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Writes H.B. Parkes, "led directly to the revolution, partly because the British government, having a much larger American empire under its control, began to reorganise its system of administration in ways that conflicted with colonial liberties and partly because the Americans no longer felt dependent upon British military assistance and were therefore more inclined to demand autonomy."

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The American revolution heralded a significant epoch only in the history of America but also in the history the world. America was the first country in the world raise the banner of revolution against oppressive rialism and colonial exploitation. The success of the rican revolution led to the inauguration of a new era iberty and democracy in the history of the world.

uses

The American revolution was brought about by the elopment of new attitudes in the colonies and in Great tain. On the one side, the Americans were becoming

increasingly unwilling to accept a subordinate positio within the British empire. On the other side the Britis government adopted new policies and stringent measure to keep her colonies in strict obedience. The result wa an irrepressible conflict which in the end could be settle only by the force of arms. The causes of the revolutio may be broadly classified as (1) Intellectual (2) Socia (3) Commercial (4) Economic (5) Geographical (6) an Political.

1) Intellectual Causes

The eighteenth century was generally an age of enlight enment. During this period, John Locke spoke abou man's *Natural Rights* and of the duty of people to abolis or alter the government which violate these rights. In th wake of the enlightenment, the ideas of *Natural Rights* an *Natural Laws* became familiar to the Americans. Th colonists believed that they had a right to be governed b natural laws and they found fault with the British govern ment for interfering with their way of life. Patriot leaders like Thomas Jefferson, James Otis, Thomas Pain and Sam Adams inspired their spirit of freedom.

2) Social Causes

The American continent had been occupied by p of different nationalities and diverse religious sect to They had little regard for English customs and practi A large number of them had taken shelter in Americ order to enjoy complete religious freedom. They fou British rules and religious ways irrelevant in the Americ Society. But the British insisted on the colonial popul tion to follow British customs, religious practices rules. This naturally led to a clash of interests bet the colonists and the mother country.

mercial Causes

The colonies strongly detested the economic exploit- on involved in the British colonial policy. Its guiding iple was the confirmed mercantilist view that "the ies existed primarily for the benefit of the mother ry and must therefore be kept in subordination." trade and industries of the colonies were regulated the interest of Great Britain. The Navigation Acts orbade them to trade with other countries except through British ships. *The Trade Acts* had imposed several restric- ions on colonial exports and imports. The colonial *Manufacturers Prohibition Act* prevented the colonies from roducing such articles that might injure English industries. he burden of all these restrictions were too heavy for the lonists to bear. So, the enterprising colonists found ore pleasure in violating these rules than submitting them.

) Geographical Causes

The vastness of the continent and the diversity of the natural divisions also influenced the natives and the new sett s to develop a high sense of freedom. The lack of transport facilities and the limitations in the means of communications favoured the growth of individualism and belief in democracy in the American population. Everything in the new environment tended to make the settlers forget the power of the British government in the distant continent of America. The complex English social and political systems became irrelevant and use- less in the sparsely settled forest areas and frontier regions. These geographical factors influenced the colonial population to throw off the yoke of foreign domination. Moreover, the vast distance between Britain

and the colonies also favoured the colonists to thoughts of freedom.

5) Economic Causes

There were two different economic systems growi up in the colonies, one in the north based on sm farms and industries: the other in the south based large plantations and slavery. The southerners who we agriculturists mainly depended on British tobacco trad Owing to the British policy of mercantilism, they owe huge amount of money to British merchants. Hen the southern planters believed that a revolution woul liberate them from the heavy burden of debt to th British traders. At the same time, the northern merchan and manufacturers felt that their expanding busine activities were restricted by the British trade regulation So the northern businessmen wished to put an end t the British domination in order to expand their colonia business activities.

