

A. As you read about regional issues in early U.S. history, fill out the chart by writing answers to the questions below.

Regional Economy	Regional Agricu	llture	
1. What was the North's economy based on?	2. What were the main elements of	the North's agricultural system?	
3. What was the South's economy based on?	4. What were the main elements of the South's agricultural system?		
▼ Henry Clay c	hampions the American System.		
5. What were the main goals of the	e American System?		
6. How was each of the following i	ntended to help the United States achie	eve those goals?	
Tariff of 1816	The Second Bank of the United States	Internal improvements	

The Industrial Revolution takes hold in the United States.

- **B.** On the back of this paper, explain how the terms and names in each of the following sets are related.
 - 1. Eli Whitney-interchangeable parts-mass production
 - 2. National Road—Erie Canal

48 UNIT 2, CHAPTER 7

GUIDED READING Nationalism at Center Stage

A. As you read about the rise of national feeling in the U.S., answer questions about the measures and policies in the chart below.

	What ideas did the measure contain?	How did it promote nationalism?
1. Gibbons v. Ogden decision		
2. The Adams-Onis Treaty		
3. The Monroe Doctrine		
4. The Missouri Compromise		

B. On the back of this paper, summarize what you know about **John Quincy Adams** and **Jim Beckwourth.**





A. As you read about the Jacksonian era, write answers to the questions about events that appear on the time line.

1827	By this point, the Second Second Sec	1. In what ways was the government of the Cherokee Nation similar to that of the United States?
1830	Congress passes the Indian Removal Act. Jackson forces the Choctaw from their lands.	2. What did the act call for, and why did Andrew Jackson support it?
1831	Jackson forces the Sauk and Fox from their lands.	
1832	Jackson forces the Chick- asaw from their lands.	
	The Supreme Court rules — > on <i>Worcester</i> v. <i>Georgia.</i>	3. What did the court decide in the case?
1835	The Cherokee begin ——— leaving Georgia.	4. What was Jackson's response to the court ruling?
1838	President Van Buren orders the forced removal of all Cherokee from Georgia.	5. Why is this forced removal referred to as the Trail of Tears?

B. On the back of this paper, identify or explain each of the following:

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Democratic-Republican Party Sequoya spoils system
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GUIDED READING Jackson, States' Rights, and the National Bank

A. As you read, fill out the chart about two major controversies.

Nullification Conflict		
1. Key Players:	2. Key Events:	
3. Causes:	4. Results:	

Bank of the United States Conflict		
5. Key Players:	6. Key Events:	
7. Causes:	8. Results:	

Panic of 1837 Martin Van Buren William Henry Harrison John Tyler



SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE Synthesizing

The foreign policies of John Quincy Adams reflected a growing sense of nationalism in the new United States. Read the definition of nationalism and the examples given below, and tell how each example does or does not illustrate nationalism. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. 1051.)

Nationalism Nationalism is a philosophy that stresses national welfare ahead of sectional or regional concerns. It also dictates that leaders give top priority to national interests in foreign affairs.

Among the people of a country, nationalism means having a strong feeling of being a part of the nation and sharing in the nation's culture and heritage with the rest of the population. Nationalism often shows itself in the peoples' patriotism, in their pride in the country and its heroes and leaders, and in loyalty to what the nation stands for.

Example 1 From the War of 1812, the Battle of New Orleans became a source of legends about American superiority. Over time, historians have realized that the British probably lost that battle because their advancing soldiers paused and became sitting ducks for American artillery. However, immediately after the battle, the tale spread that Americans won the battle because sharp-shooting frontiersmen from Kentucky were able to pick off British troops with incredible accuracy. Americans were proud of the successes of their militia over professional soldiers, and they chose to believe that the victory of the Battle of New Orleans was a victory of amateurs.

Example 2 Between 1819 and 1821, Congress plunged into a lengthy controversy over admitting Missouri to the Union as slave state. Noting that every president since John Adams had been a Virginian, Federalists portrayed the admission of Missouri as part of a conspiracy to perpetuate the rule of Virginia slave holders. Republicans pointed out the sudden emergence of a vocal anti-slavery block in the House of Representatives, which included many northern Federalists. Some Republicans began to see efforts to restrict slavery as part of a Federalist plot to gain political power by dividing northern and southern Republicans. The issue of slavery had become woven into the general distrust between the political parties and between sections of the country.

