



STUDY GUIDE

HISTORY OF USA (1776 – 1865 A.D)

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HISTORY OF USA (1776 – 1865 AD)

The study covers the entire events right from the Independence of America, its journey towards westward expansion, its marvelous capability of becoming a federation , to its victory in abolishing slavery at the cost of Abraham Lincoln's life.

The study enables to acquaint knowledge about the political , diplomatic and cultural aspects of U.S.A and its importance to the world.

UNIT: I - American War of Independence

The war of Independence- Causes – course – Peace Treaty of Paris 1783- Reasons for the failure of the English – Results- The Making of the Constitution – Aftermath of the war of Independence. (11L)

UNIT: II - Federalists in Power.

The New Republic 1789-1801- George Washington- John Adams, Thomas Jefferson. The Democrat(1801-1809) James Madison (1809-1817) the war of 1812- The Peace of Ghent 1814- The Hartford Convention (Dec, 1814- Jan, 1815) (13L)

UNIT: III - Monroe Doctrine and Jackson Democracy

James Monroe (1817-1825);J.Q. Adams (1825-1829)- Acquisition of Florida – Missouri Compromise 1820- John Marshall,– Monroe Doctrine – Andrew Jackson and His Democracy(1829-1837) (14L)

UNIT: IV - Territorial Expansion

Colonization of Texas and Oregon, The Mexican War ,Purchase of Alaska 1868-; James Buchanan(1857-1861) (10L)

UNIT: V - Abraham Lincoln

Early Career _ War between the states. North and South before the War- Emancipation of slaves – Results of the Civil war- Reconstruction of the South- The Lincoln Plan

(Total = 60L)

Reference Books:

1. Blake NMA Short History of America life.
2. Christopher P.Hill- History of the united states.
3. Frank Fredidal and Alan Frankly- America in the 20th Century.
4. John A. krout – The United States Since – 1865.
5. Rajappan K. History of the U.S.A.
6. Subramanian. N.A History of the U.S.A
7. William Change – The Unfinished journey in America Since World War II
8. Whitaken , AP. The United States and South America.



HISTORY OF USA (1776-1865 AD)

UNIT – I

THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

There were many intriguing mysteries surrounding the peopling and discovery of the Western hemisphere. Some scholars have argued that the ancient people came by sea, and social have sought to demonstrate how it was accomplished. It is believed that the migrants settled eastern coast. They developed diversity of culture and the economy was mostly agriculture, hunting and gathering. Around A.D. 1000 Vikings were blown off course while west from Iceland to Greenland, and landed in the New World. In 1498, Vasco da Gama rounded the cap of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean Laty an Italian navigator, Christopher Columbus, explored the new world. Another Italian explorer Amerigo Vespucci visited there places and later it was called as America. From England, Great migration started and settled America. A Century and a half rolled by since the early migrants planted their settlements in North America. The sprawling and isolated habitation grew into populous and prosperous colonies. With the attainment of progress in different directions the colonists decided to shape their destiny as an independent nation. Accordingly in 1776 the thirteen Colonies declared their independence and organized themselves into the United States of America.

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The causes of the American Revolution had their origin from three sources-conditions in America, developments in Europe and policy of England. The American and European factors prepared the ground for the Revolution but what rendered the breach inevitable was the uncompromising attitude of extremists in the colonies as well as in England.

Rise of Nationalism:

The colonies has been settled mostly by an adventurous and revolutionary section of the European population. Because of the tyranny of kings, they migrated to a strange



wilderness, situated beyond the vast seas. In their new home they expected to be free, but what irked them was the determination of the kings to extend their control over their new home land. The descendants of these settlers entertained a bitter memory that their ancestors had been persecuted. They knew little of England except as a distant kingdom, from where the rulers drove away their fore-fathers to the woods of America. The inhabitants of the middle colonies cherished no attachment for England, for they were mostly descendants of the people from Germany, Holland, Denmark and Sweden. Independent in spirit and bitter in their memory of the past, the colonists in general were not prepared to tolerate an alien sway.

Natural Resources

Natural Resources, their strength and resources so vastly increased that the colonists gained a confidence in their ability to manage their affairs, independent of the mother country. Through high birth rate and continuous immigration population increased rapidly. They raised a wide variety of crops, built ships and factories, developed fishing and commanded a large volume of trade. Political training too had been obtained, for the colonies had their own representative institutions. While Spain and France denied to the settlers any share in the administration of their colonies, the rulers of England granted to the colonists an active role in their government. Under these circumstances the continued control by the mother country of a politically conscious and economically independent people appeared illogical.

Strong faith in democratic rights, the colonists developed a spirit of nationalism. England was separated from the colonies by 3000 miles of tumultuous sea. For want of intimate association, the racial and cultural ties with the peoples of England became decadent. The pioneers of the western wilderness lived for long, free from any governmental control. Warlike and adventurous, they were unprepared to accept any kind of authority. The influence of the Indian way of free life and long association with the conditions in America too had their salutary effect. Under these circumstances the colonists developed a distinct culture, marked by individualism, provincialism and a strong faith in democratic rights. They dreamed of their country as a nation, different from the mother country.



Religious Policy

Religious policy, the colonists resented the religious policy of England. The Anglican Church was accorded official status in several colonies and was associated with the administration and supported with public money. But the vast majority of the people belonged to other denominations. The puritans of New England bitterly resented the encroachments made by the Anglican Church upon their religious rights. The Presbyterians too raised opposition. The Baptists and the Quakers, who suffered persecution in England, refused to compromise with the restrictions imposed upon their freedom of worship by rulers from abroad. Added to these, the colonies looked upon the British authority as a check on their territorial expansion. Beyond the Appalachian Mountains, lay vast expanses of fertile lands, drained by the sweet flowing rivers and inhabited by the Indians. The tribals possessed no fire arms except those purchased from the whites, and left their frontier ill defended. The greedy settlers covered possession of this territory, particularly the Ohio Valley. The intrusions made by the settlers led to the outbreak of Pontalac's Rebellion in 1763. The Indians made a determined but futile bid to check American expansion. For fear of renewal of war, the British administration issued the Royal Proclamation of 1762. It reserved all the territory, situated between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi and between Florida and Canada for the exclusive possession of the Indians and forbade the colonists from making purchases or settlement in this region.

The Government, by an Act of 1774, proceeded to incorporate all the territory situated north of river Ohio with the province of Quebec. These two acts guaranteed the security of life to the natives in their home land against the white marauders and offered them a hope of survival. But to the colonists these measures appeared abnoxious.

Influence of Europe

Certain causes of the Revolution were European in their origin. Through the works on history, politics and literature, they came under the influence of the eighteenth century European thought. Many a colonist received his education in European universities. From the history of the long struggle between the ruler and the nobles in England they learned how the



people protected their liberties against autocracy. When Parliament itself turned absolute and tyrannical, the people involved against it an unwritten constitution, which guaranteed to every man his rights to life, liberty and property. The colonists drew their inspiration from the writings of Locke, Sydney, Harrington and Milton, who asserted the concept that all the English men, no matter where they lived, had certain fundamental rights, which the government should not violate. Rationalism, as expounded in the works of Isaac Newton and Voltaire, rejected the theological conception that earth was a temporary place of misery but maintained that progress in arts, science and social life was essential for happiness. From these conceptions there emerged the doctrines of the law of nature, social equality, no taxation without representation and the rights to rebel against arbitrary authority. Lawyers, editors and publishers wrote articles on these important issues for general circulation and promoted the growth of an intellectual awakening.

Favour of Europe

The European was proved favourable to the colonies in their march towards independence. The period was marked by frequent conflicts between England and France for commercial and colonial supremacy. Not only did they extend their conflict to America but also did draw other powers into their wards. While colonists. Thereby, the colonists received training in army and experience in warfare against the Indians and the French. Also they acquainted themselves with the fighting methods of the British troops. In the French and Indian War [1759 1763] many American generals including George Washington acquired experience. This determined struggle waged against a common foe and under a common banner promoted among the colonists a sense of unity. Inspite of her victory, the position of England continued precarious, for the continental powers remained united and hostile. The removal of the threat of French invasion from America and the pre-occupation of England in Europe left the colonists free to organize resistance against the mother country.

Policy of England

However the fundamental causes of the Revolution were mercantilism, adopted by England in her attitude towards the colonies and taxation enforced by King George III in



accordance with it. As a guiding principle of the colonial powers, mercantilism aimed at building strong and prosperous nation states. To attain this objective self-sufficiency in raw-materials was promoted, home industries were protected against foreign competition, ship building was encouraged for creating a foreign competition, ship building was encouraged for creating a powerful navy and more export than import was aimed at in the interest of favourable balance of trade. As an essential part of this policy, the colonies were required to contribute to the prosperity of the mother country. They were to supply raw material needed for the factories and to serve as market for the finished products. In accordance with this policy British Parliament enacted three Navigation Acts.

Sale of goods

The Act of 1651 required that all the cargo imported from the continents other than Europe to England was to be transported only in English shipping at the expenses of the colonies. The Act of 1660 directed the colonies to sell certain specified items, which included sugar, tobacco, cotton and wool only to the mother country. This restriction denied to the colonist an opportunity of gaining from other countries the maximum return for their labour. The Act 1663 ordered the colonies to import most of the European good that they required, by way of England and in English ships. This was aimed at securing for England a monopoly in the handling imports to the colonies and an opportunity of collecting duties the goods passed through her ports. In addition restrictions were imposed upon colonial manufactures, which came into competition with the English. A protective tariff against colonial products collected duties, as the goods passed through her ports. In addition restrictions were imposed upon colonial manufactures, which came into competition with the English. A protective tariff against colonial products collected for the benefit of home farming. Incentives were offered to the colonists to produce more of those commodities, which were in great demand in England. These measures appeared so abnoxious that the colonies refused to accept the theory that they existed for the benefit of England.



New Imperial Policy

By 1763 England adopted what was called the New Imperial Policy. It was intended to implement rigorously the restrictions that had already been formulated and to expand their scope. Several factors led her to this course of action. The British administration had been annoyed at the attitude of the colonies during the Seven Years' War. While certain colonies adopted a policy of indifference towards the conduct of wars, certain others extended their assistance to the French. As England incurred a heavy expenditure on war, more revenue was needed to enable her to clear the public defend the western frontier against the Indian powers and to prevent the outbreak of hostilities between the colonists and the tribals. The British considered it reasonable to call upon the colonists to contribute towards the payment of these expenses.

The Sugar Act

Guided by these considerations and supported by King George III, Prime Minister George Grenville in 1763 announced a forward programme. It included a rigorous enforcement of the Navigation Acts. Stationing of a standing army of 10,000 troops in the colonies and collection of increased taxes. The Sugar Act of 1794 reduced duties on sugar for discouraging smuggling, but levied duties on other items like indigo, wine, silk and coffee. As on adequate revenue could be raised yet, a second measure called the Stamp Act was enforced in 1765. It provided that revenue stamps should be affixed to legal and commercial papers, newspapers, pamphlets and other printed materials.

New taxes

The new taxes roused wide spread resentment, for they affected a wider section of the population than any of the previous taxes did. To add to the annoyance, they were enforced strictly. The general warrants issued in this connection permitted customs officials to enter private houses in search of smuggled goods. Naturally the colonists feared that the new taxes would check their economic progress and the administration would violate their rights. If they left them unopposed, it was feared that they would be required to pay more such taxes in the years to come. In support of their opposition to the taxation policy, they argued that tax was a



free gift from the representation of the people to the king and raised a constitutional issue “no taxation without representation”. They declared that as Parliament did not provide for the representation of the colonists, it was not competent to tax them.

Stamp Act

Before long colonial opposition to the British policy found expression in different forms. In the legislature of Virginia Patrick Henry denounced the Stamp Act. The „Sons of Liberty“ as the opponents to the law in Massachusetts were called, sacked the mansion of the lieutenant governor. In 1765 delegates from nine colonies met at New York. This conference, called, the Stamp Act Congress, attacked the laws as unjust and drew up a declaration of rights and grievances. In response to its appeal the merchants boycotted import English goods. So vehement was the Stamp Act in 1766 and to reduce the duties collected under Sugar Act. However a Declaratory Act, asserted that Parliament had the right to make laws for the colonies.

Course of the war

The situation again boiled up in 1767, when Charles Townshend the minister of George III, turned to the colonies opposition was directed against direct taxation, he decided to levy indirect taxes. A series of measures, called the Townshend Acts, imposed duties on paper glass, lead and tea. The collection were intended to be used for defraying the sallies of English official, serving in the colonies. But the colonists were not prepared to pay the indirect taxes too. A boycott of British goods was again instituted and at several places the tax collectors were tarred and feathered. The Legislature of Massachusetts sent a circular to other colonies urging co-operation in their resistance to the taxation policy. As mob violence began to spread, the customs officials posted a force at Boston. In what was called Boston Massacre (1770) the British troops killed five Bostonians. As the consequent excitement threatened to lead to more bloodshed, Lord North, the Prime Minister, repealed the Townshend duties but retained the tax on tea, as a matter of principle to uphold the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. By this time the English East India company, embarrassed by financial bankruptcy, appealed to the government for permission to sell in America an



accumulated stock of tea without paying tax. The request was granted and ships laden with tea arrived at the colonial ports. The resultant fall in the price of tea badly affected the lucrative business of smuggling, carried on by the Boston merchants. The radicals again went into action and flames of opposition flared up. Inspired by John Adams, about fifty men of Boston, disguised as Indians, in December 1773 boarded the British ships, anchored in Boston harbor, and threw into the sea 342 chests of tea, valued at 15,000 pounds, Angered at this incident, called the Boston Tea Party

Parliament in 1774 enacted a series of retaliatory measures, known among the colonists as Intolerable Acts. The port of Boston was declared as closed until the tea was paid for, the elected legislative council of Massachusetts, where Boston is situated, was to be replaced by an appointed council, colonists accused of violence were to be sent to England for trials, private buildings were to be requisitioned for housing troops and the territory, extending from River Ohio to the Great Lakes, claimed by the colonies, was annexed with Quebec. These harsh measures appeared so humiliating that the colonists decided to appeal to arms.

No taxation without representation

While analyzing the causes of the American Revolution, two significant theories are forwarded. One theory is that King George III and his ministers oppressed the colonists through their taxation policy. The other theory is that the colonists resented the principle of taxation without their representation in British Parliament. Really, there was no substance in these arguments. Even before George III ascended the throne, taxes had been levied in the form of duties. What the King attempted to do was to enforce the laws strictly and to levy a direct tax through the Stamp Act. Still these attempts were given up because of mounting opposition. Regarding the principle of representation, the English argued that the colonists exercised this right through their class representation. Thus the aristocracy in England represented that particular class in Parliament, whether they lived in England or in her colonies as other classes did. Even otherwise the colonies were not serious about representation, for they knew that they constituted so small a minority that they would not



have succeeded in changing the decisions of Parliament at their will. Yet their slogan, “No taxation without representation” served their purpose in the context of the movement for independence. In fact the colonies gained confidence in their strength and decided to shape their destiny, free from external interference. What they needed were some excuses, real or imaginary, to serve the purpose of grievances for asserting independence.

Philadelphia meet

The royal policy on Boston spread resentment throughout the colonies. The radicals, who regained the upper hand, rallied in strength for a united struggle in defence of their rights. Money and supplies poured in for the relief of Boston and the committees of correspondence revived their activity. In September 1774 representatives of all the colonies except Georgia met at Philadelphia. This was the first Continental Congress. It drew up a Declaration of Rights and Grievances. In its petition to the King, the Congress professed obedience to him, but rejected the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. It issued an appeal to the colonists for the boy-cott of imports from the exports to England and set up a continental Association to enforce it. The Congress decided to meet again if the grievances were not rectified.

The British government in the mean time appointed Lieutenant General Gage as military governor of Connecticut with instructions to enforce the acts of Parliament. His attempts to capture the arms from the rebels led to clashes at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill through his Resolution on Conciliation. He promised freedom from taxation to any colony that would provide for its own government and defence; yet it had no desired effect. Under the shadow of conflict the second Continental Congress met in May 1775 at Philadelphia. Attended by the representative of all the colonies, it issued a declaration on the causes of conflict and appointed George Washington as commander in Chief of the colonial forces. In a bid to avert a major conflict, Congress addressed a final appeal, the „Olive Branch Petition“ to the King, but received no reply.

The colonists by this time were not yet finally decided on the issue of independence. But the subsequent developments led them to the conclusion that separation was inevitable.



Thomas Paine an Englishman, whose radical philosophy had rendered him unacceptable to his home country, presented the case for independence in his well known pamphlet “Common Sense”. He attacked the institution of monarchy, ridiculed the idea of a small island governing a continent and pointed out the political and economic benefits of completed freedom. These arguments exercised an abiding influence upon colonial thinking. Secondary, in August 1775 King George III issued a proclamation declaring the colonists as rebels, enlisted into his army 20,000 German soldiers to suppress them and instituted a blockade of the colonial ports. These drastic measures hardened the attitude of the rebel colonists. Thirdly, a final break with the home country appeared indispensable for the efficient conduct of war. The colonists were divided into radicals and loyalists, while the moderates were undecided. Certain European powers seemed prepared to assist the colonists only if the latter decided on total separation.

Independence Resolution

Through a categorical decision on independence the radicals decided to force the undecided colonists to make up their minds to transfer their allegiance to the colonies and if they continued in their loyalty to England, to proceed with the confiscation of their properties. On the 7th of June 1776 Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved in Congress a resolution stating, “These United states” are, and of right ought to be “free and independent states”, Four days later a committee headed by Thomas Jefferson was appointed to draft the declaration of independence. On 4th July 1776 Congress approved the resolution on independence. This declaration contained three parts: the first part mentioned the equality and fundamental rights of all men and asserted the right of the people to alter or abolish the form of government that became destructive of fundamental rights; the second part listed the arbitrary and oppressive act leveled against the English King and the third part proclaimed the independence of the colonies. This gave notice to the world that the white settlers established a nation in the land of the red people in disregard to British authority.

When Congress declared independence of the colonies, it appeared uncertain whether it would be possible for it to gain any definite victory. British Empire, as the greatest naval power, not only commanded the possession of vast resources, but also controlled he seas. It



had an excellent army of seasoned troops, which could be reinforced by mercenaries brought from Germany. In America the British were supported by the white loyalists, called Tories and the Indian tribes, who were threatened with the loss of their territories by the colonists. About one third of the colonists remained loyal to the mother country. The Tories belonging to the merchant class, Anglican clergy and landed aristocracy, extended their support and served in the British army. However, the difficulties, associated with the conduct of military operations, neutralized these advantages.

The territories were in the possession of the colonists and England had practically to conquer them. When the settlers had a thorough knowledge of the country in which they had to fight, the British forces were strangers to its geography. The rebellious people were so thinly scattered over a vast area that a large army was needed to hold all strategic positions. The troops were to be sent across the sea, 3,000 miles away. The problem of keeping them supplied from a remote base appeared formidable.

In the mean time public opinion in England was divided. An influential minority in Parliament, led by Edmund Burke, opposed the war. Their activities together with the unpopularity of George III presented difficulties to the conduct of war. Added to these, fear of rival powers in Europe taking advantage of the situation prevented Great Britain from concentrating her military might against the colonists.

The colonists too had certain advantages as well as disadvantages. They held physical possession of the country, appeared familiar with the geographical features of the land and fought in their own territory. The European powers extended their sympathy because of their opposition to the British. France sent forces and furnished supplies in support of the struggle. The rebels were ably led by their general, George Washington. Yet they faced serious impediments. There were no organized military forces except the militia and no major industrial undertakings to equip a large army. The colonists were so much easy going and freedom loving that they were not amenable to military discipline. This rendered it difficult for the rebel leaders to raise the forces in needed strength for fighting the better disciplined enemy. The colonies were so jealous of each other that it was found impossible to secure co-ordination of military effort and to raise the needed resources. Want of internal unity was



marked. At the outbreak of the revolution the colonists, who demanded separation, were in a minority. While of internal unity was marked. At the outbreak of the revolution the colonists, who demanded separation, were in a minority. While New England colonies and Virginia supported the radicals, many of the other colonies remained loyal to England. Only after several victories over the British forces were won, the rebels could convert more of the population to the causes of independence. Thus thirteen unharmonious colonies united by a Congress, which acted as a national government, were required to face the British Empire. Congress, armed with no power to raise funds through taxation, was required to finance the war. Embarrassed by financial problems, their supply system went defective and their public debt assumed increasing proportions.

Battle of Long Island

In 1775 George Washington assumed command of the colonial forces at Boston. He suffered reverses at Bunker Hill and was driven from his forward positions. General Gage, commanded the British forces, but for want of adequate strength, could not follow up his victory. While he remained at Boston, Washington re-organised his army. The colonists sent an expedition to Quebec, but as the Canadians refused co-operation, it ended in failure. War on a major scale began in 1776 when a British detachment, led by Sir William Howe defeated Washington in the Battle of Long Island. As the colonial forces retreated to Pennsylvania, he advanced to Philadelphia. Reaching the head of the Chesapeake Bay he again defeated Washington at Brandywine and Germantown. The victorious troops occupied Philadelphia and settled down to enjoy pleasures of the society. Meanwhile another British army commanded by General Burgoyne advanced from Montreal to the Hudson Valley. After two reverse, he surrendered to the colonial forces under General Gates at Saratoga in October 1777. The victory at Saratoga marked a turning point in the war. It foiled the British attempt to isolate New England from the middle colonies and gave a hope to the colonists in an hour of despair.



Recognition of U.S.A by other Countries

The French now decided to enter the conflict actively. Supplies of ammunition, advanced by private and governmental agencies of France and Spain, reached the colonies. Saratoga demonstrated that the colonies had a fair chance to win the war. This persuaded France to sign in 1778 two treaties, one political and the other commercial. She recognized the independence of the United States and decided to render military support for the expulsion of the English. Both the powers agreed not to conclude peace with Britain without the consent of the other. The two nations guaranteed to each other the defence of their possessions in America against all hostile powers. This alliance brought the other powers too against the English. Persuaded by the French, Spain and Russia assumed a hostile posture against Great Britain. Charles III of Spain decided to fight along with France while Catherine II of Russia took the lead in organizing the Baltic countries into the Armed Neutrality of 1780 an alliance directed against the naval supremacy of Britain. In April 1782 the Dutch extended formal recognition to American independence. A large loan sanctioned by Holland, averted a financial break down of the United States. These developments created a situation, favourable for the revolution.

While the French forces came to the aid of the colonists, the English drew the Indians to their side. In 1778 the colonial army led by George Clark moved to Illinois and occupied British posts. In 1780 the British army under the command of Lord Cornwallis invaded North Carolina. After defeating the colonists at Camden and Guilford, he marched into Virginia and waited at Yorktown for the arrival of the British fleet. But unexpectedly the French navy drove off the British fleet and blockaded the shore, while the combined forces of the colonies and France attacked his forces from the land. In consequence Cornwallis surrendered to Washington in 1781. This great victory left the rebels as the masters of their country.

TREATY OF PARIS, 1783

The disaster at York town led to the resignation of Prime minister Lord North. Lord Shelburne, who held charge of colonial affairs in the cabinet of the new Prime Minister, Rockingham, sent Richard Oswald to Paris to negotiate with the American Commissioners,



John Adams, John Jay and Benjamin Franklin. But the war time alliances created complications. The United States was bound by the treaty with France to continue the war until the later made peace with Britain while France had agreed to stay in the war until Spain received. Gibralter from Britain. Thus for all practical purposes the issue of independence of the United States was tied to the rock of Gibralter. France made a secret suggestion to the Spaniards to proceed with the occupation of the territory. Situated between the Appalachians and the Mississippi as compensation for the failure to regain possession of Gibralter. When the secret revealed itself, the American Commissioners decided to utilize the opportunity to settle a separate peace with England, but in violation of their treaty with France.

Accordingly treaty was settled in 1782, while the final treaty, the Treaty of Paris, was conclude in 1783. Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States and granted liberal boundaries, for they stood to lose nothing giving away the red man's land. The new republic was to extend from the Atlantic Ocean to Mississippi River and from the Great Lakes to Spanish Florida. The Indian nations fought on the side of the English for the preservation of their rights in their in their home land. But when colour and race came into consideration, Great Britain unceremoniously betrayed their Indians allies, assigned their lands to the United States and left them at the mercy of the American. By the third article of the treaty, the Americans were given the freedom to fish in the Canadian seas. The treaty also provided that there should be no persecution of the loyalists by the rebels.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REVOLUTION

The American War of Independence led to the establishment of the republic of the United States. However it is wrong to conclude that this was attained through any decisive military victory. Large and well equipped British armies and their Indian allies held possession of vast territories at the termination of war. The colonial forces found their strength inadequate to crush the military might of the enemy. But the hostility of the European powers a desire to wean away the colonies from French influence and internal opposition in England led the British to their decision to quit the colonies.



The establishment of independence ushered in political, social and economic changes of great consequence. During the two centuries from early colonization to the assertion of freedom, the settlers developed political institutions and legal codes, modeled on those of Britain. Free from the controls and regulations associated with the colonialism of the past, the free Americans now saw ahead unlimited opportunities for promoting their welfare. Freedom in its wake brought in other changes too. One ruling class was replaced by another. The Tories who were the dominant group so long lost their ground. As many of them fled to Canada, their properties were confiscated and sold. The rents given the king and the landlords were abolished. The Churches ceased to be branches of the parent bodies in England. Laws, granting religious freedom and abolishing the taxes that were levied in support of churches, were passed.

