

## POLI 100C: POLITICAL PARTIES

CLASS NOTES – 29 and 31 January 2008 (6:30 – 7:50PM)

### VI. The Early Republic: 1789 - 1824

A. Hamilton's Economic Program – Set the tone for later conflicts. Hamiltonian measures favored the Northeast vs. South + West + Hinterlands – **Income based except for Southern Planters.** **Hamilton:** Despised farmers and regarded them as “people of no particular importance.” **Jefferson:** Believed men (farmers) “habituated to think for themselves” were easier to govern than city dwellers “debased by ignorance, indolence, and oppression.”

1. Debt Assumption (1791) – **Total Debt – CC-Domestic (27.4 principle + 13.0 interest), CC-Foreign (10.1 principle + 1.6 interest), State 26.6; TOTAL CC and State = \$78.7 million – Annual Interest on the Bonds was about \$2m yearly 1791-95 = ½ government's total expenditures!!**

- a. Continental Congress Debt (1790)
  - i. Domestic Debt: \$40.4m (\$27.4 principal, \$13 interest) Paid  
With 3 Types of Coupon Bonds
  - ii. Foreign Debt: \$11.7m (\$10.1 principal, \$1.6 interest) Paid  
With Specie to French and Dutch

b. State Debt: \$26.6m (1791)

- i. Political Deal Between Hamilton and Jefferson/Madison --  
D.C. For State Debt Assumption
- ii. 81% Paid With 3 Types of Coupon Bonds
- c. **Importance of Bonds** -- In Nov. 1790 6% bonds worth \$68.75, 6% deferred worth \$28.75, and 3% bonds \$35.42 (**Market price per \$100 face value**). Hence, \$100 principal + \$47.60 interest arrears = \$147.60 **converted to the bonds at market values in Nov. 1790, worth \$72.22.**

Formula:  $(2/3)*\$68.75 + (1/3)*\$28.75 = \$55.42$  on the principal  
 $(13,041,353/27,383,917)=.476$  was interest arrears  
 Formula:  $(47.60/100.00)* \$35.42 = \$16.80$  on the interest  
 TOTAL =  $\$55.42 + \$16.80 = \$72.22$  payout on \$147.60 owed or about 49 cents to the dollar

**THEY WERE NEGOTIABLE PAPER!!! NEEDED FOR BUSINESS!**

- 2. National Bank (1791 – 1811)
  - a. Purpose
    - i. **Supply Paper Notes** for Commercial Transactions (the U.S. government only issued gold and silver coins)
    - ii. Short Term Loans To Government
    - iii. Repository for Government Funds

- iv. Loans to Individuals so they Could Pay Taxes
  - b. Madison and Jefferson Claim It is Unconstitutional. *Government not empowered to CHARTER Corporations!* Attorney General Randolph equivocated. Hamilton Prevails. *Congress has power to regulate Currency, therefore implied power to establish Bank to ISSUE Currency.* Washington decided in favor of Hamilton. He tended to side with the “staff officer” who had authority over the subject matter area. Passed in House by 39 – 20, 36 of the 39 came from **commercial areas**, 19 of the 20 were from the **South**
  - c. 20 Year Charter
  - d. \$10m in Capital: *\$8m Private*, \$2m US
3. Excise Taxes (March 1791)
- a. *Annual Interest on Bonds was approx. \$2m yearly 1791-1795 or one-half Government Expenditures*
  - b. Salt, Coal, Boots, Shoes, etc., used to pay Interest on Debt
  - c. Whiskey Tax and **Whiskey Rebellion (1794)** – Opposition was strong in Western PA because it was easier to ship Whiskey than the grain and with hard money scarce, Whiskey was a medium of exchange. Hence, many viewed it as a tax on money! Violators were to stand trial in federal court. The nearest to Pittsburgh was

Philadelphia, 350 miles by rough road! Later Congress permitted state Courts to hold the trials. Uprising in July, 1794 when federal marshals came to WPA with arrest warrants. A 13,000 man militia organized in August, 1794 to put down the “Whiskey Insurrection”. Hamilton rode west with the troops and Washington came out to Carlisle, PA to inspect. No organized opposition. About 100 men rounded up, 2 convicted of Treason and sentenced to death, but Washington eventually pardoned them. Irony was that the cost of collection > receipts, especially by 1794.

**d. Hamilton's Policies Favored New England and Coastal Cities at Expense of Interior Farmers**

4. Tariffs (passed 1789)
  - a. 1789 - 1860 Over 90% of U.S. Government Revenue From Tariffs
  - b. A Tariff is a Tax Paid by Consumers on Imported Goods
  - c. Losers From Tariffs
    - i. National Income Falls
    - ii. Prices on Competing Goods Rise
    - iii. American Exporters Lose Business
  - d. Winners From Tariffs

- i. Government Tax Revenue Increases (Initially!)
  - ii. Domestic Producers
  - iii. Domestic Labor in Protected Industry
- e. Tariffs Persist Because Benefits are Concentrated and Costs Dispersed Which Make them Politically Attractive

