

States' Rights and National Responsibilities Within the Nullification Crisis

King Lok Wang

Senior Division

Paper

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First, I would like to thank Dr. Johnson and Dr. Buggeln for their support on my paper.

At the beginning, I was not especially interested in the Nullification Crisis because my AP U.S. History class only briefly mentioned it to cover other events such as the Corrupt Bargain. But two weeks later, after I understood Jackson's political career, I reminded myself of how strange Jackson's decision was in the Nullification Crisis. Jackson was a champion of the Southern farmers—which was why I thought he would support nullification and put the country's unity at risk. However, Jackson did the opposite of what I expected; he stood out to serve the country and completely defeated the nullifiers. At this point, I wanted to know what happened to change his standpoint, and I realized I also needed to learn more about his formidable rival John C. Calhoun and his perspective.

I began researching by revisiting the point of contention—reading Calhoun's *Exposition and Protest*. I found this piece flooded by economic concerns, as I coincidentally self-studied AP Macroeconomics and Microeconomics last summer. I attempted to make sense of Calhoun's argument and verified that his discontent was not solitary. After reading newspapers and documents of the time, I found that the tariff was difficult for many Southerners. Throughout my research I asked myself: Why was such a tariff implemented if many were frustrated by it? What made Jackson abandon his political ideals in deciding to put down nullification? After reading through many primary sources including "Henry Clay's Defense for the American System", and most importantly "Jackson's Proclamation Regarding Independence", I finally understood why Jackson decided to launch the Force Bill. Four weeks of thorough reading allowed me to generate a defensible argument revolving rights and responsibilities of South Carolina and the government. Then, I crafted an outline of my paper. Lastly, I read more secondary sources to fill

in the information that I needed, such as Calhoun and Jackson's biographies and the terms of the tariffs of 1828, 1832, and 1833.

The Nullification Crisis was significant in American history because it marked the first major dispute between a state and the government. South Carolina disagreed with the government's interpretation of the Constitution and charged the tariff as unconstitutional. Such a confrontation was unprecedented, as it also set an example for other states. About three decades later, Jefferson Davis would lead his seven rebellious states (including South Carolina) to secede from the union to preserve their economic rights—specifically slavery. Sectional tensions between the North and South were rooted in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, escalated by the Nullification Crisis, and finally erupted in the Civil War. The Nullification Crisis also marked South Carolina's internal struggle to choose between defending their rights and fulfilling their duties—a decision that many would face but all found difficult.

***“Their object is disunion, but be not deceived by names; disunion, by armed force, is
TREASON.”***

– Andrew Jackson¹

On April 13, 1830, President Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina sat across each other in the Queen Hotel, Washington D.C. to celebrate the 87th Jefferson Day.² Looking Calhoun in the eye, Jackson raised his glass and announced provocatively: “Our Federal Union: It must be preserved.”³ Calhoun shot back: “The Union...can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states and distributing equally the benefit and burden of the Union.”⁴ The two men’s differing viewpoints on a controversial idea known as nullification placed them at odds, even though Calhoun was Jackson’s Vice President. In his toast, Calhoun emphasized South Carolina’s rights, but Jackson, never one to back down from a fight, claimed his power as President overrode South Carolina’s rights.

The Nullification Crisis began when South Carolina decided to invalidate a Federal Government decision. In 1828, President Andrew Jackson passed a 45% tariff on imported goods. In response, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina wrote *Exposition and Protest* to argue against paying the tariff. As the conflict simmered for four years, the Federal Government made no reaction to South Carolina’s resistance. In 1832, South Carolina declared the tariff null and further proposed states could nullify federal laws. Jackson encountered a crisis to maintain federal power. Finally, Jackson issued the Force Bill in 1833, which threatened military action

¹ Andrew Jackson, “Proclamation Regarding Nullification”, avalon.law.yale.edu, November 24, 1832, Accessed February 3, 2025.

² Referring to the date Thomas Jefferson was born.

³ Shannon, Ciara, 2024. “The Birthday Dinner.” Jackmillercenter.org, written December 11, 2024, Accessed March 31, 2025.

⁴ Ibid.

and ended the case of nullification. South Carolina claimed nullification, and ultimately secession, to be a lasting right of the states, spreading disunity across the country. In response, Jackson assumed his responsibility as President to preserve federal supremacy, even though such a decision clashed with his ideals of republicanism and states' rights.

