Chapter 12
The Second War for Independence and the Upsurge of Nationalism, 1812–1824

XII. Madison's Gamble

- Madison took oath on March 4, 1809:
  - Just as conflict in Europe escalated
  - Non-Intercourse Act (1809) would expire in 1810
  - Congress dismantled embargo completely with a bargaining measure—Macon’s Bill No. 2
    - If either Britain or France repealed its commercial restrictions, America would restore its embargo against nonrepealing nation
    - To Madison, bill was a shameful capitulation

James Madison Becomes President

Madison’s Gamble

CHAP II AND 12

James Madison

Chap 11 and 12

1800 1804 1808 1812 1816 1820

1808

Democratic-Republican (Madison)
Federalist (Pinckney)
Independent Republican (C. Clinton)

1812:

Electoral Vote Total Voting: 175 Not Voting: 1

Territories
Macon's Bill No. 2:  
- French implied their restrictions might be repealed  
- Madison did not trust Napoleon, but he gambled  
- Threat of exclusive U.S. trade with France would lead British to repeal restrictions  
- Gave British three months to revoke Orders in Council & reopen Atlantic to neutral trade  
- British refused; Madison's gamble failed

XIV. Mr. Madison's War

- Pushed by war hawks & upset by Indian attacks, Madison believed war with England inevitable by 1812.  
- Madison also believed war would restore faith in republican experiment.  
- Congress approved request for war in June:  
  - Republicans, esp. South & West, supported war  
  - Federalists, esp. from New England, opposed

XIV. Mr. Madison's War  
(cont.)

- Many New Englanders refused to support war and actually helped British.  
- USA went to war badly divided by party and by section.
America's Second War for Independence?

Causes of the War?

1. Napoleonic Wars
   - 1808-1811 ➔ Britain impressed over 6,000 American sailors.

2. Chesapeake-Leopard "Affair"
   - June 21, 1807.
   - Br. Captain fired on the USS Chesapeake.
   - 3 dead, 18 wounded.
   - Br. Foreign Office said it was a mistake.
   - Jefferson's Response:
     - Forbade Br. ships to dock in American ports.
     - Ordered state governors to call up as much as 100,000 militiamen.

PROVOCATIONS

3. Inciting Indians on the Frontier

1. Impressment of Sailors

2. Cutting off Trade

Source: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection
3. The Embargo Act (1807)

The “OGRABME” Turtle

- Forbade export of all goods from the US.
- Unexpected Consequences:
  - 1807 exports $108 mil.
  - 1808 exports $22 mil.

4. The Non-Intercourse Act (1809)

- Replaced the Embargo Act.
- Reopened trade with all nations EXCEPT Britain and France.
- Remained U.S. policy until 1812.
- Unexpected Consequences:
  - N. Eng. was forced to become self-sufficient again [old factories reopened].
  - Laid the groundwork for US industrial power.
  - Jefferson, a critic of an industrial America, ironically contributed to Hamilton’s view of the US!

5. Br. Instigation of Indians

British General Brock Meets with Tecumseh

- Between 1801 and 1810, white settlers continued to move onto lands that had been guaranteed to Native Americans.
  - Ohio became a state in 1803.
  - Native Americans renewed their associations with British agents and fur traders in Canada for protection.
  - Some Native Americans built a confederacy among their nations in the Northwest.
  - They were led by Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief.

War Fever

- Americans accused the British of arming Tecumseh and encouraging him to start an uprising against the United States.
Tecumseh and the Prophet

Two Shawnee brothers, Tecumseh & Tenskwatawa, known to non-Indians as "the Prophet," decided to resist tide of white encroachment
• Began to form confederacy of all tribes west of Mississippi
• Frontiersmen and their war-hawk spokesmen became convinced that British in Canada were nourishing the Indians' growing strength
• In 1811, William Henry Harrison gathered an army and advanced on Tecumseh’s headquarters

War Fever (cont.)

- Tecumseh believed that the treaties with separate Native American nations were worthless and the land was meant for Native Americans to live on.
- Tecumseh’s brother, the Prophet, attracted a huge following with his teachings.
- He felt that the Native Americans should return to the customs of their ancestors and give up the white ways.
- He founded a village called Prophetstown near present-day Lafayette, Indiana, where the Tippecanoe and Wabash Rivers meet.

