing.** Look for differences between the biased writing and an objective account of the same subject. Does the biased writer leave out information or alter facts? Does the biased writer use broad generalizations that support a particular point of view? Does the biased writer use emotionally charged words?
- 4 **Draw conclusions.** What does the writer or speaker hope to accomplish?

**Practice the Skill**

Answer the following questions about the primary source on this page.

- 1 **Identify the source.** (a) Who is the author? (b) Why might the author's position be biased?
- 2 **Find the main idea.** What is the main point of the speech?
- 3 **Compare the primary source with objective writing.** Read the information about the government's Indian removal policy in Section 4. (a) What is one way that this account differs from the account in Section 4? (b) What is an example of a broad generalization that creates a biased view? (c) What information about the real reason for Indian removal is not included?
- 4 **Draw conclusions.** What message does the author want to present to the audience?

**Apply the Skill**

See the Review and Assessment at the end of this chapter.





## How did the nation reflect a growing sense of national pride and identity?

### Section 1 Building a National Identity

- James Monroe's time as President was called the Era of Good Feelings.
- Tariffs protected northern factories but forced the South to pay more for goods.
- Key Supreme Court decisions strengthened the power of the federal government.

### Section 2 Dealing With Other Nations

- The United States acquired Florida in 1819.
- Spanish territories in the Americas revolted and gained their independence.
- Britain granted Canadians more rights.

### Section 3 The Age of Jackson

- John Quincy Adams served only one term.
- Democratic reforms allowed more white men to vote.

### Section 4 Indian Removal

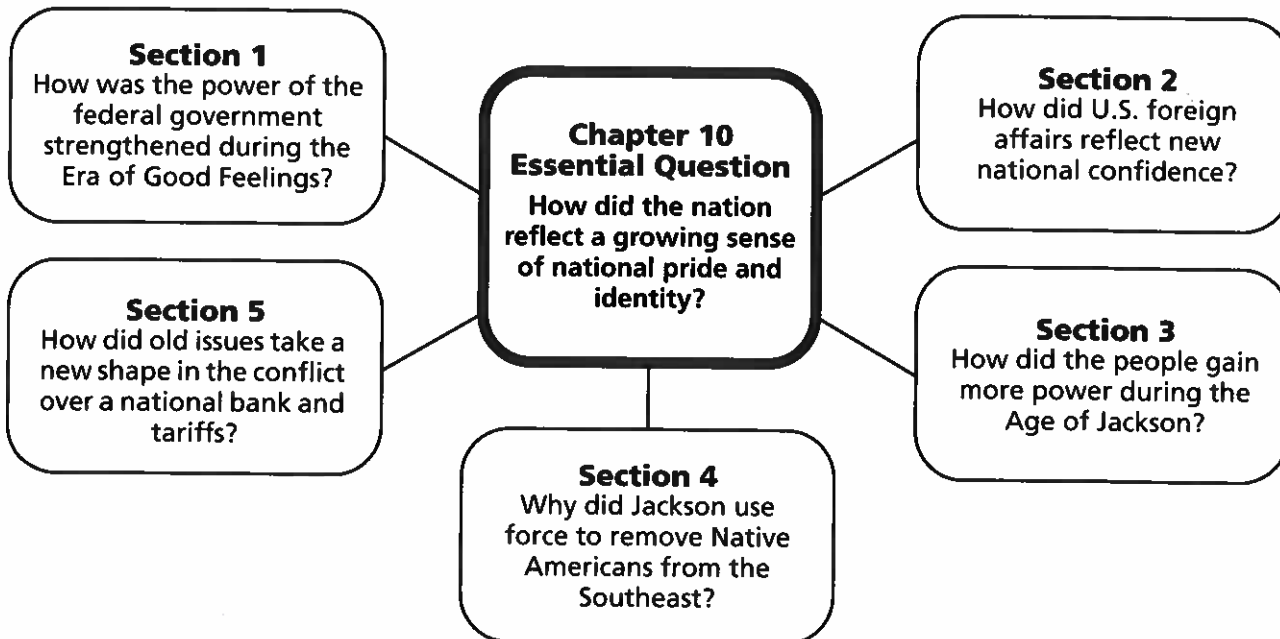
- The government forced Native Americans to move west of the Mississippi River.
- Thousands of Native Americans died resisting removal or along the journey west.

