
Chapter 10

A Democratic Revolution

1820–1844

Teaching Resources

Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. Why did popular politics come about during the 1820s?
2. What was the significance of Andrew Jackson's presidency?
3. What were the origins and ideology of the Whig Party?
4. How did the events of the 1820s and 1830s shape American culture?

Chapter Annotated Outline

- I. The Rise of Popular Politics, 1820–1829
 - A. The Decline of the Notables and the Rise of Parties
 1. Expansion of the **franchise** was the most dramatic expression of the democratic revolution; beginning in the late 1810s, many states revised their constitutions to give the franchise to nearly every white male farmer and wage earner.
 2. In America's traditional agricultural society, wealthy notables dominated the political system and managed local elections by building up supporting factions.
 3. Smallholding farmers and ambitious laborers in the Midwest and Southwest launched the first challenges to the traditional political order; the constitutions of new states prescribed a broad male franchise and voters usually elected middling men to local and state offices.
 4. To deter migration to the western states, the elites in most eastern legislatures grudgingly accepted a broader franchise for their states.
 5. By the mid-1820s only a few states—North Carolina, Virginia, Rhode Island—required the ownership of freehold property for voting.
 6. Between 1818 and 1821, some eastern states reapportioned legislatures on the basis of population and instituted more democratic forms of local government.
 7. Americans began to turn to government in order to advance business, religious, and cultural causes.
 8. As the power of the notables declined, the political party emerged as the organizing force in the American system of government.
 9. Parties were political machines that gathered the diverse agenda of social and economic groups into a coherent legislative program.
 10. Between 1817 and 1821, Martin Van Buren created the first statewide **political machine**, and he later organized the first nationwide political party, the Jacksonian Democrats.
 11. Keys to Van Buren's political success were his systematic use of party newspapers to promote a platform and drum up the vote and his use of **patronage**; he and his party made six thousand political appointments in New York. Van Buren then used the **spoils system** to award public jobs to political supporters after an electoral victory.
 12. Van Buren also insisted on party discipline and required state legislators to follow the dictates of a **party caucus**, or meeting.
- B. The Election of 1824
 1. With the democratization of politics, the aristocratic Federalist Party virtually

disappeared, and the Republicans broke up into competing factions.

2. The election of 1824 had five candidates who all called themselves Republicans: John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, William H. Crawford, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson.
 3. Congress selected William Crawford as the official candidate, yet the other candidates refused to accept the selection and sought support among ordinary voters.
 4. Although Jackson received nationwide support, no candidate received an absolute majority in the electoral college, so members of the House of Representatives had to choose the president.
 5. Clay assembled a coalition of congressmen that voted for Adams, and Adams repaid Clay by appointing him secretary of state. As a congressman, Clay had promoted the **American System**, an integrated program of national economic development.
 6. Clay's appointment was a politically fatal mistake for both men; Calhoun accused Adams of using "the power and patronage of the Executive" to thwart the popular will and Jacksonians in Congress condemned Clay for arranging this "corrupt bargain."
- C. The Last Notable President: John Quincy Adams
1. Adams embraced the American System proposed by Clay: protective tariffs, federally subsidized transportation improvements, and a national bank.
 2. Adams's policies favored the business elite of the Northeast and the entrepreneurs and commercial farmers in the Midwest but won little support among southern planters and smallholding farmers.
 3. Congress approved only a few of Adams's proposals for internal improvements, such as a short extension of the National Road.
 4. The most far-reaching battle of the Adams administration came over tariffs; Adams's Tariff of 1824 protected manufacturers in New England and Pennsylvania against imports of more expensive woolen and cotton textiles as well as iron goods.
 5. Disregarding southern opposition, northern Jacksonians joined with the supporters of Adams and Clay to enact the Tariff of 1828, which raised duties on raw materials, textiles, and iron goods.
 6. The new tariff enraged the South; as the world's cheapest producer of raw cotton, the tariff cost southern planters about \$100 million a year as planters had to buy either higher-cost American textiles and iron goods or highly taxed British goods.
7. Southerners felt the tariff was legalized pillage and labeled it a "Tariff of Abominations."
- D. "The Democracy" and the Election of 1828
1. Southerners refused to support Adams's bid for a second term: most were offended that he supported the land rights of Indians and blamed him for the new tariff.
 2. Adams's primary weakness was his increasingly out-of-date political style; for example, he felt that the country should ask for his services.
 3. Martin Van Buren and the professional politicians handling Andrew Jackson's campaign had no reservations about "running" for the presidency.
 4. Jacksonians initially called themselves "Democratic Republicans" but eventually became simply "Democrats," and their name conveyed their message that through them the middling majority—the democracy—would rule.
 5. Jackson's appeal as a candidate was his message of equal rights and popular rule, his hostility to business corporations and to Clay's American System, his animus toward Native Americans, and his personal preference for a "judicious" tariff.
 6. Jackson received 178 of 261 electoral votes and became the first president from a western state; however, the massive outpouring of popular support for Jackson frightened men of wealth and influence.
- II. The Jacksonian Presidency, 1829–1837
- A. Jackson's Agenda: Rotation and Decentralization
1. To decide policy, Jackson primarily relied on his so-called "Kitchen Cabinet"—an informal group of advisors.
 2. Using the spoils system, Jackson created a loyal and disciplined national party and dispensed government jobs to aid his friends and win support for his legislative program.
 3. Jackson's main priority was to destroy Clay's American System.
 4. He rejected national support for transportation projects, which he also opposed on constitutional grounds, and in 1830 vetoed four internal improvement bills.