Tecumseh and the Prophet

Tecumseh was absent, but the Prophet attacked Harrison’s army with a small force of Shawnees
• Shawnees were routed and their settlement burned
• Battle of Tippecanoe made Harrison a national hero
• Discredited the Prophet and drove Tecumseh into an alliance with British
• During America’s war with Britain, Tecumseh fought for England until killed in 1813 at Battle of the Thames
• With his death, dream of an Indian confederacy perished

War Fever (cont.)

- Tecumseh met with the white people and the governor of the Indiana Territory, General William Henry Harrison, after Harrison had warned him of the weakness of a Native American-British alliance and the power of the United States against them.
- Tecumseh said that it was the Americans who were killing the Native Americans, taking away the land, pushing the Native Americans to do mischief, and keeping the tribes from uniting.
War Fever (cont.)

- In 1811 Harrison attacked Prophetstown at the Battle of Tippecanoe.
- The Americans proclaimed a victory, while the Prophet’s forces fled.
- Unfortunately for the Americans, Tecumseh and the British forces united as a result of the American victory.

War Fever (cont.)

- The War Hawks, led by Henry Clay from Kentucky and John Calhoun from South Carolina, pushed for the president to declare war with Britain.
- The Federalists in the Northeast remained opposed to war.
  - The War Hawks were eager to expand the nation’s power.
  - By their efforts, the size of the army quadrupled through additional military spending.
  - Their nationalism appealed to a new sense of American patriotism.

War Fever (cont.)

- On June 1, 1812, Madison asked Congress for a declaration of war, concluding that war with Britain was inevitable.
- At the same time, Britain ended their policy of searching and seizing American ships.
- However, because the news took so long to travel across the ocean, the United States did not know of the change.

Where was the War of 1812 supported by public opinion?
- Democratic-Republican (Madison)
- Fusion (Dr. W. Clinton)

Where was it not supported?
- 1800 1804 1808
- 1812 1816 1820

“Mr. Madison’s War!”
The war began in July 1812. General William Hull led the army from Detroit to Canada, but was forced to retreat.

General William Henry Harrison made another attempt without luck and decided that as long as the British controlled Lake Erie, they would not be able to invade Canada.

I. On to Canada over Land and Lakes (cont.)

- Canada:
  - America’s offensive strategy poorly conceived
  - Missed by not capturing Montreal
  - Instead led a three-pronged invasion
  - Invading forces from Detroit, Niagara, & Lake Champlain were defeated soon after crossing Canadian border

- By contrast:
  - British & Canadians displayed great energy
  - Quickly captured American fort Michilimackinac
I. On to Canada over Land and Lakes (cont.)

– Americans looked for success on water
– American navy did much better than army
– American craft were better than British ships
  • e.g., *USS Constitution* had thicker sides, heavier firepower, & larger crews

Naval battles were more successful.

• The navy was more prepared with three of the fastest *frigates*, or warships.
• On September 10, 1813, after a bloody battle along Lake Erie led by *Oliver Hazard Perry*, American ships destroyed the British naval force.

British troops and their Native American allies tried to pull back from Detroit now that America controlled Lake Erie.

• In the Battle of the Thames on October 5, Tecumseh was killed when Harrison and his troops cut off the British and Native American forces.
• Canada remained unconquered, although Americans attacked York (present-day Toronto), burning the Parliament buildings.

The Native Americans had some setbacks.

When Tecumseh died, hopes of a Native American confederation also died.

In March 1814, at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Indiana, Andrew Jackson attacked and defeated the Creeks.

They were forced to give up most of their lands in the United States.
I. On to Canada over Land and Lakes (cont.)

• Despite successes, Americans by late 1814 were far from invading Canada:
  – Thousands of redcoat veterans began to pour into Canada from Continent
  – With 10,000 troops, British prepared for war in 1814 against New York, along lake-river route
  – Lacking roads, invaders forced to bring supplies over Lake Champlain waterway

American fleet, commanded by Thomas Macdonough, challenged British:
  – Desperate battle fought near Plattsburgh on September 11, 1814
  – Results of American victory were momentous:
    • British army forced to retreat
    • Macdonough saved upper New York from conquest
    • Affected concurrent negotiations of Anglo-American peace treaty in Europe

The British Offensive

• In the spring of 1814, the British won the war with the French
• Now they could send more troops to America.
• In August 1814, the British marched into the capital of Washington, D.C., burning and destroying the city.

II. Washington Burned and New Orleans Defended

• A second British force of 4,000 landed in Chesapeake Bay area in August 1814.
• Marching toward to Washington, they dispersed 6,000 militiamen at Bladensburg.
• Set buildings on fire, incl. Capitol & White House.
The White House Is Burning: The British Are Coming, AGAIN!!

