

## The Rise of Mass Democracy: 1820-1840

### I. The "New Democracy"

- A. By the 1820s, politicians made an increased effort to appeal to the voting masses.
1. Most high offices were still held by wealthy citizens.
  2. Change in emphasis:
    - a. Jeffersonian democracy: the people should be governed as little as possible; gov't *for* the people
    - b. Jacksonian democracy: government should be done directly by the people.
      - This idea underlay Jackson's spoils system in the 1830s.

- B. The New Democracy was based on universal white manhood suffrage rather than property qualifications: the common man now became more influential.

1. Between 1812 and 1821, 6 new western states granted universal manhood suffrage
2. Between 1810 and 1821, 4 eastern states significantly reduced voting requirements.
  - However, by 1860 only New England still allowed African Americans to vote in the North.
3. South was last region to grant universal white manhood suffrage.
4. New voters demanded politicians that would represent common peoples' interests.
5. **Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier on American History" (1893)**
  - Thesis: Existence of cheap unsettled land in the West created a frontier society that shaped the American character—more democratic and egalitarian.

### C. Rise of **workingmen's parties**

1. Laborers in the east formed organizations that demanded free education for their children, a 10-hr work day, and an end to debtor's prisons.
2. Some groups became violent (especially during Panic of 1837)

### II. Causes of the New Democracy

#### A. Panic of 1819

1. Workers and farmers blamed bankers (especially the BUS) and land speculators for foreclosures on their farms
2. Their solution was to get more politically involved, especially

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those who supported Jackson.

- a. Sought control of the gov't in order to reform the BUS
- b. State legislatures waged tax wars against the BUS  
(see *McCullough v. Maryland*, in Unit 4.1)
- c. States passed laws reducing debtor's prisons.

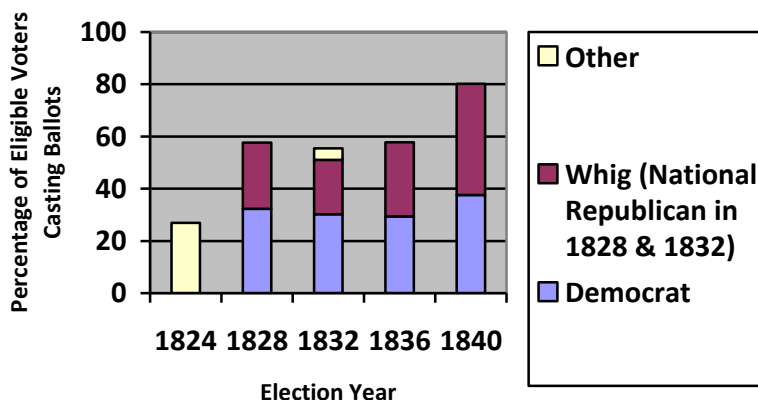
#### B. The Missouri Compromise

1. Northern opposition to Missouri's admission as a slave state made southerners fearful the federal gov't would violate states' rights.
2. Goal of white southerners: control the federal gov't to protect southern interests, especially slavery.

#### C. New Political Age

1. Two-party system reemerged by 1832: Democrats vs. National Republicans/Whigs
2. Voter turnout rose dramatically: 25% of eligible voters in 1824; 78% in 1840
3. New style of campaigning developed (especially in 1840 election): banners, badges, parades, barbecues, free drinks, baby kissing, etc.
4. Voting reform
  - a. Members of the Electoral College were increasingly chosen directly by the people rather than by state legislatures
    - 18 of 24 states in the 1824 election used the popular vote to select electors
    - This practice began to resemble today's system
  - b. Demise of the caucus occurred as it was now viewed as elitist
    - 1831, first nominating convention held (Anti-Masonic party).
    - By 1836, both major parties used nominating conventions to nominate their candidates.

**Rise of Mass Politics, 1824-1840**



### III. Election of 1824: "The Corrupt Bargain"

- A. Candidates: Jackson, Clay, Crawford, and John Quincy Adams
- All four rivals were "Republicans" as only one party still existed.
- B. Jackson polled the most popular votes but didn't get a majority of the electoral vote.
1. 12th Amendment states House of Representatives must choose among first 3 finishers if no candidate has a majority.
  2. Clay finished 4th but was Speaker of the House and in charge of the process to select the president.
    - a. Henry Clay hated Jackson, his major political opponent in the West.
    - b. J. Q. Adams was a nationalist; supported Clay's "American System"
- C. Early 1825, House of Representatives elected Adams president.
1. Largely due to Clay's influence
  2. Jackson lost the election despite having had a plurality of votes.
  3. Adams announced Clay as secretary of state a few days later
    - Jackson's supporters called the affair the "corrupt bargain"
  4. Adams' presidency would be plagued by increasing sectionalism and the fracturing of the Republican party.

