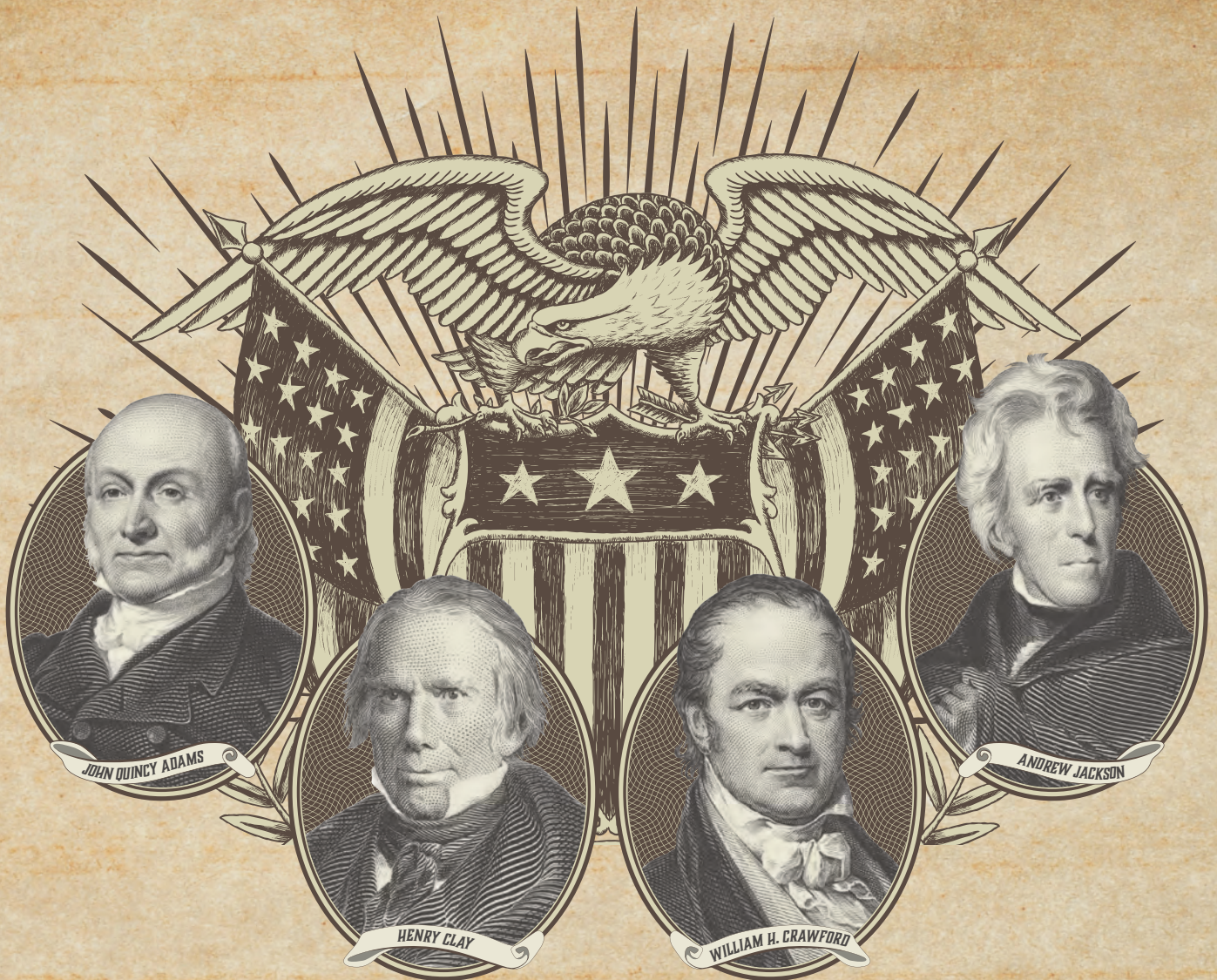


CORRUPT BARGAIN

★★★ THE 1824 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ★★★



INTRODUCTION

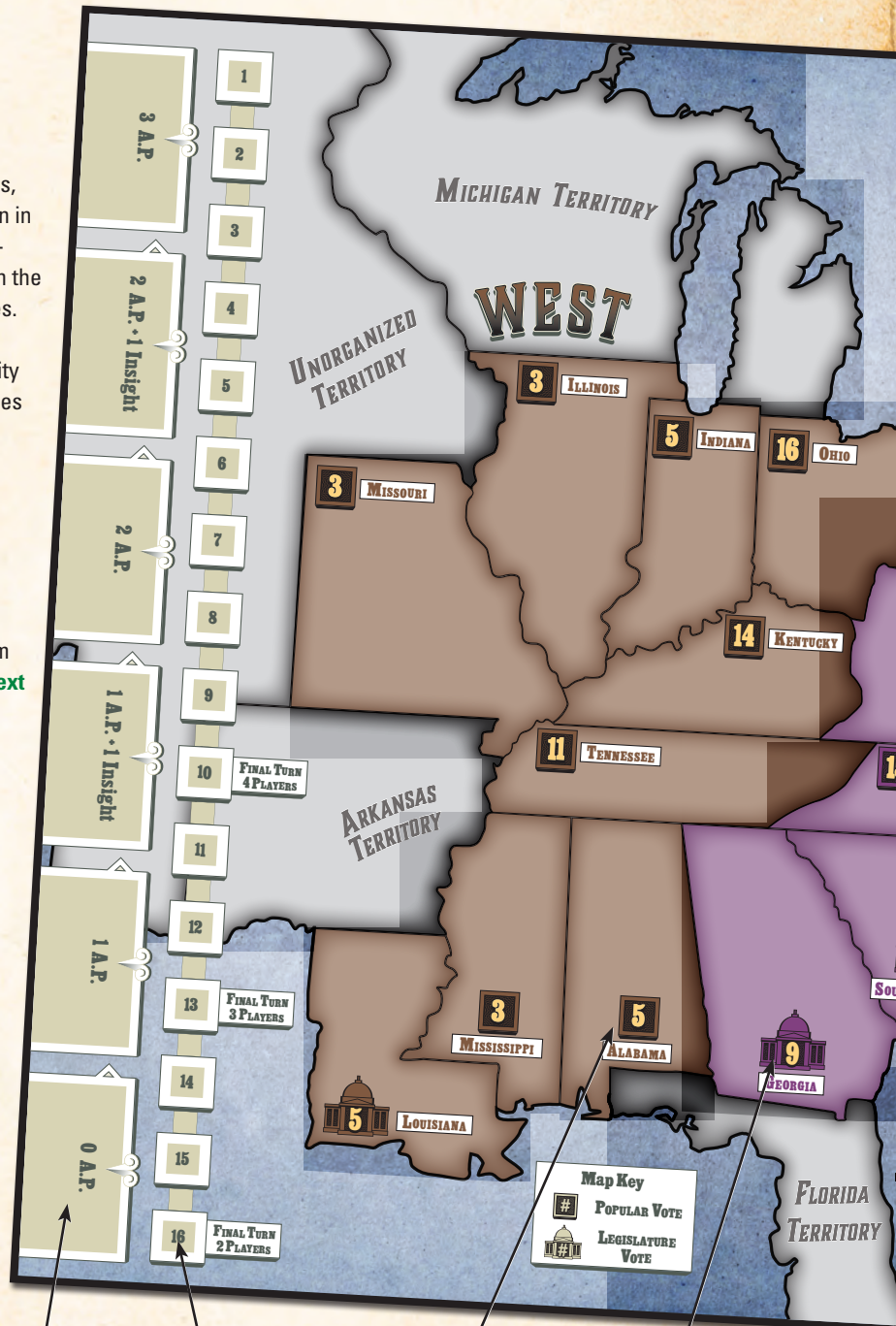
Each player represents one of the major candidates (Adams, Clay, Crawford or Jackson) and their campaign organization in the 1824 federal election. Through strategic alliances, campaigning, and back room politics, the players attempt to win the election and become the next President of the United States. The election is won outright by obtaining a majority of the Electoral College votes. However, if no player wins a majority there, then the election goes to the House of Representatives where the player with a majority of states wins.

