# THE RISE OF MASS DEMOCRACY

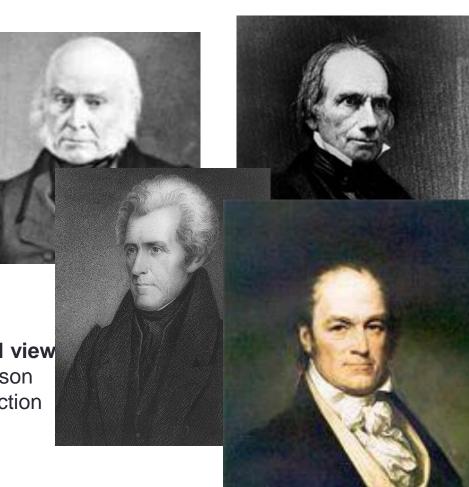
Jacksonian Democracy

## **VOTING EXPANDS**

YEAR	POPULAR VOTE	TOTAL POPULATION VOTING (%)
1824	356,000	3.3%
1828	1,155,000	9.5%
1840	2,404,000	14.1%

## **ELECTION OF 1824**

- Era of good feelings" came to an end
  - All candidates Democratic-Republicans, but personal and sectional interests outweighed political orthodoxy.
- The candidates:
- John Quincy Adams: Son of President John Adams, represented the interests of the Northeast (high protective tariff) and was the leading contender
- Henry Clay: Kentucky shared political views with Adams, but they held one another in contempt the rigid New Englander versus the hard-drinking Westerner
- Andrew Jackson: Senator from Tennessee and military hero, drew Western support from Clay despite the fact that his political view
- William Crawford: Sec. of Treasury under Madison
   & Monroe; from GA. Has a stroke before election is over.

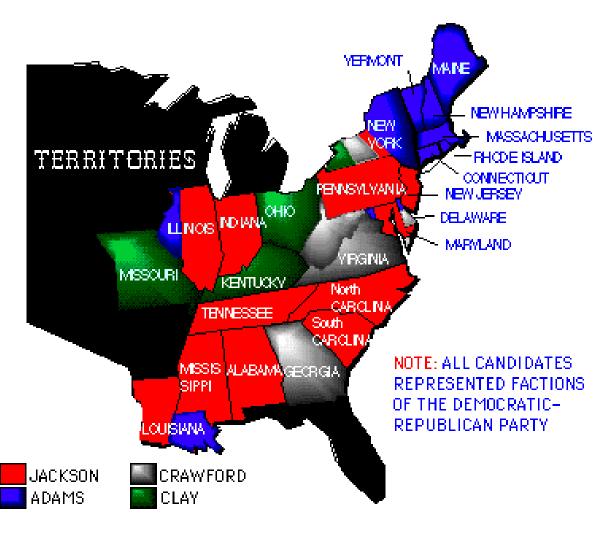


## Election of 1824

<ul> <li>Candidates</li> </ul>	<b>Electoral Vote</b>	Popular Vote	Total %
<ul><li>Jackson</li><li>Tennessee</li></ul>	99	153, 544	42.16%
<ul><li>JQ Adams</li><li>Massachusetts</li></ul>	84	108,740	31.89%
<ul><li>Crawford</li><li>Georgia</li></ul>	41	46,618	12.95%
<ul><li>Clay</li><li>Kentucky</li></ul>	37	47,136	12.99%

No clear winner, so HOR chooses top 3 candidates. Clay eliminated. Crawford has stroke. So down to Jackson & JQ Adams.

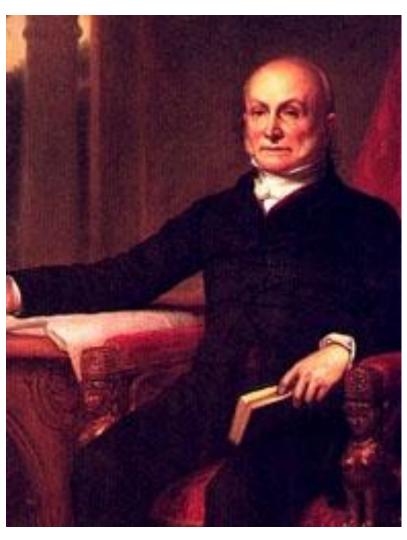
## CORRUPT BARGAIN



- Adams wins
- Corrupt

   Bargain between
   Adams and
   Clay
- Jackson's supporters start the Democratic Party and begin campaigning for 1828 election