**TARIFF TIME LINE:**

**1789 Act**

1808-1816 Embargo, War of 1812

**1816 Act**

1818-1819 Financial crisis

1819-1832 strong support for tariffs

**1820 Bill**--North vs. South, bill loses in Senate

**1824 Act**

1827 Wollens Bill loses in Senate

**1828 Act** (Tariff of abominations)

**1832 Act**

**1833 Compromise Act**

1833-1842 weak support

**1842 Act** (Whig Party measure)

1842-1846 strong support

**1846 Act** (Demo. Party measure)

1847-1860 Low tariffs

**1857 Act** (Little opposition)

"free trade"

1857 Crisis of 1857 unrelated to tariff

**1861 Morrill Tariff Act**

**1862 Act**                   **WAR**

1861-65 heavy internal

tax offset by tariffs raising prices of imported goods

**1864 Act**                   **TARIFFS**

1866-1872 Internal Taxes Reduced

1867 Bill to Reduce Tariffs fails 2/3 Vote in House

1867 Wool & Woolen Act

**1870 Act**

1871-72 Large Govt. Surpluses

**1872 Act** 10% reduction in duties

1873 Panic of 1873

**1875 Act** 10% reduction repealed

1878 Bill lost in House, 5 June 1878, 134-121. **VOTEVIEW shows N. vs. S.**

**1883 Act** Mix of increases & decreases

1884 Bill lost in House, 6 May 1884, 159-155, **VOTEVIEW shows N. vs. S.**

1886 Bill lost in House, 17 June 1886, 139-157, **VOTEVIEW shows N. vs. S.**

1887 Pres. Cleveland urges reduction in tariffs

**1890 Act -- McKinley Act**

1893 Commercial crisis & repeal of Silver Purchase Act

**1894 Act -- Included the Income Tax**

**1897 Act -- Dingley Act** -- Tariffs increased to raise revenue

1897-1909 Period of concern about trusts & monopolies

1907 Financial Crisis and Depression

**1909 Act** Left system largely unchanged; hides duty free

**1913 Act** Substantial reductions

B. The Invention of the Cotton Gin by Eli Whitney in **1793** – **The interaction between Economics and Politics**. It changed everything.

1. The Cotton Gin was a simple device that, in effect, worked like a "comb". The Cotton was forced through the comb which allowed the cotton fibers to pass through but not the seeds. **The Cotton Gin instantly lowered the labor costs of growing cotton and resulted in huge efficiencies.**
2. **By 1860, 90% of Slaves were engaged in the production of Cotton.**
3. **Come back to a detailed Discussion when we talk about the Whig-Democrat Party system.**

C. Foreign Policy and the “Pop-Gun” Republic

1. **1790** – Lafayette sent Washington key to Bastille – Americans were enthusiastic about French Revolution.
2. However, even before the execution of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, **21 January 1793**, John Adams criticized the French Unicameral legislature and other leveling features of the French Revolution.

3. Adams (p.275 Hofstadter, Miller, & Aaron): “It is not to flatter the passions of the people ... to tell them that in a single assembly they will act as arbitrarily as any despot, but it is a sacred truth ... that **a sovereignty in a single assembly must necessarily and will certainly be exercised by a majority, as tyrannically as any sovereignty was ever exercised by kings or nobles.** And if a balance of passions and interests is not scientifically concerted, the present struggle in Europe will be little beneficial to mankind, and produce nothing but another thousand years of feudal fanaticism, under new and strange names.”
4. **1793** – Conservative opinion against France. Jeffersonians, though horrified by the executions, reaffirmed their dislike of Monarchs and monarchy and voiced their confidence in the people of France.
5. **By 1792 French were at War with Britain.** By 1778 Treaty, U.S. had to defend French West Indies and receive prizes captured at sea by French privateers.
6. On **22 April 1793** President Washington issued **neutrality proclamation** – U.S. would not participate in French Wars. Jefferson argued that 1778 Treaty was valid under international law **and** only Congress could declare neutrality (the news of the executions in France and the break out of Wars in early 1793 did not reach U.S. until April 1793 because of westerly gales in the

North Atlantic). Jefferson argued that only Congress could declare War hence G.W. could not declare neutrality. Hamilton argued that the 1778 Treaty died with the King. Washington was determined to keep the infant (and largely HARMLESS) nation out of War.

7. European War tied up the belligerents merchant ships and increased their need for food, arms, and equipment. **U.S. was a BIG WINNER** – commercial ships did a booming business. France opened West Indies to Neutral States and U.S. made BIG MONEY.
8. Britain retaliated quickly. They regarded trade as simply an arm of War. **In November 1793 they decreed that all shipping to or from French colonies would be subject to British seizure.** They subsequently seized 300 American ships and impressed many seamen into British Navy.
9. **New England traders still made BIG BUCKS** – just a cost of doing business – and it stimulated ship building industry.
10. British began stopping ships anywhere on the high seas and conducting searches.
11. Jeffersonians – Called for an **EMBARGO** and it passed in early **1794.**

12. **Embargo hurt New England merchants more than it hurt British.** However, British did back off some in March, 1794. Washington then sent John Jay to England (**16 April 1794**, Chief Justice!) to negotiate treaty:
  - a. British to surrender N.W. posts.
  - b. British to pay for seized ships.
  - c. Accept U.S. right to be neutral – This realistic – we could side with France.
13. Hamilton – Meddlesome! He assured British minister in New York that U.S. would never make War on Britain. This cut ground from underneath Jay!!!
14. **Jay's Treaty** (**agreed to 19 November 1794** – approved by the Senate **25 June 1795 by 20-10 vote, exactly 2/3rds**) – Became HOT POTATO –
  - a. Britain did surrender N.W. Posts
  - b. On other two points, no concessions.
  - c. Treaty Passed Senate 25 June 1795 by a 20-10 vote.
15. French Reaction – Were outraged by Jay's Treaty. **France now began to attack U.S. ships headed for British ports.** By **March, 1797** (John Adams' inauguration), French captured 300 U.S. ships!