### IV. The "Tariff of Abominations" (1828)

- A. Congress had increased the tariff in 1824 from 23% on dutiable goods to 37%; the tariff was largely protective
- B. New England pushed for passage of a new tariff in 1828 that would raise duties to an unprecedented 45%
1. Daniel Webster argued for it (reversing his previous position on the 1816 tariff)
  2. John C. Calhoun argued against it arguing the tariff would hurt the South.
- C. The tariff passed and furious Southerners called it the "Tariff of Abominations" feared power of federal gov't was too strong.
1. Southerners feared the power of the federal gov't had become too strong.
  2. Southerners argued they would suffer both as consumers and exporters.
  3. **John C. Calhoun's "The South Carolina Exposition"**
    - a. Written secretly as Calhoun was Adams' vice-president
    - b. Denounced the tariff as unjust and unconstitutional
    - c. Said states should nullify the tariff (similar to Jefferson's and Madison's Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798)

- d. He hoped to save the Union by lowering the offensive tariff.
- e. No other states supported South Carolina in its protest.

## V. Election of 1828

### A. Intense feuding between the two factions of the Republican party

1. **National Republicans** supported President **John Quincy Adams**
  - Accused Jackson's wife, Rachel Robards Jackson, of being a bigamist
2. **Democrats** supported Jackson

### B. Jackson defeated Adams 178 electoral votes to 83

1. First president from the West; seen as a great common man
  - Ironically, he owned one of largest plantations in the west and owned many slaves.
2. Jackson's support came from the West, South, and laborers on the east coast
  - a. Yet, much support came from machine politicians, especially in New York and Pennsylvania.
  - b. Adams won New England and wealthy voters in the Northeast.
3. Election came to be called the "**The Revolution of 1828**"
  - a. No sitting president had been removed since John Adams in 1800.
  - b. Increased voter turnout from the "New Democracy" was decisive.
  - c. Balance of power was shifting from the East to the expanding West.
  - d. America hitherto had been ruled by educated wealthy elites: Federalist shippers and Jeffersonian planters.

### C. **President Andrew Jackson** ("Old Hickory")

1. Personified the new West
2. Saw the federal gov't as a haven for wealth that was detached from common folks.
3. Like Jefferson, sought to reduce role of federal gov't in favor of states' rights; he hated Clay's "American System"
4. Strong unionist and nationalist (to the dismay of the South); federal supremacy over states.
5. Believed in a strong presidency: he defied will of Congress and the Supreme Court
  - a. Employed the veto 12 times; his six predecessors combined only used the veto 10 times
  - b. At times, he flouted the authority of the Supreme Court
  - c. Opponents condemned him as "King Andrew I" for his perceived abuse of power

VI. **Spoils System** was brought to the federal government on a large scale

- A. The practice involved rewarding political supporters with public offices, regardless of merit.
- Secretary of State Martin Van Buren was the main architect of the spoils system as he had engineered a political machine in NY (known as the “Albany Regency”)
- B. Jackson believed in the ideal of "rotation in office" or "turn about is fair play"
1. Goal: Let as many citizens as possible hold office for at least a short time.
  2. Sought to remove Adams-Clay officials with loyal Jacksonians.
  3. Ironically, only 20% of incumbents were removed.
    - However, set a precedent for "clean sweeps" in subsequent presidencies.
- C. Consequences of the spoils system
1. A national political machine was built around Jackson.
  2. Competence and merit were subordinated and many able citizens were left out as a result.
  3. Political corruption resulted

VII. Sectionalism in the Jackson Administration

A. **"Kitchen Cabinet"**

1. Jackson met at times with an unofficial group of about 13 temporary advisors.
  - Some were newspaper people who kept Jackson in touch with public opinion.
2. Critics branded these members as the "Kitchen Cabinet"
  - a. Angry that advisors not answerable to Congress as was the official cabinet
  - b. Congress saw it as a threat to checks and balances
3. Yet, the group never met officially and its influence was greatly exaggerated.
4. Not unconstitutional: presidents are free to consult with unofficial advisers

B. **Webster-Hayne Debate**

1. Senator Robert Y. Hayne argued against the “Tariff of Abominations” of 1828
  - a. South Carolinian (one of Calhoun's protégés) represented states' rights
  - b. Accused New England of disloyalty during the War of 1812
  - c. Condemned New England's selfishness regarding the protective tariff.

