Why It Matters

As you study Unit 5, you will learn how growth, migration, and conflict increased following the Industrial Revolution. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.

Primary Sources Library
See pages 966–967 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 5.

Use the American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM to find additional primary sources about the developing nation.
“Liberty and Union, now and forever. . . .”

—Daniel Webster, 1830
Why It Matters
The struggle for political rights took shape in the 1820s and 1830s, when many people questioned the limits of American democracy.

The Impact Today
In the years since the Jackson era:
• Women, African Americans, and other minorities have won the right to vote and to participate in the political process.
• Today every United States citizen aged 18 or older, regardless of gender, race, or wealth, has the right to vote.

The American Journey Video  The chapter 11 video, “Old Hickory,” chronicles events in Andrew Jackson’s military and political careers.
**Stump Speaking** by George Caleb Bingham  Bingham’s series of election paintings expressed faith in the growth of democracy.

1834  
- Indian Territory created by Congress

1837  
- Panic of 1837

1838  
- Cherokee forced to move west

1839  
- Scottish blacksmith, Kirkpatrick Macmillian, produces first bicycle

1840  
- Harrison elected president

1843  
- Charles Dickens writes “A Christmas Carol”

1845  
- Deadly fungus destroys much of Ireland’s potato crop

---

**Evaluating Information Study Foldable**

Make this foldable to help you ask and answer questions about the Jackson era.

**Step 1** Fold a sheet of paper in half from side to side, leaving a $\frac{1}{2}$ inch tab along the side.

**Step 2** Turn the paper and fold it into fourths.

**Step 3** Unfold and cut up along the three fold lines.

**Step 4** Label your foldable as shown.

**Reading and Writing** As you read, ask yourself “who” Andrew Jackson was, “what” he did, “when” he did it, and “why” it happened. Write your thoughts and facts under each appropriate tab.
Main Idea
The United States’s political system changed under Andrew Jackson.

Key Terms
favorite son, majority, plurality, mudslinging, landslide, suffrage, bureaucracy, spoils system, caucus, nominating convention, tariff, nullify, secede

Reading Strategy
As you read Section 1, create a chart like the one below and in the boxes describe the political parties in 1828.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Views</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Republicans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Republicans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Read to Learn
• why the nation’s sixth president was chosen by the House.
• what political changes came under President Jackson.

Section Theme
Continuity and Change James Monroe’s decision not to seek a third term was followed by two hotly contested presidential elections.

Preview of Events
1825
John Quincy Adams wins presidency in House election

1828
Andrew Jackson elected president

1830
Webster and Hayne debate

1832
South Carolina threatens to secede

AN American Story
The presidential campaign of 1828 was one of the most vicious in American history. Supporters of John Quincy Adams in Philadelphia distributed a pamphlet titled “Some Account of Some of the Bloody Deeds of General Jackson.” One illustration in the pamphlet showed a ferocious-looking Andrew Jackson plunging his sword through the body of a helpless civilian. Meanwhile Jackson’s supporters falsely accused John Quincy Adams of kidnapping a young American girl and selling her to the ruler of Russia.

The Election of 1824
From 1816 to 1824, the United States had only one political party, the Jeffersonian Republicans. Within the party, however, differences arose among various groups that had their own views and interests. In 1824 James Monroe was finishing his second term as president but declined to run for a third term. Four candidates from the Republican Party competed for the presidency.
The four candidates’ opinions differed on the role of the federal government. They also spoke for different parts of the country. The Republican Party nominated William H. Crawford, a former congressmen from Georgia. However, Crawford’s poor health weakened him as a candidate.

The other three Republicans in the presidential race were favorite son candidates, meaning they received the backing of their home states rather than that of the national party. Two of these candidates—Andrew Jackson and Henry Clay—came from the West. Clay, of Kentucky, was Speaker of the House of Representatives. He fought for his program of internal improvements, high tariffs, and a stronger national bank.

General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was not a Washington politician, but he was a hero of the War of 1812. Raised in poverty, he claimed to speak for the Americans who had been left out of politics.

John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, son of former president John Adams, received support from merchants of the Northeast.

**Striking a Bargain**

In the election Jackson received the largest number of popular votes. However, no candidate received a majority, or more than half, of the electoral votes. Jackson won 99 electoral votes, which gave him a plurality, or largest single share. Under the terms of the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution, when no candidate receives a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives selects the president.

