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Donald J. Trump: The Second Coming of Andrew Jackson?

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For the Glory of God and the Testimony of Jesus Christ

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Abstract

Since the election of Donald J. Trump to the U.S. Presidency in 2016, many political scientists have been searching for a complete and holistic understanding of how Mr. Trump was able to accomplish what seemed to be an impossible feat. There is no question that Trump utilized a wave of populism for his 2016 victory, but what kind of populism did Trump use in his campaign? After researching and reviewing what other scholars have written, Trump utilized the Jacksonian tradition of populism in 2016. However, this raised the follow-up question: how was he able to utilize Jacksonianism? Some contemporary historians and political scientists have drawn parallels between Donald Trump and Andrew Jackson, which led to the idea that Trump was able to utilize Jacksonianism because he was like Jackson. Through a “historical event research” approach which included a historical overview of Andrew Jackson, a study on Jackson’s ideology, and contemporary comparisons between the two, it was determined that Trump indeed was like Jackson. Trump was able to utilize Jacksonian populism because he was able to authentically “market” himself as Jackson because the two share similar cultural, economic, and political standings in their own respective time periods. Trump saw Jackson’s appeal to the people from 1828 and was able to authentically recreate it in 2016.

Key Words: Trump, Jackson, Populism, Comparison, & Similarities

Section I: Introduction

A polarized nation led by a man with no previous political experience: this was the outcome of the 2016 presidential election. The shock of the 2016 presidential election is still being felt even now two and a half years later in the spring of 2019. Political scientists and historians are still seeking the reasons that led to the seemingly unlikely election of Donald J. Trump. While this is still a recent event and its full implications may not be completely known for some time to come, it is still important to begin asking and answering these questions now.

One reason that is nearly universally accepted for Trump's victory is his appeal to populism in his primary and general election bids for the White House. A "populist," as defined by Merriam-Webster, is "a believer in the rights, wisdom, or virtues of the common people" which makes "populism" the ideas of the "populist" ("Populist"). Trump's success with populism has led many to look back upon history to see if there are any other similar moments from the past to help explain today. Enter Andrew Jackson, 7th President of the United States, the man first associated with populism in America. Jackson was president from 1829 until 1837 and during this time, he became known as "a man of the people" (Brinkley 237).

In January of 2016, Walter Russell Mead was one of the first scholars to compare candidate Donald Trump to Andrew Jackson by arguing that Trump was becoming the next standard bearer for Jacksonian America's principles (a specific form of populism). In *Andrew Jackson, Revenant*, Mead highlighted which issues Jacksonian America cared about, which, in short, is a near complete reversal of the Obama administration's policies and achievements (more will be explored in the literature review), and that Trump was "serving as a kind of blank screen on which Jacksonians project their hopes" (Mead, "Andrew..."). However, is Mead's belief that Trump's "common people" are the Jacksonians true? If it is true, how was Trump able to appeal

to them successfully on November 8th, 2016? There is great debate about who the “common people” are for Trump’s appeal to populism and this question will be further explored in the following literature review.

The answers to the aforementioned two questions will help the reader better understand populism in America, the 2016 presidential election, and the Trump presidency. My hypothesis is that Trump did indeed appeal to populism in 2016, and continues to do so, by catering to Mead’s definition of populism in 2016 which is through a wave of Jacksonianism. Secondly, Trump was able to accomplish this, not just through adopting their policies and platforms, but through his similarities to Andrew Jackson: sharing likenesses in their own cultural, economic, and political standings in their respective times. Trump’s positioning himself to be like Jackson is what created an authenticity that led Jacksonians to trust Trump. By exploring these three categories of comparison, it will become very clear that Trump mirrored Jackson in order to enter 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Section II: Literature Review

When researching for sources that validate the comparisons between Andrew Jackson and Donald Trump, it became clear there were more questions that needed to be answered to complete this comparison. The first question that appeared was not whether Trump tapped into and used populism, but rather: what kind of populism propelled him to the White House? Entire papers have been written focusing on this question of “Trump’s populism” and this is an important debate in regards to a complete comparison of President Trump and President Jackson. The second question was: To what degree are the two similar? There are sources that have already alluded to perceived or demonstrable similarities between the two that are either, but not with depth in the three categories of their cultural, economic, and political standings.

Most of the literature on this subject agrees that there is a comparison to be made, but often disagree on the degree to which they are similar. This literature will be reviewed later in Sections V-VIII. The debate that will be the focus of this Literature Review is the first research question which is: what kind of populism has Trump tapped into? As it will be seen, there are two major camps of thought. The first are the “Jacksonians,” who believe Trump has tapped into the Jacksonian stream of populism and view this broadly as a positive. The second are those who view Trump’s populism as “nationalist populism” and view it as a negative.

Professor Walter Russell Mead of Bard College writes extensively on the subject of Trump and the Jacksonians of today. He believes Trump’s brand of populism is distinctly “Jacksonian” and that the support of the Jacksonians is what put Trump in the White House. A Jacksonian is someone who believes that the U.S. government’s responsibility is to provide the “physical security and economic well-being of the American people in their national home” and to do so while interfering, as little as possible with individual freedoms (Mead 4, “The Jacksonian Revolt”). Jacksonians get engaged in politics primarily due to times of war and are most engaged in domestic politics when there is a perceived internal threat to Jacksonian America, such as a cosmopolitan elite or “immigrants from different backgrounds” (Mead 4, “The Jacksonian Revolt”). This is rooted in the fear that either of these groups would transform the essential character of the U.S. government and fear it could become “perverted” (not “corrupted” as Jacksonians view corruption as inevitable in government) which is defined as politicians oppressing the people and not protecting them. For Jacksonians, “patriotism” means loyalty to the Jacksonian values of their local moral communities and their fellow citizens with who they “share a common national bond.” To them, the “cosmopolitan elitist” view of working

for the “betterment of humanity in general” over putting their fellow citizen first is nearly treasonous (Mead 4, “The Jacksonian Revolt”).

For Jacksonians, this “cosmopolitan elitism” is reflected in the culture too. As these elites call for more and more cultural recognition of African Americans, Hispanics, women, LGBTQ, and Muslim Americans, just to name a few, Jacksonian Americans find themselves not fitting into any of these categories or cultures. However, these calls for recognition and celebration are often denied to the many white Americans of European ethnicities. As Professor Mead puts it: “Many white Americans thus find themselves in a society that talks constantly about the importance of identity, that values ethnic authenticity, that offers economic benefits and social advantages based on identity--for everybody but them” (Mead 5, “The Jacksonian Revolt”). This is where the Jacksonian will push against the “political correctness” in the culture and will sometimes articulate this frustration through racism, though this is not the main channel used to articulate these frustrations. This cultural alienation is compounded by Black Lives Matter anti-police demonstrations. Jacksonians “instinctively support the police” and so to ask those who protect and defend local communities with their lives, to undergo “second-guessing” by sometimes violent protestors and “armchair critics” is “unfair and even immoral” to the Jacksonian (Mead 5, “The Jacksonian Revolt”).

Professor Mead also clears up some misconceptions that Non-Jacksonians miss when it comes to these views. For example, Jacksonians do not immediately think of their wallets or xenophobic tendencies when they hear “immigration.” When Jacksonians hear Democrats call for higher levels of immigration (and see an apparent lack of concern to fix illegal immigration) to create a “Democratic majority” voting bloc that is based on the secular decline of the white population, they believe that Democrat elites are trying to push the Jacksonians out of power—

“politically, culturally, demographically” (Mead 6, “The Jacksonian Revolt”). This call is seen as a deliberate effort to transform American demographics. Another issue that is not fully realized by Non-Jacksonians is the right to bear arms. To the Jacksonian, the last resort and right to revolt against tyranny (granted by the Declaration of Independence and Second Amendment) is “hallowed” in their political thought. The idea that a family has the right to protect itself without reliance on the state is a practical reality to them. So, when Jacksonians watch elites view this necessity as “something that elites don’t care about or even actively oppose,” Jacksonians understandably begin to distrust those elites (Mead 6, “The Jacksonian Revolt”). Therefore, when Trump voters went to the polls, it was more of a vote against the “cosmopolitan elite” than for any one policy supported by Trump.

This view of Jacksonianism and how it relates to Trump is best articulated by Professor Mead. However, it is shared with Professors David Jones and Nicholas Khoo of King’s College and the University of Otago respectively. Their focus is more on Trump’s “America First” foreign policy but, to explore that topic, one has to understand Trump’s populist appeal (Jones). Though there is agreement on Trump utilizing Jacksonian populism, there are others who view Trump’s populism as a more negative “nationalist populism.”