B. The Tariff and Nullification

1. Although opposition to the Tariff of 1828 helped Jackson to win the election, a major political crisis saddled him with protecting it.
2. To sidetrack the possibility that government would try to end slavery, South Carolina politicians tried to limit the power of the central government and chose the tariff as their target.
3. The crisis began in 1832 when high-tariff congressmen ignored southern warnings that they were “endangering the Union” and reenacted the Tariff of Abominations.
4. In response, the South Carolina state convention adopted an Ordinance of Nullification, which declared the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 null and void and threatened secession.
5. South Carolina’s act of **nullification** rested on the constitutional arguments developed by Vice President John C. Calhoun, in which he maintained that the Constitution had been ratified by state conventions and, therefore, a state convention could declare a congressional law null and void.
6. Jackson denounced this radical redefinition of the constitutional system, declaring that nullification violated the Constitution and threatened the union of the United States.
7. At Jackson’s request, Congress passed a Force Bill authorizing the use of the army and navy to force South Carolina’s obedience.
8. At the same time, a tariff act was passed that gradually reduced rates; by 1842, tariffs reverted to the modest rates of 1816, thereby eliminating another part of Clay’s American System.
9. South Carolina rescinded its nullification of the tariff, and Jackson had established the principle that no state could nullify a law of the United States.

C. The Bank War

1. By collecting notes and regularly demanding specie, the Second Bank of the United States kept state banks from issuing too many notes—preventing monetary inflation and higher prices.
2. Most Americans did not understand the regulatory role of the Second Bank and feared its ability to force bank closures, which left them holding worthless paper.

3. In 1832 Jackson’s opponents in Congress persuaded the Second Bank’s president, Nicholas Biddle, to seek an early extension of the Bank’s charter with the hope of luring Jackson into a veto that would split the Democrats just before the 1832 elections.
4. Jackson vetoed the bank bill and became a public hero; he declared that the Second Bank promoted the advancement of the few at the expense of the many.
5. Jackson won the election of 1832, jettisoned Calhoun as vice president, and chose Martin Van Buren instead.
6. Jackson had Secretary of the Treasury Roger B. Taney withdraw the government’s gold from the Second Bank and deposit it in state “pet” banks.
7. The “bank war” escalated into an all-out political battle. Jackson’s opponents in the Senate passed a resolution censuring the president for acting independently of Congress, although Jackson ultimately won out. When the Second Bank’s national charter expired in 1836, Jackson prevented its renewal.
8. Jackson had destroyed both national banking and the American System of protective tariffs and internal improvements. The result was a profound reduction in the purview and powers of the national government.

D. Indian Removal

1. In the late 1820s whites in both the West and East called for the resettlement of the Indians west of the Mississippi River.
2. Indian peoples still controlled vast tracts of ancestral land and were determined to retain them.
3. Setting Indian preferences aside, the Georgia legislature demanded a fulfillment of the promise to extinguish Indian landholdings in the state in return for its 1802 ceding of western land claims.
4. Jackson gave full support to Georgia. He declared states were sovereign within their borders and he withdrew the federal troops that had protected Indian enclaves.
5. Jackson then pushed through Congress the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which provided territory in modern-day Oklahoma and Kansas to Native Americans who would give up their ancestral holdings on the promise that they could live on the new lands in perpetuity.

6. When Chief Black Hawk and his followers refused to move from their rich farmland in western Illinois, Jackson sent troops to expel them, which resulted in the army pursuing him into the Wisconsin Territory and engaging in the brutal eight-hour Bad Axe Massacre of 1832.
 7. Over the next five years American diplomatic pressure and military power forced seventy Indian nations to sign treaties and move west of the Mississippi.
 8. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) the Supreme Court denied Indian independence; however, in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) the Supreme Court voided Georgia's extension of state law over the Indians.
 9. Rather than guaranteeing the Cherokee's territory, the U.S. government took it from them.
 10. When a vast majority of Cherokees had not departed to the new territory by the deadline of May 1838, President Martin Van Buren ordered General Winfield Scott to forcibly march them 1,200 miles to the new Indian Territory—a journey remembered as the Trail of Tears.
 11. Though Seminoles were the exception, the national government had forced the removal of most eastern Indian peoples to the West.
- E. The Jacksonian Impact
1. Jackson permanently expanded the authority of the nation's chief executive, using the rhetoric of popular sovereignty to declare that the president is the direct representative of the American people.
 2. Appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court by Jackson, Roger B. Taney persuaded the Court to give constitutional legitimacy to Jackson's policies of anti-monopoly and states' rights.
 3. In *Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co.* (1837), Taney's ruling undermined the legal positions of chartered corporations and encouraged competitive enterprise (thus challenging John Marshall's interpretation of the contract clause in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, which had emphasized the binding nature of public charters).
 4. In 1837 Taney's decisions enhanced the regulatory role of state governments (*Mayor of New York v. Miln*) and restored some of the states' economic powers (*Briscoe v. Bank of Kentucky*).
 5. Most states mounted a constitutional revolution—extending the vote to all white men, reapportioning legislatures on the basis of population, and mandating the election of officials.
 6. Most Jacksonian-era constitutions prohibited states from granting exclusive charters to corporations or extending loans and credit guarantees to private businesses and protected taxpayers by setting strict limits on state debts and encouraging judges to enforce them.
 7. Jacksonian “populists” embraced a small-government outlook, based on **classical liberalism**, or **laissez-faire**; in public, at least, they attacked government-granted special privileges and celebrated the power of ordinary people.
- III. Class, Culture, and the Second Party System
- A. The Whig Worldview
1. The rise of the Democracy and Jackson's tumultuous presidency sparked the creation in the mid-1830s of a second national party—the **Whigs**.
 2. Although a heterogeneous group initially, the Whigs gradually elaborated a distinct vision—a political world dominated by men of ability and wealth, chosen by talent, not birth. Whigs appealed to evangelical Protestants and upwardly mobile groups.
 3. Northern Whigs called for a return to Clay and Adams's American System; Southern Whigs advocated economic development but did not support high tariffs and social mobility.
 4. Many Whig voters previously were Anti-Masons, members of a powerful but short-lived political movement of the late 1820s.
 5. In the election of 1836, the Whigs faced Martin Van Buren; Van Buren emphasized his opposition to the American System and his support for individual rights.
 6. The Whigs ran four regional candidates in the election in hope of throwing the presidential contest to the House, which they controlled, but the plan failed, and Van Buren won.
- B. Labor Politics and the Depression of 1837–1843
1. Working Men's parties embraced the ideology of artisan Republicanism; their vision led them to join the Jacksonians in demanding equal rights and attacking

