

From 'Factions' to Attack Ads – A History of American Politics

Class 3

William A. Reader

E-mail: williamreader40@gmail.com

What We Will Cover Today

- The Demise of the Federalists
- The Origins of the Second Party System
 - The Elections of 1824 and 1828
- Discuss the impact of new technologies on Politics
 - The Westward Movement
 - Democratization
 - Innovations in Printed Media
 - The Transportation Revolution
 - The Industrial Revolution
- The Consequences of Andrew Jackson
- Whigs and Democrats

Election of 1808

- After the attack on the *Chesapeake* in 1807, there was a clamor for war with Britain
 - Rather than war, Jefferson decided to embargo trade with Britain and France
 - This aroused a great amount of resentment in New England
- The big issue in the 1808 election was the embargo

Election of 1808 - 2

- Republicans nominated James Madison, Jefferson's secretary of state, and George Clinton
- Federalists again nominated Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King
- Madison won with 122 electoral votes to Pinckney's 47
 - All of New England except Vermont voted for Pinckney

Election of 1812

- The Republicans nominated James Madison and Elbridge Gerry of MA in May 1812
- War was declared on June 12, 1812
- The Federalists nominated DeWitt Clinton of NY and Jared Ingersoll of PA after they had been nominated by a group of dissident Republicans opposed to the war
- Madison won reelection with 128 electoral votes to Clinton's 89

War of 1812 and its effects

- By cutting off U.S. trade with Europe and England, the War fostered the development of American industry
 - New England merchant capitalists began investing in industry
- The Battle of New Orleans made Andrew Jackson a national hero and a future presidential candidate
- The Federalist opposition to the war effort and the secession threats of the Hartford Convention basically destroyed the Federalist Party

End of the Federalists

- With the demise of the Federalist party, most Federalists joined the Republicans and aligned themselves with those sections of the Republican party that favored a national bank, internal improvements, and protective tariffs
- This increased factionalism within the Republican party and eventually led to the emergence of the Second Party System

1824 Election

- Monroe favored his secretary of war William H. Crawford of GA as his successor
- In February 1824, Crawford received the congressional caucus nomination
- The legislatures of several New England states nominated secretary of state John Quincy Adams
- The Tennessee legislature and several state conventions nominated Andrew Jackson
- The Kentucky and other state legislatures nominated Henry Clay

1824 Election - 2

- Crawford's nomination by the caucus became an issue in the campaign
- Right after his nomination, Crawford suffered a stroke
- This boosted the fortunes of the other candidates
- Except for the caucus issue, personalities rather than issues dominated the campaign

1824 Election -3



1824 Election -4

- This put Clay in the position of kingmaker
- Clay felt that Crawford's stroke ruled him out and that Jackson lacked experience and was too headstrong to be president. This left Adams whom Clay thought was eminently qualified to be president
- The key to Adams' victory in the House was the vote of New York
 - The key to New York was the vote of GEN Stephen Van Rensselaer

1824 Election - 5

- Jackson was disappointed to lose, but he went ballistic when Adams appointed Clay to be his secretary of state
- To Jackson and his followers, this appointment seemed *prima facie* evidence of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay.
- In a sense, the 1832 election campaign began with Jackson's defeat in 1828 and Adams' appointment of Clay as secretary of state

1828 Election - 1

- Adams' presidency was stymied by a Congress controlled by his political enemies and by his own lack of political skills
- The attack of the Jacksonians led the Adams-Clay people to coalesce into a party of their own
 - They began calling themselves the “National Republicans” to distinguish themselves from the Jacksonian Democratic Republicans

