

Chapter 12: The Triumphs and Travails of the Jeffersonian Republic

- Federalists and Republicans officially run against each other as different parties in the election of 1800
 - Federalists promoted themselves as the supporters of a strong central government
 - Republicans saw themselves as promoters of a moral society of farmers (“agrarian purity, liberty, and states’ rights”)
- Republicans were the clearer choice to many Americans after the unpopularity of the strong rule by the Federalists under Washington and Adams
- Republicans had a hard time keeping the country together amidst turmoil from foreign policy, like Federalists learned that governing was very difficult

Federalist and Republican Mudslingers

- Federalists under John Adams were very unpopular
 - Hamiltonian Federalists published a pamphlet against John Adams because he did not want to fight the war against France; the Jeffersonians supported this, republished it
 - The Hamiltonians (and others) wanted to attack the French, who had barbaric methods of fighting freedom that worried them of mobocracy
 - Lack of war with France was the greatest cause of the unpopularity amongst the Federalists: a whole war effort had been summoned up, only to be stopped by John Adams’ negotiations with the French against war
 - Adams called the “Father of the American Navy”
 - New navy men were called “John Adams’s Jackasses”
 - Debt and new taxes created to create the war effort, now gone to waste
- Federalists attacked Thomas Jefferson
 - Federalists created one of the first whispering campaigns, in which rumors are spread to try and debase someone of the opposition
 - Blamed Jefferson of “having robbed a widow and her children of a trust fund and of having fathered numerous mulatto children by his own enslaved women”
 - Federalists emphasized Jefferson’s liberal views on religion; people feared that he was an atheist and hid their bibles; orthodox clergy spoke out against him

Politics and Power: The new application of the anti-Jefferson “Whispering Campaign” showed the new self-interest emerging in the party system. Although it had previously shown to create a check of power in the government (if one party slacked, then the other could criticize and become more popular and powerful), it also showed the original concern by the people that the parties would become somewhat despotic in order to achieve their main goal of election. The Jeffersonians at this time period were becoming more powerful and popular as the Federalists became more unpopular; as a result, the Jeffersonians fired back with negativity about Thomas Jefferson, especially with lies designed to slight him. The fact that not even truths were used—for example, his liberal religiosity was embellished into an unorthodox atheism—shows the low level of integrity between the politicians as they vied for power and focused on maligning each other rather than supporting national ideals. This can be seen with the current two-party system and the current presidential election, which is widely criticized for its focus on negative personal attacks rather than improving the national situation through politics.

The Jeffersonian “Revolution of 1800”

- John Adams actually did better in terms of electoral votes than in election of 1796, but lost the election by the loss of New York to Jefferson (lost 73-65, narrow margin)
- Jefferson also won because of the three-fifths compromise that improved Southern states' representation in Congress and in the electoral college
- Jefferson and Aaron Burr tied in the presidential election in terms of electoral votes; created a deadlock that left the Federalists in power for a few more months
 - Federalists preferred Burr to Jefferson, voted for him
 - When Federalists stopped voting for Burr, Jefferson won and became president; Burr became vice president
- The Federalist party disintegrated after John Adams' defeat
- The presidential election of 1800 was known as the Revolution of 1800
 - Not a true revolution (no fighting or suppression that would classify it as such)
 - Jefferson compared the election to a revolution in and of itself, because he would return to the Revolutionary values that Hamilton, Washington, Adams, as well as the other Federalists, had neglected
 - These values included more of a democratic power (power to the people), a weaker central government, and encourage moral virtue that had declined under the Federalist rule
 - Also revolutionary in the peaceful transition between political parties, especially among a young and fiery country

American and National Identity: The switch of parties in this early form of a two-party democracy was an unprecedented event, so much so that the victorious Jeffersonian called it the “Revolution of 1800.” It wasn't a true revolution, not even to the extent of what some people consider the conservative rebellion of the American Revolution, but rather a non-violent switch of power that was considered highly radical at the time period. However, the election of the president by the due process of the electoral college and the president's respectful heading-out—although Adams made some efforts to maintain a Federalist hold in the government by initiating last-minute acts like the Judiciary Act of 1801, there was no violence—became a practice melded into American society. Rather than the wars that usually usurp a hereditary dictatorship in the monarchies of Europe, the peaceful change from two very opposite-minded people showed the movement towards stability of government and respect for the president. This nonviolent turnover of power demonstrated a new sense of lawfulness that helped define America's unique identity, and a belief that is very dear to Americans still today.