### Section 5 States' Rights and the Economy

- Jackson vetoed a bill to renew the charter of the second Bank.
- South Carolina said that states had the right to nullify federal laws.
- Jackson insisted that states could not nullify federal laws.
- Eventually, South Carolina backed down on nullification.

## Exploring the Essential Question

Use the online study guide to explore the essential question.



### Key Terms

Answer the following questions in complete sentences that show your understanding of the key terms.

1. How would British **dumping** hurt American business?
2. What are the advantages of **suffrage**?
3. Which group of people might hold a **caucus**?
4. Who did John C. Calhoun believe had the right of **nullification**?

### Comprehension and Critical Thinking

5. (a) **List** How did Henry Clay believe the United States would benefit from his American System?  
(b) **Analyze Cause and Effect** Which regions of the country were likely to benefit most from the plan? Why?
6. (a) **Explain** Why did President Monroe issue the Monroe Doctrine?  
(b) **Apply Information** How might the Monroe Doctrine aid Latin American nations?  
(c) **Draw Conclusions** How do you think Latin American leaders felt about the Monroe Doctrine?
7. (a) **Describe** Why did Andrew Jackson lose the presidential election in 1824?  
(b) **Analyze Cause and Effect** What changes occurred between 1824 and 1828 that resulted in Jackson winning the 1828 election?
8. (a) **Identify** What was the Trail of Tears?  
(b) **Link Past and Present** Why does the state of Oklahoma today have a large Native American population?
9. (a) **Describe** How did the spoils system work?  
(b) **Draw Conclusions** How would it affect a political party?  
(c) **Detect Points of View** Why did Jackson say the spoils system furthered democracy?
10. (a) **Identify** What was the Panic of 1837?  
(b) **Draw Inferences** How might the panic have contributed to the election of William Henry Harrison in 1840?

### History Reading Skill

11. **Analyze Cause and Effect** Reread the text in Section 1 under the heading "Three Important Supreme Court Rulings." What was the cause of the Supreme Court's decision in *McCulloch v. Maryland*? What were the results of the decision? Which results were short-term? Which were long-term?

### Writing

12. **Revise the following paragraph to correct the errors in grammar, spelling, and punctuation:** In 1832, congress pass a new law, which lowered some tariffs but continued the high tariffs on iron and textiles. Generally the South opposed tariffs. South Caroline actually voted to oppose the tariff legislation. Because President Jackson regard this act as a challenge to his authority. He issued a "Proclamation to the People of South Carolina." Which said that leaving the Union would be an act of treason.
13. **Write a Narrative:** Imagine you are a Cherokee in 1838–1839. Write a narrative describing your journey to the Indian Territory.

### Skills for Life

#### Identify Bias

Use the excerpt below to answer the questions.

"More than eight millions of the stock of this bank are held by foreigners. By this act the American Republic proposes virtually to make them a present of some millions of dollars. . . . If we must have a bank with private stockholders, every consideration of sound policy and every impulse of American feeling admonishes that it should be *purely American*. . . ."

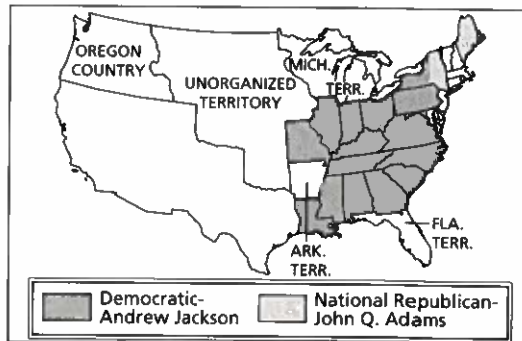
—Andrew Jackson, "Bank Veto Message,"  
July 10, 1832

14. (a) Who is the author? (b) Why would the author's position be biased?
15. What is the main point of the message?
16. Give an example of emotionally charged words used to support the writer's point of view.
17. What message does the writer want to convey to the audience?

