

## Chapter 51 - A Second Great Religious Awakening Sweeps Across America

Time: 1820-1840

### A Finally Secure Nation Looks Inward For Guidance

The Monroe and Adams presidencies mark the first time in American history where the nation feels genuinely secure about its ability to withstand threats of war and invasion from abroad. The British have been twice beaten, and the specter of Napoleon is also gone. At long last, fortress America is safe.

What follows from this is a remarkable period of reflection, which takes hold of the public conscience between 1820 and 1840. It resurrects the deeply religious origins of the early colonial period and causes common men and women to step back from their daily toil and examine progress made toward the visions announced by their ancestors – namely, the creation of a virtuous society, the “shining city on a hill,” and their own personal efforts to achieve personal salvation.

The result is a “moral reawakening” that harkens back to the colonist’s original flight from England -- and eventually lead to an Evangelical movements that will gradually reform the contemporary social fabric.

To a large extent, the 17<sup>th</sup> century voyagers to America were Protestant religious zealots, “puritans” of one form or another, seeking to escape the “corruptions” they associated with the established Anglican Church, and find their own path to righteousness and eternal life.

In the First Great Awakening of the 1730’s their quest leads to the formation of a wide range of new sects – Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists – joining the already established Puritan, Anglican, Quaker and Baptist churches. During the Enlightenment period, non-traditional Deists (“a religion of reason”) appear, along with small pockets of immigrant Catholics and Jews.

But still America remains as congenitally restless over its churches as it is over its government.

Much of the ongoing religious inquiry originates within the walls of America’s early universities and seminaries, whose prospective ministers engage in lively theological debates.

#### American Universities Founded By Churches

Name	Year	Church Affiliation
Harvard	1636	Congregationalist
William & Mary	1693	Church of England
Yale	1701	Congregationalist
Princeton	1746	Presbyterian
Columbia	1754	Church of England

Penn	1757	Anglican/Methodists
Brown	1764	Baptist
Rutgers	1766	Dutch Reformed
Dartmouth	1769	Congregationalist

Some of these relate to matters of liturgy and doctrine; some question the authority of a clerical hierarchy to set rules for their laymen; others seek to fundamentally alter the ways in which preachers interact with their congregations in the search for redemption and salvation.

Taken together they lead on to a Second Great Religious Awakening which sweeps across America between 1820 and 1840.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

### An Evangelical Spirit Takes Root



The Lord's Prayer and Other Religious Admonitions

The Second Great Awakening mirrors the fervency brought to bear by the great Puritan preacher, Jonathan Edwards. It sounds an Evangelical message that will henceforth become a part of America's religious landscape:

*The good news promise of eternal salvation for sinners who adopt Jesus Christ as their savior.*

In tenor, this awakening is much “gentler” than its predecessor. It shifts away from the harsh determinism of Calvin, where each man is “elected by God” at birth to be saved or damned, and nothing they can do will alter their destiny. Instead it embraces the “Arminian” conviction – proposed by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Dutch Reformed theologian Jacob Arminius – that every man can be saved by exercising his own “free will” to live in accord with the virtues set out by Jesus Christ.

This new message is delivered less from the elevated pulpit in solemn church services than in open air tent meetings where Evangelical ministers can wander among the masses and lay their hands on those coming forth to join the crusade.

The Word to be shared at these “revivalist events” comes directly from “the good book” – the King James Bible – which is to be read by each person and interpreted into a personal agenda that will lead on to salvation.

These individual agendas become “causes” – and, as such, they take on great meaning for those making their commitments. As in the Biblical book of John 12;27:

*But for this cause, came I, unto this hour.*

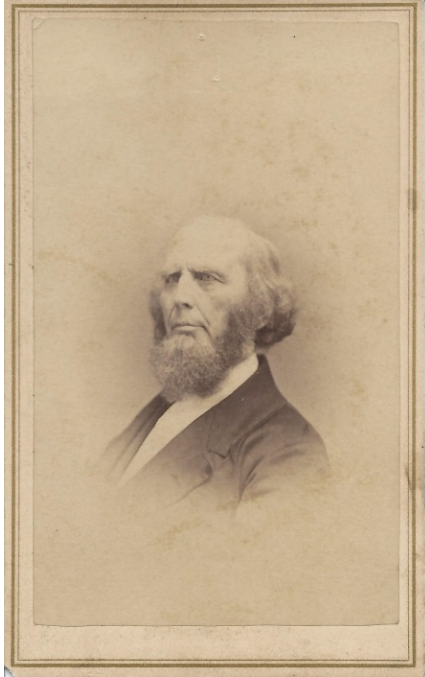
The central unifying cause within the Second Awakening movement lies in creating a more virtuous society for the benefit of all citizens.

In helping to save others, the Evangelicals believe they are saving themselves.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1825 Forward

## The Awakening Is Led By The Preacher, Charles Grandison Finney



Reverend Charles Finney (1792-1875)

Of all the clergymen who propel the Second Awakening none has greater influence than the Reverend Charles Grandison Finney.

Finney is born into a farming family in Warren, Connecticut, in 1792, the youngest of 15 children. As a youth he dabbles in various academic interests before deciding to apprentice as a lawyer. He is engaged in the profession in 1821, when he happens to attend a religious revival meeting in the town of Adams, New York – and undergoes a spiritual transformation.

*The Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, going through and through me. Indeed it seemed to come in waves of liquid love, for I could not express it in any other way. It seemed like the very breath of God. I can remember distinctly that it seemed to fan me, like immense wings. No words can express the wonderful love that was spread abroad in my heart.*

Finney has found his calling, and he signs on as an apprentice to George Gale, a Presbyterian minister, who tries, unsuccessfully, to have him enroll in a theological seminary. Despite resistance to formal training, he is finally ordained in 1824, and sets off to spread the word of God, beginning in the Oneida county region of central New York State around the towns of Utica, Rome and Syracuse.

What distinguishes Finney from other clergymen is his “preaching style.”

At 6’3” tall and with piercing eyes, he stands in front of his audience and speaks to them in plain terms.

He is not interested in expounding on the intellectual intricacies of church doctrine – rather on seeking immediate converts to Christ among those in his presence. He does so by offering them a choice.

On one hand, to continue living as a sinner in the City of Man, and facing the eternal fire and brimstone punishments decreed by the traditional Calvinists. On the other, to cross over to the Kingdom of God and a future of virtuous behavior and eternal salvation and joy.

Furthermore he assures them that the power to choose lies entirely in their hands.

“Election” is not pre-determined. It is open to all who embrace the “indwelling spirit” of Christ that lives inside each of them. All they need to do is step forward right now to make their commitment to be saved.

After several days of near continuous preaching, a groundswell of emotion – often marked by apparent trances, swoons and convulsions -- dominates these revival meetings. All leading to the denouement, the moment of conversion, with Finney calling out attendees by name, one after another, and asking them to come forward to declare their rebirth in Christ.

In another break with precedent, his call extends to women – whose role in church and social matters has been one of silence and conformity. Instead he asks women to speak up, to share their beliefs and feelings, to become full participants in the cause. Over time, the “voice of women” he encourages will play a vital role in a host of social reforms in America.

As the legions of Finney converts grows, both his theological tenets and his “preaching style” are questioned by the orthodox Protestant clergy of New England, most notably Lyman Beecher, the Yale-educated minister who favors the traditional Calvinist brand of Presbyterianism..

But Finney survives the challenges and expands his reach eastward into Wilmington, New York city, Philadelphia and, most notably, Rochester – where his revival meetings would shut down the entire town. Even Beecher is amazed. He concludes that the summer meetings of 1831 in Rochester are:

*The greatest work of God, and the greatest revival of religion, that the world has ever seen in so short a time.*

Other clergymen liken Finney’s effects to a religious prairie fire, and, after he departs the towns of western New York state, they are forever known as the “burnt over district,” signaling no souls left to be saved.

In 1835 Finney moves his home base to the recently founded Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio, where, over the next 40 years, he builds the school into a beacon of light in support of “perfecting” man and society. During his first year, he convinces Oberlin to become the first college in the U.S. to admit blacks. He serves as President of the college from 1851 to 1866 and remains active there until his death in 1875.



Oberlin College, Ohio, where the Reverend Finney served from 1835 to 1866.

Finney's legacy, however, goes far beyond revival meetings and Oberlin College to the reform works carried out by his converts. As was the case with the Methodists Wesley and Whitehurst in the 1730's, Finney's intent is to encourage those reborn in Christ to undertake personal missions – in support of temperance, caring for the poor, prison reforms, child labor laws, equal treatment for women, and ending slavery in America.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820 Forward

### Unitarians Join The Call For Social Reform



William Ellery Channing (1780-1842)

Others catch the revivalist spirit prompting a host of uniquely American religious movements, some founded by clerics and others by laypeople, to spring up.

One that flourishes over time is the Unitarian Church.

The Church traces its roots to various Enlightenment thinkers in mid-16<sup>th</sup> century England and eastern Europe who dissent from fundamental tenets of both the Catholic and the Protestant churches.

Their most dramatic dissent focuses on the very “nature of God” – arguing that He is “one indivisible entity” rather than the three-person construct of the Trinity. In turn, Jesus Christ becomes a symbol for them of a life of perfect virtue to which all men should aspire – but not of “divinity itself,” as taught in traditional Christianity.

This belief in the unity of God gives the church its name.

The epicenter of the Unitarian movement in America becomes King's Chapel Church in Boston where, in 1785, the Episcopalian minister, James Freeman, begins to preach some of its core beliefs, adopted during his study at Harvard Divinity school.

It is not, however, until 1819 that another Harvard graduate, William Ellery Channing, fully codifies the Unitarian canon.

It rejects the Calvinist notions of original sin and pre-destination of the elect in favor of an Arminian-like insistence on free will, and the potential for salvation of all who lead a life of virtue, like Christ. (Although one branch, the Universalists, posit that an infinitely merciful deity will forgive and save all, in the end.)

Channing's formulations also insist that, despite any differences, all men are creatures of God and, as such, deserve to be treated in a fair and equal fashion – marked by a sense of dignity and compassion.

The Unitarian's message is met by mixed reactions. Traditional Christians regard the view of Jesus as a prophet rather than a divinity as heretical. But others, more drawn to Enlightenment and Deist thought, embrace its emphasis on free will and the idea that good works open a path to salvation for every man.

One early convert to Unitarianism is none other than John Quincy Adams, who joins the church in 1826 after growing up within the stern tenets of Calvinism, and embraces his mission to end slavery in America.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-Forward

## The Transcendentalists Preach Simplification



Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)

Transcendentalism is another movement that springs up at Harvard Divinity School during the 1820's and 1830's in conjunction with debates surrounding Unitarianism.

Both philosophies share a conviction that man is inherently good and is capable of attaining salvation through exercising reason and free will on behalf of social progress.

Transcendentalists emphasize two other beliefs.

One is that the natural world serves as a powerful symbol of God's hand in the universe, and an inspiration to man to return to the simplicity and purity it offers.

If the Unitarians rely mainly on the intellect to guide its followers, the Transcendentalists find inspiration in the beauty, tranquility and lessons found in the great outdoors. For them, nature "transcends" the limited works of man, especially in the often debased realms of politics and organized religion, and also in the trend toward materialism and greed.



Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862)

The other Transcendentalist theme focuses on the unlimited potential of individual men and women to reshape their lives and their societies.

These messages will be developed over time by two leaders of the Transcendentalist movement, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau.

Emerson is the intellectual, at home within the social milieu of Harvard and Cambridge, eager to debate and lobby for his views. Thoreau is the rebel, inclined to lengthy retreats into the woods at Walden Pond to gain perspective on life, and ever ready for personal acts of "passive defiance" against government actions that violate his sense of justice.



Thoreau's consistent mantra – “simplify, simplify” – argues that salvation lies in a return to the enduring values found in nature: astonishing beauty, balance and tranquility, away from the vexations and distractions inherent in modern society.

Emerson's messages are two-fold. First he rails against what he sees as America's growing focus on securing possessions (“things”) in this world rather than eternal salvation in the next.

*Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.*

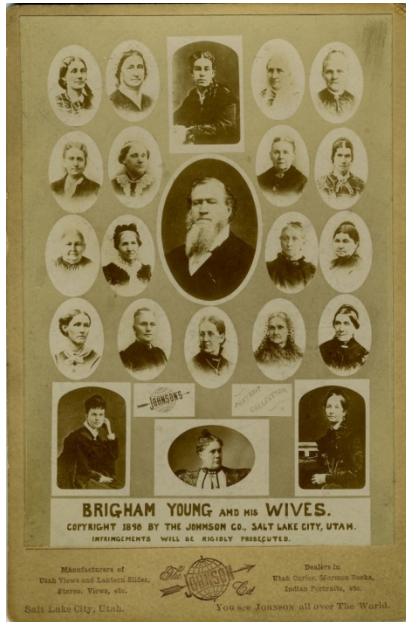
Second, he challenges every man to live up to the amazing potential that lies within.

*We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds... A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men. So shall we come to look at the world with new eyes. It shall answer the endless inquiry of the intellect, — What is truth? and of the affections, — What is good? by yielding itself passive to the educated... Will. ...Build, therefore, your own world. As fast as you conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions. A correspondent revolution in things will attend the influx of the spirit.*

## Chapter 52 - The Awakening Prompts New Religious Movements

Time: 1820's 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 exultation (“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.

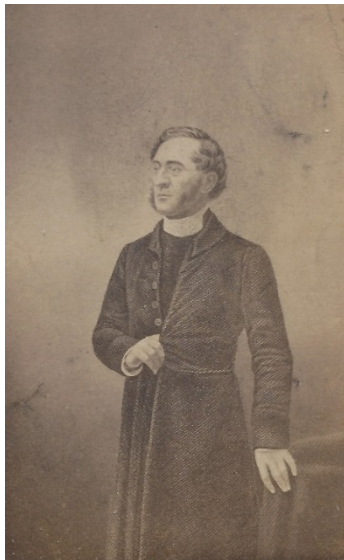
And it burgeons, driven from a co-operative economic approach, aggressive missionary work (home and abroad), and plural marriage, which supports rapid population growth. At long last the Mormons have found their lasting home.

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: 1820’s 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.

Its 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’s 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 53 - Political Party Restructuring Precedes The 1828 Election

Time: 1828 Forward

### **The Old Democratic-Republicans Morph Into “Jackson Democrats” And Opposition “Whigs”**

As the 1828 election approaches, the fault lines within the old Democratic-Republican Party are being resolved in the creation of the “Second Party System.”

JQ Adams still operates under the “National Republican” banner, but he adopts Clay’s “America System” platform which will soon become the basis for the “Whig Party.” Meanwhile the “anti-Adams” men eagerly sign up as “Jackson Democrats.”

The two candidates in 1828 are never in doubt.

Jackson remains hell bent on revenging his prior loss -- and with help from Martin Van Buren, he has already taken over firm control over the internal workings of the party.

While Adams remains forever the determined child of his domineering parents, and decides to seek a second term, despite the frustrations suffered in the first. His most committed supporter in the race will be Henry Clay, who is dead set on becoming his successor.

As a wizened political strategist, Clay immediately recognizes that Adams is vulnerable – and that he must an Anti-Jackson Party to win.

In time this becomes the “Whig Party” – named after the English movement who began to oppose the absolute monarchy in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The roots of this new party do in fact 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 prove 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.

Jackson is a states’ rights believer to the core, while Adams 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 abandons Adams to run with Jackson, while Treasury Secretary Richard Rush joins the President..

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

### **The Race Is Marred By Mudslinging And With Dire Results**

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 1993, 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.

By that time civil discourse between the two parties has given way to outright mudslinging.

## Chapter 54 - Andrew Jackson's First Term

Time: 1828 Forward

### The Popular Vote Count Becomes The Determinate Of Electability

The election in 1828 is often regarded as the first truly “democratic” exercise in the nation’s history.

It takes place between October 26 and December 2, 1828, and witnesses a profound jump in turn-out, the result of fewer restrictions on voting rights.

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.” But in 1828, many states drop the requirement to own property.

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

### 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.

From this point on, 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.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Sidebar: Suffrage Milestones In America

By 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 13<sup>th</sup>, outlawing slavery, the 14<sup>th</sup>, granting citizenship to non-whites and the 15<sup>th</sup>, 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 15<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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: October – December 1828

### Jackson Beats JQ Adams In Convincing Fashion

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

#### Results Of The 1828 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	% Tot
Andrew Jackson	Tn	Democrat	642,553	56%
John Quincy Adams	MA	National Republican	500,897	44
Unpledged			4,568	0
Total			1,148,018	100%

In the Electoral College, the General wins, 178 to 83, sweeping the “emerging western states” by a 65-0 margin and taking the “slave states” by 105-9 – while losing only in Delaware and splitting Maryland.

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**

	<b>Slavery Allowed (12)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (12)</b>
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**

<b>South</b>	<b>1824</b>	<b>1828</b>	<b>Pick Ups</b>
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**

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

The loser, 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 in 1831.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1767-1845

**President Andrew Jackson: Personal Profile**



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

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.

\*\*\*\*\*

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.*



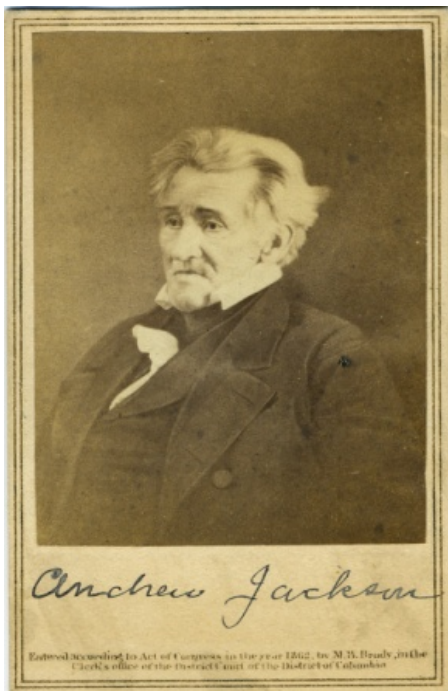
After the official ceremony, the White House is thrown open to all comers, with bands playing, hard liquor flowing, and food aplenty, including a 1400 lb. cheese sent by an admirer. Jackson is swarmed over by admirers, and finally has to depart to a nearby hotel for his own safety.

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

<b>1828</b>	
December	Calhoun attacks the 1828 tariff in his “South Carolina Exposition and Protest” plea
<b>1829</b>	
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
<b>1830</b>	
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
<b>1831</b>	
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
<b>1832</b>	
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**

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

## Chapter 55 - John Calhoun Tries To “Nullify” Federal Authority

Time: 1828

### Jackson’s Machiavellian VP Sparks The Nullification Crisis

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 torpedoed 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 JQ Adams, 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 settles 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 *McCulloch 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 56 - Black Abolitionist David Walker Cries Out For Justice

Time: 1796-1830

### David Walker Profile



A Later Day Free Black Man

While the South is contesting the 1828 Tariff, it receives another 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 Americans.

In 1829 he does something extraordinary for the times.

He writes and then self-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 extend beyond the more restrained efforts made by Boston’s black churches and Prince Hall’s Freemason lodges.

They are riveting, both logical and emotional, ranging from despair to hope, from helplessness to mounting fury to bloody resolve.

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

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: September 1829

## Appeal To The Colored Citizens Of The World

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 Among White Readers**

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 57 - The White Abolitionist Movement Finds Its Ongoing Leaders

Time: Late 1820's

### The “Second Awakening” Sparks The Abolition Movement In New York



Oneida Colony Presbyterian Church

As the “Second Awakening” 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, squash 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: Late 1820's

## William Lloyd Garrison Emerges As The Nation's Leading Spokesperson



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.

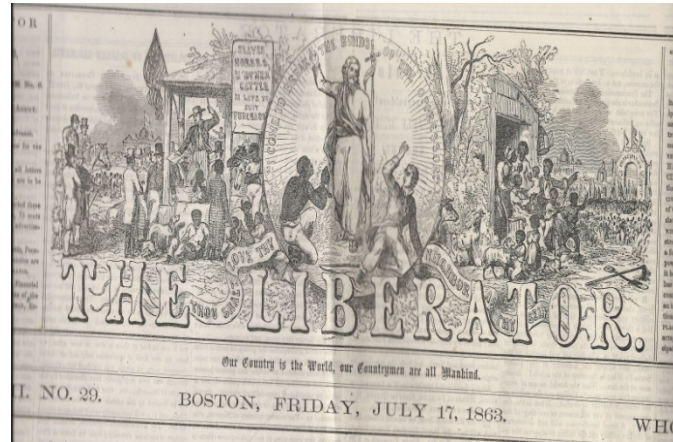
It will be to eradicate slavery now. After hearing Lundy's pleas, his response is immediate:

*My soul was set on fire then.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: January 1, 1831 – December 29, 1865

## 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 4<sup>th</sup> 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 as 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 13<sup>th</sup> 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 58 - A Famous “Value Of The Union” Senate Debate Touches On The States’ Rights To Slavery

January 18-19, 1830

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

The sectional flare-up over “nullifying” the Tariff re-opens the debate in Congress over the power of the federal government vis a vis the “sovereign” states.

This expands just after Christmas of 1829, when a Connecticut Senator, Samuel Foot, introduces a bill calling for Congress 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. He is an ally of John C. Calhoun, a bitter critic of the 1828 Tariff, and a particularly articulate and outspoken supporter of the states’ rights 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 on any topic 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 The Implications Of Foot's Bill**

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 “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.

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 anything 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 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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.”

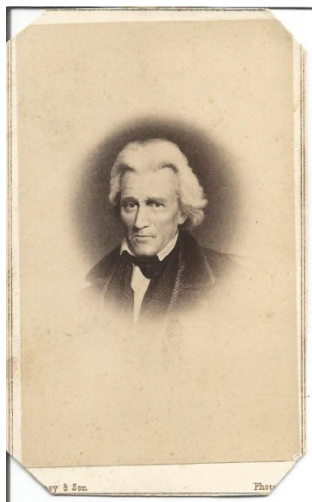
Webster makes it clear that all attempts by the South to “nullify” federal laws will fail.

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

## Chapter 59 - Jackson Splits With Calhoun And Sacks His Entire Cabinet

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.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1829-31

### **The Political Infighting Is Intensified By “The Petticoat Affair”**

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:

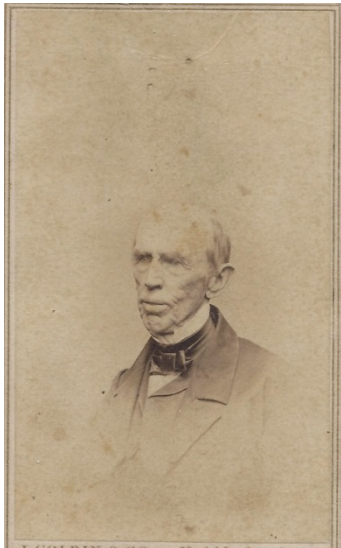
*I would rather have live vermin on my back than the tongue of one of these Washington women on my reputation.*

Early in 1831 he decides to act.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Time: August 31, 1831**

### **Jackson Breaks With Calhoun And Sacks His 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 Marshall 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.

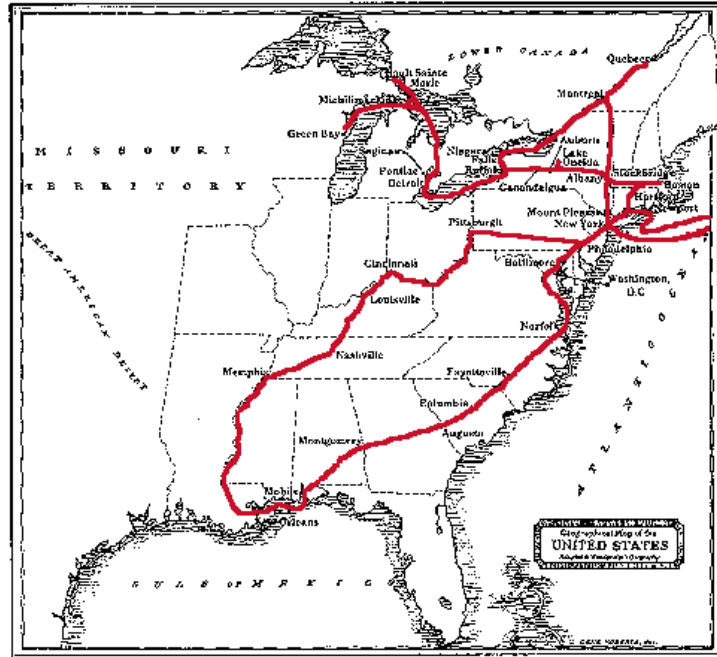
### Jackson’s “Kitchen Cabinet” Of Informal Advisors

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 60 - The French Visitor Alexis de Tocqueville Analyzes The American Spirit And The Regional Tensions Around Slavery

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***

<b>Volume 1 (1834)</b>
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

## The Frenchman 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 3/5<sup>th</sup> 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 61 - Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion Terrorizes The South And Prompts Savage Retribution

Time: August 21, 1831

### Nat Turner's Rebellion

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 covering 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.

The 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.”

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1831 Forward

### Anti-Black Racism Is Heightened By Turner’s Rampage



The Whipped Slave, Gordon

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.

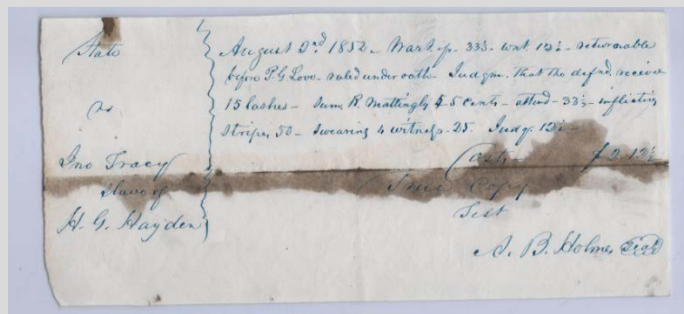
Known white abolitionists face angry neighbors. For it is one thing to feel empathy for the slave – but quite another to agitate to set them free to roam the American landscape at will.

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 2<sup>nd</sup> 1852 --- Maryland 33 & 1/3<sup>rd</sup> 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 ½ cents to the Judge

## Chapter 62 - More Tribal Land Evictions Triggers The Blackhawk War

Time: March 18, 1831

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



Indian Villages Dot the Eastern Landscape Before Removal Begins

Ever since the end of the Revolutionary War, settlers crossing the Appalachians into land forfeited by Britain have encountered resistance from Native American tribes defending their homelands.

Between 1791 and 1794, U.S. troops are deployed to Ohio and Indiana to defeat the Shawnees.

Then hostility is turned up during the War of 1812 as the Shawnees, Miami and other tribes band with the British in hopes of ending the U.S. intrusions. Several landmark battles follow, along with growing public animosity toward the tribes. In 1811 General William Henry Harrison defeats a tribal confederation in Indiana at Tippecanoe, and in 1813 the rebel Chief Tecumseh is killed along the Canadian border.

General Andrew Jackson then crushes the Red Stick Creeks in 1814 at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama, and in 1818 attempts to drive the Seminoles out of Florida with mixed results.

But various one-sided treaties follow the major tribal defeats with sizable chunks of territory ceded to the U.S. victors.

Thus by the time Jackson becomes President, the wheels have already been set in motion to allow white settlers to usurp the homelands of the eastern Indian tribes.

Momentum picks up here on December 28, 1828, when the Georgia legislature passes a law transferring ownership of all Cherokee territory to the state.

In May 1830, an Indian Removal Act barely passes the U.S. 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.

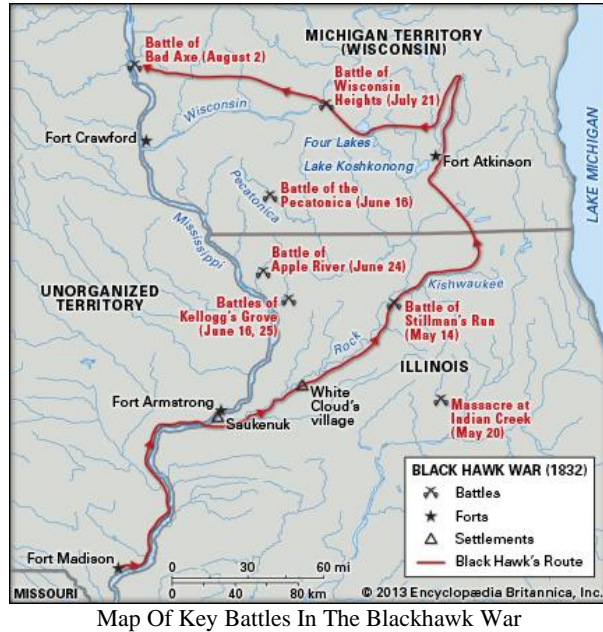
Their political identity also disappears in the process, and their status, as Marshall puts it, becomes that of “a ward to its guardian.”

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



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 31<sup>st</sup> 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 63 - Jackson Begins His Assault On The Banking And Monetary Systems

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**

<b>Year</b>	<b>\$ (000)</b>	<b>President</b>
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 breeched, 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 64 - Jackson Ends The Nullification Threat From South Carolina

Time: November 18-24, 1832

### The South Carolina Legislature Declares The Federal Tariffs Null And Void



John C. Calhoun (1782-1850)

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.

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

#### U.S. Tariff Rates

Years	1820	1825	1830
Rate	20.2%	22.3%	35.0%
Ch Vs Prior		+10%	+57%

The increases have little 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.

#### Cotton Production

Years	1820	1825	1830
Lbs. (MM)	141.5	228.7	306.8
Ch Vs Prior		+62%	+34%

But they do depress the prices the South is able to charge for their output.

Cotton Prices Realized

Years	1820	1825	1830
Price/?	\$16.58	\$14.36	\$9.68
Ch Vs Prior		(13%)	(33%)

And they do bring growth in the total value of the cotton crop to a halt as of 1830.

Value Of The Cotton Crop

Years	1820		1825	1830
Value (MM)	\$235		\$309	\$297
Ch Vs Prior			+31%	(4%)

As of 1830 then, the value of the cotton crop – at \$297 million – is a little over half that of the value placed on the South’s slave population.

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

The convention is dominated by what will become known as the “fire-eaters” and it passes a bill stating 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

Since 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 1832 – 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 brinkmanship 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**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Tariff Rate</b>	<b>Tariff \$</b>	<b>Total U.S. Spending</b>	<b>% From Tariff</b>
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 65 - Four Parties Vie For The Presidency In 1832

Time: January 1831

### Jackson Announces His Run For A Second Term

Despite his promise to serve for one term only, Jackson changes his mind, and in January 1831 the *Washington Globe* – his official newspaper organ edited by Francis Preston Blair – announces 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 from three different political parties 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: 1832

### Henry Clay Becomes The First “Whig Party” Candidate

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

Clay remains appalled by 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.

Since Adams’ defeat in 1828, he has established his new “Whig Party” based on the principles laid out in his “American System.”

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’s blueprint call 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

Unfortunately for Clay, his ideas come at a time when most Americans are pleased with economic results under Jackson.

\*\*\*\*\*

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: September 1830

### 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 40<sup>th</sup> 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



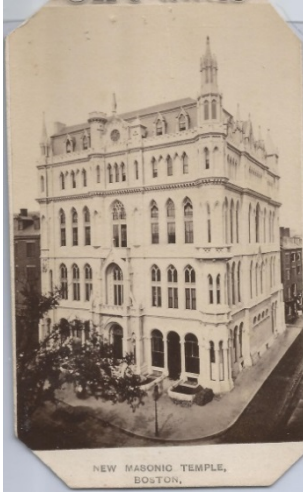
Brother Andrew Jackson in the Front Row

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 66 - Andrew Jackson's Second Term

Time: November – December 1832

### Jackson Wins The Election Of 1832

Based on the 1830 Census, the Electoral College map show sizable gains for the Western states and for those where slavery is banned.

The election is again held from November to December 1832 and the turn-out is up 12% over 1828 to nearly 1.3 million voters.

#### 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

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 – and he

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

Clay’s National Republicans 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.\***

	<b>Slavery Allowed (12)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (12)</b>	<b>AJ Total</b>
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%)
<b>AJ Total</b>	<b>87 (73%)</b>	<b>152 (92%)</b>	<b>219 (77%)</b>

\*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**

<b>U.S. House</b>	<b>1823-25</b>	<b>1825-27</b>	<b>1827-29</b>	<b>1829-31</b>	<b>1831-33</b>	<b>1833-35</b>
Total Seats	213	213	213	213	213	240
Democrats	89%	49%	53%	64%	59%	60%
Opposition	11	51	47	36	41	40
<b>U.S. Senate</b>						
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.

\*\*\*\*\*

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.

While the immediate turmoil over the Tariff nullification threat from South Carolina has dampened by Jackson's threat of force and a rate compromise, that topic along with the future of the Union are on the President's mind as he delivers his Inaugural Address.

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**

<b>President</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Words</b>
<b>George Washington</b>	April 30, 1789	<b>1431</b>
	March 4, 1793	<b>135</b>
<b>John Adams</b>	March 4, 1797	<b>2321</b>
<b>Thomas Jefferson</b>	March 4, 1801	<b>1730</b>
	March 4, 1803	<b>2166</b>
<b>James Madison</b>	March 4, 1809	<b>1177</b>
	March 4, 1813	<b>1211</b>
<b>James Monroe</b>	March 4, 1817	<b>3375</b>
	March 4, 1821	<b>4472</b>
<b>John Quincy Adams</b>	March 4, 1825	<b>2915</b>
<b>Andrew Jackson</b>	March 4, 1829	<b>1128</b>
	March 4, 1833	<b>1176</b>
<b>Martin van Buren</b>	March 4, 1837	<b>3843</b>
<b>William Henry Harrison</b>	March 4, 1841	<b>8460</b>
<b>John Tyler</b>	<i>Succeeded following Harrison’s death</i>	
<b>James K. Polk</b>	March 4, 1845	<b>4809</b>
<b>Zachary Taylor</b>	March 5, 1849	<b>1090</b>
<b>Millard Fillmore</b>	<i>Succeeded following Taylor’s death</i>	
<b>Franklin Pierce</b>	March 4, 1853	<b>3336</b>
<b>James Buchanan</b>	March 4, 1857	<b>2831</b>
<b>Abraham Lincoln</b>	March 4, 1861	<b>3637</b>
	March 4, 1865	<b>700</b>

\*\*\*\*\*

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 find state banks printing 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 Bank, 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 moves themselves, memorialized as “The Trail of Tears,” will forever be associated with Jackson’s name.

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 want 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**

<b>1833</b>	
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
<b>1834</b>	
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
<b>1835</b>	
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
<b>1836</b>	
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 <sup>th</sup> 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
<b>1837</b>	
January 26	Michigan is admitted as the 26 <sup>th</sup> 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**

	<b>1829</b>	<b>1830</b>	<b>1831</b>	<b>1832</b>	<b>1833</b>	<b>1834</b>	<b>1835</b>	<b>1836</b>
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 67 - Jackson “Kills” The Second Bank And Pays Off 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.

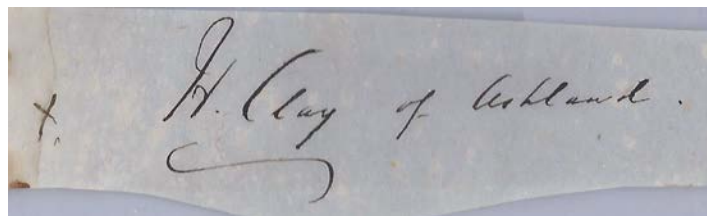
After waiting four months, Jackson fires Duane, replaces him with Roger Taney, and issues the executive order himself, on September 23, 1833.

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 Pays Off The Federal Debt**

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**

<b>Year</b>	<b>\$ (000)</b>	<b>President</b>
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**

<b>Year</b>	<b>\$ (000)</b>	<b>President</b>
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 68 - Britain Abolishes Slavery

Time: 1772-1791

### Opposition To Slavery Gradually Mounts In Britain

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.”

Wilberforce and Clarkson, together with Congregationalist minister Dr. Thomas Binney, bring 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.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: July 26, 1833

### The “Slavery Abolition Act” Passes In Parliament

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.

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.

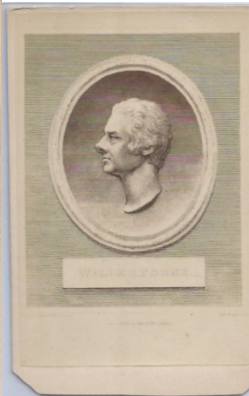
Passage of the 1833 Act becomes a message of hope for the still nascent abolitionist movement in America.



PM Charles Grey  
(1797-1874)



Rev. Thomas Binney  
(1764-1845)



William Wilberforce  
(1759-1833)



Henry Brougham  
(1788-1878)

## Chapter 69 - The American Anti-Slavery Society Is Founded

Time: December 6, 1833

### The Two Abolitionist Wings Join Forces

In the early 1830's, the two heretofore separate wings of the white abolitionist movements – one in Boston led by Lloyd Garrison and the other in New York led by the Theodore Weld and the Tappan brothers – link up to provide more scale and better coordination for the cause.

By December 1833 this pays off in a seminal event – the founding of The American Anti-Slavery Society.

The organization takes shape at a meeting held in Philadelphia on December 6, 1833, and attended by 62 delegates, including 21 Quakers, who are all committed to emancipating the slaves.

Lloyd Garrison drafts a Declaration of Sentiments that lays out the Society's guiding principles. These call for:

- Immediate emancipation of all slaves;
- Refusal to pay compensation to any “man-stealers;”
- Opposition to re-colonization plans;
- Efforts to assimilate blacks into white society; and
- Commitment to achieving these ends peacefully, without violence.

Arthur Tappan becomes the first President of the Society, and its membership comprises many of the early abolitionist leaders – Theodore Weld, Lucretia Mott, Wendell Phillips, Lucy Stone, Arthur Tappan, Abby Foster and others.

The Society provides the centralized organizational infrastructure the Abolitionists need to accomplish three things:

- Proliferate local anti-slavery chapters from New England to the western territories;
- Align the mission and agendas of these chapters with the national priorities; and
- Coordinate local and national initiatives to maximize public and political attention.

Chapters hold regular meetings to hear the latest news from national headquarters and to plan their local campaigns.

The word is spread in a variety of ways.

Public speaking tours feature the Society's leading advocates for abolition addressing crowds gathered in local town halls and at Independence Day picnics. These events eventually include moving testimonials from ex-slaves, and often have a revivalist flair, in search of new converts.

Local newspapers touting abolition rhetoric also begin to spring up, much to the chagrin of citizens who regard the editors as dangerous radicals. While many of these papers are fleeting, a sizable and stable body of writers and publishers backing emancipation will materialize over time.

Once up and running, the national Society sends out agents to recruit local supporters. By 1840 this number will reach 2,000 chapters, with roughly 200,000 members.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Time: 1835 Forward**

**A Courageous Southern Woman Speaks Out Against Slavery**



Among the few Southern whites willing to speak out against slavery is Angelina Grimke.

Angelina and her sister, Sarah, are born into Charleston, South Carolina society, daughters of a wealthy judge and plantation owner. In a world dominated by men and convention, "Nina" Grimke forms and expresses her own opinions, beginning in childhood.

She is drawn to religious study, converts from her Episcopalian roots to the Presbyterian Church, and teaches Sunday school, even to slave children. The more she reads her Bible, the more convinced she becomes that the slavery she witnesses around her conflicts with Christian moral tenets.

In 1829, at 24 years of age, she stands in front of fellow church members and asks them to end their practice of slavery. When they refuse, her outspoken persistence leads to expulsion, first from the church and then from Charleston society. From this point forward she is an outsider in the South.

True to her character, this outcast status only drives her further into the anti-slavery camp. She and Sarah both adopt Quaker tenets and practices and flee to Philadelphia in 1827. Once there, Angelina becomes a founding member of the radical Abolitionist movement, connecting with Lloyd Garrison, and joining the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1835. Her destiny is now set.

She writes a "letter" to Garrison in 1835 which he publishes in *The Liberator* under the title of *An Appeal to the Christian Women of the South*. The letter includes a carefully crafted review of



the history of slavery as outlined in the Bible and its linkage to the American Declaration of Independence.

Its message to the women of the South is clear: those who believe in the teachings of Christ must abandon their support for slavery.

Angelina next trains as an official “lecturer” for the Abolitionist movement and goes on the speaking tour. In 1838 she marries her fellow advocate, Theodore Dwight Weld, and delivers a remarkable testimonial address in Philadelphia, as a hostile mob assaults the hall with stones and cat-calls.

*As a Southerner I feel that it is my duty to stand up here to-night and bear testimony against slavery. I have seen it -- I have seen it. I know it has horrors that can never be described. I was brought up under its wing: I witnessed for many years its demoralizing influences, and its destructiveness to human happiness.*

*Many times have I wept in the land of my birth, over the system of slavery. I knew of none who sympathized in my feelings -- I was unaware that any efforts were made to deliver the oppressed -- no voice in the wilderness was heard calling on the people to repent and do works meant for repentance -- and my heart sickened within me. Oh, how should I have rejoiced to know that such efforts as these were being made. I only wonder that I had such feelings. I wonder when I reflect under what influence I was brought up, that my heart is not harder than the nether millstone. But in the midst of temptation I was preserved, and my sympathy grew warmer, and my hatred of slavery more inveterate, until at last I have exiled myself from my native land because I could no longer endure to hear the wailing of the slave.*

*Many persons go to the South for a season, and are hospitably entertained in the parlor and at the table of the slave-holder. They never enter the huts of the slaves; they know nothing of the dark side of the picture, and they return home with praises on their lips of the generous character of those with whom they had tarried.*

*Nothing but the corrupting influence of slavery on the hearts of the Northern people can induce them to apologize for it; and much will have been done for the destruction of Southern slavery when we have so reformed the North that no one here will be willing to risk his reputation by advocating or even excusing the holding of men as property. The South knows it, and acknowledge that as fast as our principles prevail, the hold of the master must be relaxed.*

*What if the mob (outside) should now burst in upon us, break up our meeting and commit violence upon our persons -- would this be anything compared with what the slaves endure? No, no: and we do not remember them...if we shrink in the time of peril, or feel unwilling to sacrifice ourselves, if need be, for their sake....There is nothing to be feared from those who would stop our mouths, but they themselves should fear and tremble. The current is even now setting fast against them.*

*We may talk of occupying neutral ground, but on this subject... there is no such thing as neutral ground. He that is not for us is against us. If you are on what you suppose to be neutral ground, the South look upon you as on the side of the oppressor.*

*We often hear the question asked, "What shall we do?" Women of Philadelphia! Allow me as a Southern woman with much attachment to the land of my birth, to entreat you to come up to this work. Especially let me urge you to petition. Men may settle this and other questions at the ballot-box, but you have no such right; it is only through petitions that you can reach the Legislature*

*Men who hold the rod over slaves, rule in the councils of the nation: and they deny our right to petition and to remonstrate against abuses of our sex and of our kind. We have these rights, however, from our God. Only let us exercise them*

Angelina Grimke's heroic break with her pro-slavery upbringing in Charleston serves as inspiration for others, especially women, to join the Abolitionist chorus. She herself will live on to 1879 and witness the rewards of her crusade.

## Chapter 70 - Abolitionists Are Met By Attacks In The North And South

Time: As of 1830

### **The Vast Majority Of Northerners Oppose Freeing The Slaves**

The general public in the North is drawn into the slavery issues by a series of events that touch their lives in one way or another: the 1820 controversy over the admission of Missouri; the week-long Second Awakening revivalist meetings held in their towns; news of the Nat Turner rebellion in Virginia; and the infrequent, but vocal calls to end slavery appearing in abolitionist newspapers and town hall meetings.

The vast majority have already made up their minds, based on generations of stereotypical prejudices.

Those least sympathetic to those enslaved regard blacks as a different and inferior species, incapable of advancement, and ready to seek violent revenge against whites if given the chance.

A second group, much smaller, exhibit a mixture of guilt and empathy toward the slaves. They feel it was wrong to bring the Africans to America in the first place and that, while they are by no means “equal” to whites, their continued enslavement is inconsistent with the nation’s commitment to freedom for all.

Even so they cannot imagine simply freeing them. The result they see would be a mass exodus to the North followed not by assimilation, but by increases in poverty, crime, and violence, lower wages for white workers, and even inter-marriages and racial pollution.

For both groups, the demand is for “containment” – segregating and controlling local blacks in the North and opposing any actions that would allow them to spread beyond the South.

In addition, they also share a growing resentment toward the Southern “Slavocracy” for failing to resolve an issue that is dividing the nation.

Finally, a third group of Northern whites, even more limited in number, convert their empathy with the slaves into a willingness to voice their opposition. Some join an Anti-Slavery Chapter, while others become “radical Abolitionists.”