The victory of the Americans proved a tragedy to the Indian tribes. It marked the beginning of a determined struggle between the white and red races for the possession of the continent. The Indians leading a primitive life, were neither united nor adequately armed. Yet as they were democratic in their out-look and freedom loving, they refused to be enslaved. They possessed the land, that the white settlers eagerly coveted. Determined to hold the Appalachian frontier, they fought against the aggressive colonists first by themselves and subsequently in alliance with the French and the English. To their misfortune not only did their European allies settle peace with their bitter enemy but did betray them. Immediately after the war was over, the greedy whites in wave after wave of immigration moved through the mountain streams and jungle terrains and swept over the Indian territories. The two races fought more than a thousand wars, all provoked by the advancing Americans. In the end the natives were completely suppressed, mostly annihilated and all their lands usurped.

Results of the revolution

As the result of the Revolution, England lost the best part of her empire and the gain of many of her wars against the European powers. It took a long period to heal the bitterness caused by the conflict. Yet ultimately it proved a blessing in disguise to the English, for the commercial and political relations proved advantageous to either side. Great Britain discovered in the United States a source of strength, which could be relied upon in times of



war with the rival powers. Further the territorial loss in the West drove her to the East; leading to the acquisition of vast territories in Asia, Africa and the Indies. The Revolution gave a severe blow to the old theories of imperialism, mercantilism and colonialism.

The American war of Independence was a struggle between the 13 American colonies and its mother country England. In the war of Independence the colonies got victory. The old type of government that existed in the colonies came to an end with the victory of the colonists. Therefore the colonies were compelled to introduce a new type of constitution and administration. The American leaders played a dual role for their nation. On the one hand they served their country as freedom fighters. On the other hand they served their country as makers of constitution. A few constitutional experiments had to be carried out.

The American War of Independence which began in 1776 came to an end in 1781. Though the war ended in 1781 the official end of the war was carried out by signing the Treaty of Paris in 1783. After the victory of the colonists, the 13 American colonies formed into a new Democratic Republic. Two constitutional experiments were carried out. The Articles of Confederation was the first constitutional experiment. The Articles of Confederation introduced the confederation. The confederation lasted between 1781 and 1789 for a period of eight years. It was the first constitution of the U.S.A.

In 1776 the Continental Congress was convened at Philadelphia. The main intention of the Congress was to draft a constitution to safeguard the integrity of the colonies. The importance of the constitution was insisted by Richard Lee. As a consequence a constituent assembly was created under the leadership of John Dickinson. The Constituent Assembly recommended the Articles of Confederation. In 1776 a few changes were introduced. In 1777, it was sent for the approval of states. After it was dually approved by the colonies the Articles of Confederation came into being in 1781. Thus the new constitution was introduced during the American War of independence.



Problems of Approval

As mentioned earlier the Articles of Confederation was drafted during the American War of Independence. In 1777 it was approved by the Continental Congress then it was sent for the approval of the states. The approval of the states took four long years. The delay was due to certain reasons. There were two prominent reasons. The one was the course of American War of Independence. The war was not yet over. The other was the problem of the North Western lands. The North Western lands were situated west of the Appalacution mountains. There was difference of opinion regarding the north western lands among the states. The bigger states like Virginia wanted to annex the northwestern territories according to their own devise. It was called the plan of the bigger states or the Virginia plan. The Virginia Plan would enhance the bigger states. On the other hand, Pennsylvania insisted that the north-western territory must be governed as a common property. It was called as Pennsylvania Plan or the Plan of the smaller states. Finally there was a compromise on the question of the northwestern territories among the states. Accordingly new states would be created from the Northwestern territory.

The Articles of Confederation drafted under the leadership of John Dickenson created a federal government which was not strong. It was called the confederation theory of separation of powers was not implemented in the constitution. The Articles of Confederation had the following salient features.

1. Sovereignty was granted to the states.
2. It created the Confederate government which was a Confederation of the sovereign states.
3. The Confederation government was called the Congress. There was no separation of power in the Confederation. It has the powers of executive, legislature and Judiciary.
4. In the same time, the powers of the Confederation were much reduced. Only a few powers were granted to the Confederation. The Confederation had to manage a defense, external affairs and north western territories.
5. The residuary powers were granted to the states. Finance and interstate commerce were granted to the states alone.



6. The confederacy had to depend on the states for its expenditure.
7. The representatives were elected and sent to the Congress. The representation was on the basis of population. Each state could send two to seven members as representatives to the Congress.
8. The Congress functioned as a legislature. Though the representation on the basis of population, the right to vote was restricted. Each state was granted a vote.
9. The Congress also functioned as the executive. A select committee was elected from the Congress. It functioned as an executive.
10. The Constitutional amendment must be approved by the 13 American States.
11. The right to issue currency, the right to receive loans from foreign countries, postal service and Red Indian Problems were granted to the Confederation.

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

After the war of Independence the following matters were happened

Improvements in Foreign Trade

After the American war of Independence, the American states bought of a huge volume of English articles. It affected badly the economy of the newly formed nation. Gold and Silver were drained in America. The Congress found the economic situation was in danger. So, it stopped trading with England. In 1774-1775 the value of American money declined. But boldly hit the American economy. It was very soon change.

There was a good demand for the American tobacco in the European market. The American Articles were also sold well in the Chinese market. Thus the American trade began to develop in the Chinese Market. Thus the American trade began to progress after an initial setback.



Progress in Industry

The American industries began to prosper well after the American War of Independence. The American government backed the American industries. Protective tariffs levied, commercial banks were established in Philadelphia, New York and Boston.

North-Western Territories

The northwestern territories situated beyond the Appalachian mountain were granted to the Americans by the treaty of Paris that was concluded in 1783 after the end of American War of Independence. The northwestern territory created some initial problems. To solve the problems the Congress enacted two acts, one in 1785 and another in 1787. Five new states were created in the North-west territories on the account of the acts.

Land Ordinance Acts 1785

The Americans migrated to the north western territories on a large scale after the American War of Independence. In order to solve the problems in the north western territories on account of migration the Land Ordinance Act was passed in 1785. Accordingl new townships were created in the northwestern territories. Each township should possess 36 Sq. miles. Out of the 36 sq. miles 4 sq. miles should be provided by the Government and 1 sq. mile should be provided for public purpose. The remaining 31 sq. miles could be sold for the American settlement. The Act encourage systematic settlement in the North western territories.

North-West Ordinance 1787

In 1787 the congress passed the North-West Ordinance. It provided for the emergence of responsible government in the north western territories. A governor and Juade would be appointed by the Congress. When the population increased to 5000 voters a legislature could be granted. When the population would be increase to 60,000 voters new states would be created and admitted in the confederation. In accordance with the North-West Ordinance five new states were created. They were Ohio, Illinois Wisconcin and Michigan.



Defects of the Confederation

There were a few defects in the functions of the confederation.

1. The Confederation was not strong. It had to depend on the states.¹⁷
2. The States were sovereign and powerful.
3. The executive and judiciary were not properly established.
4. The approval of all the 13 states is necessary for the constitutional amendments.

The defects in the constitution of the confederation led to its failure in due course of time.

MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

On September 20, 1787, the new constitution was drafted and handed over to the Philadelphia convention. Then it was sent to the states for approval. The new constitution must be discussed and approved in the special convention of the states. In the meantime Alexander Hamilton, James Madison published their writings insisting on the importance of federation. Delaware was the first state to accept the constitution on 7-12-1787. Pennsylvania accepted following Delaware. Rhode Island was the last state to accept the constitution. The new constitution of Federation was brought into force on 4.4.1789.²¹

Salient features of the Constitution

Written Constitution

The constitution of the USA was the first written Constitution. It is the smallest constitution in the world. There are only 7 Articles in it. The principles accepted in the Philadelphia Convention are included in the convention.

Federal Constitution

The Constitution of the USA was federal Constitution. There were 13 states on the eve of the formation of federation. There were a federal government and 13 state governments. There is a distribution of powers. Powers are divided into Federal powers and state powers. The residuary powers are granted to the states.



Rigid Constitution

The Constitution of USA are created as a rigid Constitution. There are two methods of Constitutional amendments. By the first method an amendment must be accepted by 2/3 majority in the congress and ¾ majority in the states. By the second method an amendment must be initiated by the states with 2/3 majority. Then it must be passed by 2/3 majority in the congress and ¾ majority in the states. Both the methods of amendments have been making the Constitution a rigid one.

Presidential form of Government

The Constitution of the U.S.A. provided for the presidential form of government. The President is elected for a term of 4 years. In the beginning the President and Vice-President were elected in the same election. The one who got the highest vote was declared the president and the one who got the second highest vote was declared the Vice-President. It created an electoral deadlock in 1800 election. Therefore the 12th amendment was passed in 1804. It provided for separate election for the presidents and the vice-president.

Bill of Rights

The fundamental rights were not granted in the Constitution. A few states pinpointed the defects. Besides they declared the approval of the Constitution. There upon 12 Constitutional amendments were introduced. Out of them 10 constitutional amendments were passed by the Congress. They together form the famous bill of Rights. It grants the fundamental rights to the citizens of USA.

Bicameral Parliament

The Parliament of the USA is called the Congress. It has two Houses. The Upper House is called the „Senate“. Two representatives are elected from every state and sent to the Senate. It is represented on the basis equality of the states. The Lower House is called the „House of Representatives“. It is represented on the basis of population.



Separation of Powers

The theory of separation of powers of Montesquieu is implemented in the Constitution of USA. Accordingly the powers of the government are separated into 3 wings, namely, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The executive is in the hands of the president. The Congress functions as a Legislature. The Federal courts from the Judiciary.

Checks and Balance

Checks and Balance are accepted in the Constitution in order to check the growth of tyranny in anyone of the departments of power. The treaty signed by the president has to be approved by the senate. The President has „Veto power“ and Pocket Veto“ to control the legislature functions of the congress. The judiciary has judicial review.

Judicial Review

The judiciary has a special right called judicial review. The Supreme Court has got the power say an act passed in the congress as Constitutional or unconstitutional.

Failures of the Confederation

1. Problems in the Foreign Policy

The U.S.A., the newborn nation had to struggle in the international problem created by the European national like England and Spain. In the 1783 the Paris Peace Settlement was signed. In the treaty the English promised to evacuate the troops from the Great Lakes region. In reality the English never kept the Promise. Besides the English were lending support to the red Indians. It was against the American wish. The supply of arms to the Red Indians was a danger to the Americans. Moreover the British earned a very good profit out of the fur trade. Animals were hunted down mostly in the Great Lakes region. The Confederation was unable to face the alarming situations created by England.

Spain created another external problem for U.S.A. There was a very good demand for the products of the Northwestern territories in the European markets. But the transportation



was a great problem. The Trade route through the Appalachian mountain was hazardous. The alternative route was transporting the American products through the Mississippi and Missouri river. The products had to be transported through the Florida. Florida which was situated the south of U.S.A. was a Spanish colony. Spain never opened Florida for a commercial route.

To solve the transportation problem the Congress wanted to establish friendly relationship with Spain. Therefore the congress send John Jay to Spain in 1786. He concluded a treaty with Spain. Accordingly Florida was closed for the American trade. The treaty was a suicidal measure.

Economic Problem

The greatest problem of the Confederation was economy. The loans borrowed from foreign countries mounted up. In the same time in the internal debts also increased. The Soldiers who participated for the American War of Independence were not paid. Instead they were granted bonds. But the Confederation was unable to pay back money to the soldiers. In addition the Confederation received large amount of loan from other countries. The value of money issued by the Confederation went down. Besides the states acted independently. They suppressed the farmers. They forcefully collected the taxes. Tax remissions were not granted.

The situation led to a rising under the leadership of Daniel Shay. In to the functions of the Congress was not satisfactory. The interstate commercial problems were not solved. Therefore a convention was convened at Annapolis in 1786. The main intention of the convention was to solve interstate commercial problem. The convention insisted the importance of a new constitution. Therefore in 1787 the Philadelphia convention was convened. It led a birth of a new constitution of Federation.

FORMATION OF FEDERATION

The Articles of Confederation was the first constitution of the U.S.A. It practically failed after a few years. Though the Confederation was in function in between 1781 and 1789



the confidence on the Confederation began to decline. It led to the failure of the Confederation. The U.S.A. was the first Democratic Republic. The European power such as England, France and Spain held enmity over the new born Democratic Republic. The circumstances led to the danger of function of democracy in the U.S.A. The executive and the Legislative functions of the Congress was not satisfactory. Thus the functions of the confederating itself created several reasons for its disappearance.

The American soldiers who participated in the American War of Independence were motivated by the spirit of patriotism. The scholar served well. They were not properly paid in order to appreciate the valuable deed. They were granted bonds. But money was not paid back to the soldiers during the administration of the Confederation. The soldiers suffered on account of poverty. They sold the bonds to the merchants for cheap rates. The merchants was bought the bonds insisted on a strong national government so that they could convert bonds into money.

Secondly the foreign policy of the Confederation recent for its failure. The external policy of the Confederation affected the welfare of the U.S.A. For example the Treaty of John Jay. The John Jay Treaty signed with Spain in 1783 affected the American commerce. A Treaty led to the closure of the harbor of Florida for American Trade and Commerce. It hithard the American trade and commerce.

Thirdly the military officers established orders against the functions of Confederation. They established the orders of Cincinnati. It demanded the establishment of a strong national government. Fourthly, the Confederation had no constitutional binding over inter-state commerce. There upon the Congress was unable to solve the interstate commercial problems. There was no uniform internal trade policy. As the states were granted sovereignty there was a number of problems in external trade. These problems affected the internal and external trade of the U.S.A. Lastly the functions of the Confederation were not satisfactory to the American leaders. John Dickenson, Hones Madison, Alexander Hamilton and George Washington were the notable American leaders who demanded change in the constitution. They served the USA as freedom fighters and makers of the nations. They wanted to put an



end to the confederation and establish a strong national government. Thus the functions of the Confederation were not satisfactory. Under this circumstance, the convention of Annapolis was convened in 1786. The convention of Annapolis was discussed interstate trade problems and their backgrounds. The representatives from 13 colonies realized the importance of a strong national government. They have up their difference and tried to create a strong federation. They had forgotten the reason for the convention but they tried to draft a new constitution. The real intention of the Convention Annapolis was change. The main focus was Drafting a new constitution. Thereupon it led to the summoning of the convention of Philadelphia of 1787. The states sent 56 representatives to the convention of Philadelphia and George Washington was the symbol of unity. He was elected the leader of convention. Thus the Philadelphia Convention became the constituent Assembly.

Problems Discussed in the Philadelphia Convention

The main intention of the Philadelphia convention was to introduce constitutional amendments in the Articles of Confederation. But the representatives of the convention insisted on the creation of new constitution. Therefore a discussion was conducted for three days whether to retain the constitution or not in the Philadelphia convention. Finally an agreement was arrived at. It was generally agreed to have a new constitution. A drafting committee was created. The Chief architect of the convention and its decision was James Madison. Therefore he has rightly been called “The father of the Constitution”. Secondly there was a discussion on the nature of the federation. In the beginning there was stiff resistance for ceding the sovereignty of the states. Alexander Hamilton played a leading role in this connection. He advocated in the importance of the principles of Federation. He advocated that the Strong Federal government along could save the USA from external danger and inter-state commerce problems. Finally it was decided to have a strong Federal government.

Thirdly there was a discussion on the rule of majority. The leaders of the USA did not like exploitation of the poor by the rich and the robbery of the rich by the poor. They wanted to safeguard the minority. The main architect of the principle was James Madison. In addition the Philadelphia convention discussed the theories of separation of powers and distribution of



powers. These theories were discussed and accepted. The constituent assembly discussed the composition of a new federation. Edmund Randolph the representative of Virginia brought forth a plan it was famously called “Virginia Plan” or the plan of the bigger states. It insisted on a bicameral parliament. It also insisted that the representative should be elected on the basis of population. The Virginia Plan was discussed for 15 days and finally it was given up. William Patterson the representatives from New Jersey introduced a plan just opposite to the Virginia plan. It was called New Jersey plan or the plan of the smaller states. It insisted on bicameral parliament and representation of the basis of equality of states. In order to bring forth a compromise between the two plans of the bigger and smaller states the “Connecticut compromise” was introduced. The maker of the Connecticut compromise was Roger Sherman. It was also called the “Great Compromise”. According to it there must be two houses in Parliament. The representation in the Upper House should be on the basis of equality of the states and the representation in the Lower House should be on the basis of population. Thus the convention accepted the principles of minority rule as well as majority rule.



UNIT II

FEDERALISTS IN POWER

THE NEW REPUBLIC 1789-1801

GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington was famously known as the father of the U.S.A. He was born in a rich family in 1732 in the southern colony of Virginia. He became the owner of farms of his father when he was 20 years old. Later he joined the British colonial army. He became a colonel and then the General of the colonial army. He represented Virginia in the Constitutional Congress held at Philadelphia. He was elected the general of the freedom fighters against the British imperialism. He was also elected the President of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 which drafted the federal Constitution of the USA. He was honest and became a symbol of the American integrity. George Washington served the USA in several capacities. The Seven Years War gave him a very good training as a general of the army. The second Continental Congress or the Philadelphia Convention held in 1775 elected George Washington the leader of the colonial force for its freedom fight. George Washington was the main reason for the American victory in the American War of Independence.

In 1781 the Confederation was established. It was a failure. The failures of the Confederation led to the summoning of the convention at Annapolis in 1786. It was followed by the summoning of Philadelphia convention in 1787. George Washington became the leader of the convention. It was under his leadership that the Federal Constitution was drafted in 1787 which was implemented after the approval of the states.

The federal Constitution came into force on 4.4.1789. George Washington contested in the first presidential election. He was unanimously elected and he assumed office on 30.4.1789. Though he was from the southern states of Virginia, he was a staunch Federalist. He was elected unanimously twice and he served as the President of USA in between 1789 and 1797. He was magnanimous and refused to contest for the election for the third time.



Thus he established a convention that a President should not contest for a election for the third term which was broken only in the 20th century. George Washington was succeeded by John Adams who was in the office of the President from 1797 to 1801. The Period between 1789 and 1801 is generally known as the „Era of the Federalist“. George Washington was the most respected of all the American leaders. He symbolized the national integrity. He had no believe in the representative democracy. Yet for the welfare of the people. He assumed the office of the President. As he was so popular, the newly built capital was named after him as Washington in the District of Columbia. George Washington was quite successful in the domestic and foreign affairs of the Country.

Domestic Policy

Creation of Executive

The Constitution of the USA was brought into force in 1789. The Constitution was given life by George Washington. George Washington the first President and John Adams, the first Vice-President were federalists. Eventhough George Washington was a federalist, he stood above the party politics. The first and foremost work of him was the certain of executive and administrative departments. He appointed secretaries for the newly created departments. It formed the Cabinet which was responsible to the President and not to the Congress. Washington appointed secretaries men of efficiency who were members of both the Federalist Party and Democratic Republican Party. He showed his broad mindedness and he had given importance for efficiency.

1. Alexander Hamilton was the Secretary of Treasury.
2. Thomas Jefferson was the Secretary of state.
3. Henry-Knox was the Secretary of War
4. Edmund Randolph was the Attorney-General.

They were appointed not on the basis of the political identity.



Creation of Judiciary

As the executive for the Administration was founded by George Washington, he was responsible for the creation of Judiciary. The Constitution mentioned about the structure of the judiciary but it was not crystal clear. Thereupon, the Congress passed the „Judicature Act“ in 1789. Accordingly,

1. 13 District courts were created, one for every state.
2. The courts of Appeal for the district courts were called “Circuits Courts”.
3. The highest court of appeal was the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court was the highest federal court. 6 Judges were appointed by George Washington in the Supreme Court. John Jay was appointed the Chief Judge of the Supreme Court. Thus the Judiciary was established by George Washington.

Bill of Rights

When the Federal constitution of the USA was created and implemented, the fundamental rights were not included. It was pinpointed by five states and they delayed the approval of the Constitution. Therefore under the leadership of James Madison a council was created in 1789. It recommended 12 amendments. 10 out of 12 amendments were accepted in the Congress. They were known as the Bill of Rights. It granted the fundamental rights such as the right to life, the right to liberty, right to property. After the inclusion of fundamental rights there was no problem in the approval of the congress in the States.

Financial Problem-Hamiltonism

Alexander Hamilton served as a Secretary of Treasury under George Washington. He was the architect of American financial policy. The new formed Federal government had to face a number of critical economic problems. The Treasury was empty. The national and state debts were heavy. The paper currency lost its value. There was no national banking systems. There was no internal and external regularized taxation. All this problems were efficiently



handled by Alexander Hamilton who was in the office of Treasury between 1789 and 1795. He handled the problems carefully and established a sound base for the American economy. The financial system was well known as Hamiltonism.

There were some salient features in the financial policy of Hamilton which were as follows.

1. Introduction of Taxes
2. Paying back the national debts.
3. Settlement of the state debt.
4. Introduction of protective tariff to safeguard native industries.
5. The creation of centralized banking system.
6. Systematic issue of currency.

Excise Duty: Whisky Rebellion

The first function Alexander Hamilton was to find out sources for a heavy revenue to pay back the nation and state debts, he wanted to establish a method of systematic taxation. Custom duties were collected. Taxes were collected for the sale of lands. Taxes were also levied down on whisky. There was strong opposition from the farmers of the southern states. The farmers of Carolina, Pennsylvania and Virginia convened anti-taxation convention in 1791. In 1794 the Whisky Rebellion breakout. The rebellion was put down by George Washington with the help of military. The tax system was confirmed.

National Debt

The national debts were the loans received during the time of the war of independence from the farmers, merchants and the states. The debts were further increasing even after the war. Alexander Hamilton felt that it was the responsibility of the federal government to pay for the debts. There was opposition to the policy of Hamilton the opponents demanded the denial of the national debts or the part payments of the national debts. But Hamilton insisted



that the national debts must be paid back, even if the treasury would become empty. The dignity and honour of the Federal government could be raised only by repaying the national debts.

The total amount of the national debt was 56 million dollars Hamilton opened a public account. The old bonds were got back and new bonds were issued. The rate of interest was also indicated. The bonds were repaid with interest.

State debts

The states also received debts during the time of war. The total amount of the state debt was 26 million dollars. It was different from state to state. The northern states received more debts comparatively with the southern states. Alexander Hamilton announced that the Federal government was responsible for repaying the debts.

There was stiff resistance for the state debt scheme of Alexander Hamilton. The southern states argued that it was introduced for the welfare of the northern states. The situation was ably managed by Hamilton with the help of Thomas Jefferson who belongs to the southern states. He promised the capital would be shifted to the southern states, if his 26 scheme was accepted and implemented. Therefore the new capital had to be shifted to the southern state of Virginia which was named Washington D.C.

Protective Tariff

Alexander Hamilton wanted to protect the American industries from the competition of the foreign countries. The American industries were encouraged by the federal government by the protective tariff system. It also safeguarded the welfare of the northern states.

Centralized Banking System

To reform the financial position of the federal government the national banking system was introduced in 1791. Public accounts were maintained and the bonds were repaid through it. The first bank of the USA was modeled on the bank of England. The federal government invested 10 million dollars in the bank of the USA. It was 1/5 of the total



deposit. The remaining 4/5 of the total deposit was left for public investments. The first bank of the USA was granted life of 20 years. After a period of 20 years it could be renewed or given up.

Currency

During the period of confederation the state government issued currency. It created confusion the federal government also controlled the currency in circulation. Law was passed to enable the Federal government to issue silver coins. A new mint was opened to issue coins. The currency was issued through the Bank of USA. The silver currency was issued.

Foreign Policy of George Washington

George Washington was the founder of American Foreign policy. He felt that the American economy would be spoiled if America interfered in the European politics. He established neutrality and non-intervention in the external affairs. His policy was the guiding principle of the USA till the outbreak of the First World War for more than 100 years. In short he laid down the principles of the future of the American Foreign Policy.'

The Red Indian problems was perennial to the newly born republic. They frequently raided the Ohiovalley. They were also hindrance for the Westward expansion. On the other hand the American settled in the hunting lands of the Red Indians. The Red Indians defeated the American army. To solve this problem. George Washington sent a huge American army under Thomas Wyne in 1795. The Red Indians were defeated at Fallentimbers. The Red Indians received the indirect support of the British. A large amount of British arms were supplied to them.

Relation with France

The Federal Republic of the USA was brought into force in April 1789. In July 1789 French Revolution broke out. The French Revolution which sloganized for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was welcomed by the Americans. But the revolution led to bloody massacre



within a few years. The „Reign of Terror“ was abhorred by the Americans. Though the Democratic Republicans supported the French Revolution and Reign of Terror, the Federalist disliked it. The initial interest in the French Revolution disappeared. Under these circumstances there were strained relationship between the USA and France. In 1776 both the nation signed an agreement during the American War of Independence. Accordingly if any one of them was attacked by a third power the other power must come for aid. Based on this agreement, France helped America after the battle of Saratoga. The critical situation in France led to a acid test for an agreement. Charles Ghent, the French Ambassador in the USA involved in aggression. Without receiving the permission of the American government, Charles Ghent involved in attacking the British ships with the help of American sailors.

George Washington tactfully handled the situation. He wanted to keep aloof. He requested the French Government to recall Charles Ghent. It was accepted by the French. Thus the USA was saved from involving in the French Revolutionary wars.

Relation with England

There was no cordial understanding between England and the USA. There were some fundamental reason behind it. Firstly the English army was stationed in the Great lake region was not withdrawn as promised in the Paris Peace Settlement in 1783. Secondly the English were lending support to Indians indirectly. Thirdly the American sailors were forcefully employed in the British Army. To solve the problem, George Washington sent John Jay to England in 1794. He concluded a peace agreement with England.

