# 1824 Contingent Election

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## Letter from the Secretary General

Delegates, Club and Team Advisors, Parents, and Any Other MUN Folks,

It is my esteemed privilege to welcome you all to Davis Model United Nations Conference XXIII! My name is Brody Andrews, and I am honored to serve as your Secretary-General for the 23rd DMUNC. On the weekend of May 2-3, 2026, delegates will have the opportunity to engage in fruitful debate and cooperation, and hopefully, make lifelong connections.

As a senior at UC Davis, this will be my final DMUNC and my final Model UN Conference. I've been to over 30 conferences in the eight years I've been doing MUN but nothing I've gotten to do in my Model UN career has been as rewarding as DMUNC. Last year I got the opportunity to serve as the Director General of DMUNC XXII and it brought me so much joy to watch a massive number of future leaders bring their imaginative ideas to important debates. Thank you all for the opportunity to watch the magic unfold again, I truly cannot wait to see and be inspired by all of you in May.

I joined MUN my freshman year in high school and I could not be more grateful for the experiences it has brought me. Having been in your position I know how simultaneously nerve-wracking and exciting a MUN weekend can be. Whether this is your first conference or your 100th I'm happy you chose to come to DMUNC. In college, MUN has only become a larger part of my life. Not only has MUN afforded me educational and competitive opportunities, but it has also brought me lasting relationships with incredible people who continue to push and support me every day.

As someone who has done Model UN for so many years, I've had all the classic MUN experiences. Every author's panel, crisis update, closing ceremony celebration, and moderated caucus speech led me to DMUNC and I couldn't be happier. As graduation looms large, I want to remind all of you of the amazing joys that MUN can bring and all of the exciting things college has in store for all of you. When you love MUN, it loves you back. The skills you will improve, friendships you will form, and knowledge you will gain from even one MUN conference is enough to make having to explain what a crisis committee is to your non-MUN friends worth it.

I have had the honor of serving as the Director General of DMUNC XXII and as the crisis director for DMUNC XXI's The Muppets committee and DMUNC XX's Star Wars JCC on the Rebels side. With three DMUNCs and countless more conferences under my belt, I feel confident that my experience and passion will help make DMUNC XXIII a truly memorable conference. However, none of this would be possible without the hard work of the CONSEC and staff members who have worked tirelessly for months to prepare for DMUNC XXIII. Running DMUNC is in *no way* a one person job and I am eternally grateful to every single DMUNC staff member. My greatest thanks goes to my Director General Mae Tyson who has stepped up at every turn in extraordinary ways. Thank you Mae, CONSEC, head chairs, crisis directors, and all the DMUNC staff.

Delegates, we have been planning this weekend since August of 2025 and we're so excited for you to enjoy it. I encourage you to read through your committee background guides thoroughly and formulate collaborative resolutions. I look forward to the thought-provoking ideas that each of you will bring forth to your respective committees. Good luck! We truly can't wait to share this with you.

Sincerely,

Brody Andrews | Secretary-General
**Davis Model United Nations Conference XXIII**
dmuncsg1@gmail.com

## Letter from the Head Chair

Dear Delegates,

It is my absolute honor and privilege to welcome you to the 1824 Contingent Election Committee at DMUNC XXIII. My name is Henry Rosenbach, and I am beyond excited to serve as your Head Chair. My first experience with public speaking came from congressional debate, so I feel weirdly at home chairing a committee that simulates the US Congress. I have always been fascinated by the intricate dynamics of US governance and integration, and have been deeply involved in politics both in my hometown and in Davis.

I still remember my first major debate conference. Too nervous to ask my school's coordinator for the background guides, I ended up walking into the competition with no research whatsoever. What followed was a blur of improvised speeches passionately supporting Bush's axis of evil, Puerto Rican statehood, a national minimum wage increase, and even the disbandment of the Space Force. That snowy winter morning in Shrewsbury, MA, I learned that my love for debate came not just from research (of which I had none), but from the exhilarating challenge of navigating a room full of theatre kids who found joy in arguing about the fate of the world. It was at that moment that I truly understood the power of diplomacy, not just as a skill, but as a way to engage with ideas, people, and the art of persuasion itself.

Now, 1824. The United States is at a weird hinge moment. The "Era of Good Feelings" is quietly dying in the corner, the party system is mutating, and the country is trying to pretend this is normal while four major candidates split the vote. And then the election happens. Nobody gets an Electoral College majority, so under the Twelfth Amendment, the decision gets tossed into the House of Representatives. Not "the House, broadly." State delegations. One vote per state. So congratulations: you are now operating inside the constitutional escape hatch. It is cramped, loud, and historically consequential.

This committee rewards three things: historical grounding, strategic imagination, and social intelligence. Know the regional interests. Know the factions. Know the egos. Understand why certain deals are possible and why others will get you branded a traitor before dinner

Speaking of cooperation, this is a collaborative committee, which means you'll be operating as a dynamic state delegation. Your success will depend on your ability to collaborate, communicate, and complement each other's strengths. Lean on each other, share ideas, and make sure that by the end of the conference, you walk away not just as a well-oiled congressional machine, but maybe even as lifelong friends (or at least tolerable colleagues).

I can't wait to see the passion, dedication, and ingenuity that you all bring to the 19th US Congress. If you have any questions or need any guidance before or during the conference, please don't hesitate to reach out to me.

Warmly,
**Henry Rosenbach | Head Chair |** hlopesro@ucdavis.edu

# The Constitution

## Prologue: How the rules were supposed to work

When the Constitution was written, the presidency was meant to sit at arm's length from direct popular passion. Electors would be chosen inside each state. Each elector would cast two undifferentiated votes for president. The winner would become president and the runner-up vice president. If no one had a majority, the House of Representatives would choose a president from the top five, voting by state delegations, one state one vote. The Senate might end up choosing the vice president.

This structure assumed that there would be no disciplined national parties. It imagined a small world of "fit characters" known to the political elite. Under those conditions, filtering the choice through electors and, if necessary, the House could look like a safeguard rather than an intrusion.

