Jeffersonian Democracy: 1800-1824

I. President Thomas Jefferson
   A. "Revolution of 1800" -- significant for its unprecedented democratic peaceful transfer of power
      1. Inaugural speech:
         a. "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists"
            • Sought to bring in moderate Federalists into a broad Republican coalition (excluding Hamilton and his "High Federalist" followers).
         b. Vowed to maintain Washington’s policy of non-entangling alliances
      2. First party overturn in the history of the country
         • Significance: demonstrated efficacy of a two-party system

   B. Jefferson surprisingly kept most of Hamilton's financial plan intact
      1. Jefferson as president was much more moderate in tone and policy than when he opposed Hamilton in the 1790s.
         a. Sought to heal the political rift between both parties
         b. As president, he did not have the luxury of being an ideologue as he was now responsible for the entire country.
      2. Retained most government servants from the Federalist administration
      3. Kept the Hamiltonian system intact with the exception of excise taxes
         a. Maintained the Bank of the U.S.
         b. Retained the tariff
         c. Did not tamper with Federalist programs for funding national debt at par and assumption of state debts

   C. Jefferson reversed certain Federalist policies.
      1. Pardoned the ten Republican editors serving sentences under the Sedition Law; U.S. government returned many of the fines.
      2. Congress enacted a new naturalization law in 1802; return of 5 year requirement for citizenship
         • Alien & Sedition Acts had expired in 1801 but parts of those laws that were still in effect were now removed.
      3. Persuaded Congress to repeal Hamilton’s excise taxes
4. Succeeded in substantially reducing the national debt while balancing the budget by cutting government spending.
   a. **Secretary of Treasury Albert Gallatin** agreed with Jefferson that the debt was more a curse than a blessing; sought to lower national debt significantly
   - Debt fell from $80 million to $57 million (even including the Louisiana Purchase).
5. Reduced Hamilton’s standing army but upheld the need for a stronger navy
   - Some Jeffersonians feared the army was a "High Federalist" center of power and could threaten the government in the future.
6. Ended the graduated property tax imposed by "High Federalists" in 1798.
7. Emphasized states’ rights
8. Encouraged the development of an agrarian nation.

**D. 12th Amendment (1804)**
1. Sought to remedy the issue of tie votes between presidential candidates from the same party (as in 1800).
2. **Provision:** electors had to specify that they were voting for one presidential candidate and one vice presidential candidate.
   a. Jefferson and his vice presidential candidate, Aaron Burr, had tied in the 1800 general election.
   b. Vote was sent to the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives where Jefferson was finally elected president.
5. Act was repealed by the newly elected Republican Congress in 1802.

**II. John Marshall and judicial nationalism**

**A. Judiciary Act of 1801**
1. Constituted one of the last important laws passed by the outgoing Federalist Congress.
2. Federalists created 16 new judgeships and other judicial offices.
3. Adams continued on his last day in office signing commissions of the Federalist "midnight judges."
4. Jeffersonians charged the Federalists of packing the judicial branch.
5. Act was repealed by the newly elected Republican Congress in 1802.

**B. John Marshall**
1. Appointed as Chief Justice during last days of Adams' term.
2. Most important chief justice in US history; served about 34 years
3. Maintained Federalist principles in his decisions even after the Federalist party was dead (after 1816).
4. His decisions greatly increased power of the federal government over the states.
5. Examined cases from a Federalist philosophy and found legal precedents to support his Hamiltonian views.
   a. Jeffersonian attempts to balance the Court with Republicans failed to diminish Marshall’s influence
   b. Republicans came to accept the Federalist ideal of strong central gov't.

C. Marbury vs Madison, 1803
   1. Perhaps most important Supreme Court decision in U.S. history.
   2. "Midnight judge" William Marbury sued (on the behalf of several other judges) for the delivery of his commission that was being held up by the new secretary of state, James Madison.
      - Madison was ordered by Jefferson to withhold Adams' appointments under the Judiciary Act of 1801.
   3. Marshall knew the Jefferson administration would not enforce a writ by the Court to deliver the commission to Marbury.
      - Case was dismissed, thus avoiding a direct political showdown between the Supreme Court and the executive branch.

4. Judicial Review
   a. Marshall ruled that part of the Judiciary Act of 1789, upon which Marbury had based his appeal, was unconstitutional by giving the Court the right to enforce appointments (only the executive branch can enforce the law)
   b. Marshall gave the Supreme Court power to rule a law by Congress unconstitutional.
   c. Contrast with the Kentucky Resolutions where Jefferson had claimed states had that right (due to the compact theory)
   d. Power of the Supreme Court was greatly enhanced

D. Impeachment of Samuel Chase
   1. Jeffersonians were outraged that judicial review increased the power of the Federalist-dominated Supreme Court.
   2. Jefferson supported congressional Republicans in their desire to remove Federalist justice Samuel Chase
   3. Early 1804, impeachment charges against Chase were voted by the House.
   4. Senate failed to convict Chase in early 1805.
   5. Significance: henceforth, no further attempts occurred to reshape the Court by impeachment
      - Reassured the independence of the judiciary and separation of powers in gov't.

E. Fletcher v. Peck, 1810 (protection of property rights against popular pressures)
   1. Issue: Georgia legislature canceled a contract which granted 35 million acres in the Yazoo River country (Mississippi) to land speculators as a form of graft.
1. The previous legislature had made the grant in what was called the "Yazoo Land Controversy" during Jefferson’s presidency.

