

The End of the Era of Good Feelings

1. The Election of 1824 – The "Corrupt Bargain"
 - A. 4 main "Republican" candidates:
 - i. Andrew Jackson
 - ii. John Quincy Adams
 - iii. William Crawford
 - iv. Henry Clay
 - B. Andrew Jackson had received the popular vote
 - C. No candidate won the majority of the electoral votes
 - D. House of Representatives had to choose the winner
 - E. Henry Clay, the Speaker of the House, was eliminated
 - F. Clay convinced the House to elect John Quincy Adams President
 - G. Adams agreed to make Clay the Secretary of State
 - H. Much of the public felt that a "corrupt bargain" had taken place
 - I. Also is the end of the VA Dynasty
2. The Presidency of John Quincy Adams (1825 – 1829)
 - A. strong nationalist
 - B. supported the building of national roads and canals
 - C. also supported education
 - D. never overcame the stigma of the "corrupt bargain"
 - a. One term like his father

The Presidency of Andrew Jackson (1829 – 1837) & Jacksonian Democracy (1824-1840)

1. The period 1824–32 was politically chaotic
 - A. The Federalist Party and the First Party System were dead
 - B. The old Democratic-Republican Party withered away
 - C. Every state had numerous political factions, but did not cross state lines
 - D. Political coalitions formed and dissolved
 - E. Politicians moved in and out of alliances
 - F. By the late 1830s, the Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs politically battled it out nationally and in every state
2. "Old Hickory" as President
 - A. Before the election of 1824, two Republican factions had formed:
 - i. National Republicans
 1. Adams & Clay
 - ii. Democratic-Republicans
 1. Jackson
 - B. Most former Republicans supported Jackson
 - i. Henry Clay opposed him
 - C. Most former Federalists opposed Jackson

- i. i.e. Daniel Webster
 - D. After the election of 1824, a new party forms:
 - i. The Democratic Party
 - ii. Same party as today's Democrats
- 3. Election of 1828
 - A. Going "Whole Hog" for Jackson in 1828
 - i. "To go the whole hog" means to go all the way
 - ii. Its an Americanism that dates back to January 1828
 - iii. Supporters of Andrew Jackson were called "whole hog" Jacksonites
 - B. Andrew Jackson beat Adams to win the election of 1828
 - C. The majority of Jackson's support came from the South
 - D. Adams's support came from the North
 - E. Jackson was
 - i. First president from the West
 - ii. Second without a college education
- 4. Events and Issues of Jackson's Presidency
 - A. The Spoils System
 - i. Democrats rose to power in the White House
 - ii. They replaced most of the people in offices with their own people
 - iii. These were the "common man"
 - iv. These people were illiterate and incompetent
 - v. This system of rewarding political supporters with jobs in the government was known as the "spoils system"
 - B. Sectionalism
 - i. Jackson felt internal improvements were lavish spending
 - ii. All states should benefit from Fed spending
 - iii. Maysville Road
 - 1. Maysville to Lexington, KY
 - 2. PA & NY paid for their own roads
 - 3. Feds shouldn't pay for KY
 - 4. Clay from KY
 - 5. Vetoed Bill
 - 6. Blow to enemy Clay
 - 7. Enhanced AJ's Southern popularity
 - C. Tariffs
 - i. Tariffs hurt AJ's Southern Popularity
 - ii. Favored Tariffs that helped:
 - 1. Western Farmers – hemp, wool, fur, flax, liquor
 - 2. NE Manufacturers – imported textiles
 - iii. Tariff of 1824
 - 1. duties on woolen goods, cotton, iron & finished goods
 - 2. protects textile mills in NE & industry in Mid-Atlantic states

