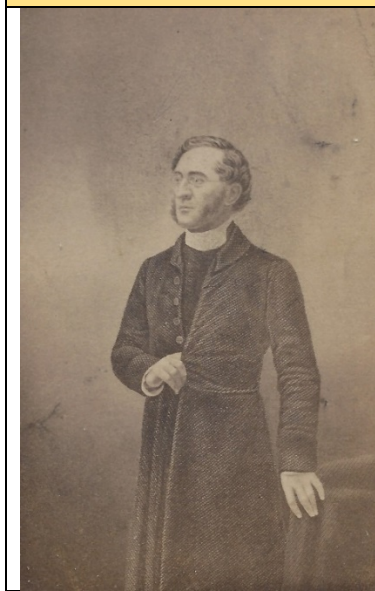


Chapter 81 -- The Awakening Prompts New Religious Movements

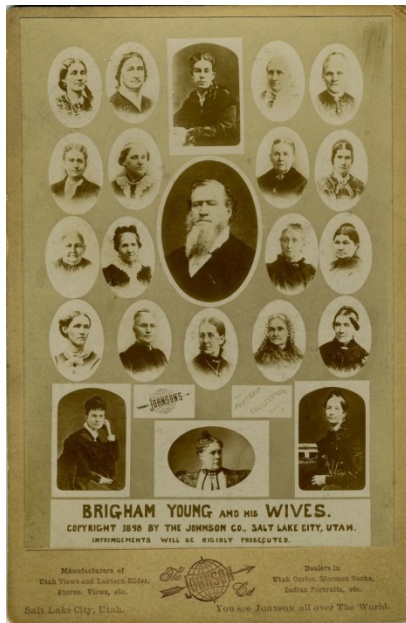


Dates:
1825-1840

- Sections:**
- The Church Of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) Is Founded
 - The Millerites Appear And Morph Into The Seventh Day Churches
 - Utopian Movements Dot The Landscape
 - The Lasting Impact Of The Second Awakening

Time: 1823 Forward

The Church Of Latter Day Saints (Mormons) Is Founded



Brigham Young (1801-1877) and 21 of his Wives

Mormonism is founded by Joseph Smith, Jr., who grows up in family of Christian mystics in western New York, the epicenter of revivalism.

As a young man, Smith is caught up in the religious fervor surrounding him, experiences a vision of his personal salvation, and begins to share his story with others in his community. He tells of being visited by an angel named Moroni in 1823, who revealed the location of a sacred book comprised of gold plates, compiled by the prophet, Mormon. He then describes his use of a “seer stone” to translate the engravings on the plates. The result is The Book of Mormon, a history of a long vanished Christian community living in America from roughly 500BC to 500AD. Some 5,000 copies of book are printed and distributed around Smith’s home town of Palmyra, New York, in 1830.

The outcome of Smith’s book and his testimonies to others is a quest to locate the land where these aboriginal Christians lived and, once there, to build a new American Jerusalem .

The quest for this New Jerusalem takes Smith and his followers on a 16 year journey west, which eventually ends the Utah Territory. Along the way there are many often tragic stops, involving local opposition from those who view the Mormons as heretics..

In 1831, the first stop is in Kirkland, Ohio, where the new “Church of Christ” opens. But Smith’s sights for the new Zion are further west, in Jackson County, Missouri, and his missionaries flock there to lay the groundwork. This leads to the First Mormon War of 1838, with the original Missouri settlers, backed by the state’s Governor, driving the unwelcome band east into Illinois, where they settle in the town of Nauvoo.

At Nauvoo, Smith codifies the underlying beliefs and organizational structure of his church, as well as writing a description of his original heavenly visitation. The doctrines of exaltation (“unity with Christ” achieved by living a virtuous life) and “plural marriage” (polygamy) are formulated here.

On June 27, 1844, the long-term viability of the Nauvoo settlement ends when both Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum are killed by a hostile mob in nearby Carthage, Illinois.

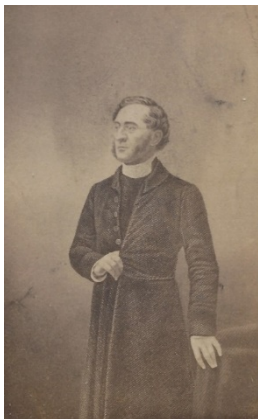
After a crisis over “church succession,” Smith’s close ally, Brigham Young, emerges as the new leader of the bulk of the congregation. Young recognizes the need to resume the search for a new, sustainable site, and by 1847 he settles on land beyond current civilization, the “Mormon Corridor,” in what will become the state of Utah. There, in the dessert region, he begins to build his New Jerusalem.

And it burgeons, driven from a co-operative economic approach, aggressive missionary work (home and abroad), and plural marriage, which supports rapid population growth. At long last the Mormons have found their lasting home.

They face only one more threat, and it turns out to be relatively minor. In 1857, President Buchanan sends a military force to Utah to assert federal authority over the land. This will become known as the Second Mormon War, but it is essentially a bloodless affair, and ends in 1858 when Brigham Young transfers his title as governor over to a non-Mormon resident.

Time: 1822 Forward

The Millerites Appear And Morph Into The Seventh Day Churches



Another purely American sect – the Millerites -- also springs up in New York during the awakening period.

It’s founder is William Miller, who is born in 1782 in Massachusetts and grows up in Hampton, New York.

Miller becomes a well-respected member of his rural community, a successful farmer, Justice of the Peace, and member of his local militia.

Like others of his era, his limited formal education is no impediment to his determination to study the Bible and interpret it on his own. This process leads him from his religious origins as a Baptist to the Deist view of a God who created the world but is removed from its daily outcomes .

A Pastor Spreading the Word of Salvation

His convictions change, however, based on his combat experiences during the War of 1812, as a Captain in the U.S. Regulars. After a bloody Battle at Plattsburg, Miller decides that God's hand must have saved his unit.

It seemed to me that the Supreme Being must have watched over the interests of this country in an especial manner, and delivered us from the hands of our enemies... So surprising a result, against such odds, did seem to me like the work of a mightier power than man.

After the war he returns to his farm and his Bible studies, focusing now on the inevitability of death and prospects for an afterlife. He gradually returns to the Baptist Church in town, becomes a reader, and is "born again" into faith in a savior both compassionate and engaged in the affairs of men.

When his Deist friends challenge his conversion, Miller intensifies his reading of Bible verses, and comes to focus on Daniel 8:14, which he regards as a prophecy about the timing of "the second coming of Christ."

Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.

Through further agonizingly detailed scriptural analysis he tries to pinpoint the event on the calendar. In 1822 he declares that the "2300 days" will be up on or before the year 1843:

I believe that the second coming of Jesus Christ is near, even within twenty-one years, on or before 1843.

In 1832, amidst the awakening fervor, a Baptist newspaper, *The Vermont Telegraph*, publishes a series of articles proclaiming Miller's prediction. This transforms one man's inquiry into a movement, first regional, then national, with thousands of believers, known as "Millerites," ordering their lives for the second coming.

Miller finally zeroes in on a time between March 21, 1843 and March 21, 1844, as the day of reckoning. When both dates come and go, a wave of disappointment strikes the movement's followers. A stricken and contrite Miller issues a public apology, while continuing to believe, up to his death in 1849, that his miscalculation was a minor one.

Most Millerites now disband – but not all.

One contingent that lives on is drawn more to Miller's intricate textual analyses than the precision of his dates for the reappearance of Christ. It reexamines the ancient scriptures and concludes that the Daniel verse actually foretells an "ascension" into the Most Holy Place in heaven rather than a return to earth.

It also sets out to reestablish the practice of observing the Sabbath, not on Sunday – which they regard as a corruption of the Catholic Church -- but from sundown Friday through sundown Saturday. This leads to a host "Seventh Day" Churches, with the Seventh Day Adventists eventually achieving the largest following.

Time: 1820's Forward

Utopian Movements Dot The Landscape



Living the Contemplative Ideal

While some movements seek to reform society, others decide to opt out of it.

Their motivations tend to be religious in character, driven from a shared belief that American values have gone astray – with communal well-being and personal salvation sacrificed to materialism and the chase after upward mobility.

For the Amish, Mennonites, Shakers and others, the way out of this moral trap lies in escape, in accord with the Biblical admonition:

Keep thyself unspotted from the world.

They accomplish this by setting up communities of fellow believers in rural settings, removed from the temptations and distractions they associate with modern society.

Their daily lives are marked by a return to nature, asceticism, and contemplation.

They farm the land, dress simply, reject personal adornments and class distinctions. Some sects attempt to redefine gender roles, others even challenge conventional marital and sexual practices.

Their theology is typically Christian, albeit tilted toward Old Testament dictates.

Outsiders characterize these sects as Utopian, after the name given an imaginary island nation in a book written in 1516 by St. Thomas More, the English lawyer, Lord Chancellor and Catholic saint, executed for opposing Henry VIII's claim to head the Church of England.

Moore's vision is of an ideal community where:

Nobody owns anything but everyone is rich - for what greater wealth can there be than cheerfulness, peace of mind, and freedom from anxiety?

Thus the Utopian sects and experiments attempt to flee from the materialistic values they see shaping American society and escape toward a classless alternative based on virtue not wealth. Moore sees simple justice in this transformation to Utopia:

For what justice is there in this: that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or, at best, is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendour upon what is so ill acquired, and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours so necessary, that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs?

The themes played out in these isolated communities – be they Amish, Mennonite, Shaker or others that follow on – become an integral part of America’s Second Great Religious Awakening.

Time: 1820 Forward

The Lasting Impact Of The Second Awakening

The Evangelical fervor that crisscrosses the landscape in the 1820’s will prove to be a turning point in antebellum American history.

The constant threat of foreign invasion has waned, and “we the people” step back and reflect on how far the new nation has come in its first 50 years of existence – and what it needs to do next to live up to its original vision.

In characteristic American fashion, the “revival meetings” place the burden for corrective action on each man or woman who steps forward to be saved.

If society needs changing, it is up to individuals to act. And act they will.

A few will seek a better life by retreating to isolated communes; most will pursue remedies for everyday ills they encounter close to home, in their towns and on their streets.

Their “causes” will vary.

A Temperance movement gains widespread public support. Calls arise to reform child labor laws. Food kitchens and welfare sights appear to help the impoverished. Efforts are under way to improve prison conditions and to spare Debtors from harsh sentencing. Women begin to band together to have their voices heard in what remains largely the affairs of men.

But one cause will alter the nation’s destiny – it is the effort to wash away the stain of slavery that has blemished America’s soul since 1607.

Chapter 82 -- Run Up To The Presidential Election



Dates:
1828

Sections:

- JQ Adams And Henry Clay Are Determined To Defeat Jackson
- Mudslinging Mars The Race

Time: 1828

JQ Adams And Henry Clay Are Determined To Defeat Jackson



The White House from the North Lawn

As the election of 1828 approaches, it's clear that Andrew Jackson intends to revenge his prior "corrupt bargain" loss to Adams.

Meanwhile, Adams, the forever determined child of his domineering parents, decides to run for a second term, despite the four years of frustrations already suffered.

His most committed supporter in the race will be Henry Clay – who is dead set on becoming his successor, and must find a way to derail Andrew Jackson candidacy for that to happen.

As a wizened political strategist, Clay immediately recognizes that Adams is vulnerable.

With help from Martin Van Buren, Jackson has already taken over firm control over the internal workings of the Democratic-Republican Party.

To counter this reality, Clay must build an Anti-Jackson Party of his own. His first attempt will be called the "National Republican Party," which Adams heads in 1828. But it is short-lived, and will morph into the "Whig Party" by 1832.

The roots of this new party trace to Washington, Hamilton and the Federalists with their core beliefs that a strong national government is needed to harmonize the often competing interests of individual states or regions, and to realize America's potential as a global power.

Foreign policy differences between Adams/Clay and Jackson will be relatively minor.

Both support enough military force to defend the nation, should the need again arise. Both hope to eventually expand America's borders across the entire continent. Both wish to avoid foreign entanglements, although Adams and Clay are more inclined to build diplomatic bridges into Latin America.

It is therefore domestic policy which sets the two camps apart.

The "National Republican" platform which Adams and Clay craft in 1828 calls for:

- A strong national government dedicated to advancing interests common across all citizens;
- More infrastructure projects – roads, bridges, canals, railroads – to support the domestic economy;
- Educational upgrades (more universities) and "cultural and scientific advancement;"
- Continued exploration and acquisition of land west of the Mississippi;
- A 50%+ tariff on select foreign imports, to support domestic manufacturers, and fund spending.
- A powerful central US Bank, to insure available credit and a stable currency.
- Caution around issues related to Indian affairs and the future of slavery.

Sitting Vice-President John C. Calhoun will run again with Adams, on the hope that he can defend the South against Jackson, while the President holds on to his base in New England.

Despite residual tensions from the 1820 Missouri Compromise and a smattering of early reform rhetoric from the Second Awakening, the issue of slavery is largely ignored in the campaign.

Time: 1828

Mudslinging Mars The Race

Predictably the race quickly erodes from policy debates to vicious personal attacks.

Jackson's campaign is run by Senator Martin Van Buren of New York, an organizational genius who, between 1826 and 1828, turns the Democratic Party, initially called "The Democracy," into the well-oiled election machine it becomes. In backing Jackson, Van Buren lays the groundwork for succeeding him down the road.

Van Buren's strategy is clever. The goal lies in linking the old and eroding Virginia political junta with the new and upcoming New Yorkers to form a South-North base that will be unbeatable – especially when the Westerner Jackson is added to the mix.

His tactics are raucous in character and efficient in execution.

Democratic Party newspapers paint Adams as part of an elite eastern clique, out of touch with the common man, and intent on lining their own pockets. His strait-laced moral character is then called into question. First for wasting taxpayer money on "gambling devices" for the White House – a charge which boils down to Adams' purchase of a chess set and a billiards table. Then for "procuring" an American woman for Tsar Alexander I to secure his friendship while serving in Moscow.

Van Buren also makes widespread promises of federal patronage jobs, mirroring his successful patronage tactics in New York.

Needless to say, the staid Adams is no match for the garrulous Van Buren and Jackson. He even continues to view public campaigning as beneath the dignity of candidates for high office.

Nonetheless, his surrogates are eager to assail Jackson, and they do so with no holds barred. Their goal is to paint him as temperamentally and morally unfit to be president. His long record of violent behavior is cited:

- 1806 kills James Dickinson in a duel over a horse racing wager
- 1806 attempts to stab his former business partner on the street in Nashville
- 1813 wounded in saloon shoot-out with Jesse and Thomas Hart Benton
- 1814 accused of murdering Indian non-combatants at Battle of Horseshoe Bend
- 1815 approves execution of six American militiamen for stealing food during campaign around Mobile;
- 1818 executes two British nationals in Florida accused of selling guns to local tribes

Several of these incidents are disseminated by one John Binns, a Philadelphia newspaperman, in what become known as “Coffin Handbills” – poster boards headed by hand-drawn caskets meant to represent the General’s murdered victims.

The attacks turn even uglier from there.

Jackson is first pictured as a wanton slave-trader, and then as an adulterer.

The latter charge stems from his marriage in 1791 to Rachel Donelson Robards, after she had applied for a divorce from her first husband. When court records show that the decree was not officially granted until 1793, Jackson and Rachel are labelled adulterers. Again it is a journalist, Charles Hammond of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, who publicizes the story, with his own editorial take:

Ought a convicted adulteress and her paramour husband be placed in the highest offices of this free and Christian land?

Jackson responds publicly to the slander, but Rachel feels that her reputation is lost for good and her health deteriorates. She dies of a heart attack on December 22, 1828, before her husband is inaugurated.

The presidential vote in 1828 takes place between October 26 and December 2. By that time civil discourse between the two parties has given way to outright mudslinging.

Chapter 83 -- Andrew Jackson Becomes America's Sixth President



Dates:
1828

Sections:

- As Suffrage Expands, The Popular Vote Determines Election Results
- Jackson Beats JQ Adams In Convincing Fashion
- Andrew Jackson: Personal Profile

Time: 1788 – 1965

As Suffrage Expands, The Popular Vote Determines Election Results



The increase in public participation in the 1828 presidential election is profound, with the change tracing mainly to fewer restrictions on who is qualified to vote.

According to the Constitution, decisions about voter qualifications are left up to individual state legislatures -- and the answer since 1788 has been “white men who own property and are 21 years of age or older.”

In 1828, many states drop the requirement to own property.

The result is a fourfold jump in turn-out to 1,148,018, from only 365,833 in 1824.

The Common White Man Gets To Vote

Popular Voting For President & Number Of States Where Electors Chosen By Their Votes

1800	1804	1808	1812	1816	1820	1824	1828
67,282	143,110	192,691	278,786	112,370	106,701	365,833	1,148,018
6 of 16	11 of 17	10 of 17	9 of 18	10 of 19	15 of 24	18 of 24	22 of 24*

* State legislators in Delaware and South Carolina still choose electors in 1828

For the first time, it becomes crystal clear that all future presidents will be chosen by the popular vote, rather than by state politicians working deals with each other to choose electors.

Once this much is established, the issues will turn to voter qualifications.

As of 1842 all states will have dropped the “property test” – meaning that all white males over 21 years old are qualified to cast ballots.

This won’t change until after the Civil War when black men are given the vote through three “Reconstruction Amendments” -- the 13th, outlawing slavery, the 14th, granting citizenship to non-whites and the 15th, and granting eligibility to all men, regardless of race.

By 1870, three states (Wyoming, Colorado and Montana) take the lead in extending suffrage to include women.

From there, however, the tide reverses for some fifty years.

In 1876, several state legislatures maneuver around the 15th Amendment by adding new “qualifications” aimed at excluding Negroes and Indians.

The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act bans all further immigration from Asia and prohibits those already here from becoming naturalized citizens.

It is not until 1920, after “suffragette” battles and the 19th Amendment, that women are given the vote.

In 1924 Native American are included via the Indian Citizenship Act – although the state of Utah refuses to enforce this law until 1956.

For both African-Americans and Asian-Americans the “wait” will extend all the way to the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which finally and firmly enfranchises both groups.

Time: 1828

Jackson Beats JQ Adams In Convincing Fashion



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

In this first more “open” election, the common man of the west, Jackson, prevails over the patrician eastern intellectual, Adams, by a comfortable margin.

Results Of The 1828 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV
Andrew Jackson	Tn	Democrat	642,553	178
John Quincy Adams	MA	National Republican	500,897	83
Unpledged			4,568	0
Total			1,148,018	261
Needed to win				131

The General sweeps the “emerging western states” by a 65-0 electoral count – and takes the “slave states” by 105-9, losing only in Delaware while splitting Maryland with Adams.

He also cuts into Adams’s hold on the northeast, winning Pennsylvania 28-0 and, with Van Buren’s help, taking New York by 20-16.

Shifting State Alignments: Old/New And Slave/Free

	Slavery Allowed (12)	Slavery Banned (12)
Old Established East Coast States (15)	64 Jackson 9 Adams 73 Total	74 Adams 49 Jackson 123 Total
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	41 Jackson 0 Adams 41 Total	24 Jackson 0 Adams 24 Total

Note: East Coast slave states (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia); east coast free (Maine, Mass, NH, Vt, Conn, Penn, RI, NY, NJ); west slave (Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, La, MO); west free (Ohio, Ind, IL)

On a state by state basis, the General shifts five states – Virginia, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio and Missouri – into the Democrat Party column.

Party Power By State

South	1824	1828	Pick Ups
Virginia	Dem-Rep (Cr)	Democrat	Democrat
North Carolina	Democrat	Democrat	
South Carolina	Democrat	Democrat	
Georgia	Dem-Rep (Cr)	Democrat	Democrat
Alabama	Democrat	Democrat	
Mississippi	Democrat	Democrat	
Louisiana	Democrat	Democrat	
Tennessee	Democrat	Democrat	
Border			
Delaware	Democrat	Nat-Rep	Nat-Rep
Maryland	Democrat	Nat-Rep	Nat-Rep
Kentucky	Dem-Rep (Cl)	Democrat	Democrat
Missouri	Dem-Rep (Cl)	Democrat	Democrat
North			
New Hampshire	Dem-Rep (Ad)	Nat-Rep	
Vermont	Dem-Rep (Ad)	Nat-Rep	
Massachusetts	Dem-Rep (Ad)	Nat-Rep	
Rhode Island	Dem-Rep (Ad)	Nat-Rep	
Connecticut	Dem-Rep (Ad)	Nat-Rep	
New York	Democrat	Democrat	
New Jersey	Democrat	Nat-Rep	Nat-Rep
Pennsylvania	Democrat	Democrat	
West			
Ohio	Dem-Rep (Cl)	Democrat	Democrat
Indiana	Democrat	Democrat	
Illinois	Democrat	Democrat	

(Notes: Cr = Crawford, Cl = Clay; Ad = JQA; NA = National Republicans/JQA)

Jackson's coattails are strong in 1828, with the Democrats solidifying control over both chambers of Congress by 2-1 margins, thus assuring his capacity to start dismantling many of what he regards as Adam's pro-Federalist policies.

Congressional Election Trends

U.S. House	1825	1827	1829
Pro-Jackson	49%	53%	64%
Pro-Adams	51	47	36
U.S. Senate			
Pro-Jackson	49%	53%	64%
Pro-Adams	51	47	34
Other			2
President	JQA	JQA	AJ

John Quincy Adams is dismayed over what he regards as his failure in office followed by his humiliating defeat at the hands of the lesser man, Andrew Jackson. As he writes:

No one knows, and few conceive, the agony of mind that I have suffered from the time that I was made by circumstances, and not by my volition, a candidate for the Presidency till I was dismissed from that station by the failure of my election.

He leaves Washington without attending Jackson's inaugural and heads back home, not realizing that a remarkable political future lies ahead after his return to the U.S. House.

Time: 1767-1825

Andrew Jackson: Personal Profile

Andrew Jackson's narrative is familiar in American political history – the military hero turned president and commander-in-chief.

His roots are “log cabin humble” and in the western soil -- unlike the refined, eastern elites who have run the country up to his time.

Born in 1767, Jackson and his widowed mother are taken in by relatives in Waxhaw, SC, where, at age 14, he is wounded and imprisoned by the British General Tarleton, during the Revolutionary War.

At twenty-one he moves to Nashville, and in 1790 marries into the renowned Donelson family. With their backing, Jackson's career takes off in Tennessee.

He becomes a successful lawyer; goes to DC as a member of the House in 1796 followed by a year in the Senate before returning home as a state Supreme Court justice. There he invests his wealth in The Hermitage, a cotton plantation whose slave count he expands from nine in 1804 to about 160 by 1820.