6) Political Causes

a) Defects of colonial administration

The American colonies enjoyed partial liber matters of government and not full political freedom They were governed by governors, captains and colonel who were nominated by the British government and were not responsible to the popularly elected assemblies. There was constant friction between the executive and the legislature. The colonists wanted more political freedom in their internal affairs. But England wanted to exercise her supreme right in the internal affairs of the colonies which the colonists were not prepared to tolerate. This controversy was bound to result some day in an open rebellion. In the reign of Queen Anne, Cornbury,

he Governor of Newyork remarked, "If once they Americans) can clothe themselves without the help of ngland...they would soon think of putting into execution, he designs they long labour in their breasts." The uestion whether the British parliament had the right o tax the colonies or legislate for the colonies were requently raised. But the problem was never faced irectly and its solution was always postponed.

) Removal of French danger

Although the colonists hated the British restrictions nd regulations, they did not raise their protest at the eginning of the 18th century because they were in con- tant danger of attacks from the French colonists in Canada. After, the expulsion of the French from Canada, he English colonies no longer needed British protection. t has been said, "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States." Freed from the danger of absorption by the French, the English colonies began to demand freedom. At the same time, the great expenses that fell as a conse- influence of the war upon the mother country, prompted er to tax the colonies which caused the puritan demo- rats of the North and the aristocratic slaveowning plan- ers of the South to unite for the first time in a common pposition.

) New Imperial policy

After the Seven Years War, the British Government ook strong measures to check the illegal trade between e colonies and other European countries. They issued 'Writ of Assistance' or general search warrants empowe- ring them to search ships and warehouses for smuggled oods. This aroused bitter opposition in the colonies,

James Otis, a lawyer of Boston, criticised the act as violation of the fundamental rights of British citizens. In addition to that, the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* prohibited the white settlers from occupying all lands west of the Appalachian watershed. This naturally angered traders and speculators in western lands. The British government also decided to maintain an army of 10,000 troops in North America in order to guard against possible Indian raids and French attempts at reconquest. The momentous British decision that the colonies should bear part of the colonial defence cost embittered the colonists.

d) Unwise policy of King George

The lack of statesmanship in England during this period further complicated the situation. King George III who ascended the throne of England in 1760 lacked political wisdom and spirit of compromise. He was held responsible for imposing many excessive taxes over the colonial people. Many liberal minded Englishmen have blamed King George III for precipitating revolution in America. According to them, if the British Government had been in the bands of wiser and well-informed men, the crisis of 1776 might have been avoided.

e) Stamp Act 1765

Faced with a large post war debt at home and the heavy burden of supporting a large army to defend the colonies in America, the British government under George Grenville passed the Stamp Act in 1765. It required that all legal documents in America should be written on stamped paper. The revenue arising from the duty on stamps was to be utilised for supporting the British military establishments in America. The Stamp Act

ised a storm of protests against the British government. No taxation without representation" became a strong y in America. Calling themselves *Sons of Liberty*, me of the able leaders like Sam Adams, Charles ompson, John Lamp and Christopher Gadson, openly allenged the Stamp Act, seized the stamps with force d attacked the stamp distributors. Before long all mp agents in the colonies were forced to resign. As esult of the violent opposition the Rockingham ministry pealed the Stamp Act. But it passed a Declaratory Act intaining England's right to make laws binding on the lonies. The colonists gladly welcomed the news; but y seemed to be ignorant of the full implications of the claratory Act.

Townshend Acts

In 1767 Charles Townshend, the British Chancellor Exchequer again infuriated the colonists by imposing taxes on tea, glass and paper. This led to the break of riots in the colonies. The *Sons of Liberty* orted the colonists to boycott British goods. In Boston, olent mob attacked the British troops and in the g that followed several Bostonians fell dead. The *ton Massacre* gave the colonial agitators a strong issue heir struggle against Britain. The incident was matically pictured by the colonists as proof of British rtlessness and tyranny.

Boston Tea Party Immediate Causes.

Lord North tried to conciliate the colonists by lishing all taxes except the one on tea. The tea tax retained only for the sake of keeping up the British of taxation. But, the colonists opposed it tooth il. "No taxation without representation" was repeated by the colonists.

