

Matthew Gizzi

Nullification

- States' rights
 - Federal government exists because the states have come together to form it
 - Tariff of Abominations in SC
 - Comes from the 10th amendment
 - Jefferson and Madison
 - Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
- Calhoun sees issues with tariffs
 - He had originally supported the tariff of 1816 but by the late 1820s many South Carolinians had come to believe the “tariff of abominations” was responsible for the stagnation of their state’s economy
 - It was actually a result of the exhaustion of South Carolina’s farmland, which could no longer compete effectively with the newly opened and fertile lands of the southwest
 - Some Carolinians were ready to secede
- In order to keep his job Calhoun devised the nullification idea
 - He based this idea off of Jefferson and Madison and their Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
- Calhoun argued that since the federal government was a creation of the states, the states -- not courts or Congress -- were the final arbiters of the constitutionality of a law
- If a state did not like one of the laws, then it would hold a special convention and declare the federal law null and void within the state
 - The nullification doctrine quickly attracted broad support in SC
 - **It did nothing to help Calhoun’s standing within the new administration, in part because he had a powerful rival in Martin Van Buren**

Democrats and Whigs in the Age of Jackson		
	Democrats	Whigs
Issues Supported	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Local rule• Limited government• Free trade• Opportunity for white males	<p>American System:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A national bank• Federal funds for internal improvements• A protective tariff
Major Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Monopolies• National bank• High tariffs• High land prices	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Crime associated with immigrants
Base of Voter Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The South and West• Urban workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• New England and the Mid-Atlantic states• Protestants of English heritage• Urban professionals

Tariff of 1828

- **The tariff of 1828 raised taxes on imported manufactured goods from Europe. ... The result was that goods from Europe were more expensive. Because England could not sell as many goods to America they could not purchase as much of the agricultural products of the south. The south was hurt badly by these tariffs**

- Since the south has tariffs on imported goods, they will be more likely to buy from northern manufacturers
 - People in the north could produce the products that were no longer coming into the country
 - They began to charge higher prices since the south had no products being made or coming in

Sectionalism vs. Nationalism

- **Sectionalism** - Restriction of interest to a narrow sphere; undue concern with local interests or petty distinctions at the expense of general well-being.
- **Nationalism** - Identification with one's own nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.

States' Rights vs. Federal Authority

- As said by Calhoun, the federal government only exists due to the work of the states and their wanting of a government. The states rights are based on the 10th amendment, which says that any rights not given to the federal government are designated to the states.

Expanding Democracy

- Changes came first in Ohio and other states in the West, which on joining the Union, adopted constitutions that guaranteed all adult white males the right to vote and gave all voters the right to hold public office
 - Eventually, every state democratized its electorate to some degree, although some much later and less fully than others
- **Massachusetts held a constitutional convention in 1820**
 - Reform-minded delegates complained that in the Massachusetts government the rich were better represented than the poor, both because of restrictions on voting and officeholding and because of a peculiar system by which members of the state senate represented property rather than simply people
 - Daniel Webster one of the conservative delegates, opposed democratic changes on the grounds that “power naturally and necessarily follows property” and that “property as such should have its weight and influence in political arrangement”
 - **Webster and the other conservatives were unable to prevent the reform of the rules for representation in the state senate; nor could they prevent elimination of the property requirements for voting**
 - The new constitution, however, required that every voter be a taxpayer and that the governor be the owner of considerable real estate
 - **New York Held a convention in 1821**
 - The forces of democratization prevailed in the state

- Conservatives led by James Kent insisted that a tax paying requirement for suffrage was not enough and that, at least in the election of state senators, the property qualification should survive
- Reformers, citing the Declaration, maintained that Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, not property, were the main concerns of society and government
 - **The Property Qualification was Abolished**