Jay Treaty

In 1794 the Treaty of the Jay was concluded between these two nations, Accordingly,

1. The English promised to withdraw her forces from the Greatlakes region within 1796.
2. A commission for compensation was created to repay the compensation of American articles by the British Navy.

Treaty with Spain



There was a border dispute between the USA and the Spanish colony of Florida. It was added by the commercial route through the Mississippi river. To solve this problem, Thomas Pinckney was sent to Spain. He concluded a treaty with Spain in 1795. Accordingly,

1. North latitude attitude was fixed as boundary line between the USA and Florida.
2. The harbor for New Orleans and Florida were opened for American trade for 3 years.

Farewell Address

In 1793 George Washington refused to contest for the third time in the presidential election. He gave a farewell address in the congress. He insisted some points in his farewell address.

1. The President should not contest for the election more than two terms.
2. The Political party should not arise on the territorial basis.
3. The national welfare must be given importance.
4. The USA should keep up neutrality in the international politics. The Guidelines of George Washington became the Guiding Principles of the newborn nation.

RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Washington's presidency witnessed the rise of party system. The early party division was between the Federalists and the Anti Federalists in the controversy over the ratification of the new Constitution. Many of the people including Washington had a dislike for the party system, as they feared that it would create division of public opinion and serve as a source of corruption and weakness.

Despite these, party politics crept into public life. The central fact in this development was the conflict between the two powerful leaders of the time, Hamilton and Jefferson. Great patriots, both were devoted to the welfare and progress of the nation, but their approach to political issues appeared entirely different from that of the other. Hamilton was born poor, but he developed an admiration for aristocracy and the English traditions. He became an ardent supporter of the land lords, big industrialists and great merchants. Jefferson was born rich,



but he became an exponent of democracy and the French system and a supporter of the small peasants, backwoodmen and the workers. Brilliant and far sighted, Hamilton was a capable leader and fluent speaker, but did not develop any real love for the crowds. What he preferred was order to liberty, strong central government to strong state governments and industrial greatness to agricultural economy. Jefferson on the other hand was philosophical and original. A good organizer, but not a good speaker, he loved crowds, stood for the common 29 people and gave importance to freedom, state rights and an agricultural economy. Hamilton favoured a loose interpretation of the Constitution and a strong army so as to strengthen the national government, but Jefferson opposed these views. To begin with the two leaders were political rivals and ultimately turned personal enemies too. In their struggle Hamilton won first and it resulted in the creation of a strong national government. Jefferson's triumph came second and it led to the consolidation of democratic forces.

Added to the factors associated with the personality of leaders, there came in other development. Aristocratic in his attitude, Washington loved pomp and show and made his appearances in state and splendour. Many of the citizens considered him as a monarchist and viewed his conduct with marked disfavor. Secondly, the financial programme of Hamilton was intended to help the rich mostly. The liquidation of public debt, the creation of the Bank and his proposal to levy a protective tariff and five direct aid to the industries were calculated to attain this purpose. These measures alienated the common people from the Federalists. Thirdly, the imposition of excise on whisky led to the Whisky Rebellion. Though blood shed was averted, the incident turned the people of the western region into the enemies of the Federalists. Fourthly, the bank controversy created a split between those who wanted a rigid interpretation of the Constitution so as to safeguard the rigid of the states and those who stood for a loose interpretation so as to give more powers to the national government. While Jefferson led the first section, Hamilton the second. Fifthly, the outbreak of the French Revolution exercised its impact upon the people. While one section of the people turned in support of the English the other in support of the French. Finally, the political dist, inactions became accentuated as the different issues merged with social, economic and geographical interests. These factors in general were centred on the barriers that existed between the nobility and the peasantry, the rich and the poor, the merchants of the North and the



agriculturists of the South and the Industrialists of the East and the pioneers of the West. By 1790 the rival parties began to assume definite shape. The Federalists continued to be called by the same name, though they were often referred to as Hamiltonians. They received their support mostly from the aristocratic sections of the society in the North. Among the newspapers the Gazette of the United States sided with the Federalist Party. Jefferson gained the alliance of Madison, Governor Clinton of New York and lawyer Aaron Burr. This alliance between the leaders of Virginia and New York formed the nucleus of the rival party. Many of the Anti Federalists rallied to it. The newspaper, the National Gazette extended its support to them to begin with new party was called Jeffersonians or Democratic Republicans, but in subsequent times it was called Democratic Party. Popular among the 30 lower classes, it drew its support mostly from the South before it extended its influence to the North.

The emergence of the party system marked a significant development in the political history of the country. To the people the two parties presented clear cut issues-whether the national government should remain weak or strong, whether the country should be ruled by an aristocracy or democracy and should the economy be industrial or agricultural. The administration by the Federalists resulted in the creation of a strong central government, assumption of state debt and the extension of the authority of the Union. When the republicans captured power they found it expedient to retain most of the gains bequeathed by the Federalists in the interest of the country. However, their administration contributed to the destruction of the hold of aristocracy and the ascendancy of the democratic forces. Secondly, the rise of the party system corrected the undemocratic features of the Constitution. As the parties entered election contests, the people voted for party candidates to the presidency and other offices. The presidential electors lost their discretion to elect a candidate of their choice, for they were required to vote for the party candidate. In their competition to reach the people, the parties advocated or favoured extension of franchise and economic welfare to the masses. Added to these, they assumed the responsibility for the smooth working of the administration. As there existed no great ideological rift between the parties, the rise and fall of parties from power caused no serious ups and downs in the political system.

JOHN ADAMS 1797-1801



John Adams was born in 1735 in the colony of Massachusetts. He represented Massachusetts in the first two continental congress held at Philadelphia in 1774 and 1775. The Philadelphia in congress resolved to petition the king of England regarding the affairs of the colony. John Adams did a tremendous work in drafting the petition. Besides he was the key person for the resolution in appoint George Washington as the General of the Colonial army in 1775. When the Stamp Act was passed in 1763, he wrote against it and earned fame. Thus John Adams played a vital role in the freedom fight off the USA. He was also sent as a representative of the USA to the Paris Peace Settlement held in 1783. John Adams was a federalist. He along with George Washington contested in the first two presidential elections. He was elected as the Vice-President under George Washington and he served the nation as the Vice-President from 1789 to 1798. It is significant to note that George Washington contested as a southern representative while John Adams contested as a northern representative.

In 1793 George Washington refused to contest in the election for the third term. As Washington declined to contest, the Federalist party ticket was offered to John Adams. He contested against Thomas Jefferson who was a candidate of the Democratic Republicans party. In the election John Adams were elected the president, the Thomas Jefferson the Vice-President. John Adams got three vote more than Thomas Jefferson. John Adams remained in the Office of the President from 1791 and 1801. He was the second president of the USA. He followed the same principles and policies of George Washington. His period of administration was an era of hard feeling

Towards the close of his period, he lost his popularity in the Federalist Party. He lost in the election of 1800. With his defeat in the election of 1800, the Federalist Party also disappeared from the political scene. Alexander Hamilton was in charge of finance under George Washington. Owing to mounting pressure, he resigned from his post in 1785. Even then in his influence in the Federalist party did not disappear. John Adams retained the same secretaries who service under George Washington. Mac Henry was the Secretary of state and Pickering was the Secretary of War. They were the supporters of Alexander Hamilton. Besides, the supporters of Hamilton were in large numbers in the House of Representatives.



These factors led to division in the Federalist Party. John Adams was pure and honest in his political career. Hence he was known as “Honest John”.

The rule of the Directory was established in France a few years before Adams came to power in the USA. Towards the close of his period, Napolean rose to prominence in France. Adams did not like the horrors of the French Revolution. The USA was much affected due to the frequent clashes between England and France.

Foreign Policy

The French Problem

In 1795, the rule of the Directory was established in France. The Directory blamed the USA that it had not kept neutrality. Besides, it insisted the American government to confiscate the British ships. The policy of the Directory created problem for the American government in its external affair. To solve problem, Adams sent Thomas Pinckney to France. But his mission was not accepted by the French government. It further increased the problem of John Adams. The Federalist under Hamilton demanded declaration of War on France. The Democratic republicans demanded cordial relation with France.

XYZ AFFAIRS

Under this circumstances John Adams wanted to follow the same footsteps of George Washington. He never wanted to involve the USA in war with France. He again opened talks with the Country for peaceful solution. There upon he sent Thomas Pinckney, John Marshal Elbridge Gerry to France. They were to meet Talleyrand and the External affair minister under Napoleon. But before they meet him they were met by 3 unknown person XYZ. They regarded themselves the representatives from the foreign affairs ministry. They demanded bribery for them and a huge loan to France as pre-conditions to meet the minister. Thus the embassy sent by John Adams was disgraced and returned humiliated.

War with France



The efforts undertaken by John Adams to peacefully solve the problem ended in a failure. The supporters of Hamilton demanded War. As there was no alternative John Adams declared War on France in 1798. The department of navy was established. The French ships were confiscated without proper declaration of war. There upon the cordial relationship between the two countries was snapped.

Peace with France

The strained relations between the USA and France did not last long. In 1799 Napoleon became the First Consul abolishing the rule of the Directory. He wanted to maintain peace with USA. Adams also wanted the same. So Adams sent another peace mission to France. John Jay was sent to France. A peace was concluded between France and USA in 1789. In accordance with it.

1. There was no need for the SA to enter a war when France entered into a War.
2. The commercial relation between the two nation was renewed.
3. No compensation was claimed.

The peace with France was criticized by the federalist under Hamilton. The Senate delayed the Approval of the treaty. It was approved only after the period of John Adams.

Domestic Policy

The foreign policy of John Adams made him unpopular. Besides the foreign problems reflected in the internal affairs. The Domestic Policy made him more unpopular. The French Revolution created confusion in the American politics. After the Reign of Terror, there was a large scale migration of the French into the USA. In those days the USA was regarded the last political asylum. It was the main reason for the French migration and settlement. The new settlers were the supports of the Democratic Republican party. Besides when the



American peace mission was dishonoured in 1797, it reflected in the American politics. Not only the Federalists wanted to declare war with France, But also passed there Acts in the Congress.

1. Alien Act

2. Sedition Act

3. Naturalization Act

These Acts tightened the American citizenship.

Alien Act

The Alien Act forbade the settlement of the foreigners in the USA. Moreover it granted full power to the president to sent back aliens or foreigners could be captured and put behind the bars or deported to other countries.

Sedition Act

The main intension of the Sedition Act was to suppress the rebellion against the government or propaganda against the government. Such acts would be regarded as a crime against the nation. In the days of John Adams few journalists published news against the governments. They were the supporters of Thomas Jefferson and Democratic Republican party. Jefferson regarded the two acts were against the rights of the American Citizens and against the American constitutions.

Naturalization Act

It was essential to have 5 years residence in the USA for getting citizenship in the USA. It was regarded by the congress as favourable condition for migration and foreigners. Therefore the congress passed the Naturalization Act. It insisted 14 year residence in the USA for citizenship. Further it forbade the new settlers from France to get the American citizenships.



The southern states regard that the 3 obnoxious acts were against the fundamental rights of the Americans. They opposed it under the doctrine of Nullification. Virginia and Kentucky were the prominent states among them.

Division among the federalists

The supporters of Hamilton criticized the foreign policy of John Adams. Most of the Secretaries under John Adams belonged to the Hamilton group. Therefore in 1800 John Adams dismissed MacHenry and Pickering from office. John Marshal was appointed the 34 Secretary of State in 1800. Later in the same year he was appointed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. These act of John Adams created divisions among the federalists.

1800 Election

The fourth presidential election was held in 1800. John Adams and Thomas Pinckney contested on behalf of the Federalist party. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the candidates of the Democratic Republican Party. Jefferson and Burr got 73 votes each while Adams got 65 Votes. As Jefferson and Burr got equal votes, there arose an electoral dispute. The dispute was regarding who should be declared the President and who should be the Vice President. In accordance with the Constitution, the electoral dispute was referred to the House of Representatives. The House of Representatives was dominated by the supporters of Hamilton who was considered the political enemy of Jefferson. But Hamilton stood as a man of principles and above party politics. On the advice of Hamilton, Jefferson was elected the President and Burr the Vice President. It clearly established the political sagacity of Alexander Hamilton.

Midnight Judges

Though John Adams was defeated in the election of 1800, he was in office upto March 4, 1801. A special Act on judiciary was passed before the end of his period. It increased the number of District court judges and the judges of the circuit courts. These



judges were appointed till the last days of his administration. Hence they were well known as the midnight Judges. It created a problem in the initial days of Thomas Jefferson.

John Adams was honest and pure. His internal and external policies led to his unpopularity and fall. It created opposition from the opposition party and within the ruling party. In general, the period John Adams was a period of hard feeling.

THOMAS JEFFERSON – 1801-1809

Jefferson was elected President. Aaron Burr became Vice President. The Twelfth Amendment (1831) to the Constitution rectified this anomaly, for it required the electors to vote separately for president and vice president. The first of the Republican presidents, Jefferson, was the first to be inaugurated at the new capital, Washington. The seat of the government had been shifted from New York to Philadelphia and then to Washington. The 35 seat of the government had been shifted from New York to Philadelphia and then to Washington. The new President appointed James Madison as secretary of State and Albert Gallatin as Secretary of the Treasury.

Rectification and Reform:

The Republican administration initiated measures to rectify what the Federalists wronged and at the same time implemented certain of their own policies. The Alien and Sedition Acts which were of temporary nature expired with the end of Adams' term of office. The new administration granted pardon to those who were convicted under the operation of these laws. The Naturalisation Law was modified so as to require five years instead of fourteen years of residence for acquiring citizenship. The tax imposed on whisky which caused the Whisky Rebellion was done away with. The Republicans also decided to drive out of office the „midnight“ judges. They detested the judiciary because it declared several state laws as unconstitutional, supported the expansion of federal authority, served as a source of influence of the Federalists and remained unanswerable to the public. Congress, therefore, repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801 and deprived the “midnight” judges of their offices. After this was accomplished, the administration sought to remove certain Federalist judges from



the judiciary. Thus William Pickering of the New Hampshire District Court was impeached for drunkenness on the bench and removed from office. Justice Chase was impeached but was set free by the Senate.

Gallatin, the Secretary of Treasury, carried out improvement of the finances, The abolition of the tax on whisky affected public income, but this was more than compensated by the increase in tariff receipts, which came as the result of increased trade with Europe. There was adequate surplus not only to meet the current expenses but also to clear the public debt. In accordance with his favourite theme, Jefferson tried to cut the size of the army and the navy. A saving was effected by this process, but it could not be sustained because of foreign dangers, which demanded expansion of armed forces. Jefferson promoted education and communication. In 1802, when Ohio was admitted as a state into the Union, the Enabling Act was passed, It set aside one section of land in each township of newly admitted state to promote education and appropriated five per cent of the proceeds from sales of land, taken from the natives, for the construction of roads. These measures proved beneficial to the growth of education and extension of communications.

Judicial Review:

The Republicans gained a victory over the judiciary, when they repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801 and drove several judges and marshals out of office. However in 1802 the Supreme Court led the Chief Justice John Marshall turned the scales against the administration. Though a fellow Virginian and a cousin, John Marshall was a bitter opponent³⁶ of Jefferson and a staunch Federalist. His interpretation of the Constitution enhanced the prestige of the judiciary. President Adams had appointed William Marbury as Justice of the Peace for the District of Columbia, where the capital city of Washington is located. Though this was approved by the Senate, Madison, the Secretary of State, at the instruction of Jefferson, refused to issue the order of appointment. Therefore Marbury applied to the Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus to compel the Secretary of State to issue the order. This was the case, Marbury Vs Madison (1803). In deciding this case John Marshall observed that Madison had no right to withhold the commission, but the Supreme Court could not issue a writ of mandamus to compel him to deliver it. He declared that the



Judiciary Act of 1789, enacted by Congress authorized the Supreme Court to issue the writ of mandamus as part of its original jurisdiction, but the Constitution, which was the supreme law of the land, did not provide for such an original jurisdiction. Therefore the Judiciary Act of 1789, in conferring this original jurisdiction on the Supreme Court, contradicted the provision in the Constitution and hence was null and void as to that provision. In fact the court accepted what the Constitution granted to it and refused to take what a Congressional law gave it in contradiction to the Constitution. By taking this stand the Supreme Court rightly asserted that it was the duty of the federal judiciary to interpret and decided the constitutionality of laws. As such it had the right to declare as unconstitutional the laws of laws. As such it had the right to declare the constitutional the laws enacted by state and national legislatures, when they clashed with the Constitution. This was the judicial review, or the right of the court to examine whether the subordinate laws, as enacted by legislatures, were in consonance with or contrary to the Constitution.

The decision of the Supreme Court was the answer to the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions in which Jefferson and Madison argued that the state governments had the right to decide whether the federal government had exceeded its constitutional right or not. The Supreme Court on the other hand declared that this right belonged the judiciary and not to the states. This decision angered the Republicans, for the judges who were neither elected by the people nor accountable to them, assumed the right to veto the federal and state laws, when they violated the provisions of federal Constitution. The idea of judicial review was not unknown to the people. During the colonial period the Privy Council decided the constitutionality of laws made by colonies and during the confederate period the state courts exercised similar right. Besides, it appeared logical that the courts were the competent authority to perform this important function. Therefore the country accepted the views of the Supreme Court, when the latter asserted them specifically and emphatically.

The Aaron Burr Expedition:

In the election of 1804 Jefferson defeated his Federalist rival, C.C. Pinckney. At the instance of Jefferson, Aaron Burr was not nominated as the Republican candidate to the vice-presidency. The Federalists now formed a conspiracy to elect Aaron Burr as governor of New



York and to separate that state and New England from the Union. But the plot failed, as Hamilton threw his influence against Aaron Burr causing his defeat. Driven to indignation, Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel and the latter accepted it and died. After killing Hamilton, Aaron Burr proceeded to the West and organized an expedition for separating the western states from the Union. However the bid failed and Burr was seized. He was tried for treason, but Chief Justice Marshall acquitted him, much because of his dislike for Jefferson.

Foreign Relations:

The second term of Jefferson was marked by complications abroad. The President held a view that “nature and a wide ocean” would keep the country free from European turmoils, but he realized before long that it was a reverie. The pirates of the Barbary Coast of Africa-Tripoli, Morocco, Algiers and Tunis-seized the foreign vessels and collected tribute. To convey his dissatisfaction at what the United States paid, the Pasha of Tripoli cut down the flag post at the American consulate, Jefferson now declared war, which lasted for four years. The coast of Tripoli was blockaded, but the war was indecisive. By a settlement made in 1805 the United States paid 60,000 dollars to the Pasha to obtain release of the American sailors, who were taken as captives. In fact the first war in the old world ended in fiasco.

THE DEMOCRATS

JAMES MADISON 1809 - 1817

James Madison was an American statesman, diplomat, expansionist, philosopher, and Founding Father who served as the 4th president of the United States from 1809 to 1817. He is hailed as the "Father of the Constitution" for his pivotal role in drafting and promoting the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. He co-wrote *The Federalist Papers*, co-founded the Democratic-Republican Party, and served as the 5th Secretary of State from 1801 to 1809 under President Thomas Jefferson. Born into a prominent Virginia planter family, Madison served as a member of the Virginia House of Delegates and the Continental Congress during and after the American Revolutionary War.



He became dissatisfied with the weak national government established by the Articles of Confederation and helped organize the Constitutional Convention, which produced a new constitution to supplant the Articles of Confederation. Madison's Virginia Plan served as the basis for the Constitutional Convention's deliberations, and he was one of the most influential individuals at the convention. He became one of the leaders in the movement to ratify the Constitution, and he joined with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in writing *The Federalist Papers*, a series of pro-ratification essays that was one of the most influential works of political science in American history.

After the ratification of the Constitution, Madison emerged as an important leader in the House of Representatives and served as a close adviser to President George Washington. He is considered the main force behind the ratification of the Bill of Rights, which enshrines guarantees of personal freedoms and rights within the Constitution. During the early 1790s, Madison opposed the economic program and the accompanying centralization of power favored by Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton. Along with Jefferson, he organized the Democratic-Republican Party, which was, alongside Hamilton's Federalist Party, one of the nation's first major political parties. After Jefferson was elected president, Madison served as his Secretary of State from 1801 to 1809. In that position, he supervised the Louisiana Purchase, which doubled the size of the United States.

Madison succeeded Jefferson after his victory in the 1808 presidential election. After diplomatic protests and a trade embargo failed to end British seizures of American shipping, he led the United States into the War of 1812. The war was an administrative morass and ended inconclusively, but many Americans saw it as a successful "second war of independence" against Britain. As the war progressed, Madison was re-elected in 1812, albeit by a smaller margin to the 1808 election. The war convinced Madison of the necessity of a stronger federal government. He presided over the creation of the Second Bank of the United States and the enactment of the protective Tariff of 1816. By treaty or war, Madison's presidency added 23 million acres of Native American land to the United States.

Madison retired from public office after concluding his presidency in 1817 and died in 1836. Like Jefferson and Washington, Madison was a wealthy slave owner who never



treated his slaves harshly and provided for them well. He never privately reconciled his republican beliefs with his slave ownership. Forced to pay debts, he never freed his slaves. Madison is considered one of the most important Founding Fathers of the United States, and historians have generally ranked him as an above-average president.

His studies at Princeton included Latin, Greek, theology, and the works of the Enlightenment. Great emphasis was placed on both speech and debate; Madison was a leading member of the American Whig–Cliosophic Society, which competed on campus with a political counterpart, the Cliosophic Society. During his time in Princeton, Madison's closest friend was future Attorney General William Bradford. Along with another classmate, Madison undertook an intense program of study and completed the college's three-year Bachelor of Arts degree in just two years, graduating in 1771. Madison had contemplated either entering the clergy or practicing law after graduation, but instead remained at Princeton to study Hebrew and political philosophy under the college's president, John Witherspoon. He returned home to Montpelier in early 1772.

Madison's ideas on philosophy and morality were strongly shaped by Witherspoon, who converted him to the philosophy, values, and modes of thinking of the Age of Enlightenment. Biographer Terence Ball wrote that at Princeton, Madison "was immersed in the liberalism of the Enlightenment, and converted to eighteenth-century political radicalism. From then on James Madison's theories would advance the rights of happiness of man, and his most active efforts would serve devotedly the cause of civil and political liberty."

After returning to Montpelier, without a chosen career, Madison served as a tutor to his younger siblings. Madison began to study law books in 1773. He asked Princeton friend William Bradford, a law apprentice under Edward Shippen in Philadelphia, to send him an ordered written plan on reading law books. At the age of 22, there was no evidence that Madison, himself, made any effort to apprentice under any lawyer in Virginia. By 1783, he had acquired a good sense of legal publications. Madison saw himself as a law student but never as a lawyer – he never joined the bar or practiced. In his elder years, Madison was sensitive to the phrase "demi-Lawyer", or "half-Lawyer", a derisive term used to describe someone who read law books, but did not practice law. Following the Revolutionary War,



Madison spent time at Montpelier in Virginia studying ancient democracies of the world in preparation for the Constitutional Convention.

American Revolution and Articles of Confederation

In 1765, the British Parliament passed the Stamp Act, which taxed the American colonists to help fund the increasing costs of administrating British America. The colonists' opposition to the tax marked the start of a conflict that would culminate in the American Revolution. The disagreement centered on Parliament's right to levy taxes on the colonists, who were not directly represented in that body. However, events deteriorated until the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War of 1775–83, in which the colonists split into two factions: Loyalists, who continued to adhere to George III, and the Patriots, whom Madison joined, under the leadership of the Continental Congress. Madison believed that Parliament had overstepped its bounds by attempting to tax the American colonies, and he sympathized with those who resisted British rule. He also favored disestablishing the Anglican Church in Virginia; Madison believed that an established religion was detrimental not only to freedom of religion but also because it encouraged excessive deference to the authority of the state.

In 1774, Madison took a seat on the local Committee of Safety, a pro-revolution group that oversaw the local Patriot militia. In October 1775, he was commissioned as the colonel of the Orange County militia, serving as his father's second-in-command until he was elected as a delegate to the Fifth Virginia Convention, which was charged with producing Virginia's first constitution. Of short stature and frequently in poor health, Madison never saw battle in the Revolutionary War, but he rose to prominence in Virginia politics as a wartime leader.

At the Virginia constitutional convention, he convinced delegates to alter the Virginia Declaration of Rights to provide for "equal entitlement," rather than mere "tolerance," in the exercise of religion. With the enactment of the Virginia constitution, Madison became part of the Virginia House of Delegates, and he was subsequently elected to the Virginia governor's Council of State. In that role, he became a close ally of Governor Thomas Jefferson. On July



4, 1776, the United States Declaration of Independence was published formally declaring the 13 American states an independent nation.

Although Madison was not a signatory of the Articles of Confederation, he did contribute to the discussion of religious freedom affecting the drafting of the Articles. Madison had proposed liberalizing the article on religious freedom, but the larger Virginia Convention made further changes. It was later amended by the committee and the entire Convention, including the addition of a section on the right to a uniform government (Section 14). Madison served on the Council of State from 1777 to 1779, when he was elected to the Second Continental Congress, the governing body of the United States. America faced a difficult war against Great Britain, as well as runaway inflation, financial troubles, and lack of cooperation between the different levels of government. According to historian J.G.A. Stagg, Madison worked to become an expert on financial issues, becoming a legislative workhorse and a master of parliamentary coalition building. Frustrated by the failure of the states to supply needed requisitions, Madison proposed to amend the Articles of Confederation to grant Congress the power to independently raise revenue through tariffs on imports.