Matters came to a head when the British governme
sought to force the East India Company's tea on t
American colonies. In 1773 when the British ships arriv
at Boston with tea, some of the colonists disguised the
selves as Red Indians, went on board the cargo vessel a
threw all the tea into the water. This 'Boston Tea Part
was an open challenge to the British authority. The Briti
government punished the lawless act of the 'Boston T
Party' by closing the port of Boston to all commerce a
depriving the colony of Messachusetts of its representati
institutions. The British government then increased t
power of the royal Governor of Messachusetts and se
four regiments of troops to assist him in suppressi
revolts. The attitude of the British government brou
matters to a crisis. Twelve out of the thirteen colonies m
at a congress at Philadelphia and they sent an *Olive Bra*
Petition to the King setting forth the grievances of t
colonies. But King George III refused to take any not
of the petition and consequently the colonies revolted.

The American War of Independence

The growth of friction and ill feelings between Brit
and the colonies led to the outbreak of the American W
of independence. The first *Continental Congress* of
colonies had decided to boycott British goods and
disobey the acts of British parliament. The Congress h
also instructed the colonies to collect arms and to mobi
troops for facing the British threat. Accordingly,
colonists in the Boston area gathered arms and trai
many soldiers. But such activities were not liked
General Gage, the royal Governor. So he sent his tro
to punish the revolutionary leaders at *Concord* and to se
their ammunitions. But the colonists got the scent of
British move. As soon as the British troops left Boston,

wo of the Boston *'Son's of Liberty'* rode ahead of them
nd conveyed the news to their countrymen. By the time,
he British troops reached *Lexington*, they saw the colo-
ial soldiers waiting for them. The British troops fired
t them and went on to *Concord*. There they attacked
he local soldiers and destroyed their ammunition. But
n their return journey, the Americans attacked them
rom behind trees and stone walls. By the time, the
ritish reached Boston, they had lost more than 250 men.

The second continental congress

While the alarms of *Lexington* and *Concord* were
esounding the *Second Continental Congress* met in
hiladelphia in May, 1775. The congress appointed
eorge Washington as commander-in-chief of the colonial
rmy. In July 1776, the Declaration of Independence
was made by the colonists, renouncing all allegiance to
the British Crown and cutting off all political connections
with England.

Declaration of Independence

The Declaration of Independence was drawn up by a
committee headed by Thomas Jefferson. It explained the
theory of government in which the colonists believed.
All men, it said, are born with equal right to life, liberty
and the pursuit of happiness. If a government disregards
these rights, the people can rebel and form a new govern-
ment. The declaration then listed all the acts of the king
and the parliament that the colonists thought wrong. Since
the king would not correct these wrongs, the colonists
declared themselves free of English rule. As president of
the congress, John Hancock signed the Declaration of
ependence. Then all the colonists recognised it.

Significance of the Declaration

The Declaration of Independence not only announced the birth of a new nation; but also set forth a philosophy of human freedom. Its ideas inspired the people to struggle for personal freedom, self-government and a dignified place in society. The Declaration also brought the revolution within the range of popular aspiration and strengthened it with the force of popular emotion.

The course of the war

The War of Independence which started in the spring of 1775 dragged on for a period of seven dreary years. During the first phase of the war, General George Washington blockaded the British troops stationed at *Boston* under General Gage. Owing to the mounting pressure of the colonial forces, the British troops evacuated *Boston* and made their way to Novascotia sailing through sea (1776). The colonial troops also invaded Canada; but did not succeed. In the South, the colonists under Washington won victories at *Trenton* and *Princeton* (1776).

During the second phase of the, war, Sir William Howe, the English General won a decisive victory ove. the colonists at *Brooklyn* Washington was driven out of Newyork which became the Head Quarters of British military operations. The British army also captured the city of *Philadelphia* and forced General Washington to spend the despairing winter with his men at *Valley Forge*.

