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MAKING AMERICA GREAT? THE ROLE OF ANDREW JACKSON, DONALD TRUMP,  
AND AMERICAN POLITICS IN THE AGES OF RESISTANCE AND REBELLION

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## ABSTRACT

The 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries are drastically different in regard to technology, political parties, and social equality. However, Andrew Jackson and Donald Trump's presidencies have been compared countless times by historians, political commentators, and news anchors. This thesis seeks to explore the comparison between the two presidents in relation to their policy, as well as their influence and response to resistance and rebellion. Although it may seem easy to compare the two based upon their personalities, this thesis takes a deeper approach of comparing policy and rhetoric surrounding the two presidents' decisions in minority impacting legislation, as well as the role technology and media has influenced their actions in office.

This thesis focuses heavily on the Jackson papers and suggests Jackson's personal friend, Amos Kendall, held an extremely influential and important role within Jackson's cabinet. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Trump's use of media, rhetoric, and campaign ideology is influenced by Jackson as highlighted through his allusions to the 19<sup>th</sup> century politician in speeches and policy. As the thesis progresses, readers will be able to better understand the theory of "making America great" as not just a slogan, but rather an ideology that spans centuries involving majority and minority parties, rebellion and counter-resistance movements, and intrinsic and extrinsic value to what "great" means for those impacted by the phrasing.

Through examination of the two presidents, as well as the influences surrounding them, readers will find that the comparisons between the two equates to more than personality or temperament, but instead spans both internal and external factors that transcend different eras of American history.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

On January 21, 2017, Barack Obama exited office, and Donald Trump assumed the most important role in American culture and history – the office of the Presidency. During this transition, Trump began to execute his first changes to the administration as Commander in Chief. One of the very first things President Trump did in office was to include Andrew Jackson's portrait by Ralph E.W. Earl in the Oval Office.<sup>1</sup> Although seemingly insignificant, given the fact that several presidents, including Reagan and Clinton, also used portraits of Jackson in their Oval Office redecorations, this move holds far more pertinence to Donald Trump.

Not only did Trump utilize the portrait of Andrew Jackson, he also moved the bust of Martin Luther King Jr. to the far side of the Oval Office, instead replacing this position with two important figureheads for Trump – an equestrian statue of Andrew Jackson and the bust of Winston Churchill. While the latter had been featured in previous conservative president's oval office decorations, the newest statue of Jackson sits directly behind the *Resolute* desk, allowing it to mirror Trump from behind, as if a shadow of his own movements.

According to historian Walter Russel Mead, an assistant to Trump's former Chief Strategist Steve Bannon, much of the reason Trump wanted to highlight Jackson in office was due to the fact that they seemingly held parallel campaigns. From the firebrand personalities (and proclaimed tempers) of the two individuals, to the movement of supposedly disenfranchised

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<sup>1</sup> Earl, Ralph. "Father of Our Country." Illustration.  
<https://learn.ncartmuseum.org/artwork/andrew-jackson-1767-1845/>.

voters to the equally persuasive speeches, it is certainly easy to understand why the two are often paralleled.<sup>2</sup> Trump has repeatedly compared himself to Jackson on the campaign trail, during his time in office, and when making key critical decisions. Members of his current and former staff have referred to his speeches as “Jacksonian” in nature, and research, such as the study on Nativism indexes, indicates that both Trump and Jackson utilized similar resources when attempting to secure votes across the United States, such as populism and general hostilities towards non-white individuals (in this case, Native Americans and immigrants, respectively).

Historians are continuously debating whether or not individuals can really compare the two given the difference of time between them. Given the respective eras in which they assumed the office of the presidency, their differences in policies and politics have defined their roles. It is also easy for an individual to conclude that they are not the same individual, which is highlighted by historians Mark R. Cheatham, who argues that the comparison cannot be made between the two based on the analyses of popular vote versus electoral vote and how popularity with Trump did not equal that of Jacksonian power.<sup>3</sup> However, some historians such as Clifford Young, Katie Zeimer, and Chris Jackson articulate that their actions and time in office are increasingly parallel, despite the difference in time periods. Their research concluded that Trump and Jackson’s similarities lie in mobilizing the popular vote through their utilization of similar strategies to exacerbate the ideas of nativism when looked at from the idea of white individuals versus a perceived threat.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, several historians agree that whether discussing the 19<sup>th</sup> or the

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<sup>2</sup> Glasser, Susan. “The Man Who Put Andrew Jackson in Trump’s Oval Office.” <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/01/22/andrew-jackson-donald-trump-216493>.

<sup>3</sup> Cheatham, Mark. "Donald Trump Is Not a Twenty-First Century Andrew Jackson." <https://www.oah.org/tah/issues/2017/february/donald-trump-is-not-a-twenty-first-century-andrew-jackson/>.

<sup>4</sup> Young, Clifford, Katie Zeimer, and Chris Jackson. "Explaining Trump's Popular Support: Validation of a Nativism Index." <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/doi/full/10.1111/ssqu.12593>.

21<sup>st</sup> centuries, the two presidents were in power during times of extraordinary growth and development for the United States, making an even more compelling argument into the parallels of history repeating itself, or at least echoing.

Bannon, the first in Trump's cabinet member to compare Trump directly with President Jackson, was hardly the last. While historians make up the bulk of research between the two presidents, this has not stopped mainstream media from forming their own opinions on the topic. High ranking Congressmen, such as Mitch McConnell, or mainstream media outlets like the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *Politico* have all featured exposé articles on the comparisons between Trump and Jackson, highlighting the most critical aspects of Trump in comparison with some of the most critical opinions of Jackson. One of the most prominent comparisons come from *New York Times* reporter Peter Barker, who emphasizes the similarities between the two men, utilizing parallels concerning Jackson and Trump's extremism and flair for the dramatic to further engage readers' interest in the topic. Furthermore, Barker highlights NPR's Steve Inskeep, who has been a common Trump-Jackson parallel theorist by utilizing Inskeep's words, "What Mr. Trump borrows from Jackson is not an issue, but a way of thinking about the world," which examines not just how historians look at the comparisons, but how reporters and journalists do as well.<sup>5</sup> Despite the sensationalism, particularly from these media outlets, individuals, whether personal or professional, have remained divided over the comparison.

Trump, himself, has been adamant in discussing the similarities and thus furthering comparisons between he and Jackson at various campaign rallies and speeches given throughout the country, but especially in areas where he can find commonality with the voter demographics

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<sup>5</sup> Barker, Peter. "Jackson and Trump: How Two Populist Presidents Compare." <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/15/us/politics/donald-trump-andrew-jackson.html>.

that Andrew Jackson often toted. Both men appealed to rural and oftentimes, poverty stricken, individuals who are looking for a “saving grace” to rescue them from their hardships. This is true in Trump's speech given at the Hermitage (Andrew Jackson’s childhood home) in Tennessee during Jackson’s 250<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration. Trump’s speech fits in well with the rural Tennessee area. In a study done by the Census Bureau, regarding the cross section of income inequality and voting record, the state ranks as the 10<sup>th</sup> poorest in the nation when reviewing poverty level statistics.<sup>6</sup> Many of Trump’s speeches there, as well as in other locations around the nation, rally around the more rural areas outside of major urban hubs. This display is not meant to garner support from less populated areas, but rather showcases his team’s knowledge of using data to target voters in poor, rural areas.

Despite this idea of Trump’s personal feelings about Jackson, he goes further to state in a rally at Detroit, Michigan that, “They say my election was most similar to his...1828 — that’s a long time ago. Usually, they go back like to this one or that one, 12 years ago, 16. I mean, 1828, that’s a long way, that’s a long time ago.”<sup>7</sup> Despite Trump’s own comparisons, members of his own cabinet, particularly the now-departed Steve Bannon, lend their voices to this rhetoric. Bannon, in an interview with the *Hollywood Reporter* stated, “like [Andrew] Jackson’s populism, we’re going to build an entirely new political movement. The conservatives are going to go crazy.”<sup>8</sup> Bannon no longer holds a place in President Trump’s favor, or a role in his

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<sup>6</sup> Semega, Jessica, and Melissa Kollar. "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2018." <https://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Johnson, Jenna. "Trump Pays 'Inspirational' Visit to His Hero Andrew Jackson's Hermitage Plantation." <https://www.chicagotribune.com/nation-world/ct-donald-trump-andrew-jackson-20170315-story.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Bannon, Steve. "Ringside With Steve Bannon at Trump Tower." Interview by Michael Wolff. <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/steve-bannon-trump-tower-interview-trumps-strategist-plots-new-political-movement -948747>.

cabinet. His candor is, however, still reflected during Trump's transition into the presidency and the idea of populism and Jacksonian-era beliefs seems to have persisted in the years since the election. The sentiment of Jacksonian-era politics and the role of populism in Trump's White House reflect these ideals.

Although Trump has stated the ideas of Jackson and his are similar, and that he is "a fan,"<sup>9</sup> he is not the first president to be directly aligned with Jackson. Both Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman saw Jackson not as anti-government, but as a proponent for being a man of the people and used Jackson's image as an "everyday man" to call for an increased amount of governmental programs to help the masses of individuals left struggling following the Great Depression and World War II. Jackson was anti-establishment, preferring states to make the legislation instead of the federal government, calling for slackened restrictions in federal programs. Multiple former presidents, such as the aforementioned, have compared themselves to Jackson, but leave out the more "anti-government/anti-establishment" aspects of his time. Trump, however, directly aligns himself not only with Jackson's personality, but also his upbringing and "anti-government" agenda, allowing historians to cite similar values that link both presidents.

Regardless of Trump's opinion on Andrew Jackson, it is more imperative to discuss the historic roots of these claims – if Jackson and Trump are so similar, what are the catalysts behind this trend? During the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and later in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, American values and ideas were beginning to shift. Tensions between majority and minority groups of people had begun to rise. In Jacksonian times, an example of these tensions included the abolishment of slavery in specific states and the continued slave trade in other states. The debate between newly

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<sup>9</sup> Barker, Peter. "Jackson and Trump: How Two Populist Presidents Compare."

formed states and territories revolved around debates over whether they would be free or slave-owning, as well as the treatment of Native Americans in southern states (particularly the Cherokee during Jackson's infamous "Trail of Tears") that spurred further tensions. By comparison, 21<sup>st</sup> century society likens these same issues on a variety of subjects and differences among individuals, particularly in the realms of race, gender, and nationality. Examples of these tensions include those revolving around immigrant rights and Muslim-American conflicts in a post-9/11 world. These two comparisons serve to highlight the parallels of resistance and rebellion across time and geographic locations, both of which hold pivotal impact on both the Jackson and Trump presidencies, allowing for the comparison of eerily similar situations across a 200-year timespan.

Although societal advancements have since shaped all aspects of life since the early-to-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, the basic ideas of government continue to exist today, allowing historians to better understand the similarities and differences between the two presidents. Ideas conceived during the Revolution and those present within the Constitution cannot be changed, and they have continued to shape the direction of American society. The United States of America, which is founded on the very notion of resistance and rebellion, has shaped presidencies and the outcomes of war, whether domestic or abroad. The eras of President Jackson and President Trump are no exception. The application of technology and ideology have impacted the way the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries function. But it also reflects the immense change that transformed our nation during the two time periods. This period of transformation is reflected not only in the views and opinions of both Jackson and Trump, but within their administration and policy as well. The resistance and rebellion that arose from multiple minority groups, including African Americans and black individuals, women, and other non-white minorities during these respective

eras marked an increasing amount of political activism within the United States. The actions of these groups prove the claim that the Jackson and Trump eras are parallels of each other, not just in their personalities, but in the response to the presidents' actions, and the counter-responses to such resistance in the U.S. during their presidencies.

This thesis will focus on several primary and secondary sources to argue the comparison between Trump and Jackson. This paper focuses extensively on the papers of Andrew Jackson, as well as speeches from his presidency. Newspapers and periodicals from the time period were surveyed, as well as written and oral correspondence from those who both supported and opposed the Jackson administration. Similarly, the comparison of news coverage and speeches of Donald Trump, as well as tweets and resistance movement publications have been utilized to compare his presidency and influence. Primary sources following President Trump's impeachment have been excluded so readers will not become inundated by the most recent information that continues to develop as this thesis progresses. Much of the secondary research that has been conducted has encompassed both the comparison of Trump and Jackson, as well as their resistance movements based upon factors such as geographic location, socioeconomic statuses, human psychology, and other historic comparisons between the two. The progression of this thesis focuses first on Andrew Jackson's policy and resistance movement, then Donald Trump's policies and resistance movements, and finally the intersection between the two in policy and resistance movements, providing detailed evidence of how the two relate to each other using both primary and secondary sources.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Rise of Jackson's America**

In order to accurately discuss the rebellions and resistance movements surrounding 19<sup>th</sup> century United States politics, the importance of Jackson's administration must be noted. The administration operated during a time of immense physical, social, and technological change within the U.S. The Early Republic was in full swing – there was an increased amount of political activism, a desire to move westward towards geographic expansion, and a sense of national pride following the success of the War of 1812. With Jackson at its helm, U.S. politics was entering into a new era of “the people”. However, Andrew Jackson did not work alone. With the help of a key advisor, Amos Kendall, working directly with the president, Jackson overcame several controversial political stances that held lasting impacts in U.S. history. These sustained efforts led Jackson to the role of “the people's president.” It is this same moniker that has lasted well into the modern era.

### **Jackson's Cabinet and Controversies**

As seventh president of the United States, Andrew Jackson was one of the first presidents to not have any previous ties to the founding of the nation nor was he the son of one of its founders. His ascendancy to the position of president was rooted in his belief that the rights of the states should be the government's focus, instead of federal government power, a metaphorical “drain the swamp” before the saying was even introduced to Washington D.C. Jackson was frustrated by the power that the president had in office, citing John Quincy Adams's bureaucracy as his reasoning for running for such an esteemed position. In a letter to friend

Henry Lee in October of 1825, Jackson expressed disappointment and disdain for the winner of the hard-fought Election of 1824. Jackson, who had won the popular vote, had accepted his defeat, but not without questioning the Constitutional legality of Adams's campaign, "How he reached the office is an enquiry for the succeeding canvass, when the principles of the constitution, apart from his ministerial acts, or at least without necessary opposition to them, will sanction the investigation."<sup>10</sup> Despite his loss in the election, the Tennessee native was preparing to run again, confident in his success when unchallenged by an incumbent. He championed the "every man" point of view, even though he held a key role in the aristocratic South. His house, the Hermitage, was home to not just he and his family, but to nearly 150 slaves who maintained the upkeep of his estate outside of Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>11</sup>

Jackson's domestic affairs reflected his initial appeal towards more inclusive states' rights laws and the initial Jeffersonian belief to limit the power of the federal government. Inspired by the earlier president and founder, Jeffersonian ideals included smaller, agrarian societies and a distinct lack of federal government interference in states' issues while believing in the idea of smaller government bodies who could not regulate individual freedoms.<sup>12</sup> Jackson, who many believe to be a champion of states' rights, holds a much more complicated belief between controlling the balance of a large federal government while still acknowledging smaller government's rights. While Jackson was a proponent for dismantling national institutions like the re-charter for the Bank of the United States, as well as the upkeep of slavery in southern states, he was also not completely dedicated to favoring states' rights over the power of the federal

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<sup>10</sup> Lee, Henry, and Andrew Jackson. *Andrew Jackson to Henry Lee*.  
[https://www.loc.gov/resource/maj.01066\\_0083\\_0086/?sp=1](https://www.loc.gov/resource/maj.01066_0083_0086/?sp=1).

<sup>11</sup> Andrew Jackson Foundation. "Slavery." <https://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/slavery/>.

<sup>12</sup> Shelton, R. "Jeffersonian Democracy and the Early National Period."  
<https://www.radford.edu/~rvshelton/Jeffdem.htm>.

government. As historian Matthew Brogdon points out, “Jackson's proclamation identified the Constitution as a sovereign act of the people in the United States...insisting that it created a perpetual union. An attempt to dissolve the Union was either treason or revolution.”<sup>13</sup> The Nullification Crisis, as discussed within this chapter, highlights that Andrew Jackson’s label as a champion for states’ rights is murky at best, given his role in maintaining and protecting the Union during the 1830s. Although Jackson believed in a myriad of both state and federal issues, he also served as the unknowing catalyst for the fracture of the early Republican Party. Two factions emerged, the Democratic-Republicans who often sided with Jacksonian-era issues and the Whigs, who essentially formed in opposition to Jackson.