- chartered corporations and monopolistic banks.
2. Even as they campaigned for a more egalitarian society, workers formed unions to bargain for higher wages for themselves.
 3. Employers attacked the union movement and brought lawsuits to overturn **closed-shop agreements** that required them to hire only union members. They also used **blacklists** to prevent unionized workers from being hired by other companies.
 4. Employers argued that such agreements violated both the common law and legislative statutes that prohibited “conspiracies” in restraint of trade; judges usually agreed.
 5. At this juncture, the Panic of 1837 threw the American economy into disarray; the panic began when the Bank of England sharply curtailed the flow of money and credit to the United States.
 6. To pay their foreign loans and commercial debts, Americans had to withdraw specie from domestic banks. Lacking adequate specie and without a national bank to turn to, domestic banks suspended all payments in specie.
 7. By 1839 the American economy fell into deep depression: canal construction fell by 90 percent, prices dropped nearly 50 percent, and unemployment rose to 20 percent in some areas.
 8. The depression devastated the labor movement by depleting the membership of unions and destroying their bargaining power. Some state courts also issued injunctions, orders that prohibited workers from picketing or striking. By 1843 most unions had disappeared.
 9. During the depression, *Commonwealth v. Hunt* upheld the rights of workers to form unions and enforce a closed shop, and Van Buren established a ten-hour day for federal employees.
- C. “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too!”
1. The Whigs blamed Jackson’s policies for the Panic of 1837, and, as Van Buren had just entered office, the public turned its anger on him because he did nothing to stop the downturn.
 2. Van Buren’s Independent Treasury Act of 1840 actually delayed recovery because it took specie out of state banks and put it in government vaults.
 3. In 1840 the Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, victor of the Battle of Tippecanoe, for president and John Tyler for vice president.
 4. Harrison had little political experience, but the Whigs wanted someone who would rubber-stamp their programs for protective tariffs and a national bank.
 5. The contest—the great “log cabin” campaign—was the first time two well-organized parties competed for the loyalties of a mass electorate, using organized public events to draw in voters. The Whigs used the log cabin as an icon of their candidate’s (largely fictional) egalitarian tastes and common background.
 6. The Whigs boosted their political hopes and their populist image by welcoming women to their festivities.
 7. Harrison was voted into the White House, and the Whigs had a majority in Congress, but a month later Harrison died of pneumonia, so Tyler became president.
 8. Tyler—who was more like a Democrat when it came to economic issues—was hostile toward the Second Bank and the American System.
 9. Tyler favored the common man and the rapid settlement of the West, so he approved the Preemption Act of 1841, which enabled settlers short on cash to stake claims to federal land.
 10. The split between Tyler and the Whigs allowed the Democrats to regroup and recruit more supporters; the Democrats remained the majority party in most parts of the nation by drawing on ethnocultural politics, the practice of voting along ethnic and religious lines.
 11. The Democratic Revolution exacted a price in that the new system perpetuated many problematic political customs—denying women, Indians, and most African Americans an effective voice in public life—and introduced such dubious practices as the spoils system and a coarser standard of public debate.
 12. Still, unlike most of the contemporary world, the United States now had universal white male suffrage and a highly organized system of representative government that was responsive to ordinary citizens.

Key Terms

franchise The right to vote. The franchise was gradually widened in the United States to include groups such as blacks and women, who had no vote in federal elections when the Constitution was ratified. In 1971, the Twenty-Sixth Amendment lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen. (302)

political machine Nineteenth-century term for highly organized groups operating within and intending to control political parties. Machines were regarded as antidemocratic by political reformers and were the target especially of Progressive era leaders such as Robert La Follette. The direct primary was the factored antimachine instrument because it made the selection of party candidates the product of a popular ballot rather than conventions that were susceptible to machine control. (303)

patronage The power of elected officials to grant government jobs. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, politicians systematically used—and abused—patronage to create and maintain strong party loyalties. After 1870 political reformers gradually introduced merit-based civil service systems in the federal and state governments. (303)

spoils system The widespread award of public jobs to political supporters following an electoral victory. Underlying this practice was the view that in a democracy rotation in office was preferable to a permanent class of officeholders. In 1829 Andrew Jackson began this practice on the national level, and it became a central, and corrupting, feature of American political life. (303)

party caucus An informal meeting of politicians held by political parties to make majority decisions and enforce party discipline. Traditionally members of Congress meet in party caucuses to select Congressional leaders. In the early history of America, small groups of party leaders chose candidates for office in party caucuses. Since the 1830s the major political parties have switched to using a national convention to nominate their candidates. (303)