Hugh Gusterson of George Washington University examined what he calls “nationalist populism” in Europe and the United States. In Europe, this is seen in the Brexit movement, Poland’s populist authoritarian government, and Viktor Orbán in Hungary. In the U.S., nationalist populism is not as organized as the movement is in Europe, but there are parallels seen in Trump’s campaign and early presidency. In his study, he found that the mainstream media’s focus on Trump’s appeal to the “blue collar worker” oversimplified the relationship between nationalist populism and neoliberalism (or globalization) and that Trump actually built a

coalition of blue-collar workers and wealthier Americans (those making an average of \$72,000 a year) (Gusterson 210). Gusterson goes on to explain how neoliberalism has destroyed the former “working class” from a productive and sturdy group that suggested upward mobility to a now downcast, low, and poor class with little hope of mobility for themselves or their children. As the white working class has been left behind by globalization, a surging cosmopolitan life has taken its place and asserted its superiority. These new cosmopolitan elites share no community with the white working class and have no problem expressing it. Hillary Clinton, when addressing affluent donors, had no problem describing the white working class as a “basket of deplorables” who are “racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic—you name it” (Gusterson 211). This clear disdain for the white working class is evident especially in the universities, which is where prejudice is supposed to die. Gusterson reflects on an example from one of his classes where a student responded to learning about the white working class: “I don’t like these people. They’re racists and sexists who make their wives stay home, and I don’t want to read about them” (Gusterson 211). This graduate student was simply asked to read about an ethnography done on the white working class. Gusterson concludes his study by stating that while the white working class is leaving the Democrat party as it has abandoned its “labor-based economy” for a “knowledge economy,” there is a place for race in this discussion of nationalist populism. Though, for most of these voters who voted for Obama in 2008 and 2012, but then also for Trump in 2016, race does not seem to be factor when considering candidates. It is difficult to do ethnographic studies on this change within the white working class as it is all currently happening, but Gusterson calls for deep anthropological analysis and a bridging of the gap between the cosmopolitan elite and the “conservative Other” (Gusterson 212-213).

Michael Kazin of Georgetown University is even more critical of Trump's populism. Kazin believes Trump's populism is just like any other: "blame elites in big business and government for undermining the common folk's economic interests and political liberties" (Kazin 17). However, Kazin believes this populism is more restrictive for who "the people" are. Those in this tradition believe only "real Americans," or those of European heritage, deserve the benefits of this country. That there is a "nefarious alliance between evil forces on high and the unworthy, dark-skinned poor below—a cabal that imperils the interests and values of the patriotic (white) majority in the middle" and this justifies the nationalist populist platform (Kazin 17). Kazin gives a brief history of American populism that discusses the populisms of the right and the left. In his view, the left (i.e. Senator Bernie Sanders) inherited the populism of William Jennings Bryan who was "the Great Commoner" and fights against the elitism of the "billionaire" class. Kazin then discusses the history of the People's Party which began in the Gilded Age with economic grievances, but also plenty of xenophobic ideals against migrant workers in the 1880s. Kazin spends much time fleshing out the comparisons between the roots of the People's Party and Trump's campaign in 2016. However, Kazin claims there is one big difference between Trump and his predecessors: Trump has not clearly defined who "the people" are. The People's Party protected the "producing class" and Reagan fought for the "taxpayer," but Trump only uses vague phrases like "working families" and "our middle class." His vow to "make America great again" is broad and vague, whereas his attacks are very vivid against Mexicans and Muslims (Kazin 22-23). Kazin includes a poll that showed "65 percent of white Americans— about two-fifths of the population—would be open to voting for a party that stood for "stopping mass immigration, providing American jobs to American workers, preserving America's Christian heritage, and stopping the threat of Islam"" (Kazin 24). His comment on this

poll is that these Americans believe both parties at best patronize them and at worst abandon them and will continue to feel this way until Trump or their populist demands are quelled.

In a similar vein to Kazin, Martin Eiermann, Editor-at-Large for *The European*, wrote an article examining how Donald Trump fits into the history of American populism. He begins his discussion in a similar way as the aforementioned sources have, by providing a useful definition of populism—a group of people coming together around a set of grievances against a powerful elite and “dangerous others” (Eiermann 31). This is important because populism movements are built on groups of individuals coming together, creating alliances over shared issues and creating new political movements. That is why “any attempt to associate populism with a particular conservative or progressive tradition—and thus to condemn it in partisan fashion—is bound to falter” (Eiermann 33). While there are streams of populism for the left and the right historically, neither side can fully claim it as its own. Eiermann, like Kazin, highlights the history of the People’s Party from the 1890s and mentions how “the people” were clearly defined: Western American sharecroppers, cotton farmers, and landowners who felt their relevance and influence was being lost to the “Washington elites” and industrial capitalists (Eiermann 32). While the calls for nationalizing America’s railroads and the condemnation of the Federal Reserve and gold standard were no doubt echoed by the black sharecroppers of the time, Eiermann reminds the reader that they were excluded from the People’s Party. While they had just as much “stake in the game” as their fellow white Americans, the People’s Party’s leniency toward the South’s white supremacy effectively kept them out of the movement (Eiermann 33). Eiermann highlights that later populist movements, like Teddy Roosevelt’s and George Wallace’s in the 1910s and 1960s-1970s respectively, would include women and industrial workers, but would also still

exclude African Americans, immigrants, and others. Eiermann thus concludes his article by saying that “not all populisms are created equal” (33).

This summary by Eiermann is provided to reinforce Kazin’s summary and example that populism is shared by the left and the right politically. He quotes Alexis de Tocqueville, who studied America and its wave of populism under Andrew Jackson in the 1830s, who saw populism as positive if it cultivated the “habits of the heart” that link participatory institutions with the important belief in popular sovereignty (Eiermann 33-34). This is contrasted with the populist influenced presidential campaigns of Ross Perot and Ralph Nader, but Eiermann reminds the reader that these movements were rooted in reform, not rejection of the Washington elite system. Likewise, in Eiermann’s opinion, Bernie Sanders’ populist movement is not rooted in a rejection of the Washington establishment, only the “reclamation of the political system for the middle class” (Eiermann 34). Eiermann also credits Sanders’ populist credibility to his policies because they are new to American politics, but not to Europe where most have broadly been implemented. He is a populist because his ideas have galvanized the Democratic electorate across age and income brackets, not necessarily because of who Sanders is as a leader (Eiermann 34). However, in a split from Kazin, Eiermann does not directly tie Trump to the People’s Party. While remarking that the populism from the American left and the American right in 2016 are very different, Eiermann states that the Democrats are fighting over the political direction of their party, whereas the Republicans are fighting over the “direction of the political system and the boundaries of political discourse” (Eiermann 34). When it comes to Trump’s populism, Eiermann comments that his policies are largely centrist, but that it is his rhetoric and vitriol toward established American political institutions, while also courting the American middle class, that make his campaign unique. While Eiermann does not discuss in-depth the actual

people supporting Trump like Kazin does, it is not difficult to see some connections between Mead's description of grievances held by Jacksonians and Eiermann's description of Trump's political targets.

Gusterson and Kazin come from roughly the same angle and opinion on Trump's populism and their agreements are clearly illustrated. What is interesting is how Mead, Jones, Khoo, Gusterson, and Kazin (and others) can look at the same group of people, describe them slightly differently, but draw different conclusions or rather; emphasize different components. What Mead calls Jacksonian populism, Kazin would call nationalist populism, but they are still talking about the same concepts and ideas. Eiermann's contribution to this discussion is also important in that he illustrated how concurrent streams of populism, from the right and left, can be directed toward two different issues in American politics, while also seeking support from the same "middle class."

While there is great discussion on the comparisons between Jackson and Trump and Trump's populism, there are two holes that need to be filled in order to gain a better understanding of the Presidential Election of 2016 and Trump's presidency. The first hole is determining which populism Trump used to get into the White House. After this literature review and examining the current debate surrounding Trump's brand of populism, it seems that Mead's Jacksonianism was Trump's target. Mead presents the most complete view of populism in 2016 and through his works it is clear that Trump's policies are tailored to a Jacksonian audience.

The second hole is determining in what ways Trump and Jackson are similar to validate this appeal. This can best be done through the proposed comparison of their cultural, economic, and political standings prior to running for president. While some mentioned authors and sources have hinted to their similarities, especially Mead, no one has yet done a comprehensive

comparison of the two and then deliberately linked those similarities to Trump's appeal to populism and therefore success. That is the task at hand for the remainder of this exercise in research.

Section III: Methodology

The first step when conducting the research for these questions was to see what available scholarly work existed on this subject. The findings from the discussion of populism are culminated in the literature review. It was important to delve into the literature for the question of populism because there have been multiple scholarly works on this subject of "Trump's brand of populism." While there are some scholarly works on this subject, because it is such a recent event and it is still a very politically charged event, there are limitations to this approach. The first being that the literature is still limited in scope as few have dared to address and deeply research Trump and his populism. The second being that Trump is a very polarizing figure, and bias will impact each person and their discussion on the nature of populism in 2016 for quite some time. It will take some time to be removed from this current political climate and for more studies to be done in order to get a more complete understanding. However, these obstacles still should not prevent one from studying this event and creating hypothesis and testing them as is being done now with this work.

