CHAPTER 7
NATIONAL GROWING PAINS

Carnes/Garraty
MADISON IN POWER

- Republican James Madison won the election of 1808 with 122 of 173 electoral votes
- May 1810: Macon’s Bill No. 2 became law
  - Removed all restrictions on commerce with France and Britain
  - President authorized to reapply the principle of non-intercourse to either of the major powers if the other should “cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States”
- Trade with Britain returned to pre-embargo levels
MADISON IN POWER

- Trade with France limited by British fleet
  - Napoleon announced he had repealed his decrees against neutral shipping
- Madison reapplied non-intercourse agreement to British
- Napoleon continued to seize American ships and cargoes
- British refused to modify Orders in Council
- Madison came to conclusion that unless the Orders in Council were repealed, U.S. would have to declare war
TECUMSEH AND INDIAN RESISTANCE

- Western farmers erroneously believed that British in Canada were encouraging restive Indian behavior
  - Canadians actually wanted to preserve Indian strength not force a showdown
- American politicians believed Indians should become farmers and “civilized”
- Frontiersmen and Indiana Territory governor William Henry Harrison continually took land from Indians, pushing them farther west
TECUMSEH AND INDIAN RESISTANCE

- Tecumseh built tribes east of the Mississippi into a great confederation
- Tecumseh’s brother, Tenskwatawa—“The Prophet”—urged Indians to give up white ways, white clothes, and white liquor and reinvigorate their culture.
  - No more lands must be ceded to whites
- 7 November 1811: BATTLE OF TIPPICANOE—attack on Harrison’s camp while Tecumseh was away
  - Harrison triumphed and destroyed Prophetstown
  - Indians were disillusioned and confederation was destroyed
DEPRESSION AND LAND HUNGER

Some westerners pressed for war because of agricultural depression, which they believed was result of

- loss of foreign markets
- depredations of British

Reality: depression caused by

- American commercial restrictions
- cumbersome transportation and distribution system

Western expansionism heightened war fever—wanted Canada and the part of Florida not grabbed in 1810
DEPRESSION AND LAND HUNGER

- Madison saw attack on Canada as a way to
  - force British to respect neutral rights
  - shatter Britain’s hope of obtaining food in Canada for West Indian sugar islands
- War Hawks saw war as only way to defend national honor and force repeal of Orders in Council
OPPONENTS OF WAR

- Many people saw war as a national calamity
  - Some Federalists disliked anything administration proposed
  - Ship owners did not like impressments and Orders in Council but saw war against British navy as worse
- Real danger was France
- 1812: conditions in Britain leaned to softening of policy
  - Suffering depression
  - June 23, repealed Orders in Council
- June 18, Madison declared war on Britain
THE WAR OF 1812

- U.S. had no navy capable of confronting British
  - Few hundred merchant marines lashed cannons to their decks and served as privateers attacking British commerce
- U.S. sent its 7 modern frigates to confront British
  - Were faster, tougher, larger and more powerfully armed
  - USS Constitution defeated HMS Guerrière
  - OCTOBER: USS United States forced surrender of HMS Macedonian
  - DECEMBER: USS Constitution destroyed HMS Java
- After that more powerful British navy immobilized U.S. frigates
THE WAR OF 1812

- Canada
  - 500,000 inhabitants vs. 7.5 million Americans
  - Only 2,257 British regulars guarded border
  - Canadian militia was feeble and many sympathized with Americans
- U.S. military leadership was poor
- Three pronged attack against Canada failed
  - July 1812: Gen. William Hull retreated and surrendered Fort Detroit
  - October: invasion crushed
  - Militiamen under Maj. Gen. Dearborn refused to cross border
THE WAR OF 1812

- **British success**
  - Captured Fort Michilimackinac in Northern Michigan
  - Indians had taken Fort Dearborn (Chicago) massacring 85 captives

- **American success**
  - September 1813 Captain Oliver Hazard Perry destroyed British vessels on Lake Erie
  - British abandoned Detroit
  - William Henry Harrison defeated them and killed Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames

- Late in 1813, British captured Fort Niagara and burned Buffalo

- British fleet intensified its blockade of American ports
The War of 1812
BRITAIN ASSUMES THE OFFENSIVE

- 1814: most of British attention on Napoleon until his fall in April 1814.
- British dispatched 14,000 veterans to Canada with a plan:
  - 11,000 men were to march from Montréal.
  - Amphibious force was to make feint at Chesapeake Bay area:
    - British burned Washington DC.
    - Prevented from taking Baltimore.
    - Bombed Fort McHenry.
- Third group was to assemble in Jamaica and attack New Orleans.
“THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER”

- Francis Scott Key, an American, was on a British vessel trying to free an American doctor while the Fort McHenry bombing occurred and wrote the “Star Spangled Banner”

