

# **The Rise of Mass Democracy**

## **Chapter 13**

# Chapter 13 The Rise of Mass Democracy Theme #1

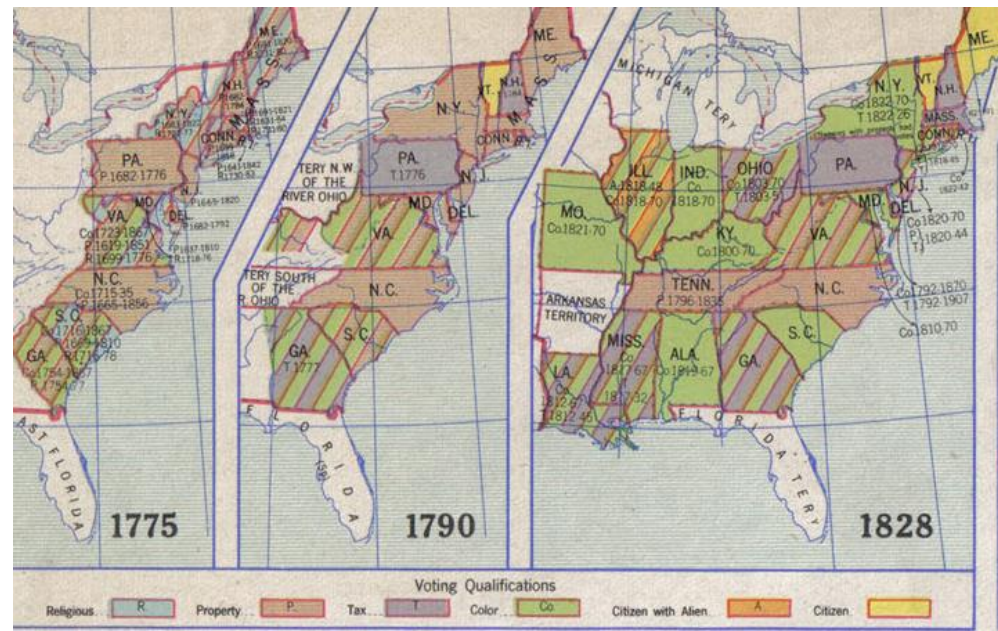
In the 1820's a new spirit of popular democracy swept through American politics and society, resulting in the election of the "hero of the West," Andrew Jackson, to the presidency.

## Theme #2

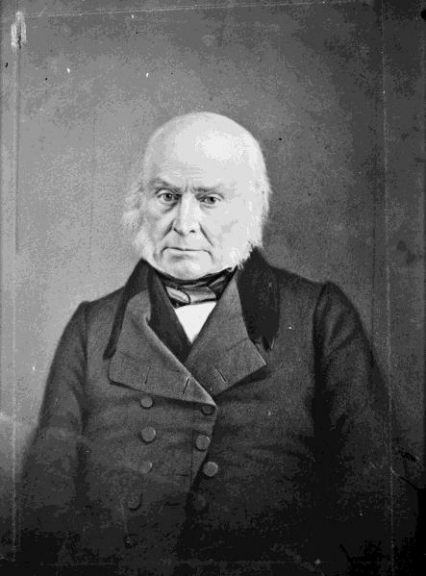
Jackson successfully mobilized the techniques of the New Democracy and presidential power to win a series of dramatic political conflicts. But by the late 1830's, his Whig opponents had learned to use the same popular political weapons against the Democrats, signaling the emergence of the second American party system.

# Widening Suffrage

- **Each State could determine who voted**
  - Frequently limited to land owners
    - As country became more urban, more people complained
  - **Early 1800s began to remove land ownership requirement**
    - Happened in west first – no entrenched elite
    - IN, IL, AL had broad suffrage and elected middling men instead of elites
      - Led to laws that kept taxes low, restrict imprisonment for debt, allowed squatters rights
- **Opponents to universal suffrage feared mob rule**
- **Bribery was still common in politics**
- **Newspapers made politics more popular**
- **Martin Van Buren organized first political machine in New York**
  - **Used patronage to insure loyalty**