American System A government program conceived in the early 1820s to expand economic development through a federally funded system of internal improvements (roads and canals), tariffs, and a national bank. Such policies marked a shift toward government involvement in the economy, reflecting the growing strength of commercial interests. (304)

nullification A state attempting to declare federal laws unconstitutional if such laws were seen to overstep Congressional powers. South Carolina politicians advanced this idea in 1828 as a response to Congress's so-called "Tariff of Abominations," which hurt their already depressed cotton industry. After a heated confrontation between federal and state governments, Congress passed a more moderate tariff in 1833 that satisfied both sides. The question of federal power versus states' rights, however, was far from settled. The implied threat of nullification was secession and the South later acted on this threat when they felt the federal government compromised their perceived right to slavery. (309)

classical liberalism The political ideology, dominant in England and the United States during the nineteenth century, that celebrated individual liberty, private property, a competitive market economy, free trade, and limited government. In the late twentieth-century United States, many economic conservatives embrace the principles of classical liberalism (and oppose the principles of social welfare liberalism). (318)

laissez-faire The doctrine, based on economic theory, that government should not interfere in business or the economy. Laissez-faire ideas guided U.S. government policy in the late nineteenth century and conservative politics in the twentieth. Business interests that supported laissez-faire in the late nineteenth century accepted government interference when it took the form of tariffs or subsidies that worked to their benefit. Broader uses of the term refer to the simple philosophy of abstaining from all government interference. (318)

Whigs In the United States, a political party that began in 1834 with the opponents of Andrew Jackson, who the Whigs believed was treating the presidency like a monarchy. They took their name from a British political party with a reputation for supporting liberal principles and reform. The British Whigs rose in power during the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and favored "mixed government" in which the House of Commons would have a voice in shaping policies, especially the power of taxation, as opposed to a monarchy. The Whig party in the United States dissolved in the 1850s when the question of whether or not to extend slavery to the territories divided them. (318)

blacklist Procedure used by employers throughout the nineteenth century to label and identify workers affiliated with unions. In the 1950s blacklists

were used to exclude alleged Communists from jobs in government service, the motion picture business, and many industries and unions. (322)

closed-shop agreement Labor agreement in which an employer hires only union members. Many employers viewed these agreements as illegal and worked to overturn them in the courts. Closed shops became popular in the United States in the early part of the twentieth century. In 1947 under the Taft-Hartley Act, the closed shop was declared illegal, but they continue to exist in practice. (322)

ethnocultural politics Refers to the distinctive social characteristics of immigrants and religious groups, especially in determining their party loyalties and stance on political issues touching personal behavior and public morality. (328)

Lecture Strategies

1. Students often do not understand the significance of expanding the franchise. Write a lecture that discusses the rationales for franchise limitations and demonstrate how they became increasingly less valid over time. State by state, explore franchise restrictions in the early republic and the battle to liberalize them. Discuss differences in franchise limitations among the regions of the nation. Explore some of the religious restrictions on voting and holding office during this period. Discuss how population shifts in concert with democratization increased the power of western states while reducing the influence of the older states. Explain how responsiveness to democratic politics led politicians to focus on western expansion and the needs and desires of those who looked to the West for opportunity.
2. Write a lecture that uses biography as its main tool for opening a window into the past. Focusing on one representative individual helps students to synthesize the disparate information they are receiving from the textbook chapter. John Quincy Adams appears now to be an antique figure. Write a lecture that discusses how forward thinking his program was for economic and social development. Explain how and why he failed to understand or to give way to the changes in the political style of the time, a dilemma for many Whigs. Be sure to trace the impact of his career to the end of his life.
3. Write another person-centered lecture to illustrate a major theme from the Jacksonian era. Martin Van Buren's career in New York presents an opportunity to connect his biography to the development of the modern American political party system. Explain why political innovations started in New York State during Van Buren's era. Explore the development of party over principle as a political style, and trace the impact of Van Buren and his generational cohort on the process. Analyze the change in voters' electoral choices from representatives chosen for virtue to representatives chosen for political loyalty.
4. Craft a lecture that focuses on a particular event from the chapter, such as the bank war, Indian removal, or the election of 1824. All provide ideal ways to illuminate major political, social, and economic changes of the era. In the case of the election of 1824, the subsequent elections of 1828 and 1840 illustrate how these changes became a routine and permanent aspect of the U.S. political system. End the lecture by making linkages between developments of the Jacksonian period and the modern era of political parties.
5. Create a lecture that explains the complexity of Jackson's desire to open land for white settlers and protect Native Americans from white encroachment. Compare Jackson to Protestant missionaries, discussing the similarities and differences in their approaches; explore the reactions of Native Americans to both. Discuss the degree of "civilization" of Native Americans, and explain why whites were so critical of them. Discuss the role the state of Georgia played in Indian removal.
6. Write a lecture that focuses on Andrew Jackson's enormous popularity. Discuss his career and image. Explore how he came to represent the nation's favorite myths. Show how he and Van Buren helped to create that image. Has the crafting of a political image become more or less important today?
7. The complexities of the bank war can be difficult for students to understand. Write a lecture that describes the central role of the Second Bank in the nation's economy. Explore the varieties of state and local banks, concentrating on why those banks in the West were so hostile to the Second Bank of the United States. Discuss the difficulties of business transactions in the United States caused by the lack of dependability of banknotes. Then move to a discussion of hostility toward the bank. Explain how Jackson came to see the bank as an evil force in society. Point out the class animus he was able to incite. Consider the role economic sophistication played in the bank war. How much did Jackson and his contemporaries understand about banking and state finances?

Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

The Rise of Popular Politics, 1820–1829 (pp. 302–308)

1. Was there necessarily a connection between the growth of democracy and the emergence of disciplined political parties? Or did they just happen at the same time? Explain your answer.
 - The emergence of political parties shaped the growth of democracy by encouraging party competition, public debate over key issues impacting the nation, and general interest by white male voters in the election process. The rise of parties increased voter turnout. Parties now reached out to voters through an active system of recruitment. The proliferation of political parties allowed for diverse voting choice, leading to a more democratic political process.
2. How do you explain John Quincy Adams's great success as secretary of state (see Chapter 7) and his relative lack of success as president?
 - As secretary of state, Adams's conservative values and rigid morals were in tune with that earlier era of disinterested politics. He achieved great diplomatic successes, such as acquiring Florida from the Spanish through the Adams-Onís Treaty.
 - As president, Adams's political style was out of date. He ignored his lack of popularity and the hostility of many others in power, and supported Indian land rights and the tariff of 1828.

The Jacksonian Presidency, 1829–1837 (pp. 308–318)

1. What were Andrew Jackson's policies on banking and tariffs? How did they evolve? Do you think those policies helped or hurt the American economy? Why?
 - Jackson disdained the American System plan of high tariffs and centralized economic development, and called banks and tariffs the protectors of monopoly and special privilege. His decentralized economic policies evolved over time in response to state and private attempts, such as South Carolina's Nullification Ordinance and the rechartering of the Second Bank of the

United States, to create high tariffs and central banks.

- Jackson's decentralized economic policies hurt the American economy because they destroyed the American System of protective tariffs and internal improvements, resulting in a profound reduction in the economic activities and creative energy of the federal government.
2. Why did Jackson support Indian removal? Did removal help to preserve, or to destroy, Native American culture? Explain your answer.
 - Jackson supported Indian removal because of racist and constitutional reasons; he believed it was the racial destiny of Americans to possess the land of the Indian people, and the national government was constitutionally entitled to remove the Indians and pay them for their lands to fulfill this national destiny. He also crafted his military and political career on removing Indians from the southeastern portion of North America.
 - Removal eradicated traditional Indian culture by reducing the population of tribes, removing them from ancestral lands, and completely wiping out tribes and cultures.
 - On the other hand, removal enabled some tribes to survive and keep their culture alive, and enabled other tribes to mix with different tribes to form new cultures that preserved old ways.
 3. How did the constitutional interpretations of the Taney Court differ from those of the Marshall Court? What changed as a result of the Taney Court's decisions?
 - The Taney Court endorsed states' rights over national centralization and control, and also viewed the constitution as a document preserving capitalist competition by reducing the role of government in shaping the economy through tariffs and banks.
 - The Taney Court's decisions undermined the Marshall decisions, reversing the nationalist and property-rights decisions of Marshall and giving constitutional legitimacy to Jackson's policies endorsing states' rights and free enterprise. Taney helped Jackson kill the Bank of the United States, reduce high tariffs, and remove more Native Americans from their lands.

Class, Culture, and the Second Party System (pp. 318–328)

1. How did the ideology of the Whigs differ from

that of the Working Men's Party? From that of the Jacksonian Democrats?

- *Whigs*: The Whigs believed in evangelical religion and politics dominated by men of talent and wealth; they celebrated the entrepreneur and the enterprising individual. They championed the industrial revolution, high tariffs, and a centralized banking system to promote economic growth.
- *Working Men's Party*: Comprised of artisans and laborers, this party wanted to abolish banks and create fair taxation policies and universal public education. They championed unions, artisan republicanism, and independence, and hoped to raise standard of living for workers and laborers.
- *Jacksonian Democrats*: Traditional Protestants and Catholic immigrants, the Jacksonian Democrats opposed high tariffs and a centralized bank. They championed states' rights and equal rights for all white men, and opposed government and private attempts at moral reform of social ills.

2. Why did the Democrats win the election of 1836 but lose the election of 1840?

- The Democrats won in 1836 because of Jackson's popularity and his selection of Van Buren, the architect of the Democratic Party rise. The Whigs ran four candidates, dividing Whig voters, while a sound economy increased Jacksonian Democrat appeal.
- The Democrats lost in 1840 because of the Panic of 1837, when the economy collapsed. Voters blamed Van Buren, who refused to revoke the Specie Circular of 1836 or take other actions to stop the downturn because of his philosophy of limited self-government. The Whigs organized their first national convention and used a "log cabin" propaganda campaign to successfully convince voters of the humble origins of Harrison, who was actually the son of a wealthy man.

Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 10 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. In what respects did the Jackson era fundamentally change the American economy, public policy, and society?
 - The Jackson era gave rise to a new democratic political revolution, with an expansion of the

franchise that weakened the political system run by notables of high status. Party politics increased the growth of democracy through an increase in party competition, white male voter interest, and participation in national elections. Modern political parties were now run by professional politicians, mostly of middle-class origins.

