

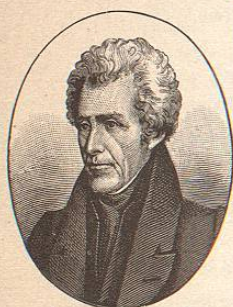
GROWTH OF SECTIONAL ANTAGONISM.

(JACKSON TO BUCHANAN.)

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Two Terms: 1829-1837.

433. Services and Character of the New President. — Andrew Jackson was born in North Carolina in 1767. He early made his home in Tennessee, was a resident of the state when he was elected to the presidency, and after serving his term returned to his estate there, where he resided till his death in 1845. His chief services to his country previous to his election to the presidency were of a military character.



Andrew Jackson.

With volunteer and independent parties he aided the patriots in the Revolution. He was captured by the British and much mistreated by them. In the war of 1812, he distinguished himself by his wonderful defense of New Orleans (§ 409). His great popularity was due to the people's enthusiasm for him as a daring and successful military chieftain. He was, besides, a western man and carried the support of this growing territory. He was a man of the people in his origin, in his habits, and in his methods of thought; and the plain people of the South and West elected him to the presidency and loyally supported him through the eight years of his stormy contests with politicians and would-be aristocrats. He was a man of strong will, disposed to control every movement with which he was connected. He was honest and fearless and blunt of speech. He was a loyal citizen, prepared to sacrifice property or life to his country; but his methods were those of a partisan and he sometimes mistook his own prejudices for national principles.

434. Changes in Office. — Jackson dominated his administration to a degree unusual with presidents. He was familiar with the methods of military government which cause the prompt and unhesitating execution of the orders of the superior officers. He had definite policies and principles to execute. Looking upon himself as the chief officer of a party that advocated those principles, he called to aid him in the execution of those policies only officers who had faith in the party's plans. He, therefore, removed from office those bitterly opposed to these party policies and appointed from his own party men who believed these policies for the best interests of the country. These political removals subjected the president to much criticism;¹ but succeeding presidents have followed the same practice, believing that a government carried on through parties must have the party policies executed by those who believe in them.

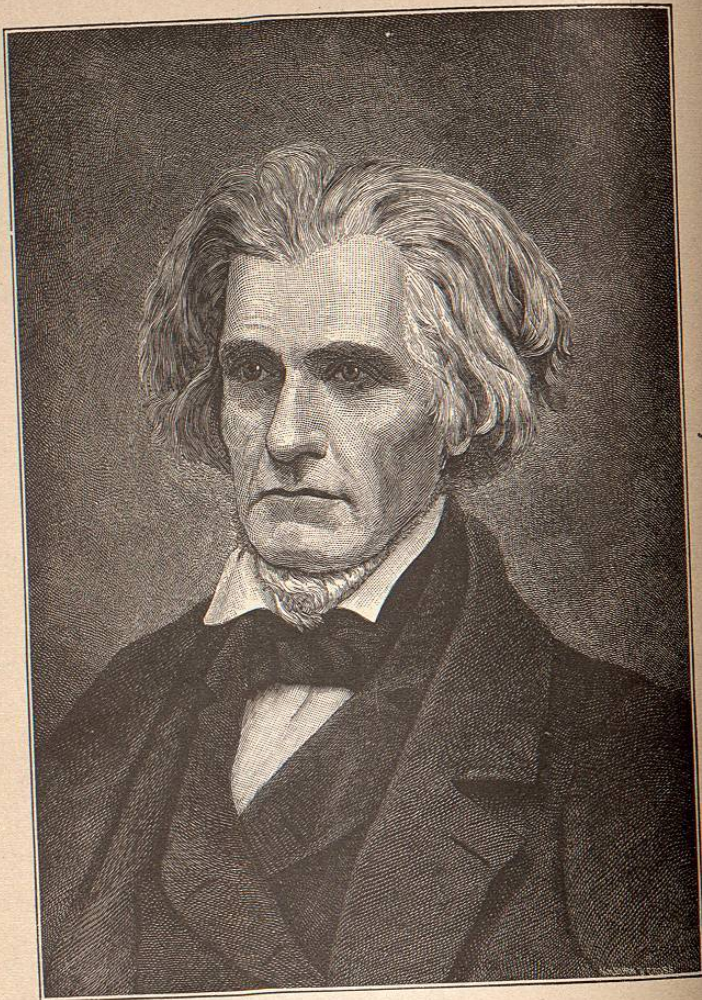
435. The National Bank. — Up to this time, the financial transactions of the government had been managed through a national bank situated at Philadelphia² (§ 352). This central bank had twenty-five branches in the different states. Its charter, granted in 1816, was for a term of twenty years. Jackson, in his first message to Congress (1829), questioned both the soundness of the law creating the bank and the wisdom of its continuance. He said that it had failed in one of the chief purposes for which it was established, viz.: that of making a uniform and sound currency. He suggested that Congress try some other plan. His utterances on this subject caused excited discussion all over