2. Significance: Court ruled the Constitution forbids states from "impairing contracts".
   a. One of earliest examples of the Court asserting its right to invalidate state laws.
   b. Court stated the legislative grant was a contract (even if fraudulent)

F. Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee, 1816 (blow to states’ rights)
1. Issue: Could the Court (as stated in Judiciary Act of 1789) review decisions of state supreme courts where federal statutes or treaties were involved or when state laws had been upheld under the federal Constitution?
   • Virginia sought to disregard Treaty of Paris (1783) and Jay Treaty (1794) regarding confiscation of Loyalist lands.
2. Decision: Supreme Court rejected the "compact theory" and state claims that they were equally sovereign with the federal govt.
3. Significance: upheld the supremacy clause of the Constitution and federal judicial supremacy over the states.

G. McCulloch v. Maryland, 1819 (blow to states' rights)
1. Issue: Maryland tried to destroy its branch of the BUS by taxing its notes.
2. Marshall declared BUS constitutional invoking Hamilton's doctrine of implied powers (elastic clause of the constitution – "necessary & proper").
   a. "Loose construction" given major boost.
   b. Argued the Constitution derived from the consent of the people and thus permitted the gov’t to act for their benefit.
3. Denied Maryland the right to tax the bank: "the power to tax involves the power to destroy" and "that a power to create implies the power to preserve."

H. Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 1819 (protection of property rights from the states)
1. Issue: New Hampshire had changed a charter granted to the college by the British king in 1769. Republicans sought to remove the "private" aspect of the school and make it a state institution.
   • Dartmouth appealed the case; defended by Daniel Webster, an alumnus.
2. Ruling: the charter was a contract and states could thus not invalidate it.
3. Significance:
a. Positive: safeguarded business from domination by the states.
b. Negative: set a precedent for giving corporations the ability to escape gov’t control.

I. **Cohens v. Virginia**, 1821 (blow to states' rights)

1. Significance: the Supreme Court asserted its power to review decisions of the state supreme courts in issues involving powers of the federal gov’t
   - Similar to *Martin v. Hunter’s Lessee* case (see above)
2. Issue: Virginia courts had convicted Cohens for selling lottery tickets illegally.
   a. The state supreme court upheld the decision.
   b. Marshall overturned it.

J. **Gibbons v. Ogden**, 1824 ("steamboat case") (blow to states' rights)

1. Significance: Only Congress had the right to regulate interstate commerce.
2. Issue: New York tried to grant a monopoly of river commerce between New York and New Jersey to a private company (owned by Ogden). Gibbons had congressional approval to conduct business on the same river.
3. Decision: Court ruled interstate rivers were to regulated by Congress, not individual states.

K. **Daniel Webster** was an important influence in Marshall’s decisions.

1. He argued Federalist and nationalist views before the Court.
2. He actually "ghost wrote" some of the Marshall’s opinions.

III. **The Louisiana Purchase**

A. 1800, Napoleon persuaded Spain to cede the Louisiana region to France.
   1. France in 1802 withdrew the U.S. right of deposit at New Orleans guaranteed under the Pinckney Treaty of 1795.
   2. Napoleon seemed to pose a military threat to the U.S.

B. Jefferson sent James Monroe to Paris (to join U.S. minister Robert Livingston)
   1. Sought to buy New Orleans and as much land as possible to the east for $10 million.
   2. If negotiations failed, U.S. would forge an alliance with Britain.

C. Napoleon decided to sell all Louisiana and forego his dream of an American empire.
   1. **Haitian Rebellion**: Napoleon failed to reconquer the island of Santo Domingo after a slave rebellion there began in 1791
a. **Toussaint L'Ouverture** led ex-slaves in a failed bloody revolt.
b. The rebellion was inspired by the American Revolution and the ideals embodied in the *Declaration of Independence*.
   - The American colonists had been the first society in the Western Hemisphere to win its independence from a European empire.
   - The Haitian Rebellion represented the second successful revolution, although independence would occur several years later.
c. Thousands of French troops died of malaria during the struggle.

2. Napoleon used revenues from the sale of Louisiana to pay for his European conquests.
3. He did not want to be distracted by the U.S. as an enemy in North America.

D. Although Livingston initially negotiated for New Orleans, the entire **Louisiana Territory** was purchased for a mere $15 million (about 3 cents an acre).

E. Jefferson accepted the treaty, albeit reluctantly.
   1. As a strict constructionist, he believed the Constitution did not authorize the president to negotiate treaties incorporating huge new lands into the U.S.
   2. He secretly proposed an amendment to the Constitution to provide for such an act.
      - Advisors urged Jefferson to act now before Napoleon changed his mind.
   3. Jefferson reluctantly submitted the treaty to the Senate while privately admitting the purchase was unconstitutional.
      a. The Senate promptly ratified the treaty.
      b. Westward-looking Americans enthusiastically supported the purchase.

F. Federalists opposed the Louisiana Purchase.
   1. Ironically, argued for strict construction claiming the president did not have power to purchase Louisiana.
   2. Ironically claimed Louisiana would cost too much and cause the U.S. debt to soar.
   3. Real reason: worried that new western lands would be loyal to the Republicans.