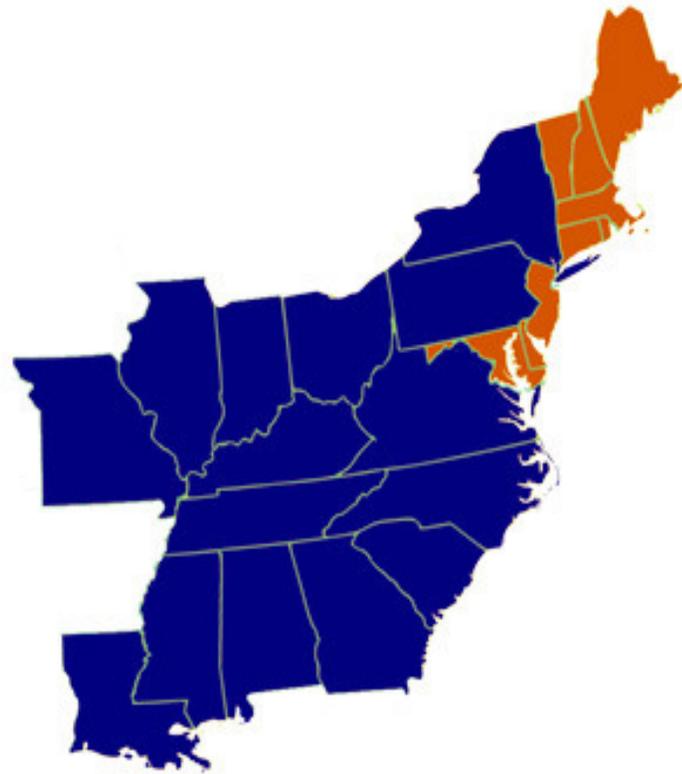
1828 Election - 2

- The National Republicans nominated John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush
- The Democratic Republicans nominated Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun
- The 1828 election was marked by a large amount of mudslinging
- If you were to believe the extreme partisans, you had a choice between
 - A murderous, illiterate bigamist who was totally unfit by temperament and lack of experience for high public office
 - A corrupt, anti-religious , extravagantly reckless spendthrift monarchist who pimped for the czar of Russia

1828 Election -3

- The 1828 election campaign saw some interesting innovations
 - The campaign biography
 - The “smear” biography
 - Organized parades, barbecues, dinners, and street rallies
 - Campaign paraphernalia
- Voting took place on a statewide-basis over a two-month period rather than on a single election day
 - By 1828, 22 of the 24 chose presidential electors by popular vote

1828 Election - 4



Trends that Worked for Jackson

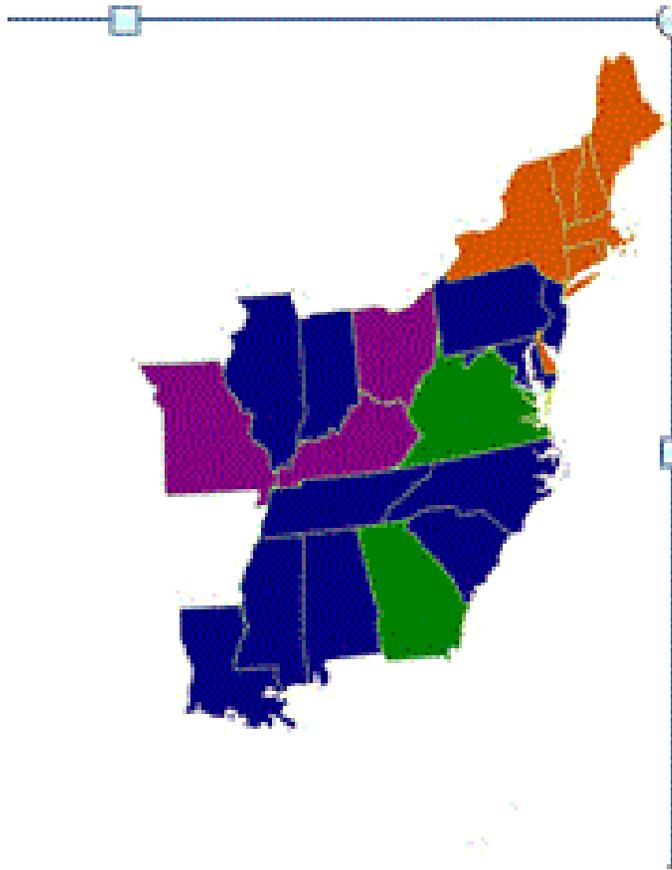
- Jackson's election was in part the consequence of three interlinked long-trend trends
 - Democratization
 - Westward movement
 - Printed Media revolution
- These trends continued long after Jackson