- d. Proclaimed Calhoun's doctrine of nullification was the only means of protecting southern rights.
  - Hayne's arguments later used by nullifiers and secessionists
2. Daniel Webster, from New England, spoke on behalf of the Union.
  - a. Insisted the *people* not the *states* had framed the Constitution; assailed the doctrine of nullification
    - He thus refuted Jefferson and Madison's "compact theory" of government
  - b. "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."
3. Result of the debate:
  - a. Illustrated the rising sectionalism in the country
  - b. Some credit Webster for helping win the Civil War by arousing a new generation of northerners to fight for ideal of Union.

C. Calhoun resigned the vice presidency in 1832.

1. The 1832 Tariff Controversy became the major wedge between Calhoun and Jackson (see below)
2. Up until this time, Calhoun had publicly been a strong nationalist.
  - a. Saw himself in line for the presidency after Jackson served 1 term.
  - b. His falling out with Jackson destroyed his presidential hopes.
3. Calhoun became a fierce sectionalist: as a leader of the Senate he rigorously protected slavery and states rights'

VIII. **Nullification controversy of 1832**

- A. South Carolina still fuming over "Tariff of Abominations" (1828)
1. The tariff was seen as punitive in the short term.
  2. It was seen as a precedent for federal interference with states' rights in the long term.
  3. The push for nullification in the South Carolina legislature had failed in 1828.

B. **Tariff of 1832**

1. Jackson attempted to lower the tariff of 1828 to conciliate the South.
  - a. Lowered duties to 35% from about 45%, or the 1824 level.
  - b. Yet, law was still protective; not merely a revenue-based tariff
  - c. Fell far short of meeting all Southern demands
2. South Carolina took drastic action by nullifying the Tariff of 1832
  - a. Called upon state legislature to make necessary military preparations
  - b. Threatened to secede from the Union if Jackson attempted tariff collections by force.

3. Jackson condemned nullification

- a. Violently angry in private; threatened to "hang" the nullifiers, including Calhoun
- b. Dispatched modest naval and military reinforcements to SC while preparing a sizable army quietly.
- c. Governor Robert Hayne (ex-Senator) rigorously advocated nullification.
- d. Standoff threatened a possible civil war.

C. Henry Clay proposed a compromise tariff in 1833.

1. The 1832 tariff would be reduced by 10% over eight years.
  - a. Rates would eventually be about the 1816 level: 20-25%
  - b. Many in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states opposed it.
  - c. Calhoun and the South favored it.
  - d. Compromise **Tariff of 1833** squeezed through Congress
  - e. South Carolina reluctantly repealed its nullification ordinance.
2. **Force Bill** (1833) was passed by Congress as a face-saving device
  - a. President in the future could use military force to collect federal tariffs if necessary.
  - b. Dubbed the "Bloody Bill" by South Carolinians (who symbolically nullified it)

D. Aftermath

1. Stepping stone to Civil War: South Carolina gradually abandoned nullification in favor of secession by 1860.
2. The tariff crisis was the most compelling reason for the split of Jackson and Calhoun
3. Henry Clay was later criticized by northerners as being an "appeaser" to the South.
  - Yet, Clay saved the Union from a civil war that the north was unprepared for.

**IX. Election of 1832**

A. Henry Clay (National Republican) vs. Andrew Jackson (Democrat)

1. Jackson earlier favored a one-term presidency; cronies convinced him to stay.
2. Clay was author of "American System", a war hawk, and a western senator.
  - Made the recharter of the BUS a centerpiece of his campaign but it backfired when Jackson killed the unpopular BUS (see below)
3. Jackson defeated Clay 219-49 in Electoral College
  - Jackson had the support of the masses that overwhelmed the vote of wealthier Americans.