From the beginning Jackson is clear and outspoken in his beliefs about the inferiority of black Africans and brown Indians, and the white man's need to forcefully suppress both.

He is also known for his hair trigger temper and penchant for dueling. His first duel with an opposing lawyer ends harmlessly. In 1802 he confronts an ex-Governor of Tennessee, but the fight is called off. His next duel, in 1806 over a horse racing wager, ends with his 26 year old opponent, James Dickinson, dead and a bullet permanently embedded in Jackson's chest. In 1813 he is again nearly killed in a saloon gun fight with Jesse Benton and his brother, soon-to-be Senator Thomas Hart Benton.

Like George Washington before him, Jackson's business and political careers run parallel to his military career. By 1801 he is colonel in the Tennessee militia, and a supporter of using force to secure the “sacred union” and its borders. The War of 1812 thrusts him into active combat against a host of foes, the British army, the Creek tribe and the Seminoles.

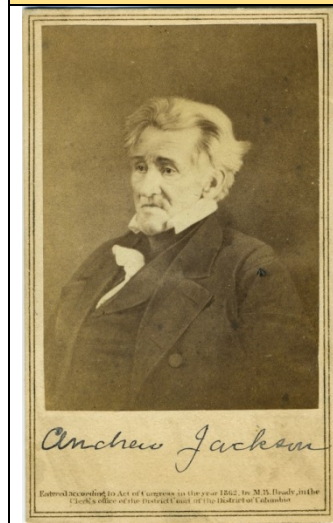
Having witnessed Indian attacks on settlers, Jackson is ruthless in retribution. In 1814 he defeats the Red Stick Creeks – who are allied to the British – at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, in central Alabama, with support from Lt. Sam Houston. In the 1814 Treaty of Ft. Jackson peace which follows, the Creeks cede 23 million acres of land in Alabama and Georgia to the U.S. government.

Jackson's future destiny is sealed, however, on January 8, 1815.

On that day he becomes a national hero by leading his 5000 troops to victory over a 7500 man force of British regulars at New Orleans, ending the War of 1812 and earning a special “Thanks of Congress” award for this action.

From then on, he is “Old Hickory,” with his supporters touting him for the presidency.

Chapter 84 -- Overview Of Andrew Jackson's First Term



Dates:
1829-1833

Sections:

- Jackson's Inauguration Lays Out His Priorities
- Overview Of Jackson's First Term

Time: March 4, 1829

Jackson's Inauguration Lays Out His Priorities

The President's inaugural is unlike anything ever seen before in DC. A crowd of some 20,000 people – “a rabble, a mob, of boys, negroes, women, scrambling, fighting, romping” – flocks into the capital.

After John Marshall administers the oath of office on the East Portico of the Capitol, Jackson delivers a relatively brief but very precise address regarding his views and plans.

He first expresses his gratitude for the honor of being chosen, and then declares his intent to act as “the instrument of the Federal Constitution.”

As the instrument of the Federal Constitution it will devolve on me for a stated period to execute the laws of the United States, to superintend their foreign and their confederate relations, to manage their revenue, to command their forces, and, by communications to the Legislature, to watch over and to promote their interests generally.

In carrying out his duties he promises not to overstep the authority given the federal government in relation to that of the individual states. In this regard he echoes the boundaries of the Tenth Amendment.

In administering the laws of Congress I shall keep steadily in view the limitations as well as the extent of the Executive power trusting thereby to discharge the functions of my office without transcending its authority...In such measures as I may be called on to pursue in regard to the rights of the separate States. I hope to be animated by a proper respect for those sovereign members of our Union, taking care not to confound the powers they have reserved to themselves with those they have granted to the Confederacy.

After mentioning his intent to act fairly and equally with all foreign powers, he turns to the importance of carefully controlling national finances, extinguishing the debt, counteracting the profligacy accompanying a profuse expenditure of money by the Government.

The management of the public revenue...will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude...Advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy....I shall aim at the extinguishment of the national debt, the unnecessary duration of which is incompatible with real independence, and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the Government is but too apt to engender.

In gathering revenue, his goal will be equal treatment of agriculture, commerce and manufactures. Only products essential to national dependence may expect protection in tariffs.

With regard to...revenue, it would seem to me that the spirit of equity, caution and compromise in which the Constitution was formed requires that the great interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures should be equally favored, and that perhaps the only exception to this rule should consist in the peculiar encouragement of any products of either of them that may be found essential to our national independence

He supports internal improvements and education.

Internal improvement and the diffusion of knowledge, so far as they can be promoted by the constitutional acts of the Federal Government, are of high importance.

His fear of a standing army harkens back to the 1787 Convention, and he is convinced that a million man militia is fully capable of defending against any foreign threat.

Considering standing armies as dangerous to free governments in time of peace, I shall not seek to enlarge our present establishment, nor disregard that salutary lesson of political experience which teaches that the military should be held subordinate to the civil power....But the bulwark of our defense is the national militia... (and) a million of armed freemen, possessed of the means of war, can never be conquered by a foreign foe.

Despite his military record, he says that future treatment of the Indians will be humane and considerate – while caveating the promise in such a way as to negate it entirely in the end.

It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe toward the Indian tribes within our limits a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which is consistent with the habits of our Government and the feelings of our people.

He vows to reform patronage practices which threaten free elections and protect incompetency.

The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of Executive duties...the correction of those abuses that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections... and have placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent hands.

He will hire subordinates who are diligent and talented in public service, and look to wise precedents from those who came before him in office.

I shall endeavor to select men whose diligence and talents will insure...the public service... (and) look with reverence to the examples of public virtue left by my illustrious predecessors...

And he closes by pledging cooperation and coordination with the other branches of Government, and hoping for divine guidance from that Power who has protected the nation from infancy.

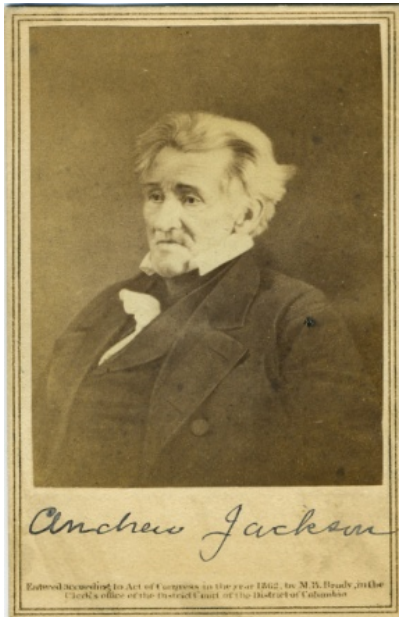
The same diffidence induces me to hope for instruction and aid from the coordinate branches of the Government, and for the indulgence and support of my fellow-citizens generally. And a firm reliance on the goodness of that Power whose providence mercifully protected our national infancy...encourages me to offer up my ardent supplications that He will continue to make our beloved country the object of His divine care and gracious benediction.

After the official ceremony, the White House is thrown open to all comers, with bands playing, hard liquor flowing, and food aplenty, including a 1400 lb. cheese sent by an admirer. Jackson is swarmed over by admirers, and finally has to depart to a nearby hotel for his own safety.

The entire demeanor of the event sends shivers through his opponents, who view it as the beginning of his “Mobocracy.”

Time: March 4, 1829 – March 3, 1833

Overview Of Jackson’s First Term



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

Jackson is about to be 62 years old when he becomes President, and he tells friends that his intent is to achieve his goals in one term.

The cabinet he assembles includes two men, both 46, who very much hope to succeed him: Vice-President John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Martin Van Buren of New York, chosen as Secretary of State after serving as Jackson’s campaign manager.

Jackson names Samuel Ingham, a paper mill owner and House member from Pennsylvania, to the Treasury slot. His close personal friend and biographer from Tennessee, Senator John Eaton, is tapped for War; John Branch, Senator from North Carolina, heads the Navy; and the Kentucky jurist, William Barry, becomes Postmaster General. For Attorney General, Jackson calls on Senator John Berrien of Georgia, a strong proponent of both states rights and slavery.

This group will prove troublesome for Jackson, and he will dissolve it in early 1831.

Andrew Jackson's Cabinet in 1829

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of State	Martin Van Buren	New York
Secretary of Treasury	Samuel Ingham	Pennsylvania
Secretary of War	John Eaton	Tennessee
Secretary of the Navy	John Branch	North Carolina
Attorney General	John Berrien	Georgia
Postmaster General	William Barry	Kentucky

As he begins, Jackson has a clear five point action agenda in mind for the country:

- Above all else, secure the borders and preserve the sacred Union.
- Relocate Indian tribes west, so that white settlers can occupy the southeast.
- Shut down the US Bank, ending its spendthrift, eastern elite focused manipulations.
- Restore tight fiscal constraints, avoid inflation and pay off the national debt.
- Protect the well-being of the many from the avarice of the few.

His first term is a period when many of the great themes shaping, and ultimately undermining, America's future are set in motion.

It begins with a threat to the sanctity of the Union, when an emerging southern coalition, headed by South Carolinians, challenges the national government's authority to impose laws which "sovereign states" find damaging to their own interest.

This leads to a "nullification crisis" over the 1828 Tariff and a famous debate in the senate between Robert Hayne and Daniel Webster over "state's rights" regarding federal regulation of land sales in the west. It also results in a final breach between Jackson and Calhoun.

The President then turns to a particularly disturbing part of his legacy – the forced removal of Native American tribes from their ancestral homelands in the east to new settlements west of the Mississippi River. Despite his restrained rhetoric in the inaugural, Jackson is intent on handing the Indian lands over to white settlers, using whatever means are required. Wars with the Blackhawks and Seminoles signal his determination.

Halfway through the term, a bizarre incident occurs within Jackson's cabinet. John Calhoun's wife, Floride, initiates a campaign to discredit and shun "as an adulteress," Peggy Eaton, who is married to Jackson's close friend and Secretary of War, John Eaton. When other cabinet members fail to support the Eaton's, an irate Jackson forces all except Postmaster Barry to resign – replacing them with what becomes known as his "kitchen cabinet" of long-time insiders.

While seemingly trivial at the moment, the "Petticoat Affair" ends with Calhoun discarding party unity and launching his "firebrand role" as defender of Southern interests and a leading proponent of secession.

The tinderbox issue of slavery also assumes center stage during Jackson's first term.

A hard core of Northern white abolitionists, influenced by the Second Great Awakening, rally around journalist William Lloyd Garrison, in his call for the immediate emancipation of all slaves. Garrison's newspaper, *The Liberator*, quickly becomes a lightning rod across the South, intent on keeping their slaves in check, and the North, intent on cleansing them, along with free blacks, from their borders.

Adding to Southern tensions are inflammatory words published by David Walker, a free black, who pleads for justice, while warning of retribution – and inflammatory action in Virginia taken by Nat Turner and a handful of enraged slaves, who slaughter their masters and are slaughtered themselves in return.

As the election of 1832 nears, Jackson concludes that a large part of his agenda – especially closing down the Second US Bank and paying off the national debt – is still undone, and that a second term will be needed.

Key Events: Andrew Jackson's First Term

1828	
December	Calhoun attacks the 1828 tariff in his “South Carolina Exposition and Protest” plea
1829	
March 4	Jackson and Calhoun are inaugurated
March 23	Creek tribe ordered to either obey Alabama laws or move across the Mississippi River
August 25	Mexico rejects Jackson’s offer to buy Texas
September	David Walker’s <i>Appeal</i> for emancipation is published
December 8	Jackson’s annual message questions the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States
December 29	Connecticut Senator Samuel Foot’s bill to temporarily restrict land sales in west
1830	
January 18	Benton criticizes Foot’s bill as an attack by New England on the prosperity of the west
January 19	Robert Hayne of SC backs Benton, calls for states rights, questions the value of the union
Jan 20-27	Hayne and Webster square off on states rights vs, national unity
April 6	Mexico moves to block further immigration of American immigrants and slaves
April 6	Joseph Smith founds Church of Latter Day Saints in New York
April 13	Jackson and Calhoun clash at the annual Thomas Jefferson memorial dinner
May 20	Tariff reduced on tea, coffee, molasses, salt
May 21	Foot’s land bill voted down
May 27	Jackson vetoes Kentucky Road bill as not a federal project
May 28	Jackson signs the Indian Removal Bill
May 29	Preemption Act protects western squatters from speculators/can buy 160 acre at \$1.25
August 28	Peter Cooper’s Tom Thumb train makes first run on B&O
September	National Republicans meet in Hartford and nominate Henry Clay for 1832 race
October 5	Martin Van Buren settles treaty re-opening trade with Brit W Indies
December 6	Jackson again attacks USB, federal debt and using federal funds for infrastructure
1831	
January 1	Garrison publishes first edition of <i>The Liberator</i>
January 15	First passenger train opens in Charleston SC
February 15	Calhoun publishes letters critical of Jackson’s actions in Seminole War
February 15	Jackson picks Van Buren as his running mate in 1832
March 18	In <i>Cherokee v Georgia</i> the Supreme Court rules that tribes are not independent nations, but rather “domestic dependents” and therefore cannot sue the state.
April 5	Commerce Treaty with Mexico signed
April 7	John Eaton resigns amidst the “Petticoat Affair”
April 26	NY state declares that poverty is not a crime and ends prison sentencing
June 30	Chief Blackhawk agrees to move west across the Mississippi River

August 8	Jackson forces all cabinet members, except one, to resign over the Petticoat Affair
August 9	A dissident group meeting in NYC nominates Calhoun for President in 1832
August 21	Nat Turner Rebellion occurs in Virginia
September 26	The Anti-Mason Party meets and nominates William Wirt for President
December 5	JQAdams takes seat in House & begins to file anti-slavery petitions
December 12	National Republicans meet in Baltimore and nominate Henry Clay for President
1832	
January 9	The Second BUS files for early re-chartering fearing Jackson opposition
January 9	Clay introduces a party plank to abolish tariff on non-competitive imports
January 21	Virginia Assembly debates an old Jefferson bill for gradual emancipation, but it loses as opponents cite pro-slave arguments
May 3	In <i>Worcester v Georgia</i> , John Marshall's majority opinion says the federal government has jurisdiction over the state on Indian affairs; Jackson responds "let him enforce it."
April 6	Black Hawk War begins: both Abe Lincoln and Jeff Davis participate
May 1	First wagon trains head out west on the Oregon Trail
May 9	Seminoles sign treaty to exit Florida
May 21-22	First national Democrat Party convention nominates Jackson for a second term
July 10	Jackson vetoes a congressional bill passed to recharter the Second BUS
July 14	Tariff of 1832 lowers rates, but the South remains upset
August 2	The Battle of Bad Axe ends the Black Hawk War
September 21	The Sauks agree to move west
Nov19-24	The South Carolina legislatures votes to nullify the 1828 and 1832 Tariffs
December 5	Jackson re-elected easily
December 28	John Calhoun resigns as Vice-President to become Senator from SC

The national economy rebounds from Adams' last year in office, and grows nicely throughout Jackson's first term.

Key Economic Overview – Jackson's First Term

	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832
Total GDP (\$000)	897	930	1022	1052	1129
% Change	(2%)	4%	10%	3%	7%
Per Capita GDP	74	74	79	79	83

Chapter 85 -- States' Rights Politicians In South Carolina Challenge Federal Authority



Dates:
1832

Sections:

- The Machiavellian John C. Calhoun Sparks The Nullification Crisis
- History Of Tariffs Leading Up To The 1828 Bill

Time: 1828

The Machiavellian John C. Calhoun Sparks The Nullification Crisis



A View of the US Capitol Building Under Construction

Andrew Jackson's running mate, John C. Calhoun, believes all along that his destiny is to become President of the United States.

He sees himself as the natural successor to the "Virginian line," and, in chameleon-like fashion, executes a series of maneuvers aimed at bringing down various rivals in his path.

He begins with Adams, playing the sinister Iago against the President's ever naïve Othello. He

secretly torpedoes Adam's (and Clay's) internal improvement programs from within the Cabinet. When he sees that he cannot win the 1828 nomination, he abandons Adams and backs the opposition candidacy of Jackson.

Like JQA, Jackson is at first taken in by Calhoun, and chooses him as Vice-President, making him only the second man ever to serve in that position under different presidents (joining founding father George Clinton).

But Calhoun always views Jackson as a crass "mobocrat," lacking both executive capacity and grace.

If Jackson lives up to his promise of "one term only," Calhoun has every intent of becoming his successor.

To do so, however, requires an issue that captures public attention, and a solution that he can champion.

The issue he settle on goes all the way back to the 1787 controversies over the sovereignty of the states vis a vis the authority of the central government. It's time, Calhoun decides, to play the Anti-Federalist card once again.

Within this broad context, he zeros in on one manifestation of the debate sure to draw fire – the power of the federal government to impose potentially onerous taxes on the states.

From the Boston Tea Party to the Whiskey Rebellion, no topic arouses American’s passions like taxation.

In December 1828, even before Jackson is inaugurated, Calhoun decides to stir this pot. He does so in his usual anonymous fashion by penning a document called the “South Carolina Exposition and Protest” – attacking the 1828 Tariff he himself advanced in cynical fashion to undermine Adams.

His basic “exposition” is that the Tariff of 1828 was constitutionally flawed, not because it raised revenue, but because the increases were amplified to protect manufacturing industries in the Northeast at the expense of the cotton growers across the South.

From there he argues that when the federal authorities overstep their bounds, it is the right of the sovereign states to decide and act upon a “proper remedy.”

If it be conceded, as it must be by every one who is the least conversant with our institutions, that the sovereign powers delegated are divided between the General and State Governments, and that the latter hold their portion by the same tenure as the former, it would seem impossible to deny to the States the right of deciding on the infractions of their powers, and the proper remedy to be applied for their correction.

Of course this is essentially the same argument that the Supreme Court ruled on as recently as 1819 in the *McCulluch v Maryland* case -- citing the “necessary and proper” clause in the Constitution to favor federal laws over state laws.

The Congress shall have power to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying Into execution...the powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States.

Calhoun recognizes, however, that if this decision achieves “stare decisis” (settled law) status, it would open the door to future federal efforts to limit or even abolish slavery, an outcome which would go far beyond taxation in its negative impact on the Southern economy.

In 1828 he decides to make anti-federalism his signature issue, still hoping for another try at the presidency.

Time: 1790-1830

History Of Tariffs Leading Up To The 1828 Bill

The type of tariffs Calhoun attacks have been used since Washington’s time by various Treasury Secretaries to fund government spending.

They entail a duty or tax levied on imported goods, collected at ports of entry by customs agents, before cargo ships can be unloaded. They are enforced by an infant coast guard on hand to curb any attempts at smuggling.

In 1790 the average tariff rate across goods is 10.0% and it generates \$10.8 million, or 83.7% of total federal income. The rate remains fairly stable over time, and are actually coming down in 1815.

Tariff Rates And Revenue Generated: 1800-1815

Year	Tariff Rate	Tariff \$	Total Budget	% Tariff
1800	10.0%	\$10.8	\$10.8	83.7%
1805	10.7%	\$13.6	\$13.6	95.4%
1810	10.1%	\$9.4	\$9.4	91.5%
1815	6.5%	\$15.7	\$15.7	46.4%

That trend reverses itself when debts associated with the War of 1812 force Madison’s Treasury head, Alexander Dallas, to propose sharp increases on a range of imports in 1816.

Cotton and woolen duties jump to 25% for three years; iron bar, leather, writing paper, hats and cabinet ware go to 30%; and each lb. of sugar is charged 3 cents. The fact that Britain is hardest hit by these changes sparks some patriotic overtones, and the Dallas Tariff passes the House 88-54.

But that will prove to be the last smooth sail for tariff bills in the Congress.

As Monroe’s second term winds down, support widens for a tariff designed to encourage the public to buy goods manufactured in America – by raising the duty, hence the price, on foreign imports.

The 1824 Tariff is focused on four commodities – iron, lead, hemp and cotton bagging – that are particularly important to Rhode Island and Connecticut, along with the north western states from Ohio through Illinois, and the South. All four candidates in the 1824 presidential race support the bill, but both cotton and shipping factions are concerned about its economic impact on their interests.

After serious floor battles, the bill squeaks by on a 107-102 vote in the House. By 1825 the average tariff rate has jumped to 22.3% and the revenue generated accounts for nearly 98% of the total federal budget.

Tariff Rates And Revenue Generated: 1820-25

Year	Tariff Rate	Tariff \$	Total Budget	% Tariff
1820	20.2%	\$17.9	\$17.9	83.9%
1825	22.3%	\$20.5	\$20.5	97.9%

In 1825, cotton production continues to soar, but the South begins to see some small slippage in the price/lb. the commodity commands.

Production And Value Of Cotton

Year	Lbs	Price/Lb	Value	Growth	Tariff
1810	68.9	14.20	9.8	--	10.1%
1815	81.9	25.90	21.6	220%	6.5%
1820	141.5	16.58	23.5	9%	20.2%
1825	228.7	14.36	30.9	31%	22.3%

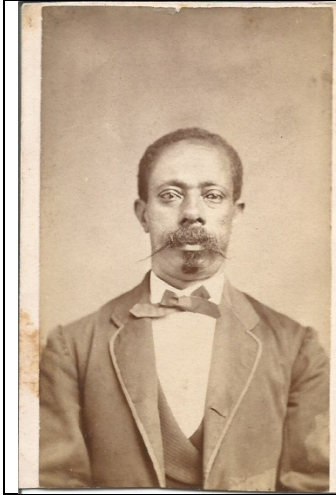
Ransom p.78

While this slippage in price might be a response to the spike in supply, the South associates it with the increased tariffs imposed in 1824.

Then comes the so-called “Tariff of Abominations” in 1828 – driving up the tax on imports of finished goods, often made from cotton, to “protect” domestic manufacturing in the northeast.

The response here will be a sharp reduction in prices for cotton and the “Nullification Crisis of 1832,” led by the state of South Carolina and John C. Calhoun.

Chapter 86 -- Black Abolitionist David Walker Cries Out For Justice



Dates:
1829

Sections:

- The Black Abolitionist David Walker
- David Walker's *Appeal*
- The *Appeal* Strikes Recognition And Fear Into The Hearts Of All Whites

Time: The 1820's

The Black Abolitionist David Walker



A Later Day Free Black Man

While the South is fussing over the 1828 Tariff, it receives a tangible threat to its slave-based economy from one David Walker, a free black man living in Boston.

Walker is born in 1796 in Wilmington, Delaware, the son of a slave father who dies before his birth and a white mother, whose "free status" is conferred upon him.