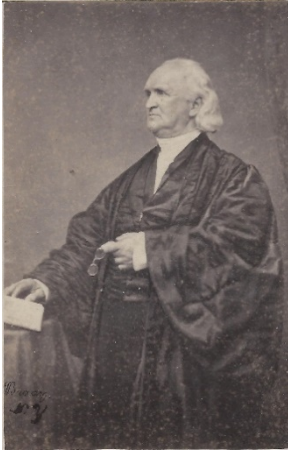
Like Lloyd Garrison they will devote their lives to fighting for immediate emancipation, free migration of blacks, assimilation into white society and full citizenship.

For their efforts they will be met by public hostility and threats to their lives.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1831-1834

## Race Riots Break Out In The North



Reverend Samuel Cox

The level of antagonism toward blacks and abolitionists in the North is such that even minor perceived offense can turn into violence.

This is the case back in October 1824 in Providence, Rhode Island, when a black man fails to exhibit the proper subservience by failing to move off a sidewalk in the presence of oncoming whites. This sparks a race riot -- with gangs of incensed whites roaming the segregated Hardscrabble section of town, beating blacks and destroying upwards of 20 homes.

A similar incident is repeated there in 1831, this time requiring the local militia to stop the attacks.

Then comes the Chatham Street race riot in New York City in the summer of 1834. It springs from an incident involving Lewis Tappan and the Reverend Samuel Cox.

The impetus is a simple act of kindness on Sunday, June 12, at the Laight Street Presbyterian Church in the notorious “Five Points” district of New York City. When Tappan arrives at the service he encounters a black minister, Reverend Samuel Cornish, and invites him to sit alongside him in his pew. This causes an immediate stir among other white parishioners, which is then compounded by words from the pulpit.

The Reverend Samuel H. Cox observes the visible hostility toward both Cornish and Tappan and offers a sermon on the need for good will, especially between different races. After all, he intones, it is well known that the people of the Holy Land – including Jesus himself – were typically dark-skinned.

A hostile press immediately seizes upon Cox’s words to fan the flames of anti-black feelings. Unless radicals like Tappan and Cox can be silenced, whites can expect to have Negroes invading their places of worship and ministers asserting that “Jesus was black.” Tensions build from there.

Attempts to hold an abolitionist meeting at the Chatham Street Chapel two blocks south of the Five Points intersection are broken up by angry white mobs on three occasions around the 4<sup>th</sup> of July.

On July 10 they damage the homes of both Tappan and Cox, and then on the 11<sup>th</sup> hundreds of whites systematically go about destroying the homes, churches, businesses and welfare centers across the entire black enclave.

The message here is clear – there is no place in New York City for either abolition or assimilation.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: July 6, 1835

### **The South Tries To Ban All Abolitionist Literature**

Southern whites are even more distressed by the Abolitionist movement than those in the North.

Of particular concern in the 1830's is the growing number of anti-slavery publications that are filtering into southern cities through the mail. They are regarded as propaganda efforts by the North, meant to stir up the slaves and prompt further violence akin to Nat Turner's rampage in Virginia in 1831.

On July 6, 1835, a white mob decides to put an end to this threat.

They do so by burning abolitionist tracts outside the Charleston post office, and demanding that Charles Huger, the local postmaster, refuse to accept any more of these materials when they are delivered.

This incident represents the first attempt by the South to officially “gag” the anti-slavery opposition.

Huger contacts Amos Kendall, a Dartmouth man, close friend of Jackson's and Postmaster General, about ordering an end to disseminating anti-slavery materials. Kendall responds by saying he has no legal authority to do so – although he agrees to encourage local offices to do just that, saying:

*We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live.*

For many Southerners this is not good enough.

Georgia passes a law in 1835 to impose the death penalty on anyone who publishes material that could provoke a slave uprising.

Governor George McDuffie, one of the early secessionist “fire-eaters” from South Carolina, proclaims that:

*The laws of every community should punish this species of interference by death without benefit of clergy.*

The intensity of these reactions will soon carry the suppression attempts into the political arena in Washington.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: October 21, 1835

## A White Mob Threatens To Lynch Lloyd Garrison



Lloyd Garrison

With the American Anti-Slavery Society up and running, Lloyd Garrison turns his inflammatory rhetoric against what he considers another form of anti-black racism.

On June 1, 1832, he publishes his only book, *Thoughts of African Colonization*, a direct assault on those whites who wish to free the slaves -- but only if they are then put on ships and sent back to Liberia.

Colonization, according to Garrison, is nothing more than a ploy by which certain white leaders can appear to embrace “anti-slavery” idealism, while still holding on to their “Negro-phobia” beliefs.

It is one thing to wish to abolish slavery; quite another to support “assimilation” and black citizenship. And that is exactly what Garrison demands:

*All God's creatures can live in harmony together, of this I am sure.*

In May of 1833 a 27 year old Garrison sails to England to meet William Wilberforce and other abolition leaders, and to update them on progress in America. On July 12, in an address to a large British crowd at Exeter Hall, he lashes out against his homeland:

*America falsifies every profession of its creed in its support for slavery.*

When the American Colonization Society reports on Garrison's speech, opponents quickly brand him a traitor to his country – and violent mobs greet him dockside in NYC when he returns home on October 2.

Resistance to abolition also builds in Boston. On September 10, 1835, a burning cross signed by “Judge Lynch” appears on Garrison's front lawn. Six weeks later, on October 21, he is kidnapped by a mob in the city on his way to a lecture event and a hangman's noose is put around his neck. Only a last second rescue by the Mayor of Boston saves his life.

The Tappan brothers, Lucretia Mott and other visible leaders also experience attacks over time.

Even the gentle Unitarian minister William Channing chides the Abolitionists in December 1835 for their “showy, noisy societies” that run the risk of fomenting slave rebellions and jeopardizing peace with the Southern states. Characteristically Garrison responds by calling Channing an “equivocator.”

Ironically these attacks draw new supporters to the cause, including James G. Birney and Gerrit Smith -- who will eventually steer many Abolitionists to search of a political solution.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: July 1836

### **James Birney Joins The Cause And Is Attacked In Cincinnati**

For many years the city of Cincinnati has been a hotbed of racial tension, and the appearance in January 1836 of an anti-slavery newspaper, *The Philanthropist*, published by James G. Birney, is greeted by open hostility.

Going all the way back to 1804, one year after Ohio’s admission to the Union, the legislature passes a series of “black codes” making it clear that Negroes are not welcome within the state’s border. They are not banned outright – as will be the case with most other new states to the west – but are required to post an onerous \$500 bond to insure their residence and “proper behavior.” Despite the stricture, many slaves, especially from Kentucky, flock across the Ohio River, seeking relative freedom in towns like Cincinnati.

Birney’s new paper is regarded as an invitation for even more blacks to take up residence.

In April 1836, Irish mobs terrorize black neighborhoods in the city, apparently over competition for low wage jobs. The Governor resorts to martial law to end the uproar. But not for long.

The entire month of July is marked by white mob violence against blacks and against Birney. On July 12 and again on the 30<sup>th</sup>, Birney’s office is ransacked and his presses are broken up and thrown into the river.

Posters offering a \$100 “bounty” for the “fugitive from justice, James Birney” – a black man masquerading in white skin – appear across Cincinnati, and the city council tries to ban further issues.

Some white, however, see these attempts to gag vocal opponents of slavery as an infringement on freedom of speech and decide to speak out in support of Birney.

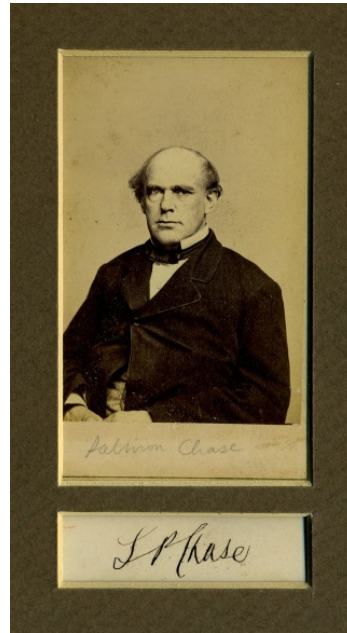
\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1836

## Harriet Beecher Stowe And Salmon Chase Commit



Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896)



Salmon Chase (1808-1873)

The 1836 race riot in particular appalls two prominent residents of Cincinnati.

One is Harriet Beecher Stowe, daughter of influential Presbyterian Minister, Lyman Beecher, who records her fright at seeing “negroes being hunted like wild beasts” during the riots.

The other, Salmon P. Chase, a highly regarded city lawyer, witnesses his sister fleeing to her house for safety, and commits himself to re-establishing civil order.

Both will play pivotal roles over the next twenty-five years in the abolitionist movement.



## Chapter 71 - The Southeastern Tribes Are Evicted Along The “Trail Of Tears”

Time: March 1832

### The Supreme Court Rules That Indian Tribes Are Sovereign Nations

With his campaign against the Second Bank successfully concluded, Andrew Jackson charges after his next priority – forcing the remaining eastern tribes to new “reservations” west of the Mississippi River, so that whites can settle on their former lands.

This race to occupy Georgia is also accelerated in 1829 by the discovery of gold in the northeastern mountains around Lumpkin County.

The original legal basis for the transfer of land traces to the Indian Removal Act passed in Congress on May 28, 1830.

This, however, is immediately challenged in court by injunctions brought by Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, and the matter ends up with the U.S. Supreme Court. It follows with two contradictory rulings, issued a year apart.

The first case, in March 31, is *Cherokee Nation v Georgia* which denies the claim that Native America tribes are a “foreign nation” and therefore they must comply with the Congressional Act.

But in March 1832, in *Worcester v Georgia*, the court reverses course ruling in favor of the Indian claims, saying that settlers may not occupy Cherokee lands without tribal consent.

Associate Justice Joseph Story expresses relief at the time that justice has finally been served:

*Thanks be to God, the Court can wash their hands clean of the iniquity of oppressing the Indians and disregarding their rights.*

Ex-General Jackson is said to have had a very different reaction, and one that will prevail:

*John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it!*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: December 29, 1835

### **Georgia Ignores The Ruling And Acquires Cherokee Land In The Treaty of New Ochoata**

The state of Georgia simply ignores the federal laws – another act of “nullification” – and supports the land grabs by white settlers.

The President is sufficiently alarmed by the lawlessness to meet with John Ridge, son of a Cherokee chief, educated at the Foreign Mission School in Connecticut, and acting as counsel for the tribe in Washington.

Jackson assures Ridge that he does not intend to use military force in Georgia, but encourages him to work out a formal treaty to resolve the issue.

Ridge and a sub-set of Indian elders proceed to negotiate the Treaty of New Echota, which legally transfers the Cherokee land. It is signed into law on December 29, 1835, despite opposition from Principal Chief John Ross.

This treaty represents the death knell for the southeastern tribes in their efforts to preserve their traditional homelands.

It will also result in the 1839 assassination of John Ridge and his father by the pro-Ross backers who accuse them of betraying their Cherokee heritage.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1836 Forward

### **The Removal Of The Eastern Tribes Moves Ahead**

What happens next is the forced removal of the Cherokees in what becomes known in their lore as “the trail where they cried” – latter translated into “The Trail of Tears.”

General Winfield Scott then proceeds in 1836 to drive the remaining Creek resisters in Alabama off their lands; in 1837 he turns to the Choctaws in Mississippi, and in 1838 he leads a force of 7000 troops against the remaining Cherokees in North Carolina. By 1842, after an expense of nearly \$20 million, the wars against the Seminoles are concluded.

**Key Events Related To The “Indian Removal” From Their Eastern Homelands**

<b>Nations</b>	<b>Ancestral Home</b>	<b>“Trail of Tears”</b>
Choctaw	Mississippi	About 17,000 moved in 1831, with 3-6000 killed along way. About 5500 stay in Mississippi and agree to “follow the law,” but the white settlers constantly harass them.
Creeks	Alabama	Most moved in 1834, with Scott completing the job in the Creek War of 1836.
Chickasaw	Mississippi	They are concentrated in Memphis in 1837 then driven west and forced to join the Choctaws Nation, until later regaining independent status.
Cherokee	North Carolina	In 1838 Van Buren sends Scott to round up all Cherokees in concentration sites in Cleveland, then drives them west. The Cherokees survive well and their population grows over time.
Seminoles	Florida	The Seminole Wars run from 1817 to 1842, at high cost and with renegade bands finally taking refuge in the Everglades.

All told a total of some 120,000 people from the so-called “five civilized tribes” are forced to leave their ancestral homes for the new “Indian Territory” – land “reserved” for them in what will eventually become the eastern half of Oklahoma.

Up North, another roughly 90,000 Indians are herded into concentration sites from Memphis to Cleveland, and then transported by wagons and flatboats across the Mississippi to their new reservations.

Estimates of death from hardship or disease during the exodus run from 15-25% of those in transit.

As America’s borders shift into the Louisiana Territory and beyond, local tribes will again be forced to move from the homes to accommodate the white settlers, often backed by the U.S. Army.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Time: 1835 Forward**

**The “Trail Of Tears” Symbolizes The Long Sad Fate Of America’s Tribes**

In the end, the fate of America’s native peoples is not all that much different from that of the Africans.

Most have greeted the white settlers in peace, helped them navigate the new land, and sought favorable relations.

In return, they've gotten "The Great Father," promising them fair treatment in one inaugural address after another, from Washington through Jackson, reneging time and again. High-minded rhetoric quickly giving way to self-interest: the wish to occupy their tribal homelands, the power to make this happen, and justification based on the inherent superiority of the white race.

Some tribes fight back: Tecumseh and the Shawnees in 1813, the Red Stick Creeks in 1814, Blackhawk and the Sauks in 1832, Osceola Seminoles in 1832, out west, the Comanches and the Sioux. All too little avail beyond the lasting personal honors of counting coup.

As the Africans are enslaved, so too are America's native peoples – not in chains, but on "reservations."



Map of final Tribal reservations in the west, circa 1890

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: June 25, 1876

**Sidebar: The Tribes Count Coup One Last Time at the Little Big Horn**



George Armstrong Custer (1839-1876)



Chief Sitting Bull (1830-1891)

Any residual empathy in the North for the plight of the tribes is eroded by events during America's Civil War.

When the conflict breaks out, several tribes who own African slaves align with the South. Some actually form brigades and engage in the fighting as Confederates – most notably at the 1862 Battle of Pea Ridge, in Arkansas. There both Cherokee and Choctaw warriors fight under the leadership of Albert Pike and Stand Watie. Watie is a Choctaw who grows up in Georgia, is educated, becomes a Christian, owns slaves, and eventually is named a brigadier general in the CSA army. (As such he is one of only two Indians of that rank, the other being Ely Parker of the USA.)

After the Union wins the war, the notion of “Indian independence” vanishes, and the U.S. government is unabashed about coercing all tribes to obey the will of “their great white father” in Washington.

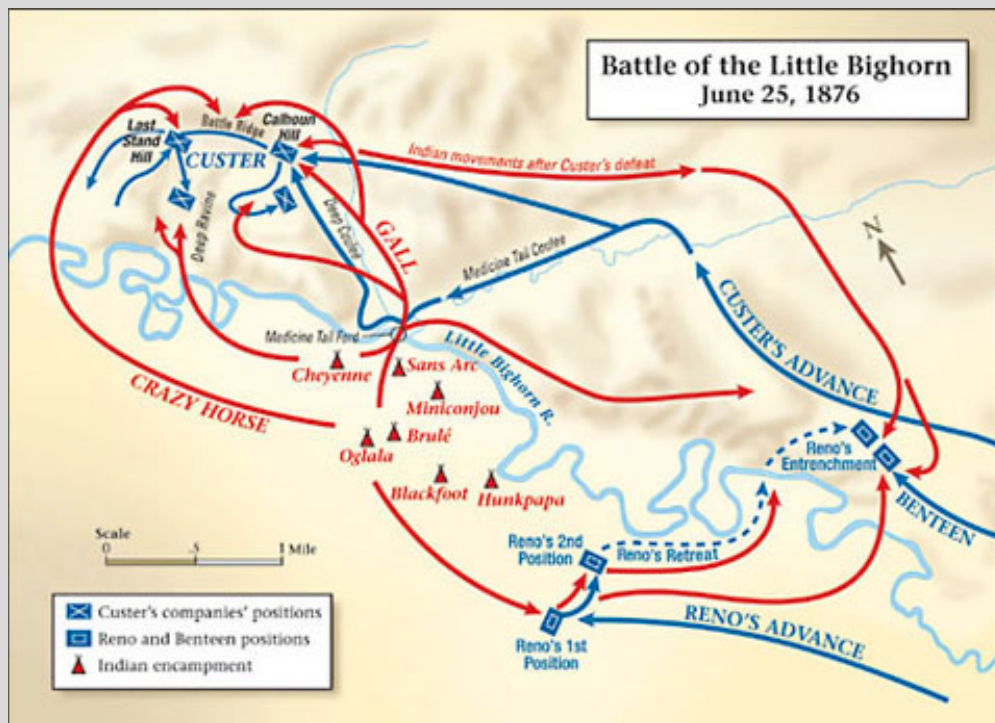
When reservation land is needed to build railroads, DC simply takes it. When gold is found on Indian land, they are again “re-located.” When other tribes, such as the western Cheyenne, need to be moved, tribes “donate” the needed space.

The Navajo end up in northern Arizona; the Shoshone and Nez Perce in Idaho; the Crow and Blackfeet in Montana; the Sioux in South Dakota; the Modocs in northern California.

The “treaty revisions” and relocations go on until roughly 1889, culminating with white “sooners” rushing into the western half of the original Indian Territory and finally establishing the state of Oklahoma.

In the end, the land mass set aside in 1830 has shrunk by more than half, and it is occupied by a patchwork quilt of “Nations,” each with their own cultures and laws, and often with a history of prior conflicts.

On June 25, 1876, the Native American tribes – this time in the form of the Lakota Sioux and the Cheyenne – express their last defiance against the white intruders by thrashing General George Armstrong Custer and the Seventh Cavalry at the Little Bighorn River in Montana. After that, the Indian nations retreat forever to their ghetto reservations, even as black slaves are being emancipated.



Blunders by an Overconfident Custer Leads to the Loss of 211 Men at the Little Big Horn

## Chapter 72 - JQ Adams Refuses To Comply With A House “Gag Order” To Silence Anti-Slavery Petitions

Time: March 4, 1831

### **JQ Adams Enters The House As An Anti-Slavery Advocate**

After losing to Jackson in 1828, JQ Adams retires to his family’s “Peace fields” mansion in Quincy, Massachusetts. But once there, he grows bored and his friends encourage him to return to Washington.

In 1830, he runs and wins election on the Anti-Masonic ticket and is seated in the House on March 4, 1831 at age sixty-four.

This will be the beginning of a remarkable second chapter in his political life, one that lasts for almost seventeen years, and where his achievements outshine his time in the presidency.

His return coincides with the beginning of the organized movements to abolish slavery, coming out of the Second Great Awakening and in the hands of two separate groups each with its own strategies. In Boston, Lloyd Garrison’s approach relies on “moral suasion,” with his newspaper and touring lecturers expected to attract more public converts. In New York, the Tappan Brothers, Theodore Weld and James Birney are convinced that political support in Congress will be needed for success.

Together their efforts begin to show up in the form of “Citizen’s Petitions” against slavery which, according to the long-standing rules of the House, are to be read out loud on the floor and then assigned to a standing committee for follow-up responses.

Historically, these petitions related to abolition have trickled into the House one at a time, typically from Quakers. But soon enough, the trickle turns into a flood.

In the name of comity, Northern members hesitate to read the petitions, but not JQ Adams. Soon enough he is reading these abolitionist pleas in batches of ten or more.

All while his Southern colleagues bristle at every word.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: December 18, 1835

## Adams Ignores A House “Gag Order” To Silence The Petitions

Finally, on December 18, 1835, the procedure is challenged on the floor.

The impetus is a petition generated by a local abolitionist society calling on Congress to repeal slavery in the District of Columbia, a “territory” not a sovereign state, where the federal government has unilateral control over legal statutes

As one more appeal from Massachusetts is about to be read on December 18, James Hammond of South Carolina rises to object.

Why, he asks, should the House waste its time on these petitions, since the Constitution specifically guarantees the continuation of slavery? Instead of officially receiving these petitions, shouldn't the rules be changes to ignore them entirely?

Hammond's challenge sets off a fiery debate with Adams. It concludes with a decision to hand the controversy over to the rules committee headed by Henry L Pinckney, another South Carolina man, who supported Calhoun in his Nullification challenge.

On May 26, 1836 the Pinckney Committee Resolution is presented:

*Whereas it is extremely important and desirable that the agitation on this subject should be finally arrested for the purpose of restoring tranquility to the public mind... resolved that all petitions, memorials, propositions or papers relating in any way... to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being printed or referred, be laid on the table and that no further action shall be had thereon.*

Adams is outraged by the proposal:

*I hold the resolution to be a violation of the Constitution of the US, the rules of this House and the rights of my constituents.*

But the proposal passes by a comfortable margin of 117 yea to 68 nay.

Those in opposition henceforth refer to this as the “Gag Rule” – and its actual effect will prove to be very different from the intent of its backers.

Instead of ceasing to send in petitions, Rule #21 only serves to spur the abolitionists on – and, when received, Adams and others will continue to attempt to bring them up, despite the ban.

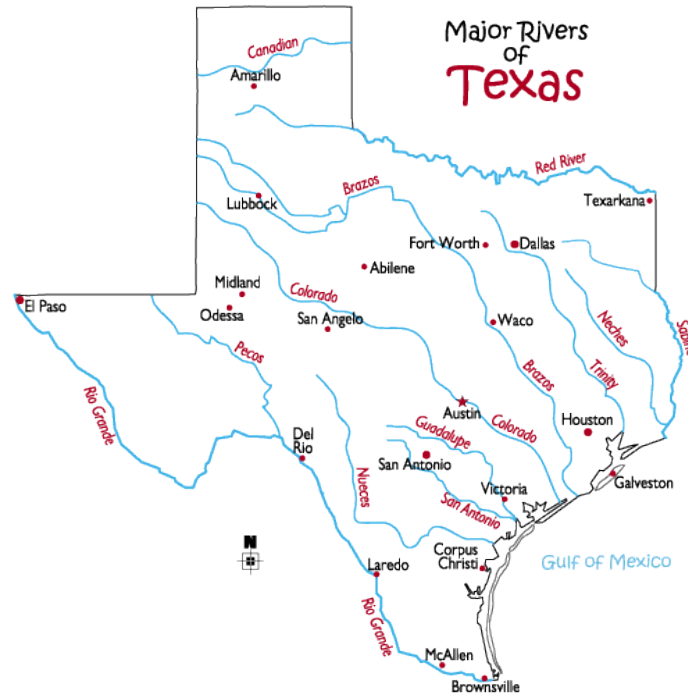
As time passes, Northerners will come to regard the “Gag Rule” as another example of the South trying to unilaterally impose its will on Washington politics.



## Chapter 73 - Americans Under Sam Houston Annex Texas

Time: March 1836

### A Band Of Settlers Found The Republic Of Texas



Texians Cross The Eastern Sabine River Border and Settle Along The Western San Antonio River

Just as Northerners are attempting to “contain” the black population, Southerners make a bold move on behalf of expansion.

Their target in this case is the Mexican province of Tejas, in roughly the same territory that Aaron Burr tried to invade in 1805 before being arrested for treason. (In later years, as the state of Texas, it will become the nation’s number one producer of cotton.)

Controversy over ownership of this land dates back to Jefferson’s Louisiana Purchase from France in 1803. America claims that the western boundary of the purchase extends to the Rio Grande River while Spain draws the line much farther east.

The dispute seems settled for good in 1819 with the Adams – Onis Treaty, which acquires Florida from the Spanish and agrees that American territory ends at the Sabine River line.

But now Spain makes a tactical error. Because it has been slow to challenge the Comanche and Apache tribes and build settlements in Tejas, it negotiates a deal with an American named Miles Austin. This involves granting Austin some land in Tejas in return for beginning the settlement process. The door is now open a crack to American pioneers.

In 1821 Mexico finally wins independence from Spain, and soon thereafter examines conditions in Tejas.

The result is shock and dismay. Austin's settlers – called Texians -- have penetrated all the way from San Jacinto in the east to Goliad and San Antonio de Bexar in the west.

After the Americans try on several occasions to purchase the province from the government, the Mexicans finally decide to ban further immigration, in 1830. But this proves futile and some 38,000 Americans have settled in Tejas by 1835, including 5,000 slaves – even though slavery has been outlawed across Mexico since 1821.

On March 2, 1836, a convention of settlers declare their independence as a new nation, The Republic of Texas, and elect David Burnet, an early settler and political leader, as their interim President.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: March 5-27, 1836

### Mexico Strikes Back At The Alamo And Goliad



A Mexican Warrior

Mexico is already in the process of trying to regain their land well before the Texians declare their sovereignty.

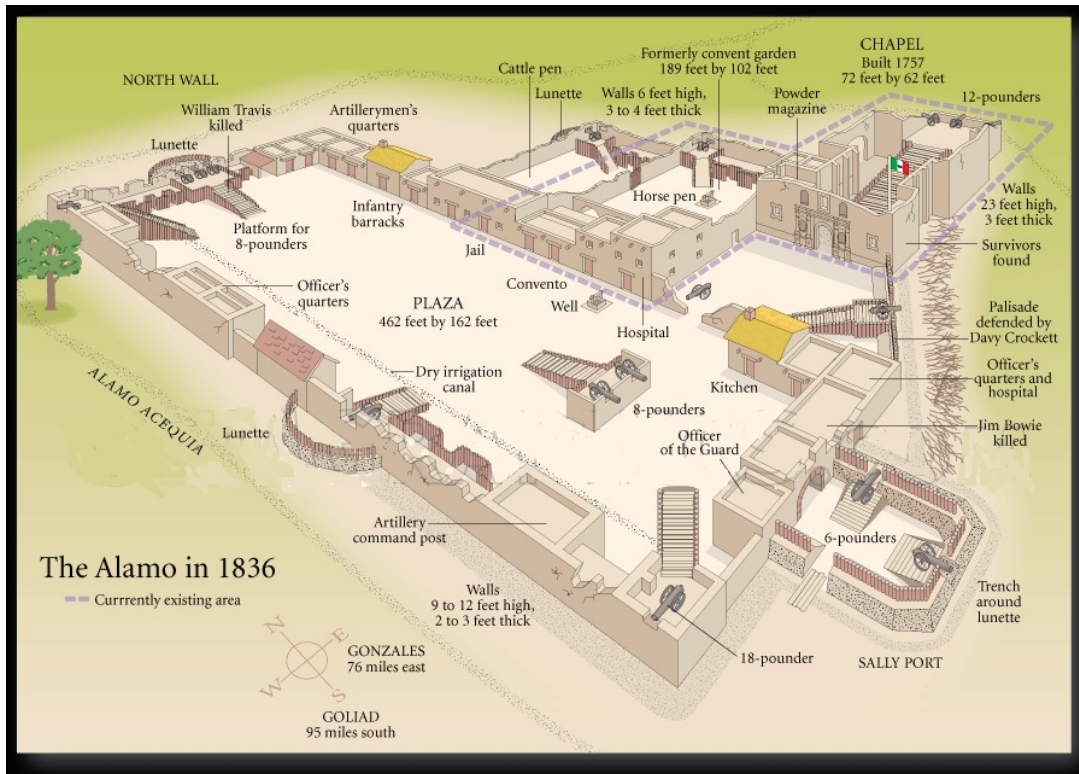
Initial fighting breaks out in October 1835 with the Mexicans intent on driving the invaders back to the US border at the Sabine River.

In early 1836, their focus is on taking back two fortified garrisons, one at The Alamo in San Antonio de Bexar, the other at Goliad, some 87 miles to the southeast.

Leading the charge against the Alamo is General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna -- a 41 year old commander who has spent the last 15 years in the military and in politics, emerging essentially as dictator of the nation.

Santa Anna sets out toward the Alamo in late December and crosses the Rio Grande on February 12, 1836. Eleven days later he is within sight of the Alamo.

The mission is in poor shape to defend itself. Structurally it is designed to hold off bands of Indians, not an army of 1800 troops, armed with cannon. Conditions are so bad in fact that, in mid-January, Sam Houston sends Sam Bowie to retrieve all artillery and abandon the site. But lacking the needed draft animals for transport, Bowie and Lt. Colonel William Travis decide to try to hold out. They request reinforcements, and a few arrive, including ex-US Congressman, Davey Crockett. These bring his total troop count to roughly 285 men.



The Interior Of The Alamo Mission Defended By The Texians In 1836

Santa Anna surrounds the mission and hauls up a red flag signaling that he intends to take no prisoners.

After a brief siege, Santa Anna attacks the Alamo at 5:30am on March 5, 1836. The battle lasts for roughly one hour, with the Texians falling back from their outer walls into final defensive positions around the central barracks and church. But they are desperately outnumbered and finally succumb. The entire Texian force is wiped out and their bodies are stacked and burned by the Mexicans.

While Santa Anna is moving overland from the west against the Alamo, a separate Mexican army under General Jose de Urrea is advancing to the southeast, from the Gulf of Mexico, up the San Antonio River toward the town of Goliad, where Colonel William Fannin commands another small outpost he names Ft. Defiance.

Before Urrea arrives, however, Fannin is ordered to abandon the fort and retreat west some 26 miles to the town of Victoria. But on March 19, his force of some 300 men is surrounded by Urrea's troops on the open prairie. The Texians form a classical Napoleonic square, which holds off the Mexican attacks until nightfall.

Still their situation is hopeless and Fannin surrenders on the morning of March 20 – with some 300 survivors marched back to Goliad as prisoners.

What follows next becomes known as the Goliad Massacre.

General Urrea pleads with Santa Anna on behalf of fair treatment for the Texian prisoners, but is rebuffed.

On the morning of March 27, 1836, all 300 men are shot by Mexican firing squads in the town square.

Santa Anna's ruthlessness here will not be forgotten as the Texians prepare to strike back.



The Alamo Mission Circa 1901 During A Celebration Of The Battle Of San Jacinto

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: April 21, 1836

## Sam Houston Wins Independence for Texas



Sam Houston (1793-1863)

After the losses at The Alamo and Goliad, the dashing Sam Houston steps in to lead the Texians.

Houston's life has veered in and out of control over the years. He is born in Virginia in 1793, moves to Tennessee at age 14, runs away from home to live briefly among the Cherokees and returns to fight gallantly in the War of 1812, alongside Andrew Jackson, who becomes his lifelong friend.

After studying law and opening a practice in Tennessee, he is elected to the U.S. Congress in 1823-27, and then becomes Governor from 1827-29. He appears ready to follow in Jackson's footsteps when his new marriage suddenly dissolves and he is overtaken by drink. He retreats to the wilderness again among the Cherokees of his youth, takes an Indian wife, and earns his Indian name, "Big Drunk."

Houston suddenly regains his bearings and begins the next chapter of his life by moving to Tejas in 1833. Once there he parlays his skills as a lawyer, politician and military man into a leadership role in the drive for independence. As violence threatens, he is named a Major General in the Texas Army and then its Commander-In-Chief in 1836.

When the far western outpost at the Alamo falls, Houston rallies his small army and attacks Santa Ana's forces six weeks later on April 21, 1836, at the Battle of San Jacinto. The battle is a 20 minute rout. Houston suffers another of his many war wounds, but Santa Ana is captured, and signs a unilateral peace treaty granting Texas its independence.

Houston, henceforth known as "Old Sam Jacinto," becomes first President of the Republic of Texas on October 22, 1836.

However, the treaty signed by Santa Ana to gain his freedom is rejected in Mexico City, leading to ongoing tension and a threat of more war.

The Texans turn to hopes for annexation by the United States as a solution to their legitimacy.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: Summer 1836

## Jackson Sends An Emissary To Texas To Assess Conditions



Henry Mason Morfit & Granddaughter

The conflict in Texas and the request for annexation provokes Jackson to send an emissary there in the summer of 1836 to assess the “civil, military and political conditions” and recommend what, if any, action the U.S. should consider taking.

The man chosen for the visit is Henry Mason Morfit, 43 years old, who is born in Norfolk and becomes a practicing attorney before joining the U. S. State Department. Once situated in Texas, Morfit writes a series of ten letters to Jackson over five weeks which describe his findings and “urge against” offering statehood. Two reasons drive Morfit’s opinion.

First, he believes the Mexican army is about to gather in force in the spring of 1837 and that it will be able to overwhelm the Texans. Morfit tells Jackson that a commitment to Texas means a commitment to sending U.S. troops into a war against Mexico.

*The old colonists would not by themselves be able to sustain an invasion and, at the same time, supply the means for the war.*

Second, the emissary expresses reservations about the motives underlying the entreaty to Washington.

*Finally, (there are) suggestions and arguments that this whole enterprise of independence is a mere speculative scheme, concocted and encouraged for the aggrandizement of a few.*

Morfit’s main suspicion about the entire Texas “enterprise” is that the Republic is broke and needs federal money to survive.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: Summer 1836

### **Jackson Makes A Crucial Decision Against Annexing Texas**

With the input from Morfit, President Jackson faces one of the most consequential decisions of his entire presidency.

He recognizes that the future of slavery is at the heart of matter – with the South desperately hoping for the annexation and eventual admission to the Union of another Slave State.

But he also know that such a move would be regarded by those in the North as a surrender to Southerners and would most likely trigger a repeat of the 1820 conflict surrounding Missouri's statehood.

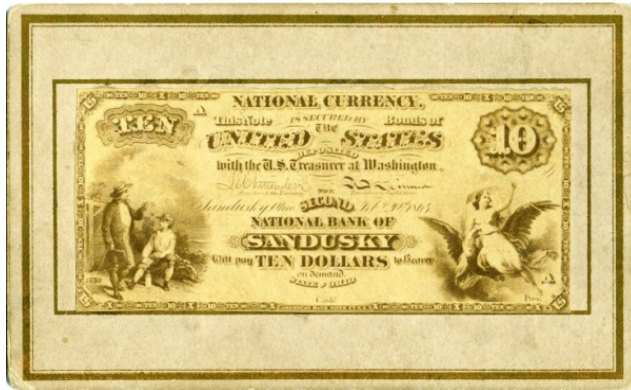
He wisely sees this as a potentially serious threat to the Union he is sworn to preserve, and in turn he rejects the offer.

(Ironically his protégé and fellow Tennessean, James Knox Polk, will go ahead and annex Texas in 1845 which leads to the Mexican War and exactly the kind of North-South schism that Jackson feared.)

## Chapter 74 - Jackson's "Specie Circular" Order Triggers A Monetary Crisis

Time: July 11, 1836

### Jackson Attempts To Insure The "True Value" Of The US Dollar



A Ten Dollar Bill from Bank of Sandusky, Ohio

From the day he enters office in 1829, Andrew Jackson was against what he regards as corrupt financial management practices by 1835 he has recorded two victories: shutting down the Second Bank of the United States and paying off the entire federal debt.

In 1836 he sets his sights on a third objective: protecting the integrity and value of the U.S. dollar against threats he sees from the proliferation of local banks, each allowed to print and issue their own "soft money."

Between 1820 and 1835, the number of registered banks in America has more than doubled, and the level of loans outstanding has expanded by sevenfold.

#### Accelerated Growth In U.S. Banking

Year	Banks	Loans (MM)
1820	327	55.1
1825	330	88.7
1830	381	115.3
1835	704	365.1

The spike in loans signals a spike in personal debt, which is anathema to the fiscally conservative Jackson.

It leads him to reflect again on Hamilton's scheme to fuel capitalism by increasing the nation's money supply.

This has been achieved by allowing banks to print a large amount of soft money notes to make loans or investments, with only a small amount of hard gold or silver in their vaults to be "redeemed on demand."

This whole system seems fundamentally flawed to Jackson.



What can the “true value” of the U.S. dollar be if banks no longer have the capacity to redeem each dollar with the “promised amount of hard specie” (minted gold or silver coins)?

Beyond that, won't bankers simply print whatever quantities of soft money they deem profitable at any moment in time – and won't this lead on to ruinous speculation and debt?

Not only for the common man, who is often inclined to borrow more money than he can be sure to pay back, and is crippled by personal IOU's -- but also for the nation.

As a prime example of this, Jackson points to what he regards as the reckless gambles being made in 1835 and 1836 by individuals and bankers on the value of U.S. land.

#### **Accelerated Speculation In U.S. Land**

<b>Year</b>	<b>\$ Sales (000)</b>	<b>% Change</b>
1831	\$ 3,200	
1832	2,600	(19%)
1833	3,900	50
1834	4,800	23
1835	14,750	307
1836	24,870	69

What will happen, he wonders, when the bidding frenzy subsides and speculators find that the true value of the land they bought is much less than they thought? And if, as he suspects, many of the big speculators are the bank owners themselves, will their debt bring down the financial integrity of the entire country?

One thing Jackson knows for certain is his lifelong distrust of, and disdain toward, bankers in general.

*Gentlemen, I have had men watching you for a long time and I am convinced that you have used the funds of the bank to speculate in the breadstuffs of the country. When you won, you divided the profits amongst you, and when you lost, you charged it to the bank. You are a den of vipers and thieves.*

He is equally certain that his duty lies in acting before it is too late. He will not leave behind a shaky financial outlook as a legacy, when his term is up.

To correct the problem, he must find a way to curtail the rogue printing of the banknotes which fuel speculation, depreciate the real value of the dollar, and result in debt.

He does so by issuing an Executive Order (known as the “Specie Circular”) on July 11, 1836 requiring that future purchases of U.S. land by anyone other than actual settlers be paid off in gold or silver, not in banknotes.

Jackson's order quickly rocks the foundation of the financial system in place since Alexander Hamilton's time.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1837-1843

### **The “Specie Circular” Action Initiates A Financial Panic**

The “Specie Circular” is widely regarded as a signal that the federal government itself is uncertain about the intrinsic value of the banknotes already in circulation across the economy.

Why else would the President suddenly be asking land investors to pay off their purchases in hard currency rather than soft banknotes?

As this doubt sinks in, the entire economy begins to witness a flight from dollars back into gold and silver – and a contraction of the nation’s money supply.

The result is a sudden reversal of Hamilton’s entire system of “credit” to support capitalism.

A nation accustomed to borrowing money today -- to buy property, to run a farm, to invest in a business – and paying it back with interest later on, now finds that the banks will no longer make these loans.

Worse yet, some banks are even demanding that outstanding loans be repaid immediately to protect the assets of their private owners.

What follows is fear, then bankruptcies and foreclosures.

The old General’s last campaign has found and attacked the vulnerabilities of the “fractional” banking system, and slowed the tide of both public and federal debt. But not without a cost.

The result will be the second extended depression in U.S. history, one which will continue for almost seven years and have a devastating effect on Jackson’s successor, Martin Van Buren.

## Chapter 75 - Roger Taney Becomes Chief Justice Of The Supreme Court

Time: March 15, 1836

### John Marshall Dies And Jackson Names Taney As His Successor

Jackson's second term includes one other legacy that will affect the course of history over the next 28 years – his selection of Roger B. Taney as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Taney replaces the former Chief, John C. Marshall, who serves for 34 years and essentially establishes the Court's status as a co-equal branch of the federal government.

Marshall also proves to be a thorn in the side of Anti-Federalists, like his cousin, Thomas Jefferson, and others who follow in the Democratic-Republican Party. He does so by consistently affirming the supremacy of federal laws over state laws, and by extending the scope of cases and issues brought before the Court.

Marshall dies on July 6, 1835, and Jackson turns to his longtime friend and to fill the vacancy.

Roger Taney (pronounced Tawney) is born in 1777, the second son of a wealthy tobacco planter in Maryland. He is a frail youth, devoted to his Catholic faith and to his studies. Since his older brother Michael is destined to inherit, his father enrolls him at Dickinson College at fifteen, and he graduates from there in 1796.

After further training in the law, he passes the bar in 1799 and opens his own practice in the town of Frederick. His family reputation opens the door for him to politics, and he is elected to the Maryland House of Delegates. He is a staunch Federalist until his support for the War of 1812 accompanies a conversion to the Democrat-Republican camp.

In 1819, at age forty-two, his personal circumstances change when Michael Taney stabs a neighbor to death in a fight and then, to protect the family inheritance, transfers 800 acres of land and thirteen slaves to Roger and another sibling. A year later, upon the death of his father, he frees all of his slaves, and expresses his personal view on the institution:

*Slavery is a blot on our national character, and every real lover of freedom confidently hopes that it will be effectually, though it must be gradually, wiped away.*

Soon thereafter, Taney becomes an avid supporter of Andrew Jackson and campaigns for him in the “stolen election” of 1824. He then serves as Attorney General of Maryland from 1827 to 1831.

His move into national politics comes suddenly in 1831 when now President Jackson overhauls his entire cabinet in response to the “petticoat affair,” and names Taney his Acting Secretary of War, a position he holds for ten months. He then serves as U.S. Attorney General before Jackson

nominates him in 1833 to become Acting Treasury Secretary, where he seals the fate of the Second U.S. bank. Then Jackson nominates him for the high court.

The move is met with resistance by those who oppose Jackson at every turn. In January 1835, Clay's Whig supporters deny Taney's nomination to serve as an Associate Justice on the Court.

When the President sends his nomination up again on December 28, 1835, it is again met by stiff opposition from Clay, Calhoun and Webster. But even that potent combination cannot prevail over a Senate full of Jackson men, and Taney is finally confirmed on March 15, 1836.

Taney will go on to become the second longest Chief Justice in history, serving for a total of twenty-eight years. His record will place him alongside Marshall and Joseph Story as one of the three greatest Justices on the high court. All this despite the criticism registered on the *Dred Scott* ruling in 1857.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: February 14, 1837

### **Community Interests Prevail In *Charles River Bridge v Warren Bridge***

As a justice, Taney is a strict "letter of the law" adherent to the Constitution, and, like Jackson, favors state's rights over federal intrusion.

While he only serves one year during Jackson's final term, one ruling stands out in particular – that being *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge*.

Here the state of Massachusetts has contracted with the Charles River Bridge Company (CRBC) in 1785 to build a 1503 feet span connecting Boston to Charleston and saving travelers from an 8 miles roundabout trek. In payment for the bridge, the Company is granted rights to collect user tolls for a 70-year period, at which time the bridge would become state property.

The bridge proves to be an overnight success, and the original owners eventually reap huge profits by selling their shares to later investors. As the population of Boston grows so too do the profits to the company and the complaints of the public about the toll rates being charged. When the new owners refuse to adjust the charges, the state decides to build what will become the nearby Warren Bridge, to be free to travelers after an estimated six-year toll period to pay off the construction costs.

Owners of the Charles River Bridge Company see that this "free" Warren Bridge will end their ability to charge a toll and, hence, their source of profits -- and view this as a violation by the state of their 70-year contract. They respond with a lawsuit asking the court to prohibit construction of Warren Bridge.

The case eventually reaches the U.S. Supreme Court in 1831, and it appears that John Marshall and his "pro-business" colleagues are about to side with the company over the state. But

administrative matters delay the ruling, and then turnover in the justices, culminating in Marshall's passing, forces the case to be reargued in 1837, with Taney now presiding.

In the interim, the Warren Bridge has actually been built, has achieved a free/no toll status, and has indeed dried up traffic across the Charles River Bridge.

Despite this outcome, the Taney court votes 5-2 in favor of the state over the CRBC plaintiff.

Taney concludes that the original contract did not overtly grant "exclusivity" to CRBC and that the new Warren Bridge is simply an example of the state doing its job by acting in the best interest of its citizens.

*While the rights of private property are sacredly guarded, we must not forget that the community also have rights, and that the happiness and well-being of every citizen depends on their faithful preservation*

In regard to the company's lost toll profits, he argues that such outcomes are built into the evolving nature of commerce – canals cut into toll road profits and perhaps the new trains will impact canals in the same fashion. One cannot prioritize company profits over public progress.

Finally, Taney decides that the will of the Massachusetts's state legislature should trump any federal issues related to Article I, Section 10 – "no state shall pass any...ex-post facto law impairing the obligation of contracts."

A vigorous dissent from Taney is registered by veteran justice Joseph Story. He cites the risks taken by the CRBC investors in building what in 1785 was...

*The very first bridge ever constructed, in New England, over navigable tide- waters so near the sea one that many believed would scarcely stand a single severe winter.*

And he warns that if the rewards of risking capital are threatened by the state, improving public lives will suffer in return. Massachusetts had a good faith contract with the CRBC and ex-post facto they reneged on it.

