

# The Rise of Mass Democracy

1824 - 1840

# Changes in Democracy After Era of Good Feelings

- Economic problems and conflict over slavery led to greater interest in politics in 1820s and 1830s
- Strong political parties created in mid 1820s
  - Democratic-Republicans (Jacksonian Democrats) vs. National Republicans (evolved into the Whig Party in the 1830s)
  - Institutionalized differences that had begun in Revolutionary period (Hamilton vs. Jefferson, federalists vs. antifederalists)
  - New forms of campaigning were used
  - Very high rate of political participation (78% voted in 1840)

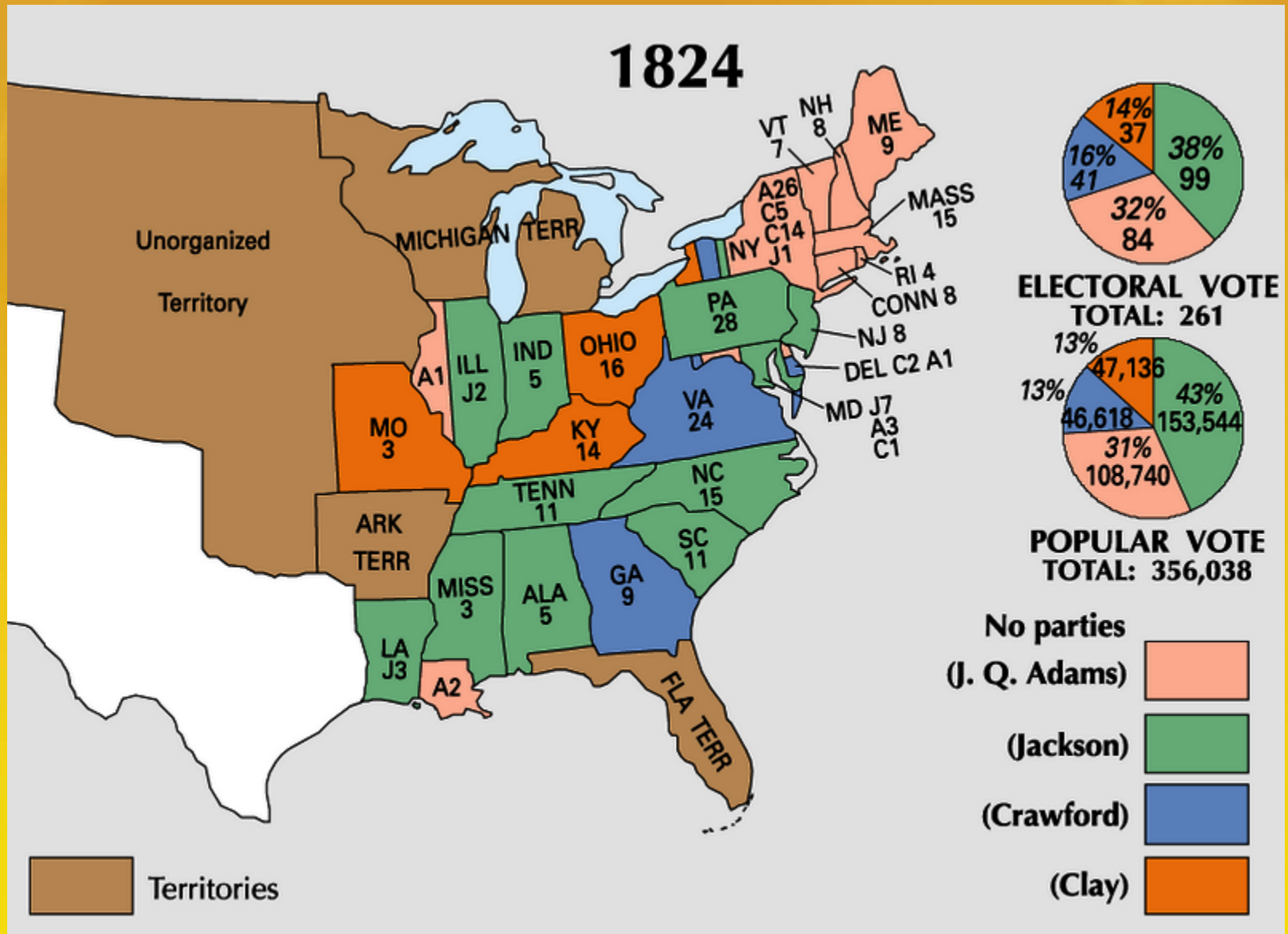
# The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824

- 4 candidates in the election of 1824
  - John Quincy Adams from Massachusetts
  - Henry Clay of Kentucky
  - William H. Crawford of Georgia
  - Andrew Jackson of Tennessee
  - All 4 campaigned as Republicans
    - Well-defined parties did not yet exist
    - The Federalist party was dead

# The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824

- Jackson had the most appeal
  - War hero (War of 1812); campaigned against corruption and privilege in government
  - Jackson won the popular vote but failed to get a majority (131) of electoral votes (Jackson only got 99)

# The Election of 1824



# Adams By a Nose



# The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824

- Since no candidate got majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives chose among the top 3 candidates (according to 12<sup>th</sup> amendment)
  - Clay was eliminated (he was 4th), but he was Speaker of the House, so he controlled the selection

# The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824

- Crawford had a stroke, so he was not considered
- Clay and Jackson hated each other
  - Rivals for political support in the West
  - Jackson also hated Clay because Clay had publicly attacked Jackson during Jackson’s invasion of Florida in 1818
- Clay chose Adams
  - Not personally close, but philosophically close
  - Both nationalists, supporters of the American System



# The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824

- Adams elected in House on 1<sup>st</sup> ballot thanks to Clay
- A few days later, Clay was announced as secretary of state
  - This was an important post; in addition, 3 of 4 previous presidents had been secretaries of state first; therefore, it was seen as a path to the presidency
- Jackson’s supporters charged Adams had bribed Clay with the office (the “corrupt bargain”)
  - The outcry against the deal continued through Adams’ presidency

# The “Corrupt Bargain” of 1824

- Effects of the corrupt bargain
  - No positive evidence of actual deal
    - Clay was good choice for secretary of state
    - Adams was honest and didn't deal in patronage (office-giving for support)
  - Even if there was a bargain, not necessarily corrupt
    - Deals part of being a politician
  - Showed people were not willing to accept selecting president without substantial public input (unlike previous elections)

# A Yankee Misfit in the White House

- Adams' personality
  - Cold, irritable, tactless as president
  - Had brilliant career as secretary of state (under Monroe) but was a very unsuccessful president
  - Could not get popular support (because of the way he became president and his cold personality)
  - Adams' father (John Adams, elected 1796) had won the presidency by ability; new democratic age required political skills that Adams did not have

# A Yankee Misfit in the White House

- Patronage
  - Lost many supporters because he would not fire opponents that did their job well to make room for supporters

# A Yankee Misfit in the White House

- Nationalism
  - Adams' nationalism conflicted with post-1824 trend toward states' rights and sectionalism
    - Proposed construction of roads and canals, national university, building of national astronomical observatory
  - Opposed by many, especially in South as waste of public money
    - South would have to continue to bear cost of tariff to fund these things
    - If national government could interfere with local areas (education, roads), it might try to interfere with slavery

# A Yankee Misfit in the White House

- The West
  - President tried to slow wild speculation in western land
    - Westerners wanted free expansion
  - President tried to deal fairly with Cherokee Indians (in Georgia)
    - Whites in Georgia wanted Cherokees out
    - Georgia governor threatened armed conflict and stopped Adams from using federal authority to force Georgia to treat Indians fairly

# Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828

- Election of 1828
  - Began as soon as Adams was sworn in as president in 1825
  - Republicans split into 2 groups
    - National Republicans (behind Adams)
    - Democratic-Republicans (behind Jackson)

# Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828

- The campaign of 1828 – Democratic-Republicans
  - Jackson presented as frontier man and commoner
    - In reality he was a rich planter who lived off slaves
  - Attacked Adams as corrupt aristocrat who had prevented carrying out of people’s will in 1824
    - Adams was an aristocrat but not corrupt; in reality, too honest for the job



# Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828

- Mudslinging
  - Adams refused to participate, but his supporters did
    - Spread rumor that Jackson’s mother was a prostitute and his wife was an adulteress
    - Called Jackson a murderer for duels and brawls
  - Jackson’s attacks
    - Chess board and billiards table (that Adams had purchased with his own money) were used to charge that Adams gambled in “presidential palace”
    - Attacked Adams for large salaries over the years
    - Accused of having given the tsar an American servant girl as a prostitute

# Some Account of Some of the Bloody Deeds of General Jackson

## Some Account of some of the Bloody Deeds OF GENERAL JACKSON.

Josh Webb David Morrow John Harris Henry Lewis David Hunt Edward Lindsay

### A brief account of the Execution of the Star-Born Hero.

As we may soon expect to have the official documents in relation to the Star-Born Hero, arrested, tried, and put to death, under the orders of General Andrew Jackson, this may be an improper time to give to the public some of the particulars of their execution, as we have them from "AN EYE WITNESS," who appears in Col. Russell, for the truth of every word he relates.

