# **From the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution (1776 – 1789)**

**\*Varieties of Republicanism\***

- Although most Americans after the war felt that their country should be a republic, and that its citizens should be virtuous to maintain the republic’s stability, there were three different interpretations of the concept of *republicanism*…

* One was mainly held by the educated elite [ex. the Adams family] and emphasized the necessity of a small, homogenous republic in which the citizens would be willing to sacrifice their own private interests for the good of the whole. In return for sacrifices equality of opportunity would prevail, eventually creating a merit-based “natural aristocracy.”
* Other members of the elite and some skilled craftsman held another [ex. Alexander Hamilton] and was more about economics, drawing on Adam Smith’s theories about individual self-interest leading for the best for the community. It stated that if everyone followed their private interests republican virtue would be achieved.
* Yet another was held by less educated people and some radicals [ex. Thomas Paine] and emphasized widening participation in gov’t in order to give ordinary people more of a say (the egalitarian approach).

- All three approaches still shared the concept of the contrast between corrupt Britain and industrious America and felt that the republic could only succeed through hard work and virtue.

**\*Creating a Virtuous Republic\***

- Since pretty much everyone was sure that America could only work if the citizens were virtuous, artists, educators, and politicians began trying to inculcate values into people. For instance…

- In **art** they had a tough time b/c to many Americans art was an example of corruption and luxury. Nevertheless, artists tried to show virtue and nationalism in their work.

- For example: **William Hill Brown** wrote *The Power of Sympathy* (1789) to warn women about seduction; **Royall Tyler** wrote *The Contrast* (1787) about good vs. bad behavior; and the most popular book of the time was **Mason Locke Weem’s** *Life of Washington* (1800) w/the cherry tree myth, etc.; **Gilbert Stuart** and **Charles Wilson Peale** painted portraits of good republican citizens; **John Trumbull** painted history battle scenes; **Thomas Jefferson** set the standard for American architecture by suggesting imitation Roman buildings w/simplicity of line, harmonious proportions and a feeling of grandeur.

- In **education** two major changes reflected the new concern for raising good citizens: (1) some northern states began using tax money to support public elementary schools and (2) schooling for girls was improved. **Judith Sergeant Murray** was the big theorist on women’s education – she claimed that men and women were equally intelligent and that it was only the difference in education that made women appear stupider. So, she concluded, girls should receive the same education as boys.

- There was also a rethinking of women’s roles in general due to their contributions in the war. The new POV on women in a republic society is best expressed by **Abigail Adams’** letter to her husband stating women deserved equal rights (remember the ladies). Overall, however, Americans still saw women as housewives and as (b/c of their selflessness) the embodiment of republican virtue and sacrifice.

**\*The First Emancipation\***

- Naturally, there was that other contradiction…slavery. Everybody saw this, including the slaves, some of who created petitions (which were ignored).

- So in the North the “gradual emancipation” began: in 1777 Vermont abolished slavery, in the 1780s Massachusetts courts decided their constitution prohibited it as well, in 1780 and 1804 respectively Pennsylvania and New Jersey adopted gradual emancipation laws.

- In the South, however, slavery was the backbone of the economy and was consequently not affected by Revolutionary ideology. Even in the North there was a concern for property, which was why it was gradual, not immediate…but in the South, it was out of the question.

- Nevertheless, the number of free blacks grew a lot after the Revolution due to escapes during the war, slaves serving in the army, or slaves being freed by their owners (in the Chesapeake this was due to economic changes such as the shift from tobacco to grain, which was less labor intensive).

- The freed slaves mostly migrated towards Northern cities, but even there emancipation didn’t bring equality, as laws discriminated against blacks. So blacks formed their own institutions (schools, churches, etc.) and joined together in semi-separate communities.

**\*The Development of Racist Theory\***

- The post-revolutionary years also saw the development of a formal racist theory, as Southerners needed an excuse for not including African Americans in the whole “all men are created equal” deal.

- So instead of (as they had before) stating slaves were inferior b/c of environmental factors, they now decided they were inherently inferior b/c Africans were somehow less than fully human.

- The concept of “race” consequently became applied to skin color for the first time. This not only unified whites and blurred class distinctions between them, but also led to the creation of a certain set of characteristics (laziness, dishonesty, sexual promiscuity) that became associated with all blacks.

- From the start, then, the republic was seen as a white male enterprise – some historians have even stated that subjugation of other groups was necessary for the creation of white solidarity, others have contended that drawing the racial lines lessened the danger of poor white men joining w/slaves in questioning the elite.

**\*The Creation of Republican State Governments\***

- In **May 1776** the Second Continental Congress ordered states to create republican government's to replace the provincial congresses that had been in power since 1774. So began the process of forming the first state constitutions…

- The first thing most states decided was that constitutions would be written by special conventions, which were elected throughout the early 1780s. After the constitutions were written they were submitted to voters for ratification.

- The state constitutions concentrated on the distribution and limitation of government's power – American’s experiences w/Britain determined this in a big way as, back in the colony days, Americans had learned to have a phobia of centralized authority [governor].

- So, they gave the governor little independent authority, limited his term of office and the # of times he could serve and expanded the powers of the legislature. Overall, they focused a lot more on protecting the citizens than on making the government's effective. In fact, the government's turned out so weak most of them had to be rewritten during the war [governor got more power, legislature got less].

- Through the process of revising the constitutions many politicians began developing the good old’ theory of checks and balances, which was later embodied in the 1787 Constitution.

**\*The Articles of Confederation\***

- Unfortunately, the principles that were developed on the state level were not implemented on the national level for a while. First, during the war, the powers of the Continental Congress simply evolved by default – it wasn’t until 177 that Congress sent the Articles of Confederation (which was just a written out version of the makeshift arrangements of the CC) to the states for ratification.

- So what was the Articles of Confederation government anyhow?

* It provided for a unicameral legislature where states could send a certain number of delegates that would then vote as a unit.
* The legislature could: declare war, make peace, sign treaties, and borrow $, organize a post office, establish an army and navy, issue bonds and manage Western lands.
* The legislature couldn’t: draft soldiers, regulate interstate commerce, enforce treaties, and collect taxes.
* A 2/3rds majority was required to pass legislation and a unanimous vote was need for amendment.
* There was *no executive and no national judiciary*. The national government also had *no power* over the state governments. States could deal directly w/other countries if Congress allowed it.
* There was no national currency or system of measurement.

- Some historians (**John Fisk**) call the period from 1781 to 1788 the “Critical Period” b/c the AOC wasn’t strong enough and the country consequently almost failed. Others disagree (**Charles Beard**) and claim that it was a time of recovery and progress and that only the elite were hurt, which led to the creation of the Constitution to protect their interests.

- Regardless of the side one takes it’s pretty clear they had some major issues under the AOC…

**\*Problems under the Articles of Confederation\***

- Finance was the biggest problem faced by both the state and national government. First they just tried printing currency, which worked at first b/c there was high demand for supplies and goods during the war. But when the army suffered losses in late 1776 and Americans lost faith in the government inflation began. Although states made efforts to stop inflation, it was pretty much a lost cause and by 1780 American $ was worthless. Also on the economic side, since the government couldn’t implement uniform commercial policies there was economic warfare between the states, which was the last thing merchants needed.

- The weakness of the national gov’t also affected foreign trade, as the AOC denied Congress the power to establish a national commercial policy. Right after the war Britain, France and Spain restricted American trade w/their colonies, but Congress could do nothing but watch as cheap British goods flood US markets (causing a severe drop in domestic prices, which hurt debtors, esp. farmers).

- In foreign affairs, Congress was unable to deal w/the Spanish presence on the nation’s Southern and Western borders b/c Congress, which opened negotiations in 1785, was unable to make progress and had to end the talks altogether when Congress split on what they would exchange for the opening of the Mississippi River (which Spain closed in 1784).

- Another big problem related to the fact that under the AOC Congress couldn’t enforce treaties. Consequently, state government didn’t enforce the part of the Treaty of Paris about paying prewar debts, which gave the British the perfect excuse for not removing their forts on the Western frontier.

**\*Management of the Western Territories\***

- Speaking of the Western frontier…after the Treaty of Paris the US assumed that all the land East of the Mississippi (ex. for the land held by the Spanish) was theirs. Nevertheless, they realized they would have to negotiate w/local tribes.