While the House was preparing to vote on the next president, Henry Clay met with Adams. Clay agreed to use his influence as Speaker of the House to defeat Jackson. In return Clay may have hoped to gain the position of secretary of state.

With Clay’s help Adams was elected president in the House. Adams quickly named Clay as secretary of state, traditionally the stepping-stone to the presidency. Jackson’s followers accused the two men of making a “corrupt bargain” and stealing the election.

**The Adams Presidency**

In Washington, D.C., the “corrupt bargain” had cast a shadow over Adams’s presidency. Outside the capital Adams’s policies ran against popular opinion. Adams wanted a stronger navy and government funds for scientific expeditions. Adams also wanted the federal government to direct economic growth.

Such ideas horrified those who desired a more limited role for the federal government, and Congress turned down many of Adams’s proposals. This was especially true after the congressional elections of 1826, when enemies of Adams controlled both the House and Senate.

**Reading Check** Describing Why were Adams and Clay accused of making a “corrupt bargain”?

**The Election of 1828**

By the election of 1828, the party had divided into two separate parties: the Democratic-Republicans, who supported Jackson, and the National Republicans, who supported Adams. Jackson’s Democratic-Republicans, or Democrats, favored states’ rights and mistrusted
strong central government. Many Democrats were individualists from the frontier, immigrants, or laborers in the big cities.

The National Republicans wanted a strong central government. They supported federal measures, such as road building and the Bank of the United States, that would shape the nation’s economy. Many were merchants or farmers.

During the campaign both parties resorted to mudslinging, attempts to ruin their opponent’s reputation with insults. The Democratic-Republicans accused Adams of betraying the people. They put out a handbill calling the election a contest “between an honest patriotism, on the one side, and an unholy, selfish ambition, on the other.”

The National Republicans fought back. They created a vicious campaign song to play up embarrassing incidents in Jackson’s life. One involved Jackson’s order in the War of 1812 to execute several soldiers who had deserted.

Mudslinging was not the only new element introduced in the 1828 campaign. Election slogans, rallies, buttons, and events such as barbecues were also used to arouse enthusiasm. All of these new features became a permanent part of American political life.

**Jackson Triumphs**

In the election of 1828, Jackson received most of the votes cast by voters of the new frontier states. He also received many votes in the South, where his support for states’ rights was popular. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, who had served as Adams’s vice president, switched parties to run with Jackson. Calhoun also championed states’ rights. Jackson won the election in a landslide, an overwhelming victory, with 56 percent of the popular vote and 178 electoral votes.

President Andrew Jackson promised “equal protection and equal benefits” for all Americans—at least for all white American men. During his first term, a spirit of equality spread through American politics.

In the nation’s early years, most states had limited suffrage, or the right to vote, for men who owned property or paid taxes. By 1815 many states had loosened or soon would loosen the property requirements for voting. In the 1820s democracy expanded as people who had not been allowed to vote voted for the first time. Between 1824 and 1828, the percentage of white males voting in presidential elections increased from 26.9 to 57.6 percent. For the first time, white male sharecroppers, factory workers, and many others were brought into the political process.
The expansion of suffrage continued, and in 1840 more than 80 percent of white males voted in the presidential election. However, women still could not vote, and African Americans and Native Americans had few rights of any kind.

Another development in the broadening of democracy involved presidential electors. By 1828, 22 of the 24 states changed their constitutions to allow the people, rather than the state legislatures, to choose presidential electors.

Electoral Changes

Jackson’s supporters worked to make the political system more democratic as well. They abandoned the unpopular caucus system. In this system major political candidates were chosen by committees made up of members of Congress. The caucuses were replaced by nominating conventions in which delegates from the states selected the party’s presidential candidate.

The Democrats held their first national party convention in 1832 in Baltimore, Maryland. The convention drew delegates from each state in the Union. The delegates decided to nominate the candidate who could gather two-thirds of the vote, and Jackson won the nomination. This system allowed many people to participate in the selection of political candidates.

One Jackson supporter explained it another way: “To the victors belong the spoils.” In other words, because the Jacksonians had won the election, they had the right to the spoils—benefits of victory—such as handing out government jobs to supporters. The practice of replacing government employees with the winning candidate’s supporters became known as the spoils system.

