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Identity to be determined: The development of the American ideal in the Early Republic

Andrew S. Mills
James Madison University

Identity To Be Determined: The Development of the American Ideal in the Early Republic

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FACULTY COMMITTEE:

Project Advisor: J. Chris Arndt, Ph.D.
Associate Dean, College of Arts and Letters

Reader: P. David Dillard, Ph.D.
Associate Professor, History

Reader: Alison Sandman, Ph.D.
Associate Professor, History

Reader: Kevin Hardwick, Ph.D.
Associate Professor, History

HONORS PROGRAM APPROVAL:

Bradley R. Newcomer, Ph.D.,
Director, Honors Program

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Table of Contents

List of Figures 3

Preface 4

Acknowledgements 8

Abstract 10

Chapter One 11

Chapter Two 40

Chapter Three 62

Epilogue 76

Bibliography 82

List of Figures

1.1 “The Looking Glass, 1787” 17

1.2 “A New Display of the United States” 29

1.3 “British Valour and Yankee Boasting or Shannon versus Chesapeake” 35

1.4 “American Commerce in Flames” 36

2.1 “Columbia teaching John Bull his new Lesson [sic.]” 41

2.2 “Josiah the First” 46

2.3 “A correct view of the battle near the city of New Orleans… [sic.]” 50

2.4 “The Hartford Convention or Leap No Leap” 55

4.1 “Genl. Andrew Jackson, 1828. Protector & defender of beauty & booty [sic.]” 79

Preface

On Christmas Eve 1814, the United States and Great Britain signed a peace treaty effectively ending the War of 1812 and seemingly ceasing hostilities in Anglo-American relations. News of this Treaty of Ghent, however, took time to cross the Atlantic to the armies that were fighting in America. Continued battles plagued the American countryside. The nation's capital laid in ruins; the Whitehouse burned to the ground. But, after these initial defeats, Americans won decisive victories that strengthened American morale. In the North, American triumph in a battle on Lake Champlain secured American control of the area. A clash in Baltimore, Maryland at Fort McHenry, witnessed a survival of American interests, and became the setting of America's future national anthem, *The Star Spangled Banner*. By the time news of peace reached the American coast, General Andrew Jackson's success in New Orleans sealed American beliefs about the war and their place in the world. The late victory in New Orleans, accompanied by the news of the peace treaty, reasserted the growing American resolve identity that appeared with the conclusion of the American Revolution. Like after America's fight for independence, Americans celebrated their victory against the British Empire. Through their victory in 1812, they proved their success in 1783 was no fluke, and that they were a sovereign nation made of Americans.[1]

[1]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Super Power: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 125-132; Daniel W. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 8-18; Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 283-284; Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 693-705.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Americans grappled with the question, what it meant to be American. After the revolution, an initial idea of Americanism appeared but it never fully developed due to bitter divisions between Republicans and Federalists that plagued the nation in the 1790s. Their differing views evolved into two distinct versions of American identity that pulled the nation apart. But the conclusion of the War of 1812 offered a decisive victory for the Republicans. In the aftermath, Federalist power weakened; prominent Federalists lost their political standing. The victorious Republican vision, however, was not identical to the Republican identity of the eighteenth century. It had absorbed attributes and ideologies of Federalist identity, allowing the United States to move forward. Increasingly nationalistic in outlook, Republicans pushed America forward; the American people were advancing, invested in their beliefs of what it meant to be American. The challenges the United States faced between its conception in 1776 and the reassertion of its sovereignty in 1815 provided fertile ground for the construction and development of a nationalistic American identity that was heavily shaped by partisan divisions.[2]

The volume of literature on the Early Republic is significant, as is the amount of primary evidence available for research. Several secondary sources, like Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick's, *The Age of Federalism*, provide detailed and relevant information of the politics of the Early Republic, focusing mostly on the development of and the bitter divisions between America's first party system. Large anthology-like monographs,

[2] Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 5; Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 7-9; Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn*, 283-284; Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 693-705.

Gordon Wood's *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic 1789-1815* for example, grant access to the overall narrative of the Early Republic, while more focused texts deliver detailed studies into political partisanship and the overall political arena of the period. Additionally, several scholars have studied the development of American values and the changing political arena between 1776 and 1848. These studies like Joyce Appleby's *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans*, Steven Watts' *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820*, among others offer insights into the changing political philosophies that shaped American identity in the Early Republic. Biographies of prominent individuals, like James Madison, Thomas Jefferson, and Daniel Webster, grant insight into the political process. Primary sources in the form of newspapers, correspondence, images, and the like provide detail into issues that faced the Early Republic and the opinions individuals and factions held.[3]

[3]The best secondary source in looking at the Early Republic are Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2001), Terry Bouton, *Taming Democracy: "The People," The Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Daniel W. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 693-705, ; Gordon S. Wood, and *The Creation of American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969. To ascertain historical context relating to the American Revolution and the War of 1812 see Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), and Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1993). The best monographs on the political arena are Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), Ben-Atar, Doron S., and Barbara B. Oberg, *Federalists Reconsidered* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), Linda K. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), Shaw Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815*

1830 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), and J. Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993). The best monographs relating to foreign policy is George C. Herring, *From Colony to Super Power: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). The best secondary literature pertaining to the Hartford Convention are James M Banner Jr., *To The Hartford Convention: The Federalists and the Origins of Party Politics in Massachusetts, 1789-1815* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), and Theodore Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention: With a Review of the United States Government, which led to the War of 1812* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1833). The best books relating to identity, American nationalism, and culture are Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2000), George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828,* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), Samuel Morrison, *Harrison Gray Otis: The Urbane Federalist* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), Simon Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Streets: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rites of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1812* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), Gordon S. Wood, *The Idea of America: Reflections on the Birth of the United States* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011). The best primary source evidence come in the form of images and newspapers from the time period.

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Abstract

Late victories in the War of 1812, like General Andrew Jackson's triumph in the Battle of New Orleans rekindled the growing sense of nationalistic fervor that had appeared after the American Revolution. Americans saw themselves as a people with a unique destiny granted by God. Between the 1780s and the 1820s, different political party visions of American identity competed. The Jeffersonians were agrarian-focused. They envisioned a nation based on the morality of citizens. Federalists saw a more hierarchical, European-like society as the best hope for the American cause. These competing visions of identity led to continued attacks by the leading party factions against one another. After the War of 1812, Jeffersonian driven accusations of treason decimated pro-British Federalists. Jeffersonians painted Federalists as conspirators seeking to abandon the United States. Federalists lost what power they had, and all but dissolved. The Jeffersonian vision of identity proved triumphant, but it had evolved over the course of the Early Republic, no longer calling for a small agrarian Republic. The Jeffersonians, or Republicans, had created a more pronounced American identity that fused elements of the Jeffersonian and Federalist Parties. By Andrew Jackson's Presidency in 1828, American identity continued to evolve into a populist vision, showcasing the molding of Americanism in the Early Republic.

Chapter One

The Whig victory in the American Revolution ushered in new ways of thinking about governance. The newly independent states witnessed a period of profound change, where new political ideas ran rampant. Historian Gordon Wood compared the awakening of this political identity through an analysis of Washington Irving's short story, "Rip Van Winkle." Irving's character, Rip, had fallen asleep before the American Revolution and awoke to find America: a new nation in the world. Americans, the citizens of the nation, were no longer British subjects. According to Wood, Rip represented the everyday American during this time, who saw a transformation in society. Words like liberty and election held new and strange meanings for the first generation of Americans. The term citizen held a similar status. Before the American Revolution, Americans were subjects of the British Empire. The new vocabulary of the post-revolutionary period proliferated common ideas. American liberty became a cornerstone of American thought. Increasingly convinced of a divine destiny, Americans felt that it was their God-given duty to spread their version of liberty across the globe. These beliefs slowly led Americans on a path to forming a common identity. However, this American identity never fully developed after the Revolution. Growing political divisions, widened by foreign events, pulled the nation into two competing camps of identity. These contesting visions were championed by two political parties: The Federalists and the Republicans. Both Federalists and Republicans held firm to their respective visions of what America should be. Between the late 1780s and early 1800s, these political parties attempted to shape the nation in their own image. They took every opportunity to advance their idea of American identity on their own terms. Driven

forward by both foreign challenges and domestic struggles, each party criticized the other's stance as a way of swaying support in their favor.[1]

Beginning with the American Revolution, political leaders sought to put forth a new form of government founded on republican ideology.[2] Despite calls for a unified republic, most envisioned thirteen small, homogenous republics, united in a Confederation. The resulting government, the Articles of Confederation, created just that, a "league of friendship" among the states. Republicanism, as this republican ideology came to be called, "put a premium on the homogeneity and cohesiveness of its society" fully different from monarchical systems.[3] It looked toward the ancient past, and focused on ideas of citizenship and morality. Monarchies were characterized by large territories and "composite kingdoms and peoples with diverse interests and ethnicities."[4] Republics, on the other hand, did not rely on the loyalty of subjects, but instead on the creation of enlightened citizens. Citizens focusing wholly on morality, were to fight off the diseases of corruption and oppression. Historian Gordon Wood writes, "Americans had come to believe that the revolution promised nothing less than a massive

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[1]Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 5; Len Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth: Independence Day and the Rise of Nationalism in the Early Republic* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 6-11; Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 283-284; Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1-3.
[2]Republican ideology does not refer to the ideology Republican party. Both Federalists and Republican adhered to this republican theory, or Republicanism. To distinguish the two, in this thesis, I will use Republicanism or republican ideology/theory to refer to the ideology, and Republican to refer to the political party.
[3]Gordon S. Wood, *The Idea of America: Reflections on the Birth of the United States* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011), 233.
[4]Gordon S. Wood, *The Idea of America,* 233.

reordering of their lives—a reordering summed up in the ideas of Republicanism."[5] Indeed, republicanism represented a radical ideology that promised to do more than eliminate the king; it promised to spread a change in morals and values through the abandonment of individual interests, and a newfound focus on the good of the whole. Yes, the American Revolution was radical. Monarchy, the dominant force in the world was slowly replaced by republicanism. Gordon Wood wrote, "[Republicanism] ate away at it [monarchy], corroded it, slowly, gradually, steadily."[6] This republican ideology represented a dramatic shift in the relative norm of society. *The New York Journal* declared, "KNOWLEDGE and VIRTUE *are the support of* REPUBLICAN Governments: IGNORANCE AND VICE *are the introducers of* MONARCHY and DESPOTISM [sic.]."[7] Americans, looking to the ancient past, recognized the failures of the Roman Republic, which under the power of an individual transformed into an empire. Americans feared this fate, and so recognized the importance of following the nature of a republic. Americans, indeed, wanted a true republic. They believed that their success in the Revolution meant that their entire society would be reordered in the design of republican theory. This theory was defined by the politics of the time, as small in scope in order to achieve a great transformation, to avoid destruction at the face of what many feared could be a developing dictatorship. However, America grew more geographically in the

[5]Wood, *The American Revolution,* 91.
[6]Gordon Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 95.
[7]*New York Journal* (New York) June 25, 1791.

1780s than in any other decade before. With its increasing size, the new Republic undertook a republican experiment on a scale never before seen.[8]

The American Revolution left the United States with the daunting task of creating a new government, which adhered to the values epitomized in the *Declaration of Independence*. Americans wanted a government that protected their inalienable rights: "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."[9] Dreams of such a government weighed heavily on the American mind in the early years of the Republic. Constructing this new government proved to be a difficult task. Americans feared that an all-powerful executive might overstep its bounds, and redefine the American political structure into something resembling Great Britain. As a result, Americans established the *Articles of Confederation.* This created a government that placed most power in the hands of individual state governments, rather than with the national government. This was testimony to American values. Americans envisioned a type of government based on the idea of Republicanism. This "put a premium on the homogeneity and cohesiveness of its society," which contrasted with a monarchical system—characterized by large territories and "composite kingdoms and peoples with diverse interests and ethnicities."[10] Republics did not rely on the loyalty of subjects, but rather on the participation of citizens. These citizens should focus on morality, which would enable

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[8]Butler, *Becoming America, 110-111*; Wood, *The American Revolution, 91-118*; Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic 1789-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 57-59; Wood, *The Idea of America,* 233; Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 75-77; Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution,* 95.