During his early years he becomes literate, moves to Charleston, where he joins the African Episcopal Methodist Church, and eventually to Boston, where he marries, has a daughter, and opens a clothing re-sale shop in the wharf district.

In 1825 he joins the African Grand Lodge #459, now headed by the black abolitionist John T. Hilton. In 1826 he co-founds the Massachusetts's

General Colored Association, along with Hilton and William Guion Cooper, whose son will later lead the movement to integrate the Boston public schools.

At this point, Walker is a member of Boston's free black elites, all pushing for freedom, assimilation and full citizenship for African-American.

But his plea is unlike those being made by Boston's black churches and Prince Hall's Freemason lodges.

They are pleading for justice in a restrained and peaceful manner – Walker is boiling over with despair and anger.

If whites refuse to accept the olive branch he offers, they will experience the sword.

In 1829 Walker writes and publishes a 76 page pamphlet that inflames the passions of both blacks and whites toward slavery:

David Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World, But in Particular To Those of the United States of America.

The title itself announces Walker's aspiration – to insure that blacks achieve "Colored Citizen" status in America and around the world. His arguments are riveting, both logical and emotional, ranging from despair to hope, from helplessness to mounting fury to bloody resolve.

Time: September 1829

David Walker's Appeal

Walker begins his *Appeal* by trying to make white men aware of what he calls the daily "wretchedness" of those living as slaves.

We colored people are the most degraded, wretched, and abject set of beings that ever lived... We are destined to dig (the white man's) mines and work their farms, and thus go on enriching them from one generation to another with our blood and our tears!!!!

An observer may see there, a son take his mother, who bore almost the pains of death to give him birth, and by the command of a tyrant, strip her as naked as she came into the world, and apply the cow-hide to her, until she falls a victim to death in the road! He may see a husband take his dear wife, not infrequently in a pregnant state, and perhaps far advanced, and beat her for an unmerciful wretch, until his infant falls a lifeless lump at her feet! Can the Americans escape God Almighty? If they do, can he be to us a God of Justice? I would suffer my life to be taken before I would submit.

Oh! my God, I appeal to every man of feeling – is not this insupportable? Oh pity us, we pray thee, Lord Jesus.

The cause of the black man's suffering is the white man's greed and unmerciful quest for power.

The whites have always been an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and blood-thirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority. Ever since we have been among them, they have tried to keep us ignorant, and make us believe that God made us and our children to be slaves to them and theirs. Oh! my God, have mercy on Christian Americans!!!

Whites have justified their behavior by declaring that blacks are an inherently inferior species.

They have reduced us to the deplorable condition of slaves under their feet, held us up as descending from ribs of Monkeys or Orang-Outangs.

Mr. Jefferson's remarks respecting us – that—the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind”—have sunk deep into the hearts of millions of whites, and never will be removed this side of eternity.

They have blocked all attempts to provide black access to a basic education.

It is lamentable, that many of our children go to school, from four until they are eight or ten, and sometimes fifteen years of age, and leave school knowing but a little more about the grammar of their language than a horse does about handling a musket.

The school committee say "e" forbid the coloured children learnin' grammar –they"uld" not allow any but the white children "to stuy" it.

Even the white churches and clergy have stood silent and allowed these abuses to continue.

The preachers and people of the United States form societies against Free Masonry and Intemperance, and write against Sabbath breaking, Sabbath mails, Infidelity, &c. &c. But the fountain head (slavery and oppression) compared with which, all those other evils are comparatively nothing, is hardly noticed by the Americans.

Our divine Lord and Master said, "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even o unto them." But a American minister, with the Bible in is hand, holds us and our children the most abject slavery and wretchedness. Now I ask them, would they like for us to hold them and their children in abject slavery and wretchedness?

What kind!! Oh! what kind!!! Of Christianity can be found this day in all the earth!!!!!!

Instead of trying to elevate blacks into American citizenship, the proposal is to ship them back to Africa.

Will we adhere to Mr. Clay and his colonizing plan?, Will any of us leave our homes and go to Africa? I hope not. The greatest riches in all America have arisen from our blood and tears:--and will they drive us from our property and homes, which we have earned with our blood?

Because, they argue, blacks are incapable of caring for themselves.

They tell us that we the (blacks) are an inferior race of beings! Incapable of self-government!!— We would be injurious to society and ourselves, if tyrants should lose their unjust hold on us!!! That if we were free we would not work, but would live on plunder or theft!!!! That we are the meanest and laziest set of beings in the world!!!! That they are obliged to keep us in bondage to do us good!!!!!!—That –are satisfied to rest in slavery to them and their children!!!!!!—That – ought not to be set free in America, but ought to be sent away to Africa!!!!!!!!

This land which we have watered with our tears and our blood, is now our mother country, and we are well satisfied to stay where wisdom abounds and the gospel is free.

Blacks must and shall be free in the end, the only question is how this will be achieved.

Now let us reason—I mean you of the United States, whom I believe God designs to save from destruction, if you will hear. I speak Americans for your good.

We must and shall be free I say, in spite of you. You may do your best to keep us in wretchedness and misery, to enrich you and your children, but God will deliver us from under you. And wo, wo, will be to you if we have to obtain our freedom by fighting.

Throw away your fears and prejudices then, and enlighten us and treat us like men, and we will like you more than we do now hate you; you are not astonished at my saying we hate you, for if we are men we cannot but hate you, while you are treating us like dogs.

And tell us now no more about colonization, for America is as much our country, as it is yours.

Abandon slavery and treat blacks with dignity and peace and happiness will follow.

Treat us like men, and there is no danger but we will all live in peace and happiness together. For we are not like you, hard hearted, unmerciful, and unforgiving; what a happy country this will be, if the whites will listen.

But Americans, I declare to you, while you keep us and our children in bondage, and treat us like brutes, to make us support you and your families, we cannot be your friends. You do not look for it, do you? Treat us then like men, and we will be your friends. And there is not a doubt in my mind, but that the whole of the past will be sunk into oblivion, and we yet, under God, will become a united and happy people. The whites may say it is impossible, but remember that nothing is impossible with God.

But fail to change and America will be destroyed.

I tell you Americans! That unless you speedily alter your course, you and your Country are gone!!!!!! For God Almighty will tear up the very face of the earth!!!

I call God, I call Angels, I call men to witness, that the destruction of the Americans is at hand, and will be speedily consummated unless they repent.

The time for action is now and it depends on black men standing up against white injustices.

Are we men!—I ask—ou, O my brethren! Are we men? Did our Creator make us to be slaves to dust and ashes like ourselves?

The man who would not fight under our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, in the glorious and heavenly cause of freedom and of God—ought—to be kept with all of his children or family, in slavery, or in chains, to be butchered by his cruel enemies.

You have to prove to the Americans and the world, that we are MEN, and not brutes, as we have been represented, and by millions treated.

Once armed with conviction and courage, the black man will be a ferocious fighter in battle.

If you can only get courage into the blacks, I do declare it, that one good black man can put to death six white men; and I give it as a fact, let twelve black men get well armed for battle, and they will kill and put to flight fifty whites. The reason is, the blacks, once you get them started, they glory in death.

The whites have had us under them for more than three centuries, murdering, and treating us like brutes; and, as Mr. Jefferson wisely said, they have never found us out—they – do not know, indeed, that there is an unconquerable disposition in the breasts of the blacks, which, when it is fully awakened and put in motion, will be subdued, only with the destruction of the animal existence.

If whites must be put to death to secure black freedom, then so be it.

(The time has come) to take it away from them, and put everything before us to death, in order to gain our freedom which God has given us. The whites want slaves, and want us for their slaves, but some of them will curse the day they ever saw us. As true as the sun ever shown in its meridian splendor, my colour will root some of them out of the very face of the earth.

He ends in sadness with a question: “what is the use of living, when in fact I (as a slave) am dead?”

If any are anxious to ascertain who I am, know the world, that I am one of the oppressed, degraded and wretched sons of Africa, rendered so by the avaricious and unmerciful, among the whites.

If any wish to plunge me into the wretched incapacity of a slave, or murder me for the truth, know ye, that I am in the hand of God, and at your disposal. I count my life not dear unto me, but I am ready to be offered at any moment. For what is the use of living, when in fact I am dead.

Time: 1829 Forward

The Appeal Strikes Recognition And Fear Into The Hearts Of All Whites

Once published, *Walker’s Appeal* represents a watershed moment in the relationship of free blacks to whites in America.

The easy dismissal of all Africans as ignorant and inferior evaporates in the presence of his powerful logic and prose. Here stands a full Man, making his case against the injustices of slavery in a nation predicated on freedom – and pleading “let right be done.”

But what really registers among whites, especially in the South, is Walker’s move beyond mere pleading to “demanding” – and outright “threatening.”

On one hand he offers peace – abandon slavery, treat us fairly as “colored citizens” of America, and we will live together in tranquility and happiness.

On the other, he issues fatalistic warnings – to root out white enemies, to put them to death, to rain down destruction on the nation.


When Walker’s pamphlets appear in Georgia, the state offers a \$10,000 reward for anyone who hands him over alive or \$1,000 to anyone who murders him. Other slave states follow suit, confiscating copies of the Appeal when found and often arresting those who possess them.

Just as the turmoil surrounding him mounts, David Walker is dead.

On June 28, 1830 – nine months to the day after his pamphlet is published – he falls victim to tuberculosis, which also kills his daughter.

But Walker has lit a torch that will not be extinguished, the torch of black freedom and citizenship. It is a torch that will soon be picked up by others, including heroic whites who will risk their lives for his cause.

Chapter 87 -- Webster And Hayne Debate States Rights And The Value Of The Union

 <p>Daniel Webster.</p>	Dates: January 1830	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• A Bill On Federal Sales Of Western Lands Initiates A Debate On State's Rights• Senators Hayne And Webster Trade Initial Jabs Over Foot's Bill And Its Implications• Hayne Fires Back, Expanding The Debate Into Slavery And Nullification• Webster's Second Reply To Hayne's Addresses• The Meaning And Value Of The Union• Hayne's Offers A Final Rejoinder
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January 18-19, 1830

A Bill On Federal Sales Of Western Lands Initiates A Debate On State's Rights

Another sectional flare-up in Congress materializes during Jackson's first year in office.

It begins just after Christmas of 1829, when a Connecticut Senator, Samuel Foot, introduces a bill calling for the federal government to suspend land sales in the western territories, as a means of slowing speculation.

On January 18, 1830, Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri accuses Foot of "sectionalism," impeding the growth of the western states on behalf of the interests of New England.

At this point Robert Hayne of South Carolina joins the fray. Hayne is an ally of John C. Calhoun, a bitter critic of the 1828 Tariff, and a particularly articulate and outspoken supporter of the rights of "sovereign states" to defy burdensome laws proposed by the federal government.

As Hayne launches into his classical attacks, Massachusetts's Senator Daniel Webster, a rock-ribbed Federalist, is drawn into the ring.

What follows is a twelve day long, punch and counterpunch exchange between the two men, that goes down as perhaps the greatest floor debate in the history of the upper chamber.

Webster stands with men like Washington and Hamilton, who argued for a strong national government focused on the "common good" of all citizens as the best way to insure a lasting Union. For the contract to work, individual states must be ready to surrender their parochial interests on behalf of the whole. Or, as the Pennsylvania delegate, James Wilson, put it:

If no state will part with any of its sovereignty, it is in vain to talk of a national government.

Hayne's position is staunchly anti-Federalist, a throwback to men like Patrick Henry, Sam Adams, Elbridge Gerry, George Clinton, and Thomas Jefferson. Together they feared that surrendering the state's power to a central government would lead to an American version of the British monarchy. Their opposition led to passage of the Bill of Rights, especially the Tenth Amendment:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

What makes the Hayne-Webster debate so important is that it surfaces, with great intensity, the growing fear in the South that Northern control of the national government will ultimately lead to regulations on slavery, or even the demand to abolish it entirely.

Such an outcome would undermine the very basis of the South's economy – its single-minded capacity to grow and sell more cotton and slaves.

In January of 1830 Hayne rises as the spokesperson for Southerners who will stand ready to abandon the Union on behalf of their sovereign interests in slavery.

January 19-20, 1830

Senators Hayne And Webster Trade Initial Jabs Over Foot's Bill And Its Implications

Hayne begins the debate with Webster by arguing over the land covered in Foot's bill, saying that the soil rightfully belongs to the states, not the federal government – and that money derived from the sales should not be handed to Washington.

Every scheme or contrivance by which rulers are able to procure the command of money by means unknown to, unseen or unfelt by, the people, destroys (their) security.

I distrust, therefore, sir, the policy of creating a great permanent national treasury, whether to be derived from public lands or from any other source. It would enable Congress and the Executive to exercise a control over States, as well as over great interests in the country, nay, even over corporations and individuals — utterly destructive of the purity, and fatal to the duration of our institutions.

But he quickly shifts to the larger issue – the evils which follow when a “consolidated” national government is able to run roughshod over the will of the independent states.

Sir, I am one of those who believe that the very life of our system is the independence of the States, and that there is no evil more to be deprecated than the consolidation of this Government.

It is only by a strict adherence to the limitations imposed by the constitution on the Federal Government, that this system works well, and.. I am opposed, therefore, in any shape, to all unnecessary extension of the powers, or the influence of the Legislature or Executive of the Union over the States, or the people of the States; and, most of all, I am opposed to those partial distributions of favors, whether by legislation or appropriation, which has a direct and powerful tendency to spread corruption through the land; to create an abject spirit of dependence; to sow

the seeds of dissolution; to produce jealousy among the different portions of the Union, and finally to sap the very foundations of the Government itself. ...

It is now Daniel Webster turn to respond to both Benton's narrow criticism of Foot's bill and Hayne's broader attack on the "consolidated government." He begins by asserting that the framers simply saw "consolidation" as the best way to serve the greatest number of citizens – with each state being asked to give a little on behalf of the common good and the Union.

Sir, when gentlemen speak of the effects of a common fund, belonging to all the States, as having a tendency to consolidation, what do they mean? The framers tell that, "in all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American — the consolidation of our Union... This important consideration...led each State in the Convention to be less rigid, on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected

But from there he decides to jab Hayne and others from "his part of the country" for diminishing the value of the Union, by focusing constantly on its failures and evils. The founders felt the Union was essential to prosperity and safety for all; why does the South now feel differently?

I know that there are some persons in the part of the country from which the honorable member comes, who habitually speak of the Union in terms of indifference... They significantly declare, that it is time to calculate the value of the Union; and their aim seems to be to enumerate... all the evils... which the Government under the Union produces.

I deem far otherwise of the Union of the States; and so did the framers of the constitution themselves. What they said I believe; fully and sincerely believe, that the Union of the States is essential to the prosperity and safety of the States.

Webster then returns to Benton, with a vigorous defense of New England's role from the revolution onward.

I maintain that, from the day of the cession of the territories by the States to Congress, no portion of the country has acted, either with more liberality or more intelligence, on the subject of the Western lands on the new States, than New England.

January 25, 1830

Hayne Fires Back, Expanding The Debate Into Slavery And Nullification



The Debate Shifts to Slavery

At this point the focus of the debate shifts ominously -- away from land sales to slavery.

Hayne's fires back against Webster's criticism of "his part of the country" -- which he interprets as criticism of the South's for failing to do away with slavery. His response begins by reminding Webster of the North's complicity in fostering slavery in America, then follows with a vigorous defense of the institution.

The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts...; instead of making up his issue with the gentleman from Missouri, on the charges which he had preferred... goes on to assail the institutions and policy of the South, and calls in question the principles and conduct of the State which I have the honor to represent.

Was the significant hint of the weakness of slave-holding States, when contrasted with the superior strength of free States — like the glare of the weapon half drawn from its scabbard — intended to enforce the lessons of prudence and of patriotism, which the gentleman had resolved, out of his abundant generosity, gratuitously to bestow upon us?

We are ready to meet the question promptly and fearlessly... We are ready to make up the issue with the gentleman, as to the influence of slavery on individual and national character — on the prosperity and greatness, either of the United States, or of particular States.

Hayne contends, like Jefferson and others, that "blacks are of an inferior race."

Sir, when arraigned before the bar of public opinion, on this charge of slavery, we can stand up with conscious rectitude, plead not guilty, and put ourselves upon God and our country. Sir, we will not stop to inquire whether the black man, as some philosophers have contended, is of an inferior race, nor whether his color and condition are the effects of a curse inflicted for the offences of his ancestors.

He asserts, correctly, that the Northern states played a dominant role in bringing slaves to America in the first place, reaping profits along the way.

We will not look back to inquire whether our fathers were guiltless in introducing slaves into this country. If an inquiry should ever be instituted in these matters, however, it will be found that the profits of the slave trade were not confined to the South. Southern ships and Southern sailors

were not the instruments of bringing slaves to the shores of America, nor did our merchants reap the profits of that “accursed traffic.”

Once the slaves were here, Hayne says the South has done its best to care for them.

Finding our lot cast among a people, whom God had manifestly committed to our care, we did not sit down to speculate on abstract questions of theoretical liberty. We met it as a practical question of obligation and duty. We resolved to make the best of the situation in which Providence had placed us, and to fulfil the high trust which had developed upon us as the owners of slaves

He then claims that blacks enslaved in the South are far better off than their free brothers living in wretched conditions in the slums of Philadelphia, Boston and New York.

What a commentary on the wisdom, justice, and humanity, of the Southern slave owner is presented by the example of certain benevolent associations and charitable individuals elsewhere....Thousands of these deluded victims of fanaticism were seduced into the enjoyment of freedom in our Northern cities. And what has been the consequence? Go to these cities now, and ask the question.

Sir, there does not exist, on the face of the whole earth, a population so poor, so wretched, so vile, so loathsome, so utterly destitute of all the comforts, conveniences, and decencies of life, as the unfortunate blacks of Philadelphia, and New York, and Boston.

This narrative is followed by a plea often to be heard in the years to come – the North should simply let the South alone to deal with the future of slavery..

On this subject, as in all others, we ask nothing of our Northern brethren but to “let us alone;” leave us to the undisturbed management of our domestic concerns, and the direction of our own industry, and we will ask no more.

But Hayne is not yet done with Webster. He returns to the 1787 Convention and argues that the founders were intent on “consolidating the Union” not on “consolidating the government.”

In the course of my former remarks, I took occasion to deprecate, as one of the greatest of evils, the consolidation of this Government....The object of the framers of the constitution, as disclosed in that address, was not the consolidation of the Government, but “the consolidation of the Union.” It was not to draw power from the States, in order to transfer it to a great National Government, but, in the language of the constitution itself, “to form a more perfect union;” and by what means? By “establishing justice,” “promoting domestic tranquillity,” and “securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.” This is the true reading of the constitution.

His language turns personal, assuring Webster that he will not get away with “casting the first stone” against the South around the threat of disunion.

The honorable gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Webster] while he exonerates me personally from the charge, intimates that there is a party in the country who are looking to disunion....that gentleman has thought proper, for purposes best known to himself, to strike the South through me,... Sir, when the gentleman provokes me to such a conflict, I meet him at the threshold.

The Senator from Massachusetts has thought proper to cast the first stone,

The “true friend of the Union,” he claims, are those who would deny the boundaries set out by the founders and try to transfer the powers reserved for the states to the consolidated national government.

Who, then, Mr. President, are the true friends of the Union? Those who would confine the federal government strictly within the limits prescribed by the constitution — who would preserve to the States and the people all powers not expressly delegated — who would make this a federal and not a national Union — and who, administering the government in a spirit of equal justice, would make it a blessing and not a curse. And who are its enemies? Those who are in favor of consolidation; who are constantly stealing power from the States and adding strength to the federal government; who, assuming an unwarrantable jurisdiction over the States and the people, undertake to regulate the whole industry and capital of the country. ...

Hayne now arrives at his central contention – belief that the Constitution gives a State the right to “nullify” any federal actions it deems threatening to its well-being. He says that, despite Webster’s readiness to mock this belief as the “Carolina doctrine,” it is indeed the only path by which the Union can actually be preserved.

The Senator from Massachusetts, in denouncing what he is pleased to call the Carolina doctrine, has attempted to throw ridicule upon the idea that a State has any constitutional remedy by the exercise of its sovereign authority against “a gross, palpable, and deliberate violation of the Constitution.” He called it “an idle” or “a ridiculous notion,” or something to that effect; and added, that it would make the Union “a mere rope of sand”

Sir, as to the doctrine that the Federal Government is the exclusive judge of the extent as well as the limitations of its powers, it seems to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the States.

I have but one word more to add. In all the efforts that have been made by South Carolina to resist the unconstitutional laws which Congress has extended over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the Union, by the only means by which she believes it can be long preserved — a firm, manly, and steady resistance against usurpation. The measures of the Federal Government have, it is true, prostrated her interests, and will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. ...

Both the content and the tone of Hayne’s speech riles Webster.

He is indeed right in calling nullification the “Carolina doctrine.” It is the work of none other than Jackson’s Vice-President, John Calhoun, who will spend the final two decades of his life trying to convince the South of the peril it faces from Northern control in Washington. The Massachusetts’s man decides that nullification must be met head on, and he calls upon all of his fine legal reasoning to respond to Hayne over the next two days.

January 26-27, 1830

Webster's Second Reply To Hayne's Addresses The Meaning And Value Of The Union



Daniel Webster (1782-1852)

Webster's second response to Hayne is generally regarded as one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in the Senate. It reviews in detail the principles that created the Union in the first place, shows why the notion of "nullification" violates the intent of the founders, and ends with an emotional and stirring call on behalf of preserving, at once, both Liberty and Union.

The address begins calmly, with an attempt to exclude personal animus from the dialogue.

When the honorable member rose, in his first speech, I paid him the respect of attentive listening; and when he sat down...nothing was farther from my intention than to commence any personal warfare:

It shifts to Hayne's impassioned defense of Southern slavery – with Webster declaring that while he finds the practice to be morally and politically evil, the people of the North have never sought to interfere with it.

I spoke, sir, of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery, in all future times, northwest of the Ohio, as a measure of great wisdom and foresight...But, the simple expression of this sentiment has led the gentleman, not only into a labored defence of slavery, in the abstract, and on principle, but, also, into a warm accusation against me, as having attacked the system of domestic slavery, now existing in the Southern States. For all this, there was not the slightest foundation, in any thing said or intimated by me. I did not utter a single word, which any ingenuity could torture into an attack on the slavery of the South.

I know, full well, that it is, and has been, the settled policy of some persons in the South, for years, to represent the people of the North as disposed to interfere with them, in their own exclusive and peculiar concerns....But the feeling is without all adequate cause, and the suspicion which exists wholly groundless. There is not, and never has been, a disposition in the North to interfere with these interests of the South.