Though General George Washington, Congressman Alexander Hamilton, and other influential leaders also favored the amendment, it was defeated because it failed to win the ratification of all thirteen states. While a member of Congress, Madison was an ardent supporter of a close alliance between the United States and France, and, as an advocate of westward expansion, he insisted that the new nation had to assure its right to navigation on the Mississippi River and control of all lands east of it in the Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolutionary War. After serving Congress from 1780 to 1783, Madison won election to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1784.

Father of the Constitution

As a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, Madison continued to advocate for religious freedom, and, along with Jefferson, drafted the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. That amendment, which guaranteed freedom of religion and disestablished the



Church of England, was passed in 1786. Madison also became a land speculator, purchasing land along the Mohawk River in a partnership with another Jefferson protege, James Monroe.

Throughout the 1780s, Madison advocated for reform of the Articles of Confederation. He became increasingly worried about the disunity of the states and the weakness of the central government after the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783. He believed that "excessive democracy" caused social decay, and was particularly troubled by laws that legalized paper money and denied diplomatic immunity to ambassadors from other countries. He was also concerned about the inability of Congress to capably conduct foreign policy, protect American trade, and foster the settlement of the lands between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. As Madison wrote, "a crisis had arrived which was to decide whether the American experiment was to be a blessing to the world, or to blast for ever the hopes which the republican cause had inspired." He committed to an intense study of law and political theory and also was heavily influenced by Continental Enlightenment texts sent by Jefferson from France. He especially sought out works on international law and the constitutions of "ancient and modern confederacies" such as the Dutch Republic, the Swiss Confederation, and the Achaean League. He came to believe that the United States could improve upon past republican experiments by its size; with so many distinct interests competing against each other, Madison hoped to minimize the abuses of majority rule. Additionally, navigation rights to the Mississippi River highly concerned Madison. He disdained a proposal by John Jay that the United States acquiesce claims to the river for 25 years, and, according to historian John Ketchum, his desire to fight the proposal played a major role in motivating Madison to return to Congress in 1787.

Madison helped arrange the 1785 Mount Vernon Conference, which settled disputes regarding navigation rights on the Potomac River and also served as a model for future interstate conferences. At the 1786 Annapolis Convention, he joined with Hamilton and other delegates in calling for another convention to consider amending the Articles. After winning the election to another term in Congress, Madison helped convince the other Congressmen to authorize the Philadelphia Convention to propose amendments. Though many members of Congress were wary of the changes the convention might bring, nearly all agreed that the



existing government needed some sort of reform. Madison ensured that General Washington, who was popular throughout the country, and Robert Morris, who was influential in casting the critical vote of the state of Pennsylvania, would both broadly support Madison's plan to implement a new constitution. The outbreak of Shays' Rebellion in 1786 reinforced the necessity for constitutional reform in the eyes of Washington and other American leaders.

The Philadelphia Convention

Before a quorum was reached at the Philadelphia Convention on May 25, 1787, Madison worked with other members of the Virginia delegation, especially Edmund Randolph and George Mason, to create and present the Virginia Plan. This Plan was an outline for a new federal constitution; it called for three branches of government (legislative, executive, and judicial), a bicameral Congress (consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives) apportioned by population, and a federal Council of Revision that would have the right to veto laws passed by Congress. Reflecting the centralization of power envisioned by Madison, the Virginia Plan granted the Senate the power to overturn any law passed by state governments. The Virginia Plan did not explicitly lay out the structure of the executive branch, but Madison himself favored a single executive. Many delegates were surprised to learn that the plan called for the abrogation of the Articles and the creation of a new constitution, to be ratified by special conventions in each state rather than by the state legislatures. With the assent of prominent attendees such as Washington and Benjamin Franklin, the delegates went into a secret session to consider a new constitution.

Though the Virginia Plan was extensively changed during the debate and presented as an outline rather than a draft of a possible constitution, its use at the convention has led many to call Madison the "Father of the Constitution". Madison spoke over 200 times during the convention, and his fellow delegates held him in high esteem. Madison believed that the constitution produced by the convention "would decide for ever the fate of republican government" throughout the world, and he kept copious notes to serve as a historical record of the convention.

Virginia Plan and Madison



In crafting the Virginia Plan, Madison looked to develop a system of government that adequately prevented the rise of factions believing that a Constitutional Republic would be most fitting to do so. Madison's definition of faction was similar to that of the Scottish Enlightenment philosopher David Hume. Madison borrowed from Hume's definition of a faction when describing the dangers they impose upon the American Republic. In the essay Federalist No. 10 Madison described a faction as a "number of citizens who are united by a common impulse of passion or interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or permanent and aggregate interest of the community". Madison drew further influence from the Scottish Economist Adam Smith who believed that every civilized society developed into economic factions based on the different interests of individuals. Madison, throughout his writing, alluded to *The Wealth of Nations* on multiple occasions as he advocated for a free system of commerce among the states that he believed would be beneficial to society.

Madison had hoped that a coalition of Southern states and populous Northern states would ensure the approval of a constitution largely similar to the one proposed in the Virginia Plan. However, delegates from small states successfully argued for more power for state governments and presented the New Jersey Plan as an alternative. In response, Roger Sherman proposed the Connecticut Compromise, which sought to balance the interests of small and large states. During the convention, Madison's Council of Revision was not used and each state was given equal representation in the Senate, and the state legislatures, rather than the House of Representatives, were given the power to elect members of the Senate. Madison convinced his fellow delegates to have the Constitution ratified by ratifying conventions rather than state legislatures, which he distrusted. He also helped ensure that the President would have the ability to veto federal laws and would be elected independently of Congress through the Electoral College. By the end of the convention, Madison believed that the new constitution failed to give enough power to the federal government compared to the state governments, but he still viewed the document as an improvement on the Articles of Confederation.

The ultimate question before the convention, historian Gordon Wood notes, was not how to design a government but whether the states should remain sovereign, whether



sovereignty should be transferred to the national government, or whether the constitution should settle somewhere in between. Most of the delegates at the Philadelphia Convention wanted to empower the federal government to raise revenue and protect property rights. Those who, like Madison, thought democracy in the state legislatures was excessively subjective, wanted sovereignty transferred to the national government, while those who did not think this a problem wanted to retain the model of the Articles of Confederation. Even many delegates who shared Madison's goal of strengthening the central government reacted strongly against the extreme change to the *status quo* envisioned in the Virginia Plan. Though Madison lost most of his debates and discussions over how to amend the Virginia Plan, in the process, however, he increasingly shifted the debate away from a position of pure state sovereignty. Since most disagreements over what to include in the constitution were ultimately disputes over the balance of sovereignty between the states and national government, Madison's influence was critical. Wood notes that Madison's ultimate contribution was not in designing any particular constitutional framework, but in shifting the debate toward a compromise of "shared sovereignty" between the national and state governments.

The Federalist Papers and Ratification debates

After the Philadelphia Convention ended in September 1787, Madison convinced his fellow congressmen to remain neutral in the ratification debate and allow each state to vote upon the Constitution. Throughout the United States, opponents of the Constitution, known as Anti-Federalists, began a public campaign against ratification. In response, Hamilton and Jay began publishing a series of pro-ratification newspaper articles in New York. After Jay dropped out from the project, Hamilton approached Madison, who was in New York on congressional business, to write some of the essays. Altogether, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote the 85 essays of what became known as *The Federalist Papers* in six months, with Madison writing 29 of the essays. *The Federalist Papers* successfully defended the new Constitution and argued for its ratification to the people of New York. The articles were also published in book form and became a virtual debater's handbook for the supporters of the Constitution in the ratifying conventions. Historian Clinton Rossiter called *The Federalist*



Papers "the most important work in political science that ever has been written, or is likely ever to be written, in the United States". Federalist No. 10, Madison's first contribution to *The Federalist Papers*, became highly regarded in the 20th century for its advocacy of representative democracy. In Federalist 10, Madison describes the dangers posed by factions and argues that their negative effects can be limited through the formation of a large republic. He states that in large republics the significant sum of factions that emerge will successfully dull the effects of others. In Federalist No. 51, he goes on to explain how the separation of powers between three branches of the federal government, as well as between state governments and the federal government, established a system of checks and balances that ensured that no one institution would become too powerful.

While Madison and Hamilton continued to write *The Federalist Papers*, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and several smaller states voted to ratify the Constitution. After finishing his last contributions to *The Federalist Papers*, Madison returned to Virginia. Initially, Madison did not want to stand for election to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, but he was persuaded to do so by the strength of the Anti-Federalists. Virginians were divided into three main camps: Washington and Madison led the faction in favor of ratification of the Constitution, Randolph and Mason headed a faction that wanted ratification but also sought amendments to the Constitution, and Patrick Henry was the most prominent member of the faction opposed to the ratification of the Constitution. When the Virginia Ratifying Convention began on June 2, 1788, the Constitution had been ratified by eight of the required nine states. New York, the second-largest state and a bastion of anti-federalism would likely not ratify it without the stated commitment of Virginia, and in the event of Virginia's failure to join the new government there would be the disquieting disqualification of George Washington from being the first president.

At the start of the convention in Virginia, Madison knew that most delegates had already made up their minds, and he focused his efforts on winning the support of the relatively small number of undecided delegates. His long correspondence with Randolph paid off at the convention as Randolph announced that he would support unconditional ratification of the Constitution, with amendments to be proposed after ratification. Though Henry gave



several persuasive speeches arguing against ratification, Madison's expertise on the subject he had long argued for allowed him to respond with rational arguments to Henry's emotional appeals. In his final speech to the ratifying convention, Madison implored his fellow delegates to ratify the Constitution as it had been written, arguing that the failure to do so would lead to the collapse of the entire ratification effort as each state would seek favorable amendments. On June 25, 1788, the convention voted 89–79 to ratify the Constitution, making Virginia the tenth state to do so. New York ratified the constitution the following month, and Washington won the country's first presidential election.

Election to Congress

After Virginia ratified the constitution, Madison returned to New York and resumed his duties in the Congress of the Confederation. On Washington's request, Madison sought a seat in the Senate, but the state legislature instead elected two Anti-Federalist allies of Henry. Now deeply concerned both for his political career and over the possibility that Henry and his allies would arrange for a second constitutional convention, Madison ran for the House of Representatives. At Henry's behest, the Virginia legislature created congressional districts designed to deny Madison a seat, and Henry recruited Monroe, a strong challenger to Madison. Locked in a difficult race against Monroe, Madison promised to support a series of constitutional amendments to protect individual liberties. In an open letter, Madison wrote that, while he had opposed requiring alterations to the Constitution before ratification, he now believed that "amendments, if pursued with a proper moderation and in a proper mode ... may serve the double purpose of satisfying the minds of well-meaning opponents, and of providing additional guards in favor of liberty." Madison's promise paid off, as in Virginia's 5th district election, he gained a seat in Congress with 57 percent of the vote.

Madison became a key adviser to President Washington, who considered Madison as the person who best understood the constitution. Madison helped Washington write his first inaugural address, and also prepared the official House response to Washington's speech. He played a significant role in establishing and staffing the three Cabinet departments, and his influence helped Thomas Jefferson become the inaugural Secretary of State. At the start of the first Congress, he introduced a tariff bill similar to the one he had advocated for under the



Articles of the Confederation, and Congress established a federal tariff on imports through the Tariff of 1789. The following year, Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton introduced an ambitious economic program that called for the federal assumption of state debts and the funding of that debt through the issuance of federal securities. Hamilton's plan favored Northern speculators and was disadvantageous to states such as Virginia that had already paid off most of their debt, and Madison emerged as one of the principal Congressional opponents of the plan. After prolonged legislative deadlock, Madison, Jefferson, and Hamilton agreed to the Compromise of 1790, which provided for the enactment of Hamilton's assumption plan through the Funding Act of 1790. In return, Congress passed the Residence Act, which established the federal capital district of Washington, D.C., on the Potomac River.

Modison Bill of Rights

During the first Congress, Madison took the lead in pressing for the passage of several constitutional amendments that would form the Bill of Rights. His primary goals were to fulfill his 1789 campaign pledge and to prevent the calling of a second constitutional convention, but he also hoped to protect individual liberties against the actions of the federal government and state legislatures. He believed that the enumeration of specific rights would fix those rights in the public mind and encourage judges to protect them. After studying over two-hundred amendments that had been proposed at the state ratifying conventions, Madison introduced the Bill of Rights on June 8, 1789. His amendments contained numerous restrictions on the federal government and would protect, among other things, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and the right to peaceful assembly. While most of his proposed amendments were drawn from the ratifying conventions, Madison was largely responsible for proposals to guarantee freedom of the press, protect property from government seizure, and ensure jury trials. He also proposed an amendment to prevent states from abridging "equal rights of conscience, or freedom of the press, or the trial by jury in criminal cases".

Madison's Bill of Rights faced little opposition; he had largely co-opted the Anti-Federalist goal of amending the Constitution but had avoided proposing amendments that would alienate supporters of the Constitution. Madison's proposed amendments were largely adopted by the House of Representatives, but the Senate made several changes. Madison's



proposal to apply parts of the Bill of Rights to the states was eliminated, as was his final proposed change to the Constitution's preamble. Madison was disappointed that the Bill of Rights did not include protections against actions by state governments, but the passage of the document mollified some critics of the original constitution and shored up Madison's support in Virginia. Of the twelve amendments formally proposed by Congress to the states, ten amendments were ratified as additions to the Constitution on December 15, 1791, becoming known as the Bill of Rights.

THE WAR OF 1812

The 1812 year had been described in different terms. The Americans regarded it as the “Second War of Independence”. It totally removed the British influence in the USA. During the course of the war, the federalists supported the cause of the English. The war was also called the “Madison War” as it was motivated by the then President Madison. As far as the Indians and Tecumsch, it was a “War of Survival”. It was the last attempt of the Indians to establish their rule in America. When the war broke out, England was pre-occupied in the Napoleonic wars. To then it was a war of defence.

Causes of the war of 1812

Violation of Neutral Rights:

The administration of Jefferson witnessed a renewal of war between France and England. The great victory at Austerlitz in 1805 made Napoleon the master of Western Europe, while the naval victory of Nelson off Trafalgar left Great Britain as the mistress of the seas. In this war between the tiger and the shark, neither could hit against the other directly. Determined to ruin the nation of small shop-keepers, Napoleon issued the Berlin and Milan Decrees, which forbade the countries under his control from importing British goods and from admitting British ships to their harbors. In retaliation Great Britain issued Orders in Council, which forbade the neutral ships from trading with Europe unless they stopped at British harbours enroute and from carrying products of French colonies and war materials. The operation of these war-time measures violated the neutral rights of the United States. If



an American vessel visited a British harbor, it was captured by the French, and if it sailed direct of the continent, it was seized by the English. President Jefferson decided to teach the warring powers a lesson, as they depended much upon the imports from the United States. Accordingly, the Embargo Act of 1807 directed the American ships not to sail for any foreign ports. However as this self imposed restriction affected trade and caused unemployment to the Americans, Congress in 1809 replaced the Embargo Act by the Non Intercourse Act. It reopened trade with all countries except trade with either of these countries, when it removed the disregard to the ban, entered into trade with the two warring camps. Therefore the Macon's Bill No. 2 of 1810 removed all restrictions on trade and stipulated that if any one of the two powers, France or Great Britain, would repeal its commercial law, the United States would not trade with the other. Now the shrewd Napoleon found an opportunity to turn the American against the English. In his Cadore Letter he promised to Madison that he would repeal the Berlin and Milan decrees by 39 1 November 1810. "It being understood that in consequence of this declaration, the English shall revoke their orders in Council". But Napoleon had no intention to repeal the decrees for what he wanted was to throw the blame on Great Britain. Yet assuming that France would repeal the restrictions the United States resumed trade with that country and imposed a ban on her trade sumed trade with that country and imposed a ban on her trade with England. This strained her relations with Great Britain.

Added to this, the British navy resorted to impressments of American sailors. England needed sea men to fight her wars against France, but because of better service conditions many English sailors took service with the American ships. To arrest this process the British ships searched American vessels for the deserters and took away even the American citizens. In 1807 the British warship Leopard fired on the U.S. warship Chesapeake and seized four sailors. In 1811 the British warship Little Belt and the American warship President exchanged fire, causing loss of lives on other side. These incidents served as new irritants.

British Aid to the Indians:

The Americans attributed the endeavour made by the Indian nations to organize a confederacy to British encouragement. They did not know the nature of the mission of Fisher



to the Indians, for he stayed as a merchant in the court of Tecumseh; but in the battle of Tippecanoe the troops of Harrison detected arms with British markings. Stories were spread that the British administration in Canada not only supplied arms to the natives but gave them a reward of six dollars for killing an American, whether man, woman or child. Thought there was no truth in them, interested parties, eager to seize the Indian lands, gave currency to these rumours for provoking conflict.

Territorial Greed:

When the European powers entered the area of war, the United States decided to utilize the opportunity to annex British Canada and Spanish Florida. Franklin and Washington eagerly desired to gain possession of Canada but failed. Since then many citizens continued to cherish this ambition. As the disputes over the northern frontier and the British association with the Indians caused conflicts, the American felt that the conquest of Canada would remove all their problems in the North-west. In the South Spain held possession of Florida and Mexico. The influence of Spain among the Creek Indians came as a check to the expansion of the United States in the South-West. The settlers of the West demanded the right of free navigation of the rivers, which flowed through Spanish and Indian territories. The spread exaggerated stories about the wealth of Mexico and demanded the annexation of this territory, particularly Florida. In pursuit of this imperial game, the American agents incited the settlers of West Florida to rise against Spain in 1810 and annexed it. In 1811 President Madison sought acquisition of Mobile in Florida through peaceful means but failed. 40 With the outbreak of war in Europe, they decided to utilize the opportunity for the annexation of entire Florida, together with Canada.

Election of 1811 and War Hawks:

The election of 1811 returned to Congress several war hawks, who wanted war. Mostly from the West, they were guided by an ambition to annex Canada and Florida. Since 1801 the West experienced a serious depression because of the stagnation of trade. The war hawks attacked the British as responsible for causing the economic malady. They did not form majority in the House of Representatives, yet they succeeded in elevating to the



speakership their magnetic leader, Henry Clay. He filled important committees with fellow war hawks. They activity created a situation, favourable for war.

An analysis of the causes indicates that a combination of circumstances led to the outbreak of war. The Americans wanted to take away the lands of the Indians and to annex Canada and Florida. The rise of Tecumseh and British support to him led to a demand for the expulsion of the English from the continent. Impressments of the sailors and restrictions upon commerce violated the neutral rights. As a result the economic progress of the people of the West suffered a check, for they found it impossible to market their commodities. Added to these, a feeling that the national honour was violated and a desire to take advantage of the war in Europe for gaining territories in America contributed to the outbreak of hostilities. In congress there were three major group: representatives from New England who opposed the war, the warhawks of the West who clamoured for war and the Congressmen of the South who took no direct interest. Yet the leaders of the South jointed with the warhawks, as they decided to do something to vindicate national honour. By the spring of 1812 the demand for war in the West and South became irresistible. Accordingly a war resolution was carried in Congress and war was declared on 18th June 1812. Two days earlier Lord Castlereagh, Foreign Secretary of Britain, announced the repeal of the Orders in Council, the principal source of professed grievances. Perhaps war would not have come had there been means for the quick transmission of message.

COURSE OF THE WAR

The war was fought in four theatres—the North-west, the South-west and the East and the high seas. The Indians and the English engaged the Americans, in a common struggle. The War in the North-west was directed against Canada General Hull, assembled his force of 3000 men at Detroit and July 1812 began an offensive against the British and Indians. Tecumseh with 200 of his warriors harried the American lines and occupied Mackianc and Chicago. For fear of being ambushed by the Indians, Hull retreated to Detroit. 41 Assisted by the brilliant general Issac Brock of the British army, Tecumseh infested Detroil and forced Hull to surrender. The Indian chief formulated a plan for the liberation of the Ohio valley from American control, but found it impossible as General Brock left for the East and his



incompetent successor, Proctor, refused co-operation. A second American expedition moved to Canada across Niagara but General Brock, though he lost his life in battle, repulsed it. A third expedition advanced to Canada from New York, but that too failed. A detachment of 13,000 troops under the command of General Winchester moved to river Raisin, but the Indians led by Roundhead and Walk in-the Water intercepted it at French town and thwarted the attempts to conquer Canada.

In the South the Creeks, Seminoles and Negroes, who jointed the camp of Tecumseh, fought against the Americans. The Indians occupied Mim's Fort and attacked the American frontier. However General Claiborne cut off the communications of the Indians with Spanish Florida and advanced into the Creek nation. Another detachment moved to Florida and defeated the combined forces of the Seminoles and Negroes, Jackson, at the command of the Tennessee militia, and assisted by the Cherokees, gained a signal victory over the Creeks in the battle at Horse Shoe Bend on river Tallapoosa and occupied most of the Creek territory. The American agents kindled troubles in Mexico and demanded annexation of entire Florida but the administration found the task difficult.

FALL OF TECUMSEH

In 1813 the United States resumed the offensive in the North-west. Henry Harrison, who succeeded Hull in command of the forces, reorganized the defences and repulsed an Indian attack on Fort Meigs. Oliver Perry equipped a fleet and wrested control of Lake Erie from the English. These reverses forced the Indians and the English to evacuate the Northwest. Tecumseh decided to check American advance at Malden but the cowardly Proctor refused his support. The Indian leader pleaded to the British general; "We must not retreat. If you take us from this place you will lead us far, far away, perhaps even to the shores of the great salt water (Artic Ocean) and there you will tell us good by forever and leave us to the mercy of the Long Knives". Yet the English evacuated Malden and began the retreat. Atlast threatened with an Indian attack, Proctor agreed to give a fight to the American forces. On the 5th of October 1813 the Indians and the Americans fought a fierce battle on bank of river Thames in Canada. Tecumseh and Proctor commanded 1600 men, while Harrison and Johnson 4000 Americans. The English, eager to flee, kept to the background



and as the fighting began they fled. But to the Indians it was a life and death struggle. In the course of a gallant charge Tecumseh led his warriors deep into the American camp, but Harrison reorganized the lines and repulsed the attack. The Indian chief received several wounds and was seen profusely bleeding till his voice of inspiration was heard no more. Upon the death of their hero, the Indian fled. This victory over Tecumseh earned for Harrison the presidency and Johnson the vice presidency in subsequent times. On the sea the war was marked by irregular battles. The Americans won the naval battles of Lake Erie and Lake Champlain. However the English drove out the American vessels from the eastern seas. With the defeat of Napoleon, more of British forces landed on the American Coast. One expedition sought to isolate New England, but it failed for want of control of the Great Lakes. A second expedition reached Washington and burned the White House. On the approach of the forces, Madison fled leaving his dinner to the enemy. A third army reached New Orleans but Jackson defeated it. The victory over the Creeks and the English made Jackson so popular with the masses that he too won the presidency in subsequent times.

THE PEACE OF GHENT, 1814

Two weeks before the battle of New Orleans was fought, the warring powers signed peace at Ghent. As the news could not be transmitted on time, the battle could not be averted. Eight days after the declaration of war, James Monroe, Secretary of State, proposed to settle peace but Great Britain refused to abandon impressments. Three months later Tsar Alexander I of Russia offered his mediation to the powers. Smarting under the humiliation of defeat, inflicted by Tecumseh and Brock, Madison embraced the proposal and sent a five-man team under Gallatin to St. Petersburg, But great Britain rejected Russian mediation, as she did not favour a third party intervention. Now, Lord Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, intimated the willingness of Britain for direct negotiation and named a team with Lord Gambier as the chief negotiator. The negotiations started at Ghent in Belgium. Because of her victory over Napoleon, Britain appeared in no hurry to settle terms, for she expected an easy victory in America too. However she came down after she lost control of the Great Lakes and Tecumseh died in battle. Madison's administration directed his envoys to demand the abandonment of impressments, cessation of illegal blockades, settlement of other disputes



and if possible the cession of Canada. Against these, the British delegation suggested that the United States should not maintain any fortifications or warships on the borders and that an autonomous Indian buffer state south of the Great lakes should be created. As the American envoys rejected these suggestions, Great Britain agreed to abandon her demands for the creation of an Indian state and for the withdrawal of American military presence from the Great Lakes. 43 Gallatin suggested the settlement of other issues through arbitration. As the war proved indecisive, the powers settled peace in December 1814.

The Treaty of Ghent provided for the mutual restoration of conquests but mentioned nothing about impressments or neutral rights. It also created mixed arbitral commissions to settle other disputes. This led to the conclusion of several agreements during the years that followed. The Commercial Convention of 1815 permitted the Americans to trade with all territories of the British except the West Indies. The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1818 forbade the powers from having warships and forts on the Great Lakes. The Fisheries Convention of 1818 conceded on the Americans the right to fish in the Canadian seas. The Boundary Convention of 1818 recognised the 49th parallel as the American Canadian boundary between the Great Lakes and the Rocky Mountains. While the Treaty of 1814 gave the much needed peace and provided for the mutual restoration of conquests, the subsequent agreements removed the other irritants in Anglo-American relations.

HARTFORD CONVENTION 1814 - 1815

The **Hartford Convention** was a series of meetings from December 15, 1814 to January 5, 1815, in Hartford, Connecticut, United States, in which the New England Federalist Party met to discuss their grievances concerning the ongoing War of 1812 and the political problems arising from the federal government's increasing power.

