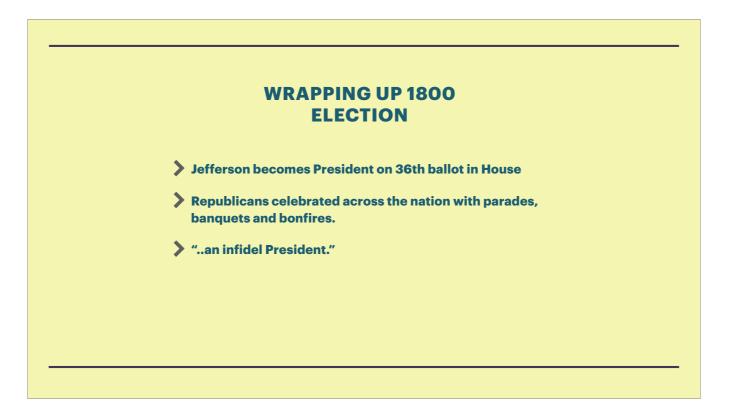
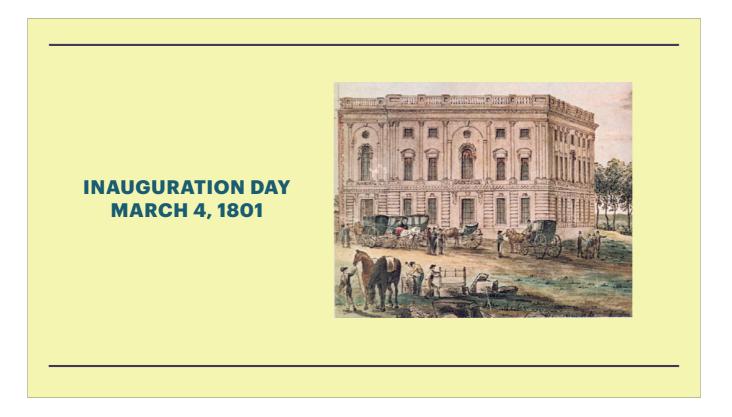


# **1800 CONCLUSION**



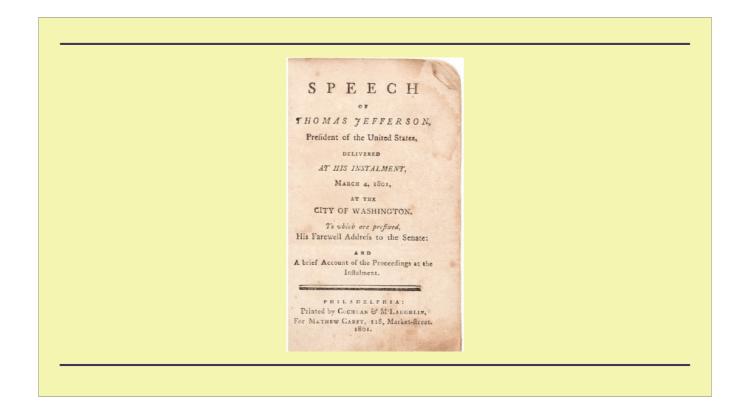
16 months after the first ballots had been cast, the election had been decided.

Not all rejoiced. Abigail Adams in Boston heard the bells of Christ Church ringing in celebration. She remarked how "inconsistent" this was, "the bells of the church ringing for an infidel president."



Anti-climactic Day given the drama. Inauguration Day March Adams left Washington to catch a 4 am stagecoach to Baltimore, the first leg of his journey home. He did not wait for Jefferson's inauguration.

Jefferson simply walked the few blocks from his boarding house to the Senate, where he was sworn in by Justice John Marshall.



Jefferson's inaugural spoke of moderation. "Let us restore that harmony and affection, without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things." And, a foreshadowing of Obama's famous 2004 speech about no red states and blue states, just the United States, Jefferson said: "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

When it was over, he simply walked back to his hotel. Returning late for dinner, Jefferson took one of the only remaining seats at the far end of the table. Given the occasion, someone offered him a better seat near the fireplace. Staying true to his egalitarian principles, Jefferson refused.



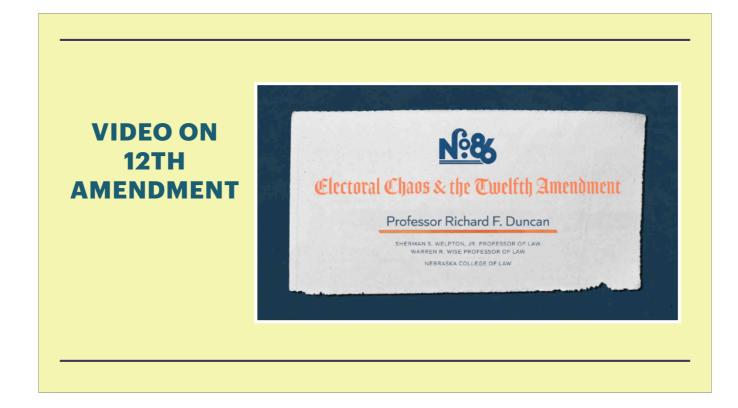
Each elector had two votes, to be counted equally

1796: Too many of Adam's electors failed to vote for his preferred VP candidate, allowing Jefferson to finish 2nd.

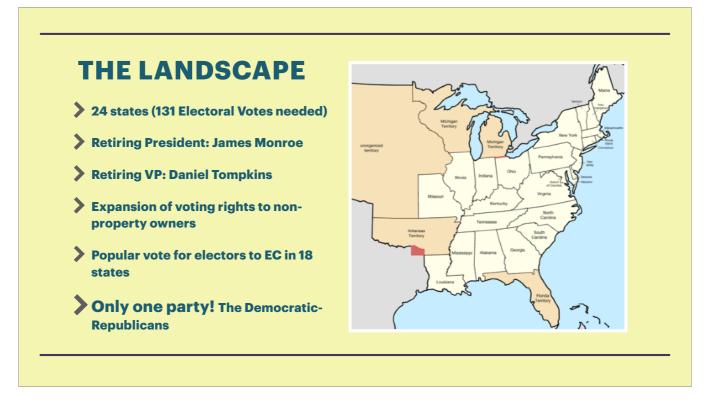
1800: Jefferson's electors failed to coordinate. It was necessary for one elector to not vote for Burr, but all did. In an era when communication was slow and uncertain, and party discipline lax, no one knew if such a strategy was in place. And so none of Jefferson's electors was willing to be the one. So they all voted for Burr as their second vote, and we wind up with a 73-73 tie.