The gentleman, indeed, argues that slavery, in the abstract, is no evil. Most assuredly, I need not say I differ with him, altogether and most widely, on that point. I regard domestic slavery as one of the greatest of evils, both moral and political.

(But) the domestic slavery of the Southern States I leave where I find it, -- in the hands of their own governments. It is their affair, not mine.

The central issue according to Webster is not about slavery, but about Hayne's questioning the value of the Union. Sarcasm marks his tone, as he compares New England's interest in the "good of the whole" against South Carolina's disregard for anything but its own well-being.

This leads, sir, to the real and wide difference, in political opinion, between the honorable gentleman and myself. ... "What interest," asks he, "has South Carolina in a canal in Ohio?"

Sir, we narrow-minded people of New England do not reason thus. Our notion of things is entirely different. We look upon the States, not as separated, but as united....In our contemplation, Carolina and Ohio are parts of the same country; States, united under the same General Government, having interests, common, associated, intermingled.

We who come here, as agents and representatives of these narrow-minded and selfish men of New England, consider ourselves as bound to regard, with equal eye, the good of the whole,

He then faces directly into Hayne's assertion that individual states have the right to "nullify" any federal laws they deem harmful to their self-interest.

I understand the honorable gentleman from South Carolina to maintain, that it is a right of the State Legislatures to interfere, whenever, in their judgment, this Government transcends its constitutional limits, and to arrest the operation of its laws.

I understand him to insist, that if the exigency of the case, in the opinion of any State Government, require it, such State Government may, by its own sovereign authority, annul an act of the General Government, which it deems plainly and palpably unconstitutional....This is the sum of what I understand from him, to be the South Carolina doctrine.

Webster says that the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, was set up to make government accountable to the People as a whole, not to the individual whims of any one State.

This leads us to inquire into the origin of this Government, and the source of its power. Whose agent is it?... This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this Government and its true character. It is, sir, the People's Constitution, the People's Government; made for the People; made by the People; and answerable to the People.

The people of the United States have declared that the Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition, or dispute their authority. The States are, unquestionably, sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not affected by this supreme law. But the State legislatures, as political bodies, however sovereign, are yet not sovereign over the people. So far as the people have given the power to the general government, so far the grant is unquestionably good, and the government holds of the people, and not of the State governments. We are all agents of the same supreme power, the people."

Hayne's proposal is nothing more than a throwback to the government that existed under the Articles of Confederation—with State interests able to override the common will of the People. This approach failed before and it would fail again, despite protests to the contrary.

Sir, the very chief end, the main design, for which the whole Constitution was framed and adopted, was to establish a Government that should not be obliged to act through State agency, or depend on State opinion and State discretion. The People had had quite enough of that kind of Government, under the Confederacy.

Finally, sir, the honorable gentleman says, that the States will only interfere, by their power, to preserve the Constitution. They will not destroy it, they will not impair it — they will only save, they will only preserve, they will only strengthen it! Ah! Sir, this is but the old story. All regulated Governments, all free Governments, have been broken up by similar disinterested and well disposed interference! It is the common pretence. But I take leave of the subject.

After holding the floor for several hours over a two day period, Webster returns to his main theme – belief that the Union represents America’s best chance to simultaneously serve the interests of the people and of the states. That was the insight the founders came to at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and it must be preserved. To make the point, he dwells momentarily on a prophetic option – bloody disunion.

I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counselor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it shall be broken up and destroyed.

While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that, on my vision, never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood!

He then closes with the soaring line – “Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable” – for which the address is forever remembered.

Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, “What is it all worth?” or those other words of delusion and folly, “Liberty first and union afterwards”; but ” everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever one and inseparable!”

January 27, 1830

Hayne’s Offers A Final Rejoinder

The fact that Hayne pushes back one last time against Webster signals that the State’s Rights advocates of the South are not about to surrender.

What Webster calls the “Carolina doctrine” is no more than an assertion of the guarantees in the Tenth Amendment of the 1787 Constitution.

Here it will be necessary to go back to the origin of the Federal Government. It cannot be doubted, and is not denied, that before the formation of the constitution, each State was an independent sovereignty, possessing all the rights and powers appertaining to independent nations; nor can it be denied that, after the constitution was formed, they remained equally sovereign and independent, as to all powers, not expressly delegated to the Federal Government. This would have been the case even if no positive provision to that effect had been inserted in that instrument. But to remove all doubt it is expressly declared, by the 10th article of the amendment

of the constitution, “that the powers not delegated to the States, by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”...

No doubt can exist, that, before the States entered into the compact, they possessed the right to the fullest extent, of determining the limits of their own powers — it is incident to all sovereignty. Now, have they given away that right, or agreed to limit or restrict it in any respect? Assuredly not. They have agreed, that certain specific powers shall be exercised by the Federal Government; but the moment that Government steps beyond the limits of its charter, the right of the States “to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to them,” is as full and complete as it was before the Constitution was formed.

The issue, he says, has never been about “love of the Union.”

A State will be restrained by a sincere love of the Union. The People of the United States cherish a devotion to the Union, so pure, so ardent, that nothing short of intolerable oppression, can ever tempt them to do anything that may possibly endanger it. The gentleman has made an eloquent appeal to our hearts in favor of union. Sir, I cordially respond to that appeal. I will yield to no gentleman here in sincere attachment to the Union.

Instead it has been about embracing a Union that lives up to the rules laid out in the Constitution, which honor the rights of the States vs. the “consolidated government.”

— But it is a Union founded on the Constitution, and not such a Union as that gentleman would give us, that is dear to my heart. If this is to become one great “consolidated government,” swallowing up the rights of the States, and the liberties of the citizen, “riding and ruling over the plundered ploughman, and beggared yeomanry,” the Union will not be worth preserving. Sir it is because South Carolina loves the Union, and would preserve it forever, that she is opposing now, while there is hope, those usurpations of the Federal Government, which, once established, will, sooner or later, tear this Union into fragments. ...

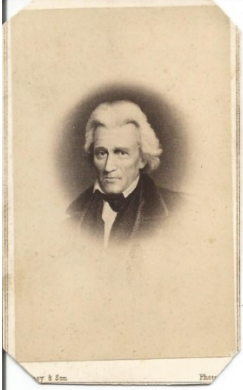
The exchanges between the two great orators are riveting for all who witness them in the Senate – but the implications extend far beyond mere theater.

Hayne announces the South’s growing fear that the federal government may try to impede the future growth of slavery – along with a warning that any such action will be met with resistance that could “tear the Union into fragments.”

Webster makes it clear that all attempts by the South to “nullify” federal laws will fail.

Here indeed is an impasse, and ten weeks later it spills over to a sharp exchange within the Executive branch.

Chapter 88 -- Jackson Begins Ongoing Clash With Vice-President Calhoun



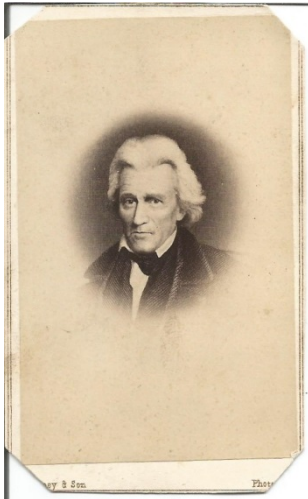
Dates:
April 1830

Sections:

- Jackson And Calhoun Offer Conflicting Dinner Toasts

April 13, 1829

Jackson And Calhoun Offer Conflicting Dinner Toasts



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

Little by little it dawns on Andrew Jackson that his Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, is not to be trusted.

The President has yet to learn about the attacks on his conduct during the Seminole War made back in 1818 by then Secretary of War, Calhoun. At that time, Monroe asks his cabinet if Jackson should be arrested for his actions – with Calhoun saying yes, and, ironically, only Secretary of State, JQ Adams, disagreeing.

But Jackson is well aware that Calhoun worked from within against Adams throughout his term, and senses this same pattern developing – this time around the call from South Carolina surrogates like Hayne to “nullify” the 1828 Tariff.

The old General is not one to brook insubordination within his ranks for long.

His anger at Calhoun surfaces on April 13, 1829, at the Indian Queen Hotel in Washington during the annual celebration dinner honoring the memory of Thomas Jefferson.

When the time for after dinner toasts rolls around, all eyes turn to Jackson, whose words echo like a battlefield command:

Our Union – it must be preserved!

The Vice-President recognizes that these words are meant for him and his fellow nullifiers. But instead of the usual “here, here” support, Calhoun reacts defensively by asserting Liberty as the higher calling.

Our Union, next to our liberty, most dear! May we always remember that it can only be preserved by distributing equally the benefits and the burdens of the Union.”

The toast is widely regarded as a form of defiance by Calhoun – his attempt to correct the President’s misguided commitment to the Union at any price.

The ever wily Martin Van Buren, now offers a third toast, apparently playing the peacemaker, but also registering for posterity the growing rivalry between Jackson and his Vice-President.

Mutual forbearance and reciprocal concessions. Through their agency our Union was founded. The patriotic spirit from which they emanated will forever sustain it.

Both the Hayne-Webster debates and the Jackson-Calhoun toasts set the stage for what lies ahead for America – an ever more crucial search for “mutual forbearance and reciprocal concessions” between the North and the South over the future of slavery.

Chapter 89 -- The Second Great Awakening Ignites The White Abolitionist Movement



Dates:
1827 Forward

Sections:

- Theodore Weld And The Tappan Brothers Initiate An Abolition Movement In New York
- William Lloyd Garrison Emerges As The Nation's Leading White Abolitionist
- Garrison Publishes His Abolitionist Paper *The Liberator*

Time: 1827 Forward

Theodore Weld And The Tappan Brothers Initiate An Abolition Movement In New York



Oneida Colony Presbyterian Church

As the revivalist spirit of Reverend Charles Grandison Finney builds momentum, it captures three converts in upstate New York who commit to reversing the horrors of slavery – Theodore Dwight Weld and the brothers Tappan, Lewis and Arthur.

Weld is the son of a Congregational minister, who falls under Finney's spell in 1825 when his aunt convinces him to accompany her to one of his services in Utica, N.Y. He soon discontinues his studies at Hamilton College and enrolls at Oneida Institute – a theological school founded in 1827, and dedicated to the notion that engaging in “manual labor” is a key element in spiritual development.

Oneida is situated on 114 acres of farmland owned by the Presbyterian Church, run by Finney's mentor, the Reverend George Gale, and supported by Lewis and Arthur Tappan.

The Tappan brothers grow up in Northampton, Massachusetts, become wealthy running a dry goods business in Portland, Maine, and expand their fortune after

moving to New York City in 1826 as importers of silk cloth. While raised as traditional Calvinists, the brothers are influenced in part by Finney – who resides for a period in Arthur Tappan's house – to devote their lives to philanthropy. The Unitarian minister, William Ellery Channing also plays a role here, as Lewis Tappan's pastor.

Lewis meets Theodore Weld on his visits to Oneida and is so impressed that he decides to enlist him in one of the brother's causes. Weld has already earned a reputation as a powerful preacher on behalf of the dignity of manual labor and the damning effects of drunkenness. But the Tappans have another focus in mind for him – the “sacred cause of Negro emancipation.” He is also encouraged along this path by a lifetime friend, Charles Smart, who becomes involved with anti-slavery efforts in Britain.

Weld's report to the Tappans about British progress toward emancipation sparks early talk of setting up an American Anti-Slavery Society, but the consensus is that this would be premature.

Nevertheless, the Tappans hire Weld to head their Manual Labor Society, and he works tirelessly on this until he moves to Cincinnati in 1833 to enroll in the Lane Theological Seminary, an institution he helps found. In 1834 he leads a student debate on slavery that lasts over 18 days and ends with a declaration in support of Abolition.

When the Lane Board of Directors, headed by the President, Lyman Beecher, squashes this proposal, the majority of students leave the school, with many headed to nearby Oberlin.

Weld, however, decides at that time to rejoin the Tappans, who have been busy in their opposition to slavery.

Brother Lewis donates \$10,000 to get Oberlin College up and running by 1833. Arthur, meanwhile, supports an all-black college in New Haven in 1831 and has his house stoned by local citizens in return.

Soon thereafter, the Tappans encounter another abolitionist, Lloyd Garrison, and the two agree to join forces in fighting slavery. Together they form the two great wings of the white abolitionist movement in America:

- The New York wing, comprising Theodore Weld and the Tappan brothers, later joined by Gerrit Smith and James Birney; and
- The Boston wing, Lloyd Garrison, Ben Lundy, Lucretia Mott, and a host of their other supporters, including black figures such as Fred Douglass and Sojourner truth.

Over the next thirty years, these Abolitionists will risk their welfare and their very lives on behalf of ending slavery in America.

Time: 1828 Forward

William Lloyd Garrison Emerges As The Nation's Leading White Abolitionist



William Lloyd Garrison
(1805-1879)

In 1828 a chance meeting at a Boston boardinghouse between two fiery newspapermen and moralists changes the future trajectory of the abolition movement.

One participant is the 39 year old Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, whose paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, has railed against slavery for the past seven years. The other is 23 year old Baptist, William Lloyd Garrison, a budding journalist since thirteen, and eager to find the right cause for his own paper.

Lundy convinces Garrison to attack slavery as a worthwhile calling, and from then on, over the next three decades, Garrison will emerge as the acknowledged leader of the Abolitionist movement in America.

Three things will set Garrison apart from all but a handful of others in the cause:

- His demand that emancipation be “immediate” rather than gradual;
- His support for keeping freed blacks in America, not returning them to Africa; and
- His unique and unequivocal commitment to assimilation of blacks as full and equal citizens.

In effect, his appeals as a white man mirror those of the contemporary black reformer, David Walker.

Garrison is shaped for his mission as a child, by his mother, Fanny Garrison, whose alcoholic husband abandons his family in Newburyport, Massachusetts when Lloyd is only three,

From then on, Fannie struggles to provide for her two sons and herself, working odd jobs and often needing to place the boys in foster homes around town. Despite her difficulties, she is forever buoyed by her Baptist faith and is known to her congregation as “Sister” Garrison. Nothing matters more to Fanny than passing on her revivalist fervor to her sons and daughter. Together they attend church services three times every Sunday, and young Lloyd takes to humming what will become a favorite psalm: “my heart grows warm with holy fire.”

By 1818 the family’s financial straits grow even more desperate, and Lloyd, age thirteen, begins a job as a “printer’s devil” for the *Newburyport Herald*. This job changes his life. He is smitten right off by all the intricacies of the newspaper trade, and masters them so quickly that he is soon an indispensable part of the operation, as shop foreman. The owner of the paper, Ephraim Allen, also opens his personal library to Lloyd – and he schools himself in Shakespeare and Milton and the adventure tales of Scott and Byron. His imagination carries him to the possibility of his own form of heroic action on behalf of a cause that his mother would applaud.

In 1822 Lloyd recognizes the power of the newspaper to express and disseminate his thoughts to the public. He begins to write his own articles, and sees that the early poems of his friend, John Greenleaf Whittier, get published.

Then tragedy strikes, as both his mother and younger sister are struck down by illness in 1823. Sister Garrison's final message to her son marks his future.

Dear Lloyd – Lose not the favor of God, have an eye single to His glory and you will not lose your reward.

Now on his own at age 21, Lloyd ends his apprenticeship and launches his own newspaper, *The Free Press*, then shuts it down when his former employer is upset by the new competition.

He makes his way to Boston in 1826, a major city of 60,000 people, teeming with enterprise and universities and churches, the common man and the intellectual class, a small enclave of free blacks, and a heavy dose at the moment of revivalism. Here Garrison renews his religious ties and is touched by both the Reverend Lyman Beecher – “the way to get good is to do good” – and the Unitarian William Ellery Channing, with his gentle admonition to save yourself by acting morally.

Garrison now commits himself to helping humanity through a “life of philanthropy,”

He first chooses Temperance as his cause. Both his father and his older brother ruined their lives through drink, and perhaps he can persuade others to escape their fate. His vehicle for this task will be a newspaper, and in January 1828 the first issue of *The National Philanthropist* appears. While the editorial content focuses on the perils of alcohol and the saving grace of temperance, Garrison also begins to dabble in Federalist politics. His conclusion, however, is that traditional politics are self-serving and power hungry, and that his focus should remain on “moral politics.”

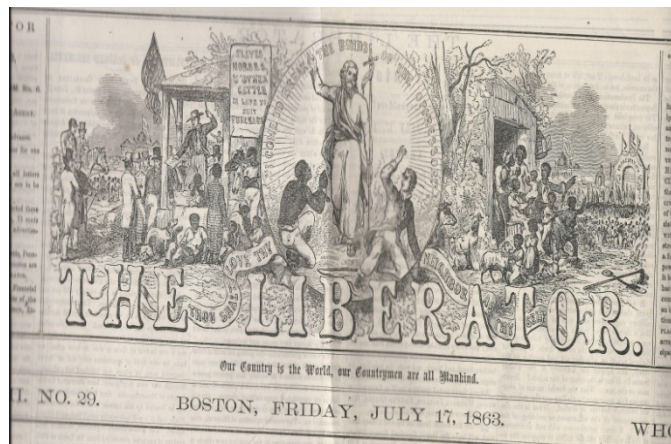
At this point in his life comes his chance encounter with Friend Ben Lundy and along with it, his calling.

It will be to eradicate slavery now. After hearing Lundy's pleas, his response is immediate:

My soul was set on fire then.

Time: 1829-1831

Garrison Publishes His Abolitionist Paper *The Liberator*



Masthead of Garrison's Paper *The Liberator*

Garrison begins his personal crusade by trying to set up an Anti-Slavery Society in Boston, but is rebuffed by locals arguing that it's a Southern problem, not theirs. This resistance angers Garrison and steels him to his task.

He abandons the city briefly for a job in Burlington, Vermont on a pro- JQ Adams newspaper. There he foments political outrage by writing that Andrew Jackson "should be manacled with the chains he has forged for others" as a slave owner.

What he learns from this stint is the power of inflammatory language to gain attention to his cause.

Upon returning to Boston he takes this lesson into an 1829 public speaking appearance before 1500 attendees at the Park Street Church, in celebration of the 4th of July. Here he is transformed into the Puritan Zealot, exhorting his audience with what will become familiar themes:

- *Slavery is a national sin – let us be up and doing to stop it.*
- *We have a common interest in demanding abolition.*
- *Would we stand still if slave were suddenly to become white?*
- *I tremble for the Republic while slavery exists.*

Pushing even farther, he points to Haiti as evidence of the Africans capacity for "equal citizenship."

His conviction about integrating the Africans into white society grows from there, as he mixes first-hand with blacks living in the enclave on Beacon Hill. This experience tells him that abolition should take place immediately, not gradually, and that he should speak out against re-colonization.

Even those sympathetic to his cause begin to express discomfort with the call for "Immediatism." Thus the Unitarian minister, Ellery Channing, writes to Daniel Webster: "watch out for rashness of enthusiasts."

But nothing slows Garrison. In the summer of 1829 he moves to Baltimore, re-uniting with Lundy and agreeing to co-publish his newspaper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. The two split the editorial tasks – Lundy backing a more moderate path and re-colonization, and Garrison heightening his attacks on the status quo. He calls slave holders "man-stealers;" says that "our politics are rotten;" and offers a column called The Black List: Horrible News of the Day.

A turning point for *The Genius* comes when Garrison convinces Lundy to publish *Walker's Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*.

Suddenly the paper's white audience is confronted by the face of slavery as seen through the eyes of those who have endured "wretched lives" under the lash. That much is shocking enough to readers.

But along with Walker's appeal to free the slaves now and live alongside them peacefully in America was equals, comes a threat – if whites fail to act, blacks will take up arms and kill them for freedom.

When copies of the paper containing *Walker's Appeal* reach Southern cities, the cry goes up for Garrison's head – for inciting blacks to flee and to murder their masters.

Still he persists. On April 17, 1830 he is found guilty of libel for accusing a man in Baltimore of slave trading. When sentenced to six months or a \$70 fine, he embraces his martyrdom:

A few white men must be sacrificed to open the eyes of this nation and to show the tyranny of our laws.

He remains in jail for 49 days until Arthur Tappan hears his plight and sends him \$100 to get out.

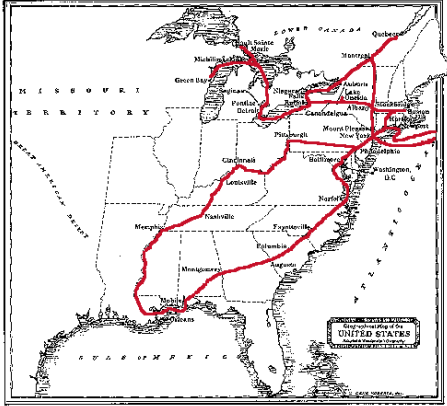
Upon his release, Lundy urges “moderation,” as does the Congregationalist preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, who tells him: “if you give up your fanatical notions, and be guided by us, we will make you the Wilberforce of America” – Wilberforce being the lead proponent of abolition in Britain at the time.

Garrison will have none of this, and concludes that the time has come for him to publish his own newspaper, which he starts up in Boston on January 1, 1831. He names the paper *The Liberator*, and will continue to write, print and distribute it weekly for the next 35 years, until the 13th Amendment, freeing the slaves, is finally passed in Congress.