¹ "Of Jackson's procedure in this matter it can be said, in partial excuse, so bitter had been the opposition to him by office-holders as well as others, that many removals were undoubtedly indispensable in order to the efficiency of the public service." — *Andrew's History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 357.

² The first United States bank was chartered for twenty years, 1791-1811.

the country. Gradually, as this discussion continued, and voters began to take sides for or against the bank, the question of the renewal of its charter became a leading issue in politics. The president and his friends continually and vigorously opposed the renewal of the charter; Henry Clay and his friends, and the bank's friends, and the enemies of the president united in upholding the bank and in pressing for a new charter. In his second message, the president again opposed the re-charter of the bank, and a bill to renew the charter for fifteen years was killed by his veto. Late in 1833, in the vacation of Congress, the president, through the secretary of the treasury, began depositing the nation's funds, as they came in, in state banks. Before March of the following year, more than six million dollars had been paid out from the national bank. The necessity of producing so much money in so short a time necessarily strained the resources of the bank to the utmost; but it stood firm and met all engagements. When Congress met, Senator Clay introduced a resolution censuring the president and the secretary of the treasury for withdrawing the public patronage from the bank. A long and angry debate followed. When a vote was reached, it was found that the Senate was for condemning the president's course and in favor of returning the funds to the national bank. But the House supported the president and passed a bill regulating the deposit in the state banks. The Congress of 1835 passed an act pursuing the president's policy in regard to the bank, authorizing and regulating the deposit of public funds in state banks, and permitting the secretary of the treasury to sell the government's stock in the national bank, thereby ending all national connection with it. The charter expired in 1836 and it was not renewed.

436. **Tariff Development.**— From an early day the amount of duty to be laid and the choice of imports to be taxed have



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

formed important questions of legislation and have divided political parties. The first tariff act, passed during Washington's administration (§ 352), was primarily for the purpose of raising a revenue for the expenses of our government and for paying our debts. The people of new England favored a low tariff because they were chiefly engaged in commerce, and the lower the tax on imports the larger would be the volume of trade. The southern cotton-growing states also favored a low tariff. The destruction of our foreign commerce during the war of 1812 caused us to manufacture many articles formerly bought of other countries. But we were not able to manufacture many things as cheaply as they could be imported. In 1816, Congress was asked to raise the tax on imports so that the price on certain articles would be increased to such a degree that our own people could afford to manufacture them.¹ A bill having this object was passed — chiefly by the Republicans. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, led in supporting it. The Federalists and the New Englanders, led by Daniel Webster, opposed it.