# #6: John Q. Adams (1825-1829)

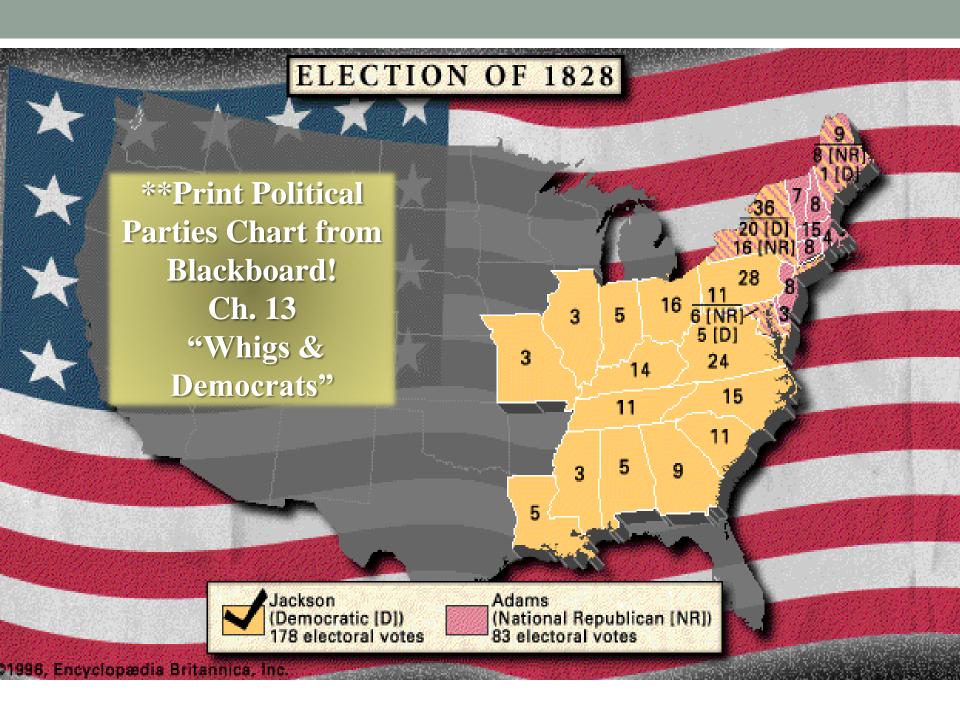


- Fewer than 1/3 country voted for him ("minority" president)
- Presidency focused on post Ghent nationalism even though nation became more state's rights/sectionalist.
- Supports American System:
  - High tariffs for National University and National Roads. Problem?
  - Tariffs raised from 23% to 37%--biggest mistake
- Protect rights of Cherokee nation in Georgia

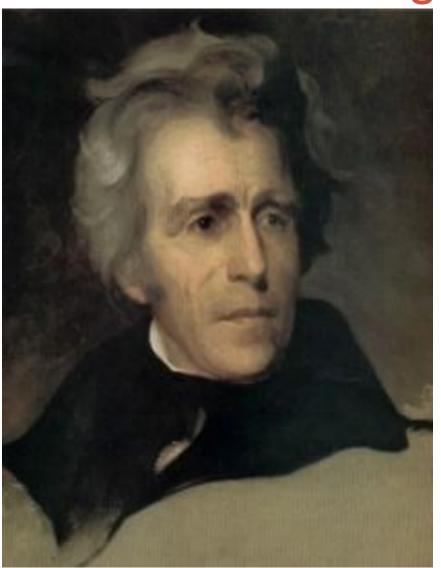
## Election of 1828 #7 Andrew Jackson



- Jackson-Democrat 178 electoral votes
- Adams-Republican 83 electoral votes
- Jackson wins overwhelmingly and owes his victory to the new "common man" voters— 1st Western president
- What happened to his wife, Rachel?



# Jackson Background



- Orphaned in the Carolinas
- Poor education-2<sup>nd</sup> president who did not attend college
- Home-Tennessee
- Fought in War of 1812 and Native Americans
- Hermitage-his plantation-he owned slaves
- States Rights
- Used the veto more than all of the other presidents before him combined- He vetoed 12 bills

# The Hermitage

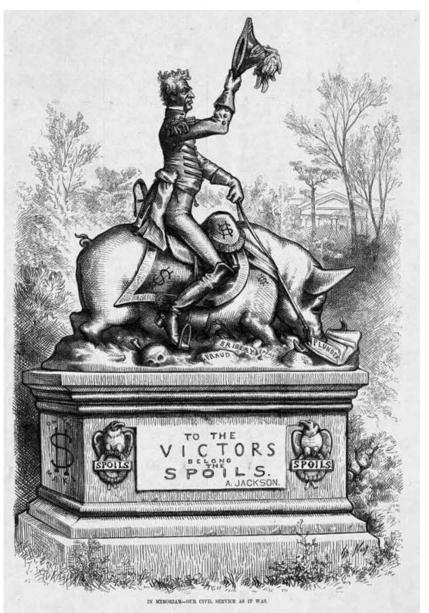


1000 acres Cotton plantation Nashville, TN In 1804 Jackson owned 9 slaves, by 1829 over 100, and at the time of his death in 1845 approximately 150 slaves.

# Inauguration: King Mob

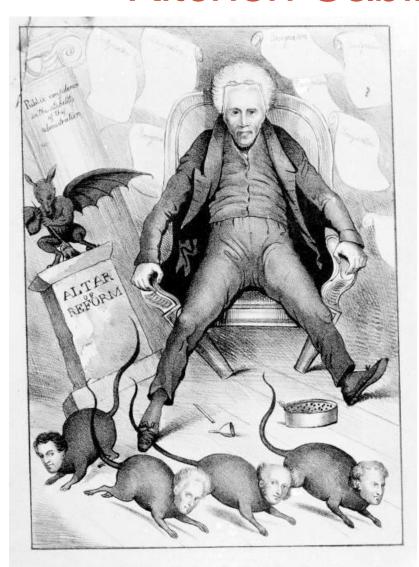


# Spoils System (aka "Rotation in Office")



- Rewarding political friends and buddies with government jobs.
- What were the problems?Benefits?
  - Samuel Swartwout
- He only removed about 1/5 of government employees-left about 9,000 out of 11,000 in place
- Jackson's defense:
  - "Every man is as good as his neighbor" – Republican idealism

## Kitchen Cabinet



The Rate leaving a Falling House

- Jackson had a real cabinet but most of these appointments were not great
- Cabinet assisted by the "Kitchen Cabinet"—13 member rotating group of newspaper reporters, westerners and friends w/ limited knowledge
- Dismissal of five of the eight Cabinet officials in the middle of his first term

# Peggy Eaton Affair 1830



- Sec.of War John Eaton married Peggy O'Nealeshe had a questionable background.
- Cabinet members wives refused to be nice to Peggy
- John Calhoun's (Vice President) wife led the group that refused to attend social events that Peggy would attend.

