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PRO-JACKSON SENTIMENT IN PENNSYLVANIA,
1820-1828.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is a well-known fact that Andrew Jackson was given an overwhelming vote by Pennsylvania in the elections of 1824 and 1828. Channing sums up for us the appeal which Jackson made to the democracy of Pennsylvania in 1824, in these words: "In some manner that is not explicable from accessible books and manuscripts, Jackson appealed to the democracy of Pennsylvania and his adherents in that State were much better led than were the partisans of any other candidate."¹ To the student of American history, Pennsylvania's reverence and worship in the twenties of Andrew Jackson always has aroused much interest and wonder and has brought forth various explanations. Ogg, in his *The Reign of Andrew Jackson*, claims that clever propaganda made Pennsylvania "Jackson mad," and that the cry of "down with the caucus" rallied many to the support of Jackson in 1824.² Bassett implies that Jackson received support from the western half of the State, where the Scotch-Irish predominated, because he was the son of a Scotch-Irish immigrant.³ The same author considers the whole

¹ Channing, *A History of the United States*, V, 356.

² Ogg, *The Reign of Andrew Jackson*, p. 84.

³ *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, I, 331.

pro-Jackson movement, a phase of the "Western upheaval,"⁴ and an evidence of Pennsylvania's attachment to the "personality of Jackson," without regard to the political doctrines held by him.⁵ Frederick J. Turner sees in the support of Jackson, the choice of a man of the people by a rising frontier democracy.⁶ That Jackson personified in his presidency the essential Western traits, thereby making him the idol of the popular will, is claimed by this scholar of the American frontier as the basic motive behind the Jackson vote in the developing West.⁷ Channing believes that Jackson's adherents in Pennsylvania "were much better led than were the partisans of any other candidate."⁸ In reference to the election of 1828, the same historian holds that Jackson was raised to the presidency, in part by the "employment of most unjustifiable methods by his partisans in Pennsylvania and New York,"⁹ and because the Jacksonians in Congress had brought about the passage of the abominable tariff of 1828, and thereby preserved the good will of the Southerners, while the Pennsylvanians saw in it the means of protecting iron.¹⁰ Channing also adds that Jackson's interests in Pennsylvania were most ably managed by James Buchanan and his lieutenants.¹¹

Pennsylvania's support of Jackson was certainly a phase of the "Western upheaval;" it was also due to a new self-consciousness and organization among the growing laboring classes in the east, rallying to the aid of Western democracy.¹²

Western Pennsylvania from its first settlement was

⁴ *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, 531.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

⁶ *The Frontier in American History*, pp. 252-255.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁸ *A History of the United States*, V, 357.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 376.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 371f.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

¹² Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 216.

peculiarly "frontier" in spirit. The very people who predominated possessed the inborn qualities of fearlessness, independence and keen common sense.¹³ These Scotch-Irish came into this region with a preconceived notion about the justification of squatting, and an almost "inherent hatred and disregard for rents of any kind whatsoever."¹⁴ A people with such characteristics, pioneer in their very essence, were already attuned to the call of frontier and Western democracy.

The history of this section of the country from the founding of the Republic was a veritable preparation for the rise of Jacksonian democracy in the twenties. From the very birth of the nation, the people in Western Pennsylvania were anti-federal.¹⁵ The Whiskey Insurrection of 1794 was the revolt of the American frontiersman against methods that seemed inquisitorial and foreign.¹⁶ The tax upon whiskey and the consequent insurrection, followed by the troubles in Adams' administration, together with the Alien Act, only embittered these people to a larger degree than before against the Federals and anything that smacked of Federalism.¹⁷ All in all, the social and political forces in Pennsylvania seemed to be more centrifugal than centripetal,—the latter were the governmental forces, in the section of our country known as New England.

Rather than describe the heights to which Pennsylvania's frontier worship of the "Hero of New Orleans" reached, it might be well to cite two anecdotes relating to Jacksonian support in this frontier democracy of

¹³ Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America*, pp. 466, 540; Riley, *American Thought*, p. 121.

¹⁴ Fullerton, "Squatters in Early Western Pennsylvania," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, V. 6, No. 3, p. 169.

¹⁵ McWilliams, "Political Activities in Western Pennsylvania, 1800-1816," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, V. 7, No. 4, p. 225.

¹⁶ Channing, *op. cit.*, IV., pp. 138f.

¹⁷ McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

which Andrew Jackson was the very personification. In the vote of one of the river townships of the Juniata Valley, out of nearly one hundred votes there was but one Federalist. Since he was a highly respected citizen and generally esteemed, he was allowed to vote the Federal ticket without offensive criticism. In 1824 Jackson received the entire vote of the township, with a single exception, and as that was the vote of John Light, a respected neighbor, everything went off peacefully. In 1828, when Adams and Jackson ran again, the people were canvassed again, and all were rounded up for Jackson except John Light. The election was held in a place of much fresh whiskey which enthused the Jackson rooters. When the vote was counted, to the utter consternation of the Jackson people, there were three Adams votes in the box. One vote for Adams was all right, but the whole Jackson force started off to find the two others who had betrayed the party. One discovered was a laborer who had been discharged sometime before by a prominent Jackson man, and he was whipped on the spot. After a most careful search they could not find the exact partner, but since they strongly suspected two persons, in order to make sure of it the Jackson men whipped both.¹⁸

The other anecdote as I received it is as follows: There was a tavern somewhere in the Alleghenies called the Liberty Hotel. On one occasion a man who did not agree with the sentiment of the community denounced General Jackson in the presence of the proprietor and the bar room crowd. The owner instantly cried out, "This is Liberty Hotel and there is freedom of speech here but if any man says anything agin Andy Jackson we send daylight through him."¹⁹

In spite of these anecdotes and the close attachment of the "frontier" people to their "Hero," I believe

¹⁸ McLure, *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania*, I, pp. 25f.

¹⁹ For this anecdote, I am indebted to Mr. H. H. Shenk, the Archivist at the Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg.

that writers have exaggerated the *personal* in the "Period of Personal Politics, 1816-1832" and have over-emphasized the fact that issues were subordinated to personalities. If the people in Pennsylvania had known the exact views of Adams and Jackson, the voting would have taken a different turn. The views of these men were deliberately kept from the people throughout the campaigns. Let us take the matter of protection and the bank question. Turner makes this statement: "He [Jackson] denounced the money power, banks and the whole credit system and sounded a fierce tocsin of danger against the increasing influence of wealth in politics."²⁰ These words certainly apply to the years after the reign of Jackson began. But during the elections he said nothing about the Bank, because his position was fixed,—and so was Pennsylvania's! The Keystone State for many years had favored a Bank of the United States, a high protective tariff, and internal improvements.²¹ And Jackson had to be on his guard not to run counter to the wishes of his Pennsylvania supporters, and yet not lose favor with the South and Southwestern States, which were anti-tariff. He and his managers in Pennsylvania had to be "judicious" in more matters than the tariff alone. This item will be dealt with in more detail in the succeeding chapters.

There *were* without doubt real issues in Pennsylvania elections of 1824 and 1828. The caucus question loomed up strongly; protection and internal improvements attracted much attention, especially in 1828; the Bank and money powers became a heated issue immediately after the election of 1828; and in the east, especially Philadelphia, the rise of a labor-class consciousness brought into the realm of politics a new element, destined to play a great rôle in later American history.

²⁰ Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

²¹ Fitzpatrick, "Autobiography of Martin Van Buren," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1918, V. II, p. 314.

Before entering into the main body of the paper, it might be well to state here that the popular triumph of Andrew Jackson in 1824 was the beginning of a democracy, the methods of which found their culmination in the elections of the forties, marked by "hurrah" campaigns with processions, banners and enormous mass meetings. The election of Jackson in 1828, ushered in the democracy of the next thirty years, giving us the *terminus ad quem* of the old era of trained statesmen for the Presidency and the *terminus a quo* of the popular hero.²² From 1829 when Andrew Jackson became President to the inauguration of Lincoln in 1861 the Democrats had control of the government, with the exception of the two short terms of the Whig Presidents, Harrison and Tyler.

CHAPTER I.

THE ELECTION OF 1824.

Martin Van Buren in his autobiography has stated, and correctly so, that Jackson was supported generally because his military character was admired, because he had a reputation for integrity in all things, and because the people were dissatisfied with the caucus system.²³ This was particularly true in Pennsylvania. In this discussion these causes will be considered in the inverse of the order given by Van Buren.

The real issue in the campaign of 1824 was the manner of selecting the President. Should a group of congressmen, or should the people determine upon the election of the Chief Executive? As early as November 14, 1823 the Democratic Republican Committee of Correspondence of Allegheny County pronounced the question which to them was of momentous import to the liberties of this country—"Shall the people or Con-

²² Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

²³ Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

gress select our President?"²⁴ In this pamphlet addressed to the people, the caucus system is called an "elective despotism," in which the fetters of a British king are exchanged for the chains of American despots.²⁵ Impatience with the caucus system showed itself in numerous nominations of Crawford, Calhoun, or Jackson in various county and city conventions.²⁶ The resolutions drawn up at a Philadelphia meeting on Saturday, January 17, 1824, reflect the general attitude throughout the State toward the dethroning of "King Caucus."