And so it was clear that the Electoral College could not work as written. The system of allowing each elector two unspecified votes was causing chaos.

And so, the congress fixed it with the 12 amendment passed in 1804, just before the next election.







In 1824, Monroe had served two terms and would not run again. He had identified no clear successor (his Vice-President, Daniel Tompkins of New York, was an insolvent alcoholic).

Ohio for example gave the vote to all white males over 21. Typically, voting was now by secret ballot, with ballots deposited in special locked boxes, and people voted at a central place in each of the rapidly multiplying townships.

18 states allowed election of electors to the EC by popular vote; in 6 states the electors were chosen by the state legislature

This party is not to be confused with today's Republican or Democratic Party. It is most often referred to as the Democratic-Republican.



The Federalists had avored a strong national government, feared mob rule, thought an educated elite should represent the general populace in national governance and favored national power over state power. The Federalists were dominated by businessmen and merchants in the major cities who supported a strong national government. The party was closely linked to George Washington, and the strong national financial policies of Alexander Hamilton. Federalists stronghold was New England.

But by 1804, Washington and Hamilton are dead, and Jeffersonians win two elections in a row, the second a landslide for Jefferson. Jefferson won most of New England, the heart of the Federalist Party.

Federalist stance on slavery eliminated any support from south, and their opposition to War of 1812, which ended with highly popular victory over British in 1814, proved very unpopular.

As time went on, the Federalists lost appeal with the average voter and were generally not equal to the tasks of party organization; hence they grew steadily weaker as the political triumphs of the Jeffersonians grew. Madison and Monroe were popular presidents. Monroe in his two terms also favored the end of the two party system, and sought to welcome Federalists into the fold, and co-opted some of the Federalist positions.

Last Federalist presidential candidate was in 1816, didn't even field a candidate in 1820. By 1824, Federalists only had 5 senators of 48 and only 24 representatives out of 213.

Democratic Republican Party (the Jefferson party) had won 6 consecutive presidential elections from 1800-1820, and in 1820 election the Federalists failed to nominate a national candidate. Monroe ran for his second term unopposed.

By 1824, there was no functioning second party, and so all ran as Republicans.

### **1824 ELECTION TIMETABLE**

- **>** Congressional Nominating Caucus: Feb 14, 1824
- **State Elections for Electoral College: October 26 December 2, 1824**
- **Counting of Electoral Votes in House of Representatives: February 9, 1825**

### **NOMINATIONS: THE CAUCUS**

- **Party Caucuses of congressional delegations nominate candidates**
- **With demise of Federalists, caucus winner of Dem-Rep became president.**
- Became known as "King Caucus"
- February 1824— Dem-Rep held caucus but only 25% attended; William Crawford of Georgia nominated, but soon contested by state legislatures which nominated other candidates

Congressional caucuses had been used to designate candidates.

But with only one party....

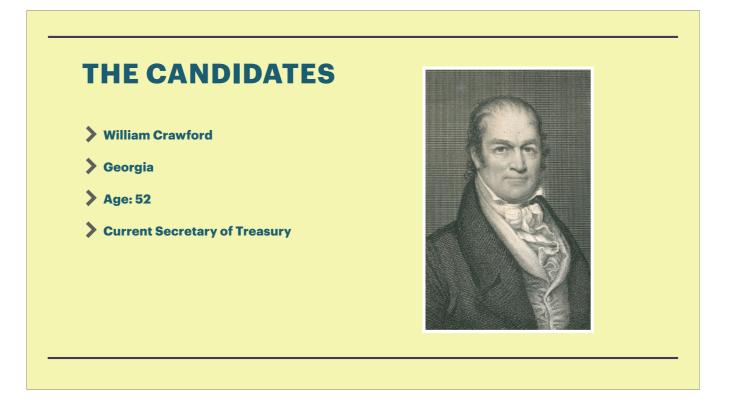
By 1824, many assailed King Caucus as a vast conspiracy against the sovereignty of the people. A prominent Clay supporter declared that "he would rather learn that the halls of Congress were converted into common brothels" than to see King Caucus convene within them. The "period has surely arrived," a Pennsylvania political leader declared, "when a president should be elected from the ranks of the people."

All of this persuaded the great majority of congressmen to steer clear of the caucus. When it eventually met to nominate William Crawford, only 66 of 216 eligible members attended.

Four eminent national figures – General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, and Henry Clay of Kentucky and Daniel Calhoun of South Carolina intended to run regardless of what the caucus did, and their supporters assailed King Caucus as a vast conspiracy against the sovereignty of the people. Publisher Hezekiah Niles of Maryland, a Clay man, declared that "he would rather learn that the halls of Congress were converted into common brothels" than to see King Caucus convene within them. Not surprisingly, the most intense attacks on King Caucus came from Jackson supporters, who began to organize popular local "conventions" for Old Hickory. The "period has surely arrived," a Harrisburg, Pennsylvania convention declared, "when a president should be elected from the ranks of the people," a president like Jackson, who came "pure, untrammeled, and unpledged, from the bosom of the people." After Crawford had been nominated by the Congressional delegation, the Baltimore Morning Chronicle derided the action:

Speaking of the nomination, the paper wrote, "The poor little political bird of ominous note and plumage, was hatched at Washington on Saturday last. It is now running around like a pullet, in a forlorn and sickly state. Reader, have you ever seen a chicken directly after it was hatched, creeping about with a bit of egg shell sticking to its back? The sickly thing is to be fed, cherished, and pampered crying the name of 'Crawford, Crawford, Crawford.'"

Not clear that there was any benefit to receiving its nomination, and other states quickly came forward, nominating their favorite sons. Let's look at the candidates.



Crawford was the first Georgian to run for president, and the only Georgian prior to Jimmy Carter.

Crawford was born in 1772, in Virginia. The family moved to Georgia, in 1783. After several years of teaching and farming, he studied law privately, was admitted to the bar, and began practice in 1799.

Crawford enjoyed the life of a country gentleman, by 1834 he owned 1,300 acres and 45 enslaved people.

In 1803 Crawford was elected to the state House of Representatives and allied himself with fellow plantation owners Their powerful enemies supported small farmers and frontier settlers, and Crawford was eventually involved in two duels as a result of this rivalry.

