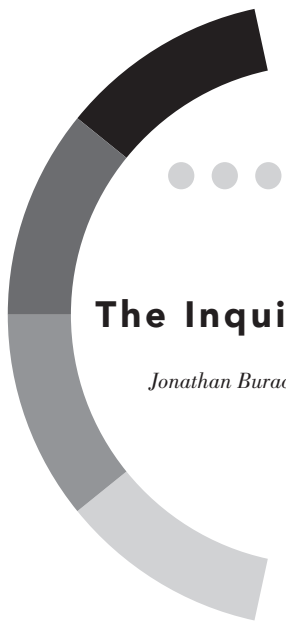


# Slavery and the Early Republic



## **The Inquiry Arc** in U.S. History

*Jonathan Burack*

## **Nullification**

**MindSparks®**

CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA

HS10113E v1.0

Manuscript Editor: Melissa R. R. Gutierrez  
Proofreader: Desiree Dreeuws  
Book Layout: Linda Deverich  
Cover Design: Mark Gutierrez  
Editorial Director: Dawn P. Dawson

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10200 Jefferson Boulevard, P.O. Box 802  
Culver City, CA 90232-0802  
United States of America

(310) 839-2436  
(800) 421-4246

[www.mindsparks.com](http://www.mindsparks.com)  
[access@mindsparks.com](mailto:access@mindsparks.com)

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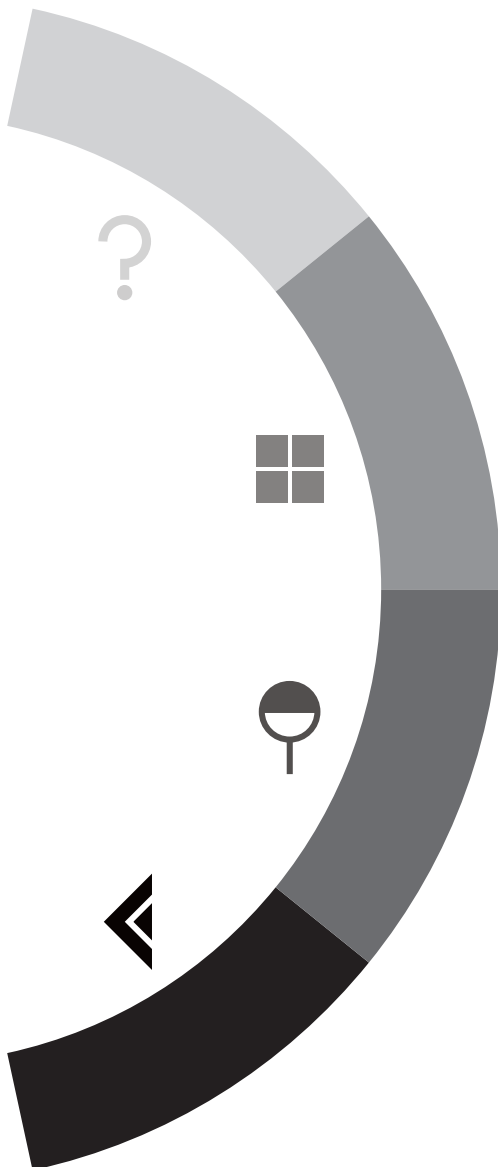
# Contents

Introduction.....	1
Overview.....	5
Teaching Instructions.....	7
<b>Handouts</b>	
Introductory Essay.....	10
History Group.....	13
Civics Group.....	16
Economics Group.....	19
Geography Group.....	22
How to Analyze a Primary Source.....	25
Primary Source Packet.....	26
Communicating Results and Taking Action.....	41
Nullification Rubric.....	42
Primary Source Bibliography.....	43
Sources for Further Study.....	44



### C3 Framework

This unit is based primarily on the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards. The C3 Framework is an effective tool offering guidance and support for rigorous student learning. The assignments encourage students to be active participants in learning and to explore the parts of history that they find most compelling. Central to the C3 Framework and our use of it is its Inquiry Arc—a set of four interrelated dimensions of informed inquiry in social studies. The lessons in this unit are based on all four dimensions of the C3 Inquiry Arc. While the C3 Framework analyzes each of the four dimensions separately, they are not entirely separable in practice—they each interact in dynamic ways. As a result, the lessons combine some or all of the dimensions in various ways.



### Four Dimensions of the Inquiry Arc

#### 1 Developing compelling and supporting questions and planning inquiries

Questions shape social studies inquiries, giving them broader meaning and motivating students to master content and engage actively in the learning process.

#### 2 Applying disciplinary concepts and tools

These are the concepts and central ideas needed to address the compelling and supporting questions student pose. The C3 Framework stresses four subject fields: history, civics, economics, and geography. Each of our units addresses all of these disciplines.

#### 3 Evaluating sources and using evidence

The purpose of using primary and secondary sources as evidence is to support claims and counterclaims. By assessing the validity and usefulness of sources, including those that conflict with one another, students are able to construct evidence-based explanations and arguments.

#### 4 Communicating conclusions and taking informed action

While this may take the form of individual essays and other writing assignments, these units stress other kinds of individual and collaborative forms of communication, including debates, policy analyses, video productions, diary entries, and interviews. Meaningful forms of individual or collaborative civic action are also incorporated into each unit.

## **How to Use This Book**

These units offer you the chance to implement the entire C3 Inquiry Arc in brief, carefully structured lessons on important topics in U.S. history. Each lesson is driven by a central compelling question, and disciplinary supporting questions are provided. Each unit asks students to apply understandings from all of the C3 disciplines—history, civics, economics, and geography—and they include individual and group tasks in an integrated way.

Each unit includes an introductory essay, detailed teaching instructions, a set of primary sources, and the handouts needed to complete the lesson’s assignments. Rubrics for student evaluation and sources for further study are also provided. The teaching instructions suggest a time frame for completion of each lesson, but the assessments can easily be adapted to fit into any lesson plan.

Each unit is aligned with several C3 Framework standards and Common Core standards. The College and Career Readiness Anchor Standards for Literacy emphasize the reading of informational texts, making these lessons ideal for integration into English Language Arts instruction.



**C3 Disciplines**



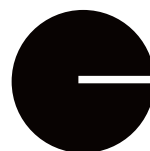
**History**



**Civics**



**Economics**



**Geography**



# Nullification

*Was It about States' Rights or Slavery?*





## Overview

### Introduction

In 1832, a special state convention in South Carolina “nullified” a federal tariff law. This meant the state could refuse to enforce that law inside its own borders. South Carolinians claimed that the tariff law hurt the entire South and helped other sections of the United States unfairly. For that reason, they said it was unconstitutional. They hoped the rest of the South would go along with them in nullifying the law. The South did not, but if it had, the entire region might have left the Union and the Civil War might have started in 1832 instead of 1860. Why did South Carolina push the nation to the edge of disunion? Was it just about the tariff and a state’s right to decide about such laws for itself, or was it about more? Was it about what Southerners called their “peculiar institution” or their “domestic institution”? That is, was it about slavery? In this lesson, students will work with short passages from ten primary sources in an effort to answer this question. These primary sources form the core content for a set of tasks that will help them answer the compelling question.

