

Post War Nationalism

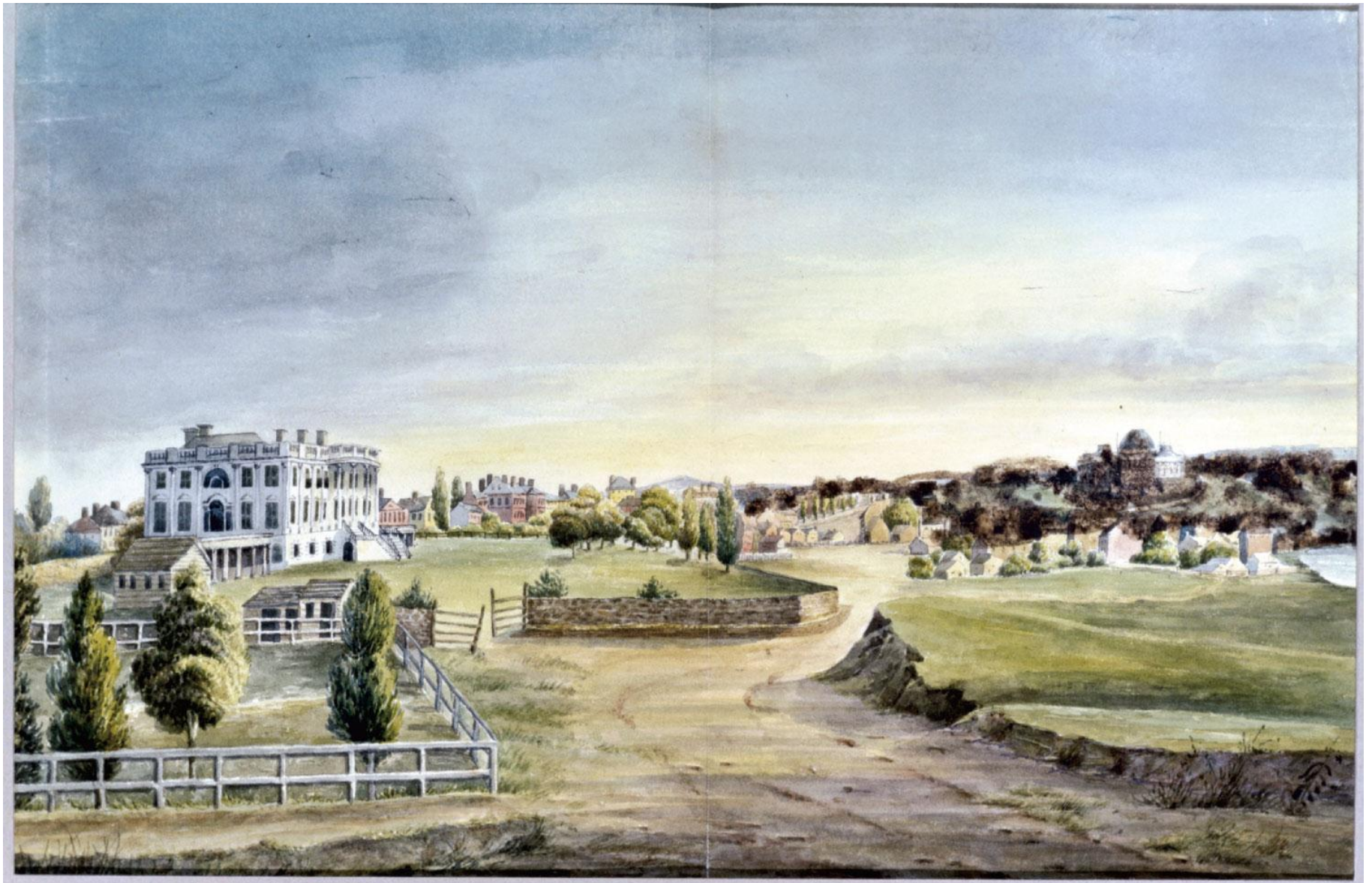
The Aftermath of the War of 1812

The Second War for American Independence

- In a diplomatic sense, if not in a military sense, the conflict could be called the Second War for American Independence:
 - Sectionalism was dealt a black eye
 - The most conspicuous casualty of the war was the Federalist party
 - War heroes emerged—Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison—both to later become president
 - The Indians were forced to make terms as they could

The Second War for American Independence (cont.)

