JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

I. The "New Democracy"
   A. By 1820s, aristocracy was becoming outmoded while democracy was becoming respectable.
      -- Politicians now forced to cater to the voting masses
   B. Most high offices still held by wealthy citizens
   C. Change in emphasis:
      1. Jeffersonian democracy: the people should be governed as little as possible.
         -- Gov't for the people
      2. Jacksonian democracy: government should be done directly by the people.
         -- This idea would lead to Jackson’s spoils system
   D. New Democracy based on universal white manhood suffrage rather than property qualifications -- common man now more influential.
      1. Between 1812 and 1821, 6 new western states granted universal manhood suffrage
      2. Between 1810 and 1821, four eastern states significantly reduced voting requirements.
         -- However, blacks in north gradually disenfranchised; by Civil War only New England allowed blacks to vote.
      3. The South granted increased suffrage later than in the West and East.
      4. New voters demanded a new type of politician that would represent common peoples' interests
      5. Jackson was the result of the "New Democracy" rather than the cause of it.
      6. Frederick Jackson Turner: "The Significance of the Frontier on American History"
         -- Thesis: Existence of cheap land in the West created a frontier society that shaped the American character—more democratic and egalitarian
   E. Rise of workingmen’s parties
      1. Laborers in the east formed organizations that demanded free education for their children, a 10-hr work day, and end to debtor’s prisons.
      2. Some groups became violent (especially during Panic of 1837)
      3. Locos Focos: radical NY democrats in 1820s who sought reforms for laborers.
         -- Eventually absorbed by Democratic party and forced Jackson into passing Specie Circular

II. Causes of the New Democracy
   A. Panic of 1819
      1. Workers and farmers blamed bankers (esp. BUS) and speculators for foreclosures on their farms
      2. Answer was to get more politically involved, especially followers of Andrew Jackson.
         a. Sought control of the gov't to reform the BUS
         b. State legislatures waged tax wars against the BUS (e.g., McCulloch v. Maryland, 1819)
         c. State laws for prevention of debt imprisonment enacted
   B. The Missouri Compromise
      1. Northern opposition to Missouri’s admission as a slave state aroused southern fears that the federal gov’t would trample on states' rights.
      2. Slavery especially was seen to be under attack
      3. Prime Goal of white southerners: Control the federal gov't for South’s preservation
C. New Political Age
1. A new two-party system reemerged by 1832: Democrats vs. National Republicans/Whigs
2. Voter turnout rose dramatically: 25% of eligible voters in 1824; 78% in 1840
3. New style of politicking emerged (esp. in 1840 election)
   -- Banners, badges, parades, barbecues, free drinks, baby kissing, etc.
4. Voting reform -- Demise of the caucus (caucus now viewed as elitist)
   a. Members of the Electoral College were being chosen directly by the people
      rather than state legislatures: 18 of 24 states in 1824 election. This resembles today's
      system
   b. 1831, first nominating convention held (Anti-Masonic party).

III. Election of 1824 "The Corrupt Bargain"
   -- All four rivals were "Republicans"
B. Jackson polled the most popular votes but did not have a majority of the electoral vote.
   1. 12th Amendment states House of Reps must choose among first three finishers
   2. Clay finished 4th but was Speaker of the House and in charge of selection.
C. Henry Clay sided with John Quincy Adams
   1. He hated Jackson, his archrival for leadership in the West
   2. Like Clay, John Q. Adams was a nationalist and supported Clay’s "American System"
D. Early 1825, House of Representatives elected Adams president.
   1. Largely due to Clay's behind-the-scenes influence
   2. Jackson with the largest % of the vote lost to second place Adams
E. Adams announced Clay as secretary of state a few days later
F. Jackson's supporters called the affair the "corrupt bargain"

IV. President John Quincy Adams
A. Ranks as one of the great secretaries of state but one of the least successful Presidents.
B. Hated spoils system: only removed twelve public servants from the federal payroll
   -- Party workers dismayed that Adams did not reward them for their loyalty & support
C. Sectionalism increased while the Republican party fractured: increased hatred of
   Adams and Clay by Jacksonians