### Objective

Students will work individually and in small groups to respond in a meaningful way to a compelling question about the nullification crisis. They will apply discipline-specific background knowledge, use scaffolding, and engage in instructional activities to interpret primary sources before presenting their ideas to the class.

### C3 Standards Addressed by This Lesson

- ◆ **D1.4.6-8.** Explain how the relationship between supporting questions and compelling questions is mutually reinforcing.
- ◆ **D1.5.6-8.** Determine the kinds of sources that will be helpful in answering compelling and supporting questions, taking into consideration multiple points of views represented in the sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.5.6-8.** Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time
- ◆ **D2.HIS.11.6-8.** Use other historical sources to infer a plausible maker, date, place of origin, and intended audience for historical sources where this information is not easily identified.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.12.6-8.** Use questions generated about multiple historical sources to identify further areas of inquiry and additional sources.
- ◆ **D2.HIS.16.6-8.** Organize applicable evidence into a coherent argument about the past.
- ◆ **D2.CIV.8.6-8.** Analyze ideas and principles contained in the founding documents of the United States, and explain how they influence the social and political system.
- ◆ **D2.ECO.7.6-8.** Analyze the role of innovation and entrepreneurship in a market economy.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.5.6-8.** Analyze the combinations of cultural and environmental characteristics that make places both similar to and different from other places.
- ◆ **D2.GEO.6.6-8.** Explain how the physical and human characteristics of places and regions are connected to human identities and cultures.
- ◆ **D3.1.6-8.** Gather relevant information from multiple sources while using the origin, authority, structure, context, and corroborative value of the sources to guide the selection.
- ◆ **D3.2.6-8.** Evaluate the credibility of a source by determining its relevance and intended use.

- ◆ **D3.3.6-8.** Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.
- ◆ **D3.4.6-8.** Develop claims and counterclaims while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both.
- ◆ **D4.1.6-8.** Construct arguments using claims and evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging the strengths and limitations of the arguments.
- ◆ **D4.3.6-8.** Present adaptations of arguments and explanations on topics of interest to others to reach audiences and venues outside the classroom using print and oral technologies (e.g., posters, essays, letters, debates, speeches, reports, and maps) and digital technologies (e.g., Internet, social media, and digital documentary).
- ◆ **D4.6.6-8.** Draw on multiple disciplinary lenses to analyze how a specific problem can manifest itself at local, regional, and global levels over time, identifying its characteristics and causes, and the challenges and opportunities faced by those trying to address the problem.

### **Common Core Anchor Standards Addressed by This Lesson**

- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1.** Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.2.** Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.6.** Assess how point of view or purpose shapes the content and style of a text.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.9.** Analyze how two or more texts address similar themes or topics in order to build knowledge or to compare the approaches the authors take.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7.** Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.
- ◆ **CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1.** Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

## Teaching Instructions

### Compelling Question

Was nullification about states' rights, or was it about slavery?

### Preparation

Provide all students with a copy of the Introductory Essay. Assign this reading as homework. In addition, assign all relevant parts of your course textbook or other basic reading material. Remind students to keep the compelling question for the lesson in mind as they read.



#### Asking Questions about Nullification

*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 1 and 2 of the C3 Framework*

### Day One

1. Briefly discuss the Introductory Essay in class and address any initial questions students may have.
2. Distribute the How to Analyze a Primary Source handout. Review each suggestion with the class, and remind students to refer back to the handout as they read the primary sources in this lesson.
3. Divide the class into four small groups. Each group will focus its work on one of the four basic disciplines identified in Dimension 2 of the C3 Framework—history, civics, geography, or economics. As they work, the groups should keep in mind the unit's overall compelling question. However, for Day One and Day Two, each group will work mainly with a second compelling question—one related specifically to its assigned discipline.
4. Provide each group with one copy of its discipline-specific Assignment Sheet. Give each student a copy of all the primary sources for this unit. Each group may share a primary source packet, if necessary.
5. Have students complete the Day One section of their Assignment Sheets. The objective for Day One is for groups to read three primary sources, and then formulate one supporting question about each of those sources. The supporting questions should be recorded in the spaces provided on the Assignment Sheet.



#### Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Evaluating Sources and Evidence

*This part of the task stresses Dimensions 2 and 3 of the C3 Framework*

### Day Two

6. Students will return to their previously assigned groups and formulate a claim addressing their group's compelling question. After reading the remaining seven primary sources, they will select one that supports their claim.

- 
7. Using the evidence gathered from primary sources, each group will then prepare a brief (five- to ten-minute) presentation about nullification from their group's disciplinary perspective. The presentation can be in the form of an oral report, a debate among group members, a PowerPoint, or another related type of presentation. Allow time for students to prepare by discussing and debating topics among themselves.

### Day Three

8. Each group will deliver its presentation. Allow time for class discussion following each presentation, and for a final effort to answer the central compelling question for the lesson.



#### Communicating Results and Taking Action

*This part of the task stresses Dimension 4 of the C3 Framework*

Students will complete a final project that expresses an understanding of the topic and responds clearly to the unit's central compelling question. The project may be completed in groups, but students should be evaluated individually.

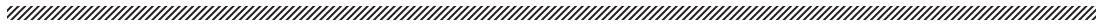
Distribute the Communicating Results and Taking Action handout, and decide whether you will assign the projects or allow students to form groups and choose tasks on their own. Set a reasonable deadline. Students should review the Nullification Rubric so they can understand how their performance will be evaluated. The projects are summarized below.

#### Communicating Results

- ◆ Have students review Primary Sources 3.7, 3.9, and 3.10. Students will write a long fictional letter as Rachel Lazarus, incorporating the reactions of Lazarus to two other primary sources in this unit.
- ◆ Have students review Primary Sources 3.1, 3.2, 3.6, and 3.7. Students will write a short essay in response to comments made by John C. Calhoun in Primary Source 3.4 that explains how different individuals would respond to Calhoun's comments.
- ◆ Students will review their history textbook's account of the nullification crisis. They will then choose three primary sources from this lesson that they think add details or ideas about the crisis that might improve the textbook's treatment of this important turning point in U.S. history.

#### Taking Action

- ◆ Conflicts between state government and the federal government arise constantly in American political life. Today, such disputes are common over issues such as marijuana laws, voter registration rules, the death penalty, and various environmental issues. Have students choose one such conflict that seems important to people in your state. They should research the conflict and summarize both sides of the argument in a brief talk to the class. Students should provide copies of at least two articles on the topic to the rest of the class. Have the class attempt to resolve the argument using the argument from both sides. Ask them to follow through by taking part in the next activity described here.



- ◆ Following the previous activity, have students write a letter or draw an editorial cartoon on the topic and send it to the editor of a local news source. As a class, they should submit the letters and cartoons and ask the newspaper or other news source to consider publishing all or several of them as a group. Have them invite readers to respond with thoughts of their own. Students should collect any of these responses and write a letter as a class to your congressional representative to weigh in on the issue, using the editorial cartoons or letters, the reader responses, and the summaries of both sides of the issue to present the information to the representative.