Starting Trends

- The Jacksonian era also saw the beginnings of two new interlinked developments (which we will discuss later)
 - The Transportation Revolution
 - Political Conventions as the means of selecting presidential candidates

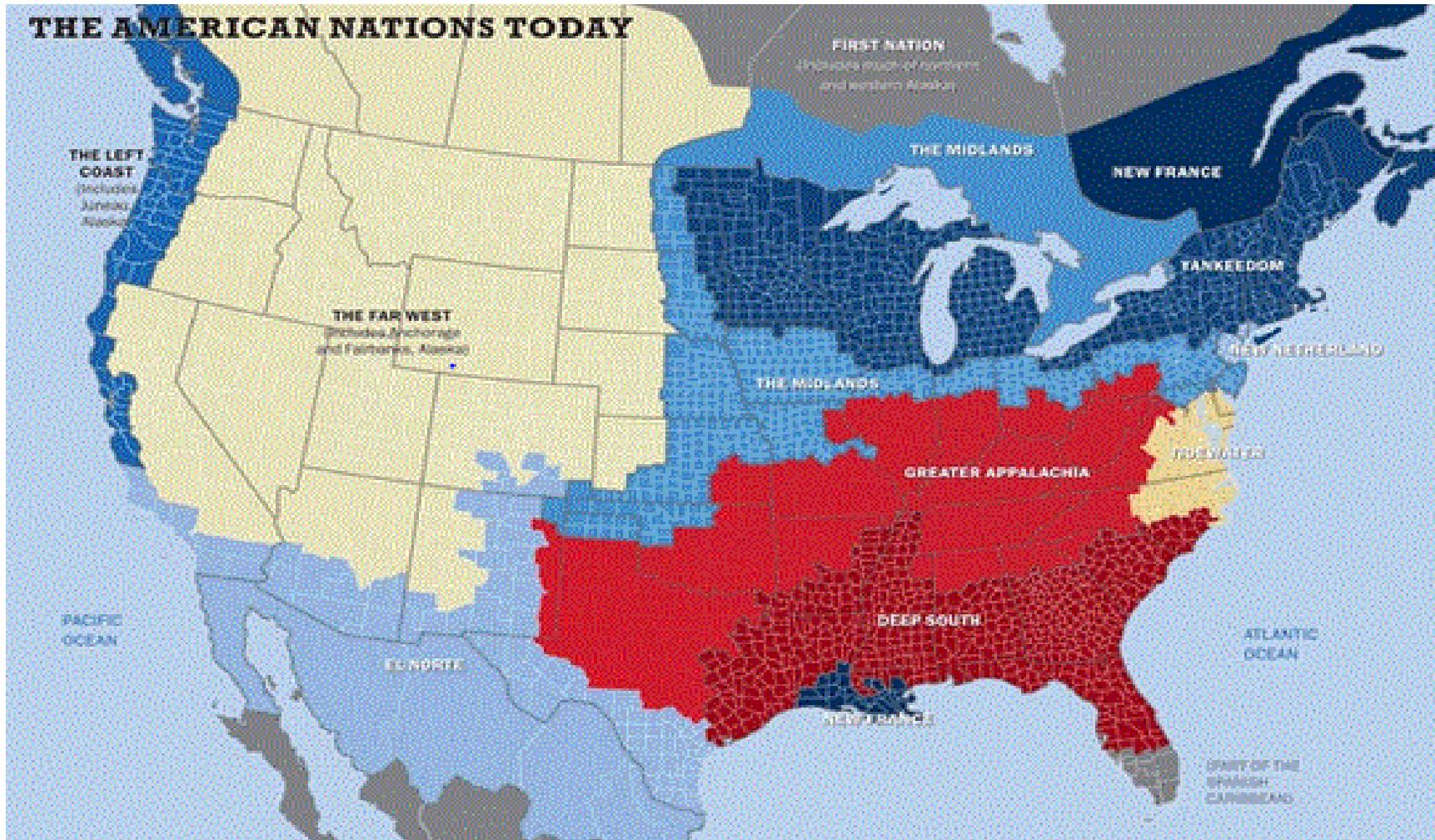
Westward Movement

Westward Movement



- By 1824, 11 new states have been added to the original 13 states
- This reflected the westward movement of the American population and the expansion of the founding regional cultures