B. New political features were introduced in the 1832 campaign.

1. Anti-Masonic party became the first third party in an American presidential election.

- a. Opposed the secrecy of the Masonic order, an 18<sup>th</sup> century fraternal organization using rationalist Christian doctrine, ritual symbolism, and civic virtue.
  - Masons recruited upwardly mobile middle-class professionals, business leaders, and politicians (like George Washington and Andrew Jackson).
- b. Masons were accused of using its membership to influence appointments to offices and to gain economically at the expense of the masses.
- c. Anti-Masonic party attracted evangelical groups eager to fuse moral and religious reforms with politics (e.g. keeping Sabbath Day holy.)
  - Meanwhile, Jacksonians were against all gov't meddling in social and economic life.

2. National nominating conventions were organized by all three parties in 1831-32: a bit like today's system

- National Republicans and Anti-Masons had formal party platforms

X. Jacksonian economic policy

A. Main aim: divorce the gov't from the economy (in essence, *laissez faire*)

1. Anti-monopoly; common man should have a chance to succeed.
2. Return to Jeffersonian democracy: gov't role should be limited
3. Give more power to states to promote equality of opportunity

B. End of the Bank of the United States (BUS)

1. Jackson distrusted the BUS (the "moneyed monster") and huge businesses.

- Jackson may have tolerated the BUS's recharter in 1836 with reforms

2. **Henry Clay** pushed to recharter the BUS in the 1832 as a political ploy against Jackson during the election.

a. The recharter would create a dilemma for Jackson:

- If he signed it, he'd alienate his western supporters.
- If he vetoed it, he'd alienate wealthy and influential supporters in the East.

b. Jackson: "The Bank... is trying to kill me, but I will kill it."

3. Jackson vetoed the BUS's charter in 1832.

a. He assailed the bank as monopolistic and unconstitutional.

- Criticized Nicholas Biddle, head of the BUS, for his alleged favoritism toward elite and for the BUS's forced foreclosures in the West.



- b. Jackson acted as if the president was superior to judicial branch
    - The Supreme Court had ruled it constitutional in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)
  - c. Jackson's demagogic message appealed to the masses.
  - d. In response, the senate censured Jackson (the censure was later expunged by the Democrats)
  4. BUS strengths before it was killed by Jackson
    - a. Sound organization
    - b. Reduced bank failures
    - c. Issued sound bank notes while the U.S. was flooded with depreciated paper local and state money.
    - d. Spurred economic expansion by making credit and currency available to businesses.
    - e. Safe depository for federal gov'ts funds; transferred and disbursed its money.
  5. **"Pet bank"** scheme
    - a. Jackson aimed to weaken BUS and Biddle
    - b. Transferred federal deposits from the BUS to 23 state "pet banks"
      - Overseen by Secretary of Treasury Roger B. Taney (soon to appointed by Jackson as Chief Justice of Supreme Court)
      - This effectively killed the Second National Bank four years before it was set to expire.
  6. **Specie Circular:** public lands now had to be purchased with "hard" money
    - a. In 1836, "Wildcat" currency had become unreliable, especially in the West.
      - This exacerbated the ongoing inflation problem
    - b. Jackson authorized the Treasury to issue a Specie Circular
      - "Hard money" brought hard times to the West as farmers did not have hard money to buy land.
    - c. Inflation continued nonetheless and led to land speculation that contributed to the Panic of 1837.
- C. **General incorporation laws** (beginning with Connecticut in 1837)
1. Traditionally, corporate charters granted from state governments were seen by many as monopoly-oriented.
  2. States began to make incorporation easier, thus spurring the U.S. economy with small and medium-sized businesses.
  3. **Limited liability:** business owners were now allowed to be a separate entity from their corporation.
    - a. If the corporation went bankrupt, the business owner still kept his own money.
    - b. Reduced the risk of owning a business.
  4. Jacksonian in nature

**D. Charles River Bridge decision** (*Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*), 1837

1. Builders of Charles River Bridge had been given a charter by Massachusetts in 1780.
2. 1828, Warren Bridge Co. was granted a charter by Massachusetts to build a bridge 300 yards from the Charles River Bridge (whose company made profits from tolls).
  - Heavy traffic necessitated another bridge.
3. Charles River Bridge Co. sued Warren Bridge Co. since the new charter interfered with the U.S. Constitution's provision for states not to interfere with contracts (*Dartmouth v. Woodward*).
4. The Supreme Court, led by Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, granted Warren Bridge Co. the right to build the new bridge.
5. Significance: encouraged economic development in transportation and other public facilities via competition (began to end monopolies in public facilities).
  - Jacksonian in nature.

