

1 2 **I. The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824**

- Corrupt bargain (1824) last old-style election
 - James Monroe, last of Virginia dynasty, completed 2nd term; four new candidates:
 - John Quincy Adams (Mass.): highly intelligent, experienced, aloof
 - Henry Clay (Kentucky): gamy and gallant “Harry of the West”
 - William Crawford (Georgia): able, though ailing giant of a man
 - Andrew Jackson (Tenn.): gaunt, gutsy hero of New Orleans.

–

3 **I. The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824 (cont.)**

- Four candidates:
 - All four professed to be “Republicans”
 - Results of campaign:
 - Jackson, the war hero, had strongest personal appeal, especially in West
 - Polled as many popular votes as his next two rivals combined, but failed to win majority of electoral vote (see Table 13:1)
 - Under 12th Amendment, such a deadlock must be broken by House of Representatives

4 5 6 **I. The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824 (cont.)**

- Twelfth Amendment (see Appendix)
 - Select among top 3 candidates
 - Clay as Speaker of the House was eliminated
 - Clay could throw his vote to whoever he chose
 - Crawford, felled by stroke, out of the picture
 - Clay hated Jackson, his archrival in West
 - Jackson resented Clay's denunciation of his Florida foray in 1818
 - Only candidate left for Clay was puritanical Adams

7 **I. The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824 (cont.)**

- Clay and Adams:
 - Both fervid nationalists and advocates of American System
 - Clay met privately with Adams and assured him of his support
 - Decision day 1825: on first ballot Adams elected president
 - A few days later Adams announced Clay would be secretary of state

8 **I. The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824 (cont.)**

- Office of secretary of state:
 - Considered a pathway to White House
 - Three preceding secretaries had become president
 - According to Jackson's supporters, Adams bribed Clay with post
 - Masses of angry common folk denounced “corrupt bargain”

9 **II. A Yankee Misfit in the White House**

- John Quincy Adams:
 - Came to presidency with brilliant record in statecraft, especially foreign affairs
 - Ranks as one of the most successful secretaries of state, yet one of the least successful presidents
 - A man of scrupulous honor
 - Entered White House under charges of “bargain,” “corruption,” and “usurpation”

10

11 **II. A Yankee Misfit in the White House (cont.)**

- Because he won fewer than 1/3 of voters, he was first “minority president,” having limited popular support
- Did not possess many of the usual arts of the politician and scorned those who did
- Had achieved high office by commanding respect rather than by courting popularity
- Refused to oust efficient officeholders to create vacancies for his supporters
- He only removed twelve public servants

12 **II. A Yankee Misfit in the White House (cont.)**

–Nationalist views:

- Most people were moving away from post-Ghent nationalism and toward states' rights and sectionalism
- Adams, however, remained an adamant nationalist
- In 1st annual message, he urged Congress to fund construction of roads and canals
- Renewed Washington's proposal for national university
- Advocated federal support for an astronomical observatory
-

13 **II. A Yankee Misfit in the White House (cont.)**

- Public reaction to his proposals was unfavorable
- His land policy antagonized westerners
- He attempted to deal fairly with Cherokees of Georgia, but in process angered whites who wanted Cherokee land
-

14 **III. Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828**

- 1828 campaign began on February 9, 1825:
 - Day of Adams' controversial election by House
 - And continued for nearly four years
 - United Republicans from Era of Good Feeling split:
 - National Republicans with Adams
 - Democratic-Republicans with Jackson
 - Campaign marked by exaggerations and mudslinging

15

16 **III. Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828 (cont.)**

- On election day, electorate split on sectional lines:
 - Jackson supporters came from West and South (see Map 13.1)
 - Adams won New England and Northeast
 - Middle states/Old Northwest were divided:
 - When popular vote was converted to electoral vote, Jackson trounced Adams by 178 to 83

- Jackson's win represented growing importance of West

17

18 **IV. “Old Hickory” as President**

- Carolinian moved “up West” to Tennessee:
 - Through intelligence, personality, and leadership, he became a judge and a member of Congress
 - First president from West
 - First nominated at formal party convention (1832)
 - Second without college education (Washington was first)
 - His university was adversity