16. Adams tried negotiating with France – **XYZ Affair (1797-98)** – “Millions for Defense not One Cent for Tribute” – XYZ were subordinates of Talleyrand, foreign minister of Directory ruling France – they demanded bribes – Americans were outraged!
17. Congress finally voted money for the expansion of the Navy in 1798 and 1799 and created Navy Department. U.S. also repudiated treaty with France.
18. **1798-1799 undeclared naval War but Adams would not support a formal declaration of War!** A wise and brave act!!

### C. **The Alien & Sedition Acts of July 1798**

1. Adams was being criticized (excoriated!!) by
  - a. Expatriate French revolutionary intellectuals (Adams thought they were engaged in espionage) who had fled to the U.S.
  - b. Some Irish intellectuals (they hated Britain but U.S. was now at peace with Britain)
  - c. Numerous Republican Newspapers
2. **Naturalization Act --** Residency Requirement raised.

3. **Alien Act** – President could order aliens out of the country and jail up to 3 years those who refused to go!
4. **Alien Enemies Act** – Jail enemy aliens during wartime (never used but intimidated many)
5. **Sedition Act** – Severe fines and jail penalties for anyone speaking, writing, or publishing “with intent to defame ... or bring into contempt or disrepute” the President or other members of the government. The first victim was **Matthew Lyon**, Irish born congressman from Vermont. [Federalist judges jailed and fined 70 men](#) – trials were travesties – Federalist judges saw treason behind Republican sentiment. [Justice Samuel Chase of Supreme Court](#) used hand-picked juries, berated defense lawyers, and harangued juries by the hour spouting Federalist doctrine!

## **B. The VA & KY Resolutions of Nov. – Dec. 1798**

1. **Madison** – Called the Sedition Act “a monster that must forever disgrace its parents.”
2. **Jefferson** – **Wrote the Kentucky Resolution** and it passed in 1798.
3. **Madison** – **Wrote the Virginia Resolution** and it passed in 1799.

4. Circulated Resolutions to the States – **Resolutions claimed that a state had the right to decide whether a law of Congress was Constitutional!!!** Kentucky legislature went so far as to claim that it had the right and the duty to refuse to obey any congressional act which it considered unconstitutional!! Most other States replied that the Courts alone had the right to declare act of Congress unconstitutional.

5. **Later the VA and KY Resolutions were used by the Southern secessionists to justify their positions on Slavery.** All this from two men who supported a strong national government!

#### E. The Election of 1800

1. Federalists in Disarray – Hamilton deeply disliked John Adams and this split the party.
2. Lame Duck 6<sup>th</sup> Congress had to decided the Election – **Party lineup 6<sup>th</sup> : House 60F – 46R, Senate 22F – 10R; Party lineup 7<sup>th</sup> : House 38F – 68R, Senate 15F – 17R**
3. Electoral College Votes: Jefferson 73, Burr 73, Adams 65, Pinckey 64.

	Thomas Jefferson/Aaron Burr	John Adams/Charles C. Pinckney
CT		9
DE		3
GA	4	

KY	4	
MD	5	5
MA		16
NH		6
NJ		7
NY	12	
NC	8	4
PA	8	7
RI		4(3)
SC	8	
TN	3	
VT		4
VA	21	
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	73(73)	65(64)

4. Balloting started **11 February 1801** – Under original Constitution  
“if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President.” Voting was by States and a majority of States was necessary for election.
  
5. *First 35 Ballots – Jefferson 8 States; Burr 6 States; 2 States Undecided*

In the following table, results for the state delegation are expressed as (<votes for Jefferson>-<votes for Burr>-<abstentions>). From Wikipedia.

	<b>1st ballot</b>	<b>2nd–35th ballots<sup>(a)</sup></b>	<b>36th ballot</b>
<a href="#"><u>Georgia</u></a> <sup>(b)</sup>	Jefferson (1-0-0)	Jefferson (1-0-0)	Jefferson (1-0-0)
<a href="#"><u>Kentucky</u></a>	Jefferson (2-0-0)	Jefferson (2-0-0)	Jefferson (2-0-0)
<a href="#"><u>New Jersey</u></a>	Jefferson (3-2-0)	Jefferson (3-2-0)	Jefferson (3-2-0)
<a href="#"><u>New York</u></a>	Jefferson (6-4-0)	Jefferson (6-4-0)	Jefferson (6-4-0)
<a href="#"><u>North Carolina</u></a>	Jefferson (9-1-0)	Jefferson (6-4-0)	Jefferson (6-4-0)
<a href="#"><u>Pennsylvania</u></a>	Jefferson (9-4-0)	Jefferson (9-4-0)	Jefferson (9-4-0)
<a href="#"><u>Tennessee</u></a>	Jefferson (1-0-0)	Jefferson (1-0-0)	Jefferson (1-0-0)
<a href="#"><u>Virginia</u></a>	Jefferson (16-3-0)	Jefferson (14-5-0)	Jefferson (14-5-0)
<a href="#"><u>Maryland</u></a>	no result (4-4-0)	no result (4-4-0)	Jefferson (4-0-4)

