

## CHAPTER 8 – JEFFERSONIANISM AND THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS, 1801-1824

### THE AGE OF JEFFERSON

- Narrowly elected in 1800
- He became more popular by doing the following: scale down on government expenditures, tried to loosen the grip Federalists had on appointive federal offices – especially in the judiciary, purchase of Louisiana.
- He was guided not only by political calculation but also his philosophy of government, eventually known as Jeffersonianism.

### *Jefferson and Jeffersonianism*

- Principal author of the Declaration of Independence, governor of Virginia, ambassador to France, secretary of state under Washington, and vice-president under John Adams.
- He remains a controversial figure because of his doubt about some Christian doctrines and support of the French Revolution. He was seen as a radical.
- Many historians now believe that Jefferson did have an affair with one of his slaves and believe that at least one of her children is probably Jefferson's.
- Some saw him as a hypocrite because he was against race-mixing. He thought that black and whites couldn't live side by side in American society.
- He thought that the blacks would try to overrun the country and only a dictator could stop them.
- He worried that high taxes, standing armies, and public corruption could destroy American liberty by turning government into the master rather than servant of the people.
- He stressed the importance of state governments because they would be more responsive to the will of the people.
- Jefferson viewed farmers as the most virtuous of people because they had to act and think independently. He saw city dwellers as the least vigilant. He saw cities as breeding grounds for mobs and as menaces to liberty.

### *Jefferson's Revolution*

- Jefferson wanted to return things to how they were before the Federalists. He thought that Hamilton's idea of a national debt sucked money from farmers and put it into the hands of wealth creditors who live off of other's misfortune.
- Jefferson and Gallatin (sec. of treasury) induced Congress to repeal many taxes, and they slashed expenditures by closing some embassies overseas and reducing the army.
- They placed the economy ahead of military preparedness.
- He used the navy to fight Tripoli. In Northern Africa, pirates stole things and men captured were put into slavery or sold. Jefferson calculated that going to war would be cheaper than paying for high tribute to maintain peace. He was right the war cost roughly half of what the United States had been paying annually for protection.

### *Jefferson and the Judiciary*

- Federalist sponsored Judiciary Act of 1801 was seen as the last straw by Jefferson. This act wanted to reduce the number of Supreme Court justices from 6 to 5. This act threatened to strip him of an early opportunity to appoint a justice (they were all federalists and he didn't like how they were enforcing the Alien and Sedition Acts). At the same time, the act created 16 new federal judgeships, which John Adams filled by last-minute appointments of Federalists. He saw this as the Federalists way to maintain power. He eventually won Congressional repeal of the Judiciary Act in 1802.
- *Marbury v. Madison (1803)* – Adams had not delivered Marbury's commission before midnight so James Madison (Sec. of State) did not release the commission. Marbury petitioned the Supreme Court to issue a writ compelling delivery.
- Chief Justice John Marshall, an ardent Federalist, wrote the unanimous opinion. He ruled that although Madison should have delivered Marbury's commission, he was under no legal obligation to do so because part of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which had granted the Court authority to issue such a writ, was unconstitutional.
- For the first time, the Supreme Court had declared its authority to void an act of Congress on the grounds that it was "repugnant" to the Constitution. This principle became known as JUDICIAL REVIEW.
- During his opinion, Marshall used it to lecture Madison, which was directed at Jefferson and this reinforced Jefferson's ideas of Federalist partisanship.
- Republicans wanted to impeach two Federalist judges. The issue was raised: Was impeachment, which the Constitution restricted to cases of treason, bribery, and high crimes and misdemeanors, an appropriate remedy for judges who were insane or excessively partisan?
- Pickering was removed from office, Chase was not. Chase's acquittal ended Jefferson's squirmishes with the judiciary.

### *The Louisiana Purchase*

- In 1800, Spain ceded the Louisiana Territory to France.
- Napoleon wanted a Caribbean empire centered around Santo Domingo (modern Haiti and Dominican Republic). He failed at subduing an uprising in Santo Domingo because yellow fever broke out amongst his troops and there was fierce resistance.
- In 1802, the Spanish revoked the right for American vessels to travel through New Orleans. Jefferson said that whoever controls New Orleans is our enemy.
- Jefferson nominated James Monroe and Robert Livingston to negotiate with France for the purchase of New Orleans and as much as Florida as possible.
- Napoleon thought a war would cost too much to gain control of the Caribbean and he wanted to restart the war in Europe so he needed the money.
- Napoleon decided to sell it for \$15 million.
- The purchase nearly doubled the size of the U.S. at a cost, omitting interest, at 13.5 cents per acre.
- Jefferson was a strict interpreter of the Constitution and he began drafting a constitutional amendment to acquire lands. He also wanted to monitor expansion to the new lands. He eventually dropped the amendment and submitted the treaty to the Senate where it was quickly ratified. He didn't want Napoleon to change his mind.