[9]*Thomas Jefferson, "*The Declaration of Independence*," Historic American Documents, Lit2Go Edition, (1776), accessed March 25, 2016, http://etc.usf.edu/lit2go/133/historic-american-documents/4957/the-declaration-of-independence.*

[10]Gordon S. Wood, *The Idea of America*, 233.

them to fight off the diseases of corruption and oppression that were present in Europe.[11]

The American Republic constituted a republican government on a scale that had never been attempted. Republics needed to be small. This was necessary to achieve the great transformation, and to avoid destruction at the face of a developing dictatorship. Yet, America grew geographically. The dramatic growth resulted in a large expanse of American territory, with a great deal of diversity among American citizens. As changes continued to impact the idea of the nation, the definition of a republic changed. America's size produced weaknesses in the Confederation government, which was unable to resolve the challenges that afflicted the young republic. *The Articles of Confederation* did not allow the federal government to levy taxes, rendering the government unable to pay the debt it had incurred during the American Revolution. In addition, the weak central government created by the articles could not easily raise an army, nor could it settle international and domestic disputes.[12]

In 1786, the Confederation government faced its first major domestic challenge: Shays' Rebellion. The conflict began in Massachusetts when a powerful elite imposed a series of taxes against the state's ordinary citizens. While the rebellion failed in its aims,

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[11]Thomas Jefferson, "The Declaration of Independence*."*; Gordon S. Wood, *The American Revolution: A History* (New York: Modern Library Chronicles, 2002), 91-93; Gordon S. Wood, *The Idea of America,* 233.
[12]Butler, *Becoming America, 110-111*; Edward J. Larson, *A Magnificent Catastrophe: The Tumultuous Election of 1800, and America's First Presidential Campaign* (New York: Free Press, 2007),18-19; Wood, *The American Revolution, 91-118*; Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic 1789-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 57-59; Wood, *The Idea of America,* 233; Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), 75-77.
[12]Thomas Jefferson, "The Declaration of Independence."

it showcased a growing concern among the people that British oppressors of the pre-revolutionary era had simply been replaced by American tyrants. Elitist fears of events like Shays' Rebellion resulted in a political backlash that reversed democratic trends. By 1787, many members of the political elite started to lose faith in the democratic ideals of the American Revolution. Some believed that an excess of democracy would lead to the destruction of the Republic that they had fought and sacrificed for. There were even calls for some type of elective monarchy to quell the extreme vision of democracy produced by the Revolution. However, any public declaration in support of monarchy was considered to be British, and therefore, considered un-American. This made any support of any aspect of monarchy tantamount to treason.[13]

The dangers highlighted by Shays' Rebellion resulted in calls for revisions to the Articles of Confederation. Politicians agreed to call a convention to revise the *Articles of Confederation*. However, instead of modifying the government, these representatives secretly began creating a new government: *The United States Constitution*. The framers of the the Constitution kept their meetings secret; they had no authority to construct a new form of government. These actions seemed to prove the revolutionary generation's belief that an American elitist group "had waged—and won—a counter-revolution against popular democratic ideals."[14] There were supporters and opponents of the newly written Constitution. Supporters were called Federalists; their opponents were titled Anti-Federalists. These opposing factions quickly characterized the other as the enemy. The following image demonstrates partisan divisions in Connecticut:

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[13]Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 111.
[14]Terry Bouton, *Taming Democracy: "The People," The Founders, and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 4; Larson, *A Magnificent Catastrophe,* 20-21.

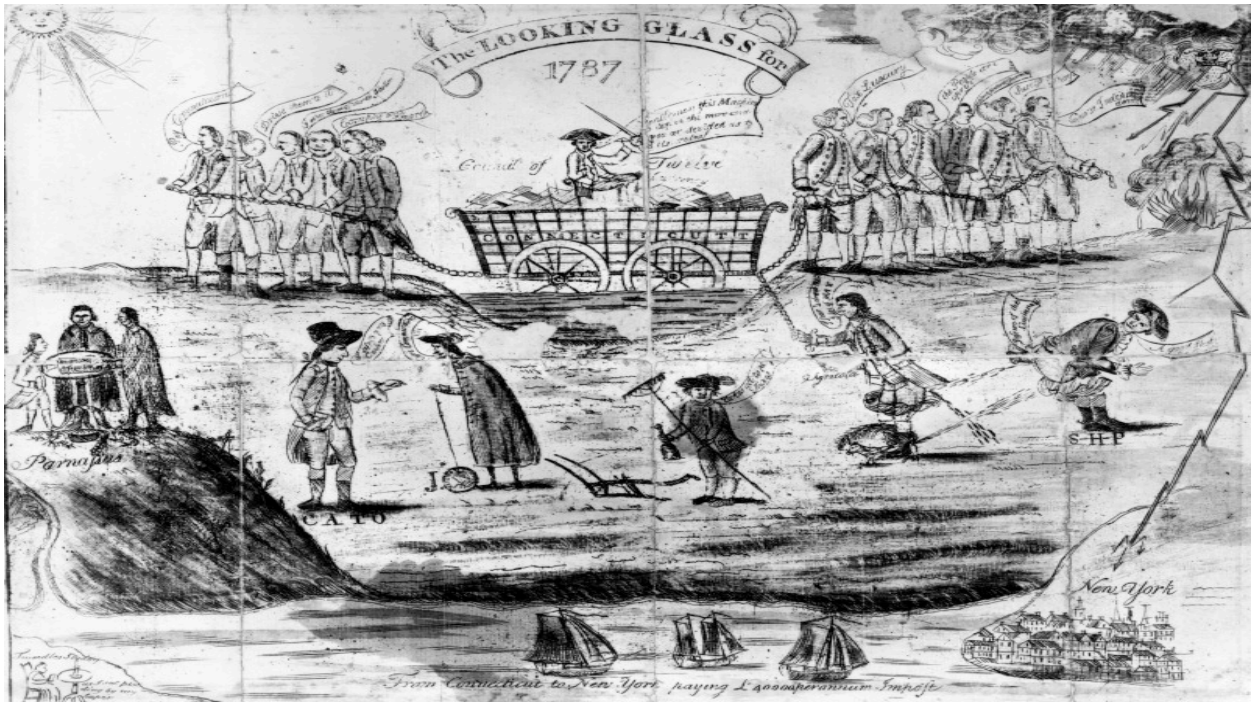

Image 1.1: "The Looking Glass, 1787" courtesy of *Encyclopædia Britannica ImageQuest*. Accessed 16 Sep 2015.

“The Looking Glass for 1787,” (Image 1.1) is a political cartoon originally published in 1787, by engraver Amos Doolittle.[15] It highlighted the disagreement between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists over the ratification of the Constitution in Connecticut. Federalists pulled the wagon (Connecticut) toward the left, while underneath a shining sun. This represented the righteous actions of the Federalists, and connected them with ideals of liberty from the American Revolution. In the image, Federalists declared, “I abhor the antifederal faction.”[16] Pulling Connecticut toward the right are the Anti-federalists who chant, “curses on to the federal government.”[17] The Anti-Federalists pulled Connecticut away from the light (from the ideals of the Revolution), and moved

[15]Amos Doolittle, "The Looking Glass," political cartoon, *Encyclopædia Britannica ImageQuest,* accessed September 16, 2015, http://quest.eb.com/search/115_862629/1/115_862629/cite.
[16]Amos Doolittle, "The Looking Glass; Larson, *A Magnificent Catastrophe,* 20-21; Wood, *The Idea of America, 236*-238.
[17]Amos Doolittle, "The Looking Glass."

toward clouded skies that were shrouded in storms. This reflected the dangerous path Anti-Federalists followed; a path aligned with anarchy. This cartoon charged Anti-Federalists as supporters of Shay's Rebellion, which had threatened the young republic's existence**.** Because the Anti-Federalists opposed the constitution, Federalists accused them of being anarchists, wanting to destroy the nation through unrest and upheaval.[18]

Federalists pushed for Constitution's ratification. They hoped that implementation would subsume the clash of diverse interests and opinions that characterized a large republic. Anti-Federalists warned that the Constitution created a powerful federal government that would evolve into the corrupt form of government Britain maintained. Federalists appealed to the public. They wrote a series of essays, *The Federalist Papers*, to sway thinking towards their model of America. In *Federalist 10*, James Madison wrote that the Constitution would help America keep factions in check. Factions according to Madison were:

> A number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.[19]

Madison, however, believed that factions were unavoidable. He claimed, "Relief [to factions] is only to be sought in the means of controlling its effects."[20] This meant that factions could only be offset by the creation of a Republic. Madison, therefore made a distinction between a republic and a democracy (direct democracy). Madison

[18]Amos Doolittle, "The Looking Glass."
[19]James Madison, "*The Federalist,* no 10," in *The Federalist Papers* (Charleston, West Virginia: Westvaco Corporation, 1995), 57.
[20]James Madison, "*The Federalist,* no 10," 57.

envisioned the "delegation of the government [in a republic] to a small number of citizens elected by the rest…"[21] Continued debate and compromise eventually led to Anti-Federalist support. They agreed to the ratification of the Constitution, on the condition that a Bill of Rights be explicitly stated in the document.[22] Divisions among the United States political leaders continued to develop, and an opposition to Federalist ideology clearly emerged.[23]

When Alexander Hamilton became Secretary of the Treasury in 1789, he took responsibility for the nation's financial state. He was determined to deal with the national debt—a sum of $79 million dollars—that had been incurred during the American Revolution. Two distinct bodies made up the national debt: Foreign (relating to debt to nations like France) and domestic. Hamilton believed that the foreign debt must be paid off immediately, but he felt differently about the domestic debt. Hamilton believed that America's domestic debt could be used "as a source of economic productivity for the nation."[24] Hamilton wanted the Federal government to absorb the debts of the individual states, and create a "permanent debt" that would maintain a form of credit for the nation. Hamilton's vision of a national debt stemmed from a similar system in Great Britain. As a Federalist, Hamilton used several British tactics in his plans for the future of the United States. Among such visions was the creation of the National Bank, what he

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[21]James Madison, "*The Federalist,* no 10," 57.
[22]Federalists initially believed that a Bill of Rights was unnecessary, as the Constitution implied the people's rights.
[23]Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 84-87; The *Federalist 10*; J. Roger Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic: The New Nation in Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 46-47.
[24]Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 128-130; Sharp, *American Politics in the Early* Republic, 37-40; Wood, *Empire of Liberty, 95-96*.

called the Bank of the United States (BUS). Hamilton suggested the BUS act as America's only fiscal and depository agency (much like the Bank of England), and as the source for paper money. These Federalist policies formed the foundation of the American political system in the Early Republic.[25]

Between 1791 and 1792, the development of an alternative vision to Federalism clearly emerged. Jefferson and Madison believed that Hamilton's policies were unnecessary, and were too similar to an all powerful national government. Hamilton's industrial vision competed with their own beliefs in an Agrarian society for America. Jeffersonian ideals (as they came to be called) formed the basis of the Federalist opposition, later called the Republican party.[26]

From their conceptions, Jeffersonians and Federalists clashed on a variety of issues. While both claimed to be champions of republicanism, each saw two very different forms. Early Americans focused heavily on staple crop agriculture and international commerce; they viewed it essential to their economy. Federalists, like Hamilton, dreamed of an industrial future for America. Federalists based their visions on the industrial systems present in Great Britain. They felt that America needed to have a hierarchical system. Jeffersonians, on the other hand, envisioned an agrarian republic, championed by the ideals of Republicanism that more closely resembled the calls of popular democracy during the Revolution.[27]

Partisan divisions clashed on issues ranging from selecting a new location for the federal capital—which had moved from Philadelphia to New York, among a plethora of

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[25]Wood, *Empire of Liberty, 96-100.*
[26]Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*, 257; Larson, *A Magnificent Catastrophe,* 20-21;Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic,* 11.
[27]Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth*, 8-11.

other cities in the states—to the correct way of interpreting the U.S. Constitution. Madison and other Jeffersonians demanded that the capital be shifted to the South, a more neutral location in their eyes. Hamilton and the Federalists preferred that it remain in the North (in New York). Eventually, Madison and Hamilton reached a compromise that advanced the interests of both parties. Hamilton agreed to move the capital to the middle of the nation, along the Potomac River, while Madison agreed to allow Federalists to accept the state debts.[28]

Foreign challenges pitted the parties against each other even further. The eruption of the French Revolution in the 1790s was initially celebrated by both Federalists and Republicans. Each side called the revolution an indictment of the divine destiny that American liberty would spread to Europe. However, the French Revolution quickly became a contentious issue that set into motion a series of events that challenged American political allegiances. The execution of the French King, and worsening bloodshed worried Federalists. They cited the drastic turn of the French Revolution as evidence of the dangers of extreme democracy. Under Washington, Federalists called for greater distance between themselves and the radical French. They claimed that true Republicanism would prosper under rekindled Anglo-American relations.[29]

Federalists pushed their agenda forward by signing the Jay Treaty with Britain in 1794. This secured American trading privileges with Britain, and initially touted British promises to cede forts along the Western border. However, this never came into being.

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[28]Travers, *Celebrating the Fourth*, 8-11.
[29]George C. Herring, *From Colony to Super Power: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 125-132; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 1-20.

Divisions between the Federalists and Republicans continued to grow with the eruption of the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic Wars. The Franco-American Alliance, abandoned under Federalist leadership, soured relations with France in favor of the growing Anglo-American rapprochement. Dealing with foreign issues worsened partisan tension, and these defined different ideas of what it meant to be American. Federalist Pro-British stances were at odds with the everyday American's suspicions of the British. Republicans challenged their counterparts, connecting them with British ideology and belief. Republicans used the hierarchical nature of Federalist ideology to implicate the Federalists as monarchists.[30]

In September 1796, George Washington felt compelled to leave his life of politics. He yearned to return home to Mount Vernon, Virginia. Washington's decision to leave the presidency set an important precedent for the office of the President of the United States. When initially elected, many believed Washington would be the President for life; some even believed that his administration would transform into a more elective monarchy. However, Washington left having only served two terms in office. This model remained the precedent, until President Franklin Roosevelt served three terms in the early twentieth century. Washington, as a final farewell from politics, gave a message to the people of America. In his address, Washington spoke of several dangers that could challenge the Republic. He warned America of the dangers of forming alliances with foreign powers. He claimed that such alliances were a danger to the liberty of the republic. While Washington mentioned that temporary alliances could benefit the United States, he pressed that they should be just that, temporary in nature. Washington

[30]Perkins, *Prologue to War, 10-11*; Wood, *Empire of Liberty,* 38-40.

believed that permanent alliances were threats to the Republic, which was alone in a world of monarchial empires. Secondly, Washington warned the nation of the rise of sectionalism. He argued that such tendencies could rip the nation apart. Washington, too, spoke of the dangers of forming political party factions. Washington claimed that political parties were a danger to the "Public Liberty [sic.]," as factions "[Foster] the animosity of one part against another."[31] Yet, despite his warnings, American politics evolved into a two-party system, made up of the Federalists and the Republicans. It seemed inevitable that factions would arise in the midst of American politics. Even Washington (despite his opposition of parties) became aligned with Federalist ideology more so than Jeffersonian beliefs. In fact, Washington's address attacked Jeffersonians, not their Federalist counterparts. He did not see the Federalists as a political party. Certainly, the Federalists never called themselves a party. The Jeffersonians on the other hand, had identified themselves as a political party, albeit a temporary one.[32]