That world collapsed almost at once.

Through the 1790s, Federalists and Democratic Republicans built what historian Donald Ratcliffe called a "two-party conflict" that overrode the framers' indirect machinery by clearly labeling candidates and assuring that one side would win more than half the electoral votes. Congressional party caucuses helped identify a single "official" candidate for the Republicans. State legislative or popular elections for Congress doubled as proxy presidential contests, because candidates wore party labels that told voters which presidential hopeful they favored. In practice, presidents were chosen whom "a majority of the electorate approved of," even though the formal Electoral College filter remained in place.

The election of 1800 broke even that uneasy compromise. The Republican electors loyally cast both of their votes for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, which produced a tie. The contest went to the House and dragged through thirty six ballots. The ordeal convinced enough politicians that something had to change. The Twelfth Amendment, ratified in 1804, forced electors to cast one vote for president and one for vice president, and reduced the House's choice in a contingent election from five to three names. The republic survived, but no one who lived through that week wanted to repeat it.

The answer was the Twelfth Amendment. It is the rule sheet your committee will live inside, and it reads like a set of stage directions for a very particular kind of drama. Electors vote separately for president and vice president. A candidate needs a majority of all appointed electors, not just a plurality. If no one reaches that bar, the House must choose the president "immediately," by ballot, from the top three names. The vote is by states. Each state gets one vote, whether it has Maine's population or New York's. A majority of the states, not a majority of the people, decides the outcome.

In 1804 this looked like a reasonable patch on a leaky system. Parties are now an obvious fact of life. Separate ballots for president and vice president should prevent another Jefferson–Burr tie. A House backstop should keep the government functioning if the Electoral College fragments.

By the time James Monroe won re-election almost without opposition in 1820, observers were calling the period the "Era of Good Feelings." Federalists had been destroyed at the national level. On the surface, party

conflict seemed to have vanished.[1] Old Federalist and Republican loyalties still shaped many gubernatorial and congressional contests well into the 1820s.

The presidential system, in other words, still depended on habits of two-party competition that no longer existed cleanly, and on a congressional caucus that was about to lose its authority. The stage was set for confusion.

## Act I: A crowded field in a "one-party" republic

By the early 1820s, four men considered themselves plausible presidents, all claiming the mantle of Jeffersonian Republicanism:

- William H. Crawford of Georgia, secretary of the treasury, had the advantage of regularity. A Republican congressional caucus designated him the official party candidate, in continuity with earlier practice, and his supporters assumed that loyal Republicans would rally to the caucus choice.
- John Quincy Adams, Monroe's secretary of state, carried the prestige of diplomatic achievement and the hopes of New England.
- Henry Clay, Speaker of the House and champion of the "American System" of tariffs and internal improvements, expected to draw strength from the West.
- Andrew Jackson, senator from Tennessee and hero of the Battle of New Orleans, began as a famous name without a clearly defined national organization. Still, Jackson "was not regarded as a serious candidate until the early months of 1824."

The apparent absence of party lines did not mean an absence of structure. State-level politicians improvised with familiar tools. In New England, Republican legislators held caucuses to nominate slates of presidential electors. In Pennsylvania, the regular Republican faction organized what Ratcliffe calls a mixed nominating convention of legislators and specially elected delegates, which behaved very much like an enlarged caucus. In New York, Martin Van Buren's faction relied on nomination by the legislature, while their opponents summoned a state convention under the name of the "People's Party." In New Jersey, different Republican groups fought to control the regular state convention that usually named candidates for Congress and the Electoral College.

The ghost of the Federalist party floated through these arrangements. In most states, surviving Federalists threw their weight behind whichever Republican candidate best suited local sentiment. In New England, that meant backing Adams in spite of their resentment of his earlier defection from Federalism. Sometimes they even ran straight Federalist protest tickets which historians later misclassified as votes for Crawford or as meaningless "scattering" returns.

[1] Ratcliffe, working down at the level of states and counties, insists that this is misleading.

Beneath these maneuvers, the rules of political participation were changing unevenly. Most states in 1824 chose presidential electors by popular vote, but not all. Six still left the choice to their legislatures. Those that did vote did not all expand the electorate at the same pace.[2]

All of this meant that the contest of 1824 unfolded inside a political culture that was far more democratic than the framers had imagined, but far less uniform than later generations would assume. There was more voting than there had been in 1789, more talk of "the people," but no settled idea of a national popular mandate.

## Act II: An election without a script

The campaign itself lacked the familiar structure of a two-party race. There was no Federalist standard bearer. The Republican caucus had named Crawford, but its authority was widely resented. Local politicians, particularly in the North, faced conflicting pressures. Many were tired of southern dominance and wanted a northern president. Others remained loyal to the idea that the caucus choice was the "regular" Republican candidate and that discipline required supporting him, whether or not he could win.

Adams aimed his appeal at opinion leaders. He trusted that sympathetic editors, state legislators and members of Congress could speak for their towns and regions. Clay and Crawford acted in much the same vein. Jackson's candidacy, by contrast, rested on his personal reputation and benefited from the growing tendency to view the presidency as a prize to be won by popular enthusiasm rather than by elite brokerage. As Daniel Walker Howe puts it, Jackson's cause "exemplified and benefited from the changing nature of presidential campaigns and the more direct role of the electorate," while his rivals largely played politics "the old-fashioned way."