He was a Baptist preacher, with a large family. He had lived as a substitute for three months. This was the time with most of them. They were ignorant men, but obstinate in what they believed right, and what they had been told by their officers was right.

They were all men who could not be kept beyond three months, and they gave up their muskets, and laid provisions down out to them, from the public stores, before they left the camp.

This confirmed their convictions that they were right and doing what was lawful.

Col. Russell commanded at the execution. The Militia was being brought to the place in a large wagon.

The military dispositions being made, Col. Russell rode up to the wagon and addressed the men to stand.

"The only one who betrayed feminine weakness. The awfulness of the occasion; his wife and nine children; the parting with his own, and the fear of quickly approaching ignominious death; quite overcame him, and he sunk in weakness. No feeling of military pride could brace him up."

Col. Russell, declining, fell as a man, but he felt also for the pride of the army, and desired to imitate the men with fortitude. "Yes, I am a soldier," said he, by the center of a Court Martial—like mine with Hisseliff. "You have been brave in the field of battle, and you have fought well—do not desert in your country, or in honor to your army, or yourselves, by any unmanly flight. Men your fate with courage."

Harris attempted to make some apology for his conduct, but while he spoke, he wept bitterly. The fear of death, the idea that he should never again behold his wife and little ones, and his own weeping near him, had taken such entire possession of his mind that it was impossible he should rally.

Lewis, the gallant Lewis, said in a loud and manly tone, "Colonel, I have served my country well. I love it dearly, and wash, if I could, serve it longer and better. Have fought bravely—do not know I have, and I have a right to say so myself. I on his coffin. After the lapse of a few

"I would not wish to die in this way," here his voice faltered, and he passed the back of his right hand over his eyes. "I did not expect it. But I am now as firm as I have been in battle, and you shall see that I will die as a soldier," said he, "and I believe well."

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minutes he said—"I give his very words him—'Colonel, I am not killed, but I am nearly cut and mangled.'" His body was now examined and it was found that four balls had wounded him. "Colonel," said he, "I believe well."

"Yes, Lewis," said the Colonel in the kindest tone of voice—"I am a man."

"Well," said he, "I have I am a man." The Colonel was much agitated, and gave orders that the Surgeon should, if possible, preserve his life. They did not kill and humanity could do it was all of no use. Poor Lewis expressed a great desire to be "made" but he got one time, "I fear death," but I would regret me of some sins, and I desire to live yet a little longer in the world." He suffered intensely, and I desire to live yet a little longer in the world. He suffered intensely, and I desire to live yet a little longer in the world.

Many a soldier has wept over their graves. He was a brave man and much beloved. He suffered twenty deaths. I have seen his great drops each where death his forehead with pain and anguish. There was much sympathy throughout the camp. I would not have, justice and humanity, signed this death warrant for the soldiers of all his Indian friends.

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**MONTECALI BEACHED.**  
On the death of Gen. Webb, David Harris, Edward Lindsay, Henry Lewis, and John Harris were captured by Major General Jackson, and imprisoned in the stocks at Nashville.

**TO DID YOU SEE THAT I BELIEVE YOU HAVE BEEN TAKEN CAPTURED BY YOUR ENEMY, AS I BELIEVE YOU ARE NOT A SOLDIER.**

**THEY SAID THAT ALL FROM THESE THINGS.**  
"I am not a soldier, I am a man, and I believe well." "I am not a soldier, I am a man, and I believe well." "I am not a soldier, I am a man, and I believe well."

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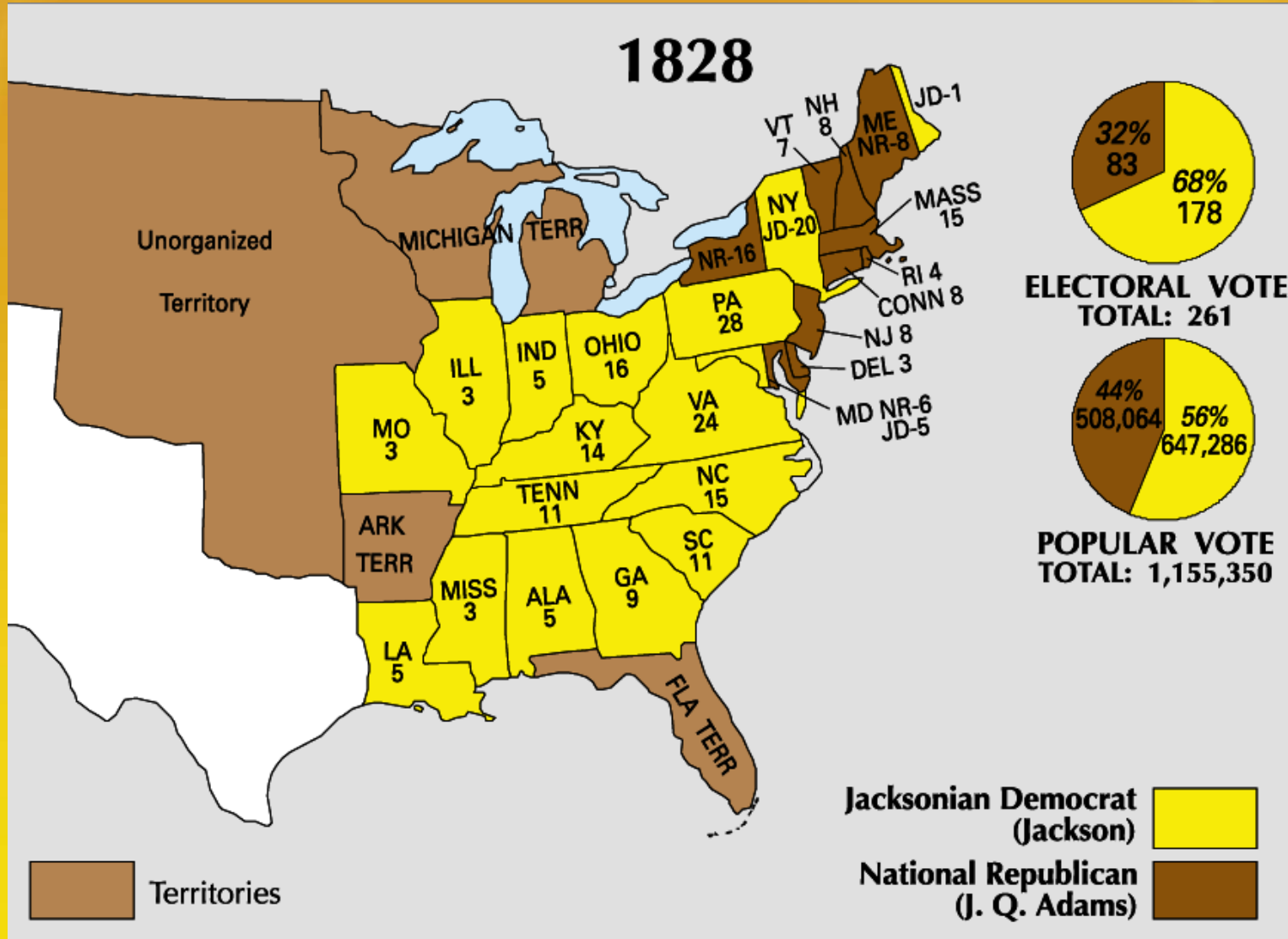


THOMAS HART BENTON, Lind. Col. 30th Infantry, and a member of the Senate of the United States.

# Going “Whole Hog” for Jackson in 1828

- Results of the election of 1828
  - South and West went heavily for Jackson
  - North and middle states split
    - Upper classes went for Adams
    - Lower classes (especially in big cities) went for Jackson
  - Electoral vote – Jackson won 178 to 83
  - Showed that new states to west were becoming much more politically powerful

# The Election of 1828



# “Old Hickory” as President

- Jackson’s personality
  - Tall, thin, irritable
  - Long-term struggles with sickness (dysentery, malaria, tuberculosis)
  - Lead poisoning from 2 bullets from duels

# “Old Hickory” as President

- Jackson’s background
  - Born in Carolinas
  - Orphaned by parents at early age; grew up without discipline
  - Relatively uneducated
    - More interested in fighting than learning
    - Frontier grammar and spelling all his life
  - Moved to Tennessee as young man
    - Became judge (despite having no formal training) and Congressman

# “Old Hickory” as President

- Jackson was an original president
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> without college education (Washington 1<sup>st</sup>)
  - Rose from masses, but did not share much with them
    - Frontier aristocrat, owning slaves and living in beautiful mansion
    - Only shared their prejudices (racial and against Eastern elites)

# “Old Hickory” as President

- Jackson’s inauguration
  - Symbolized new era of greater democracy
  - White House opened to all;
    - “people” destroyed much of the inside of the White House in the process
    - Alcohol used to calm the wild crowd
- Conservative reaction
  - Seemed like rule of “King Mob” was end of the world



# The Spoils System

- “To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy.”
  - Spoils – goods or property seized from a victim after a conflict, especially after a military victory
  - Spoils system – victorious politician rewarding supporters with offices (patronage)

# The Spoils System

- Spoils introduced on wide scale by Jackson
  - Believed any good American was good enough to fill almost all governmental offices
  - Did not want to encourage growth of bureaucratic, office-holding class – might encourage growth of aristocracy

