

From 'Factions' to Attack Ads – A History of American Politics

Class 2

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What We Will Cover Today

- The American Revolution
 - Notes About the Constitution
- From George Washington to the Civil War
 - Factions
 - The Origins and Demise of the First Party System
 - The Origins and Demise of the Second Party System
 - Jacksonian Democracy and its Implications
 - Major Trends impacting on Politics

Politics and the American Revolution

Road to Revolution - 1

- From their beginnings to the 1760s, England had largely left the American colonies on their own. This reflected:
 - Political turmoil in 17th century England as crown battled parliament for supremacy
 - English Crown's fiscal poverty
 - Colonies left to defend themselves
 - England's involvement in a succession of 18th century wars with France

Road to Revolution - 2

- Between 1660 and 1760, England's elite created a set of new institutions which still dominate English life
 - A Royal Navy that dominated the seas
 - The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
 - Bank of England
 - The regimental tradition of the British Army
 - The concept of the king-in-parliament and the institution of the prime minister
 - Whitehall bureaucracy

Road to Revolution - 3

- Despite England's military buildup, the colonies were still left to fend for themselves since
 - British military strategy was focused on protecting England and Ireland from French invasion and supporting European allies on the Continent
 - In so far as resources were diverted to the Western Hemisphere, they went to protect the sugar-producing islands of the West Indies

Impact of the Seven Years War

- The Seven Year War brought about 25,000 British troops to the colonies -- the first time that British troops had conducted military operations on the American mainland.
- The Seven Years War brought American soldiers from different colonies together in various campaigns
 - The soldiers from different colonies saw that they were more alike than different and that they were all different from the British

Impacts of British Victory - 1

- The British Victory in the Seven Years War which ended in 1763 had several consequences, all of which led to the American Revolution
 - The conquest of Canada deprived the colonists and the British of a common enemy that had united them in the past
 - This victory encouraged the British to restructure the Empire and make the colonists pay a greater share of the costs
 - The victory emboldened the colonists to defy the British because they no longer needed protection from the French

Impacts of British Victory - 2

- The Seven Years War doubled the British national debt from a prewar £73 million to a postwar £137 million, with interest payments consuming more than 60% of the annual budget.
 - In addition, the crown decided to maintain a 10,000 man garrison in the colonies, primarily in Canada and the Great Lakes
- This led Parliament to begin taxing the colonies

Impacts of British Victory - 3

- Permitted the large colonial population to break through the Appalachian Mountains into the vast Mississippi River Valley watershed
 - This led to major Indian wars – one with the Cherokees in the South and the other with the Indians of the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes
 - To mollify the Indians, the British in a royal proclamation in 1763 barred settlement west of the Appalachians
 - The British also decided to station approximately 10,000 troops in Canada and the Great Lakes area

Impacts of British Victory - 4

- American leaders feared that small new taxes would set precedents for future increasing levies
 - This would enrich an official elite around the royal governors while impoverishing common taxpayers and limiting social mobility
 - It would abridge both the traditional autonomy of the colonies and the property rights of the colonists

Impact of the Stamp Act

- The Stamp Act taxes fell most heavily on newsprint and legal documents
 - this offended four groups capable of causing serious trouble for the British – newspaper printers, lawyers, merchants, & college students
 - These groups constituted the opinion makers of the colonies
 - It politicized the press by making it a forum for discussion and protest, turning protest into a coherent opposition movement

Bringing America into Line

- Besides taxing the colonies, England tried to bring the American colonies into line with English practices
 - In 1758, the Archbishop of Canterbury tried to create a uniform Anglican religious establishment in the American colonies
 - In 1774, Governor Bernard of Massachusetts proposed the creation of an American peerage similar to that of the Irish peerage
- These constituted additional causes of colonial fear and resentment

Road to Revolution

- British policies after 1763 threatened three of the major American cultures
 - The Puritans resented any interference with their local autonomy
 - The Tidewater gentry felt economically exploited by the debts caused by their single cash-crop dependence
 - The backcountry frontiersmen resented English treatment in their native homeland and the prohibition of settlement west of the Appalachians
- Result: these cultures forgot their differences and joined together in the movement that led to the American Revolution