Andrew Jackson

- Elected president in 1828
 - It was a proud day for the people
- Under Jackson we see the property requirement to vote abolished
 - Rhode Islanders held a rebellion in order to boycott the new ruling for voting
- The electorate was greatly expanded during his presidency
- His success in 1828 showed the potential need for a democratic institution
- Anti-Jacksonians referred to themselves as Whigs and those in favor of him referred to themselves as Democrats
- He wanted democracy to offer “equal protection and equal benefits.” to all white male citizens and favor no region or class over another
 - This called for expansion to the west and control over Natives and African Americans
- He first went after getting rid of entrenched office holders in the federal government
 - He removed more than 1/3 of federal officeholders during the 8 year presidency
 - He began his **Spoils System** and established the right of elected officials to appoint their own followers to public office
- He wanted to extend power beyond entrenched elites and this led him to reduce the functions of the federal government
 - He was committed to the preservation of the Union
- Calhoun, Jackson’s Vice President, began to look at nullification as a potential issue
- Jackson appointed Calhoun to secretary of state
 - Van Buren’s relationship with the president grew as Calhoun drove a wedge between himself and Jackson
 - Peggy O’Neale was having an affair and John H. Eaton married her when her husband died
 - Jackson made Eaton his Secretary of War and Mrs. Eaton, the Cabinet members wife, was not welcomed by Mrs. Calhoun and the other wives
 - Jackson was furious with the women who refused to accept her and Calhoun refused to get his wife to apologize
 - Van Buren befriended the Eatons and thus became friends with Jackson

- By the end of 1831, Jackson has chosen Van Buren to succeed him and destroyed Calhoun's chances at becoming president

John C. Calhoun

- In 1832 controversy over nullification produced a crisis when SC responded angrily to a congressional tariff bill that offered them no relief from the 1828 "tariff of abominations"
 - The legislature summoned a convention, which voted to nullify the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 and to forbid the collection of duties within the state
 - At the same time, SC elected Hayne to serve as governor and Calhoun to replace Hayne as Senator (Calhoun had resigned from Vice)
- Jackson insisted that nullification is treason and that those implementing it were traitors
 - He strengthened the federal forts in South Carolina and ordered a warship and several revenue ships to Charleston
 - When Congress met in 1833, Jackson proposed a force bill authorizing the president to use the military to see that acts of Congress were obeyed
 - Violence seemed a real possibility
- **Calhoun faced a predicament as no other state came to South Carolina's support**
 - **Even South Carolina was divided and could not hope to prevail in a showdown with the federal government**
 - The timely intervention of Clay averted a crisis
- Clay devised a plan
 - He would lower the tariff gradually so that by 1842, it would reach approximately the same level as in 1816
 - The Compromise and the force bill were passed on the same day, March 1, 1833
 - Jackson signed them both
 - In SC, the convention reassembled and repealed its nullification of the tariffs
 - The convention nullified the force act -- a purely symbolic act, since the tariff toward which the force act was directed had already been repealed
- Calhoun claimed a victory for the nullification
 - This taught Calhoun that no state could defy the federal government alone

Daniel Webster

- In January 1830 another great debate occurred in the United States Senate over another sectional controversy
- In the midst of a debate over federal policy toward western lands, a senator from Connecticut suggested that all land sales and surveys be temporarily discontinued
 - Robert Y. Hayne, a young Senator from South Carolina responded, charging that slowing down the growth of the West was a way for the East to retain its political and economic power

- He hoped his stance would attract support from westerners in Congress for South Carolina's drive to lower the tariff
- He argued that the south and the west were victims of tyranny of the Northeast
 - He suggested they combine to protect themselves from this tyranny
- Daniel Webster answered Hayne the next day
 - He attacked Hayne, and through him Calhoun, for what he considered their challenge to the integrity of the Union -- in effect, challenging Hayne to a debate not on public lands and the tariff but on the issue of **state's rights versus national power**
- Hayne, coached by Calhoun, responded with a defense of the theory of nullification
 - Webster spent two whole afternoons delivering what became known as his "Second Reply to Hayne"
 - This speech was quoted and revered by northerners for years
 - He concluded it with, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"
- Biddle appointed Daniel Webster to the Bank's legal counsel and director of its Boston Branch
- Webster was a frequent borrower from the Bank and helped Biddle win the support of Henry Clay and many others.