# The Spoils System

- Washington government needed new people in positions
  - No widespread firing of officials since 1800
- Jackson's goal was not necessarily good people in office; instead it was about rewarding supporters

# The Spoils System

- Scandal coming out of spoils system
  - Men openly bought positions with campaign contributions
  - People who couldn't read or were just incompetent given jobs
  - Some crooks given jobs who stole money
    - Samuel Swartwout stole over \$1 million before escaping to England

# The Spoils System

- Spoils system important in building 2-party system
  - People would be loyal to party (for jobs) instead of joining with people of same economic class or geographic area

# The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”

- Tariffs
  - Protected US industry from competition from Europe
  - But drove up prices Americans had to pay (even for domestically produced goods, since there was less competition) and led to retaliatory on US agricultural products in Europe

# The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”

- The tariff issue in the 1820s
  - Middle and New England states supported higher tariffs
    - Industry, instead of shipping, seen as key to prosperity
  - South continued to oppose higher tariffs
    - Did not have industry to protect
    - Had to pay higher prices for manufactured goods

# The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”

- 1824 – general tariff increased significantly
  - Some wanted still higher tariffs
- 1828 – Jackson supporters in Congress played a political game with tariffs
  - Pushed for a higher tariff bill, expecting it to be defeated (hurting Adams in North and Middle states)
  - Instead it passed, leaving Jackson to deal with its effects



# The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”

- Southern reaction to tariff
  - Called “Tariff of Abominations” by southerners
  - Believed South was most hurt by tariff
    - North experienced boom in manufacturing
    - West was prospering from rising property values
    - Southwest was expanding into new cotton lands
    - Old South was hurting
      - Farm produce sold on world markets unprotected by tariffs
      - Forced to buy manufactured goods in market protected by tariffs

# The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”

- Southern concerns over slavery caused strong southern response to tariff
  - Increased concerns that federal government might interfere with slavery
    - Debate over Missouri Compromise (where northerners began expressing abolitionist sentiments)
    - 1822 – slave rebellion in Charleston led by free black Denmark Vesey (VEE-zee)
    - Pressure from Britain on British West Indies to end slavery
  - Strong stand against tariff would show South would accept no encroachment on states’ rights (from tariffs to slavery)

# The Tricky “Tariff of Abominations”

- Nullification
  - Led by vice president John C. Calhoun
    - Wrote “The South Carolina Exposition”
    - Argued Tariff of 1828 was unconstitutional
    - Went beyond 1798 Kentucky and Virginia resolutions in openly calling for southern states to nullify the tariff (would not be in effect within their borders)

# “Nullies” in South Carolina

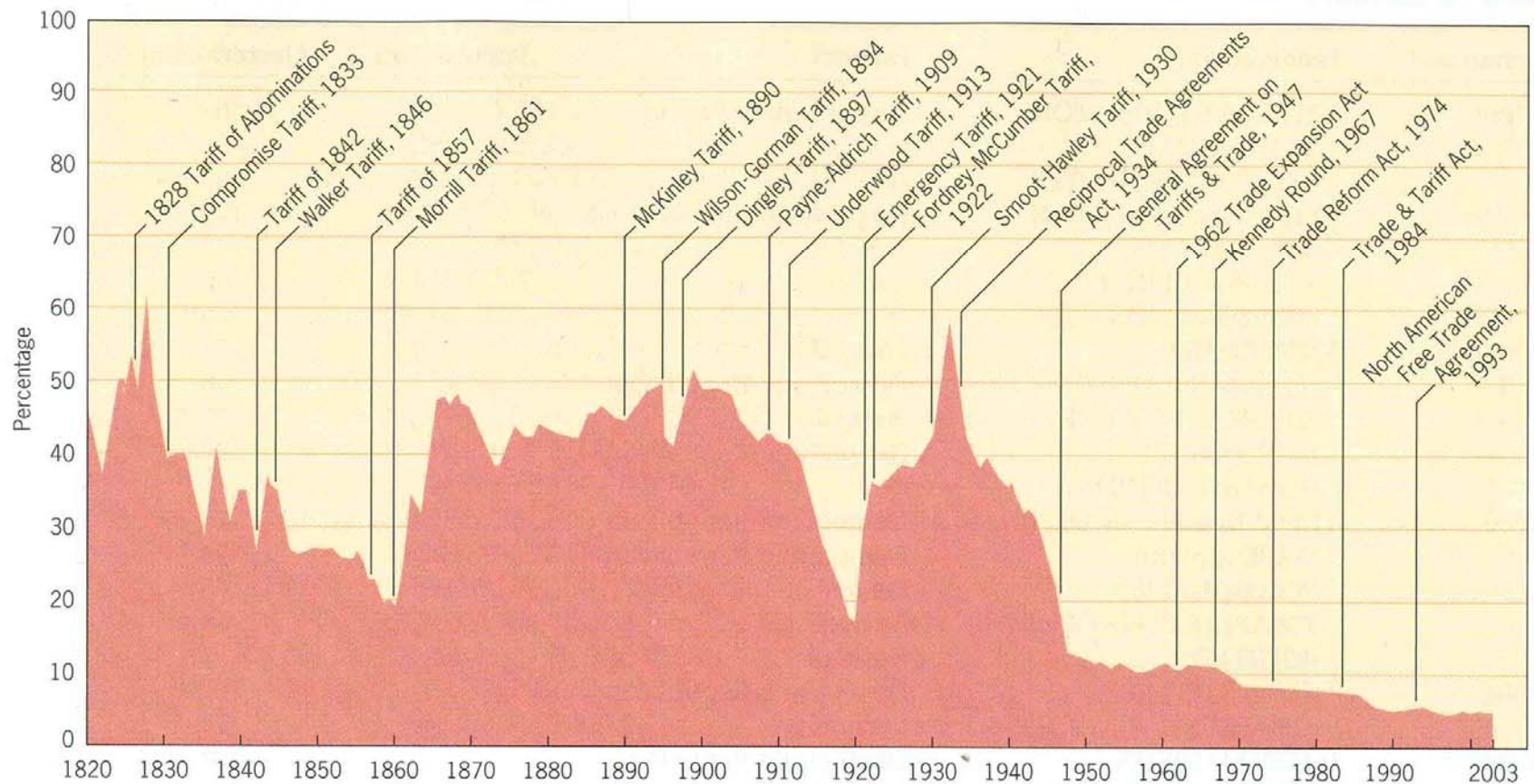
- 1828 – 1832 – “nullies” (those in favor of nullification) tried to get 2/3 in South Carolina legislature to nullify the Tariff of 1828
  - Blocked by Unionists (“submission men”)
- Tariff of 1832 passed
  - Lowered worst parts of Tariff of 1828
  - Not enough to meet southern demands
  - Seemed to southerners too permanent (that this is all the North was willing to do to quiet the South)

# “Nullies” in South Carolina

- Election of 1832
  - South Carolinians win necessary 2/3 to nullify federal law
  - State legislature called special convention
    - Declared Tariff of 1832 null and void in South Carolina
    - Threatened secession if federal government tried to collect tariff duties by force

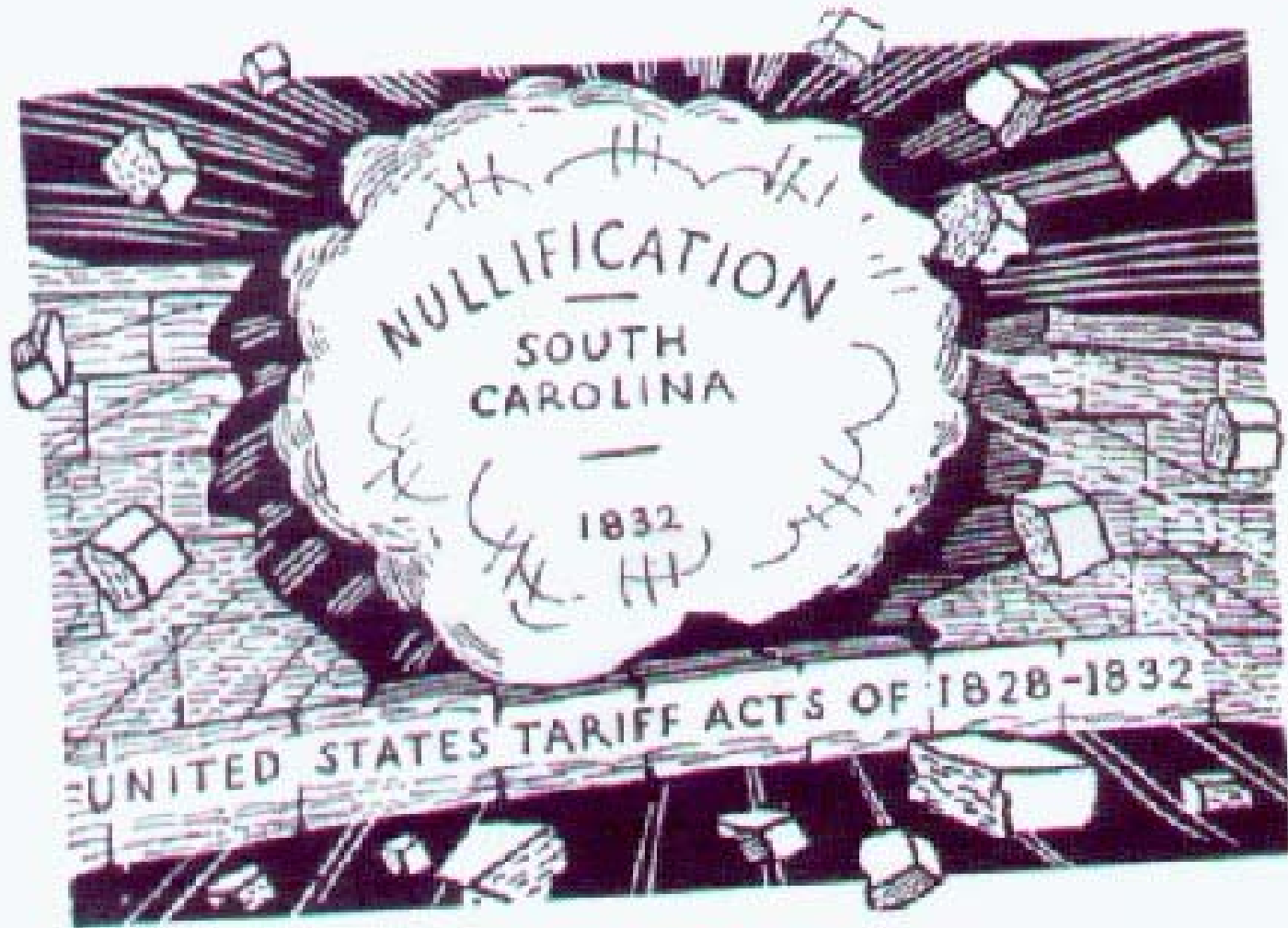
# Tariff Levies on Dutiable Imports, 1821 - 2003