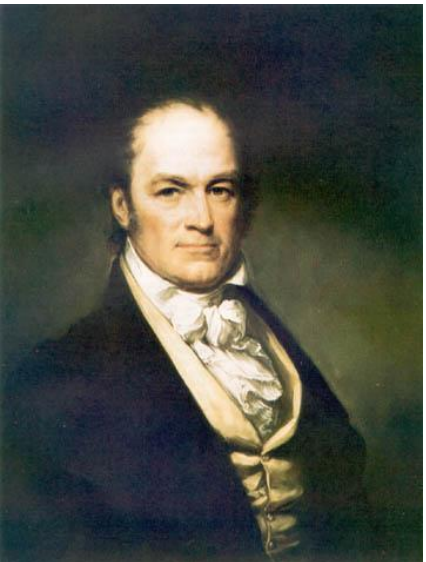


# 1824 Election



John Quincy Adams

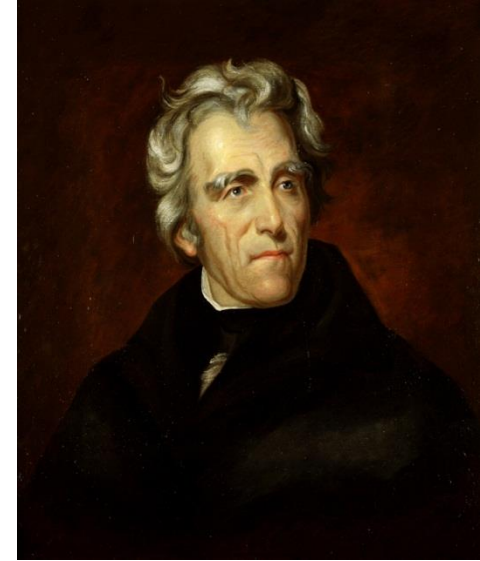
Represented New England



William Crawford

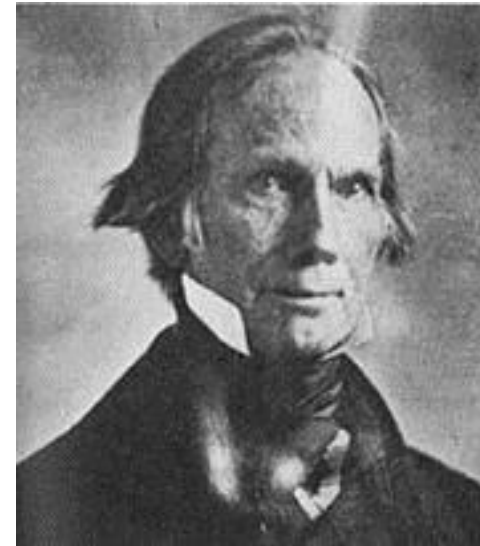
Represented Old South

- **Last election of Era of Good Feelings where formal organized political parties were absent**
  - Made it difficult to distinguish between candidate
- **Jackson** was most popular as a war hero, Indian fighter, supporter of common man and opponent of corruption
- **JQ Adams** was nationally known, success as diplomat and secretary of state. Well connected in New England
- **Clay** opposed Jackson as a military chieftain and because Jackson's actions in Florida. Favored strengthening the BUS
- **Both Adams and Clay** support the American System and favored nationalism over sectionalism



Andrew Jackson

Represent old Southwest, man of the people

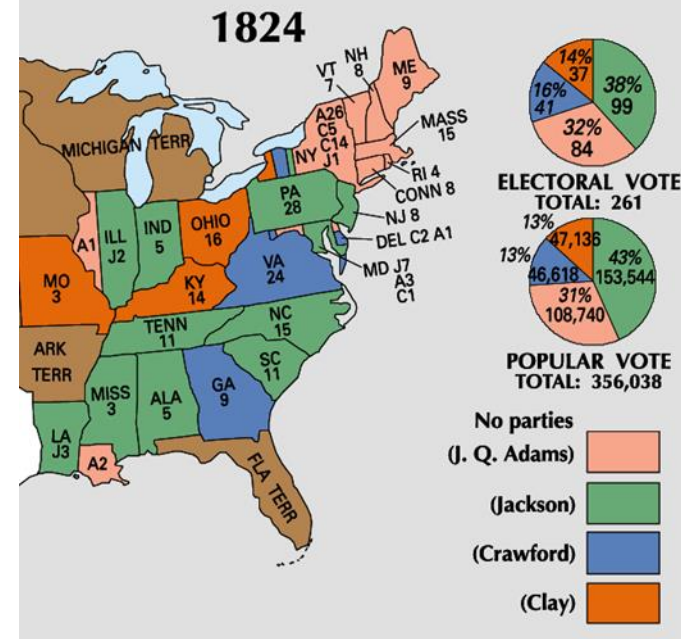


Henry Clay

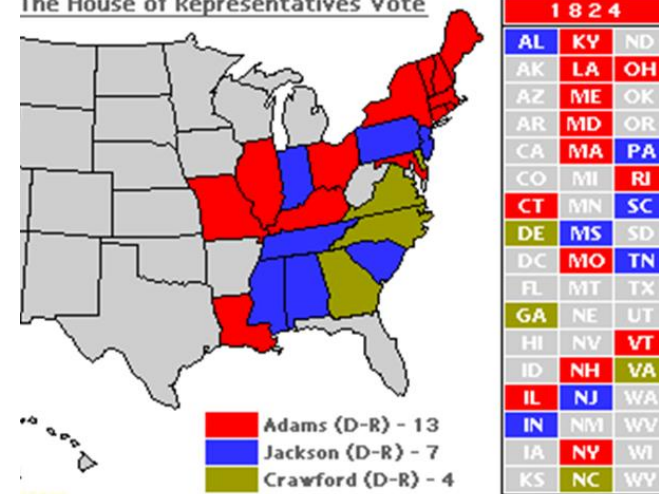
Represent West and "American System"

# 1824 Election

- **Andrew Jackson wins popular and electoral vote**
  - **But did not get majority**
- **Since no majority, election was sent to House of Representatives (12<sup>th</sup> Amendment)**
  - **Only top 3 candidates were sent**
  - **Clay was eliminated**
    - **Clay was Speaker of House, so could influence outcome of election in House**
- **Corrupt Bargain**
  - **Clay supported Adams allowing Adams to beat Jackson**
  - **Adams named Clay as Secretary of State**
    - **Many believed it was Clay's reward for supporting Adams**
    - **Secretary of State was "stepping stone" to Presidency**
    - **Clay seen as traitor to West**
  - **No historical evidence of pre-election deal**
    - **Clay was qualified and political appointments were given to allies**