Dolley Madison
First Lady to James Madison, who gathered important papers and a portrait of Washington before she fled the White House in 1814. The British burned the White House after she had left.

Washington, D.C. – the nation's capitol and seat of the federal government, a separate district and not a part of any state

Baltimore – port city on the Chesapeake Bay; location of Ft. McHenry

Chesapeake Bay – the bay that splits Maryland in two.

The British Campaign 1814

The British then went on to attack Baltimore, but Baltimore was ready.

- Roads were barricaded, the harbor was blocked, and some 13,000 militiamen stood guard.
- Francis Scott Key wrote the “Star-Spangled Banner” to exemplify the patriotic feeling when he saw the American flag still flying over Fort McHenry when the battle was over.
- He watched as bombs burst over the fort in the night.
- When he saw the American flag the next morning, he wrote the poem.

Battle of Fort McHenry, 1814

And the rockets red glare
The bombs bursting in air...

- Francis Scott Key
The British Offensive (cont.)

- In September 1814, the British were defeated in the Battle of Plattsburgh, New York, even though they had the advantage of trained soldiers, better firepower, cavalry, and professional leaders.

- General George Prevost led more than 10,000 British troops from Canada but lost the battle.

The British Offensive (cont.)

- The British decided after the Plattsburgh loss that the war in North America was too costly and unnecessary.

- In December 1814, in Ghent, Belgium, American and British representatives signed the Treaty of Ghent to end the war.
The Treaty of Ghent restored things to the way they were before the war began.

December 24, 1814

III. The Treaty of Ghent

- Tsar Alexander I of Russia proposed mediation in 1812:
  - His proposal brought 5 American peacemakers to Belgian city of Ghent in 1814
  - Group headed by John Quincy Adams
  - Confident from early military successes, British initially demanded a neutralized Indian buffer state in Great Lakes region, control of Great Lakes, & a substantial part of Maine

- Americans flatly rejected these terms and talks stalemated:
  - British reverses in upper New York and Baltimore made London more willing to compromise
  - England also preoccupied with redrafting map of Europe at Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) and eyeing still-dangerous France

- Treaty of Ghent, signed on Christmas Eve, 1814 was essentially an armistice.
- The treaty did not change any of the existing borders.

In the words of John Quincy Adams, “Nothing was adjusted, nothing was settled.”

New Orleans Defended (cont.)

- A third British assault in 1814, aimed at New Orleans, menaced entire Mississippi Valley:
  - Andrew Jackson, fresh from victory at Battle of Horseshoe Bend (see Map 12.5), in command
New Orleans Defended (cont.)

- Jackson had 7,000 soldiers holding defensive positions.
- 8,000 British soldiers blundered badly:
  - Launched frontal assault on January 8, 1815
  - Suffered most devastating defeat of entire war
  - Lost over 2,000 killed and wounded in ½ hour
  - An astonishing victory for Jackson and his men
- News of American victory in Battle of New Orleans was great encouragement.

- One final battle was fought after the peace treaty was signed but before word reached the United States of the peace agreement.
- The Battle of New Orleans in December 1814 was a bloody battle in which the Americans were victorious.
- Andrew Jackson led the American army and became a hero.
- His fame helped him later win the presidency in 1827.

### Battle of New Orleans

**Andrew Jackson vs. the British**

**January 8, 1815**

**After Treaty of Ghent**

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<th></th>
<th>British</th>
<th>U.S.</th>
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<tr>
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<td>291</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wounded</td>
<td>1,267</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>2,042</td>
<td>71</td>
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Although the Battle of New Orleans took place after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, the Battle of New Orleans was important because the decisive victory gave Americans a sense of national pride.

**DECISIVE VICTORY**

**HERO**

Jackson Square
New Orleans
In 1814 we took a little trip
along with Colonel Jackson down the mighty Mississip.
We took a little bacon and we took a little beans
And we caught the bloody British in the town of New Orleans.

Chorus:
We fired our guns and the British kept a’comin.
There wasn’t nigh as many as there was a while ago.
We fired once more and they began to runnin’ on
down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

Yeah, they ran through the briars and they ran through the brambles
And they ran through the bushes where a rabbit couldn’t go.
They ran so fast that the hounds couldn’t catch ’em
on down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

We looked down the river and we seen the British come.
And there must have been a hundred of ’em beatin’ on the drum.
They stepped so high and they made the bugles ring.
We stood by our cotton bales and didn’t say a thing.

