

Chapter 61 - Monroe's First Term Marked By Peace Abroad But Challenges At Home



Dates:
1817-1821

Sections:

- Monroe's First Inaugural Address
- Overview Of Monroe's First Term

Time: March 4, 1817

Monroe's First Inaugural Address



The Capitol is still being rebuilt after the 1815 fire, when James Monroe is inaugurated, on March 4, 1817. The ceremony takes place in the temporary quarters of the House, known as the Brick Capitol. He is sworn in by his childhood friend, Chief Justice John Marshall, and then sets a precedent by stepping outside to deliver his address to a gathered crowd.

His speech begins by reflecting on the current state of the nation, which he finds flourishing under the government institutions in place since the Revolution.

I should be destitute of feeling if I was not deeply affected by the strong proof which my fellow-citizens have given me of their confidence in calling me to the high office whose functions I am about to assume....From the commencement of our Revolution to the present day almost forty years have elapsed...During a period fraught with difficulties and marked by very extraordinary events the United States have flourished beyond example. Their citizens individually have been happy and the nation prosperous.

James Monroe (1758-1831)

He then outlines several of his proposed priorities: strengthening the national defense; developing infrastructure and manufacturing to expand the domestic economy and export trade abroad; managing public finances; and achieving harmony between western settlers and the Indian tribes.

In commencing the duties of the chief executive office it has been the practice of the distinguished men who have gone before me to explain the principles which would govern them in their respective Administrations.

National honor is national property of the highest value...To secure us against dangers our coast and inland frontiers should be fortified, our Army and Navy, regulated upon just principles as to the force of each, be kept in perfect order, and our militia be placed on the best practicable footing.

Other interests of high importance will claim attention, among which the improvement of our country by roads and canals, proceeding always with a constitutional sanction, holds a distinguished place.

Our manufacturers will likewise require the systematic and fostering care of the Government

Equally important is it to provide at home a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition it will enhance the price and protect the cultivator against the casualties incident to foreign markets.

With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations and to act with kindness and liberality Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.

The great amount of our revenue and the flourishing state of the Treasury are a full proof of the competency of the national resources for any emergency, as they are of the willingness of our fellow-citizens to bear the burdens which the public necessities require

It is particularly gratifying to me to enter on the discharge of these duties at a time when the United States are blessed with peace. It is a state most consistent with their prosperity and happiness. It will be my sincere desire to preserve it...

Monroe concludes with comments on the favorable state of the nation, and a wish for help from both citizens and the Almighty in the job that lies ahead.

Equally gratifying is it to witness the increased harmony of opinion which pervades our Union. Discord does not belong to our system.

Never did a government commence under auspices so favorable, nor ever was success so complete.

Relying on the aid to be derived from the other departments of the Government, I enter on the trust to which I have been called by the suffrages of my fellow-citizens with my fervent prayers to the Almighty that He will be pleased to continue to us that protection which He has already so conspicuously displayed in our favor.

Time: (March 4, 1817 – March 3, 1821)

Overview Of Monroe's First Term

In assembling his cabinet, Monroe begins with a heady move by naming John Quincy Adams as his choice for Secretary of State. Adams's foreign experience begins at age eleven when he accompanies his

father to his post in Britain. From there he serves as a U.S. Senator, then as minister to the Netherlands, followed by Prussia, Russia and, from 1814-17 in England, where he first establishes a level of respect and trust with then Secretary of State Monroe that endures. Politically, Adams has grown up a Federalist, but he is forced out of the party in 1807 when he helps to draft the 1807 Embargo Bill and caucuses with the Democratic-Republican side in choosing Madison as their 1808 nominee. The partnership between Monroe and JQA will compare with that between Jefferson and Madison.

The new President retains Crawford in his Treasury post, and reaches out to Congressman John Calhoun, an outspoken supporter of the 1812 conflict. These two, along with Adams, will contend to succeed Monroe when the 1824 presidential race begins.

James Monroe Cabinet In 1817

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	Daniel Tompkins	New York
Secretary of State	J Quincy Adams	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	William Crawford	Georgia
Secretary of War	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of the Navy	Benjamin Crowninshield	
Attorney General	Richard Rush	Pa son of Benj

Adams, like Monroe, believes that America is poised in 1817 to put aside its external concerns about safety and concentrate on its many opportunities for internal development.

Every serious difficulty which seemed alarming to the people of the Union in 1800 had been removed or sunk from notice in 1816. With the disappearance of immediate peril, foreign or domestic, society could devote all its energies...to its favorite objects.

This outlook is so pervasive that, in July 1817, the *Columbia Sentinel* newspaper declares that the nation has entered an “era of good feelings.” Symbolic of this view is the start of work on an audacious engineering project that will last for eight years – construction of the Erie Canal, which will ultimately create a water route for commerce from Lake Erie to New York harbor.

Unfortunately the rosy outlook predicted upfront fails to materialize as planned.

First off, Monroe finds that the War of 1812 has had serious residual effects on the American economy, and these lead to the so-called “Panic of 1819.”

Then events in 1820 multiply the challenges.

In South America, the famous liberator, Simon Bolivar, is busily overthrowing Spain’s colonies, with the effects reaching all the way up to America’s southern neighbor, Mexico. Concerns mount about incursions from Spain or surrogates back into the Western Hemisphere. Troubles in Spanish Florida around rebel Seminole Indians increase these worries.

Then comes another shock, this time from a Pennsylvania congressman, James Talmadge, who offers up an amendment to a bill involving statehood for Missouri that sets off a firestorm around the long suppressed topic of slavery. It will prove to be the opening thrust in a 40 year conflict between the South and the North, that ends up in civil war.

The good news is that, by the end of his first term, Monroe has navigated many of these set-backs quite well.

Key Events: Monroe's First Term (1817-1821)

1817	
March 4	Monroe inaugurated
July 4	Construction begins in Rome, NY on DeWitt Clinton's Erie Canal project
July 12	Columbia Sentinel newspaper dubs the period "the era of good feelings" in America
Sept 27	Ohio Indians cede 4 million acres of land to state of Ohio
Oct 8	John C. Calhoun named Secretary of War
November	First Seminole War begins
Dec 2	Monroe asserts that federal funds can be used for infrastructure projects
1818	
Jan 8	Sharp post-war declines in manufacturing output are recorded
Feb 28	New York passes bill requiring debts be paid with specie or US banknotes
May 24	General Andrew Jackson takes Spanish outpost at Pensacola, Florida
June 20	Connecticut becomes the first eastern state to drop property requirement for suffrage
July 1	Second US Bank tightens money supply by requiring states to pay off debts in gold
Aug 23	First steamship trip goes across Lake Erie to Detroit
Oct 19	Chickasaw Indians cede lands between Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers
Oct 20	US and Britain sign Convention of 1818 on Canadian borders, except for Oregon region
Nov 20	Bank of Kentucky suspends operations, causing public panic
Nov 28	JQ Adams informs Spain that it must either control Seminoles or cede Florida to US
Dec 3	Illinois admitted as 21 st state
1819	
January	Beginning of widespread bank failures, foreclosure and financial collapse
Jan 12	Clay bill to condemn Andrew Jackson's unilateral actions in Florida fails to pass
Feb 2	In <i>Dartmouth v Woodward</i> , Supreme Court says corporate charters are valid contracts
Feb 13	James Tallmadge seeks to amend Missouri statehood bill by ending slavery there
Feb 22	In Adams-Onis Treaty, Spain cedes East Florida to US for \$5MM and "hands-off Texas"
Feb 27	After Tallmadge Amendment passes in House on Feb 17, the Senate votes it down
Mar 6	In <i>McCulloch v Maryland</i> , Supreme Court says USB is legal and state cannot tax it
May 5	Sermon by William Ellery Channing announces Unitarian schism with Christian churches
June 20	Steamship Savannah completes trans-Atlantic journey to Liverpool
Dec 14	Alabama admitted as 22 nd state
1820	
Jan 23	The House votes to admit Maine as 23 rd state, but the senate holds this up
Jan 26	The House supports the Taylor amendment allowing Missouri to enter as a slave state
Feb 6	Ship carrying 86 free blacks sets sail from New York headed to Sierra Leone
Feb 17	The Thomas amendment in the Senate adds the 36'30" free/slave dividing line in La. land
Mar 3	Missouri Compromise admits Maine as free, Missouri as slave state and 36'30" as redline
Mar 15	Maine is admitted as 23 rd state, making 12 free and 11 slave at the moment
April 24	Public Land Act passes: price/acre down from \$2 to \$1.25; minimum plot from 160 to 80
May 15	To stop smuggling of foreign slaves into US, congress deems this piracy punishable by death
July 19	Initial Missouri constitution bars free blacks and mulattos from entering the state
Dec 6	Monroe wins second term in a landslide
December	Kentucky Relief Party set up to relieve debtors, opposed by Clay, supported by Jackson
1821	
Jan 17	Spain gives Moses and son Stephen Austin okay to settle 300 Americans in San Antonio
Feb 24	Mexico declares independence from Spain
Mar 2	Congress agrees to admit Missouri, if it drops unconstitutional ban against free blacks
--	Benjamin Lundy begins publishing <i>Genius of Universal Emancipation</i> newspaper

Chapter 62 -- America Acquires The Two Floridas From Spain

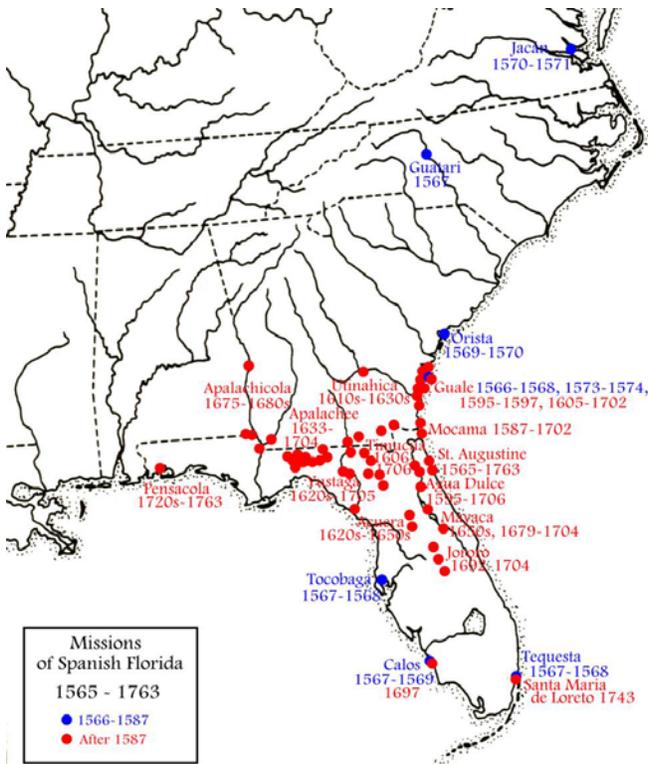


Dates:
1818-1819

- Sections:**
- The Complex History Of La Florida
 - General Andrew Jackson Rampages Across Florida
 - Spain Cedes Florida To America In The Adams-Onis (Transcontinental) Treaty

Time: 1513-1818

The Complex History Of La Florida



Map of Spanish Missions in Florida

The history of the territory is mired in the complexities of European colonization and warfare.

The Spanish explorer, Ponce de Leon, arrives there on Easter Sunday in 1513, and christens it “La Florida,” (“flowering Easter”) in tribute to the traditional feast day celebration. In the 1520’s and 1530’s Hernando DeSoto and Alvar Cabeza consolidate Spain’s claim to the land, and Jesuit missions begin to spring up from St. Augustine on the east coast to Pensacola, 400 miles to the west. But the actual number of settlers remains low over time, in part due to hostility from local Creek and Seminole tribes.

Ownership of La Florida comes into play in 1763, after Britain’s victory in the first global conflict known as the Seven Year’s War. Spain, on the losing side alongside France, has surrendered its control over Cuba, when the port city of Havana falls to the Royal Navy. To regain this, it essentially trades La Florida to Britain in exchange for Cuba, as part of the Treaty of Paris.

The British immediately divide the territory into two colonies, east and west of the Apalachicola River. West Florida, comprising some 380,000 acres, has its capital in Pensacola; the much larger East Florida, 2.8 million acres, is anchored in St. Augustine. Both are headed by a Governor, and administered along the same lines as Britain’s original thirteen colonies.

A Proclamation issued in 1763 tries to force migration of British citizens into the new Florida colony rather than to the north across the Appalachian range. To sweeten the deal, pioneers are promised generous land grants, and slavery is permitted to draw Southern settlers and crops, especially cotton and indigo.

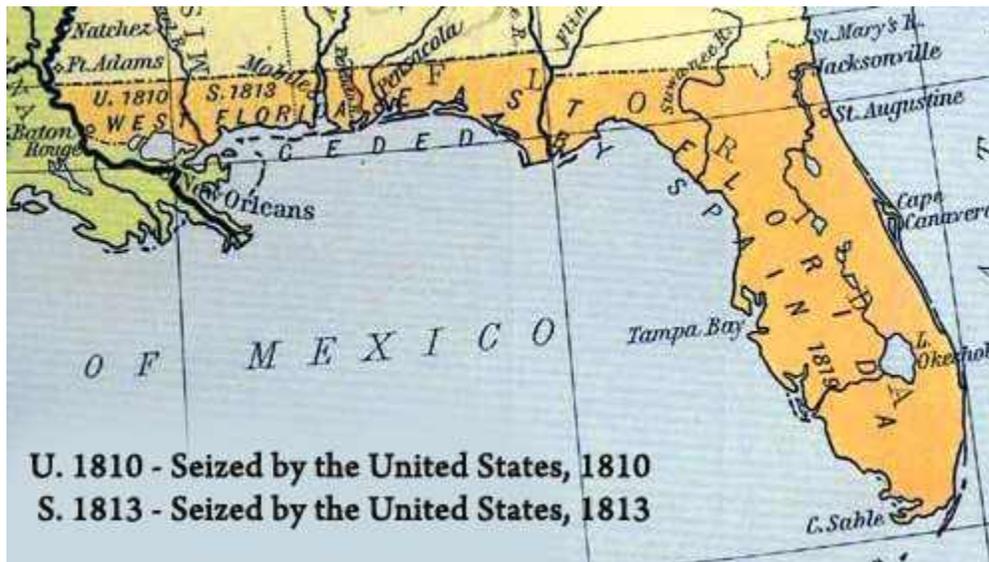
But British control over the two Floridas is only twelve years old when America's Revolutionary War erupts.

The early settlers side unequivocally with the Crown, and local militias are called out for defense. When the conflict shifts to the southern theater in 1780, the Floridians are comforted by early victories at Charleston and Savannah. Then comes the stunning defeat at Yorktown in 1781, followed by the 1783 Treaty of Ghent, where America's negotiators take what they can get: formal recognition of their independence and British land from west of the Appalachians to the Mississippi.

Canada remains in British hands and La Florida is returned to France's ally, Spain.

In regaining the two Floridas, Spain controls almost all of the critical southern port cities along the Gulf of Mexico, save for New Orleans, which America wins in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Almost inevitably a string of border disputes erupt between Spain and the US, starting in the west.

Jefferson argues that West Florida is actually a part of its 1803 acquisition from France, and Madison supports the 1810 takeover of Baton Rouge. He then orders American troops to secure control over all of West Florida in 1813.



American Seizures of the two Floridas

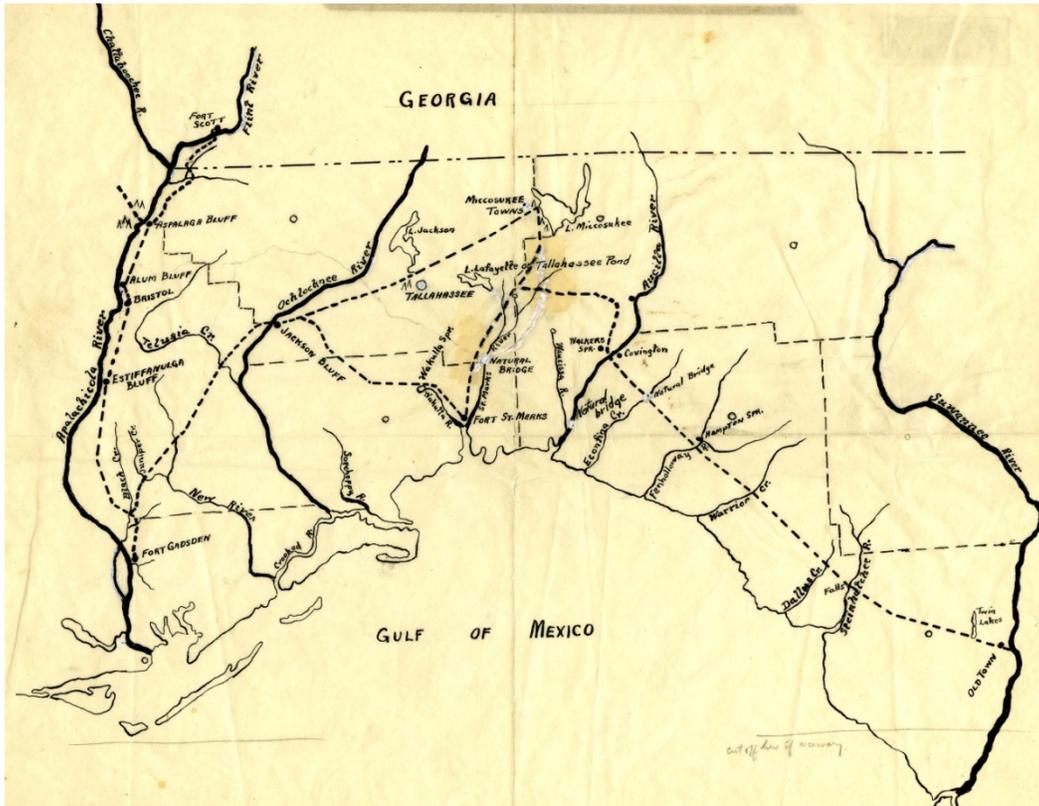
Under Madison, the focus shifts to East Florida, with tensions centering on its status as a haven for run-away slaves from Georgia and South Carolina, and ongoing raids by Seminole tribes north of the border.

These raids are initially suppressed in 1816 by General Andrew Jackson's in the First Seminole War.

In 1818 Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, again calls upon Jackson to march into Spanish Florida.

Time: 1818

General Andrew Jackson Rampages Across Florida



Map of General Andrew Jackson's Florida Incursion in 1818 from the Apalachicola (left) to the Suwannee Rivers (right)

General Jackson of course has won national fame during the War of 1812 with his landmark victories at Horseshoe Bend and New Orleans, so he is well accustomed to leading troops into action.

On March 15, 1818, Jackson sets out against East Florida from Ft. Scott (upper left) with a mixed force of some 4200 regulars, militia and friendly Creek Indians. Moving south down the Apalachicola River, he pauses to construct a new stronghold, Ft. Gadsden (lower left), and garrisons some his troops there.

He then swings back up north and east, assaulting and burning an Indian village at Tallahassee on March 31, and taking the town of Miccosukee the following day.

From there he continues south to San Marcos de Apalache, a port city on the Gulf of Mexico, home to the Spanish Fort of St. Marks. There he finds two British nationals, Robert Ambrister and Alexander Arbuthnot, who are rumored to be selling guns to the Indians. Jackson sets up a court martial to try both men, who are found guilty. Ambrister is executed by firing squad on April 29, and Arbuthnot is hanged.

After a sweep further east along the Suwanee River, Jackson feels he has accomplished his mission, and heads back west, first to Ft. Gadsden and then into West Florida, where he reduces the Spanish Ft. Barrancas at Pensacola on May 28.

This ends Jackson's ten week rampage across northern Florida.



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

It is followed, however, by a barrage of criticism back in Washington that will forever make adversaries of Jackson and then Speaker of the House, Henry Clay, and some twelve years later divide President Jackson from his then Vice-President Calhoun.

Clay regards Jackson's executions at St. Marks and his seizure of Pensacola as "acts of war," carried out in rogue fashion by the General without authorization from Congress, as required in the Constitution.



Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

When Clay's complaint is discussed within Monroe's cabinet, Calhoun attempts to dodge responsibility, saying that Jackson exceeded his orders and should be arrested – a political maneuver that Jackson learns of more than a decade later.

Jackson's successes are again applauded by the public, and he defends himself, arguing that he was acting under direct orders to carry out his patriotic duty.

But Clay is undeterred. He calls congressional hearings to review the Ambrister and Arbuthnot cases and presses to officially censure Jackson.

At this point, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams steps in and argues that his colleagues should back off from their attacks on Jackson.

My principle is that everything he did was defensive; that as such it was neither war against Spain nor violation of the Constitution.

This works, but the General will neither forget nor forgive Clay, and the Speaker will henceforth refer to Jackson as "King Andrew," ever ready to act above the law.

Time: February 22, 1819

Spain Cedes Florida To America In The Adams-Onís (Transcontinental) Treaty



As Jackson is on the march, Adams is continuing to negotiate with Luis de Onís, Spain’s ambassador to the United States, to acquire Florida. Onís is a clever adversary according to Adams:

A finished scholar in the Spanish procrastinating school of diplomacy.

The Minister has long tried to deflect inquiries about surrendering any of Spain’s land holdings in America, be they related to La Florida or to the vast territory west of the Louisiana Territory.

But by 1818 Spain’s colonial empire in the western hemisphere is crumbling. One attempt at independence has already been made and turned back in Mexico, and the liberator, Simon Bolivar, is well on his way to ending Spanish rule in South America.

So when Secretary of State Adams approaches Onis again about Florida, the door is opened to resolution.

Onis recognizes that Spain's military forces in Florida are incapable of controlling the border – either to stop further Seminole incursions into Georgia or to drive out American occupiers. Thus trying to hold on to Florida strikes him as a lost cause.

Instead, his focus turns to protecting Spain's much more important boundaries in the west – from Texas and Mexico all the way to the Pacific coast. The key to this lies in defining exactly where America's Louisiana Purchase land ends and where Spanish land begins.

Disputes on this have surfaced repeatedly since Napoleon's 1803 sale – and Adams and Onis begin negotiations far apart on their claims. Adams argues that American land should extend to the Rio Grande River, thus encompassing the province of Tejas. Onis counters by asserting that the proper boundary should be far east, at the Mississippi River.



The Disputed Province of Tejas/Texas

After this difference stalls progress, Adams takes a hard-nosed stance, essentially an ultimatum, “giving” on the Rio Grande proposal, while demanding a line that goes north along the Mississippi, then west on the Sabine and Red Rivers, then north again to the Arkansas, followed by another northward turn to the 42nd parallel and all the way from there to the west coast.

If accepted, such a line would insure that America would become a transcontinental nation, with the Oregon Territory becoming its window on the Pacific.

To further provoke a settlement, Adams writes a long memorandum to the Spanish government in Madrid asserting that Jackson's actions were in self-defense, and that the "derelict province" of Florida must either be properly policed or ceded immediately.

Spain finally capitulates some nine months after Jackson's occupation. On February 22, 1819, the Adams-Onís (Transcontinental) Treaty is signed by the two diplomats. The key provisions include:

- Spain cedes West and East Florida to the United States for \$5,000;
- The western border of the Louisiana Purchase is resolved;
- Spain gives up its claims north of the 42nd parallel (Oregon);
- The U.S. formally gives up its claims to the Texas territory.

Henry Clay feels that the treaty gives up too much, especially as it relates to Texas, which many have viewed as part of the Louisiana Purchase.

But the Senate passes the Treaty on February 24, 1819, and, under the terms, it goes into effect two years later.

The ever self-critical Adams will later reflect on his work in uncharacteristically effusive terms:

The Florida Treaty was the most important incident in my life, and the most successful negotiation ever consummated by the Government of this nation.

Chapter 63 -- The Supreme Court Reins In The Power Of State Legislatures



Dates:
1810-1819

Sections:

- In *Fletcher v Peck* The Supreme Court Overturns A State Law As Unconstitutional
- The *Dartmouth College v Woodward* Decision Defines Rights For American Corporations
- The *McCulloch v Maryland* Decision Declares That Federal Laws Trump State Laws

Time: 1810

In *Fletcher v Peck* The Supreme Court Overturns A State Law As Unconstitutional

President Monroe's childhood friend, John Marshall, is in his 18th year as Chief Justice when the Supreme Court takes up two more landmark cases in 1819.

Marshall has previously participated in a series of cases bringing the words and ideas in the 1787 Constitution to bear on disputes that enter the legal system.

In 1803 his ruling in the famous case of *Marbury v Madison* establishes the Supreme Court as final arbiter over the meaning of those words and ideas.

In 1810 the *Fletcher v Peck* dispute from Georgia finds the Supreme Court further asserting its authority -- overturning a bill passed by a state legislature on the grounds that it violates the federal constitution.

The focus here is on "contract law," with the facts of the case as follows.

After the Revolutionary War, the state of Georgia claims ownership of territory to its west, known as the Yazoo Lands or the Indian Reserve. This is a vast expanse, some 35 million acres in total, which will ultimately encompass the states of Alabama and Mississippi.

In 1795 land speculators hand over bribes to members of the Georgia state legislature to sell them the Yazoo lands for less than two-cents an acre.

When word of the bribery slips out, voters elect a new set of representatives in 1796, who pass a statute voiding the prior sale. Widespread confusion about ownership follows, and many lawsuits are filed.

One of these suits involves a parcel of 15,000 acres, sold by John Peck to Robert Fletcher, before the 1796 bill went into effect.

Fletcher still wants the land, but wishes to make sure that it is unencumbered by the 1796 statute. So he files a suit against Peck in 1803 to find out for sure.

After many back and forth rulings in lower courts, the suit finally reaches Marshall in February, 1810 – with the question focused on whether the 1796 state legislature acted legally in overturning the corrupt 1795 land sale.

The opinion is delivered on March 16, 1810, with Marshall summing up a unanimous 5-0 decision.

Despite the corruption surrounding the contract signed in 1795, the Marshall Court decides that the attempt by the 1796 legislature to overturn it violates Article I, Section 10, Clause 1 of the U.S. Constitution.

No State shall pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts

This decision, favoring Peck’s claim of ownership, represents the first time that the Supreme Court declares that a state law must be voided because it is unconstitutional.

Time: February 2, 1819

The *Dartmouth College v Woodward* Decision Defines Rights For American Corporations



Daniel Webster (1782-1852)

The first of two important decisions in 1819 involves an attempt by the state of New Hampshire to take control over Dartmouth College, a private institution, by replacing its existing trustees with a slate of their own.

Dartmouth is founded in by a Congregationalist minister, Eleazar Wheelock, as a school for missionaries and Native Americans. A corporate charter, approved by the Royal Governor of New Hampshire colony in 1769, sets up two boards of trustees – one English and one American – to oversee college finances.

Wheelock dies in 1779 and is succeeded by his son, John, who encounters financial difficulties that threaten the viability and assets of the college. This prompts several, now American--only, board members to demand his resignation. When he refuses, they turn to Anti-Federalist members of the state legislature, who pass a bill converting Dartmouth from a private to a public school and naming a new set of trustees.

But others on the board oppose the change, arguing that, according to Article I, Section 10 of the Constitution, the government has no right to interfere with the operations of a private corporation.

In February 1817 they file a law suit against William H. Woodward, one of the original trustee dissidents, now serving as Secretary-Treasurer on the replacement state-sponsored board. The suit demands that the college be returned to private status, and that Woodward be compelled to return all records and seals, while also paying a \$50,000 fine.

The Supreme Court of New Hampshire, however, rules in favor of Woodward – on the grounds that the school’s corporate charter was null and void after the Revolutionary War and independence from the Crown. This ruling is sufficiently important and controversial that the Marshall Court decides to review it.

The plaintiff’s case is argued by Daniel Webster, at 37 years already regarded as the leading constitutional lawyer in America, and a former two term member from New Hampshire in the U.S. House (1813-17).

Over time, Webster will argue some 223 cases before the Supreme Court, winning roughly half of them. In this instance, the matter is very personal to him, since he is an 1801 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Dartmouth.

“Black Dan” Webster is forever an imposing figure in the courtroom and the halls of Congress, and his pleas ring with an emotional fervor that seldom fails to touch the minds and the hearts of his audiences. This is again the case in his summation to the Chief Justice about Dartmouth:

This, sir, is my case. It is the case not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our land... Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands! I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out. But if you do so you must carry through your work! You must extinguish, one after another, all those greater lights of science which for more than a century have thrown their radiance over our land. It is, sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet there are those who love it!

By a 5-1 majority, the Supreme Court comes down in favor of Webster and the inviolability of Dartmouth’s corporate charter, albeit originally signed with King George III.

This ruling will have a profound effect on the evolution of “private corporations” in America.

It establishes the principle that private corporations are allowed to operate in their own self-interest rather than on behalf of the state.

They cannot act in violation of state or federal laws. But they have the right to pursue their own ends – for example “adding to the wealth of their shareholders” – without arbitrary or frivolous interference from government.

In 1825 the Court will re-visit the rights of corporations in: *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts v Town of Pawlet*. Here the state of Vermont tries to revoke land grants held by an English corporation dedicated to Christian missionary work in America.

Again the Marshall court sides with the corporation against the state.

Writing for the majority, Justice Joseph Story concludes that corporations enjoy the same rights to their property that are enjoyed by everyday citizens.

Over time, Story’s analogy between the rights of individual people and corporations – literally a “body of people” – catches hold as a precedent in common law.

In 1832, Marshall picks up on Story’s analogy in defining another characteristic of corporations, namely their right to exist beyond the lifetimes of their original founders.

“The great object of an incorporation is to bestow the character and properties of individuality on a collective and changing body of men.”

The principle that corporations have the right to establish their own charters, to possess property and to endure across generations becomes a driving force in the development of private businesses and economic growth in America.

Backed by a 5-1 majority, Marshall argues that a corporate charter is a “contract” and, as such, it cannot be arbitrarily breached by the state.

Time: March 16, 1819

The *McCulloch v Maryland* Decision Declares That Federal Laws Trump State Laws

Six weeks after the Dartmouth College decision, on March 16, 1819, the Marshall court again reins in the power of individual state legislatures.

This time the state in question is Maryland, and its adversary is none other than the federal government itself.

The dispute arises when the Second Bank of the United States decides to operate a branch in the city of Baltimore, and the Maryland legislature passes a bill to collect a state tax on transactions done by the bank.

The head of the US Bank, James McCulloch, refuses to pay the tax, and goes to court to affirm the legality of his refusal. But the Maryland Court of Appeals not only rules against McCulloch, it also declares that the federal government had no right under the Constitution to even charter a Bank of the United States in the first place.

According to Maryland, the Constitution says nothing about the federal government’s role in establishing bank charters, and, therefore, under the Tenth Amendment, it is the “state’s right” to act as it sees fit.

Here indeed is a constitutional question around defining federal vs. state powers that is worthy of the Supreme Court’s closest scrutiny.

In the final ruling, backed by a 7-0 majority, Marshall opens the door to a broad interpretation of the powers the founders intended to place in the hands of the federal government.

He first observes that no single document could be expected to provide a list of enumerated powers sufficiently detailed and comprehensive enough to cover all issues coming before the courts.

From there he zeros in on Article 1, section 8, clause 18 of the Constitution and the notion that the federal legislature has the power to pass whatever laws it deems “necessary and proper” to fulfill its duty to the citizens.

The Congress shall have power to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution...the powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States.

But what is “necessary and proper” when it comes to banking?

For the Marshall court, it is whatever the voice of the people deem it to be when the issues are debated and voted upon by their representatives in Congress.

Thus the fact that the first session of Congress found it “necessary and proper” to charter the First Bank of the United States provides a sound precedent for the legitimacy of a Second U.S. Bank.

Finally, the decision to charter the U.S. Bank was reached at the national level, by majority rule, after all sides had a chance to make their arguments pro or con. Surely the voice of the people operating together as a unified nation deserves to trump the voice of any one dissident state.

So Marshall and his colleagues side unanimously with McCulloch over Maryland.

For the Jeffersonians, this decision threatens their wish to limit federal powers via the Tenth Amendment.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

If the Congress in D.C. gets to decide what is “necessary and proper” when it comes to setting up bank charters, what else might follow from this precedent?

For many Southerners, the focus turns immediately to “the future of slavery.”

Yes, the right to own slaves within the 1787 boundaries of the United States is expressly stated. But does that right extend automatically to new land, such as the Louisiana Territory, acquired after the original contract between the states?

Or, based on this Marshall court principle, will the Federal legislature claim that it is “necessary and proper” for this decision to rest on their shoulders?

If so, many Southerners begin to see the Federal legislature as a clear and present danger to their economic prosperity. What would happen to future “demand” for their cotton and their slaves if the U.S. Congress decided to “contain slavery” within its original boundaries rather than allow it to spread across the Mississippi River?

In 1820 that question will move from idle speculation among wealthy planters to center stage on the floor of Congress.