Breaking Away from Great Britain

- The loyalists who opposed the Revolution tended to be groups outside the major regional cultures
 - The imperial elites in the colonial capitals
 - Ethnic groups who lived on the margins of the major cultures – the polyglot population of lower New York, the Highland Scots of Carolina, and the African slaves
- The Delaware Valley with its pacifist Quaker and German Pietist populations was largely neutral
- Also largely neutral were the large plantation owners of the South Carolina & Georgia coasts

The Founding Fathers and the Constitution

Articles of Confederation - 1

- Created by the Second Continental Congress in 1777
- Served as a provisional government during and after the Revolutionary War out of a need to have "a plan of confederacy for securing the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States."

Articles of Confederation - 2

- Key Provisions
 - Each state had one vote
 - A state could have from 2 to 7 members in its delegation
 - Delegates appointed by state legislatures
 - Could declare war, set weights and measures, and adjudicate disputes between states
 - Could request that states provide funds, but could not tax citizens directly
 - Declared the confederation to be “a perpetual union”

Articles of Confederation

- Weaknesses
 - Could not enforce its edicts or decisions
 - Could not tax
 - Could not regulate interstate commerce or foreign trade
 - Lacked both an executive and a national court
 - Was unable to pay Revolutionary War debts
 - Amending the Articles required the consent of all the states

The Constitutional Convention

- Called to address the following issues
 - The Debt Question
 - Creating a system of public credit (i.e public debt)
 - Shay's Rebellion & Domestic Dissention within the states
 - Aggravated by the post-Revolutionary War recession
 - Reconciling a belief in popular sovereignty with a fear of popular democracy and the tyranny of a majority
 - Weakness of the Confederation Government

The Constitutional Convention - 2

- While addressing the issues noted above, the Convention decided to:
 - Scrap the Articles of Confederation
 - Create a new Constitution
- The Convention:
 - Lasted from May 14th to September 17th 1787
 - Was presided over by George Washington
 - Conducted its deliberations in secret

Some Notes about the Constitution - 1

- The Constitution embodied the concept of “federalism” as a compromise between the idea of a loose confederation and a strong unitary state
- One purpose of the Constitution was to create an institutional consensus in which all the regional cultures could interact while mutually agreeing to respect their various differences

Some Notes About the Constitution - 2

- The Constitution was a product of the elites of New England, the Middle Colonies, the Tidewater South, and the Deep South
- Over time, the Constitution's framers came to be seen as visionaries and venerated as "founding fathers."
 - They came to be seen as wiser than current generations
 - This gave rise to "Originalism" and the belief that we have strayed from the intentions of the founding fathers and that we need to return to their principles and ideas

Problematical Aspects of the Constitution - 1

- Ambiguity regarding slavery
 - Status of slavery in the territories
 - Power of Congress over slavery in the District of Columbia
 - Whether the power of Congress to regulate commerce extended to the interstate slave trade
 - Whether Congress could impose conditions on a new state
- Provision for Amendment

Problematical Aspects of the Constitution - 2

- The Electoral College
 - Created to provide an indirect process for choosing a president
 - The Founding Fathers distrusted the capability of the citizenry to choose a president
 - There was no way the people could know the various candidates and thus be able to judge their qualifications
 - The Founding Fathers saw the Electoral College as a nominating committee with the election of the president actually being done by the House of Representatives
 - Represented a compromise between big and small states
 - Enabled the Convention to finesse the slavery issue

Problematical Aspects of the Constitution - 3

- The creation of the electoral college
 - The initial provision that each presidential elector cast two votes – with the two top vote-getters becoming president and vice-president – laid the groundwork for the 1800 election debacle
 - The combination of the electoral college and “winner-take-all” magnified the importance of the most heavily populated states and made sectional parties feasible
 - Made it possible for the loser of the popular vote to still become president
 - This happened in 1876, 1888, and 2000