## Petticoat Wars 1830

- Jackson ordered cabinet and wives to attend a dinner party
- Calhoun said his wife would not attend
- Jackson threatened to fire any cabinet member whose wife did not attend
- Jackson fired all cabinet members except Martin Van Buren---he did not have a spouse and he came to party and was nice to Peggy
- This is one of the issues that drove a wedge between Calhoun and Jackson



# Maysville Road Veto 1830



- Road linking Lexington and the Ohio River, in Kentucky
  - Part of the national Cumberland Road (American System)
- Jackson vetoed the bill:
  - federal funding of intrastate projects unconstitutional
  - funding these projects interfered with the paying off of the national debt
  - Jackson supported states rights
  - Henry Clay-proposed Maysville Road improvements.
- Jackson vetoed the bill because the road was only for Kentucky and it was a way for him to get back at Henry Clay for the corrupt bargain
- Veto largely driven by personal, rather than political motives

## Power of Veto

- While accepted today, not so in 1800's
  - Before 1829 the right had been used sparingly
- 1st six presidents vetoed ten bills
- Jackson's eight years in office, he vetoed twelve
- Seven of his twelve vetoes were pocket vetoes, in which the president kills a bill by not signing it after Congress has adjourned

"I was born for a storm, and a calm does not suit me." A. Jackson

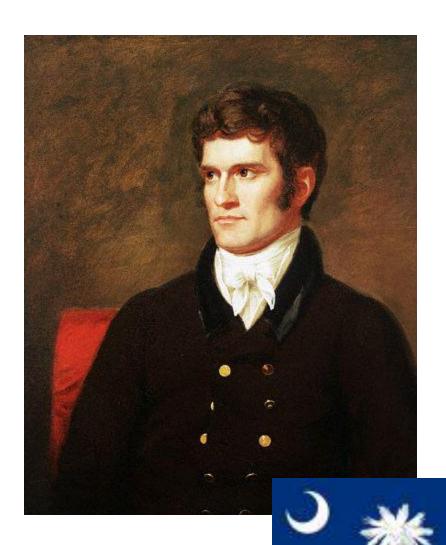
# Tariffs--Background

- Tariffs—taxes on imports. Put in place to protect American industry and to raise money
- First tariff was passed in 1816—rates were 20-25%
- In 1820s—New Englanders realized that their future wealth would be in factories rather than shipping. Therefore many New Englanders began to support higher tariffs
- South highly dependent on imported finished goods

# Tariffs Background

- In 1824-tariff rates were raised to 23-37%
  - New Englanders wanted even higher tariffs
- Jackson's supporters decided to play a political game—they promoted a really high tariff—they thought that Adams would veto this tariff which would make him lose support from New England
  - This plan backfired when Congress passed the Tariff of 1828—which raised tariff rates to 45% on certain goods

## Tariff of Abominations-Tariff of 1828



VP JC Calhoun

- New England needed this tariff to protect their industries
- South claimed that the tariff unfair because
- -- they had to pay more for manufactured goods
- --their agricultural products were not protected on a world market
- --Americans bought less European goods therefore Europeans bought less from the agricultural south.

#### **House Vote on Tariff of 1828**

(Tariff of Abominations)

Section	For	Against
New England	16	23
Middle Atlantic	55	11
West (OH, IN, IL)	17	1
South	3	50
Southwest (TN, KY)	12	9

## South Carolina and the Tariff

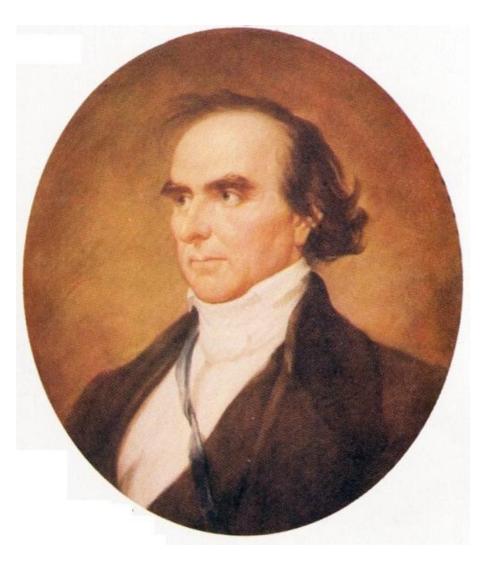
- South Carolina most upset because their economy was failing—cotton prices were low
- SC also worried that federal interference in tariffs could led to federal interference with slavery
- The South Carolina Exposition-1828- written secretly by John Calhoun-VP-said states had the right to declare a federal law null and void (Madison & Jefferson – VA/KY Resolutions)
  - States had this right because they created the federal government.
  - He argued this theory would preserve the union by preventing secession

# Webster-Hayne Debate – Jan 1830



- Senator Hayne attacked the people of New England in a speech on Senate floor
  - Senator Daniel Webster responded
- Robert Hayne of SC attacked the Tariff of 1828 and said that nullification was only protection against a powerful national gov't
  - Protect Southern Rights

## **Daniel Webster**



- Massachusetts Senator
- Argued that people not the states framed the Constitution
- States should not be allowed to ignore federal law because this would lead to the end of America
- Famous Quote—
   "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable"

# Waiting for Jackson's Response:



- At a dinner party, he made a toast— "Our Union it must be preserved"
- Calhoun response— "The union, next to our liberty, most dear!
- Jackson and Calhoun part as enemies

## **Nullification Crisis**

- Jackson attempted to improve tariff situation
  - Tariff of 1832—lowered tariff duties to 35%-a reduction of 10%
- SC turns up pressure
  - 1832
  - SC held a convention to nullify the tariff of 1828 and a new tariff law of 1832
  - Passed a resolution forbidding the collection of tariffs in SC
- Jackson told his secretary of war to prepare for military action
  - In private, Jackson threatened to hang the nullifiers

## Resolution

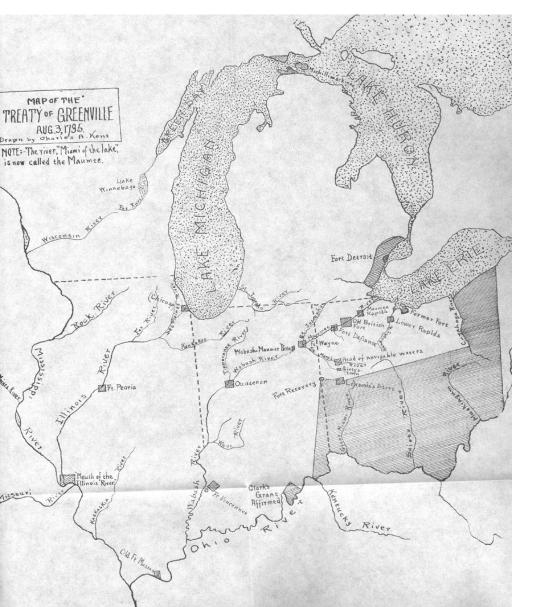


- Henry Clay saves the day!!—again
- Compromise Tariff of 1833-tariffs would be reduced by 10% over the next 8 years
  - Rates would be at 1816 level by 1842
- Congress also passed the Force Bill
  - President has authority to use military action to collect tariffs and issued proclamation to SC stating that nullification and disunion were treason.