- iv. Tariff of Abominations (1828)
 - 1. high duties on:
 - a. imported agricultural goods such as hemp, wheat and liquor to protect western farmers
 - b. imported textiles to protect New England interests
 - 2. iron to protect mining and forging industries of Pennsylvania.
 - 3. increased the prices of Southern imported goods by as much as 50 percent – highest levels in history (to that point)
 - 4. tariffs were unfair as a tax on Southern agriculture for the benefit of Northern industry
 - 5. Jacksonians supported it but felt it too onerous to be passed
 - 6. Wanted to embarrass Adams administration
 - 7. Adams signs it into law
 - 8. Becomes Jackson's problem
- v. Nullification Crisis - South Carolina Exposition & Protest (1828)
 - 1. patterned after VA & KY Resolutions – Sedition Acts
 - 2. written anonymously by John C. Calhoun, VP
 - 3. presented State's Rights Doctrine
 - a. Federal Gov't created compact among states
 - b. Concurrent Majority: state conventions have power to declare laws of Congress unconstitutional – i.e. Tariffs
 - c. Laws declared unconstitutional were null & void
 - 4. The Petticoat War a.k.a. The Eaton Affair (1831)
 - a. SoW John Eaton's wife Peggy, a commoner
 - b. daughter of boarding house keeper
 - c. snubbed by wives of cabinet, esp blue-blood JCC's wife
 - d. Jackson's wife victim of scandalmongers
 - e. Jackson tries to force social acceptance
 - f. Loses "Petticoat War" to the wives
 - g. Final break with Calhoun, resigns VP in 1832
 - 5. The Ordinance of Nullification (1832)
 - a. SC threatens secession if Congress passes Tariff of 1832
 - b. Tariff passes
 - c. SC Convention
 - i. calls Tariff "null & void"
 - ii. state needs to take military preparations
 - iii. SC will leave if Gov't tries to collect duty by force
 - d. The Force Bill (1833)
 - i. passed by Jackson

- ii. empowers him to enforce national laws in SC, using force if necessary
 - iii. suggests hanging Calhoun
 - e. It's a draw
 - i. brokered by Senator Henry Clay
 - ii. compromise bill to reduce tariffs by 10% over 8 years
 - f. Tariff of 1833 squeezes through Congress
- D. The Trail of Tears
 - i. Jackson's Democrats were committed to western expansion
 - ii. Expansion meant confrontation with the Indians
 - iii. President Jackson wanted to move the Indians so the white men could expand
 - iv. The Indian Removal Act (1830)
 - 1. It moved more than 100,000 Indians living east of the Mississippi to reservations west of the Mississippi
 - 2. The five "civilized" tribes were hardest hit
 - 3. The five civilized tribes were the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles
 - 4. Many Americans were against the act
 - 5. most notably Tennessee Congressman Davy Crockett
 - 6. it passed anyway
 - 7. President Jackson quickly signed the bill into law
 - v. Black Hawk
 - 1. led Sauk and Fox braves from Illinois and Wisconsin
 - 2. resisted the eviction.
 - vi. The Seminoles in Florida retreated to the Everglades fighting for several years
 - vii. The Cherokees
 - 1. attempted to fight removal legally by:
 - a. challenging the removal laws in the Supreme Court
 - b. establishing an independent Cherokee Nation
 - 2. *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1832)
 - a. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the Cherokee on the same issue in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)
 - i. Built foundation for tribal sovereignty
 - b. In this case Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the Cherokee Nation was sovereign
 - c. making the removal laws invalid
 - d. The Cherokee would have to agree to removal in a treaty
 - e. The treaty then would have to be ratified by the Senate
 - f. "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it."
 - 3. By 1835 the Cherokee were divided and despondent

- a. Most supported Principal Chief John Ross
 - i. He fought the encroachment of whites starting with the 1832 land lottery
- b. Minority supported Major Ridge and his son John
 - i. Advocated removal
 - ii. less than 500 out of 17,000 Cherokee in North Georgia followed them
- c. The Treaty of New Echota signed by Ridge and members of the Treaty Party in 1835
- d. gave Jackson the legal document he needed to remove the Cherokee
- e. Some spoke out against the treaty ratification: Daniel Webster and Henry Clay
- f. Treaty passed by a single vote
- g. Senate ratification sealed the fate of the Cherokee
- 4. In 1838 the United States began the removal to Oklahoma
- 5. General John Wool resigned his command in protest
- 6. General Winfield Scott arrived at New Echota on May 17, 1838 with 7000 men
- 7. Men, women, and children were
 - a. taken from their land
 - b. herded into makeshift forts
 - c. with minimal facilities and food
 - d. then forced to march a thousand miles
- 8. About 4000 Cherokee died as a result of the removal
- 9. The journey itself became known as “The Trail of Tears”
- E. The Bank War
 - i. The Second National Bank of the US – 1816
 - 1. Symbolized Eastern wealth & power
 - 2. Agent of the Aristocracy
 - 3. Its financial strength & influence on econ seen as threat to democracy
 - 4. State banks hated Nat’l Bank – competition
 - 5. Farmers
 - a. distrusted paper money
 - b. like “hard money” - specie
 - 6. Bank had monopoly on Fed Gov’t Biz
 - a. Gov’t turned all funds over to bank
 - b. Bank invested funds
 - 7. \$ went to stockholders not taxpayers
 - ii. Nicholas Biddle
 - 1. Bank Leader
 - 2. Arrogant
 - 3. Loaned \$ at low rate to
 - a. friends
 - b. congressmen