*I stand upon the old law...and can conceive of no surer plan to arrest all public improvements, founded on private capital and enterprise, than to make the outlay of that capital uncertain and questionable, both as to security and as to productiveness*

In 1857 Chief Justice Taney will be involved in another case, Dred Scott v Sanford, that will involve protection of another form of "property" – slaves. His decisions here will again prove controversial.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1801-1835

**Sidebar: Legacy Of The Marshall Court**

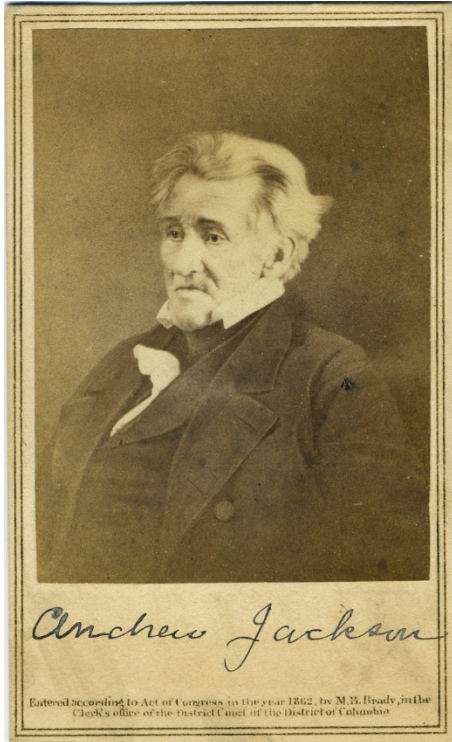
**Some of the Major Decisions Set Down By The Marshall Court**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Case</b>	<b>Impact</b>
1803	<i>Marbury v Madison</i>	Judicial review of Congressional laws
1807	<i>Ex Parte Bollman</i>	Supreme Court power to issue writs/commands to circuit courts
1810	<i>Fletcher v Peck</i>	First overturn of state law, protects property rights contract
1819	<i>McCulloch v Maryland</i>	Implied power of Congress to make necessary & proper laws
1819	<i>Dartmouth v Woodward</i>	Private corporations protected from state interference
1823	<i>Johnson v M'Intosh</i>	Inability of Native tribes to own lands
1823	<i>Propagation Of Faith v Town of Pawlet Vt.</i>	Corporations are a "group of individuals in perpetuity," with protected rights as such
1824	<i>Gibbons v Ogden</i>	Ends state power to regulate interstate commerce
1825	<i>The Antelope</i>	Confirms that slaves on board of a ship are legitimate property
1831	<i>Cherokee Nation v Georgia</i>	Indian nations as foreign states
1832	<i>Worcester v Georgia</i>	Sanctioning Indian removal
1833	<i>Barron v Baltimore</i>	Bill of Rights cases limited to federal, not state, challenges
1834	<i>Wheaton v Peters</i>	Copyright perpetuity

## Chapter 76 - Andrew Jackson's Enduring Legacy

Time: 1828 Forward

### The Age Of Jackson



Andrew Jackson is remembered as one of America's most ambitious, controversial and effective Presidents. He sets out his grand agenda in his first inaugural address and then proceeds to accomplish nearly every goal he identifies over his two terms.

In hindsight, several of these goals will be judged harshly, especially his cruel uprooting of the native tribes of the east, and his abrupt moves in regard to the Second Bank and the tightening of the money supply.

His critics will also charge him with expanding the powers of the Executive branch far beyond the guidelines laid out in the 1787 Constitution. For these men he will forever be cast as "King Andrew."

But what no one can question is his devotion to always doing what he feels is necessary to preserve and protect the sacred Union. Thus his famous dinner toast in 1829 challenging Calhoun and the "nullifiers"

*Our Federal union: it must and shall be preserved.*

His presidency is truly transformative. It is marked by a series of firsts that forever change the national political scene in America.

- He is the first president elected by the "common man" rather than by "land owners only" – a change in voting rights that boosts the popular vote from 353,000 in 1824 to 1,287,000 in 1832.
- He is the first "outsider" president, having served only briefly in Congress (1796-98) and never as either Vice-President or Secretary of State. Instead he sweeps into DC as the "hero of New Orleans," and unabashedly opens his inaugural party at the White House to the public.
- He is the first "western" president, and his election signals the population shift away from the original thirteen seacoast states and to the "new" thirteen inland states.

- He is the first truly “populist president,” who sees himself as the protector of the average American against the special interests – especially the “money men” in banking and industry that he feels are rigging the system in their self-interest.
- He is the first president to accomplish what his predecessors have all called for – elimination of the nation’s public debt.
- He is the first president to face into a serious threat of Southern secession, stating that the Union is inseparable, and threatening to use force against South Carolina if it violates the federal tariff law.

He is also president at a time when the Second Great Religious Awakening is prompting many American’s to face inward in search of social reforms consistent with the founder’s vision of a “shining city on a hill.”

Among these reforms is the abolition of slavery – and during Jackson’s tenure the wheels are set in motion by which emancipation will occur and his sacred Union will dissolve.

As a lifelong planter and unrepentant slave owner he is quick to recognize this threat during the furor over the 1828 Tariff. As he says at the time:

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

Like his predecessors, Jackson lacks the know how to end the sectional tensions he sees developing – with the South needing to carry its slaves west of the Mississippi for economic reasons, and the North dead set against allowing any more blacks, slave or free, to take up residence in white men’s territory.

He does, however, have the foresight (despite his personal preference) to resist a mad long rush to annex Texas, an act certain to reignite the sectional conflict which accompanied the admission of Missouri as a slave state.

Jackson will also remain true to his role as the voice of the average white citizen, trying his best to protect the well-being of the many from the avarice of the few. As such, his popularity with “the majority of people” remains untarnished throughout his eight year term.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Time: March 4, 1837**

**His Farewell Address Warns Of Dangers Ahead**

Like Washington before him, Andrew Jackson feels compelled to summarize his thoughts on the state of the Union in a farewell address which is published on March 4, 1837, the day he leaves office.



The address is lengthy for him, and, while praising the nation's progress to date, he focuses mainly on the dangers that lie ahead.

The President begins by thanking the people for their support, and indicating that America is no longer a "doubtful experiment" but a proven success, "respected by every nation of the world."

*FELLOW-CITIZENS: Being about to retire finally from public life, I beg leave to offer you my grateful thanks for the many proofs of kindness and confidence which I have received at your hands...At the moment when I surrender my last public trust I leave this great people prosperous and happy, in the full enjoyment of liberty and peace, and honored and respected by every nation of the world.*

*We have now lived almost fifty years under the Constitution framed by the sages and patriots of the Revolution. We have had our seasons of peace and of war, with all the evils which precede or follow a state of hostility with powerful nations Our Constitution is no longer a doubtful experiment, and at the end of nearly half a century we find that it has preserved unimpaired the liberties of the people, secured the rights of property, and that our country has improved and is flourishing beyond any former example in the history of nations.*

He references early on to the Indian Removal as one major advance domestically.

*In our domestic concerns there is everything to encourage us, and if you are true to yourselves nothing can impede your march to the highest point of national prosperity. The States which had so long been retarded in their improvement by the Indian tribes residing in the midst of them are at length relieved from the evil, and this unhappy race--the original dwellers in our land--are now placed in a situation where we may well hope that they will share in the blessings of civilization*

In foreign affairs, he says that America is presently enjoying good relations around the world.

*If we turn to our relations with foreign powers, we find our condition equally gratifying*

Still, he warns, it is important to recall Washington's admonitions in his farewell – most notably the potential for party politics and sectional disputes to erode the Union.

*The necessity of watching with jealous anxiety for the preservation of the Union was earnestly pressed upon his fellow-citizens by the Father of his Country in his Farewell Address... and he has cautioned us in the strongest terms against the formation of parties on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb our Union and to which designing men would be likely to resort.*

Jackson sees these same dangers growing at the moment, dangers which "excite the South against the North and the North against the South." The source of these is a "delicate topic"

which stirs “strong emotion.” While left unsaid, the President knows that topic to be the institution of slavery!

*But amid this general prosperity and splendid success the dangers of which he warned us are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. We behold systematic efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the South against the North and the North against the South, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics--topics upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak without strong emotion.*

The sectional tension over slavery is already infecting the process of choosing the next president and leading to talk of disunion.

*Appeals, too, are constantly made to sectional interests in order to influence the election of the Chief Magistrate, as if it were desired that he should favor a particular quarter of the country instead of fulfilling the duties of his station with impartial justice to all; and the possible dissolution of the Union has at length become an ordinary and familiar subject of discussion.*

Jackson here elaborates on the many disasters that all Americans would suffer, were the Union to come apart.

*It is impossible to look on the consequences that would inevitably follow the destruction of this Government and not feel indignant when we hear cold calculations about the value of the Union and have so constantly before us a line of conduct so well calculated to weaken its ties.*

The President admits that Congress may at time pass laws that are unpopular in one region or another, but any attempt to “forcibly resist their execution”— as with the “nullifiers” -- must be opposed.

*But until the law shall be declared void by the courts or repealed by Congress no individual or combination of individuals can be justified in forcibly resisting its execution. It is impossible that any government can continue to exist upon any other principles. It would cease to be a government and be unworthy of the name if it had not the power to enforce the execution of its own laws within its own sphere of action.*

At the same time, he admits that state’s rights are to be protected against overreach by the federal government.

*It is well known that there have always been those amongst us who wish to enlarge the powers of the General Government, and experience would seem to indicate that there is a tendency on the part of this Government to overstep the boundaries marked out for it by the Constitution Every attempt to exercise power beyond these limits should be promptly*

*and firmly opposed, for one evil example will lead to other measures still more mischievous*

One example of federal overreach lies in taxation.

*There is, perhaps, no one of the powers conferred on the Federal Government so liable to abuse as the taxing power. Congress has no right under the Constitution to take money from the people unless it is required to execute some one of the specific powers intrusted to the Government; and if they raise more than is necessary for such purposes, it is an abuse of the power of taxation, and unjust and oppressive.*

The villains behind abuses such as exorbitant tariffs are the “corporations and wealthy individuals,” acting in their own self-interest at the expense of the common citizens – along with corrupt politicians who do their bidding.

*The corporations and wealthy individuals who are engaged in large manufacturing establishments desire a high tariff to increase their gains. Designing politicians will support it to conciliate their favor and to obtain the means of profuse expenditure for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters; and since the people have decided that the Federal Government can not be permitted to employ its income in internal improvements, efforts will be made to seduce and mislead the citizens of the several States by holding out to them the deceitful prospect of benefits to be derived from a surplus revenue collected...*

Jackson then takes out after the threats he has always seen lurking in a paper money supply rather than gold and silver coinage, and in the banking industry in general.

*The Constitution of the United States unquestionably intended to secure to the people a circulating medium of gold and silver. But the establishment of a national bank by Congress, with the privilege of issuing paper money receivable in the payment of the public dues, and the unfortunate course of legislation in the several States upon the same subject, drove from general circulation the constitutional currency and substituted one of paper in its place.*

The evils perpetrated by the soft money and unscrupulous bankers fall most heavily on the lower classes.

*Some of the evils which arise from this system of paper press with peculiar hardship upon the class of society least able to bear it... the laboring classes of society... whose daily wages are necessary for their subsistence. It is the duty of every government so to regulate its currency as to protect this numerous class, as far as practicable, from the impositions of avarice and fraud.*

For Jackson, of course, the leading symbol of this “avarice and fraud” is the Bank of the United States.

*But when the charter for the Bank of the United States was obtained from Congress it perfected the schemes of the paper system and gave to its advocates the position they have struggled to obtain from the commencement of the Federal Government to the present hour... The distress and sufferings inflicted on the people by the bank are some of the fruits of that system of policy which is continually striving to enlarge the authority of the Federal Government beyond the limits fixed by the Constitution. The severe lessons of experience will, I doubt not, be sufficient to prevent Congress from again chartering such a monopoly, even if the Constitution did not present an insuperable objection to it.*

The common man, the backbone of all that is good in the nation, is forever in danger of losing his liberty and his prosperity to the wealthy and privileged few who control the nation's corporations.

*The mischief springs from the power which the moneyed interest derives from a paper currency which they are able to control, from the multitude of corporations with exclusive privileges which they have succeeded in obtaining in the different States... The paper-money system and its natural associations--monopoly and exclusive privileges--have already struck their roots too deep in the soil, and it will require all your efforts to check its further growth and to eradicate the evil...Unless you become more watchful...and check this spirit of monopoly and thirst for exclusive privileges you will in the end find that the most important powers of Government have been given...away, and the control over your dearest interests has passed into the hands of these corporations.*

He closes by returning to America's remarkable progress so far, and the duty of those who follow to "preserve it for the benefit of the human race."

*The progress of the United States under our free and happy institutions has surpassed the most sanguine hopes of the founders of the Republic. Our growth has been rapid beyond all former example in numbers, in wealth, in knowledge, and all the useful arts which contribute to the comforts and convenience of man, and from the earliest ages of history to the present day there never have been thirteen millions of people associated in one political body who enjoyed so much freedom and happiness as the people of these United States. You have no longer any cause to fear danger from abroad.*

*Providence has showered on this favored land blessings without number, and has chosen you as the guardians of freedom, to preserve it for the benefit of the human race. May He who holds in His hands the destinies of nations make you worthy of the favors He has bestowed and enable you, with pure hearts and pure hands and sleepless vigilance, to guard and defend to the end of time the great charge He has committed to your keeping.*

*My own race is nearly run; advanced age and failing health warn me that before long I must pass beyond the reach of human events and cease to feel the vicissitudes of human affairs. I thank God that my life has been spent in a land of liberty and that He has given me a heart to love my country with the affection of a son. And filled with gratitude for your constant and unwavering kindness, I bid you a last and affectionate farewell.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1837-1845

### **The Old General's Final Years**

Jackson is eleven days shy of his 70<sup>th</sup> birthday when he leaves the White House.

He has been sickly for years, suffering from assorted ailments. He carries a bullet so near his heart from his 1806 duel with John Dickinson that surgeons are fearful of removing it. The wound never heals fully, and causes an abscess in his lung leading on to fever and chills and spitting up blood. In 1813 his left upper arm has been shattered, again by a bullet, this time fired after a tavern brawl by the brother of Senator Thomas Hart Benton. During the War of 1812 he suffers a severe bout of dysentery, which becomes chronic in nature. He loses sight in his right eye in 1837 and is frequently racked by stomach cramps and a hacking cough.

Despite these afflictions, he soldiers on, returning to his Hermitage Plantation soon after leaving Washington.

His time there is spent organizing his presidential papers and restoring his long-neglected property.

In 1840 he ventures out on his last extended trip, this time to New Orleans to celebrate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his victory over the British that brought him national fame.

His heart begins to give out and he is unable to walk by 1844.

He is still, however, mentally sharp, and begins to work on behalf of James Knox Polk, a fellow Tennessean, in the 1844 race for the Democratic nomination and the presidency.

By May 1845 he is bedridden and fighting constant shortness of breath and swelling from head to toe. The end comes on June 8, 1845, two days after he sends a final note to Polk with his comments on the Oregon crisis.

The President is 78 years old when he passes. He is buried with little fanfare next to his long-deceased wife, Rachel, in the tomb he has designed at the Hermitage.

He is eulogized soon after his death by one Jefferson Davis, who is on the verge of running for Congress at the time.

## Chapter 77 - The Whigs Prepare To Challenge Van Buren In 1836

Time: Fall 1836

### The Whig And Democrat Party Platforms Differ Sharply

With Martin Van Buren set to run on the Democrat ticket in 1836, his opponents scramble to organize a credible challenge to his election.

Two of the parties created in 1832 to defeat Jackson – the Anti-Masons and the Nullifiers – have exhibited only limited regional appeal. This means that the race will come down to Henry Clays Whig Party vs. the Jacksonian Democrats.

The platform differences between the two are substantial.

#### Differences Between Democrat And Whig Policies In 1836

Issues	Jackson's Democrats	Clay's Whigs
Political Roots	Jefferson	Hamilton
Political Philosophy	Democracy/common man	Republic/leader class
Core Constituency	Small farmers	Farmers + city wage earners
Core Geography	South + West	Border + Northeast
Labor	Manual power	Manual + machines
Government Power	De-centralized/state's rights	Washington/federal control
Federal spending	Limit it/balance budget	Invest in infrastructure
Tariff	Lower and on fewer goods	Higher to protect mfrs.
Land prices	Lower	Higher to fund investments
Money	Hard/specie	Soft/paper
US Bank	Opposed/corporate privilege	Supportive/control currency
Capitalism	Suspicious/elites/corruption	Fundamental to growth

Clay also hopes to broaden the base of the Whig Party by uniting all forces who have opposed the Jackson Democrats – including remnants of the old Federalist and National Republican parties, the New York Anti-Masons, various southerners in the mold of his sometimes ally, John Calhoun, as well as the pro-business and pro-banking powers across regions.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: Fall 1836

### The Whigs Nominate Four Regional Candidates To Send The Election To The House

Having been soundly defeated in 1832, Clay is astute enough to recognize that 1836 is not the time for his name to appear at the top of the ballot.

Instead, he opts for a unique strategy, with a Whig ticket built around four candidates, all tied to at least some of the party's core principles, and all possessing regional popularity.

The four Whigs on the ballot are:

- Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, the acknowledged leader of the New England region.
- William Henry Harrison, frontiersman, ex-Governor of the Northwest and Indiana Territories, military victor in tribal battles, congressman and diplomat, and currently living on his farm in Ohio. His role in Clay's plan will be to win the far West now that Jackson is off the Democrat ticket.
- Senator Hugh White of Tennessee, a long-time Jackson supporter who falls out over his belief that the President has failed in his support of state's rights. White is expected to succeed in the deep South.
- Senator Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina, a momentary Democrat who backs Clay's "American System" objectives and will be asked to campaign in the coastal states of the south.

Clay's hope is that this four man contingent will deny Van Buren the electoral votes he needs to win outright, and instead throw the final call into the House where a compromise candidate might be chosen – perhaps even himself.

## Chapter 78 - Martin Van Buren's Term

Time: November – December 1836

### The Election Of 1836

Clay's unusual election strategy almost works, but not quite.

Ballots are cast as usual between November 3 and December 7, 1836, with the turn-out at 1.5 million voters, up from 1.3 million in 1832.

The winner turns out to be Martin Van Buren, whose margin of victory is only 51% to 49%, a sure sign that Clay's Whig coalition is growing.

#### 1836 Presidential Election Results

Candidates	Party	Pop Vote	Electors	South	Border	North	West
Martin Van Buren	Democrat	764,176	170	57	4	101	8
William H. Harrison	Whig	550,816	73	0	28	15	30
Hugh White	Whig	146,107	26	26			
Daniel Webster	Whig	41,201	14			14	
Willie Mangum	Whig	--	11	11			
Total		1,502,300	294	94	32	130	38
Needed To Win			148				

The Democrats carry 14 states in total, with four pick-ups from 1832 – Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan and Arkansas, the latter two voting for the first time.

The Whigs capture 12 states, with seven additions brought in by the regional favorites – Mangum (South Carolina), White (Georgia and Tennessee), and Harrison (Vermont, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana). Meanwhile Webster keeps Massachusetts in the Anti-Jackson column.

The fact that the ex-military hero, Harrison, takes seven states overall, and dominates in the West, is not lost on Whig Party leaders looking ahead to the 1840 race.

#### Party Power By State

South	1832	1836	Pick-Up	EC Votes
Virginia	Democrat	Democrat		23
North Carolina	Democrat	Democrat		15
South Carolina	Nullifier	Whig (Mang)	Whig	11
Georgia	Democrat	Whig (White)	Whig	11
Alabama	Democrat	Democrat		7
Mississippi	Democrat	Democrat		4
Louisiana	Democrat	Democrat		5



Tennessee	Democrat	Whig (White)	Whig	15
Arkansas	---	Democrat	Democrat	3
Border				
Delaware	Nat-Rep	Whig (Har)		3
Maryland	Nat-Rep	Whig (Har)		10
Kentucky	Nat-Rep	Whig (Har)		15
Missouri	Democrat	Democrat		4
North				
New Hampshire	Democrat	Democrat		7
Vermont	Anti-Mason	Whig (Har)	Whig	7
Massachusetts	Nat-Rep	Whig (Web)		14
Rhode Island	Nat-Rep	Democrat	Democrat	4
Connecticut	Nat-Rep	Democrat	Democrat	8
New York	Democrat	Democrat		42
New Jersey	Democrat	Whig (Har)	Whig	8
Pennsylvania	Democrat	Democrat		30
Ohio	Democrat	Whig (Har)	Whig	21
Maine	Democrat	Democrat		10
Indiana	Democrat	Whig (Har)	Whig	9
Illinois	Democrat	Democrat		5
Michigan	---	Democrat	Democrat	3

A regional analysis shows that Van Buren’s win traces to support in Northeast states with high populations and electoral vote counts – most notably New York (42) and Pennsylvania (30).

**1836 Shifting State Alignments: Old/New And Slave/Free Electoral Votes**

	<b>Slavery Allowed (13)</b>	<b>Slavery Banned (13)</b>
Old Established East Coast States (15)	Democrats – 38 Whigs -- 35	Democrats – 101 Whigs -- 29
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (11)	Democrats – 23 Whigs -- 30	Democrats – 8 Whigs -- 30

The four larger states west of the Appalachians go for the Whigs – Ohio (21), Kentucky (15), Tennessee (15) and Indiana (9) – while the other seven fall to the Democrats.

The thirteen “slave states” tilt by a slight 7-6 margin in favor of Van Buren.

**1836 Shifting State Alignments: Old/New And Slave/Free**

<b>Geography</b>	<b>Democrats</b>	<b>Whigs</b>
Old East Coast States (15)	8 states – 139 votes	7 states – 64 votes
Emerging West States (11)	7 states – 31 votes	4 states – 60 votes
Slavery		
Allowed (13)	7 states – 61 votes	6 states – 65 votes
Banned (13)	8 states – 109 votes	5 states – 59 votes

The Democrats are able to retain control over both chambers of Congress in 1836 – despite losing a total of sixteen seats in the House.

### Congressional Election Of 1836

House	1834	1836	Change
Democrats	143	127	(16)
Whig	76	102	26
Anti-Masonic	16	7	(9)
Nullifier	7	6	(1)
Senate			
Democrats	26	35	9
Whigs	24	17	(7)
Nullifier	2	0	(2)

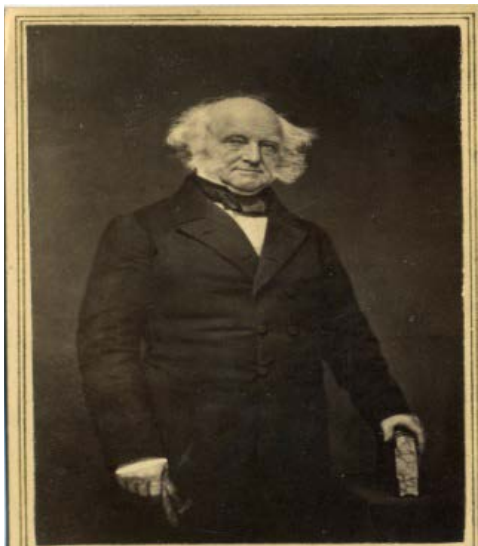
The election, however, holds one further surprise, when all twenty-three of Virginia’s electors refuse to cast their votes for Van Buren’s designated running mate, Richard Mentor Johnson. The Kentucky congressman has become notorious in parts of the south for declaring that Julia Chinn, an octoroon slave, is his common law wife.

Virginia’s action leaves Johnson short of the 148 votes needed for a majority in the Electoral College, and he assumes the vice-presidency only after an affirmative vote in the Senate.

\*\*\*\*\*

## Time: 1782-1862

### President Martin Van Buren: Personal Profile



Martin Van Buren (1782-1862)

Martin Van Buren is America’s first non-Anglo Saxon president, the first from New York state, and the last Northern president to have grown up in the daily presence of slaves.

He is born in 1782 in the Dutch village of Kinderhook, New York, located on the Hudson River, in an area dominated by “patroons” – powerful families, such as the Van Rensselaers and Livingstons, whose 250,000 acre estates trace to early 17<sup>th</sup> century grants. His roots are positively humbling by comparison.

His father owns a small farm along with six slaves, and runs a tavern in town. Dutch is spoken at home, and the boy learns this before mastering English. He is a

precocious child, but money runs out for schooling and, at age 13 he is apprenticed to a local lawyer.

In 1801 he moves to Manhattan to continue his study, and soon comes under the magnetic influence of Aaron Burr, a mentor who will transform his destiny. Burr is already at the peak of his fame, serving as Jefferson's Vice President after founding the Tammany Society to insure his position as godfather of New York politics. While the fatal July 1804 duel with Hamilton caps his future, Burr maintains an almost father-son relationship with Van Buren, and teaches him the merits of Jeffersonian policies along with ins and outs of organizing and aligning men with diverse interests behind a common cause.

In 1807 Van Buren returns to the Hudson Valley as a new man. He marries, begins to raise a family, and is quickly earning an astonishing \$10,000 a year as a lawyer – largely by winning land disputes for small farmers against the powerful patroons who “ran such things” before he joined the scene.

The theme of his practice – the common man standing up against the power and privilege of the rich – will play out through his career and link him inexorably to both Jefferson and Jackson.

In 1812, at age 29, he enters politics as state senator by defeating the patrician Edward Livingston.

In Burr-like fashion, he organizes the “Albany Regency,” a cadre of like-minded young men who quickly dominate politics in the capital. He reaches a truce with the powerful DeWitt Clinton by backing his Erie Canal project, and in 1821 wins a close election to the U.S. Senate.

Once in Washington, Van Buren sets his sights on transforming the aging Democratic-Republican apparatus into a modern political machine which he calls “The Democracy.” Rather than a loose collection of regional fiefdoms, he envisions a unified Democratic Party, holding national conventions to pick nominees and agree on a platform. Publicity for the candidates would involve a network of supportive journalists and newspapers. Those who deliver the hard detailed work during a campaign are rewarded through patronage jobs – “to the victors belong the spoils.”

From the beginning, the “sly fox” Van Buren is an excellent vote counter and political strategist. To win the White House and control the national agenda, the Democrats must:

- Lock in electoral votes across the entire South in one fell swoop – by promising never to interfere with its economically vital practice of slavery; and
- Continue to hammer home, across the North and West, the Jeffersonian virtues of a small fiscally sound federal government dedicated to advancing the interests of yeoman farmers.

Van Buren recognizes early on the shift of political power from South to North, from Virginia to New York, from slave states to free states – and identifies the associated economic fears felt across Dixie. What if a Northern dominated Washington was to suddenly turn against slavery?

The New York congressman, James Tallmadge, has already signaled this possibility in his famous anti-slavery amendment during the 1820 debate over the admission of Missouri. Southerners wonder how this threat, especially from the powerful New Yorkers, can be kept under wraps. Who better than the titular head of the Albany Regency?

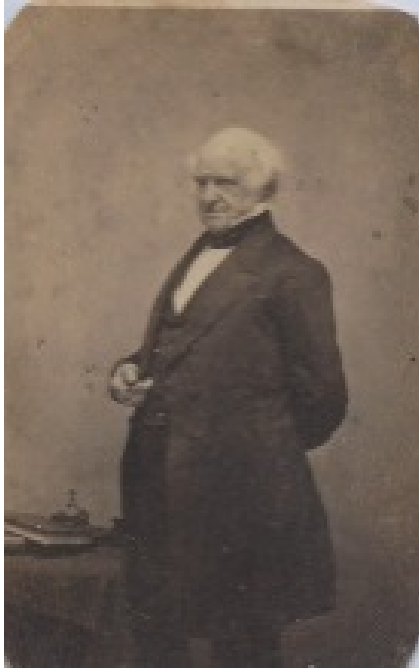
Starting with his 1824 visit to Jefferson at Monticello, Van Buren tours the South on behalf of his Democratic Party vision. Ironically, he tries to nominate William Crawford rather than Andrew Jackson in the 1824 presidential race. But he recovers from this gaffe, and sets his sights on 1828, which lines up perfectly – Jackson completes a New York-Virginia-Tennessee axis for the Democrats and is up against the dour and vulnerable JQ Adams.

When Jackson wins, he brings his campaign manager into his cabinet as Secretary of State. Two years later he is in London as U.S. Ambassador, and then runs alongside Jackson as Vice-President in 1832. The two men become fast friends along the way, and Van Buren is nominated unanimously at the 1835 Baltimore convention.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: March 4, 1837

## Van Buren Addresses Slavery In His Inaugural Speech



Martin Van Buren (1782-1862)

While Van Buren’s inaugural speech is long and tedious, it is remembered for one startling moment when he openly names and addresses the highly charged topic of “domestic slavery.”

In doing so, he acknowledges that future political debate in America will be played out within a sectional frame-work, with the South intent on protecting and expanding slavery and the North seeking to contain it.

He begins by referring to slavery as a “prominent source of discord” and one which the founders treated with “delicacy and forbearance.”

*In justly balancing the powers of the Federal and State authorities, difficulties...arose at the outset, and subsequent collisions were deemed inevitable. Amid these it was scarcely believed possible that a scheme of government so complex in construction could remain uninjured.*

*The last, perhaps the greatest, of the prominent sources of discord and disaster supposed to lurk in our political condition was the institution of domestic slavery. Our forefathers were deeply impressed with the delicacy of this subject, and they treated it with forbearance so evidently wise that in spite of every sinister foreboding it never until the present period disturbed the tranquility of our common country.*

But he now feels that the current “violence of excited passions” evident in congress – presumably the angry floor debates on abolishing slavery in the federal District of Columbia -- must now be addressed.

*Recent events (have) made it obvious... that the least deviation from this spirit of forbearance is injurious to every interest, that of humanity included. Amidst the violence of excited passions this generous and fraternal feeling has been sometimes disregarded; and I can not refrain from anxiously invoking my fellow-citizens never to be deaf to its dictates.*

*Perceiving before my election the deep interest this subject was beginning to excite, I believed it a solemn duty fully to make known my sentiments in regard to it, and now, when every motive for misrepresentation has passed away, I trust that they will be candidly weighed and understood.*

At this point, Van Buren announces his stand on slavery.

He calls himself an “uncompromising opponent of every effort to abolish slavery in DC” and one who is decided to “resist the slightest interference with it in the states where it exists.”

All of this of course is music to the ears of his Southern constituency.

*I must go into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia against the wishes of the slaveholding States, and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists."*

*The (election) result authorizes me to believe that (this view) has been approved by a majority of the people of the United States, including those whom they most immediately affect. It now only remains to add that no bill conflicting with these views can ever receive my constitutional sanction. These opinions have been adopted in the firm belief that they are in accordance with the spirit that actuated the venerated fathers of the Republic, and that succeeding experience has proved them to be humane, patriotic, expedient, honorable, and just.*

From there he expresses his confidence that the recent agitation around slavery has failed to threaten “the stability our institutions” or of the Government itself.

*If the agitation of this subject was intended to reach the stability of our institutions, enough has occurred to show that it has signally failed, and that in this as in every other instance the apprehensions of the timid and the hopes of the wicked for the destruction of our Government are again destined to be disappointed.*

After all, he says, slavery is simply one more obstacle in the many America has overcome on the road to a prosperity secured by the Constitution.

*We look back on obstacles avoided and dangers overcome, on expectations more than realized and prosperity perfectly secured.*

But has prosperity been perfectly secured?

Within thirteen days of Van Buren’s optimistic address, a New York financier named Philip Hone writes, “The great (financial) crisis is near at hand, if it has not already arrived.”

Much to the new President’s chagrin, an economic depression is about to smother his high hopes for a successful administration.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: March 4, 1837 – March 4, 1841

### **Van Buren's Term In Office**

Martin Van Buren surely lives up to his nickname as the “Little Magician” when it comes to maneuvering his way into the White House – but his stay there will prove anything but magical from start to finish.

Jackson's “Specie Circular” order, which Van Buren supports, sets off a financial crisis that sweeps across the country and turns the population against the President and the party he has so carefully crafted. A special session of congress – the first ever assembled for a non-military threat – meets in September 1837, but fails to arrive at a solution to stabilize the currency and restore access to bank loans, the necessary fuel of capitalism. Once again the proper balance between wild speculation and prudent investment is elusive in an increasingly complex American economy.

On top of the banking woes, the public conscience is soon shocked by the murder of an abolitionist newspaperman, Elijah Lovejoy, by a white mob in Alton, Illinois, in November 1837. This event galvanizes anti-slavery advocates across the North, and, in hindsight, makes Lovejoy “the first casualty of the civil war” to follow.

Two men in particular regard Lovejoy's murder as a call to action. One is John Brown, owner of a struggling tannery business in Ohio and future abolitionist martyr – the other is Abraham Lincoln, a 28 year old lawyer in southern Illinois, distressed by the breakdown he sees in law and order.

Lovejoy's death, and the lack of any punishment for his killers, also prompts a renewed flood of Anti-Slavery Society petitions to congress, which JQ Adams reads in defiance of the “Gag Order” of 1836. Southern politicians rally against Adams and behind John C. Calhoun's assertion that “slavery is a positive good” and in need of a fresh bill in congress affirming its legal legitimacy for all times.

The growing hostility on the floor turns again into open violence when the Kentucky Whig, William Graves, challenges and kills John Cilley, a Maine Democrat, in a duel over an alleged slight of honor.

To deal with the economic meltdown, Van Buren makes repeated attempts to create a new financial institution called an “Independent Treasury,” to manage federal funds and stabilize the value of the dollar. He argues that this “US Treasury” would eliminate the conflicts of interest inherent in privately held bank corporations, and would print and circulate a new supply of “properly backed” paper money to jumpstart the loan-making process. The Senate backs this initiative, but the House tables it until June 1840, fearing the move would place too much power in the hands of a President.

Conflict and frustrations bleed into Van Buren’s final years in the White House.

A Spanish slave ship, the *Amistad*, lands in a Connecticut port in August of 1839, filled with blacks who have killed the white crew to secure their freedom. Over the next eighteen months battles will be fought out in newspapers and in the courts about whether to return the prisoners to Spain as “slave property” or grant them liberty. Once again, JQ Adams is in the middle of the dispute, finally arguing for, and winning, their freedom before the Supreme Court.

Van Buren’s final burden centers on what to do about the Republic of Texas. Despite his fervent wish to expand to the west, Andrew Jackson has walked away from annexation in 1836 for fear of war with Mexico and the prospect of a congressional battle over admitting Texas as another slave state. But the matter doesn’t die there. The Texans again seek annexation; the South supports it; and so does Jackson, now from the safety of his retirement at the Hermitage.

Pressure mounts when both France and Britain recognize Texas as an independent nation, hardly the outcome favored by the public. Still Van Buren comes down on the side of restraint, resisting annexation for the same reasons Jackson had four years earlier.

**Key Events: Martin Van Buren’s Term**

<b>1837</b>	
February 6	(Pre-inauguration) Calhoun delivers his “slavery is a positive good” speech in congress
March 4	Jackson and Johnson are inaugurated
April	Uncertainty grows about the value of the dollar and access to loans across the country
May 10	Banks in New York stop redeeming dollars for gold/silver and other cities follow them
August 4	Texas petitions to be annexed by the US and be admitted as a state
August 31	RW Emerson’s PBK speech “The American Scholar” proclaims US intellectual honors
September 5	Special Session of Congress discusses “Specie Circular” policy and bank failures
September 14	Bill to create an “Independent Treasury” passes the Senate, but is tabled in the House
October 2	Bank failure lead to omission of 4 <sup>th</sup> installment deposits under the Surplus Revenue Act
October 12	Congress authorizes printing and distribution of \$10 million “backed” banknotes
November 7	Abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy is murdered by an angry white mob in Alton, Illinois
November	John Brown “consecrates his life to ending slavery” at memorial service for Lovejoy
December 8	Wendell Phillips responds to Lovejoy’s death with his first abolitionist speech
December 19	“Gag Rule” renewed, with South seeking affirmation that “slavery must be protected”



Year	Massachusetts Board of Education head Horace Mann reforms teaching systems
<b>1838</b>	
January 10	Calhoun speaks to the Senate about “the importance of domestic slavery”
January 27	Abraham Lincoln addresses Springfield Lyceum about Lovejoy’s murder & lawlessness
January 3-12	Senate affirms Calhoun resolution positively “affirming slavery as a legal institution”
February 15	JQ Adams defies Gag Rule by introducing 350 anti-slavery petitions on the House floor
February 16	Kentucky legislature grants suffrage to women who are widows with school age children
February 24	Kentucky Whig, William Graves kills Maine Democrat, John Cilley, in a rifle duel.
March 26	House opposes Van Buren’s wish to create an Independent Treasury not tied to banks
May 17	White mob burns the Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia after an anti-slavery meeting
May 21	Jackson’s Specie Circular Order is repealed in a joint resolution of congress
June 12	The House finally passes the Independent Treasury bill by 17 votes
August 13	New York banks resume payouts of dollars in gold/silver, but crisis not over
August 18	Charles Wilkes sets out on expedition to explore the Pacific and Antarctic
October 12	Texas withdraws annexation request and new President Lamar proposes a new nation
<b>1838</b>	
October	Remaining Cherokees removed from their eastern lands
November	Van Buren suffers congressional losses in the mid-term election
November 7	Henry Seward is elected Governor of New York
December 3	The abolitionist Joshua Giddings is elected to the House
Year	Underground Railroad is formed to help run-away slaves
<b>1839</b>	
February 7	Henry Clay attacks abolitionists for risking civil war during senate debate
February 12	Maine and New Brunswick dispute lumber rights along the Aroostook River
February 20	Congress outlaws dueling in the District of Columbia
August	Slaves aboard the <i>Amistad</i> overthrow and kill their white crew and land on Long Island
September 25	France recognizes Texas as a new nation
November 13	The Liberty Party is founded by Tappan & Birney producing schism with Garrison
December 4	Whig convention nominates William Henry Harrison after Clay drops out for harmony
<b>1840</b>	
January 19	Wilkes Expedition sights Antarctica
March 31	Van Buren signs bill mandating a 10 hour workday for public employees

April 1	The abolitionist Liberty Party convention nominates James Birney for president
May 5	Democrats nominate Van Buren on platform that supports Southern slavery
June 12-23	Anti-Slavery Convention in London denies women delegates prompting backlash
June 30	The House finally passes the Independent Treasury Act
July 4	The Independent Treasury begins to house federal funds and stabilize the money supply
November 13	Britain recognizes the nation of Texas
December 2	The Whig William Henry Harrison is elected president
<b>1841</b>	
March 4	Harrison inaugurated

While tilted overall toward the loss column, Van Buren does record some small victories. The “Wilkes Expedition” explores and maps the Pacific Ocean and Antarctica; a border dispute between Maine and New Brunswick over lumber rights along the Aroostook River is resolved short of warfare; and “progress” continues on the transport of the eastern tribes across the Mississippi.

By 1840 per capita GDP drops sharply as a result of the financial stress caused by Jackson’s “Specie Circular” attempt to constrain land speculation and stabilize the value of the dollar. It will not be until 1847, during the Mexican War, when the broad American public enjoys another sizable jump in personal wealth.

**Economic Overview: Martin Van Buren’s Presidency**

	<b>1837</b>	<b>1838</b>	<b>1839</b>	<b>1840</b>
Total GDP (\$000)	1554	1598	1661	1574
% Change	5%	3%	4%	(5%)
Per Capita GDP	98	98	100	92

Martin Van Buren will live on for twenty-one years after exiting the Presidency, first enjoying the life of the “country squire” back in Kinderhook before returning to the political arena, hoping to regain his magical touch within the Democrat Party. But it is not to be.

He is actually favored to win the 1844 nomination, but again refuses to back the annexation of Texas. This costs him support from Southerners and Andrew Jackson, and hands the top spot to James Knox Polk.

By 1848 he feels betrayed by the Democrats and agrees to head the ticket of the new “Free Soil Party.”

During a losing campaign, Van Buren asserts that Congress has the power to limit the spread of slavery to the west – an argument that costs the Democrats a sizable number of Northern white voters, and sets the stage for the rise in 1856 of the Republican Party.

During his waning years, Van Buren does his best to support those trying to hold the Union together. He lives into the second year of the war, finally succumbing on July 24, 1862. Lincoln, who befriends Van Buren in 1842, honors his death by declaring a public day of mourning and ordering all flags to fly at half-mast.

## Chapter 79 - America Suffers An Economic Depression

Time: April 1837

### **Banks Panic As Western Land Price Inflation Becomes Evident**

The financial collapse that begins in April 1837 strikes a blow at the American economy that will be unmatched until the Great Depression of 1929. It will also crush Van Buren's hopes for his presidency and threaten the entire Democratic Party he has so cleverly assembled.

The collapse originates with speculative greed on the part of bankers.

In this case, their scheme focuses on buying up new public land west of the Appalachians from the government at low prices -- and then re-selling it to eventual settlers at much higher prices.

When Andrew Jackson spots this "get rich quick" move in 1835, it strikes him as one more instance where the few privileged bankers profit mightily at the expense of the many common citizens – and he will have none of that.

Jackson senses that the banks are paying for the public land by printing many more soft money notes than they can "back up" through the gold and silver in their vaults. To bring this practice, and the accompanying speculation, to a fast halt, Jackson's 1835 Specie Circular Order requires that all new public land purchased by "non-settlers" be paid for in gold or silver, not banknotes. This executive order quickly triggers two outcomes:

- Recognition among the bankers that the "real value" of the western land they purchased "to make a killing" is artificially inflated, and that settlers will refuse to pay the higher prices they had expected. What previously looked to the bankers like a parcel of land capable of commanding a \$100 price and yielding a \$25 profit, now looks like a \$50 price and a \$25 loss.
- As western land prices plummet – which was Jackson's intent – the bankers calculate the extent of their looming losses, and retreat into panic mode by trying to build enough cash on hand to stay solvent. To accomplish this, they start selling off the western land at ever decreasing prices ("something is better than nothing") and also "calling in existing loans" made to businesses and the general public.

At this point, the situation begins to spin out of control.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: May 10, 1837

## Panic Spreads To The General Public



Too Young to Understand  
the Hard Times

What begins as a panic among bankers, now threatens America's entire financial system -- premised on a stable value for the dollar and an orderly system whereby everyday citizens can make deposits and loans with confidence

This confidence begins to disappear early in 1837.

The small farmer who has borrowed \$100 to plant his crops expecting to pay back the loan in six months after growing and selling them, is suddenly required by his banker to repay the loan now or lose his land. City merchants and manufacturers suffer a similar fate.

Foreclosures follow for those who cannot comply. These, however, often fail to solve the banker's dilemma. They need cash to cover immediate operating expenses, not long-term assets like farms or shop which they can neither run nor sell off.

As conditions spiral downward, pressures from abroad add to the crisis – with fellow bankers in England and Ireland demanding repayment of their prior U.S. loans.

The Specie Circular order also causes many citizens to conclude that the banknotes in their wallets or in deposited savings may not be worth the paper it is printed on. To be safe, they head to their local bank to exchange their soft dollars for the gold or silver that the certificates promise them.

Those who arrive early may leave with minted coins. But the principle of “fractional banking” means that covering all demands for hard money will be impossible, if it arrives all at once.

When the Bank of New York announces on May 10, 1837 that it will no longer convert soft money into the promised gold or silver, depositors across the country begin to close out their accounts. As reported:

*Distrust(of banks) seized upon the public mind like fires in the great prairies.*

The dreaded “run on the banks” is under way.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1837-1843

### **An Economic Depression Ensues**

Once their deposits are withdrawn, the banks themselves go under.

Out of some 850 banks operating across the country in 1837, 343 are forced to close entirely and another 62 are classified as partially failed.

With amazing suddenness, Hamilton's American economy – built on easy access to capital to support profitable investments – is left devoid of available capital. What money there is has been locked up tight in the reserves of the surviving banks, many of whom fueled the crisis in the first place.

In turn, the videotape of America's economic expansion plays out in reverse.

Absent the bank loans they need to operate, even more farmers are thrown off their land and more businesses shut their doors.

Unemployment also spikes, with more than 20,000 out of work in New York city alone.

As the supply of goods and services decreases, prices inflate, further strapping the citizenry.

Public confidence is lost as quickly as it was once found.

Instead of the "prosperity perfectly secured" envisioned by Van Buren in his March inaugural, the nation slips into a severe depression.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: September 5, 1837

### **Van Buren Proposes The Creation Of An Independent US Treasury**

Advice on what to do about the dilemma flows into the White House from all sides – with his own party divided on the issue.

The Jacksonians want him to hold the line on bringing the supply of banknotes back in line with the supply of gold and silver.

Others argue that the banks have been sufficiently punished; that Jackson's order should be repealed; and that Van Buren needs to restore confidence in the system. The public must regain trust in the value of the dollar and in the banks so they are willing to again make deposits. The

banks must feel secure enough about their own assets to resume making the loans needed to revitalize the economy.

Van Buren is sufficiently alarmed to call for a special session of congress, an action reserved to date only in times of war. The session meets on September 5, 1837, and it hears the President's proposals. Characteristically he attempts to play it down the middle, with something for all sides.

He is not about to exhibit confidence in the motives or the disciplines of private bankers. The time has come, he says, to stop funneling surplus federal money into state banks that are liable to misuse it. Instead he proposes the creation of a US Treasury, functioning apart from the private banking system.