1. Example 1 does or does not (circle one) illustrate nationalism because

2. Example 2 does or does not (circle one) illustrate nationalism because



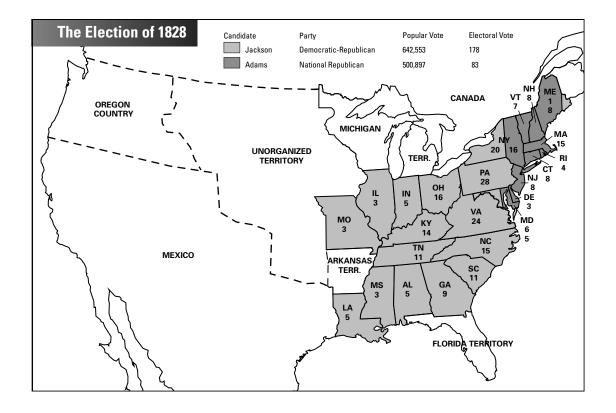
GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: REGION Jackson Finally Becomes President

Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

In the election of 1824, Jackson had won the popular vote, but because there were four major candidates, no one received a majority of electoral votes. Jackson had 99 to John Quincy Adams's 84, with 78 electoral votes given to the other two candidates. However, when the vote went to the House of Representatives, under electoral law, Adams got the most votes and became president.

But in 1828, Jackson was not to be denied. Though he was actually well-to-do, Jackson portrayed President Adams as a New England elitist and was able to make himself seem more like a man of the people. In this way, Jackson was able to connect with the majority of the new voters. Most states had by now eliminated property ownership as a qualification for voting, and this meant that hundreds of thousands of men, few of whom were wealthy, voted in 1828 for the first time. (The popular-vote totals between 1824 and 1828 went from 365,833 to 1,148,018—a more than 200 percent jump.)

This time Jackson won the majority of both the popular *and* electoral votes. His first four-year term was significant for, among other things, the shortening the party name Democratic Republicans to Democrats (seen as the beginning of today's Democratic Party), the establishment of a nationalparty convention for picking presidential candidates, and the system of awarding government jobs to friends and supporters.



E	xplain how the map tells you which candidate got only one electoral vote from Maine.
• 12	spian now the map tens you which cancicate got only one electoral vote from Mane.
W	/hich candidate got six of Maryland's electoral votes?
3. H	ow many more popular votes did Jackson receive than Adams?
Н	ow many more electoral votes did Jackson receive in 1828 than in 1824?
4. H	ow would you describe the regions in which Jackson's strength was the greatest?
5. W	'hy does it seem natural that Adams's support came from the region that it did?
	bok at the map of election results again. Why is it not surprising that the emocratic Party has traditionally been strong in the South?
D	
7. F:	rom the looks of the 1828 election map, how does it appear that westward
	pansion will affect national politics?



OUTLINE MAP The Indian Removal Act of 1830

A. Review the map of the Indian Removal Act on textbook page 213. Then label the following bodies of water, areas of original Native American settlements, and territories on the accompanying outline map. In addition, label all the existing states. (Abbreviations for states are acceptable; if necessary, use the map on textbook pages 1062–1063.)

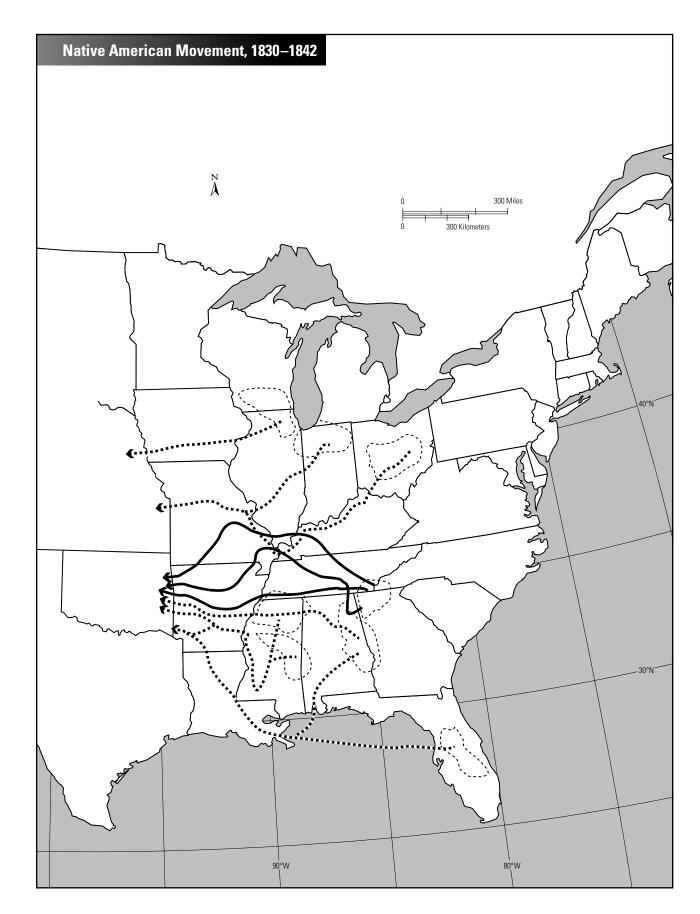
Bodies of Water	Native American Settlements		Territories	
Gulf of Mexico Atlantic Ocean Mississippi River Lake Michigan Lake Erie Missouri River Ohio River	Cherokee Chickasaw Creek Choctaw	Potawatomi Miami Shawnee and Seneca Seminole	Unorganized Territory Indian Territory Arkansas Territory (state, 1836) Florida Territory	