But, gradually, the tide of the war turned in favour of the colonists. In 1777, the American army under General Washington won a great victory over the English army at *Saratoga*. This was a turning point of the war. The victory at *Saratoga* gave the colonists new hopes and expectations. At the same time, the traditional

nemies of Britain made use of the opportunity to take evenge upon Britain for her past wrongs. France, soon, cognised the independence of the American colonies nd declared war against Britian. Spain and Holland llowed the war path of France against England. Adding uel to the fire, the Northern powers like Prussia and ussia formed an armed neutrality in 1780 to defy the itish right of search on ships to prevent supplies to ie colonies. Thus the number of British enemies inreased on all sides.

ar in the South

The final phase of the drama of revolution was staged the south. There the British army under General rnwallis captured *Georgia* and *Charleston*. But, the lonial forces under the spell of patriotism put up a brave ht against the British troops and prevented them from tering Carolina. Finally Cornwallis marched the itish troops to *Yorktown* on the Virginian coast, exting help from Britian. But, the French had won a val victory over the British fleet and blockaded *rktown*. At this critical stage, Washington led his erican and French soldiers to *Yorktown*. The British neral Cornwallis, now found himself placed between devil and the deep sea. So, Cornwallis was forced urrender to Washington on October 19, 1781.

aty of Paris

The American war of independence was terminated he *Treaty of Paris* in 1783. By it England recognised independence of the American colonies and she surered her claims to the whole of the western country of the Great Lakes with Mississippi as the western dary of United States.

Causes of British failure

At first it may appear surprising that England, spite of her imperial grandeur and power, failed in h attempt to put down the revolt of the American coloni She had much greater resources in men and money a had the support of a large number of loyalists in Americ But, all these advantages were neutralised and nullifi by the many mistakes which the English committed duri the war. First of all, the English had underestimated t capacity of the enemy and failed to make adequa military preparations. Secondly the government at hor interfered too much with the plans of military operatio which should have been left largely to the descretion the responsible officers on the spot. Thirdly the v distance across the Atlantic made it difficult England in those days of sailing ships, to transport m munitions and other supplies. Equally great was diffiiculty of carrying on military operations in a va forest covered country infested by a mobile enemy bet acquainted with the nature of the country. The w were fought in the mountainous regions and valleys wh the colonists had adopted guerilla types of warfare which the British generals were almost strange. Fourt the Americans fought with great zeal and unboun enthusiasm for their national liberty whereas there no national unity over the question of war in Brita Fifthly 'the Declaration of Independence' at the beg ning of the war inspired the ordinary people in Amer to struggle for personal freedom and self government thereby made the war a popular mass movement freedom. Sixthly the magnetic personality of Geo Washington and his brave leadership encouraged colonial army. According to Goldwin Smith the th finest things in the revolution were the character

Washington, the behaviour of his army at Valley Forge nd the devotion of the better class of loyalists. Lastly, he most potent cause for the failure of the English was he intervention of the European enemies on behalf of he colonists. When France, Spain and Holland liberally upported the colonies with men and arms besides organis- g blockades, the English generals found their position nsafe and accepted defeat.

esults of the Revolution

The success of the American War of Independence d to the formation of the United States of America. The nited States obtained title to a vast territory extending om the seaboard settlements to the fertile valley of ssissippi A new democratic type of government based liberty and equality was established in the place of old monarchical and dictatorial form of government. e royal and proprietary colonial governments gave place republican state governments. The overthrow of the al and proprietary ruling class and the participation men of all social levels in the revolution brought a ar base to political life. The confiscation of royal s, proprietary estates and loyalist property brought t a more democratic redistribution of property. Feudal rictions on the method of inheritance were dropped. ail and primogeniture, the twin pillars of aristocratic holding were virtually abolished by state legislation. Anglican Church was disestablished in all colonies a number of churches severed their European con- ions. The British restrictions on trade and industry gone and the Americans were left free to develop own commercial and industrial activities. A number ies who had remained loyal to England during the tion found it difficult to make a compromise with

the new social and political set up, gave up their property and took leave of the colonies. The reform of penal codes and the secularisation and democratisation of education were also the results of the revolution in America.

From the point of Britain, the loss of the American colonies adversely affected her imperial power and prestige. It checked the expansion of England and considerably diminished her trade. Ireland tried to imitate America and extorted concessions and demanded more freedom from the British parliament.

