

Foner 2/e
Chapter 10
Chapter Outline

- I. Triumph of democracy
 - A. Property and democracy
 - 1. Property qualifications eliminated
 - 2. Enfranchisement of wage-earning men
 - 3. Popular pressures behind
 - 4. Uneven pace of, state by state
 - 5. Dorr War
 - B. Toqueville on democracy; elements of American democracy
 - 1. Mass participation in politics
 - 2. Liveliness of the public sphere
 - 3. Democracy as "habit of the heart" (Alexis de Tocqueville)
 - 4. Democracy as hallmark of American freedom
 - 5. Democratic ideal as radical departure in Western thought
 - C. Boundaries of the political nation
 - 1. Inclusion of laboring white men, immigrants
 - 2. Exclusion of women, non-whites
 - 3. Shift in criteria from economic status to natural capacity
 - D. Information revolution
 - 1. Manifestations
 - a. Mass circulation of "penny press"
 - b. Variety of popular publications
 - c. "Alternative" newspapers
 - 2. Contributing factors
 - a. New printing technologies
 - b. Low postal rates
 - c. Rise of political party organizations
 - 3. New style of journalism
 - E. The limits of democracy
 - 1. Idea of "universal" suffrage
 - 2. Exclusion of women voting
 - 3. Exclusion of non-white men voting
 - 4. Extent of voting franchise open to debate until 1965
 - F. Racial democracy
 - 1. Growing equation of democracy and whiteness
 - 2. Rise of racist stereotypes
 - 3. Contraction of black rights
 - 4. Race and class increasingly related to suffrage
- II. Nationalism and its discontents
 - A. The American System
 - 1. Underlying vision
 - a. Enhancement of nation's financial, transportation, and manufacturing sectors
 - b. Active role of federal government
 - 2. Leading architects
 - a. Henry Clay
 - b. John C. Calhoun
 - 3. Precursors
 - a. Congressional approval of National Road
 - b. Gallatin plan for federal road and canal construction
 - 4. 1815 blueprint
 - a. National bank

- b. Tariff on imported manufactured goods
 - c. "Internal improvements" (road and canals)
 - 5. Outcome
 - a. Enactment of tariff
 - b. Chartering of Second Bank of the United States ("Bank")
 - c. Veto of internal improvements
 - B. Banks and money
 - C. Panic of 1819
 - 1. Causes
 - a. Post-war speculative fever
 - i. Markets for American cotton and grain
 - ii. Land boom in West
 - iii. Easy credit from local banks and Bank
 - b. Ebbing demand for American exports, land
 - 2. Material repercussions
 - a. Mass bankruptcy
 - b. Rising unemployment
 - 3. Political repercussions of the panic
 - a. Growing popular distrust of banks
 - b. State measures to protect debtors, challenge Bank
 - c. *McCulloch v. Maryland*
 - D. Missouri controversy
 - 1. Narrative
 - a. Missouri quest for statehood
 - b. Tallmadge proposal limiting slavery
 - c. Stalemate
 - d. First Missouri Compromise
 - i. Dual admission of Missouri and Maine
 - ii. Prohibition of slavery above 36°30'
 - e. Second Missouri Compromise
 - 2. Significance
 - a. Sectional conflict amid "Era of Good Feelings"
 - b. Harbinger of future crises over slavery
- III. Nation, section, and party
 - A. The United States and the Latin American wars of independence
 - 1. Background
 - a. Latin American rebellions against Spanish colonial rule
 - b. Establishment of independent Latin American nations
 - 2. Many parallels between U.S. war of independence and those in Latin America
 - 3. Much U.S. public sympathy for Latin American independence
 - 4. New republics influenced by U.S.; especially with respect to new constitutions
 - B. Monroe Doctrine
 - 1. Principles
 - a. No further European colonization in Americas
 - b. Noninterference by European powers in Latin American republics
 - c. Noninvolvement of United States in European wars
 - 2. Motivations
 - C. Election of 1824
 - 1. Candidates and their constituencies
 - a. Andrew Jackson
 - b. John Quincy Adams
 - c. William H. Crawford
 - d. Henry Clay
 - 2. Outcome
 - a. Attainment by Jackson of first place in popular vote

