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The Rise of a Mass Democracy, 1824–1840

PART I: Reviewing the Chapter

A. Checklist of Learning Objectives

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to

1. describe and explain the growth of the “New Democracy” in the 1820s.
2. indicate how the “corrupt bargain” of 1824 weakened Adams and set the stage for Jackson’s election in 1828.
3. analyze the significance of Jackson’s victory in 1828 as a triumph of the “New Democracy.”
4. describe the political innovations of the 1830s, including the rise of mass parties, and indicate their significance for American politics and society.
5. describe Jackson’s policies toward the southeastern Indian tribes and newly independent Texas.
6. explain the economic and political consequences of the Panic of 1837.
7. assess the positive and negative impact of the new popular democracy.

B. Glossary

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms.

1. **deference** The yielding of opinion to the judgment of someone else. “The deference, apathy, and virtually nonexistent party organizations of the Era of Good Feelings yielded to the boisterous democracy. . . .” (p. 256)
2. **puritanical** Extremely or excessively strict in matters of morals or religion. “The only candidate left was the puritanical Adams. . . .” (p. 258)
3. **mudslinging** Malicious, unscrupulous attacks against an opponent. “Mudslinging reached a disgraceful level. . . .”
4. **spoils** Public offices given as a reward for political support. “Under Jackson the spoils system . . . was introduced on a large scale.” (p. 262)
5. **denominations** In American religion, the major branches of Christianity, organized into distinct church structures, e.g., Presbyterians, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, etc. “. . . many denominations sent missionaries into Indian villages.” (p. 266)
6. **evangelical** In American religion, those believers and groups, usually Protestant, who emphasizes personal salvation, individual conversion experiences, voluntary commitment, and the authority of Scripture. “The Anti-Masons attracted support from many evangelical Protestant groups. . . .” (p. 271)
7. **hard money** Metal money or coins, as distinguished from paper money. (The term also came to mean reliable or secure money that maintained or increased its purchasing power over time. **Soft money**, or paper money, was assumed to inflate or lose value.) “. . . a decree that required all public lands to be purchased with ‘hard’ . . . money.” (p. 272)

8. **usurpation** The act of seizing, occupying, or enjoying the place, power, or functions of someone without legal right. "Hatred of Jackson and his 'executive usurpation' was its only apparent cement in its formative days." (p. 272)
9. **favorite sons** In American politics, presidential candidates who are nominated by their own state, primarily out of local loyalty. "Their long-shot strategy was instead to run several prominent 'favorite sons' . . . and hope to scatter the vote so that no candidate could win a majority." (p. 273)
10. **machine** A hierarchical political organization, often controlled through patronage or spoils, where professional workers deliver large blocs of voters to preferred candidates. "As a machine-made candidate, he incurred the resentment of many Democrats. . . ." (p. 274)
11. **temperance** Campaigns for voluntary commitment to moderation or total abstinence in the consumption of liquor. (Prohibition involved instead forcible legal bans on the production or consumption of alcohol.) ". . . the Arkansas Indians dubbed him 'Big Drunk.' He subsequently took the pledge of temperance." (p. 276)
12. **populist** A political program or style focused on the common people, and attacking perspectives and policies associated with the well-off, well-born, or well-educated. (The Populist Party was a specific third-party organization of the 1890s.) "The first was the triumph of a populist democratic style." (p. 283)
13. **divine right** The belief that government or rulers are directly established by God. ". . . America was now bowing to the divine right of the people." (p. 283)

PART II: Checking Your Progress

A. True-False

Where the statement is true, mark **T**. Where it is false, mark **F**, and correct it in the space immediately below.

- ___ 1. The last election based on the old elitist political system was the four-way presidential campaign of 1824 involving Jackson, Clay, Crawford, and John Quincy Adams.
- ___ 2. Henry Clay disproved the charge of a "corrupt bargain" between himself and President Adams by refusing to accept any favors from the administration.
- ___ 3. President Adams attempted to uphold strong nationalistic principles in a time of growing support for sectionalism and states' rights.
- ___ 4. In his personal lifestyle as well as his policies, Andrew Jackson epitomized the hard-working ordinary frontiersmen in contrast to the wealthy Adams and his supporters.
- ___ 5. The election campaign of 1828 was notable for its focus on the issues of the tariff and democracy rather than on personalities and mudslinging.
- ___ 6. Jackson's victory in 1828 did represent the triumph of the West and the common people over the older elitist political system.
- ___ 7. The Jacksonians put into practice their belief that ordinary citizens were capable of holding almost any public office without particular qualifications.
- ___ 8. One consequence of the spoils system was the building of powerful political machines based on jobs and sometimes corrupt rewards distributed to political supporters.