Responsibility Breeds Moderation

- Jefferson inaugurated in March 1801 in the new capital, Washington
- He had spent many years in France, so was fluently bilingual, but still stayed in touch with the American public
- His inaugural address was very powerful:
 - Kept up with democratic principles

- Mentioned that “We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists” to emphasize the idea of unity throughout the states (not a division from the Federalists)
- Jefferson was a plain person:
 - Took a horse-drawn carriage and walked to the Capitol from boarding house (guest room)
 - Established “pellmell” at official dinners: people could sit wherever they wanted, regardless of rank
 - Upset the highly-regarded British king
 - Would dress sloppily sometimes to receive guests
 - Had a weak voice and was not very presentable
 - Was a good host of informal dinner parties, in which he could seek the favor of other politicians
- Jefferson had to turn back on a lot of his words now that he was president, because he realized that some of his earlier ideas were simply not practical
 - Almost as if there were two Jeffersons, one whose words could be used to contradict the other
- He was moderate in terms of the party overturn: did not oust all of the Federalist Party officials so as to not upset the party and risk another party overturn
 - Jeffersonians complained about this, complaining that “few [Federalists] die, none resign”
- When Federalists began to decline, they did as well
 - Without the opponent holding them in check, they had all the power
 - No real party system yet (until Jacksonian Democrats, presumably)

Jeffersonian Restraint

- Hated Federalist Alien and Sedition Acts were expired during Jefferson’s presidency, many people pardoned
 - New Naturalization Law of 1802 returned the time necessary to gain citizenship from the fourteen years from the Federalists back to the five years that was previously required
- Did not change much of the Federalist economic system
 - Only removed the excise taxes, which Jefferson thought created a bureaucracy that fed on the poor
 - Kept (and later even strengthened) the Bank of the United States, kept system of assuming state debts, kept tariffs
 - Reduced national debt with “strict economy” that balanced the budget
- Not turning over much of the Federalist policies also showed the revolutionary aspect of the Revolution of 1800: it set a precedent for an exchange of power that was not only nonviolent, but one that actually built off the others

Culture and Society: The smooth transition from Federalism to Republican-Democracy was unique not only in its non violence, but in the first acts of Jefferson as well. As he decided not to totally remove Federalism from the government and even acknowledge that there was some Federalism in every person

(in his inauguration speech), he supported the strong value of the unity of the states. As Washington and the Framers had set out to do, the country was set more on a course for stability than for the direct enforcement of Revolutionary values — this allowed for a peaceful long-term movement and the slow and steady evolution of the American government, as opposed to one marked by a weak government that could be easily turned by the radical policies of the states. Together, these two ideals—unity and stability—prevented the states from dividing at this critical juncture between the two parties. By removing only some unreasonable aspects—such as the Sedition and Alien Laws that allowed the government to arbitrarily deport or arrest citizens—of the Federalists and keeping agreeable policies—such as the Bank of the United States to store federal funds and the tariffs as a steady source of income that also protected domestic industry—Jefferson showed prudence and moderation, instead of completely wiping out the policies because they were Federalist without any other basis. This further supported the idea of unity and how even the enemy parties had to work together: the Jefferson administration demonstrated this cultural ideal by its policy of moderation.