Problematical Aspects of the Constitution - 4

- While the Articles of Confederation said that the union was perpetual, the Constitution said nothing concerning perpetuity
- Office of the Vice President
- Did not define citizenship
 - Left the definition of citizenship to the states

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers

- Founding Fathers viewed themselves as “gentlemen” who
 - Placed public interest ahead of personal interest
 - Saw the Constitution as the way to both ensure liberty and rule by gentlemen
 - Saw a presidency and congress composed of gentlemen as able via due deliberation to reach a consensus on public policy that promoted the public interest and common good

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers - 2

- Founding Fathers viewed themselves as “gentlemen” who (cont)
 - Saw the common voter as naturally willing to elect “gentlemen” to public office since they were the natural leaders
 - Saw “factions” as groups of individuals who placed personal or small group interests ahead of the general public interest or common good
 - Saw factions as a threat to the body politic and the Constitution

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers - 3

- Why did the Founding Fathers have such a negative view of “factions”
 - First, their personal experience as local magistrates and legislators showed to them that the interests of the entire community could be determined and acted upon
 - Second, their reading of history gave ample evidence of the baneful effects of factions in the forms of coup d’etats, revolts, corruption, and governmental repression

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers - 4

- The 1790s were marked by a conflict between:
 - Elite and popular political expectations of civic harmony, selfless behavior, and a consensus of what the public good was AND
 - Deep divisions between the economic interests and political values of the different sections which were aggravated by emerging policy conflicts over fiscal and foreign affairs
 - Also important were the policy and personality conflicts between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers - 5

- Policy Divisions
 - Hamilton’s Fiscal Policies
 - National debt
 - Assumption of state debts
 - National Bank
 - The French Revolution
 - The War between Great Britain and France

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers - 6

- Results of the above conflict:
 - The emergence of two proto-parties – the Federalists and the Republicans
 - Federalists favored a strong central government based upon the Constitutional concept of implied powers
 - Moralistic Republicans
 - Republicans favored a central government limited in its powers to those expressly stated in the Constitution
 - Libertarian Republicans
 - The tendency of each proto-party to see itself as the embodiment of true republican virtue and the other as an illegitimate faction

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers -

7

- In 1796, the Federalists and Republicans put forward different candidates for president and vice-president
 - The Federalist candidates were John Adams and Thomas Pinckney
 - The Republican candidates were Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr
- While none of the candidates campaigned, their respective partisans began a long-lasting and ignoble tradition - mudslinging

“Factions” and the Founding Fathers - 8

- The 1796 Election resulted in the election of John Adams as President and Thomas Jefferson as VP
- Neither Federalists nor Republicans viewed the other as legitimate. This view was aggravated by
 - Continued partisan strife
 - The Alien and Sedition Acts

The Election of 1800 - 1

- The 1800 campaign was marked by an intense amount of mudslinging
 - If you were to believe the extreme partisans, you had the choice between
 - An atheist who would ban the Bible, turn our daughters into prostitutes, and drown the nation in blood and
 - A foolish criminal beset by malignant passions who wanted to reunite Britain and America by having one of his sons marry one of George III's daughters

The Election of 1800 - 2

- In the election, Jefferson and Burr each received 73 electoral votes while Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney each received 65 votes
- Because of the tie, the election went into the House of Representatives
 - The House was deadlocked until Hamilton broke the deadlock in favor of Jefferson

The Election of 1800 - 2

- As a result of Hamilton's intervention, Jefferson became President and Burr Vice-President
 - While Hamilton disliked Jefferson, he hated Burr
 - The aftermath of this was an eventual duel between Hamilton and Burr in 1804 which resulted in Hamilton's death and Burr's disgrace
 - Another consequence was the 12th Amendment which provided for separate votes for president and vice-president

The Election of 1800 - 3

- While Jefferson and the Republicans allowed the Alien and Sedition Acts to expire and repealed internal taxes, they otherwise continued Federalist policies and adopted the Hamiltonian view of implied powers
- Thus, Jefferson
 - Purchased the Louisiana territory from France
 - Sent the Navy to fight the Barbary pirates
 - Imposed a trade embargo in 1808