- ___ 9. The "Tariff of Abominations" was passed over the strong opposition of President Jackson.
- ___ 10. South Carolina's fierce opposition to the tariff reflected anxiety that enhanced federal power might be turned against the institution of slavery.
- ___ 11. When the Supreme Court attempted to uphold southeastern Indians' rights, Jackson defied the Supreme Court's rulings and ordered them removed to Oklahoma.
- ___ 12. Jackson used his veto of the bill to recharter the Bank of the United States to politically mobilize the common people of the West against the financial elite of the East.
- ___ 13. The Whig party was from the beginning united by its ideological support for states rights and national expansion.
- ___ 14. American settlers in Texas clashed with the Mexican government over issues of slavery, immigration, and legal rights.
- ___ 15. William Henry Harrison's background as an ordinary frontiersman born in a log cabin formed the basis for the Whigs' appeal to the common man in 1840.

B. Multiple Choice

Select the best answer and write the proper letter in the space provided.

- ___ 1. The Jacksonian charge of a "corrupt bargain" to gain John Quincy Adams the presidency arose because
 - a. William Crawford threw his electoral votes to Adams in exchange for a seat in the Senate.
 - b. Adams was charged with having bribed members of the House to vote for him.
 - c. Adams ended his previous opposition to Clay's American System.
 - d. Clay was named secretary of state after throwing his support to Adams.
- ___ 2. Which of the following was *not* among the factors that made John Quincy Adams's presidency a political failure?
 - a. Adams's anti-western land and Indian policies.
 - b. Adams's involvement with correct machine deals and politicians.
 - c. Adams's stubborn and prickly personality.
 - d. Adams's support for national roads, a national university, and an astronomical observatory.
- ___ 3. Andrew Jackson's appeal to the common people arose partly because
 - a. Americans finally understood the ideas of the Declaration of Independence.
 - b. many citizens were tired of the partisan fights between Republicans and Federalists.
 - c. he had risen from the masses and reflected many of their prejudices in his personal attitudes and outlook.
 - d. farmer and labor organizations aroused populist opposition to elitist politics.

- ___ 4. One political development that illustrated the new popular voice in politics was
 - a. the rise of the caucus system of presidential nominations.
 - b. the growth of the spoils system as a basis for large political "machines."
 - c. the development of extensive speechmaking tours by presidential candidates.
 - d. the hostility to the influence of the Masons in national politics.

- ___ 5. In the battle over the "Tariff of Abominations,"
 - a. New England backed high tariffs while the South demanded lower duties.
 - b. both New England and the South opposed the higher tariff rates.
 - c. the South fought for higher tariffs while the West sought lower rates.
 - d. the South backed higher tariffs while New England sought to lower the rates.

- ___ 6. Under the surface of the South's strong opposition to the "Tariff of Abominations" was
 - a. a desire to develop its own textile industry.
 - b. competition between southern cotton growers and midwestern grain farmers.
 - c. a strong preference for British manufactured goods over American-produced goods.
 - d. a fear of growing federal power that might interfere with slavery.

- ___ 7. Some southeastern Indian tribes like the Cherokees were notable for their
 - a. effectiveness in warfare against encroaching whites.
 - b. development of effective agricultural, educational, and political institutions.
 - c. success in persuading President Jackson to support their cause.
 - d. adherence to traditional Native American cultural and religious values.

- ___ 8. In promoting his policy of Indian removal, President Andrew Jackson
 - a. defied rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court that favored the Cherokees.
 - b. admitted that the action would destroy Native American culture and society.
 - c. acted against the advice of his cabinet and his military commanders in the Southeast.
 - d. hoped to split the Cherokees apart from their allies such as the Creeks and Seminoles.

- ___ 9. Jackson's veto of the Bank of the United States recharter bill represented
 - a. a bold assertion of presidential power on behalf of western farmers and other debtors.
 - b. an attempt to assure bankers and creditors that the federal government had their interests at heart.
 - c. a concession to Henry Clay and his National Republican followers.
 - d. a gain for sound banking and a financially stable currency system.

- ___ 10. One important result of President Jackson's destruction of the Bank of the United States was
 - a. a successful economy that could be handed to his successor, Van Buren.
 - b. a sounder financial system founded upon thousands of locally controlled banks.
 - c. the American banking system's dependence on European investment and control.
 - d. the lack of a stable banking system to finance the era of rapid industrialization.

- ___ 11. Among the new political developments that appeared in the election of 1832 were
 - a. political parties and direct popular voting for president.
 - b. newspaper endorsements and public financing of presidential campaigns.
 - c. nomination by congressional caucus and voting by the Electoral College.
 - d. third-party campaigning, national conventions, and party platforms.