- In both an economic and a diplomatic sense, the War of 1812 bred greater American independence.
- Canadian patriotism and nationalism received a powerful stimulus from the war:
 - Many Canadians felt betrayed by the Treaty of Ghent
 - They were aggrieved by the failure to secure an Indian buffer state or even mastery of the Great Lakes
 - In 1817 the **Rush-Bagot agreement** between Britain and the United States severely limited naval armament on the lakes.
 - Border fortifications came down and the United States and Canada came to share the world's longest unfortified boundary—5527 miles long.



Nascent Nationalism

- The most impressive by-product of the War of 1812 was a heightened nationalism—the spirit of nation-consciousness or national oneness:
 - American may not have fought the war as one nation, but it emerged as one nation
 - Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper attained international fame as the nation's first writers
 - A revised Bank of the United States was voted by Congress in 1816
 - A new national capital began to rise in Washington

“The American System”

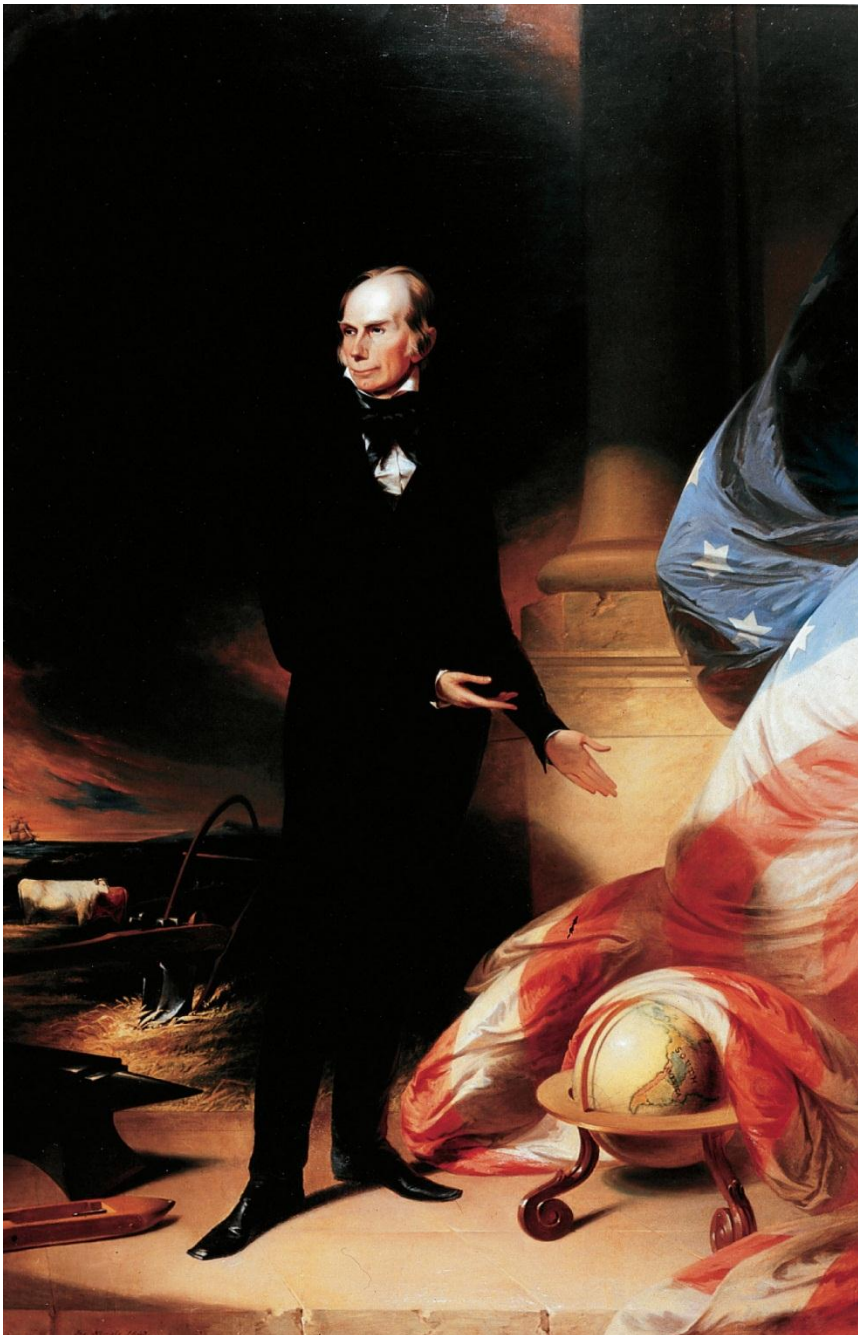
- Nationalism manifested itself in manufacturing:
 - Patriotic Americans took pride in their factories
 - The British were seeking to crush Yankee factories in the marketplace
 - **Tariff of 1816**—Congress passed the first tariff
 - It was primarily for protection, not revenue
 - Its rates were roughly 20 to 25% of the value of dutiable imports
 - A high protective trend was started.