The literature review does not include a brief discussion on the second question of comparing Trump to Jackson because there have been very few scholarly works completed on the subject. Therefore, this second question of comparison will better be answered through a "historical event research" approach. Through an overview of President Andrew Jackson, it will be clear where parallels can be drawn from 1824 and 1828 and applied to Donald Trump in 2016. While the parallels should be obvious enough, it will help to have commentaries, opinion

pieces, and other modern works from other people who lived through 2016 and see their opinions in the comparison. These people looked at the same information and lived through the same event and were able to piece together different comparisons in their own commentaries. The comparisons which matter the most will still be the similarities, if any, based on Trump and Jackson's cultural, economic, and political standings in their own respective times in American society. There are shortcomings with this approach too. It would be nice to interview Andrew Jackson, however he has been dead for over 150 years, so the next best way to study him is through his own works, commentaries from his contemporaries, and material from "Jackson experts." Another shortcoming through this method is that it is difficult to interview the current President of the United States or other members of his campaign to see their perspective. While the President has spoken briefly to the comparison in one video, it is not to the extent this study is attempting to reach (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*). Even with these shortcomings, this will be the best method to seek out comparisons between the two.

The "historical event research" and overview will contain specific sections that all contribute to illuminating the comparison between Trump and Jackson. After the aforementioned historical overview of Andrew Jackson, a section will be dedicated to better understanding Jacksonianism and Jackson's ideology in the 1820s through the 1840s. Following that discussion, Section VI will look at comparisons that Donald Trump and contemporary sources have made between him and Jackson. This section will serve as a way to almost interview President Trump and examine his thoughts on the comparison. Finally, a short study on the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 2016 will also help illuminate a few similarities between the two presidents. All of these sections combined should create an excellent historical and present-day background for the reader to make connections for themselves before the final analysis.

Section IV: Andrew Jackson

The purpose of this summary is to introduce the reader to Andrew Jackson. While this summary cannot, and will not, sufficiently describe every detail of Jackson's life, the broad overview will be helpful to the reader who is not well acquainted with "Old Hickory" to get a grasp of who he was and begin to generate thought for themselves about possible similarities between Trump and Jackson.

Andrew Jackson was born on March 15th, 1767 in the Waxhaw region of the Carolinas to a Scots-Irish family. Both states try to claim him as their own, but Jackson claimed he was from South Carolina (Bradley). During the American Revolution, Jackson and his brother Robert joined a small skirmish on the side of the Patriots against Tory Loyalists who were reinforced by British Dragoons. While they escaped the battle, in the morning the two were captured in their home on April 9th, 1781. A British officer ordered Andrew to kneel and clean off his boot, to which a defiant young Jackson responded: "Sir, I am a prisoner of war, and claim to be treated as such" (Kilmeade 2). The officer then went to slash Jackson with his saber. Had Jackson not raised his arms to shield his face, the blow likely would have killed him. Instead, it sliced to the bone in his hand and wounded his forehead so that he would have a scar for the rest of his life. The officer then swung at Robert and sliced open his head too. The two brothers were taken 40 miles to a prison camp without having their wounds dressed. While Elizabeth Jackson, their mother, was able to get them released, Robert was exposed to smallpox and died two days after being released from prison. Elizabeth would die shortly thereafter as well. Andrew Jackson was now an orphan, his father dying before he was born, and his eldest brother Hugh already dying for the cause of the Patriots in 1780 (Kilmeade 1-3). He would carry a hatred for the British for the rest of his life.

Jackson would move to Salisbury North Carolina to study law and was admitted to the bar in 1787. While there, Jackson challenged the first lawyer he tried a case against to a duel, which ultimately did not occur (Meacham 18). In 1788, Jackson moved again to the Cumberland region west of the Appalachians to what would become Tennessee. He would become a prosecuting attorney in Nashville and met his future wife, Rachel Donelson Robards, shortly after moving to the widow of Col. John Donelson's house (Meacham 19). However, Rachel was still unhappily married to Lewis Robards of Kentucky. During periods of separation due to severe marital difficulty, Jackson would flirt with Rachel. Robards and Jackson threatened violence against one another which was only cooled by Jackson moving to a different home in Nashville. There are two conflicting accounts as to how the two got married. Presidential candidate Jackson would tell the story that it was only after Robards had initiated a divorce in December of 1790 that the two were married. However, it was learned this was only a petition for divorce and after all the legal work was completed, the two were legally married in January of 1794. However, the more likely true story is that the two were living in adultery even before Robards' divorce petition in 1790 (Meacham 20). And while the standards were looser on the frontier, it helped that Rachel's family approved of Jackson and believed that Robards was an abusive husband which sanctioned a divorce, even if it was not done "properly."

During this time, Jackson would become friends with the landowners and creditors in and around Nashville. In 1796 Jackson was a member of the convention that drafted the state's constitution and from that popularity, and support from the landowners and creditors, he would be elected as Tennessee's first Representative to Congress. Though he only served until March 4th, 1797, and subsequently swore to never run for office again, Jackson was elected to the United States Senate before the end of the year (Bradley). Jackson would serve for only one year

and in 1798 resigned from the Senate too. Finally, Jackson was placed on to Tennessee's superior court and served there until 1804 when he quit in order to focus on his own plantation, The Hermitage, and grow his own enterprises (Andrew Jackson Foundation). In 1802, while still serving as a justice on the court, Jackson was also elected major general of the Tennessee militia and held that post until the War of 1812 (Bradley).

When the United States declared war on Great Britain in 1812, Andrew Jackson was ready to answer the call. That fall and winter, Jackson took his 2,071 Tennessee volunteers and began toward New Orleans in order to secure it. After travelling 500 miles south to Natchez, Mississippi, Jackson was told by Federal authorities not to advance further, and instead fall back to Nashville. General Jackson was furious over this order but he complied (Meacham, 26-27). After they had returned to Nashville, Jackson received word of the bloody massacre at Fort Mims in modern day Alabama in August of 1813. The atrocities committed by the Red Sticks Creek Indians at Fort Mims enraged Jackson and his fellow frontiersmen. Jackson set off once again in order to quell this Indian uprising, knowing that more western Indians potentially in-league with European powers, like Tecumseh and the Shawnee to the north, could end American expansion (Meacham 27-28). The Creek War lasted from 1813 until 1814 with the conclusive victory at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. This war cemented Jackson's ruggedness and toughness in face of difficulty and short supplies to become known by his men as "Old Hickory."

However, the War of 1812 was still raging on and Jackson did not rest. He continued further south, defended Mobile Alabama from a British attack and then attacked and captured the fort at Pensacola in Spanish Florida. All of this was done before December 1814. With the Indians subdued and Spanish no longer a threat, Jackson went west toward his main objective of defending New Orleans from a likely attack (Meacham 28). Jackson arrived in New Orleans just

as the British were beginning their initial assaults. Gen. Jackson issued martial law and started seeking for allies and men to enlist. The American army that would end up defending New Orleans and defeating the British in one of the most lopsided victories in U.S. history was also one of the most diverse ever comprised. Jackson had his band of U.S. regulars, frontiersman, local militia, the Laffite band of pirates, freedmen, Indians, and slaves in his ranks on January 8th, 1815 (Kilmeade 128). Jackson's tactical decisions, advice and heroism of subordinates, and help from the Ursuline nuns praying throughout the battle, all led to the United States' incredible victory. Jackson only lost 13 killed, 39 wounded, and a few missing; in total, less than 70 casualties (Meacham 28). For the British, the official number is still unknown. British General Keane reported 2,030 casualties, whereas another British officer claimed 1,781, and Jackson claimed initially 1,500 and later revised it to 2,600 (Kilmeade 204). By winning this battle, not only did Andrew Jackson become the "Hero of New Orleans" and firmly place himself in the pantheon of American war heroes, Jackson would become the celebrity of his time for years to come.

Fast forward to 1822. Jackson had a few other military escapades, including nearly starting a war with the Spanish over Florida in 1817, but besides that, he had a successful regular army career (Bradley). With his many military exploits, his friends back in Nashville had suggested he run for president in 1824. While Jackson showed little interest, his friends moved the Tennessee legislature to officially nominate Jackson for president (Bradley). With four men running in 1824, none of them won the necessary electoral votes to secure the presidency. With William H. Crawford seriously ill and Henry Clay receiving the least number of votes, the race came down to Andrew Jackson with 99 votes and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams with 84. Clay was the Speaker of the House at the time and was able to persuade the House to vote for

Adams. When Adams was inaugurated, he made Clay his Secretary of State. Jackson and his friends saw this political maneuvering and felt that the “will of the people” had been thwarted by a “corrupt bargain” (Bradley). After the Corrupt Bargain of 1824, Jackson vowed he would run again to vindicate the will of the people, not the elites in Washington.