<a href="#"><u>Vermont</u></a>	no result (1-1-0)	no result (1-1-0)	Jefferson (1-0-1)
<a href="#"><u>Delaware</u></a>	Burr (0-1-0)	Burr (0-1-0)	no result (0-0-1)
<a href="#"><u>South Carolina</u></a> <sup>(c)</sup>	Burr (0-5-0)	Burr (1-3-0)	no result (0-0-4)
<a href="#"><u>Connecticut</u></a>	Burr (0-7-0)	Burr (0-7-0)	Burr (0-7-0)
<a href="#"><u>Massachusetts</u></a>	Burr (3-11-0)	Burr (3-11-0)	Burr (3-11-0)
<a href="#"><u>New Hampshire</u></a>	Burr (0-4-0)	Burr (0-4-0)	Burr (0-4-0)
<a href="#"><u>Rhode Island</u></a>	Burr (0-2-0)	Burr (0-2-0)	Burr (0-2-0)

<sup>(a)</sup> The votes of the individual representatives is typical and may have fluctuated from ballot to ballot, but the result for each individual state did not change.

<sup>(b)</sup> Even though Georgia had two representatives apportioned, one seat was vacant due to the death of [James Jones](#).

<sup>(c)</sup> Even though South Carolina had six representatives apportioned, [Thomas Sumter](#) was absent due to illness, and [Abraham Nott](#) departed for South Carolina between the first and final ballots.

6. 17 February 1801 – Some Federalists abstain within State

delegations: *Jefferson 10 States; Burr 4 States; 2*

*Undecided. Federalists in Vermont and Maryland*

**abstained within their states and the States went over to Jefferson.**

**7. PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER DESPITE THE RHETORIC!**

F. *Marbury vs. Madison* and Judicial Review Facts – Marbury nominated by the President and later he was *appointed* by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate on 3 March 1801. He was appointed as a Justice of the Peace of D.C. for a 5 year term. However, the official paperwork did not reach Marbury by 4 March 1801 when Jefferson took office. His commission was signed and delivered to the Secretary of State (keeper of the great seal of the United States) and sealed. The State Department personnel refused to give Marbury a copy of his commission. He brought suit to force Secretary of State James Madison to give him a copy. Technically, Marbury asked the Supreme Court to issue an order – a Writ of Mandamus (an order by a superior authority [in the Common Law, an order by the King] instructing an inferior one to redress a wrong). It came before the Court on 21 December 1801 but a decision was not handed down until 24 February 1803.

**1. Has he a Right to the Commission? YES**

**2. Has he a Remedy (Section 13 of the Judiciary Act of 1789**

**authorizes the Court to issue a writ of Mandamus)?**

**YES**

3. Whether or not he is *entitled* to the remedy depends on:

*a. The nature of the writ* (i.e., a writ of mandamus [man-dame-us], a writ issued by a superior court ordering a public official or body or a lower court to perform a specified duty – In this instance, force James Madison to perform his public duty; namely, to give Marbury the original [or a copy of] his commission to be a Justice of the Peace in the District of Columbia): **That is:**

**i. Can the writ be directed to the officer in Question? YES**

**ii. Is he without any other remedy? YES**

**b. Does the Court have the Power to Issue the Writ? NO.** Clever argument. The Constitution splits the jurisdiction into two parts – original and appellate. Congress may pass laws *only with respect to the appellate jurisdiction*. Nothing is said about Congress passing laws with respect to the *original jurisdiction*. Hence, the Judiciary Act of 1789 assigns the mandamus power to original jurisdiction. ***This is unconstitutional and is void.***

**[THIS IS THE WEAKEST PART OF THE  
ARGUMENT!!!]**

4. **Does the Court Have the Power to Declare Section 13 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 Unconstitutional? YES. [THIS ARGUMENT IS REASONABLE]**
  
5. **Defects in the Argument – Plain Language of Constitution Article III Section 2 paragraph 2 – ‘In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, *with such exceptions, and under such regulations as Congress shall make.*’ Congress clearly has the authority to enlarge (but not diminish) the Court’s original as well as appellate jurisdiction. THIS WAS CLEARLY A POLITICAL DECISION!**
  
6. **Question – Granting that the Court may declare unconstitutional an act passed by Congress and signed by the President, can it – and it alone – invalidate that law?**
  
7. **Answer: Thomas Jefferson –**

a. The Judiciary may declare an act of the Legislature unconstitutional; but *the Legislature may then impeach the judges and at the next election take its chances with the people with whom the final decision lay.*

b. *The Executive, at his own discretion, meanwhile, may continue to execute the law as though the Court had not spoken, and until the people in the next election voted to sustain or discredit his action.*

8. The Supremes did not declare an Act of Congress Unconstitutional until the **Dred Scott decision in 1857** – 50 years later!