Election of 1804

- Jefferson's policies and actions proved popular
- The Republican congressional caucus nominated Jefferson and George Clinton of NY
- The Federalists agreed to back Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King of NY
- Despite Federalist attempts to exploit the Sally Hemmings issue, Jefferson won reelection easily

Election of 1808

- After the attack on the *Chesapeake* in 1807, there was a clamor for war with Britain
 - Rather than war, Jefferson decided to embargo trade with Britain and France
 - This aroused a great amount of resentment in New England
- The big issue in the 1808 election was the embargo

Election of 1808 - 2

- Republicans nominated James Madison, Jefferson's secretary of state, and George Clinton
- Federalists again nominated Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King
- Madison won with 122 electoral votes to Pinckney's 47
 - All of New England except Vermont voted for Pinckney

Election of 1812

- The Republicans nominated James Madison and Elbridge Gerry of MA in May 1812
- War was declared on June 12, 1812
- The Federalists nominated DeWitt Clinton of NY and Jared Ingersoll of PA after they had been nominated by a group of dissident Republicans opposed to the war
- Madison won reelection with 128 electoral votes to Clinton's 89

War of 1812 and its effects

- By cutting off U.S. trade with Europe and England, the War fostered the development of American industry
 - New England merchant capitalists began investing in industry
- The Battle of New Orleans made Andrew Jackson a national hero and a future presidential candidate
- The Federalist opposition to the war effort and the secession threats of the Hartford Convention basically destroyed the Federalist Party

End of the Federalists

- With the demise of the Federalist party, most Federalists joined the Republicans and aligned themselves with those sections of the Republican party that favored a national bank, internal improvements, and protective tariffs
- This increased factionalism within the Republican party and eventually led to the emergence of the Second Party System

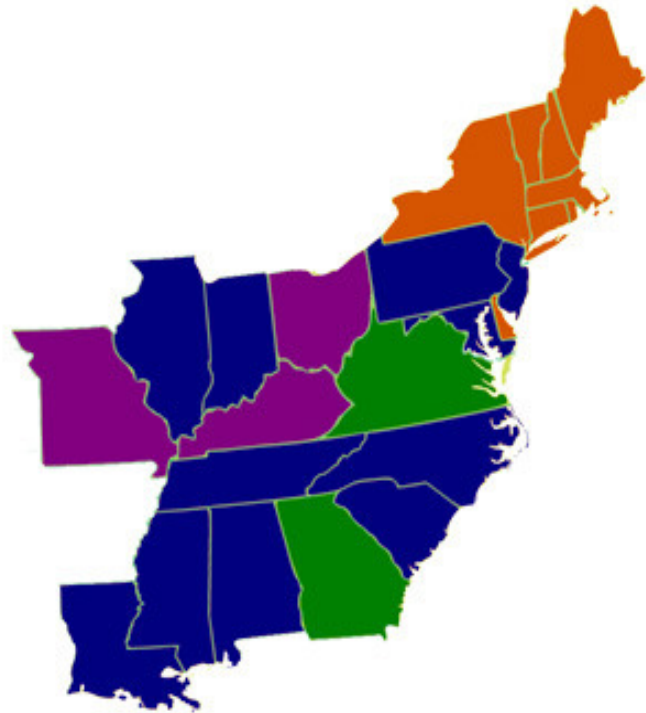
1824 Election

- Monroe favored his secretary of war William H. Crawford of GA as his successor
- In February 1824, Crawford received the congressional caucus nomination
- The legislatures of several New England states nominated secretary of state John Quincy Adams
- The Tennessee legislature and several state conventions nominated Andrew Jackson
- The Kentucky and other state legislatures nominated Henry Clay

1824 Election - 2

- Crawford's nomination by the caucus became an issue in the campaign
- Right after his nomination, Crawford suffered a stroke
- This boosted the fortunes of the other candidates
- Except for the caucus issue, personalities rather than issues dominated the campaign