Chorus
Old Hickory said we could take ’em by surprise
If we didn’t fire our muskets til we looked ’em in the eyes
We held our fire til we seen their faces well.
then we opened up with squirrel guns and really gave ’em... well.

Yeah, they ran through the briars and they ran through the brambles
and they ran through the bushes where a rabbit couldn’t go.
they ran so fast that the hounds couldn’t catch ’em
on down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.

Hup 2, 3, 4. Sound off 3, 4... Hup 2, 3, 4.

II. Washington Burned and New Orleans Defended (cont.)

- Jackson became a national hero.
- Peace treaty signed at Ghent, Belgium:
  - Ended war two weeks before Battle of New Orleans
  - U.S.A. fought for honor as much as material gain
  - Battle of New Orleans restored that honor
  - British retaliated with devastating blockade along America’s coast

Jackson’s Florida Campaigns

Facts: 1814-1815

- Florida Becomes Part of US
  - After War of 1812, Spain had difficulty governing Florida
  - Seminole Indians, runaway slaves, and white outlaws conducted raids into U.S. territory and retreated to safety across the Florida border

- President Monroe commissioned General Andrew Jackson to stop the raiders
  - Jackson led a force into Florida, destroyed Seminole villages, and hanged 2 Seminole chiefs
  - Jackson captured Pensacola and drove out the Spanish governor

Hartford Convention
December, 1814 - January, 1815
New England Considers Secession!
Delegates from several New England states met in Hartford to propose amendments to the Constitution.

Dec. 1814 – Jan. 1815

IV. Federalist Grievances and the Hartford Convention

- New England extremists proposed secession or at least separate peace with Britain:
  - Hartford Convention:
    - Massachusetts, Connecticut, & Rhode Island sent full delegations
    - New Hampshire & Vermont sent partial delegations
    - 26 men met in secrecy for 3 weeks—Dec. 15, 1814 to Jan. 5, 1815—to discuss grievances
    - Only a few delegates advocated secession

IV. Federalist Grievances and the Hartford Convention (cont.)

- Hartford Convention was not radical.
- Convention’s final report was moderate:
  - Demands reflected Federalist fears that New England was becoming subservient to South & West
  - Demanded financial assistance from Washington to compensate for lost trade
  - Proposed constitutional amendments

WHERE? Hartford, CT
WHO? Federalists
WHAT? Amend the Constitution

2/3 Embargo
2/3 Declare War
2/3 Admit New States
NO Conscription

IV. Federalist Grievances and the Hartford Convention (cont.)

- Delegates sought to abolish 3/5 clause
- To limit presidents to single term
- To prohibit election of two successive presidents from same state—this aimed at “Virginia dynasty”
- Three envoys carried demands to Washington:
  - Arrived just as news of New Orleans victory appeared
  - Hartford Convention was death of Federalist party
  - Federalists never again able to mount successful presidential campaign (see Map 12.2)
V. The Second War for American Independence

- War of 1812 a small war:
  - 6,000 Americans killed or wounded
- Globally unimportant, war had huge consequences for United States:
  - Other nations developed new respect for America’s prowess thanks to Perry & Macdonough
  - In diplomatic sense, conflict could be called 2nd War for American Independence

V. The Second War for American Independence (cont.)

- Sectionalism dealt black eye.
- Federalists were most conspicuous casualty.
- War heroes emerged—Jackson and Harrison—both later became president.
- Abandoned by British, Indians forced to make terms as best they could.
- In economic sense, war bred greater U.S. independence via increased manufacturing.

V. The Second War for American Independence (cont.)

- Canadian patriotism increased by war.
- Many felt betrayed by Treaty of Ghent:
  - Aggrieved by failure to secure Indian buffer state or even mastery of Great Lakes
  - Rush-Bagot agreement (1817) between Britain & U.S.A. limited naval armament on Great Lakes
  - Border fortifications later removed
  - United States and Canada came to share world’s longest unfortified boundary—5,527 miles

NOTE:
This is the last election in which the Federalist Party participated in a national election.
VI. Nascent Nationalism

Most impressive by-product of war was heightened nationalism (nation-consciousness or national oneness):

- America may not have fought war as one nation, but it emerged as one nation
- Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper attained international fame as American writers
- Revised Bank of United States approved by Congress in 1816
- New national capital began to rise in Washington

VI. Nascent Nationalism (cont.)

- Army expanded to ten thousand
- Navy further covered itself with victory in 1815 when it beat piratical plunderers of North Africa

VII. “The American System”

- Nationalism manifested itself in manufacturing:
  - Patriotic Americans took pride in factories
  - British tried to crush U.S. factories in marketplace
  - Tariff of 1816—Congress passed first tariff:
    - Primarily for protection, not revenue
    - Rates were 20 to 25% of value of dutiable imports
    - High protective trend started

Nationalism highlighted by Henry Clay’s plan for developing profitable home market:

- **His American System:**
  - Strong banking system provide easy credit
  - Protective tariff for eastern manufacturing
  - Network of roads and canals, especially in Ohio, would meet great need for better transportation

Spending for this plan conflicted with Republican constitutional scruples.