- b. Attainment by Adams of electoral vote majority (in House)
 - c. Charges of "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay
 - D. The nationalism of John Q. Adams: The Adams presidency
 - 1. Background on Adams
 - 2. Vision for nation
 - a. Domestic
 - i. American System
 - ii. Activist national state
 - b. Foreign
 - i. Dynamic commerce around world
 - ii. U.S. hegemony in Western Hemisphere
 - 3. Achievements
 - a. Acceleration of internal
 - b. Increase in tariff
 - E. Gathering Jacksonian challenge
 - 1. Themes: "Liberty is power"
 - a. Individual liberty
 - b. States' rights
 - c. Limited government
 - 2. Mobilization of Democratic party
 - a. Martin Van Buren's approach to party politics
 - b. Quest for revived Jeffersonian coalition
 - F. Election of 1828
 - 1. Old politics (Adams) vs. new politics (Jackson)
 - 2. Scurrilous campaigning
 - 3. Jackson's victory
 - 4. Affirmation of a new American politics
- IV. Age of Jackson
 - A. Contradictions of Andrew Jackson
 - B. New mode of politics
 - 1. Political contests as public spectacle, mass entertainment
 - 2. Politicians as popular heroes
 - 3. The party machine
 - a. Source of jobs for constituents
 - b. Mobilizer of voter turnout
 - c. "Spoils system"
 - 4. National party conventions
 - 5. Party newspapers
 - C. The Democratic party
 - 1. Agenda and philosophy
 - a. Concern over gulf between social classes
 - b. Aversion to federal promotion of economic development, "special interests"
 - c. Vision of broad access to self-regulating market
 - d. Belief in limits on federal power; public and private freedom
 - e. Counterposing of "producing classes" and "non-producers"
 - f. Individual morality as private concern; politics of morality
 - 2. Bases of support
 - a. Farmers remote from markets
 - b. Urban workers
 - c. Aspiring entrepreneurs
 - d. Catholic and immigrants
 - e. South and West
 - D. The Whig party
 - 1. Agenda and philosophy

- a. Receptiveness to hierarchy of social classes
 - b. Federal promotion of economic development; "American System"
 - c. Individual morality as public concern
 - 2. Bases of support
 - a. Established businessmen and bankers
 - b. Market-oriented farmers
 - c. Large planters
 - d. Evangelical Protestants
 - e. Northeast
- E. South Carolina and Nullification
 - 1. Growing concern of southern planters over national authority
 - 2. 1828 "tariff of abominations"
 - 3. "Nullification" –Calhoun's political theory
 - a. South Carolina planter elite
 - b. Vice President Calhoun
 - 4. "States' rights" vs. "liberty and union"
 - 5. Climax and resolution
 - a. 1832 tariff
 - b. Repudiation by South Carolina
 - c. Enactment of Force Bill by Congress
 - d. Engineering of compromise by Clay
- F. Indian removal
 - 1. Ongoing displacement
 - a. 1832 defeat of Black Hawk in Old Northwest (Illinois)
 - b. 1820s expulsion of Indians from Missouri
 - 2. 1830 Indian Removal Act
 - a. Provision for removal of "Five Civilized Tribes" from southern states
 - b. Support from Jackson
 - c. Implications
 - i. Repudiation of Jeffersonian idea of assimilation
 - ii. Rebuff of Indian efforts to assimilate
 - d. Cherokee appeals to Congress, courts
 - e. The Supreme Court and the Indians
 - i. *Johnson v. M'Intosh*
 - ii. *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*
 - iii. *Worcester v. Georgia*
 - f. Jackson defiance of Supreme Court
 - g. Trail of Tears
 - 3. Responses of remaining southern tribes
 - a. Widespread acquiescence, voluntary departure
 - b. Resistance by Seminoles
 - i. Leadership of Osceola
 - ii. Assistance from fugitive slaves
 - iii. Second Seminole War
 - 4. William Apess's *A Son of the Forest*
 - 5. Receding of Indian presence east of the Mississippi
- G. The bank war and after
 - 1. Background
 - a. Bank as controversial symbol of market revolution
 - b. "Mr. Biddle's Bank"—Nicholas Biddle and the Bank
 - c. View of Bank as union of political authority and economic privilege
 - 2. Jackson vs. Bank
 - a. 1832 bill extending Bank charter
 - b. Veto by Jackson
 - 3. Significance

- a. Populist themes of veto message
 - b. Affirmation of presidential power
 - 4. Aftermath
 - a. Sweeping reelection of Jackson
 - b. Gradual death of Bank
 - c. Shift of government funds to local banks
 - i. Victory of "soft-money" over "hard-money" Jacksonians
 - ii. "Pet banks"
 - d. Expansion of paper currency
 - e. Speculative boom
 - f. Decline in real wages
- V. Post-Jackson era
 - A. The Panic of 1837
 - 1. Causes
 - a. Specie Circular
 - b. Bank of England demand for repayment in gold or silver
 - c. Economic downturn in Britain
 - 2. Resulting depression
 - a. Business failures
 - b. Farmers' loss of land
 - c. Urban unemployment
 - d. Collapse of labor movement
 - e. Defaults on state debts
 - B. Van Buren in office
 - 1. Ascendancy of hard-money Democrats
 - 2. Shift of government funds from pet banks to Independent Treasury
 - 3. Split within Democratic party
 - C. Election of 1840
 - 1. Fragmenting of Democratic coalition
 - 2. Maturation of Whig party
 - a. Adoption of Democratic party methods of organization
 - b. Nomination of William Henry Harrison
 - c. "Log Cabin" campaign
 - 3. Harrison's defeat of Van Buren
 - 4. Death of Harrison
 - D. "His Accidency" –Presidency of John Tyler
 - 1. Veto of Whig's American System program
 - 2. Whig repudiation of Tyler
 - 3. Weakness of Tyler without party backing