CHAPTER X

TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY UNDER JACKSON
1828-1837


Patriarch writing in the 19th century would have paralleled Andrew Jackson with the Duke of Wellington. They were born within two years of each other, both headed armies and then governments, and were staunchly loved and admired, hated and abused.

Both gained their early military training in fighting inferior races and came to have great influence with their defeated enemies, not because they won their love, but their confidence and admiration. Their larger military careers were too dissimilar to make a comparison of any value.

While Jackson was President of the United States fighting for democracy and a government by the people, Wellington as Prime Minister was as boldly and stubbornly resisting Parliamentary reform, standing like a stonewall for class rule, the rotten borough system, the denial of representation to the millions of the common people of England. Jackson won, Wellington lost. Jackson was by far the ablest and the more advanced statesman, and greater civil leader. Nor can it be doubted that the success of the democratic idea under Jackson in America profoundly influenced, if it did not actually bring about, the broadening of the franchise in England.

Both men owned and ran race horses and fought duels, Wellington keeping up these practices long after Jackson had sobered down to a well-ordered life. Both were high tempered and at times rough in their manner, Wellington notably and persistently so, while Jackson came to take on the courtly graces of life. These two soldiers and statesmen were typical of their day and countries, much alike and much unlike. America suffers nothing in the comparison.

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Every President represents or reflects the predominant aspect of his time—Washington, the stern and patient task of molding a people into a nation as he had formed an army out of raw recruits and militia; John Adams, the wrangling of conflicting ideas, parties and factions; Jefferson, the triumph of Republicanism and the settlement of the government on democratic principles; Madison, a young nation in a warring world when every course was beset with danger and men knew not which way to turn; Monroe, a happy issue out of our troubles, internal and external; John Quincy Adams, factions at war again and the splitting up of party; Jackson, Democracy triumphant, the President, the direct representative of the people and exponent of their united will.

America as a whole was a new country and things grew old and established quickly just as in a new settlement a few years makes an early comer an old inhabitant. Jackson broke up what already had become an old order of things. No more were select bodies of men to choose whom the people should vote for at least theoretically not. The people nominated Jackson in 1828 and elected him. He declared himself the one official representative of the whole people of the United States and constantly appealed to them during his eight years of office. He prevailed over Clay and Webster and the powerful influence of the Bank of the United States, and Calhoun's transference from his to their forces brought them no greater success.

Born in a raw settlement in 1757 to poverty and hardship, receiving almost no education, mistreated in boyhood by British soldiers, emigrating to a still newer country, Andrew Jackson was a typical Southwesterner of America of the early 19th century. In 1788 he was district attorney in that part of North Carolina which now constitutes part of Tennessee, and in 1796 a member of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention, going thence to Washington as that state's first Congressman. His politics were Republican (Democratic) and in 1797 he was elected Senator; resigning in 1798 he was elected to the state supreme court where he served six years. He was appointed General of Militia in 1812, and in 1814 Major-General in the regular army, and given the thanks of Congress. Monroe made him Governor of Florida. In 1823 he was elected to the Senate, not that he wished the place but because he was thought to be the only man who could defeat Williams who, in the Senate, had failed to stand by Tennessee's hero; he resigned in two years. Jackson's ante- Presidential career was not quite so dis-
Distinguished as his predecessors' though having a military element none but Washington's had. But he had gained no little political training in fighting his critics and enemies in cabinet and Congress.
The country he was to govern contained nearly 13,000,000 people, 2,000,000 of whom were slaves. Of the whites the free states contained 6,871,000, the slave states 3,600,000, the territories the remainder. Another division puts 5,400,000 in the North and East, 3,000,000 in the West and 2,000,000 in the South Atlantic States. Thus the South and West with New York or Pennsylvania could and did outvote the rest of the country from 1828 to 1860, except when Harrison in 1840 and Taylor in 1848 broke the combination.

Jackson's first cabinet consisted of Van Buren, State; Ingham, Treasury; Eaton, War; Branch, Navy; Barren, Attorney-General; McLean continued in the Post Office and invited to sit in cabinet meetings, but was soon succeeded by William J. Barry of Kentucky. Eaton was the only personal appointment. Ingham represented the strong Pennsylvania Democratic support, as Van Buren the New York Democracy. Branch of South Carolina and Barren of Georgia, together with Ingham, represented the Calhoun wing of the party, though they were not the men Calhoun would have selected to represent his views. It took a strong hand and hand to maintain unity in such a body and Jackson did not preserve it long. Friends told Van Buren that to enter it was to cut his throat, but Van Buren knew what he was doing, always.