## Test Yourself

1. What was the principal reason Andrew Jackson opposed the second Bank of the United States?
  - A Its policies hurt revenue Jackson expected to get from tariffs.
  - B The second Bank refused to loan money to state banks.
  - C Jackson believed it gave power to a small group of wealthy people.
  - D The second Bank backed John C. Calhoun on the issue of nullification.
2. Which issue was Andrew Jackson referring to when he said, "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it"?
  - A a case about the importance of private contracts
  - B a state attempt to apply its laws to Cherokee territory
  - C interstate commerce
  - D the dumping of goods by Britain in the United States

Refer to the map below to answer Question 3.



3. Based on the map above, what was the major reason Jackson won the election of 1828?
  - A Jackson won only the states with large electoral vote totals.
  - B New states that joined the Union between 1824 and 1828 voted for Jackson.
  - C Many states that had voted for Adams in 1824 switched to Jackson.
  - D Jackson swept the electoral votes of states in the South and West.

## Document-Based Questions

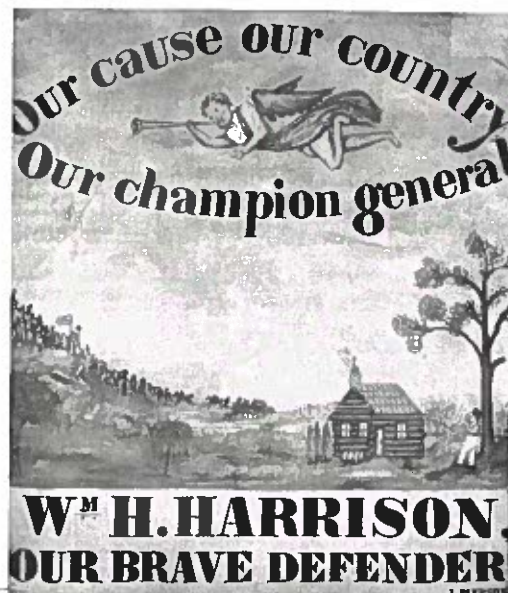
**Task:** Look at Documents 1 and 2, and answer their accompanying questions. Then, use the documents and your knowledge of history to complete this writing assignment:

Write a short essay describing how changing political practices reflected new views of democracy that began to take hold during the Age of Jackson.

**Document 1:** William Henry Harrison's 1840 presidential campaign was filled with advertising, slogans, organized rallies, and campaign songs like this one. *What image of Harrison was this song trying to create?*

"Come swell the throng and join the song,  
 Make the circle wider  
 Join the round for Harrison, Log Cabin and Hard Cider.  
 With Harrison our country's won,  
 No treachery can divide her.  
 Thy will be done  
 With Harrison, Log Cabin and Hard Cider."

**Document 2:** This campaign poster combines images of a humble log cabin with slogans about Harrison's exploits as a general. *What image of Harrison does this poster create? How does this image compare to Andrew Jackson's image?*





## What problems might a new nation face?

**DIRECTIONS:** Analyze the following documents from the period of the new American republic. Answer the questions that accompany each document or series of documents. You will use your answers to build an answer to the unit question: **What problems might a new nation face?**

### HISTORIAN'S CHECKLIST

**WHO** produced the document?

**WHERE** was it made?

**WHEN** was it produced?

**WHY** was it made and for what audience?

**WHAT** is its viewpoint?

**HOW** does it connect to what I've learned?

**WHY** is the document important?

document 1

### Economic Problems

PROBLEM	HAMILTON'S SOLUTION
• States owe money on loans made during American Revolution	Federal government repays state debts to restore lenders' confidence
• Government needs income to pay off debts	Government places tariff on imports
• Government needs a safe place to deposit its funds	Government creates national bank

Why did the new government have a debt problem?

document 2

### Whiskey Rebellion

"I, George Washington, President of the United States, do hereby command all persons, being insurgents, . . . to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes."

—George Washington, 1794



Why did Washington's new government have trouble collecting taxes?

document 3

### Party Politics

“Let us, then, fellow-citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. . . . Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.”

—Thomas Jefferson,  
*First Inaugural Address, 1801*

According to Jefferson, what was causing disharmony?

document 4

### The Supreme Court

“It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each.”