The effect of the American revolution was almost immediate on France. The example of the successful American revolution stirred the people of France with enthusiasm and thereby hastened the French revolution. In course of time, the Spanish colonies in America followed the example of the British colonies, broke off their connection with Europe and raised the banner of Independence.

CHAPTER III

THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

The success of the Revolution gave the American the opportunity to give legal form and practical shape to their political ideals as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. As early as May 1776, the Congress had passed a resolution advising the colonies to form new

governments which should "best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents." Accordingly most of the colonies had drawn up their own constitutions. Many of these constitutions showed the impact of democratic ideas. None made any drastic break with the past, since all were built on the solid foundation of colonial experience, English practice and French political philosophy.

THE CONFEDERATION

The first central government in the United States of America was established by the Articles of Confederation. These were drafted by a committee headed by John Dickinson. In the final form, the Articles reflected the popular distrust of a centralised authority. It was the intention of the designers of the confederation that ultimate power be vested in the states as a precaution against the emergence of an all powerful central authority. The Articles of confederation were accepted by the states in 1781.

Main Features

According to the Articles of Confederation, the Federal or National government was a league or federation of separate and independent states. The government was more or less like the second continental congress. Members of the congress were appointed by state assemblies. Each state had only one vote in the congress and two thirds of the states had to agree before a new law could be passed. There was no governor or president, nor were there any judges. The national government consisted only of the congress.

Under the Articles of Confederation, the government had really very little power. The confederation was to

control foreign policy, defence and some other things; but it was not allowed to exercise two of the essential articles of sovereignty; the power to tax and the power to regulate trade. It had to depend upon the state governments for finance. No provision was made to separate the executive and the judicial branches of the government. All it was expected to do was to make treaties, send ambassadors to other nations, declare war or arrange for peace. The Articles could be amended only with the consent of the thirteen states. Each state levied its own taxes, regulated its own trade, raised its own army and coined its own money. The states were supposed to handle their own problems.

Achivements

In spite of some weaknesses, the government under the Articles of Confederation, scored a few achivements. It made a wise decision about the western lands. While Virginia and some other states claimed the western lands for themselves, land speculators from Pennsylvania and other middle states maintained that all western lands should be made the common property of the confederation. At last, a sort of compromise was reached by which all the lands North of the Ohio river were to be organised into new states instead of being controlled by the thirteen states. This region North of the Ohio and East of the Mississippi came to be known as the North West territory. This settlement was highly beneficial in averting the danger of state imperialism.

Another significant achievement of the confederation period was the opening of new trade routes across the Pacific to China and East Indies. Many foreign countries opened their ports to the ships of the United States

with few limitations. The period also witnessed the growth and expansion of manufacturing industries in America under the protection of tariffs against foreign goods.

Owing to the large scale movement of people towards the West, townships were first established in the North West territory. The North-West Ordinance Act of 1787, further provided for the formation of a territorial legislature with limited powers. Eventually, the territory was to be divided into several states to be admitted in the union on the basis of complete equality with the existing states.

DIFFICULTIES OF CONFEDERATION

The confederation period which lasted from 1781–89 has been generally described as a period of disorder and dissension. The weakness and impotence of the government under the Articles of Confederation led to the growth of confusion and dissatisfaction throughout the country. Finance, currency, commerce, foreign relations—all seemed to pose problems which were insoluble by means of the existing confederation.

Problems of Finance

During the 'War of Independence' the confederation had accumulated enormous amount of internal and external debts. After the war, the soldiers of the continental army were to be paid. As the confederation was deprived of the power to levy taxes and raise the revenue it could neither pay the soldiers nor clear its debts. Hence many financial difficulties disturbed the new nation to a great extent.

2) Currency Complications

Another disturbing factor was the problem of c
rency. Freed from parliamentary control, the states
tried various currency devices to solve their proble
Those states which used paper currency made credit
very unhappy. The circulation of various European co
made the confusion more confounded. There was a h
gepodge of coins and a bewildering variety of state
national paper bills—all fast depreciating in value. Ow
to these confusions and disorders, the farmers of Me
chusetts demanded that horses and cows should be m
'legal tenders' for the payment of debts and taxes.