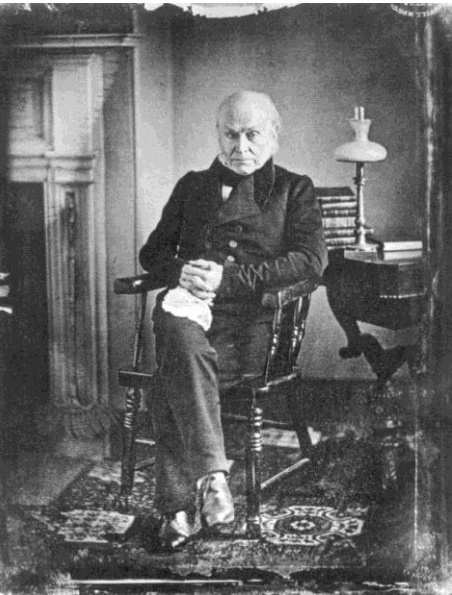


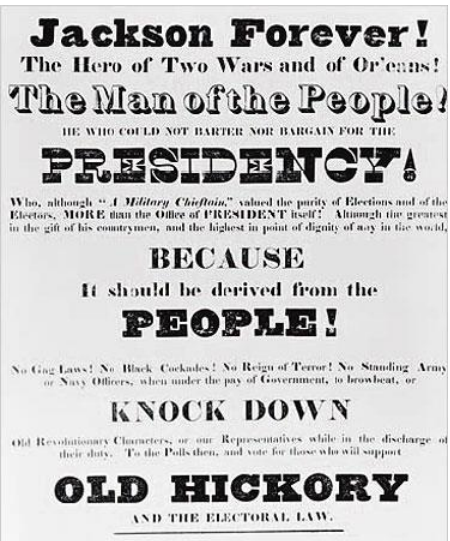
The House of Representatives Vote



# Adams Administration

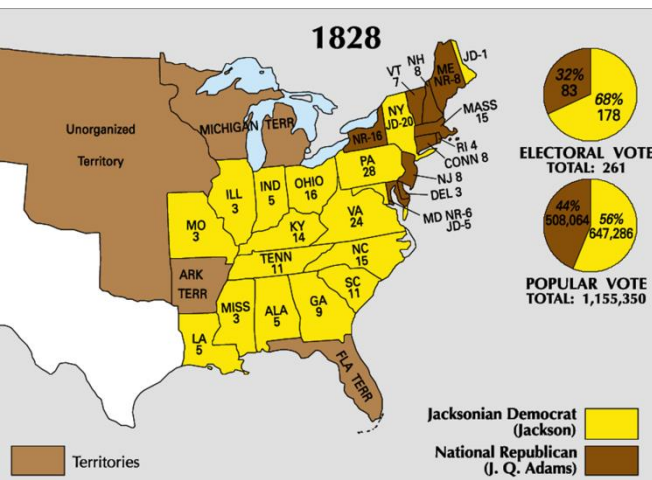
- **Appearance of corruption made Adams' presidency difficult**
  - Fewer than 1/3 of people voted for Adams
  - Was competent, not popular
  - Refused to offer political patronage jobs which weakened his power
- **Adams wanted National Program**
  - Roads and canals
  - Increased military spending
  - National universities
  - National bank to control credit and currency
- **Most Americans distrusted federal government so didn't support his policies**
  - Did not want taxes or tariffs that national programs would require
  - Did not want to interfere with local autonomy
  - Some believed it exceeded constitutional powers
- **Adams tried to protect Indian land claims and treat them fairly**
  - Interfered with expansionist desires of westerners



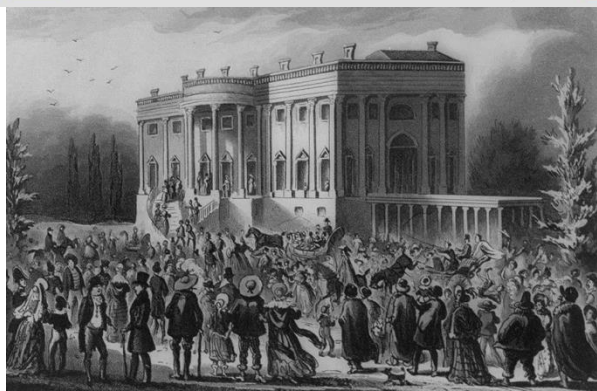


# Election of 1828

- **Republicans split into National Republicans (Adams) and Democratic Republicans (Jackson)**
  - Martin Van Buren guided Jackson's campaign
  - Was a vigorous, partisan, personal, mudslinging campaign
  - Jackson Democrats evolve to Democrat Party



- **Election determined along sectional divisions**
  - Andrew Jackson won the West and South
  - John Quincy Adams won New England
- **Andrew Jackson is elected President**
  - Demonstrate shift in political power away from east
  - White House was open to all for Inauguration
- **Opponents said Jackson's Presidency would be the beginning of mob rule**
  - Feared excesses of popular will similar to French Revolution

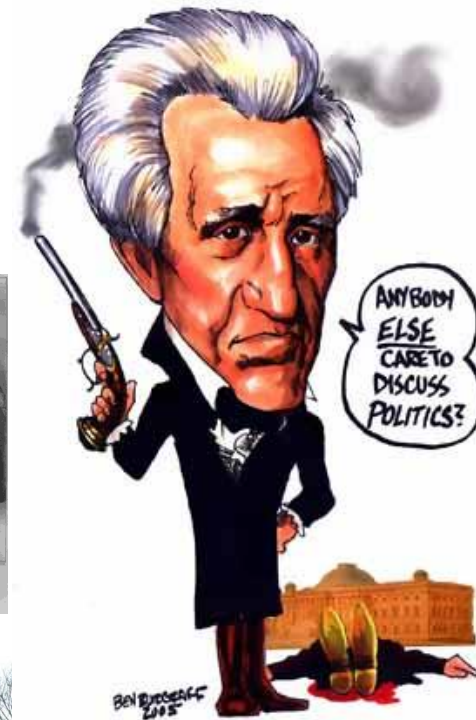
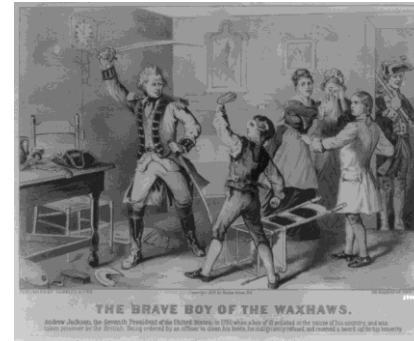