## Introductory Essay

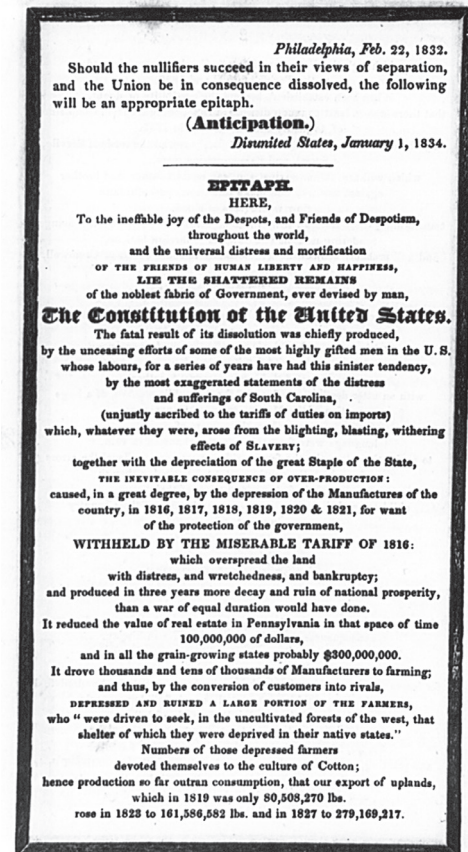
# Nullification

In 1832, the state of South Carolina came very close to breaking up the union.

In that year, a special state convention in South Carolina “nullified” a federal tariff law. That is, the state said the law would not go into effect in South Carolina. It claimed the U.S. Constitution itself allowed each state to decide what federal laws to obey. That is, it had a right to “nullify” a law it decided was unconstitutional. This meant the state could refuse to enforce that law inside its own borders. South Carolinians claimed that the tariff law hurt the entire South and helped other sections of the United States unfairly. For that reason, they said it was unconstitutional. South Carolina hoped the rest of the South would go along with them in nullifying the law, but it did not. However, if the South had, the entire region might have left the union and the Civil War might have started in 1832 instead of 1860.

Why did South Carolina push the nation to the edge of disunion? Was it just about the tariff and a state’s right to decide about such laws for itself, or was it about more? Was it about what Southerners called their “peculiar institution” or their “domestic institution”? That is, was it about slavery?

To answer that question, you first need to understand the tariff issue and how people viewed it in South Carolina. Tariffs are duties, or taxes, placed on foreign imports. In the 1820s, Congress supported much higher tariffs on imported manufactured goods. Tariffs raised money for the government, money that many wanted to use for so-called internal improvements (such as building roads or canals). These high tariffs forced foreign importers to raise their prices to cover the extra cost of the tariff. This meant American manufacturers could also raise their prices and still outsell their foreign competitors.

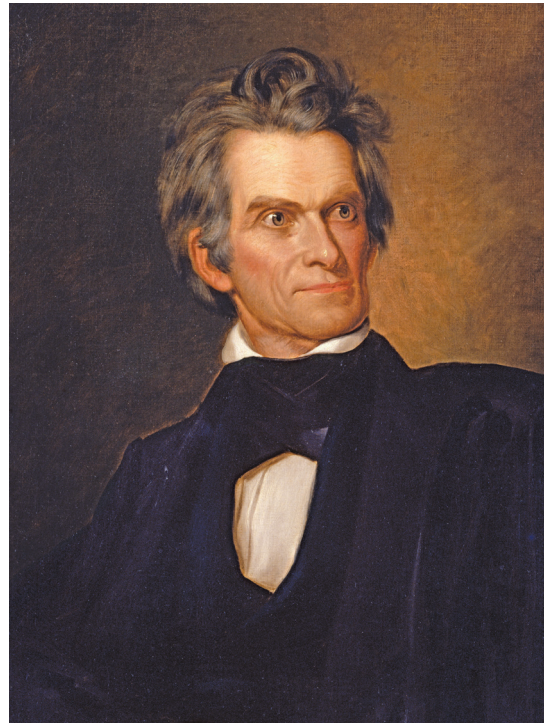


*A mock epitaph written for the U.S. Constitution in response to the nullification crisis*

The industrial era was just getting under way in the early 1800s. Most manufacturing centers were in New England and in middle states, such as Pennsylvania and New York, and they benefitted most directly from the tariffs. The West also benefitted, but mostly from the money raised for internal improvements. The West needed those roads and canals badly. The South, however, did not benefit from the tariffs at all. Its key products were rice, cotton, and sugar, which were produced on plantations with slave labor. Southern planters sold these goods to Northerners, but they sold much more of their cotton crop to England. In return, they relied heavily on imports for all kinds of manufactured goods. As a result, the tariff hurt them in two ways. It forced an increase in the prices of all the things they needed to buy, and, because it hurt British merchants selling goods here, it threatened to reduce what Great Britain would be able to buy from Southern planters.

In 1828, various groups pushed Congress to raise the tariff to the highest point ever. The result was a bloated tariff that Southerners called the Tariff of Abominations. It was against this tariff that South Carolina protested. The leader in this battle was then-U.S. vice president John C. Calhoun. Calhoun supported the idea that states had the right to nullify laws that went against the Constitution. Calhoun argued that the Constitution only allowed tariffs to raise revenue for the government; it did *not* allow tariffs meant to favor some businesses over others or some sections of the United States over others.

South Carolina planters were hurt by the high tariffs; however, by 1832, another big issue was starting to worry these planters—slavery and the growing opposition to it in the North. Abolitionists like William Lloyd Garrison were speaking out more forcefully against slavery, the American Colonization Society was seeking federal funds to help send free African Americans to the African colony of Liberia, and, in 1831, the slave uprising led by Nat Turner terrified people throughout the South. In the world at large, antislavery feeling was growing. Great Britain was also about to abolish slavery in the British Empire.



*John C. Calhoun*





*Rice plantation*

Planters in the low country of South Carolina were especially worried about all this. They had huge numbers of African American slaves, and their fabulous rice and cotton wealth was based on the work of these slaves. It is true, the tariff hurt them, but what worried them more was what it implied about federal power in general. Their argument was that the tariff violated the Constitution and harmed their property. If the tariff could harm their property that way, what was to stop the federal government from harming their slave property by abolishing slavery?

Was the nullification crisis mainly about the tariff, or was it mostly about slavery? In this lesson, you will examine a small sample of primary sources on this South Carolina nullification conflict. These sources will provide evidence to help you answer this question. Interpreting the sources is not easy. Keep in mind that they are from a variety of points of view about the conflict. Together, they should help you better understand the nullification crisis and the various reasons behind it.

Image Sources: Epitaph. By Mathew Carey, 1832, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USCZ62-42778  
John C. Calhoun. By George Peter Alexander Healy. Circa 1845, via Wikimedia Commons  
Rice Plantation. By iStock.com/andipantz





## History Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

## *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the history of the nullification crisis. A disciplinary compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow the steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

One historian calls the nullification crisis a “prelude to the Civil War.”

Explain what he means and why you do or do not agree with him.