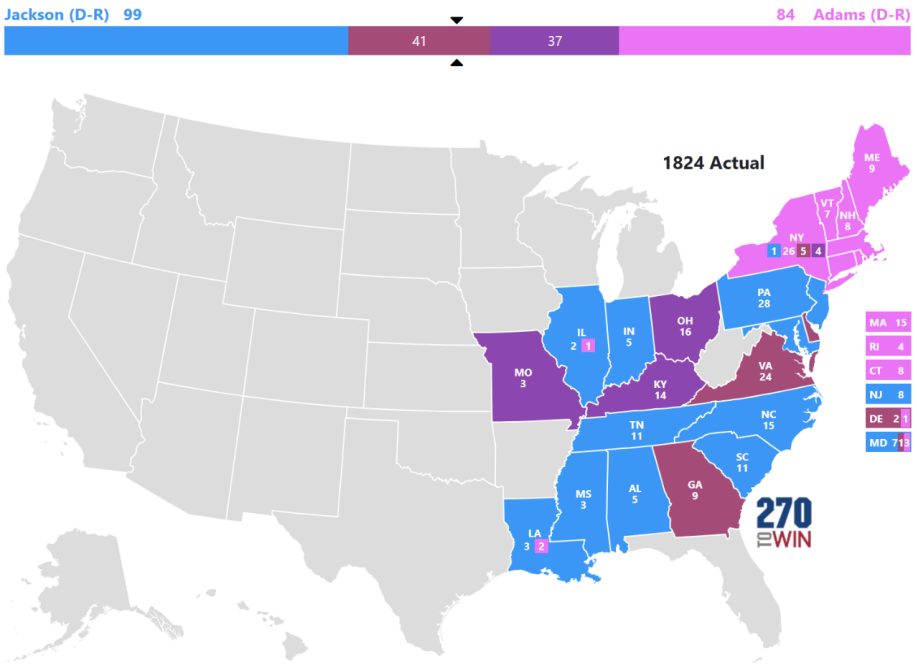
The machinery that translated votes into electors varied wildly from state to state. There have been reconstructions of at least three different modes of election nested inside a highly decentralized process. Some states left the choice entirely to their legislatures. Others elected electors at large on a "general ticket," so that a narrow popular edge could yield a sweep of all the state's electoral votes. A shrinking minority used district systems that divided the state's electoral votes among separate contests. Each technique shaped the apparent expression of popular preferences in different ways.

Even counting the votes was not straightforward. States recorded and preserved their returns unevenly. Later compilers like Edward Stanwood and James Hopkins had to piece together national totals from fragments, often misassigning votes where local newspapers or records were unclear.

Yet the rough shape of the outcome is clear. For the first time in American history, it is possible to tabulate something like a national popular vote, though it excludes the six states with no popular election for president. Jackson leads that tally with 152,901 votes, about 42.5 percent. Adams follows with 114,023,

[2] Ratcliffe points out that in Rhode Island and Virginia legal restrictions on suffrage cut the potential electorate roughly in half, while such limits were "more or less unknown" in other elector states.

about 31.5 percent. Clay and Crawford each attract just under 13 percent. The absolute numbers are small, which reflects low turnout and the gaps in who was allowed to vote.




In the Electoral College, Jackson again comes first, with 99 electoral votes. Adams has 84, Crawford 41, Clay 37. Jackson has undercut Clay in parts of the West and hurt Crawford among Old Republicans. Yet Jackson's lead rests heavily on the constitutional bonus given to slaveholding states by the three-fifths clause. Without that rule, historian Robert Forbes calculates that Jackson would have had 77 electoral votes to Adams' 83.

No one has a majority. Under the Twelfth Amendment, the decision moves to the House of Representatives, which must choose the president from the top three names, voting by state delegation. Clay, in fourth place, cannot be considered.

At this point the earlier improvisations of state systems and party loyalties come due. In Maryland, the quirks of the district system and poor vote concentration by Adams supporters turned what appears to have been either a narrow Jackson edge or a narrow Adams edge in the popular vote into seven electoral votes for Jackson and three for Adams. In Illinois, Jackson wins only 1,272 popular votes to Adams's 1,541, yet the district layout delivers him two electoral votes to Adams's one.

The same patchwork that allows Jackson to claim a plurality in the College gives Adams's followers room to argue that their man enjoyed at least as much genuine popular support once one corrects for the distortions. Ratcliffe concludes, on the basis of revised returns, that Adams "enjoyed more popular support than Jackson in 1824–1825" and that his election expressed "the will of a plurality of a deeply divided people" operating within what was, by the standards of the time, "a remarkably democratic political system."

None of that will matter very much in the political theater that follows, but it shapes how historians now tell the story.

## Act III – The House Chooses a President (Our Committee's Present)

It is early 1825. The Electoral College has voted and failed to produce a majority. The country now stares straight at the clause that most Americans have never actually seen used.

### The constitutional script you are about to perform

Under the Twelfth Amendment, the next steps are not optional.

1. Only the top three electoral vote getters are eligible for president.
    - That means the choice before the House is: Jackson, Adams, Crawford**.**
    - If ***you*** would like, you can propose to change this and make our election another open race.
2. The House does not vote as 213 individual members. It votes by state delegations.
    - Each state gets one vote, no matter its population.
    - A state's delegation must decide internally how to cast that single state vote.
    - Be nice to your fellow statesmen (please).
3. A candidate must win a majority of the states to become president.
    - There are 24 states in 1825.
    - 13 state votes are needed to win.
4. The House is supposed to choose "immediately, by ballot."
    - In practice this can mean multiple ballots inside the House until a majority appears.

In other words, your job as delegates is not to replay the popular vote or the Electoral College. Your job is to act as state delegations under the Twelfth Amendment and decide who will be the next president.

### The political map as you walk into the chamber

Some state legislatures have passed "instructions" telling their representatives how to vote. Some representatives feel bound by those instructions. Others believe their constitutional duty as members of the House allows them to decide independently. Newspaper opinion, local party organizations, and private letters all pull on them. None of that is written into the Twelfth Amendment, yet it shapes every move inside the chamber.

In committee terms: you will represent states, not just individuals. Each state bloc will be under pressure to reconcile three things:

- The constitutional rule: one state, one vote, majority of states decides.
- The various "popular" signals: how your state's electors voted, and where any popular vote pointed.
- The strategic future: Which president is best for your region, your faction, and your own career.

Your committee's work is to play out this contingent election as if it is happening now:

- You will argue over what counts as honoring "the will of the people."
- You will test how far representatives should follow state instructions or local public opinion.
- You will decide whether the House is a neutral constitutional backstop or a political actor with its own agenda.