RULES

These rules are color-coded. **Red text** identifies important rules, clarifications, and special circumstances to make them easy to locate. **Blue text** identifies examples of play. **Green text** identifies helpful play notes. These rules are followed by an article that provides background on the presidential election process, and the history leading up to the 1824 election.

COMPONENTS

- 200 large cards (60 Populace, 60 Politician, and 80 Event)
- 25 small State cards
- 4 Player Aid cards
- 1 Mounted game board
- 1 Rules & Historical Background booklet
- 160 Populace cubes (40 red, 40 blue, 40 green, 40 yellow)
- 160 Politician octagons (40 red, 40 blue, 40 green, 40 yellow)
- 12 black Lockdown cylinders



Event card track

Campaign round track

Square icon
(Populace vote state)

Capital icon
(Politician vote state)

POLITICIAN CARDS



POPULACE CARDS



EVENT CARDS



GAME BOARD



Smaller state play areas

STATE CARDS



PLAYER AID CARDS



CORRUPT BARGAIN

GAME BOARD

The game board is a political map of the United States in 1824. Each state shows the number of Electoral College votes the winner of that state will receive. Each state also has either a square or a capital icon. This indicates whether the state's Electoral College votes go to the candidate with the most popular votes (square for cubes) or the most politician votes (capital for octagons). The smaller states are shown along the east side of the map.

The map is divided into three colored regions (East, South, and West). Along the western side of the map is the Event card track. Each turn, a player will pick one card from this group and slide the cards up to fill the empty slots on the track. Then a new card is dealt to the lowest (0 A.P.) slot (see Event cards section).

TOKENS

Cubes represent popular votes. Octagons represent politicians and their influence. The number of cubes and octagons is an intentional limit. Cubes and octagons are collectively referred to as "tokens" when both are involved or allowed in play.

Black Lockdown cylinders are placed on a state when it is locked down. No further Populace cubes or Politician octagons may be added to a state with a Lockdown cylinder in it. A lockdown occurs when a player turns in a set of three Event cards with identical policies (the suit icons in the upper left corner).

POPULACE CUBES



POLITICIAN OCTAGONS



LOCKDOWN CYLINDERS



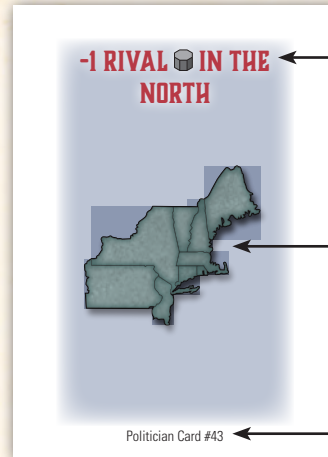
CARDS

There are four types of cards, three large and one small. Event cards are the focus of the game. Players choose an Event card each turn and play it for the specific *events* on that card as well the *Actions* and *Insights* gained from the position of the card on the Event card track. They also collect Event cards to form three-of-a-kind sets that can be played to *Lockdown* a state, preventing further play in there.

Populace and Politician cards are collected during player turns and are played during the Final Push. They provide opportunities to push ahead in votes and influence in the final run-up to the election.

The small State cards are for counting the votes during the election. As each state is counted and a winner determined, the corresponding card is awarded to that player. When all states have been counted, each player then counts their Electoral College votes or states to find the winner.

POLITICIAN CARDS



Card Actions
Take these actions during the Final Push.

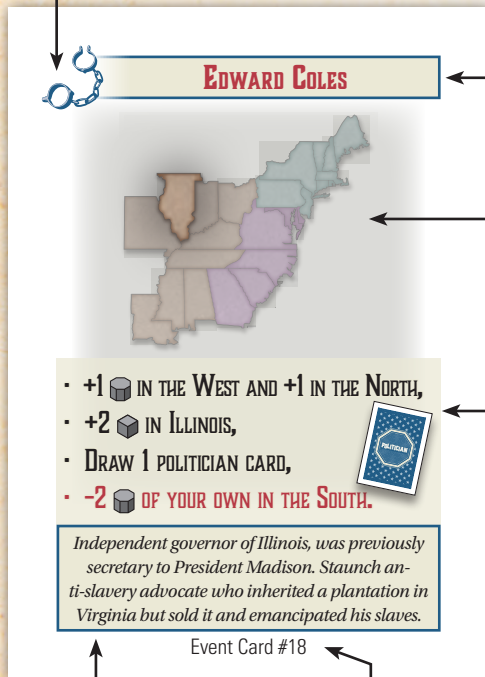
Map Image

Card Number

EVENT CARDS

Card Suit

Used in the Lockdown phase.
Slavery, Trade or Western Expansion.



Card Title

Map Image
Shows the state and/or region(s) this card can effect.

Card Events
Complete these events if possible when you take this card.

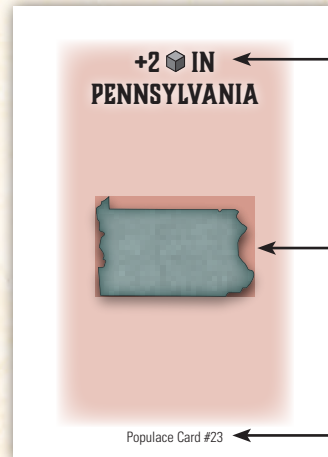
Independent governor of Illinois, was previously secretary to President Madison. Staunch anti-slavery advocate who inherited a plantation in Virginia but sold it and emancipated his slaves.

Event Card #18

Historical Background Note

Card Number
Used in the ultimate tiebreaker.

POPULACE CARDS

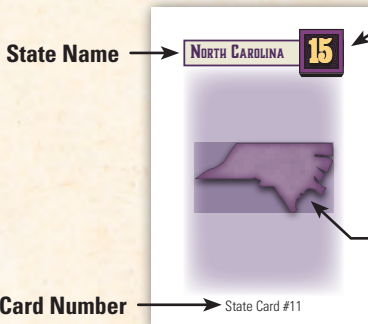


Card Actions
Take these actions during the Final Push.

Map Image

Card Number

STATE CARDS



Electoral College votes
Count these in the Electoral College.

Map Image

Card Number → State Card #11

HOW TO WIN

At the end of the game, a player with a *majority* of the Electoral College vote (at least 131 of the 261 possible votes) wins the game. If no player achieves 131 Electoral College votes, the election goes to the House of Representatives for a Contingent Election. The top three candidates from the Electoral College compete and the player with the majority (13 or more) of state victories wins. If no player has a majority of states, then the third place candidate is dropped and the player with the most state victories wins.

SETUP

1. Each player chooses a set of cubes and octagons of the same color.
2. Shuffle the Event, Populace, and Politician decks separately and place each deck face down on the table.
3. Deal the top six event cards face-up to the slots on the Event card track with one card occupying each slot.
4. Each player draws one Event card. The player with the highest card number goes first. Discard those cards to the bottom of the Event deck.
5. A 4-player game lasts 10 Campaign rounds. A 3-player game lasts 13 Campaign rounds. A 2-player game lasts 16 Campaign rounds.