New England, lacking a fertile soil and a mild climate, could not compete with other sections in agricultural productions; but as it possessed water and fuel in abundance it gradually developed into a great manufacturing region. With this change of occupation there was a gradual change of opinion as to the value of a high or protective tariff. A manufacturing region is, of course, directly benefited by a high tariff, as the price of manufactured articles is increased thereby. On the other hand, many people in the South who had formerly supported a high tariff had come to see that agriculture must be their chief occupation, and that their interest lay in keeping down the price of manufactured articles that they must buy. In 1824 the vote for a bill raising the tariff

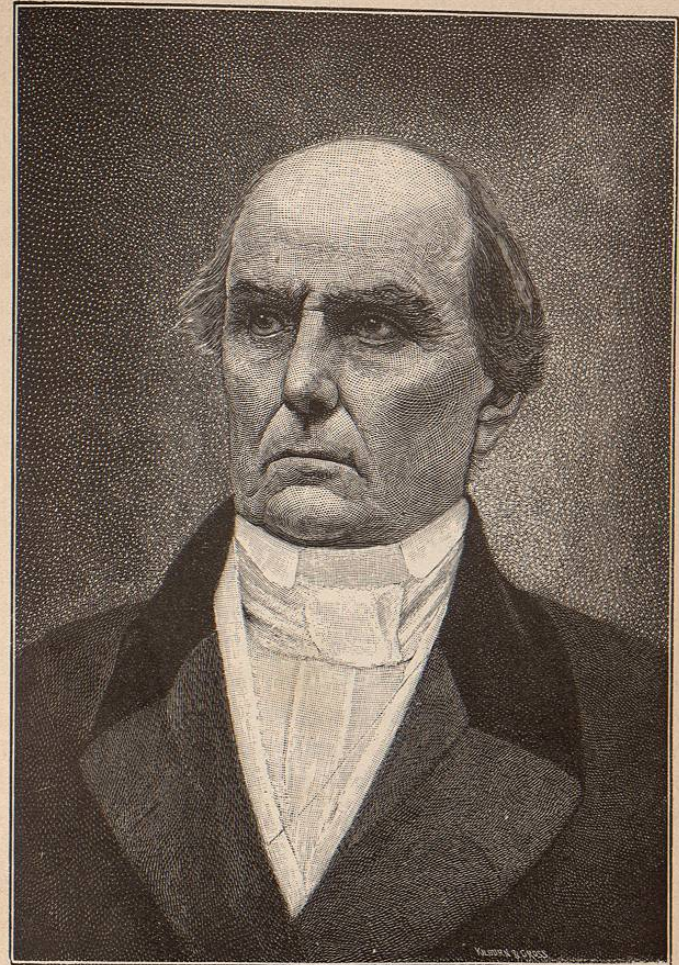
¹ This kind of tariff is called "protective," because it protects the home manufacturer from foreign competition.

showed an increasing sentiment in favor of it in New England and a decreasing sentiment in South Carolina and the adjoining region. Its chief strength came from central and western states. It was opposed by Webster and many New Englanders and by the people of the Southern states. The bill was passed.

In 1828, a bill was offered, providing still higher protection than the bill of 1824. Webster was one of its chief advocates.¹ New England was strongly in favor of it. Calhoun and the people of his state were bitterly opposed to it. The people of the cotton-growing states were opposed to it. There was an angry contest in Congress and much excitement in the country. The bill was passed.

437. Nullification.— Early in Jackson's administration, this tariff controversy led to one of the most famous debates (in 1830) ever held in the Senate. Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, in a series of speeches that rank among the greatest efforts of human oratory, advanced the views that the national government had no power to lay high protective tariffs, and that the states might justly and constitutionally refuse to pay them; that it lay within the province of a state's power to "nullify" or set aside an act of Congress. Daniel Webster, senator from Massachusetts, replied to Senator Hayne, and in advocating the power of the Federal government, and pleading for the preservation of the Union, made a speech that is one of the world's great masterpieces of eloquence. Two years later, a new tariff bill (raising some duties against which the South had protested, though the sum of the duties was somewhat lowered) was introduced in Congress and led to a fierce and prolonged controversy. The bill was brought forward under the advice and management of Henry Clay. The plan he advocated was called the "American System"—a policy of high tariff and internal improvements. It was violently opposed by the whole South Carolina

¹ Daniel Webster at first advocated free trade, as that was the policy favored by his Massachusetts constituency; but he afterwards became a protectionist when Massachusetts became a manufacturing state.