19 **IV. “Old Hickory” as President (cont.)**

- Jackson was unique:
 - Had risen from masses, but he was not one of them, except insofar as he shared many of their prejudices
 - A frontier aristocrat, he owned many slaves and lived in one of the finest mansions in USA—the Hermitage, near Nashville
- Jackson's inauguration:
 - Symbolized ascendancy of the masses
 - White House, for the first time, was thrown open

20 **V. The Spoils System**

- Spoils System—rewarding political supporters with public office:
 - Introduced into U.S. Government on large scale
 - Jackson defended it on democratic grounds:
 - “Every man is as good as his neighbor, perhaps equally better.”
 - Washington needed a housecleaning

21 **V. The Spoils System (cont.)**

- Spoils system was less about finding new blood than about

rewarding old cronies:

- Scandal accompanied new system
- Some, who made large campaign contributions, were appointed to high office
- Illiterates, incompetents, and crooks were given positions of public trust
- Despite its abuse, spoils system an important element of emerging two-party order

22

23

24

25 **VI. The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”**

- Problem for Adams and now for Jackson:
 - Tariffs protected industry against competition from European manufactured goods
 - They also increased prices for all Americans
 - Invited retaliatory tariffs on American agricultural exports abroad
 - Middle states had long supported protectionist tariffs:
 - Webster abandoned free trade to back higher tariffs

26 **VI. The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations” (cont.)**

- 1824 Congress significantly increased general tariff
- Jacksonites supported an even higher tariff bill which surprisingly passed in 1828
- Jackson inherited political hot potato
- Southerners hated tariffs and branded 1828 one “Tariff of Abominations”

27 **VI. The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations” (cont.)**

- Why did South react so angrily?
 - Believed “Yankee tariff” discriminated against agricultural South
 - Old South was falling on hard times, and tariff provided convenient and plausible scapegoat
 - Tariffs protected Yankee and middle-state manufacturers
 - Farmers and planters of Old South felt they were stuck with paying the bill

28

29 **VI. The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations” (cont.)**

- Deeper issues underlay southern outcry:
 - Growing anxiety about possible federal interference with slavery
 - Kindled by congressional debate on Missouri Compromise
 - Fanned by aborted slave rebellion in Charleston in 1822, led by free black Denmark Vesey

30 **VI. The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations” (cont.)**

- Abolitionists might use power of U.S. Government to suppress slavery in South
- Now the time, using the tariff, to take stand against any federal encroachments on states' rights
- South Carolinians took lead in protesting against “Tariff of Abominations”
 - Published pamphlet *The South Carolina Exposition*

31 **VI. The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations” (cont.)**

- *The South Carolina Exposition*:
 - Secretly written by John C. Calhoun, one of the top political theorists produced by America
 - Denounced 1828 tariff as unjust and unconstitutional
 - Explicitly proposed that states should nullify it —that is, they should declare tariff null and void within their borders

32 33 **VII. “Nullies” in South Carolina**

- Nullifiers—“nullies”:
 - Tried to get 2/3 vote for nullification in South Carolina legislature
 - Blocked by Unionists—“submission men”
 - US Congress tipped balance by passing new Tariff of 1832
 - Nullification Crisis deepened:
 - South Carolina ready for drastic action
 - Nullifiers and Unionists clashed in election of 1832

–
–
–
–
–

-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-

34 **VII. “Nullies” in South Carolina (cont.)**

- Nullification Crisis (cont.)
 - “Nullies” emerged with 2/3 majority
 - State legislature called for a special session
 - Delegates, meeting in Columbia, declared existing tariff null and void in South Carolina
 - Threatened to take S.C. out of union if Washington attempted to collect customs duties by force
-
-

35 **VII. “Nullies” in South Carolina (cont.)**

- Jackson not a big supporter of tariffs, but he would not permit defiance or disunion:
 - Threatened to invade state and have nullifiers hanged
 - Issued ringing proclamation against nullification
 - If civil war was to be avoided, one side would have to surrender, or both would have to compromise