- **B.** After completing the map, use it to answer the following questions.
 - 1. The routes of what two Native American groups crossed over part of the Gulf of Mexico?
 - 2. "Down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and westward on the Missouri River" describes the principal route of which group?
 - 3. In what present-day states was the Cherokee Nation once found?
 - 4. How many principal routes did the Cherokee take to Indian Territory?

Through which states and territory did the routes take the Cherokee?

5. How did the destination of the Potawatomi, Miami, Shawnee, and Seneca differ from that of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole?

6. About how many miles long was the route traveled by the Seminoles?

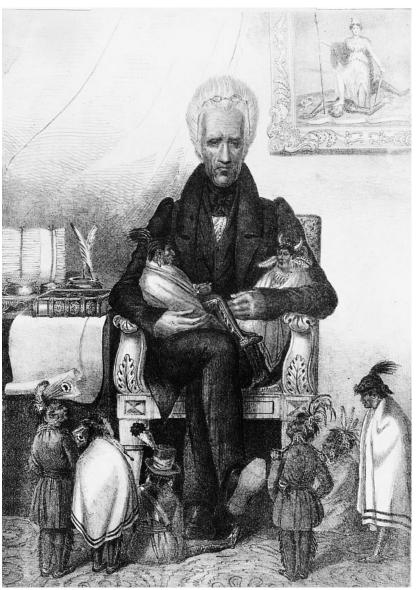


Balancing Nationalism and Sectionalism Outline Map 55



PRIMARY SOURCE Political Cartoon

As a result of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, Native Americans were forced to leave their homelands and move farther west. What point does this political cartoon make about President Andrew Jackson's Native American policy?



"Andrew Jackson as the Great Father" artist unknown. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Discussion Questions

- 1. How does this political cartoon depict President Jackson?
- 2. How are Native Americans depicted in this cartoon?
- 3. Do you agree with the cartoonist's viewpoint? Why or why not? Cite reasons and examples from your textbook.



PRIMARY SOURCE from The Cherokee Nation's Appeal to the American People

The Cherokee Nation fought the Indian Removal Act by first sending a delegation to appear before Congress and President Jackson. Meeting with little success, the Cherokee then published a direct appeal to the American people on July 17, 1830. As you read this excerpt, notice how the Cherokee felt about leaving their homeland.

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, guaranty 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. The country west of the Arkansas territory is unknown to us. From what we can learn of it, we have no prepossessions in its favor. All the inviting parts of it, as we believe, are preoccupied by various Indian nations, to which it has been assigned. They would regard us as intruders, and look upon us with an evil eye. The far greater part of that region is, beyond all controversy, badly supplied with wood and water; and no Indian tribe can live as agriculturalists without these articles. All our neighbors, in case of our removal, though crowded into our near vicinity, would speak a language totally different from ours, and practice different customs. The original possessors of that region are now wandering savages lurking for prey in the neighborhood. They have always been at war, and would be easily tempted to turn their arms against peaceful emigrants. Were the country to which we are urged much better than it is represented to be, and were it free from the objections which we have made to it, still it is not the land of our birth, nor of our affections. It contains neither the scenes of our childhood, nor the graves of our fathers....

It is under a sense of the most pungent feelings that we make this, perhaps our last appeal to the good people of the United States. It cannot be that the community we are addressing, remarkable for its intelligence and religious sensibilities, and preeminent for its devotion to the rights of man, will lay aside this appeal, without considering that we stand in need of its sympathy and commiseration. We know that to the Christian and to the philanthropist the voice of our multiplied sorrows and

fiery trials will not appear as an idle tale. In our own land, on our own soil, and in our own dwellings, which we reared for our wives and for our little ones, when there was peace on our mountains and in our valleys, we are encountering troubles which cannot but try our very souls. But shall we, on account of these troubles, forsake our beloved country? Shall we be compelled by a civilized and Christian people, with whom we have lived in perfect peace for the last forty years, and for whom we have willingly bled in war, to bid a final adieu to our homes, our farms, our streams and our beautiful forests? No. We are still firm. We intend still to cling, with our wonted affection, to the land which gave us birth, and which, every day of our lives, brings to us new and stronger ties of attachment. We appeal to the judge of all the earth, who will finally award us justice, and to the good sense of the American people, whether we are intruders upon the land of others. Our consciences bear us witness that we are the invaders of no man's rights—we have robbed no man of his territory—we have usurped no man's authority, nor have we deprived any one of his unalienable privileges. How then shall we indirectly confess the right of another people to our land by leaving it forever? On the soil which contains the ashes of our beloved men we wish to live—on this soil we wish to die....

from "Memorial of the Cherokee Nation," as reprinted in Nile's Weekly Register, August 21, 1830.