- ___ 12. In the immediate aftermath of the successful Texas Revolution,
- Texas petitioned to join the United States but was refused admission.
 - Texas joined the United States as a slave state.
 - Mexico and the United States agreed to a joint protectorate over Texas.
 - Britain threatened the United States with war over Texas.
- ___ 13. The Panic of 1837 and subsequent depression were caused by
- the stock market collapse and a sharp decline in grain prices.
 - a lack of new investment in industry and technology.
 - the threat of war with Mexico over Texas.
 - over-speculation and Jackson's financial policies.
- ___ 14. Prominent leaders of the Whig party included
- Martin Van Buren and John C. Calhoun.
 - Henry Clay and Daniel Webster.
 - Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison.
 - Stephen Austin and Sam Houston.
- ___ 15. In general, the Whig party tended to favor
- individual liberty and states' rights.
 - the protection of slavery and southern interests.
 - a strong federal role in both economic and moral issues.
 - the interests of the working people and farmers against the upper classes.

C. Identification

Supply the correct identification for each numbered description.

- _____ 1. New, circus like method of nominating presidential candidates that involved wider participation but usually left effective control in the hands of party bosses
- _____ 2. Small, short-lived third political party that originated a new method of nominating presidential candidates in the election campaign of 1831–1832
- _____ 3. Contemptuous Jacksonian term for the alleged political deal by which Clay threw his support to Adams in exchange for a high cabinet office
- _____ 4. Office to which President Adams appointed Henry Clay
- _____ 5. The popular idea that public offices should be handed out on the basis of political support rather than special qualifications
- _____ 6. Scornful southern term for the high Tariff of 1828
- _____ 7. Theory promoted by John C. Calhoun and other South Carolinians that said states had the right to disregard federal laws to which they objected
- _____ 8. The "moneyed monster" that Clay tried to preserve and that Jackson killed with his veto in 1832
- _____ 9. Ritualistic secret societies that became the target of a momentarily powerful third party in 1832
- _____ 10. Religious believers, originally attracted to the Anti-Masonic party and then to the Whigs, who sought to use political power for moral and religious reform

- _____ 11. Any *two* of the southeastern Indian peoples who were removed to Oklahoma
- _____ 12. The sorrowful path along which thousands of southeastern Indians were removed to Oklahoma
- _____ 13. The nation from which Texas won its independence in 1836
- _____ 14. Anti-Jackson political party that generally stood for national community and an activist government
- _____ 15. Popular symbols of the bogus but effective campaign the Whigs used to elect "poor-boy" William Henry Harrison in 1840

D. Matching People, Places, and Events

Match the person, place, or event in the left column with the proper description in the right column by inserting the correct letter on the blank line.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| _____ 1. John C. Calhoun | A. Cherokee leader who devised an alphabet for his people |
| _____ 2. Henry Clay | B. Political party that generally stressed individual liberty, the rights of the common people, and hostility to privilege |
| _____ 3. Nicholas Biddle | C. Seminole leader whose warriors killed fifteen hundred American soldiers in years of guerrilla warfare |
| _____ 4. Sequoyah | D. Former Tennessee governor whose victory at San Jacinto in 1836 won Texas its independence |
| _____ 5. John Quincy Adams | E. Mexican general and dictator whose large army failed to defeat the Texans |
| _____ 6. Denmark Vesey | F. Former vice president, leader of South Carolina nullifiers, and bitter enemy of Andrew Jackson |
| _____ 7. Stephen Austin | G. Political party that favored a more activist government, high tariffs, internal improvements, and moral reforms |
| _____ 8. Sam Houston | H. Original leader of American settlers in Texas who obtained a huge land grant from the Mexican government |
| _____ 9. Osceola | I. Free South Carolina black whose 1822 rebellion raised southern fears about the future of slavery |
| _____ 10. Santa Anna | J. "Old Tippecanoe," who was portrayed by Whig propagandists as a hard-drinking common man of the frontier |
| _____ 11. Martin Van Buren | K. Jackson's rival for the presidency in 1832, who failed to save the Bank of the United States |
| _____ 12. Black Hawk | L. The "wizard of Albany," whose economically troubled presidency was served in the shadow of Jackson |
| _____ 13. William Henry Harrison | M. Talented but high-handed bank president who fought a bitter losing battle with the president of the United States |
| _____ 14. Whigs | N. Aloof New England statesman whose elitism made him an unpopular leader in the new era of mass democracy |
| _____ 15. Democrats | O. Illinois-Wisconsin area Sauk leader who was defeated by American regulars and militia in 1832. |

E. Putting Things in Order

Put the following events in correct order by numbering them from 1 to 5.