# Andrew Jackson

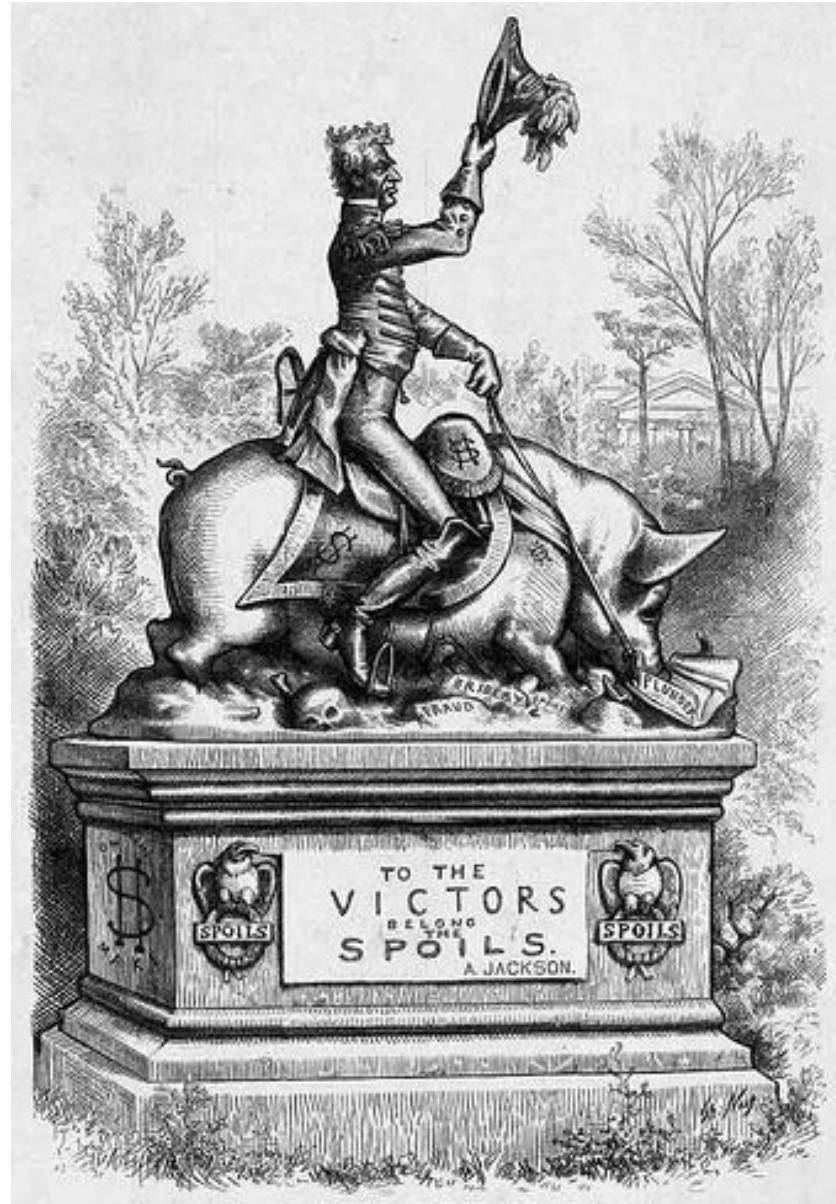
## “Old Hickory”

- **Self made man**
  - Grew up from poverty
- **War hero**
- **Little education**
- **Gambled, drank, dueled**
- **Appealed to common man**
- **Violent temper – would take political confrontations personally**
  
- **Kitchen Cabinet**
  - Jackson ignored his Cabinet
  - **Used friends as advisors**
    - Known as “Kitchen Cabinet”
    - Francis Preston Blair, Amos Kendall, Roger Taney, Martin Van Buren
  - Martin Van Buren helped Jackson settle conflict with Cabinet



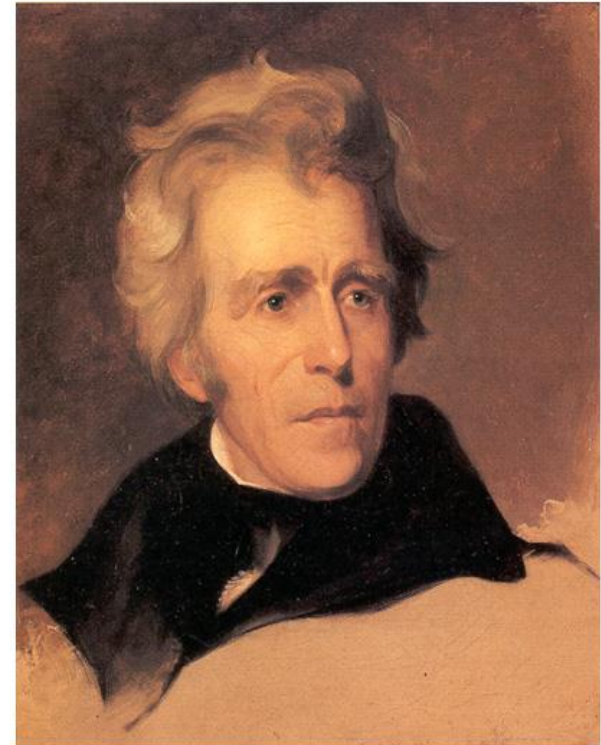
# Spoils System

- **Jackson believed common citizens could do government jobs (rotation of offices)**
  - **Disliked career government officials**
  - **Increased power of winning party**
- **“To the Victor belong the Spoils” – William Marcy 1832**
  - **Government jobs were given to political supporters**
  - **There had been little turnover in federal government personnel since 1800**
  - **Could lead to corruption**
- **Cemented two party system in America**
  - **Loyalty to party more important than loyalty to economic class, geographic region, competence or national achievement**
- **Priority was to dismantle American System of Adams**