3) Messachusetts Riot

The currency confusion and the burden of he
debts caused great hardship and misery to the farm
In states like Messachusetts which were subjected
severe mercantilist exploitation no relief measures
adopted to help the debtors who were hard hit by
economic depression. A number of farmers lost t
lands due to their inability to pay their debts and s
others were imprisoned for the same reason. At
height of their frustration and desperation, they bega
attack the law courts and resorted to open rebellion u
the leadership of an ex-military officer named *Daniel S*
The Federalists took advantage of the situation
pointed out the need for a strong government in
country.

4) Commercial problems

The American commercial activities were fur
complicated by the restrictions on foreign trade
interstate tariffs. Interstate restrictions on trade cre

feelings among the states. The legislatures of Messa-
usetts Newyork and Pennsylvania passed tariffs laws
t injured their smaller neighbours. The New Jersey
n could not cross the Hudson River to sell their goods
New york markets without paying heavy entrance and
arance fees. England continued to bar American tra-
s from their markets in the British empire. The con-
eration was incapable of assisting the American ship-
in the attempt to find out new markets. As the
orts greatly exceeded the exports, a large amount o
ney was drained out of the country.

plomatic problems

Nowhere did the weakness of the confederation
ear more plainly than in the field of foreign relations.
impotent confederation had nothing to bargain with
no navy to command the respect of the great powers.
tain and Spain were waiting for an opportunity to fish
he troubled waters. Britain held Canada and Spain
Florida and Louisiana and both these powers looked
he American westward expansion with active illwill
hostility.

Britain, in violation of the terms of the Treaty of
s (1783) refused to evacuate the posts held by British
ops at Detroit and other points south of the Great
es. In alliance with the Indians, the British hoped to
indirect control over a good deal of the North-West
itory with its valuable fur-trade.

The Spaniards too were in no way generous towards
United States. Their officials at New Orleans made
holy alliance' with the Indians in an attempt to encroach
U.S. territory. Spain closed the lower reaches of the
issippi to American traders. The right to have free

trade on the Mississippi was vitally important to t economic development of the west. But, the governme of the confederation was not strong enough to win t respect of the European powers. In addition to that Jo Jay who was in charge of the U. S. foreign affairs aft 1785 was unsympathetic to Western interests. In 178 Jay negotiated a treaty with Spain by which he agreed t closure of the Mississippi in return for concessions American merchants trading with Spain. This provok an explosion of indignation throughout the country th the treaty was never submitted to the congress for ra fication. Some of the westerners threatened to secede fr the confederation. Thus it became quite obvious th the most urgent need of the hour was a strong centr government responsive to all national interests and cap ble of protecting them.

Movement for a strong Government

From the very beginning of the confederation perio a group of influential leaders were working for an effecti federal government. The top leaders of this movement we James Madison of Virginia and Alexander Hamilton Newyork. They had the support of big business men an large landowners. At first they planned to make the Art cles of the confederation, the basis of a real union wit strong power. Failing in that attempt, they decided t establish a new government with great powers. The argued that a strong central government was necessar (1) to prevent interestate conflicts (2) to provide nation defence and (3) to protect commerce, shipping an manufacturing.

The New Constitution

In September 1786, delegates from five states met a *Annapolis* to discuss problems of interstate commerce

he convention decided that such problems could not be ffectively dealt with unless the Articles of the Confeder- ion were revised. Hamilton proposed that a conven- on of all states should be held for this purpose. The ngress of the confederation accepted the proposals and ade the necessary arrangements.

he Philadelphia Convention 1787

Accordingly the Federal convention met at Philadel- ia in May 1787. It was attended by fifty-five delegates presenting twelve states. The most outstanding public ures and influential personalities like George Washing- n, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison and Alexander milton took part in the convention. Washington s elected president of the convention while James adison with his immense knowledge of the theory and actice of different governments assumed the burden of or leadership. The convention had been authorised rely to draft amendments to the Articles of confedera- n, but, as Madison later wrote "the delegates with a ly confidence in their country" simply threw the les aside and went ahead with the building of a wholly Torm of government.