**E. Maysville Road veto**

1. Jackson favored states' rights (at the expense of economic nationalism).
2. Refused to spend federal money for intrastate improvements (e.g. roads and canals)
  - Strong states' rights principles (like Madison who vetoed Calhoun's Bonus Bill in 1817)
3. He vetoed the bill for improving the Maysville Road in Kentucky.

**XI. Removal of Native Americans**

- A. By 1830, most territories east of the Mississippi had become states.
1. Most Amerindian tribes were surrounded by white settlements.
  2. Jackson did not regard the tribes as separate nations within individual states.
    - Harbored some protective feelings toward Amerindians yet saw them as "uncivilized."

**B. Indian Removal Act, 1830**

1. Jackson proposed the bodily removal of remaining Indians—especially the **Five Civilized Nations: Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminoles**—beyond the Mississippi to **Indian Territory** (modern-day Oklahoma).
2. Individual Indians might remain if they adopted white ways.
3. As a result, more than 100,000 Indians were forcibly uprooted and moved in the 1830s.
  - a. The U.S. gov't promised that Indian lands in Indian Territory would remain permanently in Indian hands ("as long as the grass grows and the water runs").

- b. Land-hungry Americans continued to push west and eventually encroached on Indian Territory in the 1880s & 90s
4. **Bureau of Indian Affairs** was established in 1836 to administer relations with Amerindians

### C. Cherokee

1. Developed certain aspects of society similar to whites
  - a. Sequoia created a Cherokee syllabic alphabet (85 characters) and the Cherokee had their own newspaper, *Cherokee Phoenix*
  - b. They wrote a constitution similar to the U.S.; similar electoral system
  - c. Established efficient agriculture-based economy
  - d. Despite strong attempts to assimilate, Cherokee not accepted by white society
2. Cherokee nation sat on valuable land in northeast Georgia
  - a. Gold was discovered in 1829 and local whites wanted to mine Cherokee land.
  - b. Land could also be used for cotton; coveted by land-hungry white farmers.
  - c. Cherokee right to land had been recognized in the Treaty of 1791.
    - Many Georgians had ignored the federal laws.
3. **Cherokee Nation v. Georgia**, 1831
  - a. Cherokee challenged a Georgia law that made Cherokee laws null and void.
  - b. Supreme Court: Cherokee lacked jurisdiction over its land, as it was a "domestic dependent, nation" possessing some sovereignty, but not a foreign nation.
    - Represented a major blow to Cherokee rights as an independent nation
4. **Worcester v. Georgia**, 1832
  - a. John Marshall ruled that Georgia's laws had no jurisdiction inside Cherokee territory and the Cherokee could invite whomever it wished on its land.
    - Samuel Worcester, a missionary living with the Cherokee for years, was forced by GA to take oath of allegiance or leave Cherokee land; he refused and was arrested
  - b. Worcester was released from jail within 3 months
  - c. Despite the Court's support for Cherokee autonomy on its lands, Jackson proceeded with Indian removal
5. **Trail of Tears**
  - a. In 1838, 18,000 Cherokees forcibly removed from their homes and marched 1,000 miles to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).
    - 4,000 died from malnutrition, exposure, cholera, and harsh treatment.
    - Soldiers forced the march with rifles and bayonets.

- b. Earlier, 25% of Choctaws died en route to Indian Territory between 1831-1835
- c. 3,500 of 15,000 Creeks died during removal in 1836.

**D. Black Hawk War (1832)**

1. Braves in Illinois and Wisconsin led by Black Hawk resisted removal on lands west of Lake Huron.
2. They were crushed by U.S. troops.
3. Area west of Lake Michigan became open for white settlement.

**E. Seminoles in Florida**

1. Seminoles were ordered by the U.S. to merge with their old enemy – the Creek – and relocate to Indian Territory.
  - They refused as the Creek were slave owners and many Seminoles had escaped Creek slavery.
2. Waged bloody guerrilla war in the **Second Seminole War** (1835-1842) that left 1,500 U.S. soldiers dead.
  - Bloodiest Native American conflict in U.S. history.
3. 4/5 or 3,000 were forcibly moved to Oklahoma; 3,000 still survive today