This mandate from the people drove Jackson to run again in 1828. Believing that as long as the government heeds the people’s will, “the republic is safe, and its main pillars—virtue, religion, and morality—will be fostered by a majority of the people,” Jackson was able to defeat Adams in a rematch (Meacham 34). However, it did not come without cost. Jackson and his allies accused Adams of “procuring” a woman through the Russian Tsar and spending too much money on frivolities within the White House, including a billiards table. The Adams camp responded in kind and significantly more vitriolic: Rachel Jackson was accused of being a bigamist, Jackson’s mother was labelled a whore, and Jackson himself was alleged to have committed atrocities in his various campaigns (Meacham 34). After hearing these vicious attacks and receiving the news that Jackson was elected President, Rachel collapsed one evening in December 1828 from the cumulative toll and prospect of more attacks in DC. Five days after her collapse, Rachel suffered an apparent heart attack and on December 22nd, 1828, Rachel passed away with Jackson by her side (Meacham 35). Jackson was broken over his wife’s death and the loss of his best friend and confidant. However, for the sake of his country, and to honor the mandate given to him, he steeled himself to serve the people.

Jackson was a polarizing figure. Some thought of him as a second Washington: a second “Father of his Country.” Others wanted him dead and David Coons, a Revolutionary War Veteran from Virginia, wrote to Jackson to warn him of possible assassination attempts during his travel from Nashville to DC (Meacham 34). President-Elect Jackson arrived safely in DC and

was inaugurated on March 4th, 1829. In his inauguration speech, Jackson outlined some of his core beliefs and commitments to the people. First, he would seek out peace and friendship on “honorable terms” with other nations. Second, a focus on equal treatment between the “interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures” just as equality and compromise are reflected in the Constitution. Third, to maintain the small standing army that existed so as to not add the danger of a large military in peacetime. And fourth, to treat the Indians with “a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants” (Meacham 40). The gathered crowd approved of his speech and travelled with Jackson up Pennsylvania avenue to the White House. Once there, the graceful people of the inauguration fell into a mob and Jackson’s planned reception became a chaotic celebration.

To sum up how Jackson would view his presidency, Meacham said the following: “Jackson saw his presidency dominated by questions about power, money, and respect... And so Jackson prepared for anything... [by] looking out for danger, guarding those in his care, and promising to save them all yet” (Meacham 42). Jackson would be reelected in 1832 and serve the entire eight years of his mandate. While the Jackson administration is known for many policies and each is very important and complicated, it is necessary to conclude this summary by highlighting a few of the most defining.

First, Jackson’s “bank war” influenced his whole presidency. The Second Bank of the United States, in Jackson’s mind, had grown too powerful and controlled too much of the United States’ economy. Through a long battle in Congress, a renewed charter for the bank was passed and subsequently vetoed by Jackson, thus “killing” the bank. Second, the application of the “spoils system.” While rewarding political friends with government appointments was not a new concept, Jackson made it the new standard. Jackson would end up replacing just shy of 10% of

the government, or 919 unelected officeholders (Meacham 51). His argument for doing so was not only removing incompetent office holders, but also opening government to the common man and removing the unelected and entrenched elite. Third, the nullification crisis of 1832. South Carolina, frustrated by tariffs that seemingly affected it disproportionately than it did other states, threatened to nullify, or ignore, the federal collecting of that tariff, with force if necessary. Jackson would have none of this. While he perused political relief from the tariffs, he also threatened to hang every traitor and march an army down to collect the tariff himself, if necessary. The crisis was ultimately solved through a revised tariff and through his actions, Jackson postponed the Civil War for a generation.

Fourth, and the most odious, was the Indian Removal Act and the Trail of Tears. The brutal and forceful removal of Indians in Georgia by Jackson is perhaps the greatest blight on his tenure, next to defending slavery in the United States. However, Jackson truly believed he was doing what was best for everyone, including the Indian. In his 1837 farewell address, Jackson said:

The States which had so long been retarded in their improvement by the Indian Tribes residing in the midst of them are at length relieved from the evil, and this unhappy race—the original dwellers in our land—are now placed in a situation where we may well hope that they will share in the blessings of civilization and be saved from the degradation and destruction to which they were rapidly hastening while they remained in the States.
(Rozwenc 2)

On this subject, Jon Meacham wrote: “Jackson knew how to exercise power, and had he chosen to do so, he could have used his power to bring about a fairer implementation of his removal policy” which was signed by Jackson, but took place in 1838 under Martin Van Buren (Meacham 67). Even if removal was the “best” option, the brutality of the Trail of Tears could have been avoided had Jackson intervened, or suggested it to Van Buren.

Jackson would return to Tennessee in 1837 and would largely remain outside of public life. Retiring to The Hermitage, Jackson would still keep his pulse on politics but, would never re-enter the arena. He would tend to the business of his plantation, family, and his renewed Christian faith after returning to church after many years of absence. While President, Jackson believed in a strict separation of church and state, though still personally religious, he did not express it by joining a church until he retired. General Jackson would pass away peacefully with his family, friends, and his slaves on June 8th, 1845 at The Hermitage (Meacham 83). He was 78 years old, which was older than the nation he had fought for, served, and cherished.

Andrew Jackson was a complicated, intriguing, unifying, and divisive character in his own time and in ours today. This summary did not delve into all of the nuances of Jackson nor his administration but, it should stir the reader to study further his life and the influence he had on creating the modern presidency.

Section V. Jackson's Ideology

Through the Literature Review, we saw Mead's definition of Jacksonianism and the core beliefs held by the Jacksonians today. Mead's information is extremely important for modern day, but today's Jacksonians are based on Jackson's original political ideology and it is important to examine it, even if only briefly. George Bancroft was an educated Jackson contemporary and was educated at Harvard and Goettingen. In his day, Bancroft was influential in translating Jackson's political agenda into a political ideology for the Democratic party under Jackson's leadership. In 1835, Bancroft gave a speech at Williams College titled "The Office of the People in Art, Government, and Religion," and in it he outlines what it means to be a Jacksonian in the 1830s (Rozwenc 13).

Bancroft begins his speech with the importance of religion and truth in any nation. He believes all men are granted by God the ability to reason, discern, and utilize their conscience. For any nation to properly succeed, it not only has to let the people lead, but the masses must be virtuous (Rozwenc 14-15). Bancroft believes that the truth will always be found in the people because they are able to discern what the falsehoods are, and should falsehoods be accepted, it is only because they are interwoven with the truth so that it is difficult to separate them. However, this only happens due to the “complexity of the ideas presented” (Rozwenc 16). For Jacksonians:

[T]he best government rests on the people and not on the few, on persons and not on property, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority; because the munificent Author of our being has conferred the gifts of mind upon every member of the human race without distinction of outward circumstances...The duty of America is to secure the culture and the happiness of the masses by their reliance on themselves. (Rozwenc 16-17)

In this quote, Bancroft is clear that Jacksonianism is built on the masses, not on the elite few, and that because God has endowed each human with these mentioned faculties, the people, not the elite, are best for governing.

What is quite remarkable about Bancroft’s positions is that he was educated at Harvard, a prestigious and elite school then and now, at a time when most Americans were still largely illiterate. His education beyond grammar school placed him into the category of the elite all by itself, let alone going on to Harvard. Yet he still believed that:

[Political Science] maintains, not as has been perversely asserted, that “the people can make right,” but that the people can *discern* right...the people collectively are wiser than the most gifted individual, for all his wisdom constitutes but a part of theirs...And so it is, that a perfect judgment is the result of comparison, when error eliminates error, and truth is established by concurring witnesses. (Rozwenc 17-18)

It can be seen through Bancroft’s descriptions of Jacksonianism the underlying philosophy behind Jackson’s administration. The “bank war” was about returning government influence to the people instead of allowing elites to continue to run the financial institution of the nation

without any accountability to the people: let alone Jackson's fears of foreign influence on the bank that, in his mind, could usurp the authority and sovereignty of the American people. Even Jackson's actions during the nullification crisis can be understood in Bancroft's description. In Jackson's mind, the union came together by the wisdom of the people in 1776 and was codified through the ratification of the Constitution in 1789. The people decided to form this union and through misguided reasoning, South Carolinians had bought into the "error" that a state could secede after joining the union, to borrow Bancroft's language. Jackson, who hated those with power yet knowing his mandate from those same people who elected him, threatened to use his power to correct the "error" believed by the nullifiers. While the threat of violence never had to be carried out, it was because of the consensus of the masses, that a state cannot secede, that led their elected civil servants to solve the problem through a new tariff.