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.2, 3.7, and 3.9.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

Long before the American Revolution, the South had come to rely on slave labor. By the late 1700s, however, many thought slavery might fade away in the South, as it was doing in the North. The cotton gin had made it much cheaper to produce short-staple cotton, and, as England's textile factories grew, its demand for cotton soared. The South then came to depend on selling increasing amounts of cotton to England. Planters also purchased many of the goods they needed from England. Cotton growers worried about anything that could hurt their open trade with that powerhouse economy, but businesses in the North saw England's low-priced goods as a threat. They favored tariffs on those goods, and the South hated those tariffs. As the tariffs rose, so also did resentment in the South.

At the same time, slavery came under increasing attack in the North. Some wanted to abolish it. Others sought at least to bottle it up and keep it from expanding westward. In response, the South reacted angrily. It saw in the tariff the growing power of the North, and many Southerners felt that

the North's growing power would eventually be used to attack slavery. As a result, Southerners defended slavery more boldly and forcefully than ever. They also began to seek political means to stop the North from thwarting its slave system. In the end, this conflict split the union apart. It brought on the Civil War.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.2

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Primary Source 3.7

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Primary Source 3.9

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

One historian calls the nullification crisis a "prelude to the Civil War."

Explain what he means and why you do or do not agree with him.

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## GROUP MEMBERS:

## *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the civics of the nullification crisis. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

John C. Calhoun viewed the Constitution as a “compact.” Nationalists like Daniel Webster and Judge Story disagreed. Why was this issue so important in the nullification crisis?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The U.S. Constitution was formed by men representing twelve of the thirteen states who met in Philadelphia. (Rhode Island did not send anyone to this gathering.) Once the Constitution was written, it was sent to the states for their approval. Each state held a convention that voted for or against the Constitution. For the Constitution to go into effect, nine of these states had to ratify it—that is, vote to accept it. John C. Calhoun used these facts to back up his theory that the Constitution was mainly a “compact” agreed to by the states; it was not superior in authority to the states, and since the states had agreed to this compact, they had the final say on whether a federal law or act violated it.

U.S. Supreme Court chief justice John Marshall did not agree. Under his leadership, the Supreme Court strongly asserted its right to have the final say on what was or was not constitutional. The Constitution declares its rules and all other federal laws to be the “supreme law of the land.”

Calhoun's opponents took this to mean that state laws and decisions are not equal in authority to the Constitution. In their view, the only way to change the Constitution was to amend it—according to its own rules for doing that.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.4

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Primary Source 3.5

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Primary Source 3.6

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## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

John C. Calhoun viewed the Constitution as a “compact.” Nationalists like Daniel Webster and Judge Story disagreed. Why was this issue so important in the nullification crisis?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Economics Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the economics of the nullification crisis. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

Did the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s harm the economy of one section of the country and benefit the economy in the other sections?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

The tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s were meant to help Northern industry by taxing low-priced imports, mainly from England. Tariffs are taxes that tend to increase the price of imports. Tariffs made it easier for U.S. businesses to sell more and compete better against foreign producers. The tariffs also raised revenues that the government could use to pay for “internal improvements.” Such internal improvements—roads, canals, railroads—would especially help farmers and merchants in the West get their products to market. The South hated the tariffs. Its economy relied mainly on exports of cotton and tobacco to England. The tariffs reduced what the British sold in the United States, which the South said made it harder for the British to earn the dollars they needed to pay for Southern cotton. The tariffs also increased prices on the many goods the South had to buy from others.

The biggest tariff of all was passed in 1828. Southerners called it the Tariff of Abominations, and not all Northern businesses liked it either. Before

it was passed, some Southern lawmakers added higher tariff rates to it on certain raw materials that Northern industries needed. This pushed up the prices of those raw materials to those Northern businesses. The Southern lawmakers may have hoped this would force the North to vote against the entire tariff bill. If this was their goal, the tactic did not work.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.1

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Primary Source 3.2

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Primary Source 3.3

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## Day Two

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

Did the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s harm the economy of one section of the country and benefit the economy in the other sections?



State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.



## Geography Group

GROUP MEMBERS:

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### *Nullification*

Your group's task is to explore the geography of the nullification crisis. A compelling question is provided, and you will work from there to develop and answer supporting questions based on primary sources. Follow these steps to complete the task.

#### Day One

1. Review the concept of compelling and supporting questions with your instructor. Briefly, compelling questions focus on meaningful and enduring problems. They ask us to deal with major issues and important ideas. Supporting questions are those that help us to answer a compelling question.
2. As a group, briefly discuss the following compelling question:

What geographical features of South Carolina help explain its unusually great fears about the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s?

3. Read and discuss Primary Sources 3.2, 3.7, and 3.8.
4. Read and discuss the following background information. Use the information to help complete the handout.

In the 1820s, South Carolina was divided into two broad regions. The most settled region was the low-country land along the coast. There, the wealthiest plantation owners grew rice. Some sea-island planters specialized in long-staple luxury cotton. The other region was the up-country region. Farther into the up-country, short-staple cotton and slavery were spreading rapidly in the 1820s.

Low-country planters may have been rich, but they were also fearful. The low country was swampy and full of malaria-carrying mosquitoes. Planters often had to escape the region in the summer and leave huge numbers of slaves under the direction of overseers. The diseases of the area were not quite as harmful to black slaves, but they were harmful enough. Death rates were high among the slave population, and planters had to keep replacing the dead by buying more slaves. During these summer months, very few white people were present. Low-country planters constantly worried about the possibility of slave uprisings while they were away.

Up-country planters, on the other hand, did not have to leave their healthier lands in the summer months. As a result, they were less fearful about slave uprisings. They were, however, even more worried about the economic impact of the tariffs. Together, these two sections combined to express South Carolina's intense fears about the dangers they saw rising all around them in the 1820s and 1830s.

5. Each group member should develop some supporting questions about the primary sources your group has been asked to discuss. Use the secondary source above to help you think about these questions. Develop supporting questions that will help answer your group's compelling question. As a group, choose one supporting question for each primary source and record those questions here.

Primary Source 3.2

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Primary Source 3.7

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Primary Source 3.8

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## **Day Two**

6. As a group, make a claim about your compelling question. The claim should be one you can back up with evidence from your assigned sources. This claim is your evidence-based answer to your group's own compelling question. Here is that question again:

What geographical features of South Carolina help explain its unusually great fears about the tariffs of the 1820s and 1830s?

State your group's claim here:

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7. From the remaining seven primary sources for this unit, choose one additional source that your group believes can help support or clarify its claim. The source may also be one that challenges this claim in a way that seems important. In the space below, list the source your group chose and briefly state why you chose it.

Source:

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Reason for choosing this source:

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8. Prepare a brief, five- to ten-minute presentation. Summarize the sources you have used. Discuss the supporting questions you developed. Explain your answer to your group's discipline-based compelling question. Use the space below for notes or to create an outline of your group's presentation.

## How to Analyze a Primary Source

For this lesson, you will be studying several primary source documents. This handout offers suggestions for how best to read and analyze historical primary sources. Studying such sources is challenging. They were created in a different time and place. Their language and use of certain key terms often differ from ours. They assume things we might not accept. They arise out of historical circumstances and settings that differ greatly from our own times. To use such sources as evidence, you need to apply some special critical thinking skills and habits. Here are some guidelines to help you do this.