# Significance of Tariff Controversy

- Stepping stone to civil War-SC will abandon nullification for secession
- Tariff crisis led to the split of Jackson and Calhoun.
  - Calhoun becomes Vice President to resign from office, becomes a Senator to fight Jackson more effectively
  - Calhoun had formed a political party in South Carolina explicitly known as the Nullifier Party.

## **Indian Removal**



- Since 1790

   (Washington) US had treated tribes as separate nations and agreed to acquire land from them in formal treaties
- In practice, natives were tricked into ceding huge tracts of land

## Indian Removal Act of 1830

- Jackson believed the president's legislative role extended far beyond approving or vetoing bills
- Exemplified by Indian Removal Act —president to negotiate treaties to remove American Indians from their land in exchange for lands further west.
  - Congressmen yielded to Jackson's pressure and the bill passed
  - Forced the resettlement of many thousands of Native Americans
- Democracy did not apply to Native Americans.
  - Jackson sympathized with land hungry citizens who wanted Native Americans land.

## Five Civilized Tribes



CHEROKEE



**CHOCTAW** 



MUSCOGEE (CREEK)

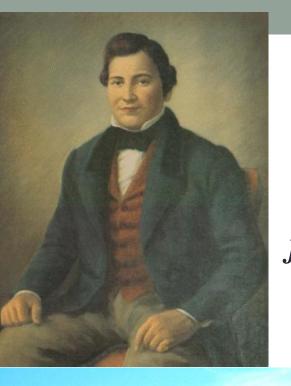


**CHICKASAW** 



SEMINOLE

considered civilized by Anglo-European settlers during the colonial and early federal period because they adopted many of the colonists' customs and had generally good relations with their neighbors



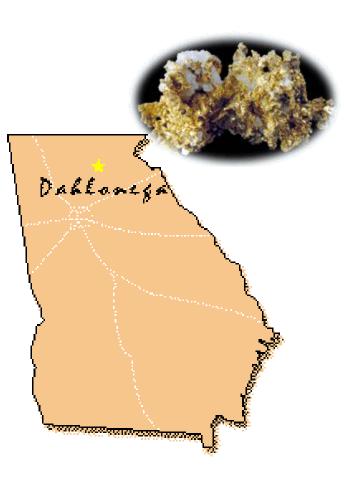
Chief
Joseph
Vann,
owner of
first brick
home in
Cherokee

nation

# 1825 Census GA Cherokee own:

- •33 Grist Mills
- •13 Saw Mills
- •69 Blacksmith shops
- •762 **Looms**
- •2486 Spinning
- Wheels
- •2923 Plows

# Cherokees and Georgia

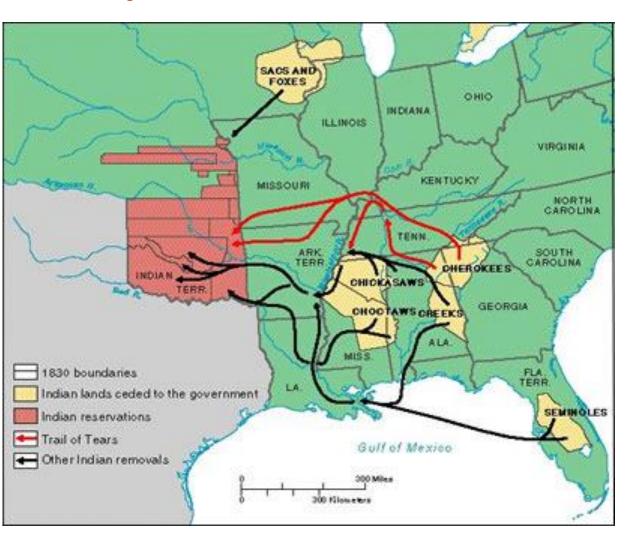


- Gold discovered in 1829 in Georgia
- Cherokee controlled most of the land in the gold region.
  - Georgia legislature began to plan their removal almost immediately after the discovery of gold
- Whites also want land for cotton
  - 1828, Georgia legislature declared the Cherokee tribal council illegal and asserted its own jurisdiction over Indian affairs an lands
- Cherokee Nation v. Georgia 1831-Supreme Court ruled that Cherokees were not a foreign nation with the right to sue in a federal court.

# Worcester v. Georgia 1832

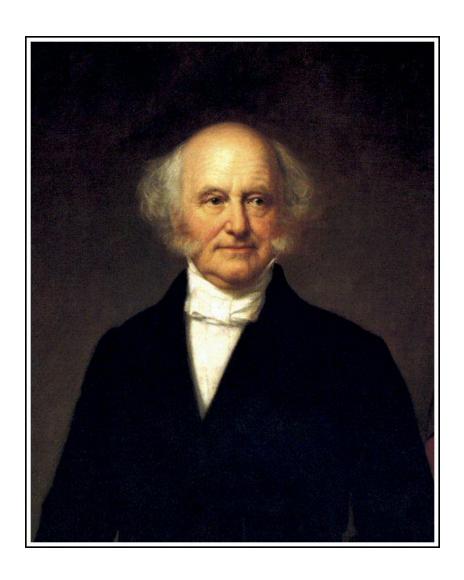
- Georgia law required all whites living in Cherokee Indian Territory to obtain a state license. Seven missionaries refused to obey the state law and were arrested, convicted, and sentenced to four years of hard labor for violating the state licensing law
  - Missionaries declared sympathies with Cherokees
  - John Marshall ruled that Georgia's laws had no jurisdiction inside Cherokee territory and could invite whom ever it wished on its land.
- Jackson- "John Marshall has made his decision, let him enforce it if he can"
- In 1835, Cherokees signed a removal treaty, the Treaty of New Echota.
  - 1838, under President Van Buren, the forcible relocation by the U.S. Army of the Cherokees to Indian Territory (part of present-day Oklahoma)....Trail of Tears.