G. Louisiana was the most important land purchase in U.S. History.
   1. Doubled the size of the U.S.
      - U.S. received western half of richest river valley in the world
   2. Guaranteed unfettered access to the Mississippi River and the Gulf of Mexico including New Orleans.
3. Paved the way for westward expansion
   a. Accelerated the rise of the U.S. as an economic and political power.
   b. Sadly, by 1890 all remaining Native Americans in the West would be killed or forced onto reservations.
   c. John Jacob Astor formed the American Fur Company in 1808 to tap the newly purchased territory; eventually resulted in the U.S. claim to Oregon.

4. Ended European expansion in North America (for the most part)
   • Largely ended European threat on the U.S. western frontier.

5. Avoided a possible war with France and an entangling alliance with Britain.

6. Boosted American nationalism
   a. Federalists now were a mere sectional party in New England.
   b. West was much more loyal to the Union as Jefferson was seen as a hero.

H. Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-1806)
   1. Jefferson was most interested in finding an all-water route to the Pacific.
   2. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were appointed by Jefferson to explore the region (Corps of Discovery)
      a. Their trail extended from the Missouri River through the Rockies and along the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean.
      b. Sacajawea, a Shoshoni female, became a scout and translator when the expedition reached Bismark, South Dakota for the winter; crucial to its success.
   3. The expedition bolstered the U.S. claim to Oregon; further opened the West to Amerindian trade and exploration.
   4. The reports by Lewis and Clark provided extensive information about the flora and fauna of the territory.
      • Their published reports sparked interest in westward expansion.
   5. Jefferson was disappointed that an all-water route did not exist.

IV. The Embargo Act, 1807
   A. The Napoleonic Wars led to the harassment of U.S. shipping.
      1. By 1805, Britain controlled the seas; France controlled the European continent.
      2. Britain began seizing American ships.
         • Sought to end the U.S. practice of importing French goods and shipping them out as neutral cargo.
      3. Napoleon proclaimed any ships (including U.S. ships) trading with Britain would be confiscated by France.
      4. Britain, in response, issued the "order in council" (beginning in 1806; continued in 1807)
a. Blockaded ports under French continental control from foreign shipping.

b. American ships that didn’t stop in Britain prior to entering the Continent would be confiscated.

5. Napoleon declared that any neutral ship entering a British port, or submitting to a British warship at sea, would be confiscated if it attempted to enter a Continental port.
   - Many U.S. shippers took chances by continuing trade and earning large profits.

6. British impressment (forcible enlistment of sailors)
   a. 6,000 Americans were impressed between 1808-1811; many were killed in service.
   b. Britain accused the U.S. of enticing British sailors to desert to U.S. ships.

7. Chesapeake-Leopard Affair (June 21, 1807)
   a. British commander of the H.M.S. Leopard demanded the surrender of four alleged British deserters on the U.S.S. Chesapeake; the American captain refused.
   b. The Leopard fired at the Chesapeake: 3 dead; 18 wounded.
   c. American reaction was the most hostile since the XYZ Affair 10 years earlier.
      - The British Foreign Office admitted its error.
   d. Jefferson, nevertheless, used the incident to incite calls for U.S. action.
      - Forbade British ships to dock at American ports
      - Ordered state governors to call up as many as 100,000 militiamen

B. The Embargo Act, 1807
1. Forbade the export of all goods from U.S. to any destination
   a. Jefferson got the Republican-dominated Congress to hastily pass the act.
   b. Jefferson believed a U.S. embargo would force Britain and France to respect its rights.
   c. Represented the view of loose construction of the Constitution.
      - Congress' power to "regulate commerce" meant it could stop exports.
      - The act undermined Jefferson’s states’ rights philosophy.

2. The Embargo Act was a disaster to the U.S. economy
   a. In 1807 U.S. exports = $108 million; in 1808 = $22 million
      - New England’s trade was the most adversely affected.
      - The South and West saw dramatic declines in the export of cotton, tobacco, and grain.
   b. The embargo probably was more damaging to the U.S. than the British and French threat.
   c. Illegal trade mushroomed as a result (especially along the
Canadian border)

3. New England again talked of secession
   a. An earlier plot in 1804 by radical New England Federalists failed to create a new seven-state republic.
      • Alexander Hamilton helped expose the plot (which included vice president Aaron Burr) and led to his death in a duel against Burr.
   b. Talk of New England secession would again occur in 1814 among a minority of Federalists at the Hartford Convention during the War of 1812.

4. Congress repealed the act on March 1, 1809 (3 days before Jefferson left office)

5. Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 replaced the Embargo Act
   a. Reopened trade with all nations except France and Britain
   b. Remained U.S. policy until the War of 1812.

C. Reasons for the embargo's failure
   1. The U.S. overestimated British dependence on American trade.
   2. Embargo was not in effect long enough or administered effectively
   3. The act proved to be three times as costly as war.
   4. Northeastern Federalists undermined the Embargo through smuggling activities.
   5. Ironically, 2 days before the U.S. declared war on Britain in 1812, Britain suspended the order in council. (Telegraph for quick communication was not yet invented.)

D. The Embargo Act inadvertently sparked the Industrial Revolution in America.
   1. New England was forced to become self-sufficient once again.
      • Textile factories grew dramatically.
   2. Ironically, Jefferson, a critic of industrialization, may have contributed more than Hamilton to its rise in the U.S.