11 Nations of North America



Westward Movement - 1

- Westward migration was a constant due to both native population growth and immigration
 - Surplus rural population migrated westward in search of farms and livelihood
 - Without fertilizer, farmland often lost its productivity leading landowners to sell or abandon farms and move west
 - Unemployment in the East often led workers to seek employment in the West

Westward Movement - 2

- The new demand for short-staple cotton plus exhaustion of old cotton- and tobacco-growing lands promoted movement to the Old Southwest
 - Led to the expansion of both the Virginia/Tidewater South culture and the Frontier culture and their eventual merger into a Southern sectional culture
 - Converted semi-subsistence farmers from the Piedmont into cash-crop cotton producers

Westward Movement - 3

- The Old Northwest developed differently from the Old Southwest due to the following factors:
 - The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery
 - The Erie Canal and the railroads linked the Old Northwest economically to the Mid-Atlantic states and New England
 - Settlement patterns differed

Westward Movement - 4

- Settlement patterns of the Old Northwest
 - The southern parts of Ohio, Indiana & Illinois were largely settled by southerners and became corn & hog country
 - The northern areas of those same states plus Michigan, Wisconsin, & Minnesota were largely settled by New Englanders who grew wheat, cattle, and orchard fruit
 - In between the Yankees and the southerners were settlers from the Middle Atlantic states.
 - Cincinnati was a Middle State enclave in an Upland South area

Impact of the Westward Movement

- The Westward Movement
 - Led to the spreading of the four founding cultures
 - Each culture brought to its new westward environment its own characteristic values, lifestyles, settlement patterns, religious affiliations, political orientations, and even their housing & cooking
 - To some extent, it mingled two or more of the founding cultures
 - Fostered democratization
 - Western territories and states saw liberalized voting as a means of attracting settlers

Democratization and its Consequences

Democratization - 1

- Most of the colonies had established either a property or taxpaying qualification for voting
 - Actual enfranchisement, however, was fairly high.
- During and soon after the Revolution, two factors extended the franchise
 - The shift in a number of states from a property qualification to a taxpaying qualification
 - Inflation which imposed ‘bracket creep’ on statutory qualifications

Democratization - 2

- States also enacted other reforms in the 1780s and 1790s which increased the number of voters
 - Increasing the number of polling places – one in each township as opposed as few as one in each county.
 - More frequent elections
 - More offices being elective rather than appointive
 - Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and state senators became elective offices

Democratization - 3

- In the 1820s, the states abolished the remaining property qualifications for voting
 - No state admitted after 1815 had a property requirement for voting
 - Territories seeking statehood saw voting liberalization as a means of increasing population to qualify for statehood
 - New territories and states saw increased settlement as a means of raising land values, increasing the tax base, and promoting economic development

Democratization - 4

- By 1824, 18 of the 24 states had decided that presidential electors should be chosen by the voters rather than by state legislators
- By 1828, 22 of the 24 states had their presidential electors chosen by the voters

Effects of Democratization - 1

- Democratization of the electorate had several consequences
 - Vastly expanded the number of voters
 - This made the political party a necessary intermediary between the voters and the candidates for public office
 - Along with immigration, gave rise to the political machine
 - Along with the political party, gave rise to the political convention as the means and forum for selecting presidential candidates

Effects of Democratization - 2

- In the American electoral system
 - There was a strong push toward a national two-party system
 - This meant that American politics would not see a number of ideologically-united or ethnically-based parties as was common in Europe
 - With democratization, this meant that each party contained several factions
 - While these factions might share common values (or common dislikes), they often differed on ideological, policy, issue, and candidate grounds.
 - Third parties would have little impact unless they had a strong geographic base