# Response



- Most Cherokees repudiated treaty
- The federal government declared Natives who favored relocation the true representatives of the Cherokee nation
  - Treaty of New Echota-gave last 8 million acres of Cherokee land to the federal government in exchange for about 5 million and land in Oklahoma

## Trail of Tears



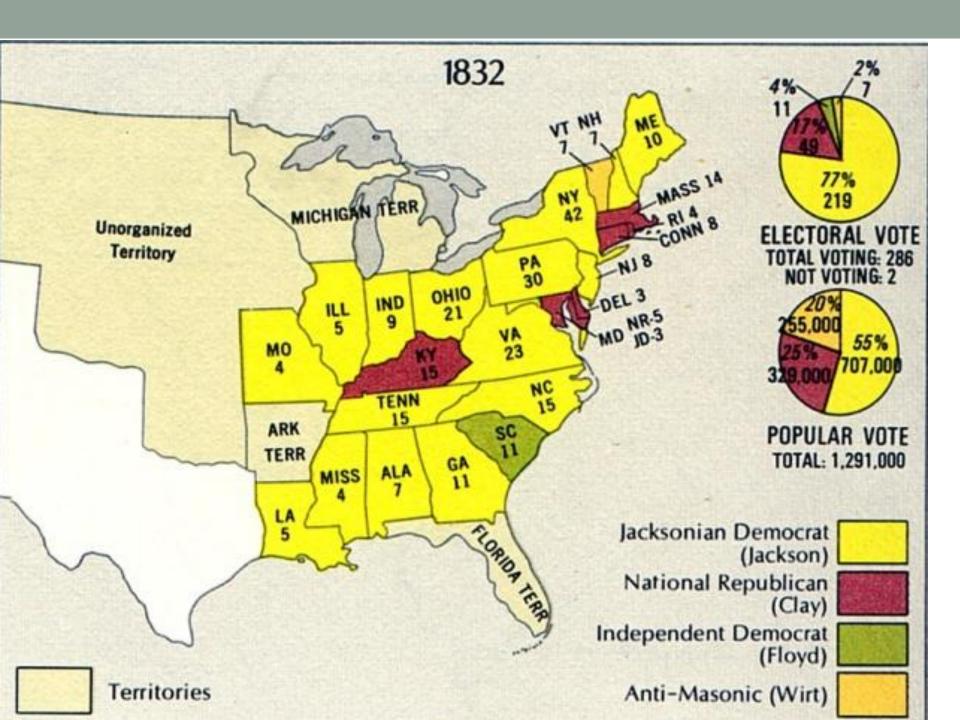
- 1838—Martin Van Buren President
- Natives removed from their homes
- US army forced 15,000
   Cherokees to leave Georgia and 4,000 died on the trip

### Election of 1832

- Andrew Jackson-Democrat
- Henry Clay-national Republican
- William Writ-Anti-Masonic
  - Jackson wins because he had the support of the common people.
- National Nominating Conventions in all 3 parties similar to today's system

# **Anti-Masonic Party**

- first "third party" in the United States
- strongly opposed
   Freemasonry and was
   founded as a single issue party
- It introduced important innovations to American politics, such as nominating conventions and the adoption of party platforms



## Jackson and the Bank of the US



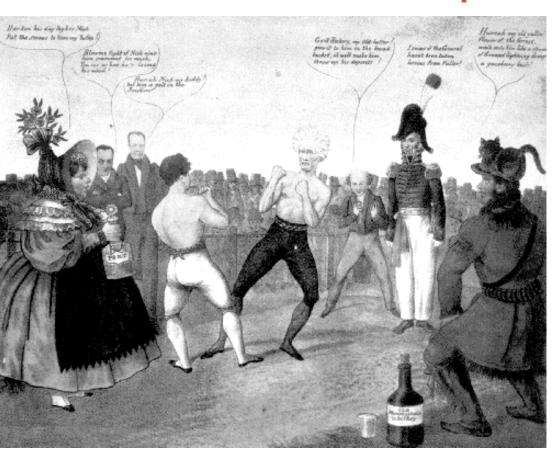
#### Jackson distrusted banking:

- 1. he had lost a lot of money in financial speculations
- he regarded the bank as a symbol of wealth and power
- 3. The bank and its branches were privately owned and received federal deposits
- 4. Some people suspicious that the Bank's president-Nicholas Biddle abused his powers
- Jackson believed that the bank was unconstitutional

# Bank as a Political Ploy

- Election year-1832
- Henry Clay-Jackson's political opponent pushed to recharter the Bank in 1832—the bank which was chartered in 1816 for 20 years was not set to expire until 1836. Clay wanted to push this through Congress to put Jackson in a dilemma
  - If he signed the bill to recharter the bank—he would alienate western support
  - If he vetoed it, he would loose support of the wealthy and influential in East

# Jackson's Response



- "The Bank is trying to kill me, but I will kill it."
- He vetoed the charter in 1832—he said it was unconstitutional
  - Is Jackson fulfilling his roles as the executive branch leader?
- He claimed that the bank was anti-western and anti-American because a substantial minority of stocker holders were foreigners. He compared the Bank to a monster

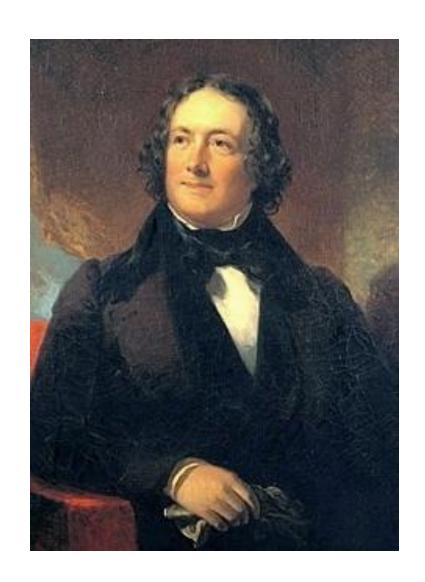


GENERAL JACKSON SLAYING THE MANY HEADED MONSTER.