This convention discussed removing the three-fifths compromise and requiring a two-thirds majority in Congress for the admission of new states, declarations of war, and creating laws restricting trade. The Federalists also discussed their grievances with the Louisiana Purchase and the Embargo of 1807. However, weeks after the convention's end, news of Major General Andrew Jackson's overwhelming victory in New Orleans swept over the



Northeast, discrediting and disgracing the Federalists, resulting in their elimination as a major national political force.

The convention was controversial at the time, and many historians consider it a contributing factor to the downfall of the Federalist Party. There are many reasons for this, not least of which was the proposed idea of New England, the Federalist's main base, seceding from the union and creating a new country.

American relations with Great Britain

Under the administrations of George Washington and John Adams, a vigorous trade with France was maintained while both administrations engaged in an undeclared war with France. With the resumption of the Napoleonic Wars at the same time that Thomas Jefferson assumed office, relations with both France and Great Britain deteriorated. Jefferson's goal was an expansion of free trade through Great Britain's lifting of trade restrictions placed against the United States. However, to pressure Britain into compliance, he adopted anti-foreign trade policies such as the Embargo Act of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809. These policies were very unpopular among Northeastern merchants and shippers. Jefferson's successor, President James Madison, and what is now called the Democratic-Republican Party, continued his policies.

The opposing Federalist Party regained strength especially in New England and New York; it collaborated with Lieutenant Governor DeWitt Clinton of New York City and supported him for president in 1812.

Opposition to the War of 1812

When Madison was re-elected in 1812 the discontent in New England intensified. In late 1813 Madison signed a more restrictive embargo act than any of those approved by Jefferson, this time prohibiting all trade between American ports (the coastal trade) and fishing outside harbors. By the summer of 1814, the war had turned against the Americans.



After ending their war with Napoleonic France, Great Britain was able to marshal more resources to North America and had effectively blockaded the entire eastern coastline. Territory in the Maine district of Massachusetts was occupied in July, in August the White house and capitol were burned, and by September the British were advancing further in Maine and the Lake Champlain area of New York. A naval assault on Boston was expected in the near future. Free trade with the rest of the world had virtually ceased, thousands were thrown out of work, and by August banks were suspending specie payment. The federal government was approaching bankruptcy.

New England governors followed a policy of giving minimal support to the Federal government in waging the war. With the exception of Governor John Taylor Gilman of New Hampshire, most requisitions for state militia were denied. New Englanders were reluctant to have their militia, needed to defend their coasts from British attacks, assigned elsewhere or placed under the command of the regular army. General Winfield Scott, after the war, blamed Madison's policy of ignoring Federalists, who in New England constituted the best educated class, when granting regular army commissions in New England.

The anti-war sentiment in Massachusetts was so strong that even Samuel Dexter, the Democratic-Republican candidate for governor, opposed the national party's commerce policies. Federalists still dominated the 1814 elections, returning Caleb Strong as governor and electing 360 Federalists against only 156 Democratic-Republicans to the lower house of the Massachusetts Legislature. In September Governor Strong refused a request to provide and support 5,000 troops to retake territory in Maine

Because Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused to subject their militia to the orders of the War Department, Madison declined to pay their expenses. Consequently, critics said that Madison had abandoned New England to the common enemy. The Massachusetts Legislature appropriated \$1 million to support a state army of 10,000 men. Harrison Gray Otis, who inspired these measures, suggested that the eastern states meet at a convention in Hartford, Connecticut. As early as 1804 some New England Federalists had discussed secession from the Union if the national government became too oppressive.



In September 1814, Madison asked Congress for a conscription bill. Even though this had not been one of the original grievances that led to the call for the convention, Federalists presented this as further proof that the Democratic-Republicans intended to bring military despotism into the nation. Thomas Grosvenor of New York saw this as the result of the administration leading the country "defenseless and naked, into that lake of blood she is yet swimming".

Secession was again mentioned in 1814–1815; all but one leading Federalist newspaper in New England supported a plan to expel the western states from the Union. Otis, the key leader of the Convention, blocked radical proposals such as a seizure of the Federal customs house, impounding federal funds, or declaring neutrality. Otis thought the Madison administration was near collapse and that unless conservatives like himself and the other delegates took charge, the radical secessionists might take power. Indeed, Otis was unaware that Massachusetts Governor Strong had already sent a secret mission to discuss terms with the British for a separate peace.

There are a number of reasons why historians doubt that the New England Federalists were seriously considering secession. All the states, especially Connecticut with its claims to western lands, stood to lose more than they would gain. Efforts were made in the delegation selection process to exclude firebrands like John Lowell, Jr., Timothy Pickering, and Josiah Quincy who might have pushed for secession, and the final report of the convention did not propose secession.

Despite this, the Madison administration had reasons to be concerned about the consequences of the Hartford Convention. Federalists were already blocking administration efforts to finance the war and bring it to a successful conclusion with an invasion of Canada. There were fears that New England would negotiate a separate peace with Great Britain, an action in many ways just as harmful to the nation as actual secession. In preparing for a worst-case scenario, Madison moved troops from the New York–Canada border to Albany where they could quickly be sent to Massachusetts or Connecticut if needed to preserve federal authority. Several New England regiments that had participated in



the Niagara campaign were returned home where it was hoped that they could serve as a focal point for New Englanders opposed to disunion.

Call for a convention

In response to the war crisis, Massachusetts Governor Strong called the newly elected General Court to a special session on October 5, 1814. Strong's message to the legislature was referred to a joint committee headed by Harrison Gray Otis. Otis was considered a moderate. His report delivered three days later called for resistance of any British invasion, criticized the leadership that had brought the nation close to disaster, and called for a convention of New England states to deal with both their common grievances and common defense. Otis' report was passed by the state senate on October 12 by a 22 to 12 vote and the house on October 16 by 260 to 20. A letter was sent to the other New England governors, inviting them to send delegates to a convention in Hartford, Connecticut. The stated purpose of the convention was to propose constitutional amendments to protect their section's interests and to make arrangements with the Federal government for their own military defense.

Twelve delegates were appointed by the Massachusetts legislature, of which George Cabot and Harrison G. Otis were chief (see list below). In Connecticut, the legislature denounced Madison's "odious and disastrous war", voiced concern about plans to implement a national draft, and selected seven delegates led by Chauncey Goodrich and James Hillhouse. Rhode Island's legislature selected four delegates to discuss "the best means of cooperating for our mutual defense against the common enemy, and upon the measures which it may be in the power of said states, consistently with their obligations to adopt, to restore and secure to the people thereof, their rights and privileges under the Constitution of the United States". New Hampshire's legislature was not in session and its Federalist governor, John Gilman, refused to call it back into session. Vermont's legislature voted unanimously not to send delegates. Two New Hampshire counties and one Vermont county each sent a delegate, bringing the total to 26. On December 15, 1814 the delegates met in the Connecticut Senate's chamber at the Old State House in Hartford.



Secret meetings

In all, twenty-six delegates attended the secret meetings. No records of the proceedings were kept, and meetings continued through January 5, 1815. After choosing George Cabot as president and Theodore Dwight as secretary, the convention remained in closed session for three weeks. Cabot's journal of its proceedings, when it was eventually opened, was a meager sketch of formal proceedings; he made no record of yeas and nays, stated none of the amendments offered to the various reports, and neglected to attach the names of authors to proposals. It is impossible to ascertain the speeches or votes of individual delegates.

Convention report

The convention ended with a report and resolutions, signed by the delegates present, and adopted on the day before final adjournment. The report said that New England had a "duty" to assert its authority over unconstitutional infringements on its sovereignty—a doctrine that echoed the policy of Jefferson and Madison in 1798 (in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions), and which would later reappear in a different context as "nullification".

The Hartford Convention's final report proposed several amendments to the U.S. Constitution. These attempted to combat the policies of the ruling Democratic-Republicans by:

1. Prohibiting any trade embargo lasting over 60 days;
2. Requiring a two-thirds Congressional majority for declaration of offensive war, admission of a new state, or interdiction of foreign commerce;
3. Removing the three-fifths representation advantage of the South;
4. Limiting future presidents to one term;



5. Requiring each president to be from a different state than his predecessor. (This provision was aimed directly at the dominance of Virginia in the presidency since 1800).

Negative reception and legacy

The Democratic-Republican Congress would never have recommended any of New England's proposals for ratification. Hartford delegates intended for them to embarrass the President and the Democratic-Republicans in Congress—and also to serve as a basis for negotiations between New England and the rest of the country.

Some delegates may have been in favor of New England's secession from the United States and forming an independent republic, though no such resolution was adopted at the convention. Historian Samuel Eliot Morison rejected the notion that the Hartford convention was an attempt to take New England out of the Union and give treasonous aid and comfort to Britain. Morison wrote: "Democratic politicians, seeking a foil to their own mismanagement of the war and to discredit the still formidable Federalist party, caressed and fed this infant myth until it became so tough and lusty as to defy both solemn denials and documentary proof."

After the convention, Massachusetts sent three commissioners to Washington, D.C. to negotiate for the terms that had been agreed. By the time they arrived in February 1815, news of Andrew Jackson's overwhelming victory at the Battle of New Orleans, and the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, preceded them and, consequently, their presence in the capital seemed both ludicrous and subversive. They quickly returned home. Thereafter, both *Hartford Convention* and *Federalist Party* became synonymous with disunion, secession, and treason, especially in the South. The party was ruined and ceased to be a significant force in national politics, although in a few places (notably Massachusetts, where Federalists were elected governor annually until 1823) it retained some power.



UNIT – III

MONROE DOCTRINE AND JACKSON DEMOCRACY

JAMES MONROE (1817-1825)

James Monroe was an American statesman, lawyer, diplomat and Founding Father who served as the 5th president of the United States from 1817 to 1825. A member of the Democratic-Republican Party, Monroe was the last president of the Virginia dynasty and the Republican Generation; his presidency coincided with the Era of Good Feelings, concluding the First Party System era of American politics. He is perhaps best known for issuing the Monroe Doctrine, a policy of opposing European colonialism in the Americas while effectively asserting U.S. dominance, empire, and hegemony in the hemisphere. He also served as governor of Virginia, a member of the United States Senate,



U.S. ambassador to France and Britain, the 7th Secretary of State, and the 8th Secretary of War.

Born into a slave-owning planter family in Westmoreland County, Virginia, Monroe served in the Continental Army during the American Revolutionary War. After studying law under Thomas Jefferson from 1780 to 1783, he served as a delegate in the Continental Congress. As a delegate to the Virginia Ratifying Convention, Monroe opposed the ratification of the United States Constitution. In 1790, he won election to the Senate, where he became a leader of the Democratic-Republican Party. He left the Senate in 1794 to serve as President George Washington's ambassador to France but was recalled by Washington in 1796. Monroe won the election as Governor of Virginia in 1799 and strongly supported Jefferson's candidacy in the 1800 presidential election.

As President Jefferson's special envoy, Monroe helped negotiate the Louisiana Purchase, through which the United States nearly doubled in size. Monroe fell out with his longtime friend James Madison after Madison rejected the Monroe–Pinkney Treaty that Monroe negotiated with Britain. He unsuccessfully challenged Madison for the Democratic-Republican nomination in the 1808 presidential election, but in 1811 he joined Madison's administration as Secretary of State. During the later stages of the War of 1812, Monroe simultaneously served as Madison's Secretary of State and Secretary of War. His wartime leadership established him as Madison's heir apparent, and he easily defeated Federalist candidate Rufus King in the 1816 presidential election.

Monroe's presidency was concurrent with the Era of Good Feelings. The Federalist Party collapsed as a national political force during his tenure and Monroe was re-elected, virtually unopposed, in 1820. As president, Monroe signed the Missouri Compromise, which admitted Missouri as a slave state and banned slavery from territories north of the parallel 36°30' north. In foreign affairs, Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams favored a policy of conciliation with Britain and a policy of expansionism against the Spanish Empire. In the 1819 Adams–Onís Treaty with Spain, the United States secured Florida and established its western border with New Spain. In 1823, Monroe announced the United States' opposition to any European intervention in the recently independent countries of the Americas with the



Monroe Doctrine, which became a landmark in American foreign policy. Monroe was a member of the American Colonization Society, which supported the colonization of Africa by freed slaves, and Liberia's capital of Monrovia is named in his honor.

Following his retirement in 1825, Monroe was plagued by financial difficulties, and died on July 4, 1831 in New York City - sharing a distinction with Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson of dying on the anniversary of U.S independence. He has been generally ranked as an above-average president by historians.

Plantations and slavery

Monroe sold his small Virginia plantation in 1783 to enter law and politics. He later fulfilled his childhood dream of becoming the owner of a large plantation and wielding great political power, but his plantation was never profitable. Although he owned much more land and many more slaves, and speculated in property, he was rarely on site to oversee the operations. Overseers treated the slaves harshly to force production, but the plantations barely broke even. Monroe incurred debts by his lavish and *expensive* lifestyle and often sold property (including slaves) to pay them off. The labor of Monroe's many slaves were also used to support his daughter and son-in-law, along with a ne'er-do-well brother and his son.

During the course of his presidency, Monroe remained convinced that slavery was wrong and supported private manumission, but at the same time he insisted that any attempt to promote emancipation would cause more problems. Monroe believed that slavery had become a permanent part of southern life, and that it could only be removed on providential terms. Like so many other Upper South slaveholders, Monroe believed that a central purpose of government was to ensure "domestic tranquility" for all. Like so many other Upper South planters, he also believed that the central purpose of government was to empower planters like himself. He feared for public safety in the United States during the era of violent revolution on two fronts. First, from potential class warfare of the French Revolution in which those of the propertied classes were summarily purged in mob violence and then preemptive trials, and second, from possible racial warfare similar to that of the Haitian Revolution in which blacks, whites, then mixed-race inhabitants were indiscriminately slaughtered as events there unfolded.



Early political career

Virginia politics

Monroe was elected to the Virginia House of Delegates in 1782. After serving on Virginia's Executive Council, he was elected to the Congress of the Confederation in November 1783 and served in Annapolis until Congress convened in Trenton, New Jersey in June 1784. He had served a total of three years when he finally retired from that office by the rule of rotation. By that time, the government was meeting in the temporary capital of New York City. In 1784, Monroe undertook an extensive trip through Western New York and Pennsylvania to inspect the conditions in the Northwest. The tour convinced him that the United States had to pressure Britain to abandon its posts in the region and assert control of the Northwest. While serving in Congress, Monroe became an advocate for western expansion, and played a key role in the writing and passage of the Northwest Ordinance. The ordinance created the Northwest Territory, providing for federal administration of the territories West of Pennsylvania and North of the Ohio River. During this period, Jefferson continued to serve as a mentor to Monroe, and, at Jefferson's prompting, he befriended another prominent Virginian, James Madison.

Monroe resigned from Congress in 1786 to focus on his legal career, and he became an attorney for the state. In 1787, Monroe won election to another term in the Virginia House of Delegates. Though he had become outspoken in his desire to reform the Articles, he was unable to attend the Philadelphia Convention due to his work obligations. In 1788, Monroe became a delegate to the Virginia Ratifying Convention. In Virginia, the struggle over the ratification of the proposed Constitution involved more than a simple clash between federalists and anti-federalists. Virginians held a full spectrum of opinions about the merits of the proposed change in national government. Washington and Madison were leading supporters; Patrick Henry and George Mason were leading opponents. Those who held the middle ground in the ideological struggle became the central figures. Led by Monroe and Edmund Pendleton, these "federalists who are for amendments" criticized the absence of a bill of rights and worried about surrendering taxation powers to the central government. After Madison reversed himself and promised to pass a bill of rights, the



Virginia convention ratified the constitution by a narrow vote, though Monroe himself voted against it. Virginia was the tenth state to ratify the Constitution, and all thirteen states eventually ratified the document.

Monroe as Senator

Henry and other anti-federalists hoped to elect a Congress that would amend the Constitution to take away most of the powers it had been granted (own authority, as Madison put it). Henry recruited Monroe to run against Madison for a House seat in the First Congress, and he had the Virginia legislature draw a congressional district designed to elect Monroe. During the campaign, Madison and Monroe often traveled together, and the election did not destroy their friendship. In the election for Virginia's Fifth District, Madison prevailed over Monroe, taking 1,308 votes compared to Monroe's 972 votes. Following his defeat, Monroe returned to his legal duties and developed his farm in Charlottesville. After the death of Senator William Grayson in 1790, Virginia legislators elected Monroe to serve the remainder of Grayson's term.

During the presidency of George Washington, U.S. politics became increasingly polarized between the supporters of Secretary of State Jefferson and the Federalists, led by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. Monroe stood firmly with Jefferson in opposing Hamilton's strong central government and strong executive. The Democratic-Republican Party coalesced around Jefferson and Madison, and Monroe became one of the fledgling party's leaders in the Senate. He also helped organize opposition to John Adams in the 1792 election, though Adams defeated George Clinton to win re-election as vice president. As the 1790s progressed, the French Revolutionary Wars came to dominate U.S. foreign policy, with British and French raids both threatening U.S. trade with Europe. Like most other Jeffersonians, Monroe supported the French Revolution, but Hamilton's followers tended to sympathize more with Britain. In 1794, hoping to find a way to avoid war with both countries, Washington appointed Monroe as his minister (ambassador) to France. At the same time, he appointed the anglophilic Federalist John Jay as his minister to Britain.

Minister to France



After arriving in France, Monroe addressed the National Convention, receiving a standing ovation for his speech celebrating republicanism. He experienced several early diplomatic successes, including the protection of U.S. trade from French attacks. He also used his influence to win the release of Thomas Paine and Adrienne de La Fayette, the wife of the Marquis de Lafayette. Months after Monroe arrived in France, the U.S. and Great Britain concluded the Jay Treaty, outraging both the French and Monroe—not fully informed about the treaty prior to its publication. Despite the undesirable effects of the Jay Treaty on Franco-American relations, Monroe won French support for U.S. navigational rights on the Mississippi River—the mouth of which was controlled by Spain—and in 1795 the U.S. and Spain signed Pinckney's Treaty. The treaty granted the U.S. limited rights to use the port of New Orleans.

Washington decided Monroe was inefficient, disruptive, and failed to safeguard the national interest. He recalled Monroe in November 1796. Returning to his home in Charlottesville, he resumed his dual careers as a farmer and lawyer. Jefferson and Madison urged Monroe to run for Congress, but Monroe chose to focus on state politics instead.

In 1798 Monroe published *A View of the Conduct of the Executive, in the Foreign Affairs of the United States: Connected with the Mission to the French Republic, During the Years 1794, 5, and 6*. It was a long defense of his term as Minister to France. He followed the advice of his friend Robert Livingston who cautioned him to "repress every harsh and acrimonious" comment about Washington. However, he did complain that too often the U.S. government had been too close to Britain, especially regarding the Jay Treaty. Washington made notes on this copy, writing, "The truth is, Mr. Monroe was cajoled, flattered, and made to believe strange things. In return he did, or was disposed to do, whatever was pleasing to that nation, reluctantly urging the rights of his own."

Confrontations and strife with Alexander Hamilton

In November 1792, James Reynolds and Jacob Clingman were arrested for counterfeiting and speculating in Revolutionary War veterans' unpaid back wages. Then-Senator Monroe and congressmen Frederick Muhlenberg and Abraham Venable investigated



the charges. They found that Alexander Hamilton had been making payments to James Reynolds, and suspected Hamilton was involved in the crimes. They asked him about it, and Hamilton denied involvement in the financial crimes, but admitted that he'd made payments to Reynolds, and explained he'd had an affair with Reynolds' wife, Maria. James Reynolds had found out and was blackmailing him. He offered letters to prove his story. The investigators immediately dropped the matter, and Monroe promised Hamilton he would keep the matter private.

Jacob Clingman told Maria about the claim she'd had an affair with Hamilton, and she denied it, claiming the letters had been forged to help cover up the corruption. Clingman went to Monroe about this. Monroe added that interview to his notes, and sent the entire set to a friend, possibly Thomas Jefferson, for safekeeping. Unfortunately, the secretary who was involved in managing the notes of the investigation made copies and gave them to scandal writer James Callender.

Five years later, shortly after Monroe was recalled from France, Callender published accusations against Hamilton based on those notes. Hamilton and his wife thought this was retaliation on the part of Monroe for the recall, and confronted by Hamilton via letter. In a subsequent meeting between the two of them, where Hamilton had suggested each bring a "second", Hamilton accused Monroe of lying, and challenged him to a duel. While such challenges were usually hot air, in this case Monroe replied "I am ready, get your pistols." Their seconds interceded, and an arrangement was made to give Hamilton documentation on what had occurred with the investigation.

Hamilton was not satisfied with the subsequent explanations, and at the end of an exchange of letters the two were threatening duels, again. Monroe chose Aaron Burr as his second. Burr worked as a negotiator between the two parties, believing they were both being "childish", and eventually helped settle matters.

Governor of Virginia and diplomat

On a party-line vote, the Virginia legislature elected Monroe as Governor of Virginia in 1799. He would serve as governor until 1802. The constitution of Virginia



endowed the governor with very few powers aside from commanding the militia when the Assembly called it into action. But Monroe used his stature to convince legislators to enhance state involvement in transportation and education and to increase training for the militia. Monroe also began to give State of the Commonwealth addresses to the legislature, in which he highlighted areas in which he believed the legislature should act. Monroe also led an effort to create the state's first penitentiary, and imprisonment replaced other, often harsher, punishments. In 1800, Monroe called out the state militia to suppress Gabriel's Rebellion, a slave rebellion originating on a plantation six miles from the capital of Richmond. Gabriel and 27 other enslaved people who participated were all hanged for treason. As Governor, Monroe secretly worked with President Thomas Jefferson to secure a location where free and enslaved African Americans suspected of "conspiracy, insurgency, Treason, and rebellion" would be permanently banished.

Monroe thought that foreign and Federalist elements had created the Quasi War of 1798–1800, and he strongly supported Thomas Jefferson's candidacy for president in 1800. Federalists were likewise suspicious of Monroe, some viewing him at best as a French dupe and at worst a traitor. With the power to appoint election officials in Virginia, Monroe exercised his influence to help Jefferson win Virginia's presidential electors. He also considered using the Virginia militia to force the outcome in favor of Jefferson. Jefferson won the 1800 election, and he appointed Madison as his Secretary of State. As a member of Jefferson's party and the leader of the largest state in the country, Monroe emerged as one of Jefferson's two most likely successors, alongside Madison.

Louisiana Purchase

Shortly after the end of Monroe's gubernatorial tenure, President Jefferson sent Monroe back to France to assist Ambassador Robert R. Livingston in negotiating the Louisiana Purchase. In the 1800 Treaty of San Ildefonso, France had acquired the territory of Louisiana from Spain; at the time, many in the U.S. believed that France had also acquired West Florida in the same treaty. The American delegation originally sought to



acquire West Florida and the city of New Orleans, which controlled the trade of the Mississippi River. Determined to acquire New Orleans even if it meant war with France, Jefferson also authorized Monroe to form an alliance with the British if the French refused to sell the city.

Meeting with François Barbé-Marbois, the French foreign minister, Monroe and Livingston agreed to purchase the entire territory of Louisiana for \$15 million; the purchase became known as the Louisiana Purchase. In agreeing to the purchase, Monroe violated his instructions, which had only allowed \$9 million for the purchase of New Orleans and West Florida. The French did not acknowledge that West Florida remained in Spanish possession, and the United States would claim that France had sold West Florida to the United States for several years to come. Though he had not ordered the purchase of the entire territory, Jefferson strongly supported Monroe's actions, which ensured that the United States would continue to expand to the West. Overcoming doubts about whether the Constitution authorized the purchase of foreign territory, Jefferson won congressional approval for the Louisiana Purchase, and the acquisition doubled the size of the United States. Monroe would travel to Spain in 1805 to try to win the cession of West Florida, but, with the support of France, Spain refused to consider relinquishing the territory.

Ambassador to Great Britain

After the resignation of Rufus King, Monroe was appointed as the ambassador to Great Britain in 1803. The greatest issue of contention between the United States and Britain was that of the impressments of U.S. sailors. Many U.S. merchant ships employed British seamen who had deserted or dodged conscription, and the British frequently impressed sailors on U.S. ships in hopes of quelling their manpower issues. Many of the sailors they impressed had never been British subjects, and Monroe was tasked with persuading the British to stop their practice of impressment. Monroe found little success in this endeavor, partly due to Jefferson's alienation of the British minister to the United States, Anthony Merry. Rejecting Jefferson's offer to serve as the first governor of Louisiana Territory, Monroe continued to serve as ambassador to Britain until 1807.



In 1806 he negotiated the Monroe–Pinkney Treaty with Great Britain. It would have extended the Jay Treaty of 1794 which had expired after ten years. Jefferson had fought the Jay Treaty intensely in 1794–95 because he felt it would allow the British to subvert American republicanism. The treaty had produced ten years of peace and highly lucrative trade for American merchants, but Jefferson was still opposed. When Monroe and the British signed the new treaty in December 1806, Jefferson refused to submit it to the Senate for ratification. Although the treaty called for ten more years of trade between the United States and the British Empire and gave American merchants guarantees that would have been good for business, Jefferson was unhappy that it did not end the hated British practice of impressment, and refused to give up the potential weapon of commercial warfare against Britain. The president made no attempt to obtain another treaty, and as a result, the two nations drifted from peace toward the War of 1812. Monroe was severely pained by the administration's repudiation of the treaty, and he fell out with Secretary of State James Madison.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (1825-1829)

John Quincy Adams 1767 –1848) was an American statesman, diplomat, lawyer, and diarist, who served as the 6th president of the United States from 1825 to 1829. He previously served as the 8th United States Secretary of State from 1817 to 1825. During his long diplomatic and political career, Adams also served as an ambassador, and as a member of the United States Senate and House of Representatives representing Massachusetts. He was the eldest son of John Adams, who served as the second U.S. president from 1797 to 1801, and First Lady Abigail Adams. Initially a Federalist like his father, he won election to the presidency as a member of the Democratic-Republican Party, and in the mid-1830s became affiliated with the Whig Party.