Federalists and Republicans ignored Washington's warnings further through support of foreign alliances. Each party aligned themselves with foreign powers: The Republicans favored a close alliance with France. They viewed this as a continuation of the Franco-American Alliance which had secured freedom for America, during the American Revolution. The Federalists, on the other hand, sought to create a close relationship with Great Britain. They hoped that Anglo-American relations could rekindle and prosper under the new federal government. Federalist powers pushed for their agenda and signed the Jay Treaty with Britain in 1794, securing American trading

[31]George Washington, *Washington's Farewell Address and the Constitution of the United States* (Middlebury, VT: The Washington Benevolent Society, 1812), 12-16.
[32]Wood, *The Idea of America, 245.*

privileges with Britain, and initially showed British promises to cede forts along the Western border, though this never came into being. Divisions between the Federalists and Republicans continued to grow with the eruption of the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic Wars. The Franco-American Alliance was abandoned under Federalist leadership, and relations with France soured in favor of the growing Anglo-American relations. The Pro-British sentiments of the Federalists pushed the agenda of an American identity based on Anglo-American relations, and on British-like policies.[33]

Due to perceived threats of radical French thought entering America, Federalists enacted the Alien and Sedition Acts to curb immigration into the United States. These Acts targeted immigrant Jeffersonians by increasing the residence requirement to fourteen years, and by attempting to limit government offices to native citizens. Republicans argued that this would result in the development of a second-class citizenship in the United States; though, as Rogers Smith points out, this was already true for women, Africans, and Native Americans, as they were not even considered citizens. British fears stemmed from a belief that increasing numbers of French and Irish immigrants in the United States would disrupt their plans to reconcile with the United States. With such policies and edicts, Federalists were effectively shaping American identity in their image.[34]

Federalist beliefs that a war with France was imminent, accompanied their fears of the large French immigrant population. This resulted in the passage of the Alien and

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[33]Wood, *The American Revolution,* 1-24; Wood, *Empire of Liberty,* 206-208.
[34]Rogers M. Smith, "Constructing American National Identity: Strategies of the Federalists," in *Federalists Reconsidered*, ed. Doron Ben-Atar and Barbara Oberg (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998), 38; Elkins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*, 694-695. Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 247-248.

Sedition Acts that were aimed at shaping the United States with their version of identity. Initially Federalists were more open to waves of immigration to America; Republicans, though also supportive, feared large masses of immigration, because they felt that immigrants might not have the necessary qualifications to participate in their version of a more direct form of Republican governance. Despite Republican misgivings, Americans felt that immigration was an important way of spreading their vision and version of liberty across the globe. Federalist Harrison Gray Otis believed that immigrants, the Irish in particular, were a threat to the hierarchical society that Federalists sought America to become.[35]

While The Alien Laws—passed in June and July 1798—represented a wave of anti-Republican feeling that feared the intruding forces of immigration, the Sedition Acts constituted a far greater anti-Republican attack against the American people. The Sedition Acts made any action of conspiring or collaborating with persons aiming to oppose the United States government, a crime. It limited the power of the press, prohibiting the use of false or malicious writings against the government. Such a system reflected Federalist visions of a hierarchical America, and these laws formed the Federalist attempt to curb the power of their Republican opponents from criticizing the government too often. Even Alexander Hamilton warned other Federalists of the dangers of such laws if taken too far.[36]

To Republicans, the Alien and Sedition Acts meant a decisive shift in their American vision. Republicans, initially wary of immigration, began to oppose the Federalist laws. In the South, Republican hatred of Federalists and their policies

[35]Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 246-249.
[36]Sharp, *American Politics in the Early Republic,* 176-180.

revealed that America's sectionalist nature was not only present in the North. Republican John Taylor wrote to Jefferson in 1798 about his fears that Federalist policy, like the Alien and Sedition Acts, would bring America to the brink of war. Initially, Thomas Jefferson calmed Taylor's fears, but the passage of the acts forced him to change his position. Jefferson came to believe that the Alien and Sedition Acts' passage represented a step into making America into a British-like government, where the President and Senate served for life.[37]

Republican resistance to the Alien and Sedition Acts resulted in formal opposition in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. Jefferson and Madison, respectively, drafted the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. Jefferson declared that states had a right to nullify federal laws that were beyond the federal government's powers. Madison, less radical, wrote that decisions like the Alien and Sedition Acts belonged to conventions not legislatures. Republicans viewed the Federalist policies as attacks on their party and on their vision of America. Jefferson taking a very radical stance even threatened a possibility of secession from Virginia and Kentucky.[38]

Beyond immigration and foreign crises, Federalists and Jeffersonians lashed out at each other over various domestic practices. They argued, for example, over etiquette policies relating to how the President should be treated. Everywhere Washington went, he was celebrated. Following Washington's death in 1799, many Federalists hoped that the people's support of Washington the President would turn into a national love for the office of the presidency. They envisioned a type of following that supported the Federalist Party and their aspirations for the United States. Jeffersonians were outraged

[37]Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 267-269.
[38]Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 268-269.

at the prospect of the "partisanization" of George Washington the President. To the point, Washington had been referred to as "His Excellency," but this and other titles were challenged by Jeffersonians. Many Americans agreed with Jeffersonians; they feared Federalist-controlled power grabs, and believed that they were aimed at enhancing the prestige and power of the Federalist Party, not the republic.[39]

[39]Simon Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Streets: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 45-54.

No Federalist wanted Jefferson for President in 1796, nor did they wish him the vice-presidency. Federalists believed that a Jefferson administration would lead to the destruction of the federal constitution and they abhorred the idea of a Jeffersonian vice president. They envisioned Jefferson a supporter of faction and an advocate of the French cause, a cause they deemed un-American and too radical. The election process of the time allowed the electorates of the electoral college to choose any candidate they saw fit, regardless of the party affiliation. The resulting system was extensively confusing and overly disordered. Seventy-one votes went to Adams, while sixty-eight votes went to Jefferson. Another Federalist, Timothy Pickering, obtained fifty-nine

electoral votes, while Republican Aaron Burr received thirty. The remaining votes were spread out across the states to a number of different favorite son candidates. With seventy-one votes to his name, John Adams became the second President of the United States of America. Adams, as a Federalist was interested in the hierarchy of things. He focused on constitutionality and the structure of government, which he deemed important. Adams' election marked the continuation of Federalist principles of identity. [40]

Image 1.2 courtesy of *Library of Congress Digital Collections*. "A New Display of the United States,", as depicted by Amos Doolittle.

[40]Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 36-41.

The Federalists sought to portray their party in the likeness of the victorious George Washington. Image 1.2, a broadside called “A New Display of the United States,” represented continued attempts to secure the supremacy of the Federalists. The image depicts John Adams, surrounded by the sixteen states of the federal union. This image was modeled after another print, entitled, “A Display of the United States of America.” Federalists pushed for a deep connection to the Washington era. In the Washington-centered version, the states were connected in a chain-like pattern, which symbolized their unbreakable nature. The modified remake sought to empower the federal government of the United States. The image read, “Millions for our Defense Not a Cent for Tribute [sic.].”[41] This alluded to the growing tensions in the Franco-American relations of the 1790s. Such rhetoric maintained Federalist calls for Pro-British support. Federalists wanted to connect to Washington’s place in American history. Washington was a national hero, and Federalists wanted to shape their ideology around Washington’s support, thereby reimagining what it meant to be an American.[42]

While Federalists drew connections between Adams and Washington, they began to attack Republicans, citing their connections with the radical Revolutionary France. Taking every opportune moment to smear Republicans as supporters of radical revolution, Federalists used the popular press to spread their messages across America. They argued that Jefferson’s time in France had made him too radical.

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[41]Amos Doolittle, “A New Display of the United States,” political cartoon, *Library of Congress Digital Collections,* accessed March 25, 2015, https://lccn.loc.gov/2003656585.

[42]Elkins and McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism*, 690-695; Bradford Perkins, *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805-1812* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

However, Federalist propaganda was increasingly challenged by the Republican popular press that grew significantly in the latter half of the 1790s. Republicans challenged Federalists, calling Federalists hierarchical Anglophiles.[43]

Jefferson criticized Adams and his Federalist coconspirators as aristocrats, a dishonored and despicable title for any American in the early republic. Jeffersonian attacks on Federalists, and more specifically the Adams administration seemed to have the intended result. Citizens challenged the ideas of the presidential etiquette that had been normal in the time of President Washington. Americans were outraged at the hierarchical requirements that were imposed for presidential escorts and parades. Individuals claimed that such events had been appropriate for Washington, because Washington was a national hero. Washington fought for the freedom of the people of the United States, and secured national independence for them during the war. Adams was not Washington. While, some Americans even viewed Adams' hierarchical nature and his reverence for the British Constitution as an oddity, others took his characteristics to an extreme. They claimed Adams' views as tantamount to a counter-revolutionary ideology. The hierarchical and monarchical aspects of his administration further distanced the Federalists from the people of the United States, and therefore distanced them even more from the changing sense of Americanism of the late 1800s.[44]

Jeffersonians, who challenged the hierarchy of the Federalists, offered a competing vision of Republicanism. Jeffersonians called for an agrarian republic that

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[43]John Ferling, *Adams vs. Jefferson: The Tumultuous Election of 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 136-155.
[44]Bouton, *Taming Democracy*, 3-10; Butler, *Becoming America, 110-111*; Edward J. Larson, *A Magnificent Catastrophe*,18-19; Wood, *The American Revolution, 91-118*; Wood, *Empire of Liberty,* 57-59; Wood, *The Idea of America,* 233; Wood, *The Creation of American Republic,* 75-77; Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Streets,* 5-20.

offered a more egalitarian society for property owning white males than Federalist visions of republican theory. The vast differences between the Republicans and the Federalists played a crucial part in deciding who would have political control in the early nineteenth century. Because Federalists of the Early American Republic wanted a system modeled after Great Britain, they were out of touch with the majority of Americans. In fact, many Federalists worried about the full force ideas of Republicanism that emerged after the war. They feared the radical nature of the revolution was leading to extreme democracy. Federalists feared this course would destroy the Republic, so they sought to reverse these ideas. The challenge to revolutionary republican ideology has been called a revolutionary backlash, which became a Federalist attempt to curb the radical nature of the American Revolution. For example, some Federalists hoped that Washington's presidency would effectively transform into an elected monarchy. While these beliefs proved inaccurate, the backlash's appearance challenged Republican versions of identity that continued to gain momentum. As a result, Federalist desires to create their hierarchal society in America failed. Their vision differed from new American concepts of identity. By 1800, identity in the United States made a drastic shift towards Jeffersonian visions of identity.[45]

The Election of 1800 resulted in the first shift of political party control in the United States. Republicans took control of the presidency in a peaceful transition of power, which proved America could survive a change in regime. The election itself was a test that determined whether or not the Republic could survive such a change. Called

[45]Stuart Gerry Brown, *The First Republicans: Political Philosophy and Public Policy in the Part of Jefferson and Madison* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954), 94-97; Butler, *Becoming America, 110-111*; Edward J. Larson, *A Magnificent Catastrophe*,18-19; Wood, *The American Revolution, 91-118*

the Revolution of 1800, the Republican victory secured a reversal of Federalists' Pro-British trends. American desires for a more egalitarian republic, fostered by a dueling sense of Americanism, resulted in Jefferson's election to the Presidency. Now, it seemed that the people's belief in America's God-given destiny would triumph. Republicans decreased the size of the military, and began to characterize a more casual and open executive. Jefferson believed that with the victory of his party, America secured its destiny to become a light for liberty across the globe.[46]

Jeffersonian control of the executive effectively meant an end to continued Pro-British policies. Continued harassment by the British Navy later resulted in an Embargo, for example. Still, Federalist opposition continued throughout the period. Continued imperial warfare in Europe threatened to rip the young republic apart. Powers that were struggling to deter the power and success of the French Revolution faced an even more dangerous foe in Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon's rise to power resulted in a series of wars across Europe, something that characterized Europe for most of the early-to-mid 1800s. For a significant portion of that time, Europe focused on fighting off Napoleon's advances. Federalists had always feared the radical nature of the French Revolution. They saw in Napoleon the greatest threat America could face. They believed that as soon as the Napoleonic conquests of Europe were finished, the emperor would turn towards the young Republic, and set his sights on conquest. Federalists believed that America's only hope was the British Empire. With Jefferson's victory, however, British relations took a turn for the worse. The Jeffersonians opposed British restrictions on

[46]Stuart Gerry Brown, *The First Republicans*, 94-97; Butler, *Becoming America, 110-111*; Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 254-261; Edward J. Larson, *A Magnificent Catastrophe*,18-19; Wood, *The American Revolution, 91-118.*

their right to free trade across the Atlantic. Britain forcibly stopped and boarded American merchant vessels citing that free trade did not exist. Soon, the British began to impress—forcibly taking someone so that they can be used for public use—seamen from United States merchant vessels, signifying an attack on what American's believed was free maritime trading/shipping rights Additionally, such actions stripped Americans of the liberty and freedom they had as citizens of the United States.[47]

One famous act of British impressment, the *Chesapeake-Leopard* incident angered Americans and resulted in direct actions against British ships in the Atlantic. On June 22, 1807, the USS *Chesapeake* an American vessel shipped out of Norfolk harbor and set a course for the Mediterranean Sea. Her mission centered on combating the Barbary pirates that wrecked havoc on American shipping. Before leaving the Chesapeake Bay, however, the *Chesapeake* was intercepted by a British warship, the HMS *Leopard*. The *Troy Gazette* reported, "Capt. [sic] Humphries [of the *Leopard*] hailed the *Chesapeake*, and said he had a dispatch to deliver from the British commander in chief."[48] This message conveyed British orders to search the ship for three British defectors. The massive war vessel, which consisted of fifty-guns, ordered the *Chesapeake* to prepare for a boarding party to search for British sailors that had abandoned the British Royal Navy.[49] The crew of the *Chesapeake* refused, and the *Leopard* opened fire. The *Chesapeake,* forced to surrender, suffered nineteen

[47]Linda K. Kerber, *Federalists in Dissent: Imagery and Ideology in Jeffersonian America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 199.
[48]"Washington City, June 26. British Outrage." *Troy Gazette* (Troy, New York), July 7, 1807.
[49]British officials claimed that they were boarding American ships to recapture deserters from the British Navy, who left for better pay aboard American merchant vessels.

casualties. The British boarded the *Chesapeake* and arrested three sailors as defectors—only one of whom was actually a defector.[50]

Image 1.3: George Cruikshank's "British Valour and Yankee Boasting or Shannon versus Chesapeake." Courtesy of *Library of Congress digital collections*.