V. Jefferson's legacy
A. Expansion became prime goal of Jeffersonians (agrarian empire)
   1. Expansion had also been Federalist policy (success was limited)
      a. Orderly expansion in Old Northwest but not in South
      b. Northwest not subdued until Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. 
      c. Southern conquest difficult due to Spanish presence.
   2. Louisiana Purchase essentially ended European expansion in North America.
   3. Historically stunning achievement: no society had ever combined indefinite expansion, and supremacy within the hemisphere without building a strong centralized European-style state (big armies, big navy, big taxation)
   4. Soft side of Jeffersonian expansion: invasion of Canada during War of 1812
   a. Jeffersonians believed free blacks should not be allowed to migrate west.
   b. Failure of gaining Florida in 1810s showed unlimited expansion desires of Jeffersonians.
6. Jeffersonian contempt for Spain carried over into Manifest Destiny in the 1840s and the conquest of ½ of Mexico’s territory.

B. Creation of a democratic non-aristocratic government.
   1. "Government that governs least, governs best": lowered the national debt, balanced the budget, and promoted states’ rights
   2. Reduced oppressive aspects of the Federalist agenda.
   3. The people who owned the state didn’t govern it (like in Europe)
   5. Retained faith in democracy and the common people (despite enormous struggles)

C. Total defeat of Federalists by 1816
   1. "High Federalists" had been moving toward creation of European-like aristocracy through intermarriage, creation of a standing army, and gov’t suppression of political opponents.
      • Most high-ranking army officers were Federalists.
   2. Jefferson finally gained a loyal officers officer corps in the military by 1807, a momentous victory for Jeffersonians.

D. Jefferson kept the country out of a damaging European war: War of 1812 did not occur until late in Madison’s first term.

MEMORY AID

JEFFERSON was at the HELM

H amilton’s plan kept by Jefferson (except excise taxes)
E mbargo Act, 1807
Louisiana Purchase, 1803
M arbury vs. Madison, 1803 (judicial nationalism: Federalist triumph)

VI. President James Madison and the War of 1812
   A. Madison was inaugurated in March, 1809
      1. "Virginia dynasty": Madison was third in a line of four Virginia presidents between 1789 and 1829 (after Washington and Jefferson, before Monroe)
      2. Strongly Jeffersonian in his views.
B. **War Hawks** attacked Amerindians in the Ohio Valley and sought a war against Britain.

1. A deeply-divided Congress met late in 1811 (Republicans still in control)
   a. Differed from past Congresses: new young and nationalistic leaders from the South and West emerged
      • Wanted to prove themselves through a war with Britain; sought the same glory their fathers had in the Revolutionary War.
   b. **Henry Clay** (Kentucky) was elected Speaker of the House
   c. **John C. Calhoun** was elected as a representative of South Carolina

2. **Battle of Tippecanoe**, 1811
   a. Western war hawks sought to wipe out renewed Amerindian resistance against white settlers in the western wilderness.
      • *The Shawnee Confederation* posed the biggest threat
   b. Two Shawnee twins brothers, **Tecumseh** and the **Prophet** (*Tenskwatawa*), had organized a confederacy of all tribes east of the Mississippi.
      • Tecumseh was a noted warrior and perhaps the most gifted organizer of Amerindians in U.S. history. Believed in fairness between tribes in selling and purchasing land that belonged to all Amerindians.
      • Americans thought the British were aiding them.
   c. **General William H. Harrison** repelled a surprise Indian attack at **Tippecanoe** (in present Indiana) in 1811.
   d. Significance: Essentially ended the Indian threat in the Old Northwest
      • Further spurred westward expansion; Amerindians were pushed further west.

3. **War Hawks sought to conquer Canada**
   a. Hoped to remove further Amerindian threats.
   b. Canada was seen as vulnerable to attack as Britain was preoccupied with Napoleon.

4. Southern expansionists desired Spanish Florida, Britain's ally.
5. War hawks were outraged at British impressment of U.S. sailors and orders in council that prevented U.S. agricultural products from reaching Europe.

C. **Daniel Webster**, a Federalist from New Hampshire, spoke against entry into the war.
   • He argued on behalf of New England manufacturing interests that would suffer from a British blockade.

D. U.S. declared war on Britain in June, 1812
   1. Representatives from pro-British New England as well as the
mid-Atlantic states opposed the war.

2. Why did U.S. fight Britain when France had also assaulted U.S. ships?
   a. War Hawks pushed Madison toward war
   b. Traditional Republican (Jeffersonian) partiality toward France.
   c. British impressments and arming of Amerindians.
   d. **Chesapeake-Leopard Affair** (1807)
   e. Lure of conquering Canada: timber, fishing, fur trade.

E. New Englanders hindered the U.S. war effort.
1. Believed British actions were exaggerated; still disliked France
2. New England merchants were still profitable before the war.
3. Opposed acquisition of Canada which would add agrarian states (who would likely support Jeffersonians).
4. New England investors had lent money to British interests.
5. New England farmers sent huge quantities of supplies and foodstuffs to Canada, helping Britain to invade New York.
6. New England states refused to permit their militias to serve outside their states.

