Webster closed the discussion with a solemn "PROTEST."—
"This record the constitution solemnly declares shall be kept,
but the resolution before the Senate declares this record shall be
expunged. A record which is expunged is not a record which is
kept, any more than a record which is destroyed can be a record
which is preserved!"

Calhoun, rated the most accomplished sophist ever in any
Anglo-Saxon legislative body, revolted at the "contemptible
sophistry" of the expungers. Clay, the great adjuster of dif-
ferences, could see no possible compromise with the deep dam-
nation of this Macbethian crime. Webster, the profound expounder
of the Constitution, based his whole case on a shallow, technical
definition of one word—"Kept." Verily politics cause great
men to strain at gnats as well as swallow camels.

The expunging resolutions passed 24 to 19, and the clerk
s solemnly wrote on the Senate Journal of March 28, 1834—
"Expunged by order of the Senate."

A few weeks later on the east front of the Capitol Jackson
saw Van Buren, his Minister whom the Senate had rejected,
sworn in as President, by Taney, his Secretary of the Treasury,
who had been rejected by the same Senate, who was now Chief
Justice of the United States.

There was no consolation for Jackson's enemies in the Congres-
sional elections of 1836, and soon the President was author-
ized to sell the stock in the bank held by the government. Upon
the expiration of its national charter the bank secured one from
the State of Pennsylvania, but a few years later failed dis-
astroously, plundered by its own officers, mismanaged, ruined
by jobbery and favoritism, its entire capital stock dissipated;
tons of its records were sold to junkmen as waste paper, and
New York supplanted Philadelphia as the financial capital of
the United States.

CHAPTER XII
JACKSON THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRAT
1829-1837

Jackson's Statecraft—A Student of Government—Jackson's Criticism—The
Kitchen Cabinet—Democracy's Basic Idea—Break with Calhoun—
Cabinet Dissolution—First Democratic National Convention—The
Two-thirds Rule—The 1832 Campaign—The Anti-Masonic—Congress—
Six Presidencies in the Making—Jackson and the Great Trium-
phantism.

Jackson's lack of scholarship has been exaggerated. He had
no early schooling, but when he became a lawyer and judge he
studied law, when he became a soldier he studied military
science and when he was raised to high civil office he studied
political science. His statecraft shows study as well as bold
and original thinking.

There is strongly persuasive evidence that Jackson was a "Ben-
thinker," a student of Jeremy Bentham, the most advanced
juridical philosopher of the age, who was anathema to the old-
school politician and statesman, but a prophet to the Pro-
gressives of his time. No extraneous evidence of this is known
to exist, but the intrinsic evidence is convincing. The "single
executive" as opposed to the distribution of executive responsi-
bility among a cabinet or council, was an innovation advocated
by Bentham and fixed into the United States government
by Jackson. Bentham's discussion of banks seems to have in-
fluenced Jackson.

- Jackson named his estate "The Hermitage," a most incon-
gruous name for the home of a man who was everything a hermit
would not be, and for a place filled with nephews and nieces,
the scene of the wild pranks of the half-civilized adopted Indian
boy, and an open house for friends and pilgrims from every part
of the Union. But if the name was chosen because Bentham's
English home was called "The Hermitage," Jackson's choice of a
name was fit and appropriate, and explainable.

If he was not in fact a student of Bentham, Jackson's ideas
coincided with Bentham's in many respects, which is equal evi-
The Story of the Democratic Party

dence of his knowledge of government. In 1839 Bentham wrote
Jackson a letter expressing its approval of his views.

"Judge Sir," he writes, "of the constitution of the more than
constitution I experienced when upon reading your Presidential
Message I found that upon the whole your sentiments were so
fully in accordance with mine," etc. . . . "I mean the admira-
tion it (the message) has excited in me."

Jackson was in some respects a most advanced statesman. It
is possible, even probable, that he was as long ago as some lines one of
the most advanced political students of his day.

Jackson exhibits his educational deficiencies at times but never
ignorance or that sort of folly which proceeds from unformed
or half-formed minds. He was not a man of half-baked ideas.