He was born in Braintree, Massachusetts (now part of the town of Quincy), Adams spent much of his youth in Europe, where his father served as a diplomat. After returning to the United States, Adams established a successful legal practice in Boston. In 1794, President George Washington appointed Adams as the U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands, and Adams would serve in high-ranking diplomatic posts until 1801, when Thomas



Jefferson took office as president. Federalist leaders in Massachusetts arranged for Adams's election to the United States Senate in 1802, but Adams broke with the Federalist Party over foreign policy and was denied re-election. In 1809, President James Madison, a member of the Democratic-Republican Party, appointed Adams as the U.S. ambassador to Russia. Adams held diplomatic posts for the duration of Madison's presidency, and he served as part of the American delegation that negotiated an end to the War of 1812. In 1817, President James Monroe selected Adams as his Secretary of State. In that role, Adams negotiated the Adams–Onís Treaty, which provided for the American acquisition of Florida. He also helped formulate the Monroe Doctrine, which became a key tenet of U.S. foreign policy. In 1818, Adams was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

Adams, Andrew Jackson, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay — all members of the Democratic-Republican Party — competed in the 1824 presidential election. Because no candidate won a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives held a contingent election, which Adams won with the support of Speaker of the House Clay, whom Adams would go on to controversially appoint as his Secretary of State. As president, Adams called for an ambitious agenda that included federally funded infrastructure projects, the establishment of a national university, and engagement with the countries of Latin America, but Congress refused to pass many of his initiatives. During Adams's presidency, the Democratic-Republican Party split into two major camps: the National Republican Party, which supported President Adams, and Andrew Jackson's Democratic Party. The Democrats proved to be more effective political organizers than Adams and his National Republican supporters, and Jackson soundly defeated Adams in the 1828 presidential election, making Adams the second president after his father to fail to win re-election.

Rather than retiring from public service, Adams won election to the House of Representatives, where he would serve from 1831 until his death in 1848. He remains the only ex-president to be elected to the chamber. After narrowly losing his bids for Governor of Massachusetts and Senate re-election, Adams joined the Anti-Masonic Party in the early 1830s before joining the Whig Party, which united those opposed to President Jackson.



During his time in Congress, Adams became increasingly critical of slavery and of the Southern leaders who he believed controlled the Democratic Party. He was particularly opposed to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican–American War, which he saw as a war to extend slavery and its political grip on Congress. He also led the repeal of the "gag rule", which had prevented the House of Representatives from debating petitions to abolish slavery. Historians concur that Adams was one of the greatest diplomats and secretaries of state in American history; they typically rank him as an average president, as he had an ambitious agenda but could not get it passed by Congress.

Political career (1793–1817)

Early diplomatic career

Adams initially avoided becoming involved in politics, instead focusing on building his legal career. In 1791, he wrote a series of pseudonymously published essays arguing that Britain provided a better governmental model than France. Two years later, he published another series of essays attacking Edmond-Charles Genêt, a French diplomat who sought to undermine President George Washington's policy of neutrality in the French Revolutionary Wars.^[21] In 1794, Washington appointed Adams as the U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands. Adams considered declining the role, but ultimately took the position on the advice of his father. While abroad, Adams continued to urge neutrality, arguing that the United States would benefit economically by staying out of the ongoing French Revolutionary Wars. His chief duty as the ambassador to the Netherlands was to secure and maintain loans essential to U.S. finances. On his way to the Netherlands, he met with John Jay, who was then negotiating the Jay Treaty with Great Britain. Adams supported the Jay Treaty, but it proved unpopular with many in the United States, contributing to a growing partisan split between the Federalist Party of Alexander Hamilton and the Democratic-Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson.

In 1796, Washington appointed Adams as the U.S. ambassador to Portugal. Later that year, John Adams defeated Jefferson in the 1796 presidential election. When the elder Adams became president, he appointed his son as the U.S. ambassador to Prussia. Though concerned that his appointment would be criticized as nepotistic, Adams accepted the position and



traveled to the Prussian capital of Berlin with his wife and his younger brother, Thomas Boylston Adams. The State Department tasked Adams with developing commercial relations with Prussia and Sweden, but President Adams also asked his son to write to him frequently about affairs in Europe. In 1799, Adams negotiated a new trade agreement between the United States and Prussia, though he could never complete an agreement with Sweden. He frequently wrote to family members in the United States, and in 1801 his letters about the Prussian region of Silesia were published in a book titled *Letters on Silesia*. In the 1800 presidential election, Jefferson defeated John Adams, and both Adams and his son left office in early 1801.

U.S. Senator from Massachusetts

On his return to the United States, Adams re-established a legal practice in Boston, and in April 1802 he was elected to the Massachusetts Senate. In November of that year, he ran unsuccessfully for the United States House of Representatives. In February 1803, the Massachusetts legislature elected Adams to the United States Senate. Though somewhat reluctant to affiliate with any political party, Adams joined the Federalist minority in Congress. Like his Federalist colleagues, he opposed the impeachment of Associate Justice Samuel Chase, an outspoken supporter of the Federalist Party.

Adams had strongly opposed Jefferson's 1800 presidential candidacy, but he gradually became alienated from the Federalist Party. His disaffection was driven by the party's declining popularity, disagreements over foreign policy, and Adams's hostility to Timothy Pickering, a Federalist Party leader whom Adams viewed as overly favorable to Britain. Unlike other New England Federalists, Adams supported the Jefferson administration's Louisiana Purchase and expansionist policies. Adams was the lone Federalist in Congress to vote for the Non-importation Act of 1806 that punished Britain for its attacks on American shipping during the ongoing Napoleonic Wars. Adams became increasingly frustrated with the unwillingness of other Federalists to condemn British actions, including impressment, and he moved closer to the Jefferson administration. After Adams supported the Embargo Act of 1807, the Federalist-controlled Massachusetts legislature



elected Adams's successor several months before the end of his term, and Adams resigned from the Senate shortly thereafter.

After resigning from the Senate, Adams was ostracized by Massachusetts Federalist leaders, but he declined Democratic-Republican entreaties to seek office. In 1809, he argued before the Supreme Court of the United States in *Fletcher v. Peck*, and the Supreme Court ultimately agreed with Adams's argument that the Constitution's Contract Clause prevented the state of Georgia from invalidating a land sale to out-of-state companies. Later that year, President James Madison appointed Adams as the first United States Minister to Russia in 1809. Though Adams had only recently broken with the Federalist Party, his support of Jefferson's foreign policy had earned him goodwill with the Madison Administration. Adams was well-qualified for the role after his experiences in Europe generally and Russia specifically.

After a difficult passage through the Baltic Sea, Adams arrived in the Russian capital of St. Petersburg in October 1809. He quickly established a productive working relationship with Russian official Nikolay Rumyantsev and eventually befriended Tsar Alexander I of Russia. Adams continued to favor American neutrality between France and Britain during the Napoleonic War. Louisa was initially distraught at the prospect of living in Russia, but she became a popular figure at the Russian court. From his diplomatic post, Adams observed the French Emperor Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which ended in defeat for the French.^[51] In February 1811, President Madison nominated Adams as an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The nomination was unanimously confirmed by the Senate, but Adams declined the seat, preferring a career in politics and diplomacy, so Joseph Story took the seat instead.

Treaty of Ghent and Ambassador to Britain

Adams had long feared that the United States would enter a war it could not win against Britain, and by early 1812, he saw such a war as inevitable due to the constant British attacks on American shipping and the British practice of impressment. In mid-1812, the United States declared war against Britain, beginning the War of 1812. Tsar Alexander



attempted to mediate the conflict between Britain and the United States, and President Madison appointed Adams, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, and Federalist Senator James A. Bayard to a delegation charged with negotiating an end to the war. Gallatin and Bayard arrived in St. Petersburg in July 1813, but the British declined Tsar Alexander's offer of mediation. Hoping to start negotiations at another venue, Adams left Russia in April 1814. Negotiations finally began in mid-1814 in Ghent, where Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard were joined by two additional American delegates, Jonathan Russell and former Speaker of the House Henry Clay. Adams, the nominal head of the delegation, got along well with Gallatin, Bayard, and Russell, but he occasionally clashed with Clay.

The British delegation initially treated the United States as a defeated power, demanding the creation of an Indian barrier state from American territory near the Great Lakes. The American delegation unanimously rejected this offer, and their negotiating position was bolstered by the American victory in the Battle of Plattsburgh. By November 1814, the government of Lord Liverpool decided to seek an end to hostilities with the U.S. on the basis of *status quo ante bellum*. Even though a return to the status quo would mean the continuation of the British practice of impressment, Adams and his fellow commissioners had hoped for similar terms. The treaty was signed on December 24, 1814. The United States did not gain any concessions from the treaty but could boast that it had survived a war against the strongest power in the world. Following the signing of the treaty, Adams traveled to Paris, where he witnessed first-hand the Hundred Days of Napoleon's restoration.

In May 1815, Adams learned that President Madison had appointed him as the U.S. ambassador to Britain. With the aid of Clay and Gallatin, Adams negotiated a limited trade agreement with Britain. Following the conclusion of the trade agreement, much of Adams's time as ambassador was spent helping stranded American sailors and prisoners of war. In pursuit of national unity, newly elected president James Monroe decided a Northerner would be optimal for the position of Secretary of State, and he chose the respected and experienced Adams for the role. Having spent several years in Europe, Adams returned to the United States in August 1817.

Secretary of State (1817–1825)



Adams served as Secretary of State during Monroe's eight-year presidency, from 1817 to 1825. Many of his successes as secretary, such as the convention of 1818 with the United Kingdom, the Transcontinental Treaty with Spain, and the Monroe Doctrine, were not preplanned strategies but responses to unexpected events. Adams wanted to delay American recognition of the newly independent republics of Latin America to avoid the risk of war with Spain and its European allies. However, Andrew Jackson's military campaign in Florida and Henry Clay's threats in Congress forced Spain to cut a deal, which Adams negotiated successfully. Biographer James Lewis says, "He managed to play the cards that he had been dealt – cards that he very clearly had not wanted – in ways that forced the Spanish cabinet to recognize the weakness of its own hand". Apart from the Monroe doctrine, his last four years as Secretary of State were less successful because he was preoccupied with his presidential campaign and refused to make compromises with other countries that might have weakened his candidacy; the result was a small-scale trade war but a successful election to the White House.

Taking office in the aftermath of the War of 1812, Adams thought that the country had been fortunate in avoiding territorial losses, and he prioritized avoiding another war with a European power, particularly Britain.^[63] He also sought to avoid exacerbating sectional tensions, which had been a major issue for the country during the War of 1812. One of the major challenges confronting Adams was how to respond to the power vacuum in Latin America that arose from Spain's weakness following the Peninsular War. In addition to his foreign policy role, Adams held several domestic duties, including overseeing the 1820 Census and writing an extensive report on weights and measures. The weights and measures report, a particular passion of Adams', provided an extensive historical perspective on the topic and advocated for adoption of the metric system.

Monroe and Adams agreed on most major foreign policy issues: both favored neutrality in Latin American independence wars, peace with the United Kingdom, rejection of a trade agreement with the French, and peaceful expansion into the Spanish Empire's North American territories. The president and his secretary of state developed a strong working relationship, and while Adams often influenced Monroe's policies, he respected that



Monroe made the final decisions on major issues. Monroe met regularly with his five-person cabinet, which initially consisted of Adams, Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Crowninshield, and Attorney General William Wirt. Adams developed a strong respect for Calhoun but believed that Crawford was unduly focused on succeeding Monroe in 1824. In the Adams–Onís Treaty, the United States acquired Florida and set the western border of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase.

During his time as ambassador to Britain, Adams had begun negotiations over several contentious issues that had not been solved by the War of 1812 or the Treaty of Ghent. In 1817, the two countries agreed to the Rush–Bagot Treaty, which limited naval armaments on the Great Lakes. Negotiations between the two powers continued, resulting in the Treaty of 1818, which defined the Canada–United States border west of the Great Lakes. The boundary was set at the 49th parallel to the Rocky Mountains, while the territory to the west of the mountains, known as Oregon Country, would be jointly occupied. The agreement marked a watershed moment in United Kingdom–United States relations, as the United States focused on its southern and western borders and British concerns about American expansionism subsided.

Adams–Onís Treaty

When Adams took office, Spanish possessions bordered the United States to the south and west. To the south, Spain retained control of Florida, which the U.S. had long sought to purchase. Spain struggled to control the Indian tribes active in Florida, and some of those tribes raided United States territory. To the west, New Spain bordered the territory acquired by the United States in the Louisiana Purchase, but no clear boundary had been established between United States and Spanish territory. After taking office, Adams began negotiations with Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister to the United States, for the purchase of Florida and the settlement of a border between the United States and New Spain. The negotiations were interrupted by an escalation of the Seminole War, and in December 1818, Monroe ordered General Andrew Jackson to enter Florida and retaliate against Seminoles that had raided Georgia. Exceeding his orders, Jackson captured the Spanish outposts of St.



Marks and Pensacola and executed two Englishmen. While Jackson's actions outraged the rest of the cabinet, Adams defended them as necessary to the country's self-defense, and he eventually convinced Monroe and most of the cabinet to support Jackson. Adams informed Spain that its failure to police its own territory had compelled Jackson to act, and he advised Spain to either secure the region or sell it to the United States. The British, meanwhile, declined to risk their recent rapprochement with the United States, and did not make a major diplomatic issue out of Jackson's execution of two British nationals.

Negotiations between Spain and the United States continued, and Spain agreed to cede Florida. The determination of the western boundary of the United States proved more difficult. American expansionists favored setting the border at the Rio Grande, but Spain, intent on protecting its colony of Mexico from American encroachment, insisted on setting the boundary at the Sabine River. At Monroe's direction, Adams agreed to the Sabine River boundary, but he insisted that Spain cede its claims on Oregon Country. Adams was deeply interested in establishing American control over the Oregon Country, partly because he believed that control of that region would spur trade with Asia. The acquisition of Spanish claims to the Pacific Northwest also allowed the Monroe administration to pair the acquisition of Florida, which was chiefly sought by Southerners, with territorial gains favored primarily by those in the North. After extended negotiations, Spain and the United States agreed to the Adams–Onís Treaty, which was ratified in February 1821. Adams was deeply proud of the treaty, though he privately was concerned by the potential expansion of slavery into the newly acquired territories. In 1824, the Monroe administration would strengthen US claims to Oregon by ratifying the Russo-American Treaty of 1824, which established Russian Alaska's southern border at 54°40' north.

ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

Florida, situated south of the United States along the Gulf of Mexico, was inhabited by the Seminoles, but was claimed by Spain. The Americans entertained for long an irresistible greed to gain possession of this rich territory. It was not ceded by France, yet the administration claimed it as part of the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson wanted to annex West



Florida but found it impossible because of Spanish opposition. In 1810 the American settlers organized a rebellion against Spain, taking advantage of the revolutionary movement.

Latin America. The intruders held a convention, proclaimed the independence of West Florida and applied for annexation with the United States. President Madison with whose connivance all were enacted, promptly accepted the request and incorporated the territory with the Union. When the American minister in Russia explained this development, Tsar Alexander I remarked ironically, "Everybody is getting a little bigger, now a days." In 1813 the United States annexed Mobile, adjoining the annexed territory of West Florida. East Florida continued under Spanish authority. In 1817 at the instruction of President Monroe, Jackson led an expedition to the territory, destroyed the towns and massacred the Seminoles and the Nagroes. De Onis, Spanish minister, demanded compensation for losses but John Quincy Adams justified the aggression under the pretext of self defence and threatened to annex the entire territory if the Indians resisted American intrusion. This convinced Spain that it was better to sell away the territory rather than waiting for the loss of it through war. After prolonged negotiations the powers signed the Adams –Onis Treaty of 1819. By its terms, Spain accepted the American seizure of West Florida and Mobile, ceded East Florida and surrendered all her claims to the Oregon Territory. In return the United States ceded her claim to Texas and agreed to assume the claims of its own citizens against Spain, estimated at five million dollars. These claims emerged partly from the Franco- Spanish seizure of a few America ships during the War of 1798-1800 and partly from losses incurred due to Spain ceded a rich territory but saw no money in return. The United States acquired a foreign possession for which she paid compensation to her own citizens.

MISSOURI COMPROMISE

Missouri Compromise, (1820), in U.S. history, measure worked out between the North and the South and passed by the U.S. Congress that allowed for admission of Missouri as the 24th state (1821). It marked the beginning of the prolonged sectional conflict over the extension of slavery that led to the American Civil War. The territory of Missouri first applied for statehood in 1817, and by early 1819 Congress was considering enabling legislation that would authorize Missouri to frame a state constitution. When



Rep. James Tallmadge of New York attempted to add an antislavery amendment to that legislation on February 13, 1819, however, there ensued an ugly and rancorous debate over slavery and the government's right to restrict slavery. The Tallmadge amendment prohibited the further introduction of slaves into Missouri and provided for emancipation of those already there when they reached age 25. The amendment passed the House of Representatives, controlled by the more-populous North, but failed in the Senate, which was equally divided between free and slave states. Congress adjourned without resolving the Missouri question.

The following summer a considerable body of public opinion in the North was rallied in support of the Tallmadge proposal. Much of that anti-Missouri sentiment, as it was called, arose from a genuine conviction that slavery was morally wrong. Political expediency was mixed with moral convictions. Many of the leading anti-Missouri men had been active in the Federalist party, which seemed to be in the process of disintegration; it was charged that they were seeking an issue on which to rebuild their party. The Federalist leadership of the anti-Missouri group caused some northern Democrats to reconsider their support of the Tallmadge amendment and to favour a compromise that would thwart efforts to revive the Federalist party.

When it reconvened in December 1819, Congress was faced with a request for statehood from Maine. At the time, there were 22 states, half of them free states and half of them slave states. The Senate passed a bill allowing Maine to enter the Union as a free state and Missouri to be admitted without restrictions on slavery. Sen. Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois then added an amendment that allowed Missouri to become a slave state but banned slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 36°30'. Henry Clay then skillfully led the forces of compromise, engineering separate votes on the controversial measures. On March 3, 1820, the decisive votes in the House admitted Maine as a free state, Missouri as a slave state, and made free soil all western territories north of Missouri's southern border.

When the Missouri constitutional convention empowered the state legislature to exclude free blacks and mulattoes, however, a new crisis was brought on. Enough northern



congressmen objected to the racial provision that Clay was called upon to formulate the Second Missouri Compromise. On March 2, 1821, Congress stipulated that Missouri could not gain admission to the Union until it agreed that the exclusionary clause would never be interpreted in such a way as to abridge the privileges and immunities of U.S. citizens. Missouri so agreed and became the 24th state on August 10, 1821; Maine had been admitted the previous year on March 15.

Although slavery had been a divisive issue in the United States for decades, never before had sectional antagonism been so overt and threatening as it was in the Missouri crisis. Thomas Jefferson described the fear it evoked as “like a firebell in the night.” Although the compromise measures appeared to settle the slavery-extension issue, John Quincy Adams noted in his diary, “Take it for granted that the present is a mere preamble—a title page to a great, tragic volume.” Sectional conflict would grow to the point of civil war after the Missouri Compromise was repealed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) and was declared unconstitutional in the Dred Scott decision of 1857.

JOHN MARSHALL

John Marshall was an American politician and lawyer who served as the fourth chief justice of the United States from 1801 until his death in 1835. Marshall served as the fourth United States Secretary of State under President John Adams.

Marshall was born in Germantown in the Colony of Virginia in 1755. After the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, he joined the Continental Army, serving in numerous battles. During the later stages of the war, he was admitted to the state bar and won election to the Virginia House of Delegates. Marshall favored the ratification of the United States Constitution, and he played a major role in Virginia's ratification of that document. At the request of President Adams, Marshall traveled to France in 1797 to help bring an end to attacks on American shipping. In what became known as the XYZ Affair, the government of France refused to open negotiations unless the United States agreed to pay bribes. After



returning to the United States, Marshall won election to the United States House of Representatives and emerged as a leader of the Federalist Party in Congress. He was appointed secretary of state in 1800 after a cabinet shake-up, becoming an important figure in the Adams administration.

In 1801, Adams appointed Marshall to the Supreme Court. Marshall quickly emerged as the key figure on the court, due in large part to his personal influence with the other justices. Under his leadership, the court moved away from *seriatim* opinions, instead issuing a single majority opinion that elucidated a clear rule. The 1803 case of *Marbury v. Madison* presented the first major case heard by the Marshall Court. In his opinion for the court, Marshall upheld the principle of judicial review, whereby courts could strike down federal and state laws if they conflicted with the Constitution.

Early political career (1782 to 1797)

Upon joining the House of Delegates, Marshall aligned himself with members of the conservative Tidewater establishment such as James Monroe and Richard Henry Lee. With the backing of his influential father-in-law, Marshall was elected to the Council of State, becoming the youngest individual up to that point to serve on the council. In 1785, Marshall took up the additional office of Recorder of the Richmond City Hustings Court. Meanwhile, Marshall sought to build up his own legal practice, a difficult proposition during a time of economic recession. In 1786, he purchased the law practice of his cousin, Edmund Randolph, after the latter was elected Governor of Virginia. Marshall gained a reputation as a talented attorney practicing in the state capital of Richmond, and he took on a wide array of cases. He represented the heirs of Lord Fairfax in *Hite v. Fairfax* (1786), an important case involving a large tract of land in the Northern Neck of Virginia.

Under the Articles of Confederation, the United States during the 1780s was a confederation of sovereign states with a weak national government that had little or no effective power to impose tariffs, regulate interstate commerce, or enforce laws. Influenced by Shays' Rebellion and the powerlessness of the Congress of the Confederation, Marshall came to believe in the necessity of a new governing structure that would replace the



powerless national government established by the Articles of Confederation. He strongly favored ratification of the new constitution proposed by the Philadelphia Convention, as it provided for a much stronger federal government. Marshall was elected to the 1788 Virginia Ratifying Convention, where he worked with James Madison to convince other delegates to ratify the new constitution. After a long debate, proponents of ratification emerged victorious, as the convention voted 89 to 79 to ratify the constitution.

After the United States ratified the Constitution, newly elected President George Washington nominated Marshall as the United States Attorney for Virginia. Though the nomination was confirmed by the Senate, Marshall declined the position, instead choosing to focus on his own law practice. In the early 1790s, the Federalist Party and the Democratic-Republican Party emerged as the country was polarized by issues such as the French Revolutionary Wars and the power of the presidency and the federal government. Marshall aligned with the Federalists, and at Alexander Hamilton's request, he organized a Federalist movement in Virginia to counter the influence of Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans. Like most other Federalists, Marshall favored neutrality in foreign affairs, high tariffs, a strong executive, and a standing military. In 1795, Washington asked Marshall to accept appointment as the United States Attorney General, but Marshall again declined the offer. He did, however, serve in a variety of roles for the state of Virginia during the 1790s, at one point acting as the state's interim Attorney General.

In 1796, Marshall appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States in *Ware v. Hylton*, a case involving the validity of a Virginia law that provided for the confiscation of debts owed to British subjects. Marshall argued that the law was a legitimate exercise of the state's power, but the Supreme Court ruled against him, holding that the Treaty of Paris in combination with the Supremacy Clause of the Constitution required the collection, rather than confiscation, of such debts.^[29] According to biographer Henry Flanders, Marshall's argument in *Ware v. Hylton* "elicited great admiration at the time of its delivery, and enlarged the circle of his reputation" despite his defeat in the case.

MONROE DOCTRINE - 1823



As the Spanish Empire continued to fracture during Monroe's second term, Adams, Monroe and Clay became increasingly concerned that the "Holy Alliance" of Prussia, Austria, and Russia would seek to bring Spain's erstwhile colonies under their control, to the point of even contemplating a Holy Alliance of their own to defend democracy. In his 1821 Fourth of July address, Adams addressed this issue, noting a shared "chain of sympathy" between the U.S. and Latin America, but arguing for neutrality rather than a Holy Alliance. In 1822, following the conclusion of the Adams–Onís Treaty, the Monroe administration recognized the independence of several Latin American countries, including Argentina and Mexico. In 1823, British Foreign Secretary George Canning suggested that the United States and Britain should work together to preserve the independence of these fledgling republics. The cabinet debated whether to accept the offer, but Adams opposed it. Instead, Adams urged Monroe to publicly declare the United States' opposition to any European attempt to colonize or re-take control of territory in the Americas, while also committing the United States to neutrality in European affairs. In his December 1823 annual message to Congress, Monroe laid out the Monroe Doctrine, which was largely built upon Adams's ideas. In issuing the Monroe Doctrine, the United States displayed a new level of assertiveness in international relations, as the doctrine represented the country's first claim to a sphere of influence. It also marked the country's shift in psychological orientation away from Europe and towards the Americas. Debates over foreign policy would no longer center on relations with Britain and France, but instead focus on western expansion and relations with Native Americans. The doctrine became one of the foundational principles of U.S. foreign policy.

1824 presidential election results

Immediately upon becoming Secretary of State, Adams emerged as one of Monroe's most likely successors, as the last three presidents had all served in the role before taking office. As the 1824 election approached, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun (who later dropped out of the race), and William H. Crawford appeared to be Adams's primary competition to succeed Monroe. Crawford favored state sovereignty and a strict constructionist view of the Constitution, while Clay, Calhoun, and Adams embraced federally funded internal improvements, high tariffs, and the Second Bank of the United States, which was also known



as the national bank. Because the Federalist Party had all but collapsed after the War of 1812, all the major presidential candidates were members of the Democratic-Republican Party. Adams felt that his own election as president would vindicate his father, while also allowing him to pursue an ambitious domestic policy. Though he lacked the charisma of his competitors, Adams was widely respected and benefited from the lack of other prominent Northern political leaders.