1824 Election -3



1824 Election -4

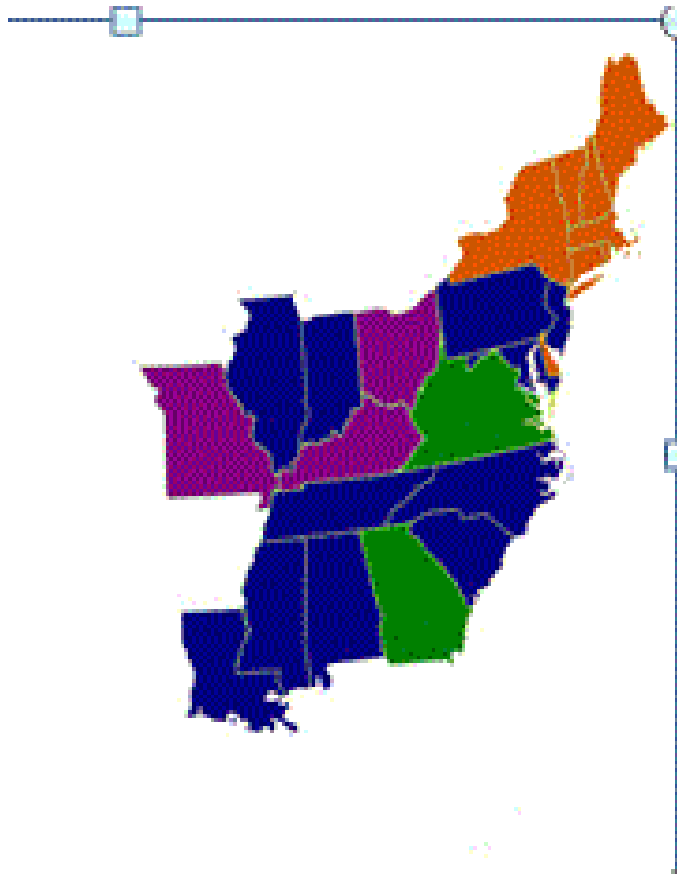
- This put Clay in the position of kingmaker
- Clay felt that Crawford's stroke ruled him out and that Jackson lacked experience and was too headstrong to be president. This left Adams whom Clay thought was eminently qualified to be president
- The key to Adams' victory in the House was the vote of New York
 - The key to New York was the vote of GEN Stephen Van Rensselaer

1824 Election - 5

- Jackson was disappointed to lose, but he went ballistic when Adams appointed Clay to be his secretary of state
- To Jackson and his followers, this appointment seemed *prima facie* evidence of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay.
- In a sense, the 1832 election campaign began with Jackson's defeat in 1828 and Adams' appointment of Clay as secretary of state