DANIEL WEBSTER.

delegation, led by Senator Hayne and Vice-President Calhoun. The bill — which had been carefully framed to aid all the manufacturing sections of the country — when it came to a vote (July, 1832) passed by a large majority. In the November following, South Carolina held a state convention called by the state Legislature, and presided over by the governor, which declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void and not enforceable after the 1st of February, 1833. The Legislature immediately passed the laws necessary to carry out the wishes of the convention in resisting the collection of duties in the ports of South Carolina. President Jackson took prompt and decided steps to enforce the law. He sent an officer and a sloop-of-war to Charleston to protect the custom officers in the collection of duties. He posted troops on the border where they would be at ready command in an emergency. In December, he issued a proclamation to the people of the state, upholding the right and the power of the Federal government, and admonishing the citizens against resistance. At the same time, in his message to Congress, again in session, he proposed a reduction of the tariff that had caused the trouble. Further war-like preparations were made on both sides; but in the end there was a peaceful adjustment. Calhoun, having resigned the vice-presidency, appeared in Congress as a senator from South Carolina, filling a vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Hayne, and he and Webster held another debate on the rights and prerogatives of the Federal government in relation to the rights and prerogatives of the states, that was as famous as the previous one on the same subject. But a compromise tariff bill, advocated by Clay, lowering many duties in the line asked by the South, was passed by Congress late in February.¹ This satisfied South Carolina. The Nullification Ordinance was at once repealed by another state convention, and all active opposition to the tariff regulations ceased.

¹ South Carolina had postponed the enforcement of her nullification measures until March 4.

438. Indian Uprisings.— The Sac and the Fox Indians, living in Wisconsin, agreed to remove to territory set apart for them in Iowa. Part of the tribe made the change peaceably; but the chief, Black Hawk, and some of his followers were removed by force. From the Iowa territory frequent raids were made into the surrounding region, and for years the settlers of the vicinity lived in fear of attack.

Some of the Seminole tribe were yet living in Florida. An attempt was made to remove them beyond the Mississippi. The tribe rose in revolt, and massacred all but four of a band of one hundred men. General Taylor marched against the Indians, pursued them into the everglades of Florida, and defeated them in a hard-fought battle. They were not entirely subdued till 1842, seven years from their first outbreak. Much money was spent and many lives were lost in the contests.

439. The Abolition Crusade: the Pioneers.— Though all sections in the United States practiced slavery in the beginning, there were men here and there who thought it an evil. Some of our greatest statesmen, Southern as well as Northern, did not hesitate to declare publicly their condemnation of it. Many states had, before this time, passed laws to abolish slavery either immediately or gradually. Societies had been formed to colonize freed slaves out of the country. But the first man to devote his life to an effort to free the slaves was Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker of New Jersey. He founded (1821) and published for several years in different parts of our country— Ohio, Tennessee, Maryland, and other states— a journal called *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The editor also labored to form emancipation societies and spoke on the subject when he could get audiences. His crusade was one of argument and persuasion, and he addressed his appeal to the humane and kindly feelings of the white people. At Boston, he met and made a convert of William Lloyd Garrison.

For a short time, Garrison aided Lundy in the publication of *The Genius*; but in 1831, he began printing in Boston an abolition paper of his own called *The Liberator*. Garrison condemned slavery in a violent way that provoked much bitter feeling. He would not consent to the purchase of the slaves nor to their gradual emancipation. He said slavery was a crime and the slave-holder a criminal. He demanded the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery.