Chapter 64 -- America Experiences A Post-War Economic Depression

	Dates: 1815-820	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The War Of 1812 Prompts A “Boom Cycle” In America’s Economy • A “Bust Cycle” Follows When The War Ends • America’s First Prolonged Depression Sets In • Time Alone Ends The Downturn
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Time: 1812-1814

The War Of 1812 Prompts A “Boom Cycle” In America’s Economy



A \$50 Banknote

While James Monroe’s 1817 election may usher in an “era of good feelings,” this spirit does not extend to the economy. Instead, the “boom cycle” of the war years is about to morph into a “bust cycle” causing widespread national misery.

In typical fashion, the beginning of the War of 1812 has spiked sharp growth across many sectors of the economy.

A continental army needed to be formed and equipped, housed and fed, transported and re-supplied, all in a short time-frame and with no clear-cut end in sight. Additionally, the British blockade of American ports greatly increased the need for domestically produced goods.

“Boom Cycle” During War Of 1812

GDP	1812	1813	1814
\$ 000	786	969	1,078
% Ch	2%	23%	11%
Per Cap	103	123	133

Taken together, this increased “demand” represented a windfall opportunity for a host of suppliers – who turn to local bankers to borrow the money needed to invest in added capacity.

The banks are only too happy to comply with this increased demand for more loans, often at higher than usual rates of interest.

But many face a problem: a lack of sufficient cash on hand to complete the loans.

They solve this problem by resorting to a time-honored tactic – simply printing and issuing more soft money banknotes, while ignoring the rules about properly “backing them” with reserves of gold or silver.

The result is a sharp increase in the money supply in circulation, followed by inflation.

The price of goods across the economy goes up in response to a decline in the “true value/buying power” of each dollar in the system.

And, in 1812, there is no longer a federal Bank of the United States in place to curtail the run-away printing of soft money unrelated to specie on hand. That’s because Jefferson views the BUS as another of Hamilton’s monarchistic devices to centralize governmental power – and he allows its charter to expire in 1811.

By 1813 the American economy is enjoying a flat-out “boom cycle.”

Those who have taken out loans for investment are reaping large gains in profit, and are able to pay off their debts to the banks in full and on time. In turn, bankers are able to meet their payments to depositors, while also increasing their own private profits.

Time: 1815-1816

A “Bust Cycle” Follows When The War Ends

The increased prosperity continues until the war with Britain comes to a close in 1815.

At which time, the ramped-up “demand” for goods suddenly drops, and suppliers find themselves with excess inventory they can’t sell, along with excess operating costs they need to shed.

The more conservative investors are able to work their way back to a sustainable equilibrium; but others are left with crippling financial losses.

When their banks demand pay back on their loans taken, they are left in default.

This signals the shift from “boom cycle to bust cycle.”

The rapid economic growth evident in 1813 and 1814 disappears, and down years take over.

“Bust Cycle” Begins At End Of War

	1814	1815	1816
\$ 000	1,078	925	819
% Ch	11%	(14%)	(11%)
Per Cap	\$133	111	96

The early losses materialize in 1815 and 1816, while Madison is still in office. Aggregate demand for goods drops, along with production. Prices increase as the excess money supply leads on to inflation.

As alarm sets in, Treasury Secretary Gallatin finally persuades Madison to reverse his opposition to Hamilton’s financial model, and the Second Bank of the United States is approved in 1816.

Its role is twofold:

- To restore credibility to the nation's supply of soft money and thereby tamp down inflation; and
- To expand the revenue available to the federal government through the issuance of treasury bonds.

In 1817 the burden falls on Monroe and Crawford to successfully execute this strategy.

Time: 1817-1818

America's First Prolonged Depression Sets In

Nothing they do, however, can unwind the problems facing the banking system – in what will go down as the “Financial Panic of 1819.”

Because once the bankers are out on a limb, wantonly printing money to chase windfall profits, there are no easy fixes if the loans they've made cannot be paid back.

By 1818 that outcome is all too often the norm.

Widespread defaults on loans rapidly upsets the delicate cash flow balance that keeps banks viable.

Incoming cash from interest on their loans falls short of outgoing cash needed to pay interest to depositors.

The banks are now in a spiraling “money squeeze” of their own.

In an often desperate search for more incoming cash, the banks “foreclose” on customers whose loans are in default. But these foreclosures often those with assets (e.g. homes, farms, goods) they don't want to hold and can only sell at rock bottom prices.

Public protests call for “stay laws” to delay loan repayments and foreclosures, as general hostility toward banks spreads. Ohio congressman William Henry Harrison captures this anger, when he says:

I hate all banks!

As the “squeeze” on local banks continues, the Second Bank of the United States launches a new policy that will make things more difficult in the short-run.

It requires that state banks complete future transactions with the BUS using gold or silver specie rather than paper currency. (Andrew Jackson will repeat this same tactic some seventeen years hence.)

On the surface, the rationale for this move is sound. The federal government itself still needs to pay off sizable loans made by foreign investors during the 1812 War – and the demand here is for gold or silver coins rather than soft money. In addition, transactions in specie are also intended to reassert the need for adequate bank reserves, reduce over-printing of soft currency and reduce inflation. All worthy goals.

But many local banks who wish to borrow money from the BUS to offset their cash flow problems now find that “window” closed to them because their inventory of specie is too limited.

All that's left for them at this point is to refuse payments of interest to their depositors – and when this happens, panic sets in among their customers. “Runs on banks” pop up around the country, as depositors line up to withdraw their life's savings before whatever cash left on hand runs out.

This simply accelerates the downward cycle until the target banks are forced to close their doors.

In 1818 the Bank of Kentucky suspends all operations – a fate shared by roughly 30% of the nation's 420 state banks over the course of the panic.

Time: 1819-1820

Time Alone Ends The Downturn

As 1819 plays out, all that can go wrong with America's capitalistic system has gone wrong.

The allure of windfall profits has upped the demand for speculative loans. Banks respond by wantonly printing paper money not backed by gold or silver reserves. Uncontrolled expansion of the money supply erodes the true value of cash and leads to damaging price inflation. The anticipated windfall profits dry up due to a sudden change in external conditions (in this case, the end of the war). When loans come due, borrowers are unable to pay them off. Defaults upset the bank's cash flow balance and they lack the money needed to pay interest due on deposits. Panic sets in among all depositors leading to “runs” on banks who are then forced to shut down.

Unfortunately, history will show this pattern of economic boom and bust repeating itself in America every two decades or so – thus the panics of 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907, 1929, and so forth.

Many lives are damaged by its effects.

In Pennsylvania, land values plummet from \$150 per acre in 1815 to \$35 in 1819. Over 50,000 men are unemployed in Philadelphia, and some 1800 are sent to debtor's prison. Beggars appear on city streets, along with soup kitchens and homeless shelters.

Senator John Calhoun sums up conditions in 1820:

There has been within these two years an immense revolution of fortunes in every part of the Union; enormous numbers of persons utterly ruined; multitudes in deep distress.

In the end, the depression extends over six years, roughly from 1815 to 1820 – although GDP per capita remains depressed until many years later.

GDP Trends During The Depression Following The War Of 1812

	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825
\$ 000	1,078	925	819	769	737	726	710	735	805	759	754	822
% Ch	11%	(14%)	(11%)	(6%)	(4%)	(2%)	(2%)	3%	9%	(6%)	(1%)	9%
Per Cap	\$133	111	96	87	81	78	74	74	79	72	70	74

Government policies do not escape criticism during the downturn – and ominously some of the anger takes on a sectional tone.

When first passed in April 1816, the “Dallas Tariff” on imported goods is almost universally approved.

But three years later, as the depression drags on with Monroe in office, it begins to come under attack.

The South wants the tariff lowered -- so that prices on finished goods (e.g. clothing) from Europe will fall, domestic sales will grow, and the export market for raw cotton will spike up, along with planter’s profits.

New Englanders want exactly the opposite. Aside from raising federal revenue, the tariff was adopted to “protect” American manufacturing of finished goods – by keeping the prices of domestically produced goods below their European competition.

This North-South tension over the tariff is now about to be further fueled in 1820 by a controversy surrounding admission of Missouri as the 23rd state in the Union.

Chapter 65 -- Northern Opposition To Blacks In The West Stalls Missouri Statehood



Dates:
1819

Sections:

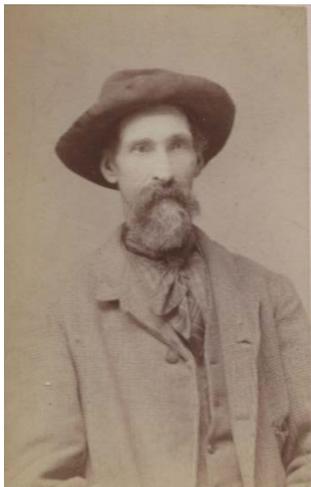
- Missouri Applies For Admission Into The Union
- Northerners Fear Expansion Of The Black Population
- The Tallmadge Amendment Renews A Firestorm In Congress over Slavery
- Initial Passage Of The Tallmadge Amendment Shocks And Frightens The South
- The South Looks To The Senate To Defend Its Slavery Interests

Time: February 13, 1819

Missouri Applies For Admission Into The Union



The Proposed State of Missouri (yellow), Bordering Illinois, in 1819



A Western Settler

On February 13, 1819, a bill is laid before the House of Representatives to authorize the settlers in the Missouri territory to form a state constitution and apply for admission to the Union.

Missouri has grown up around the boom town of St. Louis, which the French settle in 1673. By 1818 St. Louis is a key port for the new steamboat trade along the Mississippi, and it offers its 9500 inhabitants a post office, three banks, a flour mill, several distilleries and a brewery, along with roughly 40 retail storefronts. As soon as the territory population hits the 60,000 threshold, Missouri is eager to become America's 23rd state.

At first glance, this seems simple enough. The process required is laid out in the Enabling Act of 1802, and it has been used successfully to admit five new western states from Ohio in 1804 to Illinois in 1818.

But Missouri comes with a difference. It will be the first state west of the Mississippi River, situated on “new land” acquired in the Louisiana Purchase.

It will also be the first state where the presence or absence of slavery is not determined according to the Ohio River line of demarcation, as laid out in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

As such, it ignites a fresh debate about what “slavery policy” should apply on this new soil.

An outcome in favor of extending slavery across the river is crucial to the South!

For two reasons. The first is economic. The old South has bet its future wealth on opening new plantations in the west to buy its excess slaves and to grow cotton. Missouri is a prime prospect for this scenario, but only if slavery is allowed. The second reason relates to political power. If slavery is allowed, the South would gain a 24-22 edge vs. the North in Senate seats and greater leverage over all forms of future federal legislation.

The Southern case is also bolstered by the fact that over 10,000 slaves, about 1 in 6 of all settlers, already reside in Missouri by 1819.

Surely, the argument goes, the federal government has no right to deprive owners of migrating with their existing “property in slaves” into whatever territory they choose.

Time: 1819

Northerners Fear Expansion Of The Black Population

Northern legislators are not, however, ready to go along with the southern plan.

Their publicly stated rationales vary widely.

- Some point to a map showing that 90% of the Missouri landmass lies due west of Illinois, a “free state” – under the 1787 Northwest Ordinance line of demarcation traced by the Ohio River.
- Others argue that making Missouri a “slave state” would set a precedent for its western neighbor, the Nebraska territory, drawing plantation owners onto land already set aside for the “relocation” of the eastern Indian tribes.
- A few rail against the South for trying to use Missouri to gain a voting edge in the Senate.

But behind these rationales lies a simpler truth – recognition by northern politicians that their white populations hope to cleanse all blacks, slave or free, from living in their midst.

Attempts to do so are already well established by 1819. “Black codes” discouraging freed men from living in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are already in place, and “modifications” to state Constitutions begin to materialize. Thus the apparently high-minded first clause opposing slavery in the states...

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall be hereafter introduced in this state.

Is followed by a subsequent clause which bans free blacks from taking up residency within state borders:

No free negro or mulatto not residing in this state at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall come, reside or be within this state

The message here is clear – all blacks, slave or free, stay out! They are viewed as a menace to white society, and it is up to the South to deal with their problem,” not spread it to the North

On February 3, 1819, a New York congressman delivers this same blunt message to his colleagues in an amendment to the Missouri admission bill.

Timeline: February 13, 1819

The Tallmadge Amendment Renews A Firestorm In Congress Over Slavery

The congressman is James Tallmadge, Jr., a 41 year old graduate of Brown University, a lawyer and ex-soldier in the War of 1812. When the Missouri bill arrives on the floor, he is about to end his one and only term in congress, and is away from DC mourning the recent loss of an infant son.

He returns, however, with a proposal, forever known as the Tallmadge Amendment, which seeks to attach the following rider to the bill granting statehood for Missouri:

Provided, that the further introduction of slavery...be prohibited...and that all children born within the said State after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years.

In a flash, the floor debate shifts from admitting Missouri to banning the spread of slavery!

For two days, Tallmadge is attacked by Southerners in the House, before he rises on February 16 to defend his proposal, with arguments that will echo all the way to 1861.

He reassures the audience by acknowledging that slavery was thrust upon America by the British rather than initiated here.

Slavery is an evil brought upon us without our own fault, before the formation of our government, and as one of the sins of that nation from which we have revolted.

He also points out that his amendment does not call for abolition in existing states.

When I had the honor to submit to this House the amendment now under consideration I accompanied it with a declaration...that I would in no manner intermeddle with the slaveholding states.

While we deprecate and mourn over the evil of slavery, humanity and good morals require us to wish its abolition, under circumstances consistent with the safety of the white population.

I admitted all that had been said of the danger of having free blacks visible to slaves, and therefore did not hesitate to pledge myself that I would neither advise nor attempt coercive manumission..

Instead, his focus is on opposing the spread of “the evil” into the new territories.

But, sir, all these reasons cease when we cross the banks of the Mississippi, a newly acquired territory never contemplated in the formation of our government, not included within the compromise or mutual pledge in the adoption of our Constitution — a territory acquired by our common fund, and ought justly to be subject to our common legislation.

He expresses shock over the intemperate responses he has experienced.

When I submitted the amendment now under consideration...I did expect that gentlemen would meet me with moderation. But...expressions of much intemperance followed. Mr. Cobb of Georgia said that “if we persist the Union will be dissolved ; and, with a fixed look on me, he told us, “ we have kindled a fire, which all the waters of the ocean cannot put out ; which seas of blood can only extinguish !”

Sir, has it already come to this — that, in the legislative councils of Republican America, the subject of slavery has become a subject of so much feeling — of so much delicacy — of such danger, that it cannot safely be discussed ?

But is unwilling to back down, even if it were to mean civil war.

Language of this sort has no effect on me ; my purpose is fixed ; it is interwoven with my existence ; its durability is limited with my life ; it is a great and glorious cause, setting bounds to a slavery, the most cruel and debasing the world has ever witnessed ; it is the freedom of man ; it is the cause of unredeemed and unregenerated human beings.

If civil war, which gentlemen so much threaten, must come, I can only say, let it come !

I know the will of my constituents, and, regardless of consequences, I will avow it as their representative, I will proclaim their hatred of slavery, in every shape.

During the debate, the horrors of slavery have passed by the very windows of the Capitol.

A slave driver, a trafficker in human flesh, has passed the door of your Capitol, on his way to the West, driving before him about fifteen of these wretched victims of his power, torn from every relation, and from every tie which the human heart can hold dear.

The males, who might raise the arm of vengeance and retaliate for their wrongs, were hand-cuffed, and chained to each other, while the females and children were marched in their rear, under the guidance of the driver’s whip ! Yes, sir, such has been the scene witnessed from the windows of Congress Hall, and viewed by members who compose the legislative councils of Republican America.

The slaves are both the greatest cause of individual danger and of national weakness.

Extend slavery, this bane of man, this abomination of heaven, over your extended empire, and you prepare its dissolution.

By your own procurement, you have placed amidst your families, and in the bosom of your country, a population producing, at once, the greatest cause of individual danger and of national weakness.

Some slaves may be contented, but others might seek revenge if given the chance.

When honorable gentlemen inform us, we overrate the cruelty and the dangers of slavery, and tell us that their slaves are happy and contented... they do not tell us, that the slaves of some depraved and cruel wretch, in their neighborhood, may be stimulated to revenge, and thus involve the country in ruin.

Spreading their presence only threatens the white population and order in our society.

It has been urged... that we should spread the slaves now in our country, and thus diminish the dangers from them.. (But) it is our business so to legislate, as never to encourage, but always to control this evil ; and, while we strive to eradicate it, we ought to fix its limits, and render it subordinate to the safety of the white population, and the good order of civil society.

Finally, banning slavery in the new territory in no way violates the 1787 Constitution.

We have been told by those who advocate the extension of slavery into the Missouri, that any attempt to control this subject by legislation, is a violation of that faith and mutual confidence, upon which our Union was formed, and our Constitution adopted.

This argument might be considered plausible, if the restriction was attempted to be enforced against any of the slave- holding states, which had been a party in the adoption of the Constitution. But it can have no reference or application to a new district of country, recently acquired, and never contemplated in the formation of government.

Talmadge closes his rebuttal with a call for House support of his amendment.

Sir, I shall bow in silence to the will of the majority, on whichever side it shall be expressed ; yet I confidently hope that majority will be found on the side of an amendment, so replete with moral consequences, so pregnant with important political results.

In one fell swoop, this February 16, 1819, rebuttal to the South by Tallmadge picks the scab off the sectional wounds that threatened in 1787 to derail the effort to arrive at a national Constitution and Union.

The heated exchanges remind many present of those at Philadelphia between Gouverneur Morris, the ardently anti-slavery delegate from Pennsylvania, and his pro-slavery antagonist James Rutledge of South Carolina.

Tallmadge has let the slavery genie out of the bottle and for the next four decades future members of Congress will be left to struggle with this fact.

Two founding fathers weigh in on the debate. In a letter to his wife, John Adams comments:

Negro Slavery is an evil of Colossal magnitude and I am utterly averse to the admission of Slavery into the Missouri Territories.

Meanwhile, from his peaceful mountaintop in Monticello, the 76 year old Thomas Jefferson, recognizes the import of the Tallmadge Amendment:

This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union.

Timeline: February 17, 1819

Initial Passage Of The Tallmadge Amendment Shocks And Frightens The South

On February 17, 1819, the Tallmadge Amendment passes the House, with support from Northern and Western congressmen outweighing Southern opposition.

The margin of victory is 87-76 on the clause “prohibiting further introduction” of new slaves and 82-78 on the clause “freeing any born after admission at age 25 years.”

This loss shocks the South.

Its assumption has been that since some 10,000 slaves are already present in the Missouri territory, congress would have to approve the practice as a fait d’accompli.

Instead they are faced with several alarming new realities.

First and foremost, that white people outside the South are ready to resist the introduction of blacks within their state boundaries, for a variety of reasons. Simple racism is one, the conviction that blacks are an inferior species, only 3/5th of a human. Outright fear is another, the belief that blacks will try to kill whites if given the chance. A third centers on western settlers who do not want to compete with rich planters in buying farmland. Then there is a feeling among some that the intrinsic value and dignity of the white man’s labor is diminished by sub-human blacks performing similar tasks under a whip, and for no pay.

A second reality is that the House of Representatives – the people’s house – will henceforth become a forum for voicing opposition to the further spread of slavery. The topic will no longer be off limits as has been the case for three decades.

And a third reality, the unavoidable reality that the make-up of the House is going against the South, as the membership tilts North and West in response to shifts in population density.

Shift In House Of Representative Membership: 1790 To 1820

	Total	North	South	Border	West
1792	132	72	45	15	0
1820	205	98	58	22	27
Change	+73	+26	+13	+7	+27

Time: February 21 – March 2, 1819

The South Looks To The Senate To Defend Its Slavery Interests

To defend itself, the South looks to the Senate where voting power remains evenly split between the eleven slave states and the eleven free states.

The House bill is brought to the floor on February 21 by Senator Charles Tait of Georgia, who is serving his final year in Congress before appointment as a federal judge.

Vigorous debates follow off and on over the next nine days.

The result, however, is a victory for the South.

The first clause in the Talmadge bill – prohibiting slavery in Missouri – is defeated by a wide margin of 31 to 7.

The second clause – favoring gradual emancipation – is much closer, although still voted down by 22-16.

In turn, the original Missouri Admission bill – minus the Tallmadge amendments -- is returned to the House.

But the House is not about to be ram-rodged by the Senate's action.

A serious threat to the entire statehood process is barely avoided when the House refuses a motion to indefinitely suspend consideration of Missouri's application. Instead, the lower chamber votes again in favor of the original Tallmadge Amendment bill and returns it to the Senate.

The process is now stalemated, and the 15th Congress adjourns on March 4, 1819 without a final decision.

Chapter 66 -- The Missouri Compromise Solves The Regional Conflict For The Time Being



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- Speaker Of The House Henry Clay Steps Into The Controversy
- An Initial Compromise Passes In The Senate
- A Second Compromise Is Needed To Finally Admit Missouri

Time: 1819-1820

Speaker Of The House Henry Clay Steps Into The Controversy



Henry Clay (1777-1852)

Ten months pass before the 16th Congress is convened on December 6, 1819, and the Missouri question is again taken up in the House. During the hiatus, the issue has been debated across the north, south and west in local legislatures and assemblies.

The expansion of slavery and the black population across the Mississippi has become front and center, much to the chagrin of the South.

After Henry Clay is again chosen Speaker, he takes the lead in searching for a way to move forward on the Missouri admission.

Clay is in his tenth consecutive year of wielding the gavel, and he remains forever suspicious of Monroe's capacity as President.

After the 1816 election, Clay hopes to be named Secretary of State, "the path to the White House," but Monroe chooses JQ Adams instead. In turn, Clay refuses to attend Monroe's inauguration, a sign of the vanity that will both fuel and ultimately inhibit his ambitions. From that point on, Clay will be at loggerheads with Monroe on one issue after another.

But at the moment, with Missouri, the battle is within his own domain, the House, and he intends to solve it.

Clay's personal positions on slavery are very much akin to Jefferson's. He owns some 25 slaves, while intellectually regarding the practice as "inhumane." He is convinced that the Africans are an inferior race who will never be assimilated into white society. The best that could be done for them would be to pay owners for their freedom, then ship them home to Africa, a plan he backs in 1816 as a co-founder of the American Colonization Society. But like so many conflicted slave owners, he opposes all federal mandate that would end the practice.

In the initial floor debate over the Tallmadge Amendment, Clay had been anything but temperate in his response. In fact, he not only says that the proposal violates the Constitution, but also argues that blacks are treated better as slaves in the South than freedmen in the North. Down the road, this initial stance will come back to haunt him in future national campaigns.

However, as he hears the rhetoric in the House heating up on the issue, including a threat of secession from Thomas Cobb of Georgia, Clay the political master, recognizes the need for a peaceful compromise.

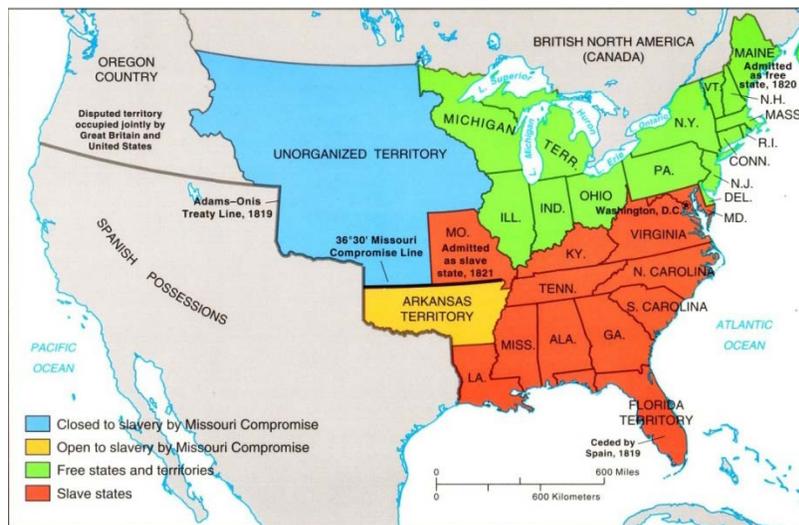
What he faces is a sectional, rather than a party, schism. In fact, the original Federalist Party is so weak and disorganized by 1819-20 as to be almost irrelevant to the debate – even though many believe that the Federalist leader, Rufus King, has engineered the entire controversy, using Tallmadge as a surrogate.

Personal philosophy aside, Clay begins to search for an immediate and practical compromise on Missouri. The solution needs to be one that satisfies both the South and North, while not jeopardizing his own presidential aspirations vis a vis JQ Adams, Calhoun and Crawford, and, for certain, Andrew Jackson.

Monroe himself remains distant from the political fray, in fairly characteristic fashion. His only interest lies in reaching a peaceful solution that doesn't violate the Constitution.

Time: February 17 To March 5, 1820

An Initial Compromise Passes In The Senate



The 36°36'' Line of Demarcation that Resolves Slavery in the Remaining Louisiana Territory

Clay recognizes the intemperance he displayed in his initial address to the House, and concentrates now on defusing the anger present in the chamber. A speech from later in his career reveals his down-home approach to tempering the political rhetoric:

We are too much in the habit of speaking of divorces, separation, disunion. In private life, if a wife pouts, and frets, and scolds, what would be thought of the good sense...of a husband who should threaten her with separation? Who should use those terrible words upon every petty disagreement in domestic life? No man ...would employ such idle menaces. He would approach with...kind and conciliatory language...which never fail to restore domestic harmony.

But rhetoric alone will not restore harmony in this case. The South sees the North's effort to contain slavery as an existential threat to its economic survival. They believe, properly, that slavery will either be allowed to expand geographically or it will wither and eventually disappear.

Solving the impasse will prove complex, and involve two key breakthroughs.

Credit for the first belongs to Clay himself. He recognizes that part of the Northern resistance to allowing Missouri's entry as a "slave state" is that this would tip the voting power in the Senate in favor of the South. But what if the ongoing efforts to break Massachusetts into two states could be resolved now? Might a quid pro quo – Missouri entering as a slave state and Maine as a free state – swing some Northern votes? This "trade" becomes an important part of the final compromise.

What remains, however, is the real lightning rod issue – will congress vote to "contain" slavery east of the Mississippi River or not?

The eventual answer here comes from the Senate, where Jesse Thomas of Illinois proposes a Solomon-like solution – simply draw a line on the map west from the Mississippi through the Louisiana Territory lands, and declare that all future states north of the line are to be free and south of the line to be slave.

Thomas argues that a hard line worked in the 1787 Northwest Ordinance and it should work again with the new territories.

To sweeten the pot here for the North, Thomas proposes to draw the new line from the southern, not the northern, border of Missouri – at latitude 36°30". Thus roughly 80% of the remaining Louisiana land will be declared "free" while only the Arkansas Territory will be open to slavery.

On February 17, 1820, a full year after Talmadge offered his amendment, the Senate passes the Thomas "hard line" proposal, a watershed moment in the controversy.

Still the Senate version needs confirmation in the House. On March 2, 1820, members agree to allow slavery in Missouri by a very close 90-87, which includes 14 yeas from Free State representatives.

The final decision now rests with President Monroe.

He recognizes the volatility of the issues, and has largely stayed on the sidelines as his own 1820 re-election campaign plays out. At the same time, as a southerner and a slave owner, he is troubled by the fact that Congress has weighed into the debate at all. The 1787 Constitution has sanctioned slavery and its presence in Missouri has already been established. Still the conflict needs resolution, so he signs the bill into law on March 6.

In the end, the Missouri Compromise legislation appears to settle the slavery question by resorting to the same “hard line on a map” solution of the founding fathers.

The South emerges with a tactical victory – Missouri is admitted to the Union as a slave state.

Stability is maintained in the North-South 12:12 state balance of voting power in the Senate.

Balance Of Power In The Senate: After The Missouri Compromise

Free States	Date	# Slaves	Slave States	Date	# Slaves
Pennsylvania	1787	200	Delaware	1787	4,500
New Jersey	1787	7,500	Georgia	1788	149,000
Connecticut	1788	100	Maryland	1788	107,400
Massachusetts	1788	0	South Carolina	1788	251,800
New Hampshire	1788	0	Virginia	1788	425,200
New York	1788	10,100	North Carolina	1789	205,000
Rhode Island	1790	50	Kentucky	1792	126,700
Vermont	1791	0	Tennessee	1796	80,100
Ohio	1803	0	Louisiana	1812	69,100
Indiana	1816	200	Mississippi	1817	32,814
Illinois	1818	900	Alabama	1819	47,400
Maine	1820	0	Missouri	1821	10,200

Meanwhile the North’s wins will prove to be more strategic in nature.

Yes, they have given ground on their wish to contain all blacks in the old South -- but their long-term leverage on the issue has been greatly strengthened in two ways.

First, to the chagrin of the South, the precedent is now established that Congress has the power to make calls about where slavery will or will not be permitted in all new U.S. territory.

Second, the 36’30” demarcation line set for the Louisiana Purchase land all but guarantees eventual dominance by the Northern free states in the Senate. And, in fact, the Louisiana land split will yield nine free states vs. only three slave states.

Some Southern leaders like the astute John C. Calhoun see this potentially ominous handwriting on the wall and try to rally opposition. But most are simply glad with the Missouri state outcome.

Time: August 10, 1821

A Second Compromise Is Needed To Finally Admit Missouri

The Missouri question appears to be over until the new state legislature submits a final constitution prior to the seating of its congressional members.

This document adds one more ominous coda to the entire debate – by seeking to ban all “free blacks” from taking up residence in the state.

In this way slave owners hope to make sure that freedmen do not stir up trouble and rebellions.

The U.S. House, however, balks once again.

Clay resorts to quoting Article IV, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution in search of closure.

The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

Southerners fire back, this time arguing that free blacks are not “citizens” according to the true meaning of the word in the Constitution.

When this debate threatens to further divide the South and North, Clay again works his way out by offering each side a partial victory.

The clause banning free blacks will stay in the Missouri Constitution, but the state will never pass a law to actually enforce it.

After a final flurry, both sides back off, and Missouri officially joins the Union on August 10, 1821.

But the outcome on Missouri is no more satisfying for the men of the 15th and 16th congresses than it was for delegates to the 1787 Convention.

Once again sectional divisions around slavery have sounded like Jefferson’s “*fire bell in the night*,” and, instead of resolution, another momentary truce prevails.

The North signals its racist resistance to black people and its intent to try to pen them up in the South, below politically agreed to lines of demarcation.

In turn, the South realizes that protecting the future of its plantation economy will rest not on language in the Constitution, but on winning political battles that expand slavery into new territory west of the Mississippi.

This battle is joined by the Tallmadge Amendment and the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

In effect it marks the moment in time when, for many northerners, the South is transformed into “the Slave Power.”

Chapter 67 -- Monroe Runs Unopposed To A Second Term Victory

 <p>A portrait of James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, shown from the chest up. He is wearing a dark coat and a white cravat. The portrait is a sepia-toned engraving.</p>	<p>Date: 1820</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The Vanishing Federalist Party Fails To Enter A Presidential Candidate• Monroe's Second Inaugural Address• Overview Of Monroe's Second Term
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Time: 1820

The Vanishing Federalist Party Fails To Enter A Presidential Candidate

The economic depression that continues to plague the country in 1820 would seem to offer the Federalists an opportunity to revive their political fortunes, but it is beyond saving, for multiple reasons.

Perhaps foremost is the absence of a strong and well known leader in the mold of Washington, Hamilton and John Adams. DeWitt Clinton, who ran well against Madison in 1812, has returned to his roots as a Democratic-Republican, and is serving as Governor of New York. Senator Rufus King, has lost the last two races by large margins, and is now 65 years old. Meanwhile, the most logical Federalist contender, 53 year old John Quincy Adams, has been drummed out of the party for his support of Jefferson's 1807 Embargo, and is serving as Monroe's Secretary of State.

In addition to lacking a credible presidential candidate, the Federalists are without a platform that resonates at the national level. Most people regard them as the party of wealthy New Englanders, touting the narrow wishes of the shipping and mercantile industries, out of touch with the rest of the country. Still others have never forgiven them for their "treasonous threat," at the 1814 Hartford Convention, to secede from the Union.

The result is that Monroe in 1820, like Washington in 1792, runs essentially unopposed in the election. The voter turn-out is only 107,000, about the same as in 1816. The President wins every state in the Union, and all but one electoral vote. The lone hold-out is an elector from New Hampshire who regards Monroe as a failure, and casts his vote for John Quincy Adams.

Results Of The 1820 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV	South	Border	North	West
James Monroe	Va	Dem-Rep	87,343	229	75	27	107	20
Anti-Monroe	--	Federalist	17,465	0				
DeWitt Clinton	NY	Independent	1,893	0				
John Quincy Adams		Dem-Rep	---	1			1	
Total			106,701	230	75	27	108	20
Needed To Win				116				

Note: South (Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia, TN, Ala, Miss, La), Border (Delaware, Maryland, Ky), North (NH, Mass, NY, NJ, Penn, RI, Conn, Vt, Maine), West (Ohio, Indiana, IL) Total # electors voting = 230; must get more than half to win = 116.

The Federalists do continue to slate candidates for Congress, but their influence outside of New England remains trivial.