### ◆ *Question the source*

Since no primary source was written with you and your interests in mind, you need to be clear about what you are looking for when you examine a source. You need to stay in charge of the investigation. Act like a detective, and ask questions. Above all, keep your own most important compelling questions in mind as you read and think about a source.

### ◆ *Consider the source's origins*

This is often simply called “sourcing.” It means asking who created the source, when and where the source was created, and why. If you know the source’s purpose, you will be more likely to see how it is shaped by its creator’s point of view. Among other things, sourcing can also help you decide how reliable or typical a source might be.

### ◆ *Contextualize the source*

“Context” here means the broader historical setting for the source. Sources are always a part of a larger historical context. You need to consider how this context helps clarify the meaning of the source. You also need to decide which context is most important. Sources might be understood best in connection with a local context or a recent event. Alternatively, they might be understood better within a national or international context, or as part of a long-term trend in society at large. Your guiding questions should help you decide which context is most important.

### ◆ *Corroborate the source*

This means you must think about your source in relation to other sources. Does the source agree with or support those other sources, or does it seem to be at odds with the other sources? Might there be additional sources, which have not been provided to you, that could support or conflict with your source?

### ◆ *Above all, read the source carefully*

Look at language closely. Pay attention to images, emotional language, metaphors, and other literary devices. Think about what is implied, not merely what is stated or claimed in so many words. Think about what is left out as well as what is included. Make inferences based on your close reading. This will help you get more out of your source than even the source’s creator might have seen in it.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.1

## Henry Clay on the Tariff

These passages are from a speech by Henry Clay on the Tariff of 1824. In this speech, Clay defended the tariff as a part of his broader concept of an American system. This system included an active national government helping to develop internal improvements and a national bank to regulate the currency. It also meant increased tariffs to raise revenue and protect U.S. businesses from foreign competition.

**Original Document**

The tariff . . . has been treated as an imposition of burdens upon one part of the community by design, for the benefit of another; as if, in fact, money were taken from the pockets of one portion of the people and put into the pockets of another. But is that a fair representation of it? No man pays the duty assessed on the foreign article by compulsion, but voluntarily; and this voluntary duty, if paid, goes into the common exchequer, for the common benefit of all. . . .

Even if the benefits of the policy were limited to certain section of our country, would it not be satisfactory to behold American industry, wherever situated, active, animated, and thrifty, rather than persevere in a course which renders us subservient to foreign industry? But these benefits are twofold, direct, and collateral, and, in the one shape or the other, they will diffuse themselves throughout the Union. All parts of the Union will participate, more or less, in both. As to the direct benefit, it is probable that the North and the East will enjoy the largest share. But the West and the South will also participate in them. . . . And where the direct benefit does not accrue, that will be enjoyed of supplying the raw material and provisions for the consumption of artisans.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

Some say the tariff places a burden on one part of the society in order to benefit another. It is as if money were taken from one portion of the people and given to another. But is that a fair description? No one is forced to buy a foreign good and pay the duty on it. They buy it voluntarily, and this voluntarily paid duty goes into the government's treasury. There it is used for the common benefit of all. . . .

Suppose the benefits of the tariff were limited to one section of the country only. Wouldn't it still be good for American industry wherever it is to be active, energetic and thrifty, rather than have us all continue to depend on foreign industry? But the benefits from the tariff are twofold. They are direct and more stable. In one form or another, they spread themselves evenly throughout the Union. All parts of the Union participate, more or less, in both. As to the direct benefit, probably the North and East enjoy the largest share. But West and South will also get some direct benefit. . . . And where the benefits are not direct, producers in those areas will benefit from supplying raw materials and other provisions for the consumption of artisans.

*Original Document Source:* Henry Clay, "Speech on the Tariff" in *American Eloquence: A Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the Most Eminent Orators of America*, vol. 2, edited by Frank Moore (New York: D. Appleton, 1895), 305, 316.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.2

## Thomas Cooper on the Tariff

Thomas Cooper was a political philosopher who was president of South Carolina College in the 1820s. On July 2, 1827, he delivered his famous “Value of the Union” address. It first alerted many outside South Carolina as to how much anger was building in the state over the tariff issue.

**Original Document**

The exertions of our opponents are of no common character: every day adds to the force of the enemy, and to the number of those who are in high expectation of obtaining their share in the contributions of the south. We thought it quite enough to have to combat the impositions in favor of the cotton manufacture, the woollen manufacture, the iron manufacture: but now there is not a petty manufacturer in the union from the owner of a spinning factory, to the maker of a hobnail—from the mountains of Vermont to the swamps of the Patapsco, who is not pressing forward to the plunder; and who may not be expected to worry congress with petitions, memorials, and querulous statements for permission to put his hand into the planter’s pockets. . . .

The planting interest, refusing to become the dupes have at length after a series of successful attacks upon them during the last ten years, become the victims of manufacturing monopoly. The avowed object now, is by means of a drilled and managed majority in congress, permanently to force upon us a system, whose effect will be to sacrifice the south to the north, by converting us into colonies and tributaries—to tax *us* for their own emolument—to claim the right of disposing of our honest earnings—to forbid us to buy from our most valuable customers—to irritate into retaliation our foreign purchasers, and thus confine our raw material to the home market—in short to impoverish the planter, and to stretch the purse of the manufacturer.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

We face no ordinary opponents. Every day, their forces are getting stronger and planning to benefit from the South's wealth. It was bad enough to have to fight the tariffs that favor the cotton manufacturer, the woolen manufacturer, and the iron manufacturer. Now just about every manufacturer wants to impose costs on us—from owners spinning factories to makers of hobnails and from the mountains of Vermont to the swamps of the Patapsco. They can all be expected to pressure Congress with petitions and demands that would put their hands into the planter's pockets.

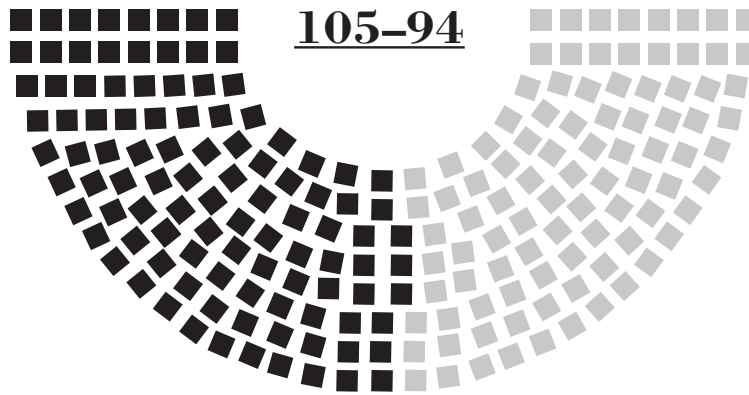
The planters have refused to become dupes, but after ten years of successful attacks on them, they are now the victims of the manufacturing monopoly. It has a drilled and managed majority in Congress. Its aim is to use that majority to force on us a system that sacrifices the South to the North. It is converting us into colonies by taxing us for their own gain. It claims the right to take from us our honest earnings. It prevents us from buying from our own most valuable customers. It provokes our foreign purchasers into retaliating against us. This confines our raw material to the market inside this nation only. In short, their goal is to impoverish the planter, and to fill up the purse of the manufacturer.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.3

## Vote Totals For and Against the Tariff

The Tariff of 1828 came to be known as the Tariff of Abominations. It raised tariff duties on many manufactured goods and more. The bargaining over it in Congress was highly complicated. Some Southern lawmakers seem to have pushed for higher tariffs on raw materials that Northern manufacturers needed. Their hope may have been to anger the manufacturers enough to turn against the tariff entirely. Instead, the tariff rates just got even higher. The West benefitted less from these higher rates. However, Western lawmakers strongly favored the canals and roads (the internal improvements) for which the tariff revenues would help to pay. This chart shows the final House vote on the tariff by section of the country.