The Spoils System

Democrats carried the spirit of democracy into government. They wanted to open up government jobs to people from all walks of life. They were disturbed that the federal government had become a bureaucracy, a system in which nonelected officials carry out laws. Democrats argued that ordinary citizens could handle any government job.

President Jackson fired many federal workers and replaced them with his supporters. The discharged employees protested vehemently. They charged that Jackson was acting like a tyrant, hiring and firing people at will. Jackson responded that a new set of federal employees would be good for democracy.

The expansion of suffrage continued, and in 1840 more than 80 percent of white males voted in the presidential election. However, women still could not vote, and African Americans and Native Americans had few rights of any kind.

Another development in the broadening of democracy involved presidential electors. By 1828, 22 of the 24 states changed their constitutions to allow the people, rather than the state legislatures, to choose presidential electors.

Electoral Changes

Jackson’s supporters worked to make the political system more democratic as well. They abandoned the unpopular caucus system. In this system major political candidates were chosen by committees made up of members of Congress. The caucuses were replaced by nominating conventions in which delegates from the states selected the party’s presidential candidate.

The Democrats held their first national party convention in 1832 in Baltimore, Maryland. The convention drew delegates from each state in the Union. The delegates decided to nominate the candidate who could gather two-thirds of the vote, and Jackson won the nomination. This system allowed many people to participate in the selection of political candidates.

One Jackson supporter explained it another way: “To the victors belong the spoils.” In other words, because the Jacksonians had won the election, they had the right to the spoils—benefits of victory—such as handing out government jobs to supporters. The practice of replacing government employees with the winning candidate’s supporters became known as the spoils system.

The Spoils System

Democrats carried the spirit of democracy into government. They wanted to open up government jobs to people from all walks of life. They were disturbed that the federal government had become a bureaucracy, a system in which nonelected officials carry out laws. Democrats argued that ordinary citizens could handle any government job.

President Jackson fired many federal workers and replaced them with his supporters. The discharged employees protested vehemently. They charged that Jackson was acting like a tyrant, hiring and firing people at will. Jackson responded that a new set of federal employees would be good for democracy.
The Tariff Debate

Americans from different parts of the country disagreed strongly on some issues. One such issue was the tariff, a fee paid by merchants who imported goods. While president, Jackson faced a tariff crisis that tested the national government’s powers.

In 1828 Congress passed a very high tariff on manufactured goods from Europe. Manufacturers in the United States—mostly in the Northeast—welcomed the tariff. Because tariffs made European goods more expensive, American consumers were more likely to buy American-made goods.

Southerners, however, hated the new tariff. They called it the Tariff of Abominations—something hateful. These critics argued that, while tariffs forced consumers to buy American goods, tariffs also meant higher prices.

The South Protests

Southern politicians and plantation owners were ready to act. Vice President John C. Calhoun argued that a state or group of states had the right to nullify, or cancel, a federal law it considered against state interests. Some Southerners called for the Southern states to secede, or break away, from the United States and form their own government. When Calhoun explored this idea, troubling questions arose. The United States had been a nation for nearly 50 years. What if a state disagreed with the federal government? Did a state have the right to go its own way?

Calhoun drew from the ideas that Madison and Jefferson wrote in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798–1799. Calhoun argued that since the federal government was a creation of the states, the states themselves are the final authority of the constitutionality of federal laws. The alternative to state sovereignty, Calhoun pointed out, is to allow the Supreme Court or Congress to tell the people what our Constitution means and what orders we must obey.

The Webster–Hayne Debate

In January 1830, Senator Daniel Webster delivered a stinging attack on nullification. Webster stood on the floor of the Senate to challenge a speech given by Robert Hayne, a young senator from South Carolina. Hayne had defended the idea that the states had a right to nullify acts of the federal government, and even to secede.

In his response, Webster defended the Constitution and the Union. He argued that nullification could only mean the end of the Union. Webster closed with the ringing statement, “Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!”

Jackson Takes a Stand

Nobody knew exactly where President Jackson stood on the issue of nullification. Many Southerners hoped that Jackson might side with them. In April 1830 supporters of states’ rights invited the president to speak at a dinner. The
guests, including Calhoun, waited anxiously for Jackson to speak. Finally, the president rose to his feet and spoke directly to Calhoun.

"Our federal union . . . must be preserved!"

The states’ rights supporters were shocked and disappointed, but Calhoun answered the president’s challenge. He raised his glass and said,

"The Union—next to our liberty, most dear."