“The American System” (cont.)

- Nationalism was further highlighted by a plan of Henry Clay for developing a profitable home market:
 - **The American System:**
 - A strong banking system—provide easy and abundant credit
 - Revenue from the tariff of eastern manufacturing
 - A network of roads and canals, especially in Ohio, that would met the outcry for better transportation.
 - Federal funding was major issue for Republican constitutional scruples.

“The American System” (cont.)

- Congress voted in 1817 to distribute \$1.5 million to the states for internal improvements:
 - President Madison sternly vetoed this handout measure as unconstitutional
 - Individual states had to venture on their own for construction programs, including the Erie Canal, which was triumphantly completed in 1825
 - Jeffersonian-Republicans choked on the idea of direct federal support for intrastate internal improvements
 - New England particularly strongly opposed it because it would further drain away population and create competing states beyond the mountains



Henry Clay (1777–1852), by John Neagle, 1843 This painting hangs in the corridors of the House of Representatives, where Clay worked as a glamorous, eloquent, and ambitious congressman for many years. Best known for promoting his nationalistic “American System” of protective tariffs for eastern manufactures and federally financed canals and highways to benefit the West, Clay is surrounded here by symbols of flourishing agriculture and burgeoning industries in the new nation.

Nationalist Pride, ca. 1820



The So-Called Era of Good Feelings

- James Monroe was nominated for the presidency in 1816:
 - Last time a Federalist would run (Rufus King)
 - Monroe wins 183-34
 - He announced that an “**Era of Good Feelings**” had been ushered in.

The So-Called Era of Good Feelings (cont.)

- **Era of Good Feelings:**
 - Considerable tranquility and prosperity did exist in the early years of Monroe
 - But it was a troubled one:
 - Acute issues of the tariff, the bank, internal improvements, and the sale of public lands were being hotly contested
 - Sectionalism was crystallizing
 - Slavery was beginning to raise its hideous head



Fairview Inn or Three Mile House on Old Frederick Road, by Thomas Coke Ruckle, ca. 1829 This busy scene on the Frederick Road, leading westward from Baltimore, was typical as pioneers flooded into the newly secured West in the early 1800s.

The Panic of 1819 and the Curse of Hard Times

- 1819 a paralyzing economic panic descended:
 - It brought deflation, depression bankruptcies, bank failures, unemployment, soup kitchens, and overcrowded pesthouses—debtor’s prisons
 - Factors contributing to the catastrophe:
 - Large issue was the overspeculation of frontier land
 - West especially hard hit by the Bank of the United States, forced the speculative (“wildcat”) western banks to the wall and foreclosed mortgages on farms

Growing Pains of the West

- The West:
 - Nine frontier states joined the 13 original between 1791 and 1819
 - Goal was to keep the balance between North and South:
 - They were admitted alternately, free and slave

Growing Pains of the West (cont.)