The US Treasury would exist to meet the needs of the federal government rather than those of corporate stockholders. It would deposit federal revenue collected in taxes, land sales and other sources, and disburse the money to pay off federal expenses. It would also make loans to various state banks, after first verifying they have the proper gold/silver reserves to "back the value of the dollar."

US Treasury funds loaned to these "reliable banks" could then be used for more loans to farmers, manufacturers and other businesses, thus revitalizing the capitalist economy. To back up this approach, Van Buren proposes to place \$10 million in US Treasury money into the state banks.

The Senate approves this approach, but it is tabled in the House – where the fear is that a US Treasury would put too much power in the hands of the President.

This stalemate continues until June 1840 when a third attempt to win House support succeeds by a 17 vote majority.

Over time, this US Treasury will help stabilize the value of the dollar and tamp down the speculative expansion of credit. But its effects are imperfect, especially during boom or bust periods where plugging the right amount of money into circulation becomes especially important.

On July 4, 1840, Van Buren finally signs his Independent Treasury into law. He hopes that it will turn the economy around and win him a second term in office. But neither wish will come to pass.

What the Bank Panic of 1837 reveals is the profound change that has occurred in America's financial systems and economy. The much simpler and more transparent agricultural vision espoused by Jefferson has morphed into Hamilton's multi-faceted industrial economy, dependent upon capitalism and corporations whose interests may not always correspond with the good of the commonwealth.

## Chapter 80 - The South Intensifies Its Defense Of Slavery

Time: 1820-1836

### Anxiety Mounts Over The North's Anti-Slavery Intrusions

Ever since the 1820 controversy over admitting Missouri as a slave state, Southerners have feared that the North will indeed act against the “peculiar institution” that serves as the basis for their regional prosperity.

The threat level increases during the Second Great Awakening of the 1820's when calls to action by the Evangelical preacher, Reverend Charles Finney, produce a host of white abolitionist reformers from Lloyd Garrison to Theodore Weld, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Lucretia Mott, Angelina Grimke, Gerrit Smith, and James Birney.

Garrison's 1831 *Liberator* newspaper provides early publicity for the movement, gives voice to pleas for freedom from blacks like David Walker, and attempts to shame the public and the politicians into amending the broken 1787 Constitution. As Garrison proclaims:

*That which is not just is not law.*

Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion demonstrates what can happen when slaves take the law into their own hands and seek retribution against their white masters. But this fails to slow down the reformers.

Even the presidency of lifelong planter and slave-holder Andrew Jackson fails to produce the kind of affirmative support for the “interests of the South” that was anticipated. When South Carolina signals its intent, as a sovereign state, to nullify the Tariff of Abominations, Jackson signals his intent to send US troops in to enforce federal law.

He then dumps the leading Southern advocate, John C. Calhoun, off his ticket in 1832, in favor of a Northern man, Martin Van Buren.

In 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society organizes chapters across the North who gather abolitionist petitions and send them to congress to be read on the floor of the House.

When this form of agitation becomes visible in Washington, Southern politicians react by passing the 1836 “Gag Rule” to try to shut down public debate. But ex-President John Quincy Adams refuses to comply and the result is even more heated rhetoric.

The Northern men in Congress by no means favor abolition, but they also do not appreciate being maneuvered by Southerners – especially now that the population count in “their region” gives them majority voting power in the House.



And then in 1837, the new President from New York feels called upon to openly mention the heretofore taboo subject of slavery in his inaugural address to the nation.

All this adds up to a fear that has endured across the South since the founders met in Philadelphia – a fear that, at some moment, the North will turn the power of the federal government against the institution of slavery, the fragile foundation of the region’s wealth.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: February 6, 1837

### John Calhoun Argues The “Slavery Is A Positive Good”



John C. Calhoun (1782-1850)

It is, of course, John C. Calhoun, who consistently tries to alert the South to the imminent dangers of a federal government intruding on the business of slavery.

On February 6, 1837, with his tenure as Vice-President and his prospects for the White House over, he rises on the Senate floor to deliver what will become known as his “slavery is a positive good” speech.” For the sake of drama, he begins by reading two anti-slavery petitions to his colleagues, then proceeds to counter with his own analyses.

*I hold that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States between the two, is, instead of an evil, a good--a positive good.*

Instead of abusing the Africans, slavery has actually enlightened and elevated them.

*I appeal to facts. Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually.*

How much better off is the Southern slave than the pauper classes of society at large.

*I may say with truth, that in few countries so much is left to the share of the laborer, and so little exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poor houses in the more civilized portions of Europe--look at the sick, and the old and infirm slave, on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poorhouse.*

Furthermore, the practice of slavery has always been part and parcel of sustaining a prosperous society.

*I hold then, that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other.*

The lion's share of all wealth has always gone to those who have risen above the producing classes.

*Broad and general as is this assertion, it is fully borne out by history. This is not the proper occasion, but, if it were, it would not be difficult to trace the various devices by which the wealth of all civilized communities has been so unequally divided, and to show by what means so small a share has been allotted to those by whose labor it was produced, and so large a share given to the non-producing classes.*

The South has relied on a simple patriarchal approach to extract wealth from its slave class.

*The devices (to extract wealth) are almost innumerable, from the brute force and gross superstition of ancient times, to the subtle and artful fiscal contrivances of modern. I might well challenge a comparison between them and the more direct, simple, and patriarchal mode by which the labor of the African race is, among us, commanded by the European.*

Because of slavery, the South actually avoids the conflict between labor and capital seen in the North.

*There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital. The condition of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from this conflict; and which explains why it is that the political condition of the slaveholding States has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North.*

Preserving slavery is the best path for America to sustain stable political institutions.

*I turn to the political; and here I fearlessly assert that the existing relation between the two races in the South, against which these blind fanatics are waging war, forms the most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions.*

Attempts to abolish slavery will end the union between the South and the North.

*Abolition and the Union cannot coexist. As the friend of the Union I openly proclaim it. We of the South will not, cannot, surrender our institutions. Maintain(ing) the existing relations between the two races is indispensable to the peace and happiness of both. It cannot be subverted.*

The South has the means to defend itself, but only if it awakens to the threats in time.

*Surrounded as the slaveholding States are with such imminent perils, I rejoice to think that our means of defense are ample, if we shall prove to have the intelligence and spirit to see and apply them before it is too late. (But) I fear it is beyond the power of mortal voice to awaken it in time from the fatal security into which it has fallen.*

Thankfully the dangers can still be avoided if political concert can be achieved.

*All we want is concert, to lay aside all party differences and unite with zeal and energy in repelling approaching dangers. Let there be concert of action, and we shall find ample means of security without resorting to secession or disunion. I speak with full knowledge and a thorough examination of the subject, and for one see my way clearly.*

This 1837 address by Calhoun will stand the test of time as the clearest declaration of how the plantation aristocrats of the South view the institution of slavery and rationalize it to themselves. Civilization has always been run and advanced by the superior few, operating off the daily labor of the producing masses – be they better off African slaves in Southern cotton fields or worse off wage slaves in Northern factories. This is the way it is – and the way it must remain. So says the Senator from South Carolina on behalf of his colleagues.

## Chapter 81 - Abolitionist Editor Elijah Lovejoy Is Murdered By An Alton, Illinois Mob

Time: 1833

### Ordained Minister Elijah Lovejoy Becomes An Abolitionist in St. Louis

While Calhoun is correct in warning the South about growing Northern animosity, the basis relates to economic and cultural difference rather than a drive to abolish slavery.

Proof of this lies in the consistent pattern of violent resistance toward local abolitionists evident across the region.

This pattern is repeated in the Fall of 1837 at the southern Illinois town of Alton, across the Mississippi from St. Louis. The victim in this case is the abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy.

Elijah Lovejoy grows up in Maine, the pious son of a Congregationalist minister. He graduates first in his class from Waterville College (later Colby), then heads west to Missouri, where he hopes to serve God by using his skills as a teacher to improve society. He finds a home in St. Louis, and starts up a private high school. By 1830, however, he is ready for a new career, and becomes part-owner and editor of *The St. Louis Times*.

This lasts until 1832, when he attends a series of revivalist meetings led by the Reverend David Nelson, that prompt him toward the ministry. He heads back east to the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and is ordained as a Presbyterian minister on April 18, 1833.

Church friends support Lovejoy's subsequent move to St. Louis, where he combines preaching in his own church with editing a religious newspaper, *The St. Louis Observer*. While his followers applaud him, others find him increasingly moralistic and outspoken. His criticism of the Roman Church become intense and unyielding, in a city that is heavily Catholic, and his vocal support for abolition is out of step in the slave state of Missouri.

Hostility toward Lovejoy erupts into open violence in April 1836. A free black, one Francis McIntosh, kills a deputy sheriff and wounds another while trying to flee from a crime. He is momentarily jailed, until a mob breaks in and seizes him. Retribution is swift and savage, as McIntosh is tied to a tree and burned alive. When those involved are subsequently tried and acquitted, Lovejoy writes one editorial after another criticizing the outcome.

*We must stand by the laws and the Constitution, or all is gone.*

But legalities count little when it comes to a black man killing a white sheriff -- and, to drive home this point, another mob storms Lovejoy's office and destroys his printing press.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1835

## He Moves To Alton Illinois After Being Attacked By White Mobs

He responds by moving across the river to the booming city of Alton, in the free state of Illinois. At the time he promises local leaders that he will refrain from trying to turn the town into a center for abolitionist agitation.

His actions, however, belie his words. He becomes a Garrison backer, opens a branch of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and on September 27, 1837 convenes a meeting of abolitionists in town. Then comes an editorial in his paper, *The Alton Observer*, calling for the immediate emancipation of all slaves.

Many citizens are outraged by Lovejoy's action and they respond much like the mob in St. Louis – by swarming into his newspaper office and throwing his presses into the Mississippi River not once, but on three occasions.

When civic leaders warn him to leave the city for his own safety, he comes before them on November 3, still hoping for some kind of compromise. His speech captures both the religious fervor and personal fears so common to those who risk all for the cause of abolition.

*Mr. Chairman--it is not true, as has been charged upon me, that I hold in contempt the feelings and sentiments of this community, in reference to the question which is now agitating it. I respect and appreciate the feelings and opinions of my fellow-citizens.*

*But, sir, while I value the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, as highly as any one, I may be permitted to say, that I am governed by higher considerations than either the favour or the fear of man. I am impelled to the course I have taken, because I fear God. As I shall answer it to my God in the great day,*

*I have asked for nothing but to be protected in my rights as a citizen--rights which God has given me, and which are guaranteed me by the constitution of my country.*

*The question to be decided is, whether I shall be protected in the exercise ...of those rights; whether my property shall be protected, whether I shall be suffered to go home to my family at night without being assailed, and threatened with tar and feathers, and assassination; whether my afflicted wife, whose life has been in jeopardy, from continued alarm and excitement, shall night after night be driven from a sick bed into the garret to save her life from the brickbats and violence of the mobs; that sir, is the question."*

*I know, sir, that you can hang me up, or put me into the Mississippi, without the least difficulty. But what then? Where shall I go? I have been made to feel that if I am not safe at Alton, I shall not be safe anywhere. I recently visited St. Charles to bring home my family, and was torn from their frantic embrace by a mob. And now if I leave here and go*

*elsewhere, violence may overtake me in my retreat, and I have no more claim upon the protection of any other community than I have upon this.*

*I have concluded, after consultation with my friends, and earnestly seeking counsel of god, to remain at Alton and here to insist on protection in the exercise of my rights. If the civil authorities refuse to protect me, I must look to God; and if I die, I have determined to make my grave in Alton.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: November 7, 1837

### **Lovejoy Is Killed In An Armed Battle At His Office**

Four days later, his fears are realized.

In a move that will dismay the passive Garrison, Lovejoy decides to arm himself against any further aggression.

He gathers some 20 supporters together at his warehouse to protect a new printing press. At nightfall on November 7 another mob attack begins. *The Alton Observer* reprises what happens next:

*As the crowd grew outside, excitement and tension mounted. Soon the pro-slavery mob began hurling rocks at the warehouse windows. The defenders retaliated by bombarding the crowd with a supply of earthenware pots found in the warehouse. Then came an exchange of gunfire. Alton's mayor tried in vain to persuade the defenders inside to abandon the press. They stood fast.*

*One of the mob climbed a ladder to try to set fire to the roof of the building. Lovejoy and one of his supporters darted into the darkness to over-turn the ladder, for they knew they would be doomed if a fire was set. But again a volunteer mounted the ladder to try to ignite the roof with a smoking pot of pitch.*

*As Lovejoy assisted in putting out the fire on the roof of the building, he received a blast from a double-barreled shotgun. Five of the bullets fatally struck Lovejoy. He died in the arms of his friend Thaddeus Hurlbut. The mob cheered and said all in the building should die. Amos Roff tried to calm the mob and was shot in the ankle.*

*Defenders of the press then laid down their weapons and were allowed to leave. The mob rushed the building, found the press, and threw it out a window to the riverbank, broke it into pieces and dumped the broken parts into the river. The body of Lovejoy was left undisturbed, remaining there until morning, guarded by friends who finally carried him home. He was buried on his 35th birthday, November 9, 1837.*

Lovejoy's death in Illinois joins the near lynching of Garrison in Boston in demonstrating the widespread resistance to abolition among whites in the North.

At the same time, it draws two figures into the public arena: a charismatic Ohio man named John Brown and a young lawyer in Illinois named Abraham Lincoln.

## Chapter 82 - Lovejoy's Murder Begets A Fatal Vow From John Brown

Time: The Early 1830's

### John Brown Inherits His Father's Abolitionist Fervor



John Brown

No figure in the abolitionist movement will rival John Brown in his willingness to rely on violence to end the practice of slavery. And likewise, no other will quite match his record of living and working up close to blacks on a daily basis, befriending them, and becoming convinced of their capacity to be assimilated into American society.

But for this cause comes John Brown onto this hour.

Brown's early life has been hard, beginning with the death of his mother when he is only eight years old. From then his youth is spent under the iron fist of his father in Hudson, Ohio.

Owen Brown is a strict Calvinist of the old school, dedicated to studying his Bible and trying to achieve daily piety and self-perfection. He is also a life-long opponent of slavery, who will subscribe to Garrison's *Liberator*, become a trustee of the evangelist Charles Finney's progressive Oberlin College, and eventually support run-aways on the Underground Railroad network.

Owen Brown will pass along his abolitionist fervor to his son John.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: November 1837

### John Brown Vows To End Slavery In America

When not praying as a youth, John is working long hours at his father's tannery -- a particularly noxious occupation using human waste and chemicals to convert slaughtered animal hides into leather for shoes, belts, jackets and saddles. Young John Brown will soon master this trade, which he will practice the rest of his life.

At age sixteen, he begins religious studies at the local Congregational Church after publicly repenting and accepting Jesus Christ as his savior. He travels to Litchfield, Connecticut, and enrolls at the Morris Academy, pondering the ministry -- until both health and financial difficulties chase him back to Hudson within a year.



In 1820 he marries his first wife, whom he describes as “a neat industrious & economical girl, of excellent character, earnest piety & good practical common sense.” He opens his own tannery, which he runs until 1825, when he buys a 200 acre farm in northwestern Pennsylvania. His plan is ambitious and involves raising and slaughtering the cattle he will use to make and sell finished leather goods.

His dreams, however, fade by 1832, after two shattering events. First, his wife dies following an “instrumented-aided” delivery of a stillborn son, her seventh child over a ten year period. Then Brown himself suffers a prolonged illness that curtails his work and leads to stifling debt.

In 1833, he marries his second wife, the sixteen year old Mary Day, who will eventually bear 13 more children. Their days together will include a daily morning gathering where Brown requires each member of the family to read Bible verses, followed by delivering his own religious admonitions.

As a dedicated Calvinist, Brown is forever searching after God’s plan for his life – and he eventually believes that ending slavery is the answer.

In his autobiography, Brown will write that his antipathy to slavery begins when he is 12 years old, and witnesses a young black boy being “beaten with iron shovels.” As early as 1834, Brown tells his brother Frederick that he is “trying to do something in a practical way for my fellow men that are in bondage.” His initial thoughts turn toward bringing a black youth into his family, educating him and “teaching him the fear of God.”

His business debts mount, and, in 1836 he moves his family from Pennsylvania to a 92 acre farm in Franklin Mills, Ohio, where he again starts up a tannery, largely with borrowed money. But this venture too struggles during the Bank Panic of 1837, and he ends up with even more debt to show for his many talents and hard work.

By this time his abolitionist activities are picking up. He organizes a petition to protest Ohio’s “black codes,” hires freed men to work on his farm, and insists that they be treated respectfully within his local church, much to the dismay of the congregation.

When word reaches him of the Lovejoy assassination, he gathers his family together and reveals his intent to go to wage the Holy War against slavery that will occupy the final two decades of his life.

His oldest son, John Jr., age thirteen at the time, recalls this event years later:

*He asked who of us were willing to make common cause with him in doing all in our power to “break the jaws of the wicked and pluck the spoil out of his teeth. Are you Mary (his second wife), John, Jason and Owen?” As each family member assented, Brown knelt in prayer and administered an oath pledging them to slavery’s defeat.*

John Brown and his father attend a prayer meeting at the First Congregational Church of Hudson, Ohio to honor Lovejoy's memory. Toward the end of the service, Brown stands, raises his right hand, and makes a pledge:

*Here, before God, in the presence of these witnesses, from this time, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery!*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1824-1845

### **America Struggles With Conflicts Between Spirituality And Materialism**

John Brown's journey from the search for moral perfection of his Calvinist youth to the murderous acts of his adulthood is, in many ways, symbolic of an underlying struggle between spirituality and materialism that is playing out at the time.

On one hand, the Second Great Awakening movement tries to return the nation to its religious heritage, the wish for moral perfection represented by the vision of a "shining city upon the hill," the hope for eternal salvation.

On the other, a new generation is being drawn ever more intently toward another familiar, but perhaps conflicting vision -- the "American Dream." It is focused not on eternity, but on the here and now, the chance to settle on your own land, to work hard and get ahead, to accumulate wealth and achieve a lifestyle previously reserved for the aristocracy, not the common man. As the Transcendentalist Emerson puts it, by 1835 the daily emphasis is now on "things:"

*Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.*

The period of reflection marking John Brown's early adulthood -- 1830-1840 -- is thus, in many ways, the resumption of a long-term fundamental struggle for the "soul of America."

The striving for immediate material gains associated with the growing economic successes of capitalism vs. the echoing voices of the original Puritans focused on eternal salvation.

Like Emerson, the astute de Tocqueville, spots this struggle in his observation: "America must remain good to remain great." To fulfill its promise, it must hold true to its original high-minded religious principles, not retreat into Europe's corrupting materialism.

In swearing to "destroy slavery," John Brown asserts the primacy of Calvinist moral righteousness over the injustices of those who would profit economically from human bondage. Surely God's plan for America cannot tolerate this abomination any longer.

He also goes on to embrace a traditional, but now contentious path to righting wrong -- taking the law in his own hands. So it has been when the witches of Salem are summarily burned at the stake; the sitting Vice-President kills the Secretary of the Treasury in a duel; the slaves are

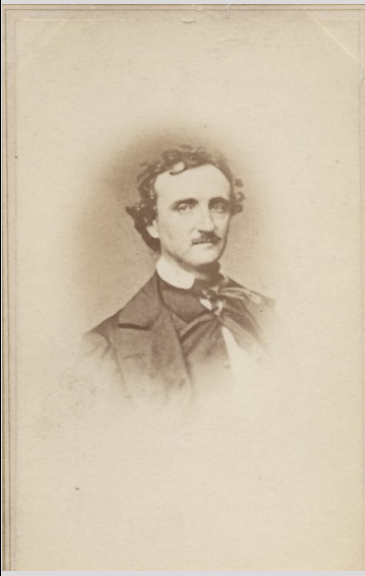
beaten and lynched as a matter of course; a minister like Lovejoy is murdered by a mob of neighbors.

His murderous rampages through Kansas in 1856 and Virginia in 1859 will prove to be another test for those who believe that profound social change, such as abolishing slavery, can be achieved solely through legal means, rather than monomania and violence.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1835-1860

### Sidebar: Monomania In 19<sup>th</sup> Century American Literature



Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849)

The literature of the era is drawn repeatedly to all of these uniquely American themes, especially in the 1835-1855 timeframe.

The Salem born, Bowdoin educated, Nathaniel Hawthorne probes the full range of evils lurking just beneath the surface of the Puritan communities and characters he creates. The Reverend Arthur Dimmesdale is by no means among God's "elect" few, despite appearances to the contrary.

For the Richmond raised Edgar Allan Poe, the focus lies on individual lives ruined by "fixations" that turn into madness and murder. For some the rage traces to an insult from a prior friend. Others are transformed by a fiance's teeth, a pet cat, the fear of impending illness, an elderly man's "vulture eye." For Poe, the path to insane behavior begins with obsession.

But of course, no figure in antebellum American literature will mirror John Brown's pathology better than Herman Melville's Captain Ahab, from his 1851 novel, *Moby Dick*.

Like John Brown, Ahab decides that his fate lies in personally ridding the world of evil, which, in his case, is manifested in the form of the Great White Whale. In striking off Ahab's leg in a first encounter at sea, *Moby Dick* becomes for him...

*All that most maddens and torments; all that stirs up the lees of things; all truth with malice in it; all that cracks the sinews and cakes the brain; all the subtle demonisms of life and thought; all evil, to crazy Ahab, were visibly personified, and made practically assailable in Moby-Dick. He piled upon the whale's white hump the sum of all the general rage and hate felt by his whole race from Adam down; and then, as if his chest had been a mortar, he burst his hot heart's shell upon it.*

Like John Brown, peg-leg Ahab is seen by his crew as a messianic figure, an avenger out of the Old Testament, the seventh king of Israel, slaughtering the Assyrians at the Battle of Qarqar.

*He's a queer man, Captain Ahab--so some think--but a good one. Oh, thou'lt like him well enough; no fear, no fear. He's a grand, ungodly, god-like man, Captain Ahab; doesn't speak much; but, when he does speak, then you may well listen. Mark ye, be forewarned; Ahab's above the common; Ahab's been in colleges, as well as 'mong the cannibals; been used to deeper wonders than the waves; fixed his fiery lance in mightier, stranger foes than whales.*

For John Brown, slavery will become his version of Ahab's great white whale. Infinite evil which must be stamped out, no matter what – and the ends justify the means.

From Elijah Lovejoy's murder in 1837 to his 1858 raid on Harper's Ferry, John Brown will be on iron rails headed toward his destiny on a scaffold in Richmond. "A grand ungodly, god-like man." A man obsessed.

## Chapter 83 - The Mob Behavior In Alton Also Draws A Public Response From Abraham Lincoln

Time: 1809-1830

### Abraham Lincoln Becomes A Lawyer After An Unpredictable Youth

At the time of Lovejoy's murder, Abraham Lincoln is 28 years old, still a bachelor, living in Springfield, Illinois, and just beginning to practice law under John Stuart, after passing the bar in 1836.

His life journey so far has been quite remarkable, given his roots.

He is born in Hardin County, Kentucky, to Thomas Lincoln, an embittered farmer who has lost much of his wealth over disputed land titles, and Nancy Hanks Lincoln, who teaches him "his letters" and shapes his early character. In 1816 Thomas moves his family across the Ohio River into Spencer County, Indiana, where young Abe lives from 9 to 21 years of age. His mother dies soon after the move, and he is subsequently raised by his older sister and then by his step-mother, Sarah, who cherishes him.

While his formal education is close to nil, Lincoln is innately very smart, intensely curious and eager to make his way in the world around him. He masters language through repeated readings of the Bible, Aesop's Fables, Pilgrim's Progress and Shakespeare's plays, and then writing his thoughts on an easel. He masters daily life by throwing himself into it. His physical presence sets him off from others. He is 6'3" tall, remarkably strong from wielding an ax to split lumber, and noted for outwrestling all comers in town. He is also gregarious, loves debate, and is a natural raconteur. People gather round him to hear his thoughts and share laughter.

Here indeed, at an early age, are the makings of the lawyer and politician he will become.

Throughout these early years, slavery is simply an accepted part of his world.

In Kentucky he sees coffles of slaves marching along the road to Nashville near his home. In December 1828, at age 19, and again in April 1831, he is hired to crew flatboats carrying cargo on the Mississippi down to New Orleans – with its omnipresent slave pens and auctions and its unmistakable messages about the innate inferiority of all Africans.

Lincoln's initial response to slavery appears to be simple empathy for its victims, and a visceral sense that it is evil. Looking back in April 1864, he will write:

*If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel.*

But as a young man, growing up where he does, his response is a very familiar passive one.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1831-1837

### **Lincoln Moves To Illinois and Dabbles In Politics**

In 1831 Lincoln heads out on his own, canoeing down the Sangamon River to the village of New Salem, Illinois.

Once there he embarks on a string of potential careers, running a general store, serving as postmaster, acting as land surveyor, before deciding to become a lawyer. He begins this final quest, as usual, on his own, reading and re-reading Blackstone's Commentaries.

During his 5 year stay in New Salem, two other experiences will influence his future. The first provides him with a brief taste of military life.

When Chief Blackhawk and his Sauks attempt to occupy land along Illinois's northwestern border, Lincoln enlists in the militia on April 21, 1832, and is elected Captain of the 31<sup>st</sup> Regiment. His ten weeks of duty are largely spent marching and camping, although some believe he participates in a burial detail after the Battle of Stillman's Run.

After mustering out on July 10, Lincoln returns to New Salem and decides at age twenty-three to enter politics, seeking a seat in the Illinois General Assembly.

He runs as a Whig, given his lifelong admiration for Henry Clay, but finishes eighth in a field of sixteen contenders. Despite this initial set-back, he runs again and wins the seat in 1834 and again in 1836.

In 1837 Lincoln is called upon to take a stand on slavery, when the Assembly is asked to vote on a resolution asserting that "the right of property in slaves is sacred...the General Government cannot abolish slavery in the District of Columbia...the formation of abolition societies is highly disapproved."

The resolution passes 77-6, with Lincoln being one of the six to vote against it -- and several weeks later, he and Representative Dan Stone file a protest to its passage, a rarely used device to register strong disagreement.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: January 27, 1838

### **Abraham Lincoln Speaks Out Against Civil Disobedience**

In April of 1837, Lincoln moves to Springfield, ready to convert his 1836 law license into a live practice.

Once there, he is drawn to the Young Men's Lyceum, an educational forum attracting local intellectuals and up-and-coming professionals.

Speaking to this group is a natural for aspiring politicians like Lincoln, and he addresses it on January 27, 1838. The title of his speech is "The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions," and he delivers it some ten weeks after the murder of Elijah Lovejoy in nearby Alton.

Many regard this as Lincoln's his first important public address. It is not about slavery, or even about Lovejoy perse. Rather it warns of two risks facing America's democracy.

One involves the threat of dictators, like Caesar or Napoleon, substituting their will for that of the people. The other lies in "savage mobs," imposing their wills on any whom they oppose, as in Alton.

Lincoln declares that any government that tolerates such behavior cannot last.

*Whenever the vicious portion of [our] population shall be permitted to gather in bands of hundreds and thousands, and burn churches, ravage and rob provision stores, throw printing presses into rivers, shoot editors, and hang and burn obnoxious persons at pleasure and with impunity, depend upon it, this government cannot last.*

A nation has but one path to escape these threats – and that lies in disciplined obedience to the law.

*Let every man remember that to violate the law, is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own, and his children's liberty...Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother...in short let it become the political religion of the nation....*

A continued disregard for law signals that "something of ill-omen is amongst us."

*I hope I am over wary; but if I am not, there is, even now, something of ill-omen, amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country; the growing disposition to substitute the wild and furious passions, in lieu of the sober judgment of Courts; and the worse than savage mobs, for the executive ministers of justice.*

Like the wizened Southerner, John Calhoun, a young Abraham Lincoln is already sensing, in 1838, a fundamental breakdown in the social fabric holding America together.

At this point, however, he has yet to fully plumb the depths of the disorder.

His brief experience in Illinois state government has taught him that it has to do with conflict over "the right of property in slaves." He also knows that he oppose the notion of slavery on moral grounds.

But how to resolve the matter will absorb him for the remainder of his life.

Unlike John Calhoun and John Brown, the Lyceum speech shows that his answer will not lie in “wild and furious passions.” Instead, Lincoln the lawyer will seek solutions in following the laws, not breaking them.



## Chapter 84 - Calhoun Again Tries To Rally The South Against The Regional Threats He Sees

Time: The 1830's

### Sources Of Growing Concerns In The South

During the 1830's the consistent Northern hostility toward activists like Lovejoy and Garrison shows that the South has no reason to fear a formal move to abolish slavery where it currently exists.

But still astute men like Calhoun see dangers for the future on the horizon – especially as they relate to the South's goal of expanding slavery into new territories. These signals of Northern resistance include:

- The constitutions of new states from Ohio through Illinois opposing black residency;
- Segregation, race riots and attempts to rid cities of their black populations;
- House passage of the 1819 Tallmadge Amendment to ban slavery in Missouri;
- Morality concerns about slavery arising out of the Second Great Awakening;
- The appearance of Garrison's inflammatory newspaper *The Liberator*;
- Formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society;
- JQ Adams refusal to discontinue reading anti-slavery petitions in Congress;
- Attacks on slavery in state legislature (Giddings in Ohio; Stevens in Pennsylvania).

Then there are the Census results which show the population – and hence the apportionment of seats in the U.S. House – consistently shifting to the North and the Free States. What if the House succeeds again in trying to block expansion? What if this can't be overturned in the Senate or by a pro-Southern president?

On top of this, Calhoun senses an almost visceral animosity building between the two regions.

They are constantly at odds over economic policies affecting the South's agriculture needs versus the North's industrialization. The tariff nullification attempt is one example, and it has left many feeling that the South is ready to trample on federal law in order to have their own way. In turn, more Southerners are expressing out loud that the North is intentionally out to damage their economy out of spite toward their "more refined, almost aristocratic" culture and lifestyles.

Calhoun is frustrated that so many of the South's political leaders do not share his sense of urgency over acting on the dangers.

Roughly a year after his "Slavery Is A Positive Good" speech, he again rises in the Senate to rally the opposition.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: January 10, 1838

### Calhoun Warns Against The “Deluded Madmen” Abolitionists

He begins with a refrain of his prior message – that time and events have shown that instead of being a “moral and political evil,” slavery has served the nation, and the blacks, well.

*Many in the South once believed that it was a moral and political evil; that folly and delusion are gone; we see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world.*

The “two races, from different parts of the globe” were united in the South in nearly equal numbers by “a mysterious Providence” – and the result has been to the benefit of both.

*Experience has shown that the existing relation between them secured the peace and happiness of both. Each has improved; the inferior greatly; so much so, that it has attained a degree of civilization never before attained by the black race in any age or country. Under no other relation (than slavery) could they coexist together.*

He goes on to paint an idyllic picture of plantations as “little communities” living in balance and harmony, under the hand of a beneficent master.

*Every plantation is a little community, with the master at its head, who concentrates in himself the united interests; of capital and labor, of which he is the common representative. These small communities aggregated make the State in all, whose action, labor, and capital is equally represented and perfectly harmonized.*

This is unlike the North, where the equilibrium between capital and labor has been disturbed by constant aggression.

*In this tendency to conflict in the North between labor and capital, which is constantly on the increase, the weight of the South has and will ever be found on the Conservative side; against the aggression of one or the other side, which ever may tend to disturb the equilibrium of our political system.*

The institution of slavery has served both races well, and it has served the South and the entire Union well. It should be left undisturbed.

*This is our natural position, the salutary influence of which has thus far preserved, and will long continue to preserve, our free institutions, if we should be left undisturbed.*

“Deluded madmen” must not be allowed to tear it down.

*Such are the institutions which these deluded madmen are stirring heaven and earth to destroy, and which we are called on to defend by the highest and most solemn obligations that can be imposed on us as men and patriots.*

## Chapter 85 - Politicians Once Again Turn To Violence To Resolve Their Differences

Time: Winter 1838

### A Challenge To Duel Is Issued

Even as Lincoln is calling for civil restraint, America's penchant for settling political disputes through violence is once again materializing in the halls of Congress.

This time it involves a duel between two sitting members of the U.S. House: Jonathan Cilley, a first term Whig from Maine and William Graves, a Democrat from Kentucky.

The conflict arises after a speech by Cilley on the floor questioning editorials written by James Watson Webb, owner of the *The New York Courier and Enquirer*. These include vicious attacks on Cilley's fellow abolitionist, Lewis Tappan, and his praise for re-chartering the Second U.S. Bank. When Cilley suggests that the bank support is in return for a \$52,000 loan he received, Webb demands an apology.

Webb selects Congressman Graves to deliver the demand, but when he tries, Cilley refuses to accept the note. He tells Graves that his rejection is to avoid any further unpleasantness with Webb.

Graves is initially willing to walk away until several friends, including Kentuckian and repeat duelist, Henry Clay, urge him to reject the apology.

So Graves challenges Cilley to a duel, even though the two have had no prior contact whatsoever.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: February 24, 1838

### Congressman Graves Kills Congressman Cilley

Cilley accepts and, hearing of Grave's reputation as skilled with handguns, settles on rifles as his weapon of choice.

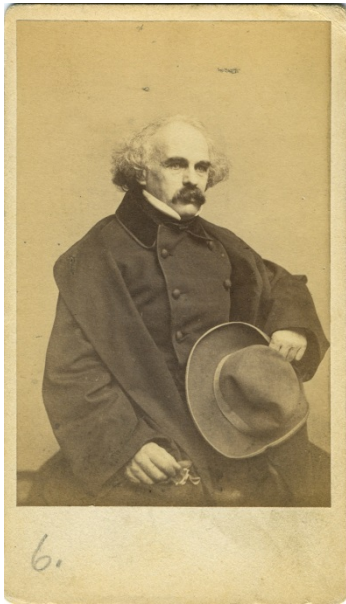
The two men and their seconds meet on February 24, 1838, at the Bladensburg Dueling Grounds in Maryland.

They are placed 80 yards apart from each other and given the order to fire. When neither man is hit, the seconds attempt to end the matter, especially since both combatants claim no "personal animosity" toward the other.

But a truce is not to be, and another round is fired, again with misses from both men.

In the third round, however, Graves scores a hit, striking Cilley in the upper thigh and puncturing his femoral artery. Cilley falls to the ground and bleeds to death in two to three minutes, absent a tourniquet.

He is 35 years old when killed, and leaves behind a wife and three children, and a sterling reputation.



His close friend and fellow Bowdoin College classmate, Nathaniel Hawthorne, commemorates him in a eulogy at the funeral.

*Alas that over the grave of a dear friend my sorrow for the bereavement must be mingled with another grief, --that he threw away such a life in so miserable a cause! Why, as he was true to the Northern character in all things else, did he swerve from his Northern principles in this final scene?*

*A challenge was never given on a more shadowy pretext; a duel was never pressed to a fatal close in the face of such open kindness as was expressed by Mr. Cilley; and the conclusion is inevitable, that Mr. Graves and his principal second, Mr. Wise, have gone further than their own dreadful code will warrant them, and overstepped the imaginary distinction, which, on their own principles, separates manslaughter from murder.*

Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) Eulogizes  
Congressman Jonathan Cilley (1802-1838)

*But his error was a generous one, since he fought for what he deemed the honor of New England; and, now that death has paid the forfeit, the most rigid may forgive him. If that dark pitfall--that bloody grave --had not lain in the midst of his path, whither, whither might it not have led him! It has ended there: yet o strong was my conception of his energies, so like destiny did it appear that he should achieve everything at which he aimed, that even now my fancy will not dwell upon his grave, but pictures him still amid the struggles and triumphs of the present and the future.*

## Chapter 86 - Southern Fears Mount Further As The Supreme Court Frees Slaves In The *Amistad* Affair

Time: July 1839 to March 9, 1841

### African Slaves Bound For Spanish Cuba End Up In A Connecticut Courtroom

Everywhere Van Buren looks, he is beset by thorny problems, related either to the economic depression or to political turmoil over slavery.

One slavery incident in particular plays out between July of 1839 and the end of his term in office – and it results in a clear judicial victory for the abolitionists.

The case involves some 53 Africans who are snatched from their homeland in Nigeria and shipped to Cuba, in violation of bans on international slave trading passed by many nations, including the U.S. and Spain,

Once in Cuba, the slaves are sold to two buyers, who give them Spanish names so they appear “homegrown” and can be marketed legally to owners of a sugar plantation on the island. When the deal is done, the slaves are loaded on to a Spanish schooner, *La Amistad* (ironically “friendship” in English) for transport to the plantation.

Then things go awry.



Queen Isabella II of Spain (1830-1904)

On July 1, 1839, the slaves, under their leader, known later as Joseph Cinque, break free from their chains, kill the ship’s captain and a cook, and demand that the remaining crew sail them back home to Africa. But their knowledge of basic navigation is flawed, and the crew eventually lands the ship on Long Island, New York -- where they are arrested by U.S. officials on charges of murder and sent to New Haven, Connecticut for trial.

Although the murder charges are eventually dropped, some 36 Africans remain in jail, as both the plantation owners and the government of Spain, which rules Cuba, claim them “as property.”

When the Spanish ambassador gets involved, President Van Buren is ready to simply ship the slaves back to Cuba, to appease the avaricious regents surrounding Queen Isabella II, and tamp down any further debates over slavery in America.

However, by the time he is ready to act, the Abolitionist Lewis Tappan has taken up the case and seen that a court trial is scheduled. After hearing the evidence, the District Court judge Smith Thompson rules that the slaves were indeed Africans, not Cubans, by origin, and, as such, they were entitled to their freedom, and should be sent back to their homeland.

*I find, then, as a matter of fact, that in the month of June, 1839, the law of Spain did prohibit, under severe penalty, the importation into Cuba of negroes from Africa. These negroes were imported in violation of that law, and be it remembered that, by the same law of Spain, such imported negroes are declared to be free in Spain. ... If, by their own laws, they cannot enslave them, then it follows, of necessity, they cannot be demanded. When these facts are known by the Spanish minister, he cannot but discover that the subjects of his queen have acquired no rights in these men. They are not the property of Spain. His demand must be withdrawn.*

This verdict upsets Van Buren and he orders his lawyers to appeal the decision in the Supreme Court.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: February 23 To March 9, 1841

### **A Supreme Court Ruling Frees The Africans And Alarms The South**

Arguments before Chief Justice Taney and the high court begin on February 23, 1841.

Making the case for the Africans is none other than ex-President John Quincy Adams. Among the lawyers representing the Spanish crown is Ralph Ingersoll, ex-US congressman from Connecticut, who had earlier helped the town of New Haven defeat a proposal to open a “Negro College.”

The oral arguments extend from February 23 to March 2.

Adams wraps up in an appeal that extends over seven hours. He says that American laws, not those of any foreign power, must determine the African’s fates – and that our laws have banned international slave trading since 1808. Hence they are free men, who have been kidnapped illegally.

*Now the unfortunate Africans, whose case is the subject of the present representation, have been thrown by accidental circumstances into the hands of the authorities of the United States; and it may probably depend upon the action of the United States Government, whether these persons shall recover the freedom to which they are entitled, or whether they shall be reduced to slavery, in violation of the known laws and contracts publicly passed, prohibiting the continuance of the African slave trade by Spanish subjects.*

Under America's habeas corpus statutes, no President has the right to seize free men and turn them over to a foreign power at his own discretion.

*There had been reports in circulation, which is by no means surprising, that the President intended to remove these people to Cuba, by force, gubernativamente, by virtue of his Executive authority--that inherent power which I suppose has been discovered, by which the President, at his discretion, can seize men, and imprison them, and send them beyond seas for trial or punishment by a foreign power*

*Is there a law of Habeas Corpus in the land? Has the 4<sup>th</sup> of July become a day of ignominy and reproach. Remember the indignation raised against a former President of the United States for causing to be delivered up...a British sailor, for murder on board of a British frigate on the high seas? And is it for this court to sanction such monstrous usurpation and Executive tyranny as this at the demand of a Spanish minister?*

*Had the precedent once been set and submitted to, of a nameless mass of judicial prisoners and witnesses, snatched by Executive grasp from the protective guardianship of the Supreme Judges of the land, at the dictate of a foreign minister, would it not have disabled forever the effective power of the Habeas Corpus?*

As free men, the Africans belong to no one but themselves; they are not property; and they deserve the right to liberty and justice under both our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence.

*The Constitution nowhere recognizes them as property. The words slave and slavery are studiously excluded from the Constitution. Circumlocutions are the fig-leaves under which these parts of the body politic are decently concealed. Slaves, therefore, in the Constitution of the United States are recognized only as persons, enjoying rights and held to the performance of duties.*

*The moment you come, to the Declaration of Independence, that every man has a right to life and liberty, an inalienable right, this case is decided. I ask nothing more in behalf of these unfortunate men, than this Declaration.*

Adams' arguments prevail and the Court decides by a 7-1 majority to uphold the ruling in Connecticut. In releasing Cinque and the others, Senior Justice Joseph Story's opinion states that

*The Africans on board the Amistad were free individuals. Kidnapped and transported illegally, they had never been slaves.*

After the verdict is in, authorities refuse to authorize a U.S. ship to take Cinque and his remaining band back to their homeland. But once again Lewis Tappan steps in and all 36 survivors of the ordeal arrive in Africa early in 1842.

While the *Amistad* decision has more to do with Admiralty law rather than Constitutional law, the mere fact of the US Supreme Court deciding to free the Africans is troubling to the South.



On hearing the decision, John Calhoun says “this could take us all one step closer to civil war.”

Fortunately for Martin Van Buren, the verdict is not handed down until March 9, 1841, five days after he has left office. It serves as a fitting coda for what has been a painful term for both the President and the nation.

## Chapter 87 - The Growing Sectional Divide As The Election Of 1840 Looms

Time: 1776-Forward

### The South Shapes A Narrative To Support Its Slavery And Culture

As tensions grow between the North and South by 1840, both regions resort to their own “narratives” to explain why their culture and lifestyles are superior.

The Southern narrative begins with its rationales related to slavery:

- The practice of slavery does not originate in America but is imported here by the British.
- Most of the nation’s slaves enter the country through ports in the North, not the South.
- Over time, the North manages to cleanse itself of its slave population.
- The Africans are an inherently inferior and potentially violent species, incapable of being assimilated.
- The “burden” of caring for -- and controlling – the slaves then falls entirely on the South.
- In return for managing this burden, the South uses the slaves to support their agrarian economy.
- The slaves are also given the chance to embrace Christianity along the way and achieve salvation.
- The best interests of the nation are served by supporting the South’s practices and needs related to slavery.
- That kind of regional cooperation was exactly what the founding fathers sanctioned in the 1787 Constitution.
- The Union is being threatened by stealing power from the states and handing it to the federal government.
- The South will leave the Union if the federal power is turned against its interests in slavery.

The institution has endured in the South out of “obligation and duty” to the nation. Blacks are “so poor, so wretched, and so vile...as to be totally disqualified from exercising freedom.” Instead of criticizing and meddling in slavery, the North should be thankful to the South for “fulfilling the high trust which has devolved on us as owners of slaves.”

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1840

### Southerners Condemn The North’s Economy And Way Of Life

Accompanying the South’s defense of its “planter society” comes a scathing indictment of the many woes it sees in the North’s shift away from Jefferson’s agricultural vision and to Hamilton’s capitalism and industrialization.

- The basic freedoms and values Americans hold dear are now threatened across the North.
- No longer is it a place where independent farmers are working their own land, enjoying comparable wealth and influence, avoiding debt, solving their own domestic issues at the local level, and electing a small, fiscally frugal national government whose main role lies in managing foreign affairs.
- Instead wealth and power have been concentrated in the hands of a few at the expense of the many.
- The villains here are capitalism and corporations which place private profits above public good.
- Together they encourage personal greed and “get rich quick” speculation.
- Together they end all too often with personal debt and corruption.
- A corrupt corporate banking system provides the fuel for these schemes by printing and distributing soft money “unbacked” by gold and silver, thus eroding the “real value” of the dollar for all Americans.
- Corrupt politicians, co-opted by the wealthy few into supporting their profit-making programs, threaten the very notion of a “government for the people.”
- Corrupt businessmen convert Northern workers into “wage slaves,” whose daily lives in factories or offices often leave them worse off than a Southern field hand picking cotton.
- The credo of industrial capitalism across the North lies in maximizing profits for its stockholders over doing what is in the best interests of the country and the common man.

Most critically, the South argues that personal freedom has been eroded across the North. Jefferson’s yeoman farmer is, above all else a free (white) man, indebted to no one but himself. He is not a wage earner, dependent on a capitalistic owner/boss for his economic well-being. Nor is he a borrower, in hock to a capitalistic banker.

Being free economically, he can be free politically. Government is there to serve him; not vice versa.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1840

### **The Northern Narrative Is Upbeat And Energized**

As Hamilton’s diversified, modern economy takes hold, the vast majority of Northerners are delighted by the personal benefits that accrue from it.