His manifesto is crystal clear from the start: the national sin of slavery must end immediately and all blacks must be assimilated into American society as full and equal citizens. His tonality is also clear:

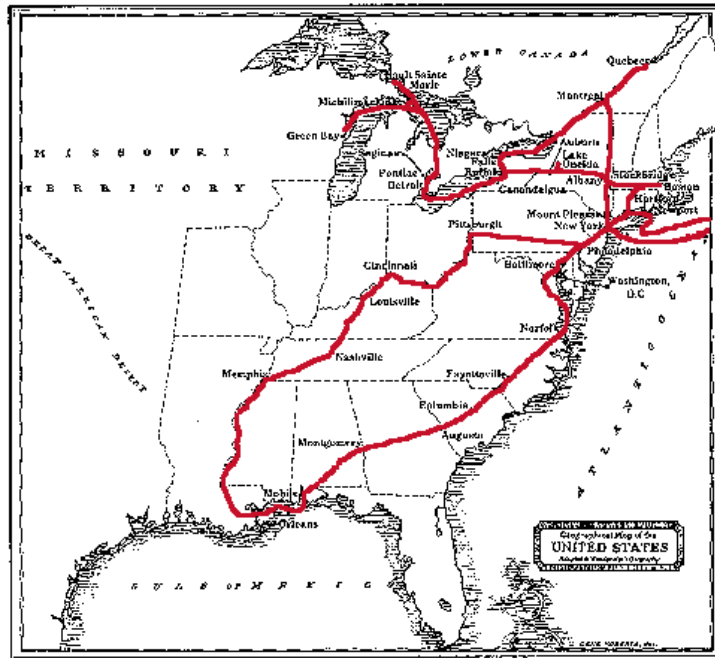
*“I am in earnest – I will not equivocate – I will not excuse – I will not retreat a single inch –
AND I WILL BE HEARD!”*

Chapter 90 -- Alexis de Tocqueville Comments on Slavery And Regional Tensions In America

	<p>Dates: 1831-1832</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • de Tocqueville Completes A Tour Of America • de Tocqueville Comments On Regional Differences In America • Views On The Plight Of The Africans Living In America • Views On The Native American Tribes • His Prescient Observations About Future Regional Conflict
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Time: 1831-1832

de Tocqueville Completes A Tour Of America



Map Showing de Tocqueville's Tour of North America in 1831-1832

On May 9, 1831, two young men involved with the French judicial system arrive in Newport, Rhode Island, after a 37 day long Atlantic crossing. One is Gustave de Beaumont, a 29 year old "King's Prosecutor" in Paris. The other is his 25 year old friend, Alexis de Tocqueville, currently serving as a court appointed judge.

Their intent is to study North America's prison system in hopes of finding reform ideas they can apply in France.

To do so, they set off on a nine month journey, utilizing ships and steamboats, stagecoaches and footpaths, to cut a wide swath across the eastern half of the continent.

de Tocqueville's Itinerary in North America

Dates	Location
May 9, 1831	Arrive in Newport, Rhode Island
May 29	Visit Ossining (Sing Sing) Prison
June 7	New York City
July 9	Visit Auburn Prison in New York
July 1	Arrive in Detroit
August 9	At Green Bay (Michigan Territory)
August 19	Back toward east, at Niagara Falls
August 23	Montreal
September 9	Boston
October 12	Interviewing prisoners at Cherry Hill
November 22	Pittsburg
December 1	Cincinnati
December 17	Memphis
January 1	New Orleans
January 3	Mobile
January 15	Norfolk, Virginia
January 17	Washington, DC
February 3	Philadelphia
February 20	Depart from New York to France

Along the way, de Tocqueville records his detailed observations about America in a diary, which he analyzes upon his return home. Together with de Beaumont he publishes *Du systeme penitentiaire aux Etats-Unis et de son application en France*, to fulfill the purpose of the trip.

But de Tocqueville remains fascinated with what he has seen and learned on his whirlwind tour, and decides to publish a second book. He titles it *Democracy In America*, with the first volume published in August 1834, and the second in 1840. The book captures de Tocqueville's experiences and conclusions about a broad range of topics.

Table of Contents: *Democracy in America- Part 1*

Volume 1 (1834)
The Author's Preface
The Exterior Form of North America
Origins of the Anglo-Americans
Social Conditions of the Anglo-Americans
The Principle of the Sovereignty of the People
The Necessity of Examining the States Before The Union At Large
Judicial Power In the U.S. and its Influence on Political Society
The Federal Constitution
How it can be Strictly Said That the People Govern in the US
Liberty of the Press in the US
Political Associations in the US
Government of the Democracy in the US
What Advantages American Society Derives from Democracy
Unlimited Power of the Majority and Its Consequences
Causes Which Mitigate the Tyranny of the Majority
Principle Causes Which Serve To Maintain a Democratic Republic
The Present and Probably Future Condition of the Three Races That Inhabit the Territory of the United States

Overall what de Tocqueville seems to find most profoundly intriguing about America is the “philosophical approach” adopted by its citizens in relation to whatever topics or issues they encounter.

Gone are the old answers to all things, imposed from above by kings or clergymen – replaced by every man using his own common sense and experience to arrive at his own beliefs.

de Tocqueville describes this as follows:

I THINK that in no country in the civilized world is less attention paid to philosophy than in the United States. The Americans have no philosophical school of their own, and they care but little for all the schools into which Europe is divided, the very names of which are scarcely known to them.

Yet it is easy to perceive that almost all the inhabitants of the United States use their minds in the same manner, and direct them according to the same rules; that is to say, without ever having taken the trouble to define the rules, they have a philosophical method common to the whole people.

I discover that in most of the operations of the mind each American appeals only to the individual effort of his own understanding.

To evade the bondage of system and habit...class opinions...of national prejudices; to accept tradition only as a means of information, and existing facts only as a lesson to be used in doing otherwise and doing better; to seek the reason of things for oneself, and in oneself alone; to tend to results without being bound to means, and to strike through the form to the substance--such are the principal characteristics of what I shall call the philosophical method of the Americans

From this uniquely American way of thinking comes a genuine experiment in democracy, which, for the Frenchman, explains the “social conditions” of the new nation. He summarizes this in bold type as follows:

THE STRIKING CHARACTERISTIC OF THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE ANGLO-AMERICANS IS ITS ESSENTIAL DEMOCRACY.

In turn, he pens the line for which he will be most memorialized in the United States:

America is great because she is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, she will cease to be great.

Time: 1831-1832

de Tocqueville Comments On Regional Differences In America

While de Tocqueville sees philosophical similarities across all Anglo-Americans, he distinguishes between the societal milieus he finds in the North vs. the South.

His view is that the South has been shaped by the dominance of slavery which has “benumbed” the entire region and left it diminished by “ignorance and pride.”

Virginia received the first English colony...in 1607.... The colony was scarcely established when slavery was introduced; this was the capital fact which was to exercise an immense influence on the character, the laws, and the whole future of the South.

Slavery, as I shall afterwards show, dishonors labor; it introduces idleness into society, and with idleness, ignorance and pride, luxury and distress. It enervates the powers of the mind and benumbs the activity of man. The influence of slavery...explains the manners and the social condition of the Southern states.

By contrast, de Tocqueville sees the North rooted in the Puritanism of the New England states, with values shining “like a beacon lit upon a hill.” Theirs was never a mad search for wealth and title, but rather the “triumph of an idea” – to create a society where they could “worship God in freedom” and translate religious principles into a political reality for the common good.

In the English colonies of the North...the two or three main ideas that now . constitute the basis of the social theory of the United States were first combined... The civilization of New England has been like a beacon lit upon a hill, which, after it has diffused its warmth immediately around it, also tinges the distant horizon with its glow....

The settlers who established themselves on the shores of New England all belonged to the more independent classes of their native country... a society containing neither lords nor common people, and we may almost say neither rich nor poor. These men possessed, in proportion to their number, a greater mass of intelligence than is to be found in any European nation of our own time.

Nor did they cross the Atlantic to improve their situation or to increase their wealth; it was a purely intellectual craving that called them from the comforts of their former homes; and in facing the inevitable sufferings of exile their object was the triumph of an idea.... the Puritans went forth to seek some rude and unfrequented part of the world where they could live according to their own opinions and worship God in freedom.... Puritanism ...was almost as much a political theory as a religious doctrine.

Time: 1831-1832

Views On The Plight Of The Africans Living In America

The scope of de Tocqueville's travels sensitizes him to the fact that three distinct races are attempting to live in proximity to each other on the continent.

Three races are discoverable among them at the first glance although they are mixed, they do not amalgamate, and each race fulfills its destiny apart.

As a white man himself, he identifies the Anglo-Americans as superior in intelligence, and using this capacity to subjugate both the Africans and the Native Tribes.

Among these widely differing families of men, the first that attracts attention, the superior in intelligence, in power, and in enjoyment, is the white ...below him appear the Negro and the Indian...Both of them occupy an equally inferior position in the country they inhabit; both suffer from tyranny; and if their wrongs are not the same, they originate from the same authors.

If we reason from what passes in the world, we should almost say that the European is to the other races of mankind what man himself is to the lower animals: he makes them subservient to his use, and when he cannot subdue he destroys them.

While both minorities suffer in the relationship, it is the enslaved Africans who are "deprived of almost all the privileges of humanity."

Oppression has, at one stroke, deprived the descendants of the Africans of almost all the privileges of humanity.

The Negro of the United States has lost even the remembrance of his country; the language which his forefathers spoke is never heard around him; he abjured their religion and forgot their customs when he ceased to belong to Africa, without acquiring any claim to European privileges. But he remains half-way between the two communities, isolated between two races; sold by the one, repulsed by the other; finding not a spot in the universe to call by the name of country, except the faint image of a home which the shelter of his master's roof affords. The Negro has no family...The Negro enters upon slavery as soon as he is born...Equally devoid of wants and of enjoyment, and useless to himself, he learns, with his first notions of existence, that he is the property of another..

As de Tocqueville sees it, the response to slavery among the African-Americans is every bit as devastating as the condition itself – for intimidation destroys the innate sense of self-worth and identity and replaces it with an instinct to imitate the traits of white masters for the sake of survival.

Once one is officially declared to be 3/5th of a full person, the road back to full equality becomes steep. And it explains why, when the time comes, the roll call of black abolitionists will all rally around a common battle cry – “I am a man” or “I am a woman.”

The Negro makes a thousand fruitless efforts to insinuate himself among men who repulse him; he conforms to the tastes of his oppressors, adopts their opinions, and hopes by imitating them to form a part of their community. Having been told from infancy that his race is naturally inferior to that of the whites, he assents to the proposition and is ashamed of his own nature. In each of his features he discovers a trace of slavery, and if it were in his power, he would willingly rid himself of everything that makes him what he is.

Like the Anglo-Americans of his time, de Tocqueville is not sanguine about emancipation as the path to reversing the damage done by slavery.

If he becomes free, independence is often felt by him to be a heavier burden than slavery...In short, he is sunk to such a depth of wretchedness that while servitude brutalizes, liberty destroys him.

Time: 1831-1832

Views On The Native American Tribes

de Tocqueville’s belief about the Indians he encounters is somewhat more nuanced than his views on the Africans.

Again, as a white man, he regards them as intellectually inferior, and even “savage” in terms of their natural inclinations. At the same time, he clearly senses something noble in their presence, and, citing the Cherokees, concludes that they “are capable of civilization.”

Prior to the European invasion, the Native American existed in a pure state of nature and liberty.

Before the arrival of white men in the New World, the inhabitants of North America lived quietly in their woods, enduring the vicissitudes and practicing the virtues and vices common to savage nations.

The Indian lies on the uttermost verge of liberty; To be free, with him, signifies to escape from all the shackles of society. As he delights in this barbarous independence and would rather perish than sacrifice the least part of it, civilization has little hold over him.

That freedom is disappearing as the eastern tribes are being driven out of their homelands to suit the wishes of white settlers. The result is “inexpressible sufferings.”

The Europeans having dispersed the Indian tribes and driven them into the deserts, condemned them to a wandering life, full of inexpressible sufferings.

The Frenchman also argues that displacement has only served to make the tribes more “disorderly and barbarous” than they once were.

Oppression has been no less fatal to the Indian than to the Negro race, but its effects are different. Savage nations are only controlled by opinion and custom. When the North American Indians had lost the sentiment of attachment to their country; when their families were dispersed, their traditions obscured, and the chain of their recollections broken; when all their habits were changed, and their wants increased beyond measure, European tyranny rendered them more disorderly and less civilized than they were before. The moral and physical condition of these tribes continually grew worse, and they became more barbarous as they became more wretched.

Still, de Tocqueville seems to hold out some hope of ultimate civilization for the tribes – achieved “by degrees and by their own efforts.”

Nevertheless, the Europeans have not been able to change the character of the Indians; and though they have had power to destroy, they have never been able to subdue and civilize them.

The success of the Cherokees proves that the Indians are capable of civilization, but it does not prove that they will succeed in it. This difficulty that the Indians find in submitting to civilization proceeds from a general cause, the influence of which it is almost impossible for them to escape. An attentive survey of history demonstrates that, in general, barbarous nations have raised themselves to civilization by degrees and by their own efforts.

Time: 1831-1832

His Prescient Observations About Future Regional Conflict

While amazed by the American experiment in democracy, de Tocqueville is not oblivious to underlying conflicts that could bring the nation down.

He picks this up particularly around the “Nullification Crisis” that is swirling around during his visit – something he attributes in part to the envy of declining Southern states versus those on the rise in the North.

The states that increase less rapidly than the others look upon those that are more favored by fortune with envy and suspicion. Hence, arise the deep-seated uneasiness and ill-defined agitation which are observable in the South and which form so striking a contrast to the confidence and prosperity which are common to other parts of the Union.

I am inclined to think that the hostile attitude taken by the South recently [in the Nullification Crisis] is attributable to no other cause. The inhabitants of the Southern states are, of all the Americans, those who are most interested in the maintenance of the Union; they would assuredly suffer most from being left to themselves; and yet they are the only ones who threaten to break the tie of confederation.

In addition, the South is also losing its control over government decision at the federal level.

It is easy to perceive that the South, which has given four Presidents to the Union, which perceives that it is losing its federal influence and that the number of its representatives in Congress is diminishing from year to year, while those of the Northern and Western states are increasing, the South, which is peopled with ardent and irascible men, is becoming more and

more irritated and alarmed. Its inhabitants reflect upon their present position and remember their past influence, with the melancholy uneasiness of men who suspect oppression.

Thus it tries to fight back by arguing that laws like The Tariff are biased against them, and, unless reversed, their only recourse will be to “quit the association.”

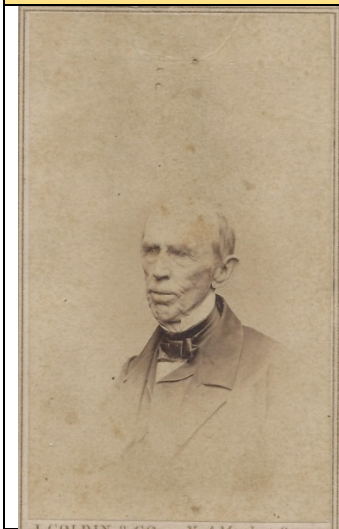
If they discover a law of the Union that is not unequivocally favorable to their interests, they protest against it as an abuse of force; and if their ardent remonstrances are not listened to, they threaten to quit an association that loads them with burdens while it deprives them of the profits. "The Tariff," said the inhabitants of Carolina in 1832, "enriches the North and ruins the South; for, if this were not the case, to what can we attribute the continually increasing power and wealth of the North, with its inclement skies and arid soil; while the South, which may be styled the garden of America, is rapidly declining."

de Tocqueville concludes by arguing that what he sees as Southern envy of the North does the region no good. Its potential to “increase more rapidly than any kingdom in Europe” remains. In applying itself against its “true interests” rather than placing blame on the North, the prospect of future war can be averted.

...It must not be imagined, however, that the states that lose their preponderance also lose their population or their riches; no stop is put to their prosperity, and they even go on to increase more rapidly than any kingdom in Europe. But they believe themselves to be impoverished because their wealth does not augment as rapidly as that of their neighbors; and they think that their power is lost because they suddenly come in contact with a power greater than their own. Thus they are more hurt in their feelings and their passions than in their interests.

But this is amply sufficient to endanger the maintenance of the Union. If kings and peoples had only had their true interests in view ever since the beginning of the world, war would scarcely be known among mankind.

Chapter 91 -- Jackson Sacks His Cabinet Over The “Petticoat Affair”



Dates:
1831

Sections:

- The “Petticoat Affair” Captures The Spotlight In Washington
- Jackson Breaks With Calhoun And Names A New Cabinet

Time: 1830-31

The “Petticoat Affair” Captures The Spotlight In Washington

Midway into his first term, the short fuse on Jackson’s temper is ignited by turmoil within his cabinet.

The root cause is a developing rivalry between factions aligned with Vice-President John Calhoun and those backing the President and Martin Van Buren.

But the trigger for Jackson is a sustained backbiting campaign to shun Peggy Eaton, the wife of his Secretary of War, on grounds of questionable moral standards.

The charge particularly grates on the President because he and his wife, Rachel, suffered comparable smears throughout the mud-slinging campaign of 1828. In fact, Jackson remains convinced that Rachel’s fatal heart attack just prior to his inauguration resulted from being publicly labelled as an adulteress.

Rumblings about Peggy Eaton go back to her youthful days, working the bar at her father’s Franklin House inn near the Capitol. After several courtships, she is married at age seventeen to a 39 year old Navy man, John Timberlake. Among the couple’s friends is John Eaton, a Senator from Tennessee, close friend of Jackson, and an early widower.

When Timberlake’s personal finances collapse and he turns to alcohol, John Eaton helps out, both with funds and by securing a naval post for him in the Mediterranean fleet. With her husband away, Peggy returns to her job at the Franklin House, which now caters almost exclusively to Congressional members and their wives.

Gossip follows quickly – how can a married woman be considered respectable while working for a wage, and in a bar no less? This accelerates when Timberlake dies at sea in April 1828, and a rumor spreads that

he killed himself after hearing that Peggy and John Eaton had become lovers. The rumor is supported eight months later when the two are wed – after receiving a blessing from none other than John’s mentor, Andrew Jackson.

Despite the couple’s connections in Washington, many in the social elite choose to boycott the wedding, on the grounds that, in violating the traditional year-long mourning period, Peggy’s conduct is unseemly.

When Jackson names Eaton as his Secretary of War, the social knives are bared among other cabinet wives – the most notable and vocal being the aristocratic Floride Calhoun, who initiates a series of slights aimed at humiliating the new couple. She asserts that Peggy is “a promiscuous woman” and convinces her allies to refuse to attend social events, especially at the White House, where the Eatons are present.

After enduring almost two years of this, Jackson decides he has had enough of the foolishness. Surely the wives of his cabinet cannot be allowed to undermine Eaton’s role as War Secretary, and surely it is time for him to step in and protect Peggy’s honor. As he says at the time:

I would rather have live vermin on my back than the tongue of one of these Washington women on my reputation.

Early in 1831 he decides to act.

Time: 1831

Jackson Breaks With Calhoun And Names A New Cabinet



Francis P. Blair (1791-1876),
Member of Jackson’s New Kitchen Cabinet

The venom he feels is directed particularly at John Calhoun.

He knows that the Vice-President has been plotting behind his back to nullify the 1828 Tariff, and that Floride Calhoun is the ring-leader hoping to defame Peggy Eaton. But he also learns in February 1831 that Calhoun is behind the public disclosure of letters critical of Jackson’s actions in Florida in 1818 during the Seminole War.

In response he makes it clear that he intends to support Van Buren for Vice-President in 1832.

This message reaches Calhoun, who recognizes that his chances now of ever winning the White House have all but vanished. Instead he will henceforth dedicate his political career to convincing the South to face the existential threats he says is building in the North.

Van Buren, who has backed the Eatons all along, sees the so-called “petticoat affair” as another attempt by the “Calhounites” in the cabinet – Ingham, Berrien and Branch – to undermine both Jackson’s administration and his own future political aspirations. After he convinces Eaton to resign, the President goes further, requesting that all his appointees step aside.

Which they do by August 31, 1831, the only exception being Postmaster Barry, who stays on at Jackson's request. Van Buren quickly assumes the post of Ambassador to Great Britain.

In turn, Jackson names a new cabinet, including several members who will play prominent public roles for years to come. Attorney General Roger Taney will succeed John Marshal as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and preside for 28 years. Lewis Cass, who fought in the War of 1812 and opened the Michigan territory as governor, will go on to run for President in 1848, and lead the "popular sovereignty" wing of the Democratic Party from then on. Levi Woodbury will eventually become Secretary of the Treasury and then Associate Justice on the Supreme Court. Louis McLane becomes both Secretary of the Treasury and of State, then president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company.

Andrew Jackson's Cabinet In September 1832

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of State	Edward Livingston	New York, Louisiana
Secretary of Treasury	Louis McLane	Delaware
Secretary of War	Lewis Cass	Michigan
Secretary of the Navy	Levi Woodbury	New Hampshire
Attorney General	Roger Taney	Maryland
Postmaster General	William Barry	Kentucky


As impressive as this replacement cabinet is, Jackson, like many future presidents, decides to rely on a tight circle of long-time trusted advisors to debate and decide on policy and political matters.

Van Buren and Taney are part of this informal "kitchen cabinet." So too is Jackson's nephew and "adopted son," Andrew Jackson Donelson. The rest tend to be long-time friends from Nashville or newspapermen who have helped shape and disseminate his agenda and messages.

Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet" Of Informal Advisors

Members	Connections
Martin Van Buren	Campaign manager, protégé, chosen successor
Amos Kendall	Speech/policy writer for AJ, editor of KY <i>Argus</i> paper
Roger B. Taney	Early AJ backer and legal advisor
Francis P. Blair	Editor of pro-AJ <i>Washington Globe</i> , main party organ
Andrew Jackson Donelson	Nephew and adopted son of AJ, Hermitage roots, private secretary
John Overton	Nashville pal, AJ dueling "second," judge, planter, business partner
Isaac Hill	Editor <i>New Hampshire Patriot</i> , politician, early AJ backer
William B. Lewis	Nashville pal, army quartermaster for AJ

Chapter 92 -- Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion Prompts Terror And Retribution Across The South

	<p>Dates: 1831</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nat Turner's Rebellion • Anti-Black Racism Is Heightened By Turner's Rampage • Sidebar: Administering Lashes To Disobedient Slaves
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Aug 21, 1831

Nat Turner's Rebellion



The Whipped Slave, Gordon

On Sunday, August 21, 1831 the apocalyptic vision laid out in David Walker's "Appeal" – of black slaves murdering white masters to win freedom – becomes reality on the farm of Joseph Travis near Jerusalem, Virginia, in the southeast corner of the state.

There, in the night, a band of seven slaves use axes to hack Travis, his wife, Sally, and their two children (one a newborn infant) to death in their beds.

The leader of this band is Nat Turner, 30 years old, a slave whose first master encourages him to read the Bible, which he does over and over until he is able to quote long passages from the Old Testament and begins to preach on the Turner plantation. His status changes, however, when his old master dies and his son angers Nat by treating him as an ordinary field hand. When the son also dies, he and his wife are sold to different masters. After protesting this treatment, his new master whips him savagely, a punishment that further fosters rage against his fate. Finally he ends on the Travis farm, where he acts the part of the passive slave and receives kinder treatment.

But kind treatment no longer transfers into forgiveness for Nat. Since 1828 lengthy his periods of fasting and prayer and communion with the spirits have convinced him that his destiny lies in "fighting the Serpent" and putting to death those who have stolen life from the slaves.

In February 1831 he interprets an eclipse of the sun as a signal that the time for retribution is near – and six months later, after secretly spreading the word to neighborhood slaves, he strikes at the Travis's. The supposedly obedient slave rises up in fury.