He meant that the fate of the Union must take second place to a state’s liberty to overrule the Constitution if its interests were threatened.

Calhoun realized that Jackson would not change his views. Wishing to return to Congress to speak for Southern interests, Calhoun won election to the Senate in December 1832. Not long after, he resigned the vice presidency.

The Nullification Crisis

Southern anger over the tariff continued to build. The Union seemed on the verge of splitting apart. In 1832 Congress passed a new, lower tariff, hoping that the protest in the South would die down. It did not.

South Carolina, Calhoun’s home state, had led the fight against the so-called Tariff of Abominations. Now South Carolina took the battle one step further. The state legislature passed the Nullification Act, declaring that it would not pay the “illegal” tariffs of 1828 and 1832. The South Carolina legislators threatened to secede from the Union if the federal government tried to interfere with their actions.

To ease the crisis, Jackson supported a compromise bill proposed by Henry Clay that would gradually lower the tariff over several years. At the same time, Jackson made sure that the South would accept Clay’s compromise. Early in 1833 he persuaded Congress to pass the Force Bill, which allowed the president to use the United States military to enforce acts of Congress.

In response, South Carolina accepted the new tariff. However, to show that they had not been defeated, state leaders voted to nullify the Force Act. Calhoun and his followers claimed a victory for nullification, which had, they insisted, forced the revision of the tariff. For the time being, the crisis between a state and the federal government was over. Yet South Carolina and the rest of the South would remember the lesson of the nullification crisis—that the federal government would not allow a state to go its own way without a fight.

Reading Check

Summarizing Why did South Carolina pass the Nullification Act?
Analyzing Primary Sources

Why Learn This Skill?

Historians determine what happened in the past by combing through bits of evidence to reconstruct events. This evidence—both written and illustrated—is called *primary sources*. Examining primary sources can help you understand history.

Learning the Skill

Primary sources are records of events made by the people who witnessed them. They include letters, diaries, photographs and pictures, news articles, and legal documents. To analyze primary sources, follow these steps:

- Identify when and where the document was written.
- Read the document for its content and try to answer the five “W” questions: Who is it about? What is it about? When did it happen? Where did it happen? Why did it happen?
- Identify the author’s opinions.

Practicing the Skill

*The primary source that follows comes from Speckled Snake, an elder of the Creek Nation, in 1829. He was more than 100 years old at the time.*

"Brothers! I have listened to many talks from our Great Father. When he first came over the wide waters, he was but a little man. . . . But when the white man had warmed himself before the Indians’ fire and filled himself with their hominy, he became very large. With a step he bestrode the mountains and his feet covered the plains and the valleys. His hand grasped the eastern and the western sea, and his head rested on the moon. Then he became our Great Father. Brothers, I have listened to a great many talks from our Great Father. But they always began and ended in this—‘Get a little further; you are too near me.’"

1. What events are described?
2. Who was affected by these events?
3. What is the general feeling of the person who stated this opinion?

Applying the Skill

Analyzing Primary Sources  Find a primary source from your past—a photograph, a report card, an old newspaper clipping, or your first baseball card. Bring this source to class and explain what it shows about that time in your life.

Glencoe’s *Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 1,* provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.
Main Idea
As more white settlers moved into the Southeast, conflict arose between the Native Americans who lived there and the United States government.

Key Terms
relocate, guerrilla tactics

Reading Strategy
As you read Section 2, create a chart like the one below that describes what happened to each group of Native Americans as the United States expanded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Congress passes the Indian Removal Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Black Hawk leads Sauk and Fox people to Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Seminole refuse to leave Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>Cherokee driven from their homelands on the Trail of Tears</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Guide to Reading

Read to Learn
• how Native American peoples were forced off their lands in the Southeast.
• how President Jackson defied the Supreme Court.

Section Theme
Groups and Institutions In the 1830s many Native American peoples were forced to relocate.

Moving Native Americans
While the United States had expanded westward by the 1830s, large numbers of Native Americans still lived in the eastern part of the country. In Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida lived the “Five Civilized Tribes”—the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. The tribes had established farming societies with successful economies.
Because the area west of the Mississippi was dry and seemed unsuitable for farming, few white Americans lived there. Many settlers wanted the federal government to relocate Native Americans living in the Southeast. They proposed to force the Native Americans to leave their land and move west of the Mississippi River. President Andrew Jackson, a man of the frontier himself, supported the settlers’ demand for Native American land.