Tariff Levies on Dutiable Imports, 1821-2003 (ratio of duties to value of dutiable imports)



(Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States*, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, relevant years, and United States International Trade Commission.)

# Nullification



# “Nullies” in South Carolina

- Jackson’s strong reaction
  - Threatened in private to invade South Carolina and have the nullifiers hanged
  - In public, sent military reinforcements to South Carolina and increased army
  - Issued proclamation against nullification
- Governor of South Carolina issued counter-proclamation in favor of nullification



# “Nullies” in South Carolina

- Henry Clay’s compromise
  - Now senator from Kentucky
  - As enemy of Jackson, did not want him to get glory by defeating South Carolina in battle
  - Proposed compromise tariff that would reduce Tariff of 1832 rates by 10% a year for 8 years; by 1842, rates would be at 1816 level

# “Nullies” in South Carolina

- Tariff of 1833
  - Passed after much debate
  - Opposed from New England and middle states
- Force Bill passed at same time
  - Authorized president to use army and navy to collect federal tariff duties
  - Partly passed to assert that federal government was supreme, even if South Carolina gave in and compromised

# “Nullies” in South Carolina

- South Carolina favored compromise to get out of bad situation
  - No other southern state joined South Carolina in nullifying tariff
  - Sizable Unionist minority in South Carolina armed to fight nullifiers
  - New convention met and repealed nullification of Tariff of 1832
    - But then also nullified Force Bill to assert what they thought was their state’s right to do so

# “Nullies” in South Carolina

- Assessing the compromise
  - Clay held up as hero for saving the Union
  - Armed conflict avoided, but fundamental issues not resolved
    - Issue of states’ rights vs. federal supremacy would continue to spring up until Civil War

# The Trail of Tears

- Federal policy toward Indians in the west
  - 1790s – Washington administration recognized tribes as separate nations
    - Agreed to take land from them only through formal treaties
  - Western settlers routinely violated treaties and redrew lines as whites moved west

# The Trail of Tears

- Civilizing the Indians
  - Whites tried to “civilize” Indians and preach Christianity to them
    - Many denominations sent missionaries
  - Congress set aside \$20,000 for promotion of literacy and agricultural and vocational instruction

# The Trail of Tears

- 1820s – about 125,000 Indians lived east of Mississippi
  - Some Indians resisted white encroachment, while some accommodated

# The Trail of Tears

- Cherokeees in Georgia
  - Worked to accommodate themselves to whites
    - Learned white ways
    - Adopted agriculture and private property
    - Missionaries opened schools
    - Invented alphabet
    - Wrote legal code and written constitution
    - A few even became slave owners



# The Trail of Tears

- 1828 – Georgia legislature declared Cherokee council illegal
  - Georgia claimed it had authority over Indians
- Cherokees appealed to Supreme Court
  - Upheld rights of Indians 3 times
  - Jackson refused to recognize the decisions
    - “John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it.” – Jackson

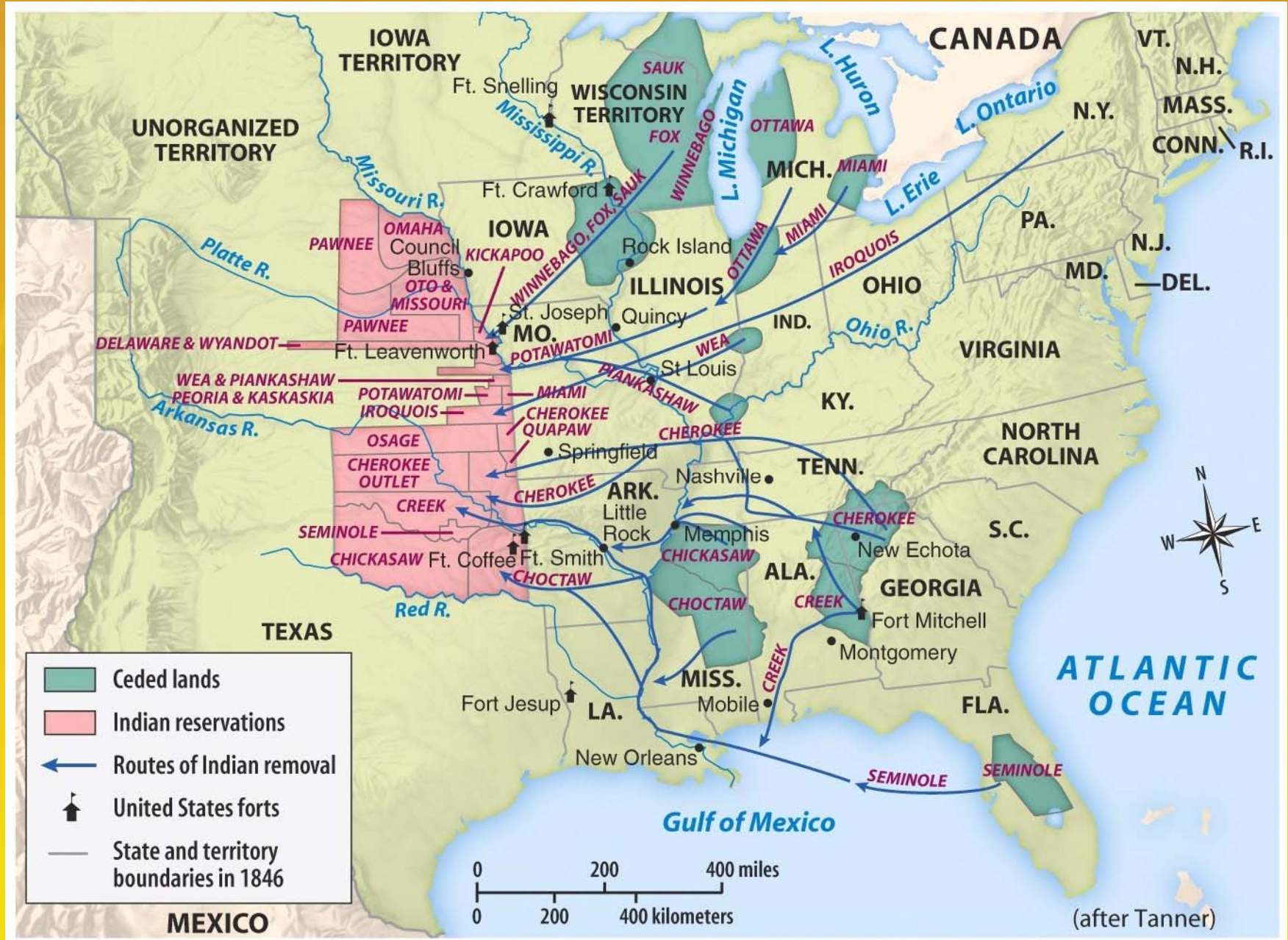
# The Trail of Tears

- Jackson proposes removal
  - Supposedly to save the Indians and allow them to continue their culture in the West
  - Supposedly to be voluntary
  - 100,000 Indians removed
    - Main groups (Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles)

# The Trail of Tears

- Indian Removal Act (1830)
  - Carried out Jackson's proposal for removal
  - Thousands of Indians died on forced marches
  - Sent to Oklahoma area, where they were to be “permanently” free from whites
    - Freedom from whites lasted 15 years
  - 1836 – Bureau of Indian Affairs established to deal with Indians