- Jackson also dismantled the political foundation of the mercantilist system, the American System of national improvements through state support, and the Commonwealth system of government charters and subsidies to private businesses.
2. Explain the rise of the Second Party System. How would you characterize American politics in the early 1840s?
 - The Second Party System began during the 1830s when professional politicians of middle-class background created the Whig Party in opposition to the astounding rise of the Democratic Party under Jackson. During the 1840s Whigs and Democrats competed for appeal to different cultural groups, creating a very spirited period of intense political debate, expansion of the electorate, a rise in party loyalties and party competition, and appeal to ethnocultural politics. The role of the unions and Working Men's parties decreased as a result of the economic downturn of 1837 and the Taney Court decisions.
 3. The chapter argues that a democratic revolution swept America in the decades after 1820. What evidence does the text present to support this argument? How persuasive is the evidence?
 - The argument that a democratic revolution swept America after 1820 is based on evidence in the economic, social, and political categories of analysis.
 - *Political*: The rise of the Second Party System and political parties included a democratic broadening of the electorate but at the expense of ethnic minorities and women.
 - *Economic*: Democrat-sponsored fiscal policies in banking and tariff reduction increased free enterprise and capitalist competition and reduced state monopolies and national funding of improvements.
 - *Social*: More white men took part in politics than ever before, leveling the class distinctions within the American voting system.

Class Discussion Starters

1. Why do you think the Industrial Revolution led to more democratized politics?

Possible answers

- Better communication brought news about political issues to a larger public.
- Proposals to increase government activity to stimulate business development (internal improvements and tariffs) affected working-class people, who wanted a say in those issues.
- As the distance between employers and workers widened, workers felt less deference toward traditional elites and trusted them less to take care of workers' interests.
- The magnates of industrialization were not dependent on the old elite and applied the lessons of mass production to politics in order to get their own share of political power.

2. Was John Quincy Adams ahead of his day or behind his times?

Possible answers

- Adams was ahead of his day in his program of an activist federal government creating a national infrastructure to further business and culture.
- Adams's plans for western exploration foreshadowed the later efforts of President James K. Polk.
- Adams could not understand democratic politics in which officeholders had to appeal to the electorate.
- Adams's programs for an active government were not in harmony with the Jacksonian desire to decrease governmental authority and the powers of elites.

3. Why do you think Andrew Jackson was so popular?

Possible answers

- Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812 had a great effect on his popularity.
- He had an image as a frontiersman and Indian fighter.
- Jackson was believed to be a champion of the common people against wealthy northeastern elites.

d. His opponents were so bland that he looked good by comparison.

4. How could the conflict over land between white settlers and Native Americans have been resolved differently?

Possible answers

- In the short term, the U.S. government could have kept its treaty promises. However, the many frictions associated with Native American tribes and white American settlers living in close proximity would have remained.
- Conflict could have followed a number of paths from conciliation to open warfare. Relations between whites and Native Americans did vary considerably across time and place. Of course, over time the Indians everywhere were pushed off their native lands and onto increasingly smaller and more remote reservations.

5. Why did John C. Calhoun believe that “an unchecked majority is a despotism”? How did the politics of the day reinforce his belief?

Possible answers

- The South was becoming a minority in Congress (the Senate) as more states entered the Union and the North grew in population (including in the House of Representatives).
- The tariff seemed to work against southern interests.
- Calhoun feared increasing criticism of slavery from the North.
- Calhoun recognized that the majority may simply be wrong: for example, resistance to a national bank was widespread, yet, in the Panic of 1837, lack of a national bank damaged the majority that opposed its existence.

6. How did workers react to the changes in their lives that resulted from industrialization?

Possible answers

- As many old skills were becoming obsolete, skilled artisans found a new craft identity and social solidarity.
- Workers with skills that were in demand organized to gain better working conditions and higher pay.
- Groups such as the Working Men's Party demanded free public education.

- d. Many workers protested the increasing wealth of entrepreneurial manufacturers.
7. Why did political campaigns after 1836 focus so much on image?

Possible answers

- a. Image had always been important; now party leaders manipulated image in order to manipulate the public.
- b. The Whigs had to fight Jackson's popularity with an equally appealing candidate of their own.
- c. With more men eligible to vote, candidates had to forge broader coalitions by avoiding specific positions on complex issues.
- d. Image makes an election less a matter of reason and more a matter of emotion, which is easier to project.
8. What did Jackson and his followers mean when they spoke out against corruption and special privilege?

Possible answers

- a. John Quincy Adams's choice of Henry Clay for secretary of state was the result of a corrupt bargain.
- b. Wealthy men who stood to gain financially were involved in the Bank of the United States.
- c. Monopoly charters were awarded to well-connected men by the state and federal governments.
- d. Tariff protection was given to businesses by the federal government.
9. On what basis do you think people decided to become Democrats or Whigs?

Possible answers

- a. Some people based their decision on ethnic and religious background. Whigs tended to be Protestant descendants of settlers from the British Isles. Democrats in the North were often Catholic (especially Irish) immigrants.
- b. Some chose a party as a result of their involvement in commerce or commercial agriculture. These individuals saw a need for the government to fund infrastructure projects, such as roads and canals.

- c. Other economic interests also played a role in choosing a political party; for example, Westerners sought easy and quick distribution of western lands and the removal of Native Americans from desirable property.

