American History: A Survey

Chapter 6: The Constitution and the New Republic
Who wanted a more centralized government?

- wealthiest and most powerful groups (to deal with economic problems)
- some military personnel
- American manufacturers, merchants, shippers (to replace state tariffs with uniformity)
- land speculators (to remove the Indian “menace”)
- large property owners (to provide protection from mobs, in light of Shays’s Rebellion)
Constitutional Convention of 1787

Core Conflicts

- bankers vs. debtors
- northern (commercial) vs. southern (rural slave) economic interests
- economic competition between the states
- supporters of a strong central govt vs. supporters of individual and states’ rights
- slave states versus non-slave states
Constitutional Convention, 1787

**Goals**

- **the dilemma**: design a strong central govt while safeguarding individual liberties

- prevent a tyranny of the majority AND of the minority

- have sufficient powers to create conditions for both short-term and long-term economic development

- formulate and conduct a more effective foreign policy
Two Proposals for Representation

Key Concept 3.2 (IIB)

- **Virginia Plan**: called for a lower house of Congress elected by the people, which in turn would elect members to an upper house
- **New Jersey Plan**: called for a unicameral legislature with each state receiving one vote

**Great Compromise** (dealing with representation in Congress):

- A state’s representation in the House of Representatives was to be based on population
- The states’ representation in the Senate would be equal (two senators for each state)
- Direct taxes on states were to be assessed according to population
Important Compromises
Key Concept 3.2 (IIB)

Commerce Compromise (regulating trade and commerce):

- The South agreed to federal control over foreign and interstate trade.
- The federal government was given the authority to collect import taxes, but there would be no duties on exports.
- The importation of slaves would be permitted for twenty years, until 1808.
- (The constitutional framers postponed a solution to the problems of slavery and the slave trade, setting the stage for recurring conflicts over these issues in later years.)
Important Compromises
Key Concepts 3.2 (IIB) and 3.2 (IIIB)

Three-Fifths Compromise (counting slaves for representation in Congress):

- Three-fifths of a state’s slave population would be counted for purposes of taxation and representation
- A fugitive slave law required that runaway slaves who escaped to a free state must be returned to their owners
- (Southerners – ironically, given that they considered slaves property – demanded that slaves be counted in the census the same as full citizens, to increase the South’s representation. This helped southern planters dominate the national government until 1860.)
Intellectual Influences on the Framers

- Scientific Revolution of the 17th century and Enlightenment of the 18th century (both added to the Framers’ understanding of natural law and human behavior)
  - Newton, Calvin, Hobbes, Locke

- We see a direct correlation between these ideas and the principles and mechanisms of the Constitution that reflect bicameralism, separation of powers, checks and balances, and federalism.
The Ratification Debate: Federalists vs. Anti-federalists

- Those who advocated for the new government were known as federalists; opponents were called Anti-federalists.

- In order to convince the voting public in the crucial state of New York to support ratification, Madison, Hamilton, and Jay wrote *The Federalist Papers*, arguing that an elaborate constitutional system was needed to prevent both tyranny and mob rule.

- Madison, Hamilton, and Jay pointed out that authority would be divided among the president, a bicameral legislature, and a judiciary. Each branch of government would “check and balance” the others and so preserve liberty.
The Federalist Papers

Federalist #10

- No. 10 addresses the question of how to guard against "factions", or groups of citizens, with interests contrary to the rights of others or the interests of the whole community. Madison argued that a strong republic would be a better guard against those dangers than the individual states.