—John Marshall,  
*Marbury v. Madison, 1803*

How did Marshall address the problem of some laws being unconstitutional?



document 5

### The Louisiana Purchase



How did the Louisiana Purchase increase the likelihood of wars in the West?

continued

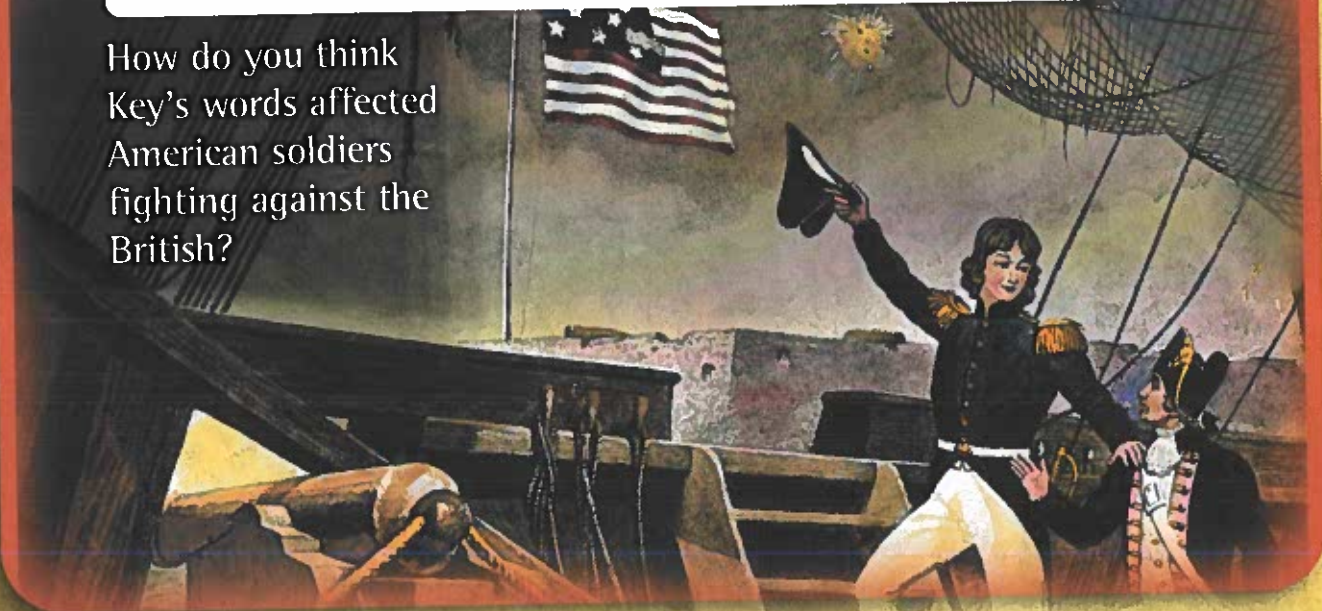
## 6 The War of 1812

document

“Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn’s early light,  
What so proudly we hail’d at the twilight’s last gleaming? Whose  
broad stripes and bright stars, thro’ the perilous fight, O’er the  
ramparts we watch’d, were so gallantly streaming? And the  
rockets’ red glare, the bombs bursting in air,  
Gave proof thro’ the night that our flag was still there.  
O say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave  
O’er the land of the free and the home of the brave?”

—Francis Scott Key, “The Star-Spangled Banner,” 1814

How do you think  
Key’s words affected  
American soldiers  
fighting against the  
British?



## 7 Differing Views

document

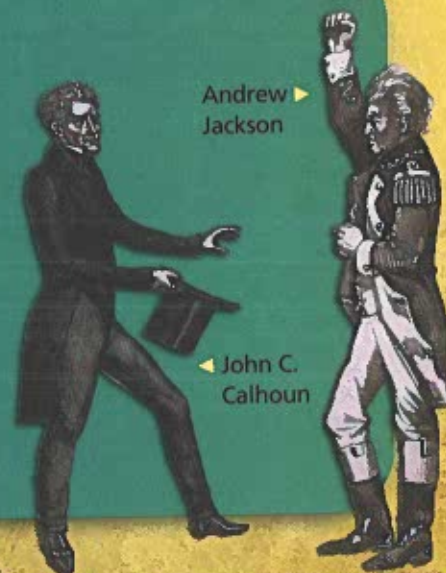
“Our federal Union—it must be preserved!”

—President Andrew Jackson, April 13, 1830

“To the Union. Next to our liberty, most dear.”