- iii. The Plot Thickens – 1832
 - 1. Clay & Webster
 - a. convince Biddle to press congress to recharter
 - b. know AJ will veto it
 - c. congress will override & embarrass AJ
 - 2. AJ took issue to the people
 - a. made congress think about
 - i. their decision
 - ii. Presidential reaction to decision
 - b. made Pres the most important branch of gov't
 - c. Vetoes the Bank Recharter
 - iv. Pet Banks – 1833
 - 1. Friendly State Banks
 - 2. AJ orders all gov't funds into select state banks
 - 3. Bled Nat'l Bank Dry
 - v. Immediate Results
 - 1. Biddle calls in loans
 - 2. Couldn't lend money
 - 3. Bankruptcy widespread
 - 4. Who's to Blame???
 - a. AJ ?
 - b. Nat'l Bank ?
 - 5. Bank expires 1836
 - 6. State Banks
 - a. now print more notes
 - b. backed by Fed Gold & Loans
 - c. Specie Circular – public land must be purchased w/Gold or Silver
 - vi. Long term Results
 - 1. NY becomes financial capital – banks
 - 2. Whig Party forms
 - 3. Depression of late 1830s
- F. The Election of 1832
- i. “Old Hickory” Wallops Clay
 - ii. The Anti-Masonic party
 - 1. Third party entered the election in the election of 1832
 - 2. The party opposed the Masonic Order, which was perceived by some as people of privilege and monopoly
 - 3. Jackson was against monopolies
 - 4. But Jackson was a Mason
 - 5. Therefore the Anti-Masons were an anti-Jackson party
 - 6. Anti-Masons gained support from evangelical Protestants
5. The Policies & Philosophies of Jacksonian Democracy (1828 – 1854)
- A. Expanded Suffrage
 - i. Voting rights should be extended to all white men

- ii. By 1840, universal white male suffrage was the norm
 - iii. Nearly all requirements to own property had been dropped
 - iv. Result: nearly 80% voter turnout
- B. Manifest Destiny
- i. Belief that white Americans had a destiny to settle the West and to expand control from the Atlantic to the Pacific
 - ii. Took their lead from Jefferson's "Empire of Democracy"
 - iii. Free Soil Jacksonians
 - 1. notably Martin Van Buren
 - 2. argued for limitations on slavery in the new areas
 - 3. to enable the poor white man to flourish
- C. Patronage
- i. Also known as the spoils system
 - ii. patronage was the policy of placing political supporters into appointed offices
 - iii. rotating political appointees in and out of office was not only the right but also the duty of winners in political contests
 - iv. Patronage was theorized to be good because
 - 1. it would encourage political participation by the common man
 - 2. it would make a politician more accountable for poor government service by his appointees
 - 3. long tenure in the civil service was corrupting
 - 4. civil servants should be rotated out of office at regular intervals
 - v. It led to the hiring of incompetent and sometimes corrupt officials in the place of competent ones from the other party
- D. Strict Constructionists
- i. Initially favored a federal government of limited powers
 - ii. But not states' rights extremists
 - iii. As Jacksonians consolidated power, they more often advocated expanding federal power and Presidential power in particular
- E. Laissez-faire Economics
- i. generally favored a hands-off approach to the economy
 - ii. opposed to govt sponsoring modernization, tariffs, railroads, banking, and economic growth
- F. Banking
- i. opposed government granted monopolies to banks
 - ii. Jackson himself was opposed to all banks
 - 1. believed they were devices to cheat common people
 - iii. believed that only gold and silver should be money
- G. Rigorous Separation of Church & State
- i. embraced anticlericalism
 - ii. denounced the intrusion of politics of religious crusades such as
 - 1. Temperance
 - 2. Abolition