Section VI: Similarities with the 7th as Seen Through the 45th

While President Trump was not available to be interviewed for this research experiment, he has shared his thoughts on this matter, though briefly. In a short news segment, President Trump takes Fox News host Brian Kilmeade on a White House tour. After entering the Oval Office, Kilmeade notices the large Jackson portrait hanging next to the Resolute Desk and asks the President why he had it hanging there. President Trump responded with:

Well they say his whole campaign and his whole thing was most like mine. That was interesting, that was 1828. They used to go back to Ronald Reagan, now they go back to Andrew Jackson, but that's the great Andrew Jackson. Who actually was a great general and a great president but, a controversial president. (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*)

While there is much to unpack in this quote, it is still important to note that the similarities between the two are not lost on the President. Each President is able to decorate the White House and the Oval Office to their preferences, and a portrait of General Jackson is no misstep. A summary of how Trump views the comparison from this quote is essentially that he sees the

similarities through populism. Trump represented the people's concerns much like Jackson did against John Quincy Adams' East Coast elitism, much like Hillary Clinton represented the modern-day elitism of the DC beltway and coastal elites. In Trump's eyes, 2016 was as much a rematch of the people versus the elites just as 1828 was a rematch of Jackson and Adams from 1824.

Modern day historians also see many similarities between the two. Doug Wead highlights that both Trump and Jackson used the available media to speak directly to the people. Jackson used lithographs, which are mass produced artist's renderings of people or events, and they were in color. In 1828, that was a revolution in communication as now one can hand out a lithograph of Jackson and the Battle of New Orleans and say "This is Andrew Jackson, he is running for president and we are voting for him because of his actions at New Orleans" (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*). In 1828, you could see the differences in the candidates: Jackson, tall and handsome with long (some would add crazy) white hair vs. Adams, short, stout, and bald, much like his father John Adams. In much the same way, Trump used and continues to use Twitter™ to address the people directly. While readers may disagree with his message, they have very little doubt as to what he is saying.

Wead continues by adding that the two saw themselves as "counter-punchers." Jackson would counter-punch on the battlefield and at his opponents, not to mention the numerous duels that he was involved in (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*). The most famous example would be the duel with Charles Dickinson who was known as one of the best shots in Tennessee. Jackson let Dickinson shoot first, opening up his chest to Dickinson who landed his shot directly in Jackson's chest. Jackson did not flinch, leading many to believe Dickinson had missed. Jackson calmly leveled his pistol and after a misfire, relevelled it and killed Dickinson with his shot. Later

it would be seen that Dickinson's shot was only two inches from Jackson's heart and he would carry that bullet with him for the rest of his life (Meacham 24). While Trump has not taken part in any duels, his triumph over 17 other well known, and tough Republican candidates in the primary cannot be overlooked. With his nicknames given to opponents such as "Low-energy Jeb" or "Lyn' Ted," Trump made sure to retaliate after any insult or disparagement against him and made sure that he had the last word in an exchange. This can be seen in the numerous GOP primary debates.

Douglas Brinkley adds to these broader similarities by equating the two and their mutual hatred of slights against their character, or today's "fake news." Brinkley highlights the anger that Jackson would display towards these attacks and went so far as to have his allies start a pro-Jackson newspaper that would set the record straight (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*). Howard Kittel, President and CEO of The Hermitage (Jackson's home and now museum), adds to this by showing Kilmeade one of Jackson's studies at The Hermitage. In it, one can see the newspapers that Jackson had read and made his own notes in the margins "correcting" the article. For some, Jackson would just cross out entire sections of "incorrect" reporting. Today, Trump is much in the same vein. Trump has no problem calling out the "Fake News media" or "Fake News" in general at any one of his rallies or as president today. While this label may be applied to actual false reporting, it can also be applied to disparaging remarks too. Regardless, the similarity between the two is quite astounding.

Before delving into the aforementioned three specific categories of comparison, it is helpful to also see how Jackson was viewed by his contemporaries. Francis J. Grund was an Austrian born American who migrated to the U.S. prior to 1837. Grund was interested in understanding Jacksonianism and the "Age of Jackson" and so he interviewed two Democrat

senators about their opinions on Jackson's success. In 1839, Grund published *Aristocracy in America*, and in it he included the interview (Rozwenc 56). The senators believed Jackson owed his success primarily to his own character. While his celebrity status certainly put him into the spotlight, they claimed it was not enough to propel him to the presidency. As one senator put it:

In a country in which so large a portion of the people consider the acquiring of a fortune the only rational object of pursuit—in which so great and so exclusive an importance is attached to money, that, with a few solitary exceptions, it is the only means of arriving at personal distinction—a character like Jackson's, so perfectly disinterested, and so entirely devoted to what he at least deemed the good of his country, could not but excite astonishment and admiration among the natural, and therefore more susceptible, people of the Western States....He called himself 'the people's friend,' and gave proofs of his sincerity and firmness in *adhering* to his friends. (Rozwenc 57)

The senators also addressed some criticisms against their friend:

In the same manner it has been said of General Jackson that [he] is incapable of writing a good English sentence, as if this were the standard by which to measure the capacity of a political chief...General Jackson understood the people of the United States better than, perhaps, any President before him...I do not here speak as a partisan, nor do I wish to inquire whether all his measures were beneficial to the people; but they were, at least, all in unison with his political doctrines...And yet they call Jackson a second-rate man, because he is not a regular *speechifier*. (Rozwenc 57-58)

These quotes speak to Jackson's politics, his character, and some of his criticisms. Today, looking back on some of Jackson's policies, scholars would be quicker to condemn a few of them unlike the one senator who mentioned he did not "wish to inquire whether all his measures were beneficial to the people." However, in his own day, Jackson and the people were seen as nigh inseparable: Jackson, knowing the people's ailments and the people trusting Jackson to be their defender.

These two senators also highlight a criticism against Jackson that has been made against Trump too: their speech pattern. The senators mention how Jackson is seen as a "second-rate" man just because he seems to lack eloquence in his writing. In the same way, Trump's tweets and speeches are known for short sentences, one-word sentences, and mid-sentence breaks in

thought. Jennifer Sclafani, an associate teaching professor in Georgetown University's Department of Linguistics, studied Trump's speech pattern for two years and in 2017 published a book on her findings. Sclafani wanted to study his speech because "[h]e is interesting to me linguistically because he speaks like everybody else, [a]nd we're not used to hearing that from a president. We're used to hearing somebody speak who sounds much more educated, much smarter, much more refined than your everyday American" (Inzaurrealde). Trump's use of a casual tone, simple vocabulary, and sudden switching of topics creates "a sense that he can get the job done through his use of hyperbole and directness" (Inzaurrealde). Sclafani also states that while it is unusual for a president to switch topics mid-sentence, it "is something that we all do in everyday speech" and this makes Trump more relatable when he speaks because he talks like an "average Joe" (Inzaurrealde).

Shortly after being inaugurated as the 45th President of the United States on January 20th, 2017, President Trump travelled to Nashville Tennessee. He travelled there to pay his respects to General Jackson at his grave at The Hermitage on what would have been his 250th birthday: March 15th, 2017. While there he laid a wreath at his grave and toured Jackson's home. Trump also gave a speech that highlighted his own perceived similarities with the 7th President:

I wonder why they keep talking about Trump and Jackson, Jackson and Trump, [in reference to Jackson's "wild man" persona and populism] Oh, I know the feeling, Andrew. Jackson's victory shook the establishment like an earthquake. Henry Clay, secretary of state for the defeated President John Quincy Adams, called Jackson's victory 'mortifying and sickening.' Oh, boy, does this sound familiar. Have we heard this? (Meacham 6)

Section VII: Pennsylvania in 2016

The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is an interesting subject for political study. One of the older original 13 colonies and second oldest state in the Union, Pennsylvania has participated in every presidential election. It is also one of the many states that would vote for Andrew

Jackson twice, in 1828 and 1832 and for Donald Trump in 2016 (Figures 1,2,3). Pennsylvania had not voted for a Republican president since George HW Bush in 1988, so why did it vote for Trump in 2016?

On November 9th, 2016, Scott Kraus asked this question and interviewed Pennsylvanians from across the state to answer it. Lee Snover, chairwoman of the Northampton County Republican Party, said Trump was able to win over working-class families, Democrat and Republican, in the county because “they said our health care is too high, Obamacare didn’t work...[and] we [wanted] blue collar jobs and manufacturing, we don’t want to be controlled by the media and elites” (Kraus). Trump was able to win Northampton County with a 6,500-vote margin, reversing Mitt Romney’s 6,100 vote loss in 2012 (Kraus). While Hillary Clinton had been using the regular Democrat strategy for Pennsylvania well, padding vote totals through extensive campaigning in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and their surrounding counties, she did not capitalize on smaller, former industrial powerhouse cities. It was here in Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Bethlehem, and Erie where Trump made his populist appeal (Kraus). Mark Nevins, a Philadelphia Democratic political consultant cited these areas, especially Luzerne County (where Wilkes-Barre is located) as where Clinton’s campaign “really fell apart” (Kraus). Trump won Luzerne County by 25,000 votes, a 30,000-vote reversal from Obama’s 2012 victory by 5,000 votes. Trump trimmed off 23,000 votes from the Democrats’ 2012 advantage even though he lost Lackawanna County by 3,500 votes. However, considering that Scranton was Clinton’s childhood summer home and is in Lackawanna County, that is an impressive accomplishment (Kraus). Likewise, across the state in Erie County, Trump won by more than 3,000 votes whereas Romney lost the county by 19,000 in 2012.