**Indian Removal Act**

Congress responded by passing the Indian Removal Act in 1830. The act allowed the federal government to pay Native Americans to move west. Jackson then sent officials to negotiate treaties with Native Americans of the Southeast. Most felt compelled to accept payment for their lands. In 1834 Congress created the Indian Territory, an area in present-day Oklahoma, for Native Americans from the Southeast.

---

**Geography Skills**

Between 1830 and 1840, the U.S. government moved about 60,000 Native Americans to reservations.

1. **Movement** What group was forced to move farthest from its homeland?
2. **Analyzing Information** Which groups were forced to move from Mississippi?
The Cherokee Nation

The Cherokee Nation, however, refused to give up its land. In treaties of the 1790s, the federal government had recognized the Cherokee people in the state of Georgia as a separate nation with their own laws. Georgia, however, refused to recognize Cherokee laws.

The Cherokee sued the state government and eventually took their case to the Supreme Court. In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that Georgia had no right to interfere with the Cherokee. Only the federal government had authority over matters involving the Cherokee. (See page 1000 of the Appendix for a summary of *Worcester v. Georgia*.)

President Jackson had supported Georgia’s efforts to remove the Cherokee. He vowed to ignore the Supreme Court’s ruling. “John Marshall has made his decision,” Jackson reportedly said. “Now let him enforce it.”

The Trail of Tears

In 1835 the federal government persuaded a few Cherokee to sign a treaty giving up their people’s land. Yet most of the 17,000 Cherokee refused to honor the treaty. They wrote a protest letter to the government and people of the United States.

“We are aware that some persons suppose it will be for our advantage to [re]move beyond the Mississippi. . . . Our people universally think otherwise. . . . We wish to remain on the land of our fathers.”

The Cherokee plea for understanding did not soften the resolve of President Jackson or the white settlers of the area. In 1838 General Winfield Scott and an army of 7,000 federal troops came to remove the Cherokee from their homes and lead them west. (See page 988 of the Appendix for additional text of the Cherokee protest.)

Scott threatened to use force if the Cherokee did not leave. He told them he had positioned troops all around the country so that resistance and escape were both hopeless. “Chiefs, head men, and warriors—Will you then, by resistance, compel us to resort to arms?” The Cherokee knew that fighting would only lead to their destruction. Filled with sadness and anger, their leaders gave in, and the long march to the West began. One man in Kentucky wrote of seeing hundreds of Cherokee marching by:

"History Through Art" 
*Trail of Tears* by Robert Lindneux  
Native Americans who were forced from their land traveled west in the 1830s. *Why was the forced march called the “Trail of Tears”??*
Osceola was born in 1804. His ancestors were Creek, African American, British, Irish, and Scottish. After President Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act in 1830, Osceola became the leader of the Seminoles and led successful attacks on United States forts. Hiding in the swampy lands of the Everglades, the Seminoles grew tired, sick, and hungry. Osceola attempted to surrender but was captured. He and his family were imprisoned at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, where he died of a throat infection in 1838. Although he had waged a war against the United States, the public considered Osceola an honorable hero and a victim of trickery, and he was given a funeral with full military honors.

“Even [the] aged . . . nearly ready to drop in the grave, were traveling with heavy burdens attached to their backs, sometimes on frozen ground and sometimes on muddy streets, with no covering for their feet.”

Brutal weather along the way claimed thousands of Cherokee lives. Their forced journey west became known to the Cherokee people as the Trail Where They Cried. Historians call it the Trail of Tears.

Native American Resistance

In 1832 the Sauk chieftain, Black Hawk, led a force of Sauk and Fox people back to Illinois, their homeland. They wanted to recapture this area, which had been given up in a treaty. The Illinois state militia and federal troops responded with force, gathering nearly 4,500 soldiers. They chased the Fox and Sauk to the Mississippi River and slaughtered most of the Native Americans as they tried to flee westward into present-day Iowa.

The Seminole people of Florida were the only Native Americans who successfully resisted their removal. Although they were pressured in the early 1830s to sign treaties giving up their land, the Seminole chief, Osceola, and some of his people refused to leave Florida. The Seminole decided to go to war against the United States instead.