# The Removal of Native Americans, 1820-1843



# The Trail of Tears

- Indian resistance
  - Sauk and Fox Indians led by Black Hawk resisted until being crushed in 1832
  - 1835 – 1842 – Seminole Indians in Florida carried out guerilla warfare while hiding in Everglades
    - 1837 – Osceola (Seminole leader) captured by US troops (while flying a truce flag)
    - Most Seminoles removed to Oklahoma; some stayed in hiding in Everglades

# The Bank War

- Jackson hated big, monopolistic business (like the Bank of US), as did his supporters

# The Bank War

- How banks operated in 19<sup>th</sup> century
  - Government minted gold and silver coins
  - Banks had much control over economy
    - Issued paper money
    - Value of that money changed based on health of bank and amount of paper money issued

# The Bank War

- Bank of US
  - Important part of economy
  - Acted almost like branch of government
  - Principal holder of government deposits
  - Controlled much of US's gold and silver
  - Its paper money was stable in value (unlike smaller banks)



# The Bank War

- Immense power of Bank of US
  - Private institution not accountable to people
  - President Nicholas Biddle held huge (unconstitutional?) amount of power over US economy
  - Some believed bank itself went against US beliefs in equality and democracy
    - Too much control over economy
    - Foreclosed on western farms, putting money in eastern banks

# The Bank War

- 1832 – Daniel Webster and Henry Clay get recharter bill for Bank of US through Congress
  - Bank's current charter didn't expire until 1836, but Clay wanted an election issue
  - If Jackson signed the bank bill, he would lose his supporters in South and West
  - If he vetoed the bill, he would lose support of powerful Easterners
    - Clay didn't plan on fact that these people were minority and were afraid of Jackson

# The Bank War

- Jackson vetoes the bank bill
  - Increased power of president
    - Previous vetoes had focused on constitutionality of law
    - Jackson (although he also said bank was unconstitutional, despite *McCulloch v. Maryland*) said he was vetoing the bank because he personally thought it was bad for US
      - In effect, president given equal power to 2/3 of both houses of Congress

# The Bank War

- Henry Clay brings bank issue into election of 1832
  - Printed thousands of copies of Jackson's message as campaign flyer
    - Eastern elites agreed with Clay that Jackson was a demagogue (appealing to emotion of masses, not using logical argument)
    - Clay did not see that many commoners agreed with Jackson's opinions on the bank

# “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832

- Election of 1832
  - Jackson runs in Democratic-Republican party (in spite of promise not to run 2 times)
  - Clay runs against Jackson in National Republican party
    - American System of protective tariffs
    - National banking
    - Federal support for internal improvements
  - Clay got support from Eastern banks (including Bank of US) and support from most newspapers

# “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832

- Anti-Masonic party made strong 3<sup>rd</sup> party showing
  - Masons were secret organization with elaborate rituals
  - Party energized by murder of William Morgan in 1826, who was about to expose Masonic secrets
  - Supported by some Jacksonians (both condemned elite privilege)
  - Went against many Jacksonian principles
    - Jackson was a proud Mason himself
    - Protestant groups seeking moral reform supported Anti-Masons; Jacksonians opposed government interference in peoples' personal lives

# “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832

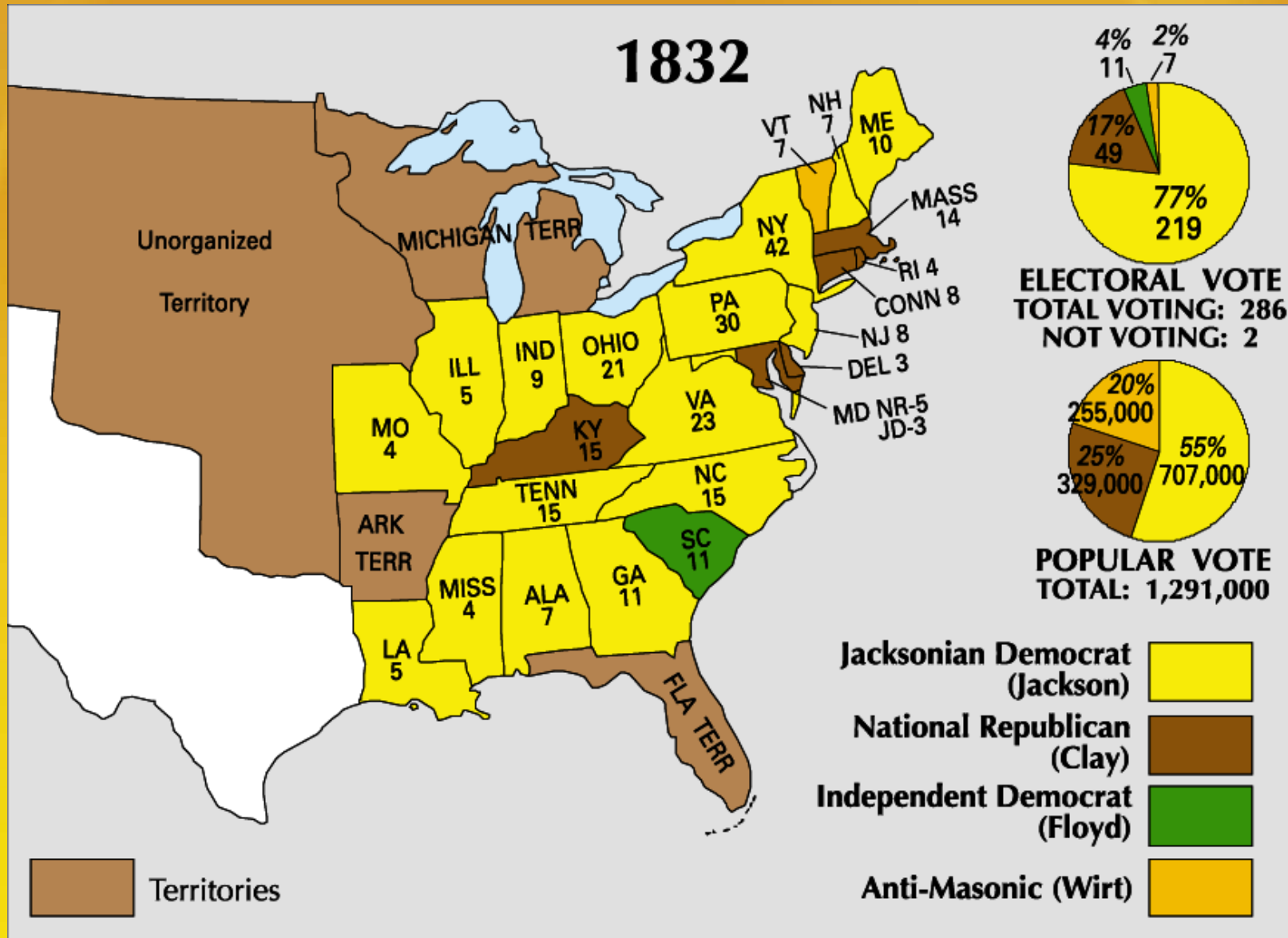
- All 3 main parties used national nominating conventions to name candidates (for 1<sup>st</sup> time)
- Anti-Masons and National Republicans write formal platform
  - Publication explaining their stand on the issues

# “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay in 1832

- Results of the election of 1832
  - Jackson won election
    - South, West, middle states (Pennsylvania, New York), and even some New Englanders supported him
  - 687,500 to 530,100 popular votes
  - 219 to 49 electoral votes



# The Election of 1832



# Burying Biddle's Bank

- Bank of US's charter set to expire in 1836
- Jackson decides to “kill” the bank early
  - Believed he had mandate from voters to do so
  - Thought bank might try to manipulate the bank / economy to force its recharter

# Burying Biddle's Bank

- Jackson kills the bank
  - Removed federal deposits from Bank of US and
    - No new deposits
    - Existing deposits used for daily expenses of government
    - Bank of US slowly bled dry of money
  - Possibly unconstitutional (because Jackson broke the bank's charter)

# Burying Biddle's Bank

- Biddle retaliates
  - “Biddle's Panic” - calls in bank's loans to cause a financial panic (to show how important the bank was)
  - Some poorly-run banks hurt
  - Seems to confirm accusations of Bank's opponents

# Burying Biddle's Bank

- Bank had been stabilizing force in US economy
  - Cycle of brutal booms and busts began
  - Several dozen state banks (“pet banks”) receive federal government’s money
    - Chosen because they supported Jackson
  - Pet banks and “wildcat” banks flooded market with worthless paper money

# Burying Biddle's Bank

- 1836 – Specie Circular
  - Specie – “hard” money; gold or silver
  - Jackson’s attempt to reign in speculation in West
  - Required public lands be purchased with “hard” (gold or silver) money
  - Stopped boom based on land speculation in West and led to financial crash in 1837

# The Birth of the Whigs

- Opponents of Jacksonian “Democrats”
  - Called Jackson “King Andrew I”
  - Chose name “Whigs” to remind voters of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century party in Britain that had supported the American Revolution

BORN TO COMMAND.

OF VETO MEMORY.



HAD I BEEN CONSULTED.

KING ANDREW THE FIRST.