The emergence of urban centers greatly facilitates commerce and makes the necessities and luxuries of life more easily available than ever before.

Many are attracted to trading in their backbreaking labor on the family farm to earn a living based on their wits and acquired skills. And these new jobs often result in increased income and wealth.

While still small, a growing and on-the-make “middle class” begins to assert itself in the North.

Rather than a blight on the landscape, the advent of large cities tend to become a source of pride that America finally belongs as a global power.

Would the average Northerner trade places with their Southern counterparts in 1840?

The answer is no way.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1840

### **Animosity Toward The Southern “Slavocracy” Deepens**

By 1840 many Northerners are also forming up a negative impression of the South.

The basis for this is definitely not moral qualms related to the institution of slavery.

Indeed, the vast majority of whites across the North and West have already signaled in state Constitutions and “black codes” that they want nothing to do with blacks – be they slaves or freed men – in their midst.

Instead, the antipathy seems to center on the privileged Southern planter class, with their vast farms, aristocratic lifestyles, and leisurely indulgences, all built off the backs of unpaid slave laborers.

That whole system seems like a put-down to the hard work recorded daily by the white men of the North – be it on farms or in cities. Northern politicians will later leverage these feeling by labeling the South as a “slavocracy” and an affront “to the dignity of free white labor.”

The sense of Southern privilege also seems to be operating within the Federal government.

The fact that four of the first five US President are Virginians is not lost on the Northern politicians in Washington.

Nor is the sense that the make-up of the Senate is rigged to insure that the Southern states retain equal control over the passage of legislation – despite the fact that Census counts show a widening majority of citizens living up North.

Animosity of this sort also grows around actions like the 1836 “Gag Rule,” the South’s attempt to shut down debate on the abolitionist petitions. It is not that the North supports these petitions – rather that a certain amount of heavy-handed Southern arrogance seems at work in their demands.

As the Northern economy takes off along with city life, the South also begins to appear backwards, as if it has been left behind. In its attempts to block congressional programs to build

needed roads, canals and other infrastructure needs of the country, it appears out of touch and self-serving.

The sum total of these impulses across the North and West is to push back on the South, to “put it in its place,” especially when its planter class seems intent on exercising its privilege.

At times in almost perverse fashion, the North will discover that nothing rattles the South like goading it over the institution of slavery.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1840

### Two Roads Diverging In 1840



As a disappointed Van Buren exits the White House, sectional differences that almost prevented the formation of the Union in 1787 are intensifying.

The South, frozen in its agrarian tradition, betting its entire future on crops of cotton and slaves, growing suspicious that the North will stand in the way of its future success.

The North, impatient to move on to the promises of capitalism and industrialization, sensing a backwards South asserting unwarranted privilege and blocking progress.

The threat of dis-union in the air.

All with echoes of George Washington’s 1796 Farewell Address ringing in the background:

*The unity of government which constitutes you one people is ...now dear to you.*

*Discountenance... even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned...frown upon...every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.*

*With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You Have in a Common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels...common sufferings and successes.*

*The most commanding motives (exist) for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole... Protected by the equal laws of a common government...the North...the South...the East...the West...secure enjoyment of ...outlets for their own production...across agriculture and manufacturing.*

*(Beware) of the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations...The alternate domination of one faction over another, shaped by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension...*

*The name of American, which belongs to you... must always exalt the just pride of patriotism.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1840

**Sidebar: Those Exiting And Entering The Public Stage In 1840**

<b>Exiting</b>	<b>Death</b>	<b>Age At Death</b>
Charles Pinckney	October 29, 1824	67 years
CC Pinckney	August 16, 1825	79
William Eustis	February 6, 1825	71
John Adams	July 4, 1826	90
Thomas Jefferson	July 4, 1826	83
Luther Martin	July 10, 1826	78
Rufus King	April 29, 1827	72
John Jay	May 17, 1829	83
David Walker	August 10, 1830	33
James Monroe	July 4, 1831	73
Reverend Thomas Paul	1831	58
John Marshall	July 6, 1835	79
James Madison	June 28, 1836	85
Aaron Burr	September 14, 1836	80
Elijah Lovejoy	November 7, 1837	34
Tecumseh	October 3, 1838	71
Benjamin Lundy	August 22, 1839	50
Robert Hayne	September 24, 1839	47
<b>Aging</b>	<b>Born</b>	<b>Age In 1840</b>
Albert Gallatin	Jan 29, 1761	79
James Forten	September 2, 1766	74
JQ Adams	July 11, 1767	73
Andrew Jackson	March 15, 1767	73
William H Harrison	Feb 8, 1773	67
Roger Taney	March 17, 1777	63
Henry Clay	April 12, 1777	63
James Tallmadge, Jr.	January 28, 1778	62
Richard M. Johnson	October 17, 1780	60

Daniel Webster	January 18, 1782	58
Thomas Hart Benton	March 14, 1782	58
John C Calhoun	March 18, 1782	58
Lewis Cass	October 9, 1782	58
Martin Van Buren	Dec 5, 1782	58
Zachary Taylor	Nov 24, 1784	56
Arthur Tappan	May 22, 1786	54
Winfield Scott	June 13, 1786	54
Theo Frelinghuysen	March 28, 1787	53
John J. Crittenden	September 10, 1787	53
Lewis Tappan	May 23, 1788	52
John Tyler	Mar 29, 1790	50
George McDuffie	August 10, 1790	50
Francis P. Blair	April 12, 1791	49
James Buchanan	April 23, 1791	49
James Birney	February 4, 1792	48
Thaddeus Stevens	April 4, 1792	48
Willie P. Mangum	May 10, 1792	48
George Dallas	July 10, 1792	48
Rev. Charles Finney	August 29, 1792	48
Lucretia Mott	January 3, 1793	47
Sam Houston	March 2, 1793	47
Austin Steward	1793	47
Thomas Dalton	October 17, 1794	46
<b>Emerging</b>	<b>Born</b>	<b>Age in 1840</b>
Silas Wright	May 24, 1795	45
Joshua Giddings	October 6, 1795	45
James Polk	Nov 2, 1795	45
Rev. Samuel Cornish	1795	45
John Bell	February 18, 1796	44
Andrew Butler	November 18, 1796	44
Gerrit Smith	March 6, 1797	43
Thurlow Weed	November 15, 1797	43
Sojourner Truth	1797	43
Rev. Theodore Wright	1797	43
Millard Fillmore	Jan 7, 1800	40
Caleb Cushing	January 17, 1800	40
Daniel Dickinson	September 11, 1800	40
Robert B. Rhett	December 21, 1800	40
Henry Seward	May 16, 1801	39
Brigham Young	June 1, 1801	39
Ralph Waldo Emerson	May 25, 1803	37

Theodore Weld	November 23, 1803	37
Henry Foote	February 28, 1804	36
Nathaniel Hawthorne	July 4, 1804	36
Franklin Pierce	Nov 23, 1804	36
Angelina Grimke	February 20, 1805	35
William Lloyd Garrison	December 12, 1805	35
John Hale	March 31, 1806	34
Henry Wise	December 3, 1806	34
Preston King	October 14, 1806	34
Robert E. Lee	January 19, 1807	33
David Atchison	August 11, 1807	33
Salmon Chase	January 13, 1808	32
Jefferson Davis	June 3, 1808	32
Edgar Allan Poe	January 9, 1809	31
Abraham Lincoln	February 12, 1809	31
Robert MT Hunter	April 21, 1809	31
Hannibal Hamlin	August 27, 1809	31
Charles Lenox Raymond	February 1, 1810	30
David Ruggles	March 15, 1810	30
Robert Toombs	July 2, 1810	30
Robert Purvis	August 4, 1810	30
Charles Sumner	January 6, 1811	29
Owen Lovejoy	January 6, 1811	29
Horace Greeley	February 3, 1811	29
Harriet Beecher Stowe	June 14, 1811	29
Lewis Hayden	December 2, 1811	29
John McClernand	May 12, 1812	28
Alexander Stephens	February 11, 1812	28
John Fremont	January 21, 1813	27
Stephen A Douglas	April 23, 1813	27
William Yancey	August 10, 1814	26
Howell Cobb	September 7, 1815	25
Nathaniel Banks	January 30, 1816	24
Henry David Thoreau	July 12, 1817	23
Frederick Douglass	February 1818	22
Herman Melville	August 1, 1819	21
David Wilmot	January 14, 1820	20
John C. Breckinridge	January 16, 1821	19
Ulysses S. Grant	April 27, 1822	18



## Sidebar: “We The People” In 1840 – Overview

### The American Experiment Is Thriving



Main St. in Small Town America

Over the twenty years between 1820 and 1840 the daily lives of most Americans have improved steadily, with the exceptions of those enslaved in the South and the dispossessed native tribes.

The total population has almost doubled and stands at 17 million. The average age is youthful, at twenty-two years old, and life expectancy is just under forty years for white citizens.

Fears of a foreign invasion have been laid to rest, and the Second Great Awakening has prompted many movements to address social problems.

Despite periodic setbacks, the economy continues its upward trajectory.

Many new growth opportunities are fostered by Henry Clay, the long-term Kentucky Senator who promotes what he calls the “American System,” aimed at strengthening the nation’s infrastructure.

Clay’s “system” involves increased tariffs on foreign imports to “protect” U.S. manufacturers, a national bank to help fuel capitalism, and federal spending, especially behind roads, canals and bridges to facilitate transportation of goods and settlers. Despite opposition from Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, at least some of Clay’s wishes are realized.

The result is an America more rapidly on the move in every direction.

Primitive cart paths give way to upgraded macadam and plank roads and turnpikes, linking farms to small towns and on to growing urban centers. Steamboats convert a hazardous two month overland journey from Philadelphia to St. Louis into a two week sight-seeing adventure. The locomotive Tom Thumb appears on the scene in 1830 and sparks the nation's love affair with trains and tracks. "Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt parlays his interests in steamboats, trains and real estate into a fortune that rivals the tycoon, John Jacob Astor.

By 1840, the great western migration is accelerating.

In addition to the new modes of transportation, it is supported by Jackson's harsh Indian Removal Act of 1830 driving the eastern tribes across the Mississippi, and generous congressional Land Acts enabling new settlers to buy the vacated sites for \$1.25 an acre. Fully one in every four Americans reside in the eleven states west of the Appalachian mountain barrier in 1840.

Back east a sharp divide is materializing between the five states below the Mason-Dixon Line and the nine states up north.

The southern states remain rural and pre-industrial in character, according to Jefferson's blueprint. They are dominated by small farmers, 70% of whom work their land without slaves, raising subsistence crops and livestock, along with cotton, tobacco or rice, dependent on their local soil and climate. The 30% who do own slaves tend to be wealthier, although only 10,000 families (less than one percent) across the entire South have the 50 or more slaves required to operate plantations comparable to Monticello.

Meanwhile in the original northeastern states, Clay's American System initiatives are having a profound effect on the economy and on lifestyles. Cities like New York, Philadelphia and Boston begin to resemble their counterparts in Europe. Workshops and factories, "protected" by tariffs, turn out finished goods to be sold in Main Street storefronts and by itinerant countryside peddlers. Along with this commerce comes a host of new city jobs, often more lucrative than agriculture. Although eight in every ten northeasterners still live on farms in 1840, 37% now make their living from this diversified economy.

As more northern jobs rely on brainpower rather than physicality, the value of a formal education grows in importance. Pioneering research in teaching methods, undertaken by Horace Mann, Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon, begins to reshape K-12 schooling in Massachusetts and New York. Their work also opens up teaching as a second "suitable career path for women," to go along with nursing, and provokes more early debates about female roles and rights in society.

The growing intellectual class, concentrated around New England's premier universities, is also intent on building America's worldwide reputation in philosophy, science, literature and culture in general. Leading voices here include Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Hedge, Margaret Fuller and Henry David Thoreau, who together comprise the Transcendentalist movement.

Almost all signs point to a prosperous future for the American experiment, one where it can match or surpass any nation abroad.

Apparently nothing can stand in the way of that outcome. Or can it?

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

**Sidebar: Rapid Population Growth Continues**

**America's Numbers Surpass England And Spain**



We The People

As Martin Van Buren's term ends and America moves into its sixth decade, its population has grown to 17.1 million people.

**Total U.S. Population**

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
<b>Total (000)</b>	3,929	5,237	7,240	9,638	12,866	17,063
<b>% Change</b>		+38%	+33%	+34%	+33%	+33%

As such, it now out-numbers two of the three global powers of Europe, England and Spain.

**European Population Trends (MM)**

Year	France	England	Spain
1820	30.3	11.9	11.0
1840	34.1	15.7	14.0

The population is split about equally between males and females, and is quite youthful. For example, the average age of males in New York State in 1840 is 22.1 years old.

**Population Of Males In New York -- 1840**

<b>Ages</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>0-9 Yrs</b>	<b>10-19</b>	<b>20-29</b>	<b>30-39</b>	<b>40-49</b>	<b>50-59</b>	<b>60-69</b>	<b>70+</b>
<b>#</b>	1,206M	345	270	231	158	97	55	31	19
<b>%</b>	100%	29%	23%	19%	13%	8%	5%	2%	1%

\*\*\*\*\*

**Whites Account For 83% Of The Total**

Whites account for 83% of the total population. Blacks make up the other 17%, with nearly nine in ten of them enslaved.

**U.S. Population By Race (000)**

	1820	1840	% Chg
<b>Whites</b>	7,867	14,190	+80%
<b>Enslaved Blacks</b>	1,538	2,487	+62
<b>Free Blacks</b>	233	386	+66
<b>Total</b>	9,638	17,063	+77

Life expectancy is brief by modern standards, and roughly one in three parents experience the loss of a child to disease. White infants born in 1840 live to be 39.5 years on average; for blacks the average is a tragic 23.0 years. Only 8% of all people reach their 50<sup>th</sup> birthday.

**For A Child Born In 1840**

<b>Race</b>	<b>Life Expectancy</b>
<b>White</b>	38.5 years
<b>Black</b>	23.0

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

### Sidebar: The Westward Movement Accelerates

#### Settlers Flock Across The Appalachian Divide



A Sizable Wagon Train Heading West Toward The New Frontier

The 1840 Census shows that population gains have been recorded all five regions of the country since 1820 – with the greatest by far in the Northwest and Southwest regions.

#### U.S. Population Shifts By Region

	1820	1840	Growth
<b>Northeast</b>	4,360	6,761	55%
<b>Northwest</b>	793	2,968	374
<b>Border</b>	1,467	2,191	49
<b>Southeast</b>	2,558	3,288	29
<b>Southwest</b>	460	1,855	403
<b>Total</b>	9,638	17,063	77

This movement reflects what will soon be called America’s *Manifest Destiny*, the inexorable drive to occupy all of the continental land from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts.

It begins with the “Indian Removal” policies of Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, driving the so-called “five civilized tribes” from their eastern homes and into the Oklahoma Territory – and replacing them with white settlers.

It will continue later, west of the Mississippi River, as pioneers occupy more of the Louisiana Purchase lands and those subsequently taken in the 1846-47 Mexican War.

But as of 1840, more than one in four Americans are already living west of the Appalachian Mountains, from Ohio to Illinois and Alabama to Louisiana.

**Geographical Distribution Of US Population**

	<b>1820</b>	<b>1840</b>	<b>Change</b>
<b>The Old East</b>	87%	72%	(15 Pts)
<b>The New West</b>	13	28	+15
<b>Total</b>	100	100	

\*\*\*\*\*

**Northern “Free States” Grow Faster Than Southern “Slave States”**

These shifts in “shares” of the total population will, of course, translate into a reallocation of the roughly 220 seats in the House of Representative, most obviously to the benefit of states in the West.

At the same time, Southern politicians can see that the balance of power in the House is continuing to move away from their Slave States and toward the Free States in the North.

**Geographical Distribution Of US Population**

	<b>1820</b>	<b>1840</b>	<b>Change</b>
<b>Northern Free States</b>	53%	57%	+ 4 pts
<b>Southern Slave States</b>	47	43	(4 pts)
	100%	100%	

A Sizable Wagon Train Heading West Toward The New Frontier

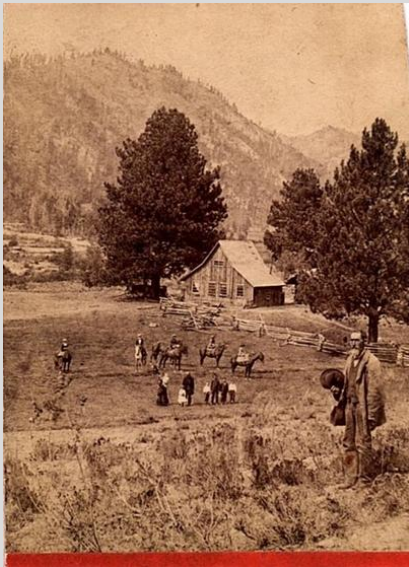
The 1840 Census shows that population gains have been recorded all five regions of the country since 1820 – with the greatest by far in the Northwest and Southwest regions.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

**Sidebar: Urbanization Gradually Gains Ground**

**Home On The Farm Remains Dominant**



Farm Scene With People On Horseback

Despite the dramatic population shifts in the prior decades, nine out of ten Americans still make their homes in the countryside on family farms, as of 1840.

**“Home” In 1840**

	Urban	Rural
<b>1820</b>	7%	93%
<b>1830</b>	9	91
<b>1840</b>	11	89

Roger Ransom, U California

This outcome is driven in large part by the abundance of rich agricultural land in the public domain and the

government’s wish to quickly create new western states and make them an integral part of the Union.

Thus a policy is developed to sell this land off at prices affordable to average white citizens.

The Land Act of 1820 is one example. It allows a settler to buy a minimum plot of 80 acres for as little as \$1.25 per acre, or \$120 in total. This is not “dirt cheap” at a time when unskilled laborers are earning 75 cents a day, but it is within reach for anyone able to work out an equitable bank mortgage.

In the 1830’s, various “Pre-emption Acts” are also passed in congress to accommodate “squatters” who have moved onto public domain property without a formal purchase. As long as they can prove they have “cultivated” the land, they are allowed to subsequently buy it at the \$1.25 per acre price.

Of course, actual prices paid for land vary dramatically over time. Location and prospects for production of both subsistence and cash crops make a difference. So too does

speculation, where bankers and joint stock corporations see the opportunity to make a fortune by cornering land intended for new cities or pikes or railroads.

But still, as of 1840, the American dream for the vast majority of citizens lies in saving up enough money to purchase and live on and work their own 40-80 acre farms.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Larger Towns And Cities Appear Especially In The Northeast**



A Street Scene In Brooklyn

The one region of the country where city life is beginning to really catch on is the Northeast.

**% Of Population That Is Urban**

	<b>Total US</b>	<b>Northeast</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>West</b>
<b>1820</b>	7%	11%	5%	2%
<b>1830</b>	9	14	5	3
<b>1840</b>	11	19	7	4

Roger Ransom, U California

One of its cities – New York – is on the way to rivalling the great metropolises of Europe. With a population over 300,000 in 1840, it already matches Berlin in size. Only Paris, counting 900,000 inhabitants, and London, with just over 2 million, remain larger.

But other U.S. cities have also grown rapidly since 1820. Most are located in major ports along the Atlantic coast, but there are exceptions. New Orleans’ population has

grown five-fold over two decades. Cincinnati has flourished along with trade on the Ohio River. Even the inland city of Albany, some 135 miles north of NYC, on the Hudson River, joins the top ten list.

**Top Ten Largest Cities In America -- 1840**

<b>1820</b>	<b>Pop.</b>	<b>1840</b>	<b>Pop.</b>
New York	123,706	New York	312,710
Philadelphia	63,802	Baltimore	102,313
Baltimore	62,738	New Orleans	102,193
Boston	43,298	Philadelphia	93,665
New Orleans	21,176	Boston	93,383
Charleston	24,780	Cincinnati	46,338



No Philadelphia	19,678	Brooklyn	36,233
So Philadelphia	14,713	No Philadelphia	34,474
Washington DC	13,247	Albany	33,721
Salem	12,731	Charleston SC	29,261
Average	39,987	Average	88,429

In addition to Cincinnati, eight other cities in the original Northwest Ordinance territory fall into the top 100 on population – while only eleven cities across the entire South make the cut.

**Northwest Ordinance Cities In Top 100**

<b>Rank</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Pop.</b>
<b>6</b>	Cincinnati, Ohio	46,338
<b>40</b>	Detroit, MI	9,102
<b>67</b>	Cleveland, Ohio	6,071
<b>68</b>	Dayton, Ohio	6,067
<b>70</b>	Columbus, Ohio	6,048
<b>90</b>	Zanesville, Ohio	4,766
<b>92</b>	Chicago, Illinois	4,470
<b>99</b>	Steubenville, Ohio	4,274
<b>100</b>	New Albany, Indiana	4,226

\*\*\*\*\*

**The Illinois Town Of Galena**



Main St. Running Horizontally Into The Town Of Galena, Illinois

The western state of Illinois joins the Union in 1818 and has a population of some 476,000 in the 1840 Census. One of its booming cities at that time is Galena.

This city takes its name from the mineral, “galena,” which is mined and converted into lead for use in making paints, ammunition, pipes, burial vault lines, and pewter.

By 1700 both native Sac and Fox tribes and French trappers have discovered and begun to mine the abundant lead deposits in the area. A century later, American pioneers arrive, and a trading post is established in 1819 to support transportation of lead ore down the Galena River and then over to the Mississippi. Once the port of Galena is opened, the city quickly becomes a key stopping off point along the great river, between St. Paul and St. Louis.

By 1840 Galena and surrounding Jo Daviess county are producing 70% of all the lead ore in America.

Agricultural production picks up, and surplus farm goods soon join lead ore on transport boats.

What was a frontier outpost has become an established and flourishing city, with a population of roughly 3,000 people.

The population has all the characteristics of a frontier mining town...with a mixture of peoples. Foreigners from all parts of the world and Americans from every state in the Union are thrown together indiscriminately. The miners get along well together. Some are men of questionable character, and all are adventurers, but in spite of these characteristics...little ‘claim jumping’ materializes, few infringements are made upon the law, and above all there seems to exist among these people a thorough trust and goodwill toward everyone.

The only laws at first governing this part of the state are contained on a single sheet of foolscap paper posted up in most public places and dealing with disputes over mining claims. But as for ordinary transactions, the people rely among themselves entirely on the law of Honor.

Residents of Galena live in the 550 buildings that have been erected by 1840, with an estimated total value of \$1.6 million, or an average of about \$3,000 apiece.

They read local newspapers, *The Northwest Gazette* and *Galena Advertiser*. They make deposits and loans at a branch of the State Bank of Illinois. There are several churches in town, a fire department, a library of over 8,000 volumes. A temperance society springs up, as the religious reform movement gains support in the region. Entertainment arrives in the form of balls and theater.

For a time, Galena, like its Mississippi River neighbor, Quincy, 250 miles to its south, appears headed to becoming the dominant industrial city in Illinois. But this vision recedes in the late 1840's, when Chicago becomes the central railroad hub for the emerging west.

One enduring business in Galena is the Grant & Perkins tannery and leather goods store on Main St. A co-owner is Jesse Grant, who resides in Ohio and oversees such operations across several cities.



Jesse Grant (1794-1873) U.S. Grant (1822-1885)

In 1854, Jesse will offer a job in the Galena shop to his son, Ulysses, who has just resigned from a career in the military. But Ulysses initially turns down the offer to make his own way, first as a farmer and then as a bill collector. By 1860, however, these attempts have failed, and he is desperate for work to provide for himself, his wife, and their four children.

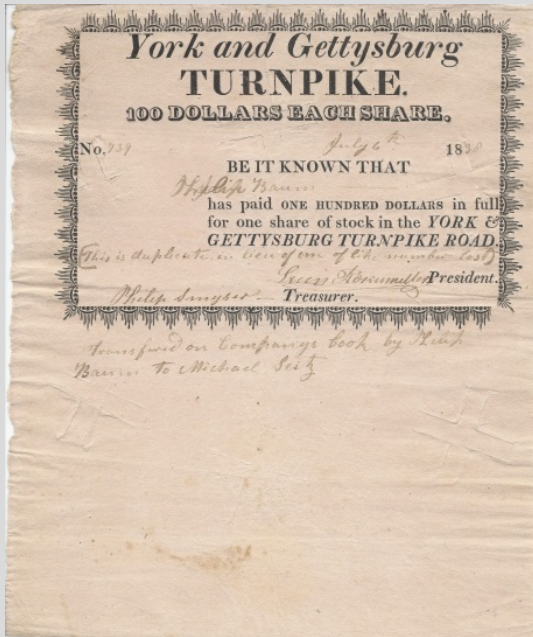
Thus former Captain U.S. Grant is working in his father's leather store in Galena on April 15, 1861, when Abraham Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers to suppress a rebellion. In time, the town once famous for lead, will be remembered for its favorite son.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

### Sidebar: Major Improvements Are Made In Infrastructure And Mobility

#### Superior Roads Have Been Built



Stock Certificate For The York to Gettysburg Pike

The westward movement of the population and of commerce between 1820 and 1840 is accelerated by the transition from simple dirt cart paths to well-constructed macadam roads, costing \$1,500 to \$2,000 per mile to complete.

Once these improved roads are available, a farmer or a settler family in a wagon is able to cover a distance of about 15 miles in a day.

Because of the large capital requirements, the macadams tend to be built by corporations, sanctioned by state governments and operating as turnpikes, i.e. toll roads. To guarantee the collection of fees for use, toll booths are constructed every few miles.

But with the exception of lucrative pikes situated on bridges crossing rivers, most of these investments are break-even at best for stock-holders.

Still the building efforts flourish – largely because towns and cities with good roads tend to enjoy greater commercial success. Roads yield farmers and travelers, who spend their money on Main St. at local taverns, inns, storefronts, and other businesses.

Between 1800 and 1840, some 1355 corporations are sanctioned across eleven Atlantic coast states to build turnpikes. That represents roughly one in every four incorporations for all purposes.

#### Turnpike Corporations Sanctioned In America

1801-10	1811-20	1821-30	1831-40
398	362	230	365

\* Klein & Majewski UCSB for 11 eastern states

Roads become so important that some communities, lacking capital, force their resident to work several days each year to construct and maintain local pikes, or pay a penalty tax.

The federal government also plays a role here, funding the “National Road” in 1806, with construction beginning in 1811 in Cumberland, Maryland and reaching its final destination in Vandalia, Illinois, in 1837. This macadam road, running 611 miles in length, will carry the lion’s share of travelers and commerce along the east-west axis through the 1840’s, when the era of trains begins.

As time passes, a cheaper alternative to the macadam construction materializes in the form of the plank road. Here lumber “sills” are laid down in parallel about six feet apart, and covered by eight foot long by three foot wide by four inch thick wood planks placed perpendicular to the sills and held down by their own weight. These plank roads tend, however, to wear out every 4-5 years, and they eventually fade out of popularity.

The development of serviceable roads throughout America is also supported by the desire of citizens and businesses to stay in touch via the U.S. Postal Service. In 1792 Congress designates that roads used to deliver mail be declared postal routes – and thereby eligible to be considered for permanent Post Offices, soon the mark of civic pride and connectivity.

By 1840, however, the population is bound together not only by the emerging road systems, but also by two technological advances – steamboats and trains.

Both will appeal to American’s growing desire not only to move about, but to do so at an ever faster pace.

\*\*\*\*\*

### **Steamboats Facilitate Upstream Travel**



A Brooklyn Ferryboat

Breakthroughs in steam engine technology during the 1760’s and 1770’s by the Scottish inventor and machine maker, James Watt, filter across the Atlantic and begin to impact America in a multitude of ways. The first involves steamboats.

The Pennsylvania native, Robert Fulton, travels to Europe in 1788 to further his dual careers as an artist and inventor, and becomes fascinated by the potential of steamboats to transform water travel in America by going upstream at speeds unimaginable to rowboats or canoes. While in England, he also works with the navy to build torpedoes and even submarines, designed to combat invasion threats from Napoleon’s French fleet.

At the same time, another American, John Fitch, is making trial runs with early steamboat models on the Delaware River. But it is Fulton who builds the first commercially viable steamboat, named The Clermont, which in 1807 ferries passengers over 150 miles from NYC to Albany in some 32 hours.

Soon thereafter, the young entrepreneur, Cornelius Vanderbilt, begins to add steamboats to his fleet, and by 1838 his fabulously profitable Staten Island Ferry is transporting passengers to most points within Long Island Sound.

In 1837 the Western Transportation Line offers a range of steamboat trip between Philadelphia and St. Louis, some 1750 miles and 14 days away. Food is served onboard at a price of 37.5 cents per meal.

**East – West Steamboat Travel In 1837**

<b>Philadelphia To:</b>	<b>Price</b>	<b>Travel Days</b>
Pittsburgh	\$6.00	6.5
Cincinnati	8.50	8.5
Louisville	9.00	9.5
St. Louis	13.00	14.0

William Pooley 1905 PhD Thesis - UWisconsin

\*\*\*\*\*

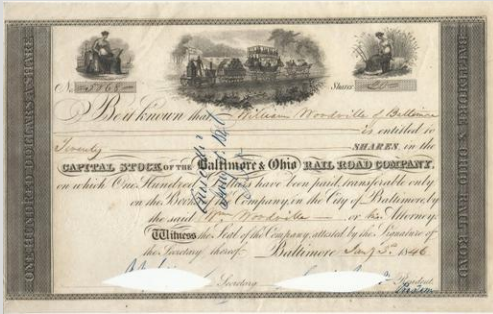
**The Boom In Railroads Is Beginning**

Meanwhile Watt’s steam engine has also been adapted to overland travel, in the form of trains.



George Stephenson (1781-1848)

The first train is built by the Englishman, Richard Trevithick, in 1804, for travel on roadways. By 1825, however, one George Stephenson establishes the Stockton & Darlington Railway, in northeast England, the first public steam train set up to run on iron tracks.



Stock Certificate For Baltimore & Ohio Railroad

The notion of developing a similar system in America begins to take serious shape on April 24, 1827, when the B&O Rail Road Company is incorporated, to construct a common carrier line linking the port city of Baltimore to cities along the Ohio River, in competition with the seven year old Erie Canal.

In 1830, the inventor and entrepreneur, Peter Cooper, builds the locomotive, *Tom Thumb*, to convince the B&O owners to use his steam engines on their lines. Within a decade its successor is capable of hauling 50 tons at a speed of 15mph, twice that of a horse-drawn stagecoach.



Peter Cooper (1791-1883)

Profits from Cooper's engine fuels his subsequent investments in iron mills, New York city real estate, and the American Telegraph Company (after Samuel Morse's 1837 invention), making him one of the richest men in America. He is also a devout Christian who fights against slavery and for Indian rights, and runs for President in 1876, at age 85, on the Greenback Party ticket.

In 1831 Holmes Hinkley and his partner Daniel Child found The Boston Machine Works, which builds locomotives for America over the next three decades. One example is the locomotive "Muzzy," a 4-4-0 configuration (4 leading wheels, 4 driving wheels, 0 trailing wheels), which they complete around 1854.



The Steam Locomotive "Muzzy," In 4-4-0 Configuration

Businesses see the benefits of rail transportation right away, and the race is on to lay track, especially across the industrializing northern states.

By 1840, track mileage has reached 2,755 miles in total.

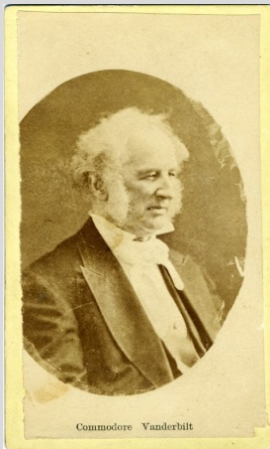
**Accumulated Miles Of Railroad Tracks By Region**

<b>Geography</b>	<b>1830</b>	<b>1840</b>
Total U.S.	40	2,755
New England (Me,NH,Vt,Ma,RI,Ct)	30	513
Rem. North (DeI,NY,NJ,MD,DC,Oh,Mi,In)	---	1,484
West (Il,IA,Wis,Minn,MO)		
South/Border (Va,NC,SC,Ga,Fl,Al,Ms,Ky,Tn,La)	10	758

Taken together, these improvements in transportation support both commerce and the move toward an urbanized America.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Transportation Tycoon Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt**



Cornelius Vanderbilt 1794-1877

Cornelius Vanderbilt’s life is symbolic of “the American dream” – the individual man, rising from humble origins to achieve fabulous wealth and power based on his own ideas, his determination and his mastery of capitalism and its offspring, the “corporation.”

He revolutionizes the transportation industry in America, first on the waterways with his steamboats, then on land with his railroads. He dominates real estate development in Manhattan and assures its place as the nation’s financial capital. In his ability to create businesses that anticipate and efficiently meet the needs of the marketplace, and deliver steady profits to “shareholders,” he emerges as America’s first entrepreneurial giant.

Vanderbilt is born of Dutch settlers in 1794, and at age 11 begins to operate a small boat that transports local goods from his village on Staten Island across the Hudson to Long Island, in exchange for pennies. By 1828 he has expanded his “fleet,” added steamboats, and ventured up the river to service the booming docks of Manhattan. He soon earns his nickname, The Commodore, with his Staten Island Ferry and other lines dominating water transit in and around Long Island Sound.

In the 1840’s, he decides that his successes in transporting people and goods on water can be replicated on land, and he begins to invest his wealth in acquiring a string of railroads. By 1847 he has control of the Stonington Line, which links NY to Boston and Providence. Later



he will acquire and turn around the Harlem Line, which runs through the middle of Manhattan, and then the NY Grand Central Line, which earns him his second name, The Rail King. During this period he is also acquiring real estate in Manhattan, for personal residences and for the Grand Central Station Depot, which he builds with his own money.

In the 1850's he launches an ocean-going fleet of vessels that links the booming "gold rush" state of California to the east coast, via transit routes in Central America. In the 1860's he contributes his personal steamship, *Vanderbilt*, and his transportation know-how to the North. And then he lives on, doing one Wall St. deal after another, until 1877, when he dies at 82 with an estate of \$100 million, arguably making him the richest man in U.S. history.

Along the way, Vanderbilt exhibits mastery over many of the tools of modern capitalism: vertical integration (building his own engines and vessels for his fleet); reframing (moving out from water to land transport); mergers and acquisitions (both ships and railroads); stock market plays (short-selling and buying back); an ongoing search for competitive advantage to achieve the pricing and profitability associated with monopolies; and constant efforts on behalf of laissez-faire policies that keep government out of "his" free market.

#### You Are There

<b>1810</b>	At 16 he is ferrying freight and passengers between Staten I and Manhattan
<b>1814</b>	Moves to Manhattan with wife, and begins to buy city land.
<b>1817</b>	Adds first steamboat and captains it between NY and NJ
<b>1824</b>	Breaks NY insider monopoly on routes via Supreme Court win ( <i>Gibbons vs. Ogden</i> ) – "states have no right to interfere in interstate commerce."
<b>1834</b>	Expands routes across Long Island Sound
<b>1838</b>	In control of Staten Island Ferry, and given nickname "The Commodore"
<b>1840</b>	Sees potential to also dominate land transport; begins to acquire railroads
<b>1847</b>	Uses short-selling of stock to buy the Stonington rr (NY-Boston-Providence)
	Proposes canal across Nicaragua to link east with west
<b>1848</b>	Starts ocean-going steamship line to service California "gold rush" demand
<b>1850</b>	Proposes to carry US mail to west coast at low price via Nicaragua canal
<b>1855</b>	When Nicaragua stalls, gains control of Panama rr as overland solution
<b>1857</b>	Crushes William Walker filibuster in Nicaragua
<b>1862</b>	Donates personal steamship <i>Vanderbilt</i> to civil war effort
<b>1863</b>	Begins NY & Harlem rr turn-around and building Grand Central Depot
<b>1867</b>	Acquires NY Central rr and earns second nickname "Railroad King"
<b>1869</b>	Immense power of Wall St. on economy seen in Black Friday gold scandal
<b>1877</b>	Dies at 82, possibly richest ever with \$100MM (est. at \$143B in 2007 \$)

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

**Sidebar: The Nation’s GDP More Than Doubles In The Last 20 Years**

**Despite Periodic Blips, Economic Gains Are Remarkable**



A \$5 Note From The Bank Of Chattanooga

America’s economy circa 1840 exhibits a pattern that will repeated over time – with periods of rapid expansion interrupted by over-the-top financial speculation, bank failures and slowdowns.

The 1819 panic and recession gives way to accelerating growth between 1825 and the end of Jackson’s second term in 1836. At which time the upward momentum slows in response to his decisions to close the U.S. Bank and clamp down on speculation, driven by too many soft banknotes backed by too few hard gold/silver reserves.

But despite the Bank Panics of 1819 and 1837, America’s total GDP remains on a quite consistent upward trajectory.

Total GDP more than doubles, from \$700 million in 1820 to \$1.56 Billion in 1840, with per capita GDP rising from \$73 to \$91 a year. And this roughly 5% per year growth in GDP is occurring before the full might of the industrial revolution has taken hold.

**Long-term Overview Of U.S. Economy: Current Dollars**

	<b>Total GDP</b>	<b>% Change</b>	<b>GDP Per Capita</b>	<b>% Change</b>
<b>1790</b>	\$ 190MM		\$48	
<b>1800</b>	480MM	152	90	88%
<b>1805</b>	560	17	90	Nc
<b>1810</b>	700	25	97	8
<b>1815</b>	920	31	110	13

<b>1820</b>	700	(24)	73	(34)
<b>1825</b>	810	16	73	Nc
<b>1830</b>	1,010	25	78	7
<b>1835</b>	1,330	32	89	14
<b>1840</b>	1,560	17	91	2

Measuring Worth: Prof. Louis D. Johnson and Samuel H. Williamson

\*\*\*\*\*

### U.S. Exports Also Grow Driven Heavily By Cotton

The value of American exports also trends upward, although annual swings are much more volatile, owing to “shipping shocks” like Embargoes, and changing tariff rates.

#### Value Of US Exports: 1790-1815

Year	Total	% Ch	Shocks
<b>1790</b>	20.2	---	
<b>1805</b>	95.6	++%	
<b>1810</b>	66.8	(30)	1808 Embargo Act
<b>1815</b>	52.6	(21)	War of 1812
<b>1820</b>	70.0	33	Bank Panic of 1819
<b>1825</b>	90.7	30	
<b>1830</b>	71.7	(21)	1828 Tariff Jump
<b>1835</b>	115.2	61	
<b>1840</b>	123.7	7	Bank Panic of 1837

North p.221

By 1840, over half of the nation’s total exports are concentrated in Southern cotton shipments to England and other European nations.

The dramatic interruption in growth of cotton sales between 1825 (\$37 million) and 1830 (\$30 million) shows the negative effect of the so-called 1828 Tariff of Abominations on Southern prosperity.

#### Value (MM) Of US Exports & Cotton As %

Year	Total	Cotton	% Cotton	Shocks
<b>1815</b>	\$52.6	\$17.5	33%	War of 1812
<b>1820</b>	70.0	22.3	32	Bank Panic of 1819
<b>1825</b>	90.7	36.8	41	
<b>1830</b>	71.7	29.7	41	1828 Tariff Jump
<b>1835</b>	115.2	65.0	56	
<b>1840</b>	123.7	63.9	52	Bank Panic of 1837

Along with all this economic growth comes some shifts in the way Americans make their livings.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

### Sidebar: There Are Now Many New Ways To Make A Living

#### Farming Becomes Less Dominant



Farmers Harvesting Their Crops

At the aggregate level, the percentage of people classified as “in the labor force” is unchanged from 1820, at 33%, as is the much higher incidence among those enslaved (60%) than those who are free (28%).

#### Total Labor Force Participation (000)

Year	Total US Pop	In Labor Force	% In Labor
1820	9,368	3,135	33%
1830	12,860	4,200	33
1840	17,063	5,560	33

But a major shift is already evident in the character of this labor. The percentage of people working in the agricultural sector has dropped sharply from 79% in 1820 to 63% in 1840. This Census is the first to examine the non-agricultural component of total labor, and it shows 9% employed in manufacturing, 6% in trade (the middlemen function of buying and selling goods), and the remaining 22% in the broad range of for-pay jobs available in the burgeoning towns and cities.

### How People Make Their Living

Year	Agriculture	Manufacturing	Trade	All-Other
1820	79%	na	na	21%
1830	71	na	na	29
1840	63	9%	6%	22

This trend away from Jefferson’s yeoman farmers to Hamilton’s industrialized economy will continue steadily over time – resisted only in the South, where agricultural cash crops of cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar and indigo remain dominant.

Manufacturing growth results from the relentless American wish to make their homes and daily lives easier and more enjoyable. To deliver the goods needed, small “by-hand” workshops start up, typically around population centers. Over three-quarters of these manufacturing jobs are concentrated in the Northeast and Northwest regions.

### Location Of Manufacturing Jobs

Region	1820	1840
Northeast	62%	63%
Northwest	7	14
Border	12	8
Southeast	16	11
Southwest	3	4
	100%	100%

\*\*\*\*\*

### Domestic Manufacturing Picks Up Steam



The Brownell Carriage Manufacturing Factory

By 1840 Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” of capitalism seems to be already pointing entrepreneurs toward rich pockets of gold in the American marketplace.

An integrated workshop system for producing shoes starts up in Massachusetts. Connecticut shops turn

out tinware, household utensils, buttons and wooden clocks. The manufacture of glassware, initiated at Jamestown in 1608, flourishes in New York and New Jersey. Odiferous tanneries convert cattle hides into leather goods. A garment district materializes in major cities along the east coast run by middlemen, called “sweaters.” They acquire raw textiles, and oversee 12 hour a day “sweatshops,” where roomfuls of low paid women hand-sew finished clothing.

Other “cottage industries” pop up to fill in what are becoming necessities of everyday life, with many of these goods reaching their customers through street peddlers who roam the towns and countryside.



Lowell's Waltham Textile Mill

Meanwhile much more complex and larger scale manufacturing initiatives are developing, often modeled around the “factory principles” pioneered in 1812-14 at Frank Lowell's Waltham textile mills.



A Lumbering Operation

Sawmills turn lumber into boards needed by skilled carpenters to make furniture and build houses.



Grain mills and presses provide needed food staples such as flour, rice, cornmeal, and sugar.

The "First" Grain Mill In Pennsylvania

Demand for iron and steel accelerates, to make wagon wheels, horseshoes, a range of tools, firearms and the like. To meet it, miners dig raw ore from the ground, and convey it into huge furnaces or fired to 2000 degrees Fahrenheit. These forges "smelt," or purify, the ore and enable it to flow into what look like feeding troughs, hence the name "pig iron." From there it is either funneled directly into pre-made molds to make "cast iron" objects, such as cannon balls and wheels, or cooled down into malleable bars, "wrought" by hammering into more refined goods.



Prior to the discovery of iron ore in the Lake Superior region and in Alabama, Pennsylvania produces almost 60% of the nation's pig iron, with output rising in the 1830's to meet new demand for railroads and cast iron heating and cooking stoves.

Iron Workers

\*\*\*\*\*

**Average Annual Incomes Range From \$200-\$500**



A Precious \$1 Bill

While it is more art than science to determine how much money average Americans earned from their labor during the antebellum period, several economists have attempted this. One version is based on examining payroll records over time and constructing aggregate trend data for three classes of workers, across the country as a whole.

This pegs the daily wages for common day laborers at 78 cents a day in 1831-40, with skilled laborers at \$1.51 and white collar workers at \$1.80. All three have shown modest increases since 1821-30.

**Average Nominal Wages For Workers -- Daily**

	<b>Common Laborer</b>	<b>Skilled Artisans</b>	<b>White collar</b>
<b>1821-30</b>	\$0.70	\$1.36	\$1.55
<b>1831-40</b>	0.78	1.51	1.80

Robert Margo, Vanderbilt U

These estimates translate to roughly \$200 per year for common laborers, \$400 for skilled craftsmen, and \$475 for the emerging white collar class.

**Average Nominal Wages For Workers – Yearly (12 months)**

	<b>Common laborer</b>	<b>Skilled Artisans</b>	<b>White collar</b>
<b>1821-30</b>	\$185	\$359	\$413
<b>1831-40</b>	206	399	474

Robert Margo, Vanderbilt U

Other economists have attempted a more granular analysis, breaking out additional classes of workers, by both gender and geographical regions, while ending up in the same general \$200-\$500 annual income range at the aggregate level. Their work leads to several observations:



- Income for urban workers (\$269) is already surpassing that of farmers (\$196).
- Women are considered cheap labor and earn far less than their male counterparts.
- Miners, soldiers and factory workers earn in the \$250-325 range.
- Skilled craftsmen earn \$400-450, roughly double the average farmer.
- Pay for men teachers and clergymen exceed the artisans by \$150 per year.
- Elite pay (3x all others) goes to lawyers, public officials, surgeons and judges.