House Vote on Tariff of 1828	For	Against
<i>New England</i>	16	23
<i>Middle States (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware)</i>	56	6
<i>West (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky)</i>	29	1
<i>South</i>	4	64
<b>Total</b>	105	94
<i>Free States</i>	88	29
<i>Slave States</i>	17	65

Data Source: Civic Impulse, "To Pass H.R. 132 (P. 2471)," GovTrack, <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/20-1/h81>.



John C. Calhoun strongly opposed the Tariff of 1828. He was already developing his ideas about the right of a state to nullify laws it saw as unconstitutional. He stated his case for nullification in his essay "South Carolina Exposition and Protest." However, in 1828, he was still vice president under John Quincy Adams and was running that year to become Andrew Jackson's vice president. He hoped that Jackson would oppose the tariff. For these reasons, he kept his authorship of the exposition article secret. It was, however, widely circulated in South Carolina and elsewhere. This passage is from that essay.

### Original Document

If it be conceded, as it must be by every one who is the least conversant with our institutions, that the sovereign powers delegated are divided between the General and State Governments, and that the latter hold their portion by the same tenure as the former, it would seem impossible to deny to the States the right of deciding on the infractions of their powers, and the proper remedy to be applied for their correction. The right of judging, in such cases, is an essential attribute of sovereignty, of which the States cannot be divested without losing their sovereignty itself, and being reduced to a subordinate corporate condition. In fact, to divide power, and to give to one of the parties the exclusive right of judging of the portion allotted to each, is, in reality, not to divide it at all; and to reserve such exclusive right to the General Government (it matters not by what department to be exercised), is to convert it, in fact, into a great consolidated government, with unlimited powers, and to divest the States, in reality, of all their rights.

. . . But the existence of the right of judging of their powers, so clearly established from the sovereignty of States, as clearly implies a veto or control, within its limits, on the action of the General Government, on contested points of authority; and this very control is the remedy which the Constitution has provided to prevent the encroachments of the General Government on the reserved rights of the States; and by which the distribution of power, between the General and State Governments, may be preserved for ever inviolable, on the basis established by the Constitution. It is thus effectual protection is afforded to the minority, against the oppression of the majority.

CONTINUED

### Adapted Version

Informed people know that the sovereign powers are divided between the General Government and the state governments. Each holds its powers as strongly as the other. Therefore, each has a right to decide when those powers are being violated and what to do about it. The right to decide this is itself a part of the sovereign power of the states. If they give this up, they become subordinate to the General Government. If only the General Government has this right, there really would be no division of powers. Instead, we would have a great consolidated government with unlimited powers.

... Each state's right to decide when its powers are being violated also implies something else. It implies a veto. That is, it implies state control, within its borders, over the contested actions of the General Government. This is the very remedy the Constitution itself provides to keep the General Government from taking away powers reserved to the states. This maintains the balance of powers. It protects the minority against the oppression of the majority.

*Original Document Source:* John C. Calhoun, "South Carolina Exposition and Protest" (report, South Carolina State House, Columbia, SC, December 19, 1828), in *Constitutional Pluralism in the European Union and Beyond*, edited by Matej Avbelj and Jan Komárek (Oxford, UK: Hart, 2012).



Supreme Court justice Joseph Story held to a nationalist view of the Constitution. That is, he said it was not based on a compact of the states, as Calhoun claimed. In Story's view, it was based on the will of the people as a whole. After all, the Constitution's opening words are, "We the people." Story wrote a primer explaining the Constitution to students in the higher classes of the common schools. This brief passage is from that book.

### Original Document

We shall treat it, not as a mere compact, or league, or confederacy, existing at the mere will of any one or more of the States, during their good pleasure; but, (as it purports on its face to be) as a Constitution of Government, framed and adopted by the people of the United States, and obligatory upon all the States, until it is altered, amended, or abolished by the People, in the manner pointed out in the instrument itself.

### Adapted Version

The Constitution is not a mere compact or confederacy. It does not exist merely for as long as any state or group of states is pleased to accept it. As it says, it was framed and adopted by the people of the United States. It is binding on all the states until it is amended, or abolished, by the people according to the rules the Constitution itself provides.

PRIMARY SOURCE ►

3.6

## Webster's Second Reply to Hayne on the Constitution

In January 1830, the famous Webster-Hayne debate took place in the Senate. Massachusetts senator Daniel Webster argued with South Carolina senator Robert Hayne about tariffs, western-land sales, and state's rights. The two traded speeches over several days. In his second reply to Hayne, Webster spoke against the "compact" theory of the Constitution. This was the theory that Hayne, Calhoun, and other Southerners used to back up their claim that a state could nullify a federal law.

Original Document

He has not shown, it cannot be shown, that the Constitution is a compact between State governments. The Constitution itself, in its very front, refutes that idea; it declares that it is ordained and established *by the people of the United States*. So far from saying that it is established by the governments of the several States, it does not even say that it is established by the people *of the several States*; but it pronounces that it is established by the people of the United States, in the aggregate. The gentleman says, it must mean no more than the people of the several States. Doubtless, the people of the several States, taken collectively, constitute the people of the United States; but it is in this, their collective capacity, it is as all the people of the United States, that they establish the Constitution. So they declare; and words cannot be plainer than the words used.

When the gentleman says the Constitution is a compact between the States, he uses language exactly applicable to the old Confederation. . . . But that was found insufficient, and inadequate to the public exigencies. The people were not satisfied with it, and undertook to establish a better. They undertook to form a general government, which should stand on a new basis; not a confederacy, not a league, not a compact between States, but a *Constitution*; a popular government, founded in popular election, directly responsible to the people themselves, and divided into branches with prescribed limits of power, and prescribed duties. They ordained such a government, they gave it the name of a *Constitution*, and therein they established a distribution of powers between this, their general government, and their several State governments.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

He has not shown that the Constitution is a compact between state governments. The Constitution itself disproves that idea. It says it was established by *the people of the United States*. It doesn't say the people of each separate state. It says only that it is established by the people of the United States as a whole. The gentleman says it must mean the people of the several States. Yes, the people of the States taken together make up the people of the United States, but it is all the people, the people collectively, who established the Constitution. The words saying this could not be plainer.