Once steeped in the Travis's blood, he and his growing band rampage from one farm to the next.

Back at his original plantation, he kills the cowering Mrs. Turner with his ax and then joins another slave in dispatching a woman visitor.

As he moves on, his force grows. At another farm, some 15 slaves kill Catherine Whitehead, her grown son, three of her daughters and a grandchild. Nat later confesses to bludgeoning Margaret Whitehead to death with a fence post.

Now 40 strong, Turner's avengers head toward the town of Jerusalem, where church bells are already ringing out word of The Insurrection. At the Waller homestead, they pause to decapitate ten terror-stricken children and also murder their mother. As they depart, their strength reaches its zenith of 60-70 slaves, some drunk, others poorly armed, but all eager to push onward.

They have sacked 15 homesteads and killed about 60 whites by the time they encounter a series of town posses who break their momentum and forces them to retreat. From there the operation turns against the rebels. They try to re-group and add new recruits, but this fails. and most are captured or killed on the spot. Nat Turner escapes and hides for almost two months in the vicinity of the Travis farm, before he too is caught and jailed. At his trial he is nothing but defiant:

“I am not guilty, because I do not feel so...I'm not sorry for killing all those white people. I alone conceived the idea of insurrection, which has been evolving in my mind for several years. And, no I didn't fail. Our names are not written in blood across the map of this county, nor will we be the last.”

Anti-Black Racism Is heightened By Turner's Rampage

News of the Turner rampage shocks whites in the North as well as the South, and sets off predictable ripple effects.

Since the entire plantation system in the South hinges on the strict obedience of slaves to the will of their masters, the Turner incident becomes a moment to reinforce discipline. The vehicle is swift punishment meted out to any slaves known or suspected to be trouble-makers. Across the South, a total of 55 slaves are “officially hanged” and many others are publicly whipped or lynched.

Nat Turner himself is flayed, beheaded, quartered and ultimately skinned to make “memento purses,” which show up years later in estate sales.

State governments across the South also react with laws prohibiting all blacks from being taught how to read or write, and banning religious meetings unless conducted with a white minister present.

In the North, the reactions are different, but no less devastating to the aspirations of the small band of free blacks seeking equality.

Here the lurid details of Turner's assault serve to reinforce the stereotypes of all Africans as sub-human savages, who, if uncontrolled, will slaughter even defenseless women and children.

White fear of blacks is amplified, even among those who feel that slavery is morally wrong,

Hearts are hardened and outright race-baiters become more vocal in their attacks.

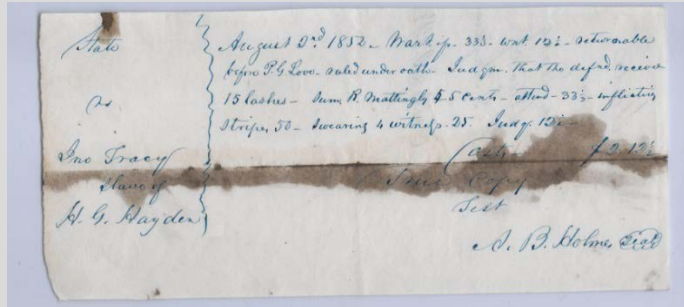
In Boston, officials tighten their oversight of free blacks.

Known white abolitionists face angry neighbors. For it is one thing to feel empathy for the slave – but quite another to agitate to set them free to roam the American landscape at will.

Surely the atrocity in Jerusalem, Virginia, must cause these abolitionists to back off from their call for emancipation. Or so the vast majority of Americans think.

Time: Antebellum Period

Sidebar: Administering Lashes To Disobedient Slaves



August 2nd 1852 --- Maryland 33 & 1/3rd wrnt 12 & 1/2 --- returnable before P. G. Love, sealed under oath. Judgment that the defendant receive 15 lashes. Sum R. Mattingly 5 cents – attend 33 1/2 -- inflicting Stripes 50 – swearing & witnesses 25. Judge 12 1/2.

Cost \$2.12 1/2

Issue Copy

Test

A.B. Holmes (seal)

Throughout the antebellum period, slaves charged with violating whatever behavioral norms were imposed on them by state “codes” are subject to punishment.

The document above represents one such event involving the State of Maryland v Jno Tracy, a slave owned by H.G. Hayden.


It is dated August 2, 1852, and is cast in the form of an “invoice,” presumably directed to Hayden by a state judge named P.G. Love and attested to by a notary, A. B. Holmes.

It requires Hayden to pay the state a total of \$2.12 & 1/2 cents in return for formal whipping of Jno Tracy, his slave, evidently administered by one R. Mattingly and resulting in some 15 “stripes.”

The invoice itemizes the total cost as follows:

- 5 cents to Mattingly for his presence
- 170 cents to Mattingly for delivering 15 stripes
- 25 cents administrative costs for swearing & witnesses
- 12 1/2 cents to the Judge

Chapter 93 -- The Start Of Tribal Evictions Triggers The Blackhawk War

	<p>Dates: 1832</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Marshall Court Denies Cherokee's Pleas To Keep Their Land • Sauk Tribes Fight Back In The Black Hawk War
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Time: March 18, 1831

The Marshall Court Denies Cherokee's Pleas To Keep Their Land



Indian Villages Dot the Eastern Landscape Before Removal Begins

By the time Jackson enters office, the wheels have already been set in motion to allow white settlers to usurp the lands of the southeastern Indian tribes.

On December 28, 1828, the Georgia legislature passes a law transferring ownership of all Cherokee territory to the state.

In May 1830, the Indian Removal Act barely passes congress, with the North opposing it and the South vigorously in support. This Act calls for forced transfer of the so-called "civilized tribes" from the southeast to their new reservations west of the Mississippi in the Oklahoma territory. The contrived rationale is that relocation will give the Indians a better chance to master agriculture and "become

modernized” in their ways. Also the claim is made that reimbursements in land or cash will be offered to those displaced.

In June 1830, Chief John Ross, backed by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, seeks an injunction in federal court to stop “the annihilation of the Cherokee tribe as a political society.”

His argument is based on the notion that the Cherokees are a “foreign nation” – and, as such, not subject to Georgia’s jurisdiction or laws.

On March 18, 1831, the Marshall court hands down its ruling in *Cherokee Nation v Georgia*.

It totally ignores the central issue regarding the “fairness” of the Georgia action against the Cherokees.

Instead, by a 4-2 vote, it denies Ross’s “foreign nation” claim, and, in turn, his right to even petition the court for a ruling on the merits of his case.

An Indian tribe or nation within the United States is not a foreign state in the sense of the constitution, and cannot maintain an action in the (federal) courts of the United States.

Thus the Indians – like the Africans – are denied citizenship in the United States.

Their political identity also disappears in the process, and their status, as Marshall puts it, becomes that of “a ward to its guardian.”

In this case the guardian will prove forever unsympathetic to their cause.

Time: April 6 to August 2, 1832

Sauk Tribes Fight Back In The Black Hawk War



Map Of Key Battles In The Blackhawk War

With the law on his side, Andrew Jackson begins to act against the Native Americans.

In 1831 he orders General Winfield Scott to begin the “removal” process, using regular U.S. Army troops and local militia where needed.

A few tribes decide to resist.

One such rebellion breaks out in northwestern Illinois in April of 1832.

It is led by the Sauk Chief, Black Hawk, who hopes to build a confederation of resisters similar to what the Shawnee Chief Tecumseh achieved in 1811, back east in the Indiana Territory.

Black Hawk is 65 years old at the time. Since his youth he has fought against the 1804 Treaty of St. Louis which surrendered some 5 million acres of his homeland, mostly in the southern Wisconsin/Michigan Territory.

During the War of 1812, the British name him a Brevet Brigadier General, and his Sauks fight alongside the crown to stem the tide of white settlers.

But by June 1831, it seems apparent that his battle is lost, and Black Hawk leads his villagers west across the Mississippi into the “unorganized territory.”

Ten months later he changes his mind. He convinces his Sauk tribesmen to recross the river and reclaim their ancestral lands. To assemble a credible fighting force he seeks support from a variety of other local nations, including some Kickapoos, Meskwakies, Fox, Ho Chunks and Potawatomes. Together they hope to form what will be known as the “British Band,” given their historical linkage to the redcoats.

On April 6, 1832, the British Band of roughly 1,000 warriors and their families crosses the Mississippi and heads northeast along the Rock River toward the southern border of Wisconsin.

By May 14 they have travelled 90 miles and reached Old Man’s Creek, without yet being joined by any of the allies they anticipated. At this point, with elements of the Illinois militia in his front, Chief Black Hawk is ready to abandon his quest. He sends emissaries to notify the militia of this intent, but they are fired upon.

A melee ensues, with Black Hawk’s warriors routing woefully disorganized troops under Major Isiah Stillman. The event goes down as the Battle of Stillman’s Run, a humiliation for the Illinois militia leading the Governor to call up a force capable of pursuing the Indians.

Over the next ten weeks, Black Hawk fights a series of skirmishes while swinging through southern Wisconsin and eventually retreating toward the Mississippi. On July 21 the Battle of Wisconsin Heights is fought in Dane County, with remnants of the British Band slipping away to the west. Twelve days later the Black Hawk War ends at the Battle of Bad Axe, where US troops under General Henry Atkinson and Major Henry Dodge wipe out the remaining rebels.

Chief Black Hawk himself is captured and sent to Washington D.C., where he meets with the President before being sent to jail for a short time. There he tells his life story to a reporter who turns it into a biography, making him a celebrity until his death in 1838.

The war which bears his name is also remembered for two famous participants who play cameo roles.

One is 23 year old Abraham Lincoln, living in New Salem, Illinois, and working as a clerk in a village store, when he enlists in the Illinois militia. He serves for roughly 12 weeks, mainly as Captain of a rifle company in the 31st Regiment out of Sangamon County. Lincoln sees no combat during the war, and later jokes that his greatest challenge was fighting mosquitoes.

The other is 24 year old Jefferson Davis, graduate of West Point in 1828 and in the Regular Army as a second Lieutenant, stationed at Ft. Crawford in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin. Davis is in Mississippi on furlough during the conflict, but is later assigned to escort Chief Black Hawk to Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis.

Chapter 94 -- Jackson Begins To Act On His Monetary And Banking Concerns



Dates:
1829

Sections:

- The President Set His Agenda For Financial Reforms
- The Federal Debt Shrinks Dramatically In Jackson's First Term
- The President Turns His Sights On The Bank Of The United States
- Sidebar: History Of The Federal Banks Of The United States (BUS)

Time: 1829-1837

The President Set His Agenda For Financial Reforms

From the time he enters office, Andrew Jackson is determined to put America's financial house back in order.

His instincts in this regard mirror those of Thomas Jefferson, who, forty years earlier, fought a losing battle to oppose Hamilton's "new American economy" based on capitalism, an expansion of the "soft money" supply, spending to support industrialization (not just agriculture), and the creation of a federal Bank of the United States.



A Banknote Showing John C. Calhoun

In Jackson's mind, this combination has exposed threats to the nation's financial health.

Too many banknotes (unbacked by gold/silver) are now in circulation, leading to wild speculation, inflation and uncertainty about the true value of the dollar.

Too much control over the fate of the national economy now rests with a few wealthy men who own the corporation known as The Bank of the United States.

Too much federal spending has now resulted in an alarming federal debt.

In response to these beliefs, Jackson's financial remedies will be threefold:

1. Tighten control over government spending to eliminate the accumulated federal debt.
2. Close the Bank of the United States and deposit all federal revenues collected back in state banks.
3. Insure the "true value" of the dollar by demanding that banknotes be properly "backed" by gold/silver.

During his tenure, the President will take decisive action on all three fronts.

Time: 1829-1833

The Federal Debt Shrinks Dramatically In Jackson’s First Term

As early as 1824, Jackson is calling government debt a “national curse.”

He arrives at this position, like Jefferson, through the conviction that the government is, by definition, beholden to whichever persons or corporations hold the debt and must be reimbursed – a fact which diminishes its freedom to always act on behalf of the best interests of the people.

The magnitude of the constraint is in direct proportion to the size of the debt and the potential political interests of those who actually possess the IOU’s.

Perhaps the worst case here being high levels of indebtedness to a foreign nation, intent on manipulating policies involving America’s security. But danger could also lurk in the form of a domestic oligarchy, with government officials influenced by a small cabal who control the debt and use it as a lever to sway their decisions.

Either way, Jackson views the federal debt as hazardous to the nation’s well-being.

In 1829, at the beginning of his first term, the debt level stands at \$83.7 million.

To begin to drive it down, Jackson ruthlessly cuts government spending, while raising revenue through increasing the tariff on imported goods and the accelerated sale of federal land.

By 1833, this strategy has reduced the debt by over 90%, down to \$7.0 million.

History Of Federal Debt

Year	\$ (000)	President
1790	\$71,060	Washington
1795	80,748	Washington
1800	82,976	Adams
1805	82,312	Jefferson
1810	53,173	Jefferson
1815	99,834	Madison
1820	91,016	Madison
1825	83,788	JQ Adams
1829	58,421	Jackson
1830	48,565	Jackson
1831	39,123	Jackson
1832	24,322	Jackson
1833	7,002	Jackson

Time: December 8, 1829

The President Turns His Sights On The Bank Of The United States

With the debt already decreasing, Jackson pivots to dealing with the threat he senses in the Second Bank of the United States.

Again, like Jefferson, Jackson distrusts the BUS because it appears not only to line the pockets of its corporate owners but also give them sway – via their “lending actions” – over government spending decisions.

This concentration of power in the hands of a few private individuals is anathema to the President, and he vows to do away with it in order to:

Prevent a monied aristocracy from growing up around our administration that must bend to its views, and ultimately destroy the liberty of our country.

Jackson launches his attack on the BUS in his first annual message to congress on December 8, 1829. He questions whether the existence of such a bank is valid under the Constitution – despite the affirmation handed down by the Supreme Court in the March 1819 case of *McCulloch v Maryland*.

At the same time he announces his growing concerns about the “soft money” supply, and his intent to spread future deposits of the government’s surplus revenue across both the BUS and various state banks.

The speech is viewed by owners of the federal bank as a warning that Jackson might refuse to renew their corporate charter, if he remains president in 1836 when it comes up for renewal.

Time: 1791-1836

Sidebar: History Of The Federal Banks Of The United States (BUS)

Both the First and Second Banks of the United States are “corporations,” chartered in this case by the federal government, but privately owned by individual stockholders.

The First Bank of the United States is proposed by Hamilton, backed by Washington, and chartered for 20 years by Congress on February 25, 1791. It is located in Philadelphia, the temporary capital city from 1790-1800, while Washington is being built.

After the charter expires in 1811, Madison refuses to re-new it, and all outstanding shares are purchased by Steven Girard, a man who parlays his years as a mariner into a successful ship-building and trading business, and from there into banking, which makes him fabulously wealthy. Henceforth the Philadelphia establishment becomes known as “Girard’s Bank.”

As the War of 1812 progresses, Madison faces into a critical shortage of cash, by offering some \$16 million in federal bonds to private investors.

Steven Girard and two other merchant/real estate/financier tycoons of the day-- John Jacob Astor and David Parrish – purchase most of these securities to “fund the war.”

When the war ends, these three convince Madison to charter a Second Bank of the United States, with a sizable portion of the shares going to them in exchange for their war bonds.

On April 10, 1816, Madison authorizes this Second Bank, despite opposition from many Jeffersonians, but with support from Henry Clay and John Calhoun.

Aside from its lending role, the Second Bank is also expected to carry out a regulatory duty – insuring the value and integrity of the nation’s paper money supply, being printed by State banks.

These State notes flow into the Second Bank on a regular basis, to cover payment of federal duties and tariffs. In return for accepting them, the Second Bank requires that each State bank be willing to “convert” their paper money into gold or silver at any time upon demand.

While this requirement seems foolproof in theory, it quickly falls apart in practice.

As the Napoleonic Wars end, speculators are convinced that demand for American agricultural exports will jump sharply across Europe. What is needed to meet this demand, and make a killing along the way, is western land, with its surplus of fertile soil. The result is a bidding war for land, with borrowers lining up to secure State banknotes and lenders eager to make loans.

Soon enough, the guidelines on the ratio of State banknotes to gold and silver reserves are breached, with the targeted 5:1 ratio, becoming 10:1 in practice.

Instead of enforcing its “convertibility” mandate, The Second Bank tries to prop up the State banks by selling off its own supply of gold and silver to them in exchange for their shaky notes.

This artificially props up the State banks until it becomes clear that the forecasted jump in Europe’s demand for American agriculture is not materializing. When Britain also begins

to import some of its cotton needs from India, the expected “boom cycle” turn into a “bust.”

From there, all the dominoes begin to fall.

In August 1818, stockholders in the Second BUS attempt to protect their assets by requiring the State banks to prove they have sufficient gold and silver specie on hand to support the dollar values on their soft money.

In turn, State banks “call in” loans made to the general public, in search of the hard money now being required by the Second BUS. But neither the land speculators nor for that matter the average farmer or business owner are able to pay up so precipitously.

Foreclosures and bankruptcies follow, as does unemployment, homelessness, and bank failures. The Panic of 1819 becomes America’s first major non-war related recession.

A mere two years after re-chartering, public trust in the Second Bank plummets.

More bad news follows when fraud is discovered among Second Bank officers in Baltimore, forcing the bank’s president, William Jones, former Secretary of the Navy, to resign. This is no surprise to the “real financial experts” at the BUS -- Girard and Astor – both of whom have questioned Jones’s competency from the start.

For the tried and true Jeffersonians, the Panic of 1819 is simply more evidence that Hamilton’s plan for the U.S. economy is fatally flawed – including his Bank of the United States.

In Andrew Jackson they find just the man to once again shut the BUS down.

Chapter 95 -- Two New Political Parties Appear As The 1832 Election Draws Near



Dates:
1832

Sections:

- Jackson Announces His Run For A Second Term
- Henry Clay Advances His “American System”
- Calhoun Dedicates His Future Go Promoting Southern States Rights
- Thurlow Weed Founds The Anti-Masonic Party

Time: 1831-1832

Jackson Announces His Run For A Second Term

In January 1831 those hoping the President would live up to his initial “one term only” promise are disappointed to read in the *Washington Globe* – the official pro-Jackson organ edited by Francis Preston Blair – that he will run again in 1832.

His opponents have already nicknamed him “King Andrew,” for what they regard as his autocratic approach to running the federal government. Their intent is to dislodge them in any way they can.

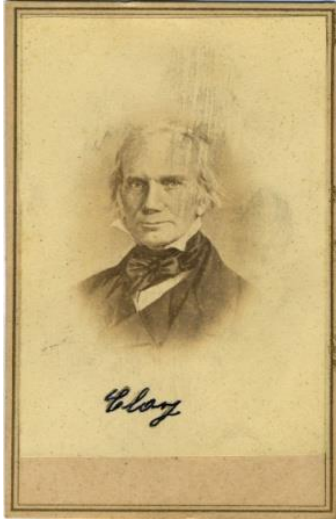
Three different men will lead the charge against Jackson.

Two are very familiar figures on the national stage – Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun.

The third – Thurlow Weed – will achieve fame in the decades ahead, not as a candidate for office, but as a political strategist intent on creating a new Anti-Democrat party capable of winning the White House.

Time: 1831-1832

Henry Clay Advances His “American System”



Henry Clay (1777-1852)

Jackson’s principal opponent in 1832 will be Henry Clay, who is back in Congress as of November 1831, as Senator from Kentucky.

The two have been mortal enemies since the infamous 1824 election, decided in favor of JQ Adams over Jackson, with Clay using his influence in the House of Representatives to sway the outcome – only to then be named as Secretary of State by Adams.

Jackson sees this as a “corrupt bargain” and vows revenge, which he gets in 1828, by soundly defeating JQ Adams for the presidency.

Clay is astonished by this loss, and forever appalled by what he regards as Jackson’s personal comportment, his lack of presidential gravitas, and his willingness to see the Executive run roughshod over the Legislature which, he believes, the founders regarded as the dominant branch of government.

But Clay knows that “King Andrew’s mobocracy” will be hard to beat in 1832.

Jackson’s Democratic Party base centers around the common man struggling to make his way in America: small farmers, western settlers, city laborers and Irish Catholic immigrants. Its policies call for cheap land prices, opposition to all forms of privilege, and great fiscal restraint to avoid burdening the people with excessive federal spending and taxation.

Clay decides to fight it out with Jackson over management of the economy.

He argues that prosperity for all depends on a federal government that invests more money, not less, to support growth.

He says that Jackson is simply wrong in his *laissez faire* reliance on individual states to make investments that help America as a whole. Instead, this duty belongs with the federal government.

To apply the aggregate industry of our nation...to produce the largest sum of national wealth.

Rather than relying on exports to maximize wealth, Clay wants to focus on developing a vibrant “home market” for goods,

The greatest want of civilized society is a market for the sale and exchange of the surplus of the produce of the labor of its members....The creation of a home market is not only necessary to procure for our agriculture a just reward of its labors, but it is indispensable to obtain a supply of our necessary wants.

Future economic success also hinges on recognition of the growing “power of machinery” to complement traditional manual labor.

Labor is the source of all wealth; but it is not natural labor only. And the fundamental error of the gentleman from Virginia...consists in their not sufficiently weighing the importance of the power of machinery. In former times, when but little comparative use was made of machinery, manual labor and the price of wages were circumstances of the greatest consideration. But it is far otherwise in these latter times.

In turn, Clay, like Hamilton before him, comes down in favor of nourishing the manufacturing sector, as a necessary path to national wealth.

The unprotected manufactures of a country are exposed to the danger of being crushed in their infancy, either by the design or from the necessities of foreign manufacturers.

Clay christens his policies “The American System” – a blueprint for transforming the nation into an international economic powerhouse by:

- Investing in infrastructure (roads, highways, canals, schools)
- Supporting a national banking system to distribute capital
- Funding the government through sensible taxation policies

In the end, however, it is mostly an updated version of Federalist Party basics from 1800 – and, unfortunately for Clay, it comes at a time when most Americans are pleased with economic results under Jackson.

Despite the long odds against defeating the popular Jackson, Clay makes the first of his two runs for the White House in 1832, this time as a “National Republican.”

Time: 1831-1832

Calhoun Dedicates His Future To Promoting Southern States Rights



John Floyd (1783-1837)

Once Jackson names Martin Van Buren as his running mate for 1832 and designated heir apparent, John C. Calhoun sets a new political course for himself as the leading national defender of Southern states rights and the institution of slavery.