Image 1.3 depicts the British boarding an American shipping vessel. This British print, titled "British Valor and Yankee Boasting, or Shannon Versus Chesapeake," drew the British as brave soldiers boarding and impressing the Chesapeake. Such depictions challenged the might and prestige Americans associated with their history and their identity.[51] Americans were outraged with the British, and sought to avenge the *Chesapeake*. Thomas Jefferson made war preparations, but he sought out other means

[50]"Washington City, June 26. British Outrage." *Troy Gazette* (Troy, New York), July 7, 1807.
[51]George Cruikshank, "British Valour and Yankee Boasting or Shannon versus Chesapeake." 1807, Political cartoon, *Library of Congress Digital Collections*, accessed March 27, 2015 https://lccn.loc.gov/99471628.

of addressing the issue, hoping to avoid the conflict. Jefferson issued a declaration ordering all ports to refuse British warships not in distress or on diplomatic missions. He declared that British ships be treated as the enemy, while the French be treated as a friend. Jefferson's position reaffirmed an American ideal that continually included anti-Anglophilic rhetoric.[52]

The British aggression did not deter Federalists from affirming their Pro-British policies. They feared Napoleonic France, and were convinced that Napoleon would finish conquering Europe, and turn his gaze to the Americans for more imperial conquests. Federalists claimed that Jefferson's Pro-French policy, and his anti-British actions, threatened the security of America. The Federalists used the popular press to implicate the French as America's enemy:

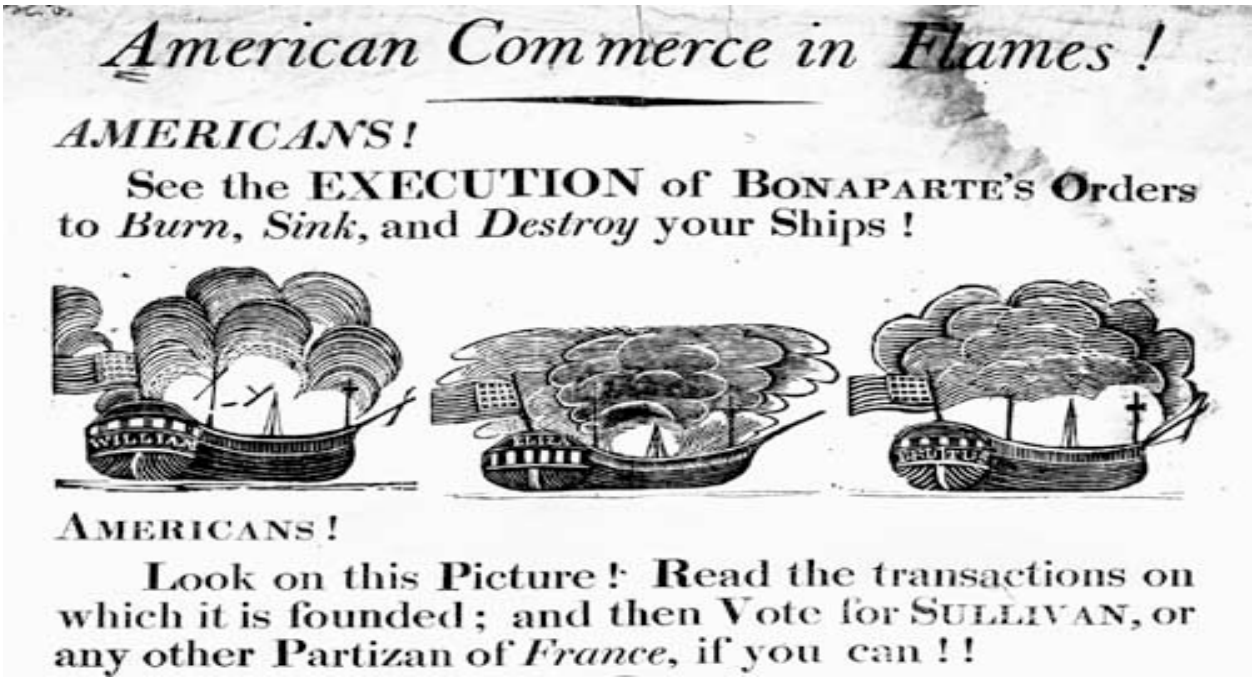

Image 1.4: Federalist broadside criticizing French attacks courtesy of Encyclopedia Britannica.

[52]Wood, *The Idea of America;* Wood, *Empire of Liberty*

This Federalist broadside condemned the actions the French took on the high seas. The broadside read, “Americans! See the EXECUTION [sic.] of Bonaparte’s Orders to *Burn, Sink,* and *Destroy* your Ships!.”[53] This called Americans to rally against the French, who were clearly demonstrating aggressive actions towards the Americans in the same way the British had. The broadside implicated Napoleon as a villainous character that was attacking American commerce. The broadside implied continued Federalist distrust of the French; the British claimed that the British were America’s hope for survival against the French.[54]

While Federalist charges of French aggressions spread, Republican policy continued to favor an anti-British policy. Continuing and increasing hostilities between the British and America prompted heated discussion. In a letter to James Monroe, James Madison wrote:

> IT [sic.] has become manifest to every attentive observer, that the early and continued actions of Great Britain on our persons, our property, and our rights, imperiously demand a firm stand…[55]

Jefferson (urged by James Madison’s stance on such matters) to enact a trade embargo against the British. The Embargo of 1807 resulted in a complete ban of all American exports and overseas shipping and trade to Britain. The embargo, however, did not have the desired effect. It wrecked havoc on the New England shipping industry, but the devastation did not end with the shipping industry in the Northeast. Farmers and

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[53]“American Commerce in Flames,” Broadside, *Encyclopædia Britannica ImageQuest,* accessed 28 April 2016, *http://quest.eb.com/search/federalists/1/309_2915445/Federalist-broadside-publicizing-French-attacks/more*.
[54]Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 38-40.
[55]James Madison to James Monroe, 5 January 1804, *Encyclopædia Britannica ImageQuest* accessed 16 Mar 2016, http://quest.eb.com/search/140_1705372/1/140_1705372/cite.

planters quickly felt the embargo's effects, witnessing the falling prices in their domestic markets. New Englanders, prompted by the Federalist Party majority in the area, petitioned for the Embargo's suspension. Jefferson wrote that he "felt the foundations of government shaken under [his] feet."[56] By the election of 1808, Federalists had hoped that the embargo would empower their supporters and help them regain prominence. To an extent this was true. Federalists gained support in New England, New York, and Maryland. Their numbers in congress rose. However, the extent of this support was not powerful enough to shift power in their favor in the next national election. This suggests that American identity had shifted toward a Republican vision. The Federalist resurgence in New England was, therefore, not due to success of Federalist identity, but because New England held a large majority of the shipping and trading industry.[57]

Growing Federalist strength in New England promoted expressed opposition from the Federalists, in the form of secession threats. To curb these radical calls, Republicans were forced to end the embargo in 1809. Instead of only repealing the embargo and lifting restrictions, the Republicans issued the non-intercourse act, a weaker set of commercial restrictions against the British and any belligerent to America.[58]

James Madison's arrival as president ended the embargo, but continued sanctions in its place worked against both Britain and France. At this time, international trade with other foreign powers resumed. However, continuing violence by the hands of

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[56]Thomas Jefferson to Joseph Cabell, 2 February 1816. *The Founder's Constitution*, accessed April 20, 2016. http://presspubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/v1ch4s34.html.

[57]James Madison to James Monroe, 5 January 1804.

[58]Roger H. Brown, *The Republic in Peril: 1812* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1971), 19-21.

the British, and fears of conflict forced President James Madison to ask Congress for a declaration of war. On January 1, 1812, *The Enquirer* published an excerpt of a letter from a member of Congress to the editor of said paper. The excerpt read:

> The message from the President, containing the late correspondence between the [British] Minister and Mr. Monroe is just laid on our tables, a copy of which you'll find enclosed. After a tedious debate we have this moment (12 o'clock) [sic.] passed the volunteer bill as amended by the committee on foreign relations, by a vote of 87 to 23 [sic.] MESSAGE [sic.] *from the President of the United States, transmitting copies of the correspondence between the British Minister and the Secretary of State, affording further evidence of…*[59]

Despite Federalist opposition to open war, a conflict seemed inevitable. The Republicans controlled congress, and they voted in favor of the war. Despite the Republican-controlled Congress, votes were still heavily divided in both houses (79-49 in the House and 19-13 in the Senate). Federalists made up most of the nay votes in Congress, but anti-war republicans accompanied them.[60]

[59]*Enquirer* (Richmond, Virginia) January 1, 1812.
[60]Herring, *From Colony to Super Power*, 125-132; Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 8-18; Watts, *The Republic Reborn*, 283-284; Wood, *Empire of Liberty,* 693-705.

Chapter Two

Throughout the mid-1800s, Republican suspicion of the British continued to push policy in a more anti-British direction. By 1812, war was inevitable; Madison asked Congress for war, and despite minority opposition, Congress agreed. America entered a second war with Great Britain: The War of 1812. Driven by continued divisions, Republicans and Federalists challenged one another during the war. Each side claimed the torch of American identity. When Federalists expressed their deeply held admiration for Great Britain, they were at odds with the Republican vision of America. Continued animosity towards the British clashed with Federalist ideology, and thus, the Federalist program, which closely aligned with hierarchical rule, became viewed by many Americans as the epitome of a monarchy. As Federalist rhetoric supported Great Britain through the early nineteenth century, it gave reason and means for Republican-driven attacks on Federalists, which pulled Americans further from Federalist ideology and towards a common identity.[1]

Federalists further isolated themselves with each testimonial supporting the British Empire. While the Federalists remained Pro-British, Jeffersonians continued to oppose the British so often that any Pro-British Federalist rhetoric became associated with traitorous ideology in Jeffersonian eyes. Federalists did not disappoint their opponents. Throughout the 1800s, Federalists often wrote in favor of Anglo-American relations, and in favor of British-like policies. Federalists argued that Jeffersonian policies would lead to the destruction of the republic. They continually saw France, not

[1]Bradford Perkins, *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805-1812* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961), 4-15; Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1-25.

Britain, as the enemy of American liberty, and believed that Britain was America's only hope in the world-wide struggle against France:

Image. 2.1: Charles, Williams. "Columbia teaching John Bull his new Lesson" 1812/1813. Library of Congress.

In Charles Williams painting depicting American liberty, Columbia warns the British and French of her commitment to freedom on the high seas and in matters of "retribution" and "respect." Yes, Americans, Federalist and Jeffersonian alike, sought to protect American interests, but both differed on the ways in which to go about it. The image shows Columbia warning both "John Bull," an allegory representing Great Britain, and "Mounseer Beau Napperty [sic.]" of her rights.[2] To Britain she is speaking of freedom of the seas, and to France, she is speaking of learning respect. This represented

[2]Charles Williams. "Columbia teaching John Bull his new Lesson". 1812/1813. *Library of Congress Digital Collections.* Philadephia: s.n., 1813. Accessed April 28, 2016 http://lccn.loc.gov/2002708984.

America's stance relating to Franco-British aggressions. This cartoon, drawn by William Charles, a stanch anti-British American, depicts Britain responding to America's calls by pointing at a booklet that reads "Power constitutes Right [sic.]."[3] The anti-British feelings present in Jeffersonian ideology were, of course, almost non existent in the Federalist ideology.[4]

As Napoleonic France continued to push toward a European take over, Federalists called Britain America's only hope. In *Some Thoughts on the Present Dispute between Great Britain and America*, Thomas Fessenden wrote:

> Great Britain is forced to call into action all her energies, moral and physical, in order to give herself a fair and dubious chance of existence as an independent nation. Should she fall, and fall she must with the present disposition and temper of mankind towards her, all her weight, physical and moral, will be thrown into the scale of France, already so alarmingly preponderant.[5]

Federalist rhetoric like this broadside continued to paint the British as America's only hope, and pushed for the condemnation of Napoleonic France. Such statements conveyed Federalist fears of extreme democracy that characterized Revolutionary France, and which Federalists believed would destroy the young republic. Fessenden continued:

> Buonaparte, [sic.] or his successours [sic.] will be able to detach some of his lately created military *lords, dukes, nobles, princes, or kings* (for he has manufactured a great number of these articles, all good republicans of

[3]Charles Williams. *Columbia teaching John Bull his new Lesson.*
[4]Charles Williams. *Columbia teaching John Bull his new Lesson*.
[5]Thomas G. Fessenden, *Some Thoughts on the Present Dispute between Great Britain and America* (Philadelphia: Printed for the author, and for the sale by the principle booksellers, 1807), 11.

course) at the head of a half million of men to prorogate *French* liberty in the United States.[6]

Federalists condemned Jeffersonian actions against the British, because in their eyes, Britain's capture signaled that America was next. Still, Jeffersonian policies worsened Anglo-American relations, and soured any chance of an alliance between them. Federalists viewed Republicans as Napoleonic in nature, adhering to the extreme democracy they so dreaded.[7]

During the War of 1812, Federalist opposition to the War of 1812 did not cease. After the Republican-controlled Twelfth Congress officially declared war on England, Federalists used what remaining power they had to put an end to the conflict. Federalists continually, and almost unanimously, voted against almost every Pro-war legislative act throughout the entire conflict. These acts usually called for troops, or restricted trade with foreign powers. Any bills regarding the war that did pass usually dealt with defensive measures that would ensure the safety of New England. Despite being a significantly weakened party, the Federalists were able to block some war legislation, with the help of some anti-war Republicans, who were usually from the North or near the coast, where commercial industry was prominent. Despite these bitter partisan battles in Congress, the war continued.[8]

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[6]Thomas G. Fessenden, *Some Thoughts on the Present Dispute between Great Britain and America,* 11.
[7]Hickey, *The War of 1812*, 256-257; Wood, *Empire of Liberty*, 1-10; Perkins, *Prologue to War*
[8]Richard Buel Jr., *America on the Brink: How the Political Struggle over the War of 1812 Almost Destroyed the Young Republic* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 157-189; Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict,* 255-280; Donald R. Hickey, "American Trade Restrictions during the War of 1812," *The Journal of American History* 68 no. 3 (December 1981), 521 accessed March 16, 2016 http://www.jstor.org/stable/1901937.

