Brinkley, Chapter 9

Jacksonian Democracy

4 Things to know about Andrew Jackson:
1. Enfranchisement
2. Tariffs
3. Banks
4. Indians

Expanding Enfranchisement

The "Age of Jackson" was a transformation in American politics.

Until the 1820s most states restricted voting to white male property owners, taxpayers, or both.

Enfranchisement expanded first in the NW Territory allowing all adult white males the right to vote and all voters the right to hold public office.

The process was far from complete. No slaves could vote. Southern election laws continued to favor the planters and politicians of the old counties. Free blacks could not vote anywhere in the South and hardly anywhere in the North.

There was no secret ballot.

1824 = 27% adult white males voted
1828 = 58% adult white males voted
1840 = 86% adult white males voted

President of the Common Man

Jackson embraced a simple theory of democracy. Government should offer "equal protection and equal benefit" to all white male citizens and favor no region or class over another.

Jackson attacked the eastern aristocracy and the extending opportunities to the rising classes of the West and the South. Wanted to eliminate Henry Clay's American System of internal improvements.

Jackson's commitment to extending power beyond entrenched elites led him to reduce the functions of the federal government. Believed a concentration of power in DC restricted opportunity to people with political connections.

Jackson was also strongly committed to the preservation of the Union. He asserted the supremacy of the Union. This ideology was in stark contrast this Vice President's ideas on Federalism - John C. Calhoun

Spoils System

Jacksonians also transformed the process by which presidential candidates were selected.

Jackson believed government offices belonged to the people, not to a self-serving bureaucracy.

Jackson rejected the idea of "property in office" - that officials held permanent title to an office. He insisted on the rotation of officeholders, so that when an administration was voted out, its bureaucratic appointees would also have to leave government service.

"To the victor belong the spoils."

Calhoun and the Nullification Crisis

Calhoun Championed states' rights of nullification.

The crisis began in 1832 when high-tariff congressmen ignored southern warnings that they were "endangering the Union" and reenacted the Tariff of Abominations.

In response, leading SC politicians called a state convention and adopted the Ordinance of Nullification, declaring the tariffs of 1828 & 1832 to be null and void; prohibited the collection of tariffs in SC after 2/1/1833, and threatened secession if federal officials tried to collect them.

By 1833 Calhoun represented SC in the US Senate

Act of nullification rested on the constitutional arguments developed in The South Carolina Exposition and Protest, (1828) written anonymously by VP Calhoun.

Calhoun used the arguments of Jefferson & Madison in the Kentucky & Virginia Resolutions of 1798. Sovereignty lay in the states.

The Nullification Crisis

Calhoun developed a states' rights interpretation, arguing that a state could declare a congressional law to be unconstitutional and therefore void within a state's borders.

Jackson vowed to enforce government's authority to establish tariffs no matter the cost. He declared that SC's Ordinance of Nullification violated the Constitution.

Jackson warned, "Disunion by armed force is treason."

Jackson strengthened federal forts in South Carolina and ordered a warship to Charleston.

When Congress convened in early 1833, it passed the Force Bill authorizing the president to use the military to see that acts of Congress were obeyed.
Clay’s Compromise

Calhoun faced a predicament as he took his place in the Senate. No state supported South Carolina.

Clay’s election to the Senate though averted a crisis. Clay devised a compromise by which the tariff would be lowered gradually so that by 1842 it would reach approximately the same level as in 1816. The compromise and the force bill were passed on the same day, both signed by Jackson.

In South Carolina, the convention reassembled and repealed its nullification of the tariffs, but then nullified the force act - a purely symbolic act. Calhoun and his followers claimed a victory for nullification, which they insisted, forced the revision of the tariff.

The episode taught Calhoun and his allies that no state could defy the federal government alone.

Jackson and the Bank War

Jackson could not legally destroy the Bank before its expiration so he weakened it considerably.

The bank was privately managed and operated under a 20 year charter (set to expire in 1836) from the federal government, which owned 26% of its stock.

The Bank of the US held a monopoly on federal deposits, provided credit to businesses, issued dependable currency, and regulated state banks.

Nicholas Biddle, who ran the Bank, established prosperity to the Bank and faith from the American people. Jackson was intent on destroying the Bank.

In 1832, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster persuaded Nicholas Biddle to seek an early extension of the bank’s charter. They had the votes in Congress to recharter the bank and hoped to lure Jackson into a veto that would split the Democrats just before the 1832 elections.

Recharter Bill Vetoed

Biddle, along with his allies, Daniel Webster and Henry Clay proposed a recharter bill in 1832 to Congress, 4 years before the Bank’s expiration.

Congress approved the measure and Jackson vetoed it. Congress failed to override the veto. The Bank issue became the paramount issue of the 1832 election.

Clay ran against Jackson using the issue of the Bank to support his candidacy. He lost to Jackson and Martin Van Buren (V.P.)

In September 1832, Jackson appointed Roger Taney as his 3rd Treasury Secretary. Jackson finally found someone that would weaken the bank.

The American System

Clay won support from those who supported his American System.

Internal improvements to encourage economic development: Build roads and canals

Strengthen the Second Bank of the US

Use tariff revenues to build the proposed roads and canals.

His nationalistic program won praise in the West, which needed transportation improvements, but elicited sharp criticism in the South. Van Buren denounced the American System as “consolidated government”

The "Monster" Destroyed

Taney removed federal deposits from the Bank and deposited them into state banks.

Without choice, Biddle had to call in loans to restore deposits, and raise interest rates. Caused a mild recession.