At the end of Act III, the House will choose a president. Whether that choice looks like a constitutional triumph, a democratic betrayal, or a durable compromise is exactly what your delegates are here to determine. The Twelfth Amendment gives you the rules of the game. The election of 1824 gives you the stakes. The rest unfolds on your committee floor.

# History

## Historical Prologue: The Era of Good Feelings

## Political Context

By the time James Monroe took office in 1817 the old Federalist party had collapsed as a national force. The Hartford Convention and the party's flirtation with New England discontent during the War of 1812 had wrecked its reputation. Monroe and his allies believed that history was vindicating what many classical and early modern thinkers had taught: parties were diseased "factions," symptoms of corruption rather than healthy competition. If the Revolution had been about virtue and disinterested republicanism, then a party system looked like backsliding. Monroe's hope was that the Republican victory would not produce permanent one party rule but eventually a nonpartisan political culture, in which wise men argued about policy without formal teams or labels.

On paper this dream seemed to be coming true. The Federalists were reduced to a few redoubts, above all in New England, and by the mid 1820s only Delaware still sent consistent Federalist representatives to Congress. Their disappearance mattered intellectually as well as electorally. The Federalists had carried an older "statist" conservatism that was comfortable with strong government direction of the economy. When they vanished, that tradition was weakened for a generation.

Under the surface, though, politics did not become apolitical. The Republican "family" contained deep fissures. Regional loyalties, rival economic visions, and sharp personal ambitions all lived inside what was nominally one party. John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun, and the rising Andrew Jackson all called themselves Republicans, but they did not imagine the same future for the republic.[3] In 1824, voters and local elites often behaved as if the old Federalist Republican divide still mattered, using those habits and loyalties to choose among the four "Republican" presidential candidates on offer.

The "Era of Good Feelings" is best read as a political truce, not an age without politics. The loud national quarrel between two organized parties quieted for a time. Beneath that quiet, however, factions sharpened their knives and the rules of the presidential game, including the Twelfth Amendment's contingent election procedure, were about to be tested in ways the framers had not quite imagined.

## Economic Context

Economically, the United States in Monroe's day was in motion. After 1815, Congress and the presidency turned from war to "improvement." The federal government chartered the Second Bank of the United States in 1816 to stabilize credit and currency. It also adopted a protective tariff to shelter young American industries from British competition, especially in textiles and iron. These measures reflected what Henry

[3] Donald Ratcliffe's work on presidential voting patterns makes the point that old party attachments and networks never really disappeared

Clay would soon call the "American System," a program that tried to link tariffs, a national bank, and internal improvements into a single strategy for national development. When Adams and Clay later joined forces, they would present themselves as the natural heirs of this vision.

The most visible change, though, lay in transportation. State governments, more willing than Congress to stretch constitutional scruples, dug canals and chartered turnpikes. The giant among them was New York's Erie Canal, authorized in 1817 and finished in 1825. It ran more than three hundred miles from Albany to Buffalo, climbed and descended hundreds of feet with locks, and cost the state several million dollars. Tolls quickly repaid the investment and then became a steady stream of state revenue. The canal slashed freight costs, tied the Old Northwest to the Atlantic seaboard through New York rather than New Orleans, and turned New York City into the country's leading port and financial center.

Alongside the canals came a quieter communications revolution. The federal Post Office expanded at a remarkable pace. New post roads and thousands of post offices carried newspapers and letters into towns and rural districts that had previously been provincial and inward looking. By the 1830s evangelical denominations alone employed more people and occupied more buildings than the Post Office, which shows how thin federal infrastructure still was. Yet the postal network still made it far easier for news, prices, and campaign literature to circulate than in the Founding era.

The new prosperity had a dark twin. Cheap British credit, speculation in western land and cotton, and mismanagement of the Second Bank fueled a boom that crashed in the Panic of 1819. Land prices collapsed, banks failed, and debtors from Pennsylvania to Missouri faced foreclosure. This was the young republic's first experience of a truly national business cycle. In the cotton South, the Panic revealed how deeply the economy was already tied to world markets and to slavery. Expansion into new slave states like Alabama and Mississippi was financed by expectations of continued high cotton prices. When those prices fell, not just planters but merchants and banks in New York and Philadelphia felt the shock.

Politically, the Panic bred suspicion of banks, paper money, and distant financial elites, especially in the West and South. That anger lingered into the 1820s and helped make a man like Andrew Jackson, famous for fighting both Indians and banks, an attractive figure. It also blew into the debate over Missouri's admission to the Union. As Missouri asked for statehood as a slave state, northern politicians tried to halt the spread of slavery. Southerners, already rattled by economic distress, feared that losing control of the Senate would expose slavery to federal attack. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 admitted Missouri as a slave state, fabricated Maine as a free state, and drew a line across the Louisiana Purchase, but it also left everyone uneasy. It showed that slavery was a national political problem that could not be wished away by talk of "good feelings."

This is the economic world in which the 1824 candidates moved. They spoke in different accents of the same reality. Adams and Clay leaned into a program of tariffs, banks, and improvements to knit the country together. Crawford represented a more traditional, states rights Republican suspicion of centralized power. Jackson channeled the fury of those who felt that the new market economy mostly produced debts and humiliations for ordinary people while enriching a small insider class in Washington and along the eastern seaboard.

## Social Context

Socially, the Era of Good Feelings was anything but sleepy. The Second Great Awakening, an enormous wave of Protestant revivals, rolled through frontier clearings, canal towns, and seaport cities. Evangelical preachers like Charles Grandison Finney and Lyman Beecher told ordinary people that salvation depended on a personal decision for Christ and that this decision should flower into moral action and reform.

Religion flourished under a system of disestablishment in which churches were voluntary rather than state supported. Beecher himself observed that ministers had actually "gained" influence once taxes no longer funded churches, because they learned to organize revivals, missions, and societies to rally believers. Out of this voluntarist world grew a dense jungle of benevolent associations: Bible societies, tract societies, missionary boards, Sunday school unions, temperance groups, peace societies, and anti slavery organizations. This interlocking network would later be called the "Benevolent Empire." Its directors treated reform as a kind of national project in moral improvement and, in the process, gave thousands of ordinary Americans practice at raising money, keeping accounts, voting in meetings, and managing organizations.