Adams's top choice for the role of vice president was General Andrew Jackson; Adams noted that "the Vice-Presidency was a station in which [Jackson] could hang no one, and in which he would need to quarrel with no one". However, as the 1824 election approached, Jackson jumped into the race for president, and Calhoun ended up receiving the Vice-presidential support of Adams supporters. While the other candidates based their candidacies on their long tenure as congressmen, ambassadors, or members of the cabinet, Jackson's appeal rested on his military service, especially in the Battle of New Orleans. The congressional nominating caucus had decided upon previous Democratic-Republican presidential nominees, but it had become largely discredited by 1824. Candidates were instead nominated by state legislatures or nominating conventions, and Adams received the endorsement of the New England legislatures. The regional strength of each candidate played an important role in the election; Adams was popular in New England, Clay and Jackson were strong in the West, and Jackson and Crawford competed for the South.

European Machinations:

In 1823 President Monroe announced his favour doctrine on foreign policy. Several developments led to its announcement. For long Spanish American owned its allegiance to king Ferdinand of Spain. When Napoleon deposed Ferdinand and established his own authority over Spain, her colonies proceeded to set up provisional government of their own. In 1814 when Ferdinand returned to power, her reimposed the old restrictions on colonial trade. In consequence in 1817 the colonies rose in revolt and by 1820 drove out the Spanish forces. Thereupon the monarchical powers of Europe organized the Holy League to assist the monarchs in the suppression of revolutionary movements. It was feared that the powers would extend their support to Spain for the reconquest of Latin America. The United States



was much concerned at this possibility, for she entertained a sympathy for the liberal movements in Latin America. Besides, the Americans considered the establishment of European and monarchical influence in a region situated near their country, as a threat to their security. Further they wanted to promote their commerce. If Spain reoccupied the colonies it was feared that she would close Latin America to their trade. To southward advance of Russia from Alaska also posed a threat to American interests. The Russian traders after erecting posts near Spanish California, built a fort north of 44 San Francisco. As the activities of the Boston merchants among the Indian tribes presented difficulties to the Russian traders, Tsar Alexander I in 1821 issued an imperial decree warning foreign ships against moving near the Alaskan shore, north of the 51st parallel. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, saw in it a latent threat to American expansion to Oregon, in the west.

Attitude of Great Britain:

The Latin American states approached the United States for alliance and support in their struggle for independence. In 1822 the United States announced her intention of extending recognition the new republics as and when circumstances justified. Great Britain in the mean time evinced keen interests in the freedom movement in Latin America. Greatly benefited by the trade with the new republics, she appeared determined to prevent Spain from establishing her authority over her former colonies. In view of the identify of interests George Canning, the British Foreign Minister and

Richard Rush, the American Minister at London, discussed the issue of recognition of the new republic of Latin America. Canning suggested that Great Britain and the United States should issue a joint declaration, designed to prevent any European intervention in Latin America. Rush appreciated the idea but pointed out that the proposal would prove acceptable if Great Britain recognized the independence of Latin American States. Canning did not agree to this condition as Great Britain was allied to Spain. Thereupon Rush referred the question to Washington. Monroe consulted Jefferson and Madison and all agreed in favour of a joint declaration would tie the United States with Britain and prevent the country from gaining possession of Latin American territories. Secondly, he was not prepared to give credit to Great Britain by accepting her leadership over an issue, relating to the western hemisphere.



Added to these, he was convinced that there was no imminent threat of European intervention in Latin America and if it came, the British navy would prevent it. Guided by these considerations, he persuaded Monroe to act himself. Accordingly, the President incorporated the doctrine in his annual message, sent to Congress on the 2nd of December, 1823.

Principles of the Doctrine:

The doctrine enunciated certain important principles. They were: 1) the territories in America were no more to be considered as spheres for further European colonization, 2) the United States would not interfere in the existing European colonies in America 3) the United States would consider as dangerous to her peace and safety any attempt made by European powers either to impose their political system on America or to interfere in any independent American state or to colonise American continents and 4) that the United States was not interested in the war of the European powers on issues relating to themselves.⁴⁵ In fact the fundamental principles of the Monroe Doctrine belonged to colonial traditions and political ideas of such leaders like George Washington, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. But to Monroe goes the credit of formulating them into a policy and announcing them in categorical terms. After making a distinction between the old world and the new world, he defined the concept of mutual non-intervention. President Monroe and the public opinion favoured an expression of American sympathy for the Greeks in their struggle against the Turks during this period, but at the instance of Secretary Adams it was dropped from the presidential message, for he wanted a strictly American approach to American issues relating to what happened in Europe. Besides, Adams decided to keep the American continents open for political and commercial exploitation by the United States. He considered the presence of European colonial establishments in the new world as a serious impediment and wanted to check the powers, especially Great Britain and Russia, from attempting further colonial enterprises. This led to the incorporation of the non-colonisation clause in the doctrine. The second fundamental principle of the doctrine was non-interference.

This was the answer to the moves made by the monarchical powers to restore Spanish authority in Latin America. Not only did the United States adopt a posture of “America for the United States” but did endeavour to safeguard American interests against European



interference by herself not getting entangled in European affairs. It appears that the United States announced the doctrine much because of an anxiety to gain the credit of telling something in defence of Latin American interests. In reality there was no necessity. The threat from the European powers was imaginary, Russia was so preoccupied with the problems in Europe and Central Asia that she was neither serious nor capable of pursuing a forward policy in America. Among the European monarchies only France harboured political designs in America, but she never desired to risk a conflict. Two months before the announcement of the doctrine, France at the instance of George Canning, signed a memorandum disclaiming any intention to send her forces to Latin America. Great Britain opposed European intervention as it would be a threat to her commercial interests. IN fact the prevailing situation did not warrant the assertion of a doctrine, identical to the law of the jungle that because of strategic might, a country could make arbitrary claims, violating the rights of other nations.

Reaction to the Message:

The public opinion in the United States responded to the message of Monroe with enthusiasm, though there was criticism too. To the nationalists it was welcome as it appeared as an expression of self confidence. In the Latin American republics the reaction was mixed, for most of them refused to accept the United States as their self appointed guardian. Simon Bolivar, the Liberator in South America, invited the states that had thrown off the Spanish yoke, to attend a conference at Panama in 1826. It was intended to form a league for the defence of their liberty against any European aggression. Though a few members of the conference were interested in inviting the United States to the conference, Bolivar deliberately ignored her. The deliberations indicated that Great Britain and not the United States held an influential status in Latin America. A few states like Mexico and Argentina took interest in the Monroe Doctrine and sought American support. But they learned before long that without the support of the British navy, the United States had neither the will nor the strength to defend Latin America against the monarchies of Europe.

ANDREW JACKSON AND HIS DEMOCRACY (1829-1837)



Jackson was the seventh president of the USA. He was elected in the presidential election of 1828. He was elected for two terms. Under him the Democratic Republican party became the Democratic party. Jackson was born in the poor family in South Carolina. Later his family settlement in Tennessee (One of the Western States). He joined the military and became a very famous general. He participated in 1812 war and the war on Florida. On account of his popularity in military career, he was elected by the party candidate for the 1818 election. He stood for the Democratic principles of the welfare of the poor. According to him, the government of the USA was for the farmers, mechanics and the labourers. He extended the franchise of the Americans. He also improved the educational qualities. The principles of Jackson in toto was known as the Jacksonian Democracy.

Domestic Policy

Spoil System

The Spoil System was an American Constitutional tradition. It was introduced by Jackson. According to the System, the former employees of the federal government were sent home. Their vacancies were filled by the party people. Most of them were selected from the Democratic Party. Jackson purged more than 1000 officers and filled them by new candidates.⁴⁷

Tariff System

The Tariff was again introduced in the days of James Munroe. It had been periodically raised. These tariff bills imposed heavy taxes on the Americans. The Tariff bills of 1816, 1824 and 1828 were known as the “Tariff of abomination”. There was general hatredness towards the tariff of abomination. In 1832, Jackson introduced Tariff Bill. It reduced the tariff and other duties. Yet it was a dissatisfactory measure.

Nullification Movement



There was serious opposition in South Carolina. The state Government of South Carolina had a special convention in November 1832. There they discussed the tariff bill of 1832. They also declared the tariff bills of 1828 and 1832 as null and void. The government also instructed the state government officers not to accept the tariff bills of 1928 and 1832.

This was the Nullification movement. It came into operation in February 1933. Jackson viewed the matter very seriously. The Congress passed the Force Bill. It empowered the president to take military action against a state if necessary. The President was firm in his stand for the national unity. The south Carolina government ultimately submitted. To please the south Carolina government a new tariff bill was introduced.

Land Policy

The South demanded relaxation in the land policy of the government. But it was opposed by the industrial north. If the land policy would be relaxed there would be large scale migration of labourers from the north. The north opposed the liberal land policy on this point. The land policy was a question mark for Jackson. Jackson stood for national integrity. Therefore he refused for a liberal land policy.

Banking System

The second bank of the USA was founded by James Munroe. It has a life upto 1836. Jackson abolished the second Bank of the USA. He withdrew the government deposit. The right to issue currency was granted to the State banks. These States Banks were known as the pet Banks. Jacksonian banking system was a careless effort. Firstly, the careless banking system led to inflation in the country. Secondly, it led to the over-credit system. Thirdly, the new Banking system paved the way for wild cats among the banks. Jackson realized his mistakes. Therefore he introduced the Gold Standard for the issue of paper currency.

Foreign Policy



Trade with West Indies

Ever since the 1812 War there had been cordial relationship between the USA and England. The USA concluded a commercial pact with England. On account of it, the sugar trade between West Indies and USA was established. Relationship with France Jackson demanded compensation from France for the American loss during the Napoleonic wars. The French government was willing if the president was ready to change his attitude. The President declared that he had not wrongly commented on the French government. The French government was pleased. Thereafter they paid compensation to the USA.

The Questions of Taxes

The most prominent question solved in the days of Jackson was Texas. By the treaty of Adams-Onis of 1819, the USA promised not to meddle in the affairs of Texas. Meanwhile, more than 10000 Americans migrated and settled in Texas. The matter came to a climax in 1836. The Americans settlers in Texas revolted against Mexico. The Mexican government replied with military. Unfortunately, the Mexican forces were defeated. This led to the declaration of Texan Republic. It was called the “Lone Star Republic”. The Lone Star Republic appealed to the USA for union. Jackson was in dilemma. He recognized the Texan Republic. However he refused to annex Texas with the USA.

WESTWARD EXPANSION

The United States consisting of Thirteen States occupied the territory extending from the Atlantic to the Appalachian and from Canada to Florida. The extensive plains of the West belonged to the Indian tribes. The French and the Spaniards had their settlements here and there. The French claimed the region extending from the Appalachians to the Mississippi as their own, while the Spaniards claimed Florida and Mexico. The Americans proceeded to acquire the rights and interests, which different powers claimed as theirs and reached the Pacific. 51



LOURSIANA PURCHASE, 1803

The acquisition of Louisiana from France in 1803 during the administration of Jefferson marked a significant beginning of the westward expansion of the country. At the end of the seven extending from the Mississippi to the Rockies to Spain, her ally as compensation for the loss of Florida, which Great Britain took away. Though the Spaniards claimed the country as their own, except a few white settlements, garrisons and trading posts, the entire region remained in the undisputed possession of the Indians. In 1800 by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, Napoleon Bonaparte re-acquired the territory for France. In return he offered to give Tuscany in Italy or an equivalent to the son-in-law of Charles IV, King of Spain. Accordingly in 1802 Spain transferred the possession of Louisiana to the French.

The United States was not much concerned so long as the territory remained in the name of a weak country like Spain. For long the Americans navigated the rivers including the Mississippi and transported the products through New Orleans. They wanted to proceed with the annexation of the territory at a convenient moment, but the return of the French to the continent created new problems, for Napoleon cherished an ambition to build a colonial empire in America. It was feared that the French would close the Mississippi for American navigation and check the westward expansion of the country. Jefferson was alarmed at the prospect of a great power presence in America. Expansionist by temperament, he initiated measures to take over the lands from the tribes and resented European presence in the New World. Though he was pro-French by sentiment, he proposed to make an alliance with England to check the French and embarked upon military preparations. The settlers of the West clamoured for war and the President utilized their outbursts to play upon the fears of the French and Spanish ministers at Washington. At the same time he sent James Monroe to France as a special envoy to assist Robert Livingston, the regular minister, to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans as well as West Florida, a territory that was considered as part of Louisiana, though it actually belonged to Spain. The envoys were instructed to offer as much as ten million dollars for New Orleans and West Florida.



UNIT –IV

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

COLONIZATION OF TAXES AND OREGON

America was a new nation for political experiments. The first experiment, namely the Confederation was a Constitutional failure. Therefore the federation was brought into operation in 1789. George Washington was elected as the first President. He was a candidate of Federalist party. In the first two presidential elections, John Adams was elected as the Vice-President. He was a member of the Federalist party. In the beginning, there were two political parties. They were the Federalist Party and the Democratic Republican party. Thomas Jefferson was the leader of Democratic Republican Party. Hamilton and John Adams were the leaders of the Federalist Party. Both the political parties had definite political programmes. The political ideas of Democratic Republican Party was known as “Jaffersonanism”. It stood for decentralized administration, sovereignty of the states, decentralized banking system, no tariff and strict construction of the Constitution. The political ideas of the Federalised Party were known as “Hamiltonianism”. It stood for centralized administration, sovereignty of the federal government, centralized banking system, protective tariff and loose construction of the constitution. The Hamiltonians received support from the North. The Democratic Republic Party received their support from the south. George Washington was in favour of Hamilton as he stood for national integration and national progress. In his farewell address, he warned the nation against the emergence of political parties on territorial basis.

In the beginning, the Federalists were very popular. In 1796 election John Adams was elected the President and Jefferson the Vice-President. John Adams became unpopular during the period of his administration. The 1800 election was a turning point. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr were the candidates of the Democratic Republican Party. They were elected on equal votes. The electoral deadlock was referred to the House of Representatives. As a result, Thomas Jefferson was elected as the President. The 1800 election was followed by the twelfth amendment. As a consequence separate elections were conducted for the President



and the Vice President by the same electoral college. In the election of 1804, 1808, 1812, 1816 and 1820 the Democratic party candidates were elected. The 1812 War was another turning point in the history of the political parties. The federalist party became unpopular. It was on account of a few reasons. Firstly, the Federalists did not like a war with England. Secondly, the Federalists supported England during the course of the War. Under Andrew Jackson, the Democratic Republican Party became very popular. He laid down new political principles. These were known as Jackson Democracy. The 1824 election gave a challenge to the integrity of the Democratic Republican Party. Four candidates of the same party stood for the presidential election. In that election Jackson got 94 votes. John Quincy Adams got 41 votes and Henry Clay got 37 votes. None of them got more than 50% votes. Therefore the election problem was discussed in the House of Representatives. It was because of Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams was elected. Later the Democratic Republican Party was divided into two fractions. They were the Democrats under Jackson and National Republicans under John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay.

In the election 1828 and 1832 the Democrats got victory. Jackson was elected the President. In the election of 1836, Martin Van Buren was elected. He was also the candidate of the Democratic Party. He was well known as the Red Fox and the Little Magician. There was a tough fighting in the general election of 1840. Martin Van Buren was the candidate of the Democratic Party. He was opposed by Harrison. Harrison was the candidate of the Whig Party. Meanwhile the National Republicans changed their name as Whig Party. Their slogan was “Trippecanoe and Tylertoo”. In the election, Harrison was elected the President and John Tyler the Vice President. In 1841, Harrison passed away. Therefore John Tylor became the President.

The 1844 election became another significant Point. Henry Clay of the Whig party and James Polk of the Democratic Party were the candidates. The policy of annexation of Texas and Oregon became very popular. James Polk advocated annexation. On account of it he was elected. In 1848, the Whigs captured power. Zachary Taylor and Fillimore were the President and the Vice President respectively. In 1850 Zachary Taylor election of 1852 and 1856 the Democrats was elected. The election of 1860 again became significant. The main



problem of the election was the question of slavery. Abraham Lincoln became popular on account of his anti-slavery campaign. He was the leader of the Republican Party. He was elected in 1860 election. Thus the bi-party system came into being in the American Political history with the Democratic party and the republican party. Both the parties have been in the political scene since then.

The Texan Revolution:

The United States claimed Texas as part of the Louisiana Purchase, but surrendered her claims to Spain by the Florida Treaty of 1819. This settlement made river Sabine the boundary between the United States and the Spanish Empire. Shortly afterwards Mexico revolted against Spain and declared her independence. Texas constituted one of the provinces of the Republic of Mexico. In 1819 Moses Austin, a Missouri slave holder, secured from Spain permission to found a colony in Texas. To promote colonization the Government donated land to the settlers and granted freedom from taxation. In return the settlers were required to accept the Catholic faith and to become Mexican citizens. Within ten years about 20,000 Americans moved into Texas. When their population increased, they emerged in their real colours and turned against the government of Mexico. The causes of friction were: the American settlers remained loyal to the United States and not to Mexico, they agitated for self government, when Texas was made part of the Mexican dominated province of Coahuila, they refused to pay customs duties on goods that they imported, they resisted the abolition of slavery by Mexico in 1829 and they defied the ban imposed by Mexico against more of American immigration into the region.

In 1836 the settlers rose in rebellion and established a government of their own. President Santa Anna of Mexico defeated the rebels in the battle at Alamo but suffered a serious reverse and himself fell a prisoner to the Americans in the battle of San Jocinto. Now the settlers declared Texas a republic with Sam Houston as president and appealed to the United States for annexation. President Jackson hesitated, as the northern states which were opposed to slavery, resented the annexation of any territory, held by the slave holders, as Texas was. The President was afraid that the admission of Texas to the Union would affect



his prospects at the election and lead to a war Mexico. He avoided annexation much against his will and contented with the recognition of the independence of Texas.

Colonisation Oregon:

The Americans as well as the British laid claims to the Oregon country, an extensive territory that lay west of the Rockies and between Russian Alaska and Mexican California. The United States claimed the territory as her own on the ground that she acquired the French interests in 180, the Spanish interests in 1819 and the Russian interests in 1824 through diplomatic settlements. The explorers led by Lewis and Clark visited the country. The New England merchants engaged in trade with China discovered river Columbia and maintained commercial relations with the natives. Added to these, the American Fur Company had a trading post at Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia. On the other hand the claims of Great Britain rested on the voyages of exploration and commercial activity of Francis Drake James Cook and George Vancouver and of the North West Company.

In 1818 the two powers sought to settle their claims through partition. Yet, no settlement could be effected as the United States covetted all the territory extending northward to the 49th parallel, while Britain all the territory extending southward to river Columbia. They accepted, instead, a ten year agreement, under which each nation was to have free access to the entire territory, without prejudice to the claims of the other. At the end of this ten year period the two powers could extend the joint occupation for an indefinite period, subject to abrogation of the settlement by either party on one year's notice.

There followed a period of rivalry. The English trading companies extended and consolidated their interests in the Oregon Country. The Hudson Bay Company, that emerged dominant in the area, set up posts and promoted farming. After 1841 the Americans too moved into Oregon in larger number, while many others to California. By 1845 there were 56 about 5000 Americans in Oregon, south of the Columbia river against 700 English, north of



this river. Attempts at an amicable settlement were renewed but failed as both the sides wanted the entire territory.

THE MEXICAN WAR

Wilson was also deeply involved in the Mexican problem. For thirty-five years Mexico had groaned under the tyrannical rule of Profirio, Diaz, who had sold out his country to foreign mining and business interests. In 1911, the people rose in revolt and drove out Diaz into exile. In his place they elected Franciasco Madero, a liberal, as their President. Within two years a counter-revolution under Victoriane Huerta led to the overthrow and murder of Madero. Most of the great powers hastened to recognize Huerta because they felt that their oil, rail-road and mining interests would be better protected under him. Wilson, however, was unmoved by the interests of the American businessmen and refused to recognize Huerta on „moral considerations“. This action of Wilson was severely criticized because his action was not in keeping with the principle of expediency. Wilson not merely refused to give recognition to Huerta but also won British support for his polity by conceding her concessions on the Panama Canal toll question. Wilson wanted that the Mexican people should be left free to work out their own destiny and tried to persuade Huerta to retire and allow free elections. Huerta contemptuously turned down these suggestions and arrested several sailors from a U.S. War vessel at Tampico in 1914. On Huerta’s refusal to tender apology for his action. Wilson sent marines who captured Vera Cruz. Wilson’s action was denounced by Huerta as well as the constitutionalists. In the mean while Argentina, Brazil and Chile offered mediation to resolve the controversy, As a result of this mediation United States agreed to withdraw its forces and Huerta agreed to retire.

PURCHASE OF ALASKA - 1868

Alaska Purchase, (1867), acquisition by the United States from Russia of 586,412 square miles (1,518,800 square km) of land at the northwestern tip of the North American continent, comprising the current U.S state of Alaska. Russia had offered to sell its North American territory to the United States on



several occasions, but the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 led to the postponement of discussions. In December 1866, a year after the war's conclusion, Baron Eduard de Stoeckl, Russian minister to the United States, was instructed by Emperor Alexander II to open negotiations for its sale. The cost and logistical difficulties of supplying the territory had made it an economic liability to the Russians, who were additionally struggling with debt accrued during the disastrous Crimean War (1853-56). Though Russian interactions with the native Aleut people had been largely peaceful, the Tlingit tribes were more restive, leading to sporadic episodes of violence and the interruption of provisions. Political forces in Russia increasingly looked instead sporadic episodes of violence and the interruption of provisions.

Political forces in Russia increasingly looked instead toward Asian expansion and in light of the American philosophy of Manifest Destiny and increased competition from the British Hudson's Bay Company, which leased a southern portion of the territory viewed the eventual control of the territory by the United States as inevitable and perhaps beneficial. Stoeckl approached William Henry Seward, secretary of state under presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, through an intermediary, journalist and politician Thurlow Weed. (Seward, an advocate of U.S. expansionism, had long desired Alaska.) The two statesmen began private discussions on March 11, 1867, Stoeckl remained coy about the sale until Seward expressed interest. On March 29, 1867.

Stoeckl and Seward completed the draft of a treaty ceding Russian North America to the United States, and the treaty was signed early the following day. The price \$7.2 million amounted to about two cents per acre. Some newspapers



– particularly Horace Greeley’s New York Tribune- savaged the decision, variously deeming the new territory “Seward’s Icebox”, “seward’s Folly”, and “Walrussia.” However, most Americans were ambivalent; some supported the decision as a step toward the annexation of Canada. The treaty was submitted to the Senate for consent on March 30, 1867. Early opponent Sen. Charles Sumner swayed in part by information about the territory’s abundant natural resources, gathered during Smithsonian Institution-sponsored expeditions in 1859 and 1865 spoke in its favour for more than three hours.

It was passed on April 9. The United States officially took possession on October 18 in a flag changing ceremony at Sitka. However, there was resistance to payment among members of the House, who were disinclined to support President Johnson, with whom they were unhappy over his dismissal of the Senate appointed secretary of war (in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act). The House entered articles of impeachment in February 1868, but the attempt to oust him was unsuccessful. The necessary appropriations were ultimately passed on July 14, 1868. Extensive propaganda campaigns and judicious use of bribes by Stoeckl secured the required votes in each house of Congress.

Alaska remained under U.S. Army control until June 1877, after which it was governed briefly by the Treasury Department and then by various military authorities. Most Russians who had occupied the territory were not permanent residents and had returned to Russia.

Annexation

Annexation, a formal act whereby a state proclaims its sovereignty over territory hitherto outside its domain. Unlike cession, whereby territory is given



or sold through treaty, annexation is a unilateral act made effective by actual possession and legitimized by general recognition. Annexation is frequently preceded by conquest and military occupation of the conquered territory. Occasionally, as in the German annexation of Austria in 1938 (see Anschluss), a conquest may be accomplished by the threat of force without active hostilities. Military occupation does not constitute or necessarily lead to annexation. Thus, for instance, the Allied military occupation of Germany after the cessation of hostilities in World War II was not followed by annexation.

When military occupation results in annexation, an official announcement is normal, to the effect that the sovereign authority of the annexing state has been established and will be maintained in the future. Israel made such a declaration when it annexed the Golan Heights in 1981, as did Russia following its annexation of the Ukrainian autonomous. Occupied the territory were nor permanent residents and had returned to Russia following the sale. Those who remained were given the option of applying for U.S citizenship left. A civil government was installed in May 1884 after the territory became a district. Alaska was accepted into the union as the 49th state on January 3, 1959.

JAMES BUCHANAN – 1857 - 1861

A Pennsylvania-born Domocrat, deeply devout in his faith and the only bachelor elected to the presidency, Buchanan rejected slavery as an indefensible evil but, like the majority of his party, refused to challenge the constitutionally established order.

Even before he became president, he supported the various compromises that made it possible for slavery to spread into the western territories acquired



by the Louisiana purchase and the Mexican War. Particularly hurtful to the cause of restraining slavery's spread was the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, for example, allowed settlers to determine the status of slavery in their proposed state constitutions.

In his inaugural address, the 15th president tacitly encouraged the Supreme Court's forthcoming Dred Scott decision, which ruled that Congress had no power to keep slavery out of the territories.