eral Agreement

The American Constitution has been called "a bundle ompromises" a description which clouds the fact that delegates had more agreements than disagreements. he first place, they all agreed that the United States t have a central government strong enough to maintain r, pay its debts, promote economic development and ect American interests abroad. At the same time they ed that if they ignored popular sentiment in favour tate's right, their proposals would have little chance ceptance,

Secondly the convention wished to limit the outrig majority rule as it would endanger property right a destroy wise and enlightened leadership. James Madis stressed the need for "providing more effectively for t security of private rights and the steady dispensation justice." He felt that the Federal government could p vent the exploitation of the poor by the rich and robbery of the rich by the poor.

Thirdly there was general agreement on the separat of powers. They believed that the government was to divided into three parts, a legislative branch, a judic branch and an executive branch and that these parts ou to be independent of each other.

A more surprising agreement was the one to estab a system of federal Courts. They also took it for gran that the new constitution should be in writing. T accorded with the popular idea that governments formed by written contract among the people.

Controversy

In spite of these general agreements there were sh differences on certain points. The representation of sta in the Federal legislature became a subject of keen con versy. The *Virginian plan* favoured a new national gov ment, a bicameral legislature representing the states portionately and an executive chosen by the legislat It would give the more populous states more seats in legislature. The *New Jersey plan* on the other hand vided for equal representation of states in the Congres giving one vote to each state. After a heated discuss and debate, all delegates accepted the *Compromise* sponsored by Connecticut. It provided for a bicam legislature having the *House of Representatives* and *Senate*. The seats in the *House of Representatives* w

be *allotted* on the basis of population while in the nate each state should be equal in representation. At e same time another compromise was made between the orth and the South. It empowered the Federal govern- ent to enact Navigation Laws for the benefit of the orth. In return export taxes were prohibited in the terest of the South. The South was also allowed to port slaves for another twenty years.

Thus, after sixteen weeks of debate and discussion, e Philadelphia Convention gave shape to the constitu- on of the United States of America. It was signed by e delegates. It was necessary to secure the approval of pular conventions at least in nine states to make it ective.

Main features

The most significant feature of the Federal Constitu- on was the division of authority between the union and e states. The Federal Government was to exercise full vereignty within its own sphere. It had direct coersive wer over individuals. The Federal laws and treaties re to be binding upon state officials and law courts. e state militia could be used by the Federal govern- nt to enforce the Federal authority. The Federal vernment was given full powers to levy taxes, borrow ney, coin money, fix weights and measures and to ild roads. It was also empowered to raise the army d the navy and to regulate interstate commerce, inter- tional relations, wars; treaties etc. were also Federal bjects. The state governments were forbidden from erfering with the Federal authority. They should not ue paper currency or enact laws contrary to the Fede- authority. The states could legislate on subjects like ucation, marriage, divorce, industry etc.

The congress

The congress consisted of two houses—the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives was to be chosen directly by the people for a period of two years. It would be the democratic part of the government. Voting qualifications were to be determined by the states. The Senate on the other hand was more independent of popular pressure. Its members were elected not by popular vote but by the state legislatures for a term of six years.

The president

The president was elected by an *Electoral College*. A complicated method was adopted for the presidential election. Each member of the *Electoral College* was to vote for two candidates at least one of whom was to come from another state. If no candidate received a majority of the votes, the House of Representatives was to make the final choice. The Candidate with the second highest vote was to become the Vice president.

The president was to be the chief of the executive. He was empowered to enforce the laws of the congress, to command the forces, to frame foreign policy, to declare war and to make treaties. The approval of the Senate was essential in certain cases. The president would choose the members of his cabinet. But the ministers would not be the members of the legislature. They were the heads of various departments.

Amendment

An amendment to the constitution was to be enacted not only by two thirds majorities in each house of the congress but also to be accepted by the legislatures of three quarters of the states.