Federalist #51

- No. 51 addresses means by which appropriate checks and balances can be created in government and also advocates a separation of powers within the national government.
Federalists and Anti-federalists

Federalists
- Support came mainly from coastal and urban areas and from the upper classes—merchants, financiers, shippers, planters, though not all upper class citizens were Federalists

Anti-Federalists
- Support came mainly from backcountry and agricultural areas, debtors, and people philosophically opposed to a strong central government
Federalists and Anti-federalists

**Federalists**
- Prominent leaders included Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Franklin
- They favored a strong central govt to maintain peace and stability and to strengthen the Union in ways that the AOC could not

**Anti-Federalists**
- Prominent leaders included Patrick Henry, John Hancock, and George Mason, Richard Henry Lee
- They opposed a central govt that did not guarantee protection of individual rights. They believed the Constitution subordinated states’ rights
Federalists and Anti-Federalists: A Debate Between Two Fears

Federalist Fears

- Federalists were afraid of disorder, anarchy, chaos, of the unchecked power of the masses
- Federalists wanted a government that would be strong enough to act against threats to order and stability

Anti-Federalist Fears

- Anti-Federalists were afraid of the dangers of concentrated power than about the dangers of popular will
- Anti-Federalists opposed the Constitution because it lacked a **Bill of Rights** safeguarding fundamental personal rights

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The Constitution

Key Concept 3.2 (IIC)

- The Constitution created a new framework for American development. By assigning to Congress power over tariffs, interstate commerce, the coining of money, patents, rules for bankruptcy, and by prohibiting states from interfering with property rights, it made possible a national economic market. It created national political institutions, reduced the powers of the states, and sought to place limits on popular democracy.

- Ironically, the parts of the Constitution Americans most value today – the freedoms of speech, the press, and religion; protection against unjust criminal procedures; – were not in the original document. All of these were contained in the first ten amendments, known as the **Bill of Rights**.
It is ironical that the Constitution, which Americans venerate so deeply, is based upon a political theory that at one crucial point stands in direct antithesis to the main stream of American democratic faith. Modern American folklore assumes that democracy and liberty are all but identical, and when democratic writers take the trouble to make the distinction, they usually assume that democracy is necessary to liberty. But the Founding Fathers thought that the liberty with which they were most concerned was menaced by democracy. In their minds liberty was linked not to democracy but to property.

- Richard Hofstadter (The American Political Tradition) 1948
The New Jersey Plan would most likely be supported by

A) States with large populations
B) States with small populations
C) States in the South
D) States in the North
President George Washington

In 1789, Washington received every electoral vote, the only president in history so honored.

Although many thought that Washington could serve as president for life, he retired to Mount Vernon at the conclusion of his second term, thus establishing a precedent unbroken until 1940.
Alexander Hamilton’s Economic Plan

Key Concept 3.2 (IID)

- Hamilton’s immediate aims were to establish the nation’s financial stability, bring to the government’s support the country’s most powerful financial interests, and encourage economic development. His long-term goal was to make the United States a major commercial and military power. Hamilton’s model was Great Britain. Bolster national credit, have Congress to fund the national debt “at par”

- **Funding at par**: the federal govt would pay off its debts at face value

- **Assumption**: state debts could be regarded as a national obligation, chaining states more tightly to the federal govt

- *Why is the District of Columbia on the Potomac?*

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The U.S. owed an enormous amount of money to creditors. Hamilton suggested that the U.S. pay off its domestic and foreign debts at face value (funding at par), and that all states must share in the burden of debt.

Critics saw this aspect of Hamilton’s plan as an opportunity to transfer money to self-centered speculators.

In the end, Southerners agreed to support this if the United States capitol was relocated.

Hamilton envisioned the development of manufacturing, accomplished through:
- Tariffs, loans, and grants for businesses
- Excise taxes to raise revenue to finance the government and to aid businesses
- Infrastructural development
Excise Tax

Key Concept 3.2 (IID)

**Excise Tax**: an indirect tax on certain items.

Hamilton’s high excise tax bore harshly on the homespun pioneer folk. They regarded it not as a tax on a luxury but as a burden on an economic necessity and a medium of exchange.

The **Whiskey Rebellion** was minuscule – some three rebels killed – but its consequences were mighty.

*What is the significance of the Whiskey Rebellion?*
Testing the Constitution

Shays’s Rebellion
- Who?
- What?
- When?
- Where?
- Why?
- So what?