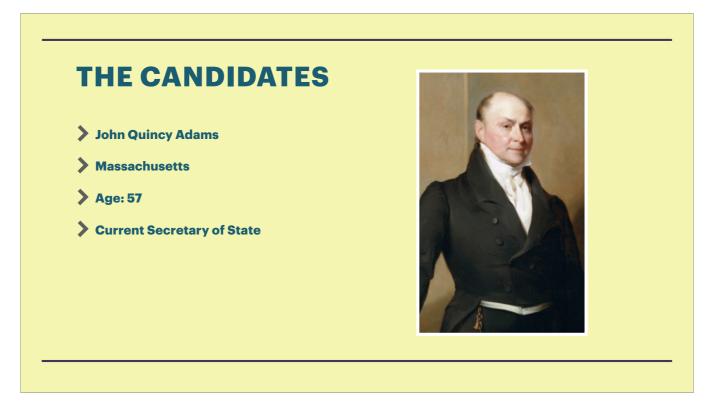
In 1802, Crawford killed his dueling opponent. Four years later Crawford himself was wounded in another duel. Two duels in four years reflected the standards of politics and society in Georgia at that time. T h e man who would not defend his "sacred honor" with his life could not command the respect and esteem of his fellows. Crawford could live with this: he was part and parcel of the frontier and was known from his early years as self-reliant, forthright, and outspoken, though affable and good- natured. He later came to regret the duels.

The duels did not hurt his political standing. He served as Madison's minister to France and in 1815, and became secretary of the treasury in 1816.

Crawford helped to organize the treasury more efficiently and oversaw several major internal improvements, including the construction of the Cumberland Road from Virginia to the Midwest (Interstate route 70 through Ohio follows part of this).

By the early 1820s, he was considered the front runner for the nomination to replace Madison, but then came the effects of a significant illness in 1823. He may well

have suffered a stroke. For nearly eight weeks he remained in a virtually helpless condition: practically blind, hands and feet paralyzed, with slurred speech. He was bled more than twenty times. including applications of leeches. He conducted treasury business with the aid of his daughter and clerk. It was odd that the caucus actually nominated him, but don't forget that in this time, candidates did little if any personal campaigning. He recovered slowly, but was in poor health for most of the 1824 campaign.

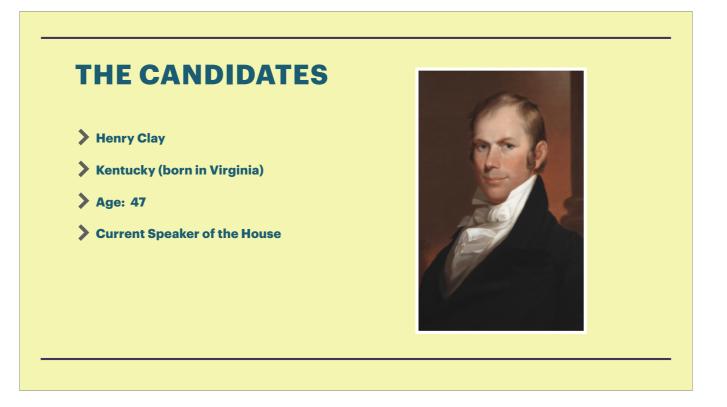


Obviously not first from Massachusetts, his father was first, and JFK.

Best qualified candidate, He crossed the Atlantic with his famous father in 1778, on a diplomatic mission, when he was only 10 years old. He graduated from Harvard in 1787 and just seven years later, in 1794, President Washington appointed him the American minister to the Netherlands at age 26 years.

He also served as ambassador to Russia, and Madison nominated him to Supreme Court in 1811, and he was confirmed, but declined the seat, preferring politics and diplomacy. He was part of delegation to negotiate end of War of 1812, and in 1815, Madison named him US ambassador to Britain. He was named Secretary of State in 1817 and served all of Madison's presidency. He helped formulate the Monroe Doctrine in 1823

Three previous Sec of State had become President, and Adams was considered a prime presidential contender in 1824. He lacked charisma, almost all considered him stubborn, aloof, but he as well known and was leading candidate from the Northeast.



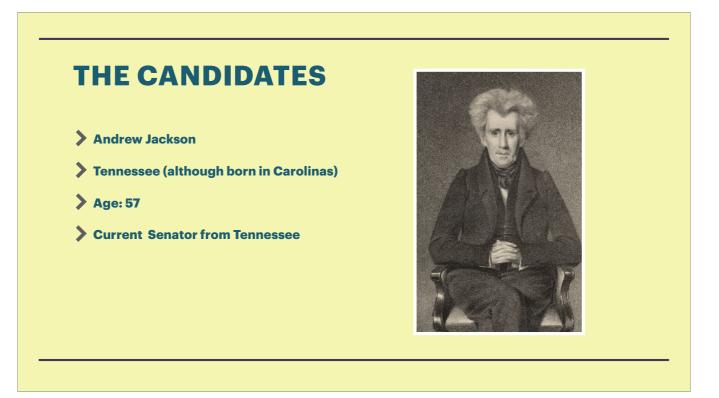
First Kentuckian to run for President: Trivia: 2 Kentucky Presidents: Lincoln and Zachary Taylor

Born 1777 in Virginia, born to a Baptist minister; he became a slave holder at age of 4 when his father died and left him two slaves. He also left his wife 18 slaves and 450 acres of land, so Clay came from plantation culture.

Clay moved to Kentucky around 1800 and established a 500 acre plantation near Lexington, having 122 enslaved people during his lifetime. He also was involved in thoroughbred racing. Clay served in Ky legislature where, despite his fine upbringing, he introduced a resolution to require legislators to wear homespun suits rather than those made of imported British broadcloth.

An aristocratic lawyer named Marshall scoffed at this, a rivalry developed, and in early 1809, Clay challenged Marshall to a duel, which took place on January 19. They each had three turns to shoot; both were hit by bullets, but both survived. Clay quickly recovered from his injury and received only a minor censure from the Kentucky legislature.