**XII. The Birth of Texas**

- A. U.S. dropped its claim to Texas when it bought Florida from Spain in 1819.
- B. In 1823, a newly independent Mexico granted **Stephen Austin** the right to settle in Texas.
  1. Immigrants were to be Catholic and properly Mexicanized.
  2. Restrictions were largely ignored by Americans in Texas.
- C. Friction between Mexicans and Americans occurred over slavery, immigration, and local rights.
  1. Mexico emancipated its slaves in 1830 and prohibited importation of slaves into Texas.
  2. Prohibited further settlement by Americans
  3. Texans refused to abide by Mexico's decree; new settlers and slaves poured in.
  4. 1835, Mexican dictator **Santa Anna** outlawed all local rights and raised an army to exert control in Texas.
- D. Texas declared independence in 1836
  1. **Sam Houston** was commander in chief of Texas
  2. Santa Anna's 6,000 man army invaded Texas.
    - Killed 342 American volunteers who surrendered at Goliad
    - Killed all Americans at the **Alamo** (including Davy Crockett and James Bowie)

- Americans were outraged: "Remember the Alamo", "Remember Goliad," "Death to Santa Anna."

E. Houston's army won at San Jacinto.

1. Santa Anna signed two treaties: withdraw Mexican troops and recognize Rio Grande as Texas' southern border (Nueces River had been original border)
  - Santa Anna and the Mexican government repudiated the treaties upon his release.
2. American aid was important to Texas' fight for independence.
  - a. America's public opinion nullified existing U.S. neutrality legislation.
  - b. Mexicans complained the U.S. was obligated to honor its international neutrality law.

F. The issue of a potential new slave state stirred up sectionalism.

1. For Jackson, recognizing Texas might hurt the election of his hand-picked successor, Van Buren, for president.
2. Jackson recognized Texas the day before he left office in 1837.
3. Texas officially petitioned to be annexed.
  - a. Antislavery Whigs in the North opposed it.
  - b. Southern Democrats welcomed the idea of annexation.
4. Texas was thus left to protect itself as an independent nation.
  - a. Texas feared reprisals from Santa Anna and Mexico.
  - b. Texas therefore courted Britain and France for aid.
  - c. Balance of power politics threatened the southern U.S.
5. Sam Houston: first president of Independent Republic of Texas.

### XIII. Election of 1836

- A. Birth of the **Whigs** (heirs of Hamilton's Federalist ideas)
1. Emerged in 1834 where Clay and Calhoun joined forces to pass a motion censuring Jackson for his removal of federal deposits from the BUS.
    - Shared a mutual hatred of Jackson
  2. Evolved into a national political party of groups alienated by Jackson.
    - a. Supporters of Clay's "American System"
    - b. States' rights advocates who were offended by Jackson's anti-nullification views
    - c. Larger northern industrialists and merchants
    - d. Evangelical Protestants (many had been Anti-Masons in 1832)
    - e. Nativists who opposed Irish immigration.
  3. Many Whig principles were the foundation for the modern-day Republican party.
  4. **William Henry Harrison**, hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe, emerged as the Whig candidate, defeating Clay.

B. **Martin Van Buren** was Jackson's hand-picked successor.

1. Old and ailing, Jackson decided not to run for a third term.
2. Decided to run a third term vicariously through Van Buren.
3. Van Buren defeated Harrison 170-73

C. Election of 1832 had ushered in the “Second Party System”

1. Democrats and Whigs would dominate national politics until 1852.
2. First party system lasted from c. 1796 to 1816: Federalists vs. Democratic-Republicans