- At Fort Stanwix, N.Y. in 1784 American diplomats negotiated a treaty w/chiefs claiming to be representing the Iroquois, and in 1785/1786 they did the same for the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Cherokee in Hopewell, South Carolina. Although in 1786 the Iroquois said the treaty had been made by imposters and threatened to attack, the US called their bluff, realizing the treaty stood by default. By 1790, New York State had, by purchasing land from individual Iroquois nations, reduced the Confederacy to scattered reservations.

- In the Southwest the US also regarded the treaties as license to send settlers into Indian lands, but this provoked the Creeks [hadn’t signed Hopewell treaty] into declaring a war that didn’t end until 1790.

- Also, after the collapse of Iroquois power, tribes that had previously allowed the Confederacy to speak for them began demanding direct negotiations with the US At first they were ignored, as they couldn’t use their old diplomatic strategy of pitting powers against e/o [only the US was left].

- So anyhow the US went ahead and planned out an organization for the Northwest Territories (Mississippi River, Great Lakes, Ohio River boundaries) in a series of ordinances:

* **Land Ordinances of 1784/1785** – these laws described the process by which land would pass from public to private hands…
	+ - The area would be divided into more than 4 but less than 7 states.
		- The area would also be surveyed in to townships of 36 sq. mi. each, each of which would be divided into 36 towns.
		- The ownership of the territories would be transferred to the federal government, which would then make $ by selling the lands to individuals.
		- Revenue from one out of every 36 squares would be used for public schools.
	+ **Northwest Ordinance of 1787** – these laws described the process by which territories would become states…
		- Every new state was to have the same rights as the original states.
		- Slavery could not be established in the area.
		- 3 Phases to get in: (1) AOC appoints a governor and 3 judges, (2) if there are 5000 adult male landowners then a territorial legislature can be created to manage local issues, and (3) if the population exceeds 60000 people then delegates can be elected to write a state constitution, if Congress approves of the constitution then it is a state.

- Ordinances or no ordinances, though, in 1787 the US still hadn’t formed an agreement w/several Indian tribes, who attacked pioneers. Consequently, in 1789 the Northwest Territory’s first governor, **Arthur St. Clair**, attempted to negotiate a treaty, but failed, setting off a war with a western confederacy of tribes.

- The US suffered some initial defeats but in **August 1794** the confederacy was defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The **Treaty of Greenville** subsequently gave the US the right to settle much of Ohio but also (finally) recognized the principle of Indian sovereignty. But this, of course, was after the AOC was replaced by the Constitution…

**\*The Constitutional Convention Meets\***

- So what spurred the change from the AOC to the Constitution? One element was that Americans in trade, finance, and foreign affairs soon realized the AOC was crap b/c Congress couldn’t levy taxes, establish a uniform commercial policy, or enforce treaties. Also, the economy, partially b/c of the AOC, fell into a depression after the end of the war (restrictions on exporting to Br./Fr./Sp. colonies).

- Recognizing the economic issues, representatives of Virginia and Maryland met independently at Mt. Vernon in **March 1785** to discuss an agreement over trade on the Potomac. It was a success, which led to a call for a general meeting of the states in **Annapolis** in **September 1786** to discuss trade policies. Only 5 delegations ended up coming, but they issued a call for another convention in Philadelphia.

**-** The other states didn’t respond until **Shays’ Rebellion** gave them a wake-up call. In **January 27, 1787** Shays led a set of angry western farmers against a federal armory in Springfield. They declared the government tyrannical, using language reminiscent of the Declaration of Independence.

- This was the last straw in convincing many a strong central government was necessary, so in **May 1787** every state ex. Rhode Island sent delegates to a **Constitutional Convention** in Philadelphia.

**\*Debates and Compromises at the Constitutional Convention\***

- Although most of the delegates to the CC were men of property who favored reforms that would give the national gov’t more authority over taxation and foreign trade, and many were also involved in the creation of their state constitutions, they still had some differences in opinion…

- For instance, after **James Madison** proposed the **Virginia Plan**, delegates from smaller states came up with the **New Jersey Plan**. The plans were as follows:

* + **Virginia Plan** – embodied Madison’s idea of a strong national government and provided for a bicameral legislature (lower house elected by people, upper elected by lower) with representation proportional to population, an executive elected by Congress, a national judiciary, and a Congressional veto over state laws.
	+ **New Jersey Plan** – was a response to the VP, especially by the small states (didn’t like the representation proportional to population deal) who felt the AOC shouldn’t be totally thrown out, just strengthened a little (unicameral legislature w/each state having an equal vote, only difference is Congress gets new powers of taxation and trade regulation.)

- The eventual compromise involved the creation of a bicameral legislature in which one house was to be directly elected by the people and the other house was to be elected by the state legislatures. Proportional representation was allowed for the lower house, but the upper house was eventually declared to be equal representation (2 senators, but they would vote as individuals, not as a block).

- On the whole, congressional powers were more limited than in the VP but more flexible than in the NJP. The executive was given primary responsibility for foreign affairs and was designated the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. A key element was separation of powers and checks and balances.

- Then there was the whole should we count slaves dilemma…naturally Southern states wanted them counted for representation purposes and Northern states only wanted them counted for taxation purposes. In the end a slave was declared to be 3/5th of a person. Also, inherent protections of slavery were worked in to the Constitution (slave trade couldn’t end for 20 years, fugitive slave laws, etc.)

- Anyhow, the CC had its last session on **September 17, 1787** and only then was the Constitution made public. All that was left was ratification…

**\*Opposition and Ratification\***

- Later in September the CC submitted the Constitution to the states but didn’t formally recommend its approval. The ratification clause of the Constitution stated that it would be approved by special conventions in at least 9 states (delegates were to be qualified voters – so it was directly based on popular authority.)

- As states began electing delegates, two distinct camps formed:

* + **Federalists** – the Federalists supported the Constitution and stuck by the virtuous, self-sacrificing republic led by a merit-based aristocracy idea. Since leaders were to be virtuous, there was no need to fear a strong central government. Besides, there was the separation of powers.
	+ **Antifederalists** – the Antifederalists felt that weakening the states would lead to the onset of arbitrary and oppressive government power (based on Real Whig ideology.) Antifederalists were generally old hard-core revolutionaries (Tom Paine, Sam Adams, etc.) and small farmers.

- One thing that was big on the Antis agenda was the idea of a Bill of Rights (why doesn’t the Constitution have one?), best expressed in the major Anti pamphlet, *Letters of a Federal Farmer*.

- Anyhow, the Federalists won out (duh), partially b/c of the publication of *The Federalist* and partially b/c of the promise to add a bill of rights. Ratification was (prematurely, it turns out) celebrated on **July 4, 1788**.

# **The Early Republic (1789 – 1800)**

**\*Creating a Workable Government Structure\***

- The First Congress, which first met in **April 1789**, was mostly controlled by the Federalists [i.e. people who supported the Constitution and a strong national government].

- Anyway, Congress had several questions about the structure of the new government to deal with…

* **Revenue** – Madison took the here lead by convincing Congress to pass the **Revenue Bill of 1789**, which put a 5% tariff on some imports.
* **Bill of Rights** – Madison also took the initiative here and wrote 19 Amendments for the Constitution, 10 of which were ratified on **December 15, 1791** and became known as the **Bill of Rights**. The Bill of Rights helped rally support for the new government and mitigate AF opposition.
* **Organization of the executive** – in the end, Congress agreed to keep the departments established under the AOC [War, Foreign Affairs/State, Treasury] and just add the attorney general and postmaster general. They also decided that only the President could remove heads of executive departments [since he picked them w/Congress approval].
* **Organization of the judiciary** – this was taken care of by the **Judiciary Act of 1789**, which defined the jurisdiction of the fed. Judiciary and established a 6 member SC, 13 district courts and 3 courts of appeal. It also allowed appeals from state to federal courts w/con. Issues.

- Only a few important cases concerning the arrangements passed through the SC in the first 10 years: there was only *Ware v. Hylton* (1796) where the SC declared a state law unconstitutional for the first time, *Hylton v. US* (1796) where the SC review the constitutionality of an act of Congress for the first time, and, most importantly, *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793) which established [though overruled by the **Eleventh Amendment**] that states could be sued in federal courts by cit. of other states.