In 1835 the Seminole joined forces with a group of African Americans who had run away to escape slavery. Together they attacked white settlements along the Florida coast. They used guerrilla tactics, making surprise attacks and then retreating back into the forests and swamps. In December 1835, Seminole ambushed soldiers under the command of Major Francis Dade. Only a few of the 110 soldiers survived the attack. The Dade Massacre pressured the call for more troops and equipment to fight the Seminole.

By 1842 more than 1,500 American soldiers had died in the Seminole wars. The government gave up and allowed some of the Seminole to remain in Florida. Many Seminole, however,
had died in the long war, and many more were captured and forced to move westward. After 1842 only a few scattered groups of Native Americans lived east of the Mississippi. Most had been removed to the West. Native Americans had given up more than 100 million acres of eastern land to the federal government. They had received in return about $68 million and 32 million acres in lands west of the Mississippi River. There they lived, divided by tribes, in reservations. Eventually, these reservations, too, would face intrusion from white civilization.

The area of present-day Oklahoma became part of the United States in 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase. The United States set aside this area as the home for various Native American groups. The Five Civilized Tribes were relocated in the eastern half of present-day Oklahoma on lands claimed by several Plains groups, including the Osage, Comanche, and Kiowa. United States Army leaders got agreements from the Plains groups to let the Five Civilized Tribes live in peace. Settled in their new homes, the Five Tribes developed their governments, improved their farms, and built schools. The Five Tribes also developed a police force called the Lighthorsemen. This law enforcement unit maintained safety for the region.

Comparing How was the response of the Seminoles different from that of the Cherokee when they were removed from their lands?

Reading Check Comparing How was the response of the Seminoles different from that of the Cherokee when they were removed from their lands?
John Ross (left), the principal chief of the Cherokee, opposed the removal of his people. Rebecca Neugin (right) was one of the Cherokee forced to march west to Oklahoma. In this 1931 photograph, Neugin is 96 years old.

The Cherokee supplemented their meager diet with ground acorns and other foods they found along the route.
CHAPTER 11 The Jackson Era

1. To what present-day state were the Five Civilized Tribes forced to move?

2. Through what cities did the Cherokee travel during the removal that began on June 6, 1838?

**LEARNING FROM GEOGRAPHY**

**TRAIL OF TEARS**

LONG BEFORE EUROPEAN EXPLORERS ARRIVED, the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole were living in eastern North America. The Native Americans built permanent communities, practiced agriculture, and developed complex tribal governments—thereby earning the name of Five Civilized Tribes.

**REMOVAL**

As white settlers moved into the southeastern states, they began demanding the land held by Native Americans. In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act to move the Five Civilized Tribes west of the Mississippi. Under pressure, the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek moved west while the Cherokee and the Seminole resisted.

**RESISTANCE**

Despite protests from the Cherokee people, they were forced to march west. In 1838, 13 ragged groups trekked to Fort Gibson in the newly created Indian Territory (see maps). Along the journey, which became known as the “Trail of Tears,” 4,000 Cherokee died of cold, hunger, or disease.

Some of the Seminole refused to abandon their homeland and waged a guerrilla war in the Florida Everglades until the government gave up its efforts to resettle them in 1842.

**Forced Migration, 1830–1840**

![Bar chart showing forced migration of different tribes]

1. To what present-day state were the Five Civilized Tribes forced to move?

2. Through what cities did the Cherokee travel during the removal that began on June 6, 1838?
War Against the Bank

Jackson had another great battle during his presidency. For years, he had attacked the Bank of the United States as being an organization of wealthy Easterners over which ordinary citizens had no control. The Bank of the United States was a powerful institution. It held the federal government’s money and controlled much of the country’s money supply. Although the Bank had been chartered by Congress, it was run by private bankers rather than elected officials.
The Bank’s president, Nicholas Biddle, represented everything Jackson disliked. Jackson prided himself on being a self-made man who started with nothing. Biddle, on the other hand, came from a wealthy family and had a good education and social standing.

In 1832 Jackson’s opponents gave him the chance to take action against the Bank. Senators Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, friends of Biddle, planned to use the Bank to defeat Jackson in the 1832 presidential election. They persuaded Biddle to apply early for a new charter—a government permit to operate the Bank—even though the Bank’s current charter did not expire until 1836.

Clay and Webster believed the Bank had popular support. They thought that an attempt by Jackson to veto its charter would lead to his defeat and allow Henry Clay to be elected president.