Jackson's first message forecasts many of his policies. He recommends, as he does in every succeeding message, Benton's proposed law for Presidential elections, advocates modification of the tariff, suggests distribution of the coming surplus, after the national debt is paid, among the states, advises enlargement of the Attorney-General's office, advocates removal of Indians across the Mississippi, advocates extension of law making four years the term of office in general and reminds Congress that the charter of the Bank of the United States will soon expire.

The message stated that no man had an intrinsic right to office and no individual wrong was done by depriving one of any office; the people alone had a right to complain when a bad officer was substituted for a good one on the idea of property rights in offices so generally held was wrong.

For a quarter of a century preceding Jackson's inauguration there had been comparatively little change in the personnel of

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subordinate office-holders in the United States, save by death and removal for serious cause. Men had grown old in their places and some felt an ownership in them. The eneers of a calm political world and a long peace infested the service. That many good and faithful public servants were thrown out of place, and many distressing individual domestic tragedies brought about by the numerous removals from office made in Jackson's administration is undoubtedly true. But there was no such massacre of the innocents as has been pictured.

These ordinary American citizens of to-day who have to transact business with the government departments at Washington may have been struck either with the absence of the prevalence of the insolence of office among the nation's employees. Certainly those whose ability have brought them to high station have been singularly free from this sort of fault, but some of the underlings in their attitude toward the humble citizen doing business with the government, have exhibited more hauteur than dulfulness. In Jackson's day the state of affairs was far worse than it has ever been since.

There seems to have been a "grandfather clause" in the unwritten law governing appointments to federal office, and the departments were divided into sections, each with its own, and the old guards, the adherents of old Mr. Clay, were given the best. And, in 1829 the government service was suffering as much as from an original disregard of that part of civil service reform governing appointment as from the Jackson administration's disregard of that part applying to retention of it. The two should always go together.

The people adversely affected and Jackson's opponents raised a fearful outcry, but it fell on deaf ears so far as the general run of people were concerned. Jackson's desire was to follow Jefferson's principles and make removals only for cause, such as vice in the appointment, official or personal misconduct, negligence or incapacity and offensive partisanship. There were entire classes of officers who he never troubled—commissioners to adjudicate land titles and the judiciary generally. Of seventeen diplomatic positions only four were changed; of eight thousand and one hundred offices only a hundred were changed in the first year. But Jackson's officers carried rotation in office much farther than he intended.

A very violent tempest in a large teapot was the Mrs. Peggy
THE STORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Eaton episode in the early days of Jackson's Presidency. Major Eaton, an old friend and war comrade of Jackson, and a Senator from Tennessee, was made Secretary of War. He had married the widow of Purser Timberlake of the Navy, who originally had been Miss Peggy O'Neil, daughter of a Washington tavernkeeper. As a cabinet lady her social standing and reception in Washington, especially in official circles, became a question of importance, almost a matter of state. Official society circles, under the lead of the wife of the Vice-President, positively declined to accord her the recognition her husband's cabinet position ex-officio was thought to entitle her to. Her mother had been kind to Mrs. Jackson when Jackson was in the Senate and that was a debt Jackson could not overpay. He, who trusted all women and believed her a much injured lady, manifestly took up Mrs. Eaton's cause and suffered the most complete and unequivocal defeat in all his career, in spite of the generalship of Van Buren and the aid of the Ministers of England and Russia, both bachelors and therefore free to follow their own social standards. The ladies of the cabinet and indeed of all Washington, however, much they had at periods of their lives applauded Cinderella and her Prince and King Cophetua and his Beggar Maid, could see no romance in this Maid of the Inn become the Secretary of War's bride.

Thus began that rift in the cabinet which eventuated in its dissolution, though much graver matters were the direct cause. The outstanding features of Jackson's eight years in office were the removal of the Indians, the negation of the internal improvements policy, the nullification movement and tariff adjustment, the defeat of the United States Bank with the consequent revolutionary change in our fiscal methods.