Results Of Congressional Elections

House	1817	1819	1821
Democratic-Republicans	146	160	155
Federalist	39	26	32
Senate			
Democratic-Republicans	25	37	37
Federalist	13	9	9
Vacant			2
Congress#	15 th	16 th	17 th
President	Mad	Mon	Mon

Time: March 5, 1821

Monroe's Second Inaugural Address

Since March 4, 1821 falls on the Sabbath, Monroe delays his inauguration until Monday the fifth. His speech is lengthy and mixes praise for the nation's progress since independence along with his priorities for his second term.

He begins with foreign policy, recalling the second war with Britain, and the nation's need for a strong military to avoid similar costly conflicts in the future.

Just before the commencement of the last term the United States had concluded a war with a very powerful nation... Provision was (then) made for the construction of fortifications at proper points through the whole extent of our coast and...augmentation of our naval force...It need scarcely be remarked that these measures have not been resorted to in a spirit of hostility to other powers They have been dictated by a love of peace, of economy, and an earnest desire to save the lives of our fellow-citizens from that destruction and our country from that devastation which

are inseparable from war when it finds us unprepared for it. It is believed, and experience has shown, that such a preparation is the best expedient that can be resorted to prevent war.

The conduct of the Government in what relates to foreign powers is always an object of the highest importance to the nation. Its agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, revenue, in short, its peace, may all be affected by it. Attention is therefore due to this subject.

Relations with Spain seem to be progressing well. For the moment, the United States will remain neutral in regard to Spain's ongoing wars with its South American colonies. The recent acquisition of Florida was important to America's future, and signals the opportunity for ongoing friendly relations.

The war between Spain and the colonies in South America, which had commenced many years before, was then the only conflict that remained unsettled. Our attitude has therefore been that of neutrality between them, which has been maintained by the Government with the strictest impartiality. Should the war be continued, the United States, regarding its occurrences, will always have it in their power to adopt such measures respecting it as their honor and interest may require. Great confidence is entertained that the late treaty with Spain, which has been ratified by both the parties, and the ratifications whereof have been exchanged, has placed the relations of the two countries on a basis of permanent friendship.

But to the acquisition of Florida too much importance cannot be attached. It secures to the United States a territory ... whose importance is... of the highest interests of the Union. It opens to several of the neighboring States a free passage to the ocean... by several rivers... It secures us against all future annoyance from powerful Indian tribes. It gives us several excellent harbors in the Gulf of Mexico for ships of war of the largest size. It covers the Mississippi and other great waters within our extended limits, and thereby enables the United States to afford complete protection to the vast and very valuable productions of our whole Western country...

The outlook for commercial relations with Britain and France are also favorable.

By a treaty... on the 20th of October, 1818, the convention regulating the commerce between the United States and Great Britain... was revived and continued for the term of ten years from the time of its expiration. The negotiation with France for the regulation of the commercial relations... will be pursued on the part of the United States... with an earnest desire that it may terminate in an arrangement satisfactory to both parties.

On the budgetary front, the message is mixed. Some progress has been made on paying down the public debt, without overburdening taxes – but government revenues have fallen and more bonds have been issued to cover expenditures.

The situation of the United States in regard to... resources... revenue, and the facility with which it is raised affords a most gratifying spectacle. The payment of nearly \$67,000,000 of the public debt, with the great progress made in measures of defense and in other improvements of various kinds since the late war, are conclusive proofs of this extraordinary prosperity, especially when... these expenditures have been defrayed without a... direct tax and... in a manner not to be felt.

Under the present depression of prices, affecting all the productions of the country... revenue has considerably diminished, the effect of which has been to compel Congress... to resort to loans or internal taxes to supply the deficiency. On the presumption that this depression and the deficiency

in the revenue arising from it would be temporary, loans were authorized for the demands of the last and present year.

I am satisfied that internal duties and excises, with corresponding imposts on foreign articles of the same kind, would, without imposing any serious burdens on the people, enhance the price of produce, promote our manufactures, and augment the revenue, at the same time that they made it more secure and permanent.

After turning once again to fair treatment of the Indian tribes, and expressing concerns about renewed conflicts in Europe, he zeroes in on his optimism around America’s future.

If we turn our attention, fellow-citizens...to our country...we have every reason to anticipate the happiest results In this great nation there is but one order, that of the people, . By steadily pursuing this course in this spirit there is every reason to believe that our system will soon attain...such a degree of order and harmony as to command the admiration and respect of the civilized world.

Twenty-five years ago the river Mississippi was shut up and our Western brethren had no outlet for their commerce The United States now enjoy the complete and uninterrupted sovereignty over the whole territory from St. Croix to the Sabine. New States, settled from among ourselves in this and in other parts, have been admitted into our Union in equal participation in the national sovereignty with the original States. We now, fellow-citizens, comprise within our limits the dimensions and faculties of a great power under a Government possessing all the energies of any government ever known to the Old World, with an utter incapacity to oppress the people.

With full confidence and with a firm reliance on the protection of Almighty God, I shall forthwith commence the duties of the high trust to which you have called me.

Time: March 4, 1821 – March 4, 1825

Overview Of Monroe’s Second Term



James Monroe (1758-1831)

All cabinet members in place at the end of Monroe’s first term remain in place through the second, except for one turn-over in the Navy post.

James Monroe Cabinet In 1821

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	Daniel Tompkins	New York
Secretary of State	J Quincy Adams	Massachusetts
Secretary of Treasury	William Crawford	Georgia
Secretary of War	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of the Navy	Smith Thompson	New York
Attorney General	William Wirt	Virginia

The focus of the second term turns out to be foreign policy.

The stage for this is set early in 1821 when Alexander I of Russia asserts a claim to vast acreage in the Pacific northwest, including what becomes the Oregon Territory.

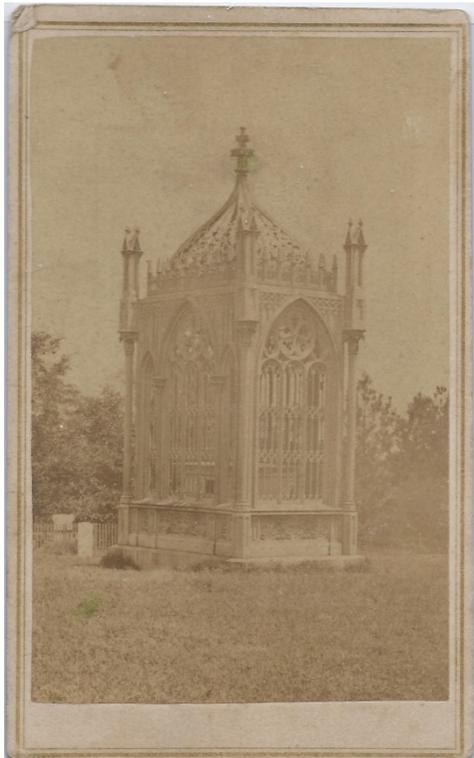
Then comes pressure from King Ferdinand VII of Spain, demanding that the United States refrain from recognizing new governments in his break-away colonies across South America.

Monroe eventually sees both these acts as affronts to America's growing power in the world, and in need of a firm response. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams promotes this stance, and completes careful diplomacy with Britain and France to head off any thoughts they might have of aligning with either Spain or Russia.

The final word on foreign intrusions comes in Monroe's annual speech to Congress on December 2, 1823. As a lifelong military man, the President places national security ahead of all other duties, and decides that the time has come to end further attempts by foreigners to impose their wills within the hemisphere.

In years ahead, this "hands-off" policy becomes known as the "Monroe Doctrine," and it set the stage for America to achieve hegemony over North America.

As the President's second term plays out, intense jockeying is under way to find his successor in office. Three men in particular – John Quincy Adams, William Crawford and Andrew Jackson – will vie for the office, in an election that will, for the second time, end up decided in the House of Representatives.



Monroe's Final Tomb – Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond

James Monroe is 66 years old when he retires to his Highland plantation, which has expanded to some 3,500 acres and is worked by 30-40 slaves. But his final six years will not be happy ones. Like Jefferson and Madison, his personal finances are in a shambles, only he lacks their inherited wealth to fend off ruin. He repeatedly petitions government officials for "reimbursement" of expenses incurred during his public service, but to no avail.

He is forced to sell Highland Plantation in 1825 and move 125 miles north to Oak Hill plantation, inherited from his uncle, Judge Jones. His wife dies in September of 1830, another terrible blow.

After having lived with the partner of your youth, in so many vicissitudes of life, so long together, and afforded each other comforts which no other person on earth could do...to have her snatched from us, is an affliction which none but those who feel it, can justly estimate.

Monroe lives but ten months from his wife's passing. He is forced to sell Oak Hill, and is taken in, virtually destitute, by his younger daughter in New York city. He dies there of heart failure on July 4, 1831.

Key Events: Monroe's Second Term

1821	
June 21	Waterford Academy For Young Ladies opens in Waterford, NY
Aug 10	Missouri admitted to the Union as 24 th state
Sept 4	Czar Alexander I of Russia claims all of North America north of 51 st parallel
	Republic of Liberia opened by American Colonization Society
1822	
Mar 30	East and West Florida joined, with Andrew Jackson as territorial governor
May 30	Slave rebellion plot of Denmark Vessey foiled; 35 blacks hanged.
June 19	US recognizes Bolivar's Republic of Gran Columbia
July 20	Tennessee state legislature declares support for Andrew Jackson for 1824 presidential race
July 24	US protests Russian claims to Oregon territory region
Oct 27	270 mile stretch of Erie Canal opened
Nov 18	Kentucky state legislature says it will support Henry Clay for the 1824 nomination
Dec 12	The US recognizes Mexican independence from Spain under emperor, Augustin de Iturbide
1823	
Jan 27	The US recognizes Chile and Argentina as independent nations
Feb 18	Iturbide confirms land grant from Mexico to Moses and Stephen Austin in Tejas province
July 17	JQ Adams informs Russia that it will resist any further foreign colonization in the Americas
Aug 20	Britain supports US resistance to Russian claims in the Oregon Territory region
Oct 9	France declares it will not support Spanish efforts to regain colonies in South America
Dec 2	The "Monroe Doctrine" announced in the President's annual speech to Congress
1824	
Feb 14	66 House members nominate Treasury Secretary William Crawford for the 1824 nomination
Feb 15	Boston politicians advance the candidacy of JQ Adams for the nomination
Feb	Explorer Jed Smith opens "South Pass" (Wyoming) through Rocky Mountains
Mar 2	In <i>Gibbons v Ogden</i> , Supreme Court says Fed trumps states on interstate commerce issues
Mar 31	Speaker Henry Clay supports protectionist Tariff of 1824 and need for infrastructure upgrades
April 17	Russia signs treaty with US renouncing claims south of 54'40", including the Oregon Territory
May 22	Congress supports Clay's Tariff of 1824 bill
May 26	The US recognizes Brazil's independence
Jun 17	The Bureau of Indian Affairs is established
Oct 5	The Renssalaer School Of Theoretical And Practical Science opens
Dec 1	The 1824 presidential election ends with no candidate getting an electoral college majority
--	Benjamin Lundy moves publishing of <i>Genius of Universal Emancipation</i> newspaper to Baltimore
1825	
Jan 3	The utopian New Harmony community opens in Indiana
Feb 9	JQ Adams is elected President when Clay supports him over Jackson in a House vote

Chapter 68 -- We The People In 1820: An Overview



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- Passing Of The Founding Fathers
- America Continues To Evolve As A Nation

Time: 1820

Passing Of The Founding Fathers



“Old Abe:” an American Eagle

Between 1775 and 1820 most of America’s founding fathers have died. Ben Franklin is gone at 84 years old in 1790, followed soon by George Mason and Roger Sherman; James Wilson in 1798; Patrick Henry and George Washington in 1799; the southerners, Rutledge and Lowndes, in 1800; Sam Adams in 1803; Alexander Hamilton, felled in the duel with Burr in 1804; the scholar, George Wythe, and soldier, Henry Knox in 1806; John Dickinson in 1808; Thomas Paine in 1809; Gouverneur Morris in 1816; and Paul Revere in 1818.

With them, the life and death struggles of the Revolutionary War begin to fade from the nation’s consciousness. What remains is the government they created in Philadelphia in 1787 and the Union.

Founding Fathers Who Are Dead By 1820

1775-1799	Death	At Age
Peyton Randolph	Oct 22, 1775	54
Cesar Rodney	June 29, 1784	55
Charles DeWitt	August 27, 1787	60
Ethan Allen	Feb 12, 1789	51
Ben Franklin	April 17, 1790	84
George Mason	Oct 7, 1792	66
Roger Sherman	July 23, 1793	72
John Hancock	Oct 8, 1793	56
Richard Henry Lee	June 19, 1794	62
Nathaniel Gorham	June 11, 1796	58
Mad Anthony Wayne	Dec 15, 1796	51
James Wilson	Aug 21, 1798	55
Patrick Henry	June 6, 1799	63
George Washington	Dec 14, 1799	67
1800-1819		
John Rutledge	July 18, 1800	60
Rawlins Lowndes	Aug 24, 1800	79
Benedict Arnold	June 14, 1801	60
Samuel Adams	Oct 2, 1803	81
Alexander Hamilton	July 12, 1804	47
Phillip Schuyler	Nov 18, 1804	70
Robert Morris	May 8, 1806	72
George Wythe	June 8, 1806	80
William Patterson	Sept 9, 1806	60
Henry Knox	Oct 25, 1806	56
Oliver Ellsworth	Nov 26, 1807	62
John Dickinson	Feb 14, 1808	75
Thomas Paine	June 8, 1809	72
George Clinton	April 20, 1812	72
Benjamin Rush	April 19, 1813	67
Elbridge Gerry	Nov 23, 1814	70
Gouvernor Morris	Nov 6, 1816	64
Paul Revere	May 10, 1818	83

Fortunately several founders live on to insure America's collective memory and fidelity to its core principles. Included here are three men who have served as Presidents, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, and a fourth, James Monroe, who fought in the Revolutionary War, and is in office in 1820.

Founders Who Live On Past 1820

1820+	Deaths	At Age
Charles Pinckney	Oct 29, 1824	67
CC Pinckney	Aug 16, 1825	79
William Eustis	Feb 6, 1825	71
John Adams	July 4, 1826	90
Thomas Jefferson	July 4, 1826	83
Luther Martin	July 8, 1826	78
Rufus King	April 29, 1827	72
John Jay	May 17, 1829	83
James Monroe	July 4, 1831	73
John Randolph	May 24, 1833	59
William Johnson	Aug 4, 1834	62
Nathaniel Dane	Feb 15, 1835	82
John Marshall	July 6, 1835	79
James Madison	June 28, 1836	85
Aaron Burr	Sept 14, 1836	80

Time: 1812-1823

America Continues To Evolve As A Nation

Phase 1:	Phase 2:	Phase 3:	Phase 4:
Founding A New Nation →	Establishing A Government →	Guaranteeing Its Security →	Expanding The Borders
(1775 – 1786)	(1787-1811)	(1812-1823)	(1824-1849)

America in 1820 is in a third phase along its path to becoming a global military and economic power, capable of rivaling the old European dynasties in Britain, France, Spain and Russia.

In the 1775 to 1786 timeframe it breaks free from its bonds with Britain tracing back to 1607 at Jamestown.

Between 1787 and 1811 it defines a Constitution, proves that it can govern itself as a democratic republic, and begins to admit new states west of the Appalachian corridor into the Union.

The Napoleonic Wars complicate international relationships and commerce, and the 1814 sack of Washington offers a stark reminder of the need for a standing army and an upgraded navy. But the Treaty of Ghent and Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo reduce the existential threats by 1815.

Still America's borders are occupied by foreign powers: Britain to the north in Canada, Spain to the south in Mexico and the vast lands west of the Louisiana cession, Russia eyeing Alaska and Oregon, many southern hemisphere countries remaining under European control. Along with his Secretary of State, JQ Adams, Monroe will devote his presidency to signaling the world that America intends to make the New World off limits to future colonial adventures.

Meanwhile, the homeland itself, now comprising 24 states from the east coast to the Mississippi, is undergoing remarkable transformations.

The population is booming. Infrastructure upgrades are supporting economic growth and melding new states into the Union. Profound changes in everyday lifestyles are under way. Cities now dot the landscape, providing concentrated markets where capitalism can thrive. They are connected first by natural rivers, but soon enough by overland roads and canals, capable of transporting people and goods. A host of new ways to make a living complement traditional farming. Small businesses and primitive factories appear. Working for wages becomes commonplace, along with jobs based on thinking rather than manual labor.

America's first super-rich tycoons appear, entrepreneurs and capitalists in the North, plantation owners in the South. They represent "the American dream," the notion of unlimited upward mobility for all who work hard and follow the rules. All, that is, if one is a white man. For the nation's black population, little has changed. Theirs remains a life of servitude and hopelessness.

Chapter 68a -- We The People: Overall Population



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- The Total Population Continues Its Rapid Growth
- Growth In The Deep South Lags Behind
- The West Begins To Roar

Time: 1820

The Total Population Continues Its Rapid Growth



In the thirty years between 1790 and 1820, America's population has grown explosively, from 3.9 million to 9.6 million, an increase of over 10% per year, tracing to birth rates, not immigration.

Total U.S. Population (000)

1790	1800	1810	1820
3,929	5,237	7,240	9,638
	+38%	+33%	+34%

Compared to the three global powers of Europe, the U.S. is already closing in on both Spain and its former parent, England.

European Population (MM) In 1820

Year	France	England	Spain
1820	30.3	11.9*	11.0

* Excludes Scotland and Ireland

Three Additions to America's Growing Population

All three "segments" of the U.S. population have expanded over the decades – whites, free blacks and the African slaves.

U.S. Population Growth By Segment

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1820/1790
Total	3929	3308	7240	9638	+145%
Whites	3172	4306	5863	7867	+148
Free Blacks	59	108	186	233	+295
Slaves	698	894	1191	1538	+120

Time: 1820

Growth In The Deep South Lags Behind

A dramatic shift, however, has occurred in how Americans are distributed across the geographical landscape – and the effect is not what Southern delegates to the 1787 Convention expected.

Population Growth By Region

	1790	1820	Growth
Northeast	1,968	4,360	122%
Northwest	---	793	++
Border	488	1,467	301
Old South	1,473	2,558	74
Southwest	---	460	++
Total	3929	9,638	245

At that time, Southerners were convinced that their region’s more favorable year-round climate for farming would cause Northerners to migrate their way – thus expanding their “share” of the total U.S. population and, in turn, their share of votes in the House of Representatives.

But this migration fails to materialize – and instead the South’s population share actually drops.

The old South – Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia – declines from 38% of the total population in 1790 to only 24% by 1820. The Border South – Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky – is off slightly from 12% to 11%.

Meanwhile the eight Northeastern states – NH, Vt, Mass, Conn, RI, NY, NJ, Pa -- remain essentially stable, at a dominant 48% share. This seems to be explained by the growing appeal of Northern cities, with more and more people being drawn to their diverse and vibrant economic opportunities, easy access to goods and services, and the allure of contemporary culture and society.

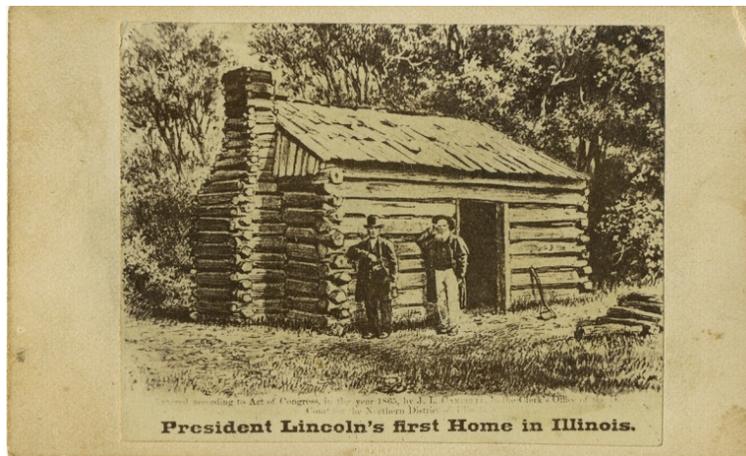
The big gains in the population shift, however, occur in the “new West” – the four new Northwest Territory states – Ohio, Indiana and Illinois – and the four Southwest states – Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

Distribution Of US Population

	1790	1820	Change
Northeast	50%	45%	(5)
Northwest	--	8	8
Border	12	15	3
Old South	38	27	(11)
Southwest	--	5	5
Total	100%	100%	

Time: 1820

The West Begins To Roar



A Typical Log Cabin Residence In The Early 1800's

A remarkable migration west has already taken place between 1790 and 1820. It begins in Kentucky and then filters in all directions -- expanding the total number of people living across the Appalachians from 386,000 to over 1.6 million, fully one sixth of the total population.

One by one pioneers have driven through mountain gaps, along primitive trails, into possible danger from native tribes, facing the uncertainties of building new log cabins, planting crops, founding towns, and starting their lives over from scratch on the frontier.

Their motivation is as old as the republic itself -- the chance to realize the American Dream, to advance one's wealth and station in life by as much as individual daring and initiative permit.

This constant drive for upward mobility is one reward of freedom, and an intrinsic part of the American character.

For those moving west, the dream comes in the form of new farmland, more of it, and better, than what one had "back East."

The land sought extends from the Appalachians, across the Mississippi River and into "Louisiana."

It has been “extracted,” first from Britain by warfare, then France by treaty, and finally from the Indian tribes, largely through force and deception.

By 1820 much of the land is “in the public domain,” owned by the Federal Government, and divided into “Territories,” with boundaries mostly defined by the meanderings of major rivers, and negotiations with the original thirteen states to settle disputed claims.

Terms for its sale of vary over the years -- the latest established by The Land Act of 1820.

- The minimum size of a tract sold will be 80 acres (reduced from 320 in 1800);
- The price is set at \$1.25 per acre (down from \$1.65, before the Panic of 1819); and
- A minimum down payment of \$100 is required of all buyers.

The rest is simple. Frontiersmen are told to go find the site that strikes their fancy; have a surveyor define its span; make payment to the government; write and record the deed; and the land is yours.

As always, speculators flock to acquire the new acreage, then parcel it out into smaller lots for resale and quick profits. Despite these maneuvers, data from North Carolina sales indicate that the average settler probably starts his new life with roughly the 80 acres originally intended.

Size Of Farms In North Carolina (1860)

Acre Size	3-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-499	500-999	1000+
% Total	3%	7%	31%	28%	29%	2%	0.5%

Along with the new land comes the opportunity to form new states and be admitted to the Union.

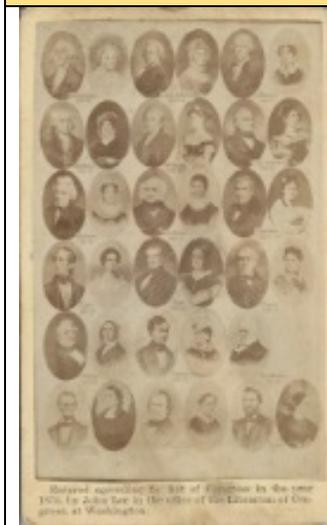
The path to statehood requires that a given Territory achieve a threshold population level of at least 60,000 residents, establish a local legislative body in some city or town, then write, vote on, and pass a state constitution, and apply to the federal government for admission.

Between 1790 and 1820, an additional eight “western” states have already joined the union – with a ninth, Missouri, eager to follow suit.

Western States Admission To The Union

#	Year	State	Slavery
15	1792	Kentucky	Yes
16	1796	Tennessee	Yes
17	1803	Ohio	No
18	1812	Louisiana	Yes
19	1816	Indiana	No
20	1817	Mississippi	Yes
21	1818	Illinois	No
22	1819	Alabama	Yes

Chapter 68b -- We The People In 1820: Gender Roles



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- America Remains A Patriarchal Society
- Some Women Begin To Make Their Voices Heard

Time: 1820

America Remains A Patriarchal Society



True to its Protestant roots and its English traditions, America remains a patriarchal society in 1820.

Men are cast as the head of their households and of public affairs in general; women are expected to conform to the subservient roles they are assigned by their fathers and husbands.

Religious beliefs and practices contribute heavily to contemporary views of women – especially the Garden of Eden tale of Eve luring Adam into original sin. For the dominant Calvinist sects such as the Puritans, this forever casts doubt on the moral rectitude of all females. Eternal salvation is in the balance daily, and the prayer – “lead us not into temptation” – is often focused on women and sins of the flesh. (In 1850, author Nathaniel Hawthorne will capture these Puritan tensions in his novel, *The Scarlet Letter*.)

Abigail Adams and America’s
Other First Ladies

But women’s subservience at this time extends beyond religious doctrine and into the realm of law.

According to English Common Law, carried over to America, women’s legal rights are established under the principle of “coverture.”

Which means that, once a woman is married (or “covered”), she forfeits her legal rights as an independent person. Thus she is no longer allowed to own property, to sign contracts, or to participate in any business ventures. As the soon to be suffragette, Lucy Stone (1818-1893), will point out...

Coverture gives the custody of the wife’s person to her husband.

A host of orthodoxies regarding both men and women follow from these religious and legal precedents.

Men are expected to be in charge of their household; to work hard to support their own family’s well-being; and to participate in public affairs, from service in the militia to involvement in politics and government. In all critical decisions facing the family, their word is final.

Women too had clearly defined roles in 1820. Since their futures in society were so directly determined by marriage, girls were tutored early on to find a worthy husband. “Proper behavior” was deemed essential here, including the virtues of outward piety, modesty, appropriate dress and manners. Marriages were seldom “arranged,” and those failing to attract a husband were reduced to “spinsterhood” and probable poverty, left to live at home with their parents.

Once married, women were expected to have children, especially male heirs; to raise them properly and contribute to their education; to carry out a multitude of chores associated with maintaining a household; often to help out with farm duties; and to support and obey their husbands. While labeled “the weaker sex,” the physical demands on farm women were often extreme, doubly so since multiply pregnancies and minimal health care were commonplace.

These generalized gender roles were the norm across all regions of the country – although the stereotypes tended to be amplified across segments within the South.

Such deviations were particularly true among the elite planter class in Virginia and the Carolinas, where the culture was prone to mimicking the old world French traditions of chivalry and elegance over the more down to earth mindsets of the English Puritan “Yankees” of New England.

Fragile “Southern belles” placed on pedestals by dashing cavaliers were extant in 1820, but they were few and far between. The vast majority of females, South and North, were farm women, laboring hard from dawn to dusk to care for their homes and families.

Time: 1820

Some Women Begin To Make Their Voices Heard

Relatively few women in 1820 deviated much from their subservient roles.

But some do.

They are helped along as early as 1742, by the opening of the Bethlehem Female Seminary in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Its charter argues on behalf of a revolutionary idea: “when you educate a woman, you educate an entire family.” Its curriculum covers a range of cultural and intellectual topics, spiritual exploration, vocational training and physical exercises. It encourages women’s participation in a range of fields, including education, the ministry and nursing. (It endures today as Moravian College).

Mercy Otis Warren (1728-1814) soon picks up the banner. She is a member of the prominent Otis family of Massachusetts and writes political propaganda surrounding the war with Britain. She also corresponds regularly with America's first three presidents, publishes novels, and befriends another outspoken woman of her time, Abigail Adams.

Adams, of course, becomes the early symbol of a strong and independent women, demanding to have her say in the "affairs of men." In addition to her role as "first lady" during her husband's presidency, she engages many of the founding fathers, especially Thomas Jefferson, on public policy. Her written admonition to her husband, John, sets the stage for things to come during the second great awakening of the 1830's:

Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands, Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have not voice, or Representation.

Chapter 68c -- We The People In 1820: Education



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- Formal Education Remains A Hit Or Miss Proposition
- Newspapers Advance Literacy Along With Political Awareness

Time: 1820

Formal Education Remains A Hit Or Miss Proposition



Education remains important to most Americans, but little progress occurs between 1790 and 1820 in making it broadly available to all children.

Those lucky enough to be born into well off families – across regions – still benefit from personal tutors, prep schools and the higher-ed universities.

For others, formal education remains a hit or miss proposition.

The bastion of childhood education is New England, based on its staunchly Puritan heritage. It becomes the model for “grammar schools,” open to the public, albeit with optional, not mandatory, attendance. These facilities are all privately owned until 1821, when the first government run “public school” appears in Boston.

The odds of accessing formal education also go up for children clustered in towns and cities, where “one room schoolhouses” become more commonplace.

A University Graduate in Formal Garb

However, in 1820, the majority of America's children still reside on farms, outside of New England, and lack the family wealth required to hire tutors or go off to school full time.

For them, and for their parents, learning is probably an aspiration, although hard to come by, and likely relegated to second place, behind farm duties and household chores.

Despite all this, the trend lines on literacy and general education are tilting upward by 1820 -- with more children getting more years of formal education, on average.

This traces in part to the greater availability of teachers, as university attendance and graduation rates grow. While the vast majority of graduates are men, the teaching career is already beginning to attract women in search of options to traditional housewifery.

Literacy is also advanced by the fact that reading materials are becoming more prevalent, including children's "readers and spellers," which facilitate in-home schooling.

Parents too are more likely than ever to be reading, with local newspapers growing in popularity.

Time: 1820

Newspapers Advance Literacy Along With Political Awareness



Time Out to Absorb the Daily New

Between 1800 and 1820, the number of local newspapers in circulation more than doubles, from around 200 to over 500. They exist across all states, with New York alone offering roughly 75 different publications.

Their content includes coverage of current events, especially the political arena, public announcements, and advertising for local merchants.

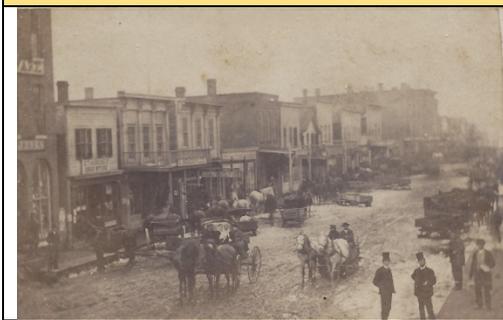
But the vast majority of these newspapers survive for only a few years. Some build a reliable base of paid subscribers, but most cannot generate enough to cover their costs. Their revenue is also hurt by the fact that, once bought, papers are "passed around for free."

The ones that do manage to survive typically supplement their income by other printing work done for businesses or state governments. To secure the latter, newspapers often align with political parties, who return the favor in the form of patronage.

Early Newspapers That Survive Over Time

Date	Title	Location
1704	The Boston News-Letter	Boston, Mass
1721	The New England Courant	Boston, Mass
1756	The New Hampshire Gazette	New Hampshire
1764	The Hartford Courant	Hartford, Conn
1785	The Augusta Chronicle	Augusta, Georgia
1785	The Poughkeepsie Journal	Poughkeepsie, NY
1786	The Boston Chronicle	Boston, Mass
1786	Daily Hampshire Gazette	Northampton, Mass
1786	Pittsburgh Post Gazette	Pittsburgh, Pa
1789	The Berkshire Eagle	Pittsfield, Mass
1792	The Recorder	Greenfield, Mass
1794	The Rutland Herald	Rutland, Vermont
1796	Norwich Bulletin	Norwich, Conn
1801	New York Post	New York, NY
1803	The Post and Courier	Charleston, SC

Chapter 68d -- We The People In 1820: Towns & Cities



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- Small Towns Dot The Landscape
- Sizable Cities Materialize

Time: 1820

Small Towns Dot The Landscape



A Prosperous Rural Setting in Connecticut

In 1820, the vast majority of Americans – over nine in ten – still live in the country, on farms.

Where Americans Live

Year	Rural	Urban
1820	93%	7%

They are proudly independent and self-reliant, but also “neighborly” by nature, and drawn to establishing communities, for commerce and for the common good.

Gradually their farms are connected to one another by cart paths and dirt roads, some bordered by wooden fences to contain livestock.

At the intersection of these roads, small towns form up.



A Small Town in America: Circa 1820.

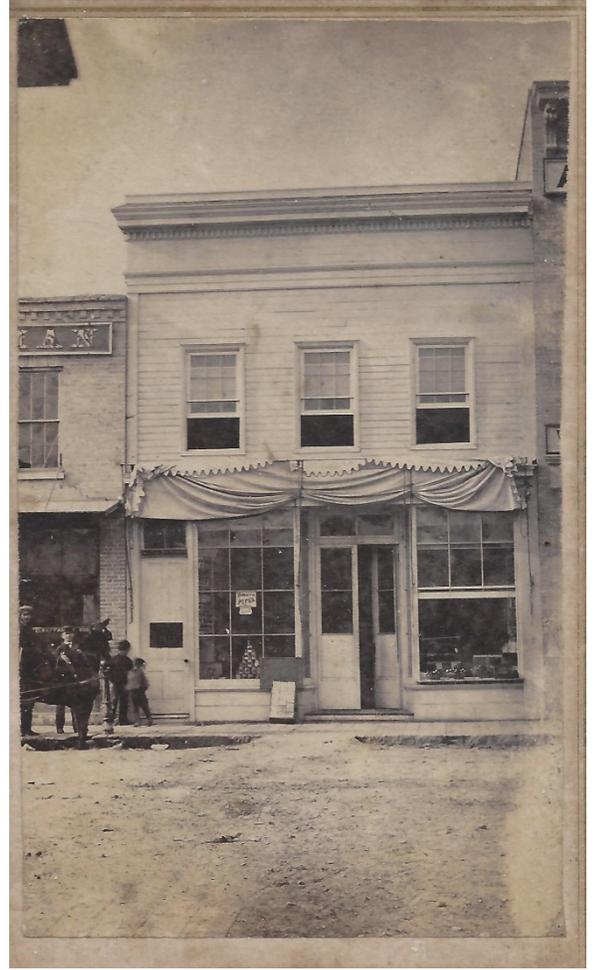
The towns are typically built along a Main Street, lined on both sides by storefronts.