- Other causes of the growing West:
 - Land was cheap and readily available
 - Eager newcomers from abroad
 - Acute economic distress during the embargo years
 - The crushing of the Indians in the Northwest and South by Generals Harrison and Jackson
 - The building of highways improved the land routes to the Ohio Valley-the Cumberland Road in 1811
 - The use of the first steamboat on western waters
 - 1811 heralded a new era of upstream navigation

Slavery and the Sectional Balance

- Sectional tensions were revealed in 1819:
- Missouri was asking Congress for statehood:
 - **Tallmadge amendment**—
 - No more slaves could be brought to Missouri:
 - Provided for the gradual emancipation of children born to slave parents already there
 - A roar of anger burst from slaveholding Southerners:
 - Southern saw the Tallmadge amendment as a threat to sectional balance.
 - The future of the slave system caused profound concern.

Slavery and the Sectional Balance (cont.)

- If Congress could abolish the **peculiar institution** in Missouri, it might attempt it in the older states of the South.
- Other issues were political and economic balance:
 - Northerners seized the occasion to raise an outcry against the evil of slavery and determined not to spread it further into the untainted territories.

The Uneasy Missouri Compromise

- Deadlock in Washington was broken by three compromises:
 - Henry Clay played a leading role:
 - First, Congress decided to admit Missouri as a slave state and at the same time admit Maine as free state
 - The balance between the North and South remained for fifteen years
 - All future bondage was prohibited north of the line of 36 30'—the southern boundary of Missouri (see Map 12.3).



John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism

- The Supreme Court continued nationalism:
 - *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819) bolstered the power of the federal government at the expense of the states
 - The suit involved an attempt by the State of Maryland to destroy a branch of the Bank of the United States by imposing a tax on its notes.
 - John Marshall declared the bank constitutional by invoking the Hamiltonian doctrine of implied power (see p. 185).
 - He strengthened federal authority when he denied the right of Maryland to tax the bank.
 - Gave the doctrine of **loose construction** its most famous formulation.

John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism (cont.)

- The ***Cohens v. Virginia*** (1821):
 - This gave Marshall the greatest opportunities to defend the federal power
 - Cohen brothers found guilty by the Virginia courts of illegally selling lottery tickets, they appealed to the highest tribunal
 - Virginia won since the conviction was upheld
 - In fact Virginia and all other states lose, since Marshall asserted the right of the Supreme Court to review all decisions of state courts in all questions involving powers of the federal government.

John Marshall and Judicial Nationalism (cont.)

- The ***Gibbons v. Ogden*** (1824)
 - Grew out of an attempt by the State of New York to grant to a private concern a monopoly of waterborne commerce between New York and New Jersey
 - Marshall sternly reminded the upstart state that the Constitution conferred on Congress alone the control of interstate commerce (see Art. I, Sec. VIII, Para. 3).
 - He struck a blow at states' rights while upholding the sovereign powers of the federal government.

Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses

- Marshall's decisions bolstered judicial barriers against democratic or demagogic attacks on property rights:
- The 1810 notorious case of **Fletcher v. Peck**:
 - A Georgia legislature granted 35 million acres in the Yazoo River country (Mississippi) to private speculators:
 - The next legislature canceled the transaction.
 - The Supreme Court decreed that the legislative grant was a contract (even though fraudulently secured).

Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses (cont.)

- And that the Constitution forbid state law “impairing” contracts (Art. I. Sec. X, para. 1)
- It further protected property rights against popular pressures
- It asserted the right of the Supreme Court to invalidate state laws conflicting with the federal Constitution.
- ***Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819):**
 - Best remembered of Marshall’s decisions

Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses (cont.)