**\*Domestic Policy under Washington\***

- After the government was all set up, Washington was elected to be the first President. He was cautious, knowing he was setting precedents for the future [ex. the Cabinet, the State of the Union Address, no big title for President, President not using veto power often].

- One of the first things he did was choose the heads of the executive departments: **Alexander Hamilton** (Treasury), **Thomas Jefferson** (State), **Henry Knox** (War), and **Edmund Randolph** (Attorney). He also established the Cabinet by using the heads of the executive departments collectively as the chief advisers.

- Perhaps Hamilton’s appointment had the biggest impact, as Hamilton had several traits that separated him from his contemporaries: (1) he was an all out Federalist [who gives a crap about the states – let’s consolidate power in the national government], (2) he was very cynical and saw people as being motivated by economic self-interest alone [no virtuous common good for him].

- With Hamilton’s outlook in mind, it is not surprising that, when Congress asked him to assess the public debt and come up with a plan to fix it in 1789, he came up with some controversial stuff…

**\*Hamilton’s Financial Plan\***

- Hamilton’s plan had several components:

* *Report on Public Credit* (1790) – Hamilton proposed that Congress assume state debts, combine them w/the national debt, and redistribute the burden of the debt equally throughout the states. He also wanted to issue new gov’t securities covering unpaid interest. The opposition to these measures was lead by Madison, who objected to the Assumption Bill b/c it (1) gave the central gov’t too much power and (2) Virginia already paid. He objected to the new securities b/c he felt it was ripping off the original holders. In the end the passage of the Assumption Bill was exchanged in a series of compromises for the location of the capital [on the Potomac].
* *The Bank of the United States* – soon Hamilton submitted another report on recommending the chartering of a national bank that would be capitalized at $10 million and would mainly be funded by private investors. The bank would circulate currency and collect and lend $ to the Treasury. But the big question was – did the Constitution allow the creation of the Bank?
	+ - MADISON (also Jefferson and Randolph) said: no way, if the Constitution doesn’t say you can, you can’t. Besides, the elastic clause only allows for *necessary* bills, and this is NOT necessary. POV of the **strict constructionists**.
		- HAMILTON said in his *Defense of the Constitutionality of the Bank* (Feb. 1791): the Congress has all the powers it is not specifically denied so if it doesn’t say you can’t you can! POV of the **loose constructionists**.
		- In the end Washington agreed and the bill was passed and helped the economy.
* *Report on Manufactures* (1791) – this last suggestion, which was to encourage American industry through protective tariffs, was rejected.

- A smaller part of Hamilton’s financial plan, the tax on Whisky [to pay for assumption] is worth noting b/c it set off the **Whiskey Rebellion** in Pennsylvania [where farmers already ticked off b/c the army wasn’t beating the Miami Confederacy]. At first it was just protests, but in **July 1794** violence began [the crap gov’t that can’t protect us is overtaxing us]. So on **August 7**, Washington told the rebels to stop and called on 13,000 militiamen [he led them, too] to march up there. By the time they got there the rebellion had stopped, but Washington’s action had LT effects b/c it demonstrated that the national gov’t would no longer tolerate violent resistance to its laws.

**\*The Development of Political Parties\***

- Even though traditional political theory saw organized opposition as illegitimate, parties were beginning to form by 1794 in the form of the **Democratic-Republicans**.

- Jefferson and Madison, who saw themselves as the true embodiments of the Spirit of 1776 and felt that Hamilton was subverting their revolutionary ideals by favoring an overly strong central gov’t and control by wealthy merchants, led the DR’s.

- In response, Hamilton and his supporters called themselves **Federalists** and claimed that the DR’s were an illegal faction plotting against the gov’t.

- Washington first tried to stay out it all, but ended up staying for another term in 1792 in the hope of promoting unity. But it got more complicated when issues in foreign affairs further divided the two camps.

**\*The French Revolution and Foreign Affairs\***

- In 1789 most Americans supported the FR, but as it got bloodier and bloodier some began to reconsider. Then, in **1793**, France declared war on Britain, Spain, and Holland, and the US had a bit of a problem:

* On one side, there was the **1778 Treaty of Alliance** with France and the whole shared ideals of republicanism thing.
* On the other the US had previous bonds to Britain and also depended on British imports [and the tariffs from them] for $.

- **Citizen Genêt** – in April 1793 this guy began traveling around America recruiting Americans for expeditions against the British and Spanish. The US responded w/a a declaration of neutrality, but even though Genêt’s side got kicked out of power and he just stayed for asylum in the end, arguments continued.

- DR societies, which were organized between 1793 and 1800 and were seen by some as dangerous [ex. Hamilton and even Washington], supported France strongly.

**\*Jay’s Treaty\***

- Meanwhile, Washington sent **John Jay** to London to negotiate w/the British about several pressing issues: (1) British seizures of American merchant ships, (2) the forts \*still\* in the American Northwest, (3) a commercial treaty and (4) compensation for slaves who left w/their army after the war.

- It was tough, and in **Jay’s Treaty** Britain only ended up agreeing to get rid of the forts and some trade restrictions. In return England could have tariffs on American goods, English exports got most favored status in the US and the US agreed to compensate for pre-revolutionary debts.

- Although the main big problem [possible war] was averted, many Americans [esp. DRs] still disliked the treaty but couldn’t do much about it since it was debated in secret and ratified in **June 1795**.

- The DRs made one last stand by claiming that Congress had to appropriate funds for the treaty and appropriation bills had to start in the HOR. The issue was debated in March 1796, and the pro-treaty side eventually won, partially b/c in **Pinckney’s Treaty** w/Spain the US got a *great* deal (navigation on Mississippi again), and this helped overcome opposition to the other treaty.

**\*The Election of 1796\***

- The Jay’s Treaty controversy made the lines between the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans even clearer:

* Federalists put little emphasis on involving ordinary people in politics, favored a strong central gov’t, preferred commercial interests, were pro-British, and were pessimistic about the future.
* DRs disliked a strong central gov’t, focused on westward expansion, preferred agrarian interests, and were more optimistic about the future.

- During the 1790s the majority slowly switched to the DRs.

- Anyhow, before Washington retired he gave the famous **Farewell Address**, which mainly called for commercial but not political links to other countries [no permanent alliances], stressed the need for unilateralism, and called for unity.

- Then came the election, in which John Adams and Thomas Pinckney went from the Federalist side and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr represented the DRs.

- Since the electors were only told to vote for their two favorites [the Constitution didn’t provide for parties], it ended up that Adams was President and Jefferson was Vice President. Oh no…

**\*The Adams Administration\***

- Adams was still in the early Washington phase [i.e. Presidents should be above politics and not support any factions] and, as a result, he let others take the lead too often, which gave his administration a reputation for inconsistency. The one thing Adams’ detachment did help him with was the whole France crisis that erupted b/c of Jay’s Treaty [which France didn’t like too much].

- So b/c of Jay’s Treaty, the French started seizing American ships carrying British goods. Adams sent 3 guys over in 1798 to negotiate a settlement, but good ‘ol Talleyrand demanded a bribe before negotiations could begin. Adams told Congress it wasn’t working, which convinced them that he had deliberately sabotaged things and insisted he release the reports.

- Adams ended up withholding only the names of the French agents, which led to the name of the **XYZ Affair**. Anyhow, this thing generated enormous anti-French sentiment – Congress abrogated the 1778 Treaty, and a **Quasi-War** began in the Caribbean.

- The DRs continued to support France, and Adams wasn’t sure whether or not to call them traitors. Other Federalists, however, saw the whole thing as a great opportunity to prove once and for all that the DRs were subversive foreign agents. So in 1798 the Federalist Congress passed the **Alien and Sedition Acts**.

- 3 of the Acts were meant for recent immigrants [who were generally DRs]: the **Naturalization Act** lengthened the residency requirement and had all resident aliens register, and the **Alien Acts** allowed for the detention of enemy aliens during wartime and allowed the President to deport dangerous aliens. But the **Sedition Act** applied to citizens as well and tried to control speech against the gov’t.

- In response, Jefferson and Madison drafted the **Virginia** (Madison) and **Kentucky** (Jefferson) **Resolutions**, which outlined the whole states’ rights argument for the first time.

- Then Adams, acting on information from Europe, once again sent an envoy to Paris, this time seeking compensation for seized ships and abrogation of the 1778 treaty. The **Convention of 1800** ended the Quasi-War but only provided for the abrogation of the treaty.