TURN SEQUENCE

Players conduct their turns in clockwise order. In a three or four player game, the starting player order rotates clockwise each round. Thus, the second player in the first round will become the first player in the second round, etc. In a two-player game, players simply alternate turns. Players may wish to identify the first player by placing a token of each color on the Campaign round track. The player currently taking their turn is the active player.

SEQUENCE OF PLAY

CAMPAIGN TURNS

1. If the Active player has three Event cards of the same suit, they may Lockdown any one state of their choice.
Note: This step is skipped the first three Campaign rounds (as no one has three cards to play until the start of the fourth round).
2. The active player selects one card from the face-up Event cards on the Event card track, then completes the following steps:
 - a. Complete the events indicated on the Event card.
 - b. Complete the number of actions and insights indicated under the card on the Event card track.
 - c. Slide the remaining Event cards up the Event card track and draw and place a new Event card on the 0 A.P. slot.

3. The next player becomes the active player and completes steps #1 and #2.
4. After all players have completed a turn, the second player of that round places their token on the next turn on the Campaign round track and starts the next round (i.e. becomes the first player). If the round completed is the last Campaign round (e.g. round 10 in a 4-player game), play proceeds to the Final Push.

FINAL PUSH

5. Each player counts the total number of Politician and Populace cards they collected during Campaign rounds. The player with the most cards is the first player.
6. Players reveal one card of their choice from their hand and complete the action(s) on the card. Play continues until all Politician and Populace cards have been played. The Campaign round track is no longer used.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE

7. Check each state for a winner. The winner of each state receives that state's card (1st and 2nd place receive New York's two cards).
Note: The states voting by state legislature (Politician octagons) are denoted on the map by a capital building. All other states vote by popular vote (cubes).
8. Players total their Electoral College votes. If any player has a *majority* (131 Electoral College votes or more), they are the winner. If not, the 4th place player is dropped, and play continues to the Contingent Election.

CONTINGENT ELECTION

9. Only the top three players in EC voting continue into the Contingent Election.
10. Check each state for a winner by counting Politician octagons only. The winner of each state receives that state's card. Don't use the 2nd place New York card in this phase.
11. Players count their state cards. If any player has a *majority* (13 or more states), they are the winner. If not (possible with three players), the player with the fewest state victories is dropped, and there is a Contingent Election recount with only the top two.

SUITS

AND LOCKDOWNS

Each Event card is marked with an Issue Suit: Slavery, Trade or Western Expansion, denoted by the icon in the upper left corner of the card. At the start of their turn, if a player has three Event cards in one suit, they may discard the set to place a Lockdown cylinder on the state of their choice. For the rest of the game, no player can add or remove tokens in that state through any means whatsoever. Only one Lockdown can be performed per player turn.

EVENT CARDS

Each turn, the active player selects one of the Event cards from the Event card track and completes the events on it, drawing cards, or adding/removing tokens as indicated. These do not count as actions. If tokens of the type and location specified are not present, those tokens are not removed. If a player has already placed all of his tokens of a given type, more tokens cannot be added. **Cubes may not be added to states with capitals (only octagons). If a state is locked down, no tokens may be added or removed.**

Next, the cards lower down the Event card track are moved one slot higher, and a new Event card is drawn to place in the 0 A.P. slot. Players keep their Event cards face-down and separate from their Populace and Politician cards so they can turn them in for lockdowns.

Note: Players may want to place one of their cubes on the Event card track slot selected as a reminder of the number of actions and insights they can play.

ACTIONS

Depending on the slot the Event card occupied, the player will accrue up to three Action Points (AP). AP are spent on the following actions for one AP each. **No action may be conducted more than once in a player's turn.**

- Campaign for Political Support:** Place one Politician octagon in any one state.
- Campaign for Popular Votes:** Place one Populace cube in any one state with a square icon.
- Work the Back Rooms:** Draw four Politician cards. Keep one for the Final Push. Place the other three at the bottom of the Politician deck.
- Get Out The Vote:** Draw four Populace cards. Keep one for the Final Push. Place the other three at the bottom of the Populace deck.
- Political Intrigue:** Select a state where the player has at least one Politician octagon and choose one opponent. The player removes one of their own Politician octagons and up to two Politician octagons of that opponent.

INSIGHT

When a player has picked an Event card from one of the two slots marked "+ Insight," after completing the actions, do one of the following:



- Draw two random cards from one opponent's Populace and Politician cards, look at them, keep one and return the other to the opponent
- If no opponent has two Populace/Politician cards, draw one card from either the Populace or Politician deck instead.

FINAL PUSH

After the last Campaign round, the game continues into the Final Push. Discard all remaining Event cards. The player with the most total remaining Populace and Politician cards is the first player in the Final Push and play continues clockwise. Each player plays one card from their hand per turn and completes the actions on it (this might have no effect if the state on the card is locked down). Players must play a card if they have any remaining in their hand (even if the card has no effect). When a player has no cards left, they are finished. When all players are out of cards, the Final Push ends and scoring begins.

Note: The last player plays the rest of their cards one at a time until no cards remain.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Players review each state to determine the player with the most octagons there (for the 6 states with capital icons) or the most cubes (the other 18 states). As each state victor is determined, the winner receives that state's card (e.g., the blue player wins Pennsylvania; they receive the Pennsylvania card showing they have 28 Electoral College votes.). **Be careful to check for first and second place in New York and award the corresponding EC votes to the first and second place winners.** If any player has 131 or more Electoral College votes, they win the game.

Note: Players may want to check states by completing one region at a time.

If no player won, continue to the Contingent Election in the House of Representatives. Only the top 3 Electoral College vote winners continue; in a 4-player game, the player with the fewest Electoral College votes is dropped (in a 3-player game, all three continue). If there is more than one player with the fewest Electoral College votes, the player with fewer Politician octagons on the board is dropped. If still tied, use the Ultimate Tiebreaker.

Note: In a two-player game, because there are an odd number of total Electoral College votes, a tie is not possible (the closest contest would be 131 to 130).

Two-player games do not use the Contingent Election.

BREAKING TIES

If multiple players are tied for a state's Electoral College vote, break the tie as follows:

- By having the most Politician octagons in that state.
- If still tied, by having the most Politician octagons in that state's region.
- If still tied, by having the most Politician octagons on the entire map.
- If still tied, by the Ultimate Tie-breaker.

CONTINGENT ELECTION

The Contingent Election is determined solely by Politician octagons (cubes do not count). A player wins the Contingent Election by winning a majority (13 or more) of the state votes (regardless of how many Electoral College votes those states have). The player with the most octagons in each state receives that state's card (**No one receives the 2nd place New York card in the Contingent Election**). Break ties as listed above (starting at step 2).

When three players are competing in the Contingent Election, and no player wins 13 or more state victories, the top two players go into a run-off. If the second and third place players are tied in state votes, break the tie as listed above (starting at step 3).

Note: In a two-player run-off, if the players are tied (12 to 12), break the tie as listed above (starting at step 3).

ULTIMATE TIEBREAKER

If no other procedure breaks a tie, those involved each draw one Event card. The player with the highest card number is the winner. Discard those cards to the bottom of the Event deck.