King  
Andrew  
the First



# The Birth of the Whigs

- Whigs' supporters
  - At first centered around opposition to Jackson
    - 1834 – Clay, Webster, Calhoun in Senate joined to censure Jackson for removing deposits from Bank of US
  - Then attracted other groups opposed to Jackson
    - Supporters of American system
    - Southern states' rights proponents (opposed to Jackson because of nullification)
    - Larger northern industrialists and merchants
    - Many Protestants (who had supported Anti-Masonic party)

# The Birth of the Whigs

- Whigs' platform
  - Believed they were conservative; in reality progressive (supported government reforms)
  - Internal improvements (canals, railroads, telegraph lines)
  - Reforms in prisons, asylums, public schools
  - Had support from elites, but also much support for commoners
  - Used Jackson's "common man" appeal to attack Van Buren (Jackson's successor) as aristocrat

# The Election of 1836

- Martin Van Buren
  - Nominated as Democrat
  - Seen as Jackson's handpicked successor
  - Jackson almost forced reluctant Democrats to support Van Buren



Martin  
van  
Buren

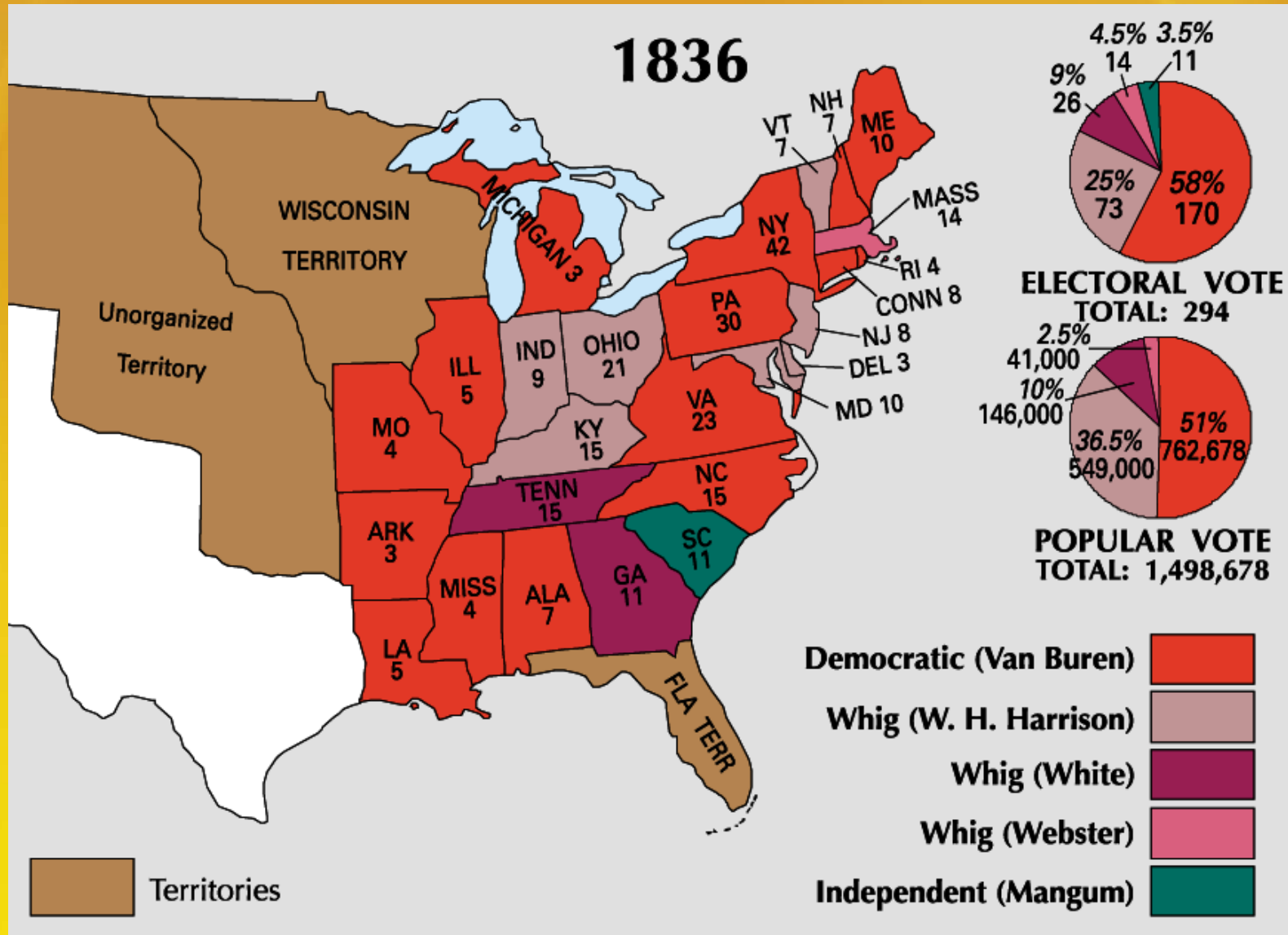
# The Election of 1836

- Whigs
  - Could not nominate single candidate
  - Instead nominated 3 different candidates
    - Hoped that each would spread vote so Van Buren could not get a majority in electoral college
    - With no majority, election would go to House of Representatives, where Whigs had a chance

# The Election of 1836

- Results
  - Van Buren elected with 51% of the vote
    - 765,000 to 739,000 popular votes
    - 170 to 124 electoral votes

# The Election of 1836



# Big Woes for the “Little Magician”

- Van Buren was an above average man, but a below average president
  - Many Democrats opposed him because he was elected without their support
  - Jackson was a dynamic, exciting president; Van Buren was boring in contrast



# Big Woes for the “Little Magician”

- Van Buren inherited Jackson’s problems, but not his popularity
  - 1837 rebellion in Canada threatened war with Britain
    - President worked to keep US neutral
  - Antislavery agitators in North becoming louder
    - Especially over annexation of Texas (as slave state)
  - 1837 depression that took hold when he took office (caused by Jackson’s policies)

# Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

- Causes of the panic of 1837
  - Speculation
    - Primary cause
    - Speculators in western land, supported by borrowed money from “wildcat” banks
    - Spread to other parts of the economy also

# Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

- Other causes (besides speculation)
  - Jackson's Bank War and Specie Circular
  - Failures of wheat crops
  - Weak British banks called in foreign (including US) loans

# Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

- Effects of the depression
  - Hundreds of banks collapsed; even some “pet banks” went under, losing several millions in government money
  - Prices dropped, factories closed, workers fired

# Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

- Whigs' proposed government action to end Depression
  - Expansion of bank credit
  - Higher tariffs
  - Subsidies for internal improvements

# Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

- Van Buren rejected government action
  - Instead proposed “Divorce Bill” and creation of independent treasury
    - Believed speculation caused by private banks having access to government money
    - Van Buren proposed creation of independent treasury to store government money
    - Government money protected
    - Excess credit in economy erased

# Depression Doldrums and the Independent Treasury

- Fate of the independent treasury
  - Passed in 1840 after long debates
  - Repealed in 1841 (when Whigs elected)
  - Repassed in 1846 and in place until Republicans created network of national banks during Civil War

# Gone to Texas

- 1819 – US traded claim to Texas to Spain for Florida
  - Spanish want to settle the area
- 1821 – Mexicans gain independence from Spain



# Gone to Texas

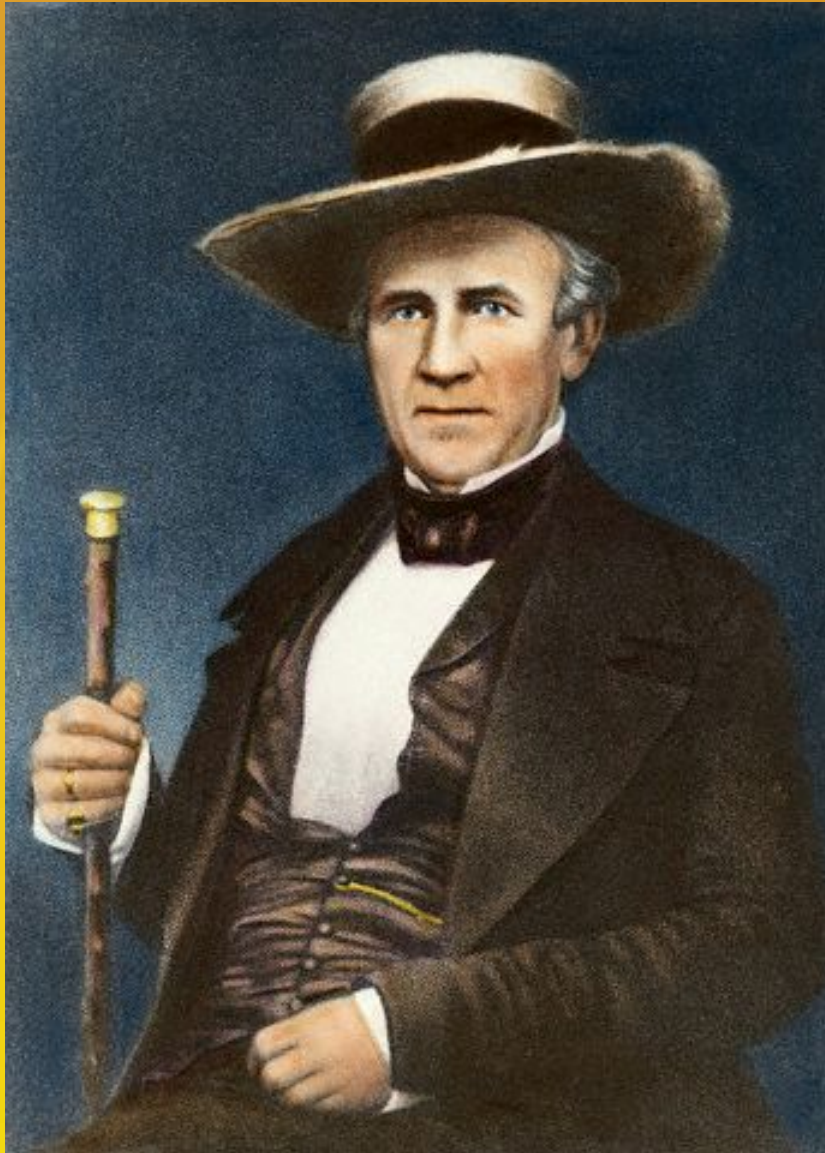
- 1823 – Mexican government agreed to give large area of land in Texas to Stephen Austin
  - Austin would bring 300 families into Texas
    - Had to be Roman Catholics and become Mexican citizens (both requirements ignored)
- By 1835 – 30,000 Americans in Texas
  - Most law-abiding; some escaping justice in states
  - Famous adventurers like Davy Crockett, Jim Bowie, Sam Houston