**Average Nominal Wages For Workers – Yearly (1840-50)**

	<b>Northeast</b>	<b>Mid-Atlantic</b>	<b>South Atlantic</b>	<b>Unwt Average</b>
<b>Farm Laborers</b>	\$235	\$195	\$158	\$196
<b>Urban Laborers</b>	298	282	227	269
<b>Female Domestics</b>	135	100	103	113
<b>Females In Manufacturing</b>	162	179	161	167
<b>Female Teachers</b>	187	187	205	193
<b>Miners</b>	---	247	269	258
<b>Seamen/Soldiers</b>	298	282	227	269
<b>Men In Manufacturing</b>	334	369	273	325
<b>Building Trade</b>	412	412	418	414
<b>Craftsmen/Artisans</b>	444	444	451	446
<b>Clergymen</b>	600	600	500	567
<b>Men Teachers</b>	507	617	647	590
<b>Lawyers</b>	1320	1400	2350	1690
<b>Public Commissioners</b>	1275	1500	2647	1807
<b>Surgeons</b>	---	---	1912	1912
<b>Judges</b>	2081	2085	2025	2063

Lindert-Williamson, U California (Davis)

\*\*\*\*\*

**Anecdotal Data On “What Things Cost” Around 1840**



A Saddle Maker Shows His Wares

If the income for most Americans around 1840 is between \$200 to \$450 per year, the question becomes what can be purchased with this amount of money? Aside from the official price of public land – set at \$1.25 per acre with a minimum purchase of 80 acres for \$120 in total – all other data is anecdotal.

It is plucked from entries in personal journals, kept at various times and places, accompanied by often vague descriptions, and collected randomly. Still it provides some small perspective on the “cost of living” in the 1820-1860 timeframe.

For the hard-living men of the era, it appears that a tumbler of whiskey and a chaw of tobacco are easily affordable to all.

To Buy:	Price
33 oz of whiskey	\$.08
1 lb of tobacco	.10

The same can be said for coffee which, at 18 cents per pound of beans, should yield about 36 cups (8 oz size) or roughly a half-penny per serving. Tea is slightly more expensive, with one pound of leaves selling for 75 cents and yielding about 120 cups (8 oz. size).

To Make One:	Price
8 oz. cup of coffee	\$.005
8 oz. cup of tea	.006

The price per pound of sugar is about twice that of salt.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of salt	\$.03
1 lb of sugar	.08

Eggs are a bit pricier, at 24 cents per dozen. Cheese and butter are also more precious, as is honey.

To Buy:	Price
1 dozen eggs	\$.24
1 lb of cheese	.14
1 lb of butter	.18

1 lb of honey	.25
---------------	-----

While both are plentiful and cheap, milled flour costs more than corn meal.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of corn meal	\$.02
1 lb of flour	.05

Beef prices range upward from 3 cents a pound for calf's veal to 9 cents for salted/preserved options. Pork brings roughly twice as much as beef, with hams and bacon at the top end on pricing. Codfish costs about the same per pound as fresh beef.

To Buy 1 Lb:	Price
Veal	\$.03
Fresh Beef	.05
Codfish	.06
Salted Beef	.09
Fresh Pork	.11
Lard	.12
Ham	.14
Bacon	.15

Rice is priced well above other traditional starches like potatoes.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of sweet potatoes	\$.03
1 lb of rice	.10

Certain fruits appear to be in shorter supply and hence more expensive.

To Buy:	Price
A single lemon	\$.03
1 lb of dried peaches	.20

Raw yarn ranges from cotton at 8 cents a pound up to sheep's wool at 35 cents.

To Buy:	Price
1 lb of cotton	\$.08
1 lb of sheep's wool	.35

Finished clothing and bedding is considerably more expensive.

<b>To Buy:</b>	<b>Price</b>
1 handkerchief	\$ 1.08
1 flannel shirt	8.00
1 pair of trousers	18.00
1 bed blanket	25.00
1 soldier's jacket	32.00

A pair of shoes might run \$12.00 or boots at twice that much.

<b>To Buy:</b>	<b>Price</b>
1 pair shoes	\$ 12.00
1 pair of boots	24.00

A place setting of blue china runs about \$8.00, while a piano might go for \$195.

<b>To Buy:</b>	<b>Price</b>
1 place setting of blue china	\$ 8.00
1 piano	195.00

A routine doctor's visit is referenced at \$2.00, while a traveler lists one night for room and board at a hotel for \$2.29.

<b>To Buy:</b>	<b>Price</b>
1 routine doctor's visit	\$2.00
Room & board at hotel	2.29

Lumber is plentiful, with one board foot (1'x1'x1") going for 15 cents. Where building or paving involves bricks, they can be had for about 8 cents apiece.

<b>To Buy:</b>	<b>Price</b>
1 board foot of lumber	\$.15
A single finished brick	.08

A new home is recorded as sold in Brooklyn for \$2,500.

A prospector buys a mining pan for \$8.00.

A revolver brings \$15.00; a rifle \$25.00; a good horse \$125.00.

None of these prices should be thought of as “statistically sound or truly representative.” Still they can be seen in the context of trying to live off of an income that ran around 75 cents per day for most people.

To buy that new \$12.00 pair of shoes you want will require 16 days of your hard labor.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

### Sidebar: A Military-Industrial Complex Starts Up

#### The North Leads The Way In Production Of Armaments



Samuel Colt (1814-1862)

As always, it is demand for military weaponry that plays a leading role in manufacturing advances.

The arms industry in America begins in 1777, after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, when George Washington commissions the first armory, in Springfield, Massachusetts. Two years later the facility, under General Henry Knox, is able to manufacture the nation's first flintlock musket. It fires a ½ inch lead ball, cradled in a paper cartridge, and rammed down the barrel on top of gunpowder loaded from a horn. The charge is ignited by a flint stone in the hammer that creates a spark when the trigger is pulled. The weapon takes 30 seconds to set up, misfires about half of the time, and is accurate to only 100 yards.

In addition to muskets, Washington's army also requires cannon to survive. Most of these are European models captured during battle. But gradually large forges in the iron rich regions of Pennsylvania begin to cast reliable cannon in the two most widely employed size – one capable of firing an 18 pound solid iron ball, the other a 12 pounder, with accuracy up to roughly one mile.

The uncertain supply of arms during the Revolutionary War prompts the call for greater manufacturing capacity and efficiency in anticipation of further conflict.

In 1798, it is Eli Whitney, famous for patenting his cotton gin five years earlier, who steps up with the promise of supplying the government with 10,000 muskets from his factory in New Haven, Conn. The process he uses involves some 195 separate steps to produce and assemble 50 distinct parts, from woodstocks to hand-bored barrels, intricate triggers, and various mountings, each of which must work reliably on the battlefield. The task takes Whitney ten years to complete.

The Ft. Pitt Cannon Foundry in Pittsburg starts up in 1804 and turns out much of the heavy duty artillery used in the War of 1812, including 50 pound "Columbiads," designed by Lt.

Colonel George Bomford and placed in seacoast fortifications to thwart naval attacks. Some thirty years later, it becomes the Knapp Rudd & Company, famous for eventually producing the massive 100-200 pound Rodman guns used in the Civil War.

In 1816 twenty-three year old Eliphalet Remington II picks up where Whitney left off. His father runs a forge in Herkimer County, New York, which leads to his determination to craft a new, improved rifle that will win him prizes for marksmanship. After showing off his gun, orders pour in for duplicates from those who observe its accuracy. By 1828 the firm of E. Remington & Sons has mastered the know-how required to form and ream iron barrels and is shipping them to gunsmiths across the country.

In 1836 the foundry at West Point, New York, established after the War of 1812, hires Robert Parrott as its new Superintendent. He will remain in the post for four decades and perfect what is christened the Parrott Rifle, noted for a wrought iron band reinforcing the breech. His 30 lb. gun will become the largest infantry cannon in the Civil War.

The demand for hand-guns also grows, and, in 1836, twenty-two year old Samuel Colt starts up Colt's Patent Fire-Arms Manufacturing Company in Hartford, Connecticut. Colt pioneers the concept of machining interchangeable parts for his guns and the "assembly lines" approach to insure efficiency and consistent quality. By the time Colt dies in 1862, his firm leads all competitors in the mass production of and he is one of America's wealthiest men.

Other notable armament factories up North operating by 1840 include the Cyrus Alger & Co. works in Boston, and the Scott Foundry in Reading, Pennsylvania.

\*\*\*\*\*

### **The South Trails Far Behind On Weaponry**

In 1840 the Southern economy is becoming even more concentrated on its cotton crop and on breeding excess slaves for sale in the west.

As such its interest in manufacturing, including armaments, remains low.

Some pig iron facilities are in operation by that time.

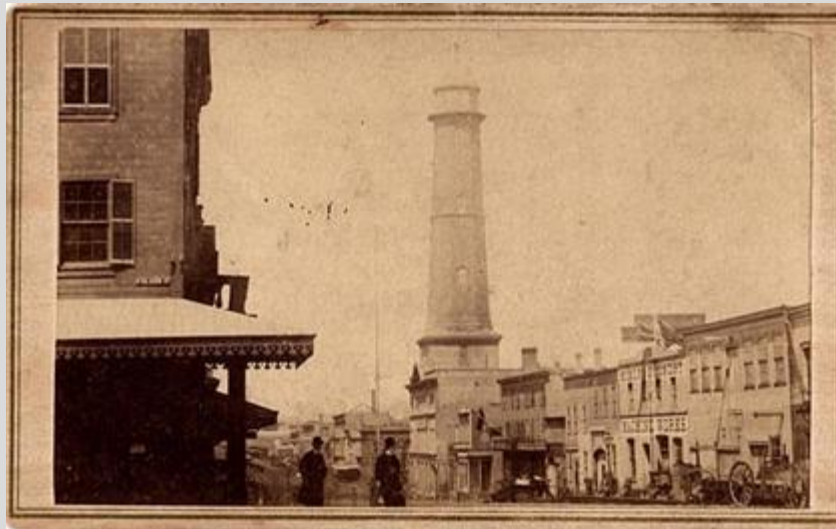
The Clarksville Foundry in Tennessee has been up and running since 1797. The Tannehill Ironworks open in 1830 to take advantage of the vast mineral deposits in Alabama. These two are joined by Moses Stroup's Ironworks (1831) in Georgia, and Catharine Furnace (1837) in Chancellorsville, Virginia.

But the only Southern factory capable of eventually making muskets and cannon is the Tredegar Iron Works, located on 22 acres in Richmond, which opens in 1837.

Its mission at the time, however, is not armaments, but rather to address the growing needs in the railroad sector. Under the guidance of superintendent, Joseph Reid Anderson, from 1841 forward, Tredegar will supply some seventy steam locomotives and thousands of miles worth of railroad tracks before it ever becomes the dominant supplier of cannon, rifles and munitions for the Confederate Army.

\*\*\*\*\*

### **Manufacturing Round Shot**



A "Shot Tower" Turning Out Ammunition

In 1782 William Watts of Bristol, England invents an improved method for producing the perfectly round and solid shot used as ammunition for muskets and cannon. Instead of the slow and costly use of moulds to cast the balls, Watts builds a 200 foot tall vertical factory known as a "shot tower." At the top of the tower, lead is heated to a molten state and then passed through various sized "sieves" and allowed to drop freely to ice water pools at the base. Gravity forms the lead into the desired roundness during the fall, and the water bath solidifies the lead and locks in the shape.

The "shot tower" in the photo stands at the corner of First and Howard St. just east of San Francisco Bay, around 1868. It is operated since 1865 by the Shelby Smelting & Lead Company, owned by one Thomas Shelby, the 13<sup>th</sup> Mayor of San Francisco.

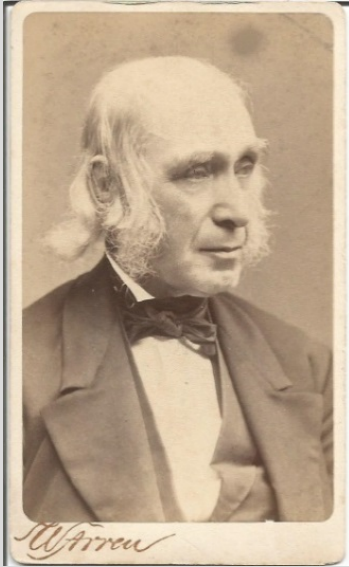


\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1820-1840

## Sidebar: Major Strides Are Taken In Education

### Bronson Alcott Challenges Orthodox Teaching Methods



Bronson Alcott (1799-1888)

By the 1820's America is already recognizing that advances in education are required if the young nation is to outpace Europe both economically and culturally. In turn, the movement is on to experiment with new teaching methods and to provide a formal education to many more students. Much of the work here is concentrated among a band of intellectuals living in New England.

One of the early leaders in this regard is Amos Bronson Alcott, born in 1799 in Connecticut and largely self-educated, who enters the education arena after starting out as a traveling salesman.

Alcott's educational approach is influenced by an 1801 book, *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, written by the Swiss reformer, Johann Pestalozzi. It focuses on preparing students to think and to question, rather than simply to

memorize material. To accomplish this, Alcott engages in "conversations" about the student's experiences and beliefs, often related to their spiritual development. For many parents this crosses a forbidden line, and attendance evaporates at Alcott's early schools.

In 1828 Alcott finds a supporter in the Unitarian minister, Dr. William Ellery Channing (uncle of the Transcendentalist poet, Ellery Channing), and in 1834 opens the Temple School at a Masonic Lodge in Boston. His assistants include Elizabeth Peabody, a pioneer in early childhood learning, and the women's right advocate, Margaret Fuller. Alcott decorates his classroom with paintings and sculpture, artifacts to prompt the Socratic dialogue he seeks. But it too fails by 1837, due to his controversial methods, along with his outspoken personal stances in favor of abolition, and his admission of a black student.

In later years, Alcott will join the inner circle of the Cambridge Transcendentalists, befriending Emerson, Thoreau, Theodore Parker, Nathaniel Hawthorne and others, and his daughter, Louisa May Alcott will become famous with the 1868 publication of her novel, *Little Women*. He sets up a Utopian community in 1843 called The Fruitlands, which disbands after seven months.

Bronson Alcott will live until 1888, advocating against the Fugitive Slave Law, in favor of women's rights, in search of "moral perfection." While many of his organizational schemes end in failure, he plays an important role in challenging the orthodox teaching methods of his time.

\*\*\*\*\*

### **Horace Mann Becomes Board Of Education Secretary In Massachusetts**



Horace Mann (1796-1859)

While Alcott is experimenting with upscale students, others in Massachusetts hope to establish a system of common (or public) schools that will benefit the masses.

The most prominent force behind this idea is Horace Mann, born May 4, 1796 on a modest farm in the town of Franklin, Massachusetts. His life tells the classical American tale of achievement and advancement through the power of education.

Horace is raised in a strict Calvinist household, with a mother who insists on "proper behavior...and narrow-path conduct," and a father who instills in him a "reverence for learned men." But his sudden death in 1853 leaves the family in dire financial straits and, at age thirteen, the boy is forced to focus on farm work rather than attending one of the "free schools" that have existed in Massachusetts since 1647.

To satisfy his natural inquisitiveness, he spends his free time at the local library reading a collection of books donated by founding father Benjamin Franklin, for whom the town is named. His persistence here pays off in 1816, when he is admitted to Brown University and goes on to graduate at the top of his class three years later.

His next four years find him teaching Greek and Latin at Brown and studying the law, eventually at the Tapping Read Law School in Litchfield, Connecticut, famous for graduates such as John C. Calhoun, Aaron Burr and a host of other national politicians and court justices.

He begins his law practice in 1823 and is elected to the state legislature from the town of Dedham in 1827, and then from Boston, in 1833. His work on behalf of education, religious liberty, public charities and temperance is recognized by John Quincy Adams, and he becomes President of the State Senate in 1836.

One year later, in June 1837, Mann is elected to the position which will secure his legacy as the “father of the common school movement” in America – Secretary of the Massachusetts’s Board of Education.

\*\*\*\*\*

### **Mann Lays Out Plans To Improve Public Schools**



A Typical Teacher And Her Students

Mann’s position as Board Secretary represents the first attempt by any state to recognize the importance of education to the nation’s future. The legislation which creates his office defines his duty to “investigate the moral and material conditions of the schools and discover the best methods for improving them.”

Thirty years later he recalls his initial findings, gleaned from riding on horseback across the state and observing operations of both public and private schools:

- Statewide there were roughly 3,000 common schools serving 165,000 students.
- Another 12,000 upper class students were attending private schools.
- The gap in educational quality between the private and public schools was obvious.
- Pedagogy in common schools was marked by rote memorization, enforced by the rod.
- Calling out individual letters and then saying the word aloud was the norm exercise.
- But the vast majority of students were unable to explain the meaning of words memorized.

Mann set out to shift the way reading was taught by bringing the words to life in associated pictures and in conversations where they were converted into sentences related to everyday life experiences. This one methodological change alone had a huge effect on reading comprehension and on everyday fluency.

Throughout his travels, he records the “best practices” observed in classrooms and compiles these into teaching guides that he shares at conferences around the state. The tenacity of purpose Mann evidenced as a youth takes hold of his life as Education Secretary, and he foregoes all other legal and business practices in favor of the new mission.

In 1838 he launches *The Common School Journal* where he proposes a series of principles that will underlie the development of public education in America:

- The nation is well served morally and economically by a truly educated general public.
- Common schools should be paid for from public funds.
- Attendance should include children from all backgrounds and economic situations.
- Well-trained professional teachers are necessary to quality education.
- The curriculum should be broadened beyond the 3R's.
- Content should be secular in character, while inculcating Christian moral standards.
- Harsh corporal punishment should be abandoned.
- All children (both sexes) should stay in school up to the age of sixteen.
- School buildings should be upgraded along with teacher pay.

Resistance to these principles tend to come from those who feel that parents, not schools, should inculcate “values,” and from veteran teachers inclined toward “spare the rod and spoil the child.”

In 1843 Mann's search for educational advances takes him to Europe, where he embraces the so-called “Prussian model,” which starts with mandatory kindergarten and progresses to eight grades of Volksschule, four of Hauptschule (for 14-17 year olds) and then, for top students, universities.

After a decade of service as Education Secretary, Horace Mann is elected to the U.S. House, upon the death of JQ Adams, and serves from 1848 to 1853. Once there he becomes a vigorous critic of slavery, arguing in favor of the Wilmot Amendment which would ban its expansion into the western territories. His words in this regard are unequivocal:

*I consider no evil as great as slavery. Interference with (it) will excite civil commotion in the South. But it is best to interfere. Now is the time to see whether the Union is a rope of sand or a band of steel.*

In 1853 he becomes the first President of Antioch College in Ohio, continuing his lifelong dedication to advancing the cause of education. He serves there until his passing in 1859, soon after delivering his famous commencement address admonishing students to:

*Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity.*

As more northern jobs rely on brainpower rather than physicality, the value of a formal education grows in importance. Pioneering research in teaching methods, undertaken by Horace Mann, Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon, begins to reshape K-12 schooling in Massachusetts and New York. Their work also opens up teaching as a second “suitable career path for women,” to go along with nursing, and provokes more early debates about female roles and rights in society.

\*\*\*\*\*

## **Emma Willard And Catharine Beecher Advance Education For Women**

While Mann is busy strengthening the public schools, three women in particular are making conspicuous efforts to support higher education for females.

Emma Willard is one. She is a precocious child, sixteenth in line among her farming family in Berlin, Connecticut. In 1802, at age fifteen, she finally enrolls in a formal school, tears through the curriculum, and is hired as a teacher there at seventeen. After a short stint as principal of a female seminary in Vermont, where she meets and marries her doctor husband, Willard opens a boarding school of her own in 1814. From then on her goal is to offer women students the same kind of rigorous educational experiences historically limited to men. As she later says:

*We too are primary existences...not the satellites of men.*

Her efforts to receive public funding for such a venture are met by resistance from legislators who argue that women don't need higher education to perform their allotted role in society. But Willard persists and finally discovers a supporter in New York Governor DeWitt Clinton, a transformative political figure, who also sponsors the controversial Erie Canal after losing a bid for the Presidency in 1812.

In September 1821, Emma Willard opens her Troy Female Seminary, the first school in America to offer a higher education degree to women. By 1831 the college is thriving, with some 300 students, mostly from wealthier families. Willard is also a prolific author, publishing books that range from American history to biology, geography and poetry. She turns leadership of Troy over to her son and his wife in 1838 and spends the rest of her life traveling, writing and speaking on behalf of education for women. After her death in 1870, Troy will be renamed The Emma Willard School in her honor.

Unlike Willard, Catharine Beecher grows up in a prominent and highly educated family. Her father is Lyman Beecher, graduate of Yale Divinity School, and the fiery Calvinist minister of a Congregationalist church in Litchfield, Connecticut, where Catharine, her sister, Harriet Beecher (Stowe), and twelve other siblings, grow up.

As a youth she attends a private school until her mother dies in 1816, at which time she is called upon, at age sixteen, to take over domestic duties for her family. From her early experience she concludes that to accomplish their God-given role as homemakers, women must become better educated themselves so they can, in turn, educate their children. As she says:

*Woman's great mission is to train immature, weak, and ignorant creatures to obey the laws of God; the physical, the intellectual, the social, and the moral.*

When her fiancée, a Yale professor, dies at sea, she throws herself into founding a series of academies to educate women. She constructs a curriculum that emphasizes mastery of mathematics, theology and philosophy, and develops her own textbooks and materials for use in the classroom.

Her focus soon shifts to studying how children learn and translating her insights into training programs to develop superior teachers. In the 1850's she relocates to Ohio and works tirelessly to upgrade the education of women, teachers and children across the emerging western states. She founds the American Women's Educational Association and promotes the idea that females by nature make the best teachers.

Owing in large part to her efforts, young women are henceforth able to add teaching to nursing as a viable path to enjoying a paid career.

Unlike her more controversial siblings – the author, Harriet Beecher Stowe, the firebrand abolitionist preacher, Henry Ward Beecher and the suffragette, Isabella Beecher Hooker – Catharine Beecher's heart is forever devoted to a woman's role within the home. In 1869 she joins Harriet in co-authoring a widely read book, *The American Woman's Home*, offering advice to homemakers on raising children, physical fitness, proper dieting, budgeting and other family duties. She dies in 1878.

A third contemporary to Willard and Beecher in the cause of women's education is Mary Lyon.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1797-1849

### **Mary Mason Lyon Founds Mount Holyoke Female Seminary**

Mary Lyon's youth mirrors that of Horace Mann in many ways. She is born in 1797 on a small farm in Massachusetts. She is only five when her father dies and thirteen when her mother remarries and moves away. Rather than attending school her early years are devoted to helping her brother work the land in order to survive.

But she is drawn to learning and makes her way to Byfield Seminary, where she experiences her wish for disciplined study embedded in an intensely Christian ethos. During this period her Baptist roots give way to the Congregationalist beliefs of the Puritan, Jonathan Edwards.

Henceforth she dedicates her life to educating young women, especially those held back by poverty. She teaches at a series of academies before being recruited by one Laban Wheaton to start up a seminary in Norton, Massachusetts. She creates the curriculum for the Wheaton Female Seminary and sees it open before moving on at age forty to fulfill her own destiny, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

Mount Holyoke admits its first class of fifty young women on November 8, 1837. From there, Mary Lyon crafts a university that reflects her core educational principles:

- Intellectual pursuits should be aligned with moral purpose.
- Tuition must be affordable to those with modest means.
- To help defray costs, students will work to maintain the campus.
- Daily exercise will be mandatory to build healthy bodies as well as minds.
- The academic curriculum will rival that offered at universities for men.
- Seven courses in science and mathematics will be required for graduation.
- Science study will include hands-on laboratory experimentation.

Mount Holyoke sets a new standard for female seminaries springing up in her time. Its purpose goes far beyond that of “finishing schools,” with their emphasis on manners and marriage and managing a household. Instead, Mary Lyon is intent on offering women the same intellectual challenges and knowledge reserved historically for men and then sending them off into the world to achieve the good works and reforms being touted by her revivalist contemporaries.

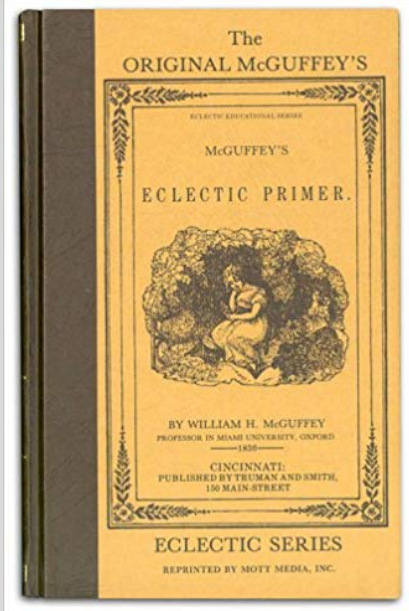
The model she sets in motion with Mount Holyoke will become the norm at other destined to be renowned women’s colleges such as The Western College For Women (1855), Vassar (1861) and Wellesley (1870).

Mary Lyons oversees her academy for twelve years, before succumbing to a strep throat infection probably contracted while caring for a sick student.

\*\*\*\*\*

### **McGuffey’s Reader**

Starting in 1836 and lasting for more than a century, schoolchildren across America achieve literacy with the aid of a series of six graded textbooks known as “McGuffey’s Readers.”



The principal author of these works is William Holmes McGuffey, second of eleven children, born in 1800 to a deeply religious Scottish family living on a farm along the southwestern edge of Pennsylvania.

From early youth onward McGuffey is drawn to education, and at age fourteen earns a certificate to act as a “roving teacher.” He begins in Calcutta, Ohio, where he works eleven hours a day, six days a week, in the winter, trying to cram basic literacy skills into 48 students from 6 to 21 years old, before they depart for their summer farming chores.

The frustrations he experiences with this first job convince him to seek more formal training for himself, and he eventually enrolls at Washington College, graduating in 1826. But intermingled with his own studies are further ventures into

hands-on teaching, most notably in Paris, Kentucky. There his classes are held in a retired smokehouse, using the Bible as his primary textbook.

For McGuffey, however, the choice of the Bible is not merely a matter of availability. Instead it reflects his deep roots as a Presbyterian Calvinist and his conviction that the driving purpose behind learning to read is to be able to explore the Scriptures and embrace the values they profess.

His reputation as a teacher wins him an invitation to join the faculty of Miami University in Ohio. It is there that he marries, preaches in church, is ordained a minister, and approached in 1835 by the Truman & Smith publishing company to author the six soon to be famous “Readers” that bear his name. He is accompanied in this effort by his brother, Theodore, who completes the Levels five and six works.

What McGuffey has learned from his teaching experience is that young children are drawn into reading through exposure to stories which fascinate them and follow-up questions that engage their intellects.

Thus his Level 1 “Eclectic Primer” offers simple tales that a teacher reads out loud and then breaks down into letters, sounds and words, all associated with pictures. After this establishes a primitive vocabulary – “boy, girl, farm, hen, run...” – the stories graduate into greater complexity, up to Level 6 which includes poems, essays and other narratives, often drawn from authors such as Milton, Byron and other famous men. The narratives are also accompanied by suggested “discussion guides” for teachers, aimed at stimulating lively discussions and debate. But, true to his greater purpose, McGuffey draws the bulk of the content in the Readers from the Bible and its moral admonitions.



As in the final story from the Level 1 Primer which reminds the pupils that:

*God sees and knows all things. He sees me when I rise from my bed. He sees me when I go out to work or play, and when I lie down to sleep. If God sees me, and knows all that I do, He must hear what I say. Oh, let me speak no bad words, nor do any bad act; for God does not like bad words or bad acts.*

And elsewhere:

*All who take care of you and help you were sent by God. He sent His Son to show you His will, and to die for your sake...Never forget, before you leave your room, to thank God for His kindness.... If you are not diligent in the improvement of your time, it is one of the surest evidences that your heart is not right with God.. You are placed in this world to use your time well. In youth you must be preparing for future usefulness. If you do not improve the advantages you enjoy, you sin against your Maker.*

While this didacticism fits with America's roots in Christianity, it is tempered in revised additions that become more secular and civil and less theological in nature. But still, for many decades to follow, reading and religious instruction will go hand in glove in primary schools across the nation, thanks to McGuffey.

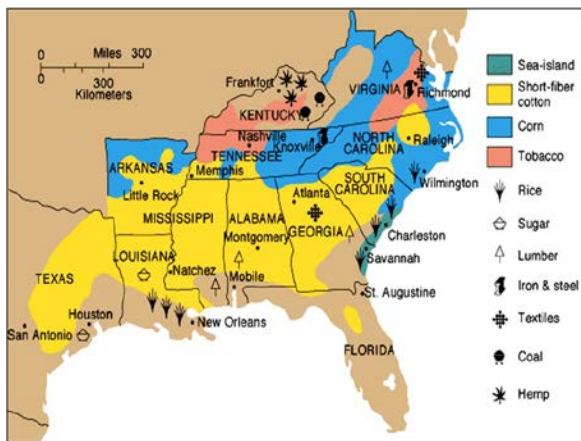
After ten years at Miami, his conservative brand of Calvinism is out of step with his more reform-minded colleagues and he move on to become president of Cincinnati College, Ohio University and the Woodward Free Grammar School before closing out his career at the University of Virginia, dying there in 1873. Records show that his Readers have sold over 122 million copies and still counting to the present.

## Chapter 88 - The South's First Cash Crops: Tobacco, Rice, Cotton And Sugar

The South's three dominant agricultural crops in the 18th century are tobacco, rice and sugar, and together they provide the foundation behind most of the aristocratic planter families of colonial America. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century they will be joined by "King Cotton."

\*\*\*\*\*

### Tobacco



Map Of The "Agricultural Belts" Across The South

Tobacco production is concentrated early on in Virginia and parts of North Carolina, with Kentucky and Tennessee coming on later. But growing tobacco is a complex and labor intensive undertaking, from transplanting seedling into the soil to proper fertilization and then harvesting. The tobacco leaves are heavy and dirty and, after cutting into "hands" (packets), they must be hung over five foot long poles to properly dry and cure. Getting all of this right is not easy.

Tobacco is also an "exploitive" plant, sucking nitrogen out of the soil and depleting its capacity to replenish needed nutrients year after year. The early growers are also either ignorant of the need for crop rotations or are too eager for short-term profits to care. Thus by 1840 much of the tobacco land is played out, and the Virginia planters in particular are searching for new options to protect their fortunes. One ominous answer will lie in "breeding" slaves for sale.

#### Some of Virginia's Elite Tobacco Families

Names	Dates
Richard Lee	1617-1664
Robert "King" Carter	1663-1732
Benjamin Harrison III	1673-1710
William Byrd II	1674-1744
William Fairfax	1691-1757
William Beverley	1696-1756
Mann Page II	1716-1780
William Fitzhugh	1741-1809

\*\*\*\*\*

## Rice

Further south, along the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, the gentry is built on the production of rice, ironically using methods taught them by their African slaves. Success is predicated on the presence of swampland, fed by non-saline freshwater rivers and lakes, and temperatures that are reliably warm during the 5-6 month growing season. Preparing and managing a rice field is an arduous task, first to drain and level the swamp, then to plant seedlings in the mud, finally to carefully add back water needed to support growth and fight off weeds. Between April and September, stalks will reach about 18 inches, at which time they are cut down, left to dry in the sun for two weeks, then “flailed” to capture pods and milled to arrive at the desired rice kernels.

The entire process is fraught with risks. Inland swamps are subject to flooding after heavy rains, while coastal swamps are forever threatened by the ocean’s salt water. Losing a crop to water damage is not uncommon and severe financial losses can follow. Swampland is also the breeding ground for mosquitos and the two main killing diseases they transmit – malaria and yellow fever. Still, the mega-rice planters, scions like Joshua Ward at “Brookgreen” and William Aiken, Jr. on Jehossee Island, thrive in 1840, while searching westward toward swampland in Louisiana for the chance to expand.

### Some Of Carolina’s Elite Rice Families

Names	Dates
Joseph Blake	1663-1700
Arthur Middleton	1742-1787
Nathaniel Heyward	1766-1851
Joseph Alston	1779-1816
William Aiken, Sr.	1779-1831
Joshua Ward	1800-1853

\*\*\*\*\*

## Sugar

The third great Southern crop – sugar – takes off in Louisiana in the 1790’s, as a replacement for lagging sales of indigo dye. Advanced know-how in raising sugar cane arrives along with immigrants from plantations in Santo Domingo. It is a form of grass that develops into bamboo-like stalks which grow to 10-14 feet in height. Planting of seedling stalks occurs in the Fall, with fresh shoots appearing the following Spring, leading to summer growth and Fall harvesting.

Then begins the elaborate process by which the stalks are crushed to give up their sugar juice, which is concentrated by repeated boiling into “cane syrup” (or blackstrap molasses). Once cooled and further purified the syrup is converted into crystalized granules, first as brown sugar and, after more processing, as white sugar.

Credit goes to one Etienne de Bore (1741-1820), a Creole living on a plantation above New Orleans, and Haitian emigres, Antoine Morin and Antonio Menendez, for creating the first profitable operation to produce granulated sugar, around 1795. From there, Louisiana becomes the home of American sugar production and of some of the wealthiest planter families. The one main threat to success lies in the Louisiana weather where, unlike the Caribbean clime, a sudden frost can wipe out both a current sugar cane crop and future seedlings.

**Some Of Louisiana’s Elite Sugar Families**

<b>Names</b>	<b>Dates</b>
Steven Minor	1760-1815
James Brown	1766-1835
Lewis Stirling	1786-1858
Michel Bringier	1789-1847
Wade Hampton II	1791-1858
John Burnside	1810-1881
Meredith Calhoun	1805-1869

\*\*\*\*\*

**Cotton**

Cotton of course becomes the South’s dominant agricultural crop in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It originates along the east coast from Virginia to Florida, as “sea island cotton,” noted for its remarkably long strands of fiber. It then moves inland after Eli Whitney invents his “(en)gin” in 1794, which efficiently sorts seeds from bolls and opens the door to growing “short strand/staple cotton.” Seeds are planted in the Spring; three foot high shrubs bearing flower buds (“bolls”) appear during the summer; and the back-breaking task of harvesting occurs in the autumn.

The crop tends to be hearty as long as droughts are avoided, weeding is completed, and the two key pests (bollworms and boll weevils) are contained. Once plantations open up from Alabama to Texas, cotton becomes the dominant source of wealth across the South.

**Some Of The South’s Elite Cotton Families**

<b>Name</b>	<b>State</b>	<b>Dates</b>
Dr. Stephen Duncan	Miss	1787-1867
John Manning	La	1815-1889
Joseph Acklen	La	1816-1863

John Robinson	Miss	1811-1870?
Jeremiah Brown	Ala	1800-1863
Elisha Worthington	Ark	1808-1873
Dr. John C. Jenkins	Miss	1809-1855

Each of these four crops requires a minimum of 600 acres (1 square mile) of land and 20+ slaves to prosper. Then come the mega- plantations with over 100 slaves, which vary widely in acreage. Jefferson's Monticello property spans 5,000 acres or 8 square miles. Washington's Mount Vernon is larger, at 7600 acres. One of Joshua Ward's rice plantations, "Brookgreen," extends over 9,000 acres, while William Aiken's Jehossee Island is 33,000 acres, or an almost unimaginable 55 square miles.

But one thing they all have in common: success rests on owning enough slaves and then working them to near exhaustion, especially during the critical planting and harvesting seasons.

## Chapter 89 - The Breadth Of Slave Ownership In The South

### Distribution Of Slaves

It's estimated that 30% of all white families across the early southern states own slaves – with the incidence ranging from a high of 70% in Georgia to a low of 18% in Maryland.

#### Percent Of Families Owning Slaves

	%
“Old South”	30%
Maryland/DC	18
Virginia	33
North Carolina	27
South Carolina	48
Georgia	70
Kentucky	29
Tennessee	26

From 1840 US Census

Starting with a white population of 4.8 million in 1840 and assuming an average of six people per household, there are just over 800,000 “families” in total across the South.

Thirty percent of that number yields some 240,000 families who are owners of the 2.5 million enslaved blacks. The distribution of these slaves is sharply skewed.

Thus about 70% of all slave-holders run small to mid-sized farms with under ten slaves, while only 12% have the twenty or more required to operate actual plantations.

But the real “tycoon elites” of the South comprise only about 8,000 families who own roughly 600,000 enslaved blacks.

#### Estimated Distribution Of Slaves In 1840

# Slaves Owned	Number Families	% of all Families	% of all Owners	Number Slaves	% of all Slaves	Likely “Use” Of Slaves Owned
<b>0</b>	560,000	70%	--	--	--	
<b>1</b>	40,000	5	17%	40,000	2%	Small farm
<b>2-4</b>	72,000	9	30	195,000	8	Small farm
<b>5-9</b>	56,000	7	24	332,000	15	Mid-sized farm
<b>10-19</b>	40,000	5	17	540,000	23	Larger farm
<b>20-49</b>	24,000	3	9	800,000	29	Small plantation

<b>50-99</b>	5,300	0.66	2	350,000	14	Large plantation
<b>100+</b>	2,700	0.33	1	243,000	9	Mega-plantation
<b>Total</b>	800,000	100%	100%	2,500,000	100%	

While slave owners are overwhelmingly white men and women, a small number are free blacks. In South Carolina, for example, data from 1840 show 402 free blacks owning 2,002 slaves, or an average of five per family. The highest ownership among free blacks traces to three sugar plantations in Louisiana, with 215 slaves belonging to Nicholas Metoyer and his family, 152 to a widow, Ciprien Richards and her son, and another 70 to Antoine Dubuclet and his wife, Claire.

\*\*\*\*\*

### The Southern Planter Tycoons



Planter James Marshman

### Twenty Largest Slave Owners Across The South

# Own	Name	Location	Mainly	Profile
2,340	Nathaniel Heyward (1766-1851)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	“The Bluff.” A shrewd businessman who acquires 19 plantations over time. Dabbles in politics and signs “Nullification” doc. Nearly \$1 million estate at death in 1851.
1,130	Joshua J. Ward (1800-1853)	Georgetown, S.C.	Rice	“Brookgreen.” Known as “king of the rice planters.” Born on plantation, leads development of

				premium “Carolina gold long rice,” SC Lt Gov 1850-52.
858	Dr. Stephen Duncan (1787-1867)	Issaquena, Miss.	Cotton	“Saragossa.” Born in Pa, MD degree, to Natchez, efforts to re-colonize Africans, later anti-secession.
753	John Burnside (1810-1881)	Ascension, Louisiana	Sugar	“Houmas House.” Belfast, Ireland native, buys from Wade Hampton for \$1million.
709	Meredith Calhoun (1805-1869)	Rapides, Louisiana	Sugar	“Calhoun’s Landing.” From Pa to Red River estate, editor of <i>National Democrat</i> .
700	William Aiken, Jr. (1806-1887)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	“Jehossee Island.” Other businesses are canals and railroads, SC Gov ’44-46 then US House ’51-57.
670	John Manning (1816-1889)	Ascension, Louisiana	Cotton	“Millford.” SC Gov son, Princeton, marries Hampton daughter, politics, SC Gov ’52-54, moderate secessionist, Beauregard staff in war, refuses oath to secure Senate seat.
659	Joseph Acklen (1816-1863)	W. Feliciana, Louisiana	Cotton	“Angola.” Lawyer, marries plantation heiress and widow of mega-slave trader Isaac Franklin, lawyer, link to Texas Republic, and triples value of estate.
631	R.F.W. Allston (1801-1864)	Georgetown , S.C.	Rice	“Chicora Wood.” West point grad, marries into elite JL Petigru family, scientific work on rice, SC Gov ’56-58, opposes secession.
575	Joseph Blake (???)	Beaufort, S.C.	Rice	“Bonnie Hall.” One of three Blakes, all heirs of colonial era Gov of Carolina, own slaves in England also. Little known.
550	John Robinson (1811-1870’s)	Madison, Miss.	Cotton	“Annandale.” Aristocratic life with little interest in farming operations.
540	Jeremiah Brown (1800-1863)	Sumter, Alabama	Cotton	“Lowden.” Son of wealthy Baptist minister, SC College, law, large donations to Howard

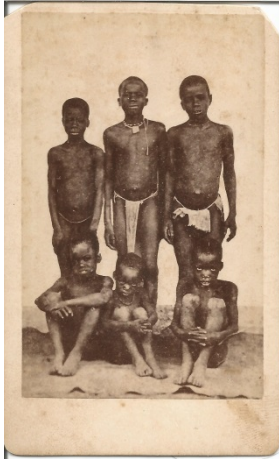


				College (later Samford), equips CSA troops
538	Arthur Blake (???)	Charleston, S.C.	Rice	“Blake’s Plantation.” Related to Joseph and Daniel. Little known.
530	John I. Middleton (1800-1877)	Beaufort, S.C.	Rice	“Middleton Place.” Family from Barbados, father was SC Gov and Amb to Russia, he supports re-opening global slave trade and secession.
529	Elisha Worthington (1808-1873)	Chicot, Arkansas	Cotton	“Sunnyside.” Little know beyond reported romance with slave and children attending anti-slavery Oberlin College.
527	Daniel Blake (???)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	“Board House.” Related to Joseph and Arthur Blake. Little known.
523	Dr. John C. Jenkins (1809-1855)	Wilkinson, Miss.	Cotton	“Elgin.” Father a wealthy Pa. iron mfr, MD from Dickinson, inherits from uncle, scientific experiments, dies along with wife and many slaves in yellow fever outbreak.
511	J. Harleston Read (1815-1866)	Georgetown , S.C.	Rice	“Rice Hope.” Born on plantation and inherits from his MD father. Little known.
505	John Mease Butler (1808-1863)	McIntosh, Georgia	Rice Cotton	“Butler Plantation.” Inherits via mother, Sarah Meese, daughter of Rev War and founder, Pierce Butler, changes name to Butler, deplorable conditions, his brother (Pierce) even a worse master.
491	Charles Heyward (1802-1866)	Colleton, S.C.	Rice	“Rose Hill.” Grandfather signs Dec. of Independence, attends Princeton, keeps extensive illustrated diary about property.

Partially from Tom Blake (2001)

## Chapter 90 - The South's Second Cash Crop: Breeding And Selling Slaves

### The Practice Of Breeding



Six Young Boys

From early on, astute planters understand that “breeding” more slaves is both a necessity and a crucial opportunity for financial growth.

With the 1787 Constitution banning further importation of Africans as of 1808, owners must rely on their current slaves to reproduce sufficiently to offset workers lost to aging or death. Beyond that, however, they also recognize that any “excess” slaves sold will bring handsome profits in the auction market.

Thomas Jefferson, who sells 110 slaves in his lifetime, announces the cold calculations associated with “breeding” excess slaves in his *Farm Book* entries:

*I consider a woman who brings a child every two years as more profitable than the best man of the farm... What she produces is an addition to the capital, while his labors disappear in mere consumption.*

So slave children become “additions to the capital!” The numbers are stark and revealing:

- Twenty-six child-bearing years per woman, from age 18-44;
- A minimum of thirteen potential pregnancies, with early weaning to restart ovulation;
- Perhaps 8-10 children each, given the 66% survival rate at birth;
- At an average sale price of \$300, these offspring add \$2500-\$3000 in capital;
- All from the womb of one woman slave, before even counting her likely next generation females.

Despite these forecasted “returns,” the harsh conditions of slave life – between hard work, physical punishment, and unhealthy housing and diets – seldom lead on to 8-10 surviving offspring per female.

Jefferson, for example, only records one instance (Minerva Granger and her husband, Bagwell) of nine maturing children among his 175 slaves at Monticello.

By 1840, however, the ex-President’s economic insights are becoming apparent to more and more plantation owners, especially as growth from the tobacco and rice crops along the Atlantic coast states tapers off, and cotton sales begin to boom to the west. Production of the “white gold”

jumps four-fold between 1820 and 1840, and the dollar value more than doubles, even at lower unit prices.

#### Value Of Cotton

Year	Cotton Lbs	Price/Lb	Total \$	% Ch
1820	142MM	\$16.58	\$235MM	
1840	587	9.00	526	+224%

Ransom estimates

Like clockwork, the demand for more cotton triggers the demand to “breed” more slaves, as attested to later recollections of freed blacks and owners alike.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### Testimonials Of Slaves And Masters About “Breeding”

Recollections of “slave breeding” abound in letters and diaries from the pre-war period, collected from both victims and perpetrators.