36 **VII. “Nullies” in South Carolina (cont.)**

- Henry Clay stepped forward:
 - Although a supporter of tariffs, he backed compromise that gradually reduced tariff
 - Compromise Tariff of 1833

–Congress also passed Force Bill—authorized president to use army and navy if necessary to collect tariff duties

37 **VII. “Nullies” in South Carolina (cont.)**

- Facing civil war within and invasion from without, Columbia convention:
 - Repealed nullification of tariff
 - Then nullified Force Bill
- Neither Jackson nor “nullies” won clear-cut victory in 1833
- Clay was true hero

38 **VIII. The Trail of Tears**

- Jacksonians committed to expansion west:
 - Meant confrontation with 125,000 Native Americans who lived east of Mississippi
 - Federal policy toward Indians varied:
 - 1790s, U.S. Government recognized tribes as separate nations and agreed to acquire land only by formal treaty
 - Many white settlers broke treaties
 - Many other whites felt respect and admiration for Indians and believed they could be assimilated

39 **VIII. The Trail of Tears (cont.)**

- Energy devoted to “civilizing” and Christianizing the Indians.
- In 1878, the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians was founded.
- The federal government appropriated \$20,000 to promote literacy, agriculture, and vocational instruction among Indians.

40 **VIII. The Trail of Tears (cont.)**

- Cherokees of Georgia made remarkable efforts to learn the ways of whites:
 - Missionaries opened schools
 - 1808 Cherokee National Council legislated a written legal code
 - Some Cherokees became prosperous cotton planters and even slaveholders
 - “Five Civilized Tribes”—Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws,

Chickasaws, and Seminoles

41 **VIII. The Trail of Tears
(cont.)**

- Georgia moved to take Cherokee land.
- Supreme Court ruled in favor of Cherokees.
- Jackson, wanting to open Indian lands to whites, refused to recognize Court's decision
- Jackson proposed to remove remaining eastern tribes
- Emigration was supposed to be voluntary, but Jackson's policy uprooted >100,000 Indians.

42

43 **VIII. Trails of Tears
(cont.)**

- Indian Removal Act—1830:
 - Remove all Indian tribes living east of the Mississippi (see Map 13.2)
 - Heaviest blow fell on Five Civilized Tribes
 - Many died during forced migration, most notably Cherokees along notorious Trail of Tears
 - Bureau of Indian Affairs established in 1836

44

45

46 **VIII. Trails of Tears
(cont.)**

- Indian resistance in Black Hawk War (1832) crushed.
- In Florida, Seminole Indians joined with runaway slaves and retreated into Everglades
- For seven years (1835-1842) waged guerrilla war that took lives of 15,000 soldiers.
- Seminole resistance broken in 1837 when whites seized Chief Osceola through treachery.

47

48 **IX. The Bank War**

- Jackson did not hate all banks and businesses, but he distrusted

monopolistic banking and over-big businesses.

- U.S. Government minted gold and silver coins, but no paper money:
 - Paper money printed by private banks
 - Value fluctuated with health of bank and amount of money printed

49 **IX. The Bank War (cont.)**

- Bank of the United States:
 - Most powerful bank
 - Acted like a branch of government
 - Principal depository for government funds
 - Controlled much of government's gold and silver
 - Its notes were stable
 - As source of credit and stability, it was important and useful part of nation's expanding economy

50 **IX. The Bank War (cont.)**

- The Bank was a private institution:
 - Bank President Nicholas Biddle had immense and, to many, unconstitutional power over nation's finances
 - To some, bank seemed sin against egalitarian credo of American democracy:
 - Belief formed deepest source of Jackson's opposition
 - Bank won no friends in West because of foreclosures
 - Profit, not public service, was its first priority

51 **IX. The Bank War (cont.)**

- Bank War erupted in 1832:
 - Webster and Clay presented Congress with bill to renew Bank of the United States' charter
 - Charter not end until 1836, but Clay pushed for early renewal to make it election issue in 1832
 - Clay's scheme was to ram recharter bill through Congress and then send it to White House

52 **IX. The Bank War**

(cont.)

- If Jackson signed it, he would alienate his western followers.
- If he vetoed it, he would presumably lose presidency by alienating wealthy and influential groups in East.
- The recharter bill slid through Congress, but was killed by scorching veto from Jackson.