# Gone to Texas

- Conflict between Mexicans and Americans
  - Slavery (most contentious), further white immigration, local rights of whites
  - Mexico had emancipated its slaves in 1830 and prohibited further importation of slaves
    - Mexico also prohibited further immigration by whites
  - Whites refused to obey Mexican decrees
    - Continued slavery; continued bringing new slaves in
  - 1833 – Stephen Austin thrown in jail while trying to negotiate solution
  - 1835 – dictator Santa Anna raised army to put down whites

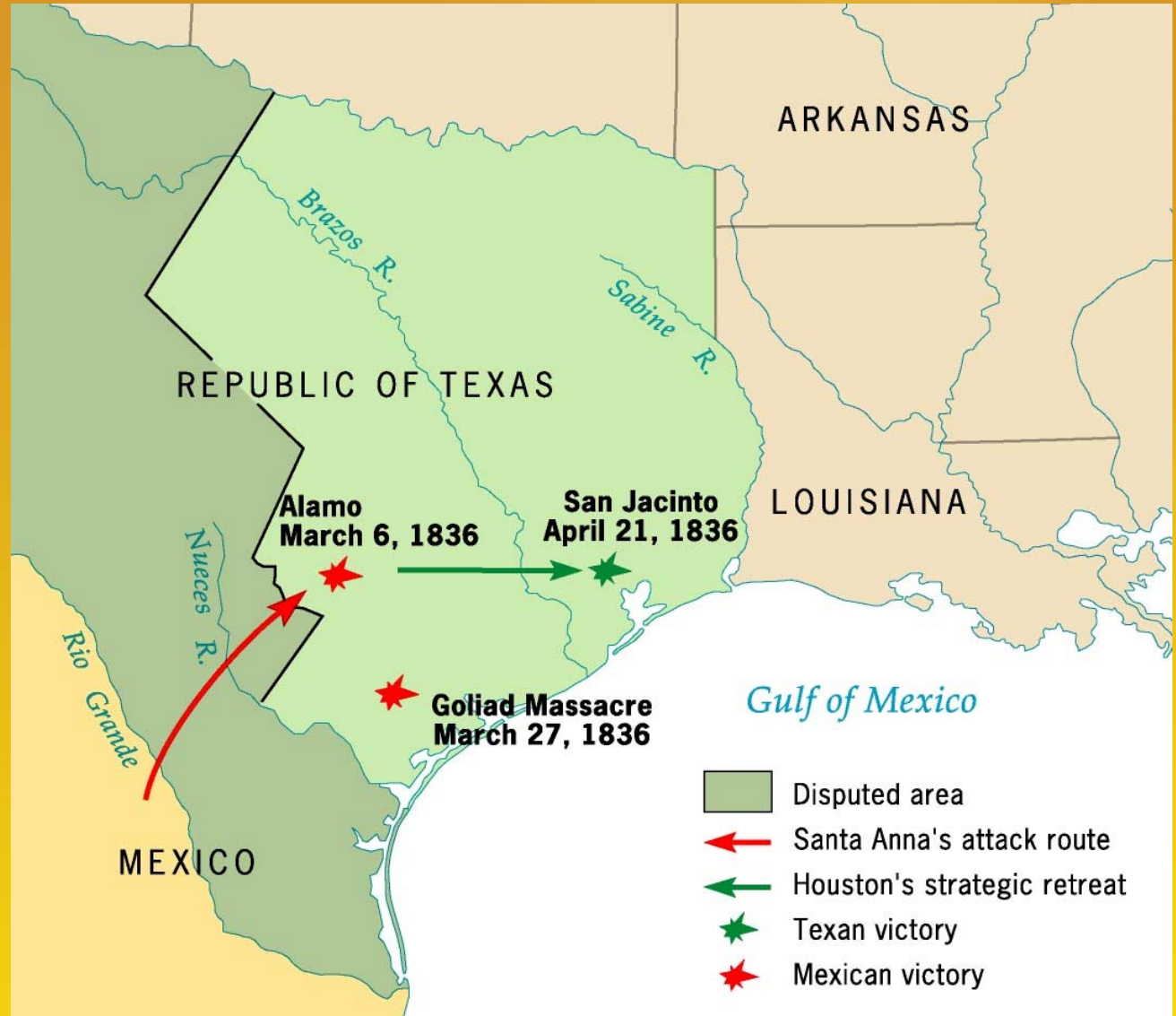
# The Lone Star Rebellion

- 1836 – Texans declare independence; Sam Houston named to head army
- March 6, 1836 – Santa Anna and 6,000 men laid siege to Alamo
  - All 183 men killed
- Santa Anna's army then butchered 400 unarmed Americans who had surrendered
- Many Americans (in US) rushed to send supplies or even help fight the Mexicans



Sam  
Houston

# The Texas Revolution, 1835-1836



# The Lone Star Rebellion

- March – April, 1836 – Houston's army retreated east, to San Jacinto
- April 21, 1836 – Houston's 900 men suddenly turned from retreat and attacked Santa Anna's 1,300 during siesta
  - Santa Anna captured and forced to sign 2 treaties

# The Texas Revolution, 1835-1836



# The Lone Star Rebellion

- Santa Anna's treaties
  - Would withdraw Mexican troops
  - Would recognize Rio Grande as southwestern border of Texas
  - When released, he rejected the treaties because he had been forced to sign them at gunpoint
  - Mexico never ratified the treaties



# The Lone Star Rebellion

- US and Texas
  - US public was firmly behind Texas
  - Mexico protested that US was not maintaining neutrality
  - 1837 – Jackson recognized Texas as independent country

# The Lone Star Rebellion

- 1837 - Texas request for annexation stopped by slavery issue
  - Antislavery activists in North protested that Texas was part of “conspiracy” to extend slavery
  - Reality was that movement to Texas was part of westward movement; Texas settled by Southerners because it was closer to South

# Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

- Democrats renominated Martin Van Buren (without enthusiasm)
- Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison
  - Whig most able to get votes for party
  - Hero of Tippecanoe (1811) and Thames (1813)
  - Ran with little emphasis on issues

# Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

- Harrison's campaign
  - A Democratic newspaper editor attacked Harrison as backwoods old farmer who should settle in a log cabin and drink hard cider
  - These symbols used by Harrison to identify with the “people” and attack Van Buren as aristocratic
  - Log cabins, hard cider, balls rolled to “keep the ball rolling”

# A Harrison Campaign Flyer

# HARRISONIAN

**BALL ROLLING.**



**KEEP THE**

# RALLY!

## *A General Meeting*

Will be held at the Old COURTROOM, [Riley's building]

## **On Saturday Evening,**

The 18th instant, at early candle light. A punctual attendance is requested.

## **MESSRS. DAVIS, BOTKIN, KEATING**

And others, will address the Meeting.

July 17, 1840.