The ex-Georgia slave, William Ward, compares the practice to breeding livestock:

*Durin’ slavery if one marster had a big boy en ‘nuther had a big gal, de marsters made dem libe tergedder. Ef’n de woman didn’t hab any chilluns, she wuz put on de block en sold en ‘nuther woman bought. You see dey raised de chilluns ter mek money on jes lak we raise pigs ter sell.*

Chris Franklin, from Louisiana, reports on the humiliating “process” used by owners to select slaves for mating and to then insure that impregnation has occurred:

*On this plantation were more than 100 slaves who were mated indiscriminately and without any regard for family unions. If their master thought that a certain man and woman might have strong, healthy offspring, he forced them to have sexual relations even though they were married to other slaves. If there seemed to be any slight reluctance on the part of either of the unfortunate ones, “Big Jim” would make them consummate the relationship in his presence. He used the same procedure if he thought a certain couple was not producing children fast enough. He enjoyed these orgies.*

Hilliard Yellerday of North Carolina tells of her futile attempts to avoid bearing children she doesn’t want:

*I goes to de missy and tells her what Rufus wants and missy say dat am de massa"s wishes. She say, "Yous am de portly gal and Rufus am de portly man. De massa wants you-uns for to bring forth portly chillen. I"s thinkin bout what de missy say, but say to mysef, "I"s not gwine live with dat Rufus." Dat night when him come in de cabin, I grabs de poker and sits on de bench and says, "Git "way from me, nigger, "fore I busts yous brains out and stomp on dem." He say nothin" and git out. De nex" day de massa call me and tell me, "Woman, I"s pay big money for you and I"s done dat for de cause I wants yous to raise me chillens. I"s put yous to live with Rufus for dat purpose. Now, if you doesn"t want whippin" at de stake, yous do what I wants." I thinks "bout massa buyin" me offen de [auction] block and savin" me from bein" sep"rated from my folks and "bout bein" whipped at de stake. Dere it am. What am I"s to do? So I "cides to do as de massa wish and so I yields. . . .*

Owners also add their perspectives on slave breeding.

One observation belongs to Francis "Fannie" Kemble, a British actress married for a decade to the infamous planter, Pierce Mease Butler. She writes that her female slaves exhibited a...

*Distinct and perfect knowledge of their value to their owners as property...by bringing new slaves into the world....(declaring) look missis, little niggets for you and massa, plenty little niggits for you.*

Failure to meet an owner's demands for more children are met with harsh retribution. Thus, Davison McDowell, master of "Exchange Plantation" in South Carolina notes in his diary on September 16, 1830:

*Sibby miscarried, believe she did so on purpose. Stop her Christmas (gift) and lock her up.*

Another South Carolinian, one David Gavin, reveals his own astonishing lack of compassion by reacting to the death of "Celia's slave child" with the same self-centered irritation expressed over the loss of his horses.

*Celia's child, about four months old, died Saturday the 12th. That is two Negroes and three horses I have lost this year.*

A good summing up comes from the testimonial of ex-slave John Cole of Georgia, who ends by wondering aloud how "Christian men" could allow this "breeding" to exist:

*A slave girl was expected to have children as soon as she became a woman. Some of them had children at the age of twelve and thirteen years old. . . . Mother said there were cases where these young girls loved someone else and*

*would have to receive the attentions of men of the master's choice. This was a general custom. . . The masters called themselves Christians, went to church worship regularly and yet allowed this condition to exist.*

The explanation, of course, lies in the allure of personal greed which can trump all feelings of human empathy. Thus the utter sickness of slavery, with innocent children diminished to “additions to capital.”

And, by 1840, the value of total “slave capital” is already estimated to be \$938 million – with demand for excess laborers just taking off, as aspiring plantation owners cross into the cotton rich lands from Alabama to Texas.

**Value Of Slaves**

<b>Year</b>	<b># Slaves</b>	<b>\$/ Slave</b>	<b>Total \$</b>	<b>% Ch</b>
1820	1538M	\$393	\$604MM	
1840	2487	377	938	+155%

\*\*\*\*\*

**The Increase In Slave Pregnancies**

In response to growing demand for slaves, “total pregnancies” among black women are exceeding their white counterparts by 1840.

The first indication lies in the relative “fertility rate” – the number of children alive between the ages of 0-4 per thousand females aged 18-44 years old. This rate is 6% higher among black women.

**Children Aged 0-4 Per 1000 Women 20-44**

<b>Race</b>	<b>In 1840</b>
Blacks	1154
Whites	1085
Ratio (Black/White)	106%

Michael Haines, Colgate University

While data on “death rates” in the 0-4 age range are not available, there is good reason to believe that more black children are lost early, given their sub-par birth weights (5.5 lbs. on average), the fact they are quickly weaned off mother’s milk, and that their replacement diets are starch-laden and lacking in the balanced nutrients to sustain health.

Finally there are “stillborn rates,” which show that black infants are 57% more likely than white infants to die at birth.

### Stillborn Rates

<b>Race</b>	<b>Per 1000 Births</b>
Whites	217 deaths
Enslaved Blacks	340
Ratio (Black/White)	157%

Michael Haines, Colgate University

Taken together, the evidence shows that by 1840 Southern owners are already upping the rate of black pregnancies to build their “inventories of excess slaves.”

## Chapter 91 - Selling Slaves

### Shipment Of Slaves To The West

The ultimate destinations for the “excess” slaves being bred are the new cotton plantations opening up west of the Appalachian range.

Thus the staggering growth in the slave population already occurring between 1820 and 1840 in states such as Mississippi (+595%), Missouri (+582%) and Alabama (+535%), along with the more than doubling recorded in Louisiana (+144%), and Tennessee (+128%), with Georgia (+88%) just behind.

The leading “supplier states” for these western slaves is Virginia, with its very large black population (over 425,000 in 1820) and its need to address lagging profits on its tobacco plantations.

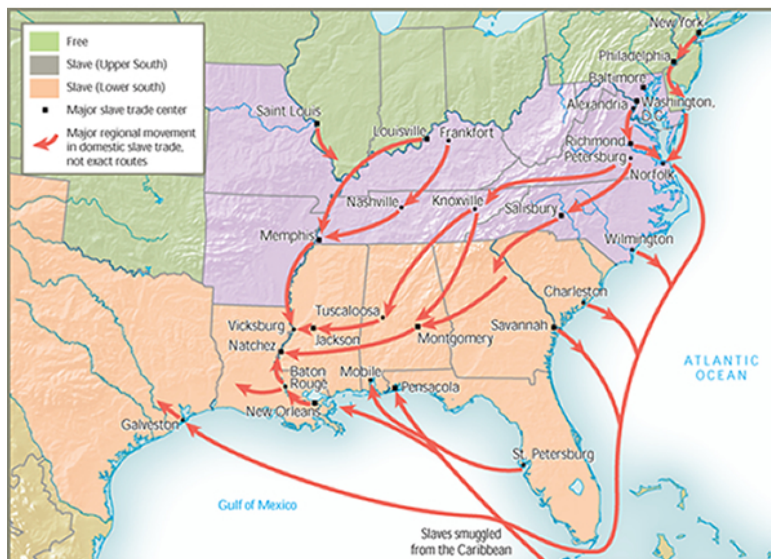
Other “slave breeder/supplier states” include North Carolina (also suffering erosion in its principal tobacco crops), South Carolina (the “rice kingdom,” but with most suitable lowlands already owned), and the two border states, Delaware (where only 2,600 slaves remain) and Maryland.

**Changes In Slave Populations By State**

Old South	Statehood	1820	1840	Change	% Ch
South Carolina	1788	251,800	327,000	75,200	30
Georgia	1788	149,000	280,900	131,900	88
Virginia	1788	425,200	449,100	23,900	6
North Carolina	1789	205,000	245,800	40,800	20
Border States					
Delaware	1787	4,500	2,600	(1,900)	(42)
Maryland	1788	107,400	89,700	(17,700)	(16)
Kentucky	1792	126,700	182,200	55,500	44
Missouri	1821	10,000	58,200	48,200	582
Expanded South					
Tennessee	1796	80,100	183,100	103,000	128
Louisiana	1812	69,100	168,400	99,300	144
Mississippi	1817	32,800	195,200	162,400	595
Alabama	1819	47,400	253,500	206,100	535
Arkansas	1836	0	19,900	19,900	+++

\*\*\*\*\*

## The Armfield Slave Coffle Of 1834



Map of Domestic Slave Trading Routes Opened By 1840

The task of rounding up excess slaves in Virginia and other eastern states and transporting them west and south for sale belongs to a small group of firms which accumulate vast wealth from their efforts.

One pioneer slave trading firm is Franklin & Armfield, headquartered as of 1828 in Alexandria, Virginia. Residing there is John Armfield, who is born in 1797 in North Carolina. His uncle and partner is Isaac Franklin, born in 1789 to a Tennessee planter, veteran of the War of 1812, astute investor, and owner of plantations of his own in Tennessee and Louisiana. Over time the two develop a transportation route for moving “herds” of slaves overland for some 650 miles from Alexandria to Nashville, then from there to river barges for another 500-700 mile journey toward auction houses in Natchez, Mississippi, and New Orleans.

One such transport – known as the “Armfield Coffle of 1834” – sets out with 300 slaves in August. A witness describes the sight as follows:

*Armfield sat on his horse in front of the procession, armed with a gun and a whip. Other white men, similarly armed were arrayed behind him. They were guarding 200 men and boys lined up in twos, their wrists hand-cuffed together, a chain running the length of their hands. Behind the men another 100 women and children were tied with rope. Then came six or seven big wagons carrying food, infants, and suits of clothing reserved to display the negroes at auction.*



A list of six children who made this particular journey survives:

**Some Slave Children In The 1834 Coffle**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Height</b>
Bill Keeling	Male	11	4'5"
Elizabeth	Female	10	4'1"
Monroe	Male	12	4'7"
Lovey	Female	10	3'10"
Robert	Male	12	4'4"
Mary Fitchett	Female	11	4'11"

The “coffle” moves at about three miles an hour and 20 miles a day in the sweltering summer heat. It travels from Alexandria along a variety of trails beginning with the Great Wagon Road through the Shenandoah Valley. On September 6, it makes a risky 125 yard crossing of the New River, south of Roanoke to avoid a ferry toll. From there it moves west toward Knoxville and then to Gallatin, Tennessee, some 30 miles northeast of Nashville.

Once there, Amfield turns the “coffle” over to Isaac Franklin’s nephew, James, to complete the final legs of the trip. While records end at this point, the slaves are likely put on flatboats for a three day ride down the Cumberland River to the Ohio, and then one more day to connect with the Mississippi. After another two week voyage south, they will likely dock at Natchez for sale. A contemporary visitor to that city claims that...

*There is no branch of trade in this part of the country more brisk and profitable than that of buying and selling negroes.*

The terminal for Armfield’s Coffle of 1834 is probably Isaac Franklin’s auction house located at Forks of the Road, near the end of the Natchez Trace. It has removed to this remote site after Franklin is caught in 1833 burying slaves who have died of cholera, causing panic and reprisals by city officials.

Sales at the Forks site follow a ritual, with slaves dressed up in finery and first paraded en masse in front of potential bidders.

*The men dressed in navy blue suits with shiny brass buttons...as they marched singly and by twos and threes in a circle...The women wore calico dresses and white aprons, with pink ribbons in their hair.*

After this showing, they are grouped by age and size, within gender. Sales are determined by haggling, not by an auctioneer. Thus a prospective buyer will point to a prospect, who will follow them to a more private site for closer inspection. This typically involves undressing and standing naked while examination is made of teeth and backs, the latter in search of prior whip

marks, signaling defiance. Slaves may also be asked to speak, sing or dance, and to describe what work and skills they possess.

The entire process is one of abject humiliation.

Some of the “Armfield Coffle” may have ended up in New Orleans, the biggest slave “market” in the country, with over fifty dealers in business. A white visitor expresses his discomfort at the wide open nature of the city:

*You have to squeeze through a countless multitude of men, women and children of all ages, tongues and colors of the earth until you get into the city proper. (The people) are made of the worst portion of the human race. No wonder that there should be robberies and assassinations in such a population.*

The actual auctions are often seen as social events, with gawkers outnumbering bidders. Advertisements in local papers boast of “Virginia bred” slaves (meaning compliant) and “fancy girls” (sex slaves) who often go for top dollar. A diary records one such sale of a woman named Hermina:

*On the block was one of the most beautiful women I ever saw...She was sold for \$1250 to one of the most lecherous looking old brutes I ever set eyes on.*

The “Armfield Coffle of 1834” is, of course, only one incident in an “industry” that thrives, as prospective plantation owners move west. In total, it’s estimated that over a half million American born enslaved persons are sold over the years in New Orleans. Among the results are shattered families, and heart-rending “seeking notices” that follow after the end of the Civil War. One example from a Mary Haynes, living in Texas:

*I wish to inquire after my relatives whom I left in Virginia about twenty-five years ago. My mother’s name was Matilda. My name was Mary. I was nine years old when I was sold to a trader named Walker, who carried us to North Carolina. My younger sister Bettie was sold to a man named Reed, and I was sold and carried to New Orleans and from there to Texas. I had a brother, Sam, and a sister, Annie, who were left with mother. If they are alive, I will be glad to hear from them.*

## Chapter 92 - Free Blacks Are Making Progress

Date: 1840

### The Status Of Free Blacks In 1840



Freedwoman Flora Stewart (Age 117)

In 1840 roughly 13% of all African-Americans in the U.S. are living as “freed men and women” – with slightly over half residing in “slave states.” Some are manumitted by their owners, some buy their way out, others are run-aways. A relative few are born free, as determined by their mother, whose “status” they inherit.

#### Growth Of The Free Black Population

	1790	1820	1840
<b>Northeast</b>	26,800	91,790	141,560
<b>Northwest</b>	---	6,410	30,524
<b>Old South</b>	18,327	53,386	162,610
<b>Border +SW</b>	12,056	34,070	44,604
<b>Total</b>	57,183	185,656	379,298

Regardless of their path to freedom, the latitude they enjoy is sharply constrained. This is especially the case in the South, where whites fear that the presence of freedmen will spark uprisings among those left in slavery. In the North, they are typically living in cities, within segregated neighborhoods, and subject to written or informal “black codes” which leave them uneducated, poorly housed, unemployed, beyond the protection of basic legal rights, regarded as inferior, often feared and unwelcomed.

Still they persevere, rallying around their own institutions – black churches, freemason halls, barber shops, small storefronts – and around community leaders who have mastered the ways of white society and are determined to advance their cause.

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: 1840

## A Next Generation Of Black Leaders Fight For Recognition



Freedman Named T. Hepworth

By 1840, many of the early leaders have passed – men like Prince Hall, Paul Cuffee, clergymen Thomas Paul, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. The youthful abolitionist David Walker dies suddenly in 1831. The successful businessman and crusader, James Forten, is seventy-four and only two years from death.

But a next generation of successors is already beginning to make their marks.

Thomas Dalton works his way up from bootblack and tailoring jobs in Boston to ownership of a successful clothing store. In 1834 he marries his wife, Lucy Lew, who is educated in an integrated school, and together they embark on a series of efforts to strengthen their community. Dalton becomes a trustee in the AMEZ church, Grand Master of the Prince Hall Lodge, president of the Massachusetts General Colored Association, and co-founder with Lloyd Garrison, of the New England Anti-Slavery Society.

Reverend Samuel Cornish graduates from the Free African School in Philadelphia, is ordained a minister in 1822, opens the first black Presbyterian Church in Manhattan, and then co-founds the first African-American newspaper in America, *Freedom's Journal*. The initial editorial declares its mission:

*Too long have others spoken for us. Too long have the public been deceived... We wish to plead our own cause.*

Reverend Theodore Wright, the first black graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1829, follows Cornish in the Manhattan church pulpit and becomes a founding member in 1833 of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which unites white and black abolitionists and numbers some 250,000 recruits by 1838. His home becomes a “station” on the underground railroad, and he eventually supports radical action by blacks to end slavery.

Charles Lenox Remond benefits from his parent’s successful catering and barbering businesses and becomes a traveling lecturer and agent for Lloyd Garrison’s *Liberator* newspaper in 1832. He becomes a powerful speaker, addressing the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London, and later delivering the first speech by a black man to the Massachusetts’s state

legislature. Remond's younger sister, Sarah, will follow in his footsteps as an abolitionist, before moving to Italy and becoming a medical doctor.

Robert Purvis is born in Charleston to a white father, a wealthy cotton merchant who had emigrated from England, and a freed slave mother. After graduating from Amherst College, his father dies, and he is left with a sizable fortune he uses on behalf of supporting African-Americans. He sets up the Library Company of Colored People in Philadelphia, helps Garrison found the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833, drafts a constitutional amendment on voting rights, and heads Vigilance Committees to prevent black kidnappings.

David Ruggles attends church school in Connecticut before moving at sixteen to New York City, where he works as a seaman and operates a grocery store before becoming an agent for the *Liberator*. He then opens a bookstore and edits *The Mirror of Liberty* journal. Like Purvis he is intently concerned about protecting the freedom of those who have escaped slavery, including Frederick Douglass. He is briefly imprisoned in 1838 for assisting a slave, Thomas Hughes, who escapes after being brought to "free NY" by his Virginia master, John Darg. For his visible work on behalf of run-aways, he is assaulted, and his bookstore is burned down.

While his father is a slave, Martin Delaney is born free because his mother has previously been manumitted. The youth learns to read from a primer given to him by a peddler, then becomes interested in medicine. After being accepted at Harvard Medical School but denied enrollment, he move to Pittsburg where he completes his apprenticeship. He attends the 1835 National Negro Convention, joins the anti-slavery movement, and records remarkable achievements over the next fifty years: helping Fred Douglass in launch his *North Star* newspaper, authoring articles and novels on the horrors of slavery, and eventually receiving the rank of Major in the union army after meeting with Abraham Lincoln and leading the effort to recruit black troops.

Born a slave in Maryland, Henry Highland Garnett escapes at age nine, and gains a high school education in New York city, before graduating from the Oneida Institute in 1839. From there he becomes a church pastor and embarks on a forty-year crusade to end slavery, including a call at the National Negro Convention of 1843 for blacks to pursue an armed rebellion to win their own freedom.

William Cooper Nell's father is a freedman in Boston who helps found the Massachusetts General Colored Association in the 1820's. As a young man, he studies law but refuses to swear allegiance to the Constitution, which he calls a racist document, and is never admitted to the bar. By 1840 he is a member of Lloyd Garrison's inner circle of Boston abolitionists, and works for the rest of his remarkable life on ending slavery, aiding run-aways, and integrating schools and organizations (including those which are blacks-only). He joins Fred Douglass on the *North Star* paper, until it begins to criticize Garrison.

In 1840 two women who will leave their mark on the abolitionist movement remain in the wings. One is forty-three year old Isabella Baumfree, who has run away from enslavement in New

York, but is still three years away from “hearing the spirit,” rechristening herself Sojourner Truth, and beginning a series of speaking tours on behalf of abolition. The other is Harriet Tubman, later “general” of the Underground Railroad, but only eighteen at the time, and still suffering great physical abuse as a slave in Maryland.



Sojourner Truth (1797-1873)

Then, of course, there is Frederick Douglass, who will go on to lead the black citizenship movement over the next three decades. In 1840, he is twenty-two years old and living in Bedford, Massachusetts with his wife, after escaping from his Maryland master. He has already become a licensed preacher and avid reader of the *Liberator*, but is yet to achieve the prominence that will follow his landmark August 1841 address to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society on Nantucket Island.

#### Next Generation Free Black Leaders In 1840

Name	Age	Born
Thomas Dalton	46 years	Free
Reverend Samuel Cornish	45	Free
Reverend Theodore Wright	43	Free
Isabella Baumfree/Sojourner Truth	43	Slave
Charles Lennox Raymond	30	Free
Robert Purvis	30	Free
David Ruggles	30	Free
Martin Delaney	28	Free
Henry Highland Garnet	25	Slave
William Cooper Nell	24	Free
Frederick Douglass	22	Slave
Harriet Tubman	18	Slave

## Chapter 93 - The Political Scene Heading Into The 1840 Races

Date: 1840

### The South Faces A More Threatening Electoral Terrain

Heading into the 1840 presidential campaign it's clear that the plantation scions of the South have reasons to fear that their control over the workings of the federal government may be slipping away from them.

Their linchpin here for over fifty years has been the strength of the Democrat Party, flowing from Jefferson through Andrew Jackson, always attentive to tamping down any anti-slavery rumblings across the North.

But dissatisfaction with Jackson's hand-picked presidential successor, Martin Van Buren, has intensified, as the economic recession following the 1837 Bank Panic persists. It is evident in the 1838 mid-term election, where Henry Clay's Whig Party picks up seats in both chambers of Congress.

**Electoral Trends In U.S. Congress**

	1834	1836	1838
<b>U.S. House</b>			
<b>Total # of Seats</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>240</b>
<b>Whigs</b>	37%	41%	45%
<b>Democratic</b>	59	53	52
<b>Other</b>	4	6	3
<b>U.S. Senate</b>			
<b>Total # of Seats</b>	52	52	52
<b>Whigs</b>	31%	33%	42%
<b>Democratic</b>	59	67	58
<b>Other</b>	10	0	0
<b>President</b>	AJ	MVB	MVB

Even more ominous to the Southerners are the population shifts reported in the 1840 Census.

From the beginning, the South anticipated that its warmer, agriculturally friendlier climate would translate into a growing share of the total U.S. population, and hence increase its power in the U.S. House. Instead it is the North that expands, in response to the trend away from rural farming and toward a more diverse economy and big cities.

By 1840, 57% of all Americans are living in the “free states” of the North, while only 43% reside in the “slave states” of the South – and movement to the west only adds to this disparity.

### Distribution Of US Population

	1790	1820	1840
<b>Total Free States</b>	50%	53%	57%
<b>Northeast</b>	50	45	40
<b>Northwest</b>	---	8	17
<b>Total Slave States</b>	50	47	43
<b>Border</b>	12	15	13
<b>Old South</b>	38	27	19
<b>Southwest</b>	---	5	11
<b>Grand Total</b>	100%	100%	100%

Since total seats in the House are allocated according to shares of the total population, this 57-43% split in 1840 is very troubling to the South.

It is accompanied by another worrisome signal, a sense that those with anti-slavery sentiments in the North may be coming together in an organized fashion for the first time.

While outspoken abolitionists like Lloyd Garrison are still viewed as “radicals,” the American Anti-Slavery Society they found in 1833 has some 1300 local chapters and a quarter of a million members enrolled by 1838.

If this movement continues to grow, the South fears that pressure will build in Congress to stop the future expansion of slavery.

As control of the U.S. House slips away, the South must rely on two other sources of political power to protect its interest. The first is the Senate, which stands evenly split in 1840 between Free vs. Slave states, based on a series of “gentlemen’s agreement” compromises to date.

### Senate Make-Up In 1840

<b>South – “Slave”</b>	<b>Border – “Slave”</b>	<b>Northeast – “Free”</b>	<b>North West – “Free”</b>
1788 South Carolina	1787 Delaware	1787 Pennsylvania	1803 Ohio
1788 Georgia	1788 Maryland	1787 New Jersey	1816 Indiana
1788 Virginia	1792 Kentucky	1788 Connecticut	1818 Illinois
1789 North Carolina	1821 Missouri	1788 Massachusetts	1837 Michigan
1796 Tennessee		1788 New Hampshire	



1812 Louisiana		1788 New York	
1817 Mississippi		1790 Rhode Island	
1819 Alabama		1791 Vermont	
1836 Arkansas		1821 Maine	

The second Southern defense lies in trying to elect a President who will defend, not threaten, slavery.

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: February 7, 1839

### Clay’s “I’d Rather Be Right Than Be President” Speech Will Prove Prophetic

The Whig Party founder, Henry Clay, is convinced the time has come for him to save the country from the “tyrannies” of King Andrew Jackson and his successor. As he says, we will finally “see the Goths expelled from the Capitol.” And his confidence is high:

*If we do not beat him (Van Buren), we deserve to be gibbeted.*

For three decades, since becoming Speaker of the House in 1811, Clay has been the most dominant force in Congress, leading the debate on foreign policy, holding the nation together through political compromises, and seeking to strengthen its economy and infrastructure. His fierce belief in the centrality of the legislative branch has placed him in conflict with the imperial presidency of Andrew Jackson, and his Whig Party is dedicated to ending Democratic Party dominance.

Clay feels that the 1840 election will be his time to reach all of his lifelong goals.

While he has advanced the Whig Party cause by touting the economic promises of his “American System,” he has historically shied away from speaking directly about the issue of slavery – although it is well known that he currently owns forty-eight slaves who toil away on his Ashland plantation.

On February 7, 1839, he decides to remedy this in a landmark speech to the Senate, titled “Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery.” As usual, his analysis is pristine and prescient, with main points as follows:

- Slavery has been a long-standing moral stain on the nation.
- It is understandable that Abolitionist’s wish to put an end to it.
- However, this wish is both impractical and dangerous.
- Abolition would devastate the South’s cotton economy.
- It would threaten social control and the safety of the white population.

- In turn abolition would encourage a fearful South to secede from the Union.

Before the speech, Clay reviews the remarks with a Southern friend, Senator William Preston of South Carolina, who warns him that it will lead to attacks from those on both sides of the issue. Clay's response to Preston defines the speech for all time:

*I trust the sentiments and opinions, and I'd rather be right than be President.*

Preston's assessment will prove right.

Much to Clay's chagrin, the arch pro-slavery Democrat, Calhoun, immediately praises the speech on the senate floor! This only reinforces the belief among Northern "Conscience Whigs" that Clay has simply offered one more lame slave owner's defense of the status quo.

At the same time, many Southern Whigs are offended by his labeling slavery a "moral stain" and by the notion that he "understands the abolitionist's cause."

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: May 5-6, 1839

### **The Democrats Renominate Van Buren**

Sensing an uphill battle, the Democrats hold an early convention, on May 5-6, 1839 in Baltimore.

Once there, Van Buren demonstrates that he remains in firm control of the Party apparatus by winning nomination on the first ballot.

The delegates do, however, signal a small slavery-related mutiny by refusing to support Van Buren's current Vice-President, Richard Mentor Johnson.

Southerners oppose him for having maintained an open liaison with his now deceased slave, Julia Chinn. Some Northern opponents object to having any slave owner on their ticket.

When the two sides fail to agree on an alternative, Van Buren is left to run by himself.

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: December 4-7, 1839

### **The Whigs Nominate William Henry Harrison**

On December 4, 1839, the “Democratic Whig National Convention” opens in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. By this time, the race is down to three men, after Daniel Webster, hated broadly, drops out. All three have won early national fame going way back to their roles in the War of 1812:

- Clay, whose war-hawk stance prompted the conflict, and who negotiated the peace treaty ending it;
- General Winfield Scott, whose gallantry in battle helps secure Ft. George in 1813; and
- General William Henry Harrison, victor at Tippecanoe in 1811 and over Tecumseh in 1813.

Ten months after Clay’s controversial speech on slavery, several elements within his party join hands to oppose his candidacy.

The Anti-Masonic wing, notably Thurlow Weed of New York and Thad Stevens of Pennsylvania, attack him, first for refusing to renounce his Grand Master status in the Kentucky Lodge, then as a two-time loser. As the acerbic Stevens says:

*Clay is a Mason and a loser.*

They are joined by a cadre of New Englanders who still hold a grudge against Clay for failing to aggressively support Daniel Webster’s nomination in 1836.

Clay’s campaign managers also underestimate Harrison’s strength among the various factions in the Whig coalition. Veterans of the Indian wars remain loyal to “Old Tip.” He is no Freemason. His record of winning seven states in the 1836 election proves his popular potential. And his geographical reach extends from his birthplace in Virginia, to his time spent as Governor of the Indiana Territory, to his adopted state of Ohio.

After the first ballot is cast, Clay holds a slim lead, when his opponents pounce.

New Yorkers such as Weed and Henry Seward believe that Clay will lose to Van Buren, and, on the second ballot, they peel away his support in Connecticut and Michigan in favor of Scott, their temporary “blocking candidate.” Then Stevens, spreads a false rumor among Southern delegations that Scott supports abolition, and they swing to Harrison, putting him over the top on the third ballot.

### 1839 Whig Nomination Voting

<b>Ballot</b>	<b>Clay</b>	<b>Harrison</b>	<b>Scott</b>
<b>1</b>	103	91	57
<b>2</b>	95	91	68
<b>3</b>	90	148	16

Harrison is not chosen until midnight on December 6, at which time the weary crowd begins to search for a way to console their deeply disappointed party founder, and to insure unity going forward.

They explore naming one of Clay's supporters to the ticket as Vice President, but all three men – John Clayton, Benjamin Leigh and Reverdy Johnson – decline.

On the following day, the delegates settle on their “General plus a Southerner” strategy by selecting the Virginian, John Tyler, to run with Harrison. This is Tyler's second official appearance on a Whig ticket, having previously run for Vice-President with two of the Whig's “four regional candidates” in 1836.

His choice, apparently a trivial afterthought, will soon boomerang on the Whigs in a profound way.

## Chapter 94 - Abolitionists Enter Politics After An Internal Schism

Time: 1839

### Garrison Alienates Some Supporters By Further Radicalizing His Agenda



Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879)

While the Whigs and Democrats are forming up their plans for the 1840 elections, the issue of “political action” is dividing what was heretofore a united Abolitionist front.

From the beginning, the Boston-based abolitionists – Lundy, Garrison, Phillips, Mott, Whittier and Douglass – have refused to turn their cause into a political movement, which they fear would lead to compromising and softening their attacks on slavery.

By 1839, however, this perspective is being challenged by leaders like James Birney, Theodor Weld, the Tappan brothers and Gerrit Smith, who represent the New York and Ohio wings of the movement.

This division breaks into the open at a January 1839 meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Garrison is once again at his shrillest here over a full range of American social norms and institutions.

He moves beyond calls for immediate emancipation and black assimilation to open support for racial intermarriage, feminine equality and suffrage, and passive resistance to laws he rejects. He castigates the clergy and all political parties, and urges others to join him in no longer voting in elections.

Much of this is beyond the pale for the more moderate New York and Ohio faction. Instead of drawing additional mainstream Americans into their cause, they see Garrison’s increasingly radical messages as driving people away and destroying the one practical path to their end – gathering enough popular support to pass abolition laws in Washington.

From 1839 forward, the Abolitionists will find themselves split into two wings.

Lloyd Garrison’s Boston-based followers will try to stay out of politics, and rely strictly on what he terms “moral suasion” to free the slaves -- his *Liberator*, other written material, the itinerant public lecturers and various public societies.

The New York and Ohio-based wing will jump into the political arena, first by forming their own abolitionist party, and later by backing anti-slavery Whigs and Democrats. Later on, a few will also support violent means to achieve their ends.

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: 1839 - forward

### James Birney And Gerrit Smith Embrace A Political Path To Abolition



Gerrit Smith (1797-1784)

Two men in particular will lead the Abolitionists into the political arena – James Birney, an ex-slave owner living in Ohio, and Gerrit Smith, the philanthropic reformer from upstate New York.

Birney grows up in Danville, Kentucky, where slavery is taken for granted. His father owns slaves, and he is given several as a wedding present when he marries the aristocratic Agatha McDowell. His education at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) leads on to a very successful legal practice in Danville. He is a powerful debater, and enters the political arena in 1816 when elected to the state legislature.

In 1819 he picks up and moves to Alabama to try his hand at running a cotton plantation that includes some 43 slaves. Once there he helps write the constitution that leads to statehood in 1819, and eventually serves in the state's first legislature. His political stance is staunchly pro-Clay and anti-Andrew Jackson.

On the surface, Birney's future as a Southern planter and politician seems fixed by age 28, in 1820.

But then his world comes apart. He suffers crop failures which, combined with gambling debts and lavish spending, lead on to financial ruin. He loses a child and becomes an alcoholic. Finally he decides to sell off most of his slaves to pay debts, and to move to Huntsville to try to pick up the pieces as a lawyer.

This works. He joins the Presbyterian Church in 1826, which restores his bearings. He serves as a States Attorney, then is elected Mayor of the city in 1829. But much of his energy focuses on a personal quest –exploring his past involvement with slavery. His final conclusion shocks fellow Southerners:

*Slavery is a sin before God. Men have no more right to enact slavery than they have to enact murder.*

Birney now follows through on his new convictions. He frees and pays off his remaining slaves, actively works on behalf of the American Colonization Society, and formally connects with the Abolitionist movement through Theodore Weld.

After moving back to Danville in 1835 Birney leaps into the center of the controversy by publishing an abolitionist paper, *The Philanthropist*. When local mobs threaten his safety, he moves north to the free state of Ohio, only to see his paper become a precipitating cause of the race riots that again disrupt Cincinnati in 1836. The attacks on Birney and the riots bring another prominent Ohio figure, Salmon P. Chase, into the Abolitionist cause.

These two will soon be joined by Gerrit Smith, a figure well known for supporting experiments in social re-engineering.

Smith is born in Utica, N.Y. into fabulous wealth, accumulated by his father, Peter, who is a long-term partner in John Jacob Astor's fur trading empire. After graduating from Hamilton College, he takes over management of the estate and grows it handsomely.

Like many other reformers of his era, Smith's life is re-shaped by the Reverend Charles Finney. In 1835 he attends revivalist services led by Finney in Utica, New York. From then on, he becomes a life-long supporter of the preacher, and a major financial contributor to his Oberlin College.

Under Finney's influence, Smith defines his agenda as a philanthropist. He begins with temperance, then branches out into abolition, land and prison reform, women's suffrage, even vegetarianism and Irish independence.

In 1839, Smith's focus lies on working with Birney and Chase to move the abolition cause into the political arena where rhetoric can be translated into laws and action.

\*\*\*\*\*

Date: November 13, 1839

## Abolitionists Found The Liberty Party



Arthur Tappan (1786-1865)

On November 13, 1839, a coalition including Birney, Chase, Smith, Arthur Tappan and New York Judge William Jay, meet in Warsaw, New York, and agree on a charter for “The Liberty Party.”

*Resolved, That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen requires of the Abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party, embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office and sustaining them by public suffrage.*

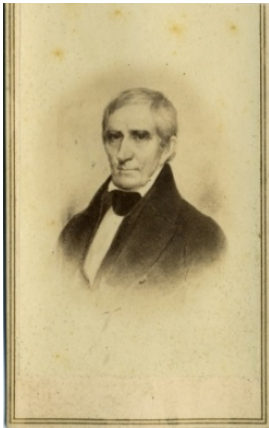
The new party holds its first convention at City Hall in Albany, N.Y., on November 13, 1839, with 121 delegates from six states present. James Birney is nominated to run for President, with Thomas Earle, a noted lawyer and journalist from Pennsylvania, joining the ticket as Vice-President.



## Chapter 95 - William Henry Harrison's One Month Presidential Term

Time: Fall 1841

### Harrison Becomes America's Ninth President



William Henry Harrison  
(1773-1841)

The election of 1840 is marked by another dramatic upswing in the number of popular votes cast, probably the result of growing public unrest with the economy and the excitement surrounding Harrison's candidacy.

#### Popular Votes Cast For President

Year	Number	% Vs Y-A
1832	1,286,700	+12.1%
1836	1,502,300	+16.8
1840	2,411,808	+60.5

The race itself marks a turning point in the character of political campaigning. Instead of focusing on "issues" – where Harrison's positions are typically vague – the Whigs focus on selling his "personal story" vis a vis Van Buren.

Despite patrician roots in Virginia, Harrison is cast as "Old Tip," a "log cabin and hard cider" common man of the West, and a military hero in wars against the Indians and the British. Meanwhile, the Whigs paint Van Buren as "Van Ruin," a New York snob, detached from the economic suffering of the people caused by the inept policies of his administration.

Harrison actively pursues the high office, touring the country, making speeches, handing out log cabin-shaped bottles of whiskey. Van Buren follows tradition, staying in the White House and allowing surrogates to reach out on his behalf.

Voting runs from October 30 to December 2 with 80% of all eligibles taking part.

The Whigs win 19 of 26 states, sending the Democrats and Martin Van Buren down to an eye-opening defeat. The popular count – 53% to 47% -- turns out closer than many expect. But in the Electoral College, Harrison runs away from Van Buren by a margin of 234 to 60.

The Abolitionist's new Liberty Party records fewer than 7,000 votes in total.

### Results Of The 1840 Presidential Election

1840	Party	Pop Vote	Elect Tot	South	Border	North	West
<b>Harrison</b>	Whig	1,275,390	234	50	28	123	33
<b>Van Buren</b>	Democrat	1,128,854	60	44	4	7	5
<b>Birney</b>	Liberty	6,797	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Other</b>		767					
		2,411,808	294	94	32	130	38

State by state returns show the North turning against Van Buren, including his home state of New York, along with a pronounced weakening of the Democrats hold on the “solid South.”

### Party Power By State

South	1836	1840	Pick-Up
Virginia	Democrat	Democrat	
North Carolina	Democrat	Whig	Whig
South Carolina	Whig (Mang)	Democrat	Democrat
Georgia	Whig (White)	Whig	
Alabama	Democrat	Democrat	
Mississippi	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Louisiana	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Tennessee	Whig (White)	Whig	
Arkansas	Democrat	Democrat	
Border			
Delaware	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Maryland	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Kentucky	Whig (Har)	Whig	
<b>North</b>			
New Hampshire	Democrat	Democrat	
Vermont	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Massachusetts	Whig (Web)	Whig	
Rhode Island	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Connecticut	Democrat	Whig	Whig
New York	Democrat	Whig	Whig
New Jersey	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Pennsylvania	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Ohio	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Maine	Democrat	Whig	Whig
Indiana	Whig (Har)	Whig	
Illinois	Democrat	Democrat	
Iowa	Democrat	Democrat	
Michigan	Democrat	Whig	Whig

The Whigs also sweep to victory in both houses of Congress.

### Congressional Election Of 1840

House	1838	1840	Chg.
Democrats	126	98	(28)
Whigs	108	144	36
Anti-Masonic	6	--	(6)
Conservative	2	--	(2)
Other			
<b>Senate</b>			
Democrats	29	22	(7)
Whigs	23	29	6
<b>President</b>	Van	Harr	

For the first time since John Quincy Adams victory in the 1824 election, the Democratic Party's stranglehold on political control has been broken!

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1773-1841

### President William Henry Harrison: Personal Profile

Harrison's career mirrors Andrew Jackson's in many ways. He is born a British citizen in the old South, although in his case to a wealthy father, who signed the Declaration of Independence, served as governor of Virginia and is master of the Berkeley Plantation. After studying medicine at Penn College, he joins the army and in 1794 serves under Mad Anthony Wayne in his fight against Indian tribes in the NW Territory.

Harrison's future now lies in the West, much like Jackson. He marries an Ohio woman, resigns from the army to enter politics, and in 1799 wins a seat in the U.S. House. In 1800 he pushes the Harrison Land Act through congress, winning lasting approval from settlers by lowering the per acre price for new homesteads. John Adams names him the first governor of the vast Indiana Territory (what will become Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota), and he serves from 1801-1812.

During that period he tries hard to allow slavery into the territory even though it is officially banned.

On November 6, 1811 he defeats a confederation of tribes (Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Miami and others) near Prophetstown, Indiana, at the Battle of Tippecanoe. In 1812 he wins the Battle of

Thames in upper Ontario, killing Chief Tecumseh, who had sided with Britain in the war, and is the acknowledged leader of the Indian uprisings.

Like Jackson, these victories on the battlefield mark him forever as a national hero.

After serving in the House and Senate from Ohio between 1816 and 1828, Harrison retires to his farm to breed horses and open a distillery. But in 1836 he is back in politics as the newly formed Whig Party convinces him to run for President. While losing to Van Buren, he records over 550,000 votes.

As the slavery issue heats up, Harrison's views prove sufficiently ambiguous to not alienate any Whig factions.

Southerners are comforted by the fact that he has grown up on a Virginia plantation, and as Territorial Governor has supported bringing slavery into Indiana.

Meanwhile, anti-slavery elements find reassurance in an 1833 speech, where he declares:

*I am accused of being friendly to slavery. From my earliest youth to the present moment, I have been the ardent friend of Human Liberty. At the age of eighteen, I became a member of an Abolition Society established at Richmond, Virginia; the object of which was to ameliorate the condition of slaves and procure their freedom by every legal means... I have been the means of liberating many slaves, but never placed one in bondage... I was the first person to introduce into congress the proposition that all the country above (North of) Missouri... should never have slavery admitted into it.*

By 1840, Harrison's slaves have been "converted" into indentured servants, and he publicly adopts what will become the "centrist position" on the issue – concern about the morality of the institution, a hope that it will wither away over time, combined with a promise to not have the federal government interfere in the states' rights of the South.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: March 4, 1841

### **Inaugural Address**

Harrison is 68 years old when he steps to the podium on March 4, 1841, to take the oath of office from Chief Justice Taney. The temperature is 48 degrees, but a brisk wind chills the onlookers. As the oldest president elect to that time, Harrison is intent on demonstrating his personal vitality, so he refuses to wear an overcoat, hat or gloves. He also delivers the longest inaugural address in history, lasting for one hour and 45 minutes.

His opening line sounds a particularly ironic note given his soon to be fate -- the old warrior called out of retirement to spend the “residue of (his) life” as chief executive:

*Called from a retirement which I had supposed was to continue for the residue of my life to fill the chief executive office of this great and free nation, I appear before you, fellow-citizens, to take the oaths which the Constitution prescribes as a necessary qualification for the performance of its duties; and...to present to you a summary of the principles which will govern me in the discharge of the duties which I shall be called upon to perform.*

In a thinly disguised slam at Jackson and Van Buren, he reassures the nation that his administration will reject any notions of “divine right” when it comes to wielding executive power:

*We admit of no government by divine right...the Constitution.. contains declarations of power granted and of power withheld.*

From there he launches into a lengthy and thoughtful analysis of the 1787 Constitution, citing issues facing the founders, precedents from the Romans and Greeks, his interpretation of the core principles and how he intends to treat them while in office.

He dwells on the veto and promises to use it, but only sparingly. He cites the founder’s early fears about the federal government drowning out the voice of the individual states – but concludes that this hasn’t happened.

*The great dread (was that) the States would be absorbed by those of the Federal Government and a consolidated power established, leaving to the States the shadow only of that independent action for which they had so zealously contended and on the preservation of which they relied as the last hope of liberty... (But) the General Government has seized upon none of the reserved rights of the States.*

He attacks the patronage system as a force for corrupting government, and the “unhallowed union” which has developed between the Treasury and the Executive.

*(Regarding) the divorce, as it is called, of the Treasury from the banking institutions. It is not the divorce which is complained of, but the unhallowed union of the Treasury with the executive department, which has created such extensive alarm.... I have determined never to remove a Secretary of the Treasury without communicating all the circumstances attending such removal to both Houses of Congress.*

He admonishes politicians for staying too long in office, and promises that he will exit after one term :

*I give my aid to it by renewing the pledge heretofore given that under no circumstances will I consent to serve a second term.*

He insists that all revenue generating schemes originate with the Legislature, not the Executive, and that those wishing to abolish a paper currency are dead wrong.

*An exclusively metallic currency...appears to me to be fraught with more fatal consequences than any other scheme having no relation to the personal rights of the citizens that has ever been devised*

He promises to protect the absolute freedom of the press and the shared rights of all living in the District of Columbia. Avoiding conflicts between states or sections is paramount to the overriding goal of preserving the sacred Union.

*Of all the great interests which appertain to our country, that of union—cordial, confiding, fraternal union—is by far the most important, since it is the only true and sure guaranty of all others... The spirit of liberty is the sovereign balm for every injury which our institutions may receive.*

Foreign policy is touched on briefly, with the usual assurances about maintaining friendly relations with all.

*I should give some indications to my fellow-citizens of my proposed course of conduct in the management of our foreign relations. I assure them, therefore, that it is my intention to use every means in my power to preserve the friendly intercourse which now so happily subsists with every foreign nation*

As he winds down, he turns, like many of his predecessors, to the threat to both liberty and the Union that he sees in partisan politics.

*Before concluding, fellow-citizens, I must say something to you on the subject of the parties at this time existing in our country...The true spirit of liberty...is mild and tolerant and scrupulous as to the means it employs, whilst the spirit of party, assuming to be that of liberty, is harsh, vindictive, and intolerant...*

*If parties in a republic are necessary to secure a degree of vigilance sufficient to keep the public functionaries within the bounds of law and duty, at that point their usefulness ends. Beyond that they become destructive of public virtue...It was the beautiful remark of a distinguished English writer that “in the Roman senate Octavius had a party and Anthony a party, but the Commonwealth had none.”*

*Always the friend of my countrymen, never their flatterer, it becomes my duty to say to them from this high place to which their partiality has exalted me that there exists in the land a spirit hostile to their best interests—hostile to liberty itself. It is a spirit contracted in its views, selfish in its objects. It looks to the aggrandizement of a few even to the destruction of the interests of the whole. The entire remedy is with the people...It is union that we want, not of a party for the sake of that party, but a union of the whole country for the sake of the whole country...All the influence that I possess shall be exerted to prevent the formation at least of an Executive party in the halls of the legislative body. I wish for the support of no member of that body to any measure of mine that does not satisfy his judgment and his sense of duty to those from whom he holds his appointment...*

By now cold to the bone, he takes his leave – a leave that will last only thirty-one days.