Classroom Activities

1. Divide the class into two or more groups for a debate, and focus on one of the themes from the chapter, such as the bank war, the nullification controversy, or Indian removal. Ask each side to prepare a list of talking points. As the instructor, you will serve as moderator and frame the debate by introducing each side and setting the parameters for discussion.
2. Ask the students to reenact a scene from the textbook chapter that illustrates a particular theme surrounding "Jacksonian Democracy." The students will be required to write a screenplay beforehand that sets out the particular scene they are attempting to portray. Tell the students that the main goal of the assignment is to convey a particular theme, as well as the feeling and spirit of the times.
3. Bring into class a series of visual images portraying Jacksonian themes. Place an image on the screen (you could also photocopy an image and distribute it to students in class), and ask a series of direct questions. Questions such as "What does the picture omit or avoid portraying?" or "What themes from the textbook chapter does the image reveal?" will elicit more responses from the class. Be sure to keep a list of the students' ideas on the chalkboard for all to see.
4. Show a film clip in class and ask the students to relate chapter themes to the images they viewed. You might also generate a discussion about the strengths and limitations of film as a window into the past. Films for the material covered in Chapter 10 include *Gangs of New York* and *Amistad*.

Working with Documents

COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

The Cherokees Debate Removal to the Indian Territory (p. 314)

1. What are John Ross's main arguments against removal? What alternative does he implicitly propose?

- The pro-removal faction does not officially represent the entire tribe’s opinion on removal. Removal is not in the economic best interests of the Cherokee. A new homeland presents many problems similar to the problems in Georgia. Protections of citizenship prevent the constitutionality of removal.
 - If conditions are better in their new homeland, removal might be acceptable, if the entire tribe agrees and their citizenship rights are protected.
2. Why does Elias Boudinot believe that removal is the best alternative? In what ways is he hopeful that it will improve the lives of the Cherokees?
 - Boudinot supports removal to save lives, increase income, improve the future of Cherokee children, improve poverty, reduce alcoholism, and slow the decay of Cherokee culture. He remains optimistic that a new location free of local white debasement will enable the Cherokee to improve their morality and incomes.
 3. Suppose that Boudinot and his associates had not signed the Echota Treaty. Would anything have turned out differently for the Cherokees?
 - Jackson was determined to remove the Indians and the lack of a treaty would not have stopped him from pursuing this policy, given his military background and authoritative political and leadership style.
 - Local whites were determined to obtain Cherokee land, and would have continued to harass the Indians until they left or were removed by the government.

VOICES FROM ABROAD

Alexis de Tocqueville: Parties in the United States (p. 323)

1. Based on your understanding of the Second Party System, was Tocqueville correct in arguing that American parties were the creation of “ambitious” men? How does Tocqueville characterize the Whigs and Democrats? Do you think he is accurate?
 - Tocqueville was correct in arguing that American parties were the creation of ambitious men who were interested in economic advancement through party patronage, often at the expense of the public good.
 - Tocqueville accurately characterizes the Whigs and Democrats as lawyers focused on self-interest and party loyalty who will do almost anything to get elected and enjoy party patronage and the spoils system. He views the Whigs as coming from the more “well-informed classes” who would limit the authority of the people, while the Democrats, “the common people,” extend it.
2. Tocqueville claims that there was “no religious animosity” in American society and politics. Do you agree? What was the position of the parties with respect to the legal enforcement of morality?
 - Religious animosity did exist in American political party formation through the role played by ethnocultural factors in shaping voter allegiance and party focus. For example, nativists formed the American Party during the 1840s to use anti-Catholicism as a springboard for election to office. Whigs were mostly comprised of and appealed to evangelical Protestants, while the Democratic Party, mostly based on traditional Protestant values, also embraced Irish Catholics as new immigrant voters.
 - The Democrats were pledged against the legal enforcement of morality, while the Whigs favored temperance and other social reforms of the era, and believed that government should play a role in enforcing morality in the United States.

Reading American Pictures

Politics and the Press: Cartoonists Take Aim at Andrew Jackson (p. 319)

1. The cartoon on the left was inspired by Edward Williams Clay (no relation to Henry Clay), a Philadelphia portrait painter and engraver who was also a great cartoonist. In 1831, President Jackson’s critics printed 10,000 copies of “The Rats Leaving a Falling House.” Why was this cartoon so popular? What does the use of rats suggest about the tone of politics in the 1830s? What other visual clues reveal the artist’s political grievances?
 - This cartoon was popular because of its use of simplistic imagery to criticize several leading figures of the era.
 - The use of rats suggests the development in the 1830s of negative campaigning and the increase in attack advertisements in a very competitive and party-loyal election process.
 - Other visual clues include the use of a devil or gargoyle figure perched on top of a gravestone, with a Greek column symbolizing republican government falling in the background, and Jackson’s chair collapsing in front of him, revealing the decay of Jackson’s administration.