- Unluckily for Adams the results of the negotiations weren’t known until after the election of 1800 [his decision to start them alienated everybody and prob. cost him the victory by dividing the Feds].

- Anyhow, the DRs won, even though they almost got really messed up b/c Jefferson and Burr got the same # of votes [it took Hamilton’s behind-the-scenes maneuverings to get Jefferson to be President]. Consequently, in 1804 the **Twelfth Amendment** changed voting to a party ticket.

**\*Race Relations at the End of the Century\***

- Many Indians now came under US influence [**Treaty of Greenville**] so, in 1789, Henry Knox proposed that the new national gov’t set about “civilizing” them. The **Indian Trade and Intercourse Act** (1793) codified that belief by promising that the gov’t would supply Indians w/animals, tools, and instruction in farming.

- This plan, while well intentioned, had the obvious flaw that it ignored traditional Indian customs of communal landowning and women farming/men hunting. Still, some Indians responded [initially women, but men too after 1799 when a Seneca named **Handsome Lake** had visions and preached that Indians should redistribute their work for survival, but not give up their culture].

- Meanwhile, African Americans were also adapting parts of American culture to help them [the liberty, equality deal] and, as evangelicals became less egalitarian, began forming their own Baptist/Methodist congregations. These were sometimes used to plan revolts, such as **Gabriel’s Revolt** (1800) and **Sancho’s Conspiracy**. Neither plan worked [they were found out] and they only resulted in increasingly severe laws against slaves.

# **The Democratic-Republicans in Power (1801 – 1815)**

**\*The “Revolution” of 1800\***

- In the **Presidential Election of 1800**, Jefferson and Burr both received 73 votes, soundly defeating the Federalist candidates, Adams and Pinckney. Since J&B tied, the decision was thrown into the House of Representatives. Due to Hamilton’s anti-Burr sentiments, the House chose Jefferson.

- Anyhow, years later, Jefferson referred to his election as the “Revolution of 1800” b/c it marked the restoration of a limited and frugal gov’t. Besides his beliefs in a simple, limited central gov’t, Jefferson called for unity in his First Inaugural Address.

- In reality, though, Jefferson was consolidating the DRs hold on power by refusing to recognize appointments Adams made in the last days of his presidency and by placing DR’s in vacant seats formerly held by Federalists. The election of a DR Congress in 1800 completed the DR victory.

**\*Jefferson’s Domestic Policies\***

- So how did the DR’s put their beliefs into policies for the country?

* **A&S Acts** – the Alien and Sedition Acts, which the DRs had opposed from the start, were let expire in 1801 and 1802. Jefferson also refused to use the acts against his opponents, and pardoned all those indicted under the acts during the Adams administration.
* **Naturalization Act of 1802** – this replaced the Naturalization Act of 1798, setting the requirement for citizenship back to 5 years only [most immigrants were DRs].
* **Debt Reduction** – Secretary of the Treasury **Albert Gallatin** cut the army budget in ½ and also cut back on the navy in an effort to reduce the national debt, which he predicted would be retired by 1817 with his plan. Unlike Hamilton, who saw the debt as a source of economic growth, Jefferson felt it was only the source of gov’t corruption.
* **No Internal Taxes** – all internal taxes, including the Whiskey Tax, were repealed.

- Then there was the war w/the Judiciary, the last area of gov’t the Federalists still controlled, partially b/c of Adams’ “midnight judges.”

- In fact, the first problem related to the **Judiciary Act of 1801**, which created the 15 new judgeships Adams then filled w/Federalists and reduced the # of judges in the SC to 5 in order to deny Jefferson the privilege of choosing another judge. So, the DR Congress repealed the act, and Jefferson got to choose his judge.

- Then DRs began trying to remove opposition judges, starting w/an old drunk guy, **Judge John Pickering**, who actually was impeached. Then the House tried to impeach Federalist SC Justice **Samuel Chase** for judicial misconduct [he prosecuted people under the Sedition Act], but he was acquitted, setting the precedent that only criminal acts could lead to impeachment.

- The SC, b/c of Federalist Chief Justice **John Marshall**, continued to uphold federal over states’ rights and protect business interests, even after the DRs became a majority in 1811. Marshall was also responsible for elevating the stature of the judicial branch, especially through *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), where Marshall gave up the right to issue writs of mandamus in return for the greater power of **judicial review** [power of SC to rule state and federal laws unconstitutional and get rid of them].

**\*The Louisiana Purchase\***

- Louisiana was a key area b/c the nation that controlled it automatically controlled New Orleans, which was a center for trading up and down the Mississippi River. So, the US preferred that the Spanish [weaker power], who had acquired the territory from France in 1763, have the area.

- In 1800 and 1801, however, France once again obtained control of the region. Oh no! Concerns grew when, right before giving the area to France, Spanish officials stopped letting Americans keep their goods in NO while waiting for their shipment to other countries.

- Jefferson responded by preparing for war and sending **James Monroe** to join Robert Livingston in France. Their goal: to buy NO. But they got a heck of a lot more than they bargained for when in **April 1803** Napoleon offered the whole deal to the US for $15 million [needed the $].

- Strategically, the deal was a major dream, but there was the ever-annoying question: was it Constitutional for Jefferson to buy the land [didn’t say in Constitution that Presidents could buy land]? Jefferson considered amending the Constitution for it, but decided the President’s implied powers were enough. Besides, as an expansionist, it was just too good to pass up.

- In **May 1804** Jefferson sent out **Meriwether Lewis** and **William Clark** to map the territory and go all the way to the Pacific Coast. L&C led the **Corps of Discovery**, which was a rather diverse group consisting of army regulars, young adventurer-wannabes, and Indian guides added along the way [**Sacagawea**]. The group arrived back home on **September 23, 1806**, bringing with them an extensive knowledge of the flora, fauna and peoples of the West.

- Other explorations, like the one led by **Zebulon Pike**, which explored the Southwest, followed, eventually leading to the creation of the **Santa Fe Trail** in the 1820s and the beginning of US settlement in Texas.

**\*Indian Resistance\***

- The craze for expansion set off by the Louisiana Purchase certainly did not bode well for the Indians, who, due to continual land losses, were finding their traditional lifestyles difficult to maintain [disease was also a big problem].

- So in the early 1800s 2 Shawnee brothers, **Prophet** and **Tecumseh** led a revolt against American encroachment by creating a pan-Indian federation. Prophet, who claimed to have been born again, began the movement w/a religious POV by stressing a return to traditional moral values [no more alcohol].

- But by **1808** the pair, encouraged by the alliance-eager British to resist American land claims, was talking more about American aggression than about religion. Tecumseh took over and began traveling about to unify Indians in resistance against the Americans.

- Tecumseh led the Indians [who became British allies] against the Americans in the War of 1812 until his death at the **Battle of the Thames**, which marked the end of Indian unity.

**\*Political Factionalism and Jefferson’s Reelection\***

- Before the DR victory in 1800, Federalists objected to popular campaigning. After their loss, however, a new generation of Federalists began imitating their rivals, attacking the DRs for being autocratic Southern planters and stimulating fears of an overly weak army and navy.

- Competition between Federalists and DRs led to increasing participation in government, and grassroots campaigning efforts really began taking root [political BBQs].

- Since most Federalist never really got the hang of popular campaigning, the Federalists were weak at he national level. Extremists like Timothy Pickering, who suggested the secession of NE in 1803/1804 [plan never worked b/c co-conspirator Burr wasn’t elected NY Governor], did not help the Federalist position.

- When DRs weren’t busy fighting Feds they fought among themselves. The **Hamilton-Burr Duel** illustrates the explosiveness of the era’s personal/political conflicts, but is \*surprisingly\* the only example where the situation deteriorated to the point to actual violence.

- On to the **Presidential Election of 1804**: Jefferson and Clinton [NY Governor] totally creamed Charles Pinckney and Rufus King [also of NY]. Jefferson campaigned by taking credit for the return of republican values and for the Louisiana Purchase.

**\*Prelude to the War of 1812\***

- Jefferson’s goals included non-involvement w/European conflicts – in this, he was successful until 1805. After that, American commercial ties made it impossible to avoid entanglement in the European conflicts of the time.