V. The "Tariff of Abominations" (1828) – biggest issue of Adams’ presidency
A. Congress had increased the general tariff in 1824 from 23% on dutiable goods to 37%
   -- Eastern wool manufacturers pleaded for even higher tariffs for protection from British
   goods.
B. Jacksonites rigged up a plan for unseating Adams by creating a tariff bill that would send
   duties as high as 45% on New England manufactured goods. Westerners would blame
   Adams.
   -- Most people would presumably object to the tariff and vote for Jackson in 1828.
C. New England pushed for passage of the Tariff of 1828 anyway and the bill passed.
   1. New England factory owners sought more protection from foreign competition.
   2. Daniel Webster argued for it; reversed his previous position in the 1816 tariff
   3. John C. Calhoun argued against it: the tariff would hurt the South.
D. Southern reaction strongly negative: feared power of federal gov’t was too strong.
   1. Southerners would suffer both as consumers and exporters.
2. John C. Calhoun's "The Southern Carolina Exposition"
   a. Written secretly since Calhoun was Adams’ vice-president
   b. Denounced the tariff as unjust and unconstitutional
   c. Stated states should nullify the tariff (similar to Jefferson’s and Madison’s Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798)
   d. His desire was to save the Union by lowering the divisive tariff that offended the South.
   e. No other state joined South Carolina in her heated protest.

VI. Election of 1828
A. Intense mudslinging between the two factions of the Republican party
   1. National Republicans supported J.Q. Adams
   2. Democratic Republicans supported Jackson
B. Jackson defeated Adams 178 electoral votes to 83 (pop. vote 647,286 to 508,064)
   1. First President from the West; seen as a great common man
      -- Actually owned one of the largest plantations in the country; owned many slaves
   2. Jackson’s support came from the West, the South, and laborers on eastern seaboard.
      i.e. the common people
      -- Yet, considerable support came from machine politicians, especially in NY and PA.
4. Election called "The Revolution of 1828"
   a. Like 1800, no upheaval or landslide that swept out one opponent.
      -- No sitting president had been removed since John Adams in 1800
   b. Increased voter turnout in universal-white-manhood suffrage states was a powerful force.
   c. Balance of power was shifting from the East to the expanding West.
   d. America hitherto had been ruled by an elite of brains and wealth
      -- Federalist shippers and Jeffersonian planters.
   e. Jackson was the hero of the working masses.

C. Andrew Jackson ("Old Hickory")
1. Personified the new West
2. Suspicious of federal gov't as a bastion of privilege remote from popular scrutiny.
3. Like Jefferson, sought to reduce role of the federal gov’t in favor of states’ rights
   -- Hated Clay’s "American System"
4. Fierce unionist and nationalist (to the dismay of the South); federal supremacy over states.
   5. At times defied will of Congress and the Supreme Court
      a. Employed the veto 12 times; six predecessors combined only vetoed 10 times!
      b. Opponents condemned him as "King Andrew I"

VII. Jacksonian Democracy -- politics
A. Increase of manhood suffrage (see above)
B. End of the caucus (see above)
C. Spoils System
   1. Spoils system introduced into the federal government on a large numerical scale
      a. Spoils system: Rewarding political supporters with public office.
b. **Martin Van Buren** was main figure in starting spoils system on nat’l scale
   -- Engineered a spoils system/political machine in NY "**Albany Regency**"

2. Jackson believed in the ideal of "rotation in office" or "turn about is fair play"
   a. Civil service had in some ways become corrupt and ineffective
   b. Goal: Let as many citizens as possible hold office for at least a short time.
   c. Swiftest road to reform was to remove Adams-Clay appointees with loyal Jacksonians.
   d. Yet, only 20% of incumbents were removed.
      -- However, set a precedent for "clean sweeps" in later administrations.

3. Consequences of the spoils system
   a. Spoils system begun on a national scale
   b. Many able citizens discouraged to hold office.
   c. Competence and merit as ideals of office were subordinated while offices were
      prostituted to political ends
   d. Scandal accompanied the new system
   e. A political machine built around Jackson resulted.

VIII. Jackson's **Cabinet Crisis** and vice president Calhoun’s resignation

A. Jackson's six-member cabinet was mediocre (except secretary of state Martin Van Buren)

B. "**Kitchen Cabinet**"
   1. Extraofficial cabinet of about 13 temporary members
      -- Grew out of Jackson's informal meetings with his advisers, some of them
         newspaper people who kept him in touch with public opinion.
   2. Critics branded these members as the "**Kitchen Cabinet**"
      a. Angry that advisors were not answerable to Congress the way the official cabinet was.
      b. Congress saw it as a threat
   3. Yet, group never met officially and its influence has been greatly overexaggerated.
   4. Not unconstitutional: Presidents are free to consult with unofficial advisers.