Effects of Democratization - 3

- Left American politics with a two-party system of ritual politics
 - Parties existed primarily to win elections and enjoy the spoils of office and only secondarily to enact specific policies
 - Avoided commitments on specific policies
 - Focused on issues of high emotional content
 - Stressed personalities rather than issues
 - Engaged in “negative campaigning” and mudslinging

Effects of Democratization - 4

- Helped turn political campaigns into forms of mass entertainment
 - By 1840, campaigns featured giant barbecues, parades, torchlight processions, sing-alongs, posters, and rallies
- Led to political campaigns designed to foster a spirit of group loyalty in voters rather than voters' rational evaluation of the candidates and issues

Notes About Democratization

- The change from the 18th century to the 19th century represented:
 - A shift from the concept that property qualifications were necessary for a voter to exercise independent political judgment to the concept that voting was a right of all adult white males
 - A shift from the personal authority of gentlemen to the impersonal authority of party
 - From a voter's personal knowledge of the candidate to a knowledge of the opinions of the party and its most active partisans

A Key Point About Democratization -1

- In the U.S., democratization occurred before large numbers of either white, male wage workers or immigrants appeared
 - This meant that the white working class had the right to vote so that they:
 - Joined existing political parties and saw politics through the prism of ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural differences rather than class differences

A Key Point About Democratization - 2

- In Europe, the working classes did not gain the right to vote until after an industrial proletariat had been created
 - This meant that European workers had to struggle to gain the right to vote
 - This struggle created a strong sense of class consciousness and a consequent propensity to vote for Socialist and/or politically radical parties

A Key Point About Democratization - 3

- In Europe:
 - Socialist parties became major factors in late-19th and 20th century politics in Great Britain (under the name of the Labor party), France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere
 - In some countries, even a Communist party became a major factor in electoral politics
- In the U.S.:
 - Socialist parties were only marginal factors in politics
 - They elected a few mayors, state legislators, and a handful of Congressmen

Newspaper & Printed Media Innovations

News and Newspapers

- Some Notes About Newspapers
 - Until the 19th century, almost all newspapers were weeklies whose content consisted largely of advertisements and news from outside the community. This was so for two reasons
 - Until the 19th century, printing remained a handicraft process
 - In small communities, local news could travel via the grapevine far quicker than by newspaper. Thus newspapers focused on news originating elsewhere

Innovations

- In the 19th Century, printing and the newspaper saw many innovations. Among those that had an impact in the Jacksonian and pre-Civil War eras were:
 - Steam-powered presses
 - Penny press
 - Stereotyping
 - Pornography as a political weapon
 - Reporters
 - News wire services (Associated Press & Reuters)
 - Investigative reporting

19th Century Printing Innovations

- Use of steam power in printing
 - 1810 – Friedrich Koenig uses steam power to run a press
 - Could print 1,100 sheets an hour (4X that of hand presses), later improved to 4,000 sheets an hour
 - 1846 – Richard Hoe invents the Rotary press. This allowed
 - Printing on both sides of a sheet of paper simultaneously
 - Automated printing on continuous rolls of paper

Impact of Mass Printing - 1

- Made possible the rise of the “penny” press
 - Depended on advertising revenues and newspaper sales rather than upon subsidies and printing contracts from political parties
 - This led to:
 - “Sensationalism”,
 - A focus on local news and especially crime news and human interest stories ,
 - Less of a focus on political and business news

Impact of Mass Printing - 2

- Made possible the mass printing of relatively cheap books and pamphlets
 - Pamphlets were an ideal print medium for circulating opinions, sermons, and pornographic writings and images
 - Abolitionist mailings of anti-slavery pamphlets to the South led to riots, bans on sending abolitionist through the mail, and civil libertarian protests against such bans
 - This helped widen the growing breach between North and South