His initial launching pad for this new role is the “Nullifier Party,” the brainchild of the planter elites in South Carolina, who will subsequently be called “fireeaters” for their fierce anti-federalist, pro-slavery activities.

Of all the original Southern states, South Carolina is most dependent on slaves for its wealth, and therefore most protective of any federal threats to the institution.

Its values are established at the 1787 Convention by founder John Rutledge, known as “The Dictator,” who chairs the “Committee of Detail,” charged among other things with defining the exact powers of the legislature. Along the way, he makes it crystal clear that South Carolina will resist any federal intrusions related to slavery.

I would never agree to give a power by which the articles relating to slaves might be altered by the States not interested in that property and prejudiced against it.

The state itself prospers throughout the colonial and post-Revolutionary War period, forming large plantations, relying on slave labor to bring in a range of crops, initially rice and then cotton. The shape of its population is also unique in that slaves make up some 53% of the total residents – a fact that constantly causes fear of rebellion among its white masters.

By the 1820's, however, economic conditions in South Carolina have taken a turn for the worse.

The state is hard hit by the 1819 depression, and by increased competition from plantations in the new west, operating on more fertile, higher-yielding soil.

Thus the Tariff of 1828 represents one more blow to future prosperity – both for its short-run effect on cotton prices and its potential long-run threat of federal dictates on slavery per se.

For some leading politicians, John Calhoun's "South Carolina Exposition and Protest" of 1828 represents the proper response to any federal laws that are clearly damaging to an individual state.

Simply pass a state bill "nullifying" them.

Out of this principle, the "Nullifier Party" is born.

It does not spring from immediate, unanimous agreement in South Carolina. In fact, after Calhoun's document is circulated, roughly half of the state's politicians argue that ignoring federal laws has already been proven to be unconstitutional.

But the "Unionist" faction finally gives way to the prominent South Carolinians who form the core of the Nullifier Party – Calhoun, along with Robert Hayne, James Henry Hammond, William Preston, George McDuffie, Henry Pinckney, Francis Pickens, and Franklin Elmore.

In 1830, Calhoun declares straight out that the South's "peculiar domestick (sic) institution" puts it permanently at odds with the majority of the Union, and that, unless it exercises its rights under the Constitution to resist unfair taxation and appropriations, the end will be either civil war or wretchedness.

I consider the tariff act as the occasion, rather than the real cause of the present unhappy state of things. The truth can no longer be disguised, that the peculiar domestick [sic] institution of the Southern States and the consequent direction which that and her soil have given to her industry, has placed them in regard to taxation and appropriations in opposite relation to the majority of the Union, against the danger of which, if there be no protective power in the reserved rights of the states they must in the end be forced to rebel, or, submit to have their paramount interests sacrificed, their domestic institutions subordinated by Colonization and other schemes, and themselves and children reduced to wretchedness

With the 1832 election looming, the "Nullifiers" must settle on a Presidential candidate.

Jackson has already made it clear that he opposes any attempts by individual states to disobey federal laws. Meanwhile Henry Clay is still associated with JQ Adams and is touting his new Whig Party which includes Federalist-like spending on infrastructure that the "Nullifiers" oppose. This leaves Calhoun as the most likely candidate, but he is too wily a politician to cast his lot with what looks like a fringe faction within the Democrat Party.

In the end, the party nominates 47 year old John Floyd, a former medical doctor and now sitting Governor of Virginia. Floyd is an ally of Calhoun, although much less outspoken on slavery than on Jackson – whom he regards as a “tyrant usurper” risking domestic war by denying the sovereign power of the states.

Time: 1828-1832

Thurlow Weed Finds The Anti-Masonic Party



Thurlow Weed (1797-1882)

Another figure intent on bringing Jackson and the Democrats down is the New Yorker, Thurlow Weed.

Weed is the proverbial self-made man. He grows up on his father’s struggling farm in Cairo, NY, which leaves his family “always poor, sometimes very poor.” At age 8 he works for a blacksmith for 6 cents a day; at 10 he earns his “first shilling” as a cabin boy on a Hudson River sloop, with repeat visits to NYC; at 12, he becomes a printer’s apprentice in the village of Catskill; at 16 the quartermaster sergeant of the 40th NY State Militia in the War of 1812; at 18 a journeyman printer for the *Albany Register*, for \$16 a week.

Soon thereafter he begins to write editorials favoring Federalists, particularly NYC Mayor DeWitt Clinton. He slides into politics as a member of the New York State Assembly, and helps JQ Adams achieve victory of Andrew Jackson in the “corrupt bargain” election of 1824.

During this period, Weed also meets William Seward and forms a lifelong bond that links them politically over the next half century. Both men strongly oppose slavery, while shying away from abolitionary zeal.

When “King Andrew” wins in 1828, Weed searches for issues that might attract enough public support to mount a credible attack on the dominance of the Democrats.

His first attempt springs from a mysterious 1826 incident in the western New York town of Batavia that quickly captures the public imagination.

A man named George Morgan is denied membership in a local Free Mason Lodge, and threatens to publish a book revealing its inner workings and secret protocols. He is then evidently kidnapped, and a body, arguably his, eventually washes up on the shore of Lake Ontario.

When Morgan’s book – *Illustrations of Masonry* – comes out, it paints a picture of a secret society that appears philanthropic, while actually being controlled by “Jesuits and Illuminati who worship Lucifer.” It becomes a best seller, and advances a storyline whereby Morgan becomes an American martyr whose right to free speech is denied by a Masonic order bent on undermining Christian religious values.

In 1828, Weed seizes upon the “Morgan Affair” and translates it into a political attack on any and all Masons serving in government.



Washington in Masonic Garb



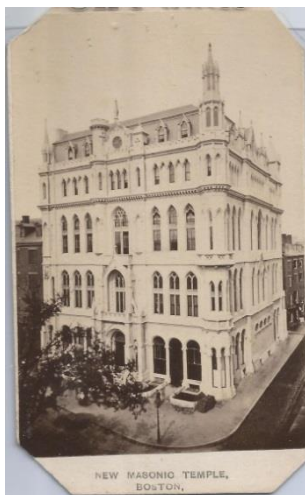
Brother Andrew Jackson in the Front Row

He ignores the fact that George Washington was a renowned Mason, because his true target is “Brother” Andrew Jackson -- proud member of St. Tammany Lodge #1 in Nashville, Tennessee since 1800, and an eventual Master of Masons.

To vilify Jackson, Weed launches a newspaper, *The Rochester Antimasonic Enquirer*, and forms a new political movement he names The Anti-Masonic Party. Its intent is to exploit two themes that will endure over time with a sizable segment of American voters:

- Fear that everyday citizens may be losing control of their government to secret cabals manipulating policies to satisfy their own separate agendas; and
- Growing resentment against Southern slave-holder dominance in national politics, symbolized at the moment by Andrew Jackson of Tennessee

It argues that all Free Masons must be expelled from public office because their goals and loyalties lie with a secret society whose values conflict with American democracy.



Masonic Temple in Boston


On September 11, 1830 – the anniversary of Morgan’s abduction – Thurlow Weed convenes America’s first full-fledged “nominating convention” to build a party platform and discuss a potential slate of candidates.

At a second gathering a year later, delegates settle on William Wirt as their presidential candidate. Wirt is a lawyer who gained fame for prosecuting Aaron Burr for treason in 1807 and then for serving as Attorney General under Monroe and JQ Adams from 1817 to 1829.

But he is also a deeply flawed choice -- as a former Mason himself, a Southerner from Virginia, and a reluctant candidate who tries repeatedly to back out of the nomination.

Other political figures drawn to Weed’s movement include Henry Seward, Thad Stevens and John McLean.

Chapter 96 -- Jackson Resolves South Carolina's Threat To Nullify The Federal Tariff

	<p>Dates: 1837</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The South Carolina Legislature Declares The Federal Tariffs Null And Void • Governor Robert Hayne Raises The Nullification Stakes In His Inaugural Address • Andrew Jackson Responds With His "Force Bill" • The Compromise Tariff Of 1833 Ends The "Nullification Crisis"
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Time: November 18-24, 1832

The South Carolina Legislature Declares The Federal Tariffs Null And Void



As the election of 1832 is playing out nationally, political leaders in South Carolina are beating the drums on behalf of nullifying the 1828 "Tariff of Abominations." One man in particular – 28 year old Congressman Robert Barnwell Rhett – calls the tariff a challenge to Southern "honor," imposed by "insatiable oppressors" in the North, and demanding a courageous response.

But if you are doubtful of yourselves – if you are not prepared to follow up your principles wherever they may lead, to their very last consequence – if you love life better than honor, -- prefer ease to perilous liberty and glory; awake not! Stir not! -- Impotent resistance will add vengeance to your ruin. Live in smiling peace with your insatiable Oppressors, and die with the noble consolation that your submissive patience will survive triumphant your beggary and despair

In turn, South Carolina decides to hold a special convention, running from November 19-24, 1832, to assess and address the effects of the "1828 Tariff of Abominations" on the cotton industry.

John C. Calhoun (1782-1850)

The facts show that the tariff rate indeed jumps from 22.3% in 1825 to 35.0% by 1830.

Tariff Rates And Revenue Generated: 1800-1815

Year	Tariff Rate	Tariff \$	Total Budget	% Tariff
1800	10.0%	\$10.8	\$10.8	83.7%
1805	10.7%	\$13.6	\$13.6	95.4%
1810	10.1%	\$9.4	\$9.4	91.5%
1815	6.5%	\$15.7	\$15.7	46.4%
1820	20.2%	\$17.9	\$17.9	83.9%
1825	22.3%	\$20.5	\$20.5	97.9%
1830	35.0%	\$24.8	\$24.8	88.2%

This has no obvious effect on the South’s production of cotton, which reaches an all-time high of 306.8 million pounds in 1830, a five-fold increase over 1805.

But the prices it can get for this cotton falls precipitously to under \$10 a pound.

Production, Pricing And Value Of Cotton (\$ Millions)

Year	Cotton Lbs	Price/Lb	Value	Index
1805	59.9	22.59	\$135	100
1810	68.9	14.20	98	73
1815	81.9	25.90	216	160
1820	141.5	16.58	235	174
1825	228.7	14.36	309	229
1830	306.8	9.68	297	220

A sizable portion of this decline surely traces to the laws of supply and demand – the more cotton brought to market, the lower the likely unit price realized.

But Southerners, especially in economically depressed South Carolina, feel that the federal tariff hikes of 1824 and 1828 are most to blame for driving prices and profitability down.

The effects of the tariff on the South’s “other crop” – the sale of excess slaves – looks to be marginal, given the expansion of new plantations in the west.

Value Of Slaves (\$ Millions)

Year	# Slaves	\$/ Slave	Total \$	\$/Prime
1805	1032	222	\$229	504
1810	1191	277	330	624
1815	1354	272	368	610
1820	1538	393	604	875
1825	1758	277	487	608
1830	2009	273	548	591

Still the South Carolina legislature decides in the November convention to pass a bill declaring that the state will no longer comply with the federal tariff, as of February 1, 1833.

We, therefore, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain ... that the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities... especially, an act...approved on the nineteenth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight and also an act...approved on the fourteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, are unauthorized by the constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof and...shall be held utterly null and void.

Time: December 13, 1832

Governor Robert Hayne Raises The Nullification Stakes In His Inaugural Address

After his much publicized senate debate in January 1830 with Daniel Webster on the “value of the Union,” Robert Hayne is elected Governor of South Carolina in 1832.

His inaugural address takes place on December 13, with the state legislature’s “nullification bill.” just three weeks old. He decides to use the occasion to justify the action to Washington and to try to rally other Southern states to join the cause.

His begins with the same broad argument in his senate speech – that the constitution guarantees the right of sovereign states to protect their well-being against federal actions that cause them harm.

In the great struggle in which we engaged, for the preservation of our rights and liberties, it is my fixed determination to assert and uphold the SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY OF THE STATE, and to enforce by all the means that may be entrusted to my hands, her SOVEREIGN WILL.

After ten years of unavailing petitions and remonstrances... against a system of measures on the part of the Federal Government fatal to the prosperity of her people...(South Carolina) has made the solemn declaration that this system shall no longer be enforced within her limits.

He challenges “sister States” in the South to decide whether they will stand with South Carolina.

...it is for her sister States, now, to determine, what is to be done in this emergency.

His words then grow more ominous. South Carolina wants peace with the other states, not separation from them. But that will be possible only if limits are placed on the power of the central government.

South Carolina is anxiously desirous of living at peace with her brethren; she has not the remotest wish to dissolve the political bonds which have connected her with the great American family of Confederate States. With Thomas Jefferson, "she would regard the dissolution of our Union with them, as one of the greatest of evils--but not the greatest,--there is one greater: SUBMISSION TO A GOVERNMENT WITHOUT LIMITATION OF POWERS;"

A confederacy of sovereign states, formed by the free consent of all, cannot possibly be held together, by any other tie than mutual sympathies and common interest.

If need be, Hayne declares that the state will defend its sovereign rights by force of arms.

The spirit of our free institutions, the very temper of the age, would seem to forbid the thought of an appeal to force, for the settlement of a constitutional controversy. If, however, we should be prepared to meet danger, and repel invasion, come from what quarter it may....

If that fails, the entire South will pay the price along with South Carolina.

If after making those efforts due to her own honor and the greatness of the cause, she is destined utterly to fail, the bitter fruits of that failure, [will fall] not to herself alone, but to the entire South.

To back up his rhetoric, Hayne will go on to assemble a state infantry unit comprising some 25,000 men, who will stand at the ready in case of a military response from Washington. This is now a matter of honor, and Hayne is certain that every man will do his duty if called upon.

If the sacred soil of Carolina should be polluted by the footsteps of an invader, or be stained with the blood of her citizens, shed in defense, I trust in Almighty God that... there will not be found, in the wider limits of the state, one recreant son who will not fly to the rescue, and be ready to lay down his life in her defense.

Time: January 16 – March 2, 1833

Andrew Jackson Responds With His “Force Bill”

In the presence of a threat, especially in the realm of “honor,” Andrew Jackson hardly pauses before picking up the challenge from South Carolina.

He may be a fellow plantation owner and slave holder, but first and foremost he is President of the United States, sworn to preserve, protect and defend the Union.

And he does not mince his words in response to the South Carolina threats.

If a single drop of blood shall be shed there in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I can lay my hands on engaged in such treasonable conduct on the first tree I can find.

To demonstrate his resolve, he sends a message to Congress on January 16, 1833, urging it to pass a bill to slap down any attempts by South Carolina to ignore federal law.

The legislation becomes known as the “Force Bill” for language authorizing Jackson to send US troops into any state that fails to collect the proper tariff on inbound cargo.

In addition, Jackson warns Governor John Floyd of Virginia – who headed the “Nullifier” ticket in 1932 – that he will be arrested should he try to impede federal troops marching through his state to South Carolina.

The “Force Bill” becomes law on March 2, 1833, some 28 years before the guns sound at Ft. Sumter.

Time: March 2, 1833

The Compromise Tariff Of 1833 Ends The “Nullification Crisis”

On the same day that Jackson signs the “Force Bill” he also signs the “Compromise Tariff of 1833” that resolves the nullification crisis for the moment.

As usual, it is Henry Clay, now in the Senate, who steps forward to craft a solution to the brinksmanship going on between South Carolina and the President.

Clay’s position in the controversy is a delicate one.

On one hand he wants a sizable tariff to fund his economic development plan for the country -- which he calls the “American System.” On the other, he learns that Jackson is willing to cut the tariff substantially as long as he doesn’t appear to be caving in to a secession threat.

So, how to find a compromise that maintains reasonably high funding for his plan while resolving the threat of secession and a military response?

Clay’s solution is the Compromise Tariff of 1833, in which South Carolina backs off from its nullification threat in exchange for a gradual reduction in the tariff to 20%, phased over a ten year period.

This compromise passes in the House by a 149-47 margin, is signed by Jackson, and ends the immediate crisis.

But the entire episode remains deeply troubling to those intent on maintaining the Union.

It signals profound division and animosity between the South and the North.

For astute politicians, it also portends a much more threatening crisis to come – not over taxation, but over slavery.

Jackson’s instincts in this regard are prescient. Nullification of the tariff was only the pretext for the South’s real issue -- the “negro question” and secession.

The tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and southern confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question.

Both regions are now digging in once more, much as they did in 1820 around the Missouri statehood crisis.

The South, feeling economically threatened by a federal government no longer in the hands of its Virginia planters, begins to openly discuss breaking with the union.

The North, wanting nothing to do with the “negro question,” begins to assert its growing majority in Congress to bring “the Slave Power” to heel.


In hindsight, the Nullification Crisis of 1832-3 will prove to be one more dress rehearsal for the Secession Crisis of 1860-61.

Sidebar: History And Importance Of Tariffs In The U.S.

Tariff Rates and Net Government Revenue Generated

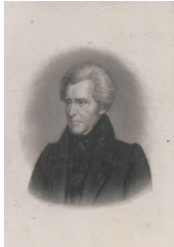
Year	Tariff Rate	Tariff \$	Total U.S. Spending	% From Tariff
1800	10.0%	\$10.8	\$10.8	83.7%
1805	10.7%	\$13.6	\$13.6	95.4%
1810	10.1%	\$9.4	\$9.4	91.5%
1815	6.5%	\$15.7	\$15.7	46.4%
1820	20.2%	\$17.9	\$17.9	83.9%
1825	22.3%	\$20.5	\$20.5	97.9%
1830	35.0%	\$24.8	\$24.8	88.2%
1835	14.2%	\$35.8	\$35.8	54.1%
1840	12.7%	\$19.5	\$19.5	64.2%
1845	24.3%	\$30.0	\$30.0	91.9%
1850	22.9%	\$43.6	\$43.6	91.0%
1855	20.6%	\$65.4	\$65.4	81.2%
1860	15.0%	\$56.1	\$56.1	94.9%

Chapter 97 -- Andrew Jackson Is Easily Re-elected

	Dates: 1832	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jackson Wins A Second Term in 1832 • The Democrats Dominate Both Houses Of Congress
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Time: 1832

Jackson Wins A Second Term In 1832



Despite the turmoil surrounding the “Nullification Crisis,” and the concerted efforts of the three opposing political parties to bring him down, nothing puts a dent in Jackson’s popularity with the public.

The turn-out rises 12% over 1828 to nearly 1.3million voters – and the balance of power in the Electoral College continues to swing toward the western states and the states where slavery is banned.

Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

Shifting Electoral Power: Old/New and Slave/Free

Geography	1828	1832	chg
Old Established East	196	199	3
Emerging States West	65	85	20
Free	147	165	18
Slave	114	119	5

Jackson wins in a landslide, with 55% of the popular vote and a 223-67 electoral margin.

Clay’s National Republicans win take only six states out of the total of twenty-four. The Nullifier Party wins in one state – South Carolina – where the legislature (not the public) pick the electors. The Anti-Masons garner 8% of the popular vote, but also carry only one state, Vermont.

Jackson’s victory also bodes well for his Secretary of State and longtime confidant, Martin Van Buren, of New York, who emerges as a likely successor in 1836.

Results of the 1832 Presidential Election

Candidates	Party	Pop Vote	Electors	South	Border	North	West
Andrew Jackson	Democrat	701,780	223	80	7	97	39
Henry Clay	Natl Repub	484,205	49	0	23	26	0
John Floyd	Nullifier/sc	0	11	11			
William Wirt	Anti-Mason	100,715	7			7	

Total		1,286,700	290	91	30	130	39
Needed to win			146				

The magnitude of Jackson’s win is evident in its breadth. He dominates in the North and the East , as well as the South and the West. He is favored in the Free states and the Slave states.

1832 Results by Regions of the U.S.*

	Slavery Allowed (12)	Slavery Banned (12)	AJ Total
Old Established East Coast States (15)	52 Jackson 6 clay 11 floyd 69 Total	97 Jackson 26 clay 7 wirt 130 Total	149 (75%)
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	35 Jackson 15 clay 50 Total	35 Jackson 0 clay 35 Total	70 (82%)
AJ Total	87 (73%)	152 (92%)	219 (77%)

*Excluding Territorial Votes (4)

Time: 1832

The Democrats Dominate Both Houses Of Congress

As was the case in 1828, Jackson’s popularity translates into wins for Democrats in the Congress.


What was a close call in both chambers during the JQ Adams presidency, has now reverted to a comfortable margin for the Democrats.

Seats in Both Houses of Congress

U.S. House	1823-25	1825-27	1827-29	1829-31	1831-33	1833-35
Total Seats	213	213	213	213	213	240
Democrats	89%	49%	53%	64%	59%	60%
Opposition	11	51	47	36	41	40
U.S. Senate						
Total Seats	48	48	48	48	48	48
Democrats	90%	49%	53%	64%	59%	60%
Opposition	10	51	47	36	41	40
President	J Mon	JQA	JQA	AJ	AJ	AJ

The message here being that the new contenders – be they from Clay, Calhoun or Weed – will need to find stronger arguments in the future if they hope to unseat the Democrats.

Chapter 98 -- Overview Of Jackson's Second Term

	<p>Dates: 1833-1837</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jackson's Second Inaugural Address • Overview Of Jackson's Second Term
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Time: March 4, 1833

Jackson's Second Inaugural Address



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

Jackson is sworn in on March 4, 1833, by Chief Justice John Marshall, who administers the oath in the House chamber of the Capitol.

The occasion is marked by domestic tension dating from December 13, 1832, when the new Governor of South Carolina, Robert Hayne, vows in his inaugural that his state will “nullify” the Federal Tariff law by refusing to collect the mandated duties on cargo coming into its ports. Jackson’s response is two-fold: first, he drives a “Force Bill” through congress, giving him authority to send US troops to South Carolina if need be; second, he works to arrive at a Compromise Tariff to defuse the issue.

While this dual strategy will pay off, the friction between South Carolina and Washington – over the tariff and the future of slavery – is on the President’s mind as he addresses his audience. As usual, the ex-General is a man of relatively few, but always precise, words.

He begins by expressing his gratitude for the honor of serving again.

Fellow-Citizens: The will of the American people...calls me before you to...take upon myself the duties of President of the United States for another term. For their approbation of my public conduct through a period which has not been without its difficulties...I am at a loss for terms adequate to the expression of my gratitude. It shall be displayed to the extent of my humble

abilities in continued efforts so to administer the Government as to preserve their liberty and promote their happiness.

In regard to foreign policy, he says the nation is at peace and facing “few causes of controversy.”

The foreign policy adopted by our Government...has been crowned with almost complete success, and has elevated our character among the nations of the earth. To do justice to all and to submit to wrong from none has been during my Administration its governing maxim, and so happy have been its results that we are not only at peace with all the world, but have few causes of controversy, and those of minor importance, remaining unadjusted.