Jackson’s presidency, however, was marked by a new era of American politics, and he is one of the pioneers of the early Republic of the U.S. Following the War of 1812, the nation was undergoing a tremendous amount of change in social, cultural, and even technological pursuits. Jackson spearheaded the idea of universal white male suffrage, bringing an end to voting laws that stated a male must own land in order to vote. Similarly, the idea of modern technology was beginning to rise, pushing United States systems like transportation and media to new heights. One of the largest technological advances was the newspaper system that allowed for the full expansion of Jackson’s own political power to enter households en masse. Jackson, however, was not the only individual to take advantage of such cheap, and well-received technology. The expansion of the system was also utilized by multiple political resistance groups but was most often used by his main opponents – the Whigs. The Penny Press, which developed from the old-world printing press machines, was a more modern form of mass production of newspapers and was used extensively in urban areas. By the time of Jackson’s election, it was becoming

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<sup>13</sup> Brogdon, Matthew S. "Defending the Union: Andrew Jackson's Nullification Proclamation and American Federalism." *The Review of Politics*. 247.

increasingly popular in American society. These particular forms of newspapers were popular as they were affordable for nearly every person who could read – primarily the middle and upper classes of 19<sup>th</sup> century America. The newspapers, due to their quick turnover rate, inspired sensationalist media – giving way to one of the first modern examples of tabloids, focusing on scandals and “quick news”, instead of the pre-industrialized way of relatively unbiased press. A study done by the University of Oregon in 1928 found that the number of newspapers in circulation increased by over 66,000,000 individual papers between 1810 and 1830.<sup>14</sup> This was due, in-part, to the expanding populations in the U.S., but also due to the increase in technology and the speed of newspapers traveling between households. Between 1810 and 1840, nearly 1300 new newspaper organizations were built in the U.S., mostly due to the increase in urbanization and the deeply-partisan news companies that arose during this time<sup>15</sup>. The spread of railways and other forms of mass transportation in the 1830s meant that news traveled faster, both by written hand and by mouth. Events in Washington D.C., whether the latest scandal of the presidency or daily proceedings, could be conveyed to others across the country in a matter of days, instead of weeks and months.

Jackson was not particularly fond of newspapers that degraded his work, regardless if they featured his public or private life. The media and political opponents affected his personal life, particularly in the way he handled his wife’s, Rachel, death, emphasizing his shortcomings prior to entering the White House. His blame even reaches to Rachel Jackson’s gravestone, which reads, “A being so gentle and so virtuous, slander might wound but could not

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<sup>14</sup> Dill, William A. "Growth of Newspapers in the United States." [https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/21361/dill\\_1928\\_3425151.pdf?sequence=1](https://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/bitstream/handle/1808/21361/dill_1928_3425151.pdf?sequence=1).  
[.11](#).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 91-92.

dishonor,"<sup>16</sup> directly relating to her status as a divorcee, as well as the turmoil her death had caused to the Jackson household. Despite the president's opposition to the media, he still utilized all of the resources the papers had to offer during the Election of 1828. Jackson was not opposed to smear campaigns and his fierce use of newspapers to disparage John Quincy Adams was akin to the Jefferson versus Adams election several years prior. Powerful political figures who rely on the newspapers to convey their platforms have often accused opposite partisan papers as enemies of the state, but nevertheless, use the media coverage to their benefit. For example, *The National Intelligencer*, a known Adams-supported paper actually surfaced in Pennsylvania during the Election of 1828 to consider their own estimates on supporters in the Schuylkill area, which maintained one of the strongest and most effective ways to convey his platform to the general public.

The Mass of ignorance and misrepresentation [of the Jackson Central Committee] have appeared in the newspapers in every part of Pennsylvania. The editor fully examines an estimate coming from one who intentionally deceived or misled...The following estimate is arranged in the same order as the Jackson estimate, and is to be published side by side with it for the convenience of reference.<sup>17</sup>

*The Intelligencer* provides historians with much-needed information about the accounts of the Jackson-Adams debates that occurred in 1828. The papers assess that Jackson's supporters conducted exaggerated polls that inflated the number of supporters in the area. For example, the Jackson total for Pottsville, PA (the primary hub for Schuylkill county) counted over 1000 supporters. By the *Intelligencer's* scale, they found that nearly 400 of the members in the area were pro-Adams supporters, but could not find any Jackson supporters<sup>18</sup>. The August 28 issue of

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<sup>16</sup> White House Historical Association. "Rachel Jackson."

<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/rachel-jackson>.

<sup>17</sup> National Intelligencer (Washington, DC). "The Vote of Pennsylvania."

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014434/1850-05-20/ed-1/seq-4/>.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

*The National Intelligencer* showcases an important way partisanship affected newspapers. The back-and-forth between who was right versus who was wrong impacted nearly all parts of the election, even the statistics of it.

Although the importance of partisan papers was critical during the election years, the birth of the Penny Press machines also birthed the movement of express political newspapers that forced individuals to choose partisan sides well into Jackson's presidency. The newspapers and news organizations directly tied into the politics of the day, where the papers relied on the support and backing from well-funded political parties, serving as organs for those in power. Francis Blair's *The Washington Globe* acted as Jackson's "organ" in 1831. The Democrat-supported newspaper acted as a primary media outlet to gain continued support for Jackson and act as his voice to the American public. In the article, "Partisan Politics and the Attempted Assassination of Andrew Jackson", historian Richard Rohrs discusses the implications of such newspaper systems, "*The Globe* wondered what effect more recent speeches by Calhoun and others might have...exemplified political frenzy and infuriated partisanship of the time...the opposition press defended Calhoun [*United States' Telegraph*] criticized the *Globe*."<sup>19</sup> The media of the time was susceptible to personal attacks and often represented the volatility of the U.S. Senate, especially when regarding Jacksonian politics.

Politicians were not the only one to use papers to gain political recognition, especially surrounding hot-topic debates like abolitionism. Due to the increased success of newspapers in general, more niche, special-interest papers began publishing under mainstream circulation. Papers like Frederick Douglass's *The North Star* and William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator* showed opposition not just to Democratic-Republican papers, but enabled minorities to hold

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<sup>19</sup> Rohrs, Richard C. "Partisan Politics and the Attempted Assassination of Andrew Jackson." <https://doi.org/10.2307/3123006>. 153.

voices in areas in which they normally were unable to speak. This, however, came at a price. Jackson, despite his belief in a free press system, was also one of the strongest advocates in an attempt to censor certain newspapers and media from entering the South. African American newspapers and abolitionist-sponsored content were some of the most censored content under these orders. Jackson's reasoning, most certainly, is reactionary following the Nat Turner rebellion during the summer of 1831. The uprising took place in Virginia where the slave, Nat Turner, formed an insurrection against white masters, killing between 55-65 individuals.<sup>20</sup> As a result, abolitionist newspapers were censored. Although meant to curb the spread of information reaching slaves who could read and react to news of the rebellion, it further enraged abolitionists looking for change to the southern slave system.

Although newspapers played a large role in the expansion of political voice and resistance during Jackson's presidency, Jackson utilized an early form of public relations that the White House had never witnessed prior to his election. Jackson was one of the first to recognize the importance of a message dictated to his supporters and made necessary first steps to have a role in place for an individual to monitor how Jackson's ideas and speeches were being received by the public. This led to a significant position that was not dissimilar from a modern-day Chief of Staff. Jackson's pick to lead this effort was lawyer and politician, Amos Kendall. While not a member of Jackson's official cabinet, Kendall spearheaded the more informal "Kitchen Cabinet" and his role as a journalist served the White House well. The Kitchen Cabinet, as it was called, was an indirect result of the Peggy Eaton affair that erupted in the White House not long after Jackson took the position in 1829. The Eaton affair occurred between newly appointed Secretary of War, John Eaton who had married the recently widowed Peggy Eaton. The marriage occurred

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<sup>20</sup> Kohr, Alexandra. "The Prophet of Southampton." Penn State University. 2019. 4-5.

nine months after Peggy's first husband, John Timberlake passed away. Although Peggy was not "in the wrong" for marrying John Eaton, her marriage was not customary after such a short mourning period and speculation grew that John Eaton had a romantic affair with Peggy during her marriage. The conspiracy theory surrounding her first husband's death intensified, and with it, so did the "anti-Peggy" group that Second Lady Floride Calhoun created. Many wives of Jackson's cabinet members refused to include Peggy, and subsequently, John Eaton, in any public affairs in Washington D.C. and refused to visit their household. Tensions and rumors eventually spread through President Jackson's cabinet regarding the new Eaton couple. Jackson was particularly fond of the Eaton family and one cabinet member remarked, "If any of them had entered into the combination charged, to drive major Eaton from my cabinet that person had committed an indignity and insult against the president and had better withdraw from the cabinet."<sup>21</sup> As a direct result of the Peggy Eaton affair, Jackson assembled his own, private cabinet, one free from Vice President Calhoun and individuals who held personal disdain for Eaton. This new cabinet consisted of both John Eaton and Amos Kendall, as well as William Berkley Lewis and Martin Van Buren, among others.<sup>22</sup>

Informal meetings with friends had become closed meetings with powerful allies in both American domestic and foreign affairs. Kendall remained one of the most influential members of the cabinet and introduced the notion of public relations and public affairs to the Jacksonian White House. Kendall held responsibility for many of the day-to-day activities of the president, including overseeing presidential meetings, press releases, and similar media events, in addition to serving as Jackson's primary speech writer. Kendall's role in the White House mimicked a form of a pre-modern Chief of Staff/Press Secretary role with many in the public relations field

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<sup>21</sup> Cole, Donald B. *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson*. 35-37

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 91

regarding him as the father of modern-day political PR. Historian and rhetorician Amos Kiewe discusses this within his work regarding the theory of rhetoric and Andrew Jackson stating, “Amos Kendall conceived a national newspaper- the *Globe*- to be run by Francis Blair as the voice of the White House, even going so far as to rewrite drafts of the First Address to Congress.”<sup>23</sup>

Jackson was one of the first to utilize this more modern system of targeted brand messaging and campaigning to the general public, even after his election in 1828. Several presidents before him, including Jefferson and Washington, did not have formal ways for speech writers to tailor their messages to the American people, nor a national newspaper that would allow for messaging to be conveyed directly to the public.

Some of Jackson’s most famous speeches, including his State of the Union addresses, were not even read aloud by Jackson. Thomas Jefferson set the precedent of having these speeches delivered and read when the president was not in Congress.<sup>24</sup> While Jackson did study law, his upbringing did not include any substantial formal education and thus Kendall served as the chief speech writer and orator when Jackson could not. Similar to 21<sup>st</sup> century Chief of Staff duties, Kendall was also responsible for publicizing formal presidential events, and essentially, made it his job in the White House from 1829 until 1837 to make Andrew Jackson “look good” in front of a crowd. According to historian Fred F. Endres, they were the perfect complement to each other. Jackson a charismatic and personable leader who could unite the masses while

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<sup>23</sup> Kiewe, Amos. *Andrew Jackson: A Rhetorical Portrayal of Presidential Leadership*. 9-10.

<sup>24</sup> Woolley, John T., and Gerhard Peters. "Annual Messages to Congress on the State of the Union." <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-guidebook/annual-messages-congress-the-state-the-union>.

Kendall could write for nearly any subject area or for any person. This allowed the speeches he crafted for Jackson to work incredibly well to prove a point.<sup>25</sup>

Arguably, some of Amos Kendall's work can be attributed to Jackson's success in the Election of 1832, where Jackson more than 54% of the overall vote, compared to his National Republican (also known as the anti-Jacksonian party) counterpart, Henry Clay, who maintained a vote of little more than 37%. Kendall, then overseeing nearly all of the president's public relations information was able to spin the sources how he saw fit, allowing for a landslide victory in most of the states in 1832. One of the biggest indicators of Amos Kendall's legacy in the election resides within a letter to Andrew Jackson by Worden Pope. The letter discusses Kentucky politics, as well as the importance of the *Globe* and Kendall's work in the election, "We are on the eve of an Election, which will settle the fate of the administration, in Kentucky, and its result will be felt elsewhere. Mr. Blairs article has fallen like a thunder bolt upon the state. I rely on the people for success..."<sup>26</sup>

Kendall's public relations track record also meant that he assisted with handling the Nullification Crisis. Kendall worked tirelessly with Jackson to diffuse the situations on both fronts. The first issue of Nullification can be directly attributed to Jackson's Nullification Proclamation of 1832. The Nullification Issue centered on South Carolina advocacy for states' rights over tariffs placed on the state in 1828 and 1832 by the Jackson administration. Because of this, the state threatened to secede from the Union and Kendall and Jackson worked tirelessly to perfect the Nullification Proclamation. One such draft by Kendall stated, "...that while all the rightful power and influence of my station shall be steadily exercised to relieve them from the

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<sup>25</sup> Endres, Fred F. "Public Relations in the Jackson White House." [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111\(76\)80029-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111(76)80029-X), 8-9.

<sup>26</sup> Pope, Worden. Letter, *The Papers of Andrew Jackson* Volume 9. 319.

grievances of which they complain, I am firmly resolved...that the laws shall be faithfully executed until they shall be amended or repealed by rightful authority.”<sup>27</sup> The Crisis of 1832 was not just about states’ rights and tariffs, but also focused on the totality of states’ rights. If South Carolina were ready to secede over taxation, how willingly would they secede during a larger crisis, namely a slave-based crisis? Amos Kendall’s draft of the Nullification Proclamation highlighted simple, key-phrases of the president. They highlighted his willingness to work with the state, the core of his oath upon taking office, and that Jackson was the key to the people. Kendall’s writing allows historians to get a better glimpse into Jackson’s outward facing image, and his speeches and proclamations offered a new approach to the solution – feature both the support and opposition’s points to an argument and then attack from both sides so that everyone would be appeased. It is without question that Kendall helped to smooth over multiple potential scandals and crises before they even occurred. Domestic affairs ranging from the nullification crisis and preventing panic among citizens after the Indian Removal Act all fell under the scope of Kendall’s informal role in the Kitchen Cabinet. Kendall even spoke directly to media and newspapers during election years, which solidified the idea of a formal press secretary for future presidencies. However, no other president would feature the scope of Kendall’s role in the White House for the next 60 to 70 years. While the public relations aspect of the White House was not the only facet of Jackson’s presidency that made him unique, it certainly provides dynamic evidence that Jackson and Trump surrounded themselves with powerful people who assisted not just in the election of the president, but in the everyday affairs of that office. This idea of having multiple individuals to strictly handle the communications aspect in the office of the Presidency

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<sup>27</sup> Jackson, Andrew, and Amos Kendall. "Proclamation on Nullification." *Papers of Andrew Jackson*. 686.

further solidifies the idea that between the two presidents, communications and their public image directly relates to how important they felt to the American people.

Part of Kendall's role featured Jackson's strengths during election campaigns, where Kendall contributed heavily to Jackson's image among diverse voting pools. "Many of us, within a few days past, have visited him, have witnessed his firm step, grasped the strong hand, looked into the undimmed eye...who, seventeen years ago, by the energies of his mighty mind and...fearless heart repelled the storm...and saved New Orleans,"<sup>28</sup> Kendall mentioned when speaking about Jackson's legacy during the Election of 1832. Kendall was direct in addressing some of the biggest concerns about Andrew Jackson, primarily his age, when entering into a second term while highlighting the successful military career Jackson had during the Battle of 1812. Kendall highlighted the idea of Jackson being a contributor to the success of individuals, with Jackson himself being an important role in bringing universal suffrage to all white men, regardless of if they owned land or not. According to Endres, Kendall was responsible for disseminating legalese and political information to the general public in a way that nearly every person could understand<sup>29</sup>. As a whole, Kendall's role in Jackson's America was instrumental towards the belief of having a modern Chief of Staff in the White House.

Kendall and Jackson's rhetoric and political savvy directly attributed to the Election of 1832 – an election that Jackson swept away from National Republican front runner Henry Clay. His win of 219 electoral votes to 49 from Clay was a clear and direct message that the people wanted Jackson's leadership in the White House<sup>30</sup>. During his second term as President of the

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<sup>28</sup> Kendall, Amos. *Autobiography of Amos Kendall*. 301.

<sup>29</sup> Endres. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Library of Congress. "Presidential Election of 1832."  
<https://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/elections/election1832.html>.

United States, Jackson continued his efforts to present himself as firmly rooted in the beliefs and ideals of a mass population. His decision to grant universal white male suffrage to all individuals of the United States was equally reflective of his belief systems. Jackson maintained these ideals, not just on important 19<sup>th</sup> issues like the matter of Native Americans and slavery, but on the outlining of constitutional rights and presidential powers, which better defined democracy during the 1830s. Jacksonian democracy was and is categorized by a belief in populism and nationalism, as well as key isolationist policy that parallels to similar 21<sup>st</sup> century Trump administration ideals.

Jackson and his presidency reflect a time of immense change for America, but they also reflect a time where nearly every action conceived by the President was called into question. With the help of modern newspapers and an increase in modern technology, rebellion and resistance was a force during the Jackson presidency that few had seen before. This, coupled with the idea of a more politically active American community no longer facing imminent threats from invasion or wars that needed to be won, allowed for a dangerous scenario to present itself.

Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Jackson and his administration sought to enhance the role of President of the United States, making way for a new precedent for American politics, and introduced United States citizens to the emergence of a more divided two-party system, a divide that exists still today. Similarly, Jackson's presidency was the first to utilize modern mass communications in order to reach a broader spectrum of voters. However, it is also Jackson's presidency that opened the floodgates into a more vocally active political community. Despite this newfound political activism of his supporters, it is critical to understand that Jackson's presidency also brought a wave of unprecedented opposition from minority groups, resistance movements that would go on to shape the course of U.S. history.