Doctrines Before Nullification

Signs of nullification could be traced back to the passage of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, drafted by Thomas Jefferson⁵ and James Madison in 1798. Written in response to the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions asserted that states could nullify federal laws that they considered unconstitutional.⁶ As the Alien and Sedition Acts punished people who published slander against the government, the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions declared “[states] have the unquestionable right to judge of [the nation’s] infractions,” adhering to the right of free speech.⁷ From that standpoint, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison unintentionally created a doctrine that amplified the division between states and the Federal Government. The Alien and Sedition Acts were repealed by the election of 1800—Jefferson’s victory allowed the Acts to expire. The Federalist Party’s defeat in this election also indicated a limitation to federal power, in that a strict interpretation of the Constitution was adopted overwhelmingly across the nation.⁸ The ideals embraced by the Resolutions remained prominent in the following years.

⁵ During this period, Federalists were declining in power. In replacement of the Federalists were the Democratic-Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, who endorsed a limited interpretation of the Constitution and championed states' rights.

⁶ Jefferson, Thomas, James Madison, and John C Calhoun, “The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions”, published in Washington, 1798, 9.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Library of Congress, “Election of 1800 - Creating the United States | Exhibitions - Library of Congress”, loc.gov, Delivered March 21, 1801, Accessed February 3, 2025.

Another concept that indirectly supported nullification was the Compact Theory. Named after the Mayflower Compact, the Compact Theory claimed that the United States was formed by an agreement between the states—indicating that states had no responsibility to the Union. This theory was later elaborated by South Carolina Senator Robert Hayne in 1830 as justification for the right to nullify federal laws. Hayne launched a debate with Senator Daniel Webster, contending that “the Union [should] be preserved, while it suits local and temporary purposes to preserve it; and [should] be sundered whenever it shall be found to thwart such purposes.”⁹ To Hayne, the Union was not binding; if the interests of each state were not met, then the states had the right to leave at their discretion.

Southern interests were certainly not met in the 1820s. President James Monroe favored the industrial North over the agrarian South, since the North’s policies were favorable for westward expansion. Led by Secretary of State Henry Clay, the North embraced Henry Clay’s American System containing plans of internal improvements, westward expansion, and similar protective policies.¹⁰ As such, Monroe saw the North as more capable of strengthening the nation’s diplomatic powers. Consequently, Monroe and his successor John Quincy Adams attempted to tax the South’s cotton industry for the North’s benefit.¹¹ Alarmed, South Carolina felt the need to protect its economic interests. Only a catalyst was needed to spur a conflict between South Carolina and the Federal Government—this catalyst being the Tariff of 1828, also referred to as the Tariff of Abominations.

⁹ Robert Y. Hayne, “Speech of Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina”, teachingamericanhistory.org, Delivered January 25, 1830, Accessed February 3, 2025.

¹⁰ Henry Clay, “In Defense of the American System”, senate.gov, Accessed August 8, 2023.

¹¹ James Monroe, “Monroe Doctrine”, archives.org, Delivered December 2, 1823, Accessed February 4, 2025. An example of Monroe’s attempt to tax the South would be the Tariff of 1816.

South Carolina's Rights

The Tariff of 1828 was designed by President John Quincy Adams, who was concerned that the country could not independently produce a large quantity of machinery and manufactured goods. This concern drove Adams to subsidize the industrial North through the tariff, which specifically increased the prices of purchasing foreign products by 45%. Consequently, Southerners were compelled to purchase manufactured goods from Northern industries, which were less advanced than machinery from Europe.¹² As South Carolina knew “the fortunes of the state rose and fell with the price of the white fiber,” it opposed such a tariff that significantly reduced their profitability from cotton.¹³ Adams attempted to limit this opposition to the tariff by claiming that overproducing cotton would “lead to the destruction of our own manufactures.”¹⁴ But Southerners did not favor the tariff at all. Newspapers reported protests during town hall meetings and anti-tariff gatherings.¹⁵ Tensions between South Carolina and the Federal Government escalated.

At this point of crisis, Vice President John C. Calhoun rose to voice Southern sentiments. Born in South Carolina, Calhoun grew up absorbing Southern ideals. After graduating from Yale University, Calhoun was elected to the House of Representatives in 1810 and proceeded to become Vice President for both President John Quincy Adams and President Andrew Jackson.¹⁶ During his career serving both presidents, Calhoun adamantly upheld his beliefs of states’

¹² Michele, Metych, “Tariff of 1828 | Definition, Summary, & Nullification”, Encyclopedia Britannica, May 18, 2023, Accessed February 5, 2025.