Activity Options

- 1. What reasons do the Cherokee give for remaining in their homeland?
- 2. Which of those reasons do you find most persuasive? the least persuasive? Explain.
- 3. The Cherokee Nation finally took its case to the Supreme Court, but like its appeal to the president, the Congress, and the American people, these efforts also failed. What else do you think the Cherokee could have done to prevent being forced from their homeland?



PRIMARY SOURCE from The Hayne-Webster Debates

One of the most famous debates in Congress began on January 19, 1830. Robert Y. Hayne from South Carolina and Daniel Webster from Massachusetts debated issues such as public land policy, western expansion, and slavery. As you read these excerpts, think about the senators' positions on states' rights versus federal authority.

from Senator Hayne's Speech, January 21

7 ho, then, Mr. President, are the true friends of the Union? Those who would confine the federal government strictly within the limits prescribed by the constitution; who would preserve to the States and the people all powers not expressly delegated; who would make this a federal and not a national union, and who, administering the government in a spirit of equal justice, would make it a blessing and not a curse. And who are its enemies? Those who are in favor of consolidation-who are constantly stealing power from the States, and adding strength to the federal government. Who, assuming an unwarrantable jurisdiction over the States and the people, undertake to regulate the whole industry and capital of the country. But, sir, of all descriptions of men, I consider those as the worst enemies of the Union, who sacrifice the equal rights which belong to every member of the confederacy, to combinations of interested majorities, for personal or political objects. . . .

Sir, as to the doctrine that the federal government is the exclusive judge of the extent as well as the limitations of its powers, it seems to me to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the States. It makes but little difference, in my estimation, whether Congress or the Supreme Court are invested with this power. If the federal government, in all, or any of its departments, are to prescribe the limits of its own authority, and the States are bound to submit to the decision, and are not to be allowed to examine and decide for themselves, when the barriers of the constitution shall be overleaped, this is practically "a government without limitation of powers."

The States are at once reduced to mere petty corporations, and the people are entirely at your mercy. I have but one more word to add. In all the efforts that have been made by South Carolina to resist the unconstitutional laws which Congress has extended over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the Union, by the only means by which she believes it can be long preserved—a firm, manly, and steady resistance against usurpation. The measures of the federal government have, it is true, prostrated her interests, and will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. But even this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest—a principle, which substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the constitution, brings the States and the people to the feet of the federal government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own.

from Senator Webster's Reply, January 26-27

The proposition that, in case of a supposed violation of the Constitution by Congress, the states have a constitutional right to interfere and annul the law of Congress is the proposition of the gentleman [Hayne]. I do not admit it. If the gentleman had intended no more than to assert the right of revolution for justifiable cause, he would have said only what all agree to. But I cannot conceive that there can be a middle course, between submission to the laws, when regularly pronounced constitutional, on the one hand, and open resistance, which is revolution or rebellion, on the other.

I say, the right of a state to annul a law of Congress cannot be maintained but on the ground of the inalienable right of man to resist oppression; that is to say, upon the ground of revolution. I admit that there is an ultimate violent remedy, above the Constitution and in defiance of the Constitution, which may be resorted to when a revolution is to be justified. But I do not admit that, under the Constitution and in conformity with it, there is any mode in which a state government, as a member of the Union, can interfere and stop the progress of the general government, by force of her own laws, under any circumstances whatever. . . .

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate with no previous deliberation, such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it without expressing once more my deep conviction that, since it respects nothing less than the Union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness.

I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our countrythat Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings. And although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs in this government whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may best be preserved but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil.

God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards"; but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart-Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

from Orations of American Orators in The World's Great Classics, II (New York, 1900) and *The Writings and* Speeches of Daniel Webster, Vol. VI, (Boston: 1903).

Activity Options

- Work with a partner to make a Venn diagram in which you compare and contrast the senators' positions on the authority of the federal government. Then share your diagrams with the class.
- 2. Deliver one of these speech excerpts—Hayne's or Webster's—to the class. Then discuss with your classmates which excerpt you think is most effective and why.

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Date



LITERATURE SELECTION from The President's Lady by Irving Stone

In this excerpt from the novel, Andrew and Rachel Jackson travel to Washington with Andrew's nephew Andy and his wife Emily to await the outcome of the 1824 presidential election, the first in which voters—not Congress—elected the president. What emotions do the Jacksons experience before and after the election?