The “Dead Clutch” of the Judiciary

- The Federalists issued the Judiciary Act of 1801 near the end of their reign
 - Created sixteen new judge offices as well as other judicial positions
 - John Adams supposedly signed in the sixteen new Federalist judges on his last day; these judges were deemed the “midnight judges”
 - Showed how the Federalists wanted to keep power in one of the branches of government
 - The Jeffersonians removed all sixteen new judge posts a year later
- John Marshall was very important figure in American judicial system, then was chief justice of the Supreme Court (for life)
 - Was appointed by the Federalists, strong supporter of the Federalists (even though cousin of Jefferson), Jeffersonians wanted to get rid of him
 - Saw the need for a strong central government in hardships at Valley Forge, never changed his opinion after that even though only serving only a month under Federalist John Adams and thirty-four years serving presidents of the Republican-Democrats
 - Underwent the Marbury v. Madison trial, historic event
 - A midnight judge asked him to help save his position; Marshall knew that people wouldn't help him, and therefore dismissed that case
 - Marshall said in the case that the midnight judge's appeal was based on an unconstitutional part of the Judiciary Act of 1789, and therefore should not be allowed
 - **Established precedent that Supreme Court alone had the power to interpret whether or not laws adhered to the Constitution or not**
 - Gave Supreme Court great power (Constitutional issues)
- Jeffersonians got rid of Supreme Court justice Samuel Chase for talking against him
 - Accused of “high crimes, and misdemeanors” when he had not really done anything
 - However, this set a bad precedent, and not many future impeachments in the Supreme Court have happened

Politics and Power: The Constitution was and is the supreme law of the land (fundamental law), and its interpretation is a heavy responsibility and a great power. Before John Marshall had set the precedent of the Supreme Court's ability to interpret the Constitution (which later solidified into their being the sole power to be able to interpret the Constitution in legal debates), there was a struggle over legal interpretation. After the trial in which Marshall deemed a certain clause of the Judiciary Act of 1789 unconstitutional, the President and Congress lost their ability to pass laws without much resistance or checking. The Judicial Branch of the United States government became much more powerful, and it established a check on bill-making of the legislative branch (and the executive branch, who approved the bills). However, even before this law, control over the judicial branch meant great power: John Adams assigned many new judges near the end of his term, including the sixteen supposed "midnight judges" that were meant to keep a Federalist majority in the judicial branch to sway legal matters, even without the ability to directly interpret the Constitution; after the precedent was set, the clear position of Supreme Court as interpreter of the Constitution emerged without question.

Jefferson, a Reluctant Warrior

- Jefferson quickly reduced police force because he believed that it could lead to despotism (if the army was turned on the people, or if they were stationed there like in the Quartering Act)
 - Didn't think the same of the navies, because they couldn't come inland and attack the people, but still discouraged a navy
- North African Barbary States had pirates that sabotaged shipping in the Mediterranean (important place for the Americans, who traded extensively with Europe)
 - Jefferson reluctantly had to send the navy there
 - Won the fight, known as the Tripolitan War, created a treaty that paid off ransoms
 - Success of the small boats used in the war made Jefferson order more made
 - 250 made in small ship-docks (small, democratic businesses that would support Jefferson)
 - They were very light and hard to use
 - Lightness made one come eight miles inland during a bad storm

America in the World: Even without conflict with Spain, Britain, or France, the Americans were experiencing foreign trouble. The African pirates caused trouble in the Mediterranean in a manner that diplomacy could not settle; as a result, Jefferson had no choice but to engage the U.S. in war for the first time since the American Revolution. This war was set on a much more minor scale, however, against small pirate states; the Americans had a victory and created a treaty for peace. Although it worked out without any lasting consequences on the US, it broke the isolationist theory that had been prescribed by Washington in his Farewell Address. It showed that Americans were willing to use military force when necessary; that it would not tolerate its suppression, even if that meant at the cost of a temporary instability.