¹³ Eldred, E. Prince, “Agriculture”, South Carolina’s Encyclopedia, scencyclopedia.org, April 15, 2023. Accessed May 12, 2025.

¹⁴ John Quincy Adams, “Fourth Annual Message”, millercenter.org, Delivered December 2, 1828, Accessed March 3, 2025.

¹⁵ Thomas W. White, “Proposals by Thomas W. White, for publishing in the City of Richmond, a new tri-weekly newspaper, to be styled The friend of the union, and advocate of state rights ... August 26, 1833,” published in Richmond, 1833, 1.

¹⁶ John. C. Calhoun, “John C. Calhoun: A Featured Biography”, senate.gov, August 9, 2023.

rights—shaping his attitude towards the Tariff of Abominations. His elitist background and sense of “Southern honor” also contributed to his disloyalty to the country. Calhoun was more concerned about South Carolina’s rights than America’s unity.¹⁷

Consequently, in December of 1828, Calhoun claimed that the tariff unfairly targeted the South as the supplier for the North’s industrial development. In his *Exposition and Protest*, Calhoun asserted the right of equal treatment between each state granted implicitly by Article IV of the Constitution.¹⁸ Based on this interpretation, Calhoun framed the tariff as “unconstitutional, unequal, and oppressive” since the tariff was “not for revenue, but for the protection of one branch of industry at the expense of the other.”¹⁹ Indeed, Calhoun’s protest was backed by the economic situation, where “one third of the Union produced two thirds of the country’s aggregate output.”²⁰ Assuming that the statistics in *Exposition and Protest* are accurate, increasing the price of imports by 45% would have allowed Northern industries to “reap the benefit disproportionately.”²¹ According to Calhoun, the Tariff caused the South to lose an aggregate of \$19,000,000 that the North had gained (Appendix I).

In November 1832, a newer version of the tariff was passed by Congress, this time only levying a duty of 35% on imports.²² Struggling to compromise for four years, Calhoun and South Carolina were not satisfied by the government taking a step back. They decided to adopt the Ordinance of Nullification in November of 1832, declaring both tariffs unconstitutional. Calhoun claimed that “[the tariffs of 1828 and 1832] violate the true meaning and intent [of the

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ U.S. Constitution, “*Tenth Amendment*”, congress.gov, February 3, 2025.

¹⁹ John C. Calhoun, *Exposition and Protest*, S.C. State Library (Columbia S.C. State Print), 5, written December 12, 1828.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ John C. Calhoun, *Exposition and Protest*, 24.

²² Encyclopedia Britannica. “Tariff Act | United States [1832] | Britannica,” Britannica.com, February 3, 2025.

Constitution] thereof and are null, void.”²³ He added that nullification should be entitled to the states since the government was established to protect its citizens, thus, the states.²⁴

To push this crisis to its climax, Calhoun resigned his position as Vice President immediately after issuing his ordinance.²⁵ South Carolina also threatened to secede from the Union if the tariffs were not repealed.²⁶ Calhoun and his state’s continued resistance infuriated President Andrew Jackson, as he viewed nullification as a threat to both his power and federal power.

Responsibilities of the Nation

Andrew Jackson was born in colonial Carolina, 1767. Although orphaned at a young age, Jackson achieved political fame through years serving in the military and government. His military highlight was his service during the War of 1812 when he defeated the British army in the Battle of New Orleans—a decisive victory securing America’s sovereignty and powers as an independent nation.²⁷ In the election of 1828, Jackson became President and served for two terms. During his presidential campaign, Jackson won support by championing the rights of poor white farmers.²⁸ His populist beliefs were shown in his first inaugural: “I shall keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the Executive power trusting thereby to discharge the functions of my office.”²⁹ After becoming President, Jackson strictly adhered to these beliefs—

²³ Avalon Project, “South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification, November 24, 1832,” Accessed February 5, 2025.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Calhoun, “John C. Calhoun: A Featured Biography”, senate.gov

²⁶ Avalon, “South Carolina’s Ordinance of Nullification”, avalon.law.yale.edu.