When the gentleman says the Constitution is a compact between the States, he uses the language for the old Confederation. . . . But that Confederation did not work well. The people were not satisfied with it. They decided to form a better framework of government. They formed a general government, which should stand on a new basis. It is not a confederacy, not a league, not a compact between states. It is a popular government, founded in popular election, directly responsible to the people themselves, and divided into branches, each with limited powers and duties. The people approved that government and gave it the name of a *Constitution*. In doing that, they divided powers between this, their general government, and their several state governments.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

3.7

## James Hamilton Jr. Letter on the Tariff and Slavery

James Hamilton Jr. was a wealthy rice planter from the low country of South Carolina. He was governor of the state from 1830 to 1832. This passage is from a public letter Hamilton addressed to a September 1830 meeting in Columbus, South Carolina. In it, he links his concerns about the tariff to issues having to do with slavery, which he refers to in this passage as “the citidal.” This letter appeared in the *Charleston Mercury*.

**Original Document**

I have always looked to the present contest with the government, on the part of the Southern States, as a battle at the out-posts, by which, if we succeed in repulsing the enemy, *the citadel would be safe*.

The same doctrines “*of the general welfare*” which enable the general government to tax our industry, for the benefit of the industry of other sections of this Union, and to appropriate the common treasure to make roads and canals for them, would authorize the federal government to erect the peaceful standard of servile revolt, by establishing colonization offices in our State, to give their bounties for emancipation here, and transportation to Liberia afterwards. The last question follows our giving up the battle on the other two, as inevitably as light flows from the sun.

But, say some of our countrymen . . . when this arises, then indeed are we prepared for resistance—even to disunion—without recollecting that of all the questions, this is the last on which the South ought to desire to do battle; that however we might be united at home, we should have few confederates abroad—whereas on the subject of free trade and constitutional rights, we should have allies throughout the civilized world.

CONTINUED



### Adapted Version

I see our present fight with the federal government as a battle for the outposts. If we succeed in defending those, *the citadel will be safe*.

First, the federal government misuses the phrase in the Constitution about “*the general welfare*” to justify taxing our industry to benefit the industry of other sections. Second, it misuses the phrase to fund roads and canals for those other sections. But the phrase could as easily be misused to bring about a *peaceful* slave revolt. The federal government could do this by establishing colonization offices in our state and by paying to free slaves and send them to Liberia. This last effort will surely follow if we give up the battle on first two mentioned here.

But some say . . . we can deal with that issue when it arises. If it does, we will be ready to resist even if it means disunion. They do not realize that this is the last issue we should wait to do battle over. We might be united about it, but no one outside the South will be with us. On the issue of free trade and constitutional rights, we have allies all over the world.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

3.8

## John C. Calhoun Letter on the Tariff and Slavery

Like James Hamilton Jr. (see Primary Source 3.7), Calhoun also saw a link between the tariff battle and slavery. He suggested this in a letter dated September 11, 1830, to a political ally, Virgil Maxcy. This passage is from that letter.

**Original Document**

I consider the tariff act as the occasion, rather than the real cause of the present unhappy state of things. The truth can no longer be disguised, that the peculiar domestick institution of the Southern States and the consequent direction which that and her soil have given to her industry, has placed them in regard to taxation and appropriations in opposite relation to the majority of the Union, against the danger of which, if there be no protective power in the reserved rights of the states they must in the end be forced to rebel, or, submit to have their paramount interests sacrificed, their domestick institutions subordinated by Colonization and other schemes, and themselves and children reduced to wretchedness.

**Adapted Version**

The tariff is just one issue, and not the real cause of the unhappy state of things. The truth is obvious. The real cause has to do with the South's peculiar domestic institution, and its soil. These are what shape its economy. These pit the South against the majority of the Union in regard to federal taxation and spending. If the reserved rights of the states cannot protect against this danger, the South must be forced to rebel. Otherwise it must submit to having its most basic interests sacrificed. Our domestic institutions will be undermined by Colonization and other schemes, and we and our children reduced to wretchedness.

*Original Document Source:* John C. Calhoun to Virgil Maxcy, 11 September 1830, in *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights and the Nullification Crisis*, by Richard E. Ellis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 193.



In August 1831, a slave named Nat Turner led a violent uprising in Southampton County, Virginia. The rebels killed about sixty people before the uprising was contained. The rebellion was suppressed ruthlessly in a few days, but it spread panic throughout the region. The mood of fear it caused in plantation owners in South Carolina helped shape the way they reacted to the battles over the tariff and nullification. In this letter, Rachel Lazarus of Wilmington, North Carolina, writes about the uprising to her relative Eliza Mordecai of Mobile, Alabama. She wrote this letter several months after the rebellion was put down.

### Original Document

You have no doubt heard of the alarm we have experienced on the subject of insurrection—many of the reports were totally false, others excessively exaggerated, that is, as to their being actually in arms, & on their way to commit savages, but the appalling fact admits of no doubt, that there was a deep laid & extensive plot formed, & that an early period in the present month had been fixed on for its perpetration. —The disclosure was made by a mulatto, a freeman, to a gentleman in So Washington. Several have been executed in Duplin, Samson & here, & the jail is now crowded with the accused. It is a sickening state of things—one to which we are always in a more or less degree liable, & it will require more than a herculean effort in ourselves to [illegible] the fetters of our slave population & to transport them to their own land. —Till this is resolved on & executed we can have no security but in a state of unremitted vigilance.

### Adapted Version

You have probably heard of the alarm we experienced because of the insurrection. Many reports were totally false. Others were greatly exaggerated—such as reports about slaves still being armed on their way to commit atrocities. But the appalling fact is there was a deeply hidden and extensive plot formed. An early period in the present month had been agreed to for carrying it out. A mulatto, a freeman, revealed the plot to a gentleman in South Washington. Several rebels have been executed in Duplin, Samson, and here. The jail is now crowded with the accused. It is a sickening state of things. It is one we are always going to have to worry about. It will take an enormous effort to break the fetters of our slaves and transport them to their own land. Until we decide to do this, we can have no security. We will have to remain in a state of constant vigilance.

*Original Document Source:* Rachel Lazarus to Eliza Mordecai, 9 October 1831. Mordecai Family Papers (#847), Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

PRIMARY SOURCE ▶

3.10

## Robert Barnwell Rhett Speech on Nullification

In late 1832, South Carolina called together a Nullification Convention. It passed a Nullification Ordinance, nullifying the latest tariff. Then, in early 1833, Congress passed a lower Compromise Tariff. President Jackson signed that tariff, which pleased South Carolina. However, he also signed a force bill allowing him to send troops to South Carolina if it nullified the tariff. South Carolina's Nullification Convention met again and canceled its Nullification Ordinance. It then nullified the force bill in a show of defiance. However, this was a pointless gesture at that point. The crisis was over. On March 13, 1833, Robert Barnwell Rhett, South Carolina's attorney general, summed up the situation as he saw it in a speech to the convention.

**Original Document**

I fear there is no longer hope or liberty for the South, under a Union, by which all self-government is taken away. A people, owning slaves, are mad, or worse than mad, who do not hold their destinies in their own hands. . . . Nor is it our Northern brethren alone—the whole world are in arms against your institutions. Every stride of this Government, over your rights, brings it nearer and nearer to your peculiar policy. . . .