Impact of Mass Printing - 3

- Facilitated the rise of a print pornography industry
 - In the 19th century, Pornography was a profitable means for authors to attack and discredit Catholics, Slave owners, Mormons, and other groups
 - Anti-Catholics wrote numerous pornographic works describing in very graphic detail the alleged sexual misdeeds of priests and nuns
 - Abolitionists wrote extensively about slave masters raping their slaves

19th Century Newspaper Innovations

- Reporters
 - Early newspapers did not have reporters
 - Local News was acquired by conversations at the print shop or local tavern
 - National and Foreign News acquired from letters to the newspaper and from other newspapers
 - Reporting -- going into the field in search of news -- was a consequence of:
 - Newspaper competition
 - Faster and better means of communication (which encouraged the use of out-of-town and overseas correspondents)
 - Growth of cities (which created an appetite for local news that word-of-mouth could not meet).

19th Century Newspaper Innovations

- Telegraph
 - Revolutionized the newspaper business
 - Made feasible the use of out-of-town and foreign correspondents
 - Led to the creation of news wire services, such as the Associated Press and Reuters
 - Led to the inverted pyramid style of newspaper writing
 - Meant that political speeches and campaign events could be reported nationwide

19th Century Newspaper Innovations

- Investigative Journalism
 - Pioneered by the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times*
 - *Tribune's* investigation of the 1836 murder of Ellen Jewett
 - *Times'* expose of the Tweed Ring in 1870

Political Implications of Print & Newspaper Innovations - 1

- Vastly increased newspaper circulation
 - A political endorsement by a newspaper could swing an election
- Enabled obscure and unknown politicians to become known
 - Turned politicians into celebrities whose name was recognized far and wide
- Gave rise to political media events
 - Publicized parades, outings, picnics, speeches, etc

Political Implications of Print & Newspaper Innovations - 2

- Promoted the use of slander as a campaign technique
- Gave rise to the campaign poster, pamphlet, and campaign biography
- Turned newspaper publishers into persons with major political influence

Political Implications of Print & Newspaper Innovations - 3

- Investigative reporting led to the revelation of major political scandals
 - The Tweed Ring of Tammany Hall
- Because most newspapers were affiliated with, or subsidized by, a political party, newspapers give rise to raucous political debate and widespread participation by the voting populace

The Transportation Revolution and American Politics

The Transportation Revolution - 1

- Starting in the early-1800s, states had built turnpikes and canals
 - Travel was slow
 - Stagecoaches went 6 to 8 mph & were better at moving people than goods
 - Canals while good at moving bulk items were also slow and often not usable in the winter
 - River traffic was often one-way downstream

The Transportation Revolution - 2

- Steamboats, starting with Robert Fulton in 1807:
 - Enhanced the comparative advantage of water transportation
 - Permitted travel up-stream on rivers with powerful currents. E.g. the Mississippi
 - In 1817, a steamboat went from New Orleans to Louisville in 26 days. By 1826, the same voyage was down to 8 days
 - Reduced sailing times in the coastal trade

The Transportation Revolution - 3

- Railroads
 - Increased Volume of Passenger Traffic
 - Before the Charleston & Hamburg RR began operating between these two locations in 1833:
 - Passenger traffic was handled by a stagecoach 3 times a week
 - In 1835, railroad passenger traffic was 30,000 passengers a year
 - Increased Speed of Travel
 - In comparison with canal/river boats, the railroad cut travel time from Boston to Concord NH from 5 days upstream and 4 days downstream to 4 hours each way
 - It took Thomas Jefferson 10 days to travel from Monticello to Philadelphia. In 1850, it took the railroad 1 day

Railroads - 1

- In comparison with previous business enterprises, the railroad had some unique features
 - It was a public service enterprise that required enormous up-front outlays of capital
 - It was a geographically spread-out entity that required extensive coordination to operate
 - Once built, railroads were expensive to run and maintain – i.e. they were both capital-intensive and labor-intensive enterprises
 - The profitability of railroads required both the power of eminent domain and limited liability