²⁷ Bradley, Harold Whitman, “Andrew Jackson: Facts, Biography & Accomplishments”, Britannica.com, Accessed February 3, 2025.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Avalon Project, “Jackson’s First Inaugural Address”, Andrew Jackson, March 4, 1829. Accessed May 12, 2025.

through decisions such as his twelve vetoes, especially the veto opposing the National Bank.³⁰ Specifically, Jackson claimed that rechartering the bank would amplify the disparity of wealth between rich bankers in the industrial North and commoners in the rural South.³¹ Jackson's assertive character shaped by his military experience did not allow anyone to challenge his rule—he was called “King Andrew I” by his enemies.³²

Ultimately, Jackson's decision to reject nullification was shaped by his sense of responsibility to preserve the nation against forces of division. In his Proclamation, Jackson used the Supremacy Clause³³ as direct evidence against the concept of nullification. He declared that, “they [the nullifiers] are all silent--not a syllable uttered, not a vote given, not a motion made, to correct the explicit supremacy given to the laws of the Union over those of the States, or to show that implication, as is now contended, could defeat it.”³⁴ Therefore, Jackson was convinced that the nullifiers committed treason—by undermining America's sovereignty and challenging the rule of him, “King Andrew.” To further refute nullification, Jackson used nationalism to strengthen the ties between states and the Federal Government. In his Proclamation Regarding Nullification, Jackson defended such nationalism:

“Contemplate the condition of that country of which you still form an important part; consider its government uniting in one bond of common interest and general protection so many different States-giving to all their inhabitants the proud title of AMERICAN CITIZEN!”³⁵

Jackson certainly prioritized American unity over his republican liberties by fulfilling the President's obligations. He stated that “the laws of the United States must be executed. I have no

³⁰ Marshall, Lynn L. “The Authorship of Jackson's Bank Veto Message”, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 50, no. 3 (1963): 470.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Library of Congress, *King Andrew the First*, 1833, [New York?: s.n] Photograph. Accessed February 3, 2024.

³³ Article IV in the Constitution that the federal law takes precedence over state legislature.

³⁴ Jackson, “Proclamation Regarding Nullification”, avalon.law.yale.edu.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

discretionary power on the subject—my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution.”³⁶

As an inheritor of the Constitution’s duties, Jackson did not allow his populist beliefs to sway his duty.

Jackson’s determination to put down nullification was immediately popular. He introduced the Force Bill in March 1833, which allowed him to use military forces against the nullifiers who refused to comply with the tariff.³⁷ In the Force Bill debate, the U.S. Senate debated for three weeks, with seventeen Senators delivering heated speeches.³⁸ Eventually, the bill was passed by a vote of 32-1—an overwhelming majority of the Senators representing their states were on Jackson’s side opposing nullification.³⁹ The popularity of the bill in the North allowed it to be easily made law and extinguish remaining arguments on nullification. John Tipton, former U.S. Senator from Washington D.C., wrote to his superior contemptuously that “this dangerous excitement of our southern brethren will pass into oblivion without being the cause of shedding one drop of American blood.”⁴⁰

The passage of the Force Bill effectively ended the political crisis surrounding nullification. Concurrently, Henry Clay proposed a third tariff of 1833 that gradually reduced the duty from 35% to 20% in the following decade.⁴¹ South Carolina was pressured by the Force Bill to accept this compromise, and Calhoun repealed the Ordinance of Nullification after thirteen days.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Bauer, Pat. “Force Bill | Background, Significance, Results, & Facts”, britannica.com, March 8, 2018.

³⁸ Ericson, David F. “The Nullification Crisis, American Republicanism, and the Force Bill Debate.” *The Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 2 (1995): 254.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Library of Congress, “Image 1 of Washington City, March 2, 1833. Sir: The present session of Congress... John Tipton,” [Washington D.C.: s.n], Letter. Produced March 2, 1833, Accessed March 28, 2025.

⁴¹ Encyclopedia Britannica, “Compromise of 1833”, britannica.com, Accessed February 3, 2024.

Many politicians at the time praised Jackson's boldness.⁴² Newspapers complimented Jackson's firm stance against nullification that upheld the authority of the government.⁴³ Even states that supported South Carolina's campaign of states' rights found Jackson's assertion irresistible. For instance, Thomas W. White, publisher of a tri-weekly newspaper in Richmond, Virginia, claimed, "[the Ordinance] ought not to receive the support of virtuous and honorable men [because] it invades the Constitutional rights of the Senate, assumes privilege of suspending the operation of law,...and proscribes the freedom of opinion in every form and shape."⁴⁴ Today, some historians compare Jackson to Federalists like Marshall and Abraham Lincoln.⁴⁵ Others place him in the centrist bloc to account for the oddity of his decision to dismiss nullification in contrast with his republican beliefs, stating that Jackson found the balance of power between the Federal Government and the states.⁴⁶ All these connections reveal how Jackson was more than a dictator—a President who carried responsibilities to the nation in his judgement.