# Tariff of Abominations (1828)

- **Tariffs were passed to protect American industry from European manufacturers**
  - **Drove up prices and resulted in retaliatory tariffs against agricultural goods**
- **1824 Jackson supporters proposed a high-tariff with many new taxes as way to create political chaos for John Quincy Adams**
- **Tariff passed in 1828 after Jackson took office**
  - **Known as Black Tariff or Tariff of Abominations**
- **Southern opposition to Tariff of 1828**
  - **Believed it discriminated against south – helped North, but hurt South**
  - **Southern economy struggled because of declining cotton prices resulting from overproduction**
  - **Tariff represented increase in federal power; south feared a strong federal government would eventually move to abolish slavery**



# ***South Carolina Exposition and Protest***

- **South Carolina opposed internal improvements, tariffs or any measure that would strengthen federal government**
  - **Believed strong government would favor manufacturers in north**
  - ***South Carolina Exposition* (1828)– written by John Calhoun**
    - **Also known as Calhoun's Exposition**
      - **Used some of Jefferson and Madison's arguments from the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions in 1798**
    - **Sovereignty of nation lay with states because state conventions ratified Constitution not the people**
    - **Argued a tariff that favored one region over another is unjust and unconstitutional**
    - **Each state had right to decide if Congress was taking too much power**
    - ***If Congress acted inappropriately, state could nullify an federal act within its borders***

# Webster-Hayne Debate (January 1830)



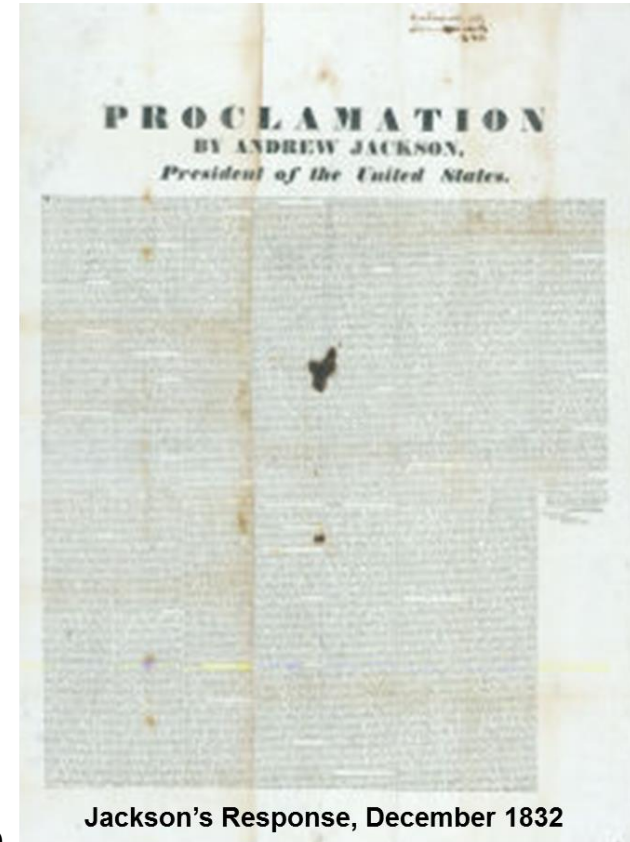
- **Footnote Resolution in 1830 proposed to limit sale of public land to new settlers**
  - **East wanted high prices, west and south wanted low prices**
- **Senator Robert Hayne (SC)**
  - **Wanted to create political alliance between South and West**
  - **Believed agricultural system based on slavery required cheap western land**
  - **Argued doctrine of nullification**
    - **States could nullify federal laws regarding land or slavery**
- **Senator Daniel Webster (MA)**
  - **Argue People not States made union**
  - **Only Supreme Court can declare law void**
  - **If allow states to nullify, Constitution is a “Rope of Sand”**
  - **Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable**
- **Webster won the debate**

# Jefferson Day Dinner

- **April 13, 1830**
- **Attempt to get Jackson to support nullification**
- **Jackson said "Our federal union! It must and shall be preserved!"**
- **Calhoun replied "The union, next to our liberty, most dear. May we always remember that it can only be preserved by distributing evenly the benefits and burdens of the Union."**
  - **Issue lays foundation for Civil War**
- **Privately Jackson wanted to invade South Carolina and hang supporters of nullifiers**

# Nullification Crisis

- **Tariff of 1832**
  - Was not as severe as 1828 Tariff of Abominations
  - Led to South Carolina passing Ordinance of Nullification 1832 nullifying the tariff of 1828 and 1832
    - South Carolina also threatened secession if federal government attempted to enforce it
- **Tariff of 1833**
  - Compromise bill made by Henry Clay to reduce tariffs for 9 years until it was at 1816 levels
  - Calhoun of South Carolina agreed to it
    - South Carolina rescinded nullification vote
  - Only postponed issue of nullification and secession
- **Force Bill (March 1833) “Bloody Bill”**
  - Jackson said nation was supreme over states,
    - so state could not refuse to obey a federal law
  - Law that authorized Federal Government to use army and navy to force compliance
- Nation supported Jackson against South Carolina