Most are simple wooden structures, with signs announcing their wares.

The center of activity in town tends to be the General Store, a place for people to gather, to socialize, and to buy the everyday necessities of life.

Range Of Goods Sold In General Stores

Soft Goods	Cloth bolts, silk, thread, pins and needles, buttons, underwear, hats, shoes, leather, dungarees, dresses.
Hard Goods	Firearms, ammunition, lanterns, lamps, rope, crockery, tableware, cooking utensils, tools, farm equipment.
Consumables	Coffee beans, tea, flour, sugar, spices, baking powder, crackers, molasses, tobacco, candy, select foods.
Apothecary	Patent medicines, remedies, soaps and toiletries.



America's First "General Stores"

As towns expand, other venues open up – a saloon, an inn, a stables, possibly a jail, eventually a post office.

Time: 1820

Sizable Cities Materialize



Traffic along Main Street in an Emerging City

Towns that are inland and “off the beaten path” tend to grow at a slow pace.

But some graduate into full-fledged cities, depending on their locations.

The main determinant of growth lies in proximity to a sizable body of water – the east coast ocean or an inland river or lake – along with a port that accommodates shipping.

Later on, as transportation systems evolve, other factors come into play, most notably access to one or more high traffic roads or, eventually, technology advances such as canals, railroads, and manufacturing.

When several of these factors overlap, a city’s growth can be exponential.

In the North, for example, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore all double or triple in population between 1790 and 1820 – and the New York count reaches 123,706, a four-fold jump.

Two Southern port cities – Charleston and New Orleans – top the 20,000 mark in total residents.

And the nation’s capital, Washington, DC, also joins the top ten list on population.

Top Ten Cities In America

1790	Pop	1820	Pop
New York	33,131	New York	123,706
Philadelphia	28,522	Philadelphia	63,802
Boston	18,320	Baltimore	62,738
Charleston	16,345	Boston	43,298
Baltimore	13,503	New Orleans	21,176
No. Philadelphia	9,913	Charleston	24,780
Salem	7,921	No Philadelphia	19,678
Newport	6,716	So Philadelphia	14,713
Providence	6,380	Washington DC	13,247
Marblehead	5,661	Salem	12,731
ave	14,641		39,987

Chapter 68e -- We The People In 1820: Overall Economy



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- America Forms A Domestic Marketplace
- The Macro Economy Takes Off
- Diverging Economic Systems

Time: 1820

America Forms A Domestic Marketplace



A Farmer Bringing His Crop To Market

Along with these towns and cities comes a domestic marketplace.

At first it has simply been “the farmer’s market.”

On given days and times, families pile their surplus crops into wagons, haul them into towns, and exchange them for cash or barter.

This “exchange” symbolizes America’s free market in action:

- Sellers offering up goods or services
- To buyers with needs or wants
- In exchange for cash or barter.

“Demand” for things meets the “supply” of things, and both buyers and sellers profit from the transactions.

One man’s bushels of beans are sold for pennies used to buy a much needed cloth shirt.

Once this demand/supply ritual takes hold in rural towns, the domestic economy booms.

Buyers and sellers; supply and demand; the engine running the U.S. economy kicks into gear.



Arriving In Town To Conduct Business

Time: 1820

The Macro Economy Takes Off

Over America’s first thirty years, growth in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is robust, except for a series of intermittent “shocks.”

By 1815, GDP shoots up to \$920 million, in response to accelerated investments related to fighting the War of 1812. When the conflict ends, demand slows and the bank panic of 1819 sets in -- with GDP tumbling back to the 1810 level of \$700 million.

Overview Of U.S. Economy: Current Dollars (Millions)

	Total GDP	% Change	GDP Per Capita	Shocks
1790	190MM		\$48	
1800	\$ 480		90	
1805	560	17%	90	
1810	700	25%	97	1807 Embargo Act
1815	920	31%	110	1812-15 War
1820	700	(24)	73	1819 Bank Panic

America’s ability to sell its goods abroad follows the same pattern. Rapid growth in exports is evident until Jefferson’s 1807 Embargo on trade with the warring nations of France and England. The next dampening influences are the War of 1812 against England, a primary trading partner, and the financial depression that follows the conflict. As of 1820, total exports, like GDP, stand about at their 1810 levels.

Value Of US Exports (millions)

Year	Total	% Ch
1790	\$20MM	---
1805	96	++%
1810	67	(30)
1815	53	(21)
1820	70	33

Note: North p.221

Despite short run volatility, America’s long-term economic outlook looks positive.

Time: 1820

Diverging Economic Systems

As of 1820, one-third of all American’s (3.1 million) are participating in the labor force.

This percent is much higher among slaves (62%) –where men, women and older children are forced workers – than among the free population (28%), where non-domestic labor is dominated by men.

Labor Force Participation (000) In 1820

	Total Population	In Labor Force	% In Labor
Free	7,830	2,185	28%
Slave	1,538	950	62
Total	9,368	3,135	33%

The nature of this labor differs sharply by region.

While farming and fishing remain dominant in the North, Hamilton’s vision of a diverse economy, including manufacturing, distributing and selling goods, is already materializing.

Roughly 11% of America’s total work force are engaged in the manufacturing sector in 1820, with 70% of them located in the North.

People Working In Manufacturing Jobs In 1820

Region	1820 (000)	% of Total
North	241.2	69%
Border	41.1	12
South	64.5	19
Total U.S.	346.8	100%

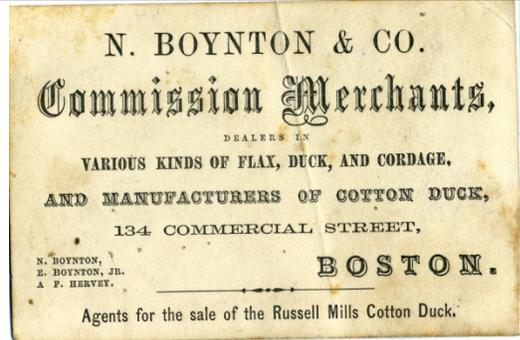
Meanwhile the Southern economy remains steadfastly committed to Jefferson’s agricultural model.

And for a good reason.

The South has come upon a path to riches, especially for the upper class of landowners who shape its destiny.

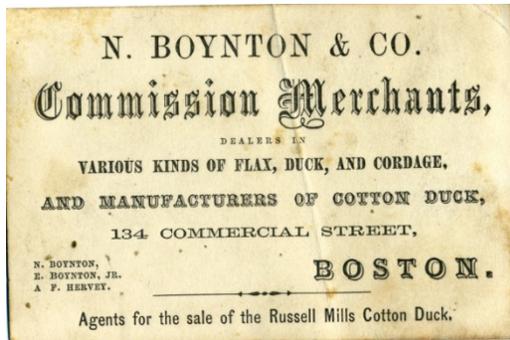
That path lies in supplying demand for its two “crops” -- raw cotton and human slaves.

Chapter 68f -- We The People In 1820: The Southern Economy

 <p>N. BOYNTON & CO. Commission Merchants, DEALERS IN VARIOUS KINDS OF FLAX, DUCK, AND CORDAGE, AND MANUFACTURERS OF COTTON DUCK, 134 COMMERCIAL STREET, BOSTON. N. BOYNTON, E. BOYNTON, JR., A. F. HERVEY. Agents for the sale of the Russell Mills Cotton Duck.</p>	Date: 1820	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The South Bets Its Future on Cotton• The South Also Bets On “Breeding” And Selling Slaves• A Missed Economic Opportunity For The South
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Time: 1820

The South Bets Its Future On Cotton



An Agent Selling Russell Mills Cotton Duck (Canvas)

Plantations spring up across the South in the colonial period, with crops varying by terrain and weather. In the Upper South, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, tobacco is dominant. The low country states of South Carolina and Georgia, with greater access to irrigation, turn to the generally more profitable production of rice. But the economic die is cast for all southern states in 1792 once Whitney’s seed-removal “gin” transforms the economics associated with growing and harvesting short fiber cotton.

From that moment on, every farmer and plantation owner in the South that can get into cotton does so.

And production soars – reaching almost 142 million pounds by 1820.

Prices for the crop vary from year to year in responses to shifts in supply and demand, with the latter affected by tariffs levied on finished cotton goods from abroad.

But in 1820, the value reaches \$235 million – fully one-third of the country’s total GDP for the year!

Value Of Cotton

Year	Cotton Lbs	Cents/Lb	Value	Index
1790	0.1 million	\$14.44	\$2 million	
1805	59.9	22.59	\$135	100
1810	68.9	14.20	98	73
1815	81.9	25.90	216	160
1820	141.5	16.58	235	174

As cotton profits soar, so too does interest in opening new plantations – particularly to the west of the Appalachian range, in the newer states of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana.

To do so, however, requires not only available land, but also available slaves.

Time: 1820

The South Also Bets On “Breeding” And Selling Slaves

purchasers. feb10
Sixty very Choice Sugar Plantation Slaves.
BY J. A. BEARD & MAY—J. A. Beard,
 Auctioneer.—Will be sold at auction, on TUESDAY, February 27th, 1820, at 12 o'clock, at Banks' Arcade, on Magazine street, the following gang of likely slaves, mostly from the plantation of the late Mr. Pisero, of the Parish of St. Charles; comprising Mechanics, Sugar makers, and hands brought up to the culture of Cane, to wit:
 One Family:
 1 JIM, aged 24; extra No. 1 field hand.
 2 PHILLIS, his wife, aged 22; first rate hand.
 3 ALBOK, aged 23; extra No. 1 field hand, understand's machinery, and boiler making, and has run centrifugal machines.
 4 JOE KEY, aged 24; first rate field hand, cart and plough boy; very useful, understand's machinery.
 One Family:
 5 SUSAN, age 24; good field hand.
 6 CHARLOTTE, age 8; } her children.
 7 LONDON, age 2; }
 One Family:
 8 LEWIS, aged 47; good carpenter and sugar maker; a trusty and superior subject.
 9 SALLY, his wife, aged 40; good field hand and hospital nurse, and is trusty.
 10 SAM, aged 14; works in field and cart driver.
 One Family:
 11 JOE, aged 20; extra No. 1 field hand and plowman.
 12 TYRA, his wife, aged 23; No. 1 field hand.
 13 SAMBO, aged 42; good field and kettle hand; useful in sugar house.
 14 NANCY YELLOW, aged 22; good hand and seamstress.
 15 LAWRENCE, aged 19; good hand, cart and plough boy.
 16 ANNIE, aged 17; good field hand.
 17 TANNY, aged 13; useful in field.
 18 JOSEPHINE, orphan, aged 9; useful.
 One Family:
 19 JEFFREY, aged 44; extra No. 1 field and kettle hand; useful in sugar house; very trusty.
 20 DOLLY, his wife, aged 36; extra No. 1 field hand.
 21 WILLIAM, aged 22; extra No. 1 field hand, cart and plough boy.
 One Family:
 22 SUE, aged 21; No. 1 field hand.
 23 FELLIGE, her child, aged 2 years.
 24 SARAH, aged 18 years; No. 1 field hand.
 25 BINAH, aged 18; good field hand.
 26 JEFF, aged 14; useful in field.
 27 STEPHEN, aged 10; useful in field.
 28 HENRY, aged 23; good field hand.
 29 FRIDAY, aged 12; useful in field.
 30 FANNY, aged 11.
 31 SAMPOON, aged 10; useful in field.
 32 JACK, aged 8; ox driver and field hand.
 33 JEAN, aged 17; good driver, cart and plough boy.
 34 RICHARD, aged 30; has sore legs, gardner and field hand.
 35 JEAN BAPTISTE, aged 48; good field and kettle hand.
 36 LIDDY, aged 31; No. 1 field hand.
 One Family:
 37 SIBBY, 25; No 1 field hand.
 38 DORSEY, her child, 2.

By 1820 prosperity in the South rests as much on the domestic sale of slaves (“black gold”) as on sales of its raw cotton (“white gold”) to worldwide textile mills.

Since 1807 the ban on “importation” agreed to in 1787 Constitution has been in effect, and hence the only place new plantation owners in the west can get the labor they need is to buy “excess slaves” being bred on plantations in the east.

And “breeding slaves” becomes a major industry, especially in the state of Virginia.

This shocking “breeding practice” is described by ex-slave, Maggie Stenhouse, as follows:

Durin' slave'y there was stockmen. They was weighed and tested. They didn't let 'hem work in the field and they kept them fed up good. A man would rent the stockman and put him in a room with some young women he wanted to raise children from.

Once bred, these “excess blacks” are shipped to cities like Louisville, Kentucky and New Orleans, where daily slave auctions are advertised in newspapers and held in various locations around town.

The combination of growing demand and limited supply leads to high prices for slaves, especially for “prime field hands” and “breeding women.” In 1820 the average price for a slave has risen to \$393.

This means that the total economic value of the 1.5 million slaves has reached the staggering level of \$600 million, at a time when the annual value of all goods and services (GDP) is \$700 million.

The “Economic Value” Of Bred Slaves

Year	# Slaves	\$/ Slave	Total \$	\$/Prime
1805	1,032M	222	\$229million	504
1810	1,191	277	330	624
1815	1,354	272	368	610
1820	1,538	393	604	875

Shrewd plantation owners throughout the South will focus on sustaining this economic growth engine.

To do so, they will constantly support the expansion of slavery into new territory west of the Mississippi.

They will also pay careful attention to breeding excess slaves for sale in these new territories.

One such shrewd owner has been Thomas Jefferson, master of Monticello, whose *Farm Book* observations record concerns about his “breeding women” and their off-spring:

The loss of 5 little ones in 4 years induces me to fear that the overseers do not permit the women to devote as much time as is necessary to the care of their children; that they view their labor as the 1st object and the raising their child but as secondary.

I consider the labor of a breeding woman as no object, and a child raised every 2. years is of more profit then the crop of the best laboring man. In this, as in all other cases, providence has made our duties and our interest coincide perfectly.... With respect therefore to our women & their children I must pray you to inculcate upon the overseers that it is not their labor, but their increase which is the first consideration with us.

Jefferson’s correspondence also encourages his friends to...

Invest every (spare) farthing in land and negroes, which besides a present support bring a silent profit of from 5 to 10 per cent in this country, by the increase in their value.

Time: 1820

A Missed Economic Opportunity For The South

The South’s eagerness to cash in on its “two crops” finds it overlooking an economic opportunity that could have altered history.

The opportunity lies in the additional wealth to be had in processing cotton into thread, weaving it into whole cloth, and finishing it into the dress and household goods Americans need.

Had the South acted on this opportunity to “vertically integrate” its cotton operations – i.e. win all of the profit to be had from raw cotton, spun thread and yarn, woven cloth, completed wares – it could have diminished its reliance on raw cotton and slaves as the sole sources of its wealth.

While a few southern attempts are made to mimic the textile mills in New England, their success is limited. The question is “why?”

Several factors seem to explain this “missed economic opportunity” by the South:

- Planters are probably satisfied making money hand over fist simply by growing raw cotton, and feel no urgent need to tackle the complexities of further processing it.
- The knowledge required to set up and run a textile mill is a closely guarded at the time and requires engineering and machine-making skills that the South lacked.
- Smaller cities in the South meant that a local factory would not enjoy the benefits of a nearby, concentrated consumer marketplace for its finished goods.
- Finally, the prospect of hiring white women (like the “Lowell girls”) to work in textile factories for wages is culturally anathema in the South.

Whatever the causes, the result is that the Northern textile mills reap the profits of whole cloth and finished goods made from the South’s raw cotton – an outcome that will cause tensions and rancor between the two regions going forward in time.

Chapter 68g -- We The People In 1820: The Northern Economy



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- Industrialization Begins To Take Hold in the North
- Francis Lowell's Purloined Textile Mill Starts Up

Time: 1820

Industrialization Begins To Take Hold In The North



Workers Gathered in Front of Brown's Factory in Boston

While the southern economy is narrowly focused, the North is beginning to realize the benefits that Alexander Hamilton envisioned in capitalism and industrialization.

His ambition is to have America lead the world in “manufactures,” soon referred to as “manufacturing.”

Manufacturing is where “supply meets demand” for desired goods – especially those things that the typical farm household of the time is unable to make readily on their own. Fine clothing, furniture, glassware, carriages, firearms, timepieces, books, tools and so forth.

According to Hamilton, “manufacturing” will be driven by individual entrepreneurs who:

- Spot the emerging needs and wants of consumers;
- Design a workshop/factory to produce the desired goods;

- Secure needed capital through bank loans, stock offerings or their own cash;
- Locate the space, machines, workers, etc. to start up their operation;
- Make and deliver high quality products at affordable prices; and
- Achieve sufficient profitability to pay back investors for risking their capital.

Clearing all these hurdles will prove challenging, and many will fail.

But some entrepreneurs will persevere and succeed.

“Specializing” will be one key determinant.

Making “bolts of cloth,” for example, will require first, de-constructing the overall process into discrete steps, and then optimizing methods used at each step. Critical “know-how” accrues from trial and error – the more bolts of cloth produced, the more efficient and effective the manufacturer becomes.

If high demand and profitability continue over time, opportunities to “automate” some of their processes may materialize. A new machine may be invented to spin cotton into thread or weave it into yarn that produces higher quality cloth at lower costs than was possible using hand labor.

Furthermore, they may be the only manufacturer around with enough “scale” (i.e. demand for their cloth) to be able to invest in the new machine and enjoy its cost “economies.” This endows them with competitive advantages that can become monopoly-like.

Finally, enough buyers of cloth may decide that one manufacturer consistently delivers better value for their money (high quality at fair prices) than its competitors, and become loyal to that supplier’s “brand.”

Those few companies that achieve “brand loyalty” can long endure.

Earliest Manufacturer Brands In The U.S.

Year	Brand Name	Industry
1795	Dixon Ticonderoga	Pencils
1796	Jim Beam	Distillery
1798	Pratt Read	Tools
1801	Crane & Co.	Papermaking
1802	DuPont	Chemicals
1806	Colgate	Consumer Goods
1807	Sterling Sugars	Sugar
1811	Pfalzgraff	Ceramics
1812	Waterbury Button	Buttons
1813	Conti Group	Meat Products
1815	Loane Brothers	Tents
1816	Remington	Firearms
1818	Brooks Brothers	Clothing

The growth of manufacturing in America is also hastened by events such as the 1807 Embargo, the War of 1812 and the Dallas Tariff of 1816, each of which limit foreign imports.

One entrepreneur who takes advantage of these events is Francis Cabot Lowell, who founds the Boston Manufacturing Company in 1814.

Time: 1814 Forward

Francis Lowell's Purloined Textile Mill Starts Up



Lowell's Textile Mill in Massachusetts

Francis Lowell is born in Newburyport, Massachusetts in 1775 to wealthy and influential parents. After graduating from Harvard in 1793, he starts up a sizable business in Boston that imports textiles made in China and India and sells them from a retail storefront on the city wharf.

The interruption of his trade owing to Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, sparks Lowell's interest in manufacturing his own textiles domestically. But he initially lacks the know-how required to start up such a complicated operation.

He solves this on a two-year trip to England and Scotland, where he visits various textile mills and literally memorizes the details of their manufacturing processes – in the grand capitalist tradition of “know the world and steal the best.”

Upon his return to Boston, he transfers the blueprints he has carried home in his head to paper, sets up a corporation, The Boston Manufacturing Company, and begins the search for the cash needed to build his own factory.

He quickly raises the money by selling \$1,000 shares of stock in his corporation to a string of wealthy investors who have enough faith in his venture to risk their own money to back it.

Lowell's first mill, completed in late 1814, is located in Waltham, Massachusetts, with its spinning and weaving machines powered by water turbines driven by the currents of the Charles River. (Steam powered machines will not appear until the 1840's.)

It becomes the first U.S. mill that completes all of the steps required to convert raw cotton into finished cloth – under one roof.

Raw cotton → cleaning → carding → spinning to thread/yarn → weaving → whole cloth

As such it delivers on all of the promises of efficient production that Hamilton foresaw, and is hugely successful from its start-up.

Unfortunately Lowell suffers from a condition known as tic douloureux, an excruciatingly painful nerve disease of the face, that hastens his death in 1817, at age 42 years.

But by then a second mill is up and running, and in 1822, several more north on the Merrimack River have been built by Lowell's corporate partners and successors. To honor him, they name their new industrial town Lowell, Massachusetts.

Chapter 68h -- We The People In 1820: Making A Living Up North



Dates:
1820

- Sections:**
- Industrialization Fosters A New Workforce
 - Women Enter The Industrial Labor Force

Time: 1820

Industrialization Fosters A New Workforce



Frank Lowell's textile mill is symbolic of how America's industrial economy opens up new ways to make a living, apart from agriculture. By 1820, about 1 in 5 have embraced these other options.

How People Make Their Living

Year	Agriculture	Other Options
1820	79%	21%

Ransom p.260

“Town Workies” is the name many are given, and they have traded off a strictly pastoral life on the farm for the more crowded and complex urban setting. The economic path they choose is also very different from that of Jefferson's entirely self-sufficient farmer.

Three in-Town “Workies”

Their city jobs are wide ranging in content and pay.

At one end of the spectrum are the “unskilled workers,” such as day laborers, longshoremen and draymen, and factory workers, who live off of muscle power and are hired on or laid off at the whim of their employers. They form the lowest rung of the economic ladder, with jobs that are always threatened, especially by immigrants who may be willing to work for lower wages.

Estimated Annual Income – Unskilled Laborers

1790	1800	1805	1810	1815	1820
\$37	\$60	\$62	\$88	\$92	\$67

At the other end are “professionals,” such as doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers and financiers – who tend to acquire unique skills through higher education, then sell this know-how on a pay for service basis to clients in need of their help. Because of their knowledge, people in these “white collar” jobs retain a high level of independence, often “working for themselves” as entrepreneurs. In turn both their incomes and prestige tend to be higher than all but the elite “owner classes.”

Between the “unskilled” laborers and the professionals are the emerging “urban middle class,” some working independently, others as part of a business. Some work with their hands, as “artisans” who make goods functional or decorative in nature, from clothing to furniture, household items to jewelry, tools to machinery. Others rely more on their minds, running small businesses, writing for newspapers, acting as clerks.

The breadth of jobs available varies by the size and geographic location of any given town or city. But in major cities like New York or Philadelphia, the list of occupations is quite amazing.

Non-Farming Occupations: 1820 America

Raw Materials	Clothing/Appearance	Professionals
Shanties/Lumbermen	Seamstress	Clergymen
Miners/Sappers	Hatter	Educators
Trappers	Leatherdresser	Doctors
Fishermen	Weaver	Attorneys
	Tanner	Politicians
Transportation/Goods	Tailor/Sartor	Magistrates
Coopers/Barrelers	Shoemaker/Cobbler	Judges
Rivermen	Tonsors/Barbers	Surveyor
Sailors		Military
Teamsters	Personal Transport	Undertakers
Draymen	Stablers	
	Blacksmith/Farrior	Journalists
Converters	Saddler	Printers
Textiles	Carriagemaker	Bookbinders
Smelters		
Ironworkers		
Plowrights	Food & Drink	Financiers
Gunsmiths	Bakers	
Clowers/Nailmakers	Butchers	Entrepreneurs
Cutlerymakers	Packers	Ship Owners
Soapmaker	Brewer/Maltster	Factory Owners
Candlemaker	Distillers	Plantation Owners
Ropemakers		Other Capitalists
Watchmaker		
Gold/Silversmith	Merchants	Lower Skill Workers
	Dry Goods	Factory Labor
Housing	Apothecary	Clerks
Houseright	Haberdashers	Servants
Carpenter	Saloonkeeper	Longshoremen
Mason	Innkeeper/Ostler	Rag Pickers
Joiner		Peddlers
Glazier	Middlemen	Tinkers
Cabinetmaker	Warehousers	Chimneysweeps
Locksmith	Factors/Brokers	Waiters

Time: 1814 Forward

Women Enter The Industrial Labor Force



“Lowell Girls”

Lowell’s textile mills also open the door for women to enter the industrial labor force.

Lowell, Massachusetts soon becomes a boom town, with over 30 textile mills being operated by some 8,000 workers. The majority of these are young women, who become known as “the Lowell girls.”

While Charles Dickens found working conditions in the Lowell factories far superior to their counterparts in London, the labor was strenuous. A typical shift for “Lowell girls” ran from 5AM to 7PM on a production line consisting of 80 workers, two male overseers, and the non-stop racket of spinning and weaving machines and air filled with cotton and cloth detritus.

“Lowell girls” worked about 70 hours a week on average and were paid about 6 cents per hour or around \$4 per week – a generous wage at the time.

The girls lived and ate together in company boarding houses, obeyed a 10PM curfew, and were expected to attend church on the Sabbath and exhibit upright behavior at all times. Time off was granted for short vacations, trips to the city, exposure to various cultural events.

Despite the offer of steady work, shelter and pay, the average job tenure for a “Lowell girl” was roughly four years.

America needs “highways” to develop its domestic marketplace, and it finds them first in its inland rivers.

In addition to triple masted sailing ships crammed with cargo headed toward European ports come simpler canoes, boats and barges heading up and down inland rivers.

The rivers cross-hatch the old and new states, and help bind them together around trade. Many flow for hundreds of miles and are easily navigated.

Some flow north and south, often defining, often transcending state borders.

Major North-South Rivers East Of The Mississippi

	Miles	States
Kennebec	170	Maine
Connecticut	419	Connecticut, Vermont, NH, Vt
Hudson	315	New York, New Jersey
Susquehanna	464	Maryland, Pennsylvania, NY
Scioto	231	Ohio
Wabash	503	Indiana, Illinois, Ohio
Pee Dee	232	South Carolina, North Carolina
Savannah	301	South Carolina, Georgia
St Johns	310	Florida
Alabama	318	Alabama, Georgia
Oconee	220	Georgia

Others flow east and west, and play a crucial role in opening up the new states west of the Appalachian Mountain range. The longest eastern river, the Ohio, becomes the official line of demarcation in 1787 between the “free” states of the North and the “slave” states of the South.

Major East-West Rivers East Of The Mississippi

	Miles	States
Ohio	981	Pa, Ohio, WVa, Ky, IN, Illinois
Cumberland	688	Kentucky, Tennessee
Tennessee	652	Tennessee, Ala, Miss, Ky
James	348	Virginia

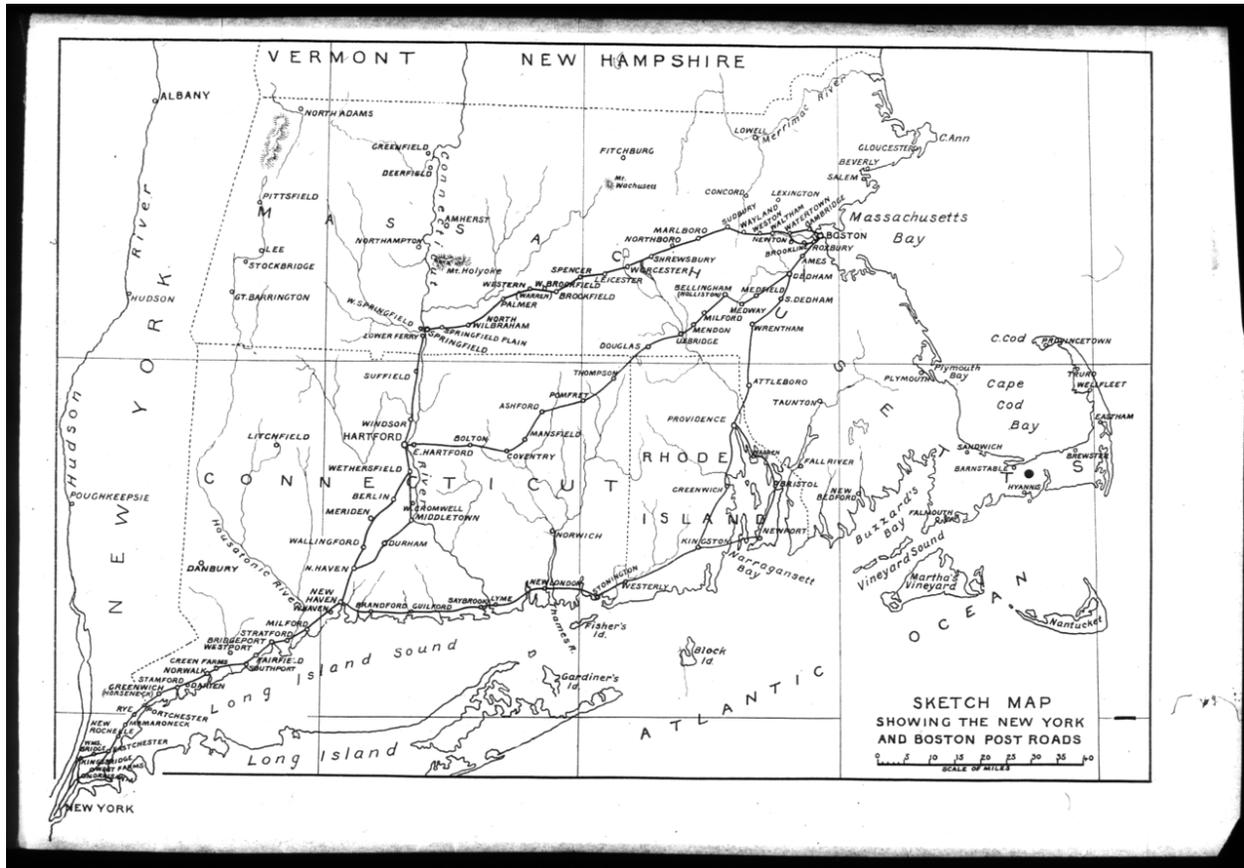
To the north, across eastern Canada, the St. Lawrence River – Great Lakes system, runs 2,340 miles from the Atlantic coast to the tip of Lake Superior. This route will prove very important to the fur trade, which is already booming in 1820.

The St. Lawrence To Great Lakes System

	Miles	
Canada	2,340	Atlantic Ocean To Lake Superior

Time: 1820

Major Roads And Turnpikes Evolve



America's First Major Highway: The Boston Post Road (Boston to New York City)

In addition to increased river traffic, growth of the domestic marketplace is also fueled by advances in the nation's roads, turnpikes and bridges.

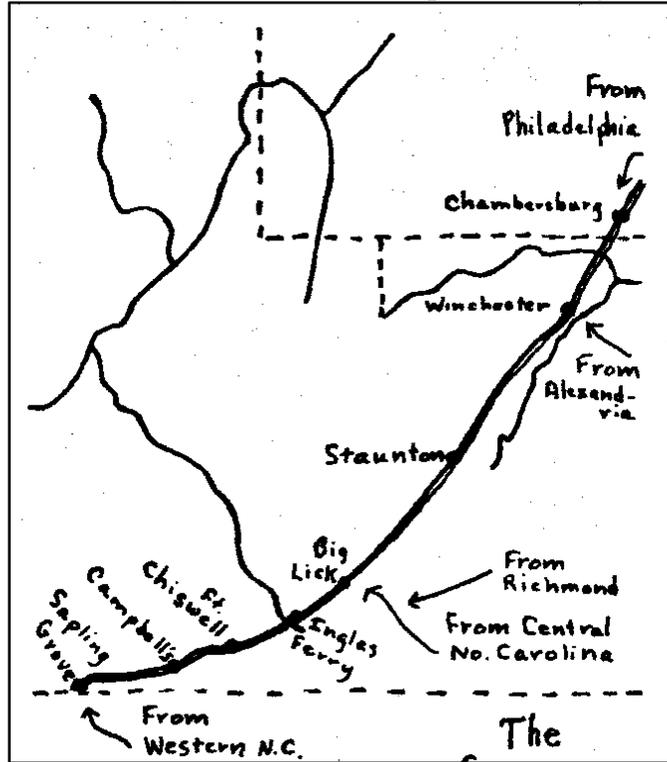
Many of these roads originate as Indian trails, and are gradually upgraded to handle increased traffic, including the mail (or "postal letter").

During the colonial period, most run roughly north and south, linking the colonies along the Atlantic coast.

The first true thoroughfare is known as the Boston Post Road, from Massachusetts through various "upper and lower" routes in Connecticut, all the way to New York City. Its name derives from the role it plays in delivering mail across the region.

The Great Wagon Road (also known as the Valley Road) opens the way for settlers and commerce moving into the southern states. It originates at the port of Philadelphia, heads west to Chambersburg and then swoops south through the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia to the Roanoke River and into North Carolina.