Federalists blamed the Republicans for the war; they accused Republicans of starting a war with Great Britain to advance their own partisan purposes. During the War of 1812, the *Columbian Register* wrote, "[Pickering] has again entered the newspaper lists on the question between the governments of Great Britain and the United states, *in favor of Great Britain* [sic.]*.*"[9] Pickering condemned the war and blamed the Republicans. In the *Salem Gazette,* Pickering attacked the earlier Republican policies of Jefferson and Madison. Pickering wrote that Thomas Jefferson's embargo was put in place without thinking of their impact on the American people, who based their livelihood on trade and shipping. The trade embargo and other anti-commercial legislation hurt New England's shipping industry. Pickering went on in his message to discuss Madison's continuance of these devastating policies. Pickering's Federalist ideology supported Pro-British policy and condemned the Embargo and other Republican policies as dangerous to the commercial development of America. Indeed, Federalist visions of an industrial nation to challenge the commercial sectors of Great Britain propelled their position against Republican policies.[10]

Radical Federalist dissent proved fatal to Federalist interests. As early as 1804, a group of radical Federalists, led by Timothy Pickering, met in order to discuss secession. Pickering claimed that radical action was needed to break Virginia's hold over national politics. Fisher Ames later wrote to Pickering and discussed that such radical action was not necessary. Indeed, only a small majority of the Federalist Party advocated for such radical actions. These factions continued to push for some type of

[9]"Timothy Pickering," *Columbian Register* (New Haven, Connecticut)*,* 23 March 1813.
[10]Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict*, 256-257; "Timothy Pickering," *Columbian Register,* 23 March 1813.

disunion. In one instance, members in Newburyport, Massachusetts called for an end to the war or the secession of parts of New England. These sentiments continued to appear throughout wartime America. Calls for secession, Pro-British policies, and hierarchical systems opened Federalists to the onslaught of Republican-driven attacks that claimed Federalists were un-American.[11]

Beyond their anti-war actions in Congress, Federalists employed newspapers and local support in their attacks on Republicans; they hoped to sway the people's opinion of the war. The Federalists used newspapers to sway public opinion against the Republicans. In a backlash against the *Federal Republican*, the *Newburyport Herald* declared that the Republicans, who wanted the war with England, opposed the buildup of the United States Navy. Because the Federalist Party strengthened the Navy, the *Newburyport Herald* claimed, "[The war] has vindicated the patriotism, spirit and wisdom [sic.] of the federal party [sic.]."[12] Other Federalist newspapers published letters to the people of the United States, in which arguments condemned the war with England. In a reprint from the *Salem Gazette*, the *Connecticut Herald* published that the Democratic-Republicans avoided treaties with England, and that if peace was agreed on, relations would become better, and commercial relations would be restored. These Federalist-driven sources of propaganda only proved to divide the nation further.[13]

[11]James M Banner Jr., *To The Hartford Convention*, 295-350; Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict*, 5-49.
[12]"From the Federal Republican," *Newburyport (Mass) Herald*, 12 January 1813.
[13]Hickey, *The War of 1812*, 256-257; *Trenton Federalist* (Trenton, New Jersey), 3 March 1812; "From the Federal Republican," *Newburyport Herald*, 12 January 1813.

Partisan attacks were not one-sided. Republicans equally attacked Federalists, by drawing attention to the Federalist Pro-British stance. While Federalist newspapers condemned Republican policy as un-American, Republican-led attacks charged Federalists as traitors that wanted to side with Great Britain. The *Columbian Register*'s claim that "[Pickering] has again entered the newspaper… *in favor of Great Britain* [sic.]" propelled Republican propaganda.[14] In addition to newspapers and written charges of treason, Pro-war Republicans attacked Federalists in images:

Image 2.2: Charles, Williams. "Josiah the First." 1812/1813. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

[14]Timothy Pickering," *Columbian* (Connecticut) *Register,* 23 March 1813.

Josiah Quincy's opposition to the War of 1812 led him to become an apologist for the British. Another image by William Charles (Image 2.2), depicted Quincy dressed in a red and gold coat and crown, signifying an image of royalty. The caption read, ""I Josiah the first do by this my Royal Proclamation announce myself King of New England, Novia [sic.] Scotia and Passamaquoddy,—Grand Master of the noble order of the Two Cod Fishes."[15] Nova Scotia and Passamaquoddy are not located in the United States, but instead are in British Canada. This is significant, as those areas closely border the United States, and became havens for British Loyalists during the American Revolution. This Jeffersonian attack on Federalists painted them and their New England supporters, as loyalists that sought to secede from the rest of the United States and have a re-communion with Great Britain. [16]

Federalist opposition of the War of 1812 fueled Republican charges of treason and Anglophilia. Federalists openly opposed the conflict calling it unjustified. They claimed that Republican desires for war were a testament to their beliefs that the Republicans were moving America into a more French-like system, characterized by radicalism. Historian Roger Brown wrote that historians often point to Federalist desires to protect New England as reason for an opposition. However, once the war began, as historian Brown mentioned, hopes for a reorganization of the political field accompanied such opposition. Federalists hoped that the war's devastating effects would propel them back into power. Still, for their plan to work, Brown wrote that Federalists needed to "go

[15]Charles, Williams. "Josiah the First," 1812/1813. *Library of Congress Digital Collections*. Philadelphia: 1812 or 1813. Accessed April 21, 2016 https://lccn.loc.gov/2002708981

[16]Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 256-257; "Timothy Pickering," *Columbian Register,* 23 March 1813; Charles, Williams. "Josiah the First."

on record as opposed to conflict" to "reap the benefits war would bring."[17] And Federalists opposed the war wholeheartedly. The initial defeats Americans faced and the rising debt opened Republicans to Federalist-driven attacks. They opposed the war, claiming that it was done by Republican design to expand Republican influence. They feared that the war would result in Napoleon's conquest of America. To combat what they deemed a great danger to the Republic, Federalists opposed war legislation. For example, they often and unanimously challenged federal calls for state militiamen. Suddenly, Federalists saw a chance to regain their lost prominence. In 1814, Federalists did regain seats in Congress (more than a third in Congress).[18]

Federalist fears were not completely unfounded. The destruction of the nation's capital, and the growing fears of loss continued to haunt the Federalists. With conditions bleak, New England Federalists agreed to hold a meeting in Hartford, Connecticut to discuss their contempt for the war, and the actions they could possibly take. The Hartford Convention began on December 15, 1814 when twenty-six representatives from the Federalist-controlled New England States (Vermont and New Hampshire were Republican-controlled states) met to discuss their opinions of the war. Twenty-one of the twenty-six representatives were lawyers. The remaining five were merchants. Some called for New England's secession, but very quickly moderate voices took control. A report from Thomas S. Jesup, a military officer sent by James Madison to report on the proceedings of the Hartford Convention is one of the few sources we have about the proceedings of the convention. In January 1815, the Hartford Convention came to a

[17]Roger H. Brown, *The Republic in Peril: 1812* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1971, 169-175.
[18]Brown, *The Republic in Peril*, 169-175; Hickey, *The War of 1812*, 255-260; Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism*, 10-11.

close and the delegates readied their recommendations for Washington. The Federalists suggested that new states should not be admitted into the Union without a two-thirds majority vote from all of the states. Additionally, they called for no declarations of war to be passed in Congress without a two-thirds consensus from the states. Lastly, the Federalists wanted an end to the "Virginia Dynasty" of Presidential succession, so they recommended that presidents not be elected from the same state consecutively.[19] If these measures passed, then the New England states' power would rise, and their influence would extend further than the sectionalist boundaries that had been in place since 1800. Federalist desires reflected their version of American identity, which was still heavily influenced by Pro-British policy and commerce.[20]

The Battle of New Orleans pitted General Andrew Jackson against the might of the British Empire. Jackson and his army of around 4,000 faced an army approximately three times its size. Yet, he successfully pushed the British out, securing a psychological victory for the Union; the British casualties at New Orleans were in the thousands, while American casualties were minimal. Jeffersonians and Federalists rejoiced. As news of the victory spread, Americans desired to hear histories and oral stories of Jackson's great victory, and America's popular press catered to those desires. Indeed, American newspapers accommodated the whims of the people. The *Reporter*

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[19]James M. Banner Jr., *To The Hartford Convention*, 295-350; Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812*, 5-49; Jack Alden Clarke, "Thomas Sydney Jesup: Military Observer at the Hartford Convention," *The New England Quarterly* 29 no. 3 (September 1956), 393-399 accessed March 16, 2016 http://www.jstor.org/stable/363016; Theodore Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention: With a Review of the United States Government, which led to the War of 1812* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1833), 383-422.

[20]James M. Banner Jr., *To The Hartford Convention,* 335-350; Dwight, *History of the Hartford Convention,* 383-487*;* and Jack Alden Clarke, "Thomas Sydney Jesup: Military Observer at the Hartford Convention," *The New England Quarterly* 29 no. 3 (September 1956), 393-399, accessed March 15, 2016 http://www.jstor.org/stable/363016.

republished a ballad from the *National Intelligencer* that rejoiced in the victory of Jackson and his soldiers: “Huzzah! Louisiana! huzzah! for the city, Huzzah! for our wives and the maidens so pretty. Huzzah! for our boys who the enemy braved, And *Liberty* [sic.], *Virtue* [sic.], and *Property* [sic.] saved.”[21] This ballad reflected American zeal in the aftermath of the war. America had survived a second war with England. In this victory they proved, in essence, that they were a nation. The Battle of New Orleans became a champion of American spirits. Images depicting Jackson’s victory showcase the romantic sentiments Americans held for the war:

Image 2.3: “A correct view of the battle near the city of New Orleans…” courtesy of the Library of Congress

Image 2.3 represents the romanticism surrounding the victory in New Orleans. “A correct view of the battle near the city of New Orleans …” depicted Americans as the dominating force in the battle. They gained and controlled the field from high ground. They are surrounded by three American flags, and by lines of British regulars, who are

[21]“On the Power of Religion,” *Reporter*, (Lexington, Kentucky) 21 April 1815.

marching forward. Jackson, at the center of the image, leads his troops into the battle, while British soldiers invade the barracks and fail in their missions. The British lay dead in the battle field. “A correct view of the battle near the city of New Orleans …” illustrated a romanticized version of the battle and of the war itself. Such depictions fostered a growing sense of identity that was reminiscent of the post-Revolutionary feelings. Americans saw their victory and the end of the war as testaments to the American vision hard-fought for since the 1770s.[22] This nationalistic spirit that glorified the Battle of New Orleans continued to influence the developing American identity. The battle became incorporated into various songs. One song, “The Battle of New Orleans,” made Jackson a national hero, like Washington before him:

> …The conflict was dreadful, for freemen were brave,
> And they meted the foe such a stern retribution,
> That thousands were doom'd [sic.]to a premature grave,
> While their comrades in arms fled the field in confusion;
> And our heroes may claim
> Living chaplets of fame,
> While we honour [sic.] the chief who directed their aim.
> When a happy New Year for Columbia begun,
> And our Jackson secured what our Washington won...[23]

Americans claimed that Andrew Jackson secured the victory in New Orleans that Washington had achieved after the American Revolution. “The Battle of New Orleans”

[22]Francisco Scacki, **“**A correct view of the battle near the city of New Orleans, on the eighth of January 1815, under the command of Genl. Andw. Jackson, over 10,000 British troops, in which 3 of their most distinguished generals were killed, & several wounded and upwards of 3,000 of their choisest soldiers were killed, wounded, and made prisoners, &c. / Francis Scacki.” 1815. *Library of Congress Digital Collections*. Accessed April 21, 2016 http://lccn.loc.gov/2006677463.
[23]Samuel Wordsworth, *Battle of New Orleans, in Songs, Odes, and Other Poems on National Subjects*. (Philadelphia, 1842).

passed from person to person, becoming a part of America's oral history as an ingrained symbol of nationalism.[24]

Jackson's triumph in Louisiana provided a much needed morale boost to Americans that had faced so much devastation earlier in the war. Americans believed that this victory proved their cause victorious. Yet, the Battle of New Orleans was unnecessary in terms of ending the war. Even before the battle began, negotiations between the United States and the British had been moving forward in Europe. On January 2, 1814, only days before the Battle of New Orleans, their negotiation efforts succeeded. The *HMS Favorite* sailed across the Atlantic, and carried with it a copy of the newly signed treaty to the United States. The treaty, called the Peace of Ghent, officially ended the war. However, the peace treaty had only acted as a cease-fire. The War of 1812 ended without many significant changes to the status quo. Instead, America received a reaffirmation of rights they had secured after their victory in the American Revolution; though, it did open the Great Lakes to American expansionism. Yet the symbolic impacts the treaty had on American minds weighed heavily in the social shifts that began taking place in the early half of the nineteenth century.[25]

Both the Peace of Ghent and Jackson's victory in New Orleans created a newly formed national atmosphere. This developing sense of identity helped Americans forget

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[24]Samuel Wordsworth, *Battle of New Orleans*.; Francisco Scacki, "A correct view of the battle near the city of New Orleans."