# Indian Policies



Chief  
Justice  
Marshall

- **Indian Land Policies**
  - **1790s federal government negotiated with Indians and signed treaties**
  - **Society for Propagating the Gospel Among Indians**
    - **Many whites believed that Indians could be “civilized”, Christianized and assimilated to American society**



Sequoia

- **Cherokees in Georgia developed western style culture**
  - **Writing, constitution (1827), settled agriculture, slavery, factories, favored assimilation with white society**
  - **Led by Sequoia**
  - **Five Civilized Tribes**
    - **Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaws, Seminole**



Missionary, Samuel  
Worcester

- **1828 Georgia tried to take lands from Cherokees**
  - **1802 Georgia gave up western land claims in exchange for federal promise to remove Indians**
- ***Worcester v. Georgia***
  - **Cherokees sued in Supreme Court and won**
    - **Decision by John Marshall**
    - **Jackson responded to decision “John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it”**



# Trail of Tears

- Jackson had Five Civilized Nations forcefully removed from Georgia across the Mississippi River to Oklahoma
  - 100,000 Indians were forced from Georgia



- **Indian Removal Act (1830)**

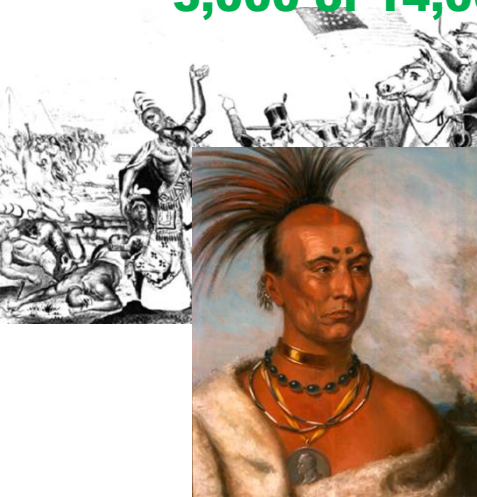
- Called for the removal of **ALL** Indians east of the Mississippi to be moved
- Created an Indian Territory (Oklahoma) that provided Indians a permanent home free of white interference
- *Ladies Circular* - Catharine Beecher and Lydia Sigourney encouraged women to oppose removal of Indians

- **Bureau of Indian Affairs (1836)**

- Established to administer relationship between Americans and Indians

- **Trail of Tears**

- 1838 Van Buren send US military to forcibly remove remaining Indians 3,000 of 14,000 died en route



- **Black Hawk War (1832)**

- Sauk and Fox fought in Wisconsin and Illinois
- Black Hawk, Whirling Thunder defeated by Lt. Jefferson Davis and Capt. Abraham Lincoln at Bad Axe Massacre

- **Seminole War (1835-1842)**

- Hid in swamps and fought Americans
- Osceola, Seminole leader captured and killed in 1837

# Trail of Tears

**Indian Removal**


- Cherokee — Yellow line
- Chickasaw — Purple line
- Choctaw — Red line
- Creek — Orange line
- Seminole — Green line

Tribal territory — Dark Green box

Reservation — Light Green box

0 50 100 150 Kilometers

0 50 100 Miles



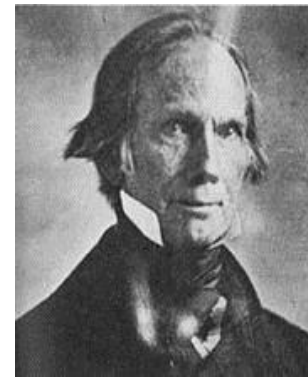
# Oklahoma, 1892



# War on the Bank



Nicholas Biddle



Henry Clay



- **Jackson opposed Bank of United States**
  - Gave too much power to bank and big business
  - Had ability to print paper money which controlled money supply
    - Federal government deposited gold and silver in BUS
  - BUS was private, responded to investors, not people
    - Some believed it violated principles of democracy
- **Nicholas Biddle**
  - President, Bank of United States
- **Bank War 1832**
  - Henry Clay and Daniel Webster convince Biddle to apply for new charter early
    - If Jackson signed it he would lose Western support, if Jackson vetoed it he would lose support of wealthy and easterners
    - Would help Henry Clay get elected President in 1832
- **Jackson vetoed bank re-charter**
  - argued bank gave special privileges to bankers and wealthy
  - It hurt farmers and common man
  - Increased power of executive over judiciary
  - President vetoed based on personal opposition

# King Andrew

- **Andrew Jackson vetoed laws because he personally disagreed with them, not necessarily because of legal issues**
  - **Opponents believed he had too much power**



## Election of 1832

### – Anti-Masonic Party

- **First third party in American Presidential politics**
- **Single issue party that opposed freemasonry**
- **Feared secret society and hidden influences over American economic and political society**
- **Jackson was a Mason**
- **Also attracted evangelical Protestants**

### – Nominating Convention

- **First time conventions held to pick candidates for Presidency**
- **Parties developed platforms that detailed positions on issues**
  - **Specific parts of platform referred to as planks**

### – Andrew Jackson wins in landslide



# Pet Banks

- **Bank of US's charter lasted until 1836**
  - Jackson feared that Biddle would manipulate the economy to force the re-charter of the BUS.
- **1833 Jackson said all federal deposits would be put in selected state banks appointed Roger Taney as Secretary of Treasury to fulfill Jackson's wish**
  - **Known as "pet banks"**
  - All federal withdrawals from Bank of US
    - Would take away all of BUS's money
  - Some Jackson supporters opposed the move because BUS had made good loans and stabilized national economy
- **Jackson claimed his reelection proved "people against the bank"**
- **Biddle's Panic**
  - Biddle tried to defend BUS by recalling loans to create a financial crisis to force Jackson to back down
  - Backfired on Biddle, confirmed in people's mind the dangers of a private national bank
- **Pet banks received federal funds based on loyalty to Jackson**
  - Created many paper currencies and made risky decisions which led to inflation