## **G. The Rise of Popular Democracy and the Emergence of Political Parties**

1. Preliminary Remarks:

a. Pre-Revolution View of Political Parties – **Parties are evils and the only proper Party is one that eliminates all Parties.**

b. Madison (also Jefferson & Monroe) – *Sores on the Body Politic* -- Parties are the Price one Pays for Liberty; **they can be checked but not eliminated.** Unanimity was the ideal! *All the Founders basically thought parties were bad and longed for one party UNANIMITY.*

*Indeed, the JEFFERSONIAN-REPUBLICANS finally triumphed and became THE one party.*

c. Martin van Buren – **Parties are Inevitable and Good!**

## 2. Territorial Expansion of the United States

**Table 1a.**  
**The Inclusion of New States**

State	Admitted	Slavery Status	Total Free States	Total Slave States	Population at Entry	US Population at Previous Census
Original 13	1787-1790	<b>See Notes</b>	7	6	3-4,000,000	
Vermont	1791	Free	8	6	92,329	3,929,214
Kentucky	1792	Slave	8	7	103,133	3,929,214
Tennessee	1796	Slave	8	8	77,638	3,929,214
Ohio	1803	Free	9	8	100,984	5,308,483
Louisiana	1812	Slave	9	9	91,926	7,239,881
Indiana	1816	Free	10	9	98,115	7,239,881
Mississippi	1817	Slave	10	10	62,205	7,239,881
Illinois	1818	Free	11	10	46,625	7,239,881
Alabama	1819	Slave	11	11	116,016	7,239,881
Maine	1820	Free	12	11	298,335	9,638,459
Missouri	1821	Slave	12	12	73,973	9,638,459
Arkansas	1836	Slave	12	13	70,700	12,886,020
Michigan	1837	Free	13	13	158,079	12,886,020
Florida	1845	Slave	13	14	70,961	17,069,453
Texas	1845	Slave	13	15	212,592	17,069,453
Iowa	1846	Free	14	15	132,573	17,069,453
Wisconsin	1848	Free	15	15	360,577	17,069,453
California	1850	Free	16	15	92,597	23,191,876
Minnesota	1858	Free	17	15	138,834	23,191,876
Oregon	1859	Free	18	15	48,428	23,191,876
Kansas	1861	Free	19	15	132,925	31,443,321
West Virginia	1863	Free	20	15	296,286	31,443,321
Nevada	1864	Free	36	0	21,111	31,443,321
Nebraska	1867	Free	37	0	94,747	31,443,321
Colorado	1876	Free	38	0	132,542	39,818,449
North Dakota	1889	Free	39	0	175,576	50,155,783
South Dakota	1889	Free	40	0	323,567	50,155,783

State	Admitted	Slavery Status	Total Free States	Total Slave States	Population at Entry	US Population at Previous Census
Montana	1889	Free	41	0	132,548	50,155,783
Washington	1889	Free	42	0	329,020	50,155,783
Idaho	1890	Free	43	0	88,548	62,947,714
Wyoming	1890	Free	44	0	62,555	62,947,714
Utah	1896	Free	45	0	250,361	62,947,714
Oklahoma	1907	Free	46	0	1,396,900	75,994,575
Arizona	1912	Free	47	0	230,000	91,972,266
New Mexico	1912	Free	48	0	333,600	91,972,266
Alaska	1960	Free	49	0	226,000	178,464,236
Hawaii	1960	Free	50	0	633,000	178,464,236

Notes: In 1776, slavery had been abolished in only 2 of the original 13 states. By 1849, it had been abolished in all of the 7 “free” states among the original 13. However, abolition was often restricted only to those born after a certain date. In 1860, 18 slaves remained in New Jersey, a “free” state. (Freehling, 1990, pp. 133, 480). Slavery also existed in the form of “black apprentices” in the “free” states. Apprentices continued in Illinois until 1824 (Freehling, 1990, p. 149). President Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 freed slaves only in Confederate states but, for simplicity, all states are treated as “Free” beginning in 1864. Slavery was ended in all of the United States by the 13th amendment, ratified 18 December 1865. Source for population figures, Stewart and Weingast, 1992, p. 256, Morison and Commager, 1950, p. 790.

### 3. Presidential Elections: 1804 - 1820

1804	Thomas Jefferson (J-Republican)	Charles Pinckney (Federalist)	States (Popular Vote)
	162 103,943	14 38,723	17 (10)
1808	James Madison (J-Republican)	Charles Pinckney (Federalist)	
	122 123,716	47 62,425	17 (9)
1812	James Madison (J-Republican)	De Witt Clinton (Federalist)	
	128 140,197	89 128,065	18 (8)
1816	James Monroe (J-Republican)	(Miscellaneous Federalists)	
	183 76,560	34 17,611	19 (9)
1820	James Monroe (J-Republican)	(Miscellaneous Federalists)	
	231 87,183	1 16,727	24 (15)

- i. States – 1790, 13; 1796, 16; 1821, 24.
- ii. Between 1810 – 1820 six new states entered the Union and all dropped property qualifications for voting. This put pressure on the remaining older states to follow suit.