Aftermath

While Jackson's Force Bill conclusively ended the nullification crisis, contention over states' rights continued. Sectional divisions between the industrial North and agrarian South would carry on, leading to the Civil War of 1860. Again, two men stood eye to eye: Jefferson Davis and Abraham Lincoln.

⁴² Pleasants & Butler, *Constitutional Whig*, loc.gov, [Volume] (Richmond, Va.) 1824-1832: Image 1.

⁴³ New York, "*Jackson and the nullifiers ... Printed and sold, wholesale and retail, at 257 Hudson-street, and 138 Division-street, 1832*", February 4, 2025.

⁴⁴ Thomas W. White, "Proposals by Thomas W. White, for publishing in the City of Richmond, a new tri-weekly newspaper, to be styled the friend of the union, and advocate of state rights", loc.gov, Accessed February 3, 2025.

⁴⁵ Matthew S. Brogdon, "Defending the Union: Andrew Jackson's Nullification Proclamation and American Federalism", *The Review of Politics* 73, no. 2 (2011): 254.

⁴⁶ Ericson, "The Nullification Crisis, American Republicanism, and the Force Bill Debate," 257.

Jefferson Davis represented the South's strong disagreement with the Federal Government. With words that echoed Calhoun's argument of states' rights, Davis delivered the following sentiments in his first Inaugural Address to the Confederacy: "The compact of the Union...had been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and had ceased to answer the ends for which it was established."⁴⁷ Like Jackson, Lincoln declared that states must fulfill their responsibilities to the nation. Lincoln's commitment originated from his belief in the perpetuity of the nation articulated in his First Inaugural Address: "[the union's] perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments...no state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union."⁴⁸ Davis stood for states' rights, while Lincoln for national responsibilities.

The clash between Lincoln and Davis clearly connects back to Jackson and Calhoun's toast in 1830. Calhoun claimed individual states have the right to nullify federal laws at the expense of threatening the nation's unity. As a result, Jackson saw his obligation to protect the nation and demanded loyalty from his states by emphasizing the binding characteristic of the nation itself. His sense of responsibility rescued the union from falling apart and avoiding the further crisis of nullification. Jackson's emphasis on the interconnectedness of the country was proven to be visionary, as both the North and the South depended on each other's production for the economy to continue expanding and allow the nation to emerge as a world superpower.

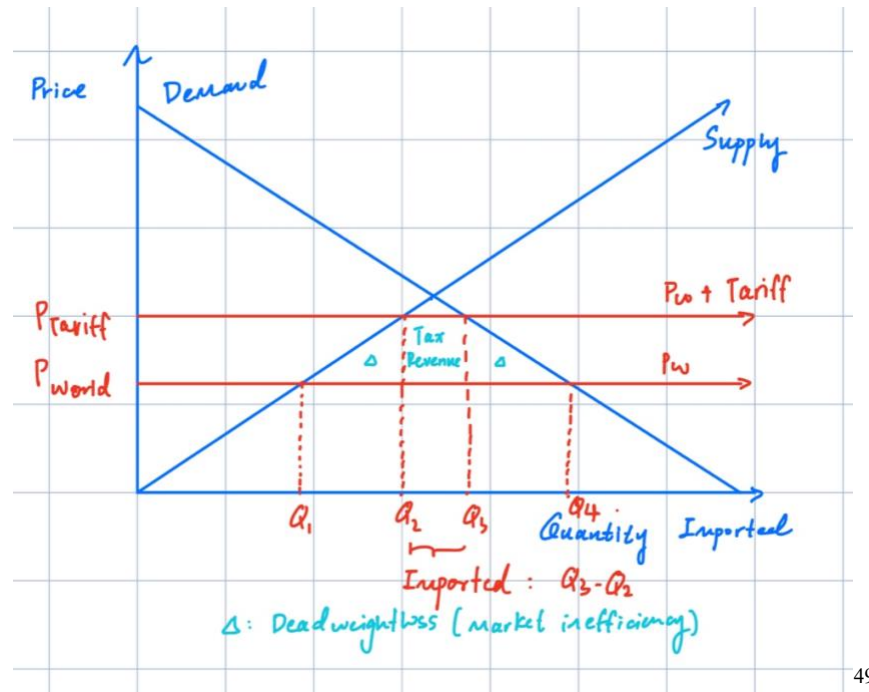
Nevertheless, the nullification crisis was an intermediate step in the road to the Civil War. Calhoun attempted to act as a catalyst to and spark a constitutional crisis. While Calhoun incited

⁴⁷ Jefferson Davis First Inaugural, Rice University, jeffersondavis.rice.edu, "The Papers of Jefferson Davis," Accessed April 3, 2025.