His focus shifts to the home front, reaffirming his commitment to preserving both the states’ rights and the integrity of the Union.

In the domestic policy of this Government there are two objects which especially deserve the attention of the people and their representatives, and which have been and will continue to be the subjects of my increasing solicitude. They are the preservation of the rights of the several States and the integrity of the Union.

A first principle in balancing the two lies in the willingness of the states to obey all laws passed by the federal government. (“Nullification” is not an option.)

These great objects are necessarily connected, and can only be attained by an enlightened exercise of the powers of each within its appropriate sphere in conformity with the public will constitutionally expressed. To this end it becomes the duty of all to yield a ready and patriotic submission to the laws constitutionally enacted and thereby promote and strengthen a proper confidence in those institutions of the several States and of the United States which the people themselves have ordained for their own government.

At the same time, it is important that the federal government not encroach upon the rights of the states.

My experience...confirm(s)...that the destruction of our State governments or the annihilation of their control over the local concerns of the people would lead directly to revolution and anarchy, and finally to despotism and military domination....therefore...my countrymen will ever find me...arresting measures which may directly or indirectly encroach upon the rights of the States or tend to consolidate all political power in the General Government.

But what is of “incalculable importance” is insuring the sacred Union, without which liberty would never have been achieved or could not be maintained.

But of incalculable, importance is the union of these States, and the sacred duty of all to contribute to its preservation by a liberal support of the General Government in the exercise of its just powers. You have been wisely admonished to...indignantly frown upon the first dawning of any attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts." Without union our independence and liberty would never have been achieved; without union they never can be maintained.

He turns to his growing concern about “dissolution,” arguing that it would lead to the loss of freedom, and the end of good government, peace, plenty and happiness.

Divided into twenty-four, or even a smaller number, of separate communities, we shall see our internal trade burdened with numberless restraints and exactions; communication between distant points and sections obstructed or cut off; our sons made soldiers to deluge with blood the fields they now till in peace; the mass of our people borne down and impoverished by taxes to support armies and navies, and military leaders at the head of their victorious legions becoming our lawgivers and judges. The loss of liberty, of all good government, of peace, plenty, and happiness, must inevitably follow a dissolution of the Union.

He says that the eyes of the world are on America's "existing crisis" – the threat of "nullification" – which must be resolved through a proper mix of "forbearance and firmness" to escape the current dangers.

The time at which I stand before you is full of interest. The eyes of all nations are fixed on our Republic. The event of the existing crisis will be decisive in the opinion of mankind of the practicability of our federal system of government. ...Let us exercise forbearance and firmness. Let us extricate our country from the dangers which surround it and learn wisdom from the lessons they inculcate.

He reiterates his ongoing commitment to financial integrity, controlling federal spending and limiting taxation.

At the same time, it will be my aim to inculcate...those powers only that are clearly delegated; to encourage simplicity and economy in the expenditures of the Government; to raise no more money from the people than may be requisite for these objects, and in a manner that will best promote the interests of all classes of the community and of all portions of the Union.

Sensing the growing regional discord, he wishes for compromise and reconciliation "with our brethren in all parts of the country" – with partial sacrifices made by each to preserve the greater good of the whole.

Constantly bearing in mind that in entering into society "individuals must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest," it will be my desire so to discharge my duties as to foster with our brethren in all parts of the country a spirit of liberal concession and compromise, and, by reconciling our fellow-citizens to those partial sacrifices which they must unavoidably make for the preservation of a greater good, to recommend our invaluable Government and Union to the confidence and affections of the American people.

He ends with a prayer to the Almighty Being on behalf of the nation's continued well-being.

Finally, it is my most fervent prayer to that Almighty Being before whom I now stand, and who has kept us in His hands from the infancy of our Republic to the present day, that He will so overrule all my intentions and actions and inspire the hearts of my fellow-citizens that we may be preserved from dangers of all kinds and continue forever a united and happy people.

Time: 1789 – 1861

Sidebar: Word Counts For The First Sixteen President’s Inaugural Addresses

President	Date	Words
George Washington	April 30, 1789	1431
	March 4, 1793	135
John Adams	March 4, 1797	2321
Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1801	1730
	March 4, 1803	2166
James Madison	March 4, 1809	1177
	March 4, 1813	1211
James Monroe	March 4, 1817	3375
	March 4, 1821	4472
John Quincy Adams	March 4, 1825	2915
Andrew Jackson	March 4, 1829	1128
	March 4, 1833	1176
Martin van Buren	March 4, 1837	3843
William Henry Harrison	March 4, 1841	8460
John Tyler	<i>Succeeded following Harrison’s death</i>	
James K. Polk	March 4, 1845	4809
Zachary Taylor	March 5, 1849	1090
Millard Fillmore	<i>Succeeded following Taylor’s death</i>	
Franklin Pierce	March 4, 1853	3336
James Buchanan	March 4, 1857	2831
Abraham Lincoln	March 4, 1861	3637
	March 4, 1865	700

Time: March 4, 1833-March 3, 1837

Overview Of Jackson's Second Term

Jackson's second term is largely devoted to finishing up on the priorities he set for himself in the first.

He is particularly drawn to continued initiatives aimed at securing the financial well-being of the nation.

These include eliminating the national debt – and in 1835 he becomes the last President in U.S. history who will pay it off entirely.

But, like Jefferson, nothing troubles him more than the monetary and banking systems established by Alexander Hamilton, the perpetual arch villain of the anti-Federalists. Jackson intuitively fears that simple greed will lead state banks to print an oversupply of soft money, unbacked by gold/silver, to make speculative loans – and that this will result in ruinous inflation and collapse of the financial system.

He also believes that the Second Bank of the United States, a corporate entity, concentrates too much power in the hands of a few wealthy capitalists, who will prioritize their own interests over the good of the country.

During his second term, Jackson will act on both concerns, first shutting down the Second BUS, and then issuing his “Specie Circular” to reestablish the gold standard and the value of the American dollar. The short-run effect of these two moves will be a bank panic that begins in 1837..

The next four years will also see a sharp acceleration in the cession of Native American homelands and the relocation of the eastern tribes to new “reservations” west of the Mississippi.

The issue of US expansion into Mexican territory heats up when American settlers are killed in sieges at the Alamo and Goliad. After responding with a resounding military victory under Sam Houston at the Battle of San Jacinto, the Republic of Texas is founded in 1836. While Congress is eager to recognize and annex Texas, Jackson stalls for wont of starting a war.

Finally, the growth of the abolitionist movement produces social tensions and violent reactions across all regions of the country. By the end of his second term, the American Anti-Slavery Society will have opened over 500 chapters in the North, the South will attempt to “gag” the reformers, and Jackson's “sacred Union” will once again be in jeopardy.

Key Events: Andrew Jackson's First Term

1833	
March 2	Jackson signs the "Force Bill" and a "Compromise Tariff" To Resolve Nullification
March 4	Jackson and Van Buren are inaugurated
August 28	Great Britain abolishes slavery in her colonies
September 23	Jackson says government will no longer put federal deposits in the Second BUS
September 26	Roger Taney is named Treasury Secretary after predecessor opposes AJ on BUS
December 6	Abolitionists Lewis Tappan & Dwight Weld found The American Anti-Slavery Society
December 26	Clay introduces censure bills against Jackson and Taney for BUS actions
December	Lucretia Mott helps organize the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia
Year	Supply of banknotes, unbacked by gold/silver, expands to support west land speculation
1834	
January 3	Stephen Austin arrested after presenting resolution in Mexico to annex Texas
March 28	The Senate supports Clay's bills of censure against Jackson and Taney
April 14	Henry Clay's new political party is christened "Whigs" after Britain's opposition group
April 15	Jackson protests censure bills and vows to defend himself
July 4	An Anti-Slavery meeting in NYC sets off an eight day anti-black rampage
October 28	Seminoles ordered to leave Florida as agreed in Treaty of Payne's Landing
November 1	Train from Philadelphia to Trenton starts up
1835	
January 30	Jackson unhurt after assassin's gun misfires as he leaves the House chamber
January	The Whig Party decides to run several regional candidates for president in 1836
May 20	The Democrats nominate Martin Van Buren for 1836
July 6	Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall dies; Roger Taney named to succeed him
July 6	Charleston mob burns abolitionist literature and urges a post office ban on it
August 10	An anti-black mob burns Noyes Academy in Canaan, NY, for admitting negroes
September 13	James Birney and Gerrit Smith strengthen their commitment to emancipation
October 21	Mob parades Lloyd Garrison with rope around his neck after Boston abolition meeting
October 29	A Democrat faction called "Loco Focos" lobbies for urban workingmen's issues
November	A Second Seminole War begins as the tribe refuses to abandon its lands
December 16	The new Anti-Mason Party nominates William Henry Harrison for 1836 President
December 29	Cherokees sign the Treaty of New Echota to move west in exchange for \$5 million

1836	
January 11	Abolitionists present petitions to Congress to end slavery in the District of Columbia
January 27	France finally makes reparation payments to the US for war damages
January	James Birney launches his anti-slavery newspaper the <i>Philanthropist</i>
February 23	The Alamo garrison is overwhelmed by Mexican forces led by Santa Anna (167 die)
March 17	Despite Mexican ban on slavery, American settlers announce their support for it
March 27	Santa Anna massacres another 300 Americans at their settlement at Goliad
April 20	Congress splits off the Wisconsin Territory from the old Michigan Territory
April 21	Sam Houston and his Texans defeat and capture Santa Anna at Battle of San Jacinto
May 25	JQ Adams delivers House speech opposing Texas annexation for fear of Mexican war
May 26	Southerners pass “Gag Order” to end reading of anti-slave petitions in the House
June 15	Arkansas joins the Union as the 25 th state
July 1	Congress votes to recognize the Republic of Texas, but Jackson delays fearing war
July 11	Jackson issue Specie Circular requiring gold/silver to buy federal land to slow inflation
July 12	Mob attacks James Birney’s <i>Philanthropist</i> office
October 22	Sam Houston sworn in as Texas Republic president
December 7	Martin Van Buren elected President; House election needed to choose RM Johnson as VP
Year	Anti-Slavery Society chapters spread rapidly across the North
1837	
January 26	Michigan is admitted as the 26 th state, restoring a 13:13 slave to free balance in Senate
February 12	Flour warehouse in NYC stormed by mob protesting high cost of housing and food
February 14	Supreme Court affirms community over corporate interest in <i>Charles River Bridge</i> case
March 1	Jackson pocket vetoes Congressional bill to repeal the Species Circular policy
March 3	Jackson finally recognizes the Republic of Texas on last day in power
March	Cotton prices collapse as concerns about the value of the dollar register globally

The US economy continues to grow nicely throughout Jackson’s time in office, including a sharp upswing in 1835 and 1836. But, underneath this boom period, lies rampant speculation and monetary inflation which is about to usher in a crippling bust cycle to plague his successor.

Key Economic Overview – Jackson’s Terms in Office

	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836
Total GDP (\$000)	930	1022	1052	1129	1158	1219	1340	1479
% Change	4%	10%	3%	7%	3%	5%	10%	10%
Per Capita GDP	74	79	79	83	82	84	90	96

Chapter 99 -- Jackson "Kills" The Second Bank And Pays Off The Federal Debt



Dates:
1833-1834

Sections:

- Jackson Cripples The Second Bank By Withdrawing Federal Funds
- Clay's Censure Of Jackson is Effectively Deflected
- Jackson Finally Pays Off The Federal Debt
- Sidebar: Long-Term Trends On The Federal Debt

Time: September 23, 1833

Jackson Cripples The Second Bank By Withdrawing Federal Funds

With the "Nullification Crisis" in check, Jackson returns to unfinished financial business from his first term.

Like Jefferson, he is every inch a fiscal conservative -- opposed to the burdens and compromises of debt; troubled by "soft money" with its potential for speculation, inflation and unstable dollar values;" and forever suspicious of the Second Bank of the United States.

The Second Bank is established on April 10, 1816 by then President James Madison. It is a private corporation, with 20% of its stock owned by the federal government and the rest largely held by a small group of very wealthy investors. The banks charter calls for it to deposit all funds collected by the federal government and to pay all of its outstanding bills. In addition, it is charged with "regulating the value of dollars in circulation across the US."

This regulatory duty is supposed to be accomplished by making loans of federal money to cash strapped state banks -- who can prove they have the proper amount of gold/silver in their vaults to deserve the loans.

Unfortunately the Second Bank, under its initial president, William Jones, proves to be a miserable failure when it comes to protecting the dollar. In pursuit of profits for its own private investors, it prints and loans out a flood of banknotes not properly backed by gold/silver -- to support the forecasted boom cycle following the end of the Napoleonic War. When the boom fails to materialize, the regulatory failures of the Second Bank lead on to the financial panic of 1819.

By 1823, savvy Second Bank investors like John Jacob Astor and Stephen Girard, convince Monroe to put Nicholas Biddle in charge, and a major turn-around in operations and results materializes by the time Jackson is first elected. Biddle makes many attempts to convince the President to look favorably upon the revitalized bank.

But Jackson will have none of this.

He is convinced that the bankers use the "monopoly status granted by the public" to enrich themselves and, possibly, even "foreign interests." Also that this great wealth in the hands of a very wealthy few will

translate into the power to corrupt the democratic process – in effect, to buy congressmen and votes. And, given the Second Bank’s roots in the East, he is forever certain that it operates on behalf of New England over the southern and western states.

He repeatedly refers to the Second Bank of the United States as “The Monster” and sets his sights on “killing it before it kills me.”

In his December 1829 address to congress he questions whether, in spite of the 1819 *McCulloch v Maryland* Supreme Court ruling, whether it is really constitutional for the federal government to charter a federal bank. As the hard-core state’s rights Virginian Senator John Taylor said a generation earlier:

If Congress could incorporate a bank, it might emancipate a slave.

Congressional supporters of the Second Bank, notably Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, make its fate into an issue in the 1832 race for the presidency – and even pass a bill to immediately renew its corporate charter, four years before it is set to expire. Jackson vetoes this attempt, while asking contemptuously:

Is there no danger to our liberty and independence in a Bank that in its nature has so little to bind it to our country?

With the election won, closing the Second Bank almost becomes an obsession with the President.

To administer the coup de gras he decides to announce that federal funds will no longer be deposited with the Second Bank, but instead be distributed across various state banks.

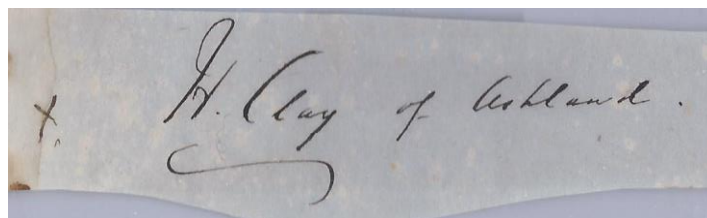
He asks his own Treasury Secretary, William Duane, to make the announcement, but Duane refuses to comply.

After waiting four months, Jackson fires Duane, replaces him with Roger Taney, and issues the executive order himself, on September 23, 1833.

The order ends all prospects for a re-charter and sends Biddle on a crash mission to protect investors in the Second Bank. Cash on hand at the bank is cut in half within a few months, and to replenish the losses, Biddle “calls in” many outstanding loans, prompting a panic among borrowers, and an effective freeze on making new loans across the country.

Time: March 28, 1834

Clay’s Censure Of Jackson Is Effectively Deflected



Signature of Henry Clay of Ashland

Jackson’s critics are apoplectic in the face of his unilateral executive action against the Second Bank. For Henry Clay, the federal bank is a necessary element in his “American System” plan to fund infrastructure projects, especially roads and canals that cut across state lines.

He argues that, in refusing to sign the bill to re-charter the bank, Jackson has ignored the will of the people and placed the Executive branch above the Legislature.

Clay persuades the Senate on March 28, 1834 to pass a bill of censure against Jackson for “assuming upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both.”

But once again Jackson outmaneuvers Clay. He lobbies for support in the House, and on April 4 wins approval for all of his actions in closing the Second Bank.

After the Democrats win the 1836 election, the new congress also expunges Clay’s censure – closing the chapter on the political controversy.

“King Andrew” has successfully killed the Second Bank for good.

The United States will not see another central bank materialize until 1913, with passage of the Federal Reserve Act, in response to the panic of 1907.

Time: 1835

Jackson Finally Pays Off The Federal Debt



United States Treasury Building

With the Second Bank defeated, the ex-military General serving as President continues his assault on conquering the federal debt.

As in all things, he proves relentless – and in 1835 and 1836 he reaches his goal.

History will show that it is a record event, never to be matched again by any future President or Congress!

History Of Federal Debt

Year	\$ (000)	President
1825	83,788	JQ Adams
1829	58,421	Jackson
1830	48,565	Jackson
1831	39,123	Jackson
1832	24,322	Jackson
1833	7,002	Jackson
1834	4,760	Jackson
1835	34	Jackson
1836	38	Jackson
1837	337	Van Buren



Time: 1790-1865

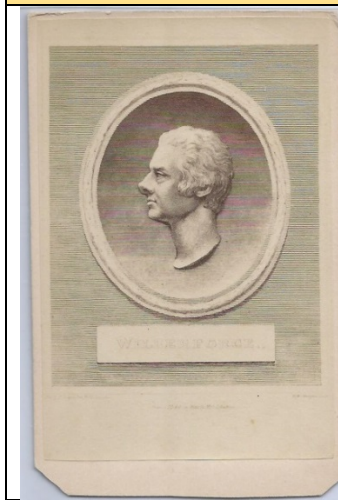
Sidebar: Long-Term Trends On The Federal Debt

Once Jackson exits, the march of the federal debt resumes – reaching heretofore unimaginable levels by the end of the Civil War, despite Abraham Lincoln’s imposition of the first personal income tax in August 1861.

History Of Federal Debt

Year	\$ (000)	President
1790	\$71,060	Washington
1795	80,748	Washington
1800	82,976	Adams
1805	82,312	Jefferson
1810	53,173	Jefferson
1815	99,834	Madison
1820	91,016	Madison
1825	83,788	JQ Adams
1830	48,565	Jackson
1835	34	Jackson
1840	3,573	Van Buren
1845	15,925	Tyler
1850	63,453	Taylor
1855	35,587	Pierce
1860	64,842	Buchanan
1865	2,680,648	Lincoln

Chapter 100 -- Britain Abolishes Slavery



Dates:
1833

Sections:

- The Great Emancipation Act Of 1833 In Great Britain

Time: July 1833

The Great Emancipation Act Of 1833 In Great Britain



Charles Grey (1764-1845)

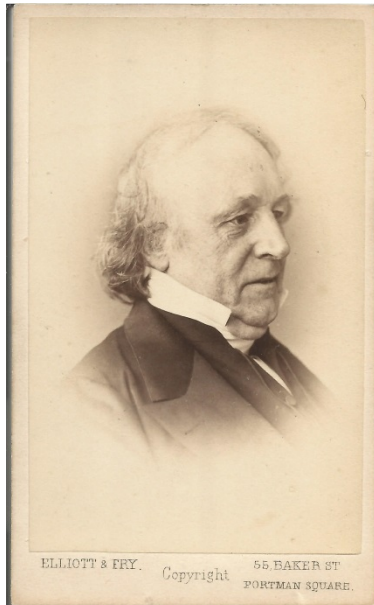
In July of 1833, the nascent anti-slavery movement in America is given momentum by passage in Britain of The Great Emancipation Act.

Britain's move away from slavery spans roughly a sixty year period – beginning in 1772 with a King's Bench ruling in *Somerset v Stewart* that “chattel slavery was unsupported in English Common Law,” at least in England and Wales.

From there the abolition cause is taken up by William Wilberforce, born in 1759, the son of a wealthy merchant, who parties his way through Cambridge University before entering beginning a 45 year career in Parliament in 1780.

Wilberforce is the archetypal “good fellow well met” in his early youth, but then appears to undergo a spiritual conversion around 1785 while touring Europe with a friend. He starts reading the Bible on a daily basis, reflects on the excesses of his life to date, and seeks spiritual guidance from John Newton, an Evangelical minister in the Anglican Church. Newton counsels him to remain in Parliament, but devote himself to promoting Christian causes.

In 1787 Wilberforce bands together with Thomas Clarkson, who has studied for the Anglican ministry, and written essays opposing slavery before becoming a founder of the “Society for Effecting The Abolition of the Slave Trade.”

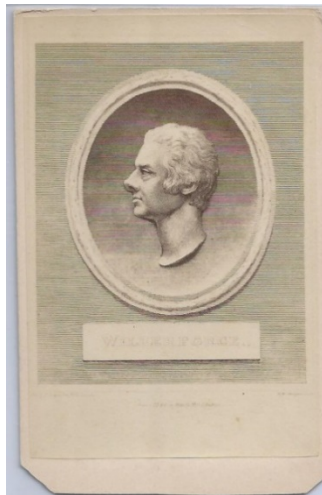


Rev. Thomas Binney (1797-1874)

Wilberforce and Clarkson, together with Congregationalist minister Dr. Thomas Binney, brings their first anti-slavery bills to Parliament in 1791, and these lead to the end of slave trading in 1807.

But the move to full emancipation takes 30 more years, as opponents argue that Africans are sub-human and actually benefit from their bondage – a view repeated in antebellum America.

After the 1830 fall of Wellington’s Tory government, the Whigs take power and resume the push for emancipation. Leading the cause are the Prime Minister, Charles Grey, and Henry Brougham, his Lord Chancellor.



William Wilberforce (1759-1833)

Acceptance of the final 1833 Act comes after a petition with 187,000 names is submitted by the Ladies Anti-Slavery Society. This influence of women’s groups on abolition (and its first cousin, suffrage) will be repeated in the U.S.

Consistent with British practice, the bill becomes law after the third reading on the floor of Parliament, which occurs on July 26, 1833 – two days after the death of William Wilberforce.

The 1833 Act ends slavery in all British territories with the exception of Ceylon, the Island of St. Helena and provinces controlled by the East India Company (mainly the Indian sub-continent).

Slave-holders are compensated for the emancipation through a special fund of 20 million pounds sterling, an amount that represents almost 40% of the Crown’s annual budget. The actual amount paid out per slave appears to vary widely, but the average may have been around 50 pounds, the equivalent of about \$250. Records show that many of the elite families of England are recipients of these pay-outs.



Britain's abolition of slavery follows on the heels of Canada (1804), Spain (1811) and Mexico (1829). France will follow suit in 1848.

Henry Brougham (1788-1878)