All of these vote swings show significant crossover votes and effective Trump messaging to moderate Democrats. According to Charlie Gerow, a Republican political consultant in Harrisburg, those “are the Reagan Democrats and working class blue-collar, predominantly ethnic voters who were marking the calendar for Nov. 8 so they could cast a vote for Donald Trump” (Kraus). This is seen in the state race for attorney general. Josh Shapiro was the lesser-known Democrat who was on the ballot yet received 144,000 more votes than Clinton statewide (Kraus). Snover added that Democrats were not voting for Romney, but she had “Democrats coming into Republican headquarters, [and] I had Democrats working the polls for us” for 2016 (Kraus). Gerow also mentioned that Trump’s success in the former industrial areas and with blue collar workers was because of his ability to inspire his followers as a leader.

The Jacksonian overtones of Trump’s strategy in Pennsylvania were noticed by Michael Hagan, a Temple University political science professor. Hagan saw Trump’s victory as his ability to:

[H]ave struck a chord with folks in a particular location in the economy and society...People who felt left behind or neglected by the changes in the country over the past 10, 20 or 30 years. He talked about politics in a way other [candidates] don't talk about politics... His way of talking is not a smooth, polished, slick manner of speaking that many politicians learn... I think people found that appealing, to be symbolic of his departure from the norm. (Kraus)

Professor Hagan’s remarks are striking because they link Trump to Jackson without even mentioning Jackson. Trump reaching out to the “forgotten man,” akin to the common man, is similar to Jackson’s common man. Jackson and Trump’s speech have already been mentioned in previous sections, but it is again worth mentioning for the comparison. Kraus concludes his article with a quote from Larry Ceisler, a Philadelphia political consultant, that also highlights a comparison between Trump and Jackson. Ceisler states that Trump gave “voice to people who

didn't think they had one" (Kraus). Mark Nevins believed Trump's message was a simple populist platform that appealed to those "who felt left out and overlooked" (Kraus). Ceisler and Nevins both sound like they are alluding to Mead's definition of Jacksonian America: folks who are frustrated with the system and feel that the elites of both parties are ignoring them (Mead 5-6, "The Jacksonian Revolt").

Throughout his article, Kraus gives data and commentary from experts and those closely involved with the 2016 election in Pennsylvania to try and answer his initial question. Without explicitly saying it, Kraus and his commentators seem to be arguing that the reason Pennsylvania voted red in 2016 was because Trump was able to appeal to the Jacksonians in Pennsylvania.

Section VIII: Comparing Cultural, Economic, and Political Statuses

Both General Jackson and Trump were celebrities in their own times. As it was seen in chapters IV and VI, Jackson was well known because he was General Jackson. His military exploits and the legends surrounding the frontiersman made him a celebrity and a household name with lithography. Donald Trump, prior to running for president, was also a household name and in Wead's opinion, the first American celebrity (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*). However, rather than military exploits, Trump had been a cultural icon through the entertainment world.

Known in the entertainment industry for over 30 years as the New York real estate tycoon, Trump has cameoed as himself in many television shows and movies. Donald Trump's IMDb page has him credited for being a producer 20 times and an actor 22 times for TV shows, movies, and a video game (Donald Trump). Most well-known for being on *The Apprentice*, Trump starred in 186 episodes over a span from 2004 until 2015 and for his signature phrase "You're fired." Trump also hosted *Saturday Night Live* twice, once in 2004 and then again in 2015 during his presidential bid (Donald Trump). Trump also was known for his appearances on

WWE. Trump was also known for writing *The Art of Deal* and inspiring a board game from his business exploits.

One of Trump's most famous cameos was in *Home Alone 2: Lost in New York* (Hughes). In the film, he plays himself in the hotel Kevin McCallister ends up staying at for the remainder of the film. As Kevin is wandering the hotel, he runs into Trump who tells him where to find the lobby. In the 2016 election, this scene was turned into a meme for Trump which is seen in Figure 4 ("Pin by Erica..."). While it may seem inconsequential, pro-Trump memes like this one, became forms of communication for Trump's platform on websites like Facebook™ and Reddit™. Film and TV moments of this variety were meant for humor, but were certainly linked with a political message as well.

Nick Bryant, a writer for the BBC, picked up on Trump's cultural status as well in his discussion on pop culture and the presidency. Bryant reviews presidents like Ronald Reagan, who was an actor before becoming president, or Richard Nixon, who invited Elvis to the White House to discuss policy (Bryant). This discussion of pop culture and its use by presidents leads to how Donald Trump used his celebrity status from years of *The Apprentice* and appearing in movies to successfully run for President. Washington Post opinion writer Alyssa Rosenberg thought the same as Bryant, but even earlier. Bryant was writing in 2018 whereas Rosenberg was writing in May 2016, months before the GOP Convention and the general election. Rosenberg reviews her own writing over the past year and realizes that Trump's celebrity status had affected even how she had covered Candidate Trump's campaign. While she does not make the direct point that Trump was mirroring Jackson, Rosenberg's realization of how prior celebrity status can affect presidential campaigns is evident and supports Bryant's comparison.

From 1804 until his death in 1845, Jackson was the owner and proprietor of The Hermitage. While Gen. Jackson was born into poverty, he certainly did not die as a pauper. Trump and Jackson both made their money in real estate and various business ventures. Be it The Hermitage, the country stores, or horse racing, Jackson made plenty of money (Andrew Jackson Foundation). He is the 6th wealthiest president of all time being valued at \$119 million (based on 2010 monetary values) (Tonner). Trump is now the wealthiest president with an estimated worth of \$3.7 billion, and his money was made through real estate, Trump casinos, and various other business ventures (Tonner).

The predominant commonality shared is wealth. However, it was also the way the two men projected themselves in their campaigns that is more important. Jackson, again relying on his war laurels, showed himself to be the frontiersman turned general and hero. This picture does not include his southern gentry life nor his opulence in Nashville. His humble beginnings were how he and his friends marketed himself to the common man to show that he was one of them. Trump did the same, identifying with the common man, but he was not shy about his wealth and in fact mostly flaunted it to friend and foe alike. Unlike Jackson, Trump has never experienced poverty and likely never will. However, Trump still identified with the common man by making his signature campaign clothing article not a button with a catchy slogan, but a simple ball cap with a catchy slogan. Trump's "Make America Great Again," or MAGA hats have become synonymous with Trump and his base. By wearing a baseball cap along with his suit, Trump was appealing to the working class and their accessories. Still wearing a suit, which represented his wealth and the office he was seeking, the MAGA hat made him one of the people in principle, even if not in actuality.

These two categories blend together into the general similarities shared between the two politically. From the summary, it can be remembered that Jackson was not initially interested in running for president but that his friends pushed him toward it and he accepted the candidacy. It was only after he was “cheated” in the Corrupt Bargain of 1824 that Jackson decided to run on his own. But it's important to remember, Jackson was a political and geographical outsider. Howard Kittel argues that Jackson was a geographic outsider, and that was why he vexed Adams, Clay, and the coastal elite at the time (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*). But his geographic standing as an outsider is what led him to be a political outsider as well. While Jackson did briefly serve as a Representative to the House, Tennessee Senator twice, and was a justice on Tennessee's supreme court, his political experience was very little. By all rights, he was an outsider in politics just as much as he was geographically. The only time he ventured into politics before running for president was when his military exploits nearly started the war with Spain in 1817. In the political episode that followed, it was ironically John Quincy Adams, then president Monroe's Secretary of State, who strongly defended Jackson's military decisions (Bradley). Jackson was a soldier first, politician second.