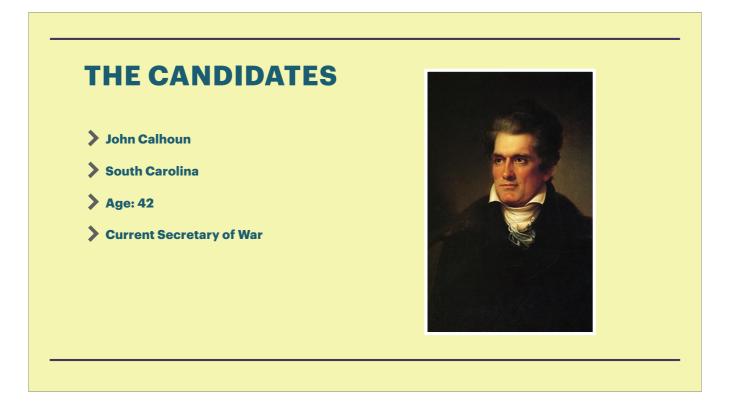
Between 1810 and 1824, Clay was elected to 7 terms in the US house of Representatives, and six times was named speaker of the house. He advocated for the American System, which supported a national bank, tarrifs, and major internal improvements. Clay hoped to become Sec of State when Monroe was elected, but it went to Adams. Clay campaigned on his American System platform and was seen as strongest in the west.



Born in Carolinas but ran from Tennessee. First Tennessean to run. Trivia: 3 Tennessee Presidents: Jackson, Polk and Andrew Johnson

b. 1767 in the Carolinas to Scots-Irish colonists, parents hated the British. His father died in accident before Andrew was born. Fought in Revolutionary war as a teenager. Andrew and his brother caught smallpox in prisoner of war camp, and his brother died. His Mother contracted cholera while nursing soldiers and died. Andrew was an orphan at 14.

Jackson became a lawyer and moved to Tennessee, where he acquired former Indian land. He also was a slave trader and by early 1800s owned the 500 acre Hermitage near Nashville. He became involved with Rachel (who was separated but still married) and married her. But he had two duels with political opponents who slandered his wife. In the second duel, Jackson was hit in the breastbone but survived and killed his opponent with a return shot. In war of 1812, won a decisive battle against British Forces at New Orleans, that made him a national hero. He battled the Spanish in Florida and also continued to remove Native Americans from the area. He was popular war hero, a controversial figure in some circles, and seen as an outsider who would fight entrenched interests, a frontier military hero riding a wave of populism

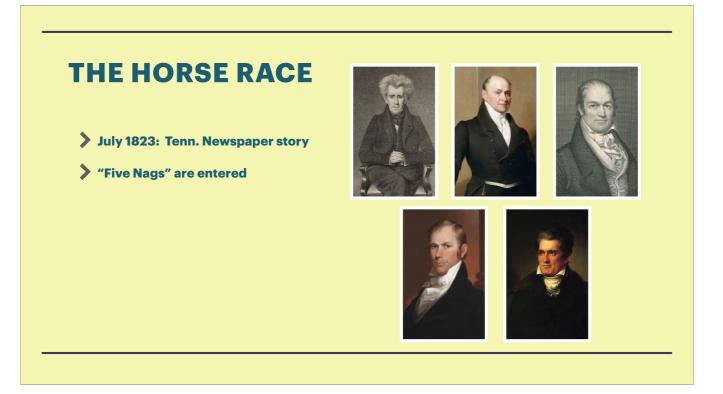


b. 1782 in South Carolina; father a surveyor, farmer, plantation owner and member of state legislature. John graduated from Yale and was admitted to bar in 1807. He married his first cousin (once removed) in 1811, a member of Charleston high society, they had 10 children.

He was described as intensely serious and severe, "he could never write a love poem because every line would begin with 'whereas...'" However known as elegant speaker. No man was more stately, more reserved."

First elected to congress in 1810, became Secretary of War under James Monroe from 1817 to 1824.

As an aside, after his death, in 1850, his South Carolina plantation eventually became the site of Clemson University.



Jackson: Famous for his splendid victory on the Orleans turf; came upon the grounds full and rough, exceedingly spirited" all references to Jackson's military and frontier background.

Adams: an obese, stout animal, much given to bolting. Trained in Europe, but the expenses attending the outfits always amounted to more than the winnings." A dig at Adams aristocratic, aloof, ways.

Crawford: The favorite, a tall majestic figure with wonderful bone, muscle and sinew, indicative of great strength and activity." Crawford's support was seen as widespread and he had few drawbacks (this written before his illness)

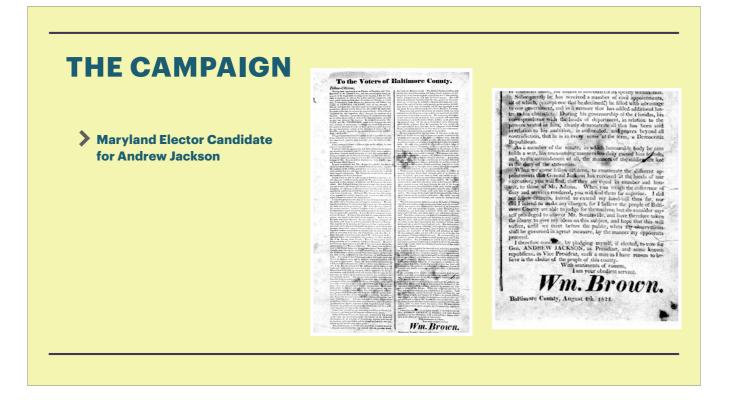
Clay: "an airy, supple-jointed fellow of bright and cheerful countenance" "prince Hal" was the most affable, and the favorite in the growing and increasingly influential West

Calhoun: "a mere colt, scarcely bridle-wise" not as well known nationally, did not have the bases of support the other candidates had and was clearly the long-shot in the field.

And in fact, Calhoun dropped out early and announced his interest in the Vice Presidency. He was only serious VP candidate and won VP easily. Whoever won, would have him as VP.



4 remaining candidates were not so much divided by policy matters as they were by regions.



Still the custom of candidates standing "mute" allowing others to speak for them. But without a central party to back them, many of the candidates became more active personally, engaged more than candidates had in the past, and beginning a trend.

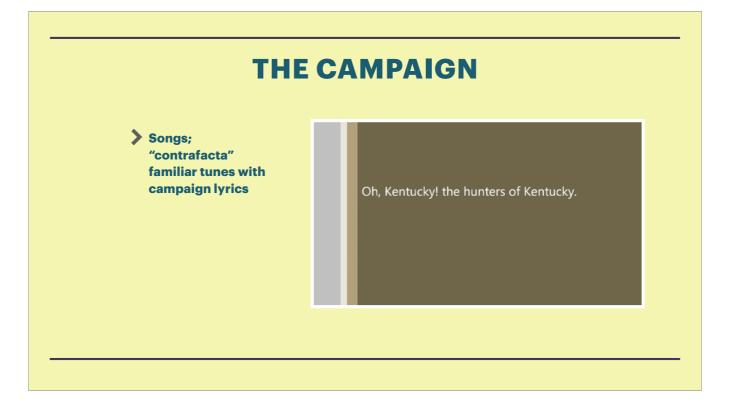
However, political ads or posts in the newspapers were done by local supporters. Here is an example from Maryland. a long screed supporting Jackson.