Bender & Flat the E. S. Arkenne 50 Court W to 300

## Strengths of the Bank

- Sound organization
- Reduced bank failures
- Issued sound bank notes
- Encouraged economic development by making credit and currency available
- Safe deposit for federal government money



Nicholas Biddle, BUS President

## Truths about the BUS

- Biddle allowed Congress members to get a loan easily
  - 59 members had borrowed sums of about 1/3 of a million dollars
- Gave loans to newspaper editors so he would receive good press.

BUS stockholders earned interest off of government

deposits

 people's tax dollars deposited in this bank but wealthy stockholders are only ones to receive benefits

 Part of government but there was no check on power



## Pet Banks "Wild Cat Banks"

- Jackson's victory in 1832 election convinced him that voters agreed with him and wanted him to eliminate the bank
- Jackson decided to weaken the bank during these 4 years so Nichols could not recharter it
- Jackson transferred federal deposits (37 million) from the BUS to 23 state "pet banks"—these banks were selected because they supported the Democratic party
  - He would not deposit any more funds into the BUS—the money that remained in the BUS would be used for the day to day running of the government



In this image Clay is shown sewing Jackson's mouth shut. In 1834 the **Senate censured Jackson** for removing the federal deposits from the **Bank of the United States** the previous year. Jackson responded by addressing a stronglyworded "Protest" to the **Senate defending his** conduct.

SYMPTOMS OF A LOCKED JAW

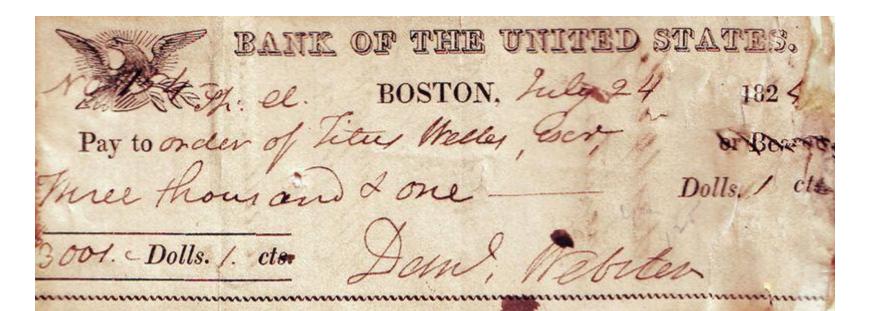
- CEAY

"Might stop a hote, to keep the wind away -

Timelat Rie 314 20 de

# Biddle's response

- He called in loans-demanded payments
  - tried to get people to pay bank back so the BUS would have money
- Refused to give new loans
  - When people complained, he said he was forced to take these actions because Jackson did not recharter the bank
- Many banks closed
  - People criticized the banks harsh policies and they blamed Biddle instead of Jackson



# Economic Problems

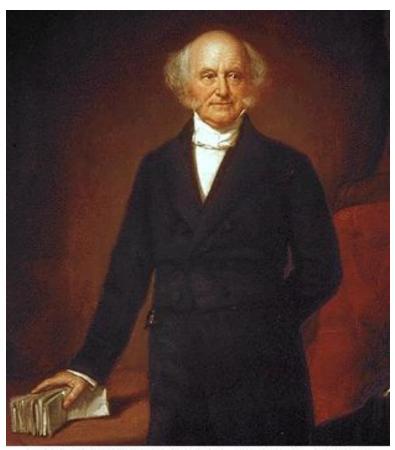


- Pet banks issued 5x the amount of money the federal government deposited—this money was not backed by gold/silver so it was unreliable.
  - Due to more money in circulation and land speculation in west, inflation rampant
- Jackson issued specie circular: public land had to be purchased with gold and silver rather than paper notes.
- Government would not accept paper money for land because they were selling land and receiving money that was not worth anything.
- Banknotes (paper money) lost their value and land sales plummeted leading to the Panic of 1837.

## Richard Lawrence: Failed Assassin



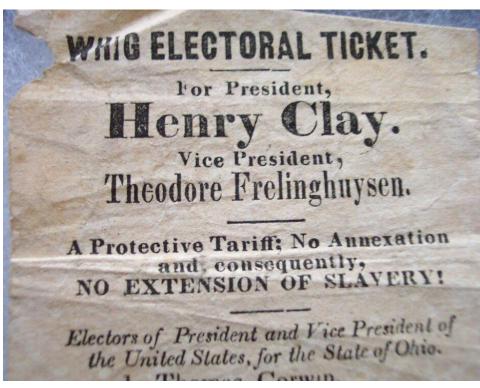
## Election of 1836: #8 Van Buren



MARTIN VAN BUREN (1782-1862) 8th President (1837-1841)

- Democrat-Martin Van Buren
- Whig-William Henry Harrison when have you hear of him?
  - Popular vote close, electoral college vote 170 to 124 (total for all Whigs)
- Jackson's "Appointment"
  - Yes Man
  - "Little Magician" b/c of use of spoils system
- 1st POTUS born under American flag