Women, who could not vote or hold office, found in these associations a way into public life. They organized charitable work, distributed tracts and Bibles, and ran auxiliaries that sometimes did more practical work than the male parent societies. These activities served as training grounds for "fuller citizenship," giving middle class women experience in leadership and collective action long before any formal political rights arrived.

At the same time, the political electorate was quietly broadening for white men. By roughly 1815 most of the old property qualifications for voting had been dropped or relaxed in state constitutions, especially in new western states. The ideal of white manhood suffrage was increasingly accepted, while the rights of free Black men were curtailed in many places and women remained excluded. The result was a republic that called itself democratic while reserving formal political voice for a racially defined male public. When you imagine an all male state delegation filing into the House chamber in 1825 to vote under the Twelfth Amendment, that is the slice of America they represented.

Finally, religious and social energies did not float above politics. Evangelicals who believed in reform and moral discipline often found Clay's and Adams's activist economic program congenial, since both projects involved using organized effort, and sometimes the state, to improve society. Those mistrustful of centralized schemes, or more attached to local, "confessional" churches, tended to prefer more limited government and would later gravitate toward Jacksonian Democracy. The political parties that crystallized out of the chaos of 1824 would inherit these cultural alignments.

# List of characters

## 1. John Quincy Adams (Massachusetts)

Son of John Adams, veteran diplomat, sitting Secretary of State. Architect of the Monroe Doctrine and a believer in an energetic federal government that can sponsor roads, canals and science.

**Keywords:** Cerebral, prickly, convinced he is usually right.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Secure enough state delegations to legitimate his House victory as a choice for national development, not just a back room fix.
- Lock in support for a national program of internal improvements and a protective tariff.
- Limit Jackson's future by splitting western support between Clay men and moderate nationalists.

## 2. Andrew Jackson (Tennessee)

Senator from Tennessee, conqueror of New Orleans, Indian fighter, self made man of the southwest. Less a policy intellectual and more a symbol of rough democratic energy and personal honor.

**Keywords:** Western settlers, many southern planters, urban working men who resent banks and insiders. The popular favorite in the 1824 returns, even if the math is murkier than his followers admit.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Turn his plurality of votes into a moral claim that state delegations must respect.
- Brand any Adams Clay alliance as a corrupt bargain that spits on "the people."
- Build a durable Jacksonian faction in the House that will live on even if he loses this round.

## 3. William H. Crawford (Georgia)

Secretary of the Treasury, long time Jeffersonian insider, standard bearer of the traditional southern states rights Republicanism. Hit by a stroke during the campaign, which raises doubts about his fitness.

**Keywords:** Old Republican circles in Virginia and Georgia, strict construction lawyers, southern planters who fear an expansive federal government more than they dislike Adams. Many of his men hate Jackson personally.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Keep his candidacy alive long enough to be the compromise between Adams and Jackson.
- Trade his remaining strength for guarantees on low tariffs, weak banks and protection of slavery.
- Block any precedent that says a war hero with a plurality can claim automatic promotion.

### 4. Henry Clay (Kentucky)

Speaker of the House, failed presidential candidate, chief evangelist of the American System. Loves deals, loves speaking even more, sees himself as an architect of the Union.

**Keywords:** Western farmers who want roads and canals, some northern manufacturers, nationalists who see the federal government as a tool for knitting regions together. He despises Jackson as a dangerous soldier in politics.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Prevent Jackson from becoming president.
- Deliver a majority to Adams in return for policy and office that advance the American System.
- Position himself as the indispensable arbiter of the House and the likely future president.

### 5. John C. Calhoun (South Carolina)

Recently elected Vice President, once a nationalist hawk, increasingly attentive to southern insecurity. Clever, intense, already thinking in systems. Doesn't vote in the House.

**Keywords:** Carolina planters, southern states that fear tariffs and any hint of federal interference with slavery. Still has allies among nationalists who remember his earlier enthusiasm for internal improvements.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Keep the South united enough to bargain as a bloc for concessions.
- Test whether Adams or Jackson will better protect slavery and oppose aggressive tariffs.
- Quietly lay groundwork for a southern doctrine of state resistance if things go badly.

### 6. James Monroe (Virginia)

Outgoing president and last of the revolutionary generation in office. Personally cautious, politically attached to the idea that parties are harmful.

**Keywords:** Old Virginia Republican circles, moderate nationalists, people invested in the illusion of the "Era of Good Feelings." Doesn't vote in the House.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Keep the transfer of power peaceful and within the constitutional script.
- Discourage talk that the presidency has been "stolen" whatever the outcome.
- Shield his own legacy from being blamed for the chaos of a four way race.

## 7. Daniel Webster (Massachusetts)

Brilliant lawyer, rising congressional star, defender of New England commercial interests and the Union. Speaks with full paragraphs even in casual conversation.

**Keywords:** Boston merchants, bankers, shipowners. Strong sympathy for Adams, but also for legal clarity and public credit.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Argue the House choice as a responsible constitutional act, not a conspiracy.
- Secure firm commitments from Adams for public credit, a strong judiciary, and cautious tariffs.
- Contain any Jacksonian rhetoric that sounds like contempt for law or contracts.

## 8. Churchill C. Cambreleng (New York)

New York City merchant and lawyer, rising Democratic-Republican congressman closely allied with the Albany Regency and Martin Van Buren. Future Jacksonian floor leader and chair of Ways and Means, already known as a sharp organizer and numbers man.

**Keywords:** New York state politicians, mid Atlantic networks, people who want order through organized parties rather than personal factions.

**Possible objectives in committee:**

- Decide whether New York's long term interest lies with an Adams-Clay nationalist alliance or with a southern western coalition around Crawford or Jackson.

- Use New York's House presence to tie the next president to New York City's commercial and financial interests, especially customs, banking, and the Erie Canal trade..