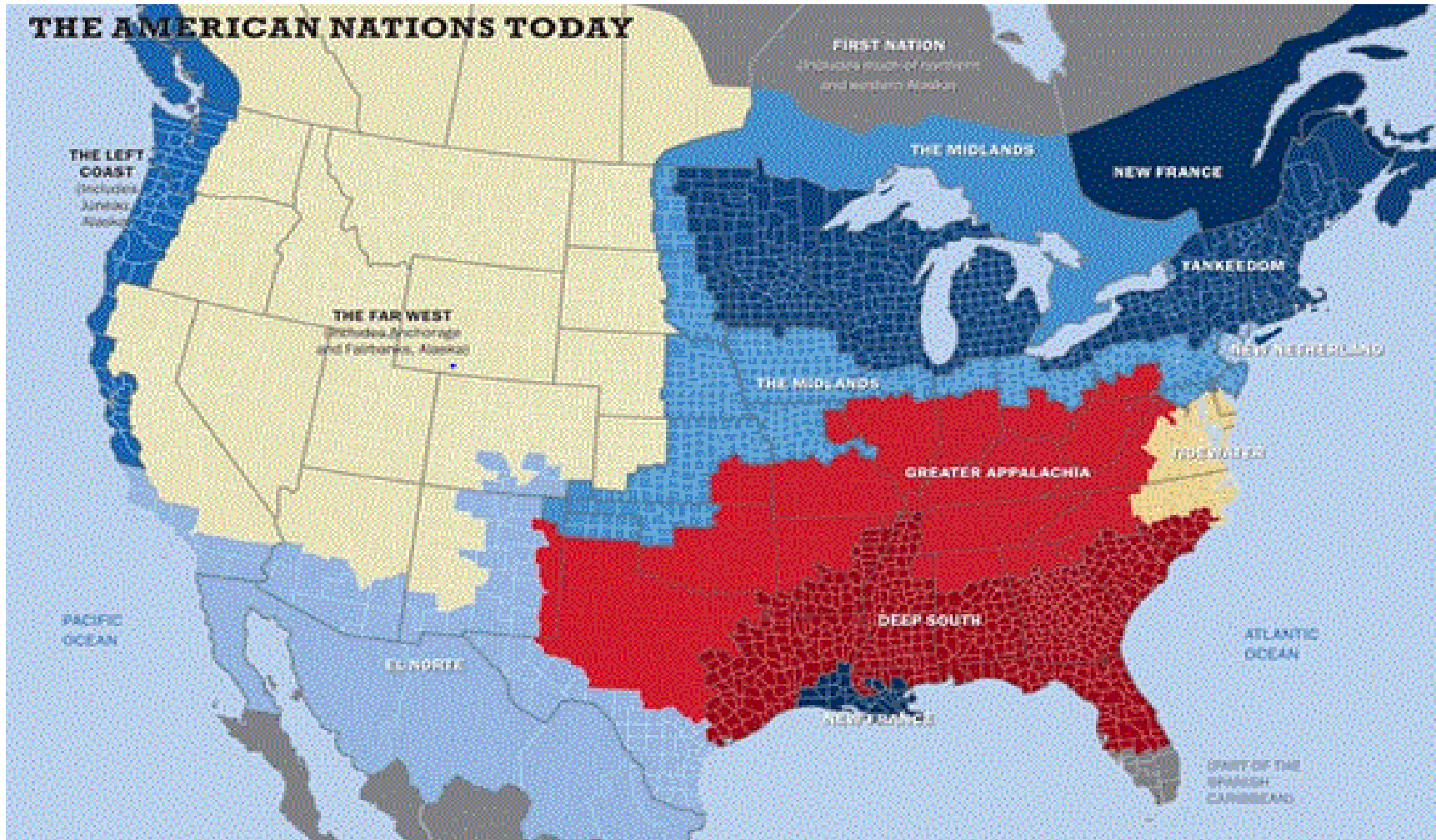
Westward Movement

Westward Movement



- By 1824, 11 new states have been added to the original 13 states
- This reflected the westward movement of the American population and the expansion of the founding regional cultures

11 Nations of North America



Westward Movement - 1

- Westward migration was a constant due to both native population growth and immigration
 - Surplus rural population migrated westward in search of farms and livelihood
 - Without fertilizer, farmland often lost its productivity leading landowners to sell or abandon farms and move west
 - Unemployment in the East often led workers to seek employment in the West

Westward Movement - 2

- The new demand for short-staple cotton plus exhaustion of old cotton- and tobacco-growing lands promoted movement to the Old Southwest
 - Led to the expansion of both the Virginia/Tidewater South culture and the Frontier culture and their eventual merger into a Southern sectional culture
 - Converted semi-subsistence farmers from the Piedmont into cash-crop cotton producers

Westward Movement - 3

- The Old Northwest developed differently from the Old Southwest due to the following factors:
 - The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery
 - The Erie Canal and the railroads linked the Old Northwest economically to the Mid-Atlantic states and New England
 - Settlement patterns differed

Westward Movement - 4

- Settlement patterns of the Old Northwest
 - The southern parts of Ohio, Indiana & Illinois were largely settled by southerners and became corn & hog country
 - The northern areas of those same states plus Michigan, Wisconsin, & Minnesota were largely settled by New Englanders who grew wheat, cattle, and orchard fruit
 - In between the Yankees and the southerners were settlers from the Middle Atlantic states.
 - Cincinnati was a Middle State enclave in an Upland South area