Monroe had advocated the removal of the Indians as the most merciful and indeed the only feasible solution of the Indian problem. His successor had made some progress along the same line. The question became acute in Jackson's time. There were three solutions suggested—to incorporate the Indians as citizens of the states they lived in; to allow them to have their own independent governments within such states; to remove them across the Mississippi.

The first was practical only where they had become really civilized and were so few in number as to be no disturbing element in the state. The second plainly was unconstitutional, unless the impossible happened of a state permitting such a thing, since no state could be erected within a state without its consent.

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A new element was injected into the problem by the Indians, aided and abetted by the opponents of the administration, asserting the rights of foreign and independent nations making their claims under treaty rights with the United States, and appealing to the courts. The Supreme Court cited the State of Georgia to appear before it and was disobeyed. It has been reported that Jackson said "That is John Marshall's law. Let him enforce it."

The large Quaker element in Pennsylvania and sentimental individuals all over the country sympathized with the Indians and Clay and Webster fought the administration's Indian policy in Congress and before the people. The Supreme Court was brought into the situation again and decided it had no jurisdiction, but Marshall delivered a long extra-judicial opinion, which, with Wirt's argument for the Indians, was immediately published as a political pamphlet.

The removal bill finally passed the Senate by the necessary two-thirds vote without a vote to spare. This Indian policy was regarded as Jackson's own, and not his party's policy.

The internal improvements policy as part of his American system had been steadily pursued by Clay, notwithstanding Madison's and Monroe's vetoes on constitutional grounds. Jackson in Congress had voted for some such bills. As President he stood firm on the old Republican (Democratic) theory, vetoing such laws as unconstitutional, though he was much in favor of the states making such improvements and the nation aiding them. He was cursed for his vetoes by Clay and his followers, and applauded by those of his own opinion. He arrayed the Democratic Party against special legislation of this and every other kind, a position it has held theoretically ever since.

Jackson in some letters and by some votes had favored a moderate tariff. When Clay was told that Jackson said he was for a judicious tariff, he exclaimed: "Then, by God, I am for an injudicious tariff." Jackson was responsible for much profanity by Clay; Webster bore him with more philosophy and Calhoun cursed him only inwardly.

The Twenty-first Congress met in December, 1829, and the House on first ballot elected the administration candidate, Stevenson of Virginia, Speaker by a vote of 182 against 49 scattering, but Jackson's supporters were estimated to constitute a majority of 256. Yet even these did not support him on all occasions, notably on subsidiary questions involving the bank. Before the end of the last session the bank was carrying the House against him. Moreover, he vetoed many of the bills it passed.
INFARUENT PEOODUD UNDER JACKSON
EDUCATIONAL OBSERVATIONS UNDER AFRICAN CONDITIONS

In the context of educational observations under African conditions, the focus seems to be on the adaptation and implementation of educational systems in various African contexts. The text mentions the development of educational materials and the importance of local knowledge in informing education strategies. It also highlights the need for continuous improvement and the role of educators in adapting to local conditions.

The document discusses the challenges faced in educational settings, including the need for robust infrastructure, the availability of educational resources, and the engagement of the local community in the educational process. It underscores the significance of culturally relevant education and the importance of community involvement in educational decision-making.

The text further elaborates on the role of educators in fostering learning environments that are inclusive and responsive to the needs of diverse student populations. It emphasizes the importance of teacher training and professional development in equipping educators with the necessary skills to address the unique challenges of teaching in African settings.

Overall, the document provides a comprehensive overview of educational observations under African conditions, highlighting the need for a holistic approach that considers the cultural, social, and economic contexts of the region.
The novel attempts to explore the complex relationship between two individuals and the social and political landscape that shapes their lives. The protagonist, Jackson, navigates through a series of events that challenge his understanding of the world and his place within it. Throughout the story, Jackson grapples with issues of identity, love, and power, all while striving to maintain his integrity in a world that often demands conformity.

The novel's setting is richly detailed, offering readers a vivid picture of the historical context in which the story unfolds. The author skillfully weaves together historical events with the personal struggles of the characters, creating a narrative that is both compelling and thought-provoking.

The novel also delves into themes of race and prejudice, exploring the complexities of power dynamics and the challenges faced by marginalized communities. Through Jackson's experiences, the novel offers a powerful commentary on the human condition and the struggle for justice.

In conclusion, the novel is a compelling read that challenges readers to reflect on their own values and the world we live in. It is a story of resilience, love, and the human spirit, and it leaves a lasting impression on the reader.