**R. P. TODD, Chairman**  
*Vigilance Committee.*

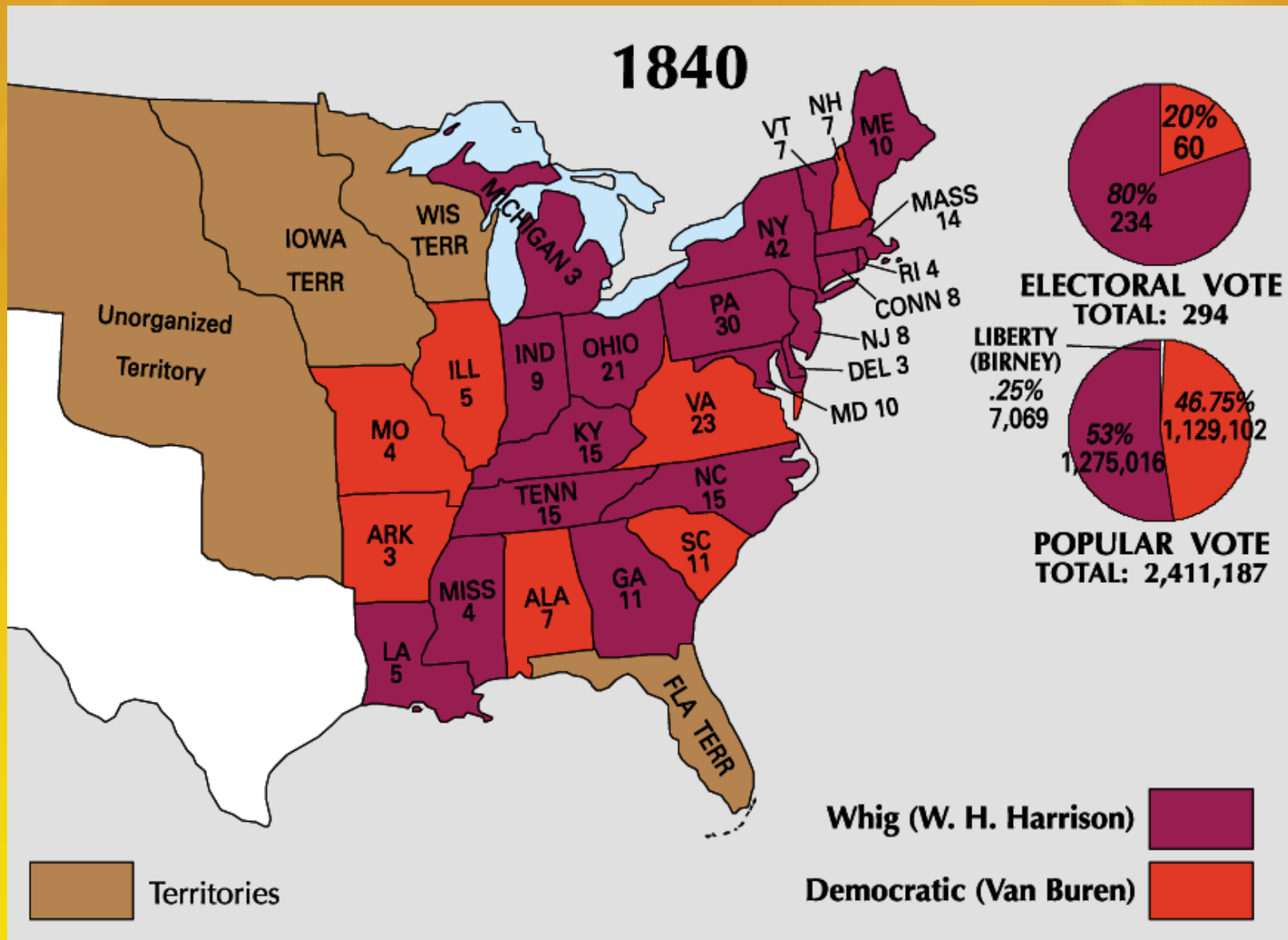
# Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

- Truth about Harrison was very different
  - Upper class Virginian who lived on plantation mansion
  - Ultimately, truth didn't matter
- Van Buren hurt by hard times during depression (after panic of 1837)

# Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

- Results
  - Harrison won
  - Close popular vote of 1.274 million to 1.127 million
  - 234 to 60 electoral vote

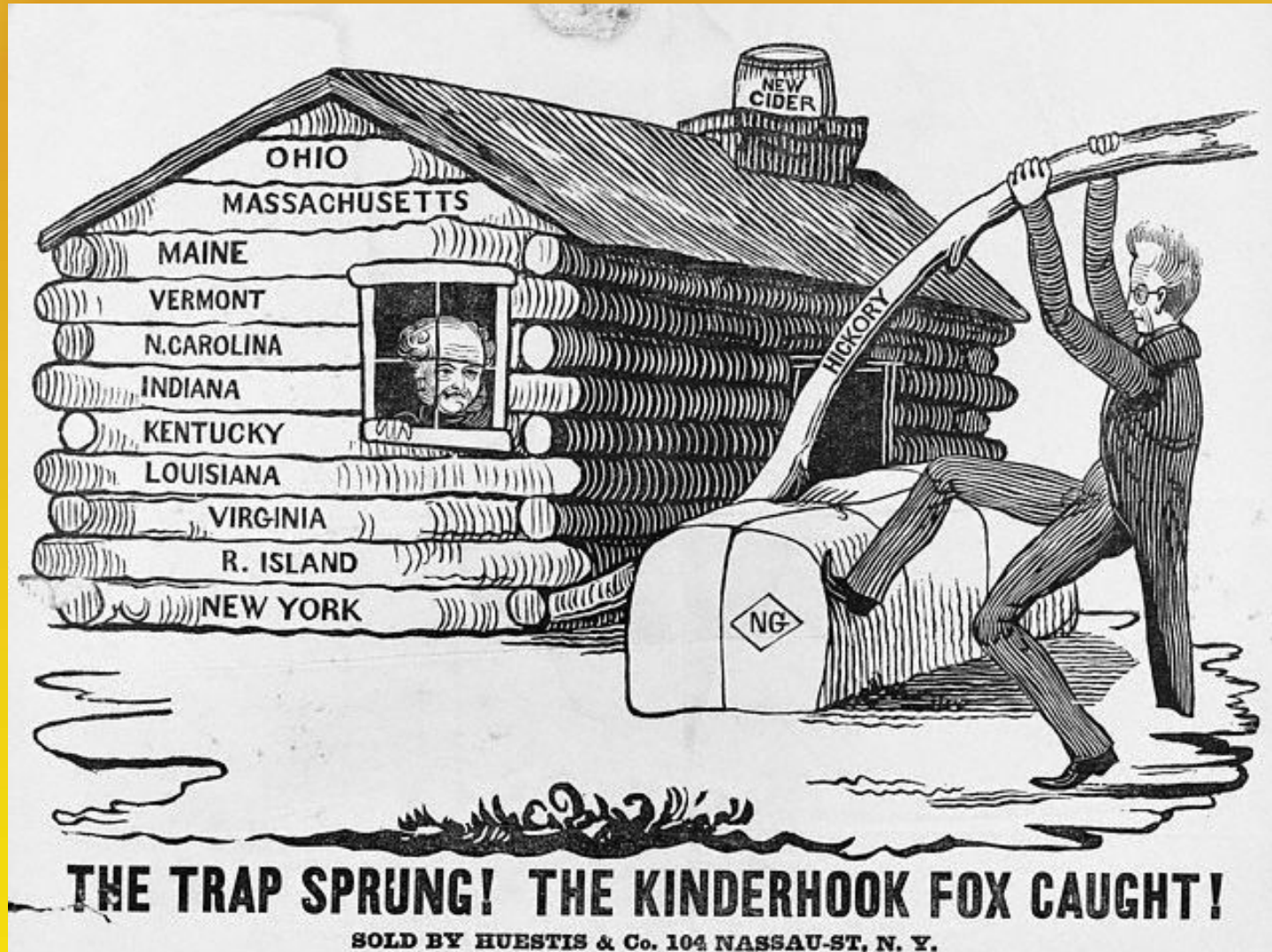
# The Election of 1840





# Van Buren Caught in Harrison's Log

## Cabin Trap in 1840



# Log Cabins and Hard Cider of 1840

- Despite fact that no real issues were debated in 1840, voters faced 2 different candidates regarding how to handle the economy
  - Whigs favored active government to expand and stimulate the economy
  - Democrats wanted to control too powerful banks and corporations

# Politics for the People

- Election of 1840 demonstrated 2 changes had occurred in politics since 1840s
  - Rise of popular democratic style
  - Formation of 2-party system

# Politics for the People

- 1<sup>st</sup> change was rise of popular democratic style
  - “democracy” seen as a bad thing by founders
  - By 1840, aristocracy now seen as negative
  - Offices were still filled by elites, but they had to get support of commoners (and pretend to be common)

# The Two-Party System

- 2<sup>nd</sup> change from election of 1840 was formation of 2-party system

# The Two-Party System

- Founders had distrusted parties as “factions” that would hurt country
- Jeffersonians had adopted most of Federalists’ positions
  - No parties during “Era of Good Feelings”
- Jackson (and those who opposed him) laid foundation for parties
- Parties fully developed by 1840 election

# The Two-Party System

## Differences between Democrats and Whigs

- Democrats
  - Individualism
  - Against “privilege” in government
  - States’ rights and keeping federal government under control (from social and economic affairs)
  - Generally poorer people
- Whigs
  - Community
  - Willing to use government to achieve objectives
  - Did not like leaders like Jackson who appealed to people’s self-interest (causing conflict)
  - Favored national bank, protective tariffs, internal improvements, public schools, moral reforms (liquor, eventually slavery)
  - Generally wealthier people

# The Two-Party System

- Things Democrats and Whigs had in common
  - Both mass parties who tried to get as many voters as possible
  - Some differences in economic background of supporters, but many supporters crossed sectional and class lines
    - Led to compromise within parties that prevented extremism in either party
    - Temporarily made “uncompromisable” issues (such as slavery) “compromisable”