It concludes "therefore I conclude by pledging myself to vote for Gen. Andrew Jackson, and some known Republican as Vice President....August 4, 1824

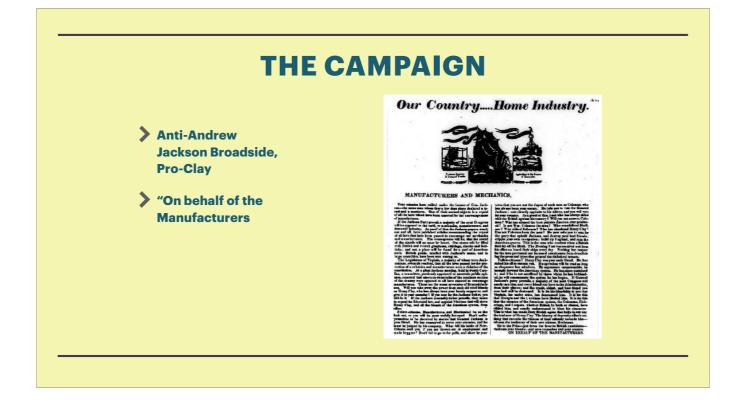
# **THE CAMPAIGN**

Pro-Jackson cartoon, picturing snarling dogs as his enemies

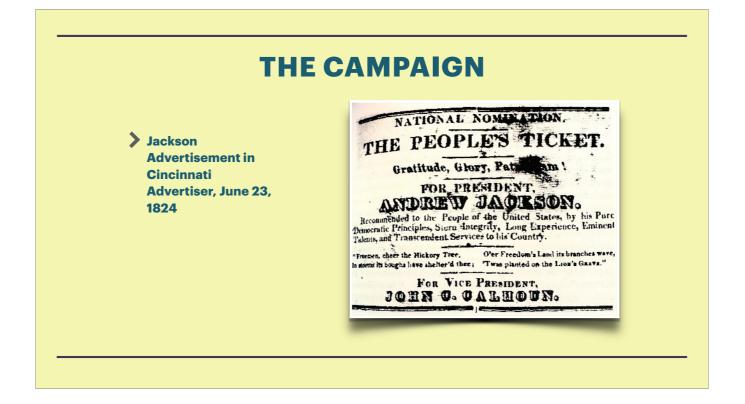




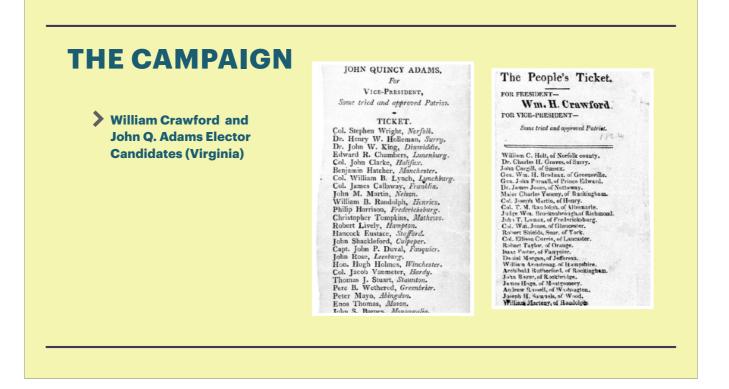
This song which in its original lyrics, celebrates the "hunters of Kentucky," was re-written to celebrate Andrew Jackson's most significant battle when he decisively defeated the British forces at New Orleans. British were led by a General Packenham, and he is referenced in the lyric. This resounding victory made him a national hero and symbol of frontier fighters and earned him the nickname "Old Hickory." It reinforced his image as a man of the people in contrast to his rival, a privileged member of the political establishment.



Don't suffer yourselves to be deceived by stories that Gen. Jackson is your friend... If the Jackson ticket prevails...that will drive Henry Clay and all friends of the American System, from office.



"Recommended to the People of the United States by his Pure Democratic Principles, etc. etc.



Often the names of Names of Electors associated with each candidate printed in papers. Virginia chose electors in state-wide elections.

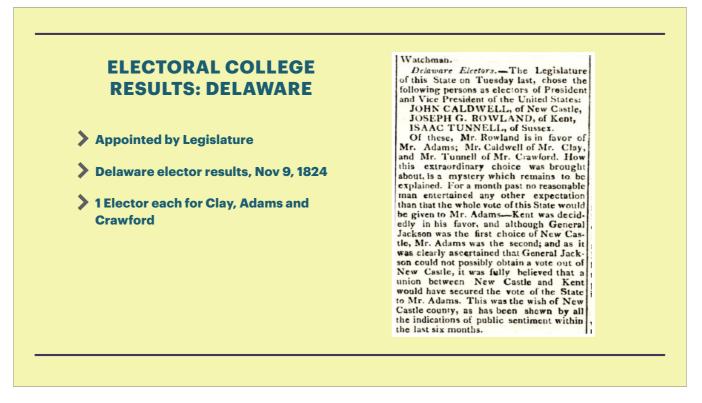
## **FOUR CANDIDATES**

#### > Oct 1824

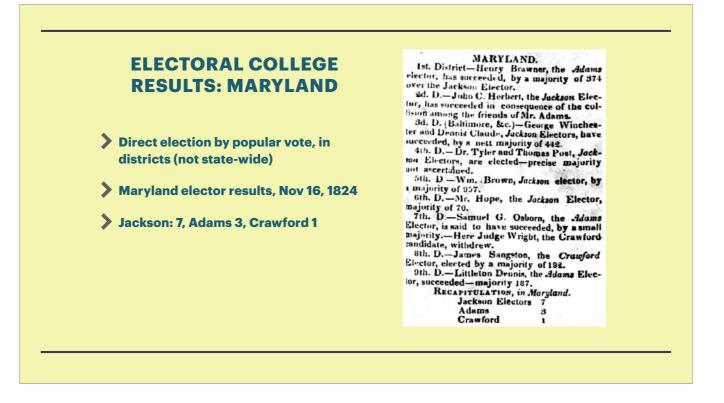
- Four in the race: Adams, Crawford, Jackson and Clay at right
- Cheering spectators, Capitol in background; Presidential chair in center
- > Westerner wears stovepipe hat and roots for "our Jackson"



By October 1824, this Cartoon showed that Clay had fallen behind the other three.