### *The Election of 1804*

- The adoption of the 12<sup>th</sup> amendment, required separate ballots in the Electoral College for the presidential and vice-presidential candidates and put an end to the possibility of a tie for the chief executive.
- Burr was risky so the Republicans turned to George Clinton to run for VP. The Federalist nominated Charles Pinckney and Rufus King, they lost miserably.

### *The Lewis and Clark Expedition*

- Before he acquired Louisiana, Jefferson planned an expedition. He chose his personal secretary Meriwether Lewis and sent him to Philly for crash courses in zoology, astronomy, and botany. Jefferson instructed him to trace the Missouri River to its source, cross the western highlands, and follow the best water route to the Pacific.
- He was to learn about Indian languages and customs, climate, plants, birds, reptiles, and insects. But, he really wanted them to find a water route across the continent.
- They left from St. Louis in May 1804. William Clark was the second in command. They and about 50 others embarked on the journey.
- They enlisted the help of a Frenchman, Toussaint Charbonneau. He panicked often, but his wife proved very helpful. She was Sacajewa. She helped them find food and travel.
- They reached the Pacific in Nov. 1805 and then returned to St. Louis. They collected a lot of data, most importantly that more than 300 miles separated the Missouri from the Columbia.

### THE GATHERING STORM

- 1803-1814 the Napoleonic wars turned the US into a pawn in a chess game. This made Jefferson's second term far less successful than his first.

### *Challenges on the Home Front*

- Burr plotted to sever the Union by forming a pro-British Northern Confederacy composed of Nova Scotia, New England, New York, and Pennsylvania.
- Hamilton revealed the plot and Burr challenged him to a duel. Hamilton was mortally wounded.
- Under indictment in 2 states for Hamilton's murder, Burr, still VP, hatched a scheme so bold that it gained initial momentum because his political opponents doubted that even Burr was capable of such treachery.
- Burr and Wilkinson (military governor of Louisiana) conspired to separate the western states south of the Ohio River into an independent confederacy.
- His plan was thwarted. He was tried for treason, but they couldn't prove that there was an actual event, so he was found not guilty. He fled to Europe to escape the murder trial. He wanted Napoleon to ally with Britain to attack the US and Mexico. He returned to the states in 1812 and fathered 2 illegitimate children in his 70's and was divorced for adultery at 80. He died in 1836.
- Jefferson also faced a challenge from the Quids (a group of dissenters). They were led by the president's fellow Virginian, John Randolph. He believed in the wisdom

of farmers against rulers and warned of government's tendency to encroach on liberty.

- Randolph turned on Jefferson for backing a compromise in the Yazoo land scandal.
- In 1795, the Georgia legislature had sold the huge Yazoo tract (35 million acres AL and MS). For a fraction of its value to land companies that had bribed virtually the entire legislature. The next legislature cancelled the sale, but many investors not knowing about the bribery bought land in good faith.
- They compromised and in 1803 a federal commission compromised with an award of 5 million acres to Yazoo investors. For Randolph the compromise was a scandal – in itself proof of the decay of republican virtue.

#### *The Suppression of American Trade and Impressment*

- Britain concluded that their economic difficulties were caused by America
- According to the British Rule of 1756, and trade closed in peacetime could not be reopened during war. France usually restricted its trade to French ships. To get around this American ships would pick up goods in the Caribbean and bring it to America. They would pass it through customs and reship it. Britain tolerated this “broken voyage” for 10 years.
- In May 1806 the British wanted to strangle French trade. They passed regulations known as Orders in Council, which established a blockade of French controlled ports on the continent of Europe. Napoleon responded with the Continental system, a series of counter proclamations that ships obeying British regulations would be subject to seizure by France. So if a US ship complied with the British they would be attacked by the French and vice versa.
- Both countries seized American ships, but the British were much more vigilant.
- They also impressed men. Many Britons were on American ships because the treatment and pay was better.
- 1803-1812 – 6,000 Americans were impressed. It did less damage to the economy, but it caused greater humiliation.
- CHESAPEAKE INCIDENT - Britain impressed four members off of a naval vessel. This was the most humiliating. Jefferson prepared for war, but still sought peace.

#### *The Embargo Act of 1807*

- This prohibited vessels from leaving American ports for foreign ports. Technically, it prohibited exports, but it was aimed to stop imports as well.
- It was not successful; the British found ports in South America.
- The Act contained some loopholes. First, it allowed American ships blown off course to put in at European ports
- The harshest effects were found in the US. Many men were out of work.
- Some of the people turned to manufacturing it increased the number of cotton factories, but for many it was too late.