53 **IX. The Bank War****(cont.)**

- Supreme Court declared bank constitutional in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)
- Jackson's veto reverberated with constitutional consequences:
 - Vastly amplified power of presidency
 - Argued he vetoed because he personally found bank harmful to nation
 - Thus claimed for president a power equal to 2/3 of votes in Congress

54 55 **X. “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832**

- Clay and Jackson were candidates in 1832.
- For first time, a third party entered field—newborn Anti-Masonic party:
 - Became political force in New York and spread to middle Atlantic and New England states
 - Anti-Masons appealed to long-standing suspicions of secret societies
 - Since Jackson was a Mason, the Anti-Masonic party was also anti-Jackson

56 **X. “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832 (cont.)**

- Anti-Masons attracted support from evangelical Protestants seeking to use government to effect moral and religious reforms
- Another novelty of 1832 was national nominating conventions (three of them) to name candidates
- Anti-Masons and National Republicans added formal platform, publicizing positions on issues

57 **X. “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832 (cont.)**

- Advantages for Clay and National Republicans:

- Ample funds, including \$50,000 in “life insurance” from Bank of the United States

- Most newspapers editors criticized Jackson

- Yet Jackson, idol of the masses, easily defeated the big-money Kentuckian.
- Popular vote was 687,502 to 530,189.
- Electoral count was 219 to 49.

58 59 **XI. Burying Biddle's Bank**

- Its charter denied, Bank of the United States due to expire in 1836.
- Jackson decided to kill it sooner by removing all federal deposits:
 - He proposed depositing no more funds
 - Gradually shrunk existing deposits by using them to defray day-to-day expenses of government

–

60 **XI. Burying Biddle's Bank (cont.)**

- Death of Bank of United States left financial vacuum and started lurching boom-bust cycle.
- Surplus federal funds placed in state institutions—the so-called pet banks.
- Without central control, pet banks and “wildcat” banks were often fly-by-night operations.

61 **XI. Burying Biddle's Bank (cont.)**

- Jackson tried to rein in runaway economy:
 - Authorized Treasury to issue Specie Circular—1836 decree required all public land be purchased with “hard,” or metallic, money
 - Drastic step slammed brakes on speculative boom
 - Contributed to financial panic and crash in 1837

62 **XII. The Birth of the Whigs**

- New parties:
 - 1828 Democratic-Republicans adopted name “Democrats”
 - Whigs created by Jackson's opponents

- Hated Jackson and his “executive usurpation”
- First emerged in Senate, where Clay, Webster, and Calhoun joined forces in 1834 to pass a motion censuring Jackson for his single-handed removal of federal deposits from Bank of the United States

63 64 **XII. The Birth of the Whigs (cont.)**

- Others who joined Whigs:
 - Supporters of Clay's American System, southern states' righters, northern industrialists and merchants, and many evangelical Protestants
- Whigs saw themselves as conservative but were progressive in support of active government programs and reforms:
 - Internal improvements (canals, railroads, telegraph lines) and support for institutions (prisons, asylums, public schools)

65 **XII. The Birth of Whigs (cont.)**

- Other issues for Whigs:
 - Welcomed market economy
 - By absorbing Anti-Masonic party, they blunted Democrat's appeal to common man
 - Whigs claimed to defend common man and declared Democrats were party of cronyism and corruption
 -

66 **XIII. The Election of 1836**

- Martin Van Buren of New York:
 - Jackson's choice as successor in 1836
 - Jackson rigged convention to nominate Van Buren
 - Jacksonites supported Van Buren without enthusiasm
- Whigs unable to nominate a single candidate

67 **XIII. The Election of 1836 (cont.)**

- Whigs' strategy was to run several “favorite sons”:
 - Each with different regional appeal, hoping to scatter vote so no one candidate would win majority

- Deadlock would be decided by U.S. House, where Whigs would have a chance
- Whigs' “favorite son” was General William Henry Harrison of Ohio, hero of Battle of Tippecanoe