Whereas, the constitution and political institutions of our country, guarantee to the people alone the authority to elect their own rulers, and that from them alone can emanate a choice of public officers, and that it is their exclusive right to hold public meetings for the adoption and sanction of public men and measures. And whereas, the general sentiment of the democratic party throughout the union as expressed by their legislative and public bodies, most evidently demonstrate the fact, that the reasons which originally produced a caucus for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential nomination, no longer exist, and that its continuance involves considerations of national impolicy, and implicate the pure and sacred principles of democracy,—therefore, Resolved, that taking into consideration the peculiar relation of parties at the present moment, we deem it expedient to coincide in the views of those members of the Legislature, who have called a convention to be held at Harrisburg on the 4th of March next.²⁷

At a later meeting, February 11th, delegates to the Harrisburg Convention were chosen and further resolutions condemning the caucus system, together with a cordial recommendation to all citizens to elect Andrew Jackson, were drawn up.²⁸ The proceedings of this meeting were published in all the Democratic papers of the State.²⁹ The caucus was made to appear by the

²⁴ *Address of Democratic Republican Committee of Correspondence of Allegheny County, friendly to the election of Andrew Jackson, November 14, 1823*, p. 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁶ *Mercury*, November 18 and December 16, 1823; January 6 and 20, 1824; *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, January 26, 1824.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, February 3, 1824, quoting the *Columbian Observer*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1824.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Jackson papers as the means of electing any candidate, regardless of his qualifications. Thus one of the Harrisburg papers asked, "On what are the supporters of Mr. Crawford resting his pretensions? Not upon talents or services of any description whatever . . . but upon a recommendation of 62 members of Congress."³⁰ The defeat of "King Caucus" was made synonymous with the growing desire on the part of the people to think and act for themselves.³¹ In general, the caucus and its appurtenances were made the works of the Federal Ticket and the Adams supporters.³² The cry went forth to the citizens not to surrender the "rights of the people to caucus mongers or intriguers."³³ So strong was Pennsylvania's feeling against the caucus, that in the early part of 1824 in the State legislature, a report by a committee was rejected, by a vote of more than two to one, because it contained a clause which by implication (!) sanctioned a caucus.³⁴ Out of one hundred papers in Pennsylvania only three were for the caucus.³⁵

McClure in his *Old Time Notes of Pennsylvania* says that "Jackson was more blindly worshipped in Pennsylvania than in any other State of the Union."³⁶ This statement is somewhat of an exaggeration because a study of any other frontier or typically western section gives evidence of a similar attachment to the "Hero of New Orleans."³⁷ In Pennsylvania it was Jackson's military character and reputation for integrity in all matters that gained him such a large and devoted following. In the summer of 1823, meetings

³⁰ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, April 5.

³¹ *Allegheny Democrat*, June 29.

³² *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, September 21.

³³ *Pennsylvanian*, November 13.

³⁴ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, p. 129.

³⁵ *National Gazette and Literary Register*, April 7, 1824.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁷ Roseboom, *Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824*, p. 168, pp. 200ff.

were held in Pittsburgh to endorse one of the five presidential candidates. At one of the meetings, Adams received sixty votes, Clay fifty, and Clinton a few more; and when Jackson's name was put up, a resolution endorsing him was carried by acclamation. "It was then resolved as the sense of the meeting that the decisive character, acknowledged ability and public services of Jackson gave him the best earned claims to the Presidency, and that his friends in every county in the State ought to come forward and say so."³⁸

As early as 1821, Thomas J. Rogers, a member of Congress and Manufacturer, and S. D. Ingham, a lawyer, had organized the politicians for Calhoun.³⁹ The Pennsylvania farmers, especially those who lived in the western half of the State, where the Scotch-Irish were in the majority, were not interested in him. When Jackson was presented as a candidate to the Pittsburgh people, the Calhoun leaders sensed trouble. Edward Patchell, an ignorant preacher of that section, tells how finally they were victorious for Jackson. Since his letter to Andrew Jackson, containing an account of Patchell's conduct in the nomination, illustrates the general attitude of the people toward Jackson, it will be well to quote it in full:

Although I well knew that my talents were inadequate to the task, yet I depended not only in my personal courage alone, but I trusted in my God, and your God, whome hath raised you up for to be a Saviour and a deliverour for his people. I considered you were justly entitled to the nation's gratitude, and although I well knew that I was not a poetetion, yet nevertheless ware I to try I could do something. And if Henry Baldwin had, as he promised assisted me, I would not have had the half of the trouble or difficulty in turning the people on the straight course that I had. Mr. Baldwin wrote the advertisement for the call of the first meeting which was held in the Courthouse in favour of your Election, and sent it to me to get it published. The meeting was very numerous, much larger than ever had been known here. After the chair-

³⁸ McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* V, 59. McMaster bases his information on the *Richmond Inquirer*, August 22, 1823, which contains a news item of this meeting of Allegheny county citizens.

³⁹ Bassett, *op. cit.* I, 331.

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man and the secretaries were appointed Mr. Baldwin states the object of the meeting, and your name were placed at the foot of the list. *Wm. H. Crawford got one vote*, H. Clay five, J. Q. Adams two, J. C. Calhoun four, and Gen. Andrew Jackson *upward of 1000*. A resolution was then offered that "Henry Baldwin be appointed to write an Address" to the democratic republicans throughout the United States. But the very next day, as I have understood, Mr. Baldwin met with Judge Riddle, your old boot-maker, and he hooted him and fully persuaded him that Mr. Wm. H. Crawford would be taken up in caucus, and would be elected President beyond any manner of doubt. From that day until this, Mr. Baldwin was never known to write the scrape of a pen either for or against you—But I believe has ever since been praying good God, good Devil not knowing whose hands he might fall into. I was then drove to the alternative of inlisting a young lawyer under my banner, meer boys, as Judge Riddle used to call them. But with the assistance of the boys I have accomplished wonders. I have reduced the Lousie party here from ten thousand to something less than fifty, and they are chiefly the antient and notorious wire workers, they are the office holders and office hunters, and all they can do now is grin and shew their teeth. . . . Had I been in possession of the learning, talents and political knowledge of Henry Baldwin, I have the vanity to think that long ere now, I would have reduced the people into a sense of their duty. But Jackson, I must repeat it, I have done no more than my duty, and I even forbid you to return me thanks; And should we fail this Election, I will pray my God to spare life until I see Andrew Jackson President of the United States, and then let me close my eyes in peace. *Edward Patchell to Jackson, August 7, 1824, Jackson, Mss.*⁴⁰

A meeting at Carlisle, in the central part of the State, showed the same attitude. The meeting was originally called by the Calhoun supporters, but ended with a unanimous and enthusiastic resolution in favor of Jackson.⁴¹ In Philadelphia, later, the will of the people determined again upon Jackson.⁴² Well did the article in the *Pittsburgh Mercury* reporting the Harrisburg Convention of March 4, remark, "One thing, however, is certain, that with fair play, General Jackson cannot be deprived of the votes of Pennsylvania. He is too strongly entrenched in the confidence and affections of the people, to apprehend any danger from open attack."⁴³

⁴⁰ Bassett, *op. cit.* I, pp. 332f.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 333.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 333.

⁴³ *Mercury*, March 23, '24.

Jackson was entrenched in the people's confidence, because he was the "only surviving hero of the revolution;" because he "is second only to the father of our country;" because to "defend you he attacked the perfidious Spaniard in his fort, he fought the haughty Briton in the open field;" because he was the second Washington.⁴⁴ It is not all uncommon to hear Jackson's name mentioned in the same breath with Washington throughout the campaign.⁴⁵ In retort to those who charged Jackson with inability along literary lines, we find this jingle,

For President
John Quincy Adams,
who can write,
Andrew Jackson,
who can fight.⁴⁶

When the President of the United States gave Jackson the gold medal on Tuesday, March 16, voted by Congress, for his gallant conduct at New Orleans, the democratic papers capitalized the event for the coming election, and gave praise to the military prowess of the great hero.⁴⁷ This reverence for Jackson because of his military heroism was by no means confined to the western portion of the State.⁴⁸ The *Pennsylvanian*, a Harrisburg paper, carries a "Biographical Sketch of General Andrew Jackson" and devotes ten wide columns to it, with the major portion describing the defense of New Orleans.⁴⁹ One of the editors, fearing that Lafayette, who was the nation's guest, in the fall of 1824, might eclipse the popularity of the candidate of the people with the loud applause wherever he made his appearance, reminded the citizens that General

⁴⁴ *Mercury*, February 10, 1824.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, January 13, February 10; *Pennsylvanian*, June 5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, May 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, March 30, *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, July 21.

⁴⁸ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, April 19.

⁴⁹ *Pennsylvanian*, April 17 and 24.

Jackson was also a "soldier of the revolutionary war," and the preserver of New Orleans.⁵⁰

But Jackson's heroism in his military career was made the target of attack by the Adams men. He was charged with cruelty, blood-thirsty murder, and conduct unbecoming a Christian.⁵¹ So we find the democratic papers carrying anecdotes about Jackson, giving evidence of his tenderness and humanity, and answering the "intriguers, worse than savages" who accuse Jackson of "savage ferocity and an endless thirst of blood."⁵² In the domestic circle, Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, is made as "meek as a lamb," though in the field of battle, he is as "bold as a lion;" Jackson is a man of mild demeanor, his "amiable wife is a member in full communion with the Presbyterian Church at Nashville," and they both attend church every Sunday.⁵³ Jackson's home life is painted in calm, idyllic colors, and he is described as "sagacious and indefatigable in business," living in the manner of a "substantial farmer."⁵⁴

Not only was Jackson's popularity due to his services in war, but also to this fact, that he personified all the forces that would destroy *federalism* and establish the government of the people. We mentioned in the *Introduction* the attitude of the people west of the Alleghenies toward the Federals of earlier days.⁵⁵ One of the Pittsburgh papers carried on "Original Biography" of Jackson (*original* in more than one sense), in which almost every line is made to utter Jackson's anti-British feeling, his inborn anti-federalism, and his natural inheritance of a love of liberty and hatred of kings and things foreign.⁵⁶ Let us quote but the first

⁵⁰ *Pennsylvanian*, October 16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, March 27, April 24, September 14 and 18.