#### *James Madison and the Failure of Peaceable Coercion*

- 1808 James Madison and George Clinton won the Presidency and Vice Presidency.
- Madison believed that American liberty had to rest on the virtue of the people, which he saw as being critically tied to the growth and prosperity of agriculture.

- Madison tried to coerce Britain and France peaceably to respect the United States neutrality.
- The election of 1810 brought some “war hawks” to Congress. Led by Henry Clay of Kentucky, he wanted war. Others were John C. Calhoun (SC), Richard M. Johnson (KY), and William King (NC) were all future VP’s.

#### *Tecumseh and the Prophet*

- The war hawks called for the expulsion of the British from Canada and the Spanish from the Floridas.
- Jefferson believed that whites and Indians could live peacefully together if the Indians began farming instead of hunting.
- 1809 William Henry Harrison, the governor of Indiana Territory, wanted Indian lands because present day IL and WI were ceded into the IL Territory. He got together some starving Indians (who did not live on the land that he wanted – a practice supposed to be forbidden) and he had them sell land along the Wabash River.
- By the Treaty of Fort Wayne, these Indians ceded millions of acres along the Wabash at a price of 2 cents and acre.
- Tecumseh’s brother Lalawethica urged Natives to give up alcohol and return to their old ways and resist the ways of the white man. He became known as the Prophet. He took a new name – Tenskwatawa. Meanwhile, Tecumseh wanted to unite several tribes in Ohio and the Indiana Territory against American settlers.
- Tenskwatawa attacked Harrison’s encampment while Tecumseh was away and was defeated.
- The Battle of Tippecanoe had several large effects
  - It made Harrison a national hero, it would help for his bid to the presidency.
  - It drew criticism to Tenskwatawa
  - It elevated Tecumseh into a position of leadership amongst the western tribes.
  - It persuaded Tecumseh that alliance with the British was the only hope to stop the spread of American expansion, even though he distrusted them.

#### *Congress Votes for War*

- By 1812, Madison decided that war with Britain was inevitable. Britain started to feel the effects of the restricted trade. Britain repealed the Orders in Council on June 23, but Congress had already passed the declaration of war.
- Madison gave these reasons for war: impressments, the continued presence of British ships in American presence, and British violations of neutral rights.

#### THE WAR OF 1812

- Our navy was not as strong as Britain’s so we focused on Canada.
- Canadians used the fear of Indians and scalping to deter forces. Few militiamen understood the objectives of the war.

#### *On to Canada*

- Summer of 1812-spring of 1814 – The Americans launched unsuccessful attacks on Canada. The Americans lost battles early on.

- Captain Oliver Perry took control of Lake Erie away from the Brits. The British pulled back from Detroit.
- Efforts to invade Canada continued to falter.

#### *The British Offensive*

- Summer of 1814 the British took the offensive; they had fresh troops, Napoleon just abdicated.
- The British achieved success in a maneuver that was originally designed as a diversion from their thrust down Lake Champlain. In 1814 a British army sailed from Bermuda for Chesapeake Bay and landed near Washington. The Battle of Bladensburg quickly became the “Bladensburg races” as the American militia fled, almost without firing a shot. They then descended on Washington. Madison escaped into the Virginia Hills. They burned the presidential mansion and other public buildings in Washington. A few weeks later they attacked Baltimore, but after failing to get through the defenses, they retreated.

#### *The Treaty of Ghent, 1814*

- August 1814 negotiations to end the war commenced.
- It restored the state of things before the war. And since there was no more war in Europe, neutrality issues were no longer considered.
- The most dramatic American victory came after the peace negotiations. The Brits attacked in New Orleans who was under the command of General Andrew Jackson. He inflicted 2,000 casualties while losing 13 Americans.

#### *The Hartford Convention*

- 1814 a Federalist Convention met in Hartford.
- They passed a series of resolutions summarizing their grievances.
  - New Englanders were becoming a permanent minority in a nation dominated by southern Republicans who failed to understand New England’s commercial interests.
  - It proposed to abolish the 3/5 clause
  - To require a 2/3 vote of Congress to declare war and admit new states into the Union
  - To limit the President to one term
  - To prohibit the election of 2 successive presidents from the same state
  - Bar embargoes lasting more than sixty days.
- The timing was bad – Jackson just won and the Treaty of Ghent agreed upon.
- 1816 James Monroe won the election and again in 1820.
- The Federalists, as a force were finished.

#### THE AWAKENING OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM

- Whitewash cleared the smoke damage and it became known as the White House.
- Francis Scott Key composed the Star Spangled Banner while observing the attack on Fort McHenry.
- The Battle of New Orleans boosted Andrew Jackson onto a stage of national politics.