Whiskey Rebellion
- Who?
- What?
- When?
- Where?
- Why?
- So what?
Hamilton’s Proposal For A National Bank: Was it constitutional?

Key Concept 3.2 (IID)

Hamilton   Jefferson
Hamilton’s Proposal For A National Bank: Was it constitutional?

Key Concept 3.2 (IID)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hamilton</th>
<th>Jefferson</th>
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<tr>
<td>▪ For it, insisting that what the Constitution did not forbid it permitted</td>
<td>▪ Against it, insisting that what the Constitution did not permit, it forbade</td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ Congress may pass any laws “necessary and proper”</td>
<td>▪ All powers not specifically granted to the central govt were reserved to the states</td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ “implied powers” of Congress</td>
<td>▪ “strict” interpretation of the Constitution</td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ “loose” interpretation of the Constitution</td>
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Emergence of Political Parties

Key Concepts 3.1 (IIIIC) and 4.1 (IA)

- Political factions existed even before the Constitution went into effect. The disagreement between Hamilton and Jefferson led to the development of political parties. Each man’s supporters recognized the need to organize in order to gain control of the government and implement their philosophy.

- The feud between Jefferson and Hamilton turned into a bitter political rivalry. The **Federalists** gravitated to Alexander Hamilton. The **Democratic-Republicans** (or simply Republicans) gravitated to James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. Party identity crystallized in 1796.

- The appearance of Federalists and Republicans *(having nothing to do with the current Republican party)* marked a new stage in American politics, the **First Party System**.

APUSH: MR. ROLOFSON
The Birth of Political Parties

Key Concepts 3.1 (IIIC) and 4.1 (IA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federalists</th>
<th>Democratic-Republicans</th>
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<td>- Associated with aristocracy</td>
<td>- Associated with the masses</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Encouraged the development of industry</td>
<td>- Encouraged the development of agriculture</td>
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<td>- Favored an alliance with Great Britain</td>
<td>- Favored an alliance with France</td>
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<td>- Championed a strong central government at the expense of individual states</td>
<td>- Championed a weak central government in favor of strengthening the states</td>
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Federalists and Democratic –Republicans

Key Concept 3.1 (III C) and 4.1 (IA)

- By the mid-1790s, two increasingly coherent parties had appeared in Congress, calling themselves Federalists and Republicans. Both parties laid claim to the language of liberty, and each accused its opponent of engaging in a conspiracy to destroy it.

- Each emerging party considered itself the representative of the nation and the other an illegitimate “faction.” Each charged the other with betraying the principles of the War of Independence and of American freedom.
The French Revolution (1789-1799) Divides Americans

Key Concept 3.1 (IIIb)

- American farmers and merchants profited handsomely from the French Revolution and tensions in Europe. President Washington issued a **Proclamation of Neutrality** in 1793, allowing U.S. citizens to trade with all belligerents. American firms quickly took over the lucrative sugar trade between France and its West Indian islands.

- As Americans profited from Europe’s struggles, they argued passionately over its ideologies. Most Americans welcomed the French Revolution. However, fearing social revolution at home, wealthy Americans condemned revolutionary French leaders. Their fears were well founded, because Hamilton’s economic policies quickly sparked a domestic insurgency in the **Whiskey Rebellion** (1794) to protest Hamilton’s excise tax. Like the Sons of Liberty and the Shaysites, the Whiskey Rebels assailed the tax collectors who sent the farmers’ hard-earned money to a distant government.
The Haitian Revolution

Key Concept 3.2 (IIIC)

- The same Jeffersonian’s who hailed the French Revolution as a step in the universal progress of liberty reacted in horror against the slave revolution that began in 1791 in Haiti. The slave uprising led to the establishment of Haiti as an independent nation in 1804.

- The Haitian Revolution affirmed the universality of the revolutionary era’s creed of liberty. It inspired hopes for freedom among slaves in the United States.