2. In the image to the right, how does the cartoonist depict the threat Jackson poses to the republic? Based on the material in this chapter, do you think there was any justification for the artist's point of view?
 - Jackson represents the threat of monarchy and despotism under an antirepublican and anti-democratic ethos in which the president simply vetoes the will of congressmen and tramples on the constitution, like King George II during the American Revolution.
 - Some justification for this viewpoint surfaces in the chapter in Jackson's use of the spoils system to entrench the Democratic Party in power, leading to the selection of his hand-picked successor Martin Van Buren. Jackson's attack against high tariffs, Indian people, and the Second Bank of the United States appeared to be an arbitrary use of government power by the executive branch.
3. Do these cartoons suggest why Andrew Jackson became a prime target of cartoonists? What was there about his personality, appearance, or political style that made him especially vulnerable to caricature?
 - Jackson's austerity, violent personality, use of brute force against Indians, and his defense of state's rights over the courts and legislative branch made him a perfect target for democratic- and republic-minded cartoonists who disdained his monarchical and dismissive style of politics.
4. Why were cartoons like the two here particularly effective as political weapons in the early nineteenth century? How do they work as propaganda? In what ways do they try to persuade their audience?
 - Many people could not read or write, and the print and media industry was in its infancy, making hand-drawn visual images crucial for galvanizing a male electorate to vote for a particular candidate.

Electronic Media

Web Sites

- *The 1824 election and administration of John Q. Adams*
www.ipl.org/div/potus/jqadams.html
 This site provides commentary and documents on the election of 1824 and the presidency of Adams.
- *Cherokee History and the Trail of Tears*
www.cherokeehistory.com/

www.rosecity.net/tears/
<http://www.americanwest.com/pages/indians.htm>

These three sites provide information on the Cherokees and the Trail of Tears from the perspective of the federal government, local whites, and the Cherokee people.

- *Jacksonian Political Cartoons*
<http://loc.harperweek.com/>

This site provides hundreds of political cartoons of the era, including many from presidential administrations before 1864.

Films

- *Gangs of New York* (2002, Miramax Films, 168 minutes)
 Directed by Martin Scorsese, this reenactment of the Five Points district of New York City also focuses on the rise of political parties during the Jacksonian-Lincoln eras.
- *Mark Twain* (2001, PBS documentary, 120 minutes)
 Directed by Ken Burns, this film captures the changes in American politics taking place during Twain's time.
- *Amistad* (1997, DreamWorks, 152 minutes)
 One of the best film reenactments of the *Amistad* slave mutiny, the film also showcases the trial of the African slaves who survived the journey.

Literature

- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (London: Saunders & Otley, 1835)
 The insights of a French traveler in the United States during the early nineteenth century. One of the most valuable first-hand accounts of the Jacksonian era; Tocqueville accurately captures the cultural complexity of American life in a transitional era.
- Francis Paul Prucha, ed, *Documents of United States Indian Policy*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1990)
 Documents and other primary sources that explain the historical context of Indian removal during the 1830s.
- Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Papers of Chief John Ross: Volume I, 1807–1839* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1985)
 A collection of letters and other documents relating to the controversial Cherokee leader and anti-removal advocate John Ross.

Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 10

FOR INSTRUCTORS

Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 10 are available as full-color acetates:

- The Inauguration of William Henry Harrison, March 4, 1841
- Map 10.1 The Presidential Election of 1824
- Map 10.2 The Election of 1828
- Map 10.3 The Removal of Native Americans, 1820–1846
- The Rats Leaving a Falling House, 1831
- King Andrew the First, 1832

Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 10, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 10.1 The Presidential Election of 1824
- Map 10.2 The Election of 1828
- Map 10.3 The Removal of Native Americans, 1820–1846
- Figure 10.1 Changes in Voting Patterns, 1824–1840
- The Inauguration of William Henry Harrison, March 4, 1841
- President Andrew Jackson, 1830
- King Andrew the First, 1832
- The Rats Leaving a Falling House, 1831
- Hard Times

Using the Bedford Series with *America's History*, Sixth Edition

Available online at bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries, this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 10 include

- *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, Second Edition, Edited with an Introduction by Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*
- *Andrew Jackson vs. Henry Clay: Democracy and Development in Antebellum America*, by Harry L. Watson, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

FOR STUDENTS

Documents to Accompany *America's History*

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 10 of the companion reader by Melvin Yazawa, *University of New Mexico*:

1. James Kent, An Argument Against Universal Suffrage (1821)
2. Henry Clay, Speech on the Tariff (March 30–31, 1824)
3. Alexis de Tocqueville, The Tyranny of the Majority (1831)
4. Horace Mann, Necessity of Education in a Republic (1837)
5. Andrew Jackson, Bank Veto Message (1832)
6. Andrew Jackson, Elias Boudinot, On Indian Removal (1829)
7. John Marshall, Decision in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831)
8. South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification (1832)
9. Seth Luther, Address to the Working Men of New England (1832)
10. Edward C. Clay, The Election of 1836
11. Francis P. Blair, Protecting Domestic Industry (1842)
12. John Scholefield, A Whig Discusses How to Appeal to the Workingman (1833)

Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/henretta

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 10:

Map Activity

- Map 10.3 The Removal of Native Americans, 1820–1843

Visual Activity

- Reading American Pictures: *Middle-Class Family Life*, c. 1836

Reading Historical Documents Activities

- Comparing American Voices: *The Cherokees Debate Removal to the Indian Territories*
- Voices from Abroad: Alexis de Tocqueville: *Parties in the United States*

**Critical Thinking Modules at
bedfordstmartins.com/historymodules**

These online modules invite students to interpret maps, audio, visual, and textual sources, centered on events covered in the U.S. history survey. Relevant modules for Chapter 10 include

- Voices from Slavery: The Letters of Hannah Valentine and Lethe Jackson, 1837–1838
- What Do Photographs Tell Us? Nineteenth-Century Daguerreotypes