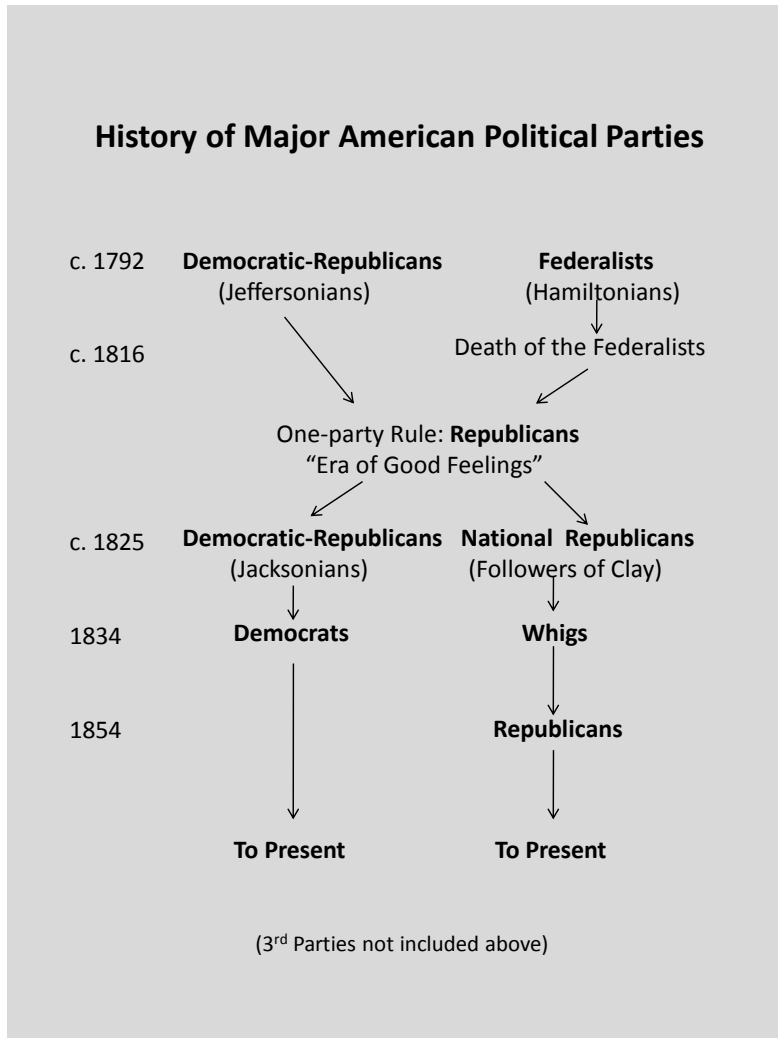
### The “Second Party System”: c. 1832-1852

#### 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
- Often were nativist regarding Irish immigration
- 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



#### XIV. Jackson's Legacy (Quick Review)

##### A. Positive Contributions

1. Demonstrated value of strong executive leadership in the 1832 tariff controversy
2. Was perceived as the champion of the common people in politics
3. Established the Democratic Party (that sparked the 2-party system with the Whigs as opposition)

##### B. Liabilities

1. Spoils system led to political corruption on a national scale
2. Killing the BUS resulted in thousands of bank failures and was a cause of the Panic of 1837
3. Specie circular hurt western farmers
4. Flouted the authority of the Supreme Court vis-à-vis Cherokee and the BUS
5. Indian removal
6. Cabinet crisis and break with Calhoun resulted in increased sectionalism

## XV. Martin Van Buren's presidency

- A. Van Buren: Principle architect of the 2nd American Party System
- B. Presided over the Panic of 1837 (Jackson's policies were a major cause)
- C. Established the Independent Treasury System (formalized the "Pet Bank" scheme)
- D. *Caroline Incident*: Rebellion in Canada in 1837 created ugly incidents along the border and threatened to trigger war with Britain.

## XVI. Panic of 1837

### A. Causes

1. Most important cause: overspeculation
  - a. Land speculators in the West borrowed heavily from "wildcat banks."
  - b. Speculation spread to canals, roads, and slaves.
  - c. Speculators unable to pay back loans thus causing bank failures
2. Jacksonian finance, including the BUS War & the Specie Circular, further hurt the economy.
3. Flour Riot: crop failures forced grain prices so high that NY mobs stormed warehouses and broke open flour barrels. (During Jackson's last days)
4. Failure of two major British banks caused English investors to call in their foreign loans.
  - Hurt U.S. banks and helped trigger the beginning of the panic.

### B. Results

1. American banks collapsed by the hundreds including "pet banks" which lost several million dollars in gov't funds.
2. Commodity prices and sale of public land fell; customs revenues dried up.
3. Factories closed; unemployment soared.
4. The economic depression lasted about five years.

### C. Whig proposals were blocked by Van Buren (Jacksonian ideal of limited gov't)

- Whigs sought expansion of bank credit, higher tariffs, and internal improvement funds (Clay's "American System")

### D. Treasury Bill of 1840 ("Divorce Bill")

1. Van Buren was convinced that part of the depression was due to the BUS's federal funds being given to private banks.
2. He held the Jacksonian principle of "divorcing" gov't funds from private banks.
3. Independent Treasury System: gov't could put its surplus in certain banks in several of the nation's larger cities.
4. Funds were safe but it denied the banking system of reserves



which decreased available credit resources.

5. Policy was condemned by the Whigs and repealed next year when they won the presidency.

- Reenacted in 1846 by the Democrats after Polk became president and lasted, in various forms, until 1921.

