CHAPTER 13
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 Mass Democracy in the 1820s.
2. Indicate how the alleged corrupt bargain of 1824 and Adams’ unpopular presidency set the stage for Jackson’s election in 1828.
3. Analyze the celebration of Jackson’s victory in 1828 as a triumph of the New Democracy over the more restrictive and elitist politics of the early Republic.
4. Describe the political innovations of the 1830s, especially the rise of mass parties, Jackson’s use of the presidency to stir public opinion, and indicate their significance for American politics and society.
5. Describe Jackson’s policies of westward expansion, his relations with the new Republic of Texas, and his harsh removal of the southeastern Indian nations on the Trail of Tears.
6. Explain Jackson’s economic and political motives for waging the bitter Bank War, and show how Jacksonian economics crippled his successor Van Buren after the Panic of 1837.
7. Describe the different ways that each of the new mass political parties, Democrats and Whigs, promoted the democratic ideals of liberty and equality among their constituencies.

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

1. deference The yielding of one’s opinion to the judgment of someone else, usually of higher social standing. “The deference, apathy, and virtually nonexistent party organizations of the Era of Good Feelings yielded to the boisterous democracy. . . .”
2. puritanical Extremely or excessively strict in matters of morals or religion. “The only candidate left was the puritanical Adams. . . .”
3. mudslinging Malicious, unscrupulous attacks against an opponent. “Mudslinging reached new lows in 1828. . . .”
4. spoils Public offices or other favors given as a reward for political support. “Under Jackson the spoils system . . . was introduced on a large scale.”
5. denominations In American religion, the major branches of Christianity, organized into distinct church structures, such as Presbyterians, Baptists, Disciples of Christ, etc. “. . . many denominations sent missionaries into Indian villages.”
6. evangelical In American religion, those believers and groups, usually Protestant, who emphasize personal salvation, individual conversion experiences, voluntary commitment, and the authority of Scripture. “The Anti-Masons attracted support from many evangelical Protestant groups. . . .”
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 be inflationary and to lose value.) “... a decree that required all public lands to be purchased with 'hard' ... money.”

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.”

9. favorite sons In American politics, presidential candidates who are nominated by their own state, primarily out of local loyalty, without expectation of winning. “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.”

10. machine A hierarchical political organization, often controlled through patronage or spoils, where professional politicians can deliver large blocs of voters to preferred candidates. “As a machine-made candidate, he incurred the resentment of many Democrats. ...”

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.”

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.”

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.”

PART II: CHECKING YOUR PROGRESS

A. True-False

Where the statement is true, circle T; where it is false, circle F.

1. T F 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. T F Henry Clay disproved the charge of a corrupt bargain between himself and President Adams by refusing to accept any favors from the new administration.

3. T F President Adams lost public support by promoting strong nationalistic principles in a time of growing support for sectionalism and states’ rights.

4. T F Andrew Jackson became a great popular hero as president because he continued to live the same life of frontier toughness and simplicity as his followers.

5. T F The election campaign of 1828 was notable for the well-formulated debates between Andrew Jackson and President Adams on the issues of the tariff and removal of the barriers to political equality and democracy.

6. T F Jackson’s victory in 1828 represented the triumph of the West and the common people over the older elitist political system.

7. T F The Jacksonians practiced their belief that because all citizens were equal, anyone could hold public positions without particular qualifications.

8. T F South Carolina’s fierce opposition to the Tariff of Abominations reflected an underlying fear that enhanced federal power might be turned against the institution of slavery.

9. T F Andrew Jackson used mediation and compromise rather than threats of force to persuade South Carolina to back away from its nullification of the tariff laws.

10. T F The powerful Cherokees of the southeastern United States fiercely resisted white efforts to alter their traditional culture and way of life.
11. T F When the Supreme Court ruled against the state of Georgia and in favor of southeastern Indians' rights, Jackson defied the Supreme Court's rulings and ordered the Cherokees and other southeastern tribes forcibly removed to Oklahoma.

12. T F Jackson successfully used his veto of the bill to recharter the wealthy Bank of the United States to politically mobilize the common people of the West against the financial elite of the East.

13. T F The Whig party was united by its principles of states' rights, western expansionism, and opposition to the role of evangelical Christianity in politics.

14. T F A primary source of tension between settlers in Texas and the Mexican government was Mexico's abolition of slavery and prohibition of slave importation.

15. T F William Henry Harrison's background as an ordinary frontiersman born in a log cabin enabled Whigs to match and exceed the Democrats' appeal to the common man in the campaign of 1840.

B. Multiple Choice
Select the best answer and circle the corresponding letter.

1. The Jacksonian charge that John Quincy Adams won the presidency through a corrupt bargain arose because
   a. William Crawford threw his electoral votes to Adams in exchange for a seat in the Senate.
   b. members of the House of Representatives claimed that they had been bribed to vote for Adams.
   c. Adams ended his previous opposition to Henry Clay's American System.
   d. Jackson discovered that there had been vote fraud in several pro-Adams states.
   e. after Henry Clay threw his support to Adams, he was appointed secretary of state.

2. Which of the following was not among the factors that made John Quincy Adams's presidency a political failure?
   a. Adams's attempts to treat Indians fairly.
   b. Adams's involvement with corrupt 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.
   e. Adams's hostility to western land speculation and unlimited expansionism.

3. Andrew Jackson's strong 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.
   e. he was skilled at appealing to the public's evangelical religion and fervent patriotism.