⁵² *Ibid.*, March 27.

⁵³ *Mercury*, April 6.

⁵⁴ *Pennsylvanian*, April 24.

⁵⁵ See *ante* p. 2.

⁵⁶ *Mercury*, November 4 and 11, 1823; January 6, 1824.

paragraph of this biography which is continued in several issues of the paper:

Andrew Jackson was lineally descended from Irish parents, who had suffered intense oppression under the tyranny of England. His grandfather was butchered at the siege of Carrickfergus; and all his ancestors had ample cause to execrate the infuriated persecutions of that cruel and unjust government, to whose implacable hatred most of them became victims, in their persons, their property, or their lives. To escape this insatiate barbarity which generation after generation failed to glut, his father determined to emigrate to America, and in 1765 landed in South Carolina, which he had chosen as the place of his future residence. Andrew was born in the settlement of Waxsaw, now the district of Marion, in that state, on the 15th of March, 1767, being the youngest of three sons, all of whom he has lived to survive. The estate of his father seems to have been rather limited than affluent; and dying not long after the birth of our military hero, he left a widow and three sons to subsist on a small patrimony, which seems, however, to have been fully competent to their comfort and independence.⁵⁷

Some of the papers saw in the democratic cause the opposition to that tradition in American politics and government which looked like a royal dynasty,—the tradition of making the Secretary of State the President. For twenty-four years none but a secretary of the cabinet had been elevated to the Presidency, and now came Andrew Jackson, “pure, untrammelled and unpledged from the bosom of the people.”⁵⁸ It was this “bosom” of the people that lent warmth and romance to the democratic cause, and when he had been nominated at the Harrisburg Convention, March 4, the “voice of the people prevailed” and his enemies were compelled to “swallow him, boots, spurs, swords, pistols, small arms and great guns.”⁵⁹

This convention was in almost every detail the germ of the present-day nominating convention. The call was issued by the Jacksonians in the state legislature and representation in the convention was according to the electoral strength of the counties. In its organization it resorted to the plural number of vice-presi-

⁵⁷ *Mercury*, November 4.

⁵⁸ *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, March 12, 1824.

⁵⁹ *Pennsylvanian*, March 20.

dents for honorary purposes, and conducted business, in part, by the committee system. It nominated Jackson practically by a unanimous majority, chose a ticket of electors and published an address to the people, the precedent of the modern platform.⁶⁰ The same convention nominated Calhoun for vice-president, thus announcing to the world a compromise which had quietly been arranged, between the supporters of the Tennessean and South Carolinian.⁶¹ John Quincy Adams was made the recipient of the federalist inheritance, with all that federalism of the first Adams connoted. His diplomatic experiences abroad simply taught him "to decide upon points of court etiquette and precedence;" and the same editor adds he would prefer the "plain republican manners of Jackson, to all the pomp, parade and circumstance of a court."⁶² It was another "Reign of Terror, which the Jackson men saw in John Quincy Adams' election. Support of Adams and his like spelled aristocracy."⁶³ Pro-British sentiment was coupled up with the Adams group. So wrote the editor of the *Allegheny Democrat*.⁶⁴ "It is a matter of much gratification to the friends of the Hero of New Orleans, that the opponents of the late war, and the advocates of the Hartford Convention, have come out openly in the *Statesman*⁶⁵ against General Jackson." The Adams papers felt the strong grip that anti-federalism associated with John Q. Adams had upon the people and therefore proposed that a "true history of the Federal administration of our government" be written and distributed.⁶⁶

We cannot bring the chapter to an end without considering the tariff issue and internal improvements.

⁶⁰ *Niles Register*, XXVI, p. 19f.

⁶¹ Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, I, 333.

⁶² *Pennsylvanian*, June 19.

⁶³ *Allegheny Democrat*, August 17.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, August 31, 1824.

⁶⁵ An anti-Jackson paper printed in Harrisburg.

⁶⁶ *National Gazette and Literary Register*, August 24.

In this period, party lines so far as they existed at all, were not regarded in the vote on the tariff. Clay, Adams, Crawford and Jackson were all declared advocates of the tariff.⁶⁷ A high protective tariff for years before had been a favorite measure with the people of Pennsylvania.⁶⁸ James Buchanan, who was a Pennsylvania member of the House strongly opposed the reduction of the tariff in a speech April 9, 1824.⁶⁹ Now when Jackson had been chosen a candidate, Pennsylvania, a strong tariff state, was among the first to embrace his cause. In the southern and southwestern states, naturally inimical to the tariff, lay a large portion of his strength. Jackson was now in a very embarrassing situation, and in order to extricate himself from this dilemma he acted throughout with the protectionists in passing the tariff act of 1824,⁷⁰ but declared himself in favor of a "judicious tariff." Throughout the campaign of 1824, Jackson was silent about the tariff, except for a letter which was addressed to a Dr. L. H. Coleman, Warrenton, N. Carolina, and which, signed by Jackson appeared originally in the *Raleigh [N. C.] Star*.⁷¹ Jackson's views in this letter were printed in Pennsylvania papers, and were the only published utterances in Pennsylvania of such a nature, on the part of Jackson, throughout the twenties! "I am in favor," says Jackson, "of a judicious examination and revision of it, [tariff] in order to pay our national debt and afford us the means of that defence within ourselves, on which the safety of our country and liberty depends; and last, though not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence, and wealth of the community."⁷² We see in this the

⁶⁷ Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

⁶⁹ *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong. 1 Sess. 1824, II, 2258-2271.

⁷⁰ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, II, 144.

⁷¹ May 28, 1824.

justification of Van Buren's words, "He, Jackson, entered Congress with a general bias in favor of protection, but with several reservations, the most prominent among which was a desire to limit Legislative encouragement to articles necessary to the defence of the Country in time of War."⁷³

With regard to Internal Improvements, Jackson's position was not fixed, and it was easier for his managers in Pennsylvania to ignore entirely what Jackson might say with reference to western interests. The fact is, Jackson was not a protagonist of the "American System." He was, in truth, the representative of *western democracy*, but as far as the *economic demands of the West* were concerned, Clay was the more able and the truer spokesman. And these two strains of the "Western upheaval" were by no means the same, as the next few years were to show. Pennsylvania was very much interested in Internal Improvements for years; both of the great Reports of the Committees on Roads and Canals, at a period when it embraced a large share of the attention of Congress, were from Pennsylvanians,—Mr. Henry Wilson and Mr. Hemphill.⁷⁴ One of the Pittsburgh papers urged the people to support the bills for Internal Improvements, because unlike the tariff alterations, which might have a favorable operation on certain parts of the country, Internal Improvements would benefit the whole country without exception.⁷⁵ Mr. Hemphill in a speech in Congress on January 12, 1824, pointed out the economic advantages and the possibility of developing prosperity if the national government of the Union would undertake internal improvements and not the individual state.⁷⁶ Under such circumstances,

⁷³ *Pennsylvanian*, June 12, 1824. The letter is dated "Washington City, April 26, 1824."

⁷⁴ Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 314, *Mercury*, February 3, 1824.

⁷⁶ *Mercury*, February 3, 1824.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Jackson, a member of the Senate, in 1823-4-5 voted in favor of the acts "authorizing a subscription to the stock of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company," and other propositions aiming at internal improvements, in order to please his Pennsylvania managers and friends.⁷⁷ There wasn't one utterance of Jackson's in the Pennsylvania papers throughout the campaign in favor or against internal improvements. And if the people of Pennsylvania had known the exact views of Jackson, on the tariff and internal improvements, a big difference would have resulted in the vote at election. It seems that Channing⁷⁸ is justified in saying that Jackson's "adherents were much better led than were the partisans of any other candidate." They were given only such information as would not hurt their cause.

From the number of popular votes Jackson gained, we can see how strongly he was entrenched in the hearts of the people of Pennsylvania. Because of his services in behalf of his country, because of his reputation for integrity in all things, because he was the embodiment of anti-federalism, and because of the general dissatisfaction with the caucus system, and its association with the aristocrats, Jackson was given 36,100 votes in the popular election, out of a possible 47,347.⁷⁹ Jackson's views on tariff and internal improvements did not interfere with his support, because he kept silent.

⁷⁷ Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

⁷⁸ Channing, *op. cit.* V, 357.

⁷⁹ Stanwood, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Adams received 5,441; Crawford, 4,206; Clay, 1,690.

CHAPTER II.

THE EVE OF A NEW DEMOCRACY.

The results of the election of 1824, especially the vote in the House of Representatives,⁸⁰ caused great dissatisfaction with the prevailing system of election among Jackson's adherents. It looked as if the people's prerogative was taken away. In James Buchanan's remarks in the House on February 2, 1825, can be seen a hidden allusion and objection to those political practices that interfere with the demands of the popular will.⁸¹ During the balloting in the House, some of the members moved to go into a secret conclave, alleging that they were called upon to elect a President, not as the representatives of the people, but by virtue of the constitution. Said Mr. Buchanan, "In selecting a President of the United States, we are, in my opinion, peculiarly the representatives of the people. On that important occasion we shall emphatically represent their majesty. We do not make a President for ourselves only, but also for the whole people of the United States. They have a right to insist that it be done in public. . . . What are the consequences which will result from closing the doors of the gallery? We shall impart to the election an air

⁸⁰ No candidate had received a majority of the electoral votes; the House, therefore, voting by States, chose the President from the three highest.