When the bill to renew the Bank’s charter came to Jackson for signature, he was sick in bed. Jackson told his friend Martin Van Buren, “The bank, Mr. Van Buren, is trying to kill me. But I will kill it!” Jackson vetoed, or rejected, the bill.

Jackson, like many others, still felt the Bank was unconstitutional despite the Supreme Court’s decision to the contrary in McCulloch v. Maryland (1819). In a message to Congress, Jackson angrily denounced the Bank, arguing that

“... when laws ... make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their Government.”

The Election of 1832

Webster and Clay were right about one thing. The Bank of the United States did play a large part in the campaign of 1832. Their strategy for

Analyzing Political Cartoons

Many cartoons from the period depicted Jackson’s battle against the Second Bank of the United States. Does this cartoon support the president or the Bank? Explain.
Shortly after Van Buren’s election, the country entered a severe economic depression, a period in which business and employment fell to a very low level. The depression began with the Panic of 1837, a time when land values dropped sharply, investments declined suddenly, and banks failed. Thousands of businesses closed and hundreds of thousands of people lost their jobs. In the South, cotton prices fell to record lows. Farmers plunged into debt and lost their land. In the cities, many people could not afford food or rent. In February 1837, people in New York put up signs voicing their anger:

“Bread, Meat, Rent, and Fuel!
Their prices must come down!
The Voice of the People shall be heard
and will prevail.”

President Van Buren believed in the principle of laissez-faire—that government should interfere as little as possible in the nation’s economy. Van Buren did persuade Congress to establish an independent federal treasury in 1840. The government would no longer deposit its money with private individual banks as it had started to do during President Jackson’s war with the Bank of the United States. Instead the government would store its money in the federal treasury. The private banks had used government funds to back their banknotes. The new treasury system would prevent banks from using government funds in this way and so help guard against further bank crises.

Van Buren and his supporters hailed the new law as a “second declaration of independence.” However, criticism of the act came from members gaining support for Clay as president, however, backfired. Most people supported Jackson’s veto of the bank charter bill. Jackson was re-elected, receiving 55 percent of the popular vote and collecting 219 electoral votes to Clay’s 49. Martin Van Buren was elected vice president.

Once re-elected, Jackson decided on a plan to “kill” the Bank ahead of the 1836 schedule. He ordered the withdrawal of all government deposits from the Bank and placed the funds in smaller state banks. In 1836 he refused to sign a new charter for the Bank, and it closed.

**Economics**

**The Panic of 1837**

When Jackson decided not to run for a third term in 1836, the Democrats selected Martin Van Buren of New York, Jackson’s friend and vice president, as their candidate. Van Buren faced bitter opposition from the Whigs, a new political party that included former National Republicans and other anti-Jackson forces. Jackson’s great popularity and his personal support helped Van Buren easily defeat several Whig opponents. Van Buren was inaugurated in 1837.
of Van Buren’s own Democratic Party as well as from Whigs. The split in the Democratic Party meant the Whigs had a chance to win the presidency in 1840.

**Reading Check**  
**Explaining**  
What was the new treasury system supposed to prevent?

### The Whigs Come to Power

The Democrats had controlled the presidency for 12 years. However, with the country still in the depths of depression, the Whigs thought they had a chance to win the election in 1840. They nominated **William Henry Harrison**, a hero of the War of 1812, to run against President Van Buren. **John Tyler**, a planter from Virginia, was Harrison’s running mate. Because Harrison had gained national fame defeating Tecumseh’s followers in the Battle of Tippecanoe, the Whigs’ campaign slogan was “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too.”

To win the election, Harrison had to gain the support of the laborers and farmers who had voted for Jackson. The Whigs adopted a log cabin as their symbol. Political cartoons in newspapers showed Harrison, a wealthy man from Virginia, in front of a log cabin. The Whigs wanted to show that their candidate was a “man of the people.”

The Whigs also ridiculed Van Buren as “King Martin,” a wealthy snob who had spent the people’s money on fancy furniture for the White House. The **log cabin campaign** seemed to work, and Harrison went on to defeat Van Buren by a wide margin.

William Henry Harrison was inaugurated in 1841 as the first Whig president. The Whigs were still celebrating their victory when Harrison died of pneumonia on April 4, 1841. John Tyler of Virginia became the first vice president to gain the presidency because the elected president died in office.