- ___ South Carolina threatens "nullification" of federal law and backs down in the face of Andrew Jackson's military threat.
- ___ A strange four-way election puts an icy New Englander in office amid charges of a "corrupt bargain."
- ___ A campaign based on hoopla and "log cabins and hard cider slogans" demonstrates that both Whigs and Democrats can effectively play the new mass-party political game.
- ___ A northern Mexican province successfully revolts and seeks admission to the United States.
- ___ Despite attempting to follow white patterns of "civilizing," thousands of American Indians are forcibly removed from their homes and driven across the Mississippi River.

F. Matching Cause and Effect

Match the historical cause in the left column with the proper effect in the right column by writing the correct letter on the blank line.

Cause	Effect
___ 1. The growth of American migration into northern Mexico	A. Brought many evangelical Christians into politics and showed that others besides Jackson could stir up popular feelings
___ 2. The demand of many whites to acquire Indian land in Georgia and other states	B. Provoked protests and threats of nullification from South Carolina
___ 3. The Anti-Masonic Party	C. Aroused popular anger and made Jackson's supporters determined to elect him in 1828
___ 4. The failure of any candidate to win an electoral majority in the four-way election of 1824	D. Laid the foundations for the spoils system that fueled the new mass political parties
___ 5. The alleged "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay for the presidency in 1824	E. Threw the bitterly contested election into the U.S. House of Representatives
___ 6. President Adams's strong nationalistic policies	F. Laid the basis for a political conflict that resulted in Texas independence
___ 7. The high New England-backed Tariff of 1828	G. Caused widespread human suffering and virtually guaranteed Martin Van Buren's defeat in 1840
___ 8. Andrew Jackson's "war" against Nicholas Biddle and his policies	H. Fueled the political pressures that led Andrew Jackson to forcibly remove the Cherokees and others
___ 9. Jackson's belief that any ordinary American could hold government office	I. Aroused the bitter opposition of westerners and southerners, who were increasingly sectionalist
___ 10. The Panic of 1837	J. Got the government out of banking but weakened the American financial system.

G. Developing Historical Skills

Interpreting Political Cartoons and Satire

Political cartoons are an important historical source. Even when they are strongly biased one way or another, they can yield information about political conflicts and contemporary attitudes.

The anti-Jackson cartoon on p. 269 reveals a number of things about how his opponents viewed Jackson. Answer the following questions.

1. What is the fundamental point of the cartoon's attack on the Bank of the United States and its supporters?
2. What visual means does the cartoonist use to develop point?
3. In the pro-Jackson cartoon on p. 270, how is Clay's frustration at Jackson's bank veto portrayed? How is Jackson's successful resistance represented?
4. In the satirical bank note mocking pro-Jackson "pet banks," list at least three distinct *visual* symbols that identify the worthless note with Jackson and his policies.
5. List at least three *verbal* terms or phrases that underscore the supposed fraudulency of Jacksonian banking practices.

H. Map Mastery

Map Discrimination

Using the maps and charts in Chapter 13, answer the following questions.

1. *Election of 1824*: In the election of 1824, how many more electoral votes would Jackson have needed to win a majority and prevent the election from going to the House of Representatives?
2. *Presidential Election of 1828*: In the election of 1828, in which states outside New England did John Quincy Adams win electoral votes?
3. *Presidential Election of 1828*: In the election of 1828, which of the eastern "middle states" did Jackson carry *completely*?

4. *Presidential Election of 1828*: Which two states divided their electoral votes?

5. *The Removal of the Southern Tribes to the West*: Of the five southeastern Indian tribes, which two were located wholly within the boundaries of a single state? Which tribe was located in four states?

6. *The Texas Revolution, 1835–1836*: A) When Santa Anna's army entered Texas to attack the Alamo, what two major rivers did it cross? B) When Santa Anna's army moved from the site of its greatest victory to the site of its greatest defeat, what direction did it march?

PART III: Applying What You Have Learned

1. Why was Andrew Jackson such a *personally* powerful embodiment of the new mass democracy in the 1820s and 1830s? Would mass democracy have developed without a popular hero like Jackson?
2. Why did Calhoun and the South see the Tariff of 1828 as such an “abomination” and raise threats of nullification over it?
3. Discuss the attitudes, policies, and events that led to the “Trail of Tears” Indian removal in 1837.
4. What did the two new democratic parties, the Democrats and the Whigs, really stand for? Were they actual ideological opponents, or were their disagreements less important than their shared roots in the new mass democracy?
5. Compare the two-party political system of the 1830s’ “New Democracy” with the first two-party system of the early Republic. (See Chapter 10.) In what ways were the two systems similar, and in what ways were they different? Were both parties of the 1830s correct in seeing themselves as heirs of the Jeffersonian Republican tradition rather than the Hamiltonian Federalist tradition?