## **A Dissent Among Minorities**

Part of Jackson's appeal relied on his personality, which spoke to what was considered the masses of the time – white, landowning males who sought to improve themselves in a new American world. However, oftentimes, the rise of men often meant crushing the resistance and rebellion of non-white individuals in America. Several of the “minority groups” in America during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century who clashed with Jackson included women, enslaved individuals, and more specific to the Jackson administration, Native American populations. The Cherokee Nation in particular was one of the strongest opponents of Jackson and were some of the foremost political activists surrounding the Indian Removal Act, which removed Natives from areas that would be considered the “deep south”, including Natives present in Jackson's home state of Tennessee. Multiple minority individuals utilized their own power to fight back against Jacksonian policies. However, fighting back was usually limited to petitioning the federal government and resisting governmental policies in passive ways, such as through attempted legal reform and through sharing opinions in public areas.

The overlap of resistance and rebellion in Jackson's administration mainly lies within the ability of minorities that Jackson's time as president impacted. Most notably was the Indian Removal Act, which forced natives from their lands east of the Mississippi and drove them into unknown territory westward. This steppingstone eventually led to the Trail of Tears, which went on to become one of the most controversial events in early U.S. history. Similarly, Jackson's treatment of slavery politics in America reaffirmed the belief that slavery was becoming less of a state issue and a larger, national issue, one that would not be addressed for another thirty years.

Jackson's administration also continued to reinforce the idea that a woman's place is in the home. This reinforcement held the belief that women could hold separate social spheres where women could interact in much more personal levels, places where they were able to discuss topics like politics and society without the restraints of their husband's influence. Jackson's usage of keeping his personal life out of the public eye was unprecedented – first ladies like Dolley Madison had set the precedent into how the wife of a President should act and they were just as much in a public role as their husbands. In a book review of several 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century first ladies, Professor Cassandra Good likens Dolley Madison to “being above political parties” and her role integral to assist her husband to host both rivals and supporters, citizens, and foreign dignitaries. Dolley Madison, Good argues, built upon European custom and refinement to reflect new Republic ideals, which meant opening the White House into a more public role.<sup>31</sup> Jackson spent a majority of his time during his first year in office dealing with the Eaton Affair and even attributed his late wife's demise to his displeasure at interacting with the press and public. In an October letter to Andrew Jackson Donelson, his nephew, he laments about Mrs. Eaton and his desire to remain out of embroiled political scandals. He further states that, “This remark [regarding his wife's divorce in parallel to the Eaton Affair] I could not in justice to myself...every time the subject makes his heart bleed afresh,”<sup>32</sup> which furthers the notion that his protection of women close to him was a matter of ensuring that a biased press would not retaliate against the ladies he surrounded himself with while in office.

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<sup>31</sup> Good, Cassandra. Review of *First Ladies of the Republic: Martha Washington, Abigail Adams, Dolley Madison, and the Creation of an Iconic American Role*, by Jeanne E. Abrams. *Journal of the Early Republic*. 553.

<sup>32</sup> Jackson, Andrew. Letter, "To Andrew Jackson Donelson," *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*. 595.

This unconventional standard Jackson held with women showcases that his desire to keep his public life as a military general and president often clashed with his personal one in order to protect those around him. The press, especially during the expansion of news organizations, was becoming increasingly sensationalized, and Jackson's desire to keep family and friends from surfacing in political periodicals increased. The scandals, first of his wife Rachel's death, and later the dismissal of his niece Emily Donelson during the Peggy Eaton affair, Donelson extending only formal courtesies to Eaton, supposedly angered Jackson. These scandals, especially surrounding Jackson's family, ultimately led Jackson to having a very private personal life, as well as more reasoning for why tensions between his political opponents rose so high within his first term as president<sup>33</sup>.

Women's introductory political roles, partnered with the politically charged atmosphere of the time, contributed to one of the first waves of female resistance to bring light to minority-based political movements. One of the best examples of female resistance to Jackson's administration can be found during the fight to allow Cherokee natives to retain their lands east of the Mississippi. Primarily white women across the country began backing petitions addressed to Congress in support of the Cherokees. As an example, one of these petitions written by the Norton sisters, who, along with approximately sixty other individuals located in Steubenville, Ohio, rose together to address the House of Representatives. Their petition to Congress asked "to save this remnant of a much-injured people from annihilation."<sup>34</sup> Ultimately, their pleas for justice for Cherokees went unanswered, but the ladies of Steubenville were not alone – women from as far north as Maine to as far south as Georgia had petitioned Congress to remain out of Cherokee land. Their campaign indirectly addressed Andrew Jackson, despite no formal

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<sup>33</sup> Cole. 35, 86.

<sup>34</sup> Memorial of the Ladies of Steubenville, OH, 21st Cong., 1st Sess. (1830).

declaration against the president was stated within the petition. The Indian Removal Act, enacted in May of 1830 states, “It shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any state or organized territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished...”<sup>35</sup> Although Jackson’s second annual speech to Congress highlighted his desire to bring the Indian Removal Act to fruition, the petition did not make it to Congress until February and March of 1829, long after Jackson had campaigned to push the law through Congress.<sup>36</sup> Jackson, although not directly a part of the petitions, serves as its direct target, as he was the one who enacted, supported, and enthusiastically called for the particular Congressional Act.

However, during this time it is critical to remember that women’s movements were dissimilar from those of today. The idea of separate social spheres was a popular social theory at the time that allowed women to converse with one another as they had not done as robustly as before. Much of their movements and their discussions were largely confined to the same social normativity that had existed prior to Jackson’s era. American women were not able to vote, nor were they able to own property, rendering them effectively silent in most forms of public life. Many of the women who petitioned Congress to allow Cherokees to stay on their land were still concerned with public image and did not want to be publicly outed for their campaign.

Historian Linda Kerber discusses the importance of “Republican motherhood” and the early feminist movement in her article, “The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective”. Kerber discusses the role of women in politics at length, citing people like Judith Sargent Murray, an 18th century female advocate, by discussing that “She had a responsibility to the political scene, though not to act on it...The Republican

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<sup>35</sup> Indian Removal Act, S. 21, 21st Cong. § 148

<sup>36</sup> Memorial of the Ladies of Steubenville, OH.

Mother's life was dedicated to the service of civic virtue; she educated her sons for it; she condemned and corrected her husband's lapses from it."<sup>37</sup> Kerber, in a separate article examining the rhetoric behind separate spheres, relates the ideology to French diplomat Alexis de Tocqueville's visit to America and his views on women's roles within their families, "the breakdown of aristocratic government, he argued, had important implications for family life..." Women were said to live in a distinct "world" engaged in, "nurturant activities, focused on children, husbands, and family dependents."<sup>38</sup> Kerber's work is so relevant, as it highlights part of the separate social spheres that would go on to become popular political forums for women looking to make change in the government that they could not publicly participate in. The women of Steubenville, OH's resistance highlights an active political scene for women in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it also showcases the restrictions they were under by social convention at the time.

During the 1820s and early 1830s, women's roles while largely held in secret, were still a critical part of the American household and the ability to both maintain a sense of independence while still adhering to the standards of the day was a fine line for many women to walk. For this reason, many women who drafted the petition ensured that their societal status as ladies was not impacted by this form of political discourse. For the women who signed the petition, the utmost importance of remaining ladies was one that needed to be expressed as, "...deprecate any presumptuous interference on the part of their own sex with the ordinary political affairs of the country, as wholly unbecoming the character of the American females."<sup>39</sup> Even though the idea of entering the political world was important to the signers of such petitions, it was equally

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<sup>37</sup> Kerber, Linda. "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective." *American Quarterly*. 153-154.

<sup>38</sup> Kerber, Linda. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *Journal of American Historians*. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Memorial of the Ladies of Steubenville, OH, 21st Cong., 1st Sess. (1830).

important to retain the idea that ladies should remain in the background of political discourse, instead merely suggesting that a change to the current political climate be made.

Although the creation of separate feminine spheres grew prevalent in U.S. society, the presentation of the petitions in Congress forever cast female social spheres in a very public format. By signing their name to a document, by publishing letters and engaging in discussion regarding political discourse, the women behind the opposition were directly engaging in a very public, very political social arena. While their own feelings may have been kept private, it certainly did not stop the wave of female campaigners within other realms of social activism.

One of the most prolific and outspoken members of maintaining the “ladylike” attitude while still protesting the Indian Removal Act was Catherine Beecher. Beecher’s teaching often overlapped with similar movements in the abolition of slavery, by directly appealing to masses of individuals mostly through published writings. One example is her writing of a “Circular” (a letter addressed towards the circulation of a specific group), she wrote, “ If these [Indian Removal Act laws] are permitted to take effect, the Indians are no longer independent nations, but are slaves, at the sovereign disposal of the whites, who will legislate for them?”<sup>40</sup> Beecher was able to reach many “benevolent ladies” of the United States about the danger of Native American removal, but also to those who were worried about maintaining their social image<sup>41</sup>. This particular value in her writing is something that scholar Mary Hershberger addressed in her article, “Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition”, in which she discusses just how deeply divided the nation was over the Indian Removal Act. Women coming together as an act of unprecedented rebellion to form a cause around a central political discussion was unheard of and

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<sup>40</sup> Circular: Addressed to the Benevolent Ladies of the U. States, December." by Catherine Beecher, 105.

<sup>41</sup> Beecher, Catherine. 108.

was a “first” for U.S. politics and is something that should be regarded as particularly notable among the Jackson administration<sup>42</sup>.

While the role of women was certainly important to rebellion and resistance movements during Jacksonian America, slavery in the southern states became just as prevalent a topic. It is important to note that all the north and mid-Atlantic states, with the exception of Maryland and Delaware were considered “free states” by 1821.<sup>43</sup> This, coupled with the Jeffersonian policy that banned the Atlantic slave trade in 1808, as well as the adoption of making multiple U.S. territories into free states also attributed to the idea that slavery was going to become a bigger and bigger issue as America pushed further into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Jackson was an ardent, pro-slavery president who, by the time of his death in 1845, owned approximately 145 slaves.<sup>44</sup> In the book, *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson*, historian Robert V. Remini argues that Jackson’s abolitionist values rested within the ideas of democracy and self-governance himself.” As far as Jackson was concerned, abolitionists were subverting democracy...and that was wrong and needed to be stopped,”. Remini highlights not just Andrew Jackson’s letters in the mid-1830s to Andrew Jackson Donelson, but also highlights a pro-slavery speech that he gave during the election of 1840 for friend and former vice president, Martin Van Buren.<sup>45,46</sup> Not only this, but Jackson’s ideas for slavery and abolitionism echoed the sentiments for Cherokee removal – get rid of them. The Colonization movement that spread throughout the U.S. in the early 1820s

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<sup>42</sup> Hershberger, Mary. "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition." 21.

<sup>43</sup> National Geographic. “Slavery in America Timeline Interactive”  
<https://www.nationalgeographic.org/interactive/slavery-united-states/>.

<sup>44</sup> Andrew Jackson Foundation. "Andrew Jackson’s Enslaved Laborers,"  
<https://thehermitage.com/learn/mansion-grounds/slavery/>.

<sup>45</sup> Remini, Robert V. *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson*. <sup>46</sup> Jackson, Andrew. "To Andrew Jackson Donelson," June 1835.

called for slaves to be removed back to Africa where many slaves held ancestral roots. The Colonization movement was also a direct response in favor of abolitionism, as it would allow freed black individuals to have a home that was free from oppression from former white owners.<sup>47</sup> Professor Matthew Spooner discussed the theory of the “Back-to-Africa”/colonization movement as a relatively religious movement dedicated to a narrow focus of abolitionism formed by elite white men under the American Colonization Society (ACS). He argued that the general consensus stated, “African Americans should be returned to their own country so that an increasingly ‘dangerous’ segment of the populace might be removed, and Africa be Christianized.”<sup>48</sup> Spooner argued that the ACS predominantly focused on the expulsion of black individuals from America, as well as an expansion of the Christian movement in non-western countries and continent. This suggestion mirrors the Indian Removal Act, which sought to expel Natives from their homelands, as well as the suggestion of Christianization, especially among more vulnerable Native American populations. The Christianization of natives, while suggested in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century has been an apparent theme since the beginning of European colonization in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Despite support, the 1830s marked a significant increase in involvement by abolitionists, especially in the North where resistance took shape through multiple movements, but none so popular as formal and published writings. Although Jackson attempted to ban such rhetoric, the use of abolitionist papers and pamphlets, was still published and passed around, supporting ideas from abolitionism throughout all the states. Congress passed the Gag Rule in May of 1836 which

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<sup>47</sup> Advameg. "Slavery - Andrew Jackson." Presidents: A Reference History.

<http://www.presidentprofiles.com/Washington-Johnson/Andrew-Jackson-Slavery.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Spooner, Matthew. "'I Know This Scheme is from God:' Toward a Reconsideration of the Origins of the American Colonization Society." *A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*. 563.

forbid anti-slavery literature from entering into the South.<sup>49</sup> Despite Congressional influence, Jackson worked closely with his Postmaster General (who, at the time, was Amos Kendall) to continually ban anti-slavery literature in South Carolina. Jackson wrote, on August 9, 1835, to Amos Kendall which stated, “But until Congress meets, and makes some arrangements by law, on this subject, we can do nothing more than direct that those inflammatory papers be delivered to none.”<sup>50</sup> Jackson’s direct influence and Calhoun’s introduction of the formal Gag Rule in Congress meant that Jackson played an integral part in getting it passed and executed in the United States. This also meant that the government was actively supporting the exclusion of minority individuals and was determined to silence resistance movements from growing throughout the young country.

Black political activist, and former domestic servant, Maria Stewart portrayed ideas that Native American removal and the idea to transport slaves back to Africa were part of a larger problem that provided a revolutionary example of how white citizens were still attempting to overtake areas that were not officially their own to colonize. She stated, “Colonizationists had published a work respecting us, asserting that we were lazy and idle. I confute them on that point... We are neither lazy nor idle... I am almost astonished that there are so many industrious and ambitious ones to be found.”<sup>51</sup> Stewart’s words reflect that of a 19<sup>th</sup> century black abolitionist, who was fighting for the mere right to be heard. The presumptive stereotypes of freed black individuals by groups like the ACS were paltry at best, using religion and white bias

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<sup>49</sup> United States House of Representatives. “The House ‘Gag Rule’”.

<https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1800-1850/The-House-of-Representatives-instituted-the%E2%80%9Cgag-rule%E2%80%9D/>.

<sup>50</sup> Jackson, Andrew. Letter, "Andrew Jackson to Amos Kendall," August 9, 1835.

[https://www.loc.gov/resource/maj.01091\\_0264\\_0264/?st=text](https://www.loc.gov/resource/maj.01091_0264_0264/?st=text).

<sup>51</sup> Stewart, Maria. Speech, Franklin Hall, September 21, 1832.

to further their claims that Africans would be happier, and ultimately, more prosperous if they relocated to Africa. The expansion of the slave trade into Western territory only further heightened tensions between abolitionists and pro-slavery individuals, furthering dividing the country, but proving Stewart's theory on removal of individuals correct.

Stewart and other northern black abolitionists were critical in alerting other individuals to rise in resistance against the Jackson administration, but many black people in the South were forced into compliance by their masters. Although many African Americans in the North were free, nearly every wealthy household in the South owned slaves. Since the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade, forced labor and human servitude had been the backbone on American agriculture practices and the 19<sup>th</sup> century was no exception. In scholar Mark R. Cheatham's article, "Andrew Jackson, Slavery, and Historians," he discusses the idea that not only was Jackson a slave owner, but also actively participated in the slave trade and was a supporter of slavery within the South. To Jackson, slavery was not just a traditional aspect of the South, but it was one of the biggest ways to make a profit. In the article Cheatham argues that, "Jackson's support of slavery was more pragmatic than ideological...He also recognized...the danger to slavery's future posed by abolitionism jeopardized the 'safety of our country, commerce, and our revenue.'"<sup>52</sup> Jackson's rationale for slavery in the South was, indeed, pragmatic, but his lack of policy to rectify slavery in the south also hints at the deeply political, ideological roots of slavery.

Jackson was adamant on keeping the country united, especially as tensions between the North and South over issues such as slavery, grew with the expansion of westward states and

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<sup>52</sup> Cheatham, Mark R. "Andrew Jackson, Slavery and Historians." *History Compass*. 13. <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1478-0542.2011.00763.x>

territories. Jackson discussed issues of succession, as well as his personal goals of keeping the Union intact instead of dividing it, even if slavery continued in the South, stating, “— Take care of your nullifiers — you have them amongst you— Let them meet with the indignant frowns of every man who loves his Country—.”<sup>53</sup> This idea of nullification, in a letter to his correspondent Crawford, solidifies the idea that any dissenters against the country further exacerbated the tensions between nullification and succession during this time period. Although not at the level it was during the later Abraham Lincoln’s presidency, slavery was a contributing factor towards the Nullification Crisis regarding states’ rights and succession, and the idea of abolitionist literature and the Gag Rule in the South going into effect contributed to a larger idea that the fight for freedom was only starting to hold a larger presence in U.S. politics.