- iii. Democrats thus garnered adherents among
 - 1. religious dissenters and minorities
 - 2. Catholics
 - 3. Freethinkers
 - 4. Atheists
- H. Contrasts with Jeffersonian Democracy
 - i. Jacksonian democracy promoted the strength of the presidency and executive branch at the expense of Congress
 - ii. Jacksonian democracy sought to broaden the public's participation in government
- 6. Jacksonian Democracy Evaluated
 - A. Jackson and the Democrats cast their party as:
 - i. the embodiment of the popular will
 - ii. the defender of the common man against the “aristocracy”
 - iii. The substance behind this claim is still disputed
 - B. Expanded Suffrage
 - i. constitutional changes in the states had broadened the participatory base of politics
 - 1. eased property requirements for suffrage
 - 2. state offices and presidential electors now popularly elective
 - ii. By 1828, nearly all white men could vote
 - iii. Jackson and his partisans benefited from and capitalized upon these changes, but they in no way initiated them
 - iv. While no major party advocated female suffrage
 - 1. Democrats more than Whigs identified politics as a distinctly masculine activity
 - 2. Relegated women to a subordinate, confined sphere
 - C. Supporter of the Common Man
 - i. The presence of a class component in Jacksonian parties
 - ii. Pit Democratic plain farmers and workers against the Whig bourgeoisie or business elite
 - iii. Some historians read Democratic praise of the plain people as a literal description of their constituency
 - iv. Others dismiss them as artful propaganda
 - v. Democrats usually marshaled a slightly larger (and better organized) following than the Whigs
 - vi. Whigs clearly had a mass popular appeal too
 - vii. Whether Democratic laissez-faire policies actually worked to the benefit of their claimed plebeian constituency has also been questioned
 - D. Truly Democratic?
 - i. Looking beyond the white male electorate, many of the Democrats' postures seem profoundly antiegalitarian and antidemocratic
 - ii. Democrats were more aggressively anti-abolitionist and racist than Whigs

- iii. Acted to suppress antislavery's intrusion into politics and to curtail the liberties of free blacks
- iv. Jackson's original core constituency was southern
- v. At their competitive height in the 1840s, the two parties were nearly evenly politically matched throughout the country
- vi. In the 1850s, Jacksonian Democracy would return to its sectional roots as the party of slaveholders and their northern sympathizers

7. *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville (1835)

- A. toured the United States in 1831–1832
- B. found in America, “the image of democracy itself, with its inclinations, its character, its prejudices, and its passions.”
- C. Places Jacksonian Democracy in a broader sense
 - i. suggests an ethos and an era
 - ii. the flowering of the democratic spirit in American life around the time of Jackson's presidency
- D. To de Tocqueville and others:
 - i. US represented the democratic, egalitarian future
 - ii. Europe represented the aristocratic past
 - iii. Jackson's partisans appropriated this broader meaning to themselves:
 - 1. Democratic Party's democracy vs. Whig Party's aristocracy
 - 2. But this identification is more propaganda than actual fact
- E. de Tocqueville suggests democracy be viewed
 - i. as the reigning spirit of the age
 - ii. and to trace its workings in all areas of American life
 - iii. both within and outside party politics
- F. de Tocqueville famously observed, “the people reign in the American political world as the Deity does in the universe. They are the cause and the aim of all things; everything comes from them, and everything is absorbed in them.”
- G. To de Tocqueville, democracy's pervasive reign is marked by Americans'
 - i. Energetic volunteerism
 - ii. Enthusiasm for societies, associations, reforms, and crusades
 - iii. vibrant institutions of local government
 - iv. popular style and leveling spirit of their manners, customs, pastimes, art, literature, science, religion, and intellect
- H. From this perspective the fact that Andrew Jackson could ascend to the presidency spoke more than his policies in office
 - i. He was a rough-hewn, poorly educated, self-made frontiersman
 - ii. His rhetorical championship of the plain people against the aristocrats, whatever its substance or sincerity, was itself the sign and harbinger of a social sea change toward democracy, equality, and the primacy of the common man
- I. In this view Jackson stands as the symbol for:
 - i. an age and an era