- It all began with the renewal of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe in **May 1803** [by then the US and Britain once again had friendly relationships]. This helped US commerce for 2 years, since it allowed America to become the chief supplier of food the Europe.

- But after the British victory at the **Battle of Trafalgar** in **October 1805** the Royal Navy tightened its control, a situation that worsened when Britain and France began blockading e/o trade to break the stalemate. This was terrible for US trade.

- The British then began violating US rights as a sovereign nation by: (1) impressing British-born sailors or British deserters on US ships and court-martialing alleged deserters, (2) interfering w/US trade in the West Indies and (3) searching and seizing US ships.

- So in **February 1806** Congress passed the **Non-Importation Act**, which banned British manufactures from entering American ports,to protest British impressment. The act was more a warning than anything else, as it didn’t ban the really important goods.

- Still, after failed attempts at negotiation the US-British relationship went down the drain, especially after the *Chesapeake* affair in **June 1807**. Inside US waters, the British ship *Leopard* fired on the *Chesapeake* after it refused to be searched for deserters. The ship was then boarded and four men were seized.

- This enraged Americans but also illustrated US military weakness, which prevented war. Instead, Jefferson closed American waters to the British, increased military spending, invoked the Non-Importation Act in **December 1807** and then followed with the **Embargo Act**.

- A short-term measure meant to avoid war; the Embargo Act forbade all US exports to other countries. This was a major bad move b/c: (1) it killed the US economy (high unemployment), esp. in NE and led to smuggling, (2) it did not really hurt Britain overall as the people it affected (factory workers) had no role in gov’t, (3) it did not really hurt France b/c there was already was British blockade on Europe. Its only positive effect was that it encouraged domestic manufacturing.

- Then \*perfect timing\* came the Presidential Election of 1808. **James Madison** ran for the DRs (though his nomination was contested in the party’s congressional caucus by **James Monroe**) and Pinckney and King once again ran for the Federalists. This time the Federalists had more of a chance [Embargo Act], and actually gained some seats in Congress.

- Madison replaced the embargo with the **Non-Intercourse Act of 1809**, which reopened trade w/all except for Britain and France and promised if either country stopped violating US rights they would open trade w/them again. This fixed the EA problems but not the original ones.

- In **1810** the NIA was replaced by **Macon’s Bill #2**, which reopened trade with all countries and promised that if either Br./Fr. Stopped violating US rights the US would stop trading w/the other nation. Napoleon said sure, Madison complied, but the French didn’t stop. This foreign policy stuff sure isn’t easy, Mr. Madison.

**\*The War of 1812\***

- Even though the US military situation certainly left something to be desired, by 1812, war seemed almost inevitable due to constant violation of US rights in the seas.

- Anyhow, first there was the **Presidential Election of 1812**, which was somewhat of a referendum on the whole war thing. Madison was reelected.

- Then, while the DR “War Hawks” elected in 1810 pressed for war, Britain made last ditch efforts to fix the situation in spring 1812 [ships told to stop clashing w/US, seas reopened to US shipping] but it was too late.

- Congress soon voted over war, w/the land-hungry Southerners and Westerners [“War Hawks”] in favor and the commerce-dependent New Englanders against. The WH won out, and on **June 19** Madison signed the bill and the war began.

- Not surprisingly, the US was totally unprepared:

* The DRs debt reduction program had essentially reduced the army and navy to total crap [the navy had a whopping 17 ships].
* Nobody enlisted in the national army, only in some of the state militias. In the West there was initially a good response, but after word spread that the War Dept. wasn’t paying people on time and they were low on supplies, nobody wanted to join anymore. In New England, people saw it as “Mr. Madison’s War” and didn’t want to enlist from the start.
* Financial problems due to lowered revenue/import taxes b/c of the embargo and war.
* Regional disagreements – New England state militias wouldn’t leave their state lines.

- But, of course, the US decided to try and invade Canada anyway, which led to numerous disasters: first **General William Hull** totally screwed up and ended up surrendering Fort Detroit, and then the attempted invasion from Niagara failed b/c the NY militia refused to leave its state borders.

- On the naval front the British had no problem keeping their hold over the oceans and, by 1814, was blockading almost every American port, which led the US gov’t to the brink of bankruptcy.

- In the Great Lakes a shipbuilding race began, which the US won, leading to their victory at the **Battle of Put-in-Bay** on **September 10, 1813** and subsequent control over Lake Eerie.

- The US also emerged victorious in the Kentucky region, where **General William Henry Harrison** led his state militia against the British, Shawnee and Chippewa forces at the **Battle of the Thames**. The US regained control of the Old Northwest, and Tecumseh was killed, which hurt Indian unity big time.

- After the US burned the Canadian capital of York, the British [who no longer had to worry about Napoleon, who they beat in **April 1814**] went down to the Chesapeake, where they set fire to Washington DC and burned it to the ground. The key battle then occurred at Baltimore in **September 1814** – the Brits. Inflicted heavy damage, but the war was basically stalemated in the region.

- The last campaigns took place in the South against the Creeks and British – the Creeks were defeated by **Andrew Jackson** at the **Battle of Horseshoe Bend** in **March 1814** [Treaty of Fort Jackson, they had to give up 2/3rds of their land]; the British were defeated at the famous **Battle of New Orleans** on **January 8, 1815** [the war had officially ended by then though].

**\*Peace and the Effects of the War of 1812\***

- The **Treaty of Ghent** was signed on **December 24, 1814** and was negotiated by JQ Adams and Henry Clay. Strangely enough, there was no mention of any of the issues that actually started the war – all the treaty did was restore the good ‘ol status quo. This was acceptable to negotiators b/c Napoleon had been defeated, which meant impressment was no longer a concern.

- So what *did* the war do?

* It reaffirmed American independence [taught the British a second lesson] and further convinced the US to stay out of European politics.
* It destroyed Indian resistance [Tecumseh died], leading to American expansion to the South and West [but *not* into Canada].
* It exposed American militarily weakness and made clear the importance of better transportation systems, which then made improving those two items national priorities. In 1815 Madison centralized control of the military and began building a line of costal forts, and work on the National Road progressed into the West.
* It finished off the Federalist Party. Although the Federalists made slight gains in the 1812 election, they were undermined by fanatics who met in the **Hartford Convention** and discussed possible session b/c NE was losing its political power to the South/West. This wouldn’t have been so bad if it hadn’t been timed right around the Battle of New Orleans, which made the whole thing look really stupid, not to mention treasonous. So that was the end of the Federalists.
* Most importantly, the war stimulated domestic manufactures, which leads us to…

**\*Commerce and Industry\***

- The early republic’s economy was mainly shipping based – the US was supplied food to Europe [esp. during the war] and also exported items such as cotton, lumber and sugar in exchange for manufactures. As a result of the Embargo Act and the war, however, domestic manufacturing increased.

- **Samuel Slater** set up the first textile millin the 1790s, but manufacturing didn’t really pick up until the war b/c the DR gov’t did not promote home industry.

- Finally in **1813** the **Boston Manufacturing Company** was chartered and the first American power loom was constructed in Waltham, Mass. Before long, many women were purchasing the cloth made by the workers rather than producing their own.

- Esp. initially, the mill managers adopted a paternalistic approach towards their young women workers, promising good living conditions and occasional evening lectures in order to lure NE farm daughters to the factory. This **Lowell System** soon spread to all the NE river mills.

- And that was just the beginning…

# **Nationalism, Expansion and the Market Economy (1816 – 1845)**

**\*Postwar Nationalism in the “Era of Good Feelings” (1815 – 1824)\***

- After the successful conclusion of the War of 1812, nationalism surged and the DRs began to encourage the economy and pass more nationalist legislation.

- In his second term (1812 – 1816) Madison proposed economic and military expansion through the creation of a second national bank and improvements in transportation. To raise $ for this and to help manufacturing, Madison suggested implementing a protective tariff [but unlike the Federalists he claimed that only a constitutional amendment could give the fed. gov't the power to build roads/canals].

- Congress viewed the plan as a way of unifying the country, and most of the program was enacted in 1816: the Second Back of the United States was chartered, the **Tariff of 1816** was passed, and funds were appropriated for the extension of the National Road to Ohio [though Calhoun’s big road/canal plan was vetoed by Madison].