The insinuations that his opinions were formed and his actions
acted by others, by Van Buren, Livingston, Kendall, or any
one else, have no foundation. He suffered from over-confidence,
not under-confidence, of his convictions. And no matter who was
around him, every conception, every theory, every policy and
every action was thoroughly Jacksonian. His mind and char-
acter cared only and branded everything he said or did.

He did not hesitate to go contrary to the advice of his closest
advisers. He told Blair to find out what his friends thought
of the removal of deposits and later when Blair began telling
him that all opposed it, he interrupted him—"Oh, my mind is
made up. Biddle shan't have the people's money to fight the
people's will."

Jackson's strenuous eight years defy chronological narration.
The tariff trouble leading to nullification preceded his inaugura-
tion, and he initiated the fight on the bank in his first message.

This bank contest affected every other issue, more or less, broke
up personal and political friendships and alignments and made
and ruined political careers. Nullification combined to a
single state, but the bank had friends and enemies in every
county, every community. Nullification was settled in 1833; the
bank fight lasted as long as Jackson's "reign."

Jacksonian Democracy was a logical development of Jeff-
erson's principles and performed the functions in its day that Je-
fferson's politics performed in his. Jefferson had pointed the
way to the people, who, pursuing it found Jackson their natural
leader. The power of the people, especially in the new states,
and their will to power had grown vastly between 1800 and
1828. Practically all the new states had manhood suffrage and

Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts and New York had
abolished property qualifications for voters.

Jackson, far removed in some ways from a conventional aristo-
crat, was, as a typical product of his environment, one of those
natural aristocrats born to lead and rule, whom Jefferson had
referred to. He won his leadership by talents and services and
was awarded it by the judgment of the people.

Although the United States was many years older in Jackson's
day than in Jefferson's, it was a younger and newer country in
a way, just as an old settled town by rapid growth may
develop into a new and rude city; Jefferson belonged to an
older régime than Jackson. Many men like Jefferson and
Adams could have been found in England in 1770-1800, but
nowhere except in the America of 1810-1840 could the like of
Jackson and Clay be found in commanding positions.

Most of the books written about Jackson are excellent, indeed
admirable; some are execrable. One of the latter sort says he
was no great hero because his famous victory was chiefly due
to the blunders of his opponent, as if about half of every
soldier's genius does not consist in utilizing the blunders of his
opponent. Pakenham was trained under Wellington, who guar-
anteed his ability, and he commanded English veterans.

His chivalric, even Quixotic, championship, in his old age, of
Mrs. Eaton is seen at as "malodorous." Lancelot and Gala-
had rode the list for ladies whose reputations were as tarnished,
and the Duke of Wellington was famous for certain friendships.
Jackson's life in this particular was singularly pure.

The Kitchen Cabinet is called a "low personal element."
They were men of exalted character. Colonel Lewis was a gentle-
man of spotless reputation who sacrificed his own pleasure to
serve his chief and country. Amos Kendall and Blair were two
newspapermen, seeking neither high office nor graft. Kendall
in the Jackson and Van Buren administrations made one of
the most efficient Postmaster Generals in our history. In his
later years he founded and endowed Kendall Green, the first
incorporated school in America for the deaf-mute and blind
children.

Francis P. Blair was one of the founders of the modern Repub-
lican Party, presiding over the meeting at which it was
organized in 1856; in 1860 he was a powerful factor in Lincoln's
election, and in 1864, more than any other one man, he defeated
the attempt to deny Lincoln a renomination. In 1865 he was the
recipient of as signal a mark of honor as was ever given any
man in history, the trusted agent of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis in an effort to find a basis of peace between the North and South. Not only of high character, but of great ability were these men. A letter written by Lewis or Blair and inserted, with a head and tail, in the New York Courier, was more effectual than $10,000 worth of the hired publicity of Biddle. Ability coupled with character made these men powers in American life for thirty years and more.