[25]"On the Power of Religion, "*Reporter*, (Lexington, Kentucky) 21 April 1815; Thomas Merritt, *The Battle of New Orleans*. 1815 Library of Congress; Samuel Wordsworth, *Battle of New Orleans, in Songs, Odes, and Other Poems on National Subjects*. (Philadelphia, 1842); Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 281-299; Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1812* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987), 276-299.

the early defeats of the war, and as a result, Americans created a reaffirmed sense of victory, as they had after the American Revolution. Newspapers rejoiced. The *Columbian Register,* the *Connecticut Courant,* the *Connecticut Spectator* all reprinted correspondence from the *National Intelligencer*, in which Andrew Jackson recorded his victory at New Orleans to the United States Secretary of War, James Monroe. The *Massachusetts Spy* published the news of peace between the warring states. The *Massachusetts Spy* declared, "The great and joyful news of PEACE [sic.] between the United States and Great Britain reached this city this evening by the British sloop of war Favorite...."[26]

As news of peace spread throughout the republic, Republican leaders targeted their Federalist counterparts, and started to implicate them as traitors. Republicans claimed that the Federalist anti-American actions during the war, such as refusal to provide troops and calls for secession, proved that Federalists were Anglophiles that wanted to break away from the United States. Such accusations, in a time of significant Anglophobia among Americans, continued to drive Federalists further into the fringes of society. Like Federalist attacks on Republicans, Republican attacks on Federalists appeared in the vast network of newspapers. Republicans drew the Federalists as the adversary of the Republic. For example, Republicans proclaimed that the Federalist meeting in Hartford, Connecticut during the war illuminated Federalist dissent, and forced Federalists on the defensive. Indeed, the Hartford Convention became a pinnacle event, which sealed the Federalists' fate. Many contemporaries associated it with treason that threatened to undermine the harmony of the Republic.

[26]"PEACE," *Massachusetts Spy*, 15 February 1815.

Because the Convention's proceedings had been kept secret, the public did not know exactly what transpired behind closed doors. This made Republican allegations even more convincing. John Randolph of Roanoke, a Republican congressman, who himself had condemned the War of 1812, called those involved with the convention members of "the school of Arnold," referring to the deceitful and disloyal acts of Benedict Arnold during the American Revolution.[27] Such parallels tainted Federalists as loyalists of the British Empire. This condemnation of Federalist actions continued to hurt the Federalist Party's standing among the American people. Republican-run newspapers continued to assault the Federalists; the *Daily National Inquirer* published information, which portrayed the Convention as an underhanded act by the New England Federalists. The report, a reprint from *The Boston Patriot,* called those at the convention, "delegates of the British agency."[28] The variety of newspapers publishing and republishing materials spoke to the relative easiness involved in spreading propaganda across the nation. These articles, again, tied Federalists to the Anglophilia that Americans greatly despised. Newspapers even reported that the delegates were characterized by seemingly devilish actions in church, thereby drawing them as anti-Christian. Such claims of anti-Christian beliefs provide evidence of the lengths that Republicans would go to smear their enemies. In these articles and images, Republicans built on Federalist hierarchal and Pro-British policy beliefs; They vilified the Federalists, accusing them of siding with the British during the war. Some even argued that the Federalists were conspirators that wanted to secede from America, and rejoin the British Empire. They accused these "traitors" as agents hoping to destroy everything

[27]"The Hartford Convention," *Virginia Patriot,* 7 January 1815.
[28]"The Hartford Convention," *Virginia Patriot,* 7 January 1815

the revolutionaries of 1776 had achieved. Detailed images quickly accompanied the political rhetoric, and Republicans continued to implicate Federalists as Anglophilic traitors. One image in particular, *The Hartford Convention or Leap no Leap* placed Federalist representatives of the namesake convention preparing for a daring and traitorous leap:

Image 2.4: Charles, Williams. “The Hartford Convention or Leap No Leap.” 1815. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

In 1815, *The Hartford Convention or Leap No Leap* (Image 2.4) appeared in newspapers across the nation. William Charles’ *The Hartford Convention or Leap no Leap* depicted the Federalists as British supporters seeking to rekindle their colonial relationship with the British Empire. *The Hartford Convention or Leap No Leap* depicted three representatives (from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island). They are

atop a cliff, preparing to jump into the arms of King George III. The "cliff jump" symbolized the New England Federalists' apparent desire to break all ties with the United States, and their anticipation to swear allegiance to their former rulers, the British Crown.[29]

To compliment these newspapers and political cartoons, an anonymous author using the pseudonym Hector Benevolus**,** published *The Hartford Convention in an Uproar! And the Wise Men of the East Confounded Together with A Short History of the Peter Washingtonians; Being The First Book of the Chronicles of the Children of Disobedience; Otherwise Falsely Called "Washington Benevolents."* Appearing in 1815, Benevolus' work criticized the convention, and paralleled the Federalists as royal nobles, no better than their British counterparts: "And it came to pass in the days of James the President, that a certain infuriate Princes and Nobles of the Eastern Provinces mutinized [sic.], saying 'We will not have this man to reign over us."[30] Telling of the Convention, the Federalist opposition to the war (and by extension the president), this work criticized the Federalists, making it a point to characterize them as conspirators of secession. Benevolus' work even charged Federalists with attempting to go to war with Americans: "Appoint ye [sic.] men to go up to the palace of a city that lieth [sic.] in the fourth weft [sic.] province, that we may consult together and make war with James, and with the people of the other provinces, and separate ourselves from

[29]William Charles, *"The Hartford Convention or leap no Leap", Library of Congress Digital Collections*. Philadelphia: 1814. Accessed April 15, 2016 https://lccn.loc.gov/2002708988.

[30]Hector Benevolus, *The Hartford Convention in an Uproar! And the Wise Men of the East Confounded Together with A Short History of the Peter Washingtonians; Being The First Book of the Chronicles of the Children of Disobedience; Otherwise Falsely Called "Washington Benevolents",* (Windsor, VT: Proprietor of the Copy-right, 1815) retrived from the Connecticut Historical Society.

them"[.][31] Painting the Federalists as the opposition to a Republican vision that reflected the desires of the people continued to disrupt the Federalist Party. Benevolus went as far as naming the Federalists as schemers hoping to make war with James Madison. As word spread of the Hartford Convention, Americans quickly associated it with treason, Anglophilia, and secession. These charges, certainly tied Federalists to Anglophilia, but they reflected a growing sense of Republican-centered identity that had changed dramatically from the agrarian and small Republican vision of the 1790s. Now, Republican visions included a large, nationalist Republic that fused both old Republican thinking with Federalist elements, like a national bank.

In the wake of the War of 1812, American national fervor soared as never before. Americans faced the might of an army much larger than their military, and faced an enemy defined as the best in the world. They did not win the war, they merely survived it. Yet, the American people celebrated their survival as their predecessors had celebrated their victory in the American Revolution. The War of 1812 represented the creation of an American spirit. The war created new heroes, new celebrations, and even the nation's eventual national anthem, the *Star Spangled Banner*. Republicans became the carriers of this newly fashioned American spirit. Their vision of republicanism and their form of American identity proved triumphant, while Federalist sentiment and ideology waned in popularity. Republicans evolved throughout the war, and throughout the period in its wake absorbed characteristics that had once been a part of the Federalist Party. Yet, these changes to Republicanism posed no significant dangers to their popularity among the American people. Jackson's victory sealed a Republican

[31]Hector Benevolus, *The Hartford Convention in an Uproar!*.

America, as much as the Hartford Convention dismantled any hope of a Federalist one. Changes continued to add to the growing momentum of an American identity. Federalists continued to challenge the Republicans politically, but more and more their ability to do so faded. By the election of 1816, Republican-driven smears of their Federalist Party marked what has been referred to as a period of one-party rule. One-party rule did not mean that Federalist interests did not exist, rather it instead referred to the lack of Federalist prominence on a national stage. In 1824, no Federalist ran for the presidency, as those with lingering influence hoped to work behind the scenes to drive the election in their favor; they succeeded in a way. Finally, in 1828, the Federalist Party dissolved as an active force in government. In its place arrived a newly developed two-party system that realigned loyalties into different party lines. American ideas of nationalism and what constituted an American identity continued to shape political ends, as Presidential election results supported one party over the next.

The growing nationalistic fervor in the wake of the War of 1812 did not spontaneously generate from an imagined victory among the minds of Americans. Yes, the *victory* pushed nationalist tendencies to the forefront of American thought. However, proto-national fervor had existed before the war, as evident in the celebrations of the post-revolutionary era. Between 1780 and the 1820s, for example, the Fourth of July represented a conservative celebration of the radical Revolution of 1776. Two forms of nationalism existed in the United States: A Republican version and a divergent Federalist one. While Republicans pictured an agrarian society, and envisioned a democratic-based nationalism, focused on a strict constructionist view of the Constitution, Federalists imagined a very different future for America. Initially, they

wanted an ordered and structured government, that focused on hierarchy at the center of their society. This Federalist form of government pulled ideology and structure from already known patterns of governance that existed in the various European monarchies. Federalist forms were especially similar to the rhetoric found in Great Britain. If Federalists had won the Election of 1800, then, as historian Joyce Appleby argued, American nationalism and government "would have followed a trajectory more akin to European models."[32] However, Jefferson had succeeded in that election, and the Revolution of 1800 ushered in a time where Federalist Party power dwindled. Republican ideology, under Jefferson, and later, James Madison, flourished and pushed the nation forward. Yet, the Republican identity in 1815 was not the Republican identity of 1800. Federalist elements had become absorbed into Republican thought and had resulted in a nationalistic vision of the Republican party.[33]

After the War of 1812, Americans rejoiced in their survival and patriotism surged throughout the republic. They had defeated Great Britain for a second time, securing a place on the world stage. Americans pushed Federalist rhetoric from the forefront of politics, envisioning them as Thomas Paine's sunshine soldiers, who abandon the

[32]Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2000), 262.
[33]"PEACE," *Massachusetts Spy*, 15 February 1815; Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2000), 262-266; *National Intelligencer*, 30 January 1815; Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1812* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987) 276-320; David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 34-36; Alfred Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), 110.

service they claim in the face of danger, revealing their true nature.[34] As the War of 1812 closed, it seemed that the Federalists embodied Paine's accusations, and Americans, teeming with Anglophobia, sought to exile Federalists. As America moved away from the war, The Federalist Party became more and more distant. It failed to meet the peoples' desires, which so easily matched the Republicans. As the 1820s approached, Federalism continued to wane from the political sphere.[35]

Newspapers continued their onslaughts through beyond the end of 1815. The *Federal Republican* wrote that the Federalists were nothing but traitors by proclaiming in the form of a story, where a "lean man" and a "round faced man" were discussing the Federalists.[36] The "round faced man" told the "lean man" that the Federalists were not traitors because they fought in the War of 1812. The "lean man," however, reaffirmed that the Federalists were traitors. He declared that "they fought, but against us [the United States]."[37] He continued, "Sir. They are a set of rascals, villains, cheats, liars—there isn't [sic.] an honest man in the party."[38] The Republican attacks on the Federalist Party continued long after the end of the War of 1812. These attacks hampered Federalist attempts to reorganize, and to regain their lost prominence. As the election of

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[34]Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis* (Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Tech, 2001)." Accessed December 14, 2015**.** ProQuest ebrary.
[35]PEACE," *Massachusetts Spy*, 15 February 1815; Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2000), 262-266; *National Intelligencer*, 30 January 1815; Sam W. Haynes, *Unfinished Revolution: The Early Republic in a British World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 106-108; Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1812* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987) 276-320; Alfred Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston:
Beacon Press, 1999), 130-133.
[36]"The Cogitations of Uncle John," *Federal Republican*, 9 May 1815.
[37]"The Cogitations of Uncle John."
[38]"The Cogitations of Uncle John."

1816 approached, partisan divisions began to change, and a new era of American history began.[39]

[39]"The Cogitations of Uncle John."

Chapter Three

From 1816 until 1819, the United States witnessed what has often been called the "Era of Good Feelings." The election of 1816 represented a decisive shift in the political arena of the United States. Madison ended his presidency with a critical victory in war (at least in the minds of Americans). Federalists tainted with treason during wartime hysteria continued to be a target group throughout the period. Indeed, few Federalists remained in high-level positions after the war.[1] Federalists did remain a part of the government, and they continued to push for their own views and agendas in political matters. Yet, their prominence continued to spiral downwards. What little Federalist influence remained has been called a formal opposition to an era characterized by one-party rule.