—Vice President John C. Calhoun, April 13, 1830

What were Jackson and Calhoun  
disagreeing about?



## 8 Conflict With Native Americans

document

“We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to remain without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guarantee our residence and our privileges, and secure us against intruders. Our only request is, that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws executed. But if we are compelled to leave our country, we see nothing but ruin before us.”

—Letter from the Cherokee Nation, 1830

Why did the Cherokee write this letter to the federal government?

## 9 Jacksonian Democracy

document

**Jackson Forever!**  
The Hero of Two Wars and of Orleans!  
**The Man of the People!**

HE WHO COULD NOT BARTER NOR BARGAIN FOR THE

**PRESIDENCY!**

Win, although “A Military Chieflain,” valued the purity of Elections and of the Electors, MORE than the Office of PRESIDENT itself! Although the greatest in the gift of his countrymen, and the highest in point of dignity of any in the world.

**BECAUSE**

It should be derived from the

**PEOPLE!**

No Gag Laws! No Black Codes! No Reign of Terror! No Standing Army  
— Navy Officers, when under the pay of Government, to be elected, or

**KNOCK DOWN**

and Revolutionary Characters, or our Representatives while in the discharge of  
their duty. — To the Polls then, and vote for those who will support

**OLD HICKORY**

AND THE ELECTORAL LAW.

How did politics change in the “Age of Jackson”?

## THINK LIKE A HISTORIAN ACTIVITY

Divide into three groups to prepare and stage a mock Congressional hearing on the unit question: **What problems might a new nation face?**

Each group should use the documents and other information from the unit to prepare a report to submit to Congress. One group should focus on the economic problems our new nation faced. The second group should concentrate on the political problems. And the third group should focus on problems in international relations. After the groups have prepared their reports, conduct a Congressional hearing. The class is Congress. One member from each group presents an oral report to Congress. After each report, members of Congress may ask questions regarding the problems and possible solutions.

# Unit 4



What forces unite and divide a nation?

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Chapter 11  
**North and South Take  
Different Paths** pp. 378–409

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Chapter 12  
**An Age of Reform** pp. 410–439

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Chapter 13  
**Westward Expansion**  
pp. 440–471



**The Industrial Revolution** Samuel Slater's textile mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was the first successful water-powered mill in the United States. Before long, other manufacturers were putting up mills alongside northeastern rivers.

## 1793



**Elizabeth Cady Stanton** Stanton (shown here) and Lucretia Mott were the driving forces behind the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in New York, a convention to advance women's rights.