. . . Let Gentlemen not be deceived. It is not the Tariff—not Internal Improvement—nor yet the Force Bill, which constitutes the great evil against which we are contending. These are but symptoms of the disease—but not the disease itself. These are but the forms in which the despotic nature of the Government is evinced,—but it is the despotism which constitutes the evil: and until this Government is made a limited Government . . . there is no liberty—no security for the South.

**Adapted Version**

I fear there is no longer hope or liberty for the South under a Union that has taken away all self-government. A people owning slaves are mad, or worse than mad, if they do not control their own destinies entirely. It is not the people of the North alone; it is the whole world that opposes your institutions. Every step the federal government takes brings it closer to attacking your peculiar institution. . . .

. . . Do not be fooled. It is not the tariff or internal improvements. Nor is it the Force Bill. These are not the great evil we are facing. These are but symptoms of the disease—but not the disease itself. These are only forms illustrating the despotic nature of our government. It is the despotism itself which is the evil, and until this government is made into a limited government, there will be no liberty or security for the South.

Original Document Source: Robert Barnwell Rhett, "Speech of Mr. R. Barnwell Rhett, of St. Bartholomew's" (speech, Convention of the State of South Carolina, Columbia, SC, March 1833), in *Speeches Delivered in the Convention of the State of South-Carolina Held in Columbia, in March, 1833* (Charleston, SC: E. J. Van Brunt, 1833), 25–26.



## Communicating Results and Taking Action

### Communicating Results

- ◆ Study Primary Sources 3.7, 3.9, and 3.10. Pretend you are Rachel Lazarus. You have just read the passage from Robert Barnwell Rhett and the passage from James Hamilton Jr. Write a long letter expressing what Rachel might say to these two men. In your letter, be sure to discuss the tariff, slavery, and the mood in the South in general as you think she would see these things.
- ◆ Study Primary Source 3.4, and review Primary Sources 3.1, 3.2, 3.6, and 3.7. Write a short essay on the passage from John C. Calhoun's "South Carolina Exposition and Protest" (Primary Source 3.3) In your essay, explain how each of the following people would respond to Calhoun's comments—Henry Clay, Thomas Cooper, Daniel Webster, and James Hamilton Jr. You may wish to read other portions of the "South Carolina Exposition and Protest," which is available online.
- ◆ Review your history textbook's account of the nullification crisis. From the set of primary sources for this lesson, choose three that you think add details or ideas about the crisis that might improve the textbook's treatment of this important turning point in U.S. history. Present your findings in a brief talk to the class

### Taking Action

- ◆ Conflicts between state governments and the federal government constantly arise in American political life. Today, such disputes are common over issues such as marijuana laws, voter registration rules, the death penalty, and various environmental issues. Choose one such conflict that seems important to people in your state in particular. Research the conflict and summarize both sides of the argument in a brief talk to the class. Provide copies of at least two articles on the topic to the rest of the class. Attempt to resolve the argument using the argument from both sides. Then take part in the next activity described here.
- ◆ Following the previous activity, write a letter or draw an editorial cartoon on the topic and send it to the editor of a local news source. As a class, submit the letters and cartoons and ask the newspaper or other news source to consider publishing all or several of them as a group. Invite readers to respond with thoughts of their own. Collect any of these reader responses and write a letter as a class to your congressional representative, asking him or her to weigh in on the issue. Use the editorial cartoons and letters, the reader responses, and the summaries of both sides of the issue to present the information to the representative. Share any response you receive from the representative with the class.

## Nullification Rubric

Criteria	Unacceptable	Developing	Proficient	Excellent
<b>Focus</b>	Tries to respond to task instructions but lacks clear focus on a central idea or thesis	Addresses the task instructions adequately but focus on a central idea or thesis is uneven	Responds to the task instructions appropriately and convincingly; has a consistent focus on a central idea or thesis	Responds to all task instructions convincingly; has a clear and strong focus on a well-developed central idea or thesis
<b>Research</b>	Refers to some sources but fails to connect these in a relevant way to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources well but does not always connect these clearly to the task instructions	Refers to relevant sources accurately and usually connects these to the task instructions and a central idea	Refers to relevant sources accurately and in great detail and connects these clearly to the task instructions and a central idea
<b>Development/Use of Evidence</b>	Uses some details and evidence from sources but does not make clear the relevance to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources generally but not always in support of a clear focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources in a way that effectively supports a focus relevant to the task purpose or instructions	Uses details and evidence from sources along with clear explanations demonstrating deep understanding of the task purpose or instructions
<b>Content</b>	Refers to disciplinary content without clearly understanding it or while using it in an irrelevant or inaccurate manner	Refers to disciplinary content with some understanding but not always with a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Accurately uses disciplinary content and demonstrates a clear idea of its relation to the overall task	Uses disciplinary content effectively and explains thoroughly and in-depth its relation to the overall task
<b>Conventions</b>	Demonstrates only limited control of standard English conventions, with many errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates some command of standard English conventions with limited errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates adequate command of standard English conventions with few errors in spelling, punctuation, grammar, and other conventions	Demonstrates a well-developed command of standard English conventions with few errors and a use of language appropriate to the audience and the purpose of the task

## Primary Source Bibliography

- 3.1: Moore, Frank. *American Eloquence: A Collection of Speeches and Addresses by the Most Eminent Orators of America*. Vol. 2. New York: D. Appleton, 1895.
- 3.2: Freehling, William W., ed. *The Nullification Era: A Documentary Record*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- 3.3: Civic Impulse. "To Pass H.R. 132. (P. 2471)." GovTrack. <https://www.govtrack.us/congress/votes/20-1/h81>.
- 3.4: Avbelj, Matej, and Jan Komárek, eds. *Constitutional Pluralism in the European Union and Beyond*. Oxford, UK: Hart, 2012.
- 3.5: Story, Joseph. *The Constitutional Class Book: Being a Brief Exposition of the Constitution of the United States*. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1834.
- 3.6: Webster, Daniel. *The Great Speeches and Orations of Daniel Webster*. . . . Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1879.
- 3.7: Freehling, William W., ed. *The Nullification Era: A Documentary Record*. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.
- 3.8: Ellis, Richard E. *The Union at Risk: Jacksonian Democracy, States' Rights and the Nullification Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- 3.9: Rachel Lazarus to Eliza Morcedai, 9 October 1831. Mordecai Family Papers (#847). Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- 3.10: South Carolina Convention. *Speeches Delivered in the Convention of the State of South-Carolina Held in Columbia, in March, 1833*. Charleston, SC: E. J. Van Brunt, 1833.

## Sources for Further Study

Edwards, Judith. *Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion in American History*. New York: Enslow, 2000.

Gunderson, Megan M. *Andrew Jackson: Seventh President of the United States*. Edina, MN: ABDO, 2010.

Hakim, Joy. *A History of US: Liberty for All?, 1820–1860*. Vol. 5. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Hammond, Pearce W. *The Gullahs of South Carolina*. Okatie, SC: Halftide, 2011.