As financial conditions worsened in the winter of 1833-1834, supporters of the Bank sent petitions to Washington urging its rechartering. Jacksonians blamed the recession on Biddle and refused the charter.

Under pressure from the business community, Biddle had to reverse his contraction of credit. In doing so, he lost all hope of a recharter. Jackson won a political victory. The Bank was dead.

* Impact = Unstable Banking in the US until 1913 with the establishment of the Federal Reserve.

Jackson’s Political Victory

Through the Nullification Crisis and the Bank War, Jackson destroyed both national banking and the American System of protective tariffs and internal improvements created by Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams.

Jackson’s tactics in crushing the nullification movement & the Bank helped galvanize growing opposition. The loosely organized National Republican party became more organized and grew in numbers and called themselves Whigs.

Ali Rodgers, 2012-2013 AP Survivor!
The Emergence of the Second Party System

The Whig party took its name to echo the Whigs of the Revolutionary Era - those who opposed tyranny. **Whig Platform**: Supremacy of Congress over the President. Program of modernization and economic protectionism.

**Notable Whigs**: Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor.

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The 2 Parties: Religious & Ethnic Divisions

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<tr>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Whigs</th>
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<tr>
<td>* Irish and German Catholics * Shared vague aversion to commercial development and the Democrats seemed to respect their culture</td>
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<tr>
<td>* Evangelical Protestants * Associated with constant development &amp; improvement. Envisioned a society progressing toward unity and order. * Looked at immigrant communities as groups that needed taught &quot;American&quot; ways.</td>
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The Removal of the Indians

Jackson’s attitude toward the Indian tribes in the eastern US was simple. Move West.
Jackson harbored a deep hostility toward the Indians. Jackson’s view of Indians was just "savage" differed from Jefferson’s views that they were “noble savages.”

"Savages” should be removed from all the lands east of the Mississippi River.

Jackson pushed the Indian Removal Act of 1830 through Congress. It created Indian Territory, outside the bounds of any state.

It also promised money and reserved land to Native American peoples who would agree to give up their ancestral holdings east of the Mississippi River.

Government officials promised the Indians that they could live on their new land, “they and all their children, as long as grass grows and water runs.”

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The "Five Civilized Tribes"

More troubling to Jackson in the 1830s were the ‘Five Civilized Tribes’

In western Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida lived the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw.

White westerners favored removal to put an end to violence & conflict in the western area of white settlement. They wanted the land that the tribes had.

The Cherokee tried to stop Georgia from taking their lands through an appeal in the Supreme Court, and the Court’s rulings in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia and Worcester v. Georgia supported the tribe’s contention that the state had no authority to negotiate with tribal representatives.

Jackson repudiated the decisions.

In 1835, the US government extracted a treaty from a minority faction of the Cherokee that ceded to Georgia the tribe’s land in return for $5 million and a reservation west of the Mississippi River. The great majority of the Cherokee did not recognize the treaty as legitimate.

Jackson sent an army under General Winfield Scott to round them up and drive them westward.

Thousands perished before reaching their unwanted destinations. Between 1830 and 1838, virtually all of the Five Civilized Tribes were forced to travel to Indian Territory.

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The Meaning of Removal

By the end of the 1830s, virtually all the important Indian societies east of the Mississippi had been removed to the West.

The tribes ceded over 100 million acres to the federal government and received in return about $68 million and 32 million acres of land in the Indian Territory.

There they lived divided into a series of separate reservations, in a territory surrounded by a string of US forts in a region whose climate and topography bore little relation to anything they knew before.

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Jackson’s Legacy

By the end of his presidency, Jackson

1. Enhanced presidential authority & enfranchisement
2. Destroyed the American System & the 2nd Bank
3. Reaffirmed Federalism over States’ Rights (Tariff)
4. Removed the Indians to the Oklahoma Territory

**Van Buren Elected**

1836

Whigs ran several candidates while the Democrats rallied behind Van Buren. Electoral College vote was split in too many ways for a Whig to win a majority.
Log Cabin Campaign

As the campaign of 1840 approached, the Whigs realized they had to settle on one candidate for president. Through a convention, they nominated William Henry Harrison - renowned soldier and popular national figure.

Democrats ran Martin Van Buren as their candidate. Van Buren, faced with an economic recession because of the collapse of the 2nd Bank, lost the election.

First campaign in which the 'penny press' carried news of the candidates to large audiences. Penny Press papers were more sensationalist and not largely distributed amongst the upper class.

Frustration of the Whigs

Harrison died one month after taking office. John Tyler (originally a Whig) succeeded him.

Tyler was a former Democrat who left the party in reaction to what he considered Jackson's excessively egalitarian program.

Raised tariff rates. Refused to support Clay's attempt to recharter the Bank of the US, and he vetoed several internal improvement bills sponsored by Clay and other Whigs.

Tyler's cabinet except Webster, (Secretary of State) resigned; 5 former Democrats took their places. When Webster, too, left the cabinet, Tyler appointed Calhoun, who had rejoined the Democratic Party, to replace him.

Tyler and a small band of conservative southern Whigs prepared to rejoin the Democrats. A faction of aristocratic political elites in favor of expanding slavery and guaranteeing states' rights gained ground in the Democratic party.

Webster-Ashburton Treaty

The British government wanted to ease tensions with the US. Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton negotiated the treaty. The US received slightly more than half the disputed area and agreed to a revised northern boundary as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Ashburton also promised to not interfere with American ships carrying slaves. US-British relations improved significantly.