68 **XIII. The Election of 1836 (cont.)**

- Whigs' scheme failed:
 - Van Buren, dapper “Little Magician,” gained office by popular vote of 765,483 to 739,795
 - Comfortable margin of 170 to 124 votes (for all Whigs combined) in Electoral College

69 **XIV. Big Woes for the “Little Magician”**

- Van Buren, 8th president, 1st one born under American flag:
 - Statesman with wide experience in legislative and administrative life
 - In intelligence, education, and training, he was above average for presidents since Jefferson
- He labored under severe handicaps:
 - As a machine-made candidate, he incurred resentment of many Democrats
 - Inherited Jackson's numerous and vengeful enemies

70 **XIV. Big Woes for the “Little Magician” (cont.)**

- His four years overflowed with toil and trouble:
 - Two short-lived rebellions in Canada in 1837 caused incidents along northern frontier and threatened war
 - Antislavery agitators condemned possible annexation of Texas
 - Jackson bequeathed to Van Buren a searing economic depression

71 **XV. Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury**

- Panic of 1837:
 - Caused by rampant speculation from mania of get-rich-quickism
 - Speculative craze spread from western lands and “wildcat banks” to canals, roads, railroads, and slaves
 - Jackson's actions, including Bank War and Species Circular,

- gave additional jolt
- Failures of wheat crops deepened distress

72 **XV. Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury (cont.)**

- Financial problems abroad hurt America's economy when 2 big British banks failed
- Hardship was acute and widespread:
 - Hundreds of American banks collapsed
 - Commodity prices drooped, sales of public lands fell off, customs revenues dried up
 - Factories closed and unemployed workers increased

73

74 **XV. Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury (cont.)**

- Whigs proposed active government remedies:
 - Expanded bank credit, higher tariffs, and subsidies for internal improvements
 - Van Buren spurned these ideas
 - Van Buren's "Divorce Bill:"
 - Separate government from banks altogether
 - By establishing a so-called independent treasury, government would lock its surplus money in vaults

75 **XV. Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury (cont.)**

- Van Buren's "divorce" scheme never popular
- Fellow Democrats gave lukewarm support
- Whigs condemned it, primarily because it squelched hopes for revived Bank of United States
- After prolonged struggle, Independent Treasury Bill passed in 1840
- Repealed in 1841 by Whigs, scheme reenacted by Democrats in 1846
- Continued until Republicans instituted network of national banks during Civil War

76 **XVI. Gone to Texas**

- In 1821 Mexicans won independence.
- New regime concluded 1823 agreement granting huge tract of land to Stephen Austin:
 - Promised (1) he would bring 300 American families to Texas who would be Roman Catholics
 - (2) Settlers would be properly Mexicanized
 - Two stipulations largely ignored

77 **XVI. Gone to Texas (cont.)**

- Texan Americans about 30,000 by 1835:
 - Most law-abiding, but some left “States” just ahead of sheriff
 - “G.T.T.” (Gone to Texas) became descriptive slang
 - Among settlers were Davy Crockett, Jim Bowie
 - A latecomer was ex-governor of Tennessee, Sam Houston
 - Pioneer individualists who came to Texas were not easy to push around

78 **XVI. Gone to Texas (cont.)**

- Friction increased between Mexicans and Texans over:
 - Slavery, immigration, and local rights
 - Slavery was particularly touchy topic
 - Mexico emancipated its slaves in 1830 and banned further importation of slaves into Texas, as well as further colonization by troublesome Americans
 - Texans refused to honor these decrees
 - Kept their slaves, and new settlers kept bringing more slaves into Texas

79 **XVI. Gone to Texas (cont.)**

- Austen went to Mexico City in 1833 to negotiate differences:
 - Dictator Santa Anna jailed him for eight months
 - Explosion came in 1835, when Santa Anna:
 - Wiped out all local rights
 - Started to raise an army to suppress upstart Texas

80

81 **XVII. The Lone Star Rebellion**

- In 1836 Texas declared independence:
 - Named Sam Houston commander in chief
- Santa Anna with 6,000 men swept into Texas:
 - Trapped 200 Texans at Alamo in San Antonio, wiping them out after 13 days
 - Band of 400 Texans were defeated at Goliad and then butchered as “pirates”