In 1816, a Congressional Bill that aimed to reinstitute a Bank of the United States, passed in the House with an eighty to seventy-one voting margin. A new Bank of the United States came into existence, this time under Republican leadership. It is an irony that the once prominent Federalist Party supported a Bank of the United States. In the initial stages of the first BUS's creation, the Federalists and by extension the Northeast provided most of the yea votes. Yet, in 1816, they made up a majority of the nay. This marked a decisive change in the wants of the American people as evident through political ideology. In 1800, Thomas Jefferson and the Republican Party won a political revolution that dramatically reshaped the direction American identity took. Yet, over the course of the middle and late 1800s, what had initially been a call for an

[1]Chief Justice John Marshall remained in control of the Judicial Branch of government as a position in the United States Supreme Court is a lifetime position.

agrarian American identity dramatically shifted into an identity characterized by nationalism.[2]

The Election of 1816 supported Republican success, and therefore a Republican idea of identity. Historian Daniel Walker Howe writes, “Monroe’s easy victory reflected the spirit of national self-satisfaction and self-congratulation following the War of 1812, from which the incumbent Republican Party benefited.”[3] Indeed, James Monroe secured his victory with negligible opposition. The Federalist Party, unable to produce a major candidate, lost any remaining strength they held in national politics. Historian George Dangerfield eloquently wrote, “From a *national* point of view the Federalist party was dead.”[4] It is true that Federalists lost their remaining strength in national elections, but they drew a majority of their support in the 1816 election from their strongholds in New England, continuing to display a regional divide in political feeling. The American people identified with parties along sectional and regional lines, yet the voice of the majority became clear. Americans wanted a Republican-controlled executive and the Republican vision of identity that came along with it. Indeed, American identity shifted from a contention between hierarchal Federalism and agrarian Republican identity into a pan-nationalist vision of America that seemingly transcended the sectionalism of the Early Republic.[5]

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[2]George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828,* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), 10-30.
[3]Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 90.
[4]George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism*, 24.
[5]James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817.” *The Avalon Project Yale University*. Accessed March 12, 2016 http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe1.asp.

When President James Monroe gave his first inaugural address, he proclaimed that the United States witnessed a form of self governance that allowed them to focus their energies on what they saw fit. He declared:

> From the commencement of our Revolution to the present day almost forty years have elapsed, and from the establishment of this Constitution twenty-eight. Through this whole term the Government has been what may emphatically be called self-government. And what has been the effect? To whatever object we turn our attention, whether it relates to our foreign or domestic concerns, we find abundant cause to felicitate ourselves in the excellence of our institutions.[6]

This alluded to the harmony of American governance, the democratic nature, which brought America into the future. Monroe's observations connected the victory of America in the Revolutionary war with the more recent War of 1812. He cited that America's self-governance was the cause of the nation's ability to persevere in a time of great challenges at home and abroad. Monroe spoke of the War of 1812, of course, relating to international challenges. Yet, what were these trials that Americans faced within their borders? It is evident from Monroe's presidency and his inaugural address that the institutional foundation of partisan politics—the political parties that so divided the nation—were still on the minds of Americans. Monroe's address spoke heavily of partisanship and the destructive nature that rival parties caused in government:

> In the course of these conflicts [speaking of the War of 1812 another conflicts] the United States received great injury from several of the parties. It was their interest to stand aloof from the contest, to demand justice from the party committing the injury, and to cultivate by a fair and honorable conduct the friendship of all. War became at length inevitable, and the result has shown that our Government is equal to that, the greatest of trials, under the most unfavorable circumstances.[7]

[6]James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817."
[7]James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817."

Monroe criticized the political party structure and celebrated the common interests of the American people. Indeed, Monroe's emphasis on cohesion represented his desires to be the "president of all the American people." This represented the changing sense of identity from a localist character into a more national identity, characterized by Monroe's anti-party rhetoric and the calls for reunification he called for throughout his presidency.[8]

A significant portion of the remainder of the inaugural address focused on internal improvements to the United States. Monroe spoke of cooperation between the states by building roads and canals throughout the nation. Monroe declared, "we shall shorten distances, and, by making each part more accessible to and dependent on the other, we shall bind the Union more closely together…"[9] Such calls for development raised questions regarding the constitutionality of federal funding of the system of internal improvements. Such questions made building projects like a national road slow, but the attempts at tying the nation together reinforced the evolution of the Republican national identity, which Monroe so eloquently alluded to throughout his address.[10]

Like the early beliefs of God-given destiny present after the American Revolution, Monroe's administration spoke of nature's part in the American experiment. Hereby claiming that an otherworldly power intervened, and produced a perfect breeding ground for American liberty and expansion. Monroe asserted, "Nature has done so much for us by intersecting the country with so many great rivers, bays, and lakes, approaching from distant points so near to each other, that the inducement to complete

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[8]Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 212-213.
[9]James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817."
[10]Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 90-95; 210-213; James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817."

the work seems to be peculiarly strong."[11] Connecting the present course of America to commonly held feelings of God-given destiny proved to move America further into a realm of a common American identity that was characterized by growing national fervor. He continued, "A more interesting spectacle was perhaps never seen than is exhibited within the limits of the United States a territory so vast and advantageously situated, containing objects so grand, so useful, so happily connected in all their parts!"[12] Americans after the revolution felt compelled to spread their idea of liberty around the globe, and the eruption of the French Revolution, while extremely violent, had shown the torch of liberty could be ignited in the heart of monarchical Europe. Such beliefs persisted for the reminder of the 1800s and onward into the twentieth century.[13]

After his election, Monroe and his advisors worked to find a solution to the remaining Federalist problem. Tainted with treason, lingering Federalist personalities struggled to maintain any significant power. Monroe's solution involved a type of reconciliation between the Republican and Federalist Parties. This substantiated earlier claims that Monroe wanted to end the divisions that plagued party politics. In his First Inaugural Address he declared the American people as a collective group with shared interests. He declared that the nation was made up of one family, a foundation for a common identity. To ignite a period of one-party rule, Monroe set out to meet with Federalist leaders throughout New England. This was an attempt to reconcile with the Northeast, and rekindle cooperation. However, Monroe's actions and rhetoric resulted in a series of attacks on the President from his own party. The *Dedham Gazette*

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[11]James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817."
[12]James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817."
[13]Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 90-95; 210-213; James Monroe, "President James Monroe's first inaugural address, 1817."

proclaimed that Monroe was not the first choice of the Republican Party. They noted that Monroe's actions toward the Federalists could hamper his re-election, but they asserted that no one would try to stop his re-election. This did not show that Americans were moving toward the national identity of America. Instead, it displayed a shift in political party loyalty among the people. Lastly, they indicated that Monroe had lost tremendous support from his fellow Republicans, but that he had retained a great deal of support from the Federalist-controlled New England States.

These home-grown attacks mark divisions in the Republican Party that continued throughout the mid-1800s. Some Federalists believed that the President's visit to the New England states could be used as a means of reorganizing the Federalist Party. These individuals hoped that the President's lack of ill feelings toward the Federalists would result in some appointments to government offices. Upon his departure from New England, Monroe reported that he wanted to create a unified group that was made up of both Republicans and Federalists. Many Republicans praised Monroe for his visit to the North; others viewed it as a terrible decision. These individuals distrusted Federalists and believed that the Federalists would use Monroe as a way of sneaking back into power. They feared a potential power grab from their distrusted enemy. The Federalist Party, seemingly, had a chance to rejoin the political realm on its national stage. Despite homegrown Republican attacks, Monroe's visit North helped usher in the so called age of one-party rule. Yet, Monroe's actions were never really more than a verbal gesture. Still, Monroe's trip to Boston began a bustle of reporting from local newspapers that called Monroe's presence a sign of the ending of partisan divisions and two-party bickering. A Federalist newspaper, the *Columbian Centinel* called it an "Era of Good

Feelings," which became synonymous with Monroe's presidency.[14] The calls for unification displayed a growing sense of a national identity that transcended sectionalism, but increasing intra-party attacks from Republicans seemed to contradict a pan-national identity.[15]

Taking advantage of Monroe's visit to New England, new Federalist Newspapers appeared, in 1819, and began trying to resolve any of the remaining animosity Americans held against Federalist Party members. Furthermore, these new newspapers tried to re-energize the Federalist Party's position in politics. The *New York American* and the *National Gazette* became the newspapers of the "neo-Federalists": a revived political and ideological movement. The *American* (*New York American*) called out to the members of the Federalist Party and the Republican Party. It called them one group of people, not members of the old order of partisanship. They declared, "Those causes which justified party opposition have ceased."[16] The *American* declared that now a national interest was driving the nation into its future. These claims attempted to transcend the sectionalist divisions, in favor of a national model. It declared a realization that the entire country, not small portions of it, now recognized the ideas the Federalists fought for. Republican policies had absorbed Federalist ideology, and Monroe's reconciliation opened the doors to Federalist calls for a reunion. "Neo-Federalist" newspapers called for a Federalist reorganization, one that traveled on a path of

[14]*Columbian Centinel* (Boston), 12 July 1817.
[15]Shaw Jr. Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism,* 47-68; *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), 12 July 1817.

reconciliation with the Republicans. They praised Republicans who were willing to accept the Federalists.[17]

The period of "one-party rule", however, did not characterize the period fully. Federalists, in the Northeast, retained their power and were formidable in regional elections in the area. Federalists still hoped to regain their positions in the Federal government, but despite some attaining office, there was little cause to speculate a Federalist revival. Some Federalists were still angered by the low number of public offices they held in government. In January, the *American Mercury* proclaimed that Federalists hovered over political offices much like "buzzards to a carcase [sic]."[18] They continued, " [The Federalists] set up a most hideous growling if they *were* not permitted to engross the whole of them."[19] Despite the appointment of some Federalists to office, many Federalists were unhappy with their current condition. This ruined any chance for redeeming the Federalist Party, as it reminded the people of their distrustful actions during the war.[20]

During Monroe's presidency, forces continued to work against the Federalists. Many Republicans feared the Federalists' claim of reconciliation. They viewed it as a facade. Some warned that the Federalists' claims would only be true in times of peace, but when "their [the Federalists] country is again in danger, we shall again find them at

[17]*American,* 10 April 1819.
[18]*American,* 10 April 1819.
[18]*American Mercury*, (Hartford, CT) 19 January 1819.
[19]*American Mercury*, (Hartford, CT) 19 January 1819.
[20]Shaw Jr. Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism,* 57-58; *American,* 10 April 1819; *American Mercury*, 19 January 1819"; Samuel Morrison, *Harrison Gray Otis: The Urbane Federalist* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), 412-415.

their former work."[21] Republicans Opponents of the Federalist Party still existed. They plotted against Federalism, and worked to turn the public against the Federalists. They believed that if the Federalists regained power, then America's government would be transformed so that it was similar in organization to that of Great Britain:

> Most solemnly do we declare our firm and conscientious belief, that if they had the power, unmoved by popular opinion, they would change our republic to a form resembling the corrupt and corrupting system of the British government.[22]

Because of the weakness of the Federalist Party, the remaining Federalists lost power again and again.[23] Animosity toward the Federalists remained. Their enemies still tried to convince the public that the Federalists were still as corrupt as the British government, and that Federalist policy would undermine the American values enacted by the Revolutionaries of the eighteenth century.[24]

By the mid-1800s, American politics had become heavily divided by growing calls for the abolition of slavery. As territories requested admittance into the the Union as new states the question of whether or not to admit them as free or slave states gradually became more central. Congress worried that the introduction of new states would upset the balance that had already been set up in government. In Missouri, these questions came to a head. In 1820, the United States Congress narrowly passed the Tallmadge Amendment, which called for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Missouri. Some Federalists like Rufus King supported the ratification of the Tallmadge

[21]Royalty of Federalism: Read, Try, Decide, on the Charge of Washington, The Leading Federalists are to Monarchy Devoted (Boston: Yankee Office, 1817), 16.
[22]Royalty of Federalism, 16.
[23]Royalty of Federalism, 16.
[24]Royalty of Federalism, 16.
[24]Shaw Jr. Livermore, The Twilight of Federalism, 46-68; Royalty of Federalism, 16.