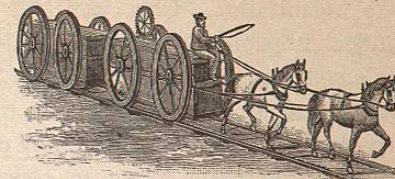
440. The Opinions.— Extremists at the South believed slavery to be profitable and right and were willing, if need be, to leave the Union in order to preserve it. Conservative people, both North and South, believed that it had been recognized in the formation of the Union and in the making of the Constitution, and that efforts to abolish it violated the good faith of the compact of the states. Individuals, here and there, of this conservative majority condemned slavery on abstract grounds and wished that some just means of abolition could be devised; but they could see none, and so strongly censured the methods of such men as Garrison. Abolitionists asserted that the "Constitution was a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and were anxious that the slave-holding states should be cast out of the Union. These were the most distinct opinions: necessarily there were many other opinions based on minor principles.

441. The Condition of the Crusade.— Under Garrison's influence, many societies were formed in the Northern states for the purpose of urging the abolition of slavery. Every possible means of agitation was used, speeches were made, articles written for the newspapers, candidates of abolition tendencies put forward, Congress petitioned, and incendiary circulars sent through the mails to all parts of the South. The slaves began to feel the influence of the agitation. In Virginia, in 1831 (the

same year that *The Liberator* first saw the light), there was a negro uprising which resulted in the massacre of sixty white people. Other uprisings were threatened; and in many quarters slaves became excited and rebellious. The Southern people had become very sensitive on this subject. They wanted to take extreme measures for the suppression of the abolition agitation. Garrison, while editing *The Genius*, in Baltimore, was arrested, fined, and put in jail. Georgia offered five thousand dollars reward for the arrest of any one found circulating *The Liberator* in the state. Packages of incendiary pamphlets were taken from the mails and, together with effigies of leading abolition agitators, publicly burned. But the great mass of the people were for preserving the Union as it stood, and were in favor of suppressing in a lawful way all disorganizing violence, whether North or South. By a vote nearly unanimous the Senate refused (1836) to grant a petition to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. The House, later in the same year, declared that: (1) Congress had no constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery in any state; (2) that Congress ought not to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia; and by a vote of more than two-thirds of the members, passed a resolution that it would not consider in any way a petition, memorial, resolution, or proposition in regard to slavery. So, although the abolition agitators had created much excitement, it was apparent that a great majority of the people were opposed to the agitation and the strife it engendered.

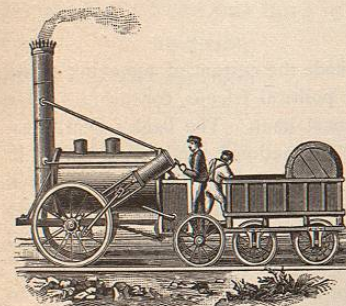
442. Railways; New States. — Railways were first used in England for the purpose of transporting mineral ore from mines to some convenient shipping point. The cars on these first railways were drawn by horses. The first railway built in this country (1826) extended from Quincy, Mass., to the Neponset River, a distance of five miles, and was for the purpose of transporting granite from the quarry to a shipping point. The cars were

drawn by horses. A few other railways for similar purposes and operated in the same way were built in the country. Several unsuccessful efforts were made in England to construct steam-engines that would draw the cars. A like experiment was made with a steam-engine in Pennsylvania in 1829. George Stephenson, an English engineer, was the



First American Railway (the "Granite Road").

first to make a really successful locomotive. This locomotive was tried in America in 1831. But Americans immediately began the manufacture of locomotives from their own patterns¹ that were better adapted to the needs of our country. With the success of locomotives, railroad building developed very rapidly. Before the close of Jackson's administration, there were fifteen hundred miles of railway in the United States. Railways were just what was needed for the development of our country.



Stephenson's Locomotive (the "Rocket").

They were seized upon immediately and we have never ceased building them. The United States now have nearly as many miles of railway as are found in the remainder of the world.