Jackson's patient forbearance with the South Carolinians about nullification, his giving the loyal people of that state time and chance to remedy conditions is spoken of as an "alarming indication of weakness." And in the biography which these criticisms introduce, Jackson is convicted of the murder of Arbutnot. Monroe and Adams acquitted Jackson; the American Congress acquitted him. Arbutnot's execution was under fire in Parliament, but the English government, under that most impudent of English statesmen, Castlereagh, acquitted Jackson. But his American biographer of 1839 condemns him. Andrew Jackson was the most American man of his time. He was a plain American. He raced horses and fought duels as did many other American and English gentlemen and statesmen of the day. He lived the fullest life of his countrymen and neighbors, as country gentleman, planter and merchant, soldier, politician and statesman, friend and fellow-citizen. In private life and public conduct he was manful and masterful. There was about him which in his lifetime and even to this day arouses, somehow, the pale animosity of colossal minds and the admiration of the average American.

Another outstanding quality of Jackson's was his intense loyalty to his friends. History has much to say of the extraordinary devotion the followers of Clay and the followers of Calhoun manifested toward those leaders, but little, if anything, of their loyalty to those supporters. But Jackson's loyalty to his associates attracts as much attention as theirs to him. It was a main characteristic.

It is the sort of men who underrate the average American that disparage Jackson. If there could be gotten together at random a hundred, or a thousand, of what they call the "better class," the "thinking men," the "leading citizens," and at the same time a hundred, or a thousand, average Americans, there would be found in the first assembly more learning, more modern ideas, more expert knowledge, but not more good sense or sound native judgment (if as much), not more practical intelligence, and certainly not as much disinterested patriotism. The academic folly of one crowd would balance the lack of academic learning in the other. There would be as many in the first gathering who were there by the luck of inheritance as there would be others in the second because fate had denied them education and opportunity.

Jackson and Jefferson were exponents of this idea, and it was this that made them great, powerful in life and mighty living forces after death. America is great not because of the talents and virtues of what is called the upper classes, but by reason of the worth and sense of the plain American citizen.

This is the basic idea on which the Democratic Party is built, and is what makes it imperishable and indestructible.

"Old Hickory," "The Old Hero," "The Old Man," as he was called, was such a popular idol as only Washington has been in the history. In the South the "Old Horse-racer" as John Quincy Adams dubs him, was regarded with a peculiar devotion. "Bless the Lord and General Jackson!" "Thank God and General Jackson!" were uttered by thousands with no idea of anything disrespectful to the Deity in thus associating the two in grateful ejaculations.

Jackson neither bullied nor flattered Congress, but he reminded it that he had the mass of the people supporting him. Jackson's influence exerted through the people defeated the bank's influence exerted on Congress. He held that in vetoing laws he was blocking opposition to, or carrying out, the will of the people as their agent, a doctrine later emphasized by Folk. "Speak out" Jackson said to Blair, "and tell the people Congress is engaged in President-making instead of supporting me and my measures."

There is no telling how greatly the history of this country has been affected by Jackson's breach with Calhoun. Believing him a staunch friend, Jackson's toast once had been—"John Calhoun. An honest man's the noblest work of God." Learning, accidentally in 1830, that Calhoun had been one of his severest critics when he was under Congressional fire, Jackson broke with him and cleaned his cabinet of Calhoun men. This, together with nullification, which soon after developed, put Calhoun out of the party and practically out of the Union politically. He became more of an ambassador from South Carolina than a Senator of the United States.

The cabinet dissolution was effected most diplomatically. His
intimates, Van Buren and Eaton, resigned and Jackson wrote to
the other members intimating that their remaining would create
an unjust impression. Their and his letters are courteous, but
with touches of satire. Jackson gave each a testimonial, worded
identically, for integrity, zeal and ability in office. This was
the first cabinet dissolution in the middle of a term and created a
sensation. The break up, which Clay termed "a cleaning of
the Augean stable," inspired the opposition with great hopes.
But there was no dissolution of the Kitchen Cabinet.

The new cabinet was composed of Livingston, State; McLane,
Treasury; Woodbury, Navy; Lewis Cass, War; Taft, Attorney-
General. Jackson wanted Hugh L. White to take the War port-
folio so Eaton could continue administration, but despite the urgings
of Polk, Grundy and other Tennesseans, White would not accept.
Isaac Hill, whose appointment as Comptroller the Senate
had rejected, was sent by New Hampshire to succeed Wood-
bury among his rejections.

The movement to reflect Jackson began in 1830 with an
announcement in the New York Courier, and the legislatures
of New York and Pennsylvania immediately endorsed his
candidacy.