- ***Dartmouth College v. Woodward*** (cont.):
 - Dartmouth appealed the case, employing Daniel Webster ('01 alumnus)
 - Marshall ruled that the original charter must stand
 - It was a contract—and the Constitution protected contracts against state encroachments
 - The Dartmouth decision safeguarded business enterprise from domination by the state governments
 - It created a problem that in the future chartered corporations to escape needed public control

Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses (cont.)

- If John Marshall was a Molding Father of the Constitution, Daniel Webster was an Expounding Father.
 - Webster expounded his Federalistic and nationalistic philosophy, challenged states' rights and nullification.
 - Marshall decisions are felt even today:
 - His sense of nationalism was the most tenaciously enduring of the era.
 - He buttressed the federal Union and helped to create a stable nationally uniform environment for business:
 - And checked the excesses of popularly elected state legislatures.

Judicial Dikes Against Democratic Excesses (cont.)

- John Marshall's contributions:
 - Marshall almost single-handedly shaped the Constitution along conservative, centralizing lines that ran counter to the dominant spirit of the new country
 - Through him the conservative Hamiltonians partly triumphed from the tomb

Acquiring Florida

- Semitropical Spanish Florida:
 - Americans already claimed West Florida, ratified by Congress in 1812:
 - The bulk of Florida remained under Spanish rule (see Map 12.5)
 - Uprising in South America forced Spain to remove her troops from Florida to assist the rebels
 - Jackson secured a commission to enter Spanish territory

Acquiring Florida (cont.)

- Jackson swept across Florida taking revenge against the Indians and those who assisted them
- Jackson had exceeded his instruction
- Monroe consulted with his cabinet and all wanted to discipline overzealous Jackson, except John Quincy Adams
- **Florida Purchase Treaty (1819):**
 - Also known as the **Adams-Onis Treaty:**
 - Spain ceded Florida and shadowy Spanish claims to Oregon, in exchange for abandonment of Texas.