They were scheduled to leave for Washington City during the first week in November. Rachel found herself with a packing problem. How long was she to be gone: four months or four years? Did she take only winter clothes, or summer clothes as well? Should she have Sarah Bentley make an inaugural gown in Nashville? Should she keep the house open and running so they could come back to it at the end of March, or cover the furniture and put away the silver, china and linens? Did she interrupt her son's term at school and take him with her, or did she leave him behind?

There was no use going to any of Andrew's friends for information: they had already moved her into the White House, even the usually levelheaded John Overton. But she had learned from experience that for the Jacksons fulfillment rarely came when anticipated; generally it was achieved later, when it had lost much of its meaning and savor. She recalled how eagerly Andrew had wanted to be appointed governor of Louisiana back in 1804, and how sure everyone was that President Jefferson would give him the appointment; she remembered how terribly he had wanted to be

judge of the Mississippi Territory, and how certain he was that he would get it; she recalled how he had been kept out of Canada during the War of 1812 by an Administration that was desperate for commanding generals, only to be sent to Natchez and then dismissed without firing a shot.

When had he ever achieved anything the easy way? Why should they expect a smooth passage to this highest office in the land when even their simplest ambitions had taken years of disappointment, frustration and defeat? . . . A t eleven o'clock on December 7 they crossed the bridge which led into Washington from Virginia. Rachel pointed out to Emily the Bulfinch Dome of the Capitol. They made their way up a dirt road called Pennsylvania Avenue. When they passed the White House Rachel said to Emily, "That's where Mr. and Mrs. Monroe live." Emily leaned out the window, gazing rapturously at the structure.

"And where the four of us are going to live!"

O'Neale's Tavern at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Twenty-first Street had changed hands and was now known as the Franklin House. Rachel

She had learned from experience that for the Jacksons fulfillment rarely came when anticipated; generally it was achieved later, when it had lost much of its meaning and savor. and Andrew had a comfortable suite of bedroom and parlor, while Andy and Emily had a considerably smaller one. Rachel was concerned over the fact that these two suites cost them a hundred dollars a week, including their meals.

"I've just found a good reason to hope you are elected, Andrew. The rent at the White House should be somewhat cheaper than it is here."

Andrew shook his head, smiling ironically.

"Not really. Mr. Monroe tells me he is going out poor and dissatisfied."

"And that's the office for which you, Mr. Adams, Mr. Crawford and Mr. Clay are

battling so furiously!" "Maybe it's part of the genius of

this form of government that men want to serve in the highest offices, knowing that they will come out impoverished and tender from the many beatings...."

On December 16, the results from the last state to vote, Louisiana, reached Washington. Andrew had the largest popular vote, 152,901; Mr. Adams came in second with 114,023; Mr. Clay 47,217 and Mr. Crawford 46,979. In the electoral votes by states Andrew had a decisive lead also: 99 to Adams's 84, with Crawford showing a surprising 41 to eliminate Mr. Clay from the race. Because no one candidate had achieved a majority the election would go into the House. Andrew's supporters were certain he would be selected: after all, the most people had wanted him, and the most states: he had the electoral votes of eleven states and needed only two more for a majority. With Mr. Clay out, the Kentucky legislature adopted a resolution recommending that their representative in the House support Mr. Jackson; the Missouri representative declared that since the people of his state wanted Clay first and Jackson second, he contemplated casting his vote for General Jackson; Ohio should be his, too, for he had received only a few votes less than Clay, with Mr. Adams running an unpopular third.

In January there were blizzards and snowstorms which brought Rachel down with a cold. The Senate was in session and Andrew attended faithfully each day. Old friends came in for dinner. Though Andrew refused to let them join

politics with their food, they were nevertheless surrounded by intrigue: if he would make certain promises, commit himself as to whom he would name Secretary of State, the presidency could be his. There were rumors to the effect that Henry Clay had made such a bargain with John Quincy Adams, Mr. Clay to throw all of his influence and votes to Mr. Adams in return for Mr. Adams's appointment of Mr. Clay as Secretary of State. John Eaton was disturbed, but Andrew did not take it seriously.

"Mr. Adams is an honest man and a good man. He would not engage in a corrupt bargain. If he gets the majority of votes in the House, I will be content. He was my first choice, anyway."

They awakened on the morning of February 9, the day of decision, to find snow falling heavily. Andrew donned a greatcoat and boots and left the hotel in time to reach the Capitol by noon, so that he might participate in the senatorial count which would name John Calhoun as vice-president. When Rachel asked if he were intending to remain after the Senate adjourned and the House took its seat to vote for president, he replied that he did not think it proper for him to be in the House while the members were being polled.