- In the **Presidential Election of 1816** DR **James Monroe** easily triumphed over the last Federalist Presidential candidate, **Rufus King** from NY. The lack of party rivalry caused a Boston newspaper to dub the time the “Era of Good Feelings.” Monroe continued to support Madison’s programs.

- The only place that remained a Federalist stronghold was the Supreme Court, which was still led by Chief Justice John Marshall. He ruled in favor of a strong central gov’t in the following cases:

* *Fletcher v. Peck (1810)* – in this case the SC ruled against a Georgia law that violated individuals’ rights to make contracts.
* *McCulloch v. Maryland (1819)* – in this case SC ruled against a Maryland law taxing the Second Bank of the US and consequently asserted the supremacy of the federal gov’t over the sates. Marshall also reinforced a loose constructionist view of the Constitution by reaffirming that Congress had the right to charter the bank. He sided w/the commercial/industrial side too.
* *Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819)* – in this case the SC nullified a NH law altering the charter of Dartmouth College.
* *Gibbons v. Ogden (1824)* – confirmed federal jurisdiction over interstate commerce.

- So Madison’s second term and Monroe’s terms were characterized by nationalism and improvement in transportation, the military, and manufacturing.

**\*Slavery and the Missouri Compromise\***

- Nationalism united Americans, but the question of slavery still threatened to divide them. With the exception of an act ending the foreign slave trade [January 1, 1808], the issue had been avoided as much as possible.

- In **1819** [Monroe’s first term], however, debate over slavery became unavoidable when Missouri petitioned Congress for admission to the Union as a slave state.

- The issue dominated Congress for 2½ years, for it could easily upset the carefully created balance between slave and free states. If Missouri was admitted as a slave state, slavery would be push towards the North, and slave states would gain a one-vote edge over free states in Congress.

- At one point NY Representative **James Tallmadge, Jr.** proposed gradual emancipation in Missouri, which outraged Southerners. Although the House passed the Tallmadge amendment, the Senate rejected it.

- Finally, in 1820 House Speaker **Henry Clay** proposed the **Missouri Compromise** – Maine would enter as a free state [it was taken out of Massachusetts] and Missouri would enter as a slave state, but in the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of 36’30° slavery was prohibited.

- The agreement worked but almost was destroyed in November when Missouri’s constitution was found to bar free blacks from entering. So Clay proposed a second compromise in 1821 – Missouri wouldn’t discriminate against citizens of other states. Once admitted to the Union, Missouri ignored the compromise, but for the short term conflict had once again been avoided.

**\*Foreign Policy During the Monroe Administration\***

- Foreign policy during this period was placed in the capable hands of **John Quincy Adams**, who served as Secretary of State (1817 – 1825) and was a skillful diplomat and negotiator. JQ was an expansionist who pushed to obtain fishing rights for the US in the Atlantic, political separation from Europe, and peace.

- Important post-war treaties under JQ include…

* *Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817)* – agreement between the US and GB to limit their naval forces in the Great Lakes. It was the first modern disarmament treaty and led to the eventual demilitarization of the US-Canada border. Then, at the *Convention of 1818* the US-Canada border was fixed at the 49th parallel.
* *Adams-Onis Treaty (1819)* – agreement between US and Spain that completed the US acquisition of Florida [Northern border came from the Pinckney treaty, Western border in 1810, and the Northeast was invaded by Jackson in 1818, which precipitated the Seminole Wars].

- Only one danger zone remained for the US after the treaties, and that was Latin America. In 1822, the US became the first non-Latin American nation to recognize the newly formed countries – but JQ was quick to realize that France would soon try to return the region to colonial rule.

- GB also caught this and proposed a joint US-British statement against European intervention in the area, but JQ refused, insisting the US had to act independently.

- In December 1823 the **Monroe Doctrine** was introduced to Congress. It basically called for: no more European colonization of the Western Hemisphere or European intervention in independent American nations. In return the US wouldn’t interfere in Europe.

- Essentially, the MD was a big bluff b/c the US didn’t have the military strength to enforce it. Luckily, the British had their own motives for keeping the rest of Europe away [trade], so it worked out.

**\*Economic Growth after the War of 1812\***

- After the War of 1812 Americans became increasingly involved in the market economy, and jobs became more specialized as transportation improved.

- As farmers and craftsmen formerly had only to cater to the needs of their small communities, where bartering allowed them to get goods they couldn’t produce themselves, with the spread of canals and railroads, they began producing crops and goods for cash sale in national and international markets.

- The division of labor, combined with increasing mechanization, new financial methods and transportation caused tremendous expansion in the economy, which prompted more improvements, and so on.

- Growth, however, was uneven: there was great prosperity from 1823 – 1835 and from 1839 – 1843, but in between there were periods of deflation [decline in prices] where banks collapsed and many businesses failed. These cycles were known as *boom-and-bust* cycles.

- The first crash occurred in **Panic of 1819** – avid speculation on Western lands had led to a precarious situation, and when manufacturing fell in 1818, prices fell drastically. This devastated workers.

- What caused the boom-and-bust cycles? Direct result of the market economy b/c prosperity first stimulated demand for manufactured goods, leading to higher prices, higher production, and speculation in land. When production surpassed demand, prices and wages fell, causing land and stock values to collapse.

- Most felt that the B&B cycles were a way of weeding out unprofitable businesses, making the economy more efficient. And, at least in theory, each seller determined the price – so the market economy increased individual freedom.

**\*The Government’s Role in the Market Economy\***

- Most believers in the market economy felt that limited government participation allowed for the most economic expansion.

- Nevertheless, the government actually had an active role in economic growth through…

* United State Post Office – helped spread information and set up first telegraph lines
* Patent laws – protected inventors
* Protective tariffs – encouraged domestic manufacturing
* Surveying new land – allowed farmers to settle further West and use new lands
* Improving transportation – linked commerce, esp. linking Western farmers to the East

- The judiciary encouraged gov’t involvement in the economy and business in general. See *Gibbons v. Ogden (1824)*, which broadly defined Congress’ power over interstate commerce and *Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819)*, which protected contracts against state interference.

- The concept of the *corporation* also emerged through federal and state court rulings: corporations, groups allowed to hold property and do business as if they were individuals, were allowed to sell shares where the shareholders were granted *limited liability* [no responsibility in company’s debt beyond original investment].

- This encouraged people to support new businesses, and the number of corporations grew. Early on special legislative acts were needed for each corporation, but after the 1830s procedures were est. to make the process faster.

- Court rulings extended the powers of corporations, as in the *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge (1837)* case, in which it was decided that new enterprises couldn’t be held back by implied privileges under old charters – encouraging competition and new industries.

- State gov’ts played a very large role in promoting the economy: they invested in railroads starting in the 1830s, provided banks and corporations w/capital, and regulated the activities of corporations and banks.

- As a result of gov’t efforts the US economy grew [unevenly] from 1812 to around 1850. As the economy grew, though, the dependence of the corporations on the states for investments declined.

**\*Improvements in Transportation\***

- Following the War of 1812 the states invested in roads, canals and railroads. This increased the importance of the northeastern seaboard cities, which were already financial centers, by centralizing exports from the South and West there. By contrast, the South spent little $ on transportation and stayed rural.

- Water routes were the primary modes of transportation, but as settlement moved beyond the major rivers new methods of transportation were developed:

* **National Road** – this highway began in Maryland and reached Ohio in 1833.
* **Erie Canal** – completed in 1825, the canal linked the Great Lakes with NYC and set off a wave of canal building across the country.
* **Railroads** – as investment in canals fell in the 1830s, railroad construction boomed [but it was not until the 1850s that long-distance service was offered at good rates].

- New technology reduced travel time and shipping greatly, stimulating the economy.

**\*Sectors of the Market Economy: Commercial Farming\***

- Agriculture still remained the backbone of the economy in the market economy era – it just changed from self-sufficient household units producing enough for their sustenance to larger, market-oriented ventures.