- British ships, unable to crack defenses, sailed to join fleet in Jamaica

- Americans spurred by new determination after burning of Washington - thousands enlisted

- Stopped British invasion from Canada at Plattsburg and forced them to retreat
THE TREATY OF GHENT

- Summer 1814: Peace discussions began in Ghent
- British demands:
  - U.S. abandon practically all the Northwest Territory to the Indians
  - And cede other points along the northern border to Canada
  - No concessions on impressment and neutral rights
- Americans would cede no territory
- Defeats led Britain to agree to *status quo ante bellum* and signed treaty December 24, 1814
THE HARTFORD CONVENTION

- Before news of treaty reached U.S., meeting of New England Federalists was held in December 1814 and January 1815
  - Protest war
  - Plan for convention of states to revise Constitution
- Sentiment in New England had opposed the war from the beginning
- Federalists had played on this
  - Refused to provide militia
  - Discouraged loans to national government
  - Continued trade with Britain and Canada
THE HARTFORD CONVENTION

While extremists talked of secession, moderates controlled convention

- In case of “deliberate, dangerous, and palpable infractions of the Constitution” a state had the right “to interpose its authority” to protect itself

- Accompanied by list of proposed amendments that would have
  - repealed the 3/5 compromise on representation and direct taxes
  - required a 2/3 vote of Congress for the admission of new states and for declaring war
  - reduced Congress’ power to restrict trade by measures such as an embargo
  - limited presidents to a single term
  - made it illegal for naturalized citizens to hold national office
THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

- November 1814: armada of 60 ships sailed for New Orleans with 11,000 soldiers
- Approached New Orleans from east where confronted by Major General Andrew Jackson whose volunteer troops had savagely crushed Creek Indians
- In an attack on December 23, Jackson took British by surprise but was forced to withdraw and dig in
- After 2 weeks British were destroyed by artillery and rifle fire when they attacked on January 8, 1815
  - British suffered 2,100 casualties, including 300 killed
  - 13 Americans were killed and 58 wounded or missing
British New Orleans Campaign, November 22, 1814–February 11, 1815

- **British Advance**
- **Jackson's Night Attack**
- **British Withdrawal**
- **Fort**
- **Fortification**
VICTORY WEAKENS THE FEDERALISTS

- Americans celebrated Jackson’s victory while the Senate ratified the treaty
- American success convinced Europeans of the longevity of United States
- Indians main losers
  - Creeks had to surrender 23 million acres—three-fifths of Alabama and one-fifth of Georgia
- War completed destruction of Federalist Party
  - Had not supported war effort
  - Argued British could not be defeated
  - Had dealt clandestinely with the enemy
  - Had even threatened to break up the Union
VICTORY WEAKENS THE FEDERALISTS

- After 1815, Europe settled down into a century of peace
  - Brought end of serious foreign threats to U.S. and revival of commerce
  - Spurred European emigration which supplied labor to help develop the U.S.
- Nation turned in on itself
July 1815: U.S.-Britain signed commercial convention ending discriminatory duties and making adjustments favorable to trade

Ghent established commissions to work on settling border dispute with Canada

Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817: limited U.S. and Britain to one 100-ton vessel armed with a single 18-pounder on Lake Champlain and another on Lake Ontario with two each for all other Great Lakes

Convention of 1818 agreed on 49th parallel as boundary between U.S. and Canada and to share Oregon Territory for 10 years

Amicably settled disputes over fishing rights in Newfoundland and Labrador
THE TRANSCONTINENTAL TREATY

- West Florida had passed into U.S. hands by 1813
- East Florida
  - Indians struck into American territory from it
  - American slaves escaped into it
- 1818: President James Monroe (elected 1816) ordered General Jackson to clear Seminole Indians from American soil
  - Jackson marched into Florida and seized two Spanish forts
THE TRANSCONTINENTAL TREATY

- Treaty negotiated between John Quincy Adams and Luis de Onís
  - Louisiana Territory border followed Sabine, Red and Arkansas Rivers to the Continental Divide and the 42nd parallel to the Pacific
  - U.S. obtained Florida for $5 million paid to Americans who held claims against the Spanish government
  - Signed 1819 and ratified 1821
THE MONROE DOCTRINE

- Russians, since first explorations of Vitus Bering in 1741, had maintained an interest in the NW Coast.
- In 1821 Czar extended his claim south to the 51st parallel and forbade ships of the powers to enter coastal waters north of that point.
- From 1817 to 1822 most of Latin America had won independence from Spain.
- Austria, Prussia, France and Russia decided at Congress of Verona in 1822 to regain area for Spain, who was too weak to accomplish it herself.
- 1824: Russians signed treaty with U.S. abandoning all claims below 54º40’ north latitude and removing their restrictions on foreign shipping.
THE MONROE DOCTRINE