Henry Clay’s “American System”

**The Economics of Nationalism**

1. **National Bank**
   - First B.U.S. had expired in 1811

2. **Internal Improvements**
   - Infrastructure (roads, bridges, canals)

3. **Protective Tariff**
   - Build and protect domestic manufacturing

Jeffersonian or Hamiltonian?
Henry Clay’s “American System”
The Economics of Nationalism

2. Internal Improvements
3. Protective Tariff – Tariff of 1816

Strict or Loose Construction?

VI. “The American System” (cont.)
Congress voted in 1817 to distribute $1.5 million to states for internal improvements:
• President Madison vetoed measure as unconstitutional
• Individual states had to fund their own construction, incl. Erie Canal, completed in 1825
• Jeffersonian-Republicans rejected direct federal support for intrastate internal improvements
• New England strongly opposed it because would further drain away population and create competing states in West

Calhoun’s “Bonus Bill”
“for constructing roads and canals, and improving the navigation of water courses, in order to facilitate... internal commerce among the several States, and to render more easy and less expensive the means and provisions for the common defense...”

Spirit of Nationalism in US
• patriotism or national oneness
• Country is united, confident, and growing
• 1791-1819, 9 states joined the original 13.
• One political party---Republican party
• Respect from Europe
• Monroe first president to visit all states.
• Boston newspaper declared an “Era of Good Feelings” had began.
• But, time period was not free of problems.

Nationalism and Sectionalism
In the Era of Good Feeling
VIII. The So-Called Era of Good Feelings

- James Monroe nominated for presidency in 1816:
  - Last time a Federalist would run
  - Monroe an experienced, levelheaded executive
  - Emerging nationalism cemented by Monroe’s goodwill tour in 1817
  - Boston newspaper announced “Era of Good Feelings”
VIII. The So-Called Era of Good Feelings (cont.)

- **Era of Good Feelings:**
  - Considerable tranquility and prosperity did exist in early Monroe years
  - But also a troubled time:
    - Extensive debate over tariff, the bank, internal improvements, and sale of public lands
    - Sectionalism was growing
    - Debate over slavery was growing

IX. The Panic of 1819 and the Curse of Hard Times

- 1819 economic panic descended:
  - Deflation, bankruptcies, bank failures, unemployment, & overcrowded debtor’s prisons
  - Factors contributing to catastrophe:
    - Over-speculation of frontier land
    - West hard hit when Bank of United States forced western banks to foreclose on farm mortgages

IX. The Panic of 1819 and the Curse of Hard Times (cont.)

- Panic of 1819:
  - Hit poorer classes hard
  - Sowed seed of Jacksonian democracy
  - Called attention to inhumanity of imprisoning debtors
  - Agitation against imprisonment for debt resulted in remedial legislation in many states

X. Growing Pains of the West

- The West:
  - 9 states joined original thirteen between 1791 & 1819
  - To keep balance between North & South, states were admitted alternately, free and slave
  - Continuation of generation-old movement west:
    - Land was cheap
    - Eager newcomers from abroad
    - Tobacco exhausted land in South
X. Growing Pains of the West (cont.)

• Other causes of growing West:
  – Acute economic distress during embargo years
  – Indians in Northwest and South crushed by Generals Harrison and Jackson
  – New highways improved land routes to Ohio Valley (e.g., Cumberland Road, 1811)
  – 1811 first steamboat on western waters heralded new era of upstream navigation

X. Growing Pains of the West (cont.)

• West still weak in population and influence:
  – Allied with other sections to gain influence
  – **Land Act of 1820** helped with access to land:
    • Can buy 80 acres at minimum of $1.25 an acre in cash
  – West demanded government fund transportation and slowly received it
  – West also frustrated by Bank of U.S. resistance to easy credit

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**The Land Act of 1820** gave the West its wish by authorizing a buyer to purchase 80 acres of land at a minimum of $1.25 an acre in cash; the West demanded transportation

**ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS**

- National Transportation system
  • Cumberland Road and Erie Canal first internal improvements to unite the US
  • the first steamboat on western waters was in 1811.
  • 1800 to 1850 roads, canals and rivers first forms of transportation
  • 1850 to 1860 the railroad is added

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- Help unite the country as well as improve the economy and the infant industry....
- Because of the British blockade during the War of 1812, it was essential for internal transportation improvements.