The Louisiana Godsend

- Napoleon (France) won over Spain
 - Spanish lands stopped giving Americans the rights from Pinckney's Treaty, Americans were enraged

- Jefferson was worried that the people in the South would begin conflict with the Spanish (and also the French as a result), asked people to buy as much land as possible for a maximum of \$10 million
 - If the envoys failed in buying enough land, they should look to old enemy Great Britain for an alliance in order to protect the nation
 - These were very anti-conflict and isolationist acts, with the only alliance with another country only necessary if emergency arises
- Napoleon decided to sell Louisiana, end New World conquests
 - In Haiti (then Santo Domingo), the Haitian Revolution in which many slaves rebelled under Toussaint L'Ouverture; rebellion was stopped but Napoleon stopped by mosquitos with yellow fever
 - France was about to end conflict with Britain, decided to sell land to the Americas to avoid it being taken by the British, also hoped that America would grow into a power worthy of fighting Great Britain back
- Treaties signed on April 30, 1803, *all of Louisiana* sold for \$15 million (3¢ per acre)
 - This was the famed Louisiana Purchase
 - Over the budget, but the envoys agreed on it because of huge gain
 - Jefferson torn about the treaty — didn't believe it a constitutional right to govern all these new people, who were of different ethnicities
 - Citizens and legislature less reluctant, welcomed in huge expanse of land

Louisiana in the Long View

- Louisiana Purchase avoided break with Britain and/or France, and without violence
- America almost doubled its land area and took much of France's empire
 - On the path to a world power with its immense land area
- Louisiana Purchase supported Jefferson's economic view based on the farmer
 - He considered it a "Valley of Democracy," because more land = more independent farming = more moral society = better democracy
- Some of French legal system in purchased land's legal system even today
- Many Native Americans not treated well
 - Many treaties were made that were "questionably valid"
 - Ousted for want of land for settlement and for (cotton) plantations and slavery
- Purchase ushered in new era of isolationism
 - With so much land to themselves and totally without French-controlled lands around them, the Americans were more free
 - Followed Washington's advice in his Farewell address to avoid foreign relations
- Corps of Discovery was a team sent out by Jefferson to explore northern Louisiana region
 - Meriwether Lewis and William Clark went on famed expedition
 - Many scientific discoveries, as well as mapping of geography and Native American tribes

Geography and the Environment: The purchase of the Louisiana Region added an expanse of new wilderness to the United States. Rather than adding any large European establishments, it was simply an

enormous plot of untouched land with environmental factors still in play. Geographically, this stretched from the west of the United States to most of the Great Plains region. The political result of this addition of land to the Union was mostly a sense of stability to Jefferson's socioeconomic plan: yeoman farmers would make up the majority of the society (and they did at that time), which would make America more self-sufficient and less susceptible to corruption. His plan depended on the availability of land; the U.S., now about double its size, had a great ability to expand westward to settle more land for farming, and therefore continue his view. To explore these new lands, the famous expedition of Lewis and Clark (the Corps of Discovery) was dispatched, and they revealed that the land was rich in wildlife and Native American tribes; the latter would be a minor problem when it came to settling land disputes.

The Aaron Burr Conspiracies

- Louisiana increased power of the federal government, but the weak government made it susceptible to secession
- Aaron Burr not part of Jefferson's cabinet in second term, joined conspiracy for New England and NY to leave the US
 - Hamilton exposed the conspiracy
 - Burr was furious and challenged Hamilton to a duel; Hamilton died, last of Federalists gone
- Burr tried to team up with General James Wilkinson, military governor of the Louisiana territory, and secede the Louisiana territory from the east and expand by attacking the Spanish in the South
 - Wilkinson fled to New Orleans when he heard that Jefferson heard of the plot
 - Burr arrested, tried for treason
 - John Marshall had strict interpretation of the Constitution, believed that there had to be an actual act of treason (not just treasonous intentions) in order to accuse guilty of treason
 - Burr acquitted, fled to Europe, tried to stir up British against the United States

Politics and Power: Aaron Burr had an interesting political breakdown consisting of the intention of multiple rebellions. First, he wanted to break off from the Union with the established states; this was debunked by Hamilton. Next, he wanted to break off the newly-purchased and loosely-held Louisiana territory; Jefferson caught wind of that. After he was acquitted from a trial, he fled to Britain and wanted to wage war again with the Americas. Although he was the vice president of Jefferson during his first term, his removal from power (from not being re-elected) probably led to his disillusionment that led to very rash thoughts. It shows that a man of power, even in the baby American republic in which many of the politicians toiled hard to keep the stability of the U.S. despite the liberalism of popular democracy, was not always just, therefore strengthening the stereotype of a corrupt official. Burr lost his power and tried to overcompensate by stealing it; this is the kind of greed for power the Americans detested, and therefore Burr was evicted with the government and did not have much of an impact with his rebellious ideas.