- ii. an ideal
- iii. a nation
- iv. not merely as the leader of a party

The Second Party System & The Birth of the Whigs

1. There were major changes in politics after the Era of Good Feelings:
 - A. Politicians who were too clean, too well dressed, too grammatical, and too intellectual were not liked
 - B. Aristocracy was not liked by the American people
 - C. The common man was moving to the center of the national political stage

2. The Second Party System
 - A. A new Two Party System Emerged
 - i. Democrats
 - ii. Whigs
 1. The National Republican Party died out
 - B. Jacksonian Democrats
 - i. Glorified the liberty of the individual
 - ii. Power based in South & West
 - iii. Supported:
 1. states' rights
 2. federal restraint in social and economic affairs
 - C. The Whigs
 - i. Power based in North & cities
 - ii. Conservatives who supported:
 1. Government programs
 2. public schools
 3. moral reforms:
 - a. abolition
 - b. temperance
 - iii. Called for internal improvements
 1. Canals
 2. Railroads
 3. Telegraph lines
 - iv. Opposed Manifest Destiny
 1. generally opposed expansion
 2. US should build up its cities first
 - v. Claimed to be defenders of the common man
 - vi. Declared the Democrats the party of corruption

3. The Election of 1836
 - A. Martin Van Buren (D)
 - i. Andrew Jackson's choice as his successor
 - ii. VP (1833 – 1837)
 - B. General William Henry Harrison (W)

- i. one of the Whig's many presidential nominees
 - ii. The Whigs lost because they did not unite behind one candidate
2. Don't Mess with Texas
 - A. Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821
 - B. By late 1820s
 - i. Provincial ties to central Mexican Government began to fray
 - ii. Mexicans secularized missions
 - iii. Gave land to government officials & private ranchers
 - iv. Indian Problems: Comanches, Apaches, Navajos & Utes
 - v. Little military protection from Mexican Government
 - vi. Vast land unsettled for fear of attack
 - vii. Those living there became dependent on American trade
 - C. Santa Fe Trail
 - i. Trade route between MX & US
 - ii. trail went from Santa Fe, NM to Independence, MO (800 mi.)
 - iii. took first leg of journey to Council Grove, KS individually
 - iv. took second leg as a caravan of 100 wagons in four columns
 - v. Americans traders return with glowing reports of
 1. Good climate
 2. Fertile soil
 3. Few people
 - D. Texas
 - i. Mexican State of Coahuila-Texas
 - ii. lacked natural protection of mountains (CA) or desert (NM)
 - iii. 1823: 3,000 Americans live in East Texas
 - iv. 1824: Mexican Government began to encourage American colonization of TX
 1. as a way to bring in manufactured goods
 2. to protect against Indians
 3. bestowed large land grants on agents (empresarios)
 - a. empresarios contracted to bring Americans to TX
 - b. by 1830 7000 Americans lived in TX
 - c. more than doubled the Mexican population there
 - v. Stephen F. Austin
 1. Most successful empresario
 2. Attracted 300 US families to TX by 1825
 - vi. Americans were mixed blessing
 1. Moved in too quickly & in too large of numbers
 2. Unscrupulous US traders
 - a. Harlan Coffee
 - b. He provoked Indian raids on MX settlements to steal livestock to trade for US liquor & guns
 3. Some only moved to escape debts & sheriffs
 4. Didn't mix with the Mexicans of West Texas