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**American Cities, 1820**
Westward expansion
Growth of cities and states by 1850

1. Did the US fight a war? Name of war and country fought?
2. Did the US buy land? From whom and how much?
3. President responsible
4. Name of treaty and date.

Expansion of the United States

1. Did the US fight a war? Name of war and country fought?
2. Did the US buy land? From whom and how much?
3. President responsible
4. Name of treaty and date.

SECTIONALISM

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<td>Slavery (-)</td>
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The Missouri Question

The First Crisis of the Union

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS:

1. Are all states in the Union equal, or are some “more equal than others”?
2. Can Congress impose conditions on new states that all states don’t have to follow?

XI. Slavery and the Sectional Balance

- North-South tensions over West revealed in 1819.
- Missouri petitioned for statehood:
  - Tallmadge amendment—

Tallmadge Amendment (1819)

"And provided, That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited...
and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years."

Rep. James Tallmadge, Jr. (R-NY)

XI. Slavery and the Sectional Balance

- North-South tensions over West revealed in 1819.
- Missouri petitioned for statehood:
  - Tallmadge amendment—
    - No more slaves could be brought into Missouri
    - Gradual emancipation of children born to slaves already there

Bicameralism at Work “Concurrent Majority”
XI. Slavery and the Sectional Balance (cont.)

- Roar of anger from slaveholding Southerners:
  - Saw Tallmadge amendment as threat to sectional balance and whole future of slavery
  - If Congress abolished peculiar institution in Missouri, it might do so in older states of South.
- A few Northerners protested evils of slavery:
  - Determined to prevent its spread into territories

XII. The Uneasy Missouri Compromise

- Clay broke deadlock with three compromises.

The Man of the Hour...

**Henry Clay’s Compromise Proposal:**

1. Admit **Maine** as a Free State
2. Admit **Missouri** as a Slave State

XII. The Uneasy Missouri Compromise (cont.)

- **Missouri Compromise** lasted 34 years:
  - Vital formative period in young Republic
  - Preserved compact of states
  - Exposed divisive issue of slavery in West
  - Missouri Compromise and Panic of 1819 should have hurt Monroe’s reelection in 1820
  - Monroe received every electoral vote except one because Federalists so weak
The Sage of Monticello...

Primary Source: Jefferson to John Holmes, April 22, 1820

A South Carolina Perspective...

During the debate, Charles Pinckney (SC) defended slavery as a positive good.

Pinckney’s Speech

Bicameralism at Work “Concurrent Majority”

Crisis Averted... Let’s Review

Henry Clay’s Compromise Proposal:

1. Admit Maine as a Free State
2. Admit Missouri as a Slave State
The American Colonization Society
aka: The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America

- Founded 1816
- Liberia
  - Colony established in Africa
  - Capital: Monrovia

Henry Clay
Charter Member

Notable Members of ACS
- James Madison (U.S. President)
- James Monroe (U.S. President)
- Daniel Webster (U.S. Senator)
- Stephen Douglas (U.S. Senator)
- Henry Clay (Speaker of the House)
- Francis Scott Key (The Star Spangled Banner)
- John Marshall (Chief Justice)

Membership Certificate signed by James Madison
Sold for $928 in 2006

Madison served as President of the ACS from 1833-1836

The Cotton Gin
Mechanized cotton production

Eli Whitney
Of Massachusetts

Cotton

The Cotton Gin
Mechanized cotton production

Eli Whitney
Of Massachusetts
From Harper’s Weekly (1869)

“King Cotton”

The South’s dependence on slavery

The (in)Effectiveness of Colonization

Cotton Production

The Marshall Court

The (in)Effectiveness of Colonization

Number of Slaves in U.S.

Number of Freed Slaves Colonized

2,500,000 / 12,000 = 208

THE MARSHALL COURT

MCCULLOCH V. MARYLAND

1819

John Marshall
Chief Justice

BUS vs. Maryland

Maryland had placed a tax on the Bank of the United States. The B.U.S. sued Maryland in protest.

The Marshall Court ruled in the Bank’s favor.