The Great Valley Road From Philadelphia To Lexington, Va.



Note: Map by Beverly Whitaker

Other important north-south roads include the original King's Highway, which reaches Charleston South Carolina, and the Fall Line Road, linking Fredericksburg, Virginia and Augusta, Georgia.

Important North-South Trails And Roads In The East

Name	Opens	From	To	Distance
Lower Post Road	1678	Boston	Greenwich, Conn.	180
Upper Post Road	1673	Boston	New Haven, Conn	135
Boston Post Road	1772	Boston	New York City	215
King's Highway	1650	Boston	Charleston, SC	975
Albany Post Road	1703	New York City	Albany, NY	150
Great Wagon/Valley Road	1744	Philadelphia, Pa	Lexington, Va	330
Fall Line Road	1735	Fredericksburg, Va	Augusta, Ga	500

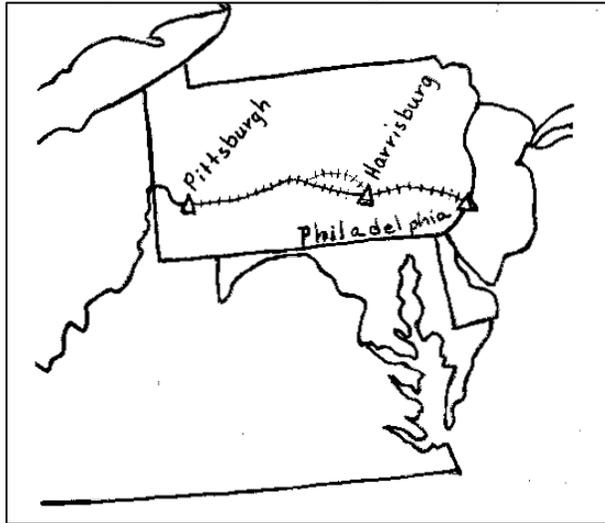
Opening up new land across the Appalachian Mountain barrier hinges on development of east to west roads.

Important East-West Trails And Roads

Name	Opens	From	To	Distance
Mohawk Trail	1664	Albany, NY	Buffalo, NY	288
Allegheny Path	1755	Philadelphia	Pittsburgh	305
Pennsylvania Road	1775	Harrisburg, Pa	Pittsburgh, Pa.	200
Braddock's Road	1755	Cumberland, Md	Braddock, Pa	95
National Road	1811	Cumberland, Md.	Vandalia, Illinois	615
Federal Road	1806	Washington, DC	New Orleans, La	1,085
Wilderness Road	1775	Bristol, Va.	Frankfort, Ky	255
Zane's Trace	1796	Wheeling, WVa	Maysville, Ky	230

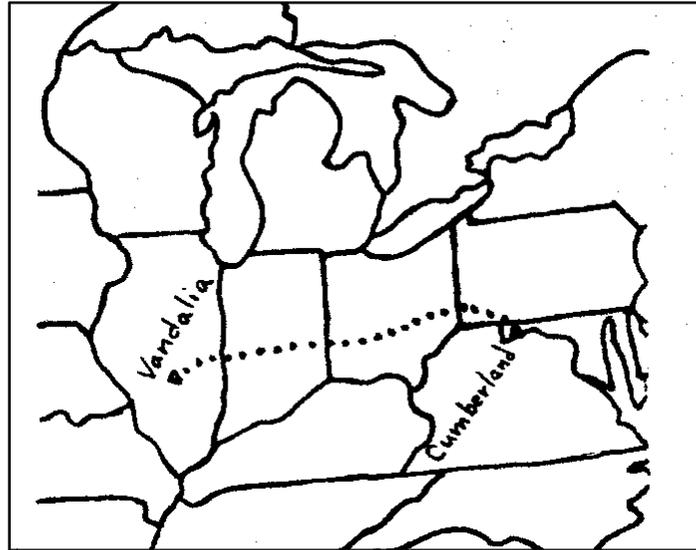
The state of New York is transversed by the Mohawk Trail road, from Albany to Buffalo, on Lake Erie. Travelers move west from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh along the Allegheny Path and the Pennsylvania Road.

Pennsylvania Road: Philadelphia To Pittsburgh



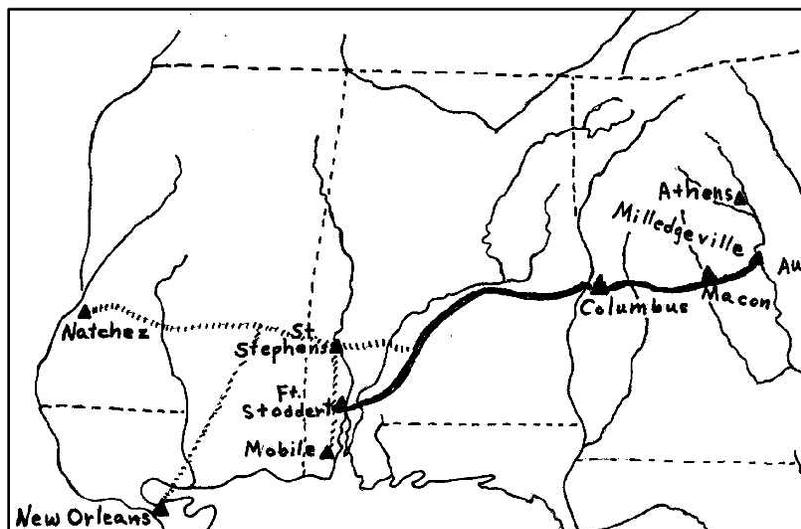
The most famous east-west thoroughfare of the time, the “National Road” is about half-way finished in 1820, extending west from Cumberland, Maryland – at the “gap” in the Appalachians – to Wheeling, in western Virginia. Eventually it will run some 611 miles, all the way west to Vandalia, Illinois.

National Road: Cumberland, Md. To Vandalia, IL



The Federal Road will become another critical east-west juncture, eventually linking Washington, DC to New Orleans, over 1,000 miles to the southwest. It comprises a series of roads, dropping down from the capital through the piedmont region of Virginia and the western Carolinas to Augusta, Georgia – where it swings across Alabama and Mississippi to Louisiana.

The Federal Road: Extension From Augusta To New Orleans



The condition of these major roads varies widely in the 1820's.

Most remain dirt paths, albeit smoothed and widened by decades of use.

By some, however, are already being “macadamized,” according to construction guidelines developed by the Scotsman, John MacAdam, around 1815 in England. MacAdam's idea is a simple one that involves

laying a bed of finely crushed stones over a carefully leveled dirt path, slightly bowed in the center to facilitate the run-off of rain and snow.

The use of stones enables Macadamized roads to avoid the bane of travel along dirt paths, which easily turn into mud in the presence of rain.

The benefits of these new improved stone roads are so obvious to users that some become “turnpikes” – built by entrepreneurs who line them with “toll booths” to collect fees and turn a profit.

Bridges, too, facilitate transportation, with those crossing sizable rivers often built by corporations with the intent to reap profits from user fees.



A Bridge Under Construction

President Monroe proudly reports progress in the construction of “post roads” in his December 2, 1821 address to the Congress:

There is established by law 88,600 miles of post roads, on which the mail is now transported 85,700 miles, and contracts have been made for its transportation on all the established routes, with one or 2 exceptions. There are 5,240 post offices in the Union, and as many post masters.

Time: 1810 Forward

The Erie Canal Transforms East-West Shipping

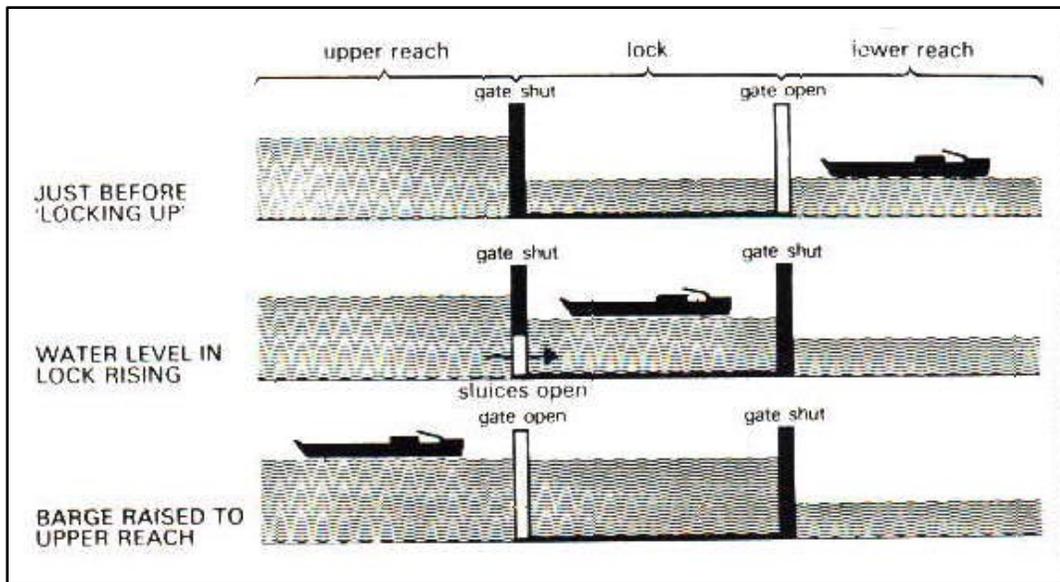


An Early Canal In Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

The profit motive also prompts America’s first major engineering feat, construction of the Erie Canal, a 363 mile waterway that reduces the cost of shipping grains across New York by 90% vs. road transport.

Development of canals in Europe during the 18th century prompts early investigations into use of the technology in America. Both George Washington and Gouverneur Morris express interest, and corporate charters are set up for several companies specializing in “navigational lock” construction.

“Locks” are a necessary part of the canal building process. Their role is to enable barges or boats to pass through sharp rises or drops in land and river elevations (e.g. “falls or rapids”) without damage. They do this by “locking” the barge in a contained tank of water, which is then flooded or drained to allow it to rise or fall to a desired height, before an exit door opens to pass it along.



The “grand vision” for the project involves ~~locking the river~~ ^{locking the river} Schematic

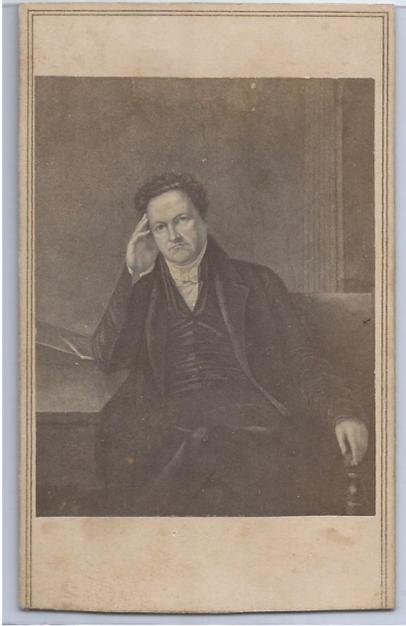
- First, “taming” the Mohawk River, which flows 149 miles east and west through the Appalachian range, between the Adirondacks to the north and the Catskills to the south.
- Then “extending” the flow all the way west to the city of Buffalo on Lake Erie.

Once completed, New York will enjoy a continuous, navigable waterway east from Buffalo to Albany, and then south along the Hudson River into the harbor of Manhattan.



Junction Of The Mohawk And Hudson Rivers Into Manhattan

President Jefferson hears of the scheme in 1808 and calls it “little short of madness.”



DeWitt Clinton (169-1828)

His conclusion is prompted by the fact that land elevation drops some 600 feet between Buffalo to the west and Albany to the east. With each individual “lock” able to accommodate no more than a 12 foot change in water height, this means the canal will require construction of over 50 such individual stations – at a total cost deemed unaffordable by all who assess it.

All except for one Jesse Hawley, a flour merchant in Geneva, NY, who begins to calculate the cost savings the canal could deliver, especially to grain merchants in the Ohio valley. Hawley shares his estimates with Joseph Endicott, whose Holland Land Company owned land in central and western NY, and hopes the canal will boost its value.

Together these two take their plan to the powerful politician, DeWitt Clinton, who serves as Mayor of New York City between 1803 and 1815, and barely loses out to Madison in the 1812 presidential election. Clinton sets up The Erie Canal Commission in 1810, and becomes a fierce and tireless supporter of the venture. His assessment of the project’s effects on the city will prove prescient.

The city will, in the course of time, become the granary of the world, the emporium of commerce, the seat of manufactures, the focus of great moneyed operations...and before the revolution of a century, the whole island of Manhattan, covered with inhabitants and replenished with a dense population, will constitute one vast city.

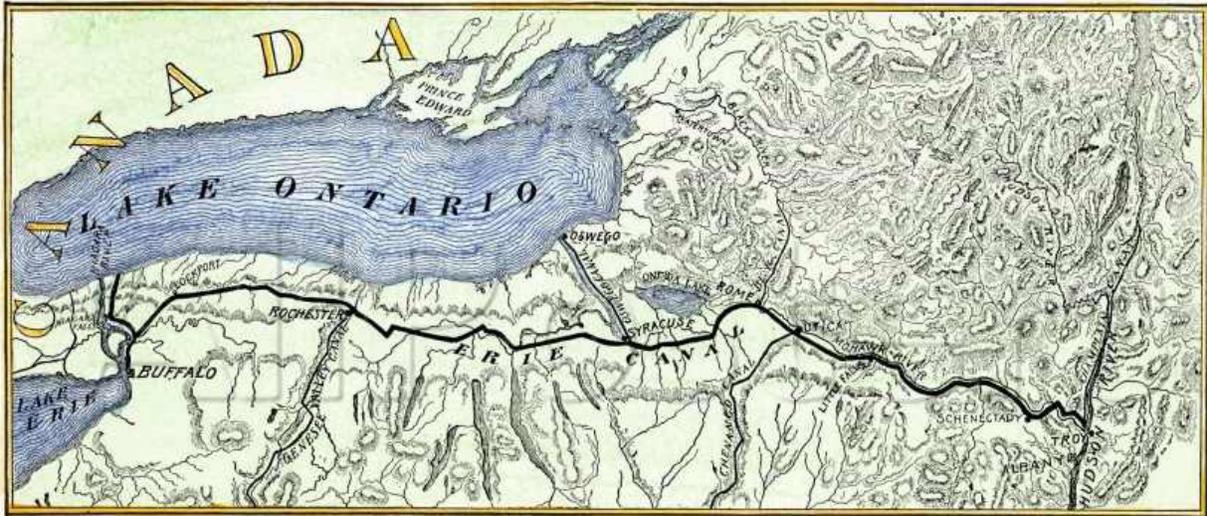
But opposition to the effort – soon labeled “Clinton’s Folly” – remains staunch. He perseveres, however, getting some 100,000 New Yorkers to sign a petition supporting the canal and securing \$7 million to fund construction.

Work begins on July 4, 1817 in Rome, New York, heading east some 15 miles toward Utica. Completion of just this phase requires two years, which again raises concerns about feasibility. But the early construction lessons prove the hardest, and the building pace picks up sharply.

The canal specifications call for a breadth of 40 feet and a depth of 4 feet. Tow paths are laid out along both sides of the canal, enabling cattle or manpower to tug the barges forward.

The work is backbreaking in many ways. Trees need to be felled and their stumps pulled out; primitive bulldozer-like plows scrape the soil; clay and limestone linings form the channel; and complex aqueducts are required to steer the water. The effort continues through the intense summer heat and the frigid winters.

In the end, almost eight years and 57 locks are required to complete the project, one of the engineering marvels of the 19th century. Clinton celebrates with a ten day voyage over the canal, from Buffalo to New York City – ending with a ceremonial “wedding of the waters,” pouring a vial from Lake Erie into Manhattan harbor.



The Erie Canal Stretching 363 Miles From Albany To Buffalo, New York

The Erie Canal will transform economic prosperity throughout the state. Wheat transport on the waterway jumps from some 3500 bushels in 1820 to over a million bushels in 1830, with costs per bushel cut by 90%.

Tolls collected for use of the canal pay off the \$7 million cost during that same time -- and New York becomes the busiest port in America, surpassing Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and New Orleans.

Unfortunately, DeWitt Clinton dies suddenly of heart failure in 1828 and, despite his public prominence, lacks the personal funds even to be properly buried, much less care for his surviving family. Despite this, his famous canal will be forever immortalized in American folklore and song.

Low Bridge

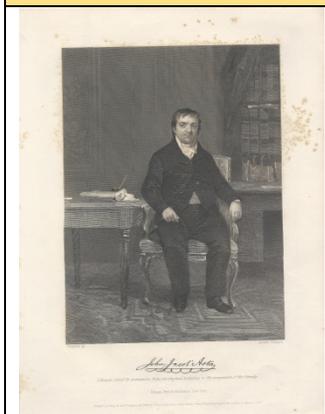
By Thomas S. Allen

*I've got a mule, her name is Sal
Fifteen years on the Erie Canal
She's a good old worker and a good old pal
Fifteen years on the Erie Canal
We've hauled some barges in our day
Filled with lumber, coal, and hay
And we know every inch of the way
From Albany to Buffalo*

Chorus:

*Low bridge, everybody down
Low bridge cause we're coming to a town
And you'll always know your neighbor
And you'll always know your pal
If you've ever navigated on the Erie Canal*

Chapter 68j -- We The People In 1820: Tycoons



Dates:
1820

Sections:

- John Jacob Astor: The American Dream

Time: 1763-1848

John Jacob Astor: American Tycoon



The vast majority of men who travel east to west by 1820 are content to stake out their farm and make enough of a living to raise their family.

But a few are driven by the allure of building vast new businesses that span the continent and offer the allure of almost limitless wealth.

These men will become America's first industrial age tycoons. One of them is John Jacob Astor.

John Jacob Astor is generally regarded as the fifth richest man in American history, with assets valued at \$116 Billion in current dollars. He is also the very symbol of the "rags to riches" dream that has remained in the country's culture from its inception.

John Jacob Astor (1763-1848)

Astor is born in Waldorf, Germany in 1763 and goes to work at age 14 in his father's butcher shop. Like his brothers before him, he soon flees from home, first to London, where he learns English, and then to New York city in 1784.

On the trans-Atlantic crossing he meets a German passenger whose stories about fur-trading opportunities in America fascinate him.

In 1785 he marries one Sarah Todd, daughter of a prominent Dutch family, who brings with her a sizable \$300 dowry and a keen eye for quality fur products. Together they open a shop in the city which she manages in 1786, when he goes off to Canada in search of a steady supply of beaver, otter, ermine and other pelts.

At the time, the North America fur trade resides in outposts scattered around the great salt water lake known as Hudson Bay, north of Ontario and also bordering on Quebec. These outposts are controlled by the Hudson Bay Company, chartered in 1670 by Britain's Charles II. They trade blankets, tools and other goods to local Indian tribes for pelts, which are exported abroad and converted into felt hats, coats and blankets.

Astor ventures off into this wilderness on his own, exhibiting great physical courage, along with the business acumen needed to survive and then prosper among the native trappers and cutthroat traders. His instincts for "the right deal" are remarkable. He knows which furs will appeal to the public and how to assess supplies against prices.

As his reputation grows, he connects with leaders of another leading firm in Montreal, The North West Company, who help him become the dominant importer of pelts from eastern Canada.

He then leaps to the insight that maximum profit lies not in converting the pelts into clothing, but rather in trading them for other goods available in Europe and China. He studies international shipping, and in 1800 sends a cargo ship loaded with seal and beaver skins and other pelts to Canton in exchange for scarce supplies of silks, satins, porcelain, nutmegs and souchong teas.

The China trade makes Astor incredibly wealthy, and he spends \$27,000 to buy the Rufus King mansion at 233 Broadway in NYC to house his family of six.

He founds his American Fur Company in 1808 and sets his sights next to cornering the fur trade in western Canada and the Rocky Mountains. He sends an expedition to open the Columbia River port town of Astoria, Oregon, with the intent being to ship pelts from there west to China and back east to NYC. The War of 1812 temporarily dashes his plan, but he perseveres and later dominates the western trade.

At no point does Astor relent when it comes to extending his wealth by leveraging his capital.

When Madison desperately needs funds to fight the war, he makes another killing by purchasing high yield bonds. This support, along with his political contacts in the NYC Masonic Lodge, earn him one of the five director's slots on the Second U.S. Bank when it is formed in 1816.

He is also one step ahead of others in understanding market demand.

He sells his American Fur Company in 1834, when he senses a shift from beaver to silk hats.

The profits go into a continuing quest to buy up all available real estate on and around the island of Manhattan. He purchases Greenwich Village. He pays \$25,000 to the sugar importer, James Roosevelt (great grandfather of FDR), for 120 city blocks north from 10th street to 125th and east from 5th Avenue to the East River. After the Bank Panic of 1837, he adds more plots north of the city, at bargain prices.

His strategy is to lease his properties rather than build, and by the time of his death in 1848, Astor is known as the "Landlord of New York City" and the richest man in America.

He goes down in history as the first entirely self-made tycoon in the nation's history.

Chapter 69 -- The Black Experience In 1820

	Dates: 1820	Sections: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shape Of The Black Population • Life Of Those Enslaved In The South • The Free Black Population Begins Inching Toward Respect • The Roll Call Of Black Abolitionists In 1820 • Sidebar: Old Fanny, Uncle Abraham And The Lott Family Of Brooklyn
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Time: 1820

Shape Of The Black Population



Two Little Slave Boys

In 1820 there are 1.77 million blacks living in America, or 18.4% of the total population. Almost nine out of ten are enslaved.

Total US Population In 1820 By Race

	(000)	% Total
Total US Population	9638	100.0%
Total White	7867	81.6
Total Black	1,771	18.4
Slaves	1,538	16.0
Free	233	2.4

A mere 6.6% of all blacks live in the North, while 93.4% reside in the South.

Slave Vs. Free Black Population In 1820 By Region

	All Blacks	Slaves	Free
Total US	1,771	1,538	233
Northern States	117	19	98
Original Colonies	110	18	92
Northwest States	7	1	6
Border States	129	112	17
Original Colonies	129	112	17
New West States			
Southern States	1,334	1,265	69
Original Colonies	1,085	1,032	53
New West States	239	223	16
Territories (Est)	191	142	49

In the eight original Northern states there are just under 110,000 blacks, or 2.7% of the total census for the region. Only 18,001 are classified as slaves, and they are heavily concentrated in two states, New York and New Jersey. Just over 90,000 are freedmen.

The Black Population In The Original Northeastern States In 1820

	NY	Pa	NJ	Conn	Mass	RI	VT	NH	Total
Slaves	10,088	211	7,557	97	0	48	0	0	18,001
Free Blacks	29,275	30,202	12,460	7,870	6,740	3,554	903	786	91,790
Total	39,363	30,413	20,017	7,967	6,740	3,602	903	786	109,791
Tot Pop	1,372,812	1,049,458	277,575	275,248	523,287	83,059	235,981	244,161	4,061,581

Not counting the new westernmost territories, the population in the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois total 783,000, with blacks accounting for less than 1% – evidence that white efforts to keep blacks out are already having an effect.

Black Population In Three New NW States: 1820

	Ohio	Ind	IL	Total
Slaves	0	190	917	1,107
Free Blacks	4,723	1,230	457	6,410
Total	4,723	1,420	1,374	7,517
Tot Pop	581,434	147,178	55,211	783,823

Meanwhile, blacks have become ubiquitous across the South.

In the original six states below the Mason-Dixon line, just over 4 out of every 10 people are slaves, on average. In South Carolina, Virginia and Georgia whites and blacks are about equal in numbers. In the two Border states of Maryland and Delaware, the ration of blacks to whites is about one in four.

The Black Population In The Southern And Border States In 1820

	Va	SC	NC	Ga	Md	Del	Total
Slaves	425,153	251,783	205,017	149,656	107,398	4,509	1,143,516
Free Blacks	23,493	13,518	14,612	1,763	3,681	12,958	70,025
Total	448,646	265,301	219,629	151,419	111,079	17,467	1,213,541
Tot Pop	938,261	502,741	638,829	340,989	407,350	72,749	2,909,919

What is most striking in the South, however, and most crucial to its economy, is the growing demand for slave labor in the West.

The “market” for these additional “bred slaves” is driven in large part by Southerners who spot the “cotton rush” early on and decide to start up new plantations

By 1820, just over 500,000 slaves have appeared in states from Kentucky to Louisiana, and this will prove to be only the start of the “rush.”

Slave Population In Western States(000)

State	1790	1820	Growth
Kentucky	12.4	126.7	10x
Tennessee	0	80.0	++
Georgia	29.3	149.7	5x
Alabama	0	47.4	++
Mississippi	0	32.8	++
Louisiana	0	69.1	++
Total	41.7	505.7	12x

In the five western states below the Ohio River, nearly 3 in every 10 residents are slaves.

The Black Population In The Border And New Southern States In 1820

	Ky	Tenn	La	Ala	Miss	Total
Slaves	126,732	80,107	69,064	41,449	32,814	350,166
Free Blacks	2,759	2,737	10,476	1,001	458	17,431
Total	129,491	82,844	79,540	42,450	33,272	367,597
Tot Pop	564,317	422,823	153,407	127,901	75,448	1,343,896

Time: 1820

Life Of Those Enslaved In The South



Slaves in the Cotton Field

The daily life of these Southern slaves differs dramatically, depending upon their assigned role on the farm or plantation. Some serve as field hands, others as house domestics. While both exist without precious freedom or respect, their fates are unequal.

House slaves – especially those directly serving the master and mistress -- escape from the back-breaking physical labor endured

by the field hands. The women are assigned cleaning, cooking, sewing and gardening chores, along with tending to child care, as “mammy’s.” The men may act as butlers or footmen, tackle household repairs, care for horses and carriages. Both genders are often housed under their owner’s roof, have access to better clothing, diet, and medical care, and are exposed to the trappings of upscale white society and manners.

Since the grooming and behavior of house slaves can also be a reflection on the master’s wealth and magnanimity, they often become a chip in impressing visitors. Obedient and properly trained house servants signal a properly gentrified lifestyle.

On the other hand, the field hands are out of sight and often the province of hired overseers. Their measure of worth lies not in niceties, but in daily production of cotton.

A cotton crop planted around April 1 is ready to be harvested and sent to the ginning mill in July. An average field hand, bent over or crawling in the hot sun, might pick about 100 lbs. of cotton bolls a day, enough to fill up two 12-foot long “drag-along” sacks. After about 15 days of labor, the slave would have filled a standard 1500 lb. wagon, which would then be shipped to the ginning mill. After ginning, this wagon load would yield 500 lbs. of cotton fiber – or one finished “bale” – and 1000 lbs. of seed, for replanting or disposal. At a typical price of 20 cents a pound for fiber, the 500 lb. bale picked by the slave would sell for about \$100 on the market.

Thomas Jones, a slave from North Carolina, captures the round-the-clock labor imposed seven days a week during the peak seasons.

During the planting and harvest season, we had to work early and late. The men and women were called at three o'clock 'n the morning, and were worked on the plantation till it was dark at night. After that they must prepare their food for supper and for the breakfast of the next day, and attend to other duties of their own dear homes. Parents would often have to work for their children at home, after each day's protracted toil, till the middle of the night, and then snatch a few hours' sleep' to get strength for the heavy burdens of the next day.

No one is spared from this toil. Pregnant women work the fields. Older children are formed into gangs of weed pickers; younger children tote water from wells to workers.

During breaks, “slave food” is carried in pails to the fields. The typical diet is loaded with starch, in the form of cornmeal, and fatback, from salted pork. Access to vegetables and fruit goes to slaves lucky enough to maintain their own small garden plots.

Any perceived lapses in the daily toil are met by the wide range of punishments open to the bully over the defenseless. On one end is the lash, administered with a whip, tearing and scarring naked backs. On the other, the more subtle indignations, from cutbacks on rations to banning the smallest traces of freedom and dignity, like church gatherings.



Slave Quarters in South Carolina

Field slaves live in dirt floor log cabins held together by clay-based mortar and vulnerable to rain in the summer and cold in the winter. Their dress is derived from flimsy “Negro cloth,” worn until disintegration. Many go shoeless; others wear “Negro brogans.”

Taken together, the living conditions for slaves leave them vulnerable to a host of killing diseases, including malaria, cholera, dysentery, tuberculosis and pneumonia. Mortality statistics bear this out – the death rate for slave babies and children up to age 14 being twice as high as for their white counterparts.

Thus, while plantation owners always wish to expand their “crop of slaves,” the daily treatment they afford them backfires – and across the antebellum period, life expectancy at birth is only 21 years as opposed to the 42 years averaged by whites.

Time: 1820

The Free Black Population Begins Inching Toward Respect



A Free Black Woman

In 1820 there are roughly 233,000 “free blacks” in America, scattered across the established states and the open territories to the west.

Freedom has come to them in a host of ways: military service in the War of 1812, buy-outs, manumission, “passing for white,” northern laws abolishing slavery now or for new births.

Roughly two-thirds of free blacks are females, often left to fend for themselves, frequently with children in tow fathered by men who remain in slavery. The result here being a matriarchal cast to the society created.

While theoretically free, local “black codes” circumscribe their daily lives.

Failure to produce papers proving their freedom can return them directly to bondage. In the South, their homes often abut plantations, and some continue to live in slave quarters. In the North, they typically find themselves in cities, segregated into all-black neighborhoods, labeled by names like “Darktown” or “Shantytown.”

The first challenge facing these free blacks lies in simple economic survival.

Many of them, especially the women, transition from slavery into domestic servitude.

Others, especially men, try to scratch out a living as day laborers, draymen, porters and the like.

A few begin to move up the economic ladder by acquiring special know-how and skills always in demand.

Self-taught skills such as barbering, hairstyling, sewing and tailoring become popular occupations among free blacks. Some wrangle apprenticeships, and find work as blacksmiths, saddlers, carpenters, masons, butchers or shoemakers. Access to professional or white collar jobs, however, is sharply limited by historical prohibitions against teaching them to read, write or master numbers.

Despite all of these hurdles, blacks who have escaped enslavement begin to inch their way into the white dominated social structure they encounter. Men like Prince Hall, Paul Cuffee and James Forten demonstrate the talent and tenaciousness to achieve economic success and work on behalf of others in the black community.

Black churches in particular provide a refuge from daily oppressions and a place to advance survival skills.

Indeed, the gradual movement toward “coloured citizenship” will be shaped inside Thomas Paul’s Boston church, the 1819 African Methodist Episcopal Church founded in Philadelphia by Reverend Richard Allen, Samuel Cornish’s First Colored Presbyterian Church of New York (1821), the African-American Church of Charleston (1822), the First Black Baptist Church of New Orleans (1826) and others.

Time: 1820

The Roll Call Of Black Abolitionists In 1820

Among the early black fighters for freedom and citizenship, three notables – Prince Hall, Paul Cuffee, and Absalom Jones, have passed from the scene by 1820.

Early Black Abolitionists Who Have Passed By 1820

	Death	At Age
Prince Hall	December 4, 1807	72
Paul Cuffee	September 9, 1817	58
Reverend Absalom Jones	February 13, 1818	72

But James Forten remains, as does the Reverend Thomas Paul – and they are about to be joined by a next generation of reformers who will advance the cause in the decades ahead.

Early Black Abolitionists Still Alive In 1820

	Age In 1820
James Forten	56
Reverend Thomas Paul	47
Austin Steward	27
Thomas Dalton	26
Reverend Samuel Cornish	25
Reverend Theodor Wright	23
Sojourner Truth	23
David Walker	22

Time: 1820

Sidebar: Old Fanny, Uncle Abraham And The Lott Family Of Brooklyn



Old Fanny and her mistress,
Aunt Lizzie (Mrs. Nicholls)

One destiny for slaves freed in the North lay in ongoing servitude to their former owners – and such was the case with “Old Fanny” and “Uncle Abraham” of the Lott household in Brooklyn.

The Lott family migrates from Holland to New York around 1630. At the time, slave ownership is widespread among the Dutch, with blacks originally comprising about 20% of the state’s population. In New York city over half of all residents own at least one slave, and the Lott family owns twelve, according to the 1790 census records.

In 1800 Hendrick I. Lott (1760-1840) builds a 22 room home on 245 acres of farmland in the Flatlands (Brooklyn) and moves in with his wife, Mary Brownjohn, daughter of a prominent family also from New York city. One of their offspring, a son, Johannes, marries Gashe Bergen in 1817, and fathers seven children. One is Henry DeWitt Lott (b. 1820), another, Eliza Lott (b.1828).

At some point, Henry Lott comes to own the slave Abraham, while Eliza owns Fanny.

And at some point, Abraham weds Fanny, and they have at least one child, a daughter, Fannie Lew, who is owned by Elsie (Ray) Lott.

When slavery finally withers away around 1830 in New York, Abraham and Fanny transition from slaves to “coloured servants” of Henry and Eliza.