Railroads - 2

- Railroads were corporations – only corporations could raise the enormous amounts of capital needed and had limited liability
- In addition to capital from stockholders and bondholders, railroads required subsidies initially from state governments and later from the Federal government
 - These subsidies took the form of state and municipal purchases of stock and Federal government land grants

Railroads - 3

- The railroads had a host of socio-economic effects
- Effects with political implications
 - The railroad created a national market for goods by destroying the transportation cost barrier that had protected local manufacturing monopolies from competition
 - This worked to the economic detriment of the South

Railroads

- Effects with political implications
 - The railroad linked the agricultural Midwest to the industrial Northeast
 - The railroad deemphasized the economic ties that formerly bound the Midwest to the South via the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers
 - Linked the Upper South slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri economically to the North
 - This played a role in keeping these states in the Union during the Secession Crisis of 1861

Railroads

- Effects with political implications (cont)
 - The railroads permitted performers, speakers, and politicians to tour much of the country and become well-known
 - Made it feasible for political parties to hold conventions to nominate candidates
 - The railroad facilitated the emergence of a national market for books and other publications

Railroads – Later Political Effects -

1

- Precipitated the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act - a major step on the road to war. This Act:
 - Led to the fracturing of the Democratic Party,
 - Was a major factor in the collapse of the Whig Party,
 - Led to the formation of the Republican Party
 - Led to “Bloody Kansas”

Railroad – Later Political Effects - 2

- As major corporate and economic entities with fixed in-place facilities and high sensitivity to governmental policies
 - Governments could effect railroad profitability via taxation, fare & safety regulation, subsidies (or lack thereof)
 - Governments could also affect profitability by exerting political pressure on railroad route selection
- Railroads became major political players on both the Federal and state level
 - They were major campaign contributors

The Jacksonian Era

1828-1860

Jacksonian Era Political Trends

- The Reemergence of a two-party system
 - The Democrats
 - The Whigs
- Political conventions replace the congressional caucus as a means of nominating presidential candidates
- Diverging economies, slavery, geographic expansion, and mass immigration lead to sectional polarization

Notes About Jacksonian Era Voting

- Political leaders, except for some local offices, were not personally known by the voter. You voted for a candidate because you supported his political party
- Elections were the culmination of a months' long campaign involving banners, torchlight parades, and election hoopla
- The voter's connection to a party was based less on its stand on public policies and more on a strong sense of partisan loyalty
- The act of voting was an act of solidarity motivated by cultural loyalty and a dislike of groups associated with the other party

Jackson

- Saw a leader as one who engaged in bold and decisive acts
 - Was a Take-charge-of-things kind of guy
 - Not afraid of physical confrontations
- Had a charismatic appeal to followers
- Demanded extreme personal loyalty
- Had a violent antipathy to all who disagreed with him
 - Was intensely partisan

Jackson's Political Views

- Saw a national debt as an evil
- Saw large concentrations of power as a threat to both democracy and liberty
 - Opposed to the Bank of the United States
- Supported states rights
- Strongly opposed nullification
- Opposed federal funding of internal improvements
- Supported Indian removal
- Believed the Federal government should be restricted to those functions and activities specifically mentioned in the Constitution

Jackson's Political Views - 2

- Favored the spoils system
 - Reflected his belief in term limits for bureaucrats
 - Believed that an entrenched permanent bureaucracy would serve itself rather than the public
 - Believed that most federal jobs were so simple that anyone could do them
- Systematically gave federal jobs to loyal party workers

Jackson's Political Innovations

- Built up a campaign organization unlike any seen before
 - Won support of, or established, a chain of newspapers to publicize Jackson and his views
 - Established a network of financial supporters who subsidized pro-Jackson newspapers, and published campaign-related pamphlets and paraphernalia
 - Established links with Tammany Hall in New York

Key Events of Jackson's Presidency

- The Battle of the Petticoats
- Indian Removal
- Veto of the Rechartering of the BUS
- The Maysville Veto
- Resistance to Nullification
- Paying off the National Debt
- Appointment of 6 Supreme Court justices, including Chief Justice Roger B. Taney
- Institution of the Spoils System