Although Tyler had been elected vice president as a Whig, he had once been a Democrat. As president, Tyler, a strong supporter of states’ rights, vetoed several bills sponsored by Whigs in Congress, including a bill to recharter the Bank of the United States. His lack of party loyalty outraged Whigs. Most of Tyler’s cabinet resigned, and Whig leaders in Congress expelled Tyler from the party.

It seemed that the Whigs could not agree on their party’s goals. Increasingly, Whigs voted according to sectional ties—North, South, and West—not party ties. This division may explain why the Whig candidate, Henry Clay, lost the election of 1844 to Democratic candidate **James Polk**. After only four years, the Whigs were out of power again.

**Reading Check**  
**Describing**  
How did John Tyler become president?

### Checking for Understanding

1. **Key Terms**  
   Use each of these terms in a complete sentence that will help explain its meaning: **veto**, **depression**, **laissez-faire**, **log cabin campaign**.

2. **Reviewing Facts**  
   List Jackson’s reasons for wanting to “kill” the Bank of the United States.

3. **Reviewing Themes**  
   **Economic Factors**  
   Why did President Van Buren do little to solve the nation’s economic problems during the depression?

### Critical Thinking

4. **Analyzing Information**  
   What tactics did the Whigs borrow from Jackson’s campaign to win the election of 1840?

5. **Organizing Information**  
   Re-create the diagram below to show how the Panic of 1837 affected the presidency of Martin Van Buren.

### Analyzing Visuals

6. **Analyzing Political Cartoons**  
   Study the cartoon on page 349. Do you think the Bank of the United States is portrayed positively or negatively? Explain your answer.

### Interdisciplinary Activity

**Art**  
Write a campaign slogan for Van Buren or Harrison in the election of 1840. Then design a campaign button that incorporates your slogan.
Reviewing Key Terms

On graph paper, create a word search puzzle using the following terms. Crisscross the terms vertically and horizontally. Then fill in the remaining squares with extra letters. List the definitions below the puzzle as clues. Share your puzzle with a classmate.

1. plurality
2. landslide
3. suffrage
4. majority
5. nullify
6. secede
7. depression

Reviewing Key Facts

8. How did the supporters of Jackson and Adams differ in their beliefs?
9. What were some of the political tactics used by Democratic-Republicans and the National Republicans in the election of 1828?
10. Which Americans were prohibited from voting in most states before the 1800s?
11. How did nominating conventions make the selection of political candidates more democratic?
12. Why was the South against high tariffs?
13. Who did the Seminoles join forces with as they fought against forced removal from their land?
14. How did the Panic of 1837 affect the nation’s economy?
15. Why was Harrison’s log cabin campaign successful?

Critical Thinking

16. Drawing Conclusions  President Andrew Jackson promised “equal protection and equal benefits” for all Americans. Do you think he included Native Americans in his promise? Why or why not?
17. Analyzing Themes: Groups and Institutions  What agreement did the Cherokee Nation make with the federal government that Georgia refused to recognize?
18. Organizing Information  Re-create the chart below. List the issues that Jackson dealt with during his presidency. Then describe how he responded to each issue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Jackson’s response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Geography and History Activity

The issue of states’ rights was debated in the election of 1828. Study the map below and answer the questions that follow.

**Election of 1828**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Total electoral votes received</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>178 Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams</td>
<td>83 Republican</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. **Region** Which general areas of the United States voted for Andrew Jackson in the election of 1828?

20. **Location** Which candidate won more votes in Adams’s home state of Massachusetts?

21. **Place** Which three states divided their total electoral count between the two candidates?

Practicing Skills

**Analyzing Primary Sources** In an annual message to Congress in 1835, President Andrew Jackson spoke the words below. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“All preceding experiments for the improvement of the Indians have failed. It seems now to be an established fact that they cannot live in contact with a civilized community and prosper. . . . A country west of Missouri and Arkansas has been assigned to them, into which the white settlements are not to be pushed.”

22. Whose opinion is stated in the excerpt?

23. What is the speaker’s attitude toward Native Americans?

24. According to the speaker, why should Native Americans be assigned to a country west of Missouri and Arkansas?

Citizenship Cooperative Activity

25. **Becoming an Informed Voter** With a partner, choose an election in your community. Outline how you would become informed on the candidates and/or the issues. Then follow your outline and become an informed voter. Share your outline and your findings with the class.

Economics Activity

26. Look in a dictionary to find definitions of “recession” and “depression.” Write a paragraph to explain the difference between the two.