In the same way, Trump was a political outsider. He had never been elected to office nor appointed to one. While he was always in the public eye with his celebrity and economic status, he was never a government official. Trump had floated the idea of one day running for president as far back as 1987-1988. Nothing came of this initial speculation and for 12 years, Trump remained a celebrity. However, after the success of Governor-elect Jesse Ventura in 1998, Donald Trump decided to enter the presidential primary as the Reform Party's candidate in 2000. He received 15,000 votes in the California primary but ultimately withdrew before long (“Here's a Timeline...”). At the beginning of hosting *The Apprentice*, Trump again mulled a presidential

run but opted to continue hosting the show in 2004. However, in March 2011, an NBC poll showed a potential Trump candidacy as the leading presidential contender, including Mitt Romney. While there was heavy speculation Trump may run between March and May, especially as Trump began to criticize and attack President Obama, he again decides not to run and endorses Romney (“Here's a Timeline...”). In February 2015, Trump did not renew his *Apprentice* contract which led many to believe he was going to run. Four months later in June, Trump would famously ride down the escalator at Trump Tower in New York and would declare his candidacy. Trump’s decision to run as a businessman was very strategic. He was instantly outside the norm, never being an office holder, but rather a CEO and businessman.

This similarity of being outsiders, whether geographically or politically, allowed Jackson and Trump to position themselves against their respective elite. For Jackson, it was the aristocratic Virginians or wealthy Bostonians who did not understand what life was like for their American brother west of the Alleghenies (*Andrew Jackson: Hero...*). For Trump, it was the DC beltway and coastal elites that thought they knew how better to govern and run the rest of the country’s lives. Doug Wead also points out that the actual embodiment of Jackson and Trump’s adversary were both of elite political dynasties. John Quincy Adams was John Adams’ son; Founding Father and 2nd President of the United States. For Trump, it was Hilary Clinton; wife of the 43rd President and former Governor of Arkansas Bill Clinton (Wead). Another striking political similarity is that both men faced accomplished former secretaries of state and would accuse both of making poor foreign policy decisions (Wead). If these similarities were not striking enough, view Figures 1 & 2. Figure 1 displays the electoral map from the 2016 Presidential with Trump’s states in red and Figure 2 displays the electoral map from 1828 with Jackson’s states/votes in yellow. Of the states that were in the Union in 1828 and voted

wholesale for Jackson, (some states split their votes) all but Illinois and Virginia would also vote for Trump in 2016, 188 years later. Taking into consideration that Virginia would eventually split, with West Virginia voting for Trump in 2016, that leaves only Illinois that would wholesale vote for Jackson but not Trump.

Section IX: Challenges with the Comparison

While the previous sections have showed multiple examples of how Jackson and Trump and very similar, it is important to note a few ways the two could be considered to be different. For example, Charles Lane of the Washington Post argues that Trump is really more like Andrew Johnson, not Andrew Jackson. Lane believes that Johnson's "stubborn, conflictual and erratic personality" created the rift between himself and the Republican Party after the Civil War (Lane). Republicans tried to overlook this in order to use him for their own purposes, but after it was clear to them that he was not a "Radical Republican," impeachment trials soon began for the rest of his presidency. He also compares Johnson's anger outbursts towards journalists to Trump's anger and belittlement of his political foes on Twitter™. Lane does admit that his comparison breaks down as the GOP establishment rejected Johnson but has not rejected Trump and in fact dare not cross him lest they face the wrath of his "loyal fans" (Lane). Lane's linking of Trump's "unhinged anger" is also mentioned by Jon Meacham, the noted Jackson scholar, in an email interview with Chris Cillizza, also of the Washington Post. Meacham, who still believes that Jackson and Trump are very similar, agrees with Lane that Trump's temper is his greatest weakness. While Meacham mentions Jackson's temper, he argued that his outbursts were almost always "calculated" and purposeful whereas Trump's just seem to be pure vice (Cillizza). However, Meacham would part with Lane as he still believes Jackson is the closest president to

Trump as they both were “populist outsider[s], [and have] fervent supporters and equally fervent foes” (Cillizza).

Another example is Professor Eric Lomazoff of Villanova University, who argues that Trump’s presidency and administration are nothing like Andrew Jackson’s. Professor Lomazoff creates a grading system that places presidents in four different categories based on the president’s political ideology and the “Previously Established Commitments” vulnerability or resilience. A president could either be in a structured authority of the “Politics of Reconstruction, Preemption, Disjunction, or Articulation” (Lomazoff 283). Based on his analyses, Professor Lomazoff places Andrew Jackson in a “Politics of Reconstruction” as Jackson held opposing views to an established weak regime. After a lengthy discussion, Professor Lomazoff puts the 45th President into the “Politics of Preemption” which is being opposed to a strong regime (the same as President Obama in his analyses). This is important because leadership positions and authority structures in Washington D.C. will greatly impact how effective an administration is. This analysis is important because it demonstrates that while similarity traits may be observed, there are important distinctions that should be recognized between Jackson and Trump.

Section X: Analysis

After all of the research and explanation, it can be seen that Trump appealed to the Jacksonians and to Jacksonian populism by being like Jackson to make himself as compelling as possible. Through the literature review, readers see that Trump sought after the Jacksonians, the Americans with a strong sense of civic nationalism, independence but limited government assistance through some welfare programs. These Americans do not fit nicely in the left or the right and have been shunned by the coastal elites as backwards and “deplorables” by the left, and ignored by Bush from 2001 till 2009 on the right. The Jacksonians saw Trump as their way to

reassert their dominance and position in the American story. Trump's slogan, "Make America Great Again," was a rallying cry to limit the power of the progressive and aloof elites and to reverse some of the "progress" they had made. Trump was more than willing to oblige them through his speech, rhetoric, and policy adoptions. While Trump has not granted new voting blocs sweeping enfranchisement like Jackson did, he has "democratized" political conversation and speech. With the advent of social media, Trump has been able to use Twitter™ to bypass conventional mediums to share his political message and thereby reach the people directly. However, this question of Trump's brand of populism was answered in the literature review, so why did the Jacksonians side with Trump?

They did so because Trump was like Jackson: authentic and compelling. The Jacksonians had little reason to believe Trump and that he would do what he said he was going to do. While Trump talked a big game, he was a billionaire who held no prior public office and had no track record for policy stances. For most of his life and as recently as 2009, Trump was a Democrat and only became a Republican in 2012. Had Trump been another Republican businessman like Romney, he probably would not have won the primary. But, Trump was authentic, at least to the Jacksonians. Trump's populist appeal worked because he was so similar to Jackson. Trump was the outsider in his cultural, economic, and political statuses. Trump was an outsider culturally because he was a celebrity but came out of liberal Hollywood and other elite circles as a moderate or conservative. He was an outsider economically because while he was a billionaire, and boastfully flaunted it, he did not act like one and identified with the common man. He ate McDonalds™ and drank Coke™ on his private air lines and funded his own campaign so not to be "owned" by special interests. In doing this, Trump showed he was the "self-made man" like the Jacksonian he was trying to court. Finally, Trump was an outsider politically because he had

never held office before and lived his whole life in the private sector. This allowed him to position himself away from the mainstream Republicans like Rubio and Kasich, and to challenge strong conservatives like Cruz and Huckabee simply because Trump was not a politician. Trump was successful, not only because of his policies and political platform he adopted, but because he was like Jackson.

Section XI: Conclusion

What does this comparison mean for 2020? Trump has been clear that he is running again and is looking forward to challenging whoever the Democratic nominee is that survives the primary. Trump has checked off many “boxes” of similarity between himself and Jackson, but one that will certainly link the two in historical conversations forever will be if Trump, like Jackson, is reelected for a second term. Another consideration will be how the Democrats utilize populism, if they do so at all. Bernie Sanders also tapped into a grassroots movement during his 2016 presidential bid but was ultimately beaten out by Democratic super delegates at the 2016 Democratic Convention. So, what if Sanders wins the primary for 2020? It would be an interesting race to watch as the streams of populism mentioned by Martin Eiermann would be in a head-to-head competition, instead of rising at different moments like they have throughout history. For 2020, it seems that the election will be determined by who the Democrats nominate as Trump has not lost favor with his base. Going into 2020, Trump can run on an accomplished record backing up his slogan of now “Keep[ing] America Great” or another favorite slogan for the 2018 midterms: “Promises Made, Promises Kept.”

While many promises have been made, and many of them have been kept, Trump still has a few more months before he needs to seriously begin campaigning again. In that time, there is still a possibility that Trump could deviate from being like Jackson in some policy decisions.

While this is unlikely, due to the lengthy discussions of similarities shared between the two across various categories, it is still possible. The most likely deviation that could occur would be in foreign policy. Using Mead's foreign policy models, it is possible that Trump could shift from Jacksonian nationalism toward a Jeffersonian libertarian foreign policy with even less interventionism and military spending (Mead 3, "The Jacksonian Revolt"). Knowing that Trump respects Senators Rand Paul of Kentucky and Ted Cruz of Texas, both of whom lean Jeffersonian, his foreign policy could shift in their direction. Then again, this claim seems unlikely in light of the similarities drawn throughout this paper.

It should also be noted that there is a certain expectation and some could argue, a requirement, for Trump to be reelected in 2020 for him to be truly Jacksonian. After all, if Jackson was reelected, and Trump is like Jackson, then Trump should be reelected. Should Trump not be reelected, it would not negate the broad and deep commonalities shared with Jackson. However, it is nevertheless a fair comparison that should be revisited after the 2020 election.