A trip into New York City by Eliza probably prompts the photograph above, taken by Fredericks & O’Neill of 5th Avenue, of an aging “Old Fanny,” standing beside the seated “Lizzie.” By the time it is taken, “Uncle Abraham,” whose photo originates at Isley’s Studio

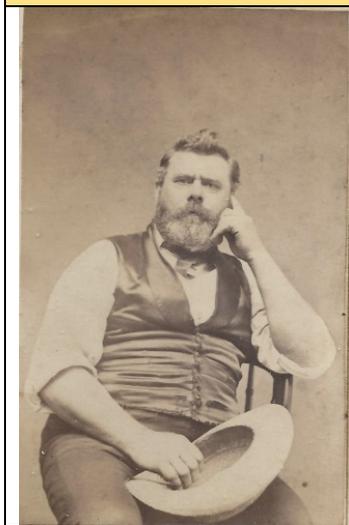
in Jersey City, has presumably passed away.

The Lott property remains a NYC landmark to this day, and restoration work shows that the slave quarters were well hidden within the building through a trap door in the kitchen. Artifacts found in this space include candle drippings, a mortared-over oven, a cloth pouch, oyster shell and corncobs, the latter arranged in a starburst pattern suggesting that they were used as part of West African religious rituals.

Conjecture also has it that a secret 6'x12' room concealed behind a closet on the second floor of the Lott house may have been used in the 1840's by run-away slaves moving north along the Underground Railroad.

Over 150 years have passed since Aunt Lizzie and "Old Fanny" posed for the camera, on their visit to NYC. But there they are, captured in time, forever symbolizing a limbo-like moment where some black people in America were no longer slaves, but not nearly all the way free and equal.

Chapter 70 -- Denmark Vesey's Slave Rebellion Terrifies Whites



Dates:
1822

Sections:

- History Of Slave Uprisings In The South
- Denmark Vesey's Insurrection Plot Is Foiled

Time: 1791-1811

History Of Slave Uprisings In The South



The Stern Look of an Overseer

The vast majority of blacks living as slaves in 1820 have little hope of freedom – either through manumission in America or “re-colonization” to Liberia.

For a few, daily despair leads them to seek revenge on their white masters.

Some aspire to grand schemes, along the lines of Toussaint Louverture’s successful rebellion across all of Haiti in 1791. Others are small scale in nature, aimed solely at murdering their immediate tormentors.

All will be readily put down by local authorities, and avenged with ruthless punishment to deter repetition.

Even so, they play a part in the long road to black freedom.

One early uprising, in 1800, ends with James Monroe himself, then Governor of Virginia, calling out the state militia for support. A slave named Gabriel, a blacksmith, and his brother Martin, a preacher, plan to gather their forces, march on Richmond under the Patrick Henry banner (“Liberty or Death”), kill as many whites as possible, and then, possibly, sail off to Haiti to survive. But word of their plot slips out in advance, and on August 30, Gabriel and others scatter in hopes of escape. Monroe’s militia quickly tracks them down, and a total of 26 blacks are subsequently hanged, including Gabriel, Martin and another brother.

Five years later, in January 1805, spontaneous resistance breaks out at Chatham Manor, the prestigious plantation owned by Washington's friend, William Fitzhugh. Slaves there overpower and whip their overseer and four other whites. In response one black is executed, two die trying to escape and two others are sold and sent away.

A much broader rebellion takes place in Louisiana in 1811. This is the so-called "German Coast uprising," beginning on a sugar plantation and evolving into a three day march toward New Orleans, with 150 slaves enlisting along the way. They are armed with farm tools as weapons, kill two white men, and burn five plantations before being overwhelmed by the state militia. Retribution is against swift and decisive, with 95 blacks tried and executed, either by hanging or decapitation.

May 30, 1822

Denmark Vesey's Insurrection Plot Is Foiled

In 1822 the banner is again picked up, this time in South Carolina, by a slave named Denmark Vesey. After spending his youth in Haiti, and witnessing the Toussaint revolt, he is brought to America as a house slave by his owner, Joseph Vesey. But luck shines on him when he wins \$1500 in a Charleston city lottery. He uses some of the cash to buy his freedom, then makes his living as a carpenter. He is also instrumental in founding the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the city in 1817.

Vesey is well spoken and involved with the slavery debate. He cites both the Bible and the Declaration of Independence in arguing for abolition. But his hopes are evidently dashed when city authorities shut down his church, and DC politician's compromise over Missouri.

In response he puts together a plan that mirrors Gabriel's revolt in 1800. This plan, which filters out to many slaves in the area, calls for slaves and free blacks to band together, murder the plantation owners, then rampage through Charleston before sailing off to liberty in Haiti.

All this is to occur symbolically on July 14, 1822, the 33rd anniversary of Bastille Day in Paris.

Like Gabriel's plan, however, authorities learn of the attack and arrest a host of possible co-conspirators in advance. As usual they are tried summarily and 67 of them are hanged, including Denmark Vesey. In the tradition of the Roman legions of old, many of their heads are then cut off and displayed on pikes in public places, as a warning.

In hindsight, none of these early uprisings, from Gabriel to Vesey, represent an existential threat to the Southerner's control over the slave population.

Nevertheless each one, in its own way, strikes terror in the minds of white men.

The vision of an African savage approaching with a pitchfork or scythe in hand becomes every bit as imaginable as that of an Indian tribesman brandishing a war club.

And this is true both for Southerners who live in the midst of blacks – and Northerners who progressively conclude that they do not want to.

Chapter 71 -- The Poisoned Seeds Of Anti-Black Racism In America

	<p>Dates: 1609-Forward</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Origins Of Anti-Black Racism
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Time: 1609 Forward

The Origins Of Anti-Black Racism



An Example of Anti-Black Racial Stereotyping

Reservations about the presence of Africans in America are most likely prevalent from the moment they arrive in the seventeenth century.

Everything about them -- from their skin color to their geographic origins, language, manners and customs – sets them apart from the largely homogeneous white Anglo-Saxons who first settle the land.

As such, they personify “The Other,” a different tribe and possibly a hostile one, to be cast out, not embraced.

Beyond that, arriving in shackles, they prick the consciences of those who have traveled to the new world in search of personal freedom and the moral teachings of their Christian faith.

Is their treatment, as slaves, consistent with the tenets of the Bible – or not? And, if not, is one in jeopardy of losing eternal salvation by participating in the abuses inherent in their captivity.

From these uncomfortable starting points, the human tendency to rationalize the status quo – especially when it is self-serving – seems to outweigh the reservations, at least for the vast majority of whites fighting for their own survival in a new land.

If these African slaves can be tamed to put in our subsistence crops, then so be it. In return, perhaps, over time, we can even “civilize them,” convert them to Christianity, help save their immortal souls, emancipate them.

But in the interim, the here and now, we will keep them in chains, and compel them to do our bidding, as dictated by the status quo.

As with all forms of human atrocities, some men come to rationalize their complicity.

One in particular, Thomas Jefferson, appears particularly conflicted by his behavior, especially during his early years at Monticello. This most complex man clearly recognizes the sin of slavery he is engaged in, but proceeds down the path anyway. He does so, in the end, by deciding that, indeed, blacks are The Other, a different and lesser species, somewhere above his cattle, perhaps the 3/5th of a man agreed to in the US Constitution – and certainly incapable of ever rising to equality with his own white race.

Jefferson is joined in this rationalization by seven of America’s first twelve Presidents – Washington, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Tyler, Polk and Taylor –who, like him, will own slaves while in office.

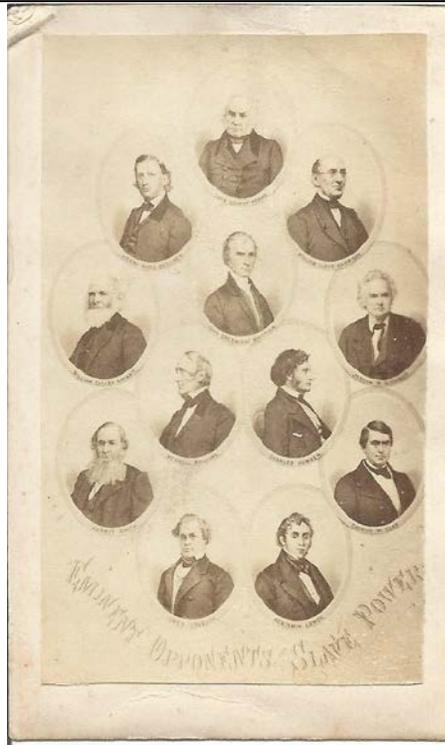
By 1820, slavery has been in place for over two centuries and has achieved institutional status in the nation.

The vast majority of white citizens simply take it for granted.

Some see it for what it is – a violation of the most basic principles of their nation – but choose to remain silent.

Still a few decide, over time, to speak out in opposition.

Chapter 72 -- Early White Voices Speaking Out Against Slavery



Dates:
1688-1820

- Sections:**
- Early White Opposition To Slavery In The North
 - Early Opposition In The South
 - Benjamin Lundy Advances The Call For Emancipation
 - Lucretia Mott Also Joins The Anti-Slavery Cause

Time: 1688 To The 1820's

Early White Opposition To Slavery In The North

In 1688, the "Germantown Quaker Petition Against Slavery" protests the practice as a violation of the Bible's "Golden Rule." John Woolman, a New Jersey Quaker, follows with his anti-slavery pamphlet and reform tours in 1743. The Boston minister, Jonathan Mayhew, sets the stage in 1747 for what will become the crusade against slavery by the Unitarian Church.

Others join in during the late colonial era. The scientist, Dr. Benjamin Rush, argues in 1773 that blacks are not inherently inferior to whites on intellectual capacity. In 1774 the Methodist John Wesley decries slavery as inhumane, and delivers this message broadly through his missionary work.

Ben Franklin founds his "Pennsylvania Society For The Relief Of Negroes Unlawfully Held In Bondage" in 1775.

At the 1787 Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, founders like Gouverneur Morris and Luther Martin rail against the practice and do their best to encourage an immediate end to it – while John Jay joins Franklin and Rush in 1785 in starting up the New York Manumission Society.

While some of this moral opposition has an effect on public opinions, the actual decline of slavery in the North traces mainly to its dwindling importance to the economy.

Once the slave ships of Rhode Island can no longer find a ready supply of Africans for transport along the de-populated western ports, the “triangular trade” becomes unprofitable. And, in 1807, the Constitution ban on importing slaves goes into effect, a move which finally hands “the market” over to “domestic breeders” in states like Virginia.

By 1820, sympathy for the plight of the Africans is in short supply among whites from Maine to Illinois. The practice of slavery has withered away in the North, with only 18,000 remaining in bondage at the time. They are joined by another 117,000 “freed men” spread across the entire region – living in segregated areas, carefully regulated by “black codes,” and generally regarded as an unwonted nuisance, to be “cleansed” from residency wherever possible.

By this time, many Northerners are also eager to blame the South for perpetuating slavery in America. The result being the presence of more, rather than fewer, blacks spread across the land, adding to concerns about safety, and diminishing both the value and perceived “dignity” of white labor. Anger follows on, in epithets calling out the South as the “Slave Power” or the “Slavocracy.”

But it will be another decade before public opposition to slavery itself gains momentum in the North. Some of this will be driven by the Second Great Awakening and crusading Abolitionists, hoping to wipe away the moral stains of human bondage. Most will trace to “lower order” regional antagonisms related to money and power.

Time: 1774-1818

Early Opposition In The South

As in the North, a scattering of efforts are made by Southern churches to welcome blacks into their congregations. Notable reach-outs include the First Baptist Church of Petersburg, Va, which opens its doors in 1774 to a black congregation and ministers – to be followed in 1777 by the First African Baptist Church of Savannah, founded by a former slave, and in 1801 by the First Baptist Church of Columbia, SC.

At first some church’s missionaries also call for the end of slavery and equality of all men, while encouraging blacks to become both members and preachers. But this aggressive stance becomes muted over time, as the various sects try to extend their membership with Southern whites, many of whom are slave owners.

One remarkable exception is George Bourne, a Presbyterian minister in Virginia, who begins a life-long abolitionist crusade in 1818 by issuing his screeed, *The Book And Slavery Irreconcilable*, in which he declares that the Bible cites “man-stealing” as a sin.

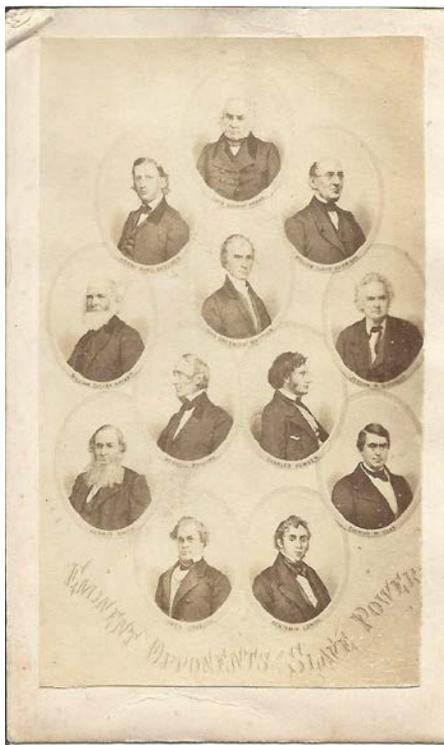
Like all early abolitionists, Bourne is met by a firestorm of public resistance, and is cast off from the ministry, first by his local congregation and then by the General Assembly. Still he lives on until 1845, becoming a newspaper editor in New York city and a leading national voice for immediate abolition. His nominal heirs in this regard will include the martyred editor, Elijah Lovejoy, and his friends, Lloyd Garrison and Lewis Tappan.

By 1820, however, serious opposition to slavery in the South has all but vanished – based on the region’s singular dependence on the institution to maintain its economic well-being.

Instead of the diverse economy materializing in the North, the South has become wholly dependent on domestically “bred” slaves, a base contingent to toil in its cotton fields and an excess inventory to be sold off like cattle to new plantations opening in the west.

Time: 1815-1839

Benjamin Lundy Advances The Call For Emancipation



Leading the early resurgence of moral opposition to slavery in the North will be another Quaker, Benjamin Lundy.

Lundy is born in 1789 and raised on a farm in New Jersey. At 19 years he moves to Wheeling, in western Virginia, in order to apprentice as a saddler. While learning the craft, he is exposed to, and horrified by, the slave trade that is active in the town. Like many other converts to abolition, he is particularly bothered by the sight of chained “coffles” of slaves in pens, awaiting shipment south. He later reflects on this experience:

It grieved my heart, and the iron (to oppose it) entered my soul.

Lundy’s saddling business leads to economic success, and, in 1815, he moves west to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, where he sets up shop, marries, begin a family and commences on a quiet and prosperous life.

His Quaker conscience, however, convinces him that his purpose in life lies in a personal crusade against the evils of slavery he witnessed years ago. So he sells his business and sets out on his mission.

“Eminent Opponents of the Slave Power,”
Including Ben Lundy (lower right)

He is especially influenced in this regard by another Quaker, Elias Hicks.

Hicks is a New Yorker, born in 1748, who becomes a carpenter and farmer by trade. He joins the Assembly of Friends at age 21 and is quickly recognized by his congregation for the spiritual insights he voices during prayer meetings. As such he is chosen as a “recording minister,” and becomes an itinerant preacher.

From the beginning he converts his beliefs into action. He frees his family slaves in 1778, sets up a Charity Society for Africans in 1794, and by 1811 advocates an economic boycott of all goods –

especially cotton and sugar – produced by slaves. By his words and deeds, Hicks influences not only Ben Lundy but also Lucretia Mott.

In 1815, with help from other Friends, Lundy founds The Union Humane Society – the first such group in his time to publicly speak up on behalf of emancipation.

He begins to tour the countryside and deliver public lectures attacking the evils of slavery. He also writes articles for a Friend’s newspaper, and, when the owner dies in 1821, he becomes the hands-on publisher. He names the paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

Over the next eighteen years, Benjamin Lundy will devote all of his resources and strength to eradicating slavery in America, and enlisting important new converts in his cause.

In 1825 he escorts freed slaves to Haiti, then returns home to learn that his wife has died and his five children have been placed in a foster home. He decides to leave them there, and free himself totally to carry on his quest, earning this tribute from the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, on his death in 1839:

It was“(Lundy’s) lot to struggle, for years almost alone, a solitary voice crying in the wilderness, and, amidst all, faithful to his one great purpose, the emancipation of the slaves.

Time: 1821-1880

Lucretia Mott Also Joins The Anti-Slavery Cause



Lucretia Mott (1793-1880)

Another early Quaker convert is Lucretia Mott.

She is born Lucretia Coffin in 1793 in Nantucket, Massachusetts. At age thirteen her parents send her off to Nine Partners Quaker Boarding School, where she is educated and where she begins her career as a teacher, alongside her future husband, James Mott.

She marries, becomes a teacher, then a biblical scholar and finally a lay minister in 1821, at the age of 28 years.

Like her counterparts, she rebels against the rote traditions of her church and calls for:

Practical godliness over ceremonial religion.

The search for “truth,” according to Mott, begins by looking inside oneself and connecting with the potential perfection, “the inner light,” that lies within.

Then comes action. The duty of the awakened is to go forth and reform the world’s ills – something she will pursue all the way to her death in 1880.

By 1815, Mott, along with Lundy, will influence the Quaker General Assembly to speak out on behalf of abolition, declaring that the practice of buying and selling slaves is “inconsistent with the Gospels.”

The two will also have a profound effect on William Lloyd Garrison, the eventual leader of those whites who literally risk their lives on behalf of freeing the slaves and assimilating them into everyday society.

Lundy will always be remembered for one of his final acts, in 1829, when he strikes up a conversation in Boston with a 23 year named Garrison – an iron-willed Baptist and neophyte reformer -- whom Lundy encourages to join the anti-slavery crusade. “Mother Mott” will later take Garrison under her wing as his chief spiritual advisor.

Chapter 73 -- Monroe Issues His “Hands Off The Americas” Doctrine



Dates:
1819-1821

- Sections:**
- Spain Pressures Monroe Over Diplomatic Policies Related To Latin America
 - Russia Enters North America Through Alaska
 - Russia Asserts A Claim To Land In The Oregon Country
 - The Monroe Doctrine Spells Out America’s Foreign Policy Across The Hemisphere

Time: 1819-1821

Spain Pressures Monroe Over Diplomatic Policies Related To Latin America



With the domestic conflicts over the admission of Missouri palliated, President Monroe and Secretary of State JQ Adams turn their attention to diplomatic concerns provoked by King Ferdinand VII of Spain.

Ferdinand has been kicked off his throne in 1808 and imprisoned in France for five years, while Napoleon’s brother, Joseph Bonaparte, rules the nation. He returns in 1813, after the French army is beaten back from Moscow, only to find that his once far reaching colonial empire much diminished in his absence.

Ferdinand is particularly distraught over lost revenues from his colonies in Latin America, where various “liberators” are at work, with the effects reaching all the way up to America’s southern neighbor, Mexico.

The Mexican independence movement begins in 1810 with the renegade priest, Miguel Hidalgo, whose peasant army wins several battles before being defeated in July 1811. After Hidalgo’s execution,

Spain Hopes to Preserve its Colonies in Central and South America

leadership of the army falls on Jose Maria Morelos, who fights on, holds a conference declaring independence, but is ultimately defeated and killed in 1815.

Ferdinand is able to hold onto Mexico for seven more years before independence is finally achieved -- ironically under the leadership of Colonel Augustin de Iturbide. This caudillo initially opposes the rebels, but then seizes on populist anger with the Spanish throne, to declare himself Emperor of Mexico.

Further south, the picture is no better for Ferdinand.

There the uprisings against Spanish rule are led by Simon Bolivar, who descends from a long line of Basque aristocrats in Spain, grows up in Caracas, Venezuela, masters warfare at the military academy there, and goes on to assume command of a series of armies which, in 1820, proclaim a new nation called Gran Colombia.

This nation, which will endure for a decade under Bolivar's rule, extends from what is today Panama, south through the top quarter of South America, including Ecuador, northern Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and northwest Brazil.

By 1820, the Spanish hold over Paraguay, Chile and Argentina has also collapsed.

King Ferdinand VII hopes to reverse these losses and restore his rule across South America, perhaps with military help from other European monarchists bent on destroying secular governments wherever they are found, including the United States.

Ferdinand uses the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 to try to leverage Monroe into tacitly supporting his vision.

This diplomatic quid pro quo appalls many American politicians -- most notably Henry Clay -- who accuses Monroe of siding with an absolutist king over oppressed people seeking freedom and self-rule. Clay's speeches to this effect make him a hero throughout Latin America, and eventually force Monroe and Adams to exhibit a stronger hand with the Spanish monarch.

It is within this context that a new threat of foreign intrusion materializes -- in the form of Tsar Alexander I, ruler of Russia and member of the powerful Holy Alliance with Austria and Prussia, who issues a decree that further rattles the administration.

In the Ukase (decree) of 1821 the Tsar proclaims Russian sovereignty over a large swath of North America, running from Alaska in the north and west all the way down to the 45°50' parallel within the Oregon Country.

Time: 1741-1821

Russia Enters North America Through Alaska



Like Britain and America, Russia is originally drawn to the Pacific Northwest by the fur trade.

Tsarist interest here begins in Alaska, or “mainland,” in the dialect of the native Aleutian Island natives who inhabit the region.

In 1741, a Russian expedition led by the Dane, Vitus Bering, first explores Alaska. It finds a vast expanse, with latitudes ranging from 70 degrees in the north to 55 degrees in

the south, and sub-freezing temperatures lasting upwards of seven months each year in the arctic zone. It also encounters almost endless herds of fur bearing mammals (seals, otters, bears, hares, fox, ermine) there for the taking.

Russian trappers follow on, with settlements springing up mainly along the southern coast. In 1784 one Grigory Shelikhov and 200 settlers found the Three Saints Bay colony on Kodiak Island. In 1799 Tsar Paul I issues a Ukase, claiming ownership of land south to the 55th parallel, and chartering Russia’s first joint-stock corporation, The Russian-American Company. It will be led by Aleksandr Baranov, a crafty fur trader and businessman, from 1799 to 1818. He drives along the southern coast, wins a major victory over the native Aluets tribes at the Battle of Sitka in 1804, and begins a push down into the Oregon Country.

Baranov establishes Russian settlements almost to San Francisco after finding that Spain has failed to occupy land in northern California. His operation there is anchored at Fort Ross, a name whose roots tie to the word Russia in his native tongue. The fort thrives from 1812 onward, with inhabitants including Russians and other Slavic people, along with native Aluet Indians.

At this point, however, Russia is operating well south of its recognized territory in Alaska – and intruding on Oregon Country land coveted not only by Spain, but also Britain and America.

Along with Ferdinand’s ambitions in Latin America, Alexander’s Ukase of 1821 serves to reignite American fears over another round of foreign invasions into the western hemisphere..

Time: September 4, 1821

Russia Asserts A Claim To Land In The Oregon Country



Russia, Spain, Britain and the US All Lay Claims to Land in Oregon

Territorial disputes to the south of Alaska over the Oregon Country are long-standing.

They begin in the late 16th century when ships from both Spain and England sail along the Pacific coast.

The Spanish are first to actually claim the land, after expeditions by explorers from Juan Perez in 1774 to Bruno de Heceta and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra in 1775.

The British christen the territory “Ouragon” in 1765, and Captain James Cook makes land there in 1788 at the 43rd parallel, before proceeding north and mapping all the way over to the Bering Straits.

Then come the Americans, with Captain Robert Gray in his ship *Columbia*, also exploring the region in 1788. Gray is first to enter the mouth of the geographically critical 1200 mile long river he names the Columbia in 1792. From Oregon, Gray heads west with a shipload of furs to trade in China, and becomes the first American to circumnavigate the globe. His published journals spur others to pursue trapping and trade around Oregon.

In 1792 British Captain George Vancouver sails up the Columbia River, setting the stage for operations by the Hudson Bay Company in their attempt to dominate the worldwide fur industry. Three decades later, in 1824, Hudson will open Fort Vancouver, inland headquarters of their “Columbia District.”

The American explorers, Lewis and Clark, arrive overland in the Oregon Country in 1806. They are followed in 1811 by the tycoon, John Jacob Astor, whose American Fur Company will compete tooth and nail against Hudson Bay over the next two decades, from his post at Ft. Astoria.

Spain renounces its claims to Oregon in the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819, apparently leaving Britain and America as the only two contenders for the land rights.

But then Alexander's Ukase of 1821 adds further complications.

After much cabinet level discussion, Monroe and Adams decide it's time for America to resolve the borders in the Oregon Country and assert a foreign policy decree of its own.

Time: December 2, 1823

The Monroe Doctrine Spells Out America's Foreign Policy Across The Hemisphere



James Monroe (1758-1831)

The policy decision reached is quite remarkable, and it signals the rest of the world that American democracy is now on equal footing with the monarchies of Europe and Asia.

This is Monroe at his finest, the last of the Revolutionary War presidents, determined to insure the nation's political integrity and borders from any and all foreign threats.

Which first means the answer will be "no" to Spain's demand to withhold recognition of the newly independent nations of Latin America, and "no" to Russia's assertion of control over the Oregon Country.

The former comes in June of 1822, when America opens diplomatic ties with Bolivar's Gran Columbia and in December of the same year when an independent Mexico is officially recognized.

The Russian claims are dealt with soon thereafter in what will become known as the Monroe Doctrine.

The President announces this doctrine in his annual address to Congress of December 2, 1823. The speech is lengthy, but its essence is captured in four paragraphs.

These begin with an olive branch, signaling peaceful intentions into the future, unless America's national interests are menaced.

The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do.

It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.

Then comes an obvious, but crucial declaration – namely, that America’s “political system” is fundamentally different from the norm in the rest of the world. It stands for “enlightened citizens” choosing their own governments, and in opposition to the principle of government imposed on people by unelected dictators.

The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

This is followed by a policy statement informing the heads of state around the world that America will no longer tolerate new attempts at colonization anywhere in the western hemisphere.

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

This “Monroe Doctrine” will forever draw a line in the sand against any foreign power wishing to flex its military might in the Americas. It also announces to the world that the grand experiment of 1787 – a nation of free men forming their own political system – is both prosperous and viable.

It does not, however, resolve all the territorial disputes in Oregon overnight. These take time. Alexander will try to enforce his decree by seizing the American ship *Pearl*, but it is released with compensation paid, after a protest is made. Russia’s west coast colonies will linger until the 1840’s when they prove unprofitable. Two decades later another Tsar, Alexander II, will sell Alaska and all other North American claims to the United States, in what critics will call “(Henry) Seward’s Folly.”

Despite the delayed effects, the December 2, 1823 declaration is generally regarded as the defining moment in James Monroe’s two terms as president.

Chapter 74 -- Run Up To 1824 Election



Dates:
1822-1824

- Sections:**
- The Democratic-Republicans Split Into Three Factions In The 1822 Congressional Election
 - Five Candidates Vie For The Presidency In 1824
 - JQ Adams And Andrew Jackson Emerge As Favorites
 - Sectional Issues Begin To Reshape The Political Landscape

Time: 1822

The Democratic-Republicans Split Into Three Factions In The 1822 Congressional Election

By the middle of 1822, the race is on to find a successor to Monroe.

In the process, the political harmony which has made the Democratic-Republicans into a national unity party for the last two decades breaks down.

Three camps emerge, one backing Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams; a second favoring Treasury Secretary, William Crawford; and a third committed to General Andrew Jackson.

The mid-term election in 1822 tests the relative strengths of the presidential contenders.

The results in both the House and the Senate demonstrate that, as of December 1822, no one man enjoys the majority position needed to win the prize.

1822 House Election

Backers Of:	Total	South	Border	North	West
Andrew Jackson	71	26	7	33	5
William Crawford	55	37	2	14	2
JQ Adams	87	4	14	58	11
	213	67	23	105	18

Time: 1824

Five Candidates Vie For The Presidency In 1824



General Jackson Rides In

By 1824, the field has expanded to five contenders.

The most obvious successor to Monroe is John Quincy Adams, 55 years old, son of an ex-President, serving in government for over three decades, and supremely qualified after working alongside Monroe for eight years as Secretary of State. The problem with Adams is his personality, or lack thereof. He is in the mold of the old-time Puritans, hard working to an extreme, prone to signaling superior moral rectitude, stern and mostly humorless. All admire his talents and accomplishments; few count him a close friend. His political strength is centered in New England, especially his home state of Massachusetts.

Monroe's Treasury Secretary, William Crawford of Georgia, enjoys support from two critical centers of electoral gravity – the Virginian trio of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, and the so-called “Albany Regency” in New York. The latter is controlled by Martin Van Buren, a political mover and shaker from

age seventeen onward, and serving since 1821 in the U.S. Senate. His “city hall machine,” is built on patronage, and can be counted on to deliver the bulk of New York's electors. Van Buren lines these up behind Crawford.

Adams and Crawford are joined in the race by two other Washington men -- Secretary of War, John Calhoun, and House Speaker, Henry Clay.

Calhoun is respected for his brilliant intellect, but, along with Adams, is seldom well-liked at the personal level. Many regard his demeanor as unpleasantly messianic, as if he alone were capable of discerning what is right for the country, while being held back by lesser men around him. His overt ambitiousness leads to questions about his motivations and trustworthiness, and Northerners suspect that his agenda is skewed toward southern rather than national interests.

Unlike Calhoun and Adams, Henry Clay is a comfortable figure, ever ready to drink and gamble and party with his fellow politicians, and flexible about meeting them half way on most contentious issues. He also comes with a “platform” of sorts, in the form of what he calls his “American System” of government, focused on accelerating economic growth through federally funded infrastructure initiatives, a protective tariff and a strong central bank. According to his supporters, Clay is a symbol of America's future – born in the east (Virginia), venturing to the west (Kentucky), linking the old with the new in search of a strong, enduring Union.

The fifth contender for president, Andrew Jackson, differs from the others. He is a military man rather than a politician -- but also a national hero, first for his stunning defeat of the British in 1815 at New Orleans, and more recently for various victories over Indian tribes in Georgia and Florida. As an outsider to Washington, he is initially dismissed as a serious candidate until astute handlers in Tennessee get the state legislature to officially nominate him for the presidency in 1822, and then elect him to the Senate in

1823. From that point forward he bursts on the scene as the frontrunner, and the common target to be stopped by his four competitors.

Time: 1824

JQ Adams And Andrew Jackson Emerge As Favorites

Jackson's sustained popularity convinces all sides that no candidate will be capable of securing an electoral vote majority in December 1824, and that it will ultimately be up to the House to choose Monroe's successor.

According to established rules, the top three vote-getters in the general election, will be eligible for a the run-off. This sends each candidate in search of locking in states they hope to win in the first round and then individual House members who might tip the balance in the follow-up.

Amidst this scramble, the electoral math shifts dramatically in September of 1823, when William Crawford, favored by the Virginians and Van Buren, becomes ill and is given an overdose of digitalis, a powerful drug that leads on to a massive stroke. He is left partially paralyzed, nearly blind, and unable to speak, with none knowing if the condition is temporary or permanent. On the hope that he will recover, his condition is kept largely secret throughout the campaign.

Despite his health, Van Buren tries to force the issue in Crawford's favor through a traditional nominating caucus of congressional members, held on February 24, 1824. But only 66 of the 216 members show up, sharply reducing the impact of the Crawford-Gallatin ticket chosen.

Meanwhile Calhoun's chances vanish when his one hope for northern support, Pennsylvania, declares in favor of Jackson, and Clay is attacked for leading a libertine lifestyle and for promoting programs that sound more like the Federalists than like Jefferson.

Characteristically, JQ Adams, who very much wants the presidency, finds it beneath his sense of dignity to campaign for it in any fashion.

Time: 1824

Sectional Issues Begin To Reshape The Political Landscape

The election of 1824 previews a host of emerging transformations in America's political landscape.

Over the prior six campaigns, the nation as a whole has felt comfortable settling on a president from Virginia, as if the state itself represented a fair balance geographically and politically between the established colonies of the North and of the South.

By 1824, however, two new factors are challenging the harmony of the union.

Over two million Americans, one in every four, already reside west of the Appalachian Mountains, and their number is growing rapidly. The daily lives of these frontier families differ from those in the "settled

East,” as do some of their wishes and expectation for the national government. The 1824 race represents a chance for their voices to be amplified.

The second factor beginning to seriously divide the electorate revolves around what to do about the African-American population.

Over 1.7 million blacks live in the South, almost all in slavery. The South’s economy depends on their labor in the fields and on the prices they can command as “chattel” on new plantations opening up in the west.

But the white population of the North and the West has already signaled their fears and prejudices toward all blacks, along with their growing inclination – evident in the Missouri debates -- to balk at any open-ended expansion of slavery west of the Mississippi.

Taken together, the one nation harmony of 1820, is challenged in 1824 along two regional fault lines: the old established East coast states vs. new states West of the Appalachias, and slave states of the South vs. the so-called “free (of all blacks) states” in the North.

Shifting State Alignments: Old/New And Slave/Free

	Slavery Allowed (12)	Slavery Banned (12)
Old Established East Coast States (15)	Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, N Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia	Mass/ Maine, NH, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, RI, New York, New Jersey
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri	Ohio, Indiana, Illinois

Voting power within these four cells differs dramatically, and is a key determinant in electing a president. The lion’s share (106 in total) of the ballots remains in the northeastern states, with Pennsylvania (29) and New York (28) particularly important. States where slavery is banned, and blacks are unwelcome, also enjoy a 129-113 edge.