## XVII. Election of 1840

A. Van Buren renominated by Democrats

B. Whigs again chose William H. Harrison over both Clay and Webster

- Slogan: "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" (John Tyler was the Whig vice presidential candidate)

C. Voters blamed the depression on Van Buren (the party in power)

D. Whigs created false myths about Harrison being a poor farmer from a log cabin: "Log Cabin and Hard Cider"

- In fact, he was born into a wealthy plantation family in Virginia

E. Harrison defeated Van Buren 234-60

F. Significance

1. First mass-turnout election in American history
2. Propaganda and silly slogans set an unfortunate example for future campaigns.
3. **Liberty Party**, first anti-extension of slavery party, was also in the race with James G. Birney as its candidate.

### Memory Aid for Jacksonian Democracy: "New KNICKSS"

New Democracy

Killing of the BUS

Nullification Crisis of 1832

Indian Removal

Creation of 2-party system (Democrats & Whigs)

Kitchen Cabinet/Cabinet Crisis (break between Jackson & Calhoun)

Spoils System

Sectionalism

## Terms to Know

<p>"New Democracy" Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier on American History" workingmen's parties caucus system nominating conventions election of 1824 The "corrupt bargain" Henry Clay President John Quincy Adams "Tariff of Abominations," 1828 John C. Calhoun, "Southern Carolina Exposition" "Revolution of 1828" President Andrew Jackson spoils system "Kitchen Cabinet" Webster-Hayne Debate Tariff of 1832 Nullification Crisis, 1832 Tariff of 1833 election of 1832 Anti-Masonic party States Nicholas Biddle "Pet Bank" scheme Specie Circular veto of the BUS</p>	<p>general incorporation laws limited liability <i>Charles River Bridge</i> case Maysville Road veto Indian Removal Act, 1830 Bureau of Indian Affairs Five Civilized Nations: Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole <i>Cherokee Nation v. Georgia</i>, 1831 <i>Worcester v. Georgia</i>, 1832 "Trail of Tears" Indian Territory Black Hawk War Second Seminole War Republic of Texas Stephen Austin General Santa Anna Alamo election of 1836 Whigs William Henry Harrison President Martin Van Buren Panic of 1837 Independent Treasury System election of 1840 Liberty Party</p>
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## **Essay Questions**

*Note: This sub-unit is a medium probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 2 questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.*

1. The era between 1820 and 1840 has been called “the rise of mass politics.” Analyze causes for this democratic trend. Were there any groups that were left out during this period?
2. Identify the goals and philosophies of Jacksonian Democrats. To what extent were Jacksonians successful in achieving these goals and implementing their philosophies politically and economically?
3. Compare and contrast the goals and philosophies of the Democrats and Whigs (National Republicans).
4. To what extent did the Jacksonian era lead to more sectionalism between North and South in the years between 1828 and 1848?
5. Analyze U.S. government policy towards Amerindians between 1828 and 1848.

## **Overarching Questions and Themes from the AP<sup>®</sup> Curriculum Framework for Unit 4.1**

- **How have gender, class, ethnic, religious, regional, and other group identities, changed in different eras?**

**ID-5:** Analyze the role of economic, political, social, and ethnic factors on the formation of regional identities in what would become the United States from the colonial period through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (4.1.I, 4.1.III)

- **How and why have different political and social groups competed for influence over society and government in what would become the United States?**

**POL-2:** Explain how and why major party systems and political alignments arose and have changed from the early Republic through the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. (4.1.I)

- **How have Americans agreed on or argued over the values that guide the political system as well as who is part of the political process?**

**POL-5:** Analyze how arguments over the meaning and interpretation of the Constitution have affected U.S. politics since 1787. (4.1.I)

**POL-6:** Analyze how debates over political values (such as democracy, freedom, and citizenship) and the extension of American ideals abroad contributed to the ideological clashes and military conflicts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (4.1.I, 4.3.II)

➤ **How have different factors influenced U.S. military, diplomatic, and economic involvement in international affairs and foreign conflicts, both in North America and overseas?**

**WOR-5:** Analyze the motives behind, and results of economic, military, and diplomatic initiatives aimed at expanding U.S. power and territory in the Western Hemisphere in the years between independence and the Civil War. (4.3.I)

**WOR-6:** Analyze the major aspects of domestic debates over U.S. expansionism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. (4.3.I, 4.3.II)

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