Electoral Votes

Adams	84
Crawford	41
Jackson	99
Clay	39

Results of Balloting in H. of R. (Feb. 9, 1825)

Adams	13 votes
Jackson	7 votes
Crawford	4 votes

These facts are taken from *Register of Debates*, Vol. I, 1824-25., pp. 526f.

⁸¹ *Register of Debates*, vol. I, 1824-25, p. 422.

of mystery. We shall give exercise to the imagination of the multitude, in conjecturing what scenes are acting within this Hall. . . . Let the people see what we are doing."⁸² Both Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Ingham, who were against clearing the galleries during the balloting were members from Pennsylvania.

On May 29, 1825, Buchanan wrote to General Jackson as follows:

In Pennsylvania, amongst a vast majority of the people, there is but one sentiment concerning the late Presidential election. *Although they submit patiently, as is their duty, to the legally constituted powers, yet there is a fixed and determined resolution to change them as soon as they have the constitutional power to do so.*⁸³ In my opinion, your popularity in Pennsylvania is now more firmly established than ever. Many persons who heretofore supported you did it cheerfully from a sense of gratitude, and because they thought it would be disgraceful to the people not to elevate that candidate to the Presidential chair, who had been so great a benefactor of the country. The slanders which had been so industriously circulated against your character had, nevertheless, in some degree affected their minds, although they never doubted either your ability or patriotism, yet they expressed fears concerning your temper. These have been all dissipated by the mild prudence and dignity of your conduct last winter, before and after the Presidential election. The majority is so immense in your favor that there is little or no newspaper discussion on the subject. I most sincerely and fervently trust and hope that the Almighty will preserve your health until the period shall again arrive when the sovereign people shall have the power of electing a President.⁸⁴

Buchanan was visiting in Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, when he wrote this letter.⁸⁵ He therefore was in a position to feel the pulse of Pennsylvania's citizens.

On July 4, 1826, which was the fiftieth anniversary of American Independence, the Democratic Republicans of Pittsburgh and vicinity held a Jubilee celebration. The following were some of the toasts drunk on that occasion:

Gen. Andrew Jackson—His greatest ambition is the elevation of his country, to the summit of national prosperity. The people will elevate him as one whom they delight to honor.

⁸² *Register of Debates*, vol. I, 1824-25, pp. 442f.

⁸³ The italics are mine.

⁸⁴ Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, I, pp. 138f.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

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By David B. McLain—*General Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans*—May the freemen of the United States, honor him in 1828 (as in 1824), with a majority of their votes; and then (should the choice be left to them), may the members of Congress, who shall elect an aristocratic president in opposition, be *tarred and feathered*.⁸⁶

This toast indicates the dissatisfaction with the prevailing system of election.

The day after the Jubilee Celebration, the editor of one of the Pittsburgh papers reviewed the grounds for Jackson's election to the Presidency on the basis of popular support. "The people of this state were in favor of Andrew Jackson for president—as were the people of *thirteen other* states,—he had fifteen more electoral votes than any other candidate, to say nothing of the votes of Ohio, Kentucky and Missouri—and *we* say he should have been president on the ground of this plurality—that the people's man—the man they chose should have been elected. . . . Mr. Adams, supported by *six states* only, was voted in by a little more than *one third* of the members of Congress, and part of these furnished by Mr. Clay for the purpose. In this transaction we say, the spirit of the constitution was violated—and every friend to our republican institutions, will vote to restore the legitimate order of things in 1828—by electing the man who had and still has the great mass of the people in his favor—and in whose defeat the people were defeated."⁸⁷ In the state capital, the gauntlet was taken up by the *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, which objected to the manner in which the Adams supporters tried to remove the "odium that attaches to the present administration of the national government."⁸⁸ The Adams men stated that Thomas Jefferson was also elected by Congress, and thereby implied that the principles of both men were the same.⁸⁹ The editor of the Harrisburg paper objects

⁸⁶ *Mercury*, July 12, 1826.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1826.

⁸⁸ *Mercury*, September 6, 1826, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

to the "cunning way of connecting the names and principles of Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams" and continues to prove that these two men were in direct opposition in their political principles. "As for their election by congress, there was not the least analogy in the principles by which each was effected."⁹⁰

References to the late Presidential election and its injustice to the true choice of the people continued throughout 1826 and 1827.⁹¹ In one case, it was pointed out that Adams, far from being the choice of the people, had not even a majority of members of Congress in his favor; that he was elected to the high trust which he holds, by a minority even of the body that elected him.⁹²

Throughout 1825, 1826 and 1827, Jackson's popularity was on the increase. At public entertainments and parties, the bare mention of "Old Hickory" would be received not only with applause but with rousing and hearty cheers.⁹³ Coupled with this popularity, was a firm and articulate determination to elect Jackson in 1828. The files of almost any newspaper in the summer of 1826 reveal this desire. In the electioneering campaigns of these years, the contest on old party grounds, was no more. But the political candidates had to declare their predilection for Jackson or Adams.⁹⁴ At the close of 1826, four-fifths of the members of the legislature of Pennsylvania were in favor of Jackson for the Presidency.⁹⁵ "A demonstration of this fact may be expected before the ides of March," was the comment of one of the newspaper editors.⁹⁶ On January 9, 1827, a resolution was introduced in the

⁹⁰ *Mercury*, September 6, 1826, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*.

⁹¹ *Mercury*, September 13 and 20, 1826; August 21 and 28, 1827.

⁹² *Ibid.*, September 13, 1826.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, November 22, 1826.

⁹⁴ *Mercury*, September 20, 1826, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*; *American Sentinel*, December 19, 1827.

⁹⁵ *Mercury*, December 27, 1826, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

State Senate to give General Jackson Pennsylvania's undivided support at the next election.⁹⁷ Some time later a meeting of republican members of the legislature unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of General Jackson to be president of the United States.⁹⁸ In the fall of 1827, throughout New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, there was an almost complete victory for the Jackson men.⁹⁹

Channing, in reference to the campaign of 1828, states that Jackson's interests in Pennsylvania were most ably managed by James Buchanan and his lieutenants. Nor can one fail to see the hand of Buchanan in the years preceding the election. In the correspondence between Buchanan and Jackson are revealed Buchanan's management of Pennsylvania and his regular "reports" to Jackson about the latter's political status in the state. As early as the spring of 1825, in a letter dated "May 29, 1825," Buchanan wrote "*I have no news of any importance to communicate, but both inclination and duty conspire to induce me to trouble you occasionally with a few lines*———,"¹⁰⁰

Then the letter continued with a description of Pennsylvania's sentiment concerning the last Presidential election.¹⁰¹ On March 8, 1826, Buchanan wrote Jackson about the Harrisburg Convention of March 4, for the purpose of nominating a Governor, in which the following resolution was also adopted by an almost unanimous vote:¹⁰²

Resolved: That our confidence in the patriotism, talents and inflexible integrity of Gen. Andrew Jackson, is unimpaired; and that his conduct during the pendency of, and after, the late election of President of the United States is deserving the unqualified approbation of the American people.

⁹⁷ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, January 15, 1827; *Senate Journal*, 1827, pp. 285f. This resolution was postponed on January 26.

⁹⁸ *Mercury*, April 17, 1827, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*.

⁹⁹ *Mercury*, November 20, 1827.

¹⁰⁰ Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, I, 138.

¹⁰¹ See *ante* p. 14.

¹⁰² Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

In the conclusion of the letter, Buchanan writes: "In addressing you this letter I cannot refrain from introducing the name of Milton C. Rogers, late Secretary of State of Pennsylvania.¹⁰³ *He has been from the beginning a uniform, a decided, a discreet and a most efficient friend of our cause.*"¹⁰⁴ It seems therefore that Buchanan kept close vigil on the Jackson managers in Pennsylvania and kept the General in touch with the names of the leaders and "efficient friends." Again on September 21, Buchanan wrote Jackson from Lancaster: "Although I have nothing of importance to communicate, yet I feel disposed occasionally to trespass upon your time and indulge myself in the pleasure of writing to you."¹⁰⁵ But then follows a report of things political:

We are for once in a political calm in this State. Mr. Shulze will be re-elected Governor without opposition and upon the Presidential question there is not out of the city of Philadelphia a sufficient division in public sentiment to disturb our repose. In the large, wealthy and populous County in which I reside containing more than 70,000 people I feel confident Mr. Adams could not poll 500 votes.

There was a most artful and powerful effort made against you in this State during the last Spring. They did not dare to attack you personally; but levelled all their artillery against Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Randolph, Mr. McDuffie, etc., but principally against the former and they endeavored to make you answerable for his political offences as presiding officer of the Senate. They have succeeded to a considerable extent in injuring the popularity of Mr. Calhoun; but their arrows have fallen harmless at your feet. Your popularity throughout the State of Pennsylvania is fixed upon sure foundations which your enemies have not nor ever will be able to shake.¹⁰⁶

To Duff Green, Buchanan wrote as follows on July 16, 1827: "Everything in this State Pennsylvania, at present looks well for the general. We have been making great exertions in his behalf. The character of the proposed convention of states at Harrisburg, seems now to be pretty well understood. I hope that nothing

¹⁰³ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

¹⁰⁴ The italics are mine.