MCCULLOCH V. MARYLAND

1819

John Marshall
Chief Justice

THE DECISION:

FEDERALISM  ELASTIC CLAUSE
SUPREMACY CLAUSE  IMPLIED POWERS
"The power to tax involves the power to destroy."

John Marshall
McCulloch v. Maryland

XIII. John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism

- Supreme Court bolstered nationalism.
- **McCulloch v. Maryland** (1819) strengthened U.S. government at expense of states:
  - Maryland attempted to destroy branch of Bank of United States by imposing tax on its notes
  - Marshall declared bank constitutional using doctrine of implied powers or loose construction
    - Increased federal authority when he denied right of Maryland to tax the bank

XIII. John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism (cont.)

- **Cohens v. Virginia** (1821) gave Marshall another opportunity to defend federal power:
  - Cohen brothers convicted by Virginia courts of illegally selling lottery tickets
  - They appealed conviction to Supreme Court
  - Court upheld conviction
  - Marshall asserted right of Supreme Court to review decisions of state courts in all questions involving powers of federal government

XIII. John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism (cont.)

- **Gibbons v. Ogden** (1824)
  - New York state granted monopoly of waterborne commerce between NY & NJ to a private concern
  - Marshall asserted Constitution conferred on Congress alone control of interstate commerce (see Art. I, Sec. VIII, Para. 3)
    - Struck blow at states’ rights while upholding sovereign powers of federal government

**From Article I, Section 8**

[The Congress shall have Power] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States...
XIV. Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses

Marshall also protected property rights.

Notorious case of *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810):
- Georgia legislature granted 35 million acres in Yazoo River country (Mississippi) to private speculators
- Next legislature canceled corrupt transaction
- Court decreed grant a contract & Constitution forbids states from “impairing” contracts (Art. I. Sec. X, para. 1)
- Protected property rights against popular pressures

XIV. Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses (cont.)

- *Fletcher* enabled Court to assert right to void state laws conflicting with federal Constitution.
- *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819):
  - College sued when New Jersey changed charter granted to college by king in 1769

XIV. Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses (cont.)

- *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (cont.):
  - Marshall ruled original charter must stand
  - It was a contract and Constitution protected contracts against state encroachments
  - Dartmouth decision safeguarded businesses from domination by states
  - Created future problem when corporations escaped needed public control

The Marshall Court:

Using *Marbury v. Madison*, *McCulloch v. Maryland*, and *Gibbons v. Ogden* as guides, determine whether Chief Justice John Marshall would “Like” or “Dislike” the following items.

NOTE: This exercise is based on the Facebook news feed. At no point does the author assert that the format is original. NOT INTENDED FOR COMMERCIAL USE
The “Elastic Clause”

**The Constitution**  The Congress shall have Power...To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof. (Art I, Sec 8.18)

1787 • Comment • Like

John Marshall likes this.

Strict Construction

**Thomas Jefferson**  Resolved, That the several States composing, the United States of America... by a compact under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States... constituted a general government for special purposes — delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government...

1798 • Comment • Like

John Marshall dislikes this.

Loose Construction

**Alexander Hamilton**  Every power vested in a Government is in its nature sovereign... which are not precluded by restrictions and exceptions specified in the constitution, or not immoral, or not contrary to the essential ends of political society.

23 Feb 1791 • Comment • Like

John Marshall likes this.

States’ Rights

**James Madison**  The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the federal government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State governments are numerous and indefinite.

1788 • Comment • Like

John Marshall dislikes this.

The National Bank

**Alexander Hamilton**  A National Bank is an Institution of primary importance to the prosperous administration of the Finances, and would be of the greatest utility in the operations connected with the support of the Public Credit....

1790 • Comment • Like

John Marshall likes this.
XIV. Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses (cont.)

– Marshall’s nationalistic decisions shaped U.S. history:
  • Buttressed federal Union
  • Created stable national environment for business
  • Checked excesses of elected state legislatures
  • Shaped Constitution along conservative, centralizing lines counter to emerging democratic spirit of era
  • Through him, Hamiltonians partly triumphed

XV. Sharing Oregon and Acquiring Florida

• Anglo-American Convention (1818):
  – Permitted U.S.A. to share Newfoundland fisheries with Canada
  – Fixed vague northern limits of Louisiana along 49th parallel from Lake of the Woods (Minn.) to Rocky Mountains (see Map 12.4)
  – Provided for 10-year joint occupation of Oregon Country, without surrender of rights or claims of either America or Britain