- iii. Method of Choosing Presidential Electors – 1800 only 2 states by popular vote; 1824, 18 of 24 States by popular vote; 1828, 22 of 24 States by popular vote (only DE and SC held out); 1832 all 24 States by popular vote.
- iv. Turnout – 1824, 324,000 votes 25% turnout; 1828, 1,100,000 votes, 58-60% turnout.

#### 4. The Impact of the War of 1812 (18 June 1812 to 14 December 1814 [8 January 1815])

- a. No decent system of internal roads.
- b. Albert Gallatin (1761 - 1849) – 1808 (Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, 1801 – 1814) – Asked to do a study of routes across the Appalachian hills.
- c. The Erie Canal
- d. The Yankee Diaspora

#### 5. The Missouri Compromise of 1820

- a. The North's legislative attack on Missouri slavery came in the House. In February 1819, amendments by Tallmadge of New York passed in nearly purely sectional votes (see figure 1 and table 2). These amendments **would have banned future imports of slaves into Missouri and freed all slave children in Missouri**

**born after 1825.** The North in fact enjoyed a two-vote edge in the Senate at the time, as Alabama had not yet entered. But the amendments failed in the Senate when a unanimous South was joined by 5 northern defectors, including two from Illinois, where slavery was present in the form of black apprenticeships (Freehling, 1990, p. 149).

- b. The vote on post-nati emancipation in Missouri shown in figure 1 took place in an atypical period of American history, one without a strong two-party system (Poole and Rosenthal, 1997, chapter 5). This period was **the “Era of Good Feelings” commonly seen as lasting from 1815 -- the end of the Napoleonic Wars and their North American offshoot, the War of 1812 -- to 1822.** The country had been badly divided over siding with Britain or France and over the economic program of Alexander Hamilton. The Republicans, triumphant in the presidency with Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe from 1801 to 1824, had moved toward Hamilton’s ideas, and the foreign policy conflict was settled. Only a single electoral vote was cast against Monroe’s reelection to the presidency in 1820. **In the 16th House, which passed the Missouri Compromise, the Jeffersonian Republicans held over 85 percent of the seats.**
- c. The table shows that voting on slavery in the 15th Congress centered on the two vital issues that were to come up time and

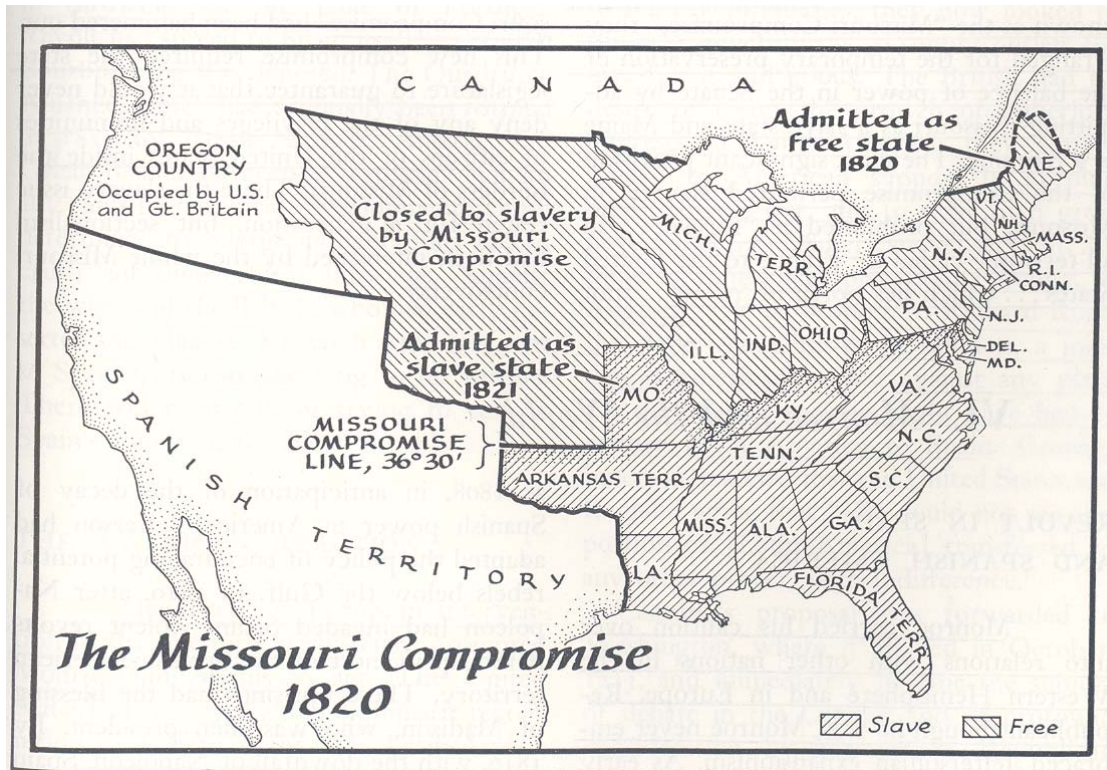
again until the Civil War. **One was the South's interest in forcing free states to capture and return fugitive or runaway slaves.** The other was that **slavery in territories** about to become states had, as we have seen, enormous implications for the distribution of political power in the country. The fugitive slave law votes in 1818 fit the model well, and the Missouri-Arkansas votes in 1819 fit exceptionally well. *The inclusion of new states was the central issue in American politics at this time.*