- Trade New York's crucial state vote and his own parliamentary skills for outsized influence over committee assignments, revenue policy, and patronage once the new administration takes office.

## 9. Stephen Longfellow (Maine)

Representative from Maine, lawyer, merchant family background, father of future poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

**Keywords:** Shipping, fisheries, lumber, New England commercial ties. Natural Adams supporter.

**Possible objectives:**

- Secure harbor improvements and lighthouses for Maine.

- Keep tariffs high enough to protect northern industry, low enough not to wreck shipping.

- Present Maine as a reliable New England partner in Adams's coalition.

## 10. William Plumer Jr. (New Hampshire)

At large representative from New Hampshire, son of a former governor.

**Keywords:** Well educated, cautious. Local Republican establishment, nervous about Jackson but skeptical of old Federalist elites.

**Possible objectives:**

- Anchor New Hampshire inside the Adams bloc.

- Trade a firm House vote for attention to New England road and canal links.

- Resist any southern attempt to paint New England nationalism as "monarchical."

## 11. Jeremiah Nelson (Massachusetts)

Veteran Massachusetts representative with Federalist roots who drifted into the Adams camp.

**Keywords:** Shipowners, town elites, conservative Congregational circles.

**Possible objectives:**

- Protect New England from punitive southern or western policies on trade.
- Use the committee to push for a predictable customs regime and support for the merchant marine.
- Guard against any radical democratic reforms that look like mob rule.

## 12. Samuel Eddy (Rhode Island)

Jurist and politician from a small, commercially minded state crowded with mills and ports.

**Keywords:** Textile manufacturers, coastal traders, Baptists and other dissenters who like stability more than glory.

**Possible objectives:**

- Lock in a tariff structure that favors early New England industry.
- Make sure small states keep full weight in the House and Senate.
- Promote Adams as the candidate least likely to forget New England's smallest corner.

## 13. Gideon Tomlinson (Connecticut)

Lawyer and at large representative, future governor and senator. Very respectable.

**Keywords:** Congregational establishment, commercial farmers, bankers.

**Possible objectives:**

- Back Adams but press him for moderation on tariffs that hurt Connecticut export agriculture.
- Keep Connecticut's federal courts and offices in friendly hands.
- Act as a mediating New England voice in any crisis over legitimacy.

## 14. Rollin C. Mallary (Vermont)

Congressman from a rural, mountainous state with mixed subsistence farming and small industry.

**Keywords:** Frontier farmers, small manufacturers, anti slavery sentiment that is still quiet but real.

**Possible objectives:**

- Support Adams and Clay in exchange for better roads to markets and postal routes.
- Test how each candidate will treat slavery's expansion westward, even if Vermont has little direct leverage.
- Raise the question of how western farmers fit into elite eastern plans.

### 15. John W. Taylor (New York)

Representative from upstate New York, former Speaker of the House. Skilled parliamentarian, Adams ally.

**Keywords:** Canal country interests, moderate Republicans, some old Federalist networks.

**Possible objectives:**

- Prevent New York from fracturing so badly that it loses influence.
- Demand iron clad commitments on Erie Canal related policies, lake ports, and tariff design.
- Use his procedural skills to shepherd an Adams majority through the House without obvious scandal.

### 16. Daniel Garrison (New Jersey)

At large representative from a state wedged between New York and Philadelphia, with both farms and mills.

**Keywords:** Local farmers, small merchants, people who want to be noticed in a world dominated by larger neighbors.

**Possible objectives:**

- Present New Jersey as a swing state whose support must be purchased with infrastructure and port benefits.
- Flirt with Jackson to squeeze maximum concessions from Adams men.
- Use the committee to step upward inside state politics.

### 17. George Kremer (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania congressman, rough edged Jackson man, widely believed to have written the anonymous letter accusing Clay of a corrupt bargain.

**Keywords:** Rural Pennsylvania Democrats, anti elite artisans, German farmers.

**Possible objectives:**

- Turn the phrase “corrupt bargain” into the common sense of the House.
- Make any Adams victory look morally tainted and politically fragile.
- Cement his own place in the Jackson camp as an early and loyal attack dog.

## 18. Louis McLane (Delaware)

At large representative from tiny Delaware, skillful lawyer and future Treasury Secretary under Jackson.

**Keywords:** Commercial interests in Wilmington, conservative landowners, a state that still remembers Federalism.

**Possible objectives:**

- Sell Delaware’s single state vote dearly, with promises of patronage, judicial appointments, and port improvements.
- Keep channels open to both Adams and Jackson for future office.
- Show how a small state can punch above its weight in a one state one vote system.

## 19. Joseph Kent (Maryland)

Representative from a border state with both tobacco plantations and commercial cities.

**Keywords:** Baltimore merchants, Chesapeake planters, internal improvement boosters who dream of canals from the bay inland.

**Possible objectives:**

- Tie Maryland’s support to concrete commitments on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and harbor works.
- Balance slaveowner anxiety with commercial enthusiasm and avoid tying Maryland too tightly to either section.
- Use the House election to position himself for the governorship.

## 20. Philip P. Barbour (Virginia)

Virginian, former Speaker, devoted Old Republican and close to Crawford.

**Keywords:** Tobacco planters, strict construction jurists, Jeffersonian nostalgia.

**Possible objectives:**

- Keep Virginia from drifting into Adams's orbit, even if Crawford is weak.
- Use the committee to reassert Virginia's moral leadership in national Republicanism.
- Resist any precedent that reads national popular votes as binding.

## 21. Lewis Williams (North Carolina)

Long serving representative, known as a "watchdog of the Treasury" for his focus on frugality.

**Keywords:** Small farmers, backcountry districts, anti tax sentiment.

**Possible objectives:**

- Oppose any candidate who looks like they will spend freely on national projects at local expense.
- Push for strict limits on internal improvements funded by Washington.
- Protect North Carolina from losing ground to more aggressive neighbors.

## 22. Starling Tucker (South Carolina)

Congressman from a state already grumbling about tariffs and northern power.