- (The American Revolution and the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence had reverberations in France, Haiti, and Latin America, inspiring future rebellions.)
Events During Washington’s Presidency
Key Concept 3.2 (IID) and 3.3 (IIC)

- How did the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans respond to the French Revolution?
- Neutrality Proclamation of 1793: pledges mutual friendship and the desire to trade with both nations
- Edmond Genet: ignores Washington’s proclamation and continued to pursue an alliance anyway (Citizen Genet Affair)
- Jay’s Treaty: Britain agreed to withdraw troops from the Ohio Valley and the U.S. agreed to pay outstanding pre-revolutionary war debts to British creditors.
- Pinckney’s Treaty: Western settlers sought free navigation of the Mississippi River. This gave Americans access to the Mississippi in exchange for promises of nonaggression in the West.
During and after the colonial war for independence, various tribes attempted to forge advantageous political alliances with one another and with European powers to protect their interests, limit migration of white settlers, and maintain their tribal lands. As in the past, the major struggle between natives and Europeans centered on land rights. The U.S. government asserted both sovereignty over and ownership of the trans-Appalachian west. Indian nations pointed out that they had not been conquered and had not signed the Treaty of Paris (1783).

American leaders agreed that the West should not be left in Indian hands, but they disagreed about the Indians’ ultimate fate. The government hoped to encourage the westward expansion of white settlement, which implied one of three things; the removal of the Indian population to lands even farther west, their total disappearance, or their incorporation into white “civilization.”
Treaties and Indian Lands

Key Concepts 3.1 (IC) and 3.3 (IIB)

- Open warfare continued in the Ohio Valley. Led by Little Turtle, Western Confederacy warriors crushed American forces in 1790-91. This was the costliest loss ever suffered by the United States Army at the hands of Indians.

- Fearing an alliance between the Western Confederacy and the British in Canada, Washington doubled the size of the U.S. Army.

- **Treaty of Greenville**: Under the terms of the treaty, the Miami Confederacy agreed to cede territory in the Old Northwest to the U.S. in exchange for cash payment, hunting rights, and recognition of sovereignty.
President John Adams

Adams deserves credit for his belated push for peace with France. Adams not only avoided war, but also unwittingly smoothed the path for the peaceful purchase of Louisiana three years later (under the Jefferson administration).
Events During Adams’ Presidency: The Alien and Sedition Acts

- What is the significance of the XYZ Affair?

- Alien and Sedition Acts (1798): aimed directly at Irish and French immigrants (who tended to support the Democratic-Republicans). A new Nationalization Act extended from five to fourteen years the residency requirement for immigrants seeking American citizenship. The Alien Act extended the time required for foreigners to become American citizens from five years to fourteen years and gave Congress the power to expel aliens. The Sedition Act banned public criticism of the president and Congress and was used to silence Democratic-Republican newspapers.
Events During Adams’ Presidency:  
The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions  
Key Concept 3.2 (IID)

- The Alien and Sedition Acts failed to silence the Republican press. The **Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions** were written anonymously (by Madison and Jefferson). These resolutions proclaimed the Alien and Sedition Acts null and void in those states, starting the debate over whether the states or the federal government had final authority.

- No other state endorsed the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions. Many Americans were horrified by the idea of state action that might endanger the Union.

- However, broad revulsion against the Alien and Sedition Acts contributed greatly to Jefferson’s election as president in 1800.
“Revolution” of 1800

- *Which had more of an impact on American and world history, the Declaration of Independence or the election of 1800?*

- **“Revolution” of 1800**: with the election of 1800, or “revolution” of 1800, the Federalist party lost the White House to the Democratic-Republicans. This transfer of power without bloodshed was a remarkable feat for the times. The “Revolution” of 1800 proved that the new nation could survive.

- Jefferson’s victory would not have been possible without slavery. Had three-fifths of the slaves not been counted in apportionment, John Adams would have been reelected in 1800.
The Alien and Sedition Acts were intended to accomplish all of the following EXCEPT

A) silence critics of the Federalist government.
B) target immigrant voters.
C) boost the power and popularity of Jeffersonian Democrats.
D) raise residency requirements for citizenship.