¹⁰⁵ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

may occur to mar his prospects here, as a doubt about the vote of this state might have a serious effect against him throughout the Union.’¹⁰⁷ Later in the summer on August 10, he wrote from Lancaster to General Jackson: “The friends of the administration are making great efforts in Pennsylvania. We have been busily engaged during the summer in counter-acting them. Success has I think hitherto attended our efforts.”¹⁰⁸ James Buchanan was surely active during that summer and during the whole period, to make secure Jackson’s hold upon Pennsylvania.¹⁰⁹

When the tariff issue came up in the House, Buchanan played a unique rôle as the representative from Pennsylvania.

At this period of American history (1820-1830) there was no clear-cut division on party lines between protectionists and free traders. Yet the Adams men were more united in favor of protection than the other group. By 1827, Adams and Clay were at least willing to bring the tariff issue into the political foreground.¹¹⁰ The Jackson men, on the other hand, were in a difficult position, even as they were in 1824.¹¹¹ Jackson’s support came from sections of the country diametrically the opposite in their economic interests. Since the Jackson men needed the votes of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, and since they were not so sure of getting them, they tried to show that the Adams men were

¹⁰⁷ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

¹⁰⁹ While in Harrisburg, the writer was shown unpublished letters and writings of James Buchanan, through the kindness of Mr. H. H. Shenk, the Archivist. These original papers were not included in Moore’s *Works of James Buchanan*. Channing, referring to these papers, in a letter to the writer, stated: “I think there must be a lot of valuable material that escaped Moore or that he did not think worth printing.” The examination of these letters will undoubtedly yield more to us about Buchanan’s rôle as a Jackson “manager” in Pennsylvania throughout 1825, 1826 and 1827.

¹¹⁰ Taussig, *The Tariff History of the United States*, p. 85.

¹¹¹ See *ante* p. 14.

not the only true friends of domestic industry.¹¹² Taussig believes that the Jackson men "failed, as completely as their opponents, to gauge the strength of the enthusiasm of the masses for their candidate."¹¹³ The letter¹¹⁴ which Jackson wrote on April 26, 1824 to Dr. L. H. Coleman of Warrentown, N. C., setting forth his views on the tariff, appeared again in the same language in the spring of 1827.¹¹⁵ Again Jackson gave his opinion about the tariff,—“that a proper and judicious tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt and afford us the means of that defence within ourselves, on which the safety of our country and liberty depends; and last, but not least, give a proper distribution to our labour, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence and wealth of the community.”¹¹⁶ The enemies of Jackson took hold of his statement (which was the only one throughout this period) and complained that Jackson was in favor of a *judicious* tariff.¹¹⁷ The editor of the *Pittsburgh Mercury* retorted as follows: “A reward of a suit of homespun will be given to any man who will produce any evidence that Mr. Adams ever gave any public pledge that he was in favour of *any tariff* at all. If tariff doctrines should become *unpopular*, the *Democratic Press*¹¹⁸ could much easier prove that he never was a tariffite, than that he never was a federalist”.¹¹⁹ In this last statement is contained an implied charge against the Adams men of bringing the protective movement to bear in their aid.

This charge is implicit in a Harrisburg paper of an

¹¹² Taussig, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* p. 85.

¹¹⁴ See *ante* pp. 11f.

¹¹⁵ *Mercury*, April 3, 1827.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 24, 1827.

¹¹⁸ The *Democratic Press* was an Administration organ published in Philadelphia and edited by Binns; its name is misleading.

¹¹⁹ *Mercury*, July 24, 1827.

earlier date.¹²⁰ The administration was in favor of the Woolens Bill, which came up in January and February, 1827, because it was a New England favorite,—such a sentiment was expressed by an article in the *Pittsburgh Mercury*.¹²¹ The same *Harrisburgh Chronicle* stated: “Not only our *woolen* manufacturers and our *wool* growers need further protection, but also, our growers of *wheat*, our manufacturers of *iron*, our *distillers*, and our miners of *coal* need it.”¹²² Here, Pennsylvania’s needs also were enumerated.

The Woolens Bill, mentioned above, came up in Congress in the middle of winter of 1827. Buchanan, in his remarks in the House, January 18 and 22, pointed out the difference between “protection” and “prohibition” and the danger of effectually prohibiting the importation of nearly all the woolen goods in common use.¹²³ He concluded his remarks on January 22, as follows: “As a Representative of Pennsylvania, as a friend to the tariff, and feeling a deep interest in its popularity, I can never look on with indifference at the passage of a bill which will at once prohibit the importation of foreign woolens, much less can I do so when that bill contains no provisions calculated to protect the suffering domestic industry of my own State.”¹²⁴ Buchanan here referred to the same needs as mentioned later by the Harrisburg editor.¹²⁵ This bill, though passed in the House, was lost in the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice-President and therefore failed.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ *Mercury*, June 26, 1827, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*.

¹²¹ June 26, 1827; Massachusetts was the chief seat of the woolen industry.

¹²² *Mercury*, June 26, 1827, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*.

¹²³ Moore, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 234f; pp. 236f.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

¹²⁵ See *ante* this page; Moore, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 241f, where Buchanan says, “The distilling interest is one of great importance to the State of Penna.”

¹²⁶ Taussig, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

To the farmers of Pennsylvania, the amendment in the House to include grain, was highly favored, because for every woolen factory in Pennsylvania there were five hundred distilleries.¹²⁷ Buchanan's speeches certainly met with their approval. In general the tariff appeal was attractive to the farmer of Pennsylvania,¹²⁸ because it would give him a market for his surplus produce.¹²⁹ The last thought was expressed in the Harrisburg Convention of June 27, 1827, called by the *Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Manufactures and the Mechanic Arts*.¹³⁰ Resolutions were passed to present memorials to the "Senate and House of Representatives of this State, soliciting them in joint resolution to request the representatives and instruct the senators of this State, at the next session of Congress, to give their support to such bill or bills as shall be there presented having for their object the protection of American industry, more especially the growth of wool, and grain and the manufacture of woollens."¹³¹ Not only was the farmer to be given a market for his surplus produce, but the manufacturer also was to be protected and not "driven from his own market by the introduction of the industry of foreign nations."¹³² The Adams men had been declared the enemies of Pennsylvania wool and iron.¹³³

A protective tariff, therefore, was a much favored item with the people of Pennsylvania at this time. Jackson actually kept silent throughout and did so wisely; or what is more probable, his Pennsylvania managers made it possible for him to remain silent. It must also be borne in mind that Henry Clay had had a strong following in Pennsylvania because of his

¹²⁷ *Mercury*, February 21, 1827.

¹²⁸ Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, 391.

¹²⁹ *Mercury*, July 10, 1827.

¹³⁰ *Mercury*, June 26, 1827, quoting *Harrisburgh Chronicle*.

¹³¹ *Mercury*, July 10, 1827.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1827; and July 24, 1827.

championship of the tariff,¹³⁴ and had delivered some speeches in Pennsylvania to guard the people "against the fearful embraces of a military chieftain."¹³⁵

In the discussion those days of a candidate's reputation, words were not carefully chosen, and stories were not authenticated before circulation. The Jackson men were naturally anxious to encircle their "Hero" with a halo. There were two methods employed; one positive and the other negative. The positive and normal method was to sing high praises of General Jackson; the negative, was to point out the sins of Adams and attack his reputation.¹³⁶

Jackson had a reputation for violence and bad temper among conservatives in general, and among the English in particular. The London *Christian Observer* of March 1826, made the following statement: "Perhaps it is for the peace of the world that the presidency of the United States was reserved for a less violent spirit."¹³⁷ The Rev. William Hume, a "highly respectable minister of the Presbyterian Church at Nashville, Tennessee," challenged that statement and enlightened the editor of the London paper by informing him that Jackson was one of the "most upright men in the United States," of high moral and religious principles.¹³⁸ This minister officiated in the church which Jackson and a few of his neighbors had built. The editor of the *Mercury* makes much of the letter, especially of Mr. Hume's words:—"He [Jackson] has given the most unequivocal proofs of his friendly disposition to the kingdom of Jesus Christ."¹³⁹

Mrs. Jackson had also to be defended from the at-

¹³⁴ Channing, *op. cit.*, V, p. 369.

¹³⁵ *Mercury*, June 26, 1827. Henry Clay delivered an address in Pittsburgh on the American system at a dinner Wednesday, June 20, 1827.

¹³⁶ This is good psychology; people often speak disparagingly of others in order to raise themselves.

¹³⁷ *Mercury*, August 9, 1826, quoting London *Christian Observer*.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

tacks made upon her character. Letters and testimony about her appeared in the spring and summer of 1827.¹⁴⁰ She, too, was declared a faithful member of the Presbyterian Church, and a victim of false slander. "The clergyman of the Presbyterian Church at Washington, will bear ample testimony to the piety of this most injured lady," wrote one of the correspondents.¹⁴¹ Mrs. Jackson had been injured by the charge of bigamy because her divorce from Captain Robards in 1791 was through error never granted. Neither Jackson nor the former Mrs. Robards knew this and when in 1793 they became aware of the facts, a divorce was duly obtained and the Jacksons went through a second ceremony of marriage. The General and his wife were innocent from the beginning of their relationship.¹⁴²

Adams, on the other hand, was charged with inconsistency in religion, because on his visit to Baltimore in the fall of 1827, he attended services, in the morning, at the Presbyterian Church, and in the evening, at the Roman Catholic Cathedral. This conflict in religious affiliation was heightened because Adams, himself, was a Unitarian. The writer in the Pittsburgh paper, in trying to explain this conduct, charged Adams with the desire to gain popularity. And if that was so, the writer then asks, "What becomes of his consistency?"¹⁴³

Jackson's experiences at New Orleans were made the target of attack by his political enemies. He was charged with the unjust execution of six militia men;¹⁴⁴ he really was fined by Judge Hall of New Orleans a thousand dollars for contempt of court;¹⁴⁵ in general,

¹⁴⁰ *Mercury*, May 8 and July 31, 1827.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, July 31, 1827.