# **Whig Party**



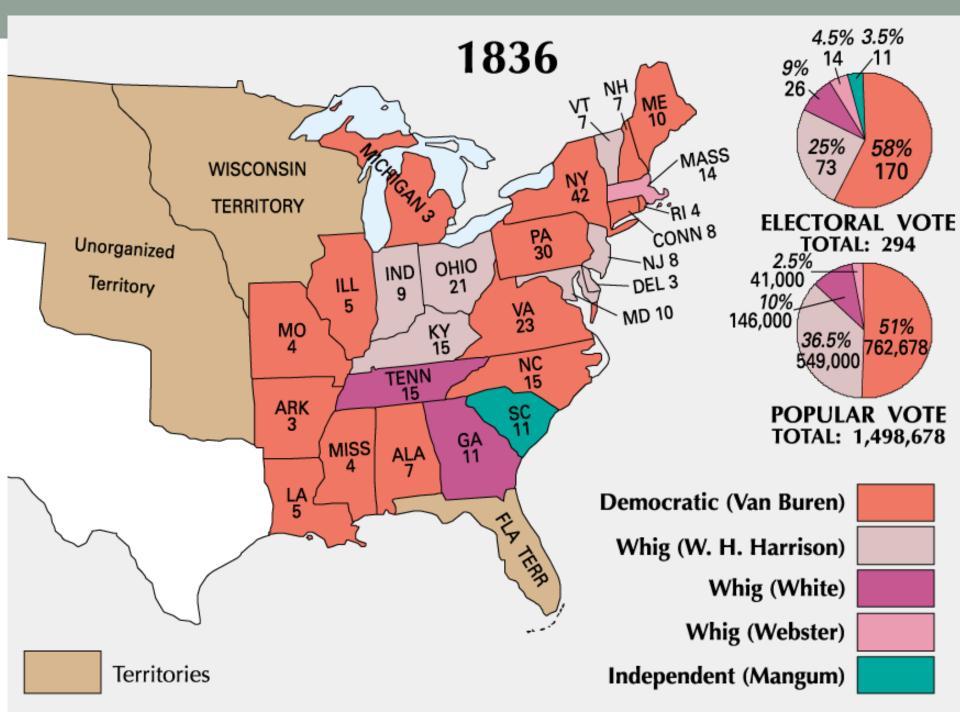
1844 campaign

- First emerged in the Senate with Clay and Calhoun to censure Jackson for removing federal deposits from BUS
  - name was chosen to echo the American Whigs of 1776, who fought for independence
  - "Whig" was label of choice for people who saw themselves as opposing autocratic rule

# "Favorite Sons" of the Whigs (1836)

- Nominate several prominent "favorite sons"
- Each had different regional appeal
- Idea is to scatter the vote so that no one wins a majority...
- Enter HOR

 WH Harrison leading favorite (OH) .S. Presidential Loser: William Henry Harrison Lost: 1836



### Inherited Problem: Causes of Panic 1837

#### Speculation (Get Rich Quick)

 Land sales, internal improvements paid for on borrowed capital, most from wildcat banks iffy currency

#### Specie Circular (1836) [executive order]

- banks that depended on paper money and notes of credit collapsed
- Sales of public lands decline

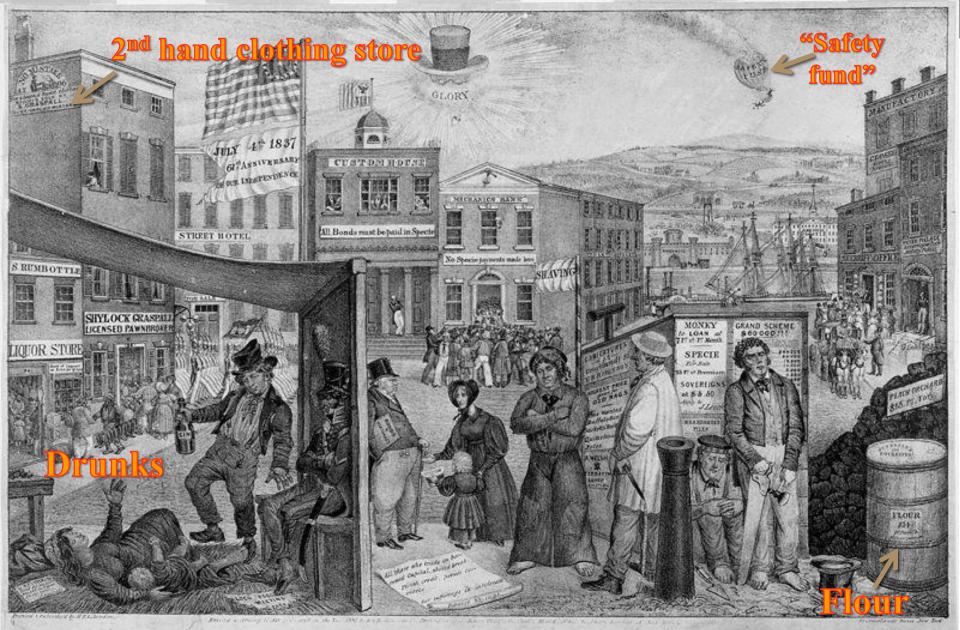
#### Bank War

#### Wheat crop failure (Hessian Fly)

High prices cause "flour riot" – NY mobs storm warehouses

#### Failure of British Banks

- Worried Brits call in their foreign loans
- Collapse of Pet Banks take gov't money down w/'em



THE TIMES.

# 1837 cartoon blames Jackson

## Results of the Panic of 1837

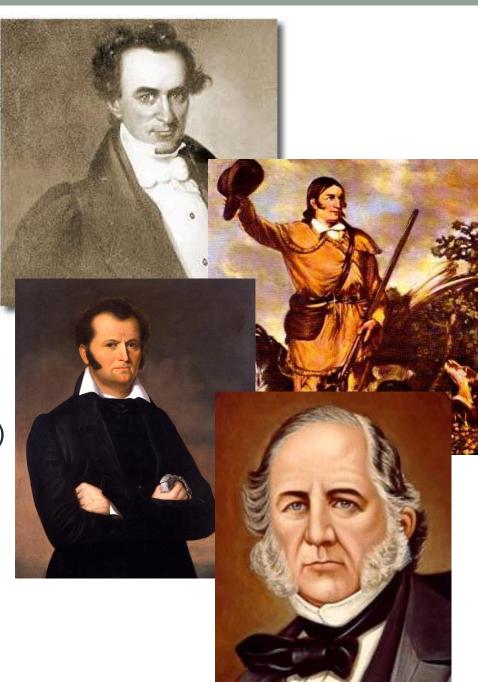
- American banks collapse (including Pet banks)
- Prices of goods and land fell
- Factories closed & Unemployment rose
- Whigs propose solutions
  - Expansion of credit
  - Higher tariffs
  - Subsidies for internal improvements
- Van Buren responds with "Divorce Bill"
  - proposed that an independent treasury be set up that would be isolated from all banks
  - Gov't \$ safe, but shrivels up credit/reduces \$ in circulation
- Passed in 1840, but repealed the next year