### *Madison's Nationalism and the Era of Good Feelings, 1817-1824*

- The War of 1812 had 3 major political consequences
  - It eliminated the Federalists as a national political force
  - It went a long way toward convincing the Republicans that the nation was strong and resilient, capable of fighting a war while maintaining the liberty of its people.
  - With the Federalists tainted by suspicion of disloyalty and no longer a force, and with fears about the fragility of the republics fading, Republicans increasingly embraced doctrines long associated with the Federalists.
- 1816 Congress chartered the Second Bank of the US and enacted a moderate tariff.

### *John Marshall and the Supreme Court*

- *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* – Charters or acts of incorporation provided their beneficiaries with various legal privileges and were sought by businesses as well as by colleges. In effect, Marshall said that once a state had chartered a college or a business, it surrendered both its power to alter the charter and its authority to regulate the beneficiary.
- *McCulloch v. Maryland* – He said that enumerated powers implied a power to charter a national bank. He also argued that any power of the national government, express or implied, was supreme within its sphere. States could not interfere with the exercise of federal powers.
- Marshall was engaging in a loose interpretation of the Constitution.
- The bank had made itself unpopular by tightening its loan policies during the summer of 1818. This contraction of credit triggered the Panic of 1819, a severe depression that gave rise to considerable distress throughout the country, especially among western farmers.
- As Republicans saw it, Marshall's *McCulloch* decision, along with his decision in the *Dartmouth College* case, stripped state governments of the power to impose the will of their people on corporations.

### *The Missouri Compromise, 1820-1821*

- Missouri attracted many southerners who, facing declining tobacco profits, expected to employ their slaves in the new territory to grow cotton and hemp. In 1819, 16% of its 70,000 were slaves. By the end of 1819, 3 slave states had been formed out of the Purchase without notable controversy: Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, Missouri would prove different.
- Sectional divisions had long troubled American politics but before 1819, slavery had not been the primary source of division.
- For example, Federalists opposition to the embargo and the War of 1812 had sprung from their fear that the dominant Republicans were sacrificing New England's commercial interests to those of the South and West, not from hostility to slavery.
- End of 1819 the Union had 11 free and 11 slave states. MO would upset this balance to the South.
- Some also thought this would bring slavery into the north, since it was even with other free states.

- MISSOURI COMPROMISE – preserved the balance between slave states and free states. They would admit Maine as free and MO as slave and say that anything North of 36 degrees 30' (southern border of MO) would be free.
- As soon it was forged, it nearly fell apart. As a prelude to statehood, in their Constitution it forbade free blacks into MO. This was not allowed under the Constitution.
- Northerners barred their admission into the Union until 1821, when Henry Clay engineered a new agreement. This second Missouri Compromise prohibited MO from discrimination against citizens of other states but left open the issue of whether free blacks were citizens.
- It was viewed as a southern victory.
- The MO Compromise also reinforced the principle established in the NW Ordinance of 1787, that Congress had the right to prohibit slavery in some territories.

#### *Foreign Policy Under Monroe*

- 1816-1824 reflected more consensus than conflict.
- He also had John Quincy Adams as his sec. of state – he was a great diplomat
- During Adams' tenure G.B. and the US signed the RUSH-BAGOT TREATY of 1817, which effectively demilitarized the Great Lakes by severely restricting the number of ships that the two powers could maintain there.
  - The British-American Convention of 1818 restored to Americans the same fishing rights off of Newfoundland that they had before the War of 1812 and fixed the boundary between the US and Canada
  - Oregon was declare free and open to both citizens
  - For the first time since independence, the two had a secure border between the US and Canada
- In 1818 Andrew Jackson, seized on the pretext that Florida was both a base for Seminole Indian raids in the US and a refuge for fugitive slaves. He invaded East Florida, hanged two British subjects, and captured Spanish forts. Jackson acted without specific orders, but Adams supported the raid. He guessed correctly that it would make the Spanish agree to further concessions.
- In 1819 Spain agreed to the Adam-Onis (or Transcontinental) Treaty – Spain ceded East Florida to the US, renounced its claims to all of West Florida, and agreed to a southern border of the US west of the Mississippi that ran north along the Sabine River (separating Texas from LA). In effect, the US conceded that Texas was not part of the Louisiana Purchase, while Spain agreed to a northern limit to its claims to the West Coast. It left the US to pursue its Oregon interests.

#### *The Monroe Doctrine*

- President's Monroe's message to Congress on Dec. 2, 1823 later came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. It announced three key principles:
  - 1. Unless American interest were involved, US policy was to abstain from European wars
  - 2. The "American continents" were not "subjects for colonization by and European power"



- 3. The US would construe any attempt at European colonization in the New World and an “Unfriendly act”.
- It had important implications
  - By pledging itself not to interfere in European wars, the US was excluding the possibility that it would support revolutionary movements in Europe
  - By keeping open its option to annex territory in the Americas, the United States was using the Monroe Doctrine to claim a preeminent position in the New World