F. Overview of the War of 1812
1. Small war: 6,000 Americans were killed or wounded; mostly Canadians fought Americans, very few British
2. U.S. was militarily unprepared for war.
   a. U.S. attack on Canada was a complete failure.
   b. Washington, D.C. was burned by British forces.
3. American victories
   a. U.S. Navy out-performed the Royal Navy on the Great Lakes
   b. British failed to take Ft. McHenry which protected Baltimore
      • Inspired **Francis Scott Key** to write the **“Star Spangled Banner”**
   c. General Andrew Jackson emerged as a national hero
      • Battle of Horseshoe Bend: defeated the Creeks
      • Battle of New Orleans: U.S. inflicted a devastating defeat of the British
4. **Treaty of Ghent, 1814**: the war ended in a stalemate
   a. Both countries agreed to stop fighting and restore conquered territories.
   b. No mention of pre-war grievances.
   c. America gained respect diplomatically and militarily.
5. Large Amerindian losses during war: vast areas of forested land north of the Ohio River.
6. U.S. industry stimulated by less dependence on British goods;
spawned the industrial revolution in America

G. Jackson’s victories in the Southwest and at New Orleans
1. British strategy in addition to Canada and the Atlantic coast was to take the U.S. Gulf Coast and New Orleans.
   a. Mississippi Creek Amerindians (known as Red Sticks) launched a preliminary campaign by attacking Fort Mims, near Mobile, Alabama; 400 Americans were killed
   b. General Andrew Jackson retaliated by attacking a Creek village and killing 300 warriors in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in March, 1814.
      • Largest Amerindian massacre in U.S. history.
2. Battle of New Orleans, January 1815: Britain launched a foolish frontal assault
   a. Jackson commanded a 7,000-man force of sailors, regulars, pirates, Frenchmen, free blacks and militiamen from Louisiana, Kentucky, and Tennessee.
   b. Over 2,000 British casualties in 1/2 hour compared to about 70 Americans.
   c. Ironically, battle was unnecessary: Treaty of Ghent had been signed two weeks earlier but the two armies didn’t get word until after the battle.
      • A British victory in the battle most likely would have resulted in Britain changing the terms of the treaty to the detriment of the U.S.
   a. Jackson became the hero of the West (elected president 13 years later)
   b. Most Americans believed the New Orleans campaign had won the war.

H. Hartford Convention, December 1814 – January 1815
1. Attended by MA, CT, RI, and partially by NH, and VT.
2. Purpose: Discussed their complaints and sought compensation for losses during the war.
   • Immediate goal was to secure financial assistance from the federal gov’t due to Britain’s blockade of New England ports.
3. A minority of radical delegates urged secession but were outvoted by moderate Federalists.
4. The convention recommended amendments to the Constitution
   a. Repeal of the 3/5 Compromise in order to reduce Southern influence in the House of Representatives.
   b. 2/3 vote for an embargo, admission of western states to the union, and declaration of war.
   c. Limit the term of the president (to avoid a Jeffersonian
d. Deny naturalized citizens (who often were Republicans) the right to hold office
5. The Battle of New Orleans and the Treaty of Ghent made their pleas moot, and made the Federalists look like defeatists
6. Hartford resolutions were the death knell of the Federalist party.
   a. 1816, Jeffersonian candidate James Monroe crushed his Federalist opponent.
   b. Exaggerated rumors of treason hurt the Federalist party.
   c. Until 1815, there had been more talk of nullification and secession in New England than in any other region, including the South.
      • The flouting of the Jeffersonian embargo and the crippling of the U.S. war effort were the two most damaging acts of nullification in the U.S. prior to the events leading up to the Civil War.
   d. Resulted in a temporary reduction of sectionalism

MEMORY AID

War of 1812: “WHITEN” (the War of 1812 can “whiten” your teeth!)
War Hawks
Hartford Convention, 1814
Impeachment
Treaty of Ghent, 1815
Embargo Act, 1807
New Orleans

Henry Clay’s American System

2nd Bank of the U.S.
- Depository for federal funds
- Made credit available in much the country
- Killed in 1832

Protective Tariff (1816)
- First protective tariff in U.S. History
- Most divisive sectional issue, besides slavery

Internal Improvements
- Vetoed by Madison & Monroe (& later, Jackson)
- States were responsible
VII. Henry Clay's American System: BUS, tariffs, internal improvements

A. Second National Bank (BUS) voted by Congress in 1816.
   1. Lack of a national bank during the War of 1812 hurt the economy
      a. Local banks sprung up all over the country
      b. The country was flooded by depreciated bank notes that hurt
         the war effort.
   2. Modeled after first National Bank but with 3.5 times more capital.
   3. Jeffersonians supported the new BUS.
      a. Used the same arguments that Hamilton had used in 1791.
      b. The Republicans had become increasingly loose constructionist
         on the bank issue.
   4. Ironically, Federalists denounced it as unconstitutional.
      • By 1816 the Federalist party had become marginalized and
        withered away a short time later.

B. Tariff of 1816
   1. Purpose: protect U.S. manufacturing from British competition.
      a. After the war, Britain flooded the U.S. with cheap goods,
         often below cost, to undercut new U.S. industries.
         • The U.S. saw this as an attempt to crush U.S. factories.
      b. First protective tariff in U.S. History
         • Imposed roughly 20-25% duties on imports.
         • Not really high enough to provide effective protection.
         • Hamilton’s tariffs in the 1790s had been around 10%.
      c. Started a protective trend in U.S. trade
   2. Sectionalism over the tariff was represented by the three great
      Congressional leaders of the era: Calhoun, Webster, and Clay
      (the "Great Triumvirate")
      a. John C. Calhoun represented southern views.
         • After initially supporting the 1816 tariff, he opposed it
           claiming it enriched New England manufacturers at South’s
           expense
      b. Daniel Webster represented northern views.
         • Opposed the 1816 tariff as shippers in New England feared
           the tariff would damage their industry.
         • New England had not yet completely industrialized.
   3. Clay saw tariffs as a way to develop a strong domestic market.
      a. Eastern trade would flourish under tariff protection.
      b. Tariff revenues would fund roads and canals in the West,
         especially in the Ohio Valley.
      c. Foodstuffs and raw materials from the South and West would
         flow into the North and East.