He was back shortly after one o'clock, ordering dinner sent up to their room so they could avoid the milling crowds below in the tavern. The first course had just been set on their parlor table when Andy came in, the expression on his face clearer than any marked ballot: Mr. Adams had been elected on the first count! By prodigious efforts and brilliant maneuvering Henry Clay, singlehanded, had swung Kentucky, Ohio and Missouri behind Adams.

John Eaton stormed in, his face black with disappointment and chagrin, and proceeded to give Henry Clay a thorough castigation. Andrew heard him out, then said quietly:

"That's not altogether fair to Mr. Clay, John. He has a right to throw his influence to the man he thinks best for the job. You remember he once accused me, right on the floor of the House, of being a 'military chieftain who would overthrow the liberties of the people.' "

On the whole it had been a decent election; the predictions that the Republic would fall into ruin because its Chief Executive was to be chosen by popular vote had failed to materialize. That evening they attended the last of President Monroe's regular Wednesday levees [receptions]. Andrew congratulated Mr. Adams cordially. While riding back to the hotel in the Jackson carriage, John Eaton commented on how quiet the city was: no bonfires, no victory celebrations or cheering crowds.

"They wanted you, General," Eaton concluded morosely. "They feel cheated."

But nothing could shake Andrew's calm acceptance. For her own part, Rachel was content. On the whole it had been a decent election; the predictions that the

Republic would fall into ruin because its Chief Executive was to be chosen by popular vote had failed to materialize; and so had her own fears of being pilloried by the opposition.

Back in their suite with a log fire crackling on the hearth, they had a hot toddy with Andy and Emily.

"How much longer do you think we will be in Washington, Uncle Andrew?" asked Andy anxiously. "I must be getting back to Nashville and starting my practice. I've got a bride to support, you know." "Your uncle and I have a wedding present for you that will make things a little easier," said Rachel, knowing how disappointed the two youngsters had been at Andrew's defeat. "We are going to give you the Sanders plantation."

There were expressions of joy and much embracing before the young couple left for their rooms.

Despite the fire, the room was chilly; Andrew wrapped a blanket about Rachel's legs, tucking it under her feet.

"Well, Rachel, my dear, I tried to make you First Lady of the land. You are not too disappointed, are you?"

She smiled inwardly, ran her fingers over the bony ridge of his face.

"Whatever disappointment I may feel is for you."

"Well, then, I'll be happy to get back to the Hermitage."

"For how long?" she asked soft-

ly. " . . . until the next election?"

His eyes met hers. They were stern.

"I will be fifty-eight in a month. Mr. Adams is certain to serve the regular two terms. Surely you don't think at the age of sixty-six . . . ? This is *forever*!"

He used that word to me at home, thought Rachel, but this time he means it. Perhaps at long last he will be content to remain a gentleman planter.

Forever lasted five days. On February 14, President-elect Adams offered the post of Secretary of State to Henry Clay. All hell broke loose, in Washington and across the nation . . . and particularly in their two rooms in the Franklin House. People came and went continually, all passionately protesting against what now appeared to have been a swap of votes for office.

Every ounce of Andrew's calm and acceptance vanished. She knew from the sense of outrage that shook his long lean frame that nothing in his tumultuous career, always excepting the maraudings of the British, had ever made him so utterly determined to avenge a wrong. As he stood in the far corner of the room surrounded by his most ardent supporters, she heard him cry:

"So the Judas of the West has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver? The end will be the same. Was there ever witnessed such a bare-faced corruption before?"

A dozen voices answered him at once. "But surely Mr. Clay will know that the whole

On February 14, President-elect Adams offered the post of Secretary of State to Henry Clay. All hell broke loose, in Washington and across the nation.

country is outraged?" "He can't be so stupid as to accept . . ."

"What, refuse his part of the booty?" Andrew's voice, as it penetrated to her, was shrill and cold. "But he must go before the Senate for confirmation. By the Eternal, gentlemen, I still have a vote there, and I pledge you my word that I shall

unboosom myself. This barter of votes is sheer bribery, and if allowed to continue will destroy our form of government."

Three weeks later, in a slanting rainstorm, the family left the capital, all four riding in the carriage with the extra horses tied behind. Andrew was silent, his head on his chest, his eyes closed; he was still smarting from his defeat in the Senate where he had been able to garner only fourteen votes against the appointment of Mr. Clay. She

had persuaded him that, as a matter of form, he should attend the inauguration. He had complained to her that Mr. Adams "had been escorted to the Capitol with the pomp and ceremony of guns and drums, which is not consistent with the character of the occasion." However he had been among the first to shake hands with Mr. Adams, and had administered the oath to Calhoun, the new Vice-President, in the Senate.

As the carriage passed the boundary of Washington City she felt him stiffen at her side. He turned in his seat, gazing long and hard at the capital. In his expression she saw the unshatterable resolve she had known so well during the years leading up to the Battle of New Orleans.