Criticism

The defects and weaknesses of the constitution were pointed out by many critics. Though the constitution was based on the theory of separation of powers, the separation between the legislature and the executive was not complete in any way. The president had a limited vote in legislation and the Senate had to give its consent to executive appointments and treaties. Moreover, the congress could exercise pressure on the government through its control over the revenue. There was no proper machinery for settling the disputes between the executive and the legislature. The president could not be removed from office unless he were impeached for "treason, bribery or other misdemeanours." Practically, conflicts between the president and the congress would create deadlocks in administration. Above all, the emergence of the party system has moderated the effects of indirect elections. As the presidential candidates were generally nominated from the nationol party, state distinctions lost much of their significance and the members of the *Electoral college* were pledged to vote for their party nominee. Thus what was designed by the framers of the constitution to be an indirect system of election for the presidency and vice-presidency became in effect a sort of direct election.

The Ratification Contest

The convention had decided that the constitution would take effect as soon as it was approved by the conventions in nine out of the thirteen states. By the end of 1787 three states had ratified it. Owing to the propaganda of the opponents of the constitution, many people began to suspect the new constitution. They feared that the new government had been planned by a small group of ambitious men who wanted to exploit the mass of

people and that it would quickly result in the establishmen of an oppressive aristocracy or a dictatorship." They als complained of the absence of a *Bill of Rights* ensurin popular liberties. But, the exponents of the new con stitution boldly refuted all the charges levelled agains them. The controversy over the new constitution gav rise to two parties the *Federalists* and the *Anti-Federalists* The *Federalists* who stood for a strong government strongl supported the new constitution while the *Anti-Federalist* who preferred a loose association of states vehement oppesed it. The *Federalist papers* written by Hamilton Madison and Jay contained the strongest arguments i tupport of the constitution. Owing to some unpleasan surn of events in Messachusetts a *Bill of Rights* formin the first ten amendments to the Federal constitution wa incorporated in the supreme law of the land. Then a states recognised the constitution. Accordingly th *Congress of the Confederation* arranged for the first pr sidential election in March 1789.

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CHAPTER IV

FEDERALIST ADMINISTRATION

GEORGE WASHINGTON – 1789-1796

The ratification of the new constitution marked a reat epoch in the history of the united states. Then the ld congress of the confederation made arrangements for he presidential election and the meeting of the first con- ress under the new constitution. In the first presidential lection of 1789, George Washington, the commander-in- hief and the hero of the American *War of Independence* as unanimously elected president. John Adams was hosen as Vice President.

arly career

George Washington was well-known to his country- en as a great war time leader as well as the topmost free- om fighter. He was the son of a wealthy Virginian farmer. t he did not enjoy the privilege of higher education. He ok keen interest in independent reading and showed an ptitude for studying Mathematics. At the age of sixteen worked as a surveyor. The unexpected death of his rother forced him to take up the management of an state at *Mount Vermon*. During the *Seven Years War* he d assisted the English in driving out the French from hio. As an active leader of the freedom movement he ok part in the First and Second *Continental Congresses*. wing to his supreme leadership and brave guidance merica attained her independence. It was not surprising hat Washington was unanimously elected to the presi- ncy in 1789 and he administered the office continuously two terms.

Problems

Washington took charge of the presidential duties April 1789. In his inaugural address Washington declar that he would preserve "the sacred fire of liberty a the Republican model of government." But the proble before the President and the first congress were compl and numerous. The new government had to create own machinery. There was no precedent to follow administration. The new constitution was nothing but blue print of things to come and it possessed neither t dition nor the backing of organised public opinion. Fed ral courts were to be created for the enforcement of la All officers, high and low, were to be appointed. The were no taxes coming in; but the debts of the revoluti nary period had to be cleared. The regulations of tra and the relations with foreign countries also created pr blems to the new government. Above all the unity a the integrity of the new nation were to be maintained.

Cabinet

The wise leadership of Washington turned out to a great blessing to the nation at this critical m T qualities that had made him the first soldier in the revol tion also made him the first statesman in the new natio "Himself an excellent administrator, he insisted on equal high standards among his subordinates and made eve effort to give appointments only to men of ability, go reputation and complete integrity". The *First Congr* took up