- Britain did not want return of Spanish empire but did not recognize new revolutionary republics
- 1823 Britain suggested joint message but Secretary of State John Quincy Adams recommended that it be an American statement
  1. New World not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers
  2. U.S. will stay out of European affairs
  3. Attempt by Europeans to extend any part of their system to this Hemisphere will be seen as threat to U.S. safety
THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

- Under the Presidency of James Monroe (1816-1824), old animosities were forgotten and the United States experienced a period of political quietude and prosperity.
- John Adams and Thomas Jefferson reconciled.
- 1790-1820 while area of U.S. doubled, population had increased from 4 million to 9.6 million.
  - Pace of westward movement had also quickened.
**Population Density, 1790**

The thirty years from 1790 to 1820 saw a sizable increase in population. The growth was especially great in the decade from 1810 to 1820, with a 33.1 percent increase.
NEW SECTIONAL ISSUES

Tariff Question
- Before 1812 levels = 12.5%
- During war tariffs doubled
- 1816, new act kept tariffs high to protect infant industries (esp. textiles)

Positions
- New England did not back high tariffs because shipping industry favored free trade and textile mills were not seriously injured by foreign competition
  - Rest of North favored protection
- South came to dislike high tariffs as they had no industry and tariffs increased cost of almost everything they bought
  - Feared high duties on imports might limit foreign markets for southern staples
- West divided on the topic
  - Northwest and Kentucky, which wanted to protect hemp production, favored high tariffs
  - Southwest, which produced cotton, disliked tariffs
NEW SECTIONAL ISSUES

NATIONAL BANK

- Charter for Bank of United States had expired in 1811
- State banks flourished and extended credit recklessly
  - With British raids in 1814, depositors trying to convert their deposits into specie discovered that the overextended banks (except in New England) had suspended payments and paper currency value declined
  - Government business also suffered from absence of national bank
- Second Bank of United States was authorized in April 1816
NEW SECTIONAL ISSUES

SECOND BANK OF U.S.

- Capitalized at $35 million but badly managed, participating in issuing of credit
- By 1818, the 18 branches had notes valued 10 times specie reserves
- Bank changed its president with Depression in 1819 and new person tightened credit—good for bank, bad for borrowers
- Northern congressmen voted 53 to 44 against the bank in 1816
- Those from other sections favored it, 58 to 30
- Panic of 1819 produced additional opposition in West
NEW SECTIONAL ISSUES

WESTERN LAND POLICY

- Continuous pressure to reduce land price and minimum unit offered for sale
  - Land Act of 1800 set minimum land price at $2 and the smallest unit at 320 acres
  - 1804 minimum buy set at 160 acres for $80 down
- 1818 U.S. government sold 3.5 million acres
  - Continued expansion combined with shrinkage of European market led to decrease in prices, then the Panic and hundreds of farmers lost their land
NEW SECTIONAL ISSUES

WESTERN LAND POLICY

- West: wanted cheap land
- North and South: felt land should be converted into as much cash as possible
  - Northern manufacturers feared cheap land would drain surplus labor and force prices up
  - Southern planters concerned about competition
- Divisions on internal improvements were similar
NEW SECTIONAL ISSUES

SLAVERY

- Importation of slaves rose in 1790s
- Congress abolished the African slave trade in 1808
- By 1819: 11 free states and 11 slave states
- Positions
  - North opposed generally
  - South defended
  - West leaned toward South
NEW LEADERS

NORTHERN LEADERS

- John Quincy Adams—best known political leader in 1820s and a strong nationalist
- Daniel Webster—rising leader from New England, with national reputation as lawyer and orator but also willing to change his mind frequently
- Martin Van Buren—from New York, a brilliant politician
NEW LEADERS

SOUTHERN LEADERS

- William H. Crawford—from Georgia, was Monroe’s Secretary of the Treasury yet became controversial after being elected to the Senate.

- John C. Calhoun—a well-to-do planter from South Carolina devoted to South and its institutions.
NEW LEADERS

WESTERN LEADERS

- Henry Clay: from Kentucky, saw national needs from a broad perspective
  - Developed “American System”—in return for eastern support of a policy of federal aid for the construction of roads and canals, the West would back the protective tariff
- Slave owner who disliked slavery
THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

- Depression from 1819 to 1822 heightened feelings on all issues
- 1812: Louisiana became state and rest of Louisiana Purchase organized into Missouri Territory
- 1817: Missouri asked for admission as slave state
- 1819: James Tallmadge (NY): amendment prohibiting further introduction of slavery and providing all slaves born in Missouri after it became a state would be free when 25
  - Passed by House on sectional lines
  - Defeated in Senate
THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