**Keywords:** Slaveholding rice and cotton planters, early nullification sentiment.

**Possible objectives:**

- Secure explicit or implicit promises on low tariffs and non interference with slavery.
- Work with Calhoun to test whether Adams or Jackson can be steered, or whether the South must prepare for resistance.
- Keep South Carolina's vote united to maximize leverage.

## 23. Thomas W. Cobb (Georgia)

At large representative, lawyer, ally of Crawford.

**Keywords:** Georgia planters, land speculators, Indian land politics.

**Possible objectives:**

- Keep Crawford viable as long as possible, then trade his departure for favorable Indian policy and states rights protections.
- Ensure Georgia has wide latitude to push Indigenous nations off land.
- Prevent Jackson from monopolizing "southern honor" rhetoric.

## 24. David Trimble (Kentucky)

Western representative from Clay's home state, with a background in law and land issues.

**Keywords:** Small farmers, debtors, internal improvement supporters, all under Clay's shadow.

**Possible objectives:**

- Balance loyalty to Clay with pressure from Kentuckians who like Jackson's swagger.
- Demand federal support for Kentucky roads and river projects as a price for an Adams vote.
- Decide whether Kentucky will be counted as a western nationalist or a frontier populist state.

## 25. Robert Allen (Tennessee)

Jackson country representative, close to frontier settler concerns.

**Keywords:** Squatters, small slaveholders, men who see Jackson as one of their own.

**Possible objectives:**

- Rally Tennessee's delegation behind Jackson with no defections.
- Amplify stories of Jackson's popular mandate against House "aristocrats."
- Push for aggressive policies on Indian removal and western expansion.

## 26. Samuel F. Vinton (Ohio)

Ohio lawyer and legislator, highly skilled on finance and land law.

**Keywords:** Canal supporters, western merchants, settlers who want stable titles and cheap credit.

**Possible objectives:**

- Use Ohio's growing clout to extract federal support for the Ohio Canal system.
- Prefer Adams Clay policy, but hold out long enough to make Ohio central to any winning coalition.
- Present himself as a model of western technocratic leadership.

## 27. Edward Livingston (Louisiana)

New Orleans representative, jurist, drafter of a famous civil law code, once a political ally of Jefferson.

**Keywords:** Gulf commerce, Creole elites, river trade, law reform circles.

**Possible objectives:**

- Balance Louisiana's affection for Jackson as the hero of New Orleans with its need for stable commercial policy under Adams.
- Demand harbor improvements, river dredging, and customs flexibility.
- Use his legal prestige to shape any debate on the scope of House power in a contingent election.

## 28. William Prince (Indiana)

At large representative from a new western state.

**Keywords:** Land hungry settlers, millers, frontier merchants.

**Possible objectives:**

- Lean toward Jackson as the western hero, but trade Indiana's vote for rapid recognition, land office reform, and roads.
- Push for new state equality, not second class status under older states.
- Make noise about how the constitutional system must adapt to many new western states.

## 29. Christopher Rankin (Mississippi)

Representative from a raw cotton and frontier state, involved in Indian affairs.

**Keywords:** Planters, land companies, soldiers, Jackson's supporters.

**Possible objectives:**

- Secure a president who will clear Indigenous land titles and protect cotton expansion.
- Use Mississippi's vote to align the Deep South either firmly with Jackson or as a bargaining bloc.
- Undercut Adams by painting him as indifferent to southern security.

## 30. Daniel P. Cook (Illinois)

Young, energetic at large representative, closely tied to Illinois's early statehood politics.

**Keywords:** Western farmers, river traders, anti slavery voices who do not want more slave states north of the Missouri line.

**Possible objectives:**

- Trade his swing vote for commitments on Illinois infrastructure and clear land titles.
- Test Adams and Jackson on their willingness to respect the Missouri Compromise line.
- Present Illinois as the future of the Union in miniature.

## 31. John McKee (Alabama)

Representative and former Indian agent, knows frontier conflict firsthand.

**Keywords:** Plantation owners, land speculators, Jackson followers, military men.

**Possible objectives:**

- Push for aggressive removal of the Creek and other nations.
- Use Jackson's fame to pressure Adams supporters in border states.
- Tie Alabama's loyalty to whoever promises the most on cotton and land.

## 32. John Scott (Missouri)

At large representative of the newest slave state, heavily involved in its admission fight.

**Keywords:** Slaveholders, landowners along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, people who see the state as a beachhead for slavery's westward expansion.

**Possible objectives:**

- Make sure the next president treats the Missouri Compromise as settled.
- Push for river improvements and military protection on the frontier.
- Use Missouri's pivotal symbolism to extract attention far beyond its population size.

## 33. John Randolph of Roanoke (Virginia)

Eccentric Virginia aristocrat, radical Old Republican, enemy of Clay.

**Keywords:** Tobacco country, states rights purists, people who think the revolution is already being betrayed.

**Possible objectives:**

- Denounce everyone and everything while still tilting toward Crawford.
- Prevent any expansion of federal economic power, whatever the outcome.
- Use theatrics to make Virginia look like the conscience of the republic.

## 34. William S. Archer (Virginia)

Younger Virginia lawyer, more polished than Randolph, same core ideology.

**Keywords:** Plantation class, legal community, states rights networks.

**Possible objectives:**

- Broker a more disciplined Virginian stance than Randolph's outbursts allow.
- Keep options open with Jackson while signaling mistrust of Adams.
- Launch his own career as a serious spokesman for Virginia.

## 35. George Tucker (Virginia)

Congressman and writer on political economy, more moderate than Randolph.

**Keywords:** Planters who read books, college circles, policy minded Republicans.

**Possible objectives:**

- Push for a compromise that preserves Virginia influence but recognizes economic reality.
- Shape debates on tariffs and banking from an intellectual angle.
- Keep southern rhetoric from drifting into outright disunion talk.

### 36. Willie P. Mangum (North Carolina)

Ambitious young Carolinian, legal career, later a prominent Whig.