C. Internal Improvements (failed to pass)
   1. Congress passed Calhoun's Bonus Bill in 1817 which would have
given funds to states for internal improvements.

a. Madison vetoed it claiming it was unconstitutional
b. His successor, James Monroe, also vetoed the legislation.
c. Jeffersonians opposed direct federal support of intrastate internal improvements; saw it as a states’ rights issue
d. New England opposed federally built roads and canals; feared it would drain away population and create competing states in the West.

2. Prior to Civil War, most internal improvements (except railroads) were done at the expense of state and local governments.
   • The Erie Canal in New York (1826) is a good example.

Memory Aid for Henry Clay’s American System: “BIT”

Bank of the U.S. (BUS)
Internal Improvements
Tariff of 1816

VIII. "Era of Good Feelings” (1817-1825)
A. James Monroe was elected president in 1816
   1. Continued the Virginia dynasty (4 of the first 5 U.S. presidents were Virginian; 32 of the first 36 years under the Constitution)
   2. Death of the Federalist party resulted after the election.
   3. "Era of Good Feelings": a term coined by a newspaper writer following Monroe on his 1817 inspection tour of military bases

B. "Era of Good Feelings" was somewhat of a misnomer as serious issues divided the nation.
   1. Emerging sectionalism (east, west and south)
   2. Tariff issue (east and south opposed; west in favor)
   3. Internal improvements (east and south opposed; west in favor)
   4. BUS: west and south opposed; eastern bankers in favor
   5. Sale of public lands (east opposed; west and south in favor)
   6. Panic of 1819 caused western hostility toward eastern bankers.
   7. Issue of slavery in Missouri created increased sectionalism (north vs. south); resolved by Missouri Compromise of 1820
   8. Republican one-party rule began developing factions eventually leading to the Second Party System in the 1830s.
      • Clay, Calhoun, Jackson, and John Quincy Adams

C. Monroe’s presidency oversaw two major events:
   1. Panic of 1819
   2. Missouri Compromise of 1820
X. Panic of 1819  
A. An economic crash and depression hit in 1819  
   1. First financial panic since the Articles of Confederation era in the 1780s.  
   2. Henceforth, panics and depressions would occur about every 20 years: 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907, 1929  

B. Causes of 1819 panic:  
   1. Immediate cause: overspeculation on frontier lands by banks (especially the BUS)  
   2. Inflation from the War of 1812 and an economic drop-off after the war (especially cotton) resulted in a vulnerable economy  
   3. Significant deficit in balance of trade with Britain meant the U.S. was drained of vital specie (gold and silver coin)  
   4. The BUS forced "wildcat" western banks to foreclose on western farms  
      a. The BUS stopped allowing payment in paper; now demanded payment in specie  
      b. State banks were affected and called in loans in specie.  
      c. Many farmers didn’t have specie so they lost their farms.  

C. Resulted in calls for reform and pressure for increased democracy.  
   1. Western farmers viewed the bank as an evil financial monster.  
   2. Hard hit poor classes looked for a more responsive gov’t (beginnings of the “New Democracy”)  
   3. New land legislation resulted in smaller parcels being sold for lower prices.  
      • By the Civil War, western land given away nearly for free.  
   4. Widespread sentiment existed to end the practice of imprisoning debtors.  
      • Some states passed legislation reducing debtor prisons.  

XI. Missouri Compromise of 1820  
A. Missouri applied for statehood in 1819  
   1. Tallmadge Amendment passed the House of Representatives  
      a. No more slaves could be brought into Missouri.  
      b. Gradual emancipation of children born to slave parents who were already there.  

B. Southerners viewed the Tallmadge Amendment as a huge threat to the sectional balance.  
   1. Jefferson: "This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror"  
   2. Concerned by fast increase in northern population and economy, and political balance in the House of Representatives.
• Senate was still balanced between 11 free to 11 slave states

3. Southerners feared for the future of the slave system
   a. Missouri was first state entirely west of Mississippi made from the Louisiana Territory.
   b. Tallmadge Amendment might set a precedent for rest of the region to be free.
   c. If Congress could abolish slavery in Missouri, it might try in southern states.
   d. A small group of abolitionists in the North protested

4. The Senate refused to pass the amendment; national crisis loomed

C. Missouri Compromise of 1820
   1. Henry Clay led the mediation of a compromise.
   2. Provisions:
      a. Congress agreed to admit Missouri as a slave state.
      b. Maine was admitted as a free state.
         • Balance of states was kept at 12 to 12 for the next 15 years.
      c. Future slavery was prohibited north of 36° 30' line, the southern border of Missouri.
         • Ironically, Missouri was north of the 36° 30' line.
   3. Compromise was largely accepted by both sides
      a. North had an advantage as Spanish territory in southwest prevented significant southern expansion westward.
      b. Southerners not too concerned about lands north of 36° 30' as climate not conducive to cash crop agriculture requiring slave labor.