*I deem the present occasion sufficiently important and solemn to justify me in expressing to my fellow-citizens a profound reverence for the Christian religion and a thorough conviction that sound morals, religious liberty, and a just sense of religious responsibility are essentially connected with all true and lasting happiness;*

*Fellow-citizens, being fully invested with that high office to which the partiality of my countrymen has called me, I now take an affectionate leave of you.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: April 4, 1841

**Harrison Dies After One Month In Office**

Harrison begins his term by visiting and studiously evaluating all six Departments of government, and then naming his cabinet. It includes men who will be marked by their dedication to preserving the Union, including, to Clay’s chagrin, Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State.

**William Henry Harrison’s Cabinet**

<b>Position</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Home State</b>
Secretary of State	Daniel Webster	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	Thomas Ewing	Ohio
Secretary of War	John Bell	Tennessee
Attorney General	John Crittenden	Kentucky
Secretary of Navy	George Badger	North Carolina
Postmaster General	Francis Granger	New York

Other administrative duties descend swiftly on Harrison.

Despite criticism of the patronage or “spoils” system established by Jackson and Van Buren, he is immediately besieged at the White House by those seeking favors. To escape, he takes to walking unaccompanied around the capital.

One such stroll ends with a downpour, from which he develops what appears to be a severe cold.

On March 26, when his condition worsens, Harrison calls upon his doctor, Thomas Miller, complaining of fatigue and “derangement of the stomach and bowels.” Miller is 35 years old at the time, an 1829 graduate of the University of Pennsylvania medical school, and a highly regarded professor and surgeon.



Miller proceeds to “purge” Harrison’s intestinal system, through doses of laxatives, opium and a series of enemas, administered over the next eight days. Nothing works, and the President suffers increased intestinal pain and bouts of delirium.

At 3PM on April 3, he is hit by “profuse diarrhea,” with his extremities turning blue, and his pulse fading. He dies at 12:30am on April 4.

Miller attributes the death to pneumonia, but admits to uncertainty about his diagnosis. Modern analysis suspects typhoid fever, attributable to the same polluted drinking water in Washington that later sickens President Polk and perhaps kills President Taylor. If in

Dr. Thomas Miller (1806-1863)

fact Harrison suffered from Salmonella pathogens in his intestines, Miller’s “treatment” probably hastens his end -- since opium inhibits natural expulsion of the infection and enemas only spread its effects.

The death leaves the country without a sitting president for the first time in its history.

Its initial response lies in providing a proper funeral for Harrison. The White House is draped in black crepe and the Episcopal ceremony, by invitation only, is held in the East Room. Six white horses carry the ex-President’s body on a two-mile journey, filled with well over 10,000 onlookers, to a public vault, where it is stored until a later trip home to North Bend, Ohio, for final burial. May 14 is declared as a day of national mourning.

The recorded cost of the funeral is \$3,088, including \$90 for a walnut coffin. Harrison’s wife is later awarded \$25,000; the one-year salary allotted the Chief Executive.



## Chapter 96 - John Tyler Completes The Presidential Term

Time: April 6, 1839

### Vice-President Tyler Claims The Oval Office

While the burial ceremonies proceed, Daniel Webster's son, Fletcher, rides to Williamsburg, Virginia to inform John Tyler of Harrison's death. The Vice-President is there because he has no responsibilities in Washington until the Senate reconvenes in June. But Tyler has received reports of Harrison's illness and is poised to assert his claim to successor status. He makes a hasty journey to DC, arriving on April 6 to meet with the Cabinet and assume command.

At this point, a legal debate ensues, with opponents of Tyler arguing that he is merely the "Acting President," serving until another election can be called to choose a permanent successor. They try to make their case around wording in the 1804 Twelfth Amendment which says the Vice-President shall "act as President" not "become" President.

*If the House shall not choose a President...then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.*

Tyler simply ignores the issue, plows forward and takes the oath of office, and at fifty-one years old becomes, de facto, the youngest man to serve so far as President.

Critics of Tyler like John Quincy Adams are immediately alarmed:

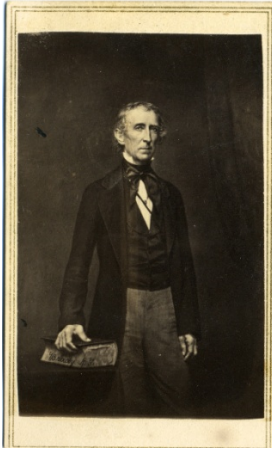
*Tyler is a political sectarian, of the slave-driving, Virginian, Jeffersonian school, principled against all improvement, with all the interests and passions and vices of slavery rooted in his moral and political constitution — with talents not above mediocrity, and a spirit incapable of expansion to the dimensions of the station upon which he has been cast by the hand of Providence, unseen through the apparent agency of chance. No one ever thought of his being placed in the executive chair.*

Henceforth opponents will refer to him with the snickering epithet "His Accidency."

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1790 - 1862

## President John Tyler Personal Profile



John Tyler (1790-1862)

John Tyler grows up on “Greenway” plantation, a 1200 acre estate on James River that relies on slaves to grow tobacco.

His father, “Judge” John Tyler Sr., serves in the Continental Army but opposes the Constitution on grounds that it limits state’s rights and disadvantages the South. As Governor of Virginia (1808-1811) he remains a staunch anti-Federalist. He is also a friend of Thomas Jefferson, who often dines at Greenway with the Judge and his son.

Young Tyler is a precocious student and graduates from the College of William & Mary at 17 years of age, and passes the bar at nineteen. By 1811 he has built his own reputation as a criminal defense attorney and,

through his connections, is elected to Virginia’s House of Delegates. He joins the militia during the War of 1812, but sees no action. In 1813 Tyler inherits Greenway upon the death of his father, then marries the beautiful but reclusive Letitia Christian, who also brings her own wealth to the union.

He is elected to the U.S. House at age twenty-six, and remains there from 1816-1821, consistently voting against Henry Clay’s attempts to build the nation’s infrastructure, pass protective tariffs and establish a strong central bank. His views on slavery are those of the aristocratic planters – a stated moral discomfort with the practice, followed by rationalization of its necessity, additions to his personal ownership, and some vague wish to see it wither away over time. In line with these views, he votes against the Missouri Compromise of 1820 for imposing what he considers an illegal constraint on the spread of slavery into the west.

By no stretch of the imagination do his thoughts or votes to this point peg him as a future Whig supporter!

Tyler abandons Congress in 1821, frustrated by what he considers the constant erosion of states’ rights. He returns home to Virginia, but is soon bored by farming and jumps back into politics, serving as Governor from 1825 to 1827. After that, he returns to DC and the U.S. Senate in 1827, replacing the unhinged John Randolph and proclaiming himself a Jackson Democrat.

But he turns against Jackson in 1833 during the Nullification Crisis. He views the “Force Bill,” aimed at blocking South Carolina secession, as one more overreach by the federal government

against the sovereign wishes of the states. His is the only Southern Democrat “no vote” in the Senate on the measure.

A year later, he has flipped his support over to Henry Clay, almost as a “lesser evil” than Jackson. When he sides with Clay to “censure” Jackson for removing funds from the U.S. Bank, the legislature in Virginia orders him to reverse his course. This leads him to resign his seat in 1836.

At this point, Clay and the Whigs begin to view Tyler as a handy political pawn in their scheme to defeat the Democrats.

He plays along with this in the 1836 election, running as a Vice-Presidential candidate on two of the four Whig “regional tickets” designed to deny Van Buren an outright victory and throw the final choice into the House. His role is to attract Southern votes, based on his status as a Virginian, a slave owner, and an opponent of a “too powerful” Executive.

While Van Buren wins in 1836, Tyler is henceforth viewed as an affable “go-along” politician, one who could pass as a Southern Whig – despite his early ties to the opposition.

It is this shallow assessment which causes the weary Whig delegates at the December convention to select Tyler to run as Vice-President, after three “Clay men” have turned the offer down.

At that moment, none recognize that the “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too” union will backfire when Harrison dies and a true “closet Democrat” replaces him in the White House.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: April 9, 1841

### **Tyler’s Message To The Nation**

On April 9, Tyler issues a brief message outlining some thoughts about his presidency. He begins by acknowledging the unique circumstances leading to his position, and the potential for attacks based on the “spirit of faction.”

*For the first time in our history the person elected to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, by the happening of a contingency provided for in the Constitution, has had devolved upon him the Presidential office. The spirit of faction, which is directly opposed to the spirit of a lofty patriotism, may find in this occasion for assaults upon my Administration.*

Instead of a full inaugural address he says he will offer...

*A brief exposition of the principles which will govern me in the general course of my administration of public affairs (which) would seem to be due as well to myself as to you.*

He begins with foreign affairs, possibly anticipating tensions between Mexico and the Republic of Texas.

*In regard to foreign nations, the groundwork of my policy will be justice on our part to all, submitting to injustice from none. While I shall sedulously cultivate the relations of peace and amity with one and all, it will be my most imperative duty to see that the honor of the country shall sustain no blemish.*

He then expresses concerns over the “spoils system” (i.e. patronage) that so troubled him about both the Jackson and Van Buren administrations. His reference to “removals from office” may portend future changes he has in mind for the cabinet inherited from Harrison.

*The patronage incident to the Presidential office, already great, is constantly increasing...I will at a proper time invoke the action of Congress upon this subject, and shall readily acquiesce in the adoption of all proper measures which are calculated to arrest these evils, so full of danger in their tendency. I will remove no incumbent from office who has faithfully and honestly acquitted himself of the duties of his office, except in such cases where such officer has been guilty of an active partisanship or by secret means... I have dwelt the longer upon this subject because removals from office are likely often to arise, and I would have my countrymen to understand the principle of the Executive action.*

He shifts to financial management, promising to avoid public debt in time of peace, and then to end the “war between the Government and the currency” – an evident reference to Jackson’s distrust of soft money.

*In all public expenditures the most rigid economy should be resorted to, and, as one of its results, a public debt in time of peace be sedulously avoided. A strict responsibility on the part of all the agents of the Government should be maintained and speculation or defalcation visited with immediate expulsion from office and the most condign punishment.*

*The public interest also demands that if any war has existed between the Government and the currency it shall cease... I shall promptly give my sanction to any constitutional measure which, originating in Congress, shall have for its object the restoration of a sound circulating medium, so essentially necessary to give confidence in all the transactions of life...*

In regard to familiar tensions between state and federal sovereignty, he will be the strict constructionist, “abstain(ing) from all attempts to enlarge the range of powers...granted...the

Government,” since to do otherwise would “break asunder the bond of union...or end in a bloody scepter and iron crown.”

*Those who are charged with its administration should carefully abstain from all attempts to enlarge the range of powers thus granted to the several departments of the Government other than by an appeal to the people for additional grants, lest by so doing they disturb that balance which the patriots and statesmen who framed the Constitution designed to establish between the Federal Government and the States composing the Union.*

*The observance of these rules is enjoined upon us by that feeling of reverence and affection which finds a place in the heart of every patriot for the preservation of union and the blessings of union....An opposite course could not fail to generate factions intent upon the gratification of their selfish ends, to give birth to local and sectional jealousies, and to ultimate either in breaking asunder the bonds of union or in building up a central system which would inevitably end in a bloody scepter and an iron crown.*

With those vague and wandering guidelines on the record, Tyler begins his controversial four year term.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: 1841-1845

### **Overview Of Tyler’s Term**

Tyler’s term will prove both controversial and consequential regarding America’s future destiny.

After being sworn in, the assumption throughout the capital is that the “Accidental President” will bend his will to the hierarchy within the Whig Party. As Preston Blair, editor of the Democrat’s newspaper *The Washington Globe*, puts it: Tyler will be “Clay’s pliant tool” in the White House.

But Clay is not the only one seeking control, as Tyler finds out when his inherited cabinet tells him of Harrison’s intent to count their votes as equal to his on policy decisions. His response sets the tone for what is soon to follow:

*I am very glad to have in my cabinet such able statesmen...and I shall be pleased to avail myself of your counsel and advice. But I can never consent to being dictated to. I am the President and I shall be responsible for my administration.*

From then on, Tyler shows his true political colors as a states’ rights Democrat and a slave-holder.

He immediately frustrates Clay's attempt to create another Federal Bank to fund the Whig's infrastructure projects. In response, they gather and officially oust him from the Party, then follow by hurling rocks at the White House terrifying his stroke-ridden wife, Leticia, and leading to a police patrol to guard the property.

From there they do their best to frustrate every move he makes. On three occasions, the Senate refuses to confirm Caleb Cushing – a Whig who stays loyal to Tyler – as Secretary of the Treasury. They also turn away all four of his Supreme Court nominees.

Still Tyler's term witnesses a series of events that will dramatically heighten the sectional tensions over slavery and eventually set the stage for war.

First is an increase in the number of Northerners who are at least "troubled" by the notion of human bondage. This feeling is sparked during the "religious awakening" phase, with its calls for moral perfection and social reform. It is broadened by agitation from abolitionists like Garrison and his formation of organized anti-slavery societies. Then it's carried into the political arena by the likes of J.Q. Adams and Joshua Giddings in Congress, and philanthropists Gerrit Smith and the Tappan brothers with their Liberty Party.

This draws a response from the South with clergyman James Henley Thornwell arguing that slavery is "ordained by the Bible" -- a claim that provokes heated disputes within the three main Protestant Churches and ends with ominous North-South doctrinal schisms.

Tyler also encounters more ongoing challenges to the Fugitive Slave Act. One involves a mutiny aboard the American ship *Creole*, which ends with some 135 slaves being freed in Nassau by a British court. This act, along with other at sea and border disputes, threatens warfare, until resolved by the Ashburton-Webster Treaty of 1842. A second controversy involves a female slave who ends up living in Pennsylvania and sues for her release under the theory of "once free, forever free." Much to the dismay of the abolitionists, this notion is dismissed by the U.S. Supreme Court in the landmark *Prigg v Pennsylvania* decision.

Finally, it is during Tyler's term that Americans become enamored with the notion of "Manifest Destiny," the idea that its borders should extend all the way to the Pacific Ocean, across territory currently owned by Mexico. This leads to a series of exploratory expeditions by the Army Corps of Engineers and Lt. John C. Fremont to produce accurate maps of the Oregon Trail and the coast of California. His lyrical descriptions of these journeys are an overnight sensation and heighten public support for westward expansion, beginning with the annexation of Texas – a fateful move that Tyler supports and that eventually leads to the Mexican War and re-opens the toxic debate over slavery.

On the economic front, the economic depression Tyler inherits from Van Buren continues to plague the nation up to 1844, when some signs of recovery appear.

### Economic Overview: John Tyler's Term

<b>GDP</b>	<b>1840</b>	<b>1841</b>	<b>1842</b>	<b>1843</b>	<b>1844</b>
<b>Total (\$MM)</b>	1574	1652	1618	\$1550	\$1690
<b>% Change</b>	(5%)	5%	(2%)	(4%)	9%
<b>Per Cap</b>	92	94	89	\$83	\$88

John Tyler is 54 years old when his term ends. He reflects on his “accidental presidency” in brief remarks on his last day in the White House:

*In 1840 I was called from my farm to undertake the administration of affairs, and I foresaw that I was called to a bed of thorns...I rely on future history, and on the candid and impartial judgment of my fellow citizens, to award me the meed due to honest and conscientious purposes to serve my country.*

The ex-President will live on for another 15 years, mostly at his Virginia plantation, “Sherwood Forest.” One of his remaining joys will be his youthful new bride Julia, whom he marries in June 1844, after losing his first wife Leticia in September 1842. Together they will have seven children to go along with the eight Tyler fathered before.

As the threat of war reaches a boiling point in April 1861, Tyler returns to Washington to sponsor the Virginia Peace Conference, which fails to find a compromise. At that point, he goes with his home state, Virginia and is elected to the CSA House, but dies on January 18, 1862, before its opening session.

### Key Events: Tyler's Term

<b>1841</b>	
April 4	President Harrison dies after 31 days; Tyler is first to succeed as Vice-President
April 10	Horace Greeley begins to publish his pro-Whig and anti-slavery <i>New York Tribune</i>
August 6	Congress passes Whig's Fiscal Bank Bill (similar to Bank of US)
August 11	Frederick Douglass addresses an Anti-Slavery meeting in Nantucket
August 13	Congress repeals Van Buren's Independent Treasury Act
August 16	Tyler vetoes Whig's Fiscal Bank Bill as unconstitutional
September 2-3	Another race riot breaks out in Cincinnati
September 3	Congress passes revised Fiscal Bank Bill to address Tyler's concerns
September 9	Tyler vetoes the new bill and attempt to override veto voted down in Senate

September 11	Tyler's cabinet resigns en masse, all except for Sec. of State Daniel Webster
November 7-9	Slaves on <i>Creole</i> , going from Va. to New Orleans, kill crew & are freed in Nassau
Year	George Ripley starts up his Brook Farm utopian community
1842	
January 24	JQ Adams presents Haverill, Mass petition or peaceful dissolution of the Union
March 1	Supreme Court in <i>Prigg v Commonwealth of Pa</i> says that the state cannot forbid seizure of run-away slaves – but says enforcement is left up to the state, not fed
March 21-23	Abolitionist Joshua Giddings censured in House for supporting escape of <i>Creole</i> slaves & opposing all shipping of slaves in US waters; he resigns his seat on Mar 23
March 30	Highly protective Tariff of 1842 passes Whig controlled Congress
March 31	Henry Clay resigns from Senate to prepare run for White House; Martin Van Buren also sees opportunity to succeed Tyler.
March	Mass Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw rules that a union is legal org. & may strike
April	Alexander Baring, 1 <sup>st</sup> Baron Ashburton arrives to negotiate US-UK issues
May	John C. Fremont embarks on first expedition to the Rocky Mountains
June 10	Lt. Charles Wilkes returns from 4 year 90,000 mile voyage across Asia Pacific
August 9	Webster, Tyler and Ashburton agree on a US-UK Treaty
August 29	The Senate approves the Webster-Ashburton Treaty
September 10	First Lady Leticia Tyler dies at the White House
September 11	Mexican soldiers invade Republic Of Texas & capture San Antonio
October 20	Va. run-away slave, George Latimer, arrested in Boston
Fall	Fremont returns from his successful mapping expedition to the South Pass Whigs suffer massive losses in Congress in mid-term elections
1843	
May 8	Daniel Wester resigns as Secretary of State
May 22	Large band of settlers head from Missouri to Oregon territory
May	Fremont leaves Missouri on expedition to Columbia River and California
July 24	Abel Upshaw confirmed as Secretary of State
August 14	Second Seminole War ends in Florida
August 23	Mexican President Santa Anna warns US that annexation of Texas would lead to war
August 30-31	Abolitionist Liberty Party nominates James Birney for President
Year	Vermont state assembly votes to ignore Fugitive Slave Act
1844	



March 6	John C. Calhoun becomes Sec. of State, after Abel Upshur killed in ship explosion
March	Fremont expedition arrives in Sacramento
April 4	Fourierist socialist organization elects George Ripley (Brook Farm) as President
April 12	Tyler signs Texas Annexation negotiated by Calhoun & submits to Senate
April 27	Both Clay and van Buren publicly oppose Texas Annexation
May 1	Whigs nominate ticket of Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen
May 6-8	Violent clash between Catholics & Protestants in Philadelphia, with 20 killed
May 27-29	Democrats reject Van Buren & nominate dark-horse James Polk, backed by Jackson
June 8	Senate rejects Texas Annexation Treaty
June 27	Mormon leader Joseph Smith murdered in Nauvoo, IL
December 3	House repeals 1836 Gag Rule in response to JQ Adams calls
December 4	Polk defeats Clay for presidency
Year	Baptist Church splits North vs. South over ownership of slaves by members
1845	
February 28	Congress "resolution" (not a 2/3rds majority treaty) annexes Texas
March 3	Florida admitted to Union as 27 <sup>th</sup> state
March 4	Polk is inaugurated

## Chapter 97 - Tyler Turns Against The Whigs And They Turn Against Him

Time: August 6, 1841

### The Whigs Pass A Fiscal Bank Bill



A Bank And Custom House In Savannah

The Whigs victory in 1841 is driven in large part by public anger over the uncertain currency and sluggish economy that has plagued the country since Jackson's "Specie Circular" order and the subsequent Panic of 1837.

A year earlier, on July 4, 1840, Van Buren finally gets congressional support to create his Independent U.S. Treasury, where all federal revenues received are held in a "public entity" (the Treasury Department) rather than being distributed to "private state banking corporations," whose motives are forever distrusted by the Democrats.

While this approach does help stabilize the currency, it also bureaucratic in nature -- slowing down the circulation of capital to private entrepreneurs willing to take the risks to grow their own wealth and that of the total economy.

Men like Henry Clay, who are intent on aggressively boosting investment in roads, bridges, canals, trains and other "infrastructure enablers," argue that the U.S. will lag behind as long as risk-averse Government investors in charge of the capital.

Their solution lies in chartering the Third Bank of the United States, after the shut down of the first in 1811 by Jefferson, and the second by Jackson in 1833.

Starting in May 1841 Clay pleads with Tyler to support this bank. When Tyler says he needs more time to consider the matter, Clay says that his answer is unacceptable. Tyler's comeback signals the end of all hope for comity between the two:

*Then, sir, I wish you to understand this — that you and I were born in the same district; that we have fed upon the same food, and have breathed the same natal air. Go you now then, Mr. Clay, to your end of the avenue, where stands the Capitol, and there perform your duty to the country as you shall think proper. So help me God, I shall do mine at this end of it as I shall think proper*

Clay proceeds to repeal Van Buren's Independent Treasury Act and then come forward with his replacement, camouflaged as the "Fiscal Bank," which Congress approves on August 6, 1841.

The language in the Act is intended to force Tyler's hand, since it "mandates" that each state create a branch, whether or not their legislature supports it. Were the President to approve this wording, it would alienate the state's rights Democrats and bring Tyler to heel as a Whig; on the other hand, a veto would reveal his true colors as a Jeffersonian.

Tyler recognizes the trap, saying to friends:

*My back is to the wall, and while I deplore the assaults, I shall...beat back the assailants...Those who all along have opposed me will still call out for further trials, and thus leave me impotent and powerless.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: August 15 – September 9, 1841

### **Tyler Issues Two Vetoes**

On August 15 Tyler vetoes the "Fiscal Bank" bill, as unconstitutional,

Democrats salute the veto, while Whigs are appalled:

*Poor Tippecanoe! It was an evil hour that "Tyler too" was added to make out the line. There was rhyme, but no reason to it.*

Clay launches into a ninety-minute diatribe in the Senate against Tyler on August 18, suggesting that he resign. He is joined in the House by John Minor Botts, a Virginian previously friendly with Tyler, who now accuses the President of lying to him all along about his support for the new bank.

In the early morning of August 19, a drunken mob pelts the White House with rocks and fires off guns, frightening Tyler's frail and reclusive wife, Leticia, and further upsetting the President. He asks that a police force be approved to guard the mansion.

Clay is anything but the Great Compromiser at this moment, and returns to Congress with a slightly revised bill featuring a name change. What was the “Fiscal Bank” is now cast as the “Fiscal Corporation.”

This passes Congress on September 3.

Tyler picks up the gauntlet and vetoes it on September 9, accompanied by another message to the people:

*I distinctly declared that my own opinion had been uniformly proclaimed to be against the exercise "of the power of Congress to create a national bank to operate per se over the Union,"*

*...It is with great pain that I now feel compelled to differ from Congress a second time in the same session...It has been my good fortune and pleasure to concur with them in all measures except this. And why should our difference on this alone be pushed to extremes? It is my anxious desire that it should not be. I too have been burdened with extraordinary labors of late, and I sincerely desire time for deep and deliberate reflection on this the greatest difficulty of my Administration. May we not now pause until a more favorable time, when, with the most anxious hope that the Executive and Congress may cordially unite, some measure of finance may be deliberately adopted promotive of the good of our common country?*

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: September 11-13, 1841

### **Tyler’s Cabinet Resigns And He Is Drummed Out Of The Party**

Events now move quickly and dramatically.

Tyler has sensed all along that his cabinet is against him.

*(I am) surrounded by Clay men, Webster men, Anti-Masons, original Harrisons, old Whigs and new Whigs. (and) not a single sincere friend...*

He is proven right just two days after his second veto, on September 11, when every member, except for Secretary of State Daniel Webster, turns in his resignation.

Clay believes, or at least hopes, that Tyler will also resign, and that, as Senate President pro tempore, he will be elevated to the office he deserves.

Tyler is bolstered, however, by Webster’s decision to stay on, and, in so doing, to oppose Clay. He is also ready to name a replacement cabinet, and does so promptly. They are regionally balanced and all are professed Whigs, except for Hugh Legare, a “Unionist Democrat” who opposed John Calhoun’s call for nullification.

### John Tyler's "Replacement" Cabinet

Position	Name	Home State
Secretary of State	Daniel Webster	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	Walter Forward	Pennsylvania
Secretary of War	John C. Spencer	New York
Attorney General	Hugh Legare	South Carolina
Secretary of Navy	Abel Upshaw	Virginia
Postmaster General	Charles Wickliffe	Kentucky

The fact that Tyler is able to recruit these Whigs gives him hope and confirms the presence of an anti-Clay wing of the party that helped Harrison win the 1840 nomination in the first place.

On September 13 some 50-80 "Clay men" in Congress gather at Capitol Square and formally expel Tyler from the Whig Party. The President records his own thoughts on this and on his plan for the future, which will have a distinctly Democratic cast to it.

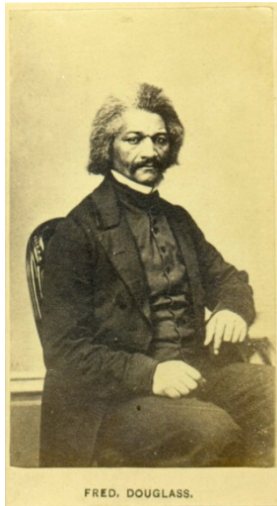
*I shall act upon the principles which I have all along espoused...derived from the teachings of Jefferson and Madison.*

Meanwhile, in sticking with Tyler, Webster dooms his chances of becoming President. He will try twice for the Whig nomination, losing both in 1848 and 1852.

## Chapter 98 - Frederick Douglass Makes His First Great Speech Against Slavery

Time: August 11, 1841

### Douglass Tells His Story To The Nantucket Anti-Slavery Convention



Frederick Douglass  
(1818-1896)

Just as John Tyler alters the course of the Whigs first presidency, the future course of the abolition movement in America is being reshaped off the southern tip of Massachusetts.

On August 11, 1841, the Quaker abolitionist David Joy is hosting an Anti-Slavery Convention at Atheneum Hall on Nantucket Island. This is a rare mixed race event, with speakers including Lloyd Garrison and Charles Ray, the free black editor of *The Coloured American* newspaper.

After the formal speeches are concluded, a free black man named Frederick Douglass is invited to say a few words to the crowd about his life as a slave. As Garrison recalls in a letter written five years later, his demeanor and narration prove captivating to his audience.

*A beloved friend from New Bedford prevailed on Mr. DOUGLASS to address the convention: He came forward to the platform with a hesitancy and embarrassment, necessarily the attendants of a sensitive mind in such a novel position. After apologizing for his ignorance, and reminding the audience that slavery was a poor school for the human intellect and heart, he proceeded to narrate some of the facts in his own history.*

His story begins with his mixed race birth in 1818 in Talbot County, Maryland as the slave, Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey. He lives at The Great House Farm on a large plantation owned by a Colonel Edward Lloyd, with over 300 slaves growing tobacco, wheat and corn.

In his autobiographical *Narrative*, published by Garrison in 1845, Douglass recalls his first home:

*There are certain secluded and out-of-the-way places, even in the state of Maryland, seldom visited by a single ray of healthy public sentiment—where slavery, wrapt in its own congenial, midnight darkness, can, and does, develop all its malign and shocking characteristics; where it can be indecent without shame, cruel without shuddering, and murderous without apprehension or fear of exposure.*

His master is an overseer named Aaron Anthony, a vicious man, who terrifies the small boy by humiliating and whipping his Aunt Hester in his presence.

Anthony soon passes ownership of Douglass on to his daughter, Lucretia, who is married to Thomas Auld, also employed on Lloyd's plantation. From there, at age seven, he is sent to Baltimore to live with Thomas Auld's brother, Hugh, and his wife, Sophia. Douglass views this "escape" from plantation to city life as the beginning of his search for eventual freedom.

At first, Sophia Auld, who has never owned slaves, treats the boy with kindness, even agreeing to teach him the alphabet when Douglass shows curiosity about words. Her warmth, however, vanishes after Hugh warns her that educating slaves makes them rebellious and is strictly forbidden. But Sophia's slip has opened the door to literacy for Douglass, and he is on his way to becoming a voracious, albeit clandestine, reader.

Douglass says that his time with Sophia Auld teaches him two things: the necessity of education to set blacks free; and the moral damage that institutionalized slavery can do, even to well-intentioned whites like Mrs. Auld.

He remains in Baltimore for roughly seven years, working in a shipyard, and experiencing the urban world around him. The local newspapers inform him about John Quincy Adams and the early calls for abolition. He buys and devours a popular anthology called *The Colombian Orator*, which includes essays and speeches arguing for and against slavery. With help from dockworkers, he begins to learn how to form letters and to write words and sentences. Like Lincoln as a boy, he is educating himself.

In 1833 Hugh Auld has a falling out with his brother, Thomas, who in turn reclaims Douglass and makes him a kitchen servant in his house. When Thomas senses his independent spirit, he rents him out to a farmer named Edward Covey, known locally as a "slave breaker." He is a thoroughly despicable man, who goes so far as to invite neighbors to sleep with his women slaves for "breeding" purposes.

Covey converts Douglass into a "field hand" for the first time, and vows to "tame" his 16 year old charge. After six months of being starved and beaten, Douglass almost gives up.

*My natural elasticity was crushed, my intellect languished, the disposition to read departed, the cheerful spark that lingered about my eye died; the dark night of slavery closed in upon me; and behold a man transformed into a brute!*

But when Covey comes again to beat him, Douglass meets violence with violence and fights him off. While he risks execution in raising a hand to his master, Covey does not want the word of this resistance to leak out, so he backs off and never tries to whip Douglass again. In his autobiography he refers to this fight as the "turning point in my life."

*You have seen how a man was made a slave; now you see how a slave was made a man.*

He also comes to regard Covey and the Aulds – all ardent churchgoers – as symbols of the failure of the white Christian ministry to speak out against the evil of slavery.

In 1835, Douglass is rented out to another farmer, the more lenient William Freeland, who is rebuffed by locals for allowing him to teach slaves to read at Sunday school services. At this point, Douglass ponders an escape, but his plans are foiled. He returns to Baltimore where Hugh Auld puts him to work as a caulker in a shipyard.

Again, Douglass makes the most of his chances here in a broader external world. He joins the East Baltimore Mental Improvement Society, where free blacks hold debates. Through the Society he meets and falls in love with Anna Murray, a housekeeper. He is now 19 years old and on the brink of his escape to freedom.

His break occurs on September 3, 1838. With help from Anna, Douglass dons a red shirt, tarpaulin hat and black scarf posing as a free black sailor and moves by boat and train from Maryland to Delaware to Philadelphia and finally New York City, where he is housed by the African abolitionist, David Ruggles. Anna Murray follows him there and they are married two weeks later. He is given a new last name by a friend, Nathan Johnson, to help conceal his run-away status. The name is Douglass, after a hero in Sir Walter Scott's epic poem, *Lady of the Lake*.

Douglass and Anna settle down in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he takes on a series of menial jobs while searching for his new identity in free society. He joins the local African Methodist Episcopalian Zion Church. He subscribes to Garrison's paper, *The Liberator*, and begins to sense his calling. In April 1839 he hears Garrison lecture in New Bedford, and decides to attend a convention of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, held on Nantucket Island.

This event will change the arc of his future life.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: August 1841

### **Garrison Reacts To Douglass's Talk**

Those listening to Douglass on Nantucket are both moved by his narrative and surprised by the eloquence of his delivery. Garrison writes:

*I shall never forget his first speech at the convention-the extraordinary emotion it excited in my own mind -the powerful impression it created upon a crowded auditory, completely*



*taken by surprise- the applause which followed from the beginning to the end of his felicitous remarks.*

Garrison sees in Douglass a confirmation of his belief that Africans possess all the natural capacities of whites, if only given support and a small amount of cultivation.

*I think I never hated slavery so intensely as at that moment; certainly, my perception of the enormous outrage which is inflicted by it, on the godlike nature of its victims, was rendered far more clear than ever. There stood one, in physical proportion and stature commanding and exact-in intellect richly endowed-in natural eloquence a prodigy-in soul manifestly "created but a little lower than the angels"-yet a slave, ay, a fugitive slave,- trembling for his safety, hardly daring to believe that on the American soil, a single white person could be found who would befriend him at all hazards, for the love of God and humanity! Capable of high attainments as an intellectual and moral being-needing nothing but a comparatively small amount of cultivation to make him an ornament to society and a blessing to his race-by the law of the land, by the voice of the people, by the terms of the slave code, he was only a piece of property, a beast of burden, a chattel personal, nevertheless!*

Garrison compares Douglass' pleas for liberty and justice to those announced by Patrick Henry.

*As soon as he had taken his seat, filled with hope and admiration, I rose, and declared that PATRICK HENRY, of revolutionary fame, never made a speech more eloquent in the cause of liberty, than the one we had just listened to from the lips of that hunted fugitive. So I believed at that time--such is my belief now.*

## Chapter 99 - Another Race Riot Breaks Out In Cincinnati

Time: Summer 1841

### Anti-Slavery Activists Increase Racial Tensions In The City



A Free Black Man Standing Tall

Five years have passed since the border town of Cincinnati was last torn apart by racial violence.

At that time white mobs pillaged black neighborhoods following the publication of inflammatory newspaper articles by the abolitionist, James Birney.

Why the so-called “Queen City of the West” fosters such racial animosity may be explained in a telling observation from the French historian, Alexis De Tocqueville, who visits America in 1831:

*Race prejudice seems stronger in those states that have abolished slavery than in those where it still exists, and nowhere is it more intolerant than in those states where slavery was never known.*

Ohio is one such state that has never known slavery since entering the Union in 1803.

By 1840, however, the 95% white population in Cincinnati is living alongside 2,240 free blacks, many of whom have earned enough money to purchase their freedom. They have built their own community in the “Bottoms” neighborhood around the Bethel AME and Union Baptist Churches, opened three schools run by The Coloured Education Society, and hold upwards of 90 skilled labor jobs, from barbering to mechanics.

Still, the majority of mainstream white citizens want nothing to do with the Africans.

Not only do they regard blacks as a lesser species – the traditional 3/5<sup>th</sup> of a full man in the Constitution -- but also as a danger – to both their physical safety and their economic future. For Cincinnati lies directly across the Ohio River from the slave state of Kentucky, where its commercial transactions depend heavily on a willingness to oppose both talk of abolition and support for run-away slaves.

The presence of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati further complicates the matter.

Lane opens in 1829 to train Presbyterian ministers in the west. In 1834 it is the site of fierce debates over slavery, which divides its President, Lyman Beecher, who favors gradual emancipation and colonization, from students led by Theodore Weld, a Finney disciple, who calls for freedom now and assimilation. While Weld's faction transfers to Oberlin College, some 220 miles to the North, abolitionist fervor still lingers in Cincinnati.

One proponent, the lawyer Salmon P. Chase, arouses the ire of local merchants in May 1841 when he wins a court case on behalf of Mary Towns, a runaway slave from Kentucky. This prompts the pro-slavery *Cincinnati Enquirer* newspaper to initiate a campaign against "trouble-makers" riling up the black population.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: September 3-4, 1841

### **Free Blacks Fight Back Against Rampaging White Mobs**

As summer rolls on, the city is hit by a prolonged heat wave and drought, which causes the river to fall, along with jobs on boats and wharves. Tensions increase daily and random fights break out.

It's unclear exactly what sparks the riot, but it begins at a candy store on Fifth Street owned by an abolitionist named Cornelius Burnett. Along with his sons, Burnett has recently fought local police who were demanding that he turn over a run-away slave. The incident is not forgotten and a white mob begins their rampage by demolishing Burnett's store before heading into a black enclave, "Bucktown." Once there they begin to pillage black homes and businesses.

But rather than repeating their passive stance during the 1836 riots, blacks this time fight back, with some 50 organized and armed fighters led by 28 year old named Major James Wilkerson, grandson of a Revolutionary War soldier, and elder in the AME church.

After Wilkerson's band initially drives them back on the night of September 3, white forces return with a six pound cannon and resume their reign of terror.

The violence ends when local militiamen step in to enforce marshal law. But the order restored is anything but just for the free blacks. The city authorities arrest 300 blacks and no whites; allow Kentuckians to visit jail cells in search of run-aways; re-institute the 1807 requirement that blacks post \$500 personal bonds; and seize all weapons held by blacks.

Like the race riots of 1824 and 1831 in the Hardscrabble area of Providence, and in Five Points N.Y. in 1834, the Boston violence in 1836 and 1841 set the stage for bloody times to come in America.

## Chapter 100 - *Prigg v Pennsylvania* Adds To Mounting Tension Over “Fugitive Slaves”

Time: March 1, 1842

### The Supreme Court Upholds The Fugitive Slave Law

Cincinnati is only one of many cities where issues arise over run-away slaves.

In 1842 the spotlight shifts to York County Pennsylvania and a black woman named Margaret Morgan.

Margaret’s parents were slaves owned by a mill owner named John Ashmore, in Hartford County, Maryland, who in 1820 declares that he has “set them free” While Ashmore never signs a formal manumission papers, Margaret believes she is free and marries a free black man, Jerry Morgan.

They start a family and live for several years in Maryland before deciding to move to York County, Pennsylvania in 1832. Ashmore makes no protest regarding the move.

But then, five years later in 1837, John Ashmore dies and a female heir, his niece Margaret Beamis, claims that both Morgan and her children are now her property.

She hires a neighbor, Edward Prigg, to capture and return “the runaways.” While Prigg has a warrant, the constable in York County refuses to act on it, so Prigg forcibly abducts Morgan and her two children, and sells them to a slave dealer, who plans to ship them South.

A grand jury in Pennsylvania indicts Prigg and his three accomplices for violating the state’s 1826 Personal Liberty statute, and asks Maryland to arrest and extradite him. It agrees to do so, with the understanding that, if convicted, he will not be jailed until the U.S. Supreme Court rules on the case.

Prigg is tried in Pennsylvania and found guilty of kidnapping under the state law in question:

*If any person...after the passing of this act, by force and violence, take and carry away...any negro or mulatto, from any part or parts of this commonwealth...with a design and intention of selling and disposing of...such negro or mulatto, as a slave or servant for life...his or their aiders or abettors, shall on conviction thereof...be deemed guilty of a felony..*

This decision alarms the slave-holding states, especially Maryland, which appeals the decision in May 1840 on behalf of Prigg. It argues that the 1826 Pennsylvania law violates the euphemistic “Fugitives From Labor Clause” in Article IV of the Constitution, and the subsequent 1793 Fugitive Slave Act:

*No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.*

While clear about intent, neither law spells out whether enforcement belongs at the state or federal level.

On appeal, the Prigg case finally reaches the Supreme Court, where arguments are heard by Roger Taney and his associates on February 8-10, and a judgment is rendered on March 1, 1842.

Justice Joseph Story issues the overall “Opinion of the Court” which, by an 8-1 majority, strikes down the Pennsylvania law and rules in favor of Maryland and Prigg.

\*\*\*\*\*

Time: March 1, 1842

### **A Loophole In the *Prigg* Decision Leaves Enforcement In Doubt**

That apparent unanimity, however, is diminished when seven of the justices feel compelled to publish their own individual interpretations.

One such clarification belongs to Chief Justice Taney, ever a states’ rights advocate and a stickler for detail. He agrees that it is the right of the master to arrest a run-away in any state where found, but objects to the notion that local laws to support the effort have no bearing vis a vis federal statutes.

*I concur in the opinion pronounced by the Court that the law of Pennsylvania, under which the plaintiff in error was indicted, is unconstitutional and void, and that the judgment against him must be reversed. But...I do not assent to all the principles contained in the opinion...(and) I agree entirely in all that is said in relation to the right of the master, by virtue of the third clause of the second section of the Fourth Article of the Constitution of the United States, to arrest his fugitive slave in any State wherein he may find him... But, as I understand the opinion of the Court, it goes further, and decides that the power to provide a remedy for this right is vested exclusively in Congress, and that all laws upon the subject passed by a State since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States are null and void...*

A second opinion comes from the lone dissenter in the case, the formidable John McLean of Ohio. McLean is nominated to the high court in 1829 by Andrew Jackson and serves for 32 years, while repeatedly being offered various cabinet posts (including by Tyler), and even considered as a presidential candidate.

He is nicknamed the “Politician on the Supreme Court” and is outspoken in his life-long opposition to slavery. His dissent in the *Prigg* decision is one that will be heard in many future run-away cases under the rubric of “once free, forever free.”

Thus McLean contends that Margaret Morgan was de facto a free woman, having lived as such for five years without objection from Ashford in the Free State of Pennsylvania. Hence she was no longer a slave and the plaintiff had no right to abduct her in the first place.

This basic logic will be embraced by abolitionists and repeated over time. McLean himself will rely on it in his 1857 dissent from Taney in the landmark *Dred Scott* case.

None of the ongoing legal debates help either Margaret Morgan or her children. With the verdict in, they are returned to captivity in Maryland, and no records exist as to their subsequent fates.

But ironically the 8-1 decision in *Prigg* is not an entire loss for anti-slavery forces. A close reading of Story’s majority opinion, opens a loophole around enforcing the law. It says that local magistrates will not be bound to cooperate with slave catchers if “prohibited by state legislation” from doing so.

This caveat leads to passage of just such “non-cooperation” statutes across the North which serve to infuriate Southern slave-owners.

\*\*\*\*\*

**Sidebar: The Shifting Size And Make-up Of The Supreme Court**

While *Prigg* is decided by a total of nine justices in 1842, that number varies over time. The U.S. Constitution establishes the Supreme Court, but leaves it up to the first Congress to settle on its size. In 1789 that number is set at six. Adams tries to reduce it to five in 1801, but Jefferson bumps it back up to six in his first term and then seven in his second. It stay there until Jackson’s final day in office, when it moves up to nine.

**Number of SCOTUS Justices**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Legislation</b>	<b># Justices</b>	<b>President</b>
Summer 1787	U.S. Constitution	TBD	----
Sept 24, 1789	Judiciary Act of 1789	6	Washington
March 2, 1801	Judiciary Act of 1801	5	Adams cuts by one
April 29, 1802	Judiciary Act of 1802	6	Jefferson adds back
Feb 24, 1807	Seventh Circuit Act	7	Jefferson
March 3, 1837	8 <sup>th</sup> and 9 <sup>th</sup> Circuit Acts	9	Jackson

From the beginning, Presidents attempt to “stack the court” in favor of judges who share their political views. Federalist-minded judges dominate until Jefferson moves toward Democratic-Republicans in 1804, aided by the expansion to seven seats. Van Buren completes Jackson’s shift toward Democrats achieving a 9-0 majority by 1841. This configuration holds until

Fillmore names a Whig in 1851. Lincoln names four Republicans and one Democrat during his tenure. It is not until 1870, under Grant, that the Republicans control the court.

**Political Make-Up Of The Justices**

President	Ends	# Named	Split at Start	Split at End
Washington	1797	11	6 Federalists	6 Federalists
J. Adams	1801	3	6 Federalists	6 Federalists
Jefferson	1809	3	6 Federalists	4 Fed – 3 Dem/Rep
Madison	1817	2	4 Fed – 3 Dem/Rep	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep
Monroe	1825	1	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep
JQ Adams	1829	1	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep
Jackson	1837	5	2 Fed – 5 Dem/Rep	2 D/R – 5 Dem
Van Buren	1841	3	2 D/R – 7 Dem	9 Dem
Harrison	1841	0	9 Dem	9 Dem
Tyler	1845	1	9 Dem	9 Dem
Polk	1849	2	9 Dem	9 Dem
Taylor	1850	0	9 Dem	9 Dem
Fillmore	1853	1	9 Dem	8 Dem – 1 Whig
Pierce	1857	1	8 Dem – 1 Whig	8 Dem – 1 Whig
Buchanan	1861	1	8 Dem – 1 Whig	9 Dem
Lincoln	1865	5	9 Dem	5 Dem – 4 Republicans

Over this period, six men serve as Chief Justice, with two of them – John Marshall and Roger Taney – dominating their contemporaries in terms of influence on the cases taken and the final rulings.

**Chief Justices Of The Court**

Name	Tenure	Nominated By	Politics
John Jay	1789-1795	Washington	Federalist
John Rutledge	1795	Washington	Federalist
Oliver Ellsworth	1796-1800	Washington	Federalist
John Marshall	1801-1835	Adams	Federalist
Roger Taney	1836-1864	Jackson	Democrat
Salmon Chase	1865-1873	Lincoln	Republican