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.

- 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

- 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 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
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

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

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

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

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

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”

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
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

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

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

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
    -
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

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

**Compromise Tariff of 1833**

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

**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

**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

**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.

**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
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Clay’s scheme was to ram recharter bill through Congress and then send it to White House

IX. The Bank War

• 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.

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

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

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

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.

**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)

**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

**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

**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 XV

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

**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

(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

(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
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”

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

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

XVII. The Lone Star Rebellion (cont.)

- Santa Anna agreed to:
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.

XVII. The Lone 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.

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.
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

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

XIX. Politics for the People (cont.)
• Common man moving to center of national political stage
• America now bowing to divine right of the people

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

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

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