Voting Power In 1824: # Of Seats In Congress

	Slavery Allowed (12)	Slavery Banned (12)	Total
Old East Coast States (15)	73	106	179
Emerging States West (9)	40	23	63
Total	113	129	242

Four contenders remain after Calhoun drops out in favor of seeking the vice-presidency.

JQ Adams, as the lone representative of the northeast, begins with a solid voting block, despite his shift in 1808 from his father’s Federalist Party to the Democratic-Republican side.

Crawford’s original strength in the old South and, via Van Buren, in New York, is formidable, but weakening as word of his uncertain health spreads. (Miraculously, he eventually recovers some of his faculties and lives until 1834.)

Then come the two “men of the West” – Clay, the Washington political infighter for over a decade, and the outsider, Jackson, apparently a blank slate aside from the military realm. Interestingly both are from Border states, neither Northern nor deep South.

Chapter 75 -- A Troubling House Vote Hands The Presidency To JQ Adams

 <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Henry Clay</i></p>	<p>Dates: 1825</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The General Election Ends Without A Winner • Sidebar: Detailed Tables From The Election Of 1824 • Clay Maneuvers To Insure That The House Elects Adams • The Jackson Vs. Clay Division Destroys The “Unity Party” Posture Of The Democratic-Republicans
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Time: Winter 1824

The General Election Ends Without A Winner

Voting in 1824 takes place between October 26 and December 2. Turnout surpasses all prior contests, as three in every four states now choose electors based on the popular votes, and real competition draws public interest.

Popular Voting For President & Number Of States Where Electors Chosen By Their Votes

1788	1792	1796	1800	1804	1808	1812	1816	1820	1824
43,782	28,579	66,841	67,282	143,110	192,691	278,786	112,370	106,701	365,833
7 of 12	6 of 15	9 of 16	6 of 16	11 of 17	10 of 17	9 of 18	10 of 19	15 of 24	18 of 24*

* State legislators in Delaware, Vermont, New York, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana still choose electors in 1824

As expected, none of the four candidates reach the 131 electoral vote level needed to become president in the traditional fashion. Andrew Jackson comes closest, at 99 votes, with Adams a close second. Crawford edges Clay for third place, even though he remains physically incapable of serving.

Results Of The 1824 Presidential Election

Candidates	State	Party	Pop Vote	Tot EV
Andrew Jackson	Tn	Dem-Rep	151,271	99
John Quincy Adams	MA	Dem-Rep	113,122	84
William Crawford	Ga	Dem-Rep	40,856	41
Henry Clay	Ky	Dem-Rep	47,531	37
Unpledged			6,616	0
Total			365,833	261
Needed to win				131

Jackson alone demonstrates national appeal, garnering significant votes in all four regions of the country. Adams support is almost exclusively in the northeast. Crawford splits the old South with Jackson, and Clay wins his home state of Kentucky and its northern neighbor, Ohio.

Shifting State Alignments: Old/New And Slave/Free

	Slavery Allowed (12)	Slavery Banned (12)
Old Established East Coast States (15)	36 Crawford 33 Jackson 4 Adams 0 Clay 73 Total	77 Adams 37 Jackson 5 Crawford 4 Clay 103 Total
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	22 Jackson 17 Clay 2 Adams 0 Crawford 41 Total	16 Clay 7 Jackson 1 Adams 0 Crawford 24 Total

Note: East Coast slave states (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia); east coast free (Maine, Mass, NH, Vt, Conn, Penn, RI, NY, NJ); west slave (Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, La, MO); west free (Ohio, Ind, IL)

Time: Winter 1824

Sidebar: Detailed Tables From The Election Of 1824

Electoral Votes Cast: Total US

	Total	Jackson	Adams	Crawford	Clay
East	196	70	81	41	4
West	65	29	3	0	33
Slave	114	55	6	36	17
Free	147	44	78	5	20

Old Established East Coast States: With Slavery

	Total	Jackson	Adams	Crawford	Clay
Maryland	11	7	3	1	
Delaware	3	2		1	
Virginia	24			24	
N. Carolina	15	15			
S. Carolina	11	11			
Georgia	9			9	
Total	73	35	3	35	

Old Established East Coast States: No Slavery

	Total	Jackson	Adams	Crawford	Clay
Massachusetts	15		15		
Maine	9	1	8		
New Hampshire	8		8		
Vermont	7		7		
Connecticut	8		8		
Pennsylvania	29	3	26		
Rhode Island	4		4		
New York	28	28			
New Jersey	17	8		5	4
Total	125	40	76	5	4

Emerging Western States: With Slavery

	Total	Jackson	Adams	Crawford	Clay
Kentucky	14				14
Tennessee	11	11			
Alabama	5	5			
Mississippi	3	3			
Louisiana	5	3	2		
Missouri	3				3
Total	41	21	2		17

Emerging Western States: No Slavery					
	Total	Jackson	Adams	Crawford	Clay
Ohio	16				16
Indiana	5	5			
Illinois	2	2			
Total	23	7			16

Time: February 9, 1825

Clay Maneuvers To Insure That The House Elects Adams



Henry Clay (1777-1852)

According to the 12th Amendment rules, the choice of president now falls into the House of Representatives, which meets on February 9, 1825, to decide the outcome. Each state will cast one vote for the winner within their caucus. Since there are 24 states in total, a candidate must take at least 13 to be elected.

In the general election, Jackson has led the pack, winning 12 states, with Adams as runner-up.

States Won In General Election

Candidates	#
Andrew Jackson	12
John Quincy Adams	7
Henry Clay	3
William Crawford	2

Jackson's lead, however, quickly slips away in the House. He loses Delaware and North Carolina to Crawford, and then Louisiana to Adams. At the last moment, New York also slips away, after Daniel Webster and Henry Clay convince the Dutch patron, Stephen Van Rensselaer, to break his promise to Van Buren, and cast a deciding vote in the caucus for Adams.

The rest of Jackson's losses also trace directly to the Speaker. From the beginning, Clay dismisses Jackson's readiness to be president in no uncertain terms:

I cannot believe that killing 2500 Englishmen at N. Orleans qualifies for the various, difficult and complicated duties of the Chief Magistrty.

He is joined in this conclusion by Jefferson and others who regard the General's temperament as too rash for the office, as demonstrated by his recent rampages in Florida.

But Clay now must choose between Adams and Crawford, and he meets with the former before the House vote. Two very different views of this meeting emerge in hindsight. One is that Adams convinces Clay that he will support the Speaker's "American System" initiatives if elected. The other is that Adam's secures Clays' support by promising to name him Secretary of State.

Whatever the reason, Clay decides to steer three key states he won in the general – Kentucky, Missouri and Ohio – over to Adam's column on the first ballot. This give him the thirteen states needed for victory.

House Run-Off For President: 1st Ballot (13 Needed To Win)

Old East - With Slavery	General	Jackson	Adams	Crawford
Maryland	AJ		X	
Delaware	AJ			X
Virginia	WC			X
North Carolina	AJ			X
South Carolina	AJ	X		
Georgia	WC			X
Total		1	1	4
Old East – No Slavery				
Maine	JQA		X	
Massachusetts	JQA		X	
New Hampshire	JQA		X	
Vermont	JQA		X	
Connecticut	JQA		X	
Pennsylvania	JQA	X		
Rhode Island	JQA		X	
New York	AJ		X	
New Jersey	AJ	X		
Total		2	7	0
New West – With Slavery				
Kentucky	HC		X	
Tennessee	AJ	X		
Alabama	AJ	X		
Mississippi	AJ	X		
Louisiana	AJ		X	
Missouri	HC		X	
Total		3	3	0
New West – No Slavery				
Ohio	HC		X	
Indiana	AJ	X		
Illinois	AJ		X	
Total		1	2	0
Grand Total		7	13	4

Time: February 1825 Forward

The Jackson Vs. Clay Division Destroys The “Unity Party” Posture Of The Democratic-Republicans

Even though Jackson secures only seven states in the runoff to Adams’s thirteen, he never forgives Henry Clay for costing him the presidency in 1824. When word leaks out that Adams indeed intends to nominate Clay for State, Jackson vents his spleen:

Clay voted for Adams and made him President and Adams made Clay Secretary of State. Is this not proof as strong as holy writ of the understanding and corrupt coalition between them? So, the Judas of the West has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver. His end will be the same. Was there ever witnessed such a bare faced corruption in any country before.

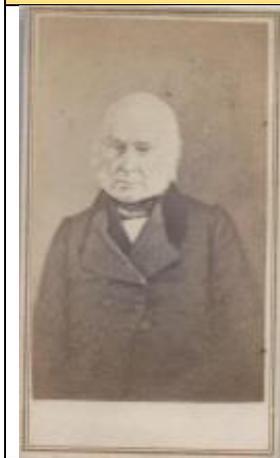
Jackson’s pronouncement – that a “corrupt bargain” between Adams and Clay trumped the will of the people and cost him the election – will forever tarnish the 1824 election and the reputations of his two opponents.

With that the 56 year old General resigns from the Senate and rides back home to Tennessee, with the firm commitment to defeat Adams in the 1828 election and oppose Clay at every future step of the way.

Meanwhile Clay recognizes that the political landscape has just shifted and that the Democratic-Republican’s hope to continue governing as a “party of national unity” is not sustainable.

He has secured for himself the “stepping stone” position as Secretary of State, but winning the presidency will now require new policies, and perhaps a new party, to defeat Andrew Jackson.

Chapter 76 -- Overview Of John Quincy Adams Term In Office



Dates:
1825-1829

Sections:

- John Quincy Adams: Personal Profile
- Sidebar: The U.S. Diplomatic Corps
- Adams's Inaugural Address Announces His Vision For America
- Overview Of JQ Adams's Term
- Secretary Of State Henry Clay Fights Another Duel To Defend His Honor
- Adams Message To Congress Meets Increased Resistance

Time: 1767-1848

John Quincy Adams: Personal Profile



While John Quincy Adams's track record of public service qualifies him to become a superb President, his temperament proves ill-suited to the executive role, and his lasting fame will rest on his remarkable service both before his term, as Secretary of State, and after, when he returns to the House of Representatives as the first political crusader against the institution of slavery.

JQA, as he calls himself, is born in Braintree, Massachusetts, on July 11, 1767, the second child and first son of John and Abigail Adams. His father is a fifth generation American, a farmer and lawyer, and already caught up in the politics surrounding resistance to the British Stamp Act of 1765. His mother is a stern Puritan through and through, who micromanages every aspect of the boy's life into adulthood, sparking a resentment that ends with his failure to attend her sickbed and funeral in 1818.

John Quincy Adams (1767-1848)

In the Calvinist tradition, Abigail teaches JQA that personal discipline is essential to salvation, and that each day must be parceled out in rigid fashion to meet that end: up before dawn, exercise, reading the Bible, duties until evening, diary entries to record achievements and failings, no more than 4-5 hours of sleep. Both parents also burden the youth with elevated expectations around public service, his father demanding that he:

Become a guardian of the laws, liberty and religion of your country.

Predictably the youth suffers early on from a sense of guilt and failure. At age seven, he writes to his parents:

I hope...you will have no occasion to be ashamed of me.

Unlike his two brothers, Charles and Thomas, who wilt under parental pressure into dissolution and alcohol, JQA is blessed with enough raw talent to bear up. This includes enormous intellectual capacity, which, by ten has him mastering Greek and Latin, on his way to fluency in six other languages besides English. By fifteen, he devours the historical classics (Hume, Macaulay, Gibbons, Caesar's *Commentaries* and Cicero's *Oratories* in Latin), masters Adam Smith's economic tome, *Wealth of Nations*, allows himself to indulge in literature from Shakespeare to the English poets. He loves school and is settling into life as a student in 1778.

His plans evaporate, however, when his father is sent by George Washington to join Ben Franklin in Paris as joint ministers seeking French support in the Revolutionary War..

John and Abigail decide that JQA's worldview will be broadened if goes along with his father. At age twelve, he boards a ship for what will be the first in a long series of back and forth stints in Europe. These will propel him before his time into adulthood, make him America's leading diplomat, and set the stage for his presidency.

At fifteen he is an aide in St. Petersburg translating the court language (French) for Ambassador Francis Dana and befriending the future Tsar, Alexander I. Three years later he is back home, enrolling at Harvard, then graduating in 1787, opening a law practice, and falling in love, only to have this vetoed by his mother, who says he is not financially prepared to support a wife.

In 1794, with backing from his father, then Vice-President, JQA is named Minister to the Netherlands. He is 27 years old at the time, but already a recognized figure in Europe. On a visit to Britain, he meets English-born Louisa Johnson, who becomes his wife in 1797. Abigail calls her "the Siren," and the two remain forever at odds.

As President, his father names him Minister to Prussia, and he serves there from 1797 to 1801. With Jefferson now in office, JQA returns to Boston to resume his law practice, but that is again short-lived. Federalist friends convince him to run for state senator and then, in 1802 for the U.S. House. He loses this election, but is chosen by the state legislature in 1803 to serve as U.S. Senator.

During his term, he commits political suicide within the Federalist Party by backing two controversial acts by Jefferson: the 1803 Louisiana Purchase and the 1807 Trade Embargo on British imports. When he caucuses with the Democrat-Republicans in selecting Madison to run in 1808, the Federalists disown him for good, and he resigns his seat in 1808. He continues to teach logic at Harvard University until 1809, when Madison chooses him to be America's first Minister to Russia. He remains there for five years before heading to London to 1814 to join Speaker Henry Clay and Treasury Secretary Gallatin in negotiating the Treaty of Ghent, which ends the War of 1812. He stays there until 1817 when Monroe appoints him Secretary of State.

Adams is finally back home after eight straight years abroad. He and Louisa have had four children, a daughter who dies in infancy in Russia and three sons, two who descend into alcoholism and one, Charles Francis, who will become an accomplished public servant. Monroe exhibits great confidence in his chief diplomat, and Adams responds in kind. His many achievements include the Adams-Onis/Transcontinental Treaty of 1818 and the framework known as the Monroe Doctrine, announcing America's diplomatic stance as a world power.

Throughout the years Adams retains the steely discipline imposed on him as a child. He works from morning to night, allowing himself only infrequent breaks for a swim in the Potomac, a game of billiards, a cultural event.

Adams's ascent to the presidency at age 58 is in many ways a fulfillment of the awesome expectations placed upon him by his mother and father. He arrives prepared with vast experience as a diplomat, high moral principles and a commitment to advancing the welfare of the nation.

As a presidential politician, however, he will prove even more inept than his namesake.

His term in office leaves him vastly disappointed with his achievements, and this is followed by a decisive loss to Jackson in 1828. At this point, most men would simply fade away from the public stage. But not JQ Adams.

In 1831 neighbors convince him to run again for the House, and he will serve there for almost 17 years until his death from a cerebral hemorrhage suffered in the chamber in 1848. This "second act" for the former President far outshines what he was able to accomplish in the White House.

Most notably he emerges here as the outright champion of the move to free all slaves and find ways to assimilate them into American society. His commitment to this cause brings the taboo subject of slavery into the people's House and sets the stage for all future political efforts to end it through legislation. In this quest he is every inch the Puritan son seeking the "holiest rights of humanity" for all Americans.

They look down upon the simplicity of a Yankee's manners, because he has no habits of overbearing like theirs and cannot treat negroes like dogs. It is among the evils of slavery that it taints the very sources of moral principle. It establishes false estimates of virtue and vice: for what can be more false and heartless than this doctrine which makes the first and holiest rights of humanity to depend upon the color of the skin?

Time: 1776-1861

Sidebar: The U.S Diplomatic Corps

John Quincy Adams’ years as a U.S. diplomat during the nation’s earliest and often most hazardous period put him in the company of other important figures who served in London and Paris, up through the Civil War.

Included here were five who became President (John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, JQ Adams, Martin Van Buren, and James Buchanan), two Vice-Presidents (William King and George Dallas), and a host of other Cabinet officers and congressional leaders.

U.S. Ambassadors to Great Britain

Years	Name	Appointed By	Party	Highest Political Office
1785-1788	John Adams	Washington	Federalist	President (1797-1801)
1789-1791	Vacant			
1792-1796	Thomas Pinckney	Washington	Federalist	Gov/SC – Prez Nominee
1796-1803	Rufus King	Washington	Federalist	Senate/NY – Prez Nom.
1803-1807	James Monroe	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	President (1817-1825)
1808-1811	William Pinkney	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	Senate/Md
1812-1813	Vacant			
1814-1817	John Q.Adams	Madison	Dem-Rep	President (1825-1829)
1818-1825	Richard Rush	Monroe	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury
1825-1826	Rufus King	JQ Adams	Federalist	Senate/NY – Prez Nom.
1826-1827	Albert Gallatin	JQ Adams	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury
1828-1829	James Barbour	JQ Adams	Dem-Rep	Sec. of War
1829-1831	Louis McLane	Jackson	Democrat	Sec. of State
1831-1832	Martin Van Buren	Jackson	Democrat	President (1837-1841)
1832-1836	Aaron Vail (charge)	Jackson	Democrat	--
1836-1841	Andrew Stevenson	Jackson	Democrat	Speaker of US House
1841-1845	Edward Everett	Van Buren	Democrat	Secretary of State
1845-1846	Louis McLane	Polk	Democrat	Sec. of War
1846-1849	George Bancroft	Polk	Democrat	Sec. of the Navy
1849-1852	Abbot Lawrence	Taylor	Whig	US House
1852-1853	Joseph R. Ingersoll	Fillmore	Whig	US House
1853-1856	James Buchanan	Pierce	Democrat	President (1857-1861)
1856-1861	George Dallas	Pierce	Democrat	Vice-President (1845-1849)
1861-1868	Charles F. Adams	Lincoln	Republican	US House

U.S. Ambassadors to France

Years	Name	Appointed By	Party	Highest Political Office
1776-1785	Benjamin Franklin	Washington	Indep.	Postmaster General
1785-1789	Thomas Jefferson	Washington	Dem-Rep	President (1801-1809)
1790-1792	William Short	Washington	Federalist	---
1792-1794	Gouvernor Morris	Washington	Federalist	US Senate
1794-1796	James Monroe	Washington	Dem-Rep	President (1817-1825)
1796-1797	Chas. C. Pinckney	Washington	Federalist	Presidential Nominee
1801-1804	Robert Livingston	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	---
1804-1810	John Armstrong	Jefferson	Dem-Rep	Sec. of War
1811-1812	Joel Barlow	Madison	Dem-Rep	---
1813-1815	William Crawford	Madison	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury/Prez Nom

1816-1823	Albert Gallatin	Madison	Dem-Rep	Sec. of Treasury
1824-1829	James Brown	Monroe	Dem-Rep	US Senate
1829-1833	William Rives	Jackson	Democrat	US Senate
1833	Levett Harris	Jackson	Democrat	---
1833-1836	Edward Livingston	Jackson	Democrat	Sec. of State
1836-1842	Lewis Cass	Jackson	Democrat	Sec. of State/Prez Nominee
1844-1846	William King	Tyler	Democrat	Vice-President (1853)
1847-1849	Richard Rush	Polk	Democrat	Sec. of Treasury
1849-1853	William Rives	Taylor	Whig	US Senate
1853-1859	John Mason	Pierce	Democrat	US Attorney General
1860-1861	Charles Faulkner	Buchanan	Democrat	US House
1861-1865	John Bigelow	Lincoln	Republican	---

March 4, 1825

Adams’s Inaugural Address Announces His Vision For America

Chief Justice John Marshall administers the oath of office to Adams in the House chamber. His hand is on a law book at the time, and he is the first president who substitutes modern trousers for the knee-high breeches favored in colonial times. His inaugural speech is 2915 words long, slightly briefer than Monroe, more than twice that of Madison.

In traditional fashion, Adams begins the speech by recognizing his solemn duties and his commitment to the Constitution, while offering praise for America’s stellar progress over its first half century.

.. I appear, my fellow-citizens, in your presence...to bind myself by the solemnities of religious obligation to faithful performance of the duties allotted to me in the station to which I have been called....In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed in the fulfillment of those duties my first resort will be to that Constitution which I shall swear to the best of my ability to preserve, protect, and defend.

It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all...Liberty and law have marched hand in hand. All the purposes of human association have been accomplished...at a cost little exceeding in a whole generation the expenditure of other nations in a single year...Such is the unexaggerated picture of our condition under a Constitution founded upon the republican principle of equal rights.

He then turns to partisan politics, likely prompted by the divisive election. He argues that while the emergence of “two great political parties” has at times “shaken the Union to its center,” the cause of the “strife” has been laid to rest with the end of the European wars. (This will quickly prove to be a naive wish on his part!))

...From the experience of the past we derive instructive lessons for the future. Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices to the formation and administration of this Government, and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error.

The revolutionary wars of Europe... excited a collision of sentiments and of sympathies which kindled all the passions and embittered the conflict of parties till the nation was involved in war and the Union was shaken to its center...With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted.

From that time no difference of principle, connected either with the theory of government or with our intercourse with foreign nations, has existed or been called forth in force sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties or to give more than wholesome animation to public sentiment or legislative debate.

Next comes a litany of principles he intends to embrace during his presidency.

Our political creed is that the will of the people is the source...of all legitimate government upon earth; that the best...guaranty against the abuse of power consists in.. the frequency of popular elections; that the General Government of the Union and the separate governments of the States are all sovereignties of limited powers...; that the firmest security of peace is the preparation during peace of the defenses of war; that a rigorous economy and accountability of public expenditures should guard against... the burden of taxation; that the military should be kept in strict subordination to the civil power; that the freedom of the press and of religious opinion should be inviolate; that the policy of our country is peace....

These principles will continue to work for the nation, if only the remnants of party rancor can be laid aside.

There still remains one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of prejudice and passion, to be made by the individuals throughout the nation who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancor against each other, of embracing as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone that confidence which in times of contention for principle was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion.

As a lifelong astute diplomat, Adams is well aware of the sources of rancor, even if he is overly optimistic about overcoming them. He properly identifies “geographical divisions” as one “dangerous” concern.

The collisions of party spirit which originate in speculative opinions or in different views of administrative policy are in their nature transitory. Those which are founded on geographical divisions, adverse interests of soil, climate, and modes of domestic life are more permanent, and therefore, perhaps, more dangerous.

In turn, he senses renewed tensions around the balance of power between the federal and state governments, and articulates his view of the guidelines laid out in the Constitution.

It holds out to us a perpetual admonition to preserve alike and with equal anxiety the rights of each individual State in its own government and the rights of the whole nation in that of the Union. Whatsoever is of domestic concernment, unconnected with the other members of the Union or with foreign lands, belongs exclusively to the administration of the State governments. Whatsoever directly involves the rights and interests of the federative fraternity or of foreign powers is of the resort of this General Government. The duties of both are obvious in the general principle, though sometimes perplexed with difficulties in the detail. To respect the rights of the State governments is the inviolable duty of that of the Union; the government of every State will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole.

Adams has served for the past eight years under Monroe, and his aspiration is to continue in his footsteps.

I (now) turn to the Administration of my immediate predecessor. ...In his career of eight years the internal taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the Revolution; the regular armed force has been reduced and its constitution revised and perfected; the accountability for the expenditure of public moneys has been made more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific Ocean; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognized, and recommended by example and by counsel to the potentates of Europe; progress has been made in the defense of the country by fortifications and the increase of the Navy, toward the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves; in alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind, in exploring the interior regions of the Union, and in preparing by scientific researches and surveys for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.

With foreign threats largely contained, the new President plans to focus on “internal improvements” aimed at the common good – one example being renewed work on “national roads.” This emphasis on strengthening domestic infrastructures is essential to what Henry Clay is already calling his “American System.”

...improvement in our common condition...will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations. The roads and aqueducts of Rome have been the admiration of all after ages....But nearly twenty years have passed since the construction of the first national road was commenced. The authority for its construction was then unquestioned. To how many thousands of our countrymen has it proved a benefit? To what individual has it ever proved an injury?

Here again he hopes that party differences can be resolved around the federal government’s authority to pursue these important upgrades.

I can not but hope that by the...process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation...the extent and limitation of the powers of the General Government in relation to this transcendently important interest will be settled and acknowledged to the common satisfaction of all, and every speculative scruple will be solved....

As Adams nears the end of his lengthy address, he acknowledges the “peculiar circumstances” of his election, and asks openly for the trust and support he will need to advance “the welfare of the country.”

Fellow-citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you at this time... You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfillment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station.

Less possessed of your confidence in advance than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand more and oftener in need of your indulgence. Intentions upright and pure, a heart devoted to the welfare of our country, and the unceasing application of all the faculties allotted to me to her service are all the pledges that I can give for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake.

I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service; and knowing that "except the Lord keep the city the watchman waketh but in vain," with fervent supplications for His favor, to

His overruling providence I commit with humble but fearless confidence my own fate and the future destinies of my country.

Time: March 4, 1825 – March 4, 1829

Overview Of JQ Adams’s Term

Unlike Monroe, Adams can no longer count on a congress ready to advance his agenda. In fact, partisanship is about to reach a level where new “labels” are materializing to capture the differences.

From Monticello, the founder of the Democratic-Republican Party, Thomas Jefferson, argues that Adams and Clay are actually Federalists in disguise, intent on undermining states’ rights.

The (party) amalgamation is of name only, not of principle. Their aim is now therefore to break down the rights reserved by the constitution to the states as a bulwark against that consolidation, the fear of which produced the whole of the opposition to the constitution at its birth.

Those who support Adams begin to call themselves “National Republicans,” while the “anti’s” drift away to eventually become Jackson “Democrats.”

In 1825, the new President still enjoys a slim margin in both houses of congress – another signal that the will of the people, not the “corrupt bargain,” favored Adams in the recent election.

Congressional Make-Up In 1825

	House	Senate
Pro-Adams	105	26
Anti-Adams	97	20
	202	46

But Adams squanders whatever slight political edge he has in setting up his administration. His high moral tone is uncomfortable around using “patronage” to lever loyalty, and his Cabinet appointments include turn-coats who will actively work on behalf of his opposition. The first is Postmaster General John McLean of Ohio, who backs Jackson throughout his tenure, and is later rewarded by the General with a Supreme Court appointment.

The every slippery Calhoun serves as Vice-President, but soon swings over to Jackson’s side, while still maneuvering for the top job himself.

The Senate confirms Henry Clay as Secretary of State, , but not without embarrassing him with 14 of 41 voting against his appointment.

JQ Adams Cabinet In 1825

Position	Name	Home State
Vice-President	John C. Calhoun	South Carolina
Secretary of State	Henry Clay	Kentucky
Secretary of Treasury	Richard Rush	Pennsylvania
Secretary of War	James Barbour	Virginia
Secretary of the Navy	Samuel Southard	New Jersey
Attorney General	William Wirt	Virginia
Postmaster General	John McLean	Ohio

The decision to name Clay to State also removes from the House the one man whose legislative mastery would give the American System initiatives their best chance for approval.

Instead the victories in this regard are few and far between. Congress does approve an extension of the National Road through Ohio, the Erie Canal becomes fully operational, and America's first genuine railroad company, the Baltimore & Ohio line is chartered in Maryland.

But then come a steady stream of set-backs, ironically involving diplomatic issues, Adam's supposed forte.

- Attempts to engage America in building bridges to Latin America are sidelined in Congress.
- Mexico rejects a sizable cash offer aimed at acquiring Texas.
- A border dispute between Maine and New Brunswick turns into violent confrontations.
- Trade with the British West Indies is shut down after negotiations over terms end in failure.
- Efforts to move the Creek tribes out of Georgia provoke a serious federal vs. state conflict.

With each mis-step, the Jackson Democrats in Congress grow more vocal in their attacks on the President.

In the mid-term election of 1826, the Anti-Adams/Pro-Jackson forces gain control over both the House (113-100) and the Senate (26 to 21). Of particular note here are gains by Jackson in the Northeast, largely the result of backing from Senator Martin Van Buren of New York.

Results Of House Elections In 1826

	Slavery Allowed(12)	Slavery Banned (12)
Old Established East Coast States (15)	Pro Adams – 17 Anti-Adams – 44	Pro Adams – 61 Anti-Adams – 44
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	Pro Adams – 8 Anti-Adams – 21	Pro Adams – 14 Anti-Adams – 4

Note: East Coast slave states (Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, NC, SC, Georgia); east coast free (Maine, Mass, NH, Vt, Conn, Penn, RI, NY, NJ); west slave (Ky, Tenn, Ala, Miss, La, MO); west free (Ohio, Ind, IL)

Results Of Senate Elections In 1826

	Slavery Allowed(12)	Slavery Banned (12)
Old Established East Coast States (15)	Pro Adams – 1 Anti-Adams – 11	Pro Adams – 12 Anti-Adams – 5
Emerging States West Of Appalachian Range (9)	Pro Adams – 3 Anti-Adams – 9	Pro Adams – 5 Anti-Adams – 1

While Adams is beset by one political problem after another, he oversees a domestic economy which has recovered nicely from the doldrums of the Monroe era.

Economic Overview During Adams's Presidency

	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
Total GDP (\$MM)	\$ 750	822	866	916	897
% Change		10%	5%	6%	(2%)
Per Capita GDP	\$69	74	76	78	74

The final years of Adams's term are given over to the lowest forms of political skullduggery on record to date – as the opposing parties attempt to blacken the names of Adams and Jackson before the 1828 election.

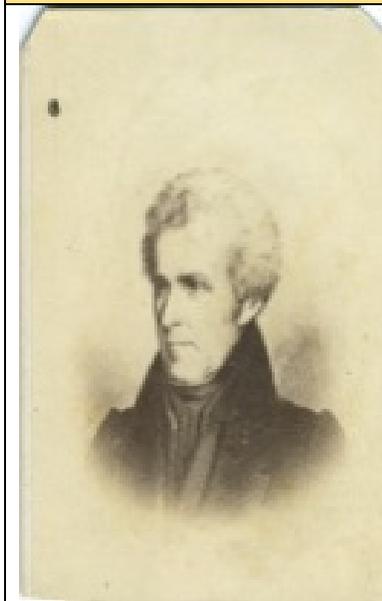
One particularly cynical legislative effort by the Jackson forces involves the Tariff of 1828 to shift support away from Adams in western “swing states.” The bill does this by imposing higher duties on foreign imports of raw wool, rum and other staples produced by farmers from Pennsylvania to the frontier – while adding features almost certain to irritate New England and the old South. Sponsors assume that Adams will veto it in the end, thus costing him western support.

Instead he actually signs the bill, which is soon labelled the “Tariff of Abominations.” Ironically, antagonism toward the bill centered in South Carolina will come back to haunt the Jackson men in the years ahead.

Key Events: JQ Adams Term

1825	
Mar 8	John Poinsett approved as first minister to Mexico
Mar 24	Mexican province of Tejas declared open to American settlers
July 25	Approval given to extend the Cumberland road west from wheeling through Ohio
Oct	Tenn leg nominates Jackson for 1828 president
Oct 26	Erie canal is completed
Dec 6	Adams message to congress sparks controversy
Dec 26	Congress approves sending two “observers” to Bolivars panama conference
1826	
Jan 6	Anti-Adams newspaper U.S.. telegraph starts up in dc
Feb 13	American temperance society founded in Boston
April 8	Secretary of State Henry Clay and Senator John Randolph fight a bloodless duel called by Clay
May 2	The US recognizes Peru
July 4	John Adams and Thomas Jefferson both die on 50 th anniversary of Independence
Sept 12	Former Freemason William Morgan disappears, provoking Anti-Mason Party founding
Oct 7	First US rail tracks laid in Quincy, Mass.; 3 miles long and for horse drawn wagons
Nov	Anti-Administration/Jackson politicians win majority in Congress
1827	
Jan 10	Bill to increase tariff (above 1824) on woolens passes in House, loses in Senate on Calhoun vote
Feb 28	The B&O Railroad chartered by state of Maryland
July 2	President of SC College, Thomas Cooper, says that the tariff favors north at expense of south
July 30	Delegates from 13 states meet in Harrisburg to support call for higher tariffs
Aug 6	US and Britain renew 1818 Treaty to “share” Oregon Country for another 10 years
Nov 15	Creek Indians sign treaty ceding all remaining land in Georgia to US
Dec 24	Congress rejects Harrisburg proposal to raise protective tariff
1828	
Jan 12	US and Mexico agree on Sabine River boundary line in southwest
Jan 31	Jackson forces in Congress pass cynical Tariff hike aimed at embarrassing Adams
April 21	Noah Webster publishes his American Dictionary of the American Language
May 13	Tariff hike passes House 105-94 and senate 26-21
May 19	“Tariff of Abominations” signed into law by Adams
Oct 16	Delaware and Hudson canal opens
Dec 3	Jackson is elected president
Dec 19	South Carolina legislature “nullifies” the Tariff of 1828 according to Calhoun assertions
1829	
Mar 4	Jackson inaugurated

Chapter 77-- Open Hostility Greets Adams And Clay At Every Turn



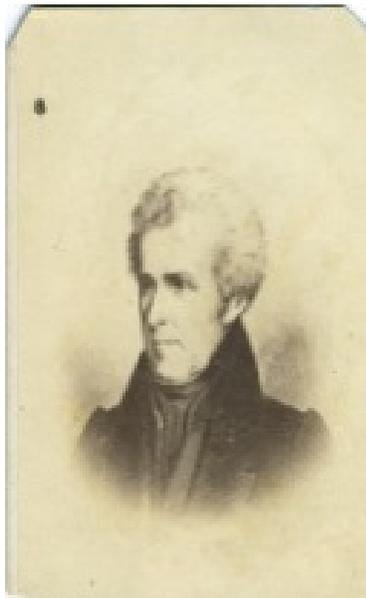
Dates:
1825-1826

Sections:

- Clay Fights Another Duel To Defend The Administration
- Jackson Accuses Adams Of Despotism

Time: April 25, 1825

Clay Fights Another Duel To Defend The Administration



Despite Adams's attempts to move past the fractious election, many Jackson supporters are in no mood to either forgive or forget. This soon leads to another episode of violence involving high government officials.