**Keywords:** Upcountry lawyers, moderate planters, skeptics of both extremes.

**Possible objectives:**

- Decide whether his future lies with a nationalist Adams Clay world or with a southern western coalition.
- Use his swing position to secure favors for North Carolina.
- Build a personal brand as a thoughtful dissenter.

### 37. Charles Hooks (North Carolina)

Eastern North Carolina planter, rooted in the coastal slave economy.

**Keywords:** Rice and cotton interests, conservative local elites.

**Possible objectives:**

- Tie North Carolina's vote to promises that slavery and low tariffs remain untouched.
- Resist any House choice that looks like it came from northern bankers.
- Support Calhoun's emerging ideas about state sovereignty.

### 38. Samuel D. Ingham (Pennsylvania)

Pennsylvania congressman, mill owner, future Jacksonian Treasury Secretary.

**Keywords:** Artisans, small manufacturers, anti Bank sentiment.

**Possible objectives:**

- Deliver Pennsylvania solidly to Jackson.
- Push for a version of the tariff that helps Pennsylvania iron and textiles while feeding anti elite feeling.
- Position himself as a senior officer in any future Jackson administration.

## 39. Isaac Wayne (Pennsylvania)

Son of Revolutionary general Anthony Wayne, Federalist background.

**Keywords:** Old patriot prestige, moderate conservatives, some commercial interests.

**Possible objectives:**

- Decide whether to swallow Jacksonian style or accept Adams as the safe choice.
- Keep the memory of the Revolution attached to law and honor, not to demagoguery.
- Bargain Pennsylvania's internal divisions into tangible gains.

## 40. Joseph Hemphill (Pennsylvania)

Philadelphia lawyer and judge, closely linked to urban finance and commerce.

**Keywords:** Bank of the United States, merchants, city professionals.

**Possible objectives:**

- Protect the Bank from western and southern attacks.
- Align with Adams for predictability, but keep lines open to a possible Jackson presidency.
- Use committee debate to frame the Bank as a national, not sectional, institution.

## 41. Silas Wood (New York)

Long Island representative, advocate for education and legal order.

**Keywords:** Downstate commercial and maritime interests, school reformers.

**Possible objectives:**

- Keep New York City's role as financial capital secure.

- Push for policies that favor harbor development and coastal trade.
- Back Adams if he looks strong, hedge if Jackson surges.

## 42. Albert H. Tracy (New York)

Western New York lawyer and canal country representative.

**Keywords:** Erie Canal backers, western farmers, moderate nationalists.

**Possible objectives:**

- Demand guarantees for ongoing canal support and related projects.
- Encourage an Adams Clay alliance that treats New York's canal empire as central.
- Present western New York as a model of improvement politics.

## 43. Moses Hayden (New York)

Upstate lawyer and small town politician from canal country.

**Keywords:** canal counties, farmers, local merchants.

**Possible objectives:**

- Use his flexibility inside the New York delegation to swing toward the bidder who offers the best package for upstate roads and locks.
- Protect canal shippers and farmers from policies that favor only New York City merchants.
- Build a reputation as the man who made the canal region matter in a national crisis.

## 44. Lot Clark (New York)

Albany and canal faction lawyer who lives inside New York's state machine.

**Keywords:** Clintonite networks, patronage, state power.

**Possible objectives:**

- Block any presidential deal that threatens New York's control over its own patronage and canal funds.
- Play national factions against one another to keep the Erie Canal under state, not federal, dominance.
- Turn his behind the scenes leverage into future office in New York politics.

## 45. Samuel Houston (Tennessee)

Young Jackson ally, war hero, and restless frontier politician.

**Keywords:** Jackson inner circle, frontier officers, Cherokee diplomacy.

**Possible objectives:**

- Whip southern and western Jackson men into a disciplined voting bloc in the House.
- Press for a presidency that backs aggressive western expansion and strong executive leadership.
- Use the drama of the contingent election to raise his own national profile.

## 46. John Cocke (Tennessee)

Veteran of frontier politics with deep experience in Indian affairs.

**Keywords:** Indian treaties, militia networks, settler pressure.

**Possible objectives:**

- Tie Jackson's election to promises of rapid land cessions and military protection for settlers.
- Argue that Tennessee's voice represents the lived reality of the frontier, not coastal theory.
- Secure new forts, land offices, and roads for his home region as the price of loyalty.

## 47. Thomas Metcalfe (Kentucky)

Stonemason turned congressman, symbol of skilled labor in Clay country.

**Keywords:** artisans, small farmers, American System.

**Possible objectives:**

- Show that the Adams Clay program speaks to working men through real projects, not just speeches.
- Trade Kentucky's support for visible internal improvements that voters can walk on and ride over.
- Help prove that western support for Adams is not just an elite Lexington parlor game.

## 48. Robert P. Letcher (Kentucky)

Sharp tongued young lawyer and one of Clay's closest political lieutenants.

**Keywords:** Clay faction, Kentucky bar, backroom humor.

**Possible objectives:**

- Whip the Kentucky delegation to vote as a unit and deliver the state to Adams.
- Use charm and gossip to undermine Jackson's standing among waverers in other western delegations.
- Brand himself as Clay's indispensable fixer inside the House.

## 49. Elisha Whittlesey (Ohio)

Meticulous Ohio representative known for watching every dollar.

**Keywords:** public finance, land offices, western administration.

**Possible objectives:**

- Insist that any president promise clean accounting while still funding canals and roads in the West.
- Frame the House choice as a matter of responsible stewardship rather than pure passion.
- Show that Ohio can be both frugal and ambitious, setting a model for other new states.

## 50. Daniel H. Miller (Pennsylvania)

Representative rooted in mechanics and shopkeepers in Pennsylvania towns.

**Keywords:** Jackson clubs, artisans, small town democrats.

**Possible objectives:**

- Turn workshop and tavern resentment of elites into a solid Jackson vote in the Pennsylvania delegation.

- Hammer home the claim that the House must confirm, not overturn, the people's apparent choice.

- Use the fight over a corrupt bargain to build a durable democratic organization at home.