Arkansas, originally from the Louisiana Purchase, was admitted as a state in 1836. Michigan, the fourth state from the Northwest Territory, was admitted in 1837.

443. The Whig Party. — The president soon had several classes of people opposed to him. Those who supported the bank, those who favored a high protective tariff, those who be-

¹ The first successful American locomotive, called the "Arabian," was built in 1833. It was still running in 1883, but during this year was destroyed by fire.

lieved in state sovereignty,¹ and the nullifiers could unite in opposition to Jackson. These factions began to call themselves Whigs, though they did not at this time form a close party organization. Clay, who had been the leader of the National Republicans, was now the leader of the Whig party, the Republican party's successor. The name "Whig" was selected (1834) because that was the name of the English party that had resisted the tyranny of King George III., and this American party meant to resist what they called the tyranny of Jackson. However, the Whigs were united on nothing but opposition to Jackson. Different factions of the party put forward different candidates for the presidency. The Democratic party put forward but one candidate, Van Buren, and gained an easy victory.

444. Summary.—The president made the custom of removing political enemies from office and appointing political friends, conspicuous. He waged a long contest against the national bank. The bank's charter expired in 1836 and was not renewed. The national funds were placed in state banks. Parties were divided on the tariff tax. Those who believed in "protecting" home manufactures introduced a bill laying higher duties on imports. This bill was bitterly opposed in the South. After the bill was passed by Congress, South Carolina held a convention and "nullified" the act. The president sent a sloop-of-war and troops to Charleston to enforce the collection of duties. In its next session, Congress modified the law so that it was not so objectionable to the South. South Carolina repealed her Nullification Ordinance. This administration marks the rapid rise of the abolition crusade. Papers and pamphlets were published, societies were formed, and orators spoke in opposition to slavery. Congress refused to pass any anti-slavery laws or to interfere in any way. Locomotives came into use on railways and revolutionized the methods of civilization. The Whig party was formed as a successor to the National Republican party. Arkansas and Michigan were admitted.

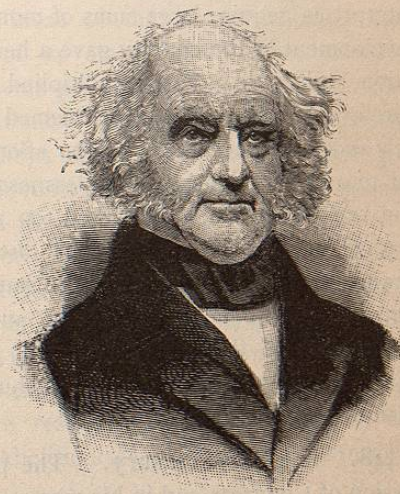
¹ It was the doctrine of a large party in the South, that the Union was simply a compact between the states; that any state could withdraw from this compact and leave the Union at its own pleasure; that the state was supreme and not the general government. This was the doctrine of State Sovereignty.

445. Thought Questions.—What can be said in favor of permitting the president to fill the offices, under his administration, with his friends and adherents? To what evils may this practice lead? Are United States funds deposited in national banks to-day? Debate: Resolved that a protective tariff is best for the United States. Give two instances in our history where, through self-interest, a section has changed or modified its political beliefs. Compare the effects of the Alien and Sedition Laws with those of the Tariff Act of 1832. What do you consider the most important event of this administration?

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

One Term: 1837-1841.

446. Services and Character of the New President.—Martin Van Buren was born in New York in 1782. He early evinced an ambition and a capacity for public service. For most of his life, he was the chief factor in the politics of his state. After a short service as state senator, he was elected to the United States Senate. He was afterwards governor of New York. He espoused Jackson's candidacy for the presidency, and through his influence, New York cast her deciding vote for the old warrior. He was appointed secretary of state by President Jackson and resigned the governorship to accept it. He resigned the secretaryship after two years' service, and



Martin Van Buren.