Whig cartoon showing effects of unemployment

## G.T.T.- Gone to TX

- Remember Adams-Onis –gave up TX to Spain for FL 1819
- Mexicans win independence from Spanish
- Grant land to SFA to bring 300 families to settle in Texas
  - Immigrants had to be Roman Catholic & become Mexicans (stipulations ignored by "Texicans")
- Famous GTT-ers:
  - Stephen F Austin
  - Davy Crockett
  - Jim Bowie
  - Sam Houston



## TX REVOLUTION

- 1836 TX declares independence
  - Sam Houston commander in Chief
  - Santa Anna leads 6000 men into TX
- March 6, 1836: Battle of the Alamo
  - Bowie and Crockett die
- March 27, 1836: Goliad Massacre
  - 400 Texans surrender after defeat
  - Mexican army kills them all
- April 1836 San Jacinto: Houston's small army lures Santa Anna to site near present day Houston.
  - 1300 Mexicans vs 900 Texans they wipe out MX troops and capture Santa Anna (cowering in bushes)
- Santa Anna signs treaties withdraw troops and recognize Rio Grande as border of MX/TX



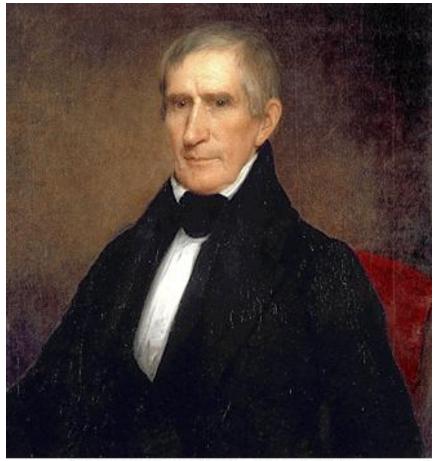
# Setting the state for a new State

 Day before he leaves office 1837, Jackson officially recognizes Lone Star Republic

Immediately after gaining independence,
 Texas petitions for annexation into the USA.

Problem – they are a slave territory…

## Election of 1840: #9 Harrison



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (1773-1841) 9th President (1841)

World Book, Inc., 1995

- Van Buren-Democrat
- Harrison-Whig "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too"
  - Voters blamed the depression on Van Buren
  - Harrison defeats Van Buren
- First mass turn out election in US History
- Propaganda and silly slogans set example for future campaigns
  - Whigs publish no platform
- Harrison is war hero vote getter, not the best politician

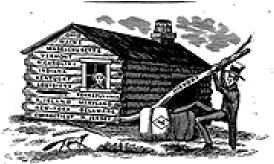
## **LOG CABIN CAMPAIGN**

 Dem. newspaper editor makes fun of Harrison as old farmer who wants log cabin & hard cider

 Whigs adopt as symbols of *honest* hard cider and *sturdy* log cabin

 Truth: Harrison was from FFV, lived in 16 room mansion on 3000 acre farm, & he preferred Whiskey





TO THE

# TIPPECANOE BOYS!!

OF THE COUNTY OF MADISON

YOU ARE W ONE and ALL & invited to attend to

#### Log Cabin Raising!!"

at ST. LOUIS, on To-Morrow, May 5th.

The Steamboat FLORA, has been chartered by the Committee of Arrangements, and a FREE PASSAGE is offered to all the friends of

#### HARRISON, TYLER, AND REFORM,

who wish to join in the celebration. The Boat will leave Alton precisely at SIX O'CLOCK, Tuesday, and St. Louis at Six o'clock, Wednesday morning.

Monday, May 4.

W. S. LINCOLN, Marshal.

A General Meeting of the

#### Harrisonians!!

Will be held at th

#### LD COURT ROOM,

Evening, at SEVEN o'clock. By order of the COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

## WHIGS v DEMOCRATS

#### **WHIGS**

- Expand & stimulate economy
- Renew the BUS, protective tariffs, internal improvements
- Public schools & moral reforms (prohibition/abolition)
- Harmony of society & value of community
- End of spoils system

#### DEMS

- End to out of control banks
- States rights & federal restraint
- Liberty of individual
- Guard against privilege
- Spoils system OK!
- Against monopolies, banks, high tariffs and speculative land sales

## WHIGS v DEMOCRATS

#### WHIGS

- Supported by:
- New Englanders
- Mid Atlantic
- Industrialists/merchants
- Middle class / urban
- Protestant
- Southerners mad at Jackson (nullies)
- End of spoils system

#### **DEMS**

- Supported by:
- Common man small farmers, urban workers
- Those who favor local rule
   limited federal
  - involvement

# Jeffersonian Republicanism influence on Democrats and Whigs

- Democrats
- Glorified the liberty of the individual and guaranteed against privilege in government
- More humble origins
- States rights and federal restraint in social and economic affirms
- Supporters tended to be from more humble origins

- Whigs
- Focus on harmony of society and value of community—they were willing to use the government to meet these objectives
- Against leaders who used selfinterest which caused conflict among individuals, classes, or sectionalism
- Favored bank, protective tariffs, public schools, moral reforms
- Supporters tended to be more prosperous

# Significance of 1840 Election

# Triumph of populist democracy

- Democracy (the mob) not a negative anymore
- Aristocracy was bad (Webster apologizes for lack of humble birth)
- Common Man center of political sphere

# 2 Party System formalized

- Parties are not factions and bad for republic
- provide check on power
- Parties are socially diverse – geographic diversity slows sectionalism
- Mass based want to mobilize voters

- Harrison dies after
  32 days in office
- Enter John Tyler #10