The Republicans of the New Hampshire legislature, about
18, in number, in 1831 issued an address approving the Jackson
administration, the Maysville road veto, condemning nullification
and Clay's American System, approving a reduction of duties and
disapproving the bank, and suggested a convention of Republicans
friendly to Jackson to meet in Baltimore in May, 1832, to
nominate a candidate for Vice-President and take other mea-
sures to reflect Jackson, the delegates to equal the number of
electors in each state.

Major Lewis, Amos Kendall, Blair and Isaac Hill were the
instigators of this call, though Van Buren may have been the
father of the idea.

The Baltimore convention met as scheduled May 21, with 344
delegates representing 23 states, with only 283 votes, however,
according to the plan of representation. New Jersey with 8 votes
had 53 delegates present; in allowing all these to cast the state's
votes was the germ of the unit rule.

General Roulon Saunders, chairman of the committee on
rules, reported the two-thirds rule as follows: "That two-thirds
of the whole number of votes given be required for a nomination
and all questions connected therewith." It has been reported
that Mr. Sumner, a delegate from New Hampshire, proposed the

JACKSON THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRAT 169

rule in committee, and that it was a part of the original plan
agreed on by the originators of the convention when Calhoun
was still a formidable contender for second place, and was cabled
to after the 'danger was past. This is consistent with the far-
sightedness attributed to Lewis, Blair and Kendall. The main
reason assigned in the convention for the rule was that such a
nomination would carry more moral weight. Another argument
was that the rule would curb the strength in convention of non-
Democratic states.

Van Buren was nominated on the first ballot, 208 against 49
for Phillip Barbour of Virginia, and R. M. Johnson 26. A com-
mittee of one from each state was named to draft an address, but
seemed ever to have functioned. A general committee on cor-
respondence, of one from each state was provided. The platform
was contained in the only resolution adopted.

"The convention reposes the highest confidence in the purity,
patriotism and talents of Andrew Jackson, and most cordially
concurs in the repeated nominations which he has received in
various parts of the Union as a candidate for re-election to the
office he now fills with so much honor to himself and usefulness
to his country."

Henry Clay had been unanimously nominated, with John
Sergeant as his running mate, in December, 1831, at a convention
of the National Republicans held in Baltimore, and an address
was issued eulogizing the bank and denouncing Jackson's attack
on it. This address or platform said, "If the President be
reflected it may be considered certain that the bank will be
abolished." Sergeant's nomination was a bid for the vote of
Pennsylvania, always a Jackson stronghold. At a ratification
meeting held by National Republicans in Washington in May,
1832, protection was declared indispensable, internal improve-
ments highly endorsed, and the spoils system denounced.

The party line-up in the campaign was the Jacksonian
Democracy, reinforced by some converted Federalists and anti-
bank men, against the Clay Whigs (to use a term not yet in use),
the Webster Federalists, the disgruntled Southerners, the Calhoun
Democracy and the bank men. Duff Green wanted Calhoun
to run in the hope of his carrying enough Southern states to throw
the election into the House.

Every policy, every measure and every act of the administra-
tion was attacked, more especially the veto of the bank bill. The
bank's destruction would ruin all business, the tariff reduction
ruin all the manufacturers and the rejection of internal improvements ruin the West—so said the National Republicans. Jackson ran on his record, including his military record. The nullification question was hanging in mid-air. The bargain and corruption cry was again raised against Clay; his changes on various questions, his compromises, were contrasted to the inflexible course of Jackson. But the bank was easily the paramount issue.

The situation was complicated by the Anti-Masonic Party whose candidates were William Wirt and Amos Ellmaker of Pennsylvania. John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush, the National Republican candidates in 1828, were supporters of this party. Adams was under consideration as its candidate and was believed to be willing; he had said that the dissolution of Masonry was more important than the election of Jackson or Clay. In 1828 the Anti-Masons had polled 33,000 votes in the New York governor's race, 70,000 in 1829 and 128,000 a year later. William H. Seward, Thurlow Weed, and others were members and active in the party, which fought the Albany Regency. The party was strong also in Pennsylvania, where Thaddeus Stevens was one of its leaders, and in Massachusetts and Vermont. The Anti-Masons hurt Clay much more than they did Jackson, though their opposition to Jackson was far more pronounced. Jackson pronounced Masonry an institution calculated to benefit mankind; Clay insisted that it was not a political question at all. The Calhoun party supported Wirt in preference to either of the two main candidates. In this campaign the administration of the government by parties was established as an American doctrine, and the electors pledged to support their tickets.