4. One political development that demonstrated the power of the new popular democratic movement in politics was
   a. the rise of the caucus system of presidential nominations.
   b. the use of party loyalty as the primary qualification for appointing people to public office.
   c. extensive public speaking tours by presidential candidates.
   d. the strong support for public schools and a national university.
   e. the vigorous campaign to abolish the electoral college.

5. Andrew Jackson's fundamental approach during the South Carolina nullification crisis was to
   a. acknowledge the injustice of the high Tariff of Abominations and seek to lower it.
   b. seek to strengthen South Carolina unionists while politically isolating the nullifiers.
   c. join hands with Henry Clay in attempting to find a compromise solution.
   d. attempt to change the focus of attention from the tariff to slavery.
   e. mobilize a sizable military force and threaten to hang the nullifiers.
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.
   e. a belief that the high tariff would foster immigration and urbanization.

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.
   e. consistent opposition to slavery and racism.

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. tried to split the Cherokees apart from their allies such as the Creeks and Seminoles.
   e. was convinced that the Indians would better thrive in Oklahoma.

9. Jackson’s veto of the Bank of the United States recharter bill represented (n)
   a. response to Europeans investors’ lack of faith in the dollar.
   b. attempt to assure bankers and creditors that the federal government had their interests at heart.
   c. concession to Henry Clay and his National Republican followers.
   d. gain for sound banking and a financially stable currency system.
   e. bold assertion of presidential power on behalf of western farmers and other debtors.

10. One important result of President Jackson’s destruction of the Bank of the United States was
    a. a successful economy to hand on 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.
    e. Jackson’s equally successful attack on the secretive and elitist Masons.

11. Among the political innovations that first 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.
    e. secret ballots and the prohibition on liquor in polling places.

12. In the immediate aftermath of the successful Texas Revolution
    a. Texas petitioned to join the United States but was refused admission.
    b. Texas joined the United States as a slave state.
    c. Mexico and the United States agreed to a joint protectorate over Texas.
    d. Britain threatened the United States with war over Texas.
    e. the Texas government sought to expand westward to the Pacific.

13. The Panic of 1837 and the subsequent severe depression were caused primarily by
    a. the stock market collapse and a sharp decline in grain prices.
    b. a lack of new investment in industry and technology.
    c. the threat of war with Mexico over Texas.
    d. overspeculation and Jackson’s hard-money financial policies.
    e. British investors’ loss of confidence in American business.

14. Prominent leaders of the Whig party included
    a. Martin Van Buren and John C. Calhoun.
    b. David Crockett and Nicholas Biddle.
    c. Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison.
    d. Stephen Austin and Sam Houston.
    e. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster.
15. The real significance of William Henry Harrison's victory in the election of 1840 was that it
   a. constituted a sharp repudiation of Andrew Jackson and Jacksonianism.
   b. brought a fresh new face to American presidential politics.
   c. showed that the Whigs could win with a candidate other than Henry Clay.
   d. showed that the Whigs could practice the new mass democratic politics as successfully as the
      Democrats.
   e. showed that the public wanted serious debates as well as noisy "hoopla" in presidential politics.

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. ________ Andrew Jackson's popular nickname, signaling his toughness and strength

5. ________ The arrangement under which public offices were handed out on the basis of
   political support rather than 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. ________ Conflict of 1832 in which the Sauk and Fox Indians of Illinois and Wisconsin
    were defeated by federal troops and state militias.

14. ________ Economic crisis that precipitated an economic depression and doomed the
    presidency of Martin Van Buren

15. ________ Popular symbols of the flamboyant but effective campaign the Whigs used to
    elect "poor-boy" William Henry Harrison over Martin Van Buren 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
2. ________ Henry Clay for his people
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nicholas Biddle</td>
<td>b. Political party that generally stressed individual liberty, the rights of the common people, and hostility to privilege</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Sequoyah</td>
<td>c. Seminole leader whose warriors killed fifteen hundred American soldiers in years of guerrilla warfare</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>John Quincy Adams</td>
<td>d. Former Tennessee governor whose victory at San Jacinto in 1836 won Texas its independence</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>David Crockett</td>
<td>e. Mexican general and dictator whose large army failed to defeat Texas rebels</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>Moses Austin</td>
<td>f. Former vice president, leader of South Carolina nullifiers, and bitter enemy of Andrew Jackson</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Sam Houston</td>
<td>g. Political party that favored a more activist government, high tariffs, internal improvements, and moral reforms</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Osceola</td>
<td>h. Original leader of American settlers in Texas who obtained a huge land grant from the Mexican government</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Santa Anna</td>
<td>i. A frontier hero, Tennessee Congressman, and teller of tall tales who died in the Texas War for Independence</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Martin Van Buren</td>
<td>j. “Old Tippecanoe,” who was portrayed by Whig propagandists as a hard-drinking common man of the frontier</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Black Hawk</td>
<td>k. Jackson’s rival for the presidency in 1832, who failed to save the Bank of the United States</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td>William Henry Harrison</td>
<td>l. The “wizard of Albany,” whose economically troubled presidency was served in the shadow of Jackson</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Whigs</td>
<td>m. Talented but high-handed bank president who fought a bitter losing battle with the president of the United States</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>n. Aloof New England statesman whose elitism made him an unpopular leader in the new era of mass democracy</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>o. Illinois-Wisconsin area Sauk leader who was defeated by American regulars and militia in 1832</td>
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