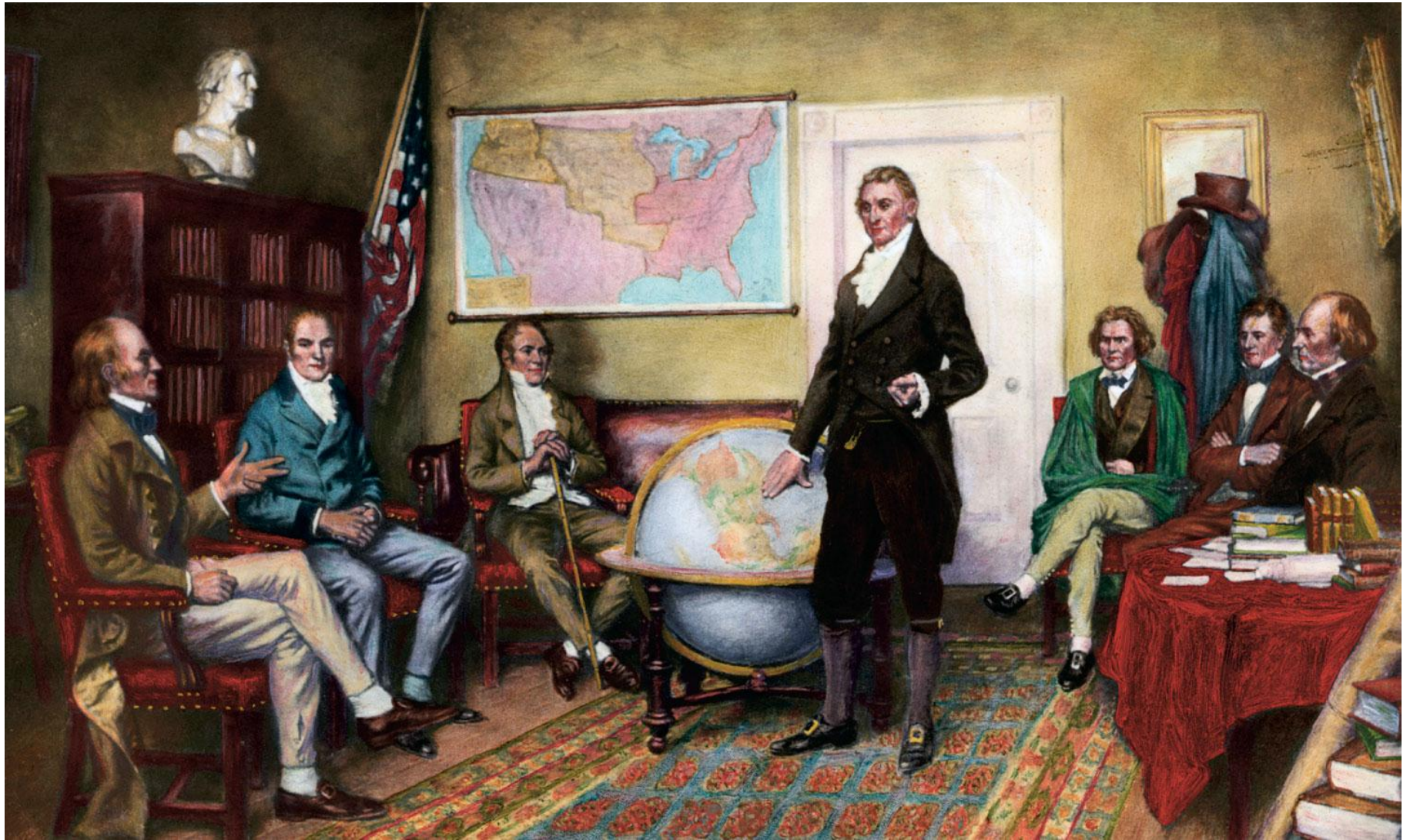


The Menace of Monarchy in America

- Autocrats of Europe:
 - Stated that the world must be made safe *from* democracy
 - They smothered the embers of rebellions in Italy (1821) and in Spain (1823)
 - Americans were alarmed
 - If Europeans interfered in the New World, the cause of Republicanism would suffer irreparable harm
 - The physical security of the United States, the mother of democracy, would be endangered

The Menace of Monarchy in America (cont.)

- Russia push from Alaska had begun when the tsar in 1821 issued a decree extending Russian jurisdiction over 100 miles of the open sea to the 51st degree, an area that included most of present-day British Columbia
- Russia already had trading posts as far south as San Francisco Bay
- Fear among Americans was that Russia would cut California from the Republic and have a prospective window on the Pacific.



Monroe and His Doctrine

- England, under foreign minister George Canning (August 1823), wanted the United States to join in a joint territorial integrity of the New World
 - A self-denying alliance with Britain would hamper American expansion, concluded Adams, and it was unnecessary
 - He suspected correctly

Monroe and His Doctrine (cont.)

- The **Monroe Doctrine** 1823:
 - In his annual message to Congress Dec. 12, Monroe incorporated a stern warning to the European powers:
 - It had two basic features: (1) colonization and (2) nonintervention:
 - Aimed at Russia's advancement in the Northwest, he proclaimed that the era of colonization had ended
 - He warned against foreign intervention, especially in the South
 - The European powers were deeply offended

Monroe's Doctrine Appraised

- **Russo-American Treaty (1824):**
 - Russia had already retreated
 - The treaty fixed Russia's southern line at 54° 40' — the present southern tip of Alaska panhandle (see Map 12.6)
- The Monroe Doctrine might more accurately be called the Self-Defense Doctrine:
 - Monroe was basically concerned about the security of his own country, not Latin America

Monroe's Doctrine Appraised (cont.)

- The United States never permitted a powerful foreign nation to secure a foothold in her territory:
 - The Monroe Doctrine has never been greater than America's power to eject the trespasser
 - It was never law—domestic or international
 - It was merely a simple, personalized statement of the policy of President Monroe
 - But it was largely an expression of the post-1812 nationalism energizing the United States