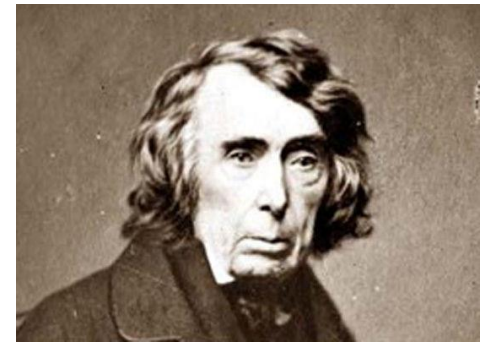


# Specie Circular

- **Economy was destabilized by increase in local banks and lack of central control of money supply**
  - **“Wildcat banks” were created that opened with little capital but flooded market with currency**
- **Specie Circular said only gold and silver would be accepted for public land**
  - **Ended speculative boom that cheap money had created**
  - **Caused people to go to banks to change paper money for gold**
  - **Led to failure of banks**



# Taney Court



- **Andrew Jackson appointed Roger Taney to Supreme Court in 1835. Taney served until 1864**
  - **Challenged many Marshall court decisions and reversed some nationalist policies gave weight to state's rights and free enterprise**
- ***Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co. (1837)***
  - **Legislative charter did not grant a monopoly, therefore competing charters could be authorized**
  - **Challenged *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* that stressed binding nature of contracts**
  - **Made it possible to authorize railroad charters that would compete with canals or turnpikes**
- ***Mayor of New York v. Miln (1837)***
  - **Said states could use police power to inspect health of immigrants**
- ***Briscoe v. Bank of Kentucky (1837)***
  - **allowed bank owned by state to issue currency despite Constitutional prohibition**



# Jackson Review: NEW “KNICKSS”

**NEW** Democracy

**K** illing of the BUS

**N** ullification crisis of 1832

**I** ndian Removal

**C** reation of a 2-party system

**K** itchen Cabinet/Cabinet Crisis  
(Calhoun)

**S** poils System

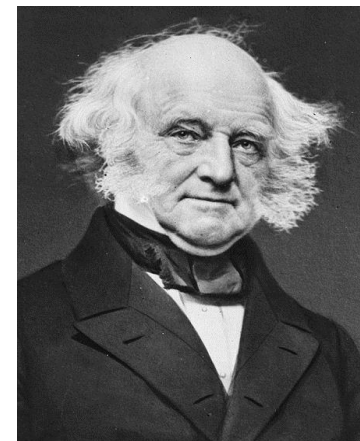
**S** ectionalism

# Election of 1836



- **Whig Party** was created to oppose Jackson's policies
  - Took name from anti-monarchy revolutionary era English party
  - Included diverse group with many interests
    - Clay's American System
    - Calhoun's nullifiers
    - Large northern merchants
    - Anti-Masonics
  - Favored internal improvements especially railroads, telegraphs, canals
  - Supported institutions like asylums, prisons, schools
  - Attempted to establish themselves as party of common man not Democrats

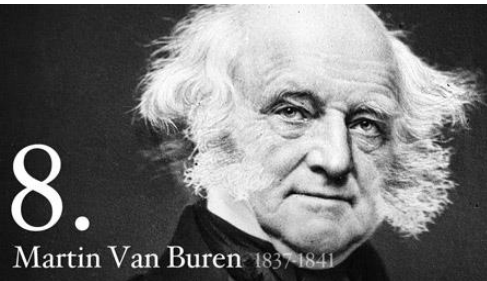
- **Martin Van Buren selected by Jackson to be next President**
  - Rigged Democratic convention to make sure he was selected
- **Whigs** nominated William Henry Harrison, Daniel Webster and Hugh Lawson White in an attempt to split vote and force election into House
- **Martin Van Buren wins the election**



Martin Van Buren

# Martin Van Buren

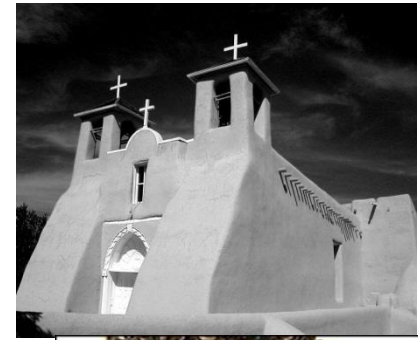
- **Martin Van Buren was loyal to Democratic machine.**
  - **Loyal and effective, but many disliked and did not respect him**
- **Presidency plagued by controversy**
  - **Rebellion in Canada**
  - **Annexation of Texas**
  - **Growing abolitionist movement**
  - **Economic depression**



- **Panic of 1837**
  - **Speculators were buying land on borrowed money**
  - **Agricultural failures added to problems**
  - **Jackson's economic policies (specie circular, pet banks) played major role**
  - **European banks failed resulting in calling of foreign (American) loans which led to American banks failing including pet banks which had government funds**
    - **land sales stopped, Federal government ran out of money for internal improvements**



# Gone To Texas



Stephen F.  
Austin



Santa Anna

- **Texas was sparsely populated so Mexico allow American traders and settlers into territories**
  - **Must become citizens, speak Spanish and Catholic**
- **1821 – Stephen Austin establish settlement in Texas**
- **Mexico gave land grants (1823) in exchange for settlers**
- **1830 – Anglo Americans outnumber Tejanos 6 to 1**
  - **Anglo Americans in Texas had closer ties to America than Mexico**
  - **Spoke English, not Spanish**
  - **Anglos didn't want to be Catholic**