More damaging to his name, thought, was his weak acquiescence before the secessionist tide- an unwillingness to challenge those states that declared their intention to withdraw from the Union after Lincoln's election. Sitting on his hands as the situation spiraled out of control, Buchanan believed that the Constitution gave him no power to act against would-be seceders.

Domestic Policy

At his inauguration, Buchanan made his position clear: states should decide the legality of slavery within their borders. Two days later, the Supreme Court handed down a decision on a slave named Dred Scott, who argued that his residence in a free state made him a free man. The court disagreed, claiming that Scott was a piece of property without the rights of citizenship. One implication of the court's decision was that slavery could not be excluded from any U.S. territories. Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860 as an opponent of slavery's expansion prompted South Carolina and six other states to secede and form the Confederacy while Buchanan was still in office, before Lincoln was inaugurated. The lame duck Buchanan tried to appease the South to no avail.

Foreign Affairs



With his hands full at home, Buchanan's foreign policy was limited to attempts to influence the Americas. Efforts to annex Cuba derailed because the island would surely have entered the Union as a slave state. An American named William Walker was arrested for establishing a dictatorship in Nicaragua but Walker claimed to be acting as Buchanan's agent and was freed. American ships maneuvered Britain away from claims to American colonies and ground troops massed on Mexico's northern border. All of these clumsy coercive activities increased international enmity towards the United States.

Presidential Politics

"I had hoped for the nomination in 1844, again in 1848, and even in 1852, but now I would hesitate to take it. Before many years the abolitionists will bring war upon this land. It may come during the next presidential term." Buchanan's work as a diplomat had kept him out of the country as the issue of slavery roiled the nation. His clean record and general support for states rights as a reflection of the will of the people allowed him to defeat the Republlican John Fremont in the 1856 election. Pledged to serve only one term and eager to vacate the White House before civil war became a reality Buchanan's antagonistic relationship with Stephen Douglas split the Democratic Party, allowing the Republican Abraham Lincoln to win handily in 1860.



UNIT - V

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EARLY CAREER

One of the greatest presidents of the United States, Abraham Lincoln was born in 1809 in a family of settlers in a log cabin in Kentucky. Not far from the settlement of the Lincolns was born Jefferson Davis, Who was destined to become President of the Confederate States of America. While the Davis family moved to the South, the Lincoln family went to the West. A man with exceptional strength, he could split rails, build cabins, pilot boats and argue with reason. Like the other settlers of the times, he too fought against the native tribes, yet he was kind to animals and birds. A practical joker, homely wit and inventor of stories, he endeared himself to his fellow whites. Noted for his common sense, he displayed a keen interest in acquiring knowledge. He studied law and politics and read classics, Shakespear's dramas and Aesop's Fables. At Springfield in Illinois he established a reputation as a lawyer and a local politician. A member of the Whig Party he was elected to the Illinois State Legislature and subsequently to the House of Representatives at Washington. Yet he was only a local politician with no recognition.

PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

The Lincoln Plan: IN Lincoln's scheme of reconstruction reconciliation of the South and preservation of the Union served as the guiding factors Hatred and revenge found no place. A moderate as he was, he entertained the view that southern states had not seceded from the Union, but were in a state of rebellion. Therefore he decided to use his constitutional power to pardon the rebels. In his proclamation of amnesty issued in December 1864, he



outlined a plan of political reconstruction, known as Ten Per Cent Plan. There were two proposals in the plan: 1) That all southerners, taking an oath of loyalty to the Union were to be granted pardon and restoration of property except in slaves. However, high ranking civil and military leaders of the Confederacy were exempted from this concession. 2) That as soon as one tenth of the voters in the 1860 election in any state took an oath of loyalty and elected their state conventions to organize new state governments, the rebel state was to be restored to its former status in the Union. Under the operation of this scheme four states, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee and Virginia reconstituted their governments. However, as these states made no attempt to grant voting rights to blacks, Congress, led by radical Republicans, considered Lincoln's plan as too moderate to be approve and refused to admit the representatives of these states. On 14th April 1865, Lincoln was assassinated by a secessionist, John Wilks Booth. This created more complications.

Lincoln's Services to the Nation:

Born in obscurity, Lincoln fought through difficulties to emerge as a national hero. Self educated, he became a lawyer and leader, noted for his ability for clear analysis and forcible presentation of facts. He entered politics during a period of crisis, when the country was threatened with sectionalism. The Republicans accepted him as their candidate and the country elected him to the presidency. As President, the greatest service that Lincoln rendered to his people was preservation of the Union. For long southern states believed in their right to defy national laws and to secede from the Union. The situation that assumed a serious turn since the Mexican War culminated in secession, posing powerful challenge to the new President. In this critical hour Lincoln displayed his great qualities of leadership. He isolated the South by keeping the border slave states with the Union and preventing the European powers from going to its aid. Though he erred often in military strategy, he mobilized the resources of the country on and unprecedented scale and preserved national unity. Secondly, Linoln granted freedom to the slaves by making use of his war-time powers. However, it cannot be denied that he did it much because of political considerations and that he made no attempt to grant vote to freedmen. Thirdly, Lincoln displayed a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the humbled rebel states. Despite the havoc wrought by the war,



he called upon the nation to forget the past, to discard the concept of revenge and to consider the southerners as members of the same national home. In his last cabinet meeting, he exhorted: “We must extinguish our resentment if we except harmony and union”.

CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Guided by Stevens and Sumner, Congress appointed a Committee of Fifteen, consisting of representatives from both the houses to formulate terms of reconstruction. Before any definite policy was formulated, Congress passed two acts over the veto of President Johnson for safeguarding the interests of the blacks. One of them extended the tenure of the Freedmen’s Bureau, which was founded during the Civil War to take care of the freedmen and the other, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, forbade states from discriminating against the blacks and guaranteed to them equal protection with the whites before law. In 1866 Congress accepted the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It provided for citizenship and civil rights including equal protection before law for the blacks. It also repudiated the confederate war-debt and disqualified the former confederates from holding offices unless Congress pardoned them. Of the southern states Tennessee voted for this amendment and was therefore admitted into the Union.

Congressional Plan:

By 1867 the Committee of Fifteen completed investigators and formulated its proposals for reconstruction. Accordingly Congress adopted a plan of reconstruction for the remaining ten states. It provided: 1) The South was to be divided into five military districts under commanders of army, who were empowered to protect life and property. 2) The black and white citizens whose names were registered as voters, were to elect delegates to state conventions, which were to draft new state constitutions, guaranteeing tot h blacks right to vote. These constitutions were to be submitted to the voters for ratification and to Congress for approval. 3) The newly elected legislatures were to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. When these conditions were fulfilled, the rebel states were to join the Union. Accordingly six of the ten states satisfied these conditions and returned to the Union by 1868.



There still remained four states—Virginia, Texas, Mississippi and Georgia. They were required to accept the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution as a further condition for admission. This Amendment, adopted in 1870, forbade the United States as well as the member states from denying vote to a citizen on ground of race, colour or previous condition of servitude. The four states accepted this condition and rejoined the Union in 1870. Though the Congressional Plan appeared harsh, it did a service to the nation, for it gave vote to poor whites and to some extent blacks too, introducing thereby great democracy in the country.

THE CIVIL WAR (1861-1865)

The civil wars were an important chapter in the history of the USA. It has been described as the two brothers war. It was a political test to integrity of the USA. The USA was divided into North, and South. The division was due to the sectional feelings. The Civil War lasted between 1861 and 1865. The two sections fought in the name of Federation and Confederation. Ultimately, the North under President Abraham Lincoln won the war. It strengthened the federation of the USA.

There were many fundamental reasons for the American Civil War. These causes were broadly divided into differences in banking system, tariff issue, constructional programmes and the question of slavery.

Baking System

There had been sharp differences of opinion between the North and South. Eversince, the beginning of the First Bank of the USA. The North advocated centralized banking system. The south stood for decentralized banking system. Anyhow the centralized banking system was established by George Washington. The first bank of the USA was abolished by Madison. He created the „Per banks“. Munroe introduced the Second Bank of USA. It was abolished by Jackson. He introduced the „wild cat banks“. The Southerns wanted liberal credit system, whereas the Northerns advocated controlled credit system.



Tariff system

The North strongly advocated protective tariff system. This was to safeguard the American industries from foreign competition. The Southern wanted free trade. On the advice of Hamilton, George Washington, introduced protective tariff system. These tariffs were highly reduced in the days of Jefferson. But tariff had regularly been raised in 1816, 1824 and 1828. These were known as the Tariff of abomination. In 1833, South Carolina launched the Nullification movement. As a result of the Nullification movement, Jackson sliced down the tariff of 1832. The Nullification movement was an example of the sectional conflict.

Constructional Programmes

The West was separated from the original states by the Appalachian Mountain. The westerners demanded rail roads and canal projects. The constructional programmes were undertaken in the days of James Munroe. The first major work was the Cumberland National road. It was 6000 miles in length. The other major project was the Erie canal. The next constructional problem came in the form of Trans-continental railway. It was to link the west with the east, the Northerners suggested it is between Chicago and Los Angels. Anyhow, the first railway route was prepared. It connected the west and the north.

The Question of Slavery

The Question of slavery had been there in America eversince its independence. The North and the South were deeply divided over the issue. Slavery was permitted for a period of 20 years when the Federal constitution was formed. The question of slavery became prominent with the admission of new states.

Missouri compromise of 1820

Amount the original stats, seven were free soil and six were slave soil. During 1791 and 1819, 4 free states and 5 slave states were admitted in the Federation. It established balance between the two groups. Under such circumstances, Missouri applied for admission



in 1819. There was a rift in the Senate. Henry Clay introduced the famous Missouri Compromise of 1820. In accordance with it, Missouri should be admitted as a slave state. Massachusetts would be divided into two halves, namely Massachusetts and Maine. Maine would be admitted as a Free state. In addition Slavery would be abolished in Louisiana North of parallel 36° N Latitude.

Compromise of 1820

In 1850 another problem of administration of new states arose. It was an account of the Mexican war. New-Mexico, Utah and California applied for admission. The problem was whether to admit them as free states or slave states. Several compromises were suggested by Moderates like David-Wilmot, Stephen Douglass and Henry Clay. The suggestion of David Wilmot was called Wilmot Provision. It insisted abolition of slavery and anti-slavery groups. At last the Compromise of 1850 was suggested by Henry Clay.

Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854

The next sectional problem was the settlement of middle west territory. It was to be organized into states. Therefore a committee on territories was created. The chairman was Stephen Douglass. It divided the North West territory into states. They were Kansas and Nebraska. Regarding the question of abolition of slavery, the popular sovereignty device was introduced. Accordingly these states would become either slave or free state.

Pottawatomic Massacre and Kansas War of 1856

As a result of Kansas Nebraska Act the Northerner abolitionists settled in Kansas and Nebraska. There were frequent clashes between pro-slavery and anti-slavery groups. The gun was regarded the very important weapon. It was famously called the Beechers Bible. Among the abolitionists John Brown was noteworthy men. In 1856, he brutally murdered a Greek family in Pottawatomic. It was the famous Pottawatomic Massacre. John Brown regarded his work as “Divine Mission”.

Dred Scott Case 1857



Dred Scott was a Negro slave. He was in the service of Dr. Emerson. Dr. Emerson was a famous surgeon of Missouri. He used to visit Northern states along with Dred Scott. While Dred Scott stayed in the Northern states he had conduct of abolitionists. On their advice, he filed a case in the Supreme Court against his master. He demanded liberation. The judgement for the case was given in 1857. He was actually the property of his master. The judgement of the Dred Scott case created indignation in the Northern States.

Uncle Tom's Cabin

Uncle Tom's Cabin was a famous American novel. It was written by Stowe. The theme of the book was the suffering of the Negro slaves. It exposed the public life of the Negroes. It also touched the hearts of the Northerns. It had heavy sales. It also circulated the idea of abolition of slavery in America.

Immediate Cause

The Election of 1860

The General Election of 1860 was very crucial. Abraham Lincoln was the Republican candidate. The Democratic party candidate was Stephen Douglass. The Electoral campaign went vigorously. Abraham Lincoln declared that the American Government could no longer remain half slave and half free. As a result Lincoln was elected by a large majority. The election of 1860 brought forth a deep crack between the south and north.

Course of the War

The outgoing „Lameduck president“ Buchanan was in office upto 1861. Meanwhile, South Carolina held a special convention. It decided to secede from the federation. A similar stand was taken by Mississippi, Florida and Georgia. President Buchanan tried to mediate between them. But it was a futile attempt. Texas and Louisiana also joined along with South Carolina. The matter became very serious. President Lincoln threatened a war on the southern states. Grant was the General of the army. In the same time „Cotton Kings“ formed a



confederation with Richmond as their capital. Jefferson Davis was elected the President of the confederation.

The Democrats in the North were divided over the issue. Most of them were Moderates. Therefore they never supported the formation of the confederation. They were popularly called the Copper heads. They supported the cause of the federation. The first battle took place at Sumeter, Lee was the veteran military leader. He was the commander of the army of the confederation. Anyhow, he was defeated in many battles. In 1863, the federal army got the resounding victory at Gettysburg. It was followed by the Emancipation Proclamation, the black negroes were liberated by the presidential order. In 1865 Richmond was captured. The confederate army surrendered unconditionally. Thus ended the American Civil War.

RESULTS OF CIVIL WAR

- i) The federation was strengthened. The USA became more powerful and strong.
- ii) It led to the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.
- iii) The Civil War created more problems than it solved. The civil war was fought to strengthen federation. But at the end of the war, there were new and more problems. There were political and economic devastations.
- iv) To make up the devastations, reconstruction programmes were introduced
- v) The Republican Party had become very popular. They dominated the political scene for a longer duration.
- vi) It led to the rise of big business houses. Thus it led to the Industrial Revolution in America.
- vii) The centralized banking system was again introduced in the USA.
- viii) The Negroes were liberated. But they were not economically and socially liberated.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH



As Confederate states came back under control of the U.S. Army, President Abraham Lincoln set up reconstructed governments in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana during the war. A restored government of Virginia operated since 1861 in parts of Virginia, and also acted to create the new state of West Virginia. Lincoln experimented by giving land to black people in South Carolina. By fall 1865, the new President Andrew Johnson declared the war goals of national unity and the ending of slavery achieved and Reconstruction completed. Republicans in Congress, refusing to accept Johnson's lenient terms, rejected and refused to seat new members of Congress, some of whom had been high-ranking Confederate officials a few months before. Johnson broke with the Republicans after vetoing two key bills that supported the Freedmen's Bureau and provided federal civil rights to the freedmen. The 1866 Congressional elections turned on the issue of Reconstruction, producing a sweeping Republican victory in the North, and providing the Radical Republicans with sufficient control of Congress to override Johnson's vetoes and commence their own "Radical Reconstruction" in 1867. That same year, Congress removed civilian governments in the South, and placed the former Confederacy under the rule of the U.S. Army (except in Tennessee, where anti-Johnson Republicans were already in control). The Army conducted new elections in which the freed slaves could vote, while Whites who had held leading positions under the Confederacy were temporarily denied the vote and were not permitted to run for office.

In 10 states, coalitions of freedmen, recent Black and White arrivals from the North ("carpetbaggers"), and White Southerners who supported Reconstruction ("scalawags") cooperated to form Republican biracial state governments. They introduced various Reconstruction programs including funding public schools, establishing charitable institutions, raising taxes, and funding public improvements such as improved railroad transportation and shipping.

In the 1860s and 1870s, the terms "Radical" and "conservative" had distinct meanings. "Conservative" was the name of a faction, often led by the planter class. Conservative opponents called the Republican regimes corrupt and instigated violence toward freedmen and Whites who supported Reconstruction. Most of the violence was carried out by



members of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), a secretive terrorist organization closely allied with the Southern Democratic Party. Klan members attacked and intimidated black people seeking to exercise their new civil rights, as well as Republican politicians in the South favoring those civil rights. One such politician murdered by the Klan on the eve of the 1868 presidential election was Republican Congressman James M. Hinds of Arkansas. Widespread violence in the South led to federal intervention by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1871, which suppressed the Klan. Nevertheless, White Democrats, calling themselves "Redeemers", regained control of the South state by state, sometimes using fraud and violence to control state elections. A deep national economic depression following the Panic of 1873 led to major Democratic gains in the North, the collapse of many railroad schemes in the South, and a growing sense of frustration in the North.

The end of Reconstruction was a staggered process, and the period of Republican control ended at different times in different states. With the Compromise of 1877, military intervention in Southern politics ceased and Republican control collapsed in the last three state governments in the South. This was followed by a period which White Southerners labeled "Redemption", during which White-dominated state legislatures enacted Jim Crow laws, disenfranchising most black people and many poor Whites through a combination of constitutional amendments and election laws beginning in 1890. The White Southern Democrats' memory of Reconstruction played a major role in imposing the system of White supremacy and second-class citizenship for black people using laws known as Jim Crow laws.

Three visions of Civil War memory appeared during Reconstruction:

The reconciliationist vision was rooted in coping with the death and devastation the war had brought; the white supremacist vision demanded strict segregation of the races and the preservation of political and cultural domination of Blacks by Whites; any right to vote by Blacks was not to be countenanced; intimidation and violence were acceptable means to enforce the vision; the emancipationist vision sought full freedom, citizenship, male suffrage, and constitutional equality for African Americans.



Purpose of Reconstruction

Reconstruction addressed how the 11 seceding rebel states in the South would regain what the Constitution calls a "republican form of government" and be re-seated in Congress, the civil status of the former leaders of the Confederacy, and the constitutional and legal status of freedmen, especially their civil rights and whether they should be given the right to vote. Intense controversy erupted throughout the South over these issues.

Passage of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments is the constitutional legacy of Reconstruction. These Reconstruction Amendments established the rights that led to Supreme Court rulings in the mid-20th century that struck down school segregation. A "Second Reconstruction", sparked by the civil rights movement, led to civil-rights laws in 1964 and 1965 that ended legal segregation and re-opened the polls to Blacks.

The laws and constitutional amendments that laid the foundation for the most radical phase of Reconstruction were adopted from 1866 to 1871. By the 1870s, Reconstruction had officially provided freedmen with equal rights under the Constitution, and Blacks were voting and taking political office. Republican legislatures, coalitions of Whites and Blacks, established the first public school systems and numerous charitable institutions in the South. White paramilitary organizations, especially the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) as well as the White League and Red Shirts, formed with the political aim of driving out the Republicans. They also disrupted political organizing and terrorized Blacks to bar them from the polls.[13] President Grant used federal power to effectively shut down the KKK in the early 1870s, though the other, smaller groups continued to operate. From 1873 to 1877, conservative Whites (calling themselves "Redeemers") regained power in the Southern states. They constituted the Bourbon wing of the national Democratic Party.

In the 1860s and 1870s, leaders who had been Whigs were committed to economic modernization, built around railroads, factories, banks, and cities. Most of the "Radical" Republicans in the North were men who believed in integrating African Americans by providing them civil rights as citizens, along with free enterprise; most were also modernizers and former Whigs. The "Liberal Republicans" of 1872 shared the same outlook except that



they were especially opposed to the corruption they saw around President Grant, and believed that the goals of the Civil War had been achieved, and that the federal military intervention could now end.

Material devastation of the South in 1865

Reconstruction played out against an economy in ruins. The Confederacy in 1861 had 297 towns and cities, with a total population of 835,000 people; of these, 162, with 681,000 people, were at some point occupied by Union forces. 11 were destroyed or severely damaged by war action, including Atlanta (with an 1860 population of 9,600), Charleston, Columbia, and Richmond (with prewar populations of 40,500, 8,100, and 37,900, respectively); the 11 contained 115,900 people according to the 1860 Census, or 14% of the urban South. The number of people who lived in the destroyed towns represented just over 1% of the Confederacy's combined urban and rural populations. The rate of damage in smaller towns was much lower—only 45 courthouses were burned out of a total of 830.

Farms were in disrepair, and the prewar stock of horses, mules, and cattle was much depleted; 40% of the South's livestock had been killed. The South's farms were not highly mechanized, but the value of farm implements and machinery according to the 1860 Census was \$81 million and was reduced by 40% by 1870. The transportation infrastructure lay in ruins, with little railroad or riverboat service available to move crops and animals to market. Railroad mileage was located mostly in rural areas; over two-thirds of the South's rails, bridges, rail yards, repair shops, and rolling stock were in areas reached by Union armies, which systematically destroyed what they could. Even in untouched areas, the lack of maintenance and repair, the absence of new equipment, the heavy over-use, and the deliberate relocation of equipment by the Confederates from remote areas to the war zone ensured the system would be ruined at war's end. Restoring the infrastructure—especially the railroad system—became a high priority for Reconstruction state governments.

The enormous cost of the Confederate war effort took a high toll on the South's economic infrastructure. The direct costs to the Confederacy in human capital, government



expenditures, and physical destruction from the war totaled \$3.3 billion. By early 1865, high inflation made the Confederate dollar worth little. When the war ended, Confederate currency and bank deposits were worth zero, making the banking system a near-total loss. People had to resort to bartering services for goods, or else try to obtain scarce Union dollars. With the emancipation of the Southern slaves, the entire economy of the South had to be rebuilt. Having lost their enormous investment in slaves, White plantation owners had minimal capital to pay freedmen workers to bring in crops. As a result, a system of sharecropping was developed, in which landowners broke up large plantations and rented small lots to the freedmen and their families. The main feature of the Southern economy changed from an elite minority of landed gentry slaveholders into a tenant farming agriculture system.

The end of the Civil War was accompanied by a large migration of new freed people to the cities. In the cities, Black people were relegated to the lowest paying jobs such as unskilled and service labor. Men worked as rail workers, rolling and lumber mills workers, and hotel workers. The large population of slave artisans during the antebellum period had not been translated into a large number of freedmen artisans during Reconstruction. Black women were largely confined to domestic work employed as cooks, maids, and child nurses. Others worked in hotels. A large number became laundresses. The dislocations had a severe negative impact on the Black population, with a large amount of sickness and death. Over a quarter of Southern White men of military age—the backbone of the South's White workforce—died during the war, leaving countless families destitute. Per capita income for White Southerners declined from \$125 in 1857 to a low of \$80 in 1879. By the end of the 19th century and well into the 20th century, the South was locked into a system of poverty. How much of this failure was caused by the war and by previous reliance on agriculture remains the subject of debate among economists and historians.

Restoring the South to the Union

A political cartoon of Andrew Johnson and Abraham Lincoln, 1865, entitled "The Rail Splitter At Work Repairing the Union". The caption reads (Johnson): "Take it quietly Uncle Abe and I will draw it closer than ever." (Lincoln): "A few more stitches Andy and the good old Union will be mended." During the Civil War, the Radical Republican leaders



argued that slavery and the Slave Power had to be permanently destroyed. Moderates said this could be easily accomplished as soon as the Confederate States Army surrendered and the Southern states repealed secession and accepted the Thirteenth Amendment—most of which happened by December 1865.

President Lincoln was the leader of the moderate Republicans and wanted to speed up Reconstruction and reunite the nation painlessly and quickly. Lincoln formally began Reconstruction on December 8, 1863, with his ten percent plan, which went into operation in several states but which Radical Republicans opposed.

THE LINCOLN PLAN

The ten percent plan, formally the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, was a United States presidential proclamation issued on December 8, 1863, by United States President Abraham Lincoln, during the American Civil War. By this point in the war (nearly three years in), the Union Army had pushed the Confederate Army out of several regions of the South, and some Confederate states were ready to have their governments rebuilt. Lincoln's plan established a process through which this postwar reconstruction could come about.

Background

A component of President Lincoln's plans for the postwar reconstruction of the South, this proclamation decreed that a state in rebellion against the U.S. federal government could be reintegrated into the Union when 10% of the 1860 vote count from that state had taken an oath of allegiance to the U.S. and pledged to abide by Emancipation. Voters could then elect delegates to draft revised state constitutions and establish new state governments. All Southerners except for high-ranking Confederate army officers and government officials would be granted a full pardon. Lincoln guaranteed Southerners that he would protect their private property, though not their slaves. By 1864, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas had established fully functioning Unionist governments. This policy was meant to shorten the war by offering a moderate peace plan. It was also intended to further his emancipation policy by insisting that the new governments abolish slavery.



Reaction

Congress reacted sharply to this proclamation of Lincoln's plan. Most moderate Republicans in Congress supported the president's proposal for Reconstruction because they wanted to bring a swift end to the war, but other Republicans feared that the planter aristocracy would be restored and the blacks would be forced back into slavery. Lincoln's reconstructive policy toward the South was lenient because he wanted to popularize his Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln feared that compelling enforcement of the proclamation could lead to the defeat of the Republican Party in the election of 1864, and that popular Democrats could overturn his proclamation.

The Radical Republicans opposed Lincoln's plan, as they thought it too lenient toward the South. Radical Republicans believed that Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction was not harsh enough because, from their point of view, the South was guilty of starting the war and deserved to be punished as such. Radical Republicans hoped to control the Reconstruction process, transform Southern society, disband the planter aristocracy, redistribute land, develop industry, and guarantee civil liberties for former slaves. Although the Radical Republicans were the minority party in Congress, they managed to sway many moderates in the postwar years and came to dominate Congress in later sessions. In the summer of 1864, the Radical Republicans passed a new bill to oppose the plan, known as the Wade–Davis Bill. These radicals believed that Lincoln's plan was too lenient, and this new bill would make readmission into the Union more difficult. The Bill stated that for a state to be readmitted, the majority of the state would have to take a loyalty oath, not just ten percent. Lincoln later pocket-vetoed this new bill.