A Precarious Neutrality

- Jefferson easily won second term as President (very decisive victory against Federalist presidential candidate)
- After Louisiana Purchase, Napoleon re-ignited war with Great Britain for another 11 years
- In 1805, Lord Nelson of Britain won French and Spanish fleets, making British the naval superpower (Battle of Trafalgar)
 - Napoleon defeated Austrian and Russian armies, asserting its land power (Battle of Three Emperors)
- Britain created Orders in Council in 1806, legislature to stop the French
 - Closed French-owned ports unless first stopping at British port
 - Napoleon ordered that all merchant ships be taken if entering British ports
 - There was no way out for the Americans — could not trade with anyone
 - British also had impressment, “the forcible enlistment of soldiers”
 - Many hundreds of Americans were captured and many died in service for the British
- Chesapeake Affair (1807)
 - British ship stopped the American frigate (ship) *Chesapeake*, demanded returning of deserters
 - Americans refused, got shot at in return
 - Americans suffered many casualties and the loss of a boat, British took deserters and left
 - British even admitted they were wrong to do so (no law permitting taking of sailors from foreign ship), but did nothing about it

America in the World: The involvements of America with Britain and France during Napoleon’s campaigns through Europe were the second violent interactions, the first being the minor Tripolitan War. In this case, both parties of the war were of major economic concern to the United States, and they both became hostile in their competitive opposition. The Orders in Council issued by Britain, and the resulting orders by Napoleon, prohibited American trade. America was forcibly isolated, not in political connections but in economic connections. This greatly threatened American economy, and the diminishing of the rate of American economy would greatly impact the development of the U.S. and its government if it had to go through economic reform. As violence began to pervade the U.S.’s peaceful isolationist stance (the British impressed American soldiers and killed many members of the American *Chesapeake* ship without reason), it became clear that action was necessary for the Americans. The resulting acts: the Embargo Act, the Non-Intercourse Act, and Macon’s Bill were enacted only because of this urgency; if the problem was not so severe, then none of these controversial laws (which ended up hurting the American economy as well as the British and French embargos) would have been established.

The Hated Embargo

- Jefferson did not want to bend to the suppression of trade by British and French laws, and neither did he want to go to war
 - Decided to pass the Embargo Act (1807), in which Americans were forbidden from exporting anything to foreign countries
 - Followed idea of “peaceful coercion”
 - American economy faltered; it didn’t work as planned

- British and French not as dependent as Jefferson thought
- Americans not so self-sufficient as Jefferson thought
- Huge illegal trade came up, especially with the British in Canada
- People looked at this act like Great Britain's despotism before the American Revolution
 - People compared Jefferson unfavorably to King George III and started to gain approval for the Federalists again
- Failure of Embargo Act led to its repealment on March 1, 1809
- Embargo Act replaced with Non-Intercourse Act (1809-1812):
 - Resumed trade with all countries except Britain and France (lightened Embargo Act)
- Although it was unlikely Embargo Act strengthened local economies, especially industries, because the Americans had to be self-sufficient

Madison's Gamble

- Jefferson also left the presidency after two terms, like President Washington
- Madison became elected as the fourth president of the United States (in 1809)
 - Factions (dissenting groups) were common in Congress, made it difficult for him to make his own decisions; often stuck with the risky gambles of other political groups within his own government
- Non-Intercourse Act ended in 1810, replaced by Macon's Bill No. 2:
 - Macon's Bill said that if one of the countries (Britain or France) repealed its embargo against the United States, America would embargo the other one and exclusively trade with the willing trade partner
 - Madison disapproved: he saw it as an admittance to the fact that the Americans depended on trade with at least one or the other
 - The French said that they would lift trading orders if Britain did the same, and vice versa
 - Britain did not open up to neutral trading because it was already powerful in the oceans, and there was exclusive trading with the French
 - This meant the original intent of the embargo (to open up both countries to trade by luring one in first and then the other out of want for goods) failed