- d. There were two essential elements to the Compromise. **(1) Maine,** a non-contiguous portion of Massachusetts, was carved out into a separate free state and admitted in March 1820. Missouri was then admitted as a slave state in August 1821, producing a balance of 12 free and 12 slave states.
- e. **(2) Slavery would be prohibited in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30' latitude** (the southern border of Missouri).
- f. **Bad Deal for the South --** In the 40-year period between the admission of Missouri and the outbreak of the Civil War, **only 3 slave states south of the 36°30' latitude were admitted to the Union.** In contrast, 6 free states, including 3 in the area closed to slavery by the Missouri Compromise, were admitted by 1859 **(Michigan was part of the old Northwest Territory, which was**

closed to slavery by the **Land Ordinance of 1787**). Eventually, 8 more states entered the Union from the territory closed to slavery by the Missouri Compromise (In the area bounded by the **1818 Treaty with Great Britain** (that set the northern boundary), the **1819 Treaty with Spain** (that set the southern boundary), and the **original Louisiana Purchase**, the states formed after Missouri were Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas (portion), Arkansas, Oklahoma (portion), Wyoming (portion), Montana (portion), and a small piece of Colorado. Arkansas and Oklahoma were below 36°30').

- g. In agreeing to the Missouri Compromise in 1820, the South indeed had no immediate concern. Southerners could have noticed that the Panic of 1819 and the collapse of the western economy would **greatly slow down the expansion of the frontier**. The Compromise succeeded perhaps not by the craft of Henry Clay and other politicians, but by the very slow rate of settlement of the West in this period (**The next state admitted was Arkansas in 1836**).
- h. Obviously, it is difficult to know with any certainty what Southern expectations were about the acquisition of new slave territories after the Missouri Compromise. There are a number of factors suggesting that pessimism was more likely than optimism. **First, there was little consensus even among Southerners as to what**

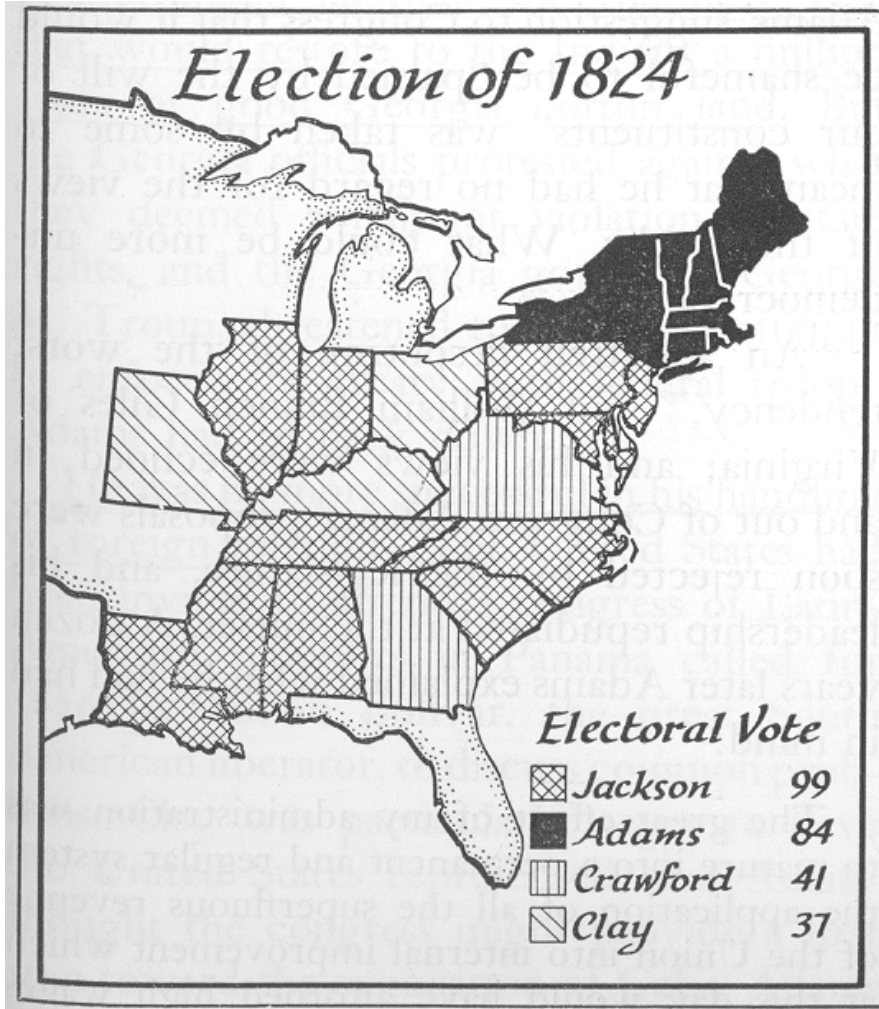
**the natural boundaries of slavery were.** As of 1820, the prime possibilities for expansion were **Texas, Spanish Florida, Mexico, and the Caribbean.** However, a number of events make it fairly safe to assume that these acquisitions were either considered a low probability or as extremely distant in the future. Filibustering expeditions in West Florida in 1810 and in Texas in 1819 generated very little enthusiasm even in the South (Merck 1963). Secondly, until the controversy of the Wilmot Proviso erupted, the South was probably the region most opposed to seeking territory from Mexico. Merck's study of southern editorials during the Mexican War reveals that **most Southerners viewed Mexico as free territory.** Finally, the public hostility to the Ostend Manifesto demanding that Spain sell Cuba to the United States suggests that there probably never would have been sufficient support for that acquisition.