Amendment, which stated slavery in Missouri should be prohibited. However, others like Harrison Otis voted against the Tallmadge Amendment. Republicans accused the Federalists of using sectionalist tendencies in the country to regain their lost prominence, showing continued animosity between the partisan enemies even in a period that was supposed to transcend sectional ties.[25]

It was evident that by Monroe's reelection in 1820 that no Federalist revival would occur on a national scale. Daniel Walker Howe wrote, "A rebirth of the Federalist Party seems to have been a bugaboo that some Republican politicians used to frighten northern voters into appeasing slaveholders."[26] The election was a testament to Republican success. Nonetheless, there were continued political challenges that wedged the political elite and, therefore the people apart.[27] Federalists, like Harrison Otis, retained their political positions in New England. These sectionalist tendencies still plagued the United States, providing evidence against a growing American pan-nationalism. Eventually, problems such as the the Missouri crisis, were concluded with a compromise. Still, such tensions were common. In Missouri's case, both Northerners and Southerners agreed to prohibit slavery in territories applying for statehood in the Louisiana Purchase territory north of the 36° 30' parallel. Missouri was exempt from this agreement, but the creation of such a requirement aimed to stabilize the ratio of slave states to free states in the United States. These sectionalist tendencies caused

[25]Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 149-153; Samuel Morrison, *Harrison Gray Otis: The Urbane Federalist*, 425-427; *Royalty of Federalism.*
[26]George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815*-1828 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), 30-35; George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952), 239-241; Daniel Walker Ho we, *What Hath God Wrought*, 151.
[27]Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 149-153.

significant challenges for the developed American identity. While Republican values characterized the national government, sectional and regional disruptions continued to prevent a truly Pan-American nationalism.[28]

As Federalist support waned, a key influential member of the United States Government still aligned with Federalism. Chief Justice John Marshall of the the United States Supreme Court remained in office for the lifetime of his position. He had been appointed in 1801, by President John Adams, and he continued to serve the United States Judicial Branch until 1835, far beyond the accepted date of Federalism's demise. Marshall's long reign and political influence provided for a version of identity in American for over three decades. He had made landmark decisions for the federal government, strengthening their power of Judicial Review (*Marbury v. Madison)*. Marshall preserved the legacy and policy of Federalists, even while the party failed to produce significant opposition against the Republicans. The life-long nature of Supreme Court appointments allowed for Federalist ideologies to remain a part of the Federal government, even while it disappeared from the rest national stage. Chief Justice Marshall's place on the court provided a means for Federalist policies to intermingle with Republican ideas. This helped usher changes in the Republican Party that helped indict the new Republican vision of the period.[29]

The election of 1824 was a pivotal moment for Federalists. Four Republicans were running: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William Crawford, and Henry Clay. Federalists had initially hoped to utilize the divisions among the Republicans to

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[28]George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism,* 30-35; George Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* (239-241; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought*, 145-155; Samuel Morrison, *Harrison Gray Otis: The Urbane Federalist*, 433.
[29]Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought,* 1-15.

secure a victory that would revitalize their party to its former glory. Yet no Federalist ran on the Presidential ticket. Instead, Federalists hoped to manipulate the election in their favor. They desired seats in the government, and thought the best course of action to garner support for the candidate most receptive to their cause. The election was too close to call between Jackson and Adams; the decision had to be made in the House. Then, during deliberations, Henry Clay made an agreement with Adams that almost ensured Adams the presidency. Then, Federalist Daniel Webster brought the two final needed votes for Adams, and thus the presidency was won. This agreement, called the corrupt bargain, between Webster and Adams involved a deal where Adams would appoint at least one Federalist to office. The election of 1824 characterized a new contention for American Identity. The election itself represented an evolution in the political environment of America. The popular vote was still in play, but the popular vote soared in importance.[30]

Adams' presidency, of course, was constantly attacked for the actions taken to ensure his victory in the election. On January 28, 1815, the *Newburyport Herald* reprinted an article from the *Columbian Observer*. The report declared that Clay and Adams were Anthony and Caesar. According to the *Columbian Observer*, "Mr. Clay our present *Anthony* [sic.] has at last ratified his corrupt bargain with John Quincy Adams, the Caesar of the Day [sic.]...."[31] The article continued on with its contemptuous analysis of the "corrupt bargain." It declared that Clay only wanted to be Secretary of State, and that he would ally with Jackson too, if it meant he could get that position. Commentary

[30]Paul Johnson, *The Birth of the Modern World Society, 1815-1830* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991), 914.
[31]"From the Columbian Observer, of Jan. 28," *Newburyport Herald*, 8 February 1815.

on the "Corrupt Bargain" was also divided. The *Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot* declared that Henry Clay was too intelligent to have made such a bargain. They asserted that even if Clay had thought of such a proposal that he would have then found Adams irresponsible enough for the Presidency, because of his willingness to listen to such a proposal. Adams' second term faced harsh criticism for his corrupt bargain. Throughout Adam's presidency, those who supported Jackson, termed Jacksonians, pushed their version of Republicanism to vilify Adam's and label him a Federalist collaborator. Historian Shaw Livermore noted that Adams knew there was no danger of a Federalist revival. Yet, his decision to appoint Federalists, even to lower positions caused him a great deal of criticism. As Livermore, perhaps, most effectively stated, "The Adams Administration was not a Federalist one, but it suffered terribly from the stamp of Federalism and its votaries."[32] The influential consequences of Adams' election to the presidency may have stolen the office from Andrew Jackson in 1824, but those same actions pushed the envelope that secured his victory in 1828. Such divisions alluded to continued animosity between political parties, while also expressing a more complete vision of American identity.[33]

Historian George Dangerfield claimed that the Era of Good Feelings did not truly survive the Panic of 1819 that changed the nation. Instead, he wrote, "[the Era] had been succeeded, domestically, by an Era of Introspection, in which the American democracy looked westward for its national path to the future…"[34] Americans no longer looked to the old, Atlantic world that plagued them with wars. Instead, they spent their

[32]Shaw Jr. Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism,* 273.
[33]Shaw Jr. Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism,* 250-275.
[34]George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism,* 289.

time looking “inward for the terms upon which [their path to the future] was to be realized.”[35] By 1828, President Adams’ Corrupt Bargain had shifted Republican loyalties along two lines. The time of so called one-party rule ended, as two factions emerged: those who supported Adams, and those who aligned with Jackson. Adams’ supporters began identifying themselves as “National Republicans”, while Jacksonians called each other Democratic-Republicans. Jacksonians began to attack their opponents, calling Adams and his followers Federalists. This implied that the National Republicans were the Anglophilic enemy of the Republic**.** Jackson and his supporters absorbed southern support and began to follow a state’s rights tradition, one along the lines of the Old Republicanism that despised the growth of national power. Throughout their campaigns, Jackson and Adams attacked one another in attempt to sway the American vote in their favor. They both relied heavily on partisan newspapers, which continued to spread across the nation, connecting it via news networks like never before.

[35]George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism,* 285-290; George Dangerfield, *The Era* ***of Good Feelings*****,**

Epilogue

Between 1789 and 1828, the United States witnessed proto-nationalist fervor centered on ideas of Republican theory. The American Revolution ushered in a time of coexistence for Americans under a confederation of states. Over time, the Confederation proved ineffective and a more centralized system of governance was put into place. The U.S. Constitution paved American politics of the eighteenth century, and continues to do so into the twenty-first century. Toasts in newspapers and nation-wide celebrations indicated American fervor for their revolutionary heritage. Yet, the political system established a two party wedge in American governance. The Federalists and the Republicans clashed, evoking claims that the other was un-American, but what did they mean by un-American? According the Federalist rhetoric, America needed to be hierarchical and loosely based off of European systems. Republicans, on the other hand, envisioned an agrarian republic that ceased connections with the monarchical heritage of the European powers. These visions of American identity evolved over the early and mid 1800s as both Federalists and Republicans smeared each other.

Jefferson's election in 1800 signaled the victory of Republican vision of America. However, the Jeffersonian vision of the 1810s and onward differed from their vision in the eighteenth century. Republicans no longer envisioned the small, agrarian republic. Instead the new ideologies of Jefferson—and later Madison—absorbed some Federalist rhetoric (i.e. expansion and commerce). The new moderate tone of republicanism, however, failed in causing a reconciliation between the parties. Bitter divisions continued to plague the Republic. As a result of foreign conflicts and policies, these divisions came to a head. The War of 1812 and America's survival vindicated

Republican ideology, while Federalist secrecy and opposition before and during the war fueled their demise. By the 1820s, American identity had evolved into a system that laid somewhere between the Republican and Federalist visions. Still, traditional Federalism had become associated with hierarchy, monarchy, and therefore the enemy America had just defeated, Great Britain. The Anglophobic nature of America between 1770s and the 1800s clashed with traditional Federalist visions of America, and as a result Federalists were condemned.

After the War of 1812, Americans felt that the United States was becoming a nation of power. They had defeated the British in not one, but two wars. Still, Napoleon's defeat, and the end of revolutionary conflict throughout the European world left the United States as it had been after the American Revolution: A Republic in a world of monarchies. American beliefs shifted and the final break with the old world order had been completed. Americans, finally, were free from the British identity they clashed with so often in the Early Republic. Now, they were forming their own identity that became characterized by nationalistic fervor. Gordon Wood wrote, "[America's] perspective was no longer eastward across the Atlantic but westward across their own expansive continent."[1] Indeed, American commerce flourished, and Republican anti-commercial rhetoric was replaced by a supportive tone. The American economy grew. Internal improvements like canals and roads brought separated communities together like never before. Republican beliefs had shifted to match the changing American identity. The National Republics envisioned a republic, where national power was based on territorial expansion and commercial venture. This was very reminiscent of early

[1]Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Republic, 1789-1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 701.

Federalist rhetoric, but not of Jeffersonian Republican visions of the past. This represented the growing belief in America's power, the people and the Republican-controlled government envisioned the greatness of America.[2]

In 1828, Andrew Jackson attacked President John Quincy Adams, citing the Adams's Corrupt Bargain. Jackson pointed out that Corrupt Bargain lacked honor, and stole the real vote from the American people. Jackson hoped that this tactic would paint Adams in a negative light, and he succeeded. Jackson's second tactic to gain the presidency appealed to his image as a war hero. Viewed by Americans as the hero that saved New Orleans, Jackson easily used the people's opinion of him to campaign effectively. One campaign image specifically cites Jackson a hero of the American people:

[2]Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 134-140; Wood, *Empire of Liberty,* 701-705.

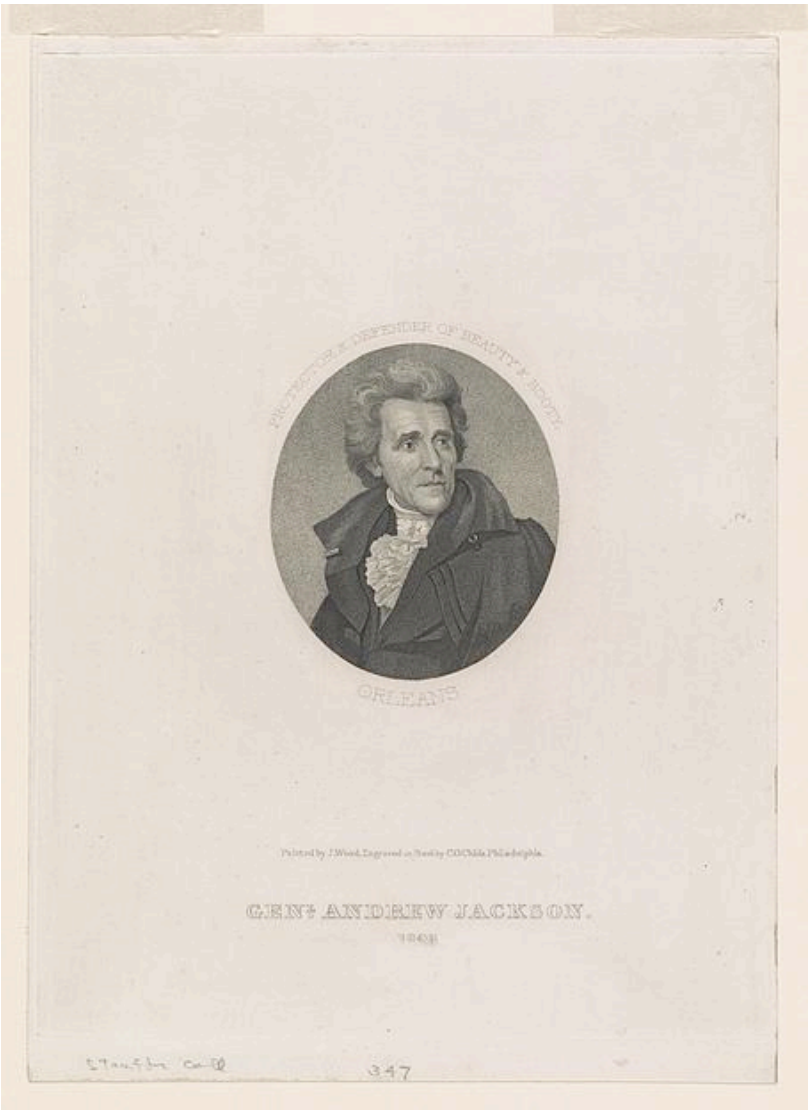

Image 4.1: Cephas Grier Childs', "Genl. Andrew Jackson, 1828. Protector & defender of beauty & booty." Philadelphia. Courtesy of the Library of Congress Digital Collections.

The preceding (Image 4.1) shows Jackson, championing him the "Protector & [sic.] Defender of Beauty & Booty."[3] As an American hero, Jackson appealed to emotions of Americans that viewed him their national protector. Adams attempted to charge an offensive that smeared Jackson's personal character. Adams and his faction pointed

[3]Cephas Grier Childs, "Genl. Andrew Jackson, 1828. Protector & defender of beauty & booty, Orleans / painted by J. Wood; engraved on steel by C.G. Childs, Philadelphia," *Library of Congress Digital Collections*. Accessed April 10, 2016 http://lccn.loc.gov/2003656574.

that Jackson's ill-temper would be his undoing as president. Pro-Adams newspapers cited that Jackson had been involved in a fair number of duels, and that in them he had killed before. This, along with their reminders of his decision to execute militiamen under his command, painted Jackson a fiery man. Yet, these charges were not enough to propel Adams to the office of president. Jackson, still adored by Americans as this war-hero, won a decisive victory. A large majority of his support came from Southern states, and clearly marked a regional divide in politics: Jackson won 72.6% of the votes in the south, while only winning 50.3% in the North. Such a divide contested the growing national American identity of the period.[4]

As President, Jackson appointed a large number of Federalists to office. In fact, he granted office to more Federalists than any of his Republican predecessors. Federalists, who now preferred the name former Federalists had supported Jackson in the election, as they had Adams in the past. Their loyalty proved to sway opinion in their favor. Jackson's administration became characterized as a people's administration. Jackson proved to be a "people's president," like none before him. By filling government positions with Federalists and appealing to the whims and desires of the people, Jackson's Presidency proved to be a pivotal event in the political history of the United States. With Jackson's campaign and subsequent election, a new political party system emerged. Indeed, Historian George Dangerfield wrote, "The election of 1828, if one removes the clutter of state and local issues, reveals only a Jeffersonian world in decay. There were Adams Republicans and Jackson Republicans, Adams Federalists and

[4]George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), 296-301; Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1828* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 282.

Jackson Federalists: the terms National Republican and Jacksonian Democrat were not yet current."[5] The changing shift of American Identity had yet to be completely defined. The nationalism of Monroe and Adams respective presidencies clashed with the Jackson administration's populist vision.

[5]Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism.*

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