4-PLAYER GAME SCORING

In counting the votes for the Electoral College, the players have the following results:

Player	Red	Blue	Green	Yellow	Total
Votes	99	62	56	54	271

No player achieved an Electoral College majority (131 or more), so the top three players proceed to the Contingent Election. Now they count Politician octagons only. The results are:

Player	Red	Blue	Green	Total
States	10	8	6	24
	NY, ME, CT, NH, NJ, RI, MD, SC, IL, MS	PA, MA, VT, VA, NC, GA, DE, MO	OH, KY, TN, IN, AL, LA	

No player achieved a Contingent Election majority (13 or more), so the top two players proceed to a recount of states by Politician octagons as before, but with the green player eliminated.

Note: this only requires recounting the states Green won since the Red and Blue state victories would not change in the recount.

Player	Blue	Red	Total
States	13	11	24
	PA, MA, VT, VA, NC, GA, DE, MO, KY, TN, IN, AL, LA	NY, ME, CT, NH, NJ, RI, MD, SC, IL, MS, OH	

After the recount, blue wins the game with 13 states.

QUICK PLAY RULES

Start a game as usual, however each player's turn consists of only the following steps:

- 1. Lockdown:** unchanged.
- 2. Draw Event card:** the Event card track is not used. Instead, the active player draws two Event cards from the deck, reviews both, and discards one. They may then play the card for its listed events or, instead, may take one additional action in the action phase (3 total). In either case, they keep the Event card for a potential lockdown.
- 3. Action phase:** the player receives two action points every player turn.
- 4. No Insight phase.**
- 5. Final Push, Electoral College, and Contingent Election are played as usual.**

Note: we recommend playing a two-player game for your first game (or as a quicker game by dividing into two teams). Because the Contingent Election will not come into play (one of the two players will have a majority), two player games are a straight forward race to win a majority in the Electoral College.

HISTORICAL START OPTION

Use the following historical setup to give each candidate a head start in their respective home areas. It is up to the players which player and color represents each candidate.

- **John Quincy Adams:**
 - Massachusetts: 1 cube, 2 octagons
 - Maine, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire: 1 cube each
 - **Andrew Jackson:**
 - Tennessee: 2 cubes, 1 octagon
 - South Carolina: 1 octagon
 - Alabama, Pennsylvania, North Carolina: 1 cube each
 - **William Crawford:**
 - Virginia: 1 cube, 2 octagons
 - Georgia: 2 octagons
 - North Carolina: 1 cube, 1 octagon
 - **Henry Clay:**
 - Ohio: 1 cube, 2 octagons
 - Kentucky: 1 cube, 2 octagons
 - Indiana: 1 octagon
- Start on Round 2
• Round 2 turn order: Adams, Jackson, Crawford, Clay





THE “CORRUPT BARGAIN”

By Patrick S. Baker

THE 1824 UNITED STATES PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION was arguably the most contentious and divisive in history, at least until the presidential elections of 2000 and 2020. This anger over the election was singularly ironic as all the candidates claimed membership in a single political party, the Democratic-Republicans, the only national party at the time.

BACKGROUND

The Era of Good Feelings (1815–1825), which started with the end of the War of 1812 and concluded with the election of John Quincy Adams as president, was a period in the political history of the United States that was marked by a new sense of a true nationality and of general-purpose and unity among Americans. This era was associated with the presidency of James Monroe. This time was also when the Federalist Party declined and disappeared, leaving Monroe’s Democratic-Republicans as the only surviving national political party. Nevertheless, many old Federalists, like John Quincy Adams, merely shed the Federalist

party label—without abandoning the old faction’s ideas—and joined the Democratic-Republicans. Subsequently, some of the critical Federalist’s policies, such as the Tariff of 1816 and the incorporation of the Second Bank of the United States, were adopted by Democratic-Republican administrations.

An unexpected outcome of a single surviving “big tent” party was a breakdown in party unity and discipline. Instead of being a single cohesive whole, many factions surfaced from within the party. President Monroe struggled to suppress the party infighting by appointing leading party members and statesmen, with sometimes opposing views, to his cabinet. For example, he appointed Adams as Secretary of State, William H. Crawford of Georgia as Secretary of the Treasury, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina as Secretary of War. Meanwhile, the Speaker of the House, Henry Clay of Kentucky, technically a member of Monroe’s party, with his power base in the House of Representatives, refused to join the government and was critical of Monroe’s policies.



Independence Day Celebration in Centre Square, Philadelphia by John Lewis Krimmel, 1819.

Presidential Election of 1824

THE NOMINATING PROCESS

Following the tradition set by President Washington, Monroe declined to seek a third term. There were two established routes to the presidency; one was through being vice-president as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson had both been. The other was through being secretary of state like Jefferson, James Madison, and Monroe had been.

Monroe's vice president, Daniel D. Tompkins, was out of the running for president due to his unpopularity and significant health issues. This should have left John Quincy Adams as Monroe's heir apparent and cleared his path to the nomination. However, Adams was unpopular with the party leadership because of his Federalists leanings and criticism of the Missouri Compromise. This left the presidential nomination field wide open.

In previous elections, an informal caucus of the Democratic-Republican members in Congress had determined the party's candidates for president and vice president. On 14 February 1824, a Congressional caucus nominated Treasury Secretary Crawford for president. This, even though Crawford

had suffered a stroke which left him partially paralyzed, mostly blind, and unable to speak. Also, fewer than 70 out of 258 eligible lawmakers attended the meeting, which was widely criticized as undemocratic. Derisively termed the "King Caucus," the meeting was called an attempt "*to dictate to the people, instead of following their lead.*"

Supporters of Adams denounced the caucus results, and the Massachusetts legislature then nominated Adams as a "favorite son" candidate. The Kentucky legislature quickly did the same for Henry Clay. In 1822, the Tennessee legislature had nominated Andrew Jackson, again as a "favorite son" candidate for president. This was at the same time as he had been elected senator from Tennessee. Just a month after the Congressional caucus, the Pennsylvania legislature also selected Jackson as their candidate for president.

Smith Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, put himself forward briefly as a candidate. Seeing he had no support, he soon dropped out altogether.

John C. Calhoun also put himself in the running. However, when the legislature of his home state of South Carolina failed to support his bid, and Pennsylvania's lawmakers shifted their support to Jackson, he too dropped out. He later put himself in the race for vice president. After all the maneuvering, instead of one unified ticket for president, the Democratic-Republicans had four significant contenders for the office.

THE ISSUES

Despite all being members of the same party, there were some significant policy differences between the candidates. Fortunately, the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had put the prickly issue of slavery aside for the moment. Slave-owners would still vote against candidates they thought were anti-slavery, but it was not a primary voting motivator. This left tariffs, the national bank, and States' Rights as the election's main issues.

Clay had developed a three-point plan that *"consisted of three mutually reinforcing parts: a tariff to protect and promote American industry; a national bank to foster commerce; and federal subsidies for roads, canals, and other 'internal improvements' to develop profitable markets for agriculture."*

Tariffs would keep out cheap foreign goods and encourage American industry while providing revenue for the Federal government. The national bank would promote a single currency, promote internal and external trade, and handle sovereign debt and credit. The plan also called for selling land in the West rather than giving it away to homesteaders. This provided another source of income for the Federal government. Money from the sale of land and the tariffs would then be spent on infrastructure like roads, canals, and ports.

This "American System" favored the manufacturing and shipping interests in the North and East and farmers in the West while disadvantaging Southerners. High tariffs raised the price of imported manufactured merchandise and forced the purchase of inferior American-made goods. Southerners also felt they did not benefit from the "internal improvements" as they had means of transporting goods to market on the extensive river systems. The system also limited their foreign trade opportunities in raw materials such as cotton, tobacco, and indigo that the South produced. Adams, with continued Federalist leanings, largely favored Clay's "American System."