## Actions of Mexican Government opposed by Anglo Americans

- **1829 –abolish slavery**
- **1830 – ended American settlements**
- **1830 – raised tariff on American Goods**
- **1835 – Santa Anna ended local control and sent military to enforce Mexican rule**
  - **October 1835 Mexican troops went to Gonzales, Texas to collect taxes and confiscate cannon. Texans violently resisted. “Lexington and Concord” of Lone Star Rebellion**



COME AND TAKE IT

# Heroes of the Alamo

- **Alamo (March 6, 1836)**
  - Santa Anna and 6.000 Mexicans beats 183 Texans at Alamo
  - Story of defense of Alamo inspires others to fight
- **Goliad (March 27, 1836)**
  - Santa Anna defeats Texans at Goliad
  - Executes all who surrender
  - Inspires more support for revolution
- **Battle of San Jacinto (April 21, 1836)**
  - Sam Houston attacks and defeats Santa Anna to win Independence and Rio Grande as border. Anna later claims deal was illegal



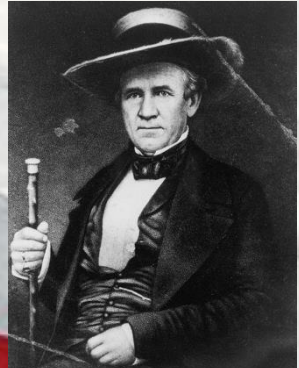
Davy Crockett



William Travis



Jim Bowie



Sam Houston



otography

# Lone Star Republic



- **Texas wanted to be annexed by the United States**
- **Many Americans had supported Texans with money, supplies and weapons**
  - **American government was officially neutral**
- **North resists adding Texas because Texas has slavery**
  - **Believed annexation would be move to establish a “slavocracy”**



# Election of 1840



- **Martin Van Buren nominated by Democrats**
- **William Henry Harrison and John Tyler ran for Whigs in 1840**
  - **“Tippecanoe and Tyler too”**
  - **Harrison shown as an “everyday” person**
    - **Used log cabin and hard cider as symbols**
    - **Reality was Harrison was from elite Virginia family**
  - **Nominated because of his ability to win, not because of his stand on issues, political or intellectual talents**
  - **Whigs did not offer a platform**
- **Whigs wanted expansion and stimulation of economy. Democrats wanted end of big banks and corporations**
- **Harrison elected but died one month into office**
  - **Tyler succeeded him as President**
- **Effects of Election**
  - **Showed power of popularity over substance in democratic election**
  - **Emphasis put on humble, common roots**
  - **1840 election established permanent, durable two party system**

# The “Second Party System”: c. 1832-1852

## Whigs

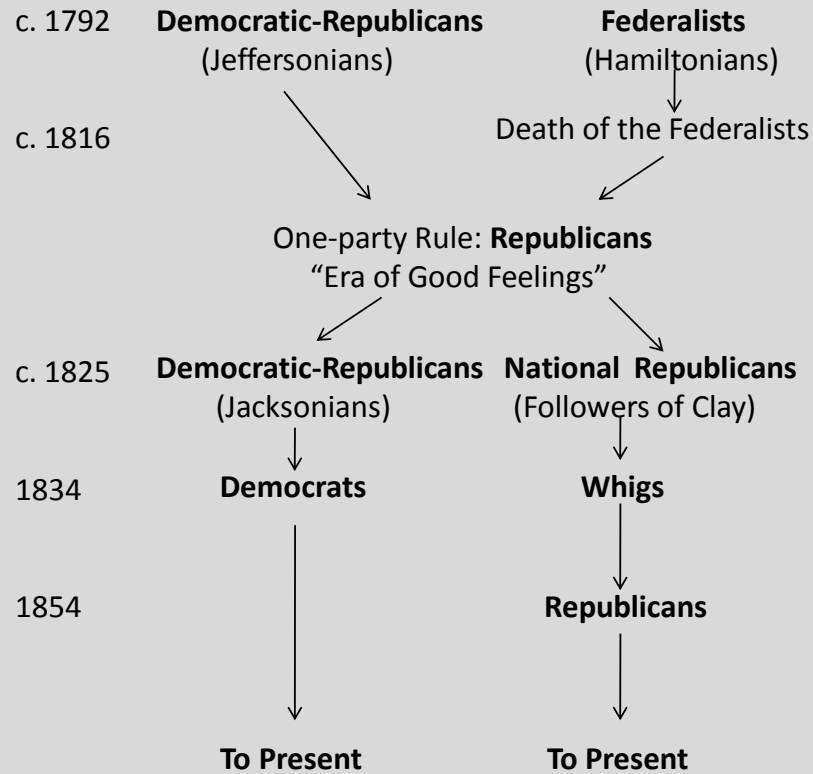
- Supported by northern industrialists and merchants (wealthiest Americans)
- Supported Clay’s “American System”
- Sought to reduce the spoils system
- Southern states’ rights advocates angry at Jackson’s stand on nullification
- Evangelicals from Anti-Masonic party joined
- Later supported moral reforms: prohibition of alcohol and abolition of slavery
- Sought to use national gov’t to solve societies problems (over states’ rights issues)

## Democrats

- Supported by the common people and machine politicians in the East
- States’ Rights – opposed to “American System”
- Favored spoils system
- Anti-monopoly—favored increased competition
- Believed federal gov’t should not be involved in people’s personal lives



# History of Major American Political Parties



(3<sup>rd</sup> Parties not included above)