He brought his face around to hers. "We'll be back."

Discussion Questions

- 1. What range of emotions do the Jacksons experience before and after the election?
- 2. Why does Andrew Jackson lose the election?
- 3. In your opinion, who should have won the 1824 presidential election? Cite evidence from the excerpt and from your textbook to support your opinion.
- 4. Compare current U.S. politics with the politics of the 1800s, as represented in this novel excerpt.



AMERICAN LIVES Henry Clay Westerner with a National Vision

"I know no South, no North, no East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance.... My allegiance is to the American Union."—Henry Clay, Senate speech (1850)

F rom 1810 to 1850, Henry Clay helped shape national policy. He pushed for a government role in building the American economy. He also fashioned compromises to resolve the growing differences between North and South.

Clay (1777–1852) had only a few years of formal schooling, but soon went to work as a clerk in a Virginia court. He studied law and, once admitted to the bar, moved to frontier Kentucky where he achieved fame and power.

Clay was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1806 and then the House in 1810, where he won election as Speaker. Though young, he was a leader. Writing of him, a colleague said, "He stalks among men with an unanswerable and never doubting air of command." Angry at the British and Native American threat in the West, he urged war on Great Britain. He remained optimistic about the war even in the face of early defeats. President Madison named him one of the peace negotiators, and Clay's tough stand ensured that the United States did not give up its claim for the right to travel and trade on the Mississippi River.

During the 1810s, Clay played an increasingly major role in national politics. He made an enemy when he denounced Andrew Jackson's invasion of Spanish Florida. He made friends in Latin America, saying that the United States should recognize the new governments that had won independence from Spain. In 1820, he won House passage of the Missouri Compromise, resolving a crisis over slavery in the territories and earning the nickname "Great Pacifier."

Clay urged a wide-ranging program to promote American industry and commerce. He backed tariffs on imports to allow industry to grow. He called for new roads and canals to transport goods. These actions were required to establish American economic independence. "We are," he said "independent colonies of England—politically free, [but] commercially slaves."

Clay finished last among four candidates in the 1824 presidential election. With no candidate win-

ning the electoral vote, the election was thrown to the House. Clay gave his support to John Quincy Adams, earning the additional nickname of "President Maker." When Adams named him secretary of state, supporters of Andrew Jackson charged that a "corrupt bargain" had sold the presidency. One Jackson backer went so far as to call Clay "this being, so brilliant yet so corrupt, which, like a rotten mackerel by moonlight, shined and stunk." Clay challenged him to a duel, and both were wounded. Taking the appointment was a political mistake, and Clay was hounded by the charge for the rest of his life. He never won the presidency, an office he deeply desired.

He remained, however, a powerful figure in Washington, and worked on two more occasions to prevent sectional conflict. In 1833, South Carolina threatened to leave the Union over the tariff, which many in the South felt was too high. Clay helped calm the crisis by working out a compromise that gradually lowered the tariff.

His final compromise came in 1850, when conflict over slavery in the territories again threatened to dissolve the Union. A 73-year-old Clay proposed a package of bills, offering some favoring the North and others appealing to the South. Pleading with the Senate to pass the package, Clay made his last great speech: "I believe from the bottom of my soul that his measure is the re-union of this Union. I believe it is the dove of peace." Eventually, the bills were approved, and the sectional conflict that Clay dreaded was postponed—for a time. Two years later, he died. His body lay in state in the Capitol Rotunda for a day—the first person so honored.

Questions

- 1. Why did Kentucky offer more opportunities to Clay than Virginia might have?
- 2. How did Clay's economic and political plans both express his idea of nationalism?
- 3. How was Clay, from Kentucky, well suited to forge a North/South compromise?

AMERICAN LIVES Jim Beckwourth **Mountain Man**

"Even if I should deny my Crow origin, they would not believe me. How could I dash with an unwelcome and incredible explanation all the joy that had been manifested on my return."—Jim Beckwourth, Life and Adventures (1856)

orn in Virginia, Jim Beckwourth passed most **D** of his life in the West. He lived a life of adventure made famous when, late in life, he recounted his story to a traveling writer, who published it.

He was born around 1800, the son of a Virginia farmer and a slave woman. His father moved the family to Louisiana Territory in 1810, and Jim was freed when he reached adulthood. He spent most of the rest of his life in the West, a free man able to live by his wits and his abilities in the vast expanse of the frontier.

In 1824, Beckwourth joined the expedition of General William Ashley, which went to the Rockies to supply trappers and trade for furs. It was a hard journey, Beckwourth remembered, with "no jokes, no fire-side stories, no fun." They trekked around the mountains all winter, meeting with more than one hundred trappers in the summer of 1825. The meeting became the first annual Green River rendezvous, when the mountain men gathered to obtain supplies, sell the furs taken over the winter, and enjoy food, drink, and games.