## 1848

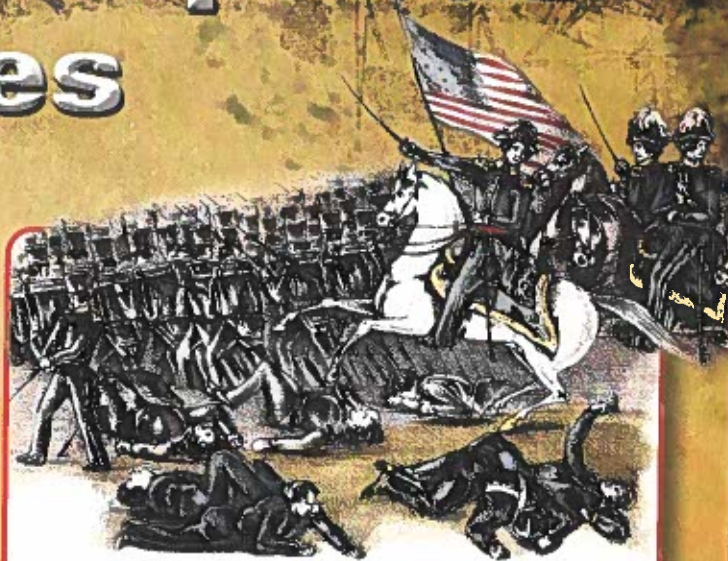


# The Nation Expands and Changes



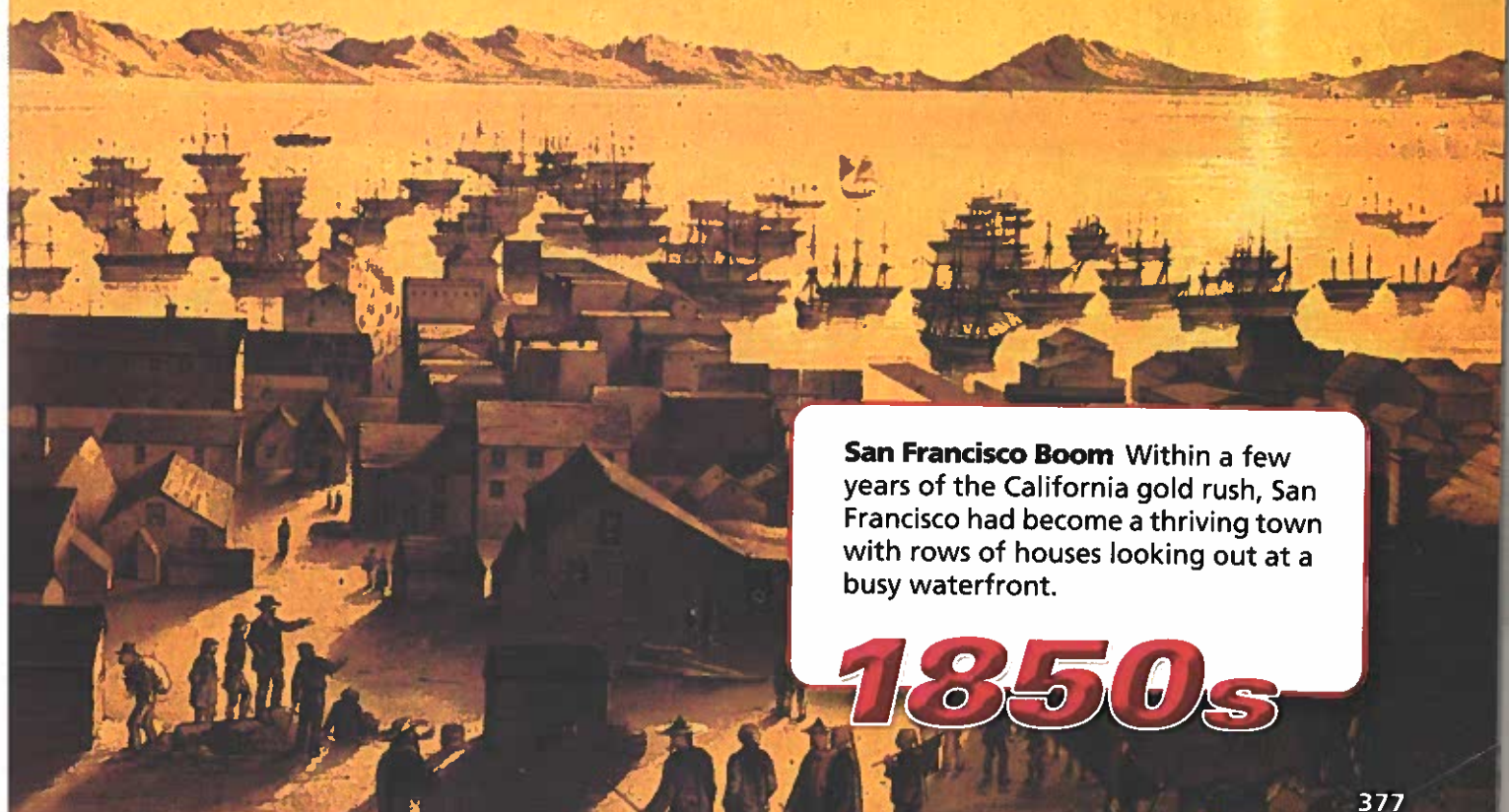
**"Am I Not a Man and a Brother?"** An emblem of a man in chains became the symbol of the struggle against slavery. In 1827, Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm set up an abolitionist newspaper called *Freedom's Journal*.

**1827**



**Battle of Buena Vista** Outnumbered two to one, an American force under General Zachary Taylor (on his white horse) forced General Santa Anna's Mexican army to retreat under cover of night back into central Mexico.