Crawford of Georgia stood firmly against this "American System." He felt that many parts were blatantly unconstitutional. As a supporter of States' Rights, Crawford understood that all the money flowing into the Federal coffers to be spent on infrastructure, as well as the central bank, concentrated economic and political power in Washington, DC.

Jackson stood somewhat in the middle of the others. He was a moderate on the tariffs and government spending on improvements. Jackson also hated the Second Bank, which he blamed for the Panic of 1819. The Panic was the first major peacetime financial crisis in the US. Jackson felt that a tight credit policy, especially in the West, had exacerbated the emergency. He presented himself as a fighter against a corrupt Monroe Administration, which put him at odds with candidates who had been Monroe's Cabinet members. He also represented himself as a defender of the Republic and the common man against the wealthy elites.

Along with the policy differences, the election was driven by regionalism. All of the first five presidents were considered Founders, and four were from Virginia—the so-called Virginia Dynasty consisting of Washington, Jefferson,

ANDREW JACKSON

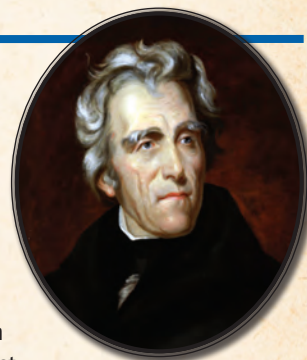
Andrew Jackson served as the seventh president of the United States from 1829 to 1837. He was the second general to be elected US President. He was the first president born west of the Appalachian Mountains and was the first president who was primarily a self-made man. Jackson was famous for his fierce temper, an often-violent personality, and holding grudges. He fought duels and brawled with his military subordinates. On the last day of his presidency, Jackson said that he had only two regrets, that he *"had been unable to shoot Henry Clay or to hang John C. Calhoun."*

Jackson was born in the Carolinas to a Scotch-Irish family in 1767. During the American Revolution, at just 13 years old, he was a courier and orderly. He and his brothers were captured by the British. A British officer slashed Jackson with a sword when young Jackson refused to clean the officer's boots. This, and the fact both his brothers died during the war, left Jackson with a lifelong hatred of the British.

After the war, he moved west and became a successful lawyer and politician. One story has it that he suggested Tennessee's name for the new state during the petition process for statehood. He then served in both houses of the US Congress, representing Tennessee.

He was made a major general of volunteers, leading the Tennessee militia during the Creek War of 1813–1814, crushing the Creek at Horseshoe Bend. He was then made a major general in the regular army. He defeated the British at the 1815 Battle of New Orleans, and became a national hero. Jackson then commanded US forces in the First Seminole War, which eventually led to Florida's purchase from Spain. Jackson then served as Florida's first territorial governor before returning to the Senate in 1822.

Jackson ran for president in 1824, winning a plurality of the popular and electoral vote. He lost in the House of Representatives to John Quincy Adams in the contingent election. He alleged there had been a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Henry Clay. Jackson was outraged, resigned from the Senate, and founded the Democratic Party. Jackson ran again in 1828 and trounced Adams in a landslide. After serving two terms as President, Jackson retired to his plantation, the Hermitage. He died in 1845. ♦



Madison, and Monroe. This connection to the Founding and Washington's home state allowed them to control the centrifugal forces of regionalism. With westward expansion—including the admission of seven new states since 1812 (Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, and Missouri)—and the next president not coming from the Founders, sectionalism came to the front.

All the candidates had strong regional power bases centered on their home states. Adams of Massachusetts was most emphatic in the Federalist strongholds of New England and the Northeast. Crawford, who had been born in Virginia and hoped to parlay that into a continuation of the Virginia Dynasty and represented Georgia in the Senate, was strongest in the old South of Virginia and Georgia. Clay of Kentucky had his support in the West, especially his home state and Missouri. Jackson had the most widespread support, centered in the new states in the West and South, and the old Mid-Atlantic states.

Further, all the nominees had an intensely personal antipathy for each other. Although they were closest together on policy, Clay and Adams disliked each other intensely. Clay saw Adams as a "cold fish" and utterly humorless. Further,

Adams and Clay were at odds over Clay's signature achievement, the Missouri Compromise, which Adams had bitterly opposed. All the nominees detested Adams' English-born wife, Louisa, who they believed disdained Americans.

Meanwhile, Adams pointed out Clay's drinking and his love of gambling, particularly on horse races.

Crawford detested Adams because of his Federalist ideas, while Adams saw Crawford as a hothead. The Georgian had once raised his cane to strike President Monroe and had to be chased from the room with a hot fireplace poker.

Adams, Clay, and Crawford were all loathed by Jackson as corrupt insiders. All of them thought Jackson a hot-tempered ruffian, a killer, and a simpleton. Adams claimed that Jackson was a "barbarian...who can hardly spell his own name." While Clay later said, "I cannot believe that killing 2,500 Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies..." anyone to be president.

THE CAMPAIGN

As was traditional at the time, the actual candidates did not actively campaign or make public promises; rather, they stood above the fray. Instead, various friends, supporters, and surrogates—

mostly local men—did the actual rough and tumble job of spreading the good word about and mobilizing support for the nominee. What are now called endorsements played an essential part in the election, with Adams getting substantial backing from his father, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe.

A nationwide political campaign consisted of stump speeches, called this because they were delivered while standing on tree stumps provided by partisans, and rallies at taverns or towns' commons. The crowds were fed and offered spiritous drinks. There were also contrafacta, well-known tunes whose lyrics had been changed, were a long-standing tradition in elections and were used in 1824. "The Hunters of Kentucky," also called "The Battle of New Orleans," was one such contrafact. The song promoted Andrew Jackson as a national hero for his victory at New Orleans in 1815. Print media was another widespread form of campaigning, with political cartoons and opinionated writings distributed to voters through partisan newspapers. Calhoun used this method most effectively in his run for vice-president as he was a member of the newspaper's editorial staff at *The Patriot*. All the candidates had newspapers that supported them as well.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

John Quincy Adams was the sixth President of the United States. He was the first man whose father had also been president, and the first president who was not a Founder.

Adams was born in 1767, the oldest son of John Adams and Abigail Adams. During and after the War of Independence, young Adams accompanied his father to Europe while the elder Adams represented the new nation in France and the Netherlands. He also traveled to Russia and Britain. While abroad, Adams studied Latin, Greek, French and attended Leiden University. He returned to America in 1785 and graduated Phi Beta Kappa and second in his class from Harvard in 1787. Adams studied the law and, in 1790, opened his own law office in Boston. He was soon a moderate success as an attorney and established his financial independence.

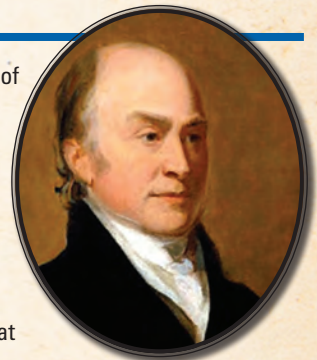
In 1794, Washington appointed Adams as the US ambassador to the Netherlands. In 1796, the senior Adams was President and appointed his son first as ambassador to Prussia and then as ambassador to Portugal. After Jefferson became president, Adams returned home and in 1802 was elected Senator from Massachusetts, serving until 1808.