XV. Sharing Oregon and Acquiring Florida (cont.)

• Semitropical Spanish Florida:
  – Americans already claimed West Florida, ratified by Congress in 1812
  – Bulk of Florida remained under Spanish rule (see Map 12.5)
  – Uprisings in South America forced Spain to remove troops from Florida
  – Jackson secured commission to enter Spanish territory

XV. Sharing Oregon and Acquiring Florida (cont.)

– Exceeding his instructions, Jackson swept across Florida attacking Indians & any who assisted them
– Monroe consulted cabinet and all wanted to discipline Jackson, except John Quincy Adams

• Florida Purchase Treaty (1819):
  – Also known as Adams-Onis Treaty:
    • Spain ceded Florida & claims to Oregon in exchange for Texas
• Adams-Onis Treaty (1818)
  – Spain turned over
    • western Florida along with all to the east
    • Claims in the Oregon Territory to the U.S.
  – US agreed
    • to pay $5 million to Spain
    • to give up any territorial claims to Texas

XVI. The Menace of Monarchy in America
• Autocrats of Europe:
  – Stated world must be made safe from democracy
  – Smothered rebellions in Italy (1821) & Spain (1823)
  – Americans were alarmed:
    • If Europeans interfered in New World, Republicanism would suffer irreparable harm
    • Physical security of United States, mother of democracy, would be endangered

XVI. The Menace of Monarchy in America (cont.)
• Russia’s push from Alaska began when tsar in 1821 claimed jurisdiction over 100 miles of open sea to 51° (most of British Columbia)
• Russia had trading posts as far as San Francisco Bay
• American feared that Russia would block access to California, prospective U.S. window to Pacific

XVII. Monroe and His Doctrine
• England wanted U.S.A. to issue a joint pledge asserting territorial integrity of New World.
• Adams concluded a self-denying alliance with Britain would hamper American expansion and it was unnecessary.
• He suspected England would block any European intervention in South America.

XVII. Monroe and His Doctrine (cont.)
• Monroe Doctrine (1823):
  – In annual message to Congress, Monroe issued stern warning to Europe:
    • (1) noncolonization and (2) nonintervention
    • Regarding Russia’s advance in Northwest, he proclaimed era of colonization over
    • He warned against foreign intervention, esp. in south
• European powers offended but could do little because of British navy.
In foreign affairs Monroe proclaimed the fundamental policy that bears his name, the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe was responding to the threat that Europe might try to aid Spain in winning back her former Latin American colonies.

Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams wanted to protect new “republics” in the Western Hemisphere.

Great Britain, with its powerful navy, also opposed reconquest of Latin America and suggested that the United States join in proclaiming “hands off.”

The Monroe Doctrine

“The American continents... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers...”

From Monroe’s

Not only must Latin America be left alone, he warned, but also Russia must not encroach southward on the Pacific coast. “...the American continents...”

He stated, ”by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power.”

Claimed by the US, Great Britain and Russia

Russia was claiming California too

Western Hemisphere or the Americas.
New Latin American countries were formed from successful revolutions.

US protector of new democracies in the Western Hemisphere

You are the President and his advisors: What would you do in the following situation using the Monroe Doctrine as your guideline…..

Great Britain is in the process of sending troops to settle a border dispute between Argentina and Chile. Great Britain has had some and continual influence in both of these countries helping them financially. The British Government’s position is to act as the mediator or peace keeper in this situation.

How would you respond to this situation now that the Monroe Doctrine is US policy?

Russia has loaned Argentina several billions of dollars to upgrade their nuclear technology…Argentina has defaulted on repayment of the loans to Russia for 2 years…Russia has warned Argentina to begin repaying the loans or suffer economic sanctions (cutting off their trade with other countries) and lastly, a military invasion. Russia has also warned the U.S. to stay out of this situation since it does not concern them.

How would you respond to this situation now that the Monroe Doctrine is US policy?

XVIII. Monroe’s Doctrine Appraised

• Russia relented even before Doctrine released

• Russo-American Treaty (1824):
  – Fixed Russia’s southern line at 54° 40’—present south tip of Alaska panhandle (see Map 12.6)

• Monroe Doctrine might more accurately be called Self-Defense Doctrine:
  – Monroe concerned about security of his own country, not Latin America
XVIII. Monroe's Doctrine Appraised (cont.)

- Monroe Doctrine has never been greater than America's power to eject a trespasser
- It was never law—domestic or international
- Merely personalized statement of policy by President Monroe
- Expressed the post-1812 nationalism then energizing United States

The end of an era...