- Less populous southern part of Missouri organized as Arkansas Territory
- Ensuing debate in Congress not about rights of blacks but about political power
  - North feared slave states would be overrepresented in Congress due to Three-fifths Compromise
  - North did not like competition with slave labor
- Missouri Compromise: 1820
  - Missouri enters as slave state
  - Maine enters as free state
  - Slavery prohibited in all remaining parts of Louisiana purchase north of 36°30’
- Additional controversy in 1821 over Missouri Constitution
The Missouri Compromise, 1820

Free States
1. New Hampshire
2. Vermont
3. Massachusetts
4. Rhode Island
5. Connecticut
6. New York
7. New Jersey
8. Pennsylvania
9. Ohio
10. Indiana
11. Illinois
12. Maine (Added by Missouri Compromise)

Slave States
1. Delaware
2. Maryland
3. Virginia
4. North Carolina
5. South Carolina
6. Georgia
7. Alabama
8. Mississippi
9. Louisiana
10. Kentucky
11. Tennessee
12. Missouri (Added by Missouri Compromise)

Maine Added as Free, and Missouri, as Slave
THE ELECTION OF 1824

- Disputes over internal improvements
  - 1816: $1.5 million fund for roads and canals, vetoed
  - 1822: bill to provide for upkeep of National Road also vetoed
  - 1824: internal improvement act passed
- 1824: New higher tariff passed
- Party system had dissolved
- Candidates in 1824: Calhoun, Jackson, Crawford, Adams, and Clay
March 1824: Calhoun withdrew and ran for vice presidency

Crawford suffered series of paralytic strokes

With barely a quarter of Americans voting Jackson had 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41 and Clay 37

Contest went to House of Representatives

Clay, no longer in the running, swung his support to Adams who won
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AS PRESIDENT

- Adams wanted to use federal authority to foster useful projects
  - Internal improvements
  - Aid to farmers and manufacturers
  - National university
  - Government astronomical observatory
- Brilliant man, inept politician
High tariffs favored by manufacturers, lead miners in Missouri, hemp raisers in Kentucky, wool growers in New York and many other interests seeking protection from foreign competition.

1828 Tariff (Tariff of Abominations): extremely high duties on wool, hemp, flax, fur and liquor. New Englanders hated because raised price of raw materials but after some minor changes, voted for it.
Vice President Calhoun saw tariff as likely to impoverish South and came out against it and against his own previously nationalist philosophy in *Exposition and Protest*

- Defended right of the people of a state to reject a law of Congress since they were the final arbiters of the meaning of the Constitution
- If, therefore, a special state convention decided an act of Congress violated the Constitution, it could nullify the law within the boundaries of the state
Sectional issues were produced by powerful forces that actually bound the sections together

- Growth
- Prosperity
- Patriotism
- Uniqueness of American system of government
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<td>1808</td>
<td>James Madison is elected president</td>
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<td>1810</td>
<td>Macon’s Bill No. 2 removes all restrictions on commerce with Britain and France</td>
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<td>Battle of Tippecanoe shatters Indian confederation</td>
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<td>Congress declares war on Great Britain</td>
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<td>USS Constitution and United States win naval victories</td>
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<td>1813</td>
<td>Captain Oliver Hazard Perry destroys British fleet in Battle of Lake Erie</td>
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<td>General William Henry Harrison defeats British in Battle of the Thames</td>
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<td>Tecumseh dies at Battle of the Thames</td>
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<td>1814</td>
<td>British burn Washington, D.C.</td>
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<td>Francis Scott Key writes “The Star Spangled Banner” during bombardment of Fort McHenry</td>
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<td>New England Federalists meet at Hartford Convention</td>
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<td>Treaty of Ghent officially ends war of 1812</td>
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<td>1815</td>
<td>General Andrew Jackson defeats British at Battle of New Orleans</td>
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<td>1817</td>
<td>Rush-Bagot Agreement limits American and British forces on Lake Champlain and Great Lakes</td>
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<td>1819</td>
<td>United States signs Transcontinental Treaty with Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>1819–1822</td>
<td>United States experiences economic depression</td>
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<td>1820</td>
<td>James Monroe is reelected president</td>
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<tr>
<td>1820–1821</td>
<td>Missouri Compromise closes Missouri Territory to slavery, but opens Arkansas Territory to slavery</td>
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<td>1820–1850</td>
<td>Cities and manufacturing grow rapidly</td>
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<td>1823</td>
<td>Monroe Doctrine says U.S. will consider future European colonization in western hemisphere a threat to American peace and safety</td>
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<td>1824–1825</td>
<td>House of Representatives decides election of 1824 in favor of John Quincy Adams, leading to claims of “corrupt bargain” with Henry Clay</td>
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<td>1828</td>
<td>Congress passes Tariff of Abominations, leading to nullification debate</td>
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WEBSITES

- The Avalon Project: The War of 1812
  http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britain/br1814m.htm
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