C. **Webster-Hayne Debate**
   1. Cause: Late 1829, a New England senator introduced a bill designed to curb sale of
      public lands
      a. Western senators furiously defended their interests.
      b. Southern senators, seeking allies against the Northeast, sided with the West.
      c. Stage was set for a showdown in the Senate
      -- Webster-Hayne Debate lasted nine days in January, 1830.
   2. **Senator Robert Hayne** from South Carolina (one of Calhoun's proteges) represented
      states' rights
      a. Condemned disloyalty of New England during the War of 1812
      c. Blasted the "Tariff of Abominations" (1828)
      d. Acclaimed Calhoun's doctrine of nullification as only means of protecting Southern
         rights.
      e. Hayne, like Calhoun, sought to preserve the Union by protecting Southern interests.
         -- Hayne's arguments later used by nullifiers and secessionists.
   3. **Daniel Webster**, spokesman from New England, spoke on behalf of the union.
      a. Insisted the people not the states had framed the Constitution and blasted the
         doctrine of nullification.
      b. "**Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.**"
4. Result of the Debate: each side believed its champion had won.

5. Impact of Webster's Response
   -- Many credit Webster for helping win the Civil War by arousing the new generation of northerners to fight for the ideal of Union.

D. Symbolic split: **Jefferson Day Toast** (1830)
   1. In the view of Southerns, Jackson had been conspicuously silent on Southern grievances
   2. States' rights leaders, at a Jefferson Day banquet in 1830, schemed to smoke him out.
      a. Strategy was to devise a series of toasts in honor of Jefferson that would lead toward states' rights and nullification.
      b. Plotters assumed Jackson would be swept along by the toasts and commiserate.
      c. Jackson received word of the plot and carefully prepared his response.
   3. At the proper moment, Jackson rose, fixed his eyes on Calhoun and stated:
      "**Our Union: It must be preserved!**
   4. Calhoun replied: ""The union, next to our liberty, most dear!"

E. Peggy Eaton Affair
   1. Peggy Eaton the wife of Sec. of War Eaton
   2. Snubbed by the wives of Jackson's cabinet members especially by wife of Calhoun.
   3. Jackson, remembering his late wife, defended Mrs. Eaton.
      a. Unsuccessfully demanded that cabinet members make their wives recognize her.
      b. In response, Jackson began purging Calhoun’s allies in the cabinet in 1831.
      c. Jackson turned increasingly against Calhoun.
   4. Van Buren gained favor with Jackson by paying marked attention to Mrs. Eaton.
   5. Some have overexaggerated Eaton Affair as one of the major causes of the Civil War.
      a. Tariffs were the major immediate issue between Jackson and Calhoun.
      b. Also, Jackson learned Calhoun had criticized him during his earlier Florida campaign against Spain & Seminoles when Calhoun was Sec. of War.

F. Tariff Controversy of 1832 became the major wedge between Calhoun and Jackson.

G. Calhoun resigned in 1832
   1. Became a leader in the Senate and champion of states’ rights and South Carolina.
   2. Up until this time, Calhoun had publicly been a strong nationalist.
      a. Thought himself in line for the presidency after Jackson served 1 term.
      b. The Eaton affair destroyed his hopes of becoming president.
   3. Calhoun became a fierce sectionalist.
      a. Rigorously protected slavery and states rights’
      b. "**concurrent majority**" plan (created as early as 1833)
         i. U.S. would have two presidents: one representing the majority (North) and one representing the minority (South).
         -- Each would have veto power over Congress
         ii. Only if majority & minority were represented could the Union be stable.

IX. Nullification controversy of 1832
   A. South Carolina still fuming over "Tariff of Abominations" -- 1828
   B. Tariff of 1832
      1. Jackson attempted to improve tariff to conciliate the south by lowering the Tariff of 1828.
         a. Lowered duties to 35% from about 45%, or the 1824 level
         b. Yet, law still protective; not merely a revenue-based tariff
c. Fell far short of meeting all Southern demands

2. South Carolina took drastic action by nullifying Tariff of 1832
c. Called upon state legislature to make necessary military preparations
d. Threatened secede from the Union if Jackson attempted collection by force.