D. Legacy of the Compromise
   1. Lasted 34 years and preserved the union (until Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854)
   2. Henceforth, slavery became a dominant issue in American politics and a serious setback to national unity.
   3. The South began to develop a sectional nationalism of its own.
      • Looked to the western states who were seeking allies as well.
   4. Clay was later criticized unfairly by Northerners as an "appeaser"

XII. Foreign Policy after the War of 1812
A. Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817) – during Madison’s presidency
   1. Significantly limited naval armament on the Great Lakes.
   2. By 1870, the U.S. & Canada shared longest unfortified border in the world (5,500 miles)

B. Treaty of 1818 (Convention of 1818) with England (during Monroe’s presidency)
   1. Negotiated by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams
   2. Provisions:
a. Fixed the American-Canadian border at the 49th parallel from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.
b. 10-year joint occupation of Oregon Territory without surrender of claims.
c. Americans could share Newfoundland fisheries with Canada.

C. Florida Purchase Treaty of 1819 (Adams-Onis Treaty)
1. U.S. already claimed West Florida where settlers arrived in 1810 and Congress ratified the conquest during the War of 1812.
2. Revolutions in South America forced Spain to move its troops out from Florida.
   a. Amerindians, runaway slaves, and white outcasts poured across the border into U.S. territory to attack settlers and then retreat south of the border.
   b. Monroe ordered Andrew Jackson to attack the Amerindians and, if necessary, pursue them back into Florida.
      • He was to respect all Spanish posts, however.
3. Jackson swept through central and eastern Florida during the First Seminole War (1816-1818).
   a. He captured Spanish cities and deposed the Spanish Governor, thus disobeying Monroe's orders.
   b. Jackson executed two Amerindian chiefs and British supporters of Spain.
4. John Quincy Adams convinced Monroe's cabinet to offer an ultimatum to Spain.
   a. Control the outlaws of Florida (which Spain was not equipped to do) or cede Florida to the U.S.
   b. Spain realized it would lose Florida in any case; decided to negotiate
5. Adams-Onis Treaty (Florida Purchase Treaty) of 1819
   a. Spain ceded Florida as well as claims to Oregon to the U.S.
   b. U.S. abandoned claims to Texas (later became part of Mexico).

D. The Monroe Doctrine
1. Certain European monarchies were concerned about Latin America's democratic revolutions and Europe's emerging democratic movements.
   a. Saw democracy as a threat to absolute monarchy.
   b. Sought to restore newly independent Latin American republics to Spanish rule.
2. Americans were alarmed at European hostility to democracy in the Western Hemisphere
3. Britain sought an alliance with the U.S. to protect its interests in Latin America but the U.S. refused
   a. 1823, British foreign secretary, George Canning, proposed a joint declaration to warn European despots to stay away from
Latin American republics.

b. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams believed Britain wanted an alliance to keep the U.S. from taking Latin American territory and jeopardizing Britain’s territories in the Caribbean.
   • He believed the alliance would hamper U.S. expansion and that Europeans did not really pose an immediate threat to the Western Hemisphere.

4. **Monroe Doctrine** (1823) -- written by John Quincy Adams
   a. President's annual message to Congress warned Europeans
      • Imperial powers could keep existing colonies in the Western Hemisphere but gain no new ones.
      • They should allow the new Latin American republics to govern themselves.
      • The message was directed largely at Russia who had designs on the Pacific coast.
   b. Nationalistic Americans widely supported it as it maintained Washington's tradition of avoiding "entangling alliances."
   c. Latin American countries saw the U.S. merely protecting its own interests.
   d. **Immediate impact of Monroe Doctrine was small**
      • The U.S. Army and Navy were small and relatively weak.
      • Not until 1845 did Polk revive it and make it more significant.
   e. **Long-term impact: Monroe Doctrine became cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy during last half of 19th century and throughout 20th century.**

E. John Quincy Adams became one of the most significant secretaries of state in U.S. history.
   1. Oversaw the Convention of 1818 establishing U.S.-Canadian border
   2. Adams-Onis Treaty (1819): acquisition of Florida from Spain
   3. Monroe Doctrine (1823)

VII. **Growth of U.S. nationalism after the War of 1812**
A. Causes
   1. Victories in War of 1812, especially the Battle of New Orleans
      • U.S. was now capable of defending itself against a world power.
   2. Death of the Federalist party temporarily reduced sectionalism and states’ rights sentiment.
   3. Decline of economic and political dependence on Europe
   4. Westward expansion and optimism about the future
   5. Americans began to see themselves as Americans first and state citizens second.
B. New western states continued to enter the Union
   1. Indiana (1816) and Illinois (1818) in the North; Mississippi (1817) and Alabama (1819) in the South
      a. Less interested in states’ rights (like the South and East)
      b. Depended heavily on the federal gov’t where they had received most of their land
      c. Contained a wide diversity of peoples immigrating from the east
   2. Reasons for westward expansion
      a. Cheap lands in the Ohio territory attracted thousands of European immigrants.
      b. Amerindians had largely been removed from the Ohio Valley: Treaty of Greenville (1795) and Battle of Tippecanoe (1811)
      c. Land exhaustion in older tobacco states drove people westward.
      d. Economic depression during the embargo years sparked migration westward.
      e. Transportation Revolution improved westward movement.
         • Cumberland Road begun in 1811 from Maryland to Illinois
         • Steamboat (1811) made upstream travel possible
         • Canals (beginning in 1826) allowed for increased trade between east and west
   3. The spirit of westward expansion would eventually lead to a full-blown spirit of “manifest destiny” in the 1840s.
   4. America saw its first pop culture icon: a westerner named Davy Crockett (1786-1836) who possessed legendary hunting and fighting skills