One of the most compelling resistance movements during Jackson’s administration came directly from Native Americans who were impacted by the Indian Removal Act. Cherokee natives, in particular, were largely integrated with white culture, and several Cherokee individuals owned plantations or regularly conducted business with white, Christian neighbors.

The issue of removing natives from southern states is one that permeated policy and culture for both Jacksonian democracy and Native Americans. One of Jackson’s most poignant speeches for removal came during his Second Annual Speech to Congress in 1830 where he argued, “What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic?”<sup>54</sup> As his presidency went onwards, Jackson increasingly played into the hate-fueled rhetoric that many in the South believed and supported. In his 1830 speech, Jackson suggested that the Republic’s expansion, the increase in industry and

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<sup>53</sup> Jackson, Andrew, “General Correspondence. 1833-1916: Andrew Jackson to Andrew I. Crawford, Wednesday, May 01, 1833” Abraham Lincoln Papers.

<sup>54</sup> Jackson, Andrew. "Second Annual Message to Congress." Speech, December 6, 1830.

white-owned plantations was more important than ancestral lands of Native Americans. “What good man” plays consistently into the rhetoric that Jackson was famed for, as it addresses the common man directly. Jackson insights the very notion that the Natives do not belong on a land that is “rightfully” owned by the United States. Realistically, approximately 14,000 Cherokees lived in the area covered under the Indian Removal Act. When looking at Census data from 1830, approximately 682,000 individuals lived in Tennessee.<sup>55</sup> This meant, that for nearly every 50 American citizens, one Cherokee native lived in the same approximate area. Although 14,000 may seem small when discussing pure numbers, the statistics of the Census highlight an issue that impacted a relatively large population group. In addition to number, Cherokees, in particular, had a considerable influence among the South, including among their white counterparts and other Native American tribes. Several members of the tribe, like John Ross and Joseph Vann were wealthy plantation owners with their own ties to black slavery, while others owned stores and farms. The education system in the Cherokee Nation led to a vibrant and extensive culture, including the birth of a written Cherokee nation, and subsequent tribe-focused periodicals.<sup>56</sup>

The Indian Removal Act was not well received by many individuals living within the Tennessee territory. Despite the complications of so many individuals living there, Jackson utilized military force to coerce Natives and force them off the lands that they rightfully owned. The Supreme Court case of *Cherokee Nation v Georgia (1831)* was one of the largest resistance movements that occurred against the push for Native removal. At the time, Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the court could not try the case, as the Cherokee Nation was considered

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<sup>55</sup> Tennessee Secretary of State. "Tennessee Census Records (1790-1940)."

<https://sos.tn.gov/products/tsla/tennessee-census-records>.

<sup>56</sup> Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*. 12-15.

sovereign of the United States and the Supreme Court did not preside over the Nation itself. The Cherokee people had sought a federal injunction that would have prohibited the state of Georgia from encroaching upon their ancestral land.<sup>57</sup> Cherokee removal would come, eventually, in 1835 when Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot signed the Treaty of New Echota under the minority faction called the “treaty party” believing that they would prosper from such a deal.<sup>58</sup> For a majority of Cherokee natives, this meant giving up their ancestral home and forcing the natives to move into Oklahoma territory in exchange for land in Tennessee, Georgia, and other areas of the deep South where plantation-owners were desperate to expand their revenue.<sup>59</sup> Some of the forms of resistance that occurred along this Trail included the creation of poetry, prose, and even formal declarations by leaders of the Cherokee community. Theda Perdue’s book, *Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, utilized a plea from majority leader, and chief, John Ross, to better clarify the Cherokee opposition to the Treaty of New Echota and to have it invalidated by the federal government,

The document [Treaty of New Echota] signed by unauthorized individuals at Washington, will never be regarded by the Cherokee Nation as a Treaty...Neither myself nor any other member of the regular delegation to Washington, can, without violating our most sacred engagements, ever recognize that paper as a Treaty, by assenting to its terms, or the mode of execution. They are entirely inconsistent with the views of the Cherokee people.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 30 U.S. 1 (Jan. 1831).

<http://cdn.loc.gov/service/ll/usrep/usrep030/usrep030001/usrep030001.pdf>.

<sup>58</sup> "Excerpt from the Treaty of New Echota," December 1835. <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/cherokee-removal-and-the-trail-of-tears/sources/1507>.

<sup>59</sup> Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*. 239-241.

<sup>60</sup> Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*. 146.

Things were becoming desperate for the Cherokee people, and by the end of the decade, approximately 4000 Cherokee had lost their lives on the Trail, all in the name of resettlement and a banishment from their homelands in the South.<sup>61</sup>

Jackson's belief that the Cherokees and other southern tribes were "savage" had little to do with the status of the Cherokee peoples and focused more so on the prospective economic prosperity that could be obtained in the region. However, this stance would later have ramifications that echoed throughout Congress as bitter debate broke out in the spring of 1830, before the vote was even cast. These debates went on to become increasingly harsher in language and there are records of various altercations taking place on the floors of the Senate and House. Congress stood divided on this particular act in previously unseen ways, the Whig party's foundations stemming from a deep-seated hatred of Jackson, and the reminder that Jackson and the Democratic-Republicans would continue to push back against their opposition.

Although the pushback by Natives to end the Indian Removal Act is clearly evident, white men in the Northern part of the United States brought a voice to the marginalized people. One such example of direct action is from Jeremiah Evarts who wrote a series of essays, entitled the "William Penn" essays, in which he described the injustice brought forth by the U.S. Government on Cherokee Removal.

That the removal of any nation of Indians from their country by force would be an instance of gross and cruel oppression: That all attempts to accomplish this removal of the Indians by bribery or fraud, by intimidation and threats, by withholding from them a knowledge of the strength of their cause, by practising upon their ignorance, and their fears, or by vexatious opportunities, interpreted by them to mean

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<sup>61</sup> Remini. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars*. 269.

nearly the same thing as a command;—all such attempts are acts of oppression, and therefore entirely unjustifiable.<sup>62</sup>

Evarts, in his essay, detailed many of the problems that the U.S. government had argued when discussing Cherokees in the south. His essays mainly focused on the immorality of Native Removal, arguing that if Cherokees were to be removed, it would be against God. In his essay, he continues to say, “May a gracious Providence avert from this country the awful calamity of exposing ourselves to the wrath of heaven, as a consequence of disregarding the cries of the poor and defenseless.”<sup>63</sup>

Similarly, the Whigs in Congress were in strong opposition of Andrew Jackson and the political party used the emergence of political cartoons for their own personal gain. One of the most notable forms of political cartoons comes in the form of the image, “King Andrew the First”, in which an anonymous source published the caricature of the President at the time, standing similarly to the King of England and covered in the regalia that came with

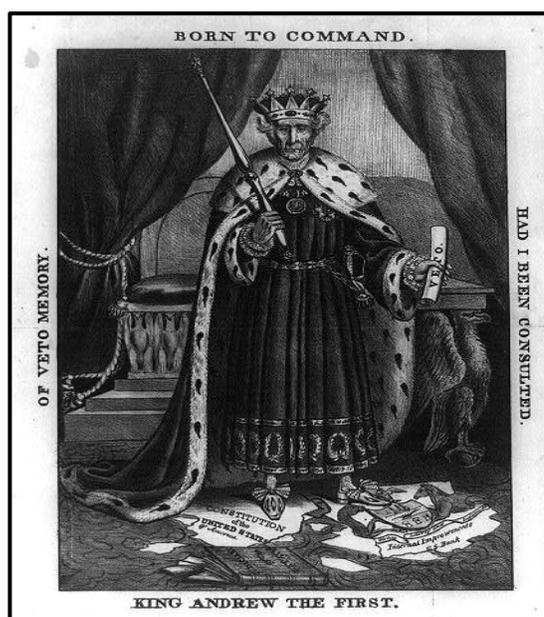


Figure 1 “King Andrew the First”, Photograph. Accessed October 22, 2019.

the title of “king”. The subsequent cartoon was published in several Whig-based newspapers and was eventually collected by the Library of Congress. Despite the ideas of the “people’s president”, many Congressmen felt that Jackson was actually using his role as president to further his own gain and breaching the Constitution by overextending his presidential powers.

<sup>62</sup> "A Brief View of the Present Relations between the Government and People of the United States and the Indians without Our National Limits." by Jeremiah Evarts, 103.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 102-105.

“King Andrew” is the first of many Whig-based political cartoons, as well as one example of how political cartoons and public commentary became ingrained into everyday life, not only by members of the opposition, but by Jackson’s cabinet as well. Polarizing political figures’, such as prominent Whig leaders like Henry Clay, utilization of newspapers and modern technologies reflects the importance of such technologies during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as new images and the increase in political cartoons allowed a majority of individuals to form opinions, regardless of if they had any formal schooling or not.

Despite the pushback from non-white male individuals such as abolitionists and women, much of Jackson’s role in the Indian Removal Act went unchallenged by southern supporters, with the exception of southern Whig opponents like Davy Crockett.<sup>64</sup> Although there were southern Whigs, the Whig party would not hold considerable success over the Democratic-Republican party until after Jackson’s second term. Jackson’s role was increasingly parallel to that of his supporters. Jackson was considered the people’s man, often using speeches and rhetoric to further his own gain while uplifting the spirits of white men who considered themselves “disenfranchised” or otherwise suppressed by the emergence of resistance movements which would serve to “lessen” white male influence in the South.<sup>65</sup> Jackson’s words also came at an important delineation and separation of beliefs from the North and South and many of his campaign slogans and beliefs were built on the idea of building up the American promise. Jackson’s presidency was arriving at a crossroads, many of the individuals who were voting for him were experiencing the new benefits of universal white male suffrage in the United States for the first time. Jackson’s platform worked tirelessly to grant universal white male

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<sup>64</sup> Crockett, David. Letter to Charles Schultz. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/content/charles-schultz>.

<sup>65</sup> Remini. *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson*. 37-38.

suffrage and nearly all states and territories had this benefit by the end of the 1850s.<sup>66</sup> Jacksonian democracy, in particular, thrived on the white, male, often uneducated, but wealthy, population. Where former presidents had appealed to wealthy landowners who actually had a vote in government, Jackson focused on those who felt they were now entitled to the promise of the American dream.

Part of what made Jackson so appealing was the utilization of a collective mindset. Nancy Isenberg and Andrew Burstein's book, *The Problem of Democracy*, discusses some of the rhetoric behind Jackson's campaign, making it clear to understand that Jackson has primarily been one of the first presidents to use forms of modern media that have allowed individuals to explore this media as never seen before.<sup>67</sup> Mainly, two of the largest ideas that Jackson uses during his time on both the campaign trail and while in office are the ideas of nationalism and populism in order to further his own agenda. This comes directly following the War of 1812 and the emergence of modern technology that allowed Jackson and his successors to utilize a new form of American democracy, one firmly rooted in the ability to use mass communications to not only further American progress, but to further personal gains as well. Furthering this idea is the subgroup of supporters who thought similarly to Andrew Jackson, allowing for a deeper insight into how Jackson's personality and overall charm impacted the Election of 1828. Jackson, and later, Amos Kendall, utilized the idea of being able to communicate and sympathize with a mass population who were looking for opportunities to expand their dominance in a new, American republic. The use of newspapers and a more modern system of distribution only heightened this particular aspect, as it allowed for the expansion of

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<sup>66</sup> Independence Hall Association. "The Rise of the Common Man." U.S. History. <https://www.ushistory.org/us/24a.asp>.

<sup>67</sup> Isenberg, Nancy, Burstein, Andrew. *The Problems of Democracy*. 87-90.

information and with it, the expansion of party politics which would then center on a hive-mind concept, allowing supporters to communicate more openly and effectively with other supporters.

Nationalism is classified as an ideology by political scientists. It is the rallying cry behind a country, the political theory behind the phrasing, “making America great”, or in Jackson’s case the less figurative, and more literal expansion of United States progress through his own slogan, “The Man of the People”.<sup>68</sup> Nationalism’s full definition is listed as, “The policy or doctrine of asserting the interests of one's own nation viewed as separate from the interests of other nations or the common interests of all nations.”<sup>69</sup> By this definition and throughout U.S. history, nationalism has brought collective groups together while often presenting narrowly focused views on what it means to be “America first”, or in Jackson’s case, a “white American nation” all the while degrading and often rejecting individuals who do not fit into the specific mold of a nationalist. President Jackson had displayed multiple times over the course of his career, the ability to create a nationalist perspective, one that forever changed the course of U.S. history. His platform of running on the nickname, “Old Hickory” was one that allowed him to play on his strengths as a great military leader, supporting the War of 1812 and continuing his platform towards creating a more equal opportunity and sense of freedom for white men.

Jackson became a popular candidate because of his relatability to many white men in the South, his impact lasting for two centuries. With ties to the wealthy, plantation owning south, it is certainly hard to imagine a young Andrew Jackson as being a common man. When John Quincy Adams ran against him during the 1828 election, this facet was deliberately included on the campaign trail. While trying to promote the ideas of a common person, Jackson was in fact,

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<sup>68</sup> Remini. *The Legacy of Andrew Jackson*. 9.

<sup>69</sup> Dictionary. "Nationalism | Definition." Dictionary.  
<https://www.dictionary.com/browse/nationalism?s=t>.

quite dissimilar from individuals aligned with him. Despite this, Jacksonian democracy's foundation is inherent to the idea of populism and it is within Jackson's several nicknames, including, "The People's President" that populism takes root<sup>70</sup>.

Eventually Jackson would utilize nationalism to get his policies passed and would briefly unite the South with continued policy maintaining the slavery-led roots found there, but his rhetoric and use of communications on the campaign trail are what defined him as a nationalist. Historian Amos Kiewe argues that it is this distinct development of cunning rhetoric that attributes to nationalism at the expense of minorities early in Jackson's presidential career. It is within his Second Inaugural Address that historians view the intricacies of his messaging, "He promised to 'administer their [Americans'] government so as to preserve their liberty and promote their happiness.' ... The president began an address consistent principle in the style of a toast towards the Union and the freedom it guaranteed."<sup>71</sup> Jackson's words reflect his leniency for formalities and instead, he talks to citizens as if he were their friend. His call to action relates to nationalism and cutting the funding of important programs for actual disenfranchised individuals. The strength of Jacksonian rhetoric translates to a populist's point of view – one that "truly" cared for the common man of the time.

More importantly, this populism was a trademark of the South, ranging from Tennessee, Jackson's home state, to the far reaches of the United States border. Jackson's grasp on populism was prevalent throughout his presidency, using presidential measures and Congressional bills to further the gain of the common man. This also meant taking down the issues that many believed plagued their lives. For the white agrarian man, this meant expanding land purchases to the

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<sup>70</sup> Pierce, Neal R., and Albert J. Rosenthal. "The People's President Interpretation." *Columbia Law Review*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1120879>.

<sup>71</sup> Kiewe, Amos. *Andrew Jackson: A Rhetorical Portrayal of Presidential Leadership*. 175-176.

South and West; for others, this meant the lack of interference when it came to slavery. As a whole, Jackson's populism was the forefront of his campaign, his role was strictly anti-establishment, working to reduce the power of the federal government long before any modern-day slogan had any connotation in Washington D.C. Jackson's own platform ran on the idea of dismantling services like the national banks, getting rid of unnecessary red tape, and furthering the idea of protecting state's rights.

Jackson's opposition is notable for their usage of 19th century, modern technologies that united a common opposition against the perceived enemy. On the forefront, women used petitioning systems and the beginning of social circles to discuss and debate political discourse, abolitionists used newspapers to spread the word about opposing Jacksonian legislation, and Congressmen and political parties worked tirelessly to promote their individual beliefs, utilizing whatever means necessary in order to prove their point. Regardless of how resistance movements were formed and executed, it is clear to see that Andrew Jackson's presidency reflected a time of deep and intense turmoil in the Americas, a turmoil that would only continue to grow as the century moved onwards. Furthermore, the usage of resistance became a foundation for future rebellions and their lasting impact can be felt within the United States' culture and history of resistance movements in the modern era.

## Chapter 3

### President Trump and the Resurgence of Nationalism

Part of the reason Donald Trump is so heavily compared to Andrew Jackson is largely due to their similar ideology and view of American politics. Each president has an increasingly isolationist stance on domestic policies, favoring American nationalist ideals instead of broader international policy. Furthermore, each utilizes their personal recognition to further their political careers. Donald Trump exhibits similar personality traits as Jackson, and currently has a complicated presidency that has been continuously embroiled by controversial opinions and policies.