3. Jackson's reaction
a. Violently angry in private; threatened to "hang" nullifiers, including Calhoun
b. Dispatched modest naval and military reinforcements to SC while preparing sizable army quietly.
c. Issued a ringing proclamation against nullification
   -- Gov. Hayne (ex-Senator) responded with counterproclamation.
d. Standoff threatened a possible civil war.

4. Henry Clay proposed a compromise
   a. Tariff would be reduced by 10% over eight years.
      -- Rates would eventually be at approx. 1816 level -- 20-25% on dutiables.
b. Compromise Tariff of 1833 squeezed through Congress

5. Force Bill passed by Congress as face-saving device
   a. Authorized president in the future to use army and navy to collect federal tariffs if necessary.
   b. Dubbed "Bloody Bill" by South Carolinians.

C. Aftermath
1. Victory for both sides: Neither Jackson nor the "nullies" clearly triumphed
2. Stepping stone to Civil War
   a. SC gradually abandoned nullification in favor of secession by 1860.
   b. The tariff crisis was the most compelling reason for the split of Jackson and Calhoun

X. Election of 1832
A. Henry Clay (National Republican) vs. Jackson-- "Old Hickory" (Democrat)
   1. Jackson earlier favored a one-term presidency; cronies convinced him to stay.
   2. Clay was author of "American System", War Hawk, & western Senator.
      a. Advantage: Funded by easterners & BUS, supported by Daniel Webster
      b. Advantage: Most newspaper editors favored Clay & criticized Jackson

   -- Jackson had the support of the masses; overwhelmed the vote of the rich.

B. New political features introduced in campaign
1. Anti-Masonic party became the first 3rd party in an American prez. election.
   a. Opposed secrecy of the Masonic order, a fraternal organization dating back to 18\textsuperscript{th} century using rationalist Christian doctrine, ritual symbolism, and appeals to civic virtue.
      -- Recruited upwardly mobile middle-class professionals, business leaders, and politicians (like George Washington and Andrew Jackson).
   b. Masons accused of using its membership to influence appointments to offices and to gain economically at the expense of the masses.
   c. Anti-Masonic party attracted evangelical groups eager to fuse moral & religious reforms with politics (e.g. keeping Sabbath Day holy.)
      -- Meanwhile, Jacksonians against all gov't meddling in social & economic life.

2. National nominating conventions held in all three parties: similar in many ways to today's system
XI. Jacksonian Democracy – economics and states’ rights

A. Main aim: Divorce government from the economy (in essence, *laissez faire*)
   1. Anti-monopoly; the common man should have a chance to succeed economically.
   2. Return to Jeffersonian democracy -- gov’ts role should be limited.
   3. Give more power to states to promote equality of opportunity.

B. End of the Bank of the United States (BUS)
   1. Jackson distrusted the monopolistic bank ("moneyed monster") and huge businesses
   2. **Henry Clay** pushed to recharter BUS 4 years earlier in 1932 as a political ploy against Jackson
      a. Clay was the leading candidate of National Republican party for president in 1932.
      b. Henry Clay's scheme
         i. Ram a recharter bill through Congress and send it to the White House.
         ii. Would create a dilemma for Jackson:
            -- If he signed it, it would alienate his western support.
            -- If he vetoed it, he’d alienate wealthy & influential of the East.
         iii. Jackson: *"The Bank... is trying to kill me, but I will kill it."*
   3. Jackson vetoed BUS's charter in 1832
      a. Jackson assailed the bank as plutocratic, monopolistic and unconstitutional.
         i. Criticized **Nicholas Biddle**, head of the BUS
         ii. Favoritism toward the elite did occur; BUS forced foreclosures in the West.
      c. Jackson acted as if the executive branch was superior to judicial branch
         -- Supreme Court had ruled it constitutional: *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)
      d. Jackson's demagogic message appealed to the masses.
         -- Bank now became a major issue in 1832 presidential election.
   4. BUS strengths before it was killed by Jackson
      a. Sound organization; only national institution of its kind in U.S. history.
      b. Reduced bank failures
      c. Issued sound bank notes at a time when U.S. flooded with depreciated paper.
      d. Spurred economic expansion by making credit (& sound currency) available.
      e. Safe depository for federal gov'ts funds; transferred & disbursed its money.
   5. "Pet banks" scheme
      a. Jackson aimed to weaken BUS and Biddle
      b. Removed federal deposits from the BUS and placed them in 23 state "pet banks"
         -- Overseen by Sec. of Treasury **Roger B. Taney** (soon to appointed as Chief Justice of Supreme Court)
      c. Biddle retaliated by calling loans with unnecessary severity for the purpose of
         forcing a reconsideration of the bank's charter by Congress.
         i. Some weak banks became casualties
         ii. Actions reaffirmed the bank as a "dying monster" in many eyes.
   6. Specie Circular: new policy where public lands to be purchased with "hard" money
      a. In 1836, "Wildcat" currency had become unreliable, esp. in West.
      b. Jackson authorized the Treasury to issue a Specie Circular
         i. All public lands had to be purchased with federal money.
         ii. "Hard money" brought hard times to the West.
         iii. Locos Focos an important force in demanding hard money
      c. Inflation continued nonetheless
B. General incorporation laws (beginning with Connecticut in 1837)
1. Traditionally, corporate charters granted by state governments were construed to be monopoly-oriented.
2. During Jackson’s presidency and beyond, states made incorporation much easier, thus spurring the American economy with small and medium-sized businesses.
3. limited liability: business owners were now allowed to be a separate entity from their corporation. Thus if the corporation went bankrupt, the business owner still kept his money.