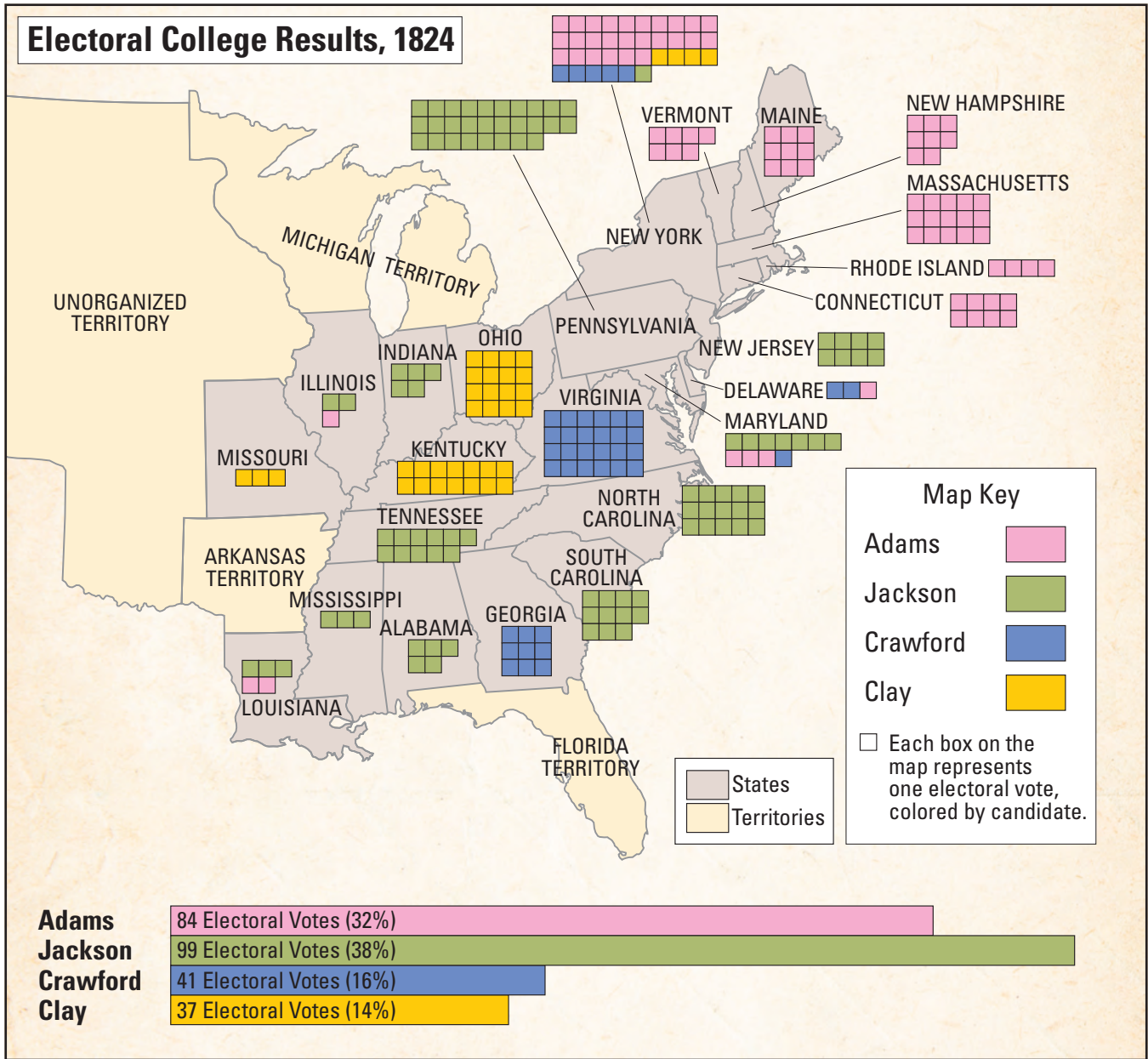
In 1809, he was made minister to Russia and was in St. Petersburg during the War of 1812. He then joined the American

delegation that negotiated the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war. In May 1815, Adams was appointed the US ambassador to Britain by President Madison. From 1817 to 1825, Adams was James Monroe's Secretary of State. He was deeply involved in developing the Monroe Doctrine and negotiated the Adams-Onís Treaty that ceded Florida to the US.

Adams won the 1824 presidential election in the House of Representatives' contingency election, defeating Andrew Jackson, with the support of Henry Clay. Adams then made Clay Secretary of State, in a supposed "corrupt bargain." Andrew Jackson came back four years later and defeated Adams in a landslide.

Unlike most former presidents, Adams did not retire. He was elected to the House of Representatives from Massachusetts, saying he preferred serving in Congress. On 21 February 1848, during a debate on the House floor, Adams suffered a massive stroke and died two days later. ♦





In this election, the two largest electoral factors were the influx of new voters onto the voting rolls and the popular vote's widespread use within some states to choose the electors to the Electoral College. After the War of 1812 and with the expansion West, many states had dropped the land-owning requirements to vote; this essentially gave every white male over the age of 21 the right to vote. Further, in 18 out of the 24 states, the popular vote would determine who the electors would vote for to be president. Only in six—Delaware, Georgia, New York, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Vermont—would the state legislatures decide. In short, these

changes made this the first presidential election where the popular vote—the peoples' voice—would make a difference.

THE GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS

Unsurprisingly, Andrew Jackson won the popular vote, with 151,271 or 41.36 percent of the total, and he also won a plurality of 99 electoral votes but was 32 short of the 131 electoral votes needed to win outright (see Map 1). He carried Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, North and South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee.

John Quincy Adams was second with 113,122 or 30.92 percent of the popular

vote and 84 electoral votes. Adams won Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont.

William Harris Crawford was third in the popular vote with 40,856 votes or 11.21 percent and 41 electoral votes. He won Georgia and Virginia.

Henry Clay was fourth with 47,531 or 12.99 percent of the popular vote, but only 37 electoral college votes won Kentucky, Missouri, and Ohio.

Five states split their electoral college votes: Delaware gave one to Adams and two to Crawford. Illinois gave two for Jackson and one to Adams. Louisiana awarded three to Jackson and two to Adams. Maryland split three ways with

seven for Jackson, three for Adams, and one for Crawford. While New York split four ways with Jackson getting one vote, Clay four, Crawford five, and Adams, the vast majority of 26 electoral college votes.

The biggest surprise of the election was the splitting of the votes within individual states.

Delaware split its vote with Adams getting support from the Quaker-dominated commercial regions, while Crawford received the votes from the rural, slaveholding areas.

Louisiana should have strongly supported Jackson as the hero of the Battle of New Orleans and a new Southwestern state. Commercial interests in New Orleans favored the tariffs and infrastructure plans of Adams. Plus, the state did not have the popular vote.

Maryland had the popular vote, so the rural, South-looking, and slaveholding population outside Baltimore supported Jackson and Crawford while Baltimore's great trading port supported Adams.

New York did not have the popular vote and was a Federalist stronghold and a commercial and industrial powerhouse; therefore, it should have stood solidly with Adams from next-door Massachusetts. The fact that it split its votes four ways was shocking.

On another note, the Vice President election was held on a separate ballot and John C. Calhoun, who had the support

of both Adams and Jackson, won easily with 182 out of 260 electoral votes cast.

THE CONTINGENT ELECTION OR THE CORRUPT BARGAIN

With no nominee winning a majority of the Electoral College vote, the House of Representatives would now hold a contingent election to choose the president as required by the 12th Amendment to the Constitution.

Under the 12th Amendment, the House of Representatives must go into session after calculating the electoral votes immediately. No candidate received a majority of the electoral votes. The House was limited to considering the top three vote-getters. The state delegations would vote *en bloc*, with each state getting a single vote. To win, a contender had to obtain an absolute majority of the States' votes. Balloting would continue until one candidate received the majority. Jackson, Adams, and Crawford were admitted as candidates to the House. Clay, as the fourth-place finisher, was removed from the ballot. Still, he remained the Speaker of the House and so would be the "kingmaker" in the House vote.