¹⁴² Minnigerode, "Rachel Jackson," *The Saturday Evening Post*, V, 197, No. 46, p. 26.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, October 30, 1827.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1827.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1827.

his disposition was declared such as to disregard the laws of the country when they thwarted his purposes. The *Mercury* of April 10, 1827, carried a long defence, which gave the details of Jackson's "glorious example of submission to the laws," while in New Orleans. "Is there anything to equal it in Greek or Roman history?—Is there anything to equal it in modern free government?"¹⁴⁶ Such were the praises showered upon the "Hero of New Orleans." In reference to the six militia men, who were executed, a certificate of the regimental commander, Colonel Pipkin, dated April 16, 1827 was published, to give a "true history of the transaction."¹⁴⁷ A year before, one of the papers quoted with approbation the words of General Adair, "He [Jackson] was the only man in America who could have saved New Orleans."¹⁴⁸ In April 1827, the State Legislature through the Governor of Louisiana invited General Jackson to participate in person at the celebration of the victory at New Orleans, on the 8th of January, 1828. The news item concluded with these words: "The General accepts and prays the Governor to assure the legislature that nothing but the interposition of Divine Providence will prevent him from uniting with them and the citizens of Louisiana, his associates in arms, in those privations and dangers which rendered glorious the day intended to be celebrated."¹⁴⁹

Adams was charged with having received great sums of public money and having spent it lavishly. A letter, addressed to a man in Richmond, dated January 1, 1827, appeared in the papers.¹⁵⁰ This letter described a visit to the *East Room*, for the furnishing of which congress had voted twenty-five thousand dollars. The

¹⁴⁶ Minnigerode, "Rachel Jackson," *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 10, 1827.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1827.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, December 20, 1826.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1827.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, January 17, 1827.

writer complained of the "regal" magnificence, repugnant to his old republican feelings. Complaint after complaint follows about Adams' waste of money for his personal accommodation, and for the furnishing of his "noble mansion." In conclusion, the writer tells: "The house was full of company but I saw very few of the 'unprincipled opposition'."¹⁵¹ The Jackson men also charged Adams with squandering money upon the salaries and outfit of our foreign ministers, who had carried on "ridiculous" missions to England and South America.¹⁵²

An interesting description of Jackson at his farm, by a correspondent from Nashville, Tennessee, appeared in the late winter of 1827.¹⁵³ Jackson is proclaimed the best farmer in the neighborhood. "The frankness of his manners and unostentatious hospitality, are characteristics of the polished gentleman." Jackson has the confidence and love of all his friends. "Do two neighbors dispute, he is chosen umpire to settle their difference. Is a man about to die, he is sent for to cheer his last moments and be the depository of his wills." The writer also tells of his many adopted children and wards, for whom Jackson devotes more time than for his own business.¹⁵⁴

A Philadelphia citizen, in pointing out the difference between General Jackson and Mr. Adams, uttered the following: "General Jackson would sacrifice himself, if necessary, to serve his country, and John Q. Adams would sacrifice his country to serve himself."¹⁵⁵

The years, then, between 1824 and 1828, were years of preparation for the democracy of the next thirty years. The results of the election of 1824 made the Jackson people more firmly determined to elect him in

¹⁵¹ Minnigerode, "Rachel Jackson," *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 17, 1827.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, December 25, 1827.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, February 7, 1827.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Mercury*, May 15, 1827, quoting *American Sentinel*.

1828. A political candidate of these years had to declare his choice of Jackson or Adams during the campaign. James Buchanan took it upon himself to keep Jackson in touch with his standing in Pennsylvania. The Jackson men continued to guard carefully their attitude toward the tariff. The newspaper kept up their praise or villification of the two outstanding candidates depending upon their political affiliation.

CHAPTER III.

ELECTION OF 1828.

One of the "motifs" in the campaign of 1828 was the alleged "injustice" done to the people in 1825, when Jackson, having had the largest number of popular and electoral votes, failed to gain the election in the House of Representatives. This was the reaction in Pennsylvania immediately after the 1824 election.¹⁵⁶ At a meeting of Democratic citizens, in Philadelphia, May 25, 1826 a resolution to "disapprove and condemn the origin,¹⁵⁷ character and proceedings of the existing administration of the government," was passed; the same meeting also voted that Jackson's election to the Presidency was essential to the revival of republican principles and republican practices.¹⁵⁸ A similar attitude prevailed in the western half of the state, where Adams' election was looked upon as a flagrant violation of the regard for public sentiment.¹⁵⁹

The principle struggle, however, was bound up with the naming of an old political party. The group that opposed Jackson in 1828, fought in vain to throw off the term "Federalist."¹⁶⁰ It suffered under a name

¹⁵⁶ See *ante* pp. 14f.

¹⁵⁷ Italics are mine.

¹⁵⁸ *Niles Weekly Register*, 1826, Vol. XXX, p. 235.

¹⁵⁹ *Mercury*, September 11, 1827.

¹⁶⁰ Bartlett, *The Chief Phases of Pennsylvania Politics in the Jacksonian Period*, p. [1].

that was both antiquated and unpopular. But "Federalist" was the logical name for the Anti-Jacksonians; who, then, were connected with the Hartford Convention and the pro-British sympathy it evinced?¹⁶¹ In the Jackson papers, Adams was declared with more vim than in 1824, the "beneficiary" of the Federal inheritance.¹⁶² "John Quincy Adams advocated the whiskey act, the alien law, the sedition law and all the measures of the reign of terror. General Jackson, with *Jefferson, Randolph, Giles, Taylor*, and many others, leaders of the republican party of that day, raised their voices and recorded their names against them,"—wrote one of the editors.¹⁶³ And accordingly Jackson was presented to the public as the disciple of Thomas Jefferson. A letter from Jackson to a Dr. Thomas G. Watkins, in which Jackson himself, spoke as an admirer and disciple of Jefferson, was published in the papers, early in 1828.¹⁶⁴ The people felt that, Jackson from the beginning of his political career, played the part of a democrat, on the side of the rights of man and freedom.¹⁶⁵ The political battle of 1828 was made identical with the struggle of twenty-five years previous. Jackson was to wrest the power from the aristocrats, even as Jefferson had expelled the Federal party. So intimated one of the editors of the day, when he wrote, "In the election to the presidency of *John Adams, the second*, they [the Adams men] fondly anticipate the restoration of the *Federal party to power*, and a renewal of the measures of the administration of *John Adams, the first*."¹⁶⁶ John Quincy

¹⁶¹ *Mercury*, June 12, 1827, reporting a Jackson meeting in Connells-ville, Pa.

¹⁶² *Mercury*, January 8, 1828; *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, August 25, 1828.

¹⁶³ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, August 25, 1828.

¹⁶⁴ *Mercury*, January 15, 1828.

¹⁶⁵ *Mercury*, April 22, 1828.

¹⁶⁶ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, July 28, 1828.

Adams was to democratic Pennsylvania the personification of foreign influence, aristocracy and royalty.¹⁶⁷ New England—Federalism—Tory Federalism—the Hartford Convention, all, in one breath, spelled the pro-Adams sentiment; for was not the Convention the “essence and cream of Federalism,” and did it not begin to show itself in Massachusetts and spread into Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont and Connecticut?¹⁶⁸ It was therefore asserted that Adams was the “candidate of the Hartford Convention party.”¹⁶⁹

A few days before the election, the Jackson men summed up their opinions of the Adams party, by putting up posters on public buildings with the words: “The Administration Party are the “Tories of ‘98’,” the “plotters of the Hartford Convention,” and (to cap the climax) “the authors of the alien, gag and sedition laws.”¹⁷⁰

Though the main struggle in 1828, was intertwined with the naming of an old political party, the dominant note of the campaign was the personal popularity of the “Hero of New Orleans.” With still greater alacrity than in 1824, did the Democrats now espouse the cause of the beloved “citizen soldier.” Buchanan in his *Speech on Retrenchment*, February 4, 1828, thanked Heaven that a “Military Chieftain” had arisen to purge the government of its evils.¹⁷¹ All who were patriots were supposed to support Jackson.¹⁷² For General Jackson was the friend and guardian of the persecuted, the downtrodden, and those deprived

¹⁶⁷ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, August 18, 1828.

¹⁶⁸ *Mercury*, May 27, 1828, quoting *Philadelphia Gazette*; *Pennsylvania Reporter*, October 10, 1828.

¹⁶⁹ *Pennsylvania Reporter*, October 10, 1828.

¹⁷⁰ *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, October 14, 1828.

¹⁷¹ *Register of Debates*, 20 Cong. 1 Sess. 1827–28, IV, Pt. 1 pp. 1360–1377.