### Partisan Politics and the Modern Presidency

The controversies surrounding Trump's presidency started as soon as he began to form his cabinet. Members of the cabinet and other senior staff officials, seem to float through the White House as if walking through a revolving door, including but not limited to, Senator Jeff Sessions, General Jim Mattis, and Sean Spicer. These men have been questioned not just by Trump's opposition, but by members of the public and the free press about their personal and political agendas. In addition to these "disgraced individuals", some of Trump's most infamous scandals have revolved around the suspected Russian interference of the 2016 election with the help and knowledge of powerful members on President Trump's staff.<sup>72</sup> This interference refers to the influence Russia had through the creation of social media accounts to spread ultra-

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<sup>72</sup>Afkhami, Artin. "Timeline of Trump and Obstruction of Justice: Key Dates and Events." <https://www.justsecurity.org/45987/timeline-trump-obstruction-justice-key-dates-events/>.

conservative views, as well as the leaked information of the Democratic National Convention to further Donald Trump's campaign against Hillary Clinton. As news of this progressed, a special council, led by Robert Mueller, was formed to investigate President Trump for his role in the interference.

Despite these scandals, Donald Trump, throughout his rise to fame and his presidency, has been a source of debate among political commentators, newspapers and media organizations, foreign and domestic policy leaders, and has been on the minds of nearly every American citizen since assuming the role of president in early 2017. Most notably, President Trump has become one of the most firebrand and recognizable politicians of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

One of Trump's most prominent features of his presidency and the majority of his campaigning has rested on the idea that he is a man of the people. Despite growing up extremely wealthy in New York City and attending some of the best schools in the country, Trump has constantly compared himself to disenfranchised citizens – backing industries under financial hardships, such as the United States automotive industry and the Appalachian-based coal industries.<sup>73</sup> Despite Trump not holding any personal experience within the two struggling industries, it does not stop him from sympathizing with their problems. The idea of “America first”, one of Trump's many slogans, is that it allows the common man, the man he is championing for, to have their opinions heard when they feel they are being excluded from a national forum. Although President Trump campaigns and holds that his policies benefit those that he openly totes as his supporters, it is clear to see that this is not always the case. Trump

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<sup>73</sup> Los Angeles Times (Los Angeles, CA). "Trump Doubles Down on Coal." <https://search-proquest.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/docview/2050821793/fulltext/B825326B46DF4C07PQ/1?accountid=13158>.

utilizes populism, a political approach that strives to appeal to ordinary people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by established elite groups.”<sup>74</sup>

While Trump has solidified himself as a man of the people, his background negates this idea, similar to Jackson’s self-image during his own election periods. The 2016 election saw this idea come to fruition, especially with the vote of the Electoral College showing his lead in swing states like Pennsylvania, Ohio, and similar “on the border” states where Trump and his team heavily campaigned in rural, industrial areas of the country. Robert Singh, an economist and political science professor at the University of London discusses Trump’s idea of populism by stating, “Trump conformed with and departed from US traditions dating back to Andrew Jackson, nemesis of the ‘aristocracy of the few’... the white working class reliably resents professionals while admiring the rich.” Trump filled that exact role for his supporters. Singh’s analysis highlights the idea that populism, despite its flaws in the 2016 campaign, is what drove Trump to victory – through uniting the white working class into the belief that they will be wealthier, happier, and healthier under a Trump presidency.<sup>75</sup> Despite the fundamental differences between Trump and his main group of supporters, it is clear to see that, like Jackson, Trump utilized the ideas of populism to advocate for success in America while toppling the foundations of equality among minorities with his election.

In addition to campaigning on the populist platform, Trump has marketed himself as always accessible virtually through the use of modern-day technology. Although Barack Obama was the frontrunner in making the office of the President accessible to the American public, whether through the use of YouTube videos that were published often, sometimes weekly, as an

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<sup>74</sup> Oxford University. "Populism | Definition. <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/populism>.

<sup>75</sup> Singh, Robert. "I, the People': A Deflationary Interpretation of Populism, Trump and the United States Constitution." <https://doi.org/10.1080/03085147.2017.1302060>.

informal State of the Union or using a rudimentary Twitter account, Trump has certainly outnumbered all of the interactions on social media than Obama ever achieved. Trump's knowledge of 21<sup>st</sup> century media, particularly Twitter, has become the forefront of his presidency. The entirety of his presidency, spanning nearly 11,000 tweets since he took office, has mainly focused on reaching directly to the American public.<sup>76</sup>

Perhaps one of Trump's most interesting aspects of his campaign has been the utilization of social media to access a new demographic of voters in America. Researchers at Southampton University compared social media during the 2016 election and found, that the polarization between the different candidates shifted dramatically, "65 percent of published tweets made reference to the Republican Party or Donald Trump in the week leading up to Election Day".<sup>77</sup> It is clear to understand that the study also found that individuals joining Twitter were claiming they joined from more rural populations across the United States. However, the study also suggests that some of the uptick in Trump supporters on Twitter may have been due to interference from Russian hackers during the weeks and months leading up to the actual election.

Primarily focusing on Twitter, the president is one of the first to apply social media as a tool to provide instantaneous messages to not just his followers and supporters, but to the entirety of the American people. Early in his presidency, Trump was adamant about using social media from his personal account as a way to engage directly with American citizens. According to then-Press Secretary, Sean Spicer, "The President is the President of the United States, so they're considered official statements by the President of the United States," The president continues to utilize both the Twitter accounts @POTUS (most famously started by

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<sup>76</sup> Brendan Brown. Trump Twitter Archive, 2016 – 2020 <https://www.trumptwitterarchive.com/>.

<sup>77</sup> Hall, Wendy, Ramine Tinati, and Will Jennings. "From Brexit to Trump: Social Media's Role in Democracy." <https://doi.org/10.1109/MC.2018.1151005>.

President Barack Obama in 2015 to interact more with his followers) and his personal account @realDonaldTrump.<sup>78</sup> One of the issues of using Twitter to break news and interact with campaigning is that the @POTUS account is primarily run by staff members in the White House who screen and vet content before liking, re-tweeting and sharing content on a digital level. However, the @realDonaldTrump is run personally by the president, leading to a potential breach of privacy for the president in domestic and foreign affairs. One such example arose when the president tweeted, “[Mueller] should never have been appointed and there should be no Mueller Report. This was an illegal and conflicted investigation in search of a crime.”<sup>79</sup> In further tweets, the president implicated himself in the belief that he could have chosen to fire Mueller, which by Congressional standards could have been considered obstruction of justice.<sup>80</sup> This is not the first time issues have arisen with Trump’s personal account, calling into question the legitimacy of statements which have been attributed as somewhat baseless in nature, including information that has been deemed false by multiple federal departments, as well as riddled with common spelling and grammatical errors. Due to the idea that the president’s personal Twitter account has been used and will continue to be used as an official source of presidential information, the ability for Trump to use both accounts has proven an effective tool in reaching out to the “common man”, securing his personal belief that he is a populist and a champion for “all” American citizens.

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<sup>78</sup> Blake, Andrew. "DOJ: Trump's tweets are 'official statements of the President.'" Washington Times. <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/nov/14/doj-donald-trump-tweets-are-official-statements-of/>.

<sup>79</sup> Trump, Donald. "Should Never Been Appointed and There Should Be No Mueller Report." <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1121380133137461248>.

<sup>80</sup> Trump, Donald. "If I Wanted to Fire Mueller, I Could Have." <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/1121380133137461248>.

Perhaps even more noticeable about 21<sup>st</sup> century media and Donald Trump has been his ability to campaign and interact with voters in a way never seen before. On his personal Twitter account, Trump interacts daily with individuals by retweeting media that supports his presidency. Several times over the course of his presidency, he has invited young voters and those who directly support him on social media to the Oval Office. The inclusion of such ideas has led to an increased amount of direct voter participation for Trump and his supporters. His use of patriotic, military inspired posts and shared content has also led to comparisons that nationalism, not populism, fuels the president's primary supporters. One of President Trump's campaign ads was featured heavily on Twitter, as well as other social media sites. The ad, entitled, "Let President Trump Do His Job" hovers between nationalist and populist. He directly calls upon the strength of the nation to work together to essentially forgo the "haters" and allow him to continue with his job. However, he highlights nationalist ideals through his use of images from factory settings and individuals working in manufacturing facilities, the strength of the military, as well as an isolationist concept of focusing solely on domestic affairs throughout the video.<sup>81</sup> Although this is just one example of how the president uses the theories of populism and nationalism to showcase his efforts as President, it contributes to the idea that Trump, like Jackson, used both political ideologies to his advantage.

Twitter and social media have become the penny press papers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These platforms are easy for individuals across a wide range of demographics to use – whether individuals are formally educated or not educated at all, Twitter was designed to keep ideas within a few sentences, allowing for even those with the most primitive literacy skills to comprehend the content. Similarly, instant gratification comes mere seconds after the initial

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<sup>81</sup> "Let President Trump Do His Job." MP4 video, 00:30. YouTube.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vptm8IvmPck>.

information is published and, while much faster than the penny paper, the spread of information works in a similar way in becoming more accessible to all individuals. While newspapers have become obsolete by younger generations and will continue to become more and more obsolete as the Internet and social media continue to grow. Social media does function in the same way as a Penny Press newspaper by having a cheap (in this instance, free) source of media to inform the public. It is also similar to 19<sup>th</sup> century papers in that each account is backed by an individual, group, or organization. In the president's case, or really, in any Congressman or governmental official's Twitter, their account is backed by a specific person with a specific agenda, rendering the media produced from the account inherently biased as a result.

Another similarity between Trump and Jackson is the way that Donald Trump has shaped his campaign utilizing rhetoric to ignite passion amongst the "everyman". In a 2017 article, historian Thomas Lynch utilizes this term to describe the president as believing himself on a grander scale than others, but while acting as though he represents the "ordinary man" of the United States.<sup>82</sup> The article further highlights the use of firebrand rhetoric often reflected in parallel with the personality of Jackson, who used similar speech tactics to campaign for himself.

One of the most pivotal parts of Trump rhetoric began during the 2015-2016 election year where his promise to, "build a wall between the US-Mexico border" highlighted tensions between United States citizens and undocumented immigrants from Mexico, Central, and South America<sup>83</sup>. Immigration reform and tensions at the U.S.-Mexico border center around the idea that individuals are not coming here legally. Illegal immigrants and Native Americans seem to be antonyms of each other when compared, as Native Americans owned the land that they were

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<sup>82</sup> Lynch, Thomas. "President Donald Trump: A Case Study of Spectacular Power." <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-923X.12433>.

<sup>83</sup> Massey, Douglas. "Donald Trump's Mexican Border Wall." <https://foreignpolicy.com/2015/08/18/donald-trump-immigration-border/>.

forced to give up while illegal immigrants have tried to cross the U.S. border in search of a better life that their homelands could provide. Many undocumented immigrants are painted as taking the land that is rightfully owned by American citizens, but by that same degree, unless a U.S. citizen is Native American, the lands that individuals hold claim to are stolen lands from Native Americans who were forced off their homelands and into reservations in remote parts of North America. Despite these differences, parallels exist between Jackson and Trump, mostly in the concept behind an “us versus them” mentality that exists within the policies of their presidencies.

Much of President Trump’s policy focuses on immigration reform. His mobilization of supporters is akin to Jackson’s own vision of using the common man for political gain. Trump’s immigration policy has centered around non-white individuals and includes the idea that Mexico is purposefully sending immigrants to the United States and that, “They’re bringing drugs. They are bringing crime. They’re rapists. And some, I assume, are good people.” Stating this in his initial campaign announcement in 2015.<sup>84</sup> Since 2015, he has continued to reinforce this claim, citing various issues, including the migrant refugee camps that are currently stationed at the U.S.-Mexico border and the use of detainment camps to house children separated from their parents at the border as of 2019. With no clear direction in regard to housing immigrants and refugees, Trump has mobilized his supporters in a way eerily similar to Jackson. His call to action rests inside his slogan, “Make America Great”. In this case, the word ‘great’ is in reference to his supporters at the expense of those who are deemed “not”. Great refers to a time where colonization was key to the success of white America, ‘great’ reverts to a time where white men held privileges that others did not. ‘Making America Great Again’ is not just a slogan, but it is a motto that Trump supporters have twisted into becoming a metaphor for being an

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<sup>84</sup> Mark, Michelle. "Trump Referred to Campaign Remarks on Mexicans."  
<https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-mexicans-rapists-remark-reference-2018-4>.

“underprivileged” white man in America. The idea of ‘greatness’ seems like the antithesis of equality, favoring a white, male-centric ideology in equality’s place. Like Jackson, Trump has mobilized supporters to discriminate against those who are unlike the status quo of his followers.

The issue of the Trump administration is that his influence in individual’s lives has become paramount to a Messiah. Many follow Trump with a blind faith in him and disregard both fact and opinion on what the current administration is doing. To many supporters, President Trump can do no wrong. Several signs present at Trump rallies have included sayings like, “Best choice for president: 1. God! 2. Jesus! 3. D. Trump” and “Thank you, Lord Jesus, for President Trump.”<sup>85</sup> Many of Trump’s supporters draw from a primarily Protestant, deeply religious base, and images of President Trump with biblical figures like God and Jesus have received national attention during Christian holidays.<sup>86</sup> While this can be said for ardent followers of any president, it is reflected in both Jackson and Trump, who are similarly well-liked and are considered “populist presidents”. Trump, despite never having any specific military activity, unlike Jackson, represents the idea of the “American dream” – rich and successful. His name, even before becoming president, was a household name and made his rise to power even easier than if he had been a “no-name” candidate. Trump was a political outsider, it is clear that even in the 2016 election, his candidacy was similar to Jackson. He had no formal political background and save for a business degree, did not have much impact on the “everyman” demographic that he often campaigns for. Jackson, too, was a Washington outsider and went “against the grain”, which aided in his first campaign against the bureaucracy of John Quincy Adams.

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<sup>85</sup> Morris, Alex. "Why the Christian Right Worships Donald Trump." Rolling Stone. <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/christian-right-worships-donald-trump-915381/>

<sup>86</sup> Luscombe, Richard. "'He was sent to us': at church rally, evangelicals' worship God and Trump." The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jan/03/trump-florida-evangelical-rally-king-jesus>

Although the idea of mobilizing supporters is important, newspapers reflecting partisan bias rather than reporting the “facts” is just as important. Publications like FOX News & FOX Business reflect a more Republican/Trump ideal, whereas mainstream news like MSNBC and CNN provide a more liberal perspective on issues.<sup>87</sup> One of the common themes of the Trump administration has been its personal goal to turn individuals against reporters and credible news sources. Discrediting longstanding newspapers like the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* in favor of *FOX News* provides a misguided message about freedom of the press (which is outlined in the Constitution) and reflects an even more dangerous idea that United States citizens are not supposed to trust news sources, but blindly believe in the word of the government. This is not dissimilar from 19<sup>th</sup> century partisan newspapers, who also preached to follow the government blindly, instead of listening to dissenting, and valid, newspaper arguments.

Trump substantiates the claim of using his position to change the American news cycle. For example, in a tweet in 2018, he believed the idea of a state-run media that would be projected in a global format would better reflect the goals of the U.S. government, instead of having most of the news reported through “fake news CNN” to a global audience.<sup>88</sup> This drew fire from more liberal-minded individuals for reflecting dictatorship-like qualities. However, this is not such a far-fetched idea, considering how many newspapers were backed by political parties (including those in power in the US government) during the 19th century. It is important to note that the 21<sup>st</sup> century issues reflect a globalized world while the 19<sup>th</sup> century holds more weight on domestic affairs. Media and the news are now instantaneous and although ideas of

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<sup>87</sup> University of Michigan. "Fake News, Lies and Propaganda: How to Sort Fact from Fiction." <https://guides.lib.umich.edu/c.php?g=637508&p=4462444>.

<sup>88</sup> Trump, Donald. "The Fake News Networks, those that knowingly have a sick and biased AGENDA." <https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/981117684489379840>.

newspapers conflicting each other in terms of outreach and support to citizens, runs parallel to each other in terms of intent and support.

Despite these similarities between Jackson and Trump's presidency, these are not the only similarities that each president possesses. As Trump has progressed throughout his career, it is clear to see that the similarities between him and the 19<sup>th</sup> century Jackson transcend the barriers of the White House and instead, reach out to the resistance and rebellion movements that have shaped the nation since the 2016 Election.

### **Resistance Movements of the Modern Era**

Although it is easy to discuss the similarities between Jackson and Trump's comparisons in their office, it seems almost easier to discuss the similarities in the resistance movements that have shaped their presidencies. Some of Trump's largest opponents include immigrants, women, and individuals of color who have all resisted his policies through written word and rallies. However, one of the largest delineations from Jackson's era is the instantaneous results that individuals receive in this day and age – nearly all of the resistance movements post-2016 have had some form of online following as a way for supporters to band together in movements of social change.

Resistance and rebellion to Trump's policies have encompassed not just these limited movements, but also the treatment and understanding of equality in a post-9/11 world. For example, the modern feminist movement has focused on the intersectionality of feminism, a more expansive and all-encompassing equality movement for people of color (PoC). This transition has spread throughout America, as well as increased resistance movements for a call to the better treatment of non-US citizens and immigrants by the Trump administration. Scholar

Kimberlee Crenshaw highlights this in her essay, where she studies the transcendental movements of feminism and intersectionality as forms of resistance movements against the status quo of traditional female PoC roles. Her work highlights the actions that black women in America are forming as their own resistance movements, such as sit-ins and protest marches, especially against a government which, as she states, has failed to provide adequate healthcare, equitable opportunity, and general funding for black women in the United States.<sup>89</sup> Like Crenshaw's examples of defiance, similar forms of resistance have shaped Trump's presidency and have shadowed his achievements as President of the United States. Furthermore, these resistances and rebellions, so to speak, run similarly to that of President Jackson's opposers who also focused on several key issues regarding females in a public forum, immigrant and minority statuses, as well as race and nationalism.