Adams and Jackson were rightly viewed as the top contenders, with Crawford standing no real chance to win in the House. Soon the maneuvering started, and the rumors flew. Clay wrote that friends of the three remaining



ABOVE: Tricolor cockades in this scheme were used by the Democratic-Republican Party.

candidates were beating a path to his door. Jackson visited Clay's boarding-house—the Speaker was not home—but the visit was returned in Jackson's rooms.

Adams also visited with Clay in his rooms. On 9 January 1825, Clay went to Adams' home. Adams recorded that the two had a "long conversation explanatory of the past and prospective of the future." Further, Adams wrote that Clay "wished me, as far as I might think proper, to satisfy him with regard... of great public importance, but without any personal considerations for himself." Lastly, Adams said Clay "had no hesitation in saying his preference would be for me." Clay later said that Adams had made no promises to him.

WILLIAM CRAWFORD

William Crawford served as United States Secretary of War and United States Secretary of the Treasury for President James Monroe before being nominated by the Democratic-Republican Congressional Congress to run for president in 1824.

Crawford was born in Virginia. When he was seven, his family moved to South Carolina. Then at age 11, his family settled near Augusta, Georgia. Young Crawford taught school, studied law, and in 1799 at age 27, he opened a law office in Lexington, Georgia.

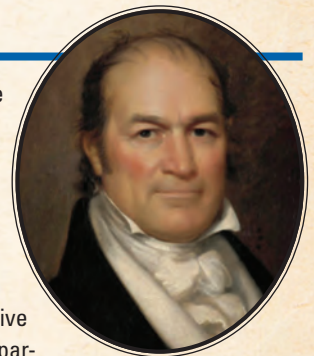
In 1807, then a member of the Georgia state legislature, Crawford was sent to Washington, DC to complete Georgia's deceased US senator's unexpired term. In 1811, the Georgia legislature sent him back to Washington DC as a senator in his own right. When Vice President George Clinton died in 1812, Crawford was elected *president pro tempore* of the Senate.

In 1813, President James Madison named him minister to France. Just two years later, Madison called Crawford home and appointed him secretary of war. Then in 1816, Madison named him secretary of the treasury, a position he held until 1825.

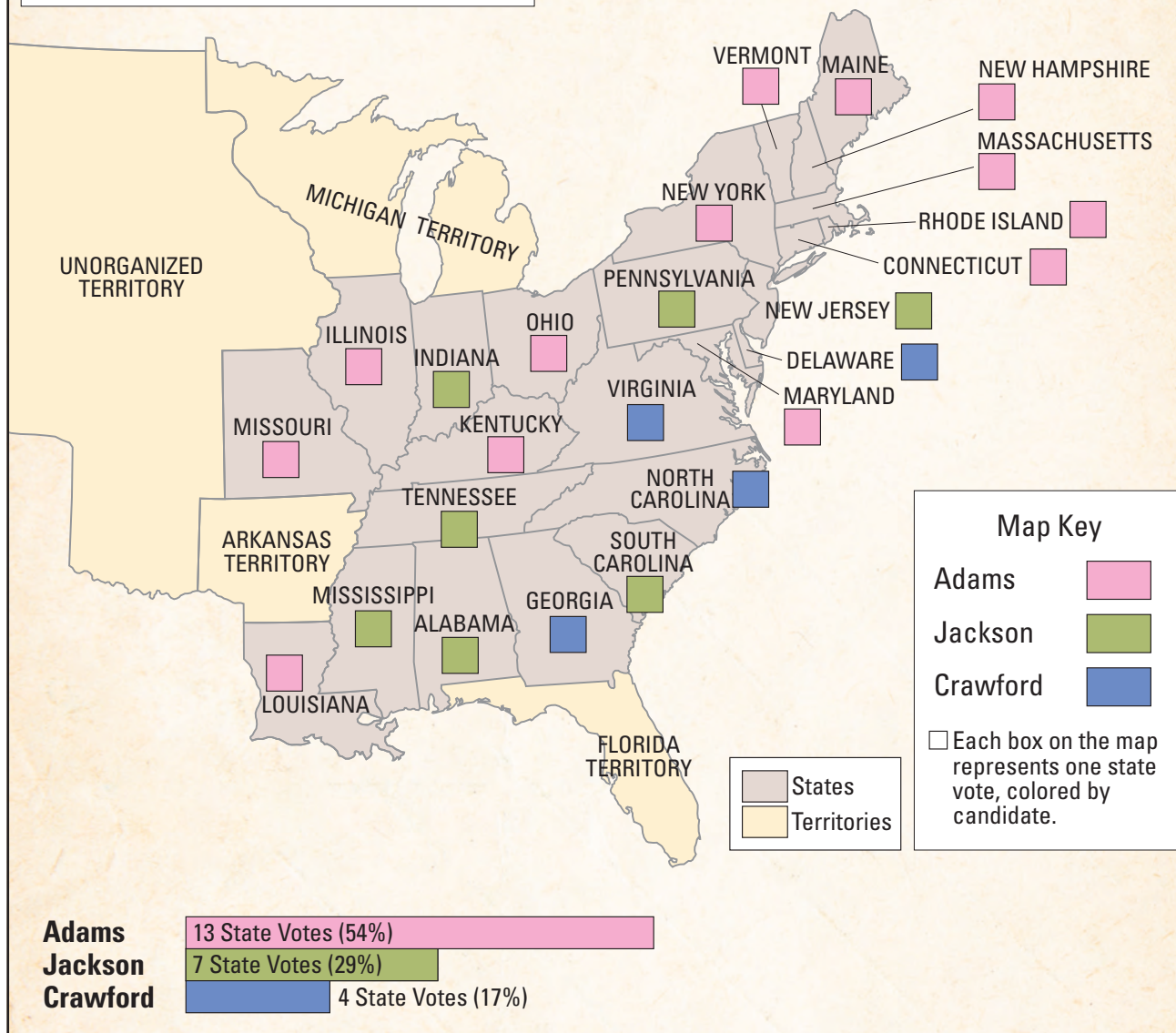
Crawford was a leading candidate for the Democratic-Republican presidential nomination in 1816. Still, he yielded to James Monroe, who was duly elected and kept Crawford on as Secretary of the Treasury. Monroe was easily reelected in 1820.

In 1823, Crawford suffered a massive stroke and was left, for a time, partly paralyzed, unable to speak, and nearly blind. Still, Crawford won the party caucus vote to run for president. He finished a distant third behind Adams and Jackson in the general election. He also finished third in the contingent election that chose John Quincy Adams as President.

Adams asked Crawford to stay as Treasury Secretary, but he refused. Crawford then returned to Georgia and was appointed to the state superior court. Crawford died in 1834 and is buried at his home, just outside the town named for him, Crawford, Georgia. ◆



Contingent Election Results, 1825



Word of an alleged “corrupt bargain” between Clay and Adams quickly leaked out. At least for Jackson and his supporters, this news was confirmed when, on 24 January, the Kentucky delegation to the House announced that it would vote for Adams, not Jackson. An anonymous Democratic-Republican congressman wrote that it was “one of the most disgraceful transactions that ever covered with infamy the Republican ranks.”

The actual rollcall for the contingent election was held in the House on 9 February 1825. Adams won on the first ballot by carrying Connecticut, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio,

Rhode Island, and Vermont for 13 states, just enough to win a majority of the 24 states (see Map 2). Jackson won seven states: Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Crawford won four states: Delaware, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia.