In New York, Tammany and the Regency fought for Jackson, aided by other friends of the administration. Tammany debtors of the bank were dragged into opposing the bank, but this was offset by the influence of local banks for Jackson. But Van Buren won New York and Jackson's popularity carried Pennsylvania. Clay's flirtation with the East hurt him in the West, while his "American" policy killed him in the South. The Democrats won 119 electoral votes against 49 for Clay, South Carolina's 11 for Floyd, and Vermont's 7 for Wirt. Clay carried Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware and Kentucky and received 5 of Maryland's 10. Van Buren fell behind Jackson by losing Pennsylvania's 30 votes. All electors were chosen by the people except in South Carolina where the selection still lay with the legislature.

The popular vote was Jackson, 707,217; Clay, 328,561; Wirt, 264,720. Alabama gave Jackson an unanimous vote, there being only one ticket in the field there. The fusion of the National Republicans and Anti-Masons in New York failed to defeat Marcy for Governor. The Anti-Masons figured no more as a national party. William H. Seward thought its main effect was to drive many National Republicans in dread and disgust into the Democratic ranks.

The result of the elections was known about the middle of November and on the 19th of that month the South Carolina Nullification Convention met.

The Congresses of Jackson's time, the Twenty-first, Twenty-second, Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth, were notable bodies of men. Half of their members were distinguished enough to have their names handed down in our histories. Calhoun, Clay and Webster overshadowed their colleagues in parliamentary renown, but others reached the highest place, which they did not. It took courage to wield the big stick over such men. Van Buren presiding over the Senate, suave and impartial, making no enemies, increasing no enmities, each day strengthened his position as Jackson's heir and successor.

In the same chamber John Tyler, strict construction, antitax, states rights Democrat, but anti-Jackson, acting under Virginia's instructions was opposing with sacerdotal pleasure Jackson's removal of deposits, resigning rather than obey an disregard later instruction to support the expunging resolutions, and somehow winning the nomination for Vice-President on the losing, bolted Democratic ticket in 1836, and the same position on the winning Whig ticket of 1840, thereby attaining the Presidency.

James Buchanan, presenting petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia, at the same time assuring the South that he did not endorse their request, and declaring that Congress had no power to legislate on slavery, supporting Jackson's measures, advocating the admission of Arkansas, and defending the petition privilege of settlers was sowing seed which made him the "Harmony" candidate in 1856.

In the House, James K. Polk, straight Jacksonian Democrat, was bold and active against the Adams administration, and very efficient. He was Speaker of the House in 1835 and 1837. His
party services in Congress and his strong pro-slavery stand were to gain him the Presidency eight years later.

Franklin Pierce, opposing internal improvements and high tariffs and all anti-slavery measures, was making himself that darling of the political gods of the second quarter of the 19th century, a "Northern man of Southern principles," to be crowned as Chief Executive in 1852.

Millard Fillmore, first an anti-Jackson Republican, later a strict Whig, was manfully advocating internal improvements and a high tariff. He built up a strong and solid reputation which in 1848 placed him on the Whig ticket with Zachary Taylor, a "Southern man of Northern principles," he supplying all the Whiggism of the combination, and by Taylor's death becoming, the only Whig President, except Harrison's thirty days, our country has had.

Jackson was not far wrong when he accused Congress of President-making; here were six Presidents in the making.

There were nineteen cabinet changes under Jackson. Of all his advisers Van Buren, Livingston, Taney and Cass only became large national figures. Jackson was wont, not disrespectfully, to refer to cabinet members as his secretaries; he was criticized by his Senatorial enemies for speaking of "my cabinet." He looked upon himself as being responsible for the administration and as absolute commander-in-chief; he believed in the "single executive" theory. As for the Kitchen Cabinet, Jackson decided, Kendall and Blair elaborated and published, and all team-worked effectively.