–

82 83 84 **XVII. The Lone Star Rebellion (cont.)**

- All these operations delayed Mexican advance and galvanized American opposition:
 - Slain heroes Bowie and Crockett became legendary in death
 - Texan war cries: “Remember the Alamo!” “Remember Goliad,” and “Death to Santa Anna”
 - Scores of vengeful Americans seized rifles and rushed to aid of relatives, friends, and compatriots

85 **XVII. The Lone Star Rebellion (cont.)**

- Houston's small army retreated to east:
 - Lured Santa Anna to San Jacinto, near site of city that bears Houston's name (see Map 13.3)
 - 1,300 Mexicans vs. 900 Texans
 - On April 21, 1836, Houston, taking advantage of Mexican siesta, wiped out Mexican force and captured Santa Anna
 - Facing 30 bowie knives, Santa Anna signed two treaties

86 87 **XVII. The Lone Star Rebellion (cont.)**

- Santa Anna agreed to:

- Withdraw Mexican troops
- Recognize Rio Grande as southwestern boundary of Texas
- After his release, Santa Anna repudiated treaties because had been extorted under duress

88 89

90 **XVII. The Lone Star Rebellion (cont.)**

- Americans overwhelmingly favored Texans even though in 1819 U.S.A. recognized Spanish control of Texas in exchange for Florida
- In 1837, departing President Jackson extended recognition to Lone Star Republic
- Many Texans wanted recognition of independence and outright union with United States

91 **XVII. The Long Star Rebellion (cont.)**

- Texas petitioned for annexation in 1837:
 - United States hesitated because of slavery issue
 - Most settlers to Texas from South and Southwest
 - Explanation was proximity, not conspiracy
 - Many Texans were slaveholders and admitting Texas to Union meant greatly enlarging American slavery

-

92 **XVIII. Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840**

- Democrats nominated Van Buren
- Whigs nominated only 1 candidate this time:
 - Ohio's William Henry Harrison, believed to be ablest vote-getter
 - Whigs published no official platform
 - Whigs, as result of a Democratic editor's insult, adopted hard cider and log cabin as symbols

•

93

94 **XVIII. Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840 (cont.)**

- Whig campaign a masterpiece of inane hoopla
- Harrison was from one of the FFV's ("First Families of Virginia")
- Harrison won by surprisingly close margin of 1,274,624 to 1,127,781 popular votes; but an overwhelming electoral margin of 234 to 60
- Whigs sought to expand and stimulate economy
- Democrats favored retrenchment and an end to high-flying banks and aggressive corporations

95 96 **XIX. Politics for the People**

- 1840 election demonstrated two major changes in politics since Era of Good Feelings.
- First, triumph of populist democratic style:
 - By 1840s, aristocracy was tainted and democracy was respectable
 - Politicians forced to curry favor with voting masses
 - Wealthy and prominent had to forsake social pretensions and cultivate common touch if they hoped to win elections

–
–97 **XIX. Politics for the People (cont.)**

- Common man moving to center of national political stage
- America now bowing to divine right of the people

98 99 **XX. The Two-Party System**

- Second dramatic change was formation of vigorous two-party system:
 - Jeffersonians so successful in absorbing Federalist programs that true 2-party system never emerged
 - Idea still prevailed that parties = conspiracy and "faction" and injured health of virtuous republic

100 **XX. The Two-Party System (cont.)**

- Both parties grew out of Jeffersonian republicanism:
 - Each laid claim to different aspects of inheritance
 - Democrats glorified liberty of individual and guarded against inroads of “privilege” into government
 - Whigs triumphed natural harmony of society and were willing to use government to realize objectives
 - They berated leaders who appealed to self-interest

101 **XX. The Two-Party System
(cont.)**

- Democrats clung to states' rights and federal restraint in social and economic affairs
- Whigs favored renewed national bank, protective tariffs, internal improvements, public schools, and moral reforms (e.g., prohibition, end to slavery)
- Separated by real differences in philosophy and policy, but had much in common:
 - Mass-based, “catchall” parties mobilized as many voters as possible
 - Social and geographic diversity within each encouraged compromise and avoided creation of sectional parties

102