¹⁷² *Mercury*, February 5, 1828.

of liberty.¹⁷³ The following acrostic appeared originally in the *Hanover Guardian*:

A round the immortal hero's head,
N ever dying laurels spread,
D eathless is thy mighty name!
R ecorded on the page of fame,
E nvey's shafts in vain assail'd,
W here Britain's mighty thunders failed.
J oyous day—propitious hour!
A rray'd in greatness, armed with power
C olumbia's chief in triumph rose,
K ingly tyrants to oppose;
S ee the blood-ensanguined plain!
O verstrew'd in the heaps of slain!
N e'er proud Britain boast again!¹⁷⁴

In the fall of 1828, there appeared five different testimonials of Jackson's character and ability signed by James Monroe, James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, *John Quincy Adams* and *Henry Clay*.¹⁷⁵ written, of course at a much earlier date, and under circumstances quite different from a political campaign. The Jackson managers made good use of these warm comments on Jackson's achievements for his country. A Philadelphia paper, after the election of Jackson, printed several anecdotes to show the President's "stern and inflexible regard for justice."¹⁷⁶

The Administration leaders opposed Jackson on the very grounds on which he won support—his reputation as a military hero. One of the Administration papers called Jackson a "monarchist and despot" because of a certain military maneuver he had made in 1814.¹⁷⁷ In a later number of the same paper, a whole column was given over to prove in detail that Jackson was like Cæsar in all the evils committed by the Ro-

¹⁷³ *Mercury*, April 1, 1828.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, April 22, 1828.

¹⁷⁵ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, October 27, 1828; the italics are mine.

¹⁷⁶ *American Sentinel*, June 18, 1829.

¹⁷⁷ *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, August 26, 1828.

man militarist.¹⁷⁸ In a Philadelphia paper, at the same season, anecdotes were printed to show that Jackson was the idol of military men and army officers only.¹⁷⁹ John Binns, the editor of the *Democratic Press*.¹⁸⁰ had placed at the top of his paper a black coffin, with a brief account of the execution of the six militia men by Jackson. The General was supposed in that way to preserve discipline.¹⁸¹ This was expected to excite hostility against Jackson, but it failed to stir up Pennsylvania. There was so much opposition to the coffin hand bills that Binn's house was mobbed and he himself had to escape by the roof.¹⁸²

The Adams' party in 1828 would have made the tariff the decisive issue of the campaign, had it not been for the "bargain and corruption" cry. Clay, instead of devoting his speeches in the summer of 1827 to the tariff question, was compelled to answer the charge that in 1825 a corrupt bargain had made Adams, President, and himself, Secretary of State. In a speech in Pittsburgh, June 20, 1827, Clay dropped the question of protection entirely.¹⁸³ During July, Clay published his denials of the "bargain and corruption" charges brought by the Jackson men.¹⁸⁴

The same charge had been made against Jackson, in which case Adams was to be his Secretary of State. Buchanan in a letter to the editor of the *Lancaster Journal*, August 8, 1827, defended Jackson and stated, quoting Jackson's words, that the General "never

¹⁷⁸ *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, September 23, 1828.

¹⁷⁹ *United States Gazette*, September 26, 1828.

¹⁸⁰ See *ante* p. 19; footnote reference 116.

¹⁸¹ *Mercury*, March 4, 1828; the coffin at the head of a handbill was a device used in Revolutionary days to denounce any particular misdeed.

¹⁸² Godcharles, *Daily Stories of Pennsylvania*, p. 804.

¹⁸³ See *ante* p. 21 footnote reference 133; *Mercury*, July 3, 1827; *Niles Register*, XXXII, 299.

¹⁸⁴ *Mercury*, August 23, 1826 and July 17, 1827; *Niles Register*, XXXII, 350.

said, or intimated, that he would or would not, appoint him [Adams] secretary of state."¹⁸⁵

But this very tariff question, to a large degree, entered into the pro-Jackson political sentiment of 1828. Jackson alone was not associated in the people's minds with any particular policy.¹⁸⁶ And yet when the tariff issue loomed up in the campaign of 1828, the Democratic papers made Jackson an out and out tariff man.¹⁸⁷ To offset the impression that Jackson and his supporters were opposed to protection, the Democrats in Fayette County toasted Jackson on July 4, 1827, as an advocate of the tariff.¹⁸⁸ Throughout all this Jackson kept silent, except for a letter to the Governor of Indiana, answering an inquiry of the Indiana State Senate. In this letter, Jackson wrote that his views on tariff and internal improvement have not changed since 1823 and 1824.¹⁸⁹ Jackson also mentioned his letter to Doctor Coleman of North Carolina in 1824.¹⁹⁰ In a pamphlet of 24 pages, issued by the Democratic Committee of Correspondence of Allegheny County, on May 1, 1828, there is not one word about Jackson's views on protection.¹⁹¹ But the Committee claimed that the Democrats were the advocates of protection to domestic manufactures long before the sound of election.¹⁹² "The friends of General Jackson have never made the question of tariff or no tariff, a political one,"¹⁹³ they proudly uttered, intimating that the Adams men were never in favor of the tariff until it

¹⁸⁵ Moore, *Works of James Buchanan*, I, 266.

¹⁸⁶ Bassett, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, 376.

¹⁸⁷ *Mercury*, July 24, 1827.

¹⁸⁸ Bartlett, *The Chief Phases of Pennsylvania Politics in the Jacksonian Period*, p. 6.

¹⁸⁹ *Mercury*, April 29, 1828.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, See ante p. 14.

¹⁹¹ *An Address of the Jackson Democratic Committee of Correspondence of Allegheny County*, May 1, 1828.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

became politically necessary. A few months previous this charge against the Adams men, who "suddenly became attached to the favorite measures" of Pennsylvania was brought up by one of the Democratic editors.¹⁹⁴ The "favorite measures" of Pennsylvania were high taxes on iron, wool, hemp, molasses (protection to whiskey) and low taxes on woollens and cottons.¹⁹⁵ The Jacksonians claimed that the Adams men were only in favor of a tariff that amounted to "nothing more than a woolen bill;" that their definition of the American System was limited to this one item.¹⁹⁶

And now the Jackson men performed the greatest of feats by bringing about the tariff of 1828. The Pennsylvania Democrats cried out that the Adams men's support of the tariff was false through and through.¹⁹⁷ The Jackson supporters in Congress knew that New England would vote for Adams, in any event, and were also certain that Pennsylvania would desert any man who destroyed the protection of iron. Thus the tariff was made to appear as the work of New England, and then was amended in a way that all protection should be taken from the textiles.¹⁹⁸ This would naturally cause the New Englanders to vote against the bill and thereby defeat it; it would make Pennsylvania unfriendly to Adams and friendly to Jackson, and preserve the good will of the Southerners.¹⁹⁹ And if the bill would be defeated, the Jackson men would yet be able to parade as the true "friends of domestic industry."²⁰⁰ The New Englanders did vote for it, because they felt that before long they would secure other changes more favorable,—and in

¹⁹⁴ *Mercury*, February 26, 1828.

¹⁹⁵ Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, p. 244; *Allegheny Democrat*, May 27, 1828.

¹⁹⁶ *Mercury*, February 19 and 26, 1828.

¹⁹⁷ *Pennsylvania Reporter*, February 22, 1828.

¹⁹⁸ Taussig, *op. cit.*, pp. 87ff.

¹⁹⁹ Channing, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 371f.

the meantime the bill continued the protective system.²⁰¹ This scheme succeeded very well and gave Jackson warmer support in Pennsylvania and in the South, too. So there was "Hurrah for Jackson and free trade" in the South; and in Pennsylvania, "Hurrah for Jackson and protection."²⁰² The Jacksonians appeared to disapprove of a protective tariff in the eyes of the Southerners, and at the same time to carry out the wishes of the Pennsylvania protectionists.

The Democratic papers in Pennsylvania claimed the credit for passing the tariff of 1828 for the Jackson men in Congress; it was passed finally by a Jackson minority, and preserved by a Jackson majority, so as to include hemp, flax, iron, spirits, molasses, etc.²⁰³ Therefore Pennsylvania's interests were guaranteed by a Jacksonian source. They also claimed that the tariff act of 1828 was the result of a Jacksonian Congress.²⁰⁴

One of the forces to be reckoned with in the election of 1828 was the rise of the labor class consciousness in the east. Andrew Jackson came upon the scene of political activity when the working men of the coast, especially Philadelphia, were awakening to their duties and privileges as a *class*. The democratic movement which culminated in the election of Jackson had been gathering strength for years; it united the farmer of the west and the working population of the east.²⁰⁵ Turner says that Western democracy in its triumph revealed the fact that it could rally to its aid the laboring classes of the coast, then beginning to acquire self-

²⁰⁰ Taussig, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁰¹ Channing, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

²⁰² *United States Gazette*, October 10, 1828, and October 14, 1828.

²⁰³ *Allegheny Democrat*, May 27, 1828.

²⁰⁴ *Mercury*, June 3, 1828; *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, August 25, 1828; The Congress that adjourned June 26, 1828, had a majority of Jackson men in both Houses.

consciousness and organization.²⁰⁶ A careful study of this condition would certainly reveal an economic phase in pro-Jackson sentiment of the eastern part of Pennsylvania.²⁰⁷

The Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations, formed in 1827, in Philadelphia, was the first effective city central organization of wage earners in the world.²⁰⁸ This organization gave birth to the first labor party,—the Working Men's Party.²⁰⁹ The Democratic party, according to Commons, claimed a proprietary interest in the workingmen. The Federalists, on the other hand, were trying simply to use the workingmen's movement for their own advancement.²¹⁰ When the election returns came in they showed that the Jackson Democrats had carried everything before them in the city and county of Philadelphia. Men of the Workingmen's Party, on the Federal Ticket, were not elected. But all of the workingmen's candidates who were also on the Jackson ticket were elected.²¹¹ There is no doubt that Jackson gained much support from the rising industrial class of eastern Pennsylvania.