As state elections were held, results became available. Delaware from November 9, 1824.



Here for example are results of Maryland's election in November: chosen by district. Jackson won 7 districts Adams won 3, Crawford 1.



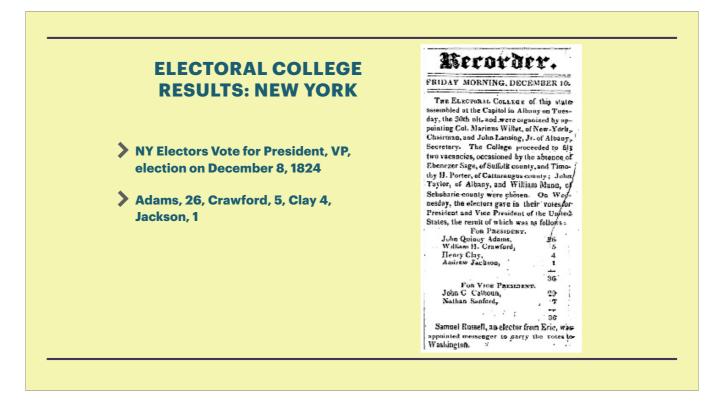
In most states there were popular elections, including Ohio.

Here are the results of the Ohio election, with counties holding votes between Oct 26 and December 2. This was a state-wide decision, with state-wide winner receiving all the electoral votes.

Ohio had 16 electoral votes. Only 3 candidates on ballot. So each ballot had 48 names.

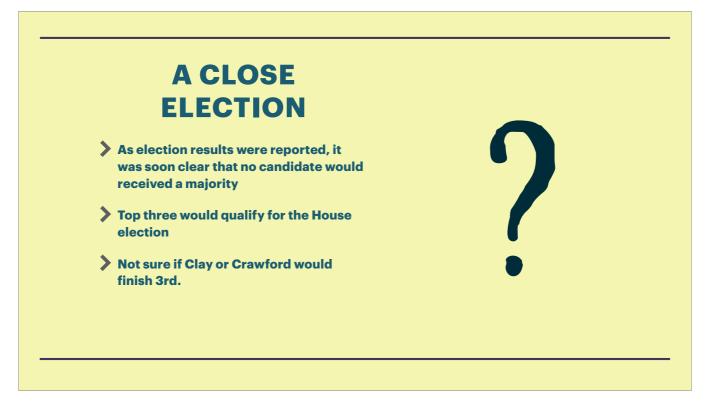
THE NATIONAL POPULAR VOTE TALLY					
	Presidential Candidate	Vice Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Popular Vote	
	John Quincy Adams	John Calhoun	Democratic-Republican	113,142	30.92%
	Andrew Jackson	John Calhoun	Democratic-Republican	151,363	41.36%
	William Crawford	Nathaniel Macon	Democratic-Republican	41,032	11.21%
	Henry Clay	Nathan Sanford	Democratic-Republican	47,545	12.99%
	Unpledged Republican	-	Republican	6,616	1.81%
	Others	-	-	6,230	1.70%
	Total			365,928	

Interesting to see national results of voting, but irrelevant, because winner was electoral college winner. (by the way this is the first election for which popular vote tallies are available.)

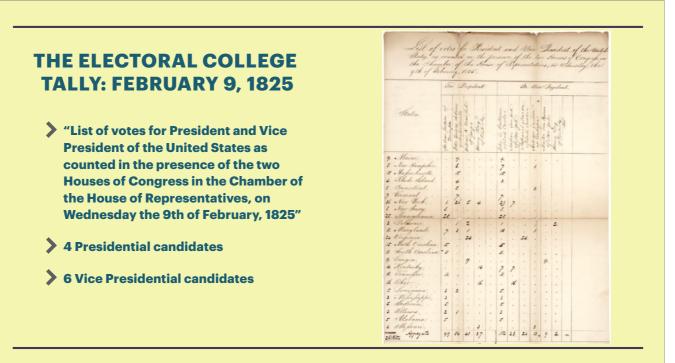


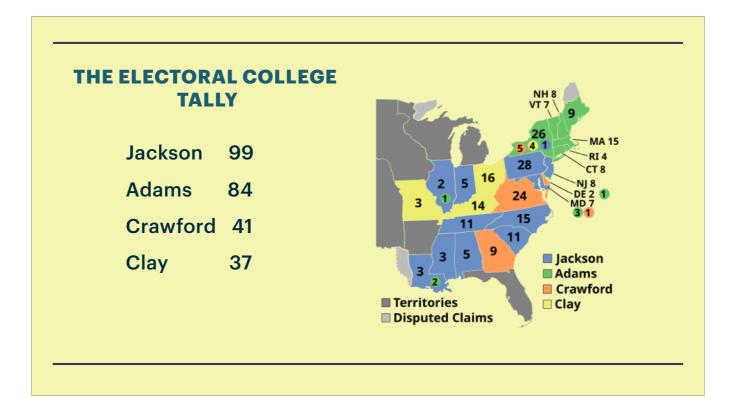
The next step was for these electors in each state to gather, on December 8, and cast their votes. Now voting twice, one vote for President and one for Vice President. Here are New York electors assembled in Albany and they voted:

These official results would now be sent to Washington, where they would all be read in the House on February 9. The last line of this story notes that "Samuel Russell, an elector from Erie County was appointed messenger to carry the votes to Washington."



The 12 amendment not only changed how the vote was held, but also limited the race to top 3 if the election had to go to the House.