C. Nationalism in Literature
   1. Noah Webster (1758-1843) published the first American English dictionary in 1828.
      • Americans increasingly savored their distinct brand of English from that of Britain.
      • His readers and grammar books were used by millions of children in the nineteenth century
         o Largely designed to promote patriotism
   2. McGuffey Readers, first published in the 1830’s, came into use in many of the nation’s primary schools.
      • In addition to teaching reading and grammar, lessons emphasized morality, patriotism, idealism, a strong work ethic, and personal responsibility
         o Sold 120 million copies between 1836 and 1960
   3. Knickerbocker Group emerged in New York
      a. American writers began to emphasize American themes in their works rather than tried and true themes from old Europe.
         • Became the first U.S. writers to receive acclaim in Europe
b. **Washington Irving** (1783-1859)
   - “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” (1820) and “Rip Van Winkle” (1820) are among his best-known short stories.
   - His historical works include the monumental 5-volume biography of George Washington (published in 1850s)

c. **James Fenimore Cooper** (1781-1859)
   - *Last of the Mohicans* (1826) dramatized the conflict between the British and Amerindians during the French and Indian War.
   - One of several popular novels in the series known as *Leatherstocking Tales* published between 1823-1841.

d. **William Cullen Bryant** (1794-1878)
   - Romantic poet and “America’s leading poet” by the 1830s
   - His focus on nature as a metaphor for truth helped establish a theme in the American literary tradition
   - “Thanatopsis” (1821) was his most famous poem

4. **Henry Wadsworth Longfellow** (1807-1882)
   - Romantic poet whose most famous works include “Paul Revere’s Ride” (1861) and *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855)

5. **Transcendentalism**
   a. Heavily influenced by **Romanticism** in Europe
   b. Emerged in New England in the 1830s
   c. Philosophy
      - Truth “transcends” the senses: cannot be found by empiricism alone
      - Every person possesses an inner light that can illuminate the highest truth and put him/her in direct touch with God, or the “Oversoul.”
      - Emphasized individualism in matters of religion as well as social
      - Commitment to self-reliance, self-culture, and self-discipline
      - Hostile to formal institutions of any kind and conventional wisdom
   d. **Ralph Waldo Emerson** (1803-1882)
      - Greatest of the transcendentalists
      - Developed the "Oversoul" philosophy of an organic universe.
      - Advocated self-reliance, self-improvement, optimism, and freedom.
      - Champion of American individualism
   e. **Henry David Thoreau** (1817-1862)
      - Follower of Emerson; poet and nonconformist.
      - *Walden: Or Life in the Woods* (1854)
      - Spent two years in the woods by Walden Pond, Massachusetts, communing with nature while practicing
self-culture (a utopia of one).
  o His essay, “Civil Disobedience” (1849), was inspired by his brief experience in jail when he refused to pay taxes to support the Mexican war effort in the 1840s.
    ▪ The essay later encouraged Gandhi to resist British rule in India and, later, Martin Luther King's views about nonviolent resistance.
f. **Walt Whitman** (1819-1892): *Leaves of Grass* (1855); Whitman was seen as "America's Poet."

D. Nationalism in the Arts
1. Thomas Jefferson was probably the finest American architect of his generation
   • Brought a classical design to his home, *Monticello*, while the quadrangle of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville is one of the best examples of classical architecture in the U.S.
2. Portraits of prominent Americans had been popular in the late-18th century and prior to the War of 1812.
   • Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828) and Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827) were the most prominent
3. After the War of 1812, some American artists glorified America’s past through their large-scale works.
4. **John Trumbull** (1756-1843): perhaps the greatest history painter of his generation
   a. *Declaration of Independence* (1819)

U.S. Capitol Building Rotunda, Washington, D.C.
5. **Hudson River School of Art**
   a. Glorified American landscapes
   b. Influenced by the Romantic art movement in Europe
   c. **Thomas Cole** (1801-1848)
      - *The Oxbow*, 1836 (see below)
   d. **Asher Durand** (1796-1886)
   e. Frederic Edwin Church (1826-1900)
   f. Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902)
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Essay Questions

Note: This sub-unit has traditionally been a medium-low probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 2 questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. However, the new Curriculum Framework encompasses much of the material contained herein.

1. To what extent were the Jeffersonians successful in achieving their goals between 1801 and 1825?

2. To what extent did President Jefferson stay true to the ideals he held in the 1790s?

3. By 1824, which party’s goals had prevailed in American politics: the Federalists or the Democratic-Republicans?

4. To what extent and in what ways was Jefferson’s expansionist policies successful?

5. Analyze the extent to which the War of 1812 led to an era of nationalism in America between 1815 and 1824.

6. To what extent is the term “the Era of Good Feelings” a valid characterization of the period from 1816 to 1824?

7. Analyze the ways that the U.S. expanded its influence in the west and in the Western Hemisphere after the years following the War of 1812?
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College Board, AP United States History Course and Exam Description (Including the Curriculum Framework), 2014: History, New York: College Board, 2014