It is still too early to make definitive predictions but models that have been built to predict elections, and have done so with reasonable accuracy, all point to a Trump "landslide" in 2020 (White). While these models are based on the economy, gas prices, and employment levels, there is no reason to believe that the Jacksonians have abandoned Trump. Trump's nomination and confirmation of two Constitutional-originalists to the Supreme Court, renegotiation of NAFTA and other trade deals, and a push to end foreign wars are all in line with Jacksonian principles. If Trump stays the course, he might very well plant himself firmly as the next "Hickory." Perhaps one day, President Trump will be remembered as "Hickory from Queens" or "The Old Hickory of New York."

Figures

Figure 1: 2016 Electoral Map

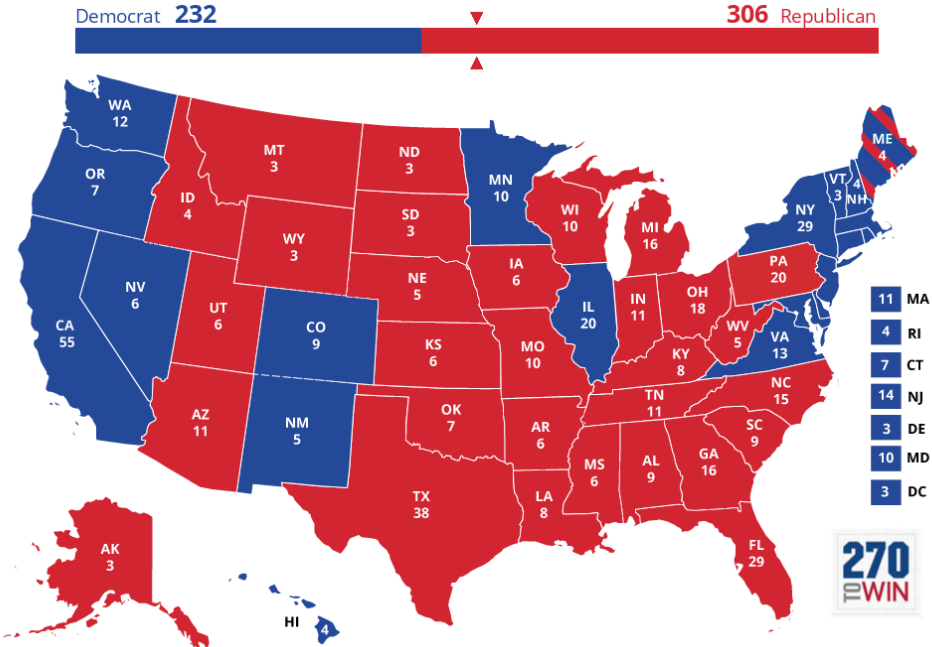


Figure 2: 1828 Electoral Map

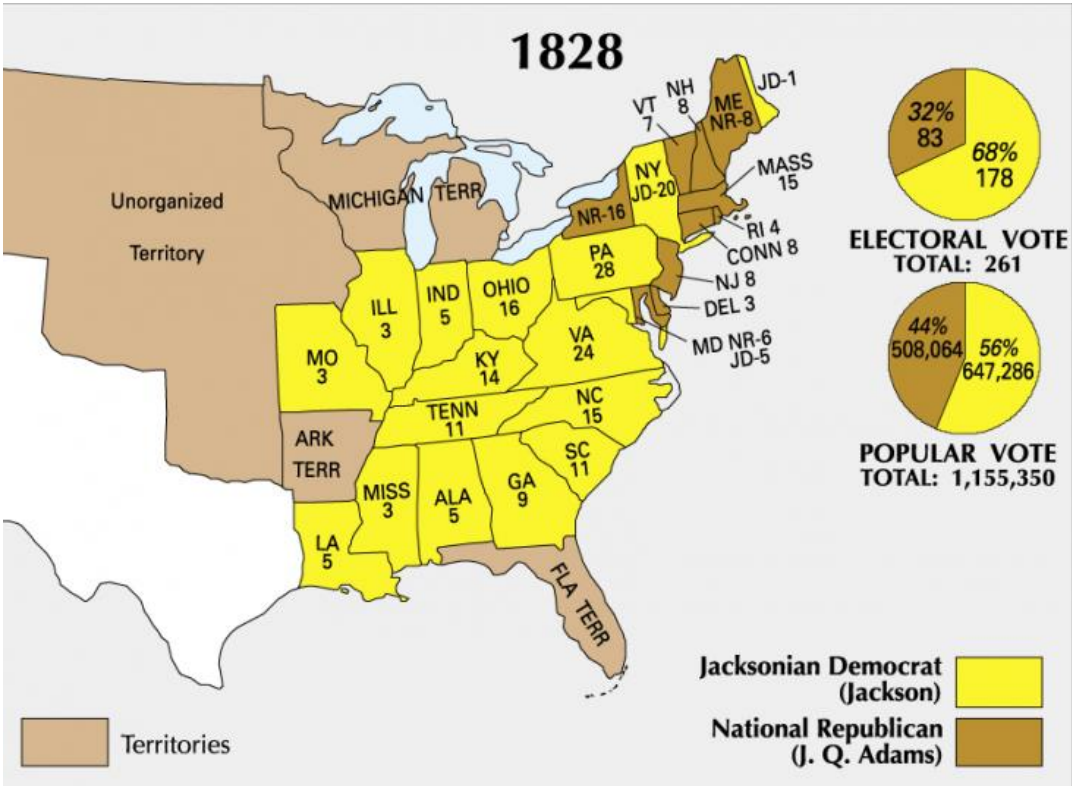


Figure 3: 1832 Electoral Map

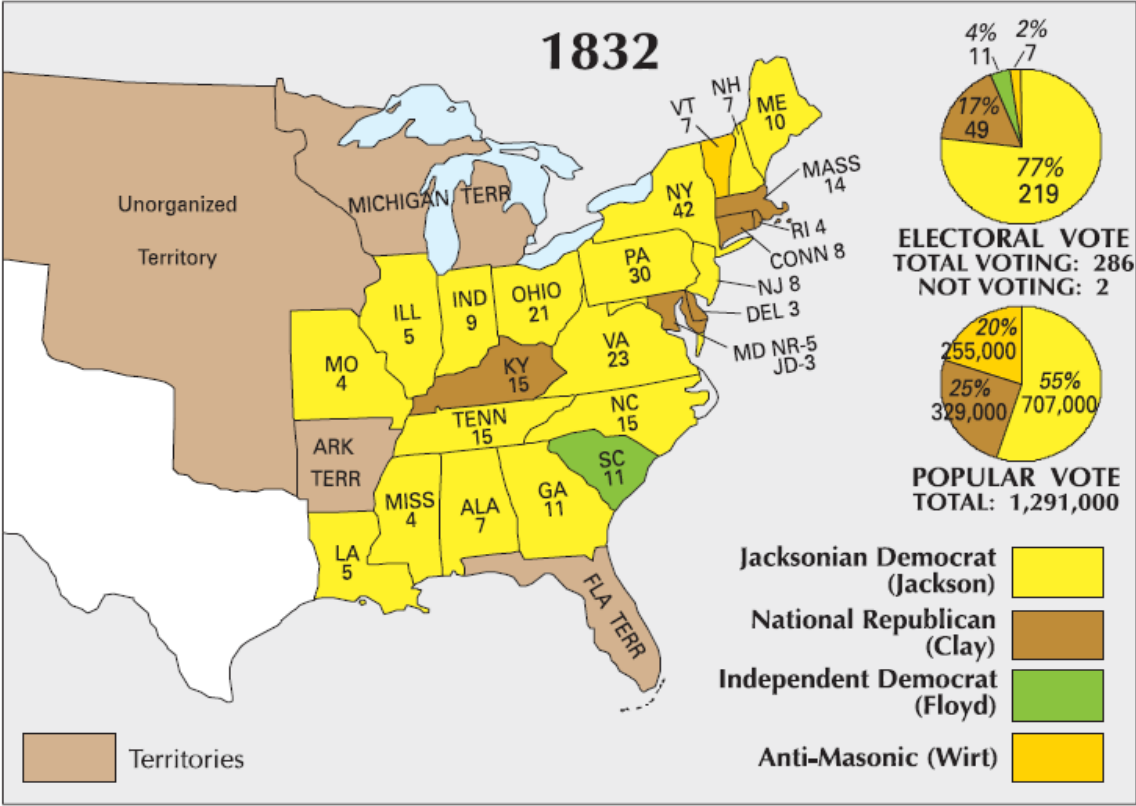


Figure 4: Trump in *Home Alone 2: Lost in New York*

Everyone's slamming Donald Trump but I didn't see Hillary Clinton help Kevin find the lobby.



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