Impact of the Westward Movement

- The Westward Movement
 - Led to the spreading of the four founding cultures
 - Each culture brought to its new westward environment its own characteristic values, lifestyles, settlement patterns, religious affiliations, political orientations, and even their housing & cooking
 - To some extent, it mingled two or more of the founding cultures
 - Fostered democratization
 - Western territories and states saw liberalized voting as a means of attracting settlers

Democratization and its Consequences

Democratization - 1

- Most of the colonies had established either a property or taxpaying qualification for voting
 - Actual enfranchisement, however, was fairly high.
- During and soon after the Revolution, two factors extended the franchise
 - The shift in a number of states from a property qualification to a taxpaying qualification
 - Inflation which imposed ‘bracket creep’ on statutory qualifications

Democratization - 2

- States also enacted other reforms in the 1780s and 1790s which increased the number of voters
 - Increasing the number of polling places – one in each township as opposed as few as one in each county.
 - More frequent elections
 - More offices being elective rather than appointive
 - Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and state senators became elective offices

Democratization - 3

- In the 1820s, the states abolished the remaining property qualifications for voting
 - No state admitted after 1815 had a property requirement for voting
 - Territories seeking statehood saw voting liberalization as a means of increasing population to qualify for statehood
 - New territories and states saw increased settlement as a means of raising land values, increasing the tax base, and promoting economic development

Democratization - 4

- By 1824, 18 of the 24 states had decided that presidential electors should be chosen by the voters rather than by state legislators
- By 1828, 22 of the 24 states had their presidential electors chosen by the voters

Effects of Democratization - 1

- Democratization of the electorate had several consequences
 - Vastly expanded the number of voters
 - This made the political party a necessary intermediary between the voters and the candidates for public office
 - Along with immigration, gave rise to the political machine
 - Along with the political party, gave rise to the political convention as the means and forum for selecting presidential candidates

Effects of Democratization - 2

- In the American electoral system
 - There was a strong push toward a national two-party system
 - This meant that American politics would not see a number of ideologically-united or ethnically-based parties as was common in Europe
 - With democratization, this meant that each party contained several factions
 - While these factions might share common values (or common dislikes), they often differed on ideological, policy, issue, and candidate grounds.
 - Third parties would have little impact unless they had a strong geographic base

Effects of Democratization - 3

- Left American politics with a two-party system of ritual politics
 - Parties existed primarily to win elections and enjoy the spoils of office and only secondarily to enact specific policies
 - Avoided commitments on specific policies
 - Focused on issues of high emotional content
 - Stressed personalities rather than issues
 - Engaged in “negative campaigning” and mudslinging

Effects of Democratization - 4

- Helped turn political campaigns into forms of mass entertainment
 - By 1840, campaigns featured giant barbecues, parades, torchlight processions, sing-alongs, posters, and rallies
- Led to political campaigns designed to foster a spirit of group loyalty in voters rather than voters' rational evaluation of the candidates and issues

Notes About Democratization

- The change from the 18th century to the 19th century represented:
 - A shift from the concept that property qualifications were necessary for a voter to exercise independent political judgment to the concept that voting was a right of all adult white males
 - A shift from the personal authority of gentlemen to the impersonal authority of party
 - From a voter's personal knowledge of the candidate to a knowledge of the opinions of the party and its most active partisans

A Key Point About Democratization -1

- In the U.S., democratization occurred before large numbers of either white, male wage workers or immigrants appeared
 - This meant that the white working class had the right to vote so that they:
 - Joined existing political parties and saw politics through the prism of ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural differences rather than class differences

A Key Point About Democratization - 2

- In Europe, the working classes did not gain the right to vote until after an industrial proletariat had been created
 - This meant that European workers had to struggle to gain the right to vote
 - This struggle created a strong sense of class consciousness and a consequent propensity to vote for Socialist and/or politically radical parties

A Key Point About Democratization - 3

- In Europe:
 - Socialist parties became major factors in late-19th and 20th century politics in Great Britain (under the name of the Labor party), France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere
 - In some countries, even a Communist party became a major factor in electoral politics
- In the U.S.:
 - Socialist parties were only marginal factors in politics
 - They elected a few mayors, state legislators, and a handful of Congressmen