Beckwourth found the mountain life appealing and soon became a trapper. He was part of a party of trappers attacked by a group of Blackfoot in 1828. According to his version of the story, the Blackfeet and mountain men had a running fight for six miles. When the trappers finally stopped, they began to run low on ammunition. Beckwourth volunteered to ride for help and, joined by another, "dashed through the ranks of the foe" on horseback, dodging arrows and bullets. As they hoped, they found more trappers and rode back to rescue the first group. "Never," Beckwourth recalled, "had I run such danger of losing my life."

In the early 1830s, Beckwourth lived with the Crow Indians for a few years. A fellow trapper had convinced them that Beckwourth was a Crow who had been stolen as a child. He was adopted by a chief, Big Bowl, as his long-lost son and given a wife. Beckwourth resolved to accept the situation, believing he could "trap in their streams unmolested, and derive more profit from their protection" than otherwise. From then on, even after he left the Crow, he wore Crow clothing and kept his hair in braids.

Beckwourth left the Crow in the mid-1830s to trap for fur companies again. He settled for a while at present-day Pueblo, Colorado, and then moved to California after the Mexican War. He discovered a pass through the Sierra Nevada named for him and established a ranch and inn at the head of the pass. According to one account, he "was an impressive host full of fascinating stories." One visitor, Thomas Bonner, put Beckwourth's stories on paper, publishing The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth, Mountaineer, Scout, Pioneer, and Chief of the Crow Nation in 1856. The autobiography was full of stories—some of them greatly exaggerated. In the words of one historian, Beckwourth was a "gaudy liar." Another is more even-handed: admitting that the book is gaudy—and gory—he says "apart from yarns in which Jim unnecessarily quadruples his own daring, it is in the main trustworthy."

The circumstances of Beckwourth's death are unknown. Two reports say he died in 1866 when the Crow killed him-either because he brought them smallpox or because he prepared to leave them again. Yet another account has him dying near Denver in 1867. Whatever the truth of his last days, Jim Beckwourth lived a rich and varied life in the West, traveling freely among white and Native American societies.

Ouestions

- 1. Why do you think Beckwourth did not return to live in the East?
- 2. What do the stories of Beckwourth's death reveal about the difficulties of writing history?
- 3. Write an epitaph for Beckwourth's tombstone that hints at the possible exaggerations of his life.





RESEARCHING A CANDIDATE Before you create your ad, find out all you can about the political candidate you've chosen. Before beginning your research, decide whether you want to project a positive or negative view of the candidate. (Your research might eventually change your point of view.)

You can call a candidate's campaign headquarters or professional office for information and images. Also, search on-line news services through the Internet and research recent newspapers and magazines for further material. Use the following forms as guides:

Information

- Summarize the candidate's main views and goals. Use direct quotations, if possible.
- To know your candidate well, list the person's most impressive accomplishments, as well as his or her most glaring mistakes or embarrassing scandals.
- Record impressive facts or figures related to the candidate's accomplishments or mistakes.

Images

- Depending on the ad's point of view, find flattering or unflattering photos or drawings of the candidate. You can call a candidate's campaign headquarters for flattering photos. Negative, as well as positive, images can usually be found in political cartoons and in newspapers and magazines that have a clearly defined political point of view. Also, try looking on the Internet for images that you can download.
- Research or design images that the public could associate with the candidate. The American flag and children are typical positive images for politicians, whereas images of crime and drugs are negative ones that they avoid. Look for images that reflect the candidate's accomplishments (or scandals), goals, and personality traits.

DESIGNING YOUR AD Here are some suggestions:

- 1. Choose key information from your notes and a photo from your research that strongly support your view of the candidate. Choose wisely! You want a small amount of information to say a lot about your candidate. You are aiming for a clear, direct message.
- 2. Select a strong image that you want to associate with your candidate.
- 3. Compose a memorable slogan to convince others to vote for that person.
- 4. Design your poster so that it includes enough information to convey a clear message about your candidate. Avoid a cluttered or confusing display of your material.



LIVING HISTORY Standards for Evaluating a Political Ad

IDEAS AND CONTENT	Exceptional	Acceptable	Poor
1. Presents a clear and coherent message about the candidate			
2. Contains key information (such as quotations, statistics, and facts) to support the message			
3. Uses images to convey information about the candidate			
4. Shows consistency between images and information			
5. Includes a concise, memorable slogan			
INDIVIDUAL PERFORMANCE			
6. Has a clear, readable design that conveys information clearly, not one that is cluttered or confusing			
7. Reveals sound judgment in choice of images and information			
8. Demonstrates thought and effort			

Comments

Overall rating _____