The chronic folly of Jackson's chief opponents was that they could not oppose Jackson, or discuss anything emanating from him, calmly and reasonably, but grew extravagant, even hysterical. Everything he proposed or did was criminally wrong and unconstitutional. The result soon came to be that their accusations were taken by the people as mere politics and nothing more. Adams, bitter as they, was more just. He saw his cherished policies for making his country great and prosperous "undisguisedly abandoned by Clay, ingloriously deserted by Calhoun and silently given up by Webster." He was an antithesis of Jackson, yet often supported and defended him. First on the roll-call of the House, for fifteen years his vote was ever an example of honesty and courage—and sometimes prejudice.

Jackson had but little Latin but he knew how to apply what he possessed. In the midst of the nullification trouble he was given an honorary degree by a university. Part of the ceremony was a Latin oration by a graduate student. When Jackson was acknowledging the honor conferred some rude Democrat in the audience shouted—"Give them some Latin, General!" Instantly came the response—"E pluribus unum, sine quo non."

The Missouri Compromise was in full force and Jackson's policy on the slavery question was against agitation. The admission of Arkansas, slave, and Michigan a free state, kept the balance even. Jackson recommended laws to prevent incendiary anti-slavery propaganda being sent through the mails.

Congress appropriated $500,000 and the administration purchased Indian Territory, now the State of Oklahoma; but 17,000,000 acres were traded to the Indians for 3,000,000 acres east of the Mississippi.

Vetoing by pocket veto a bill distributing among the states the surplus in the Treasury, Jackson later signed the bill making a similar distribution under guise of a loan to the states. This is said to be the only official act Jackson ever openly regretted.

During his last years, it is told, he once mentioned to his pastor that he still cherished one great regret in life. The minister, thinking he meant the killing of Dickinson in their duel or some similar deed, asked what it was—"That I did not hang Calhoun."

The annexation of Texas appealed dimly over the horizon during the latter part of Jackson's administration. He advised his old friend Sam Houston to immigrate there, doubtless with an eye to future developments. Texas, rapidly filling up with Americans, declared her independence and established a provisional government. Congress refused to recognize Texas' independence, but resolved that her independence should be recognized as soon as a stable government was established. The North opposed, the South advocated recognition, which was known to be a preliminary to annexation, both sections having politically legitimate, but selfish reason. In the closing hours of Congress an appropriation for a diplomatic representative to Texas was inserted in the civil list, and before the Senate could adjourn Jackson named a Minister and the Senate confirmed him.

In 1835 on the portico of the capitol an attempt to assassinate Jackson was made. The pistol missed fire, the old soldier stepped forward with uplifted cane as the assailant's weapon missed fire again. The would-be assassin was a demoted foreigner out of money and work, inflamed by the abuse his enemies had heaped upon the President.

About the very last official act of Jackson was his pocket veto of the act re-creating his Specie Circular. The wild speculation
of the preceding two years, especially in the purchase of public lands, had induced Jackson, in order to protect the government, to issue orders that only specie be received in payment for lands purchased. A howl of protest arose so strong that Congress heeded it, but the bill was passed less than ten days before adjournment and Jackson pocketed it.

Jackson hated compromise; while Clay was the master compromiser of all our statesmen, Jackson, the strongest constitutionalist the country has produced, fought Jackson on constitutional matters; Calhoun ranks at the head of American political logicians and Jackson was called illetitera. Yet Jackson's policies still survive while Clay's adjustments have all disappeared, none of Jackson's main measures have been declared unconstitutional, but it took a civil war to establish some of Webster's fundamentals; Calhoun is now a mere tradition while Jackson is a living force.

Jackson led the people of the United States to direct popular control of their government. He awakened them to their power, appealed to their will to power, and showed them that the machinery of politics was theirs if they would operate it. The lesson has never been lost, though sometimes neglected.

Another Jacksonian exaggeration is the tradition of his uncouth costume and manners. When he came first to Congress in Washington's time he was unpollished. Doubtless, like more than one fairly recent representative from the West when the West was raw and new who at first scorned dress suits and other affects, Jackson prided himself in adhering to local dress, customs and manners. Doubtless, too, his political publicity men long afterward presented him in an aspect calculated to catch the new country vote, the farmer vote, just as Coolidge was pictured in 1924 in overalls loading hay. But in this as in all other respects, Jackson grew, developed and improved.