6. The Election of 1824 (all 4 Candidates were Jeffersonian-Republicans):
- a. Electoral Vote: Jackson 99; John Quincy Adams 84; William H. Crawford 41; Henry Clay 37.
  - b. Popular Vote of 18 States: Jackson 151,287; Adams 111,811; Crawford 47,417; Clay 47,707.
  - c. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Under the 12<sup>th</sup> Amendment – a response to the 1800 election (the road to hell is paved with good intentions!) – if no one got a majority of the electoral votes for President **the top 3 went to the House** and the balloting was by State.

This eliminated Clay. Crawford had a stroke in 1823 and a relapse in 1824 and he was not a serious choice. **Clay backed Adams and he was elected – 13 States for Adams (CT, IL, KY, LA, ME, MD, MA, MO, NH, NY, OH, RI, VT), 7 for Jackson (AL, IN, MS, NJ, PA, SC, TN), 4 Crawford (DE, GA, NC, VA).** Adams then chose Clay (**OH, MO, KY**) as his Secretary of State.

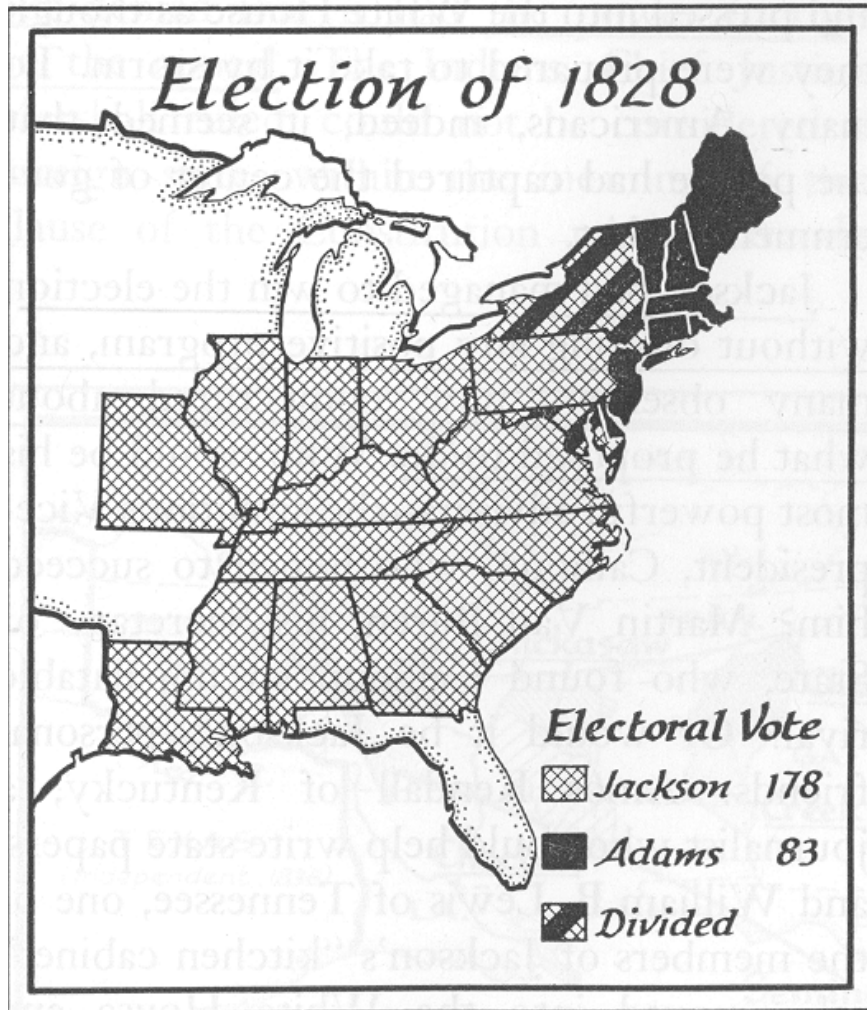
- d. States that “betrayed” Jackson – IL, MD, NC, LA.



7. The Election of 1828 – the “Corrupt Bargain” and Adams’ incompetence doomed his administration.

b. Electoral Vote: Jackson 178; Adams 83.

c. Popular Vote 22 of 24 States: Jackson 638,348; Adams 507,440;  
Or 55.3% to 44.0% (.7% Other).



7.

8. Mass Based Political Parties were the result of the 1824 and 1828 Elections.

H.