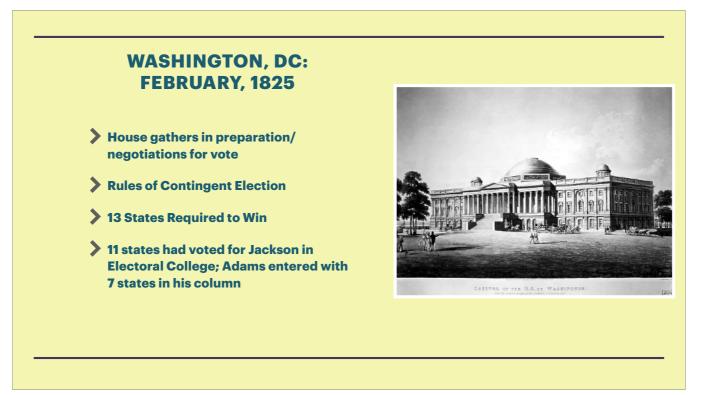




Needed 131 Electoral Votes to win. The election would no be determined by the House, and the 12th Amendment dictated only top 3 would qualify for contingent election in House, so the House would have to decide among Jackson, Adams and Crawford.

Calhoun was an easy winner for VP.

The popular vote tally and the electoral vote tally had both gone in Jackson's favor. He seemed to be the clear favorite as the house gathered to vote.



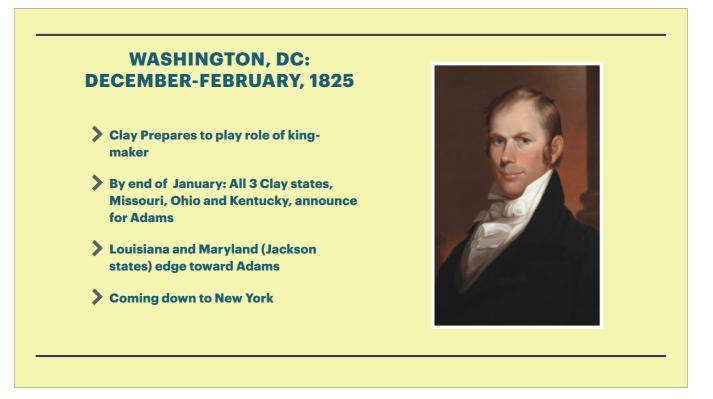
Electoral college no longer a factor. Electors no longer involved. Just the members of the House of Representatives.

House Election Rules:

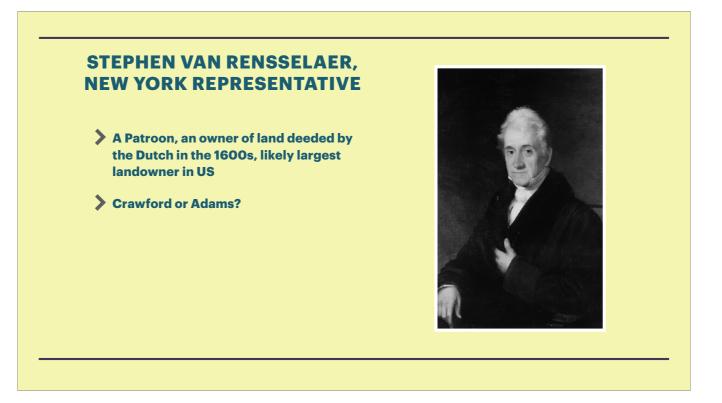
1) For a candidate to win a state, it required the majority of the representatives in that state. For example, if you had 6 representatives, then a candidate needed 4 to win that state.

2) Every representative voted by dropping a ballot (a slip of paper) into a ballot box at the front of the chamber.

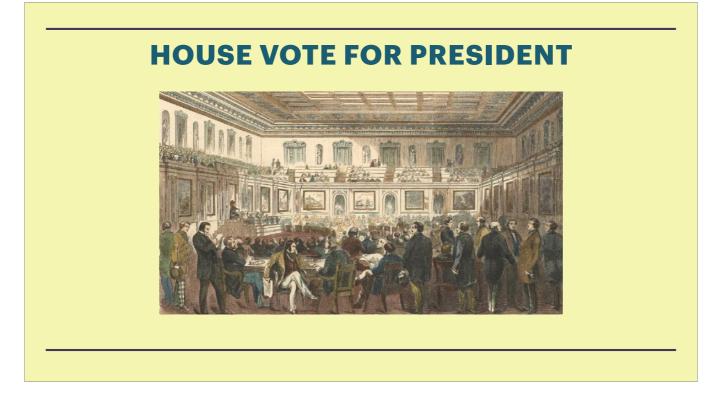
Jackson had won 11 states in the electoral college, Adams 7, Crawford 3, Clay 3. Jackson would have to add 2, Adams 6. Crawford and Clay realistically had no chance, but Clay as Speaker of the House wielded considerable influence in the house.



Clay detested Jackson and had said of him, "I cannot believe that killing 2,500 Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies for the various, difficult, and complicated duties of the Chief Magistracy." Clay moved his three states into Adam's column, which gave Adams 10, and then a couple more, and it came down to New York.



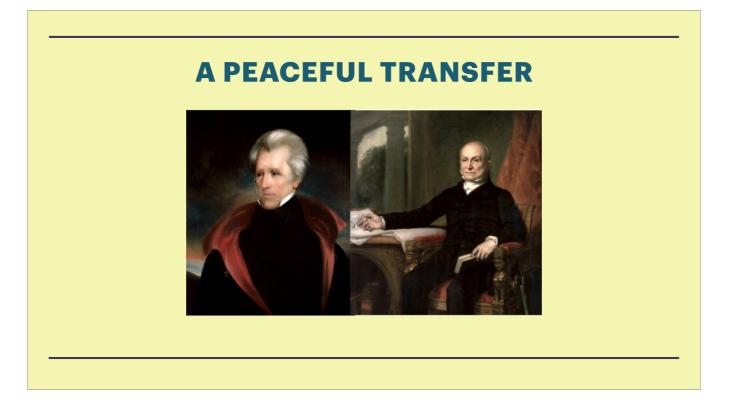
New York Delegation tied, with one representative, Stephen Van Rensselaer, waffling between Crawford and Adams, but according to legend, unsure of how he would vote, he bowed his head in prayer in the House chamber and when he opened his eyes he saw a scrap of paper with Adam's name, and he chose Adams. That moved to NY to Adams column and gave him the 13th state, and the presidency.