5. Distrusted Mexicans (even though they were naturalized MX citizens)
 6. Complained about erratic MX judicial system
 - vii. 1826 – Revolt
 1. Haden Edwards (empresario) leads revolt against MX rule
 2. MX forces, led by Stephen F. Austin, crush uprising
 - viii. 1829 – emancipation of slaves in MX
 - ix. 1830
 1. MX closes TX to further immigration from US
 2. Forbade introduction of new slaves to TX
 3. MX lacked military to enforce its decrees
 4. B/t 1830 & 1834 number of Americans in TX doubled
 - x. 1834 - Austin secured repeal of 1830 prohibition on immigration
 - xi. 1835 – est. 1000 Americans per month crossed into TX
 - xii. 1836 – TX contained:
 1. 30,000 white Americans
 2. 5,000 slaves
 3. 4,000 Mexicans
- E. The Texas Revolution – 1836
- i. Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna – President of Mexico
 1. brutally crushes rebellions
 2. abolishes all state governments in MX
 3. invades TX in the fall of 1835
 4. Austin leads radical Americans who want independence
 - ii. Texas declares Independence
 1. March 2, 1836
 2. Sam Houston is President & General
 - iii. The Alamo
 1. Abandoned Mission in San Antonio
 2. Siege lasts from February 23 – March 6, 1836
 3. 4000 MX troops
 4. 200 TX defenders
 5. 1,600 Mexican dead
 6. 187 Texans dead – Davy Crockett & Jim Bowie
 7. 4 survivors: Mrs. Dickenson, her infant, 2 slaves
 - iv. Goliad
 1. March 20, 1836
 2. MX massacre 350 Texan prisoners
 - v. San Jacinto River
 1. April 21, 1836
 2. Houston surprises Santa Anna
 3. “Remember the Alamo”
 4. Houston’s Army
 - a. 800 men
 - b. tore through MX lines in 15 minutes
 - c. took Santa Anna prisoner

- vi. Houston forces Santa Anna to sign Peace Treaty
 - 1. Recognizes the Independence of Texas
 - 2. Releases Santa Anna
 - 3. Mexican Government never ratifies treaty
 - 4. US, GB & FR recognize TX independence
- vii. Sept 1836 – Sam Houston officially elected president of the Lone Star Republic
- viii. December 29, 1845
 - 1. Texas becomes the 28th State of the US
 - 2. Why did it take so long?
 - a. South & West wanted more land & power to protect slavery
 - b. North wanted to limit additional slave territory & Southern power
 - c. Fear of war with Mexico

3. The Election of 1840 & the Locofocos

- A. Rematch of 1836
- B. Whigs:
 - i. Try to Out-Common Man the Democrats
 - ii. Campaign Images: Log Cabins and Hard Cider
- C. Democrats Split:
 - i. The Locofocos
 - 1. radical faction of Democratic Party
 - 2. existed from 1835 until the mid-1840s
 - 3. originally named Equal Rights Party
 - 4. Originated in NYC
 - 5. Protested NYC's regular Democratic organization, Tammany Hall
 - 6. It contained a mixture of anti-Tammany Democrats and labor union veterans of the Working Men's Party
 - 7. vigorous laissez-faire advocates
 - 8. Opposed monopolies
 - 9. Leading intellectual: William Leggett
 - 10. Name Origin: They were Jacksonians that used friction matches, called locofocs, to light candles to continue political meetings after Tammany men turned off gaslights to end meetings.
 - 11. Locofocos supported:
 - a. Jackson & Van Buren
 - b. free trade
 - c. greater circulation of specie
 - d. legal protections for labor unions
 - e. legal protection against paper money, financial speculation, and state banks
- D. Whigs called all Dems "Locofocos" in 1840 election because

- i. Democratic President Van Buren incorporated many Locofoco ideas into his economic policy
 - ii. Whigs considered the term to be derogatory
 - E. William Henry Harrison defeated Van Buren to win the election of 1840
 - F. Harrison died 30 days into his presidency
 - G. John Tyler, “His Accidency”, becomes President
- 4. The Legacy of Jackson & Jacksonian Democracy
 - A. John Tyler
 - i. really a Democrat
 - ii. quickly reached accommodation with the Jacksonians
 - iii. a man without a party
 - B. James K. Polk
 - i. a staunch supporter and protégé of Jackson
 - ii. the last of the true Jacksonian presidents
 - C. James Buchanan
 - i. served in Jackson's administration as Minister to Russia
 - ii. served as Polk's Secretary of State
 - iii. did not pursue Jacksonian policies in an increasingly bitter and divided political climate
 - iv. ultimately resulted in the Civil War