The impetus in this case is a speech made by the ever volatile Senator, John Randolph of Roanoke. In a six hour harangue on the floor, he accuses the administration of violating America's long-standing policy of "avoiding foreign entanglements" by wishing to participate in Bolivar's upcoming Panama conference

As his rhetoric becomes increasingly inflammatory, John C. Calhoun, serving as pro-tem of the Senate, allows him to rail on – a fact which Adams properly interprets as treachery from his own Vice-President.

Randolph ends with a personal attack on both Adams and Clay, whom he refers to as...

The Puritan and the Blackleg.

Andrew Jackson (1767-1845)

The Puritan, of course, is Adams, the stern Massachusetts man, and the Blackleg – a vicious disease which kills livestock, not to mention slang for a card-cheat – is Clay.

Randolph is well known to Clay. He is Thomas Jefferson's cousin, and his career in congress dates back to 1799. Along with Clay, he is a co-founder of the American Colonization Society in 1816, who will, if fact, free all of his slaves in his final will.

His political values are those of the extreme "states-rights" wing of the party, including a belief that federal laws can be "nullified" by a vote of local legislators. His fame rests on his general flamboyance, his powerful oratory, his capacity for consuming alcohol, and his shooting prowess.

The latter is no deterrent to Clay, who challenges him to a duel for his remarks on the floor. Attempts by the Secretary's friends to avoid the obvious risks are met with characteristic resistance.

No public station, no, not even life, is worth holding, if coupled with dishonor.

Randolph is astonished to receive the challenge, saying that it violates a senator's right to protected speech within the chamber. He informs his aides, but not Clay, that he has no intention of firing to harm should the duel actually take place.

Clay, however, plunges ahead, much as he had back in 1809 when called a "liar" in the Kentucky State House by Representative Humphrey Marshall. This affair ended with a total of four shots exchanged and both men wounded, Clay to the extent that further rounds were called off.

On April 25, 1825, rowboats carry the two combatants across the Potomac to their native Virginia, and the two men – a 51 year old United States Senator and the 49 year old Secretary of State – square off with pistols.

Randolph appears in a vast morning gown, which makes the outline of his body difficult to discern.

Tensions are high, and the hair-trigger on the Senator's gun causes a misfire, which Clay forgives.

Both men then let off their first shots, with neither hit. On the second round, Clay's shot nicks Randolph's outer garment, while Randolph fires aimlessly in the air – signaling the Secretary that the event is over.

In accord with tradition, the two men shake hands and exchange cards. Clay purportedly says that he is thankful not to have injured Randolph, and Randolph retorts that Clay now owes him a new coat. With that the two sail back across the river, with at least courteous relations restored.

Time: 1825-1826

Jackson Accuses Adams Of Despotism

Adams chooses his December 1825 message to Congress to announce the details of his agenda. It calls for the federal government to take a series of steps, both domestically and in foreign policy, to insure America's place as a first-rate power.

His internal plan includes upgrades in infrastructure (roads, bridges, canals), basic knowledge (a national university, naval academy, observatory), science (standardized weights and measures) and exploration (a new Department of the Interior). A protective tariff will help finance these along with any needed measures taken by a strong U.S. Bank.

Diplomatic proposals center on participation in a Pan-American conference hosted by Simon Bolivar (a “good neighbors” gesture) and continued efforts aimed at expanding the borders across the entire continent.

Accomplishing these goals will require an active federal government, which Adams announces in no uncertain terms.

The spirit of improvement is abroad upon the earth...Let us not be unmindful that liberty is power. While foreign nations...are advancing with gigantic strides...were we to slumber in indolence or...proclaim to the world that we are palsied by the will of our constituents, would it not doom ourselves to inferiority?

The President’s cabinet warns him in advance that his proposals will be met with resistance, and they are quickly proven right.

Traditional Democratic-Republicans, in the Jefferson mold, accuse Adams of abandoning the core principles of the party in favor of a return to Federalism -- grabbing power for the national government that has been reserved to the states in the 10th Amendment.

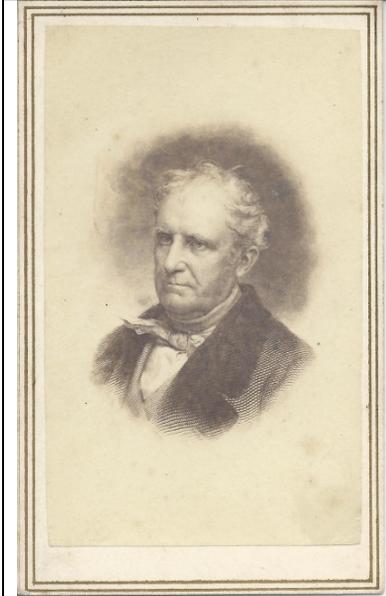
In their eyes, Clay’s “American Systems” is no more than a warmed over version of what Alexander Hamilton proposed a quarter century earlier.

Andrew Jackson weighs in, latching onto one unfortunate phrase in the speech, which seems to call upon the congress to override the will of their constituents.

When I view...the government, embraced in the recommendation of the late message, with the powers enumerated...together with the declaration that it would be criminal for the agents...to be palsied by the will of their constituents, I shudder for the consequence – if not checked by the voice of the people, it must end in consolidation & then in despotism.

From this moment forward, congressional resistance to both Adams and Clay gains momentum. The effect will be a three year stymie of the President’s proposed programs.

Chapter 78 -- Rigged Treaties Begin To Move The Indians West



Dates:
1825

Sections:

- Adams Wishes For Fair Treatment Of The Native American Tribes
- Georgia Forces Adams's Hand In Support Of "Indian Removal"

Time: 1825

Adams Wishes For Fair Treatment Of The Native American Tribes



Like all Presidents before him, JQ Adams struggles over how best to deal with America's native tribes.

He clearly agrees with conventional wisdom that Indians are "lesser" than their European counterparts, and recognizes the intense pressure from frontiersmen to grab their land and turn it over to white settlers.

Yet, like his predecessors in office, he is hesitant to act.

Moral qualms play a role here. After all, the tribes have occupied the continent for generations before the white man arrived, and uprooting them by force smacks of injustice.

But the hesitancy seem to run deeper than that.

James Fenimore Cooper's Novels
Portray "Noble Savage" Indians

The answer may lie in the Enlightenment writing of the Frenchman, Henri Rousseau, familiar fare for many early presidents. Rousseau touts the vision of what he calls the "noble savage," uncorrupted by the greed and ruthlessness of modern society. These are truly free men, not slaves, living independently off the land, governed by the communal will of their tribe – all virtues that resonate with the American spirit.

Nothing is so gentle as man in his primitive state, when placed by nature at an equal distance from the stupidity of brutes and the fatal enlightenment of civil man.

This image of the “noble savage” is also reinforced at the time by the author, James Fennimore Cooper, who stands alongside Washington Irving as the nation’s first popular story-teller. While Irving’s tales poke fun at the Dutch knickerbockers of New York, Cooper’s fame rests on the adventures of the frontiersman, Natty Bumppo, and his loyal Mohican companions, Chingachgook and Uncas.

These two are neither fully civilized nor Christian, but they do exhibit native intelligence, personal courage, and intense loyalty for their American friend – all traits that suggest a “capacity for growth” almost never accorded the fully beaten down Africans.

In turn, this seems to prompt the early Presidents not to enslave the Indians, but to reform them – to help them realize their potential under the guiding wing of a benevolent “Great White Father.”

Monroe’s 1817 Inaugural Address captures the obligations he feels America owes its first inhabitants:

*With the Indian tribes it is our duty to cultivate friendly relations and to act with kindness and liberality...
Equally proper is it to persevere in our efforts to extend to them the advantages of civilization.*

Adams’s 1825 speech reinforces the same theme in his wish to...

Extend equal protection to all the great interests of the nation (and) promote the civilization of the Indian tribes.

But it will not take long for the new President to discover that all the high-minded talk of “civilizing the noble savages” counts for little against the growing demands of speculators and settlers intent on driving the Indians off their historical homelands.

Time: 1825-1827

Georgia Forces Adams’s Hand In Support Of “Indian Removal”

The day before Adams takes office, the Treaty of Indian Springs is approved by the Senate. The terms have supposedly been worked out between chiefs of the Creek and Cherokee tribes in Georgia and two U.S. Commissioners – with the Indians ceding their lands in Georgia and Alabama in exchange for equal acreage in the west and a cash bonus of \$400,000. September 1, 1826 is set as the deadline for the tribes to move west.

But the deal is fraudulent, top to bottom, the work of only one Creek leader, John McIntosh, and Georgian officials eager to line their own pockets. When McIntosh is murdered by rival chiefs for his betrayals, the matter comes to Adams’s attention.

The President’s response is indecisive.

Even though he has signed the Treaty, he is troubled by the reports of fraud, and orders a halt to state land surveys scheduled to start sixteen months hence. This triggers a violent response from Governor George Troup of Georgia, who threatens to defy the President and begin the survey at once. At this point General Edmund Gaines is dispatched to investigate further. He sides with the Indians and reports that Troup is a “madman.” In turn, Adams signals Troup that U.S. military forces are to be used against any attempt by the state to enter the lands.

After Troup backs off, Adams tells the Creeks that Congress is unlikely to deny the original Treaty unless it can be replaced with a new one involving a land trade. The tribes meet and offer an option, but Adams tells them their proposed boundaries are unacceptable. Adams turns to his Cabinet in search of a solution.

Secretary of War Barbour argues for gradual diffusion of the Indians rather than any mass exodus, in hopes of seeing them assimilated into white civilization. Clay finds this impractical, saying that the Indians, like the Africans, are an inferior race, and will never be successfully integrated.

Senator Howell Cobb of Georgia, a rising southern spokesperson, tells Adams that his delegation will be forced to side with Jackson unless he acts immediately to enforce the original treaty. In characteristic fashion, Adams fires back at Cobb:

We could not do so without gross injustice. As to Georgia being driven to support General Jackson, I feel little care or concern for that.

After more pressure from Adams, the Creeks agree on January 24, 1826, to the Treaty of Washington, which fails its critics on two counts. First, it cedes more, but not all of their Georgia lands; second it sets a precedent whereby the U.S. officially recognizes the Indian tribes as “sovereign nations.”

Adams forwards the new Treaty to the Senate, but Governor Troup says that he plans to start surveying the land immediately, on the grounds that...

Georgia is sovereign on her own soil.

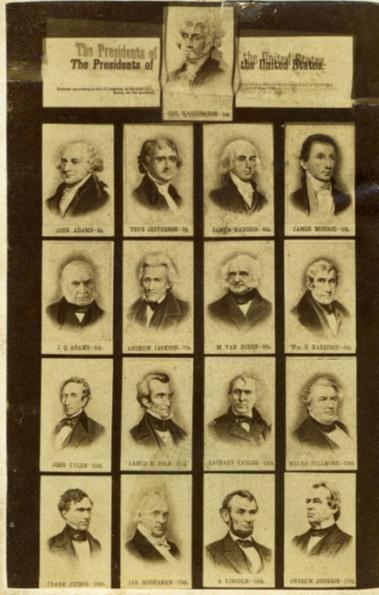
Clay urges Adams to send federal troops in to force Troup’s hand, but the President opts to push the Creeks once again to surrender more territory. And they do. On November 13, 1827 they cede their remaining land in Georgia in exchange for another \$42,000 and a promise that the government will protect them as they move west -- a promise ignored when the time comes.

Not only has Adams alienated Georgians and looked weak throughout the negotiations, he also concludes, in hindsight that he has violated his own ethical standards along the way.

These (treaties) are crying sins for which we are answerable, and before a higher jurisdiction.

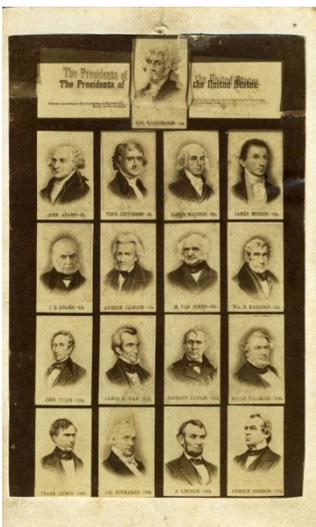
While unknowable, it may be that his sense of failure over treatment of the Indians will lead on to his often heroic stances later in life on behalf of the African slaves.

Chapter 79. Jefferson And Madison Die On America's 50th Anniversary Of Independence

	<p>Dates: 1826</p>	<p>Sections:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> America's Founders Continue To Pass Away
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Time: July 4, 1826

America's Founders Continue To Pass Away



American Presidents

One other event that marks Adams's term is the 50th anniversary celebration of independence from Britain.

As flag waving, parades and memorial speeches play out in local town squares across the nation, an eerie coincidence forever defines the moment, for all Americans, but especially for JQ Adams.

In Quincy, Massachusetts, his 90 year old father, lies dying. In the early morn, he is awakened momentarily by a memorial cannonade. When told that it is the Fourth, he replies: "It is a great day. It is a good day." Then he lapses. In the late afternoon his mind wanders back to the past and a reassuring thought: "Thomas Jefferson survives." A pause, and he is dead around 6:20PM.

But, ironically, so is Thomas Jefferson, at 83 years of age. As if by sheer will, he too struggles toward the memorial day. In the evening of July 3 he asserts a last wish, "this is the Fourth of July." When told that the day is indeed

approaching, he fades back into sleep. He wakes briefly around 4AM on the Fourth, then succumbs in the early afternoon, around 1:00PM.

The second and third presidents, dead on the same day, the day of the bold Declaration, of the grave risk giving way to the prospect of a glorious reward, now a half century in the past.

The two have shared a love-hate relationship over the entire time.

Adams plays the role of the squat New England Yankee, working his own farm in Quincy, horrified by slavery, constantly pinching pennies to end up with a \$100,000 estate at his demise, forever speaking his mind in plain language that lacks in diplomacy. It is he who coerces Jefferson into drafting the Declaration on the grounds that he is “ten times the better writer.”

Jefferson is the tall, rail-thin Southerner, master of his Monticello plantation run by slaves, a congenial spendthrift whose inheritance will be \$100,000 in debts, forever the quiet, often sneaky politician, but also the one truest author of America’s hopes and ideals. From the beginning he sees in Adams the “colossus of America’s independence” with the bulldog tenacity needed to make his elegant phrases come to life in practice.

Throughout their lives, both are certain they are right in their lifestyles and convictions.

Adams knows the nation needs a strong central government run by the best people to keep it safe and promote prosperity. Jefferson is sure that local governments are better equipped to solve problems and that concentrated federal power will ultimately cost the people their freedom.

Eventually their political differences lead to a painful falling out.

But this ends in 1812 when their mutual friend, Dr. Benjamin Rush, prompts a rapprochement in the form of a short New Year’s day letter sent by Adams to Jefferson. It will be one of the 380 notes the two will exchange from then on, reflecting on the country’s past and future.

They are both amazed and pleased by what they have proven together – the many promises of government by the people and for the people.

Both, however, also sense that something is being lost in America, that the once strong bonds of Union may be fraying in the face of sectional differences. In a moment of nostalgia, Adams recalls the spirit of 1776:

I look back with rapture on those golden days when Virginia and Massachusetts lived and acted together like a band of brothers.

Jefferson is laid to rest at 5PM, the day after his death, in a simple ceremony at Monticello. No invitations are sent out, but friends are allowed to visit his grave. According to his wishes, a headstone in the shape of an obelisk spells out the three things he wishes to be remembered for.

*Here was buried
Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of American Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
& Father of the University of Virginia*

Adams's funeral is held in Quincy on July 7, with some 4,000 spectators on hand. It is marked by canon salutes and a procession, including dignitaries from Congressman Daniel Webster to John Kirkland, head of Harvard College, to Governor Levi Lincoln, from Adams's home to the First Congregational Church. Three weeks later Webster eulogizes both Adams and Jefferson at Faneuil Hall in Boston.

Their fame, indeed, is safe. Although no sculptured marble, should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance... remain; for which American Liberty it rose, and with American Liberty Only can it perish.

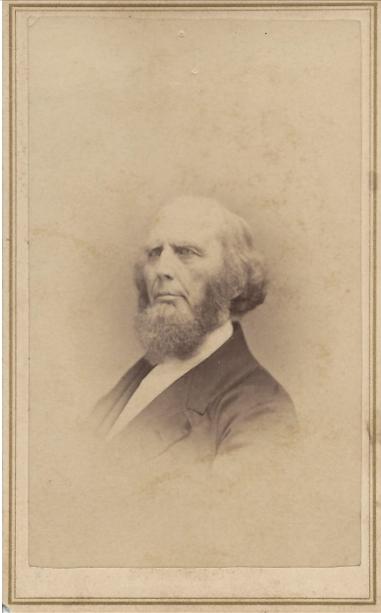
Their deaths in 1826 narrow the list of survivors from the revolutionary period. The two Pinckneys are gone. Luther Martin, Rufus King and John Jay will follow soon. When Charles Carroll dies in 1832 all signers of the Declaration will have passed – and less than five years later, the voices of the remaining founders are silenced.

Founders Who Live On Past 1820

1820+	Deaths	At Age
Charles Pinckney	Oct 29, 1824	67
CC Pinckney	Aug 16, 1825	79
William Eustis	Feb 6, 1825	71
John Adams	July 4, 1826	90
Thomas Jefferson	July 4, 1826	83
Luther Martin	July 8, 1826	78
Rufus King	April 29, 1827	72
John Jay	May 17, 1829	83
James Monroe	July 4, 1831	73
Charles Carroll III	Nov 14, 1832	95
John Randolph	May 24, 1833	59
William Johnson	Aug 4, 1834	62
Nathaniel Dane	Feb 15, 1835	82
John Marshall	July 6, 1835	79
James Madison	June 28, 1836	85
Aaron Burr	Sept 14, 1836	80

It will now be left to the next generation to continue to advance America along the paths laid out by the founders.

Chapter 80 -- A Second Great Religious Awakening Sweeps Across America



Dates:
1825-1840

Sections:

- A Secure Nation Looks Inward For Guidance
- An Evangelical Spirit Takes Root
- The Awakening Is Led By The Preacher, Charles Grandison Finney
- Unitarians Join The Call For Social Reform
- The Transcendentalists Preach Simplification

Time: 1820-1840

A Secure Nation Looks Inward For Guidance

The Monroe and Adams presidencies mark the first time in American history where the nation feels genuinely secure about its ability to withstand threats of war and invasion from abroad. The British have been twice beaten, and the specter of Napoleon is fading. At long last, fortress America is safe.

What follows from this is a remarkable period of reflection, which takes hold of the public conscience between 1820 and 1840. It resurrects the deeply religious origins of the early colonial period and causes common men and women to step back from their daily toil and examine progress made toward the visions announced by their ancestors – namely, the creation of a virtuous society, the “shining city on a hill,” and their own personal efforts to achieve personal salvation.

The result is a “moral reawakening” that harkens back to the colonist’s original flight from England -- and eventually lead to an Evangelical movements that will gradually reform the contemporary social fabric.

To a large extent, the 17th century voyagers to America were Protestant religious zealots, “puritans” of one form or another, seeking to escape the “corruptions” they associated with the established Anglican Church, and find their own path to righteousness and eternal life.

In the First Great Awakening of the 1730’s their quest led to the formation of a wide range of new sects – Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists – joining the already established Puritan, Anglican, Quaker

and Baptist churches. During the Enlightenment period, non-traditional Deists (“a religion of reason”) appear, along with small pockets of immigrant Catholics and Jews.

But still America remains as congenitally restless over its churches as it is over its government.

Much of the ongoing religious inquiry originates within the walls of America’s early universities and seminaries, whose prospective ministers engage in lively theological debates.

American Universities Founded By Churches

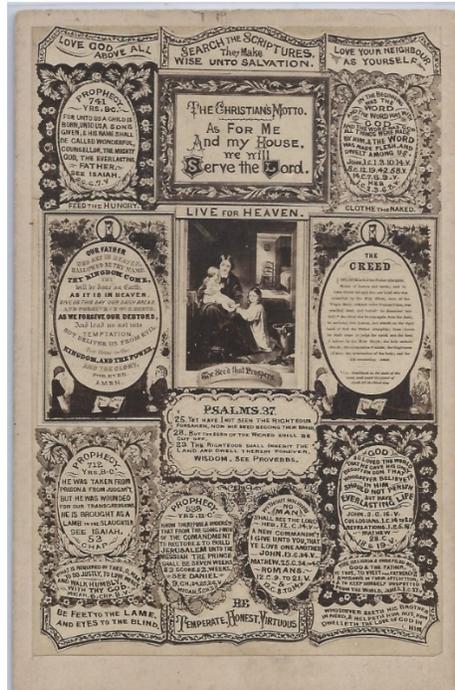
Name	Year	Church Affiliation
Harvard	1636	Congregationalist
William & Mary	1693	Church of England
Yale	1701	Congregationalist
Princeton	1746	Presbyterian
Columbia	1754	Church of England
Penn	1757	Anglican/Methodists
Brown	1764	Baptist
Rutgers	1766	Dutch Reformed
Dartmouth	1769	Congregationalist

Some of these relate to matters of liturgy and doctrine; some question the authority of a clerical hierarchy to set rules for their laymen; others seek to fundamentally alter the ways in which preachers interact with their congregations in the search for redemption and salvation.

Taken together they lead on to a Second Great Religious Awakening which sweeps across America between 1820 and 1840.

Time: 1820-1840

An Evangelical Spirit Takes Root



The Lord's Prayer and Other Religious Admonitions

The Second Great Awakening mirrors the fervency brought to bear by the great Puritan preacher, Jonathan Edwards. It sounds an Evangelical message that will henceforth become a part of America's religious landscape:

The good news promise of eternal salvation for sinners who adopt Jesus Christ as their savior.

In tenor, this awakening is much "gentler" than its predecessor. It shifts away from the harsh determinism of Calvin, where each man is "elected by God" at birth to be saved or damned, and nothing they can do will alter their destiny. Instead it embraces the "Arminian" conviction – proposed by the 16th century Dutch Reformed theologian Jacob Arminius – that every man can be saved by exercising his own "free will" to live in accord with the virtues set out by Jesus Christ.

This new message is delivered less from the elevated pulpit in solemn church services than in open air tent meetings where Evangelical ministers can wander among the masses and lay their hands on those coming forth to join the crusade.

The Word to be shared at these "revivalist events" comes directly from "the good book" – the King James Bible – which is to be read by each person and interpreted into a personal agenda that will lead on to salvation.

These individual agendas become “causes” – and, as such, they take on great meaning for those making their commitments. As in the Biblical book of John 12:27:

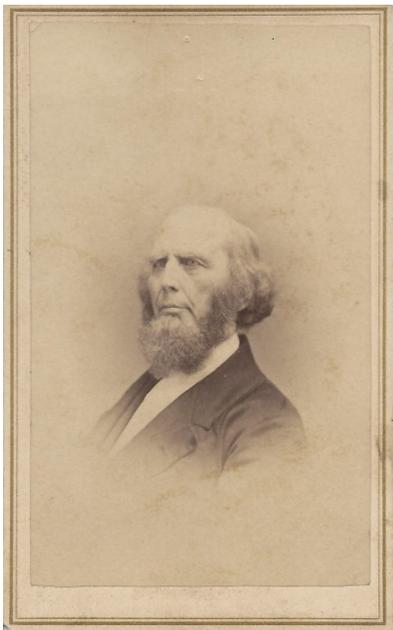
But for this cause, came I, unto this hour.

The central unifying cause within the Second Awakening movement lies in creating a more virtuous society for the benefit of all citizens.

In helping to save others, the Evangelicals believe they are saving themselves.

Time: 1821 Forward

The Awakening Is Led By The Preacher, Charles Grandison Finney



Reverend Charles Finney (1792-1875)

Of all the clergymen who propel the Second Awakening none has greater influence than the Reverend Charles Grandison Finney.

Finney is born into a farming family in Warren, Connecticut, in 1792, the youngest of 15 children. As a youth he dabbles in various academic interests before deciding to apprentice as a lawyer. He is engaged in the profession in 1821, when he happens to attend a religious revival meeting in the town of Adams, New York – and undergoes a spiritual transformation.

The Holy Spirit descended upon me in a manner that seemed to go through me, body and soul. I could feel the impression, like a wave of electricity, going through and through me. Indeed it seemed to come in waves of liquid love, for I could not express it in any other way. It seemed like the very breath of God. I can remember distinctly that it seemed to fan me, like immense wings. No words can express the wonderful love that was spread abroad in my heart.

Finney has found his calling, and he signs on as an apprentice to George Gale, a Presbyterian minister, who tries, unsuccessfully, to have him enroll in a theological seminary. Despite resistance to formal training, he is finally ordained in 1824, and sets off to spread the word of God, beginning in the Oneida county region of central New York state around the towns of Utica, Rome and Syracuse.

What distinguishes Finney from other clergymen is his “preaching style.”

At 6’3” tall and with piercing eyes, he stands in front of his audience and speaks to them in plain terms.

He is not interested in expounding on the intellectual intricacies of church doctrine – rather on seeking immediate converts to Christ among those in his presence. He does so by offering them a choice.

On one hand, to continue living as a sinner in the City of Man, and facing the eternal fire and brimstone punishments decreed by the traditional Calvinists. On the other, to cross over to the Kingdom of God and a future of virtuous behavior and eternal salvation and joy.

Furthermore he assures them that the power to choose lies entirely in their hands.

“Election” is not pre-determined. It is open to all who embrace the “indwelling spirit” of Christ that lives inside each of them. All they need to do is step forward right now to make their commitment to be saved.

After several days of near continuous preaching, a groundswell of emotion – often marked by apparent trances, swoons and convulsions -- dominates these revival meetings. All leading to the denouement, the moment of conversion, with Finney calling out attendees by name, one after another, and asking them to come forward to declare their rebirth in Christ.

In another break with precedent, his call extends to women – whose role in church and social matters has been one of silence and conformity. Instead he asks women to speak up, to share their beliefs and feelings, to become full participants in the cause. Over time, the “voice of women” he encourages will play a vital role in a host of social reforms in America.

As the legions of Finney converts grows, both his theological tenets and his “preaching style” are questioned by the orthodox Protestant clergy of New England, most notably Lyman Beecher, the Yale-educated minister who favors the traditional Calvinist brand of Presbyterianism..

But Finney survives the challenges and expands his reach eastward into Wilmington, New York city, Philadelphia and, most notably, Rochester – where his revival meetings would shut down the entire town. Even Beecher is amazed. He concludes that the summer meetings of 1831 in Rochester are:

The greatest work of God, and the greatest revival of religion, that the world has ever seen in so short a time.

Other clergymen liken Finney’s effects to a religious prairie fire, and, after he departs the towns of western New York state, they are forever known as the “burnt over district,” signaling no souls left to be saved.

In 1835 Finney moves his home base to the recently founded Oberlin Collegiate Institute in Ohio, where, over the next 40 years, he builds the school into a beacon of light in support of “perfecting” man and society. During his first year, he convinces Oberlin to become the first college in the U.S. to admit blacks. He serves as President of the college from 1851 to 1866 and remains active there until his death in 1875.



Oberlin College, Ohio, where the Reverend Finney served from 1835 to 1866.

Finney's legacy, however, goes far beyond revival meetings and Oberlin College to the reform works carried out by his converts. As was the case with the Methodists Wesley and Whitehurst in the 1730's, Finney's intent is to encourage those reborn in Christ to undertake personal missions – in support of temperance, caring for the poor, prison reforms, child labor laws, equal treatment for women, and ending slavery in America.

Time: 1820 Forward

Unitarians Join The Call For Social Reform



William Ellery Channing (1780-1842)

Others catch the revivalist spirit prompting a host of uniquely American religious movements, some founded by clerics and others by laypeople, to spring up.

One that flourishes over time is the Unitarian Church.

The Church traces its roots to various Enlightenment thinkers in mid-16th century England and eastern Europe who dissent from fundamental tenets of both the Catholic and the Protestant churches.

Their most dramatic dissent focuses on the very “nature of God” – arguing that He is “one indivisible entity” rather than the three-person construct of the Trinity. In turn, Jesus Christ becomes a symbol for them of a life of perfect virtue to which all men should aspire – but not of “divinity itself,” as taught in traditional Christianity.

This belief in the unity of God gives the church its name.

The epicenter of the Unitarian movement in America becomes King's Chapel Church in Boston where, in 1785, the Episcopalian minister, James Freeman, begins to preach some of its core beliefs, adopted during his study at Harvard Divinity school.

It is not, however, until 1819 that another Harvard graduate, William Ellery Channing, fully codifies the Unitarian canon.

It rejects the Calvinist notions of original sin and pre-destination of the elect in favor of an Arminian-like insistence on free will, and the potential for salvation of all who lead a life of virtue, like Christ. (Although one branch, the Universalists, posit that an infinitely merciful deity will forgive and save all, in the end.)

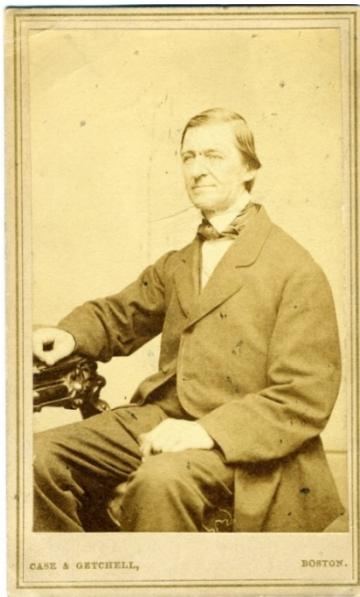
Channing's formulations also insist that, despite any differences, all men are creatures of God and, as such, deserve to be treated in a fair and equal fashion – marked by a sense of dignity and compassion.

The Unitarian's message is met by mixed reactions. Traditional Christians regard the view of Jesus as a prophet rather than a divinity as heretical. But others, more drawn to Enlightenment and Deist thought, embrace its emphasis on free will and the idea that good works open a path to salvation for every man.

One early convert to Unitarianism is none other than John Quincy Adams, who joins the church in 1826 after growing up within the stern tenets of Calvinism, and embraces his mission to end slavery in America.

Time: 1820-Forward

The Transcendentalists Preach Simplification



Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)

Transcendentalism is another movement that springs up at Harvard Divinity School during the 1820's and 1830's in conjunction with debates surrounding Unitarianism.

Both philosophies share a conviction that man is inherently good and is capable of attaining salvation through exercising reason and free will on behalf of social progress.

Transcendentalists emphasize two other beliefs.

One is that the natural world serves as a powerful symbol of God's hand in the universe, and an inspiration to man to return to the simplicity and purity it offers.

If the Unitarians rely mainly on the intellect to guide its followers, the Transcendentalists find inspiration in the beauty, tranquility and lessons found in the great outdoors. For them, nature "transcends" the limited works of man, especially in the often debased realms of politics and organized religion, and also in the trend toward materialism and greed.



Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862)

The other Transcendentalist theme focuses on the unlimited potential of individual men and women to reshape their lives and their societies.

These messages will be developed over time by two leaders of the Transcendentalist movement, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau.

Emerson is the intellectual, at home within the social milieu of Harvard and Cambridge, eager to debate and lobby for his views. Thoreau is the rebel, inclined to lengthy retreats into the woods at Walden Pond to gain perspective on life, and ever ready for personal acts of “passive defiance” against government actions that violate his sense of justice.

Thoreau’s consistent mantra – “simplify, simplify” – argues that salvation lies in a return to the enduring values found in nature: astonishing beauty, balance and tranquility, away from the vexations and distractions inherent in modern society.

Emerson’s messages are two-fold. First he rails against what he sees as America’s growing focus on securing possessions (“things”) in this world rather than eternal salvation in the next.

Things are in the saddle and ride mankind.

Second, he challenges every man to live up to the amazing potential that lies within.

We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds... A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men. So shall we come to look at the world with new eyes. It shall answer the endless inquiry of the intellect, — What is truth? and of the affections, — What is good? by yielding itself passive to the educated... Will. ...Build, therefore, your own world. As fast as you conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions. A correspondent revolution in things will attend the influx of the spirit.