C. Charles River Bridge decision (Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge), 1837
1. Builders of Charles River Bridge gained a charter by Massachusetts in 1780 -- With Boston’s growth, stock in the bridge company skyrocketed.
2. 1828, Warren Bridge Co. granted a charter by Mass. to build a bridge 300 yards from the Charles River Bridge (who's company made profits from tolls).
   -- Heavy traffic necessitated another bridge.
3. Charles River Bridge Co. sued Warren Bridge Co. since the new charter interfered with the Constitution's provision for state's not to interfere with contracts.
4. Supreme Court granted Warren Bridge Co. the right to build the new bridge.
5. Significance: Encouraged economic development in transportation and other public facilities with free competition (began to end monopolies in public facilities). -- Very Jacksonian in nature.

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

XII. Transplanting Native American Tribes including the Cherokee
A. By 1830, most territories east of the Mississippi had become states -- Most Indian tribes surrounded by white settlements
B. Jackson felt it unwise to regard the tribes as separate nations within individual states.
   1. Harbored some protective feelings toward Indians yet saw them as "uncivilized."
2. Indian Removal Act (1830)
   a. Jackson proposed bodily removal of remaining Indians -- esp. Five Civilized Nations: Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminoles-- beyond the Mississippi to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).
   b. Emigration would be voluntary, (although Indians were ultimately forcibly removed).
      -- Individual Indians might remain if they adopted white ways.
   c. More than 100,000 Indians forcibly uprooted and moved in 1830s.
3. Bureau of Indian Affairs est. in 1836 to administer relations with Native Americans.
C. Cherokee
1. Developed certain aspects of society similar to whites
   a. Sequoya created Cherokee syllabic alphabet (85 characters) and Cherokee had own newspaper, Cherokee Phoenix
   b. Had a written constitution similar to U.S.; similar electoral system
   c. Established efficient agriculture-based economy
2. Unfortunately, Cherokee nation sat on valuable land in NE Georgia
a. Gold discovered in 1829 and local whites clamored to mine Cherokee land.
b. Land could be used for cotton; coveted by land-hungry white farmers.
c. Cherokee right to land had been recognized in the Treaty of 1791
   -- Many Georgians ignored the federal laws.

3. Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 1831
   a. Cherokee tried to stop a Georgia declaration that Cherokee laws were null & void.
   b. Supreme Court ruled that though Cherokee lacked jurisdiction over land, it was a
      "domestic dependent, nation" possessing some sovereignty, but not a foreign nation.
      -- Represented a major blow to Cherokee rights as an independent nation.

4. Worcester v. Georgia (1832)
   a. John Marshall ruled that Georgia’s laws had no jurisdiction inside Cherokee territory
      and could invite whom ever it wished on its land.
      -- Samuel Worcester was a missionary living with the Cherokee for years but was
      forced by GA to take an oath of allegiance or leave Cherokee land; he refused
      and was arrested
   b. Jackson: "John Marshall has made his decision; let him enforce it if he can."
      i.   Jackson did nothing to enforce the decision; Worcester stayed in jail.
      ii. Cherokee realized their fate when Jackson flouted the authority of the Supreme
           Court.