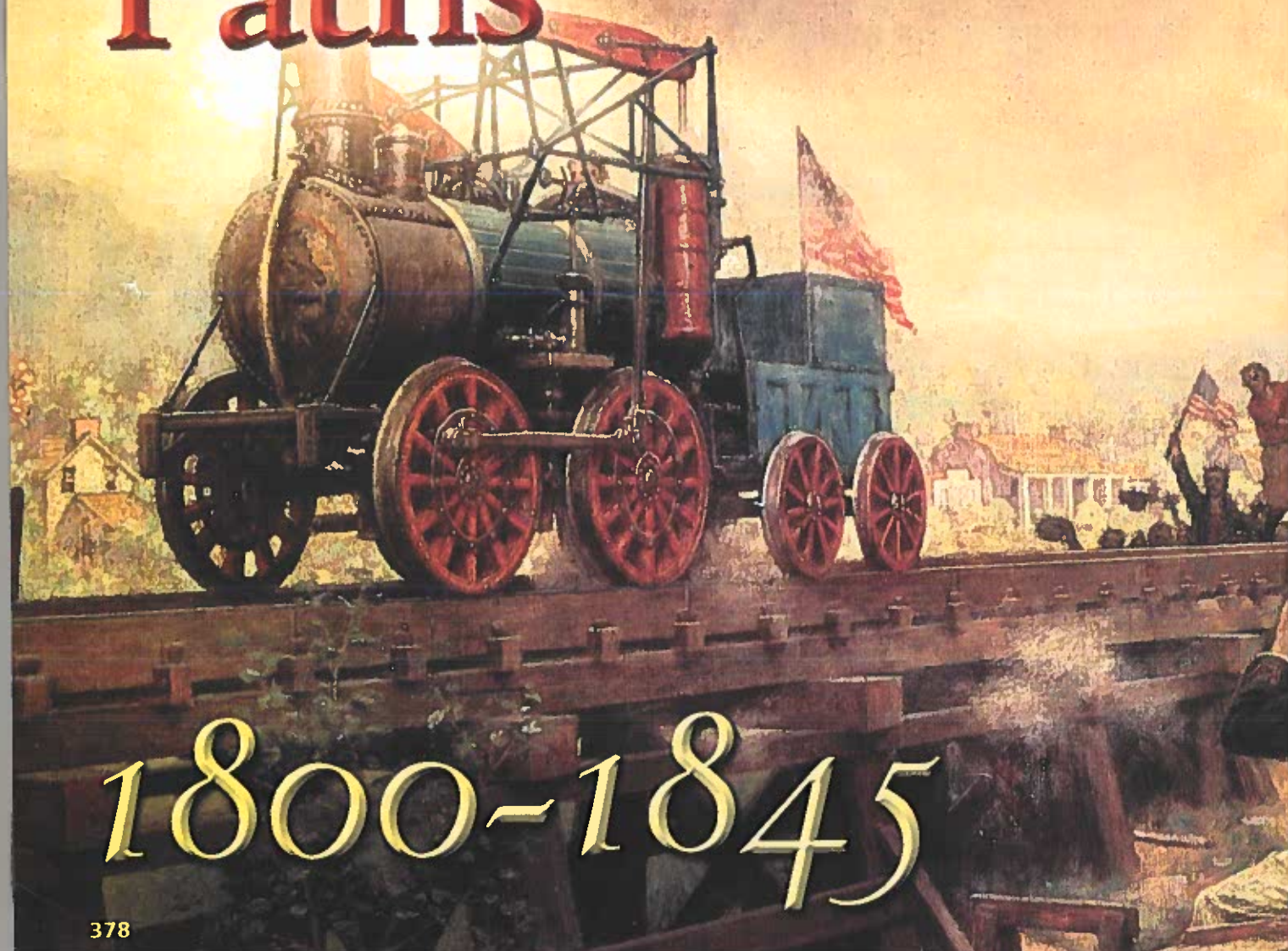
**1847**

A detailed illustration of San Francisco during the gold rush. The scene shows a busy waterfront with numerous sailing ships and masted vessels docked at the pier. The city is built on a hillside, with rows of wooden houses and buildings looking out over the water. In the foreground, a group of people, including men and women, are walking along a dirt path. The overall atmosphere is one of a thriving, bustling town.

**San Francisco Boom** Within a few years of the California gold rush, San Francisco had become a thriving town with rows of houses looking out at a busy waterfront.

**1850s**

# North and South Take Different Paths



1800-1845