One of the first resistance movements of the Trump administration was the protesting of the United States border wall with Mexico that the president had been campaigning about for most of his political career. Dissenters utilized social media like Facebook and Twitter to air opinions and shape other's opinions on this issue. This part of resistance movements has become an important facet of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in terms of rebellion. Individuals, both from formal news sources and "vigilante" protestors, are mainly responsible for the spread of information, especially after news came out that migrant and refugee children were being held in makeshift "camps" at the U.S.-Mexico border. Political activist groups including the Alt National Parks Service, Rogue White House, and other "rogue" accounts made their presence known, allegedly reporting from inside federal government agencies and being some of the largest advocates for

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<sup>89</sup> Crenshaw, Kimberlee. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum*. 162-163.

U.S.-Mexico border wall resistance<sup>90</sup>. These are just a few examples of how digital media has revolutionized the way information has spread. Although the onset of the Internet has led us to a new age of information, it must be looked at both positively and negatively. While it may have taken days and weeks to receive information via newspaper, it now takes mere seconds. However, partisanship and bias, as well as the ever-increasing idea of unverified news articles and false messaging have led to increased fragmentation and hostility between average individuals sharing opinions in an online public forum.

Scholar Jeronimo Cortina discussed within an article that partisanship often plays a large role within how the U.S.-Mexico relations are perceived among the general public, with a particular interest in non-Hispanic white individuals and Hispanic immigrants from Mexico and Central America. His hypothesis concludes that while geographic location does not impact individual views of the border wall, race and ethnicity do play a larger role, and that the impact of Hispanics within the resistance movement should not be discredited for their individual activism online.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, Cortina suggests that Hispanic-led resistance movements have historically been forgotten in U.S. history and predicts that this is one of the first Hispanic-led resistance movements of the 21<sup>st</sup> century to go “viral” and enter mainstream and national politics.

Resistance and rebellion’s main format of gaining national attention in the digital age is primarily through the spread of social media (on Twitter, the # [hashtag], is specifically utilized to gain supporters). One example of this is the #MeToo movement of 2018, following the

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<sup>90</sup> Cressi, Elena. "National Parks Service Goes 'Rogue.'" The Guardian (London, United Kingdom. <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/news-blog/2017/jan/25/national-parks-service-goes-rogue-in-response-to-trump-twitter-ban>.

<sup>91</sup> Cortina, Jeronimo. "From a Distance: Geographic Proximity, Partisanship, and Public Attitudes toward the US-Mexico Border Wall." <https://doi.org/0.1177/1065912919854135>.

Women’s March on Washington that highlighted the individual struggle women face when it comes to sexual harassment, assault, and rape. Psychologist Simon Lindgren discusses this within his journal article, “Movement Mobilization in the Age of Hashtag Activism,” where he discusses, in particular, the #MeToo movement as a response for the elite to work with everyday individuals on a more personal level through social media outlets, as well as to garner “viral status” on social media sites so that it may invoke a response from political leaders and influencers on both national and international scales.<sup>92</sup>

Part of the mobilization of female-led resistance in a post-Trump era includes the transformative change that many women underwent or are undergoing during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, feminism and feminist culture were not relevant, but the first concepts of resistance and rebellion were beginning to unfold in the form of political activism. Today, individuals have transcended the basic concepts of feminism and equal rights for women in 21<sup>st</sup> century America and instead are now pushing for more equality between genders, inclusionary ideas of intersectionality (being the intersection between gender and sexuality, gender and race, and so forth), and a more progressive impact of having female voices heard in male-dominated industries. Many social and political rights for women have not been achieved in totality, as non-white females still suffer more discrimination than their white, female counterparts. Trump, who has touted his support of women, has directly created policies and spoken out against feminism, particularly after the January 22, 2017 “Women’s March” which

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<sup>92</sup> Lindgren, Simon. "Movement Mobilization in the Age of Hashtag Activism: Examining the Challenge of Noise, Hate, and Disengagement in the #MeToo Campaign." <https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.212>.

directly protested the newly inaugurated President Trump. This rally featured over 4.6 million individuals in protests around the globe and is described by the Washington Post as being the single largest day in protest history. Nearly 500,000 individuals took part in the march in *Washington D.C.* alone.<sup>93</sup> While resistance has always been an integral part of female culture and identity, it is merely transforming into new ways as the United States, and global society,



Figure 2 "Women's March on Washington." January 21, 2017. Photograph. Accessed March 6, 2020.

transform into a more open and accepting world. One of the more creative forms of Trump resistance is through the use of the "pussy hat" which was featured heavily in many U.S.-based women's marches. This particular resistance was formed after leaked footage from 2005 showed Donald Trump stating, "...Grab 'em by the pussy.

You can do anything...".<sup>94</sup> This was a prominent criticism of the Trump campaign in 2016 and was brought even more to the forefront of Trump's claimed harassment and disdain towards women once he was the presidential elect. The pussy hats (made to look like a set of pink cat ears) were formulated as a visible response to the President's words. Even if one could not speak out, it was still a visible show of support for the women's rights movement. 2017, and even 2018 by extension, show large-scale protests against the president and his administration, ranging from women's rights to gun control activism, to most recently, climate change activism. This

<sup>93</sup> Chenowith, Erica. "Women's March Attendance." Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/02/07/this-is-what-we-learned-by-counting-the-womens-marches/>.

<sup>94</sup> Makala, Mark. "Transcript: Donald Trump's Taped Conversation about Women." The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/08/us/donald-trump-tape-transcript.html>.

movement elicited not just a nation-wide response, but a global response as well and the various calls to action further elaborate on the extent of how globalization has impacted resistance and rebellion.

Part of the reason why scholars have seen so much resistance, especially among minority ethnicities and women is due to Donald Trump's repeated attempts to exclude minority groups from both his campaign, which is reflected in the demographics of his supporters and voters. Mainly, this demographic refers to Trump's view of the "forgotten voters", which according to a Pew Research Center study are primarily white men without a college education background. The study focused on the demographics surrounding Trump, concluding that 52% of men who voted, voted for President Trump. Similarly, 54% of white voters voted for President Trump whereas the most intriguing statistic found in their study revolves around higher education, where 64% of uneducated voters voted for Donald Trump. Overall, however, the difference of race in Trump's voter demographic remained 88% non-Hispanic white, while 63% of his voters (regardless of gender) were non-college educated white individuals.<sup>95</sup> By these comparisons, readers can infer that Donald Trump was unfavorable among minorities, as 54% of women, 66% of Hispanics, and 91% of Black voters voted for Democrat Hilary Clinton.

While this particular poll does not reflect every individual's views on the presidency, its collection of data among "validated voters" as the Research Center describes it, reflects a more accurate depiction of Trump's primary supporters, as well as the exclusion/dislike among minority groups for the current president. While there are multiple examples of Donald Trump's repeated "attacks" upon minority groups and voters, the current rebellions and forms of

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<sup>95</sup> Doherty, Carol, Jocelyn Kiley, and Bridget Johnson. "An Examination of the 2016 Electorate, Based on Validated Voters." <https://www.people-press.org/2018/08/09/an-examination-of-the-2016-electorate-based-on-validated-voters/>.

resistance would not be possible without support, acknowledgement, and acceptance of minority groups and that the intersection between gender, ethnicity, religion, among other intersections has been critical in the development of such social movements. It is important to note that while resistance and rebellion in a post-2016 election United States have been mainly comprised of females, it is just as important to note that many of these protests have been organized by people of color and people who are a part of other minority communities.

Another aspect of resistance and rebellion during the first half of the Donald Trump presidency has been the treatment of non-Christian minorities, primarily focusing on Muslim individuals and the stereotypes that are not just perceived as religious, but also the intersection of individuals who identify as Middle Eastern/Middle Eastern Asian. This was done directly through one of Trump's first policies, which instated a ban of primarily Muslim countries in the Middle East, titled "The Executive Order Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States", which states,

Among other actions, Executive Order 13769 suspended for 90 days the entry of certain aliens from seven countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. These are countries that had already been identified as presenting heightened concerns about terrorism and travel to the United States. Specifically, the suspension applied to countries referred to in, or designated under, section 217(a)(12) of the INA, 8 U.S.C. 1187(a)(12), in which Congress restricted use of the Visa Waiver Program for nationals of, and aliens recently present in, (A) Iraq or Syria, (B) any country designated by the Secretary of State as a state sponsor of terrorism (currently Iran, Syria, and Sudan), and (C) any other country designated as a country of concern by the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the Director of National Intelligence.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Exec. Order No. 13769, 3 C.F.R. (2017). <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-protecting-nation-foreign-terrorist-entry-united-states-2/>.

This order summarizes the overall idea that “aliens” (whether legal or illegal individuals) were not allowed into the United States regardless of visa status for 90 days, and potentially, indefinitely. These countries included Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, as outlined above. Executive Order 13769 was signed less than 10 days after Trump took office on January 27, 2017 and almost immediately, faced criticism from individuals, Congress, and eventually the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court struck down the order almost immediately after several appeals courts filed claims against it and although faced with near-constant revisions to get the Executive Order passed, it was eventually upheld later in June of 2018. While legality took precedent and aided in the slow acceptance of the bill, this did not stop the resistance against the Trump administration that followed after the original announcement.

One of the reasons that this executive order faced so much criticism was because of it being cited as a “Muslim ban”, as the travel bans impacted predominantly Middle Eastern and African countries where Muslim remained the popular religion in each nation. The White House refuted these claims, stating that the reason certain countries were banned was because they housed terrorist sites, active combat zones, and other similar reasonings. However, much of the resistance surrounding the travel ban found that many areas (for example, Iraq) should not have been included in the Executive Order and therefore, proclaimed it as religious discrimination against individuals entering from the “banned” countries<sup>97</sup>.

Part of what made this resistance movement so strong was that some individuals perceived it as being xenophobic and against the foundation of American culture. The perception of U.S. relations has often included the terminology “melting pot”, which would mean equal rights and access for immigrants, regardless of gender, race, or religion. According to *The*

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

*Independent*, a UK-based newspaper, the backlash surrounding the ban was immediate with several civil rights and activist groups, including, "...nearly 24 advocacy groups, including Islamic organizations like the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR), the Justice for Muslims Collective and the Muslim Public Affairs Council,"<sup>98</sup> protested directly at the Supreme Court steps in Washington D.C. to overturn the ban based on religious affiliation. Others, especially those of non-Christian and more liberal leaning backgrounds, protested outside of airports and other major hubs of international activity to protest the ban. New York City's John F. Kennedy Airport, in particular, was credited as one of the hotspots for protests against Executive Order 13769, where individuals of multiple faiths, but predominantly Jewish faith, went viral on social media after staging a protest in support of Muslim people entering the country/protesting the travel ban.<sup>99</sup> The response from these protests was international, including responses in both the United Kingdom and throughout mainland Europe.

In addition to this, one of the other facets of the proclaimed "Muslim Ban" was the outpouring of support on social media. This included the use of the hashtag #NoBanNoWall which alerted individuals not only about the immigrant crisis from Middle Eastern/Muslim countries, but of the crisis occurring at the US-Mexican border. As a whole, social media in the age of Trump is one of the most crucial elements of protest. It helps to garner support as well as keep the momentum of the resistance movements going. Similarly, support for celebrity and national figures serves as a point of influence for other, less known individuals and many celebrities, including but not limited to Lin Manuel-Miranda, Jane Fonda, Alyssa Milano, and Tracee Ellis Ross have all been known to be vocal and influencers of several resistance

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<sup>98</sup>Riotta, Chris. "Nationwide Protests Erupt after Supreme Court Upholds Trump's Travel Ban." <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/protests-demonstration-travel-ban-trump-muslim-groups-cair-supreme-court-rally-a8>.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

movements within the United States. The inclusion of celebrities voicing their opinions on social media platforms is one of the key aspects of “hashtag activism”, and as stated prior, highlights the elite groups of individuals participating in a trend to better connect with individuals who do not hold the same status.

Part of what has made the resistance and rebellion so accessible and well-known has not just been the impact of social media, but the funding from major organizations that work to protect civil liberties and the progression of equitable freedom for all who live in the U.S. For example, one of the biggest civil rights groups in the United States is the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union). This organization benefits from such protests and resistance movements, both monetarily and in recognition of their purpose as an organization. The ACLU has helped to provide lawsuits against both Congress and the Trump administration on issues like the US-Mexico border wall and Executive Order 13769, stating that both issues violated civil rights laws. Each protest, whether on a large or small scale, has somewhat benefitted the ACLU and other human rights organizations in the U.S. This form of activism takes on a similar role to bias newspapers, acting as lobbyists to state and federal governments. With the social movements that have taken place against the Trump administration, it is critical to remember that the groups and individuals almost always hold a specific bias for or against the presidency and that this concept is not exclusive of President Trump. Bias against the presidential office has transpired over centuries and can be traced back to when President Washington first took oath.

As a whole, however, it is clear that resistance and rebellion in the Trump administration focuses on many of the issues that were also topics of importance in the Jackson administration during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the differences that each era provides, resistance and rebellion has been integral to American society, mainly as a way to publicly express thought

and opinion through disenfranchised and minority individuals. The next chapter will discuss the intersections between the two time periods and presidents, as well as why some historians believe that Trump and Jackson are parallels of each other, on the cusp of two separate, but paramount periods in American ideology.

## **Chapter 4**

### **An Intersection of Presidencies**

Having discussed both Andrew Jackson and Donald Trump and their respective histories, this section will focus on a comparison between the two in regard to their policies, personalities, rhetoric, and resistance movements in response to their administrations. This chapter focuses not only on the parallels between the above factors but discusses why historians and political commenters often compare Jackson and Trump together. As each man progressed into their roles as president, the way they presented themselves to the public grew in similar style and ideology, highlighting several common themes like the role nationalism, voter identity, and repression of minority populations features as part of their public identities. External factors such as the increase in technology and an increase in globalization are also discussed within this chapter.

#### **Trump and Jackson's Policies**

Part of the reason that Trump and Jackson are often compared to each other is because not only are their personalities remarkably similar to each other, but the eras of time have impacted the presidents in a similar manner. One of the most prominent comparisons from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century has been the influx of technology impacting for their respective presidencies. For example, in Jackson's time, the newspaper boom attributed to more partisan

roles within mainstream media and allowed him to better control the press at the time. During the Trump era, the onset of social media has never been used to such a high degree, and as a result, has allowed for more partisanship between Democrat and Republic supporters. Arguably, this comparison of technology and its impact, not just on supporters, but its impact on election results and resistance movements has shaped the way individuals view both Jackson and Trump as the “populist” presidents.

Nationalist ideology largely factors into similar populist theory. The two ideologies often overlap in politics, especially in regard to the two presidents. For example, Trump and Jackson, as well as contemporary scholars often refer to them as the populist presidents, and for good reason – each has united the “common man”, the idea of which lies solely in those who believe they are disenfranchised, or risk having their liberties taken away from them. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century standard, much of the unrest surrounding the “common man” that Jackson campaigned so ardently for rested within the banking system. The belief that banks, specifically the Federal Bank of the United States (based in Philadelphia), were going to control every aspect of individual’s lives and take away their freedoms was a notion perpetrated by Jackson and his followers in rallies and speeches. The bank issue became one of Jackson’s primary focuses upon having the Second Bank of the United States re-charter bill passed through both the House and Senate. Jackson’s veto announcement read,

A bank of the United States is in many respects convenient for the Government and useful to the people. Entertaining this opinion, and deeply impressed with the belief that some of the powers and privileges possessed by the existing bank are unauthorized by the Constitution, subversive of the rights of the States, and dangerous to the

liberties of the people, I felt it my duty at an early period of my Administration to call the attention of Congress to the practicability of organizing an institution combining all its advantages and obviating these objections.<sup>100</sup>

Jackson's veto of such a powerful institution alludes to the idea of making concrete change early in his career as president, or at the very least, attempting to make good on policies he promised during his campaign to the "common man" to give back some of the liberties they were in "danger" of losing.

Another aspect that has been previously discussed is the relation between the "common man" and the Native American, namely the Cherokee natives living in Tennessee. As the American population grew, the need for expansion by white settlers grew with it and soon were encroaching on Cherokee lands of central and western Tennessee. Jackson, who had grown up in the area, knew how desirable the land was and eventually signed the Indian Removal Act into law. This act, although leading to some of the resistance and rebellion that was discussed within his time, ties into the larger idea that Jackson functioned similarly into Trump's way of thinking, utilizing the masses who felt that they were disenfranchised into believing that they were regaining their freedoms by discriminating against others for the benefit of themselves.