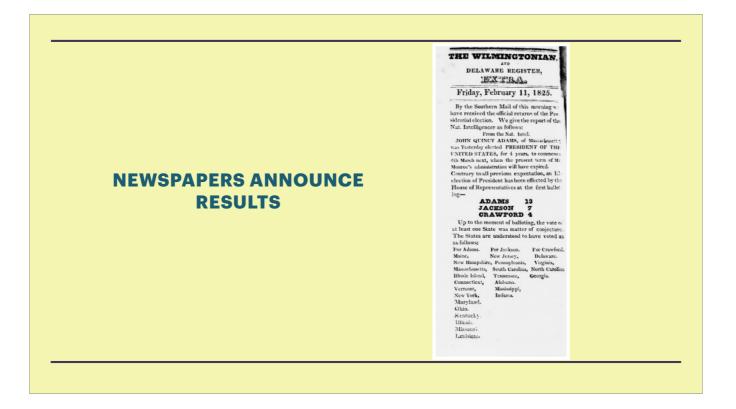
Each state delegation voted, placing a vote in a ballot box, the results were counted by two members of Congress, one of whom was Daniel Webster. "According to one observer, everything in this election was conducted with perfect propriety and decorum in the House." The vote was 13 Adams, 7 for Jackson, and 4 for Crawford. When the results were announced, there was "Some clapping and cheering in the galleries, and some hissing." Most were surprised that a decision was made on the first ballot, the New York decision having come very late in the process.



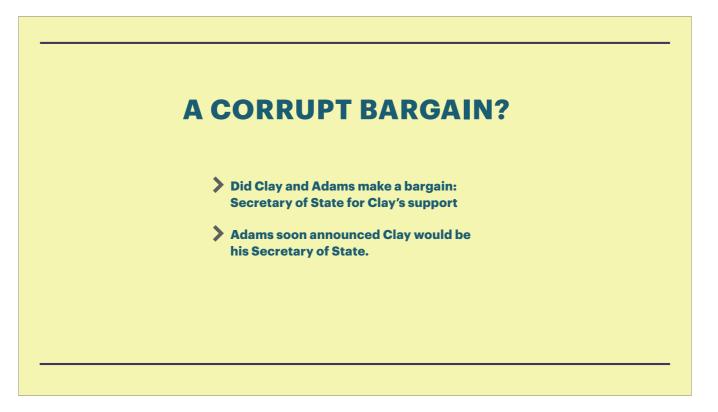
In the end, Clay and other Adams supporters were able to move three states out of Jackson's column, and claim the three Clay states. Added to his seven states, that gave Adams 13. States in Red are states that voted differently than their electoral college voted.



In the evening after the election, President Monroe held a reception at the White House, both Adams and Jackson attended, and many in the crowd witnessed the critical moment when Jackson approached Adams and shook hands.



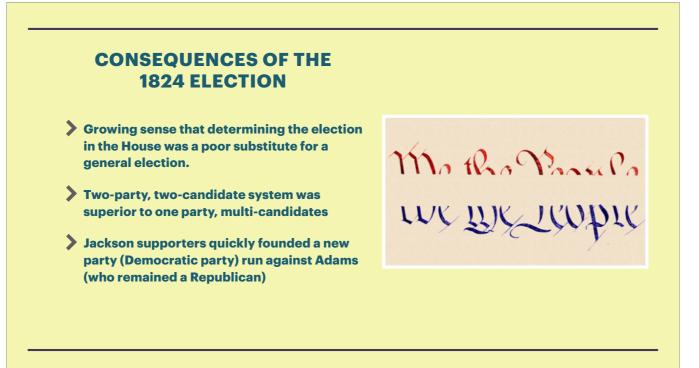
The word went out through the press and the country learned of the results.



Was there a deal? Jackson after all had the most popular votes, had the most electoral votes, had won the most states in the voting for the electors. But Clay was bitterly opposed to Jackson and would support Adams. But did he wring this concession out of Adams for his support? Adams and Clay denied any dealing.

But Adams soon announced Clay would be his Secretary of State.

The Jacksonians certainly thought so, immediately claiming foul, a corrupt bargain. Jackson wrote: The Judas of the West has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver...Was there ever witnessed such a bare faced corruption in any country before?" This belief caught fire among Jackson supporters and immediately became the rallying cry for the 1828 campaign. And it cast doubts on the legitimacy of the Adams Presidency.

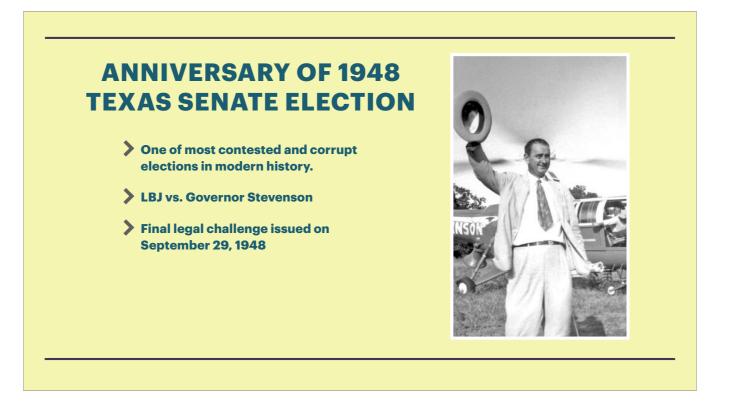


Too far removed from the people's choice and too open to dealing. This sentiment also affected the states, who all, but one, abandoned the state legislature system of choosing electors and went to popular votes of electors.

This was the formation of the modern Democratic party; it dates its founding from this period, and the 1828 election.

Republicans eventually became the Whig party

Whig Party collapsed and was replaced by the (modern) Republican party in the 1850s.



Now this is an election dispute that actually involved stuffing ballot boxes, outright cheating, etc. The kind of thing we often think about when we think about election fraud.

Two heavyweights, Johnson vs. Coke Stevenson, former Governor of Texas. Campaign featured Johnson touring the state in a helicopter, and lots of \$, much of it went to buying votes on both sides. Election night results had Stevenson ahead by about 1,000 votes. Several counties then reported adjustments to the total, with Stevenson barely holding on to his lead. The final adjustment came 6 days after the election, when 202 votes were suddenly discovered from a small county in south Texas where historically votes had been for sale, where who counted the votes was more important than the actual count

Amazingly of these 202 ballots, 200 were for Johnson. And according to a witness, on the tally sheet, the names of these last 202 voters were in alphabetical order, and written in a different color pen than the other votes. (Someone had copied the names from a registration list of eligible voters who had not voted, and deposited the ballots in a ballot box days after the election.) This all came out at legal hearings, but the state democratic party certified LBJ's win and eventually after working its way up the legal ladder, Justice Hugo Black of the Supreme court turned down Stevenson's final plea, and Johnson was declared the winner by 87 votes.