Adams’ election stunned and outraged Jackson, who was expected to win the presidency, despite the politics. Jackson and his followers accused Adams and Clay of striking a “corrupt bargain,” especially after Adams made Clay his Secretary of State. Further, by appointing Clay to the State Department, Adams made him the heir presumptive to the presidency.

Reacting to the situation, Jackson said, “*The Judas of the West (Clay) has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver... Was there ever witnessed such a bare-faced corruption in any country before?*” He also resigned from the Senate and returned to Tennessee to arrange his political revenge on both Clay and Adams.

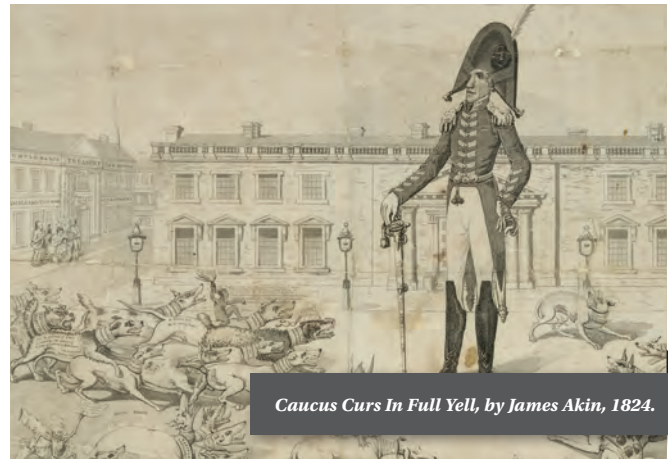
Jackson and his supporters’ anger ignored the fact that Clay and Adams were close together on policy. Both considered Jackson and Crawford to be entirely unsuitable to be chief executive. No formal and official investigation was ever conducted regarding the outcome, so the supposedly shady *quid pro quo* can neither be confirmed nor denied.

In 1998, an analysis using Game Theory mathematics and Spatial Voting theory concluded that, opposed to Jackson and his followers' claims, as well as later historians, the election of Adams was consistent with "sincere voting." Unable to vote for their most favorite candidate, the representatives selected their next most favorite, Adams, after eliminating Clay and Crawford from contention.

CONCLUSION

The 1824 presidential election was the only election, so far, where the candidate with the most electoral votes did not become president and was the first out of five elections where the popular vote winner did not win the presidency.

The election marked the end of the "Era of Good Feeling" and the end of the Virginia Dynasty of presidents. It also saw the final dissolution of the old Democratic-Republican political party as it split into the National Republican Party lead by Adams and the Democratic Party lead by Jackson. Sectionalism and classism came to the front as the indus-



Caucus Curs In Full Yell, by James Akin, 1824.

trial and commercial North and East, represented by that scion of the old elite, Adams, contended with the agrarian and rural South and the rough and ready West represented by the self-educated and self-made, Jackson. 🔴

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HENRY CLAY

Henry Clay, called the "Great Compromiser," was one of the most influential and significant American politicians of the early Republic. Clay was a Senator from Kentucky, Secretary of State, and most importantly, Speaker of the House of Representatives for more than ten years. Clay was a brilliant orator, with many people attending meetings of Congress just to hear him speak.

Clay was born in Virginia in 1777 to a relatively prosperous family, although a later story has it that Clay grew up in extreme poverty. Clay's father died when Henry was four, and his mother remarried. As a teenager, Clay worked for a prominent lawyer in Richmond. He also studied law. He moved to Kentucky and began a career as a successful lawyer.

In 1806, despite being too young (age 29), Clay was appointed to finish the term of a senator from Kentucky—but no one seemed to notice, or care, about the unconstitutionality of his appointment. Clay was elected to the US House of Representatives in 1811 and was made Speaker of the House in his first term as a congressman. Previous to Clay, the Speakership had been mostly ceremonial, but he converted it into a powerful office. Clay appointed his political allies to committee chairmanships and controlled the legislative agenda as well.

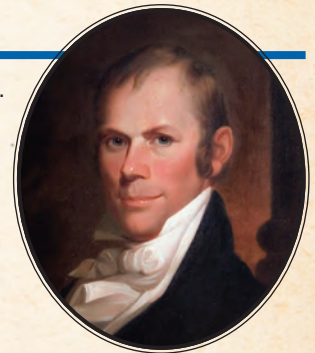
In 1820 Clay helped craft the Missouri Compromise, the first legislative arrangement that tried to settle slavery in America. Clay's

outlook on slavery was contradictory. He declared to be against slavery, but he owned slaves. Clay seemed to want to find compromises on the issue of slavery. His efforts at moderation lead him to be denounced by both Southern slaveholders and Northern abolitionists.

Clay ran for president in 1824 and finished a distant fourth. In the House of Representatives' contingent election, Clay used his influence to get John Quincy Adams elected. Adams then selected Clay as his secretary of state.

Andrew Jackson's election as president in 1828 drove Clay from politics until 1831 when he was elected Senator from Kentucky again. Clay ran for president again in 1832 and was easily defeated by his great enemy, Jackson.

Clay ran for President three more times. He stayed a power in the Senate and helped craft the Compromise of 1850, which held the Union together in the face of the growing strain over slavery. Clay died of tuberculosis in Washington, DC in 1852. He was the first person to lie in state in the United States Capitol rotunda. ◆





JAMES LARRON



SEQUENCE OF PLAY



CAMPAIGN TURNS

1. If the Active player has three Event cards of the same suit, they may Lockdown any one state of their choice.
Note: This step is skipped the first three Campaign rounds (as no one has three cards to play until the start of the fourth round).
2. The active player selects one card from the face-up Event cards on the Event card track, then completes the following steps:
 - a. Complete the events indicated on the Event card.
 - b. Complete the number of actions and insights indicated under the card on the Event card track.
 - c. Slide the remaining Event cards up the Event card track and draw and place a new Event card on the 0 A.P. slot.
3. The next player becomes the active player and completes steps #1 and #2.
4. After all players have completed a turn, the second player of that round places their token on the next turn on the Campaign round track and starts the next round (i.e. becomes the first player). If the round completed is the last Campaign round (e.g. round 10 in a 4-player game), play proceeds to the Final Push.

FINAL PUSH

5. Each player counts the total number of Politician and Populace cards they collected during Campaign rounds. The player with the most cards is the first player.
6. Players reveal one card of their choice from their hand and complete the action(s) on the card. Play continues until all Politician and Populace cards have been played. The Campaign round track is no longer used.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE

7. Check each state for a winner. The winner of each state receives that state's card (1st and 2nd place receive New York's two cards).
Note: The states voting by state legislature (Politician octagons) are denoted on the map by a capital building. All other states vote by popular vote (cubes).
8. Players total their Electoral College votes. If any player has a *majority* (131 Electoral College votes or more), they are the winner. If not, the 4th place player is dropped, and play continues to the Contingent Election.

CONTINGENT ELECTION

9. Only the top three players in EC voting continue into the Contingent Election.
10. Check each state for a winner by counting Politician octagons only. The winner of each state receives that state's card. Don't use the 2nd place New York card in this phase.
11. Players count their state cards. If any player has a *majority* (13 or more states), they are the winner. If not (possible with three players), the player with the fewest state victories is dropped, and there is a Contingent Election recount with only the top two.

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Map Graphics: Richard Aguirre & Chris Dickson
Production: Richard Aguirre & Chris Dickson

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