Martin Van Buren

- Martin Van Buren led the "Bucktails" or the "Albany Regency" in NY
- He argued that only an institutionalized party, based on populace at large, could ensure genuine democracy
 - The alternative was the closed elite that Clinton had created
- He was the same age as Calhoun and equally ambitious
- He was the governor of New York in 1828 and then resigned in 1829 when Jackson appointed him secretary of state
- He was apart of the president's "kitchen cabinet"
 - Van Buren's influence with the president was unmatched and grew stronger still as a result of a quarrel over etiquette that drove a wedge between the president and Calhoun
- Van Buren befriended the Eatons and thus ingratiated himself with Jackson
 - By 1831, partly as a result of the Peggy Eaton affair, Jackson had chosen Van Buren to succeed him in the White house, apparently ending Calhoun's dreams of the presidency

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Bucktails

- The Bucktails proposed ideological commitments would be less important than loyalty to the party itself
 - Preservation of the party through the use of favors, rewards, and patronage would be the principal goal of the leadership
- **In order for a party to survive it must have permanent opposition**
 - To keep the other in check and to motivate
- The success of Jackson in 1828 showed the potential need for a democratic institution
- In 1830, a fully formed two-party system began to operate at the national level, with each party committed to its own existence as an institution and willing to accept the legitimacy of its opposition

Bank of the United States (and its conflict)

- In the 1830s the Bank of the U.S was very large and Jackson wanted to destroy it
- The Bank was the only place that the federal government could deposit its own funds
- Nicholas Biddle served as the President of the Bank from 1823 on
- Jackson was not in favor of renewing the charter of the Bank of the United States
 - Biddle turned to Daniel Webster and named him the bank's legal counsel
 - Clay and Webster persuaded Biddle to apply to Congress in 1832 for a bill to renew the Bank's charter
- Congress passed the recharter bill but Jackson vetoed it
- Jackson and Van Buren defeated Clay with 55% of the popular votes
 - Clay ran for the National Republicans

- Jackson decided to remove the government's deposits from the bank
 - His treasury disagreed with the decision but he went through with it anyway
- He named Taney to begin putting the deposits into "pet banks"
- Biddle decided to call in loans and raise interest rates in order to stretch the Bank's resources
 - Biddle realized that his self-image was being destroyed so he reversed himself and began to grant credit in abundance and reasonable terms
- Jackson had won a great political victory
- Jackson then moved to the Supreme Court and when Marshall died he put Taney as the chief justice
 - Taney maintained that the object of government was to promote the general happiness, an object that took precedence over the rights of contract and property
 - He argued that a state had the right to amend or get rid of a contract if such actions were necessary to advance the well-being of the community

Whig Party

- Supported the American System: A national bank, federal funds for internal improvements, and a protective tariff
- They were concerned with crimes associated with immigrants
- The basis of their supporters were from New England the Mid Atlantic States

Democratic Party

- They supported local rule, limited government, free trade, and opportunity for white males
- They were concerned with monopolies, national banks, high tariffs, and high land prices
- The basis of their supporters were from the South and West
 - Urban workers

Two-Party System

- Whigs and Democrats

Panic of 1837

- Van Buren enters the presidency in 1836 with Jackson's support
- Pet banks were printing bank notes in excess of gold, silver they had
- There was a government demand for gold and silver to pay for public lands
- There was a rush to exchange paper money and banks stopped taking paper
- Banks closed and there was a collapse of credit
 - People lose their savings and businesses were bankrupted
 - More than a third of people were out of work

- Van Buren attempts but is unsuccessful in solving the economic problems

Spoils System

- Jackson began placing high-ranking members of the executive branch
- He called it “Rotation in Office”
- Established the right of elected officials to appoint their own followers to public office

“Five Civilized Tribes”