Work, Exchange, and Technology: The Embargo Act of 1807, the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, and Macon's Bill No. 2 of 1810 were all laws designed to protect the American economy by controlling trade so as to manipulate the embargos from the other countries. The Embargo Act, the first of the three laws, tried to stop *all* outside trade, hoping that they would come back to the U.S. begging for its trade partnership again and lifting the harsh embargos; the British, who controlled much of the seas, and the French, who controlled much of mainland Europe, ended up being very self-sufficient with their vast empires and were not as needy as Jefferson thought. As a result, there was no plea for trade and the Americans suffered without a market to sell their products. This was replaced by the lighter Non-Intercourse Act, which placed the embargo only on these two countries, which gave the Americans a chance to trade with other markets again. Lastly, Macon's Bill No. 2 came into effect, which tried to lure one of the two warring European nations into a trade with America, which ended up being France. These economic policies had a huge, almost dictatorial effect on American society and politics at this time by their

strictness, rallying up a great unpopular anger and also creating an alliance (with France) and tension (with Great Britain).

Tecumseh and the Prophet

- New generation came with many people who were called war hawks
 - They wanted to fight Britain, rather than follow the conservative ideas of isolationism and governmental stability, and therefore to see themselves avenged rather than be suppressed by Britain's laws again
 - They also wanted to fight the Native Americans, who became a growing threat in the West again
- Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, the latter known as the Prophet, were Shawnee brothers that built a confederacy of many Native American tribes
 - Their followers gave up traditional European ideas (e.g., textile clothing given up for buckskin, became sober)
 - Leaders also banned torture of prisoners and encouraged everyone to not sell any land to the Europeans
- William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana, took army against gather Native Americans in 1811
 - Native Americans attacked, lost and had settlement burned
 - Caused Tecumseh and the Prophet to join the British side, lost and died in the Battle of the Thames

American and National Identity: This was another major standoff between the Native Americans and the Americans, which stemmed from the long-standing clash stemming from colonial ages. As a result of the war between Governor Harrison and Tecumseh and the Prophet, the Native Americans were stifled again. This showed a continuity, a conservative view from the Americans that the British were surprisingly more liberal in: the British, without land disputes with the Native Americans, had the fur trade with the Native Americans for many years. Like King Philip's War or the Pueblo Revolt, this attempted revolt caused little harm to the Americans and great harms to the Native Americans. While American identity had not changed much in this respect, the Native American culture had, with Tecumseh and the Prophet working hard to encourage non-European practices and to protect their land in order to keep their heritage purer and more removed from their enemies.

Mr. Madison's War

- Madison believed war with Great Britain to be inevitable in 1812
 - War hawks wanted to conquer British Florida in order to get rid of the Native Americans that flourished off the trade with Canadians
 - Some Southerners considered capturing Florida
 - Madison still tried to remain calm, tried to resist war and keep faith in the republican government
 - Believed that America had to protect itself and its democratic ideals
- Madison asked Congress to declare war; Congress agreed

- Both houses won the vote, but Federalists and Northerners were generally the ones against it, while Republicans in the South agreed with it
 - Federalist-thinkers in the North still were sympathetic to Great Britain, Republicans sympathetic to the French
 - New Englanders gave Britain some money, some supported Canada
 - Jeffersonians had to fight with “old England and New England”

Culture and Society: At this point, there was a majority consensus that America should go to war with Great Britain again in order to lift the embargo and to reduce the power of the British's Native American allies. This was a reluctant decision, however: Madison, like the previous presidents, strongly opposed the idea of interventionist policies unless extremely necessary, and the Federalists were sympathetic to the British. However, the exigence of the British Orders in Council and the punishments on American shipping pushed the Republican-Democrats to make the move. The indignant Federalists, however, continued to smuggle help to the British, especially in Canada, making the war effort divided. This uncoordination caused by the two-party system further limited its power and efficiency, causing less faith in it and therefore leading up to the “Era of Good Feelings” without any strong opposition party to the Republican-Democrats.