In 1824 John Quincy Adams wanted Jackson for Vice-President with him because he "would restore dignity to that office." Adams himself was trained in foreign courts, used to refined manners and customs all his days; Clay's manners were notably gaudy and attritious; Crawford was magnificent in appearance and demeanor. Yet Webster and Mrs. Webster too, in 1824, thought Jackson's "grave, mild and reserved manners more Presidential than those of any of the other candidates." Cultivated travelers from other countries were impressed by his dignity and courtesy. It was the half-baked parvenu, ignorant of the virtue of simplicity, who called him a bore.

JACKSON THE PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRAT

He set a great precedent, which all his successors have endeavored to live up to, when he said to Congress:

"The President is the direct representative of the American people; he possesses original executive powers, and absorbs in himself all executive functions and responsibilities; and it is his especial duty to protect the liberties and rights of the people and the integrity of the Constitution against the Senate, or the House of Representatives, or both together."

Jackson's dominant personality ruled his party during his administration and until his death. His principles and policies were as pronounced as his personality. His story is the story of the administration of his party. Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln alone, of our long dead Presidents, are as alive to-day in men's minds as Jackson. He had heroic qualities of mind and heart, and fighting ability. Lewis, Blair, Kendall and Van Buren may have been his trainers, but his own head, hands and heart won his battles. They may have given him method and technique, taught him some art and science in politics, but he was no product of other men's minds, nor the instrument of other men's hands.

Jackson brought Jefferson's party a long stride forward, modified it, adapted it to new conditions. Jefferson's government was of and for the people by—not the select few of the Federalist, but the qualified many—a restricted electorate; Jackson's government, so far as he could make it, was of, for and by the whole people. Jefferson was willing to trust the people in the long run; Jackson was willing to trust them forthwith and immediately. Like Jefferson he believed newspapers powerful instruments in politics and governments. No President has used them more.

Jefferson believed in a due participation in office by the two parties; Jackson believed in a due participation in office by all the citizens. When he came into the Presidency the government in its smaller administrative, office-holding, salary-drawing features was one of, for and by a bureaucracy. He ended that, and has been abused as a spoiler ever since.

It will be said that Jackson's coercion of South Carolina was diametrically opposed to Jefferson's theories of our federal government. So was Jefferson's acquisition of Louisiana. It was a different Union in 1832 from that of 1800. Time had changed the fundamental conditions, demonstrated the wisdom and safety of a strong Union. The words of the Constitution and their
CHAPTER XIII

VAN BUREN, STATESMAN AND POLITICAL STRATEGIST
1837-1841


Martin Van Buren was in many respects the antithesis of his predecessor and sponsor. His views and general principles, his political tenets and policies closely approximated Jackson's. But whereas Jackson was gaunt he was rounded; Jackson rugged, he smooth; Jackson vehement, he diplomatic; Jackson raw, he done to a turn. Jackson had no more the courage of his convictions, but Van Buren had a keener appreciation of opposing opinions, and a disposition to outflank rather than run over, to convince rather than demolish, his opponents. Jackson's natural qualities were toned down and held in restraint; Van Buren's natural talents were carefully built up and added to, and trained. The two acting together on sound principles were invincible; Jackson made Van Buren President; Van Buren helped to make Jackson a great President—and Jackson never failed to feel the obligation.

Born at Kinderhook, New York, in December, 1782, the son of a small farmer, an innkeeper some say, little is known of Martin Van Buren's early days. The curse of politics still pursue him in that practically all writings about him begin with, and are restricted to, his political career. He must have had some good schooling for he knew a little Latin and all his letters, speeches and papers betoken more than average culture, though his campaign biographer in 1835 rather stresses his humble beginnings. He studied law under W. P. Van Ness, a leading attorney in New York, and was himself a lawyer of unusual ability and success.

Delegate to a Republican (Democratic) convention at eighteen, in 1808 he was Surrogate of Columbia County, and in 1812 State Senator. From 1815 to 1819 he filled the office of Attorney General of the state, being State Senator part of the time, and