It is an interesting fact that the one question that was to be of permanent importance in the Workingmen's Party,²¹² coincided with Jackson's personal views. The money question, which was a phase of

²⁰⁶ Carlton, "Economic Influences upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-1850," *Wisconsin University Bulletin; Economics and Political Science Series*, V. 4, No. 1, p. 34.

²⁰⁸ Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 216.

²⁰⁷ It is unfortunate not to have obtained files of the *Mechanics' Free Press*, of Philadelphia, the earliest American labor paper. Without it, this phase of the thesis cannot be proved adequately. Prof. John R. Commons, who makes extensive use of it in his *History of Labour in the United States*, in a letter to the writer, said he could not trace its source. The writer searched carefully and made inquiry in several cities.

²⁰⁸ Commons, *History of Labour in the United States*, I, 169.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

the complaint against the banks, was introduced in 1829.²¹³ The opposition to banks on the part of workmen was due to the general prejudice against "bank notes" as paper currency and also to the notion that banks restricted competition and prevented opportunities for anyone who did not enjoy their credit facilities.²¹⁴ To the uninitiated the whole institution of banking and credit looked like a huge conspiracy against the working people.

Andrew Jackson's views on the United States Bank left no room for doubt. But during the election he said nothing about it, because the State of Pennsylvania was strongly for it. Even in his first inaugural address, he omitted the Bank and currency,²¹⁵ which were to arouse great controversy in the next eight years. Jackson's first official reference to the Second United States Bank was in his first annual message in which he declared: "Both the Constitution and the expediency of the law creating this bank are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow citizens."²¹⁶ Jackson believed that banks were capitalistic institutions whose sole purpose was to make money; they were monopolies to oppress the people.²¹⁷ This was the general frontier view.

The opposition of the Democratic party to the Bank, which antedated Jacksonian leadership, represented the historic attitude of the party toward the issue.²¹⁸ But as far as the campaign of 1828 is concerned, the writer has failed to find any expression of opposition on the part of the Pennsylvania Democrats or of Jackson himself. When Jackson, in the years after the

²¹² Commons, *History of Labour in the United States*, I, p. 217.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

²¹⁵ Channing, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

²¹⁶ Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 39, footnote 4.

²¹⁷ Channing, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

²¹⁸ Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

election denounced the money power, banks and the whole credit system, he met for the first time with real public protest from his one time Pennsylvania admirers.²¹⁹ The Bank was a favorite with the State of Pennsylvania for many years. But the working classes of the east united with the frontier in their attitude toward the Bank and currency, and found in one another a sympathetic response to the charge that bank paper represented nothing but the credit of the banks, left the public without a proper means of exchange, and raised prices by creating monied corporations.²²⁰ It is quite possible that the working classes, in addition to other reasons, joined the farmers of Pennsylvania in their support of Jackson because they intuitively sensed the attitude of the frontier "Hero" toward the Bank and the currency question.

We can dismiss the Anti-Masonic movement and its bearing on our essay with this statement. Anti-masonry had little to do with the national election of 1828.²²¹ The gubernatorial election in 1829, demonstrated the fact that a new and strong party had arisen in Pennsylvania in the form of the Anti-Masonic movement.²²² Adams was not a Mason; Jackson was and gloried in the fact.²²³

Before closing this chapter a word must be said about the party organization of the Democrats in the campaign of 1828. The doctrine afterwards attributed to Jackson, that "to the victors belong the spoils of office," was already a dearly cherished principle of Pennsylvania Republicans in 1800.²²⁴ The party lash of the Jackson men was used with effect in 1828; party

²¹⁹ Bartlett, *op. cit.*, pp. 40ff.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²²¹ McCarthy, *The Anti-Masonic Party*, p. 429.

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 432.

²²³ Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²²⁴ Dahlinger, *Pittsburgh—A Sketch of Its Early Social Life*, p. 58.

alignments were made clear cut and definite.²²⁵ And the spoils system was already in practice among the appointments in the State legislature of 1827 and 1828.²²⁶ This condition, without doubt, helped to increase Jackson's support.

In the election, Adams had majorities in five out of the fifty-two counties; Delaware, Bucks, Adams, Erie, and Beaver.²²⁷ The general vote for Jackson was 101,652; for Adams, 50,848, leaving a majority of 50,804 to Jackson.²²⁸

CONCLUSION.

As in all problems of historical science, more particularly in the attempt to make a *single* interpretation of history the *only* interpretation, so in this study it is impossible to state that any *one* factor can account for Pennsylvania's overwhelming support of Jackson in 1824 and again in 1828.

It has been pointed out that the pro-Jackson sentiment in Pennsylvania was certainly a phase of the "Western Upheaval." We have seen western Pennsylvania the possessor of a strong frontier tradition, with its population of Scotch-Irish, and with its precedents for anti-federal, and anti-"autocratic" laws superimposed upon the people who ought to be "free." Naturally, such a democracy chose a "man of the people," and one in whom they saw the embodiment of the frontier and pioneer spirit. The "Hero of New Orleans" measured up to all these things. But in addition we beheld in the election of 1824 the rallying cry of the Jackson supporters,—"Down with the caucus." That this was a real issue can be seen from any newspaper of the day.

²²⁵ Bartlett, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²²⁶ *Harrisburgh Argus*, December 15, 1827; April 12, 1828.

²²⁷ *Harrisburgh Chronicle*, November 17, 1828.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

All the candidates were declared advocates of the tariff. To please his Pennsylvania friends, Jackson acted throughout with the protectionists in passing the tariff act of 1824; likewise with the acts of internal improvement in 1823, 1824 and 1825.

Immediately after the election of 1824, the people of Pennsylvania grew dissatisfied with the prevailing system of election. The day that witnessed Jackson's defeat in the House also witnessed the beginning of a strong attempt on the part of his adherents in Pennsylvania to "right the wrong" when 1828 comes 'round. No more was the contest on old party grounds, during the election campaigns of 1825, 1826 and 1827, but on the predilection of the various political candidates either for Jackson or Adams.

These years were really years of preparation for the "Democracy of the Next Thirty Years." Would that we had all the correspondence of Buchanan (still unpublished in the Harrisburg State Library) in order to see the preparation and organization of the Jackson forces. From Moore's works alone we can see the hand of Buchanan throughout these years.

In regard to the tariff, the position of the Jackson men was very difficult. They had no settled policy, but were united on one point—to defeat the Adams party. Yet they would not permit the Adams men to pose as the only true friends of domestic industry.

Throughout these three years, there was a "rehashing" in all the newspapers, of the character of Andrew Jackson and Mrs. Jackson. The pro-Jackson papers naturally exaggerated their virtues and godly qualities. The anti-Jackson papers pointed to the training and preparation of John Quincy Adams, and to the rash and quick temper of General Jackson.

The *main* issue in Pennsylvania in the election of 1828 was Federalism vs. Democracy. The party which opposed Jackson in 1828 had that appropriate name

—Federalist. Jackson and Jacksonian democracy spelled anti-Federalism. The *dominant* note of the campaign was the personal popularity of Jackson. Jackson was made more of a hero and saviour than four years before. The Adams group made of his military heroism their strong point for rejecting him as a civil leader.

The tariff loomed up significantly in the election of 1828. The Jackson adherents performed the difficult feat of seemingly disapproving the protective tariff in the eyes of the Southern supporters, and at the same time of furthering the wishes of the Pennsylvania protectionists. Jackson, himself, was very quiet about his views throughout these months. The managers in Pennsylvania may have kept him in the background of this discussion deliberately. The fact that the tariff of 1828 was passed finally by a Jackson minority in Congress, so as to include Pennsylvania's products, hemp, flax, iron, spirits, etc., gave Jackson tremendous support in the election of 1828. It followed, then, that the guarantee of Pennsylvania's interests came from a Jacksonian source.

In the east, especially Philadelphia, the rise of an industrial class consciousness gave Jackson a new element of support; the working population of the east united with the farmer of the west in the election of Jackson in 1828. The same industrial group had in common with the westerner a prejudice against banks and money organizations. This found its highest expression in the opposition to the Second United States Bank, turning into a political issue after 1828. During the campaign, Jackson and his managers in Pennsylvania said nothing about the Bank, for this institution was a favorite with the people of Pennsylvania. Jackson's views on the Bank were fixed.

The conduct of the Jackson managers, in view of Jackson's attitude toward the tariff and the Bank, re-

quires some explanation. Since the tariff was a much-needed measure for Pennsylvania, and since Jackson was certainly not a tariff man, how can we account for the silence of the Pennsylvania managers throughout the campaigns? Were they actually fooling the people of the state by keeping Jackson in the background of the discussion? Is it possible that James Buchanan was so attached to the General that he overlooked the highest interests of his state? The writer has gone into this problem in detail, and has come out in a quandary. It is a fact that Buchanan originally was for the Bank; in 1832 when Jackson vetoed the Bank measure, Buchanan became converted and continued to support his leader. (Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, II, pp. 620 f.).

The Anti-Masonic movement played no part in the election of 1828. It developed powerfully after 1828.

An element to reckon with in the campaign of 1828 was the fine party organization of the Democrats in Pennsylvania. The use of the party lash and the clear-cut party alignments helped to strengthen Jackson's vote.

The decade between 1820 and 1830 was a period of preparation for an entirely new power in the Government. In 1828, the *people* first assumed control of the governmental machinery,—the people without restriction and “with all the faults of the people.” It was such a government that was ushered in by the party and Administration which came into being in 1828.

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