- Each areas of the country began to specialize its production, as follows:

* **New England** – due to a lack of space and bad terrain, commercial crop farming became increasingly impractical in NE beginning in the 1820s. Instead, NE families improved their livestock, specialized in dairy/vegetable/fruit production [financed through land sales, which really was the greatest source of profit], moved west, or gave up on farming altogether.
* **Old Northwest/Western Territories** – this region took over the commercial crop farming from NE. Large, flat farms were formed, and the mechanization of agriculture helped enormously. In 1831 **Cyrus McCormick** invented the **reaper**, which he patented in 1834 and began making in a factory, and in 1837 **John Deere** invented the **steel plow**.
* **South** – after 1800, the South shifted from a more diverse agriculture to one based almost entirely on cotton. This was due to **Eli Whitney’s** invention of the **cotton gin** in 1793, which separated short-staple [the easy to grow kind] cotton from its seeds efficiently. Although the South was in international markets, it remained a rural society, w/most of the wealth in land and slaves, and couldn’t shift to manufacturing or commerce [business decisions made in North].

- Overall, specialization benefited many, but also made it more difficult for farmers to start up [high land prices] and therefore increased the # of tenant farmers.

**\*Sectors of the Market Economy: The Rise of Manufacturing and Commerce\***

- American production began with copies of British or other European designs, but before long Americans were creating their own machines [ex. **Matthew Baldwin**, steam locomotives, by 1840 exported internationally].

- The *American System of Manufacturing* was created, which involved using precision machinery to produce interchangeable parts that didn’t require adjustment to fit. **Eli Whitney** promoted the system in 1798 w/respect to rifles, and by the 1820s the US had contracts w/firms to produce machine made firearms. The system soon spread to mainstream manufactures, leading to an outpouring of consumer goods.

- But the biggest industry was without a doubt was textiles, which had been helped by the embargo, war, and the expansion of cotton cultivation. The big innovation was machine-spun textiles in mills, a system that especially took hold in NE [Lowell, Massachusetts].

- Mass produced textiles led to the ready-made clothing industry [by 1820s/1830s most clothing was mass produced], either via factories or by the putting-out system, and retail clothing stores appeared in the 1820s.

- The expansion of manufacturing directly encouraged a rise in commerce – agents began to specialize in finance alone [cotton brokers, corn brokers, etc.] and general merchants declined, remaining more in rural areas than in cities.

- Esp. in large northeastern commercial cities, merchants engaged in complex transactions – leading to both the rise of the office, as we know it and the expansion of financial institutions.

- The Second Bank of the US, which was esp. attacked during the Panic of 1819, was finally killed off in 1836, leading to a national credit shortage, which, combined with the Panic of 1837, led to reforms in banking.

- The new *free banking* system, initially introduced in Michigan and NY, meant that any bank that met minimum standards would get a charter automatically. This stimulated the economy in the 1840s/1850s.

**\*Workers and the Workplace\***

- At first, the young farmwomen who came to the NE textile mills were very optimistic, and the mills operated on the paternalistic **Lowell System**, which provided the women with good working conditions.

- But from 1837 – 1842, demand for cloth declined and the mills worked only part-time, causing managers to pressure workers by speeding out the machines, giving each girl more machines to work, and paying extra if workers produced the most cloth. Hours lengthened, wages were cut, and discipline increased.

- Workers responded by organizing and striking, but they were unsuccessful. In the 1840s, more concerted efforts to shorten the workday began – worker-run newspapers, labor organizations [these didn’t work that well b/c workers stayed only a short time]. Then, Irish immigrants replaced NE girls as the work became less skilled in the 1850s.

- Another important result of manufacturing was the sharp division between men’s and women’s jobs and cultures. Also, the market economy devalued the unpaid labor of women in the home.

- The hierarchical organization of the factories, impersonal nature of labor, dangers from machines, and the lack of opportunities for advancement combined to produce new labor organizations and labor parties.

- Although the parties tended to agree on advocating free public education, an end to debt imprisonment, and were anti-bank/anti-monopoly, they were still divided, weak, and stayed pretty local. Their biggest accomplishment was to become legal though *Commonwealth v. Hunt (1842)*.

**\*American Expansion and Indian Removal\***

- As Americans increasingly pushed West, the former occupants inevitably were forced onwards as well. Although the Constitution acknowledged Indian sovereignty and gov’t relations w/Indian leaders followed international protocol, in reality, it was a bunch of crap.

- Basically, the US used treaty making to acquire Indian land – through either military or economic pressure the Indians were forced to sign new treaties giving up more and more land. Some Indian resistance continued after the War of 1812, but it only delayed, not prevented, the US.

- Many Indian nations attempt to integrate themselves in the market economy. For example, some lower Mississippi tribes became cotton suppliers and traders. This turned out badly, though, b/c the trading posts would extend debt to chiefs that would later be used to force them off the land.

- As the cotton economy spread, then, Indians fell into patterns of dependency w/the Americans, which made it easier to move them. Indian populations also fell drastically due to war and disease.

- The US gov’t also attempt to assimilate the Indians into American culture [in 1819 $ was appropriated for that cause and mission schools were est.] Missions taught the value of private property and Christianity. For most, however, assimilation seemed too slow, and illegal settlers began crowding Indians everywhere.

- By the 1820s it was obvious the Indians just weren’t about to give up land fast enough, and attention turned to the more powerful, well-organized southeastern tribes.

- In 1824, prompted by pressure from Georgia, Monroe suggested that all Indians be moved beyond the Mississippi River [no force would be necessary, he thought]. This was aimed primarily at the southern Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws and Cherokees, who all rejected the proposal.

- In the end, all the tribes were moved, making it clear that even adapting to American ways could not prevent removal. The Cherokees were the best example – they had a constitution and political structure, but the South refused to respect them. They appealed to the SC in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831)* and the court ruled in their favor. Still, Georgia refused to comply.

- Jackson decided not to interfere b/c it was a state matter [really b/c he just wanted to kick out the Indians anyway] and allowed the Indians to be forced out w/funds from the Removal Act of 1830. The Choctaws were moved first, then the Creeks.

- Finally the Cherokees [who were divided – some wanted to give up and exchange their land for western land, most didn’t want to give up] were marched by military escort in the **Trail of Tears** in 1838 after their lobby to the Senate failed.

- Removal was a disaster for the Indians [you think?] – many became dependent on the gov’t for survival, internal conflicts arose, as did problems with existing tribes.

- In Florida a small band of Seminoles continued their resistance through a small minority under **Osceola** that opposed the 1832 Treaty of Payne’s Landing, which provided for their relocation. When troops were sent in 1835, Osceola used guerilla warfare against them until his capture and death in prison, after which the group fought under other leaders until the US gave up in **1842**.

**\*Politics During the Era of Reform\***

- During the 1820s reform began to influence politics – and that, among other things – generated more widespread participation in public life and a more open political system.

- Other reasons for expanding participation in politics from 1824 – 1840 were…

* Many state constitutions began dropping the property rights qualifications to vote.
* Electors began to be chosen directly by the people in many states.
* The return of the party system in 1824 [DRs split into Democrats and Nat’l Republicans in 1820s, NRsNational Republicans become Whigs in 1832 and Republicans in 1852] and the rise of third parties.
* The creation of more elected offices on the local level.
* An increase in popular campaigning processes.
* The end of the Caucus system [congressional caucus chooses party nominees] in 1824. That year, the caucus chose **William Crawford** of Georgia as the DR candidate, but other DRs put themselves forward in their regions as sectional candidates – thus boycotting the caucus as undemocratic and ending its role in nominating candidates. The nominating convention was developed in the 1830s.

- The creation of the **Second Party System** in **1834** also helped greatly.

**\*The Election of 1824 and J.Q. Adams’ Administration\***

- The **Presidential Election of 1824** was a four way one: **Andrew Jackson** [West] vs. **J.Q. Adams** [NE] vs. **Henry Clay** [Old Northwest] vs. **William Crawford** [South]. The result was that, while Andrew Jackson led in both electoral and popular votes, he was unable to obtain a majority.

- The election was then thrown into the House of Representatives, where each state would cast one vote to select the President. Clay was dropped, as he was in last place, Crawford had a stroke…so it was down to Jackson and Adams. It was close, but all of a sudden, Clay [Speaker of the House] decided to back Adams.

- Jackson supporters called Adams’ victory the “Corrupt Bargain” b/c soon after the election Clay was chosen Secretary of State in Adams’ administration and his **American System** was supported.

- So, with that slight issue, the DR party split into the…

* **National Republicans** [J.Q. supporters] – the NRs generally favored a more involved gov’t that had an active role in numerous aspects of peoples’ lives.
* **Democrats** [Jackson supporters] – the Democrats had a wide range of views, but basically they stuck to the Jefferson concept of an agrarian society w/limited gov’t intervention and feared the concentration of economic and political power. They stressed the importance of individual freedom and were against reform b/c it required a more activist gov’t.