5. Trail of Tears
   a. 1838 -- 18,000 Cherokees forcibly removed from their homes and marched
      1,000 miles to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).
      i. 4,000 died from malnutrition, exposure, cholera, & harsh treatment.
      ii. Soldiers forced the march with rifles and bayonets.
   b. Earlier, 25% of Choctaws died en route to Indian Territory between 1831-1835
   c. 3,500 of 15,000 Creeks died during removal in 1836.

D. Black Hawk War (1832)
   1. Braves in Illinois & Wisconsin led by Black Hawk resisted eviction of lands west of Lake
      Huron.
   2. Crushed by U.S. troops
   3. Area west of Lake Michigan became open for white settlement.

E. Seminoles in Florida
   1. Seminoles were ordered to merge with their old enemy -- the Creek -- and be relocated.
      -- Refused as Creek were slaveowners & many Seminoles had escaped Creek slavery.
   2. Waged bloody guerrilla war in the Second Seminole War (1835-1842) that left
      1,500 U.S. soldiers dead
      -- Bloodiest Indian conflict in U.S. history.
   3. 4/5 or 3,000 were forcibly moved to Oklahoma; 3,000 still survive today

XIII. The Birth of Texas
   A. Americans coveted vast expanse of Texas
      -- Had abandoned it to Spain when acquiring Florida in 1819 (Adams-Onis Treaty)
   B. 1823, a newly independent Mexico granted Stephen Austin what is today Texas.
      1. Immigrants were to be Catholic and properly Mexicanized.
      2. Restrictions were largely ignored by Americans
   C. Friction between Mexicans and Americans over issues of slavery, immigration, & local
      rights
1. Mexico emancipated its slaves in 1830 and prohibited importation into Texas.
2. Prohibited further settlement by Americans.
3. Texans refused to abide by Mexico's decree -- Kept slaves and new American settlers continued to bring slaves.
4. In 1835, Mexican dictator Santa Anna erased all local rights and raised an army to suppress Texans.
   D. Texas declared its independence in early 1836 -- Sam Houston, commander in chief
      1. Santa Anna headed a 6,000 man army and swept through Texas.
      2. Killed 342 American volunteers at Goliad who surrendered.
      3. Trapped and killed all Americans at the Alamo (including Davy Crockett & James Bowie)
      4. Americans outraged: "Remember the Alamo", "Remember Goliad", "Death to Santa Anna."
   E. Houston's army victorious at San Jacinto
      1. Santa Anna signed two treaties: withdraw Mexican troops & recognize Rio Grande as Texas' southern border (Nueces had been original border)
         -- Santa Anna repudiated treaties upon his release.
      2. American aid important to Texas' fight for independence
         a. America's neutrality laws overshadowed by public opinion which nullified existing legislation.
         b. Mexicans complained US obligated to honor its international neutrality law
   F. Jackson's dilemma
      1. To recognize Texas was to touch off explosive slavery issue at a time he was supporting his hand-picked successor Martin Van Buren for president.
      2. Recognized Texas the day before he left office in 1837.
      3. Texas officially petitioned to be annexed
         a. Antislavery crusaders in the North opposed it.
         b. Southerners welcomed idea of annexation.
      4. Texas left to protect itself
         a. Feared reprisals from Santa Anna
         b. Courted British and French for aid.
         c. Balance of power politics threatened underbelly of the U.S.
      5. Houston became the first president of the Independent Republic of Texas.

XIV. Election of 1836
   A. Birth of the Whigs (heirs of Hamilton’s Federalist ideas)
      1. Emerged in 1834 where Clay and Calhoun joined forces to pass a motion censuring Jackson for his removal of federal deposits from the BUS.
         -- Mutual hatred of Jackson: "King Andrew I"
      2. Evolved into a national political party of groups alienated by Jackson.

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<tr>
<th>Whigs</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
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<td>• Supported by northern industrialists and merchants (wealthiest Americans)</td>
<td>• Supported by the common people and machine politicians in the East</td>
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• Supported Clay’s "American System"
• Sought to reduce the spoils system
• Southern states’ rights advocates angry at Jackson’s stand on nullification
• Evangelicals from Anti-Masonic party joined
• Later supported moral reforms: prohibition of alcohol and abolition of slavery
• Sought to use national gov’t to solve societies problems (over states’ rights issues)

• States’ Rights – opposed to "American System"
• Favored spoils system
• Anti-monopoly—favored increased competition
• Believed federal gov’t should not be involved in people’s personal lives

3. Many Whig principles became the foundation for the modern-day Republican party.

B. William Henry Harrison, hero of Battle of Tippecanoe, emerged as Whig candidate, elbowing Clay aside.

C. Martin Van Buren was Jackson's hand-picked successor.
   1. Old and ailing, Jackson decided not to run for a third term.
   2. Decided to run a third term vicariously through Van Buren.