This idea is similar to Trump's ideology of populism, particularly within the white-Hispanic tensions that have risen within his presidency. A large conglomerate of his supporters is found within the "Rust belt" and the "Bible belt", largely white, rural communities that practice varied forms of Protestantism.<sup>101</sup> Many of these supporters, traditionally portrayed as white males, hold religion and personal freedoms as top priorities. Trump uses their steadfast beliefs to his advantage. One of the best examples of this is President Trump's repeated highlighting of

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<sup>100</sup> Jackson, Andrew. "Bank Veto." Speech presented at White House, Washington, DC. July 10, 1832.

<sup>101</sup> Dochuk, Darren. From Bible Belt to Sun Belt.6-10.

crimes that Mexican/Hispanic people have done, including works by various ethnic-related gangs entering into these small town communities, while “border crossers” and undocumented immigrants pose a threat to the job market and to the U.S. economy.<sup>102</sup> However, what many individuals fail to realize about these claims is that they most often do not pose a threat to the community and many undocumented immigrants currently in our country make up a large portion of the manual labor in the agricultural industry, an industry that could potentially fail if not for their contributions.

The intersection between Trump and Jackson rests on their definition of the “common man” and how that specific type of individual factors into politics, both historically and presently. Those believing to be disenfranchised were mainly white, male voters and with these were the “common man”, not just to Jackson, but to any future presidential candidates who would attempt to gain votes among the middle and lower classes of men who suddenly had a say in political affairs. Universal suffrage does exist in 2016, the phrase alluding to the idea that every United States citizen has the choice to vote, regardless of race, gender, or religion. Despite this, Trump has repeatedly made claims of voter fraud, especially in urban areas and among minority voters, and his speeches are often tailored to better fit into the mold of the “common man” that still relies on the original concept of white, male, and relatively uneducated voters.

Another aspect of the “common man” that is reflective between the Jackson and Trump eras is the idea that various institutions are reaching to take away specific civil liberties. One of the best comparisons of such an issue is the struggle of the Federal Banks in the U.S. during the 1830s compared with the gun control advocacy groups debating against 2<sup>nd</sup> amendment and “gun freedom” activists. Both ideas carry the belief that the civil liberties are larger than any singular

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<sup>102</sup> Trump, Donald. "Remarks by President Trump on the Illegal Immigration Crisis."

person, and instead, represent a set of ideals that runs parallel to American freedom. Specifically, this includes the right to have privatized/state-run banks, instead of a federal banking system. While in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, this translates to the belief of an individual's rights to carry a weapon, such as a gun, depending on which state the individual is residing in and how many laws are in place that restrict gun ownership. As a whole, each scenario, while drastically different to better fit the time period where it resides, still reflects the idea that populism lies within the "common man". This is not necessarily because of the individual in charge, but rather the situation of the time and the reaction from those who have been protected and revered by the president.

Secondly, the crossroads of technology can also be further analyzed when discussing the implications it had on both Jackson and Trump. This occurred particularly during ages that saw not just dramatic increases in aforementioned technology, but in the idea that the United States was splintering into factions, led primarily by partisan politics and a deeply ingrained notion that both sides of the aisle were equally right. This was further exacerbated by quick news sources that were published in major cities and then spread to the outlying countryside. This is most seen in Whig vs. Democratic-Republican run newspapers, or in modern day newspapers such as CNN and FOX News. One of the best examples of such intolerance to bipartisanship in comparison to both the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries are the comparison of headlines from a political event from opposing newspapers.

In July of 1832, following the veto of the Second Bank of the United States, two newspapers in Richmond, Virginia covered the events very differently from each other. The *Constitutional Whig* highlighted the "evils" of President Jackson's decision, stating, "True, you have been consistent for once - you have vetoed the bill to re-charter the Bank of the United States! But how is it? Your only act of consistency threatens to bring ruin and disaster on the

nation!”<sup>103</sup> Meanwhile, the *Richmond Enquirer* delves into the opposition’s “attack” on the president, citing Daniel Webster and Henry Clay as attacking the president. Webster and Clay were notorious opponents of Jackson and were considered some of the frontrunners of the Whig party at the time. The *Enquirer* states, ““Against the audacious attempt, which was openly made to beat down President Jackson, and govern the next Presidential election through the prostituted instrumentality of the Bank.”<sup>104</sup> The newspapers at this time were some of the best instances of partisan politics and these two excerpts show just how different news was based upon party affiliation.

As a direct comparison, the primarily Republican-focused FOX News, in the wake of the 2018-2019 Mueller Report detailing Russian interference in the 2016 election stated, “Mueller report shows probe did not find collusion evidence”<sup>105</sup> and then discusses the implications of the article, highlight key facts about the Republican-based president and no specific instances of wrongdoing, as well as a deeper blame forced upon Russia, insistent the United States had nothing to do with the interference. The second article, written twelve days following the FOX News article was taken from primarily left-leaning CNN News, stating, “The Mueller report: A catalog of 77 Trump team lies and falsehoods”.<sup>106</sup> One exonerates the president, while the other places blame on Trump directly. Based on the excerpts and headlines, neither article can be exactly correct. This use of appealing to a partisan country has served to divide individuals amongst themselves while further perpetrating negative stereotypes among citizens.

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<sup>103</sup> Constituional Whig (Richmond, VA), July 20, 1832.

<sup>104</sup> Richmond Enquirer (Richmond, VA), July 27, 1832.

<sup>105</sup> Singman, Brooke. "Mueller report shows probe did not find collusion evidence, reveals Trump efforts to sideline key players." Fox News. <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/justice-department-releases-redacted-version-of-special-counsels-russia-probe-report>.

<sup>106</sup> Polantz, Katelyn, and Marshall Cohen. "The Mueller Report: A Catalog of 77 Trump Team Lies and Falsehoods." CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/04/30/politics/mueller-report-trump-team-lies-falsehoods/index.html>

The idea of populism also ties into the idea of modern technologies, as it helps to grasp a better understanding of people's opinions towards personal liberties, or potentially, the lack thereof. One of Jackson and Trump's commonalities also resides within the free will of the press, especially concerning their private lives, away from the view of journalists. Jackson held a certain disdain for the media, especially after the death of his wife Rachel, and the publicized matter of her death and eventual "replacement" in the White House. However, his largest issue with the media did not come from his private life, but rather, a very public aspect of his presidency. The early 1800s saw an increase in slave revolts and revolutions, especially after word broke out of the Haitian slave revolt at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the Nat Turner Rebellion which broke out in Virginia in 1831. One of Jackson's orders as president included the "gag rule" and a banning of any anti-slavery materials to be distributed to the South.

The "gag rule" was a point of heavy contention between the North and the South in Congress, with future president (then Massachusetts representative) John Quincy Adams famously saying, "Am I gagged or am I not?" on the House floor. The gag rule stated that any member of the House of Representatives was forbidden from discussing any bills that restricted slavery in the South.<sup>107</sup> This rule would last until the early 1840s, as it was met with increasing opposition, especially as new states were added into the Union and territories began questioning if they were allowed slavery or if they were to be a "free" state. Similarly, Jackson's policies also forbade individuals from talking about any anti-slavery coalitions in the South and he tasked the United States Post Office to ensure that no anti-slavery materials, including but not limited to, pamphlets, petitions, and newspapers (such as the North Star Anti-Slavery paper) from entering into the South that would then incite violence among the slaves in the area. This was especially

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<sup>107</sup> Quincy Adams, John. "John Quincy Adams to the Inhabitants of the 12th Congressional District." Speech, 1837.

important to know, as Jackson was a slave owner himself, and many of his supporters and benefactors of the Democratic-Republican party lived in pro-slavery states, as well as the idea that slavery was becoming more and more a state issue and the encroachment of states' rights and liberties were being taken away by the federal government. As a result, Jackson's ban on anti-slavery/abolitionist papers in the South, in the minds of white Southerners, helped to prevent from any slave revolts rising up and murdering the "innocent" peoples of the South.

The intersection of Trump and Jackson in this realm focuses on the repeated attacks to the press and a distrust in media, as a whole. For example, many of Trump's contemporaries believe that he has tried to limit the powers of a free press and his repeated call to end the, "fake news media" is an attack on Constitutional rights of the freedom of the press<sup>108</sup>. This, coupled with the banning of several major political outlets from the White House and the refusal to respond to several national news organizations such as the *NY Times* and the *Washington Post* further highlight, not necessarily the lack of press freedoms within the current White House, but the clear disdain and lack of trust that the media presents. While both Trump and Jackson thrive off of their popularity surrounding the "common man", their distrust in the newspaper system has amplified into a larger hate of media and news as a whole, especially to media organizations that disapprove or regularly inflict negative political commentary on the two presidents. As a whole, however, it is important to remember that while the presidents may have had a lack of faith in media, they are far from the only presidents to hold this belief. Every president, beginning at the dawn of the presidency has been criticized not just by individuals, but by the press to some extent. Barack Obama was part of constant ire as the digital age of media began to

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<sup>108</sup> Trump, Donald. "The FAKE NEWS media (failing @nytimes , @NBCNews , @ABC , @CBS, @CNN ) is not my enemy, Twitter.  
<https://twitter.com/realdonaldtrump/status/832708293516632065?lang=en>.

takeover in America, President Lincoln enacted a writ of habeas corpus in order to better control the news during the Civil War. The concept is not new, but Jackson and Trump seem to amplify the problems surrounding the media and use their own notoriety to push their agenda, even when the media is criticizing them for it.

Another aspect of both Jackson and Trump's presidencies was the way society responded to the presidents outside of the realm of resistance and rebellion. By modern standards, the 19<sup>th</sup> century seems reflective of a simpler time in America, but historically, the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the age of Jackson was coming off a wave of Enlightenment and new social atmospheres, especially after the wake of the War of 1812, were starting to take shape.<sup>109</sup> The 1820s and 1830s can also be categorized as an entirely new transformation of the American people based upon multiple immigrant waves coming to the U.S. and pursuits to modernize the early Republic. This transformative time was further heightened by the idea that the individuals coming into age and power (Jackson included) were some of the first individuals who had been born in the United State of America, instead of as a subject of Great Britain. This is especially important to note, as the idea of being "free" from birth, instead of living under the rule of a king played to the effect that individuals were more likely to take into account the will of the people and more "American ideals" than that of their British predecessors. This accompanied with the factors of living in a time of relative peace, free from tyrannical oppression, and coming off the coattails of a time of transcendental religious and educational change attributed to the higher understanding of social queues within 19<sup>th</sup> Century society.

Most predominantly featured during this time was the argument of separate social spheres that many men and women prescribed to. Many of them would go off at social engagements and

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<sup>109</sup> Kerber, Linda. "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective." 157.

discuss within each other's gendered groups about various social issues regarding the United States. These ideas would impact things like voter turnouts, specific societies dedicated to furthering the cause of Whigs or Democratic-Republicans, or even just a chance to catch up on the events that occurred in day-to-day lives. This impacted women on a lesser scale than men, but it also highlights the importance of having such spheres as a means of communication, and eventually, organization into something larger than just a "talking club".<sup>110</sup> In addition to this, there were some women's social spheres that although could not vote, did dedicate their time to creating petitions and asking the government for different aspects of social change, while others grew into larger organizations that campaigned for women's suffrage movements towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The entire idea of separate social spheres carried well into the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and even into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, remaining an integral part of American culture.

Today, the idea of separate social spheres is almost non-existent. While the idea of gender-based social groups still exists, equality in today's public society dictates that most social spheres are inclusive and, in most cases, are relatively inclusive of both genders. A recent example of this was the Boy Scouts' decision to allow female members of the community into their organization, which reflects how different then 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries were when discussing gender equality in public organizations.<sup>111</sup> However, one of the largest jumps from social spheres has been the emergence of modern social media, which has helped to promote political and social organizations for a variety of individuals across large geographical regions. For example, Facebook users can subscribe to groups and can "like" pages, which enables them to view,

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid. 154-156.

<sup>111</sup> Hosking, Taylor. "Why Did the Boy Scouts Decide to Include Girls?" The Atlantic. Last modified October 12, 2017. Accessed April 25, 2020. <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/10/why-did-the-boy-scouts-decide-to-accept-girls/542769/>.

distribute, and form commentary on topics that they feel pertains to them, as well as share with others to gain support for their cause. Scholar Jose Marichal focuses on the idea of “micro-activism” as Facebook groups have become the de-facto political forum during the digital age. Because of the interaction that individuals can experience, it is easier to push political agendas and ideologies across a broader range of areas in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>112</sup> An example of micro-activism turning into something larger is the 2017 Women’s March on Washington D.C. The Women’s March was primarily discussed on Facebook and Twitter feeds until it eventually gained enough traction to form not a larger, global event in response to President Trump winning the 2016 election. Information about marches across the world was disseminated primarily via social media campaigns and resulted in one of the largest protests in history, worldwide.<sup>113</sup> However, the emergence of such social groups has often given a rise to more controversial social and political organizations like the re-emergence of “Neo-Nazi” groups and other organizations that deliberately attack those with opposing viewpoints or work to spread hate crimes and discriminatory practices against other individuals.

One aspect of social conventions is the emergence of political activism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is apparent on both Republican and Democratic sides and part of what has made the election post-2016 so unique. Supporters of Trump rally around him by sharing his content on Twitter and Facebook, while liberal-leaning individuals tend to oppose his policies by discussing and sharing content on social media as well. Social media has becoming the grounds for political debate, a virtual Forum where individuals will debate (most often resulting in the

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<sup>112</sup> Marichal, Jose. 2013. “Political Facebook Groups: Micro-Activism and the Digital Front Stage.” <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v18i12.4653>.

<sup>113</sup> Chira, Susan. "Women's March Highlights as Huge Crowds Protest Trump: 'We're Not Going Away.'" New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/21/us/womens-march.html>.

more modern practice of unfollowing and blocking another individual if ideas get too heated), but the uniqueness of social media and 21<sup>st</sup> century technology is that it presents individuals with the opportunity to learn about why others support different causes and candidates. In addition to this, candidates are more easily accessible to individuals and many politicians take this opportunity to present a sense of personalization to specific demographic audiences with tailored media content and interactions without having to meet people face-to-face.

The intersection between 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century technology is that each era was on the cusp of a new age, with unexplored potential in American media consumption and culture by news organizations and individual people. This particular concept does not necessarily focus on the presidents' actions, but again, the situation and each president's respective time period. Without the onset of modern media and the cultural shift in American political and social atmospheres, both Trump and Jackson may have been entirely different individuals. Their policies would not necessarily mimic each other in style or content, but because of the situations they have faced as presidents, it is entirely plausible to think that if the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries had not been parallel to each other, the two president's differences may have led to decreased parallelism between the two.

Both Jackson and Trump have played a role in the census that occurred in both 1830 and now, in 2020. The United States has grown exponentially in population since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the U.S. Census has changed as well. During Jackson's time, collecting data was not an easy task. In as early as 1828, John Quincy Adams was discussing the role of the Census and his desire to make individuals aware of it before August 1 to prevent the census from not being completed in a timely fashion.<sup>114</sup> During this era, the Census data collection was largely left up

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<sup>114</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. "Directors (1820-1830) of US Census." United States Census Bureau. [https://www.census.gov/history/www/census\\_then\\_now/director\\_biographies/](https://www.census.gov/history/www/census_then_now/director_biographies/).

to the counties and cities of states to undergo the record-taking, instead of the federal government. According to the United States Census website, one of the largest struggles was determining the amount of industry and growth the United States was experiencing during the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. For this reason, Andrew Jackson and the Census constructors chose to make the 1830 Census as short as possible. This is true, relatively speaking, for President Trump's current Census. Long-form Censuses were used throughout the late 1900s and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, however, the 2010 Census had only ten basic questions, whereas the current 2020 Census only features seven. However, the issue that connects the two is the question of citizenship.

The 2020 Census question regarding citizenship of Americans was so heavily debated, and eventually dropped from the 2020 Census due to mistrust in the administration, as well as fear of the question's Constitutional legality. The historic context of the citizenship question is that citizenship, for the better part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was never called into question. Despite the mass number of immigrants flocking to the U.S. during the "new immigration" movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century when many families and individuals immigrated from multiple European countries, the last time a "citizenship question" was utilized in a Census was in 1930.<sup>115</sup> Despite the 90 years between 1930 and 2020, citizenship has actually had a long withstanding role in our censuses. Even during Jackson's time, citizenship was broadly defined as being a white, land owning male. Following Jackson's role in the White House, he expanded this to mean every white male. The 1830 Census reflects the inherent white citizenship question, breaking down the survey between white individuals in a household and then tallying the amount

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<sup>115</sup> Smithsonian Institute. "Immigration in the Early 20th Century." Smithsonian American Art Museum. Accessed April 25, 2020. [https://americanexperience.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Immigration-in-the-Early-20th-Century\\_.pdf](https://americanexperience.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Immigration-in-the-Early-20th-Century_.pdf).

of black, enslaved or other free peoples in a household.<sup>116</sup> This is reflective of a time where slavery was reaching its peak in U.S. history, accounting for a little over 2 million slaves within the United States.