- Anyhow, during his administration J.Q. proposed a strong nationalist policy [Clay’s **American System**] that included protective tariffs, a nationalist bank, and internal improvements. J.Q. believed that the gov’t should play an active role in the economy, education, science, and the arts.

- However, J.Q. stunk as a politician, and the Democrats made it all worse by sabotaging him at each opportunity. So basically he got nothing done. And then came the…

**\*The Election of 1828 and Andrew Jackson’s First Term\***

- In the **Presidential Election of 1828**, poor J.Q. was up against all the rabid Jackson supporters who had been waiting for their revenge. Mudslinging was the order of the day [think modern campaign tactics], but e/t the National Republicans were able to attack Rachel Jackson as a bigamist [don’t ask] Jackson creamed them.

- As proved by Jackson’s mass-produced campaign stickers and stuff [a first] and his extensive, national level campaign work, the sit-back-and-be-elected era had definitely ended and the time of popular movements had begun. “Old Hickory” had to first well-organized national party in US history.

- So what did Jackson do when he became President?

* Well, like Jefferson, he managed the tricky task of strengthening the executive branch’s power even while reducing federal power as a whole by: (1) relying on a “Kitchen Cabinet” of his political friends instead of his official one, (2) rewarding his followers and confronting his enemies, and (3) rotating officeholders [**spoils system**]to keep Democrats in office.
* On the limiting the gov’t side, Jackson vetoed nationalist programs, such as the **Maysville Road Bill** (1830), declaring them unconstitutional.

- Jackson was very anti-elitist and all [reformer in sense that he returned gov’t to majority rule] but he was also very egotistical in his claims to represent the people – something that infuriated his opponents, who pointed out that he was corrupting the gov’t through the spoils system and called him “King Andrew.”

- But the main issue during Jackson’s first term was…

**\*The Nullification Crisis\***

- The whole nullification thing started in early 1828 before the election when an anti-Adams Congress decided to propose this new ultra-high tariff thing. The point was to raise New Englander’s hopes and then not have the ridiculous measure passed – thereby alienating Adams NE supporters and making him appear incompetent. But \*surprise\* it backfired and in 1828 the **Tariff of Abominations** [so said the South] passed.

- South Carolina, basing itself on ideas expressed in the 1798 Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, began protesting the tariff and declaring their right to nullify it. Calhoun, the VP, wrote and left unsigned the *South Carolina Exposition and Protest* [special state conventions can nullify national laws].

- But in the Senate it was **Robert Hayne** [SC]who argued in favor of states’ rights vs. **Daniel Webster** [MA] in the 1830 Webster-Hayne Debates [“Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable” – DW].

- E/t Jackson was a states’ rights person, he believed the ultimate authority rested w/the people, not w/the states. W/Calhoun obviously on the state sovereignty side, Jackson turned away from him and began to rely more on Secretary of State **Martin Van Buren**.

- So in 1832 Congress tried to make the problem go away by reducing some of the duties but keeping them on iron, cottons and woolens. This was not good enough for South Carolina, who not only disliked the duties themselves but also feared that they could set a precedent for legislation on slavery.

- In **November 1832**, then, a South Carolina state convention nullified both tariffs and made it illegal to collect them w/in state boundaries. In response, Jackson passed the **Force Act**, which gave the president authority to call up troops and to collect duties before ships reached the state, while at the same time recommending tariff reductions to give SC a chance to back down.

- Calhoun, who had resigned as VP and become a South Carolina Senator, decided to work w/Henry Clay and eventually came up w/the compromise **Tariff of 1833**, which reduced duties over a 9 year period. SC was satisfied and repealed its nullification law [but nullified the Force Act, which Jackson ignored].

- Although the crisis was over, neither side really had won a decisive victory. It took another crisis, this time over a national bank, to make the thing clear…

**\*The Presidential Election of 1832 and the National Bank Controversy\***

- First of all, in the **Presidential Election of 1832**, the main issue was the early removal of the Second Bank of the United States’ charter, which was due to expire in 1836. Jackson was all for the bank’s removal, attacking it as a center of special privilege and economic power; Clay wanted to recharter it.

- In reality, the **Second Bank of the US** held federal funds and was an important source of credit for businesses. It also kept state banks honest by not accepting notes w/o gold to back them – so state banks weren’t exactly the national banks biggest fans [saw it as private institution unresponsive to local needs].

- Anyhow, Jackson was reelected easily [random note: this election first in nation’s history where candidates chosen by conventions] and quickly preceded to take down the bank in **1833**. Here’s what he did…

**\*Jackson’s Second Term: Financial Crisis\***

- Basically, Jackson began by taking the $ in the national bank and putting it in state-chartered banks – thereby shrinking the bank and making it just another private bank after 1836.

- Then came the **Deposit Act of 1836**, which allowed the Secretary of the Treasury to choose one bank per state to do what the SBUS used to. The act also provided that any federal surplus over $5 million be given to the states starting in 1837. The surplus [from speculation in public lands] was then put into bank notes by state banks. This worried Jackson, who hated paper $, so…

- He convinced Secretary of the Treasury **Levi Woodbury** to issue the **Specie Circular**, which said that after August 1836 only gold/silver could be used to pay for land. This reduced sales of public land and killed the surplus and the loans to the states.

- This policy was a total disaster. This economy stuff is confusing, but the idea is that e/t there were fewer land sales and less land, people continued to speculate. The increased demand pressured banks, which didn’t have enough specie, and credit contracted – fewer notes issued, fewer loans made.

- Jackson just made things worse by continuing his hard $ policies, and his opponents had a field day. Congress then voted to repeal the circular, but Jackson pocket-vetoed this and the policy stood until in mid 1838 a joint resolution of Congress killed it.

- Jackson was the first President to really use his veto powers, which was another reason why he was attacked as being “King Andrew.”

**\*The Second Party System\***

- In the 1830s, opponents of the Democrats, many of who were left over from the old National Republican Party, joined together in the **Whig Party**. The Whigs resented Jackson’s power over Congress, and competed on a national level w/the Democrats from 1834 through the 1840s.

- The Whig/Democrat thing became known as the **Second Party System**, and was more organized and intense than the first DR/Federalist one.

- As the years passed the differences between the Whigs and Democrats became clearer…

* The **Whigs** favored an economy helped by an active central gov’t, corporations, a national bank, and paper currency. They also supported reform – they were generally more enterprising and optimistic than the Democrats were. Whigs supporters were generally evangelical Protestants, Methodists, or Baptists – and were usually American-born or free black.
* The **Democrats** favored limited central gov’t and were afraid of concentrated power. Democrat supporters were generally foreign-born Catholics, or non-evangelical Protestants.

- When the **Presidential Election of 1836** came about, however, the Whigs had not yet become a national party, so they entered three sectional candidates [Webster, White, Harrison] against the Democrats’ **Martin Van Buren**, who won easily.

- But, a few weeks after VB took office the whole American credit system collapsed, setting off an economic depression that persisted from 1839 to 1843. VB didn’t help by continuing Jackson’s hard $ policies and establishing a new regional treasury system for gov’t deposits (1840).

- Then in the **Presidential Election of 1840** the Whigs, now nationally organized, used the economic crisis to attack the Democrats and promote their candidate, **William Henry Harrison** and his running mate **John Tyler** [“Tippecanoe and Tyler Too”].

- Harrison’s grassroots campaigning strategies worked, and he beat Van Buren – which didn’t do him much good, since he died of pneumonia a month after his inauguration. Tyler, a former Democrat who left the party to protest Jackson’s policies over nullification, really wasn’t a Whig at all, and promptly began vetoing the entire Whig program.

- The only thing that did get passed during Tyler’s administration was the repeal of the independent treasury system and a higher tariff. Oh yeah, and the entire cabinet resigned, leaving Tyler a president w/o a Party [Whigs called him “His Accidency”].

**\*Manifest Destiny and Expansionism\***

- Expansionist fervor only increased through the 1830s and 1840s and soon became a part of politics. The mid 1840s saw the rise of the whole **manifest destiny** idea, which was spurred by national pride esp. after the depression ended in 1843, by racism [“we can use the land better than Native Americans can”] and by a desire to eliminate perceived external threats to national security.