D. Van Buren d. Harrison 170-73; 765,483 to 739,795 in popular vote.

XV. Jackson's Legacy
A. Positive Contributions
   1. Demonstrated value of strong executive leadership in 1832 tariff controversy
   2. Became the champion of the common people in politics
   3. United followers into powerful and long-lived Democratic Party (& engendered the two-party system with the Whigs as opposition)

B. Liabilities
   1. Encouragement of the spoils system
   2. Killing the BUS resulted in thousands of bank failures until the 20th century
   3. Specie circular hurt western farmers
   4. Flouted authority of the Supreme Court vis-à-vis Cherokee and BUS
   5. Trail of Tears.
   6. Cabinet crisis and break with Calhoun resulted in increased sectionalism.

XVI. Van Buren's presidency
A. Van Buren -- Principle architect of the 2nd American Party System
   a. "Albany Regency": Political organization created earlier by Van Buren that dominated NY politics.
      b. Tactics: patronage policies, & discipline anticipated modern political practices.
   B. Resentment over Van Buren's ascent proved a liability; inherited Jackson's enemies
   C. 4 years of turmoil and trouble
      1. Rebellion in Canada in 1837 created ugly incidents along the border and threatened to trigger war with Britain—Caroline Incident
      2. Antislavery northerners among numerous critics condemning prospective annexation of
Texas.
3. Worst of all, Panic of 1837 hit as a result of Jackson's policies ensued

XVII. Panic of 1837
A. Causes
   1. Most important cause: overspeculation
      a. Land speculators in the West borrowed heavily from "wildcat banks."
      b. Speculation spread to canals, roads, and slaves.
      c. Unable to pay back loans causing bank failures
   2. Jacksonian finance, incl. Bank War & Specie Circular, further hurt the economy.
   3. Flour Riot: rop failures forced grain prices so high that NY mobs stormed warehouses and broke open flour barrels. (Occurred during Jackson's last days)
   4. Failure of two major British banks cause English investors to call in foreign loans.
      -- Pinch in U.S. along with other factors led to the beginning of the panic.
B. Results
   1. American banks collapsed by the hundreds incl. "pet banks" which carried down several million dollars in gov't funds.
   2. Commodity prices and sale of public land fell; customs revenues dried up.
   3. Factories closed; unemployment soared.
C. Whig proposals shot down by Van Buren
   1. Called for expansion of bank credit, higher tariffs, and subsidies for internal improvvs.
   2. Van Buren's Jacksonian philosophy of limited gov't involvement thwarted action.
D. Treasury Bill of 1840 ("Divorce Bill")
   1. Van Buren was convinced that part of the problem was due to federal funds being given to private banks.
   2. Championed the Jacksonian principle of "divorcing" gov't from banks altogether.
   3. Independent Treasury System established where gov't could lock its surplus in vaults in several of the larger cities.
   4. Funds were safe but also denied the banking system reserves which shriveled available credit resources.
   5. Policy condemned by the Whigs and repealed next year when they won the presidency.
      -- Reenacted in 1846 by victorious Democrats (Polk).

XVIII. Election of 1840
A. Van Buren renominated by Democrats
B. Whigs once again chose William H. Harrison over both Clay and Webster
   -- Slogan: Tippecanoe and Tyler Too (John Tyler was v.p. runningmate)
C. Voters (perhaps unfairly) blamed the depression on Van Buren (the party in power)
D. Whigs created false myths about Harrison being a poor farmer from a log cabin: Log Cabin and Hard Cider
E. Harrison defeats Van Buren
F. Significance
   1. First mass-turnout election in American history
   2. Propaganda and silly slogans set unfortunate example for future campaigns.
      -- Solid principled party ousted for hoopla
3. **Liberty Party**, 1st anti-extension of slavery party, also in the race with James G. Birney as its candidate.

**Bibliography:**
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