⁴⁸ Washington, D.C. : U.S. G.P.O. : for sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O., 1989. "The Avalon Project : First Inaugural Address of Abraham Lincoln", February 5, 2025.

division, Jackson acted as a deterrent, temporarily extinguishing the flames. His dedication and decisiveness provided America 30 years of peace before the Civil War. In such turbulent times, not a single state made a move to secession until 1860 because Jackson showed how federal power can turn the entire nation against these rebellious states. Although Calhoun's defense of South Carolina's rights appealed to many Southerners, Jackson's determination to counter nullification upheld the supremacy of the federal government, and his sense of responsibility preserved the nation.

Appendix



Appendix I: Supply and Demand curve illustrating the effect of a tariff on quantity imported.

Annotated Bibliography

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American Battlefield Trust. "President Jackson's Proclamation Regarding Nullification December 10, 1832," n.d. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/primary-sources/president-jacksons-proclamation-regarding-nullification-december-10-1832>.

This source is Jackson's proclamation about his disapproval of nullification. I referenced this source multiple times in my paper because it was the main source of information for Jackson's attitude to South Carolina. I also justified many of Jackson's actions using quotes from his proclamation.

"Avalon Project - South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification, November 24, 1832," n.d. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/ordnull.asp.

This source is South Carolina's ordinance of nullification. I used this source to show South Carolina's support for nullification and secession if the tariff of 1828 was not repealed. I also referenced it to relate South Carolina's rights to how their rights infringed upon the nation's unity.

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This source introduces the Sedition Acts as preventing people from publishing slander against the government. I used this source as background information for the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

“December 2, 1828: Fourth Annual Message | Miller Center.” Miller Center, October 20, 2016. <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-2-1828-fourth-annual-message>.

This source is John Quincy Adams’ Fourth Annual Message. I used this source to show how Adams justified the Tariff of 1828.

“Image 2 of Washington City, March 2, 1833. Sir: The Present Session of Congress Closes This Day, and Although but Few of the Subjects Introduced Have Been Finally Acted Upon, I Flatter Myself That Much Good Has Been Done for Our Country ... John Tipton.” n.d. The Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbpe.19500300/?sp=2&st=image>.

This source is a letter of Tipton to his friend on the Ordinance of Nullification. I used this source to show Northern reactions to nullification.

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John C. Calhoun. *Exposition and Protests.*

https://dc.statelibrary.sc.gov/bitstream/handle/10827/21911/HOUSE_CR_Exposition_and_Protest_1828-12-19.pdf.

This source is Calhoun’s summary of his economic concerns towards the tariff. I used this source extensively through my writing to clarify Calhoun’s expositions and explain how it relates to South Carolina’s rights.

King Andrew the First., 1833. [New York?: s.n] Photograph.
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2008661753/>.

This source is first image of Jackson depicted as a British Monarch and labeled as King Andrew I. I used this source to corroborate Jackson's assertive character and justify his introduction of the Force Bill.

National Archives. "Monroe Doctrine (1823)," May 10, 2022.
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This source is Monroe's declaration to the rest of the world of America's diplomatic powers. I used this source to justify Monroe's favor of the North and how that damaged the South's economy.

Pleasants & Butler. "Constitutional Whig. [Volume] (Richmond, Va.) 1824-1832, August 27, 1830, Image 1," August 27, 1830.
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This source is an image of a newspaper showing how Jackson's critics responded to the Force Bill. I used this to justify how powerful Jackson's argument was, that his critics could only seek compromise—no one but Calhoun dared to challenge Jackson's presidency.

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This source is a transcription of Jefferson Davis' First Inaugural Address. I used this source to support how Davis attempted to secede from the Union because he thought the government had no right to interfere with the South's economic culture—specifically slavery culture.

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White, Thomas W. Proposals by Thomas W. White, for publishing in the City of Richmond, a new tri-weekly newspaper, to be styled The friend of the union, and advocate of state rights. Richmond, 1833. Pdf. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2020785132/>.

This source is a newspaper of also Jackson's critics. I used this source to show how critics wanted to conciliate Jackson by compromising—trying to fight for limited states rights while acknowledging federal supremacy.

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This source is the Supreme Court case of Worcester V. Georgia. I used this source to show how Georgia was affiliated in a similar affair as South Carolina.

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