However, not all individuals were counted in the 1830 Census. Native Americans, indigenous to North America, were not counted within the 1830 Census and no question on the Census would indicate they were meant to be a part of it in the first place. Jackson, and many others, believed that Native Americans, despite living and working in close proximity to each other, were not part of the United States. Despite encroaching on their land over centuries, as well as creating “treaties” that forced Natives off their land to make room for white settlers headed West, the President and Census constructors never considered Natives part of the country. This was also indicative of Native American attitudes, as they did not consider themselves part of the United States, nor did they consider themselves citizens, but were instead sovereign of the U.S. It was not until 1924 when President Calvin Coolidge signed the “Indian Citizenship Act” that they were granted citizenship for Native Americans to the United States, despite the atrocities that had been committed against them, despite the lack of aid that had been given to Natives following their removal from their home territories, and long after they had been forced onto rural, and often poorly funded, reservations.<sup>117</sup>

The inclusion of citizenship question, regardless of the lack of one posed by Jackson and the one hypothesized by Trump reflects the lack of inclusion in favor of white individuals, while seeking to suppress others. By not asking Natives to take part in the Census, despite aiding in the

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<sup>116</sup> U.S. Census Bureau 1830 Overview - Census History." United States Census Bureau. Last modified December 17, 2019. Accessed April 25, 2020.

[https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/overview/1830.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/1830.html)

<sup>117</sup> Indian Citizenship Act, H.R. 222, 68th Cong., 1st Sess. § 1401(b) (June 2, 1924).

[https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/online\\_classroom/shaping\\_the\\_constitution/doc/indian\\_citizenship\\_act](https://edu.lva.virginia.gov/online_classroom/shaping_the_constitution/doc/indian_citizenship_act).

U.S. economy or acting as neighbors to citizen, it excludes them from the status quo while also promoting the idea that white individuals are more likely to represent the nation as a whole, when, in reality, the country's diversity during the 1830s didn't just reflect white or black individuals, but also included Hispanic, Native American, Asian, and other ethnic minorities who were contributing to the country during the time.<sup>118</sup> This is even more true in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and during the 2020 Census, where a citizenship question would have led to lies and fabrication of Census data by individuals not willing to give away their citizenship status. The inclusion of a citizenship question actively serves to disenfranchise those who may be here in the country without legal immigration status and delegitimize Census information as a whole. The entire concept of citizenship reflects a precarious way of collecting individual' data, and reflects the instability of individual' responses, especially if they were to fabricate answers on the survey.

As a whole, Jackson and Trump exhibit signs that they are similar to one another in personality and in support. However, it is within these situational analyses that tell a larger story about the impact of time that better attributes to the idea that their similarities were only formed by a larger cultural shift, not necessarily that Trump is a mirror image of Jackson but that Trump applies Jacksonian principle in a more modern time. Although America is a young nation compared to most of the Western world, it is important to understand that its history seems to transform itself in waves. There are ebbs and lulls within the human history of the United States and the changes that are currently being experienced now are increasingly similar to the changes that happened nearly two centuries ago. Jackson and Trump have helped to usher in times of transcendental social change, and arguably serve as the catalyst to speed up social trends and movements during their respective times.

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<sup>118</sup> U.S. Census Bureau. 1830 Overview - Census History." United States Census Bureau. [https://www.census.gov/history/www/through\\_the\\_decades/overview/1830.html](https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/overview/1830.html).

## **Lasting Impacts of “Making America Great” Culture**

Part of what makes Jackson so unique is his impact throughout the next decade, century, and even in modern day America. Jackson’s personal brand of politics has taken on the moniker “Jacksonian” and those who identify with Jacksonian ways of thinking reflect back on the 19<sup>th</sup> century theories that Jackson brought forth. Jackson, although too young to participate in the American Revolution, is considered by some to be a founding father in his own right, paving the way during the early days of the Republic and leading the United States during the War of 1812. His heroics and politics have been a pillar of American culture, especially in the deep South, even today.

Jackson’s time as president was largely part of the dissent and tensions in the Congressional years that followed his presidency. The tensions that arose surrounding the Indian Removal Act by senators and the sharp increase of abolitionists and women who fought to preserve the rights of Native Americans attributed to a larger push towards political activism. The foundation of activism from women’s social spheres led to women like the Grimke Sisters and eventually, Susan B. Anthony who advocated for the freedom of enslaved people and eventually, their own fight towards women’s suffrage. Abolitionists argued for freedom for slaves and became publishing houses like *The North Star*. Individuals like Frederick Douglass have been cited innumerable since that time period towards the advancement of black individuals and minority races in America. Up until Andrew Jackson’s presidency, so much of the United States of America had been shaped by men like Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, the questions posed for every day Americans seemed to be – what happens next? What happened during Jackson’s presidency was unprecedented, the level of activism and social culture unmatched, the work of minority individuals had not been seen prior to the shaping of our nation.

Although his policies were ones that caused so much stir, ranging from the removal of Native Americans to the disestablishment of the federal banks, they eventually paved the way for larger social movements during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Without these policies, American rebellion movements might not be as robust and politically active as they are today.

Despite Jackson's successes in transforming the future of social movements, it is important to remember that historians cannot predict the future as the Trump presidency is still shaping the way historians view social progress in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Donald Trump's time as president has led to resistance and social movements across the globe. In the wake of school shootings, the March for Our Lives and the subsequent political activist group "Never Against MSD" took stage, holding rallies around the United States in support of reformed gun control.

Professor Mariana J. Lebrón discusses this theory of political activism in her article, "Power to Influence Leadership Perceptions and Innovatively Challenge the Status Quo: President Donald Trump and Social Activism." Lebrón states that Donald Trump's own activism of inciting the "masses" (she refers mainly to the "masses" as white, uneducated voters) to challenge social conventions and political correctness in favor of comments that often perturb Trump's opposition. Due to the response from Trump's supporters, counter-response movements have become the forefront of general political activism, as shown in the Women's March and the March for Our Lives.<sup>119</sup> However, despite these social movements and the history of the last four years, it is impossible to predict what will occur in the future. Not all history will repeat itself. Even if the two presidents do hold striking resemblance to one another, it does not necessarily mean that their contributions to the presidency will cause any impact in the future. Although

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid. 95.

historians can analyze Jackson's lasting impression on U.S. culture, the same cannot be said for Trump as it is simply too soon to consider the future of America after the age of Trump.

Despite the unknown, the theory of "making America great" can still be traced back to the similarities between Trump and Jackson. Jackson championed a new wave of voters, especially in the post-war period of his presidency and his decision to include universal male suffrage was one that had much more resounding impacts than most of his presidential policy. The decision to open up voting to all white men was not just politically motivated, but one that served the purpose of furthering Jacksonian campaign during his re-election years. The law passed included many of the men who had served under Jackson during the War of 1812, sons of fathers who were wealthy, but were not yet established in their own right, men who were poor and could never dream of owning land in the same way that lucrative plantation owners did, men who had fought and died for the United States against the British in multiple battles. All of the men fell into the characterization of Andrew Jackson, which, despite his older age, was popular almost universally, between the rich and the poor, between young and old. Andrew Jackson bridged some of the generational divide of those still invested in the old ways of the United States and those who were being born into the early Republic. Jackson's version of "make America great" focuses less on the slogan, and more on the overarching goal of building upon the strength of the white man in American culture. Jackson was the push towards America becoming an industrialized country. His lasting impact on making the foundations of America "great" would be felt for generations to come.

Despite this, Jackson makes it clear that making the United States a great country came at a large cost to those who did not fall under his supporters. He actively worked to undermine abolitionists and those who protested slavery, especially in the South. While he

championed the ideas of expanding westward, he did so at the defeat of Native Americans. The concept of greatness applies to only a small fraction of American citizens during this time, as they were the only group to be given a recognized voice during the 1800s. As women, Native Americans, slaves, and even freed black people struggled and suffered throughout most of U.S. history, it goes without saying that Jackson is one of the catalysts that perpetrated the advancement of white men and the degradation of minorities within the same culture.

President Trump often acts in the same fashion. Time and time again, whether in his presidency or outside of it, he has catered to a predominantly male audience, particularly, a white male audience in his speeches and rallies, making it seem as though they are the ones who should be upset that America is not “great” for them, “What the hell do you have to lose?” he asked during a 2016 campaign rally to a majority white audience in Michigan. Trump plays into the idea of “grievance politics” that focuses mainly on white, ultra-conservative values.<sup>120</sup> From his ban on transgender individuals serving in the military to repeated attacks on individuals of other nationalities, he makes it clear that he and his supporters are the individuals suffering. Many of his campaign rallies and messages to supporters hold the same message – he is not to blame for “white oppression”, and instead, the rhetoric he conveys to others, while not politically correct, is the *correct* way of handling a situation. Trump instills a type of fear into supporters that they will lose their rights if they do not join him in “making America great again” and even has gone as far as to quasi-sympathize with white nationalist parties (also referred to as Neo-Nazis) in his quest to sway individuals towards a more white male-dominated voter population,

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<sup>120</sup> Montanaro, Domenico. "With His Back Against The Wall, Trump Again Turns To Grievance Politics." NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2017/08/05/541370064/trump-s-back-to-culture-wars-something-is-going-on>.

stating after the Charlottesville “Unite the Right” rally, stating that “both sides” were to blame for the violence caused when protestors clashed with Neo-Nazis during the rally.<sup>121</sup>

During his presidency, Trump has taken several pages out of Andrew Jackson’s metaphorical book to employ rhetoric to bolster his supporters. He utilizes sympathy towards white men to garner approval and support. His cabinet is comprised of nearly the same gender and race that he is, and furthermore, the rhetoric in his speeches purposefully belittles and attacks others for their differences – their abilities, their gender and sex, their religion, race, and ethnicity. All of the factors of diversity that so many individuals have attempted to create as equal beings to white individuals have been mocked and degraded on his national stage, all for the continuation of white-centric, male ideals. Trump’s theory of “making America great again” relies not so much on what the U.S. was ten or twenty years ago, but what America was like at the beginning of the new Republic. Trump reminds the United States that America would be great if we went back to the days of dominant control of one sub-group over another. It would be great for women to return to traditional family roles and uphold separate social spheres, minorities are not the ones who are disenfranchised, but rather the white men that have controlled the United States for decades and centuries.<sup>122</sup> Trump has incited violence and incendiary rhetoric among his supporters, which has served to push the United States back into a time where minority individuals had very little perceived political influence. The theory of “making America great again” is not from this century, but rather from 1831, the age of

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<sup>121</sup> Weiland, Noah. "Before 'Unite the Right' Rally, Trump Does Not Condemn Supremacists." New York Times. <https://search-proquest.com.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/docview/2091862092?accountid=13158&pq-origsite=summon>.

<sup>122</sup> Gökariksel, Banu, and Sara Smith. "'Making America great again?': The fascist body politics of Donald Trump." Political Geography. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0962629816300506?via%3Dihub>.

Jacksonian democracy, and an age where so many United States citizens were unable to hold a voice on the public stage.

What really solidifies the concept of “making America great” is the social movements that transpired from the legislation and rhetoric posed by these two presidents in their respective time. Without controversial laws, there would be no civil disobedience of resistance movements. Without individuals like Trump or Jackson, there would be no causes to fight for and no ability to progress into a more just and equal society. For example, several of the women’s movements and Native American movements that transpired not just within Congress, but within the entirety of the nation during Jackson’s elections, would not have been possible if legislation that sought to tear down established Native American communities or sever ties with newspapers in the South were established. In today’s world, this same rule applies. If Donald Trump had not said the things he said, both before and during his presidency, several important movements, including the Women’s March, would not have been possible to the lengths that they were. Resistance movements, traditionally, have almost always been in response to a public outcry. Without having that catalyst, that driving force that propels social movements forward, there would be no onward progression. So, while the two presidents believed in their parties to advance the rights and abilities of those who hold the dominant rights and abilities of their time, they are actually assisting in the spread of political change through minority-led activism. As rhetoric surrounding the presidents continues to grow, so does the rhetoric of resistance movements, and progresses the rhetoric of free thinkers, progresses the rights of alienated individuals, and above all, progresses the rights of those who have actively been oppressed by those in places of power.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusions

Throughout history, presidents have been compared to each other – in personality, politics, rhetoric, resistance movements, and lasting impact on the American population as a whole. Andrew Jackson and Donald Trump’s comparison is so prominent because their personalities and politics have been so polarizing. The influence of each president has been debated by news commentators, politicians, and most importantly, historians. History’s influence on each president, as well as their contributions to the United States have defined their presidencies in unparalleled ways. The respective periods of American history reflect not only the policies of Jackson and Trump, but their larger influence on administrative and Congressional decisions as well. Marginalized groups like African Americans, women, and immigrants in both the 19<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries formed minority-led resistance, resulting in transformational political and social change when under threat by U.S. policy and damaging rhetoric. These groups’ actions prove the claim that the Jacksonian and Trump eras parallel each other in multiple ways. The presidents’ outspoken personalities, actions, and counter-responses to resistance movements have better identified their role in resistance-based history.

19<sup>th</sup> century ideals focused on the progression of technology to modernize the spread of mass information through newspapers and campaigning. Jackson, in particular, noted the strength of partisan-based newspapers for spreading information to his supporters, especially during election years. Under Jackson, the newspaper system thrived, both in favor of the 1830s president, as well as harboring deep anti-Jacksonian newspapers as well. Both Whig-based and abolitionist-based newspapers were integral to forms of resistance movements within the 1830s, as the former allowed for political commentary and discourse to provide an opportunity to

discuss the policies that Andrew Jackson formulated. Jackson's policies held deep repercussions for several minority groups in the United States, namely Native Americans when the Indian Removal Act was passed, slaves and abolitionists when he issued the "Gag Rule", as well as other minority groups like women, who rebelled against these policies.

Donald Trump, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, has utilized his position of power to create equal transgressions regarding social policy, including a targeted ban of Muslims from entering the United States, a more rigorous and harmful immigration policy from Hispanic individuals arriving from Mexico, as well as dangerous rhetoric that has incited protests from students, scientists, and women across the United States and across the globe. Trump's use of modern-day technology has pushed his presidency to new heights, using social media like Twitter and Facebook to reach his supporters more directly. Trump's usage of media is mirrored within the 21<sup>st</sup> century news system, where instantaneous, and partisan news media is still popular among both Trump supporters and Trump adversaries. Trump's role in forming resistance movements can also be attributed to the spread of 21<sup>st</sup> century technologies and platforms like Twitter and Facebook as they have become virtual public forums where users can interact and plan larger resistance movements, as seen with the 2017 Women's March.

The purpose of this thesis was to analyze the history and modernity of Andrew Jackson and Donald Trump's role in forming resistance movements in response to their policies and influence on United States politics. Through analysis of U.S. history ranging primarily from the 1830s to the post-2016 election, the work has sought to compare the internal and external factors that have been attributed to their roles while in office. This thesis was designed to prove that their similarities, as well as Trump's repeated allusions to Andrew Jackson in both rhetoric and appearance, have made considerable impact to social movements throughout their respective

eras. As this thesis suggests, America was and is great because of the diversity celebrated amongst generations of individuals. The United States is still young but holds a rich history. The United States' history interacts with individuals of every religion, race, and creed. America's diversity is an integral part of its history, but it is a part of the U.S.'s history that is so vehemently denied and mocked by both Jackson and Trump. The America that they envision as "great" is a fictionalized one – it is the white-washing of cultures and preys upon the ideas that are intrinsically "un-American" in value. America is great, not because of two men who have created restricting policies for minority individuals, but because their policies have constructed a unique social activist culture that has spanned decades and centuries.

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# ACADEMIC VITA

## **Education**

**The Pennsylvania State University**, Schreyer Honors College, University Park, PA  
**Bachelor of Arts**, Honors in History and Public Relations  
**Minor**, English

## **Experience**

**AgExtension Program, University Park, PA** August 2019 – November 2019  
*Spotted Lanternfly Call Expert*

**TE Connectivity, Middletown, PA** May 2019 – August 2019  
*Marketing Intern – Appliances Business Unit*

**Penn State Engineering, University Park, PA** August 2018 – December 2018  
*Communications Intern – Department of Civil & Environmental Engineering*

**Penn State Schreyer Honors College, University Park, PA** August 2017 – May 2018  
*Scholar Assistant – Alumni & Development Relations*

## **Leadership & Involvement**

**Williams Valley School District, Tower City, PA** September 2019 – May 2020  
*Editor of Viking Times Newsletter*

**Polish Student Organization** August 2016 – May 2020  
*Secretary* January 2017 – September 2018  
*Vice President & PR Chair* September 2018 – May 2020

**Front & Centre Non-Profit** March 2016 – May 2019  
*Founder & Chief-of-Staff*

## **Global Experience & Honors**

*London, England, Literary Study Abroad Program* Summer 2019  
*Poland, Embedded Study Abroad Program* Spring 2017  
*Paterno Fellow and Schreyer Scholar, Penn State University*  
*Member, History Honor Fraternity, Phi Alpha Theta*  
*Dean's List* 2016 – 2020  
*James R. Hoffa Memorial Scholarship Recipient* 2016 – 2020