- The agrarian tribes of the south were more troubling to the government in the 1830s
 - In Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida lived the “Five Civilized Tribes”
 - Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw and Choctaw
 - They had all established great agricultural economies
- The Cherokees in Georgia had established their own written language and a formal constitution (1827) that created an independent Cherokee nation
 - They were more closely tied to their lands than many of the more nomadic tribes in the North
- Some white settlers argued that the Cherokee should be allowed to retain their eastern lands, since they had become a civilized society
 - They had also, under pressure from missionaries and government agents, given up many of their traditional ways
- The men who had once hunted while the women domesticated the land have now put aside hunting and taken up agriculture as well
- The State of Georgia’s independent effort to dislodge the Creeks, over objection of President Adams, was one example of impatience
 - Legislatures in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi began passing laws to regulate the tribes remaining in their states
- Congress, in 1830, passed the Removal Act (with Jackson’s approval), which appropriated money to finance federal negotiations with the southern tribes aimed at relocating them to the West
 - Jackson soon began arranged hundreds of treaties with the rest of the tribes, thus putting them under a lot of pressure
 - Most of the southern tribes were too weak to resist and they ceded their lands in return for only token payments while others challenged
- In Georgia, the Cherokees tried to stop white encroachment by appealing to the Supreme Court
 - *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia* seemed to vindicate the tribe
 - Jackson had no sympathy for the Cherokees and little patience with the court

- Jackson used Marshall's ruling to back his claim that the justices were using the issue to express their hostility to the larger aims of his presidency
- Jackson responded with hostility to the decision of *Worcester v. Georgia*
 - The ruling was not enforced
- In 1835, the federal government extracted a treaty from a minority faction of the Cherokees, none of them a chosen representative of the Cherokee Nation
 - The treaty ceded the tribe's land to Georgia in return for \$5 million and a reservation west of the Mississippi
 - The majority of the 17,000 Cherokees did not recognize the treaty as legitimate and refused to leave their homes
- Jackson then send an army of 7,000 under General Winfield Scott to round them up and drive them westward

Worcester v. Georgia

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Trail of Tears

- 1,000 Cherokee fled to NC, where the federal government eventually provided a small reservation for them in the Smoky Mountains
 - Most of them, however, made the long trek to "Indian Territory" (later becomes Oklahoma) beginning in the winter of 1838
- The trek was brutal for both men, women, and children
 - Perhaps 1/8 or more of the emigres perished before or soon after reaching their unwanted destination
 - In their new reservations they never forgot their journey and referred to it as "The Trail Where They Cried" also known as the Trail of Tears

- Jackson claimed that he removed the tribes in order to protect them, most likely a BS excuse to justify his actions
- Between 1830 and 1838 the “Five Civilized Tribes” were expelled from the southern states and forced to relocate in the new Indian Territory which Congress had officially created by the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834
- The new native lands were deemed undesirable to the whites
- They also felt that it was perfect for giving to the natives because it was located on the eastern edge of what white explorers previously had called the “Great American Desert,” meaning that the land was unfit for habitation
- Only the Seminoles in Florida managed to resist the pressures to relocate, and even their success was short lived

Black Hawk War

- In the Old Northwest the expanding process of expelling the woodland Indians culminated in a last battle in 1831-1832
 - This battle was between White Settlers in Illinois and an alliance of Sauk (or Sac) and Fox Indians under aged warrior Black Hawk
- There had been an earlier treaty that ceded tribal lands in Illinois to the U.S., but Black Hawk and his followers refused to recognize the legality of the agreement
 - 1,000 of these Indians crossed the river and reoccupied vacant lands in Illinois
 - The white settlers feared that the resettlement was the beginning of an invasion so they assembled the Illinois state militia and federal troops to repel the “invaders”
- The Black Hawk war was primarily successful for the White military
 - The white leaders in western Illinois vowed to exterminate the “bandit collection of Indians” and attacked them even when the Black Hawks were surrendering
- The Black Hawks, suffering and starving, retreated across the Mississippi into Iowa
 - The U.S. captured Black Hawk and sent him on a tour of the East, where Andrew Jackson was one of many curious whites who wanted to meet him

Maysville Road

- A sign of Jackson’s willingness to eliminate concentrated power in the federal government and in powerful and aristocratic institutions associated with it
- Jackson argued that the bill was unconstitutional because the road, in question, lay entirely within Kentucky and was not therefore “interstate commerce”
- He also believed it was unwise because committed the government to what Jackson considered extravagant expenditures
- His beliefs led him into one of the most celebrated episodes of his presidency, **War against the Bank of the United States**

Questions to Consider:

- **How Democratic was Jackson? What during this time shows an expansion of democracy and what shows a diminishing?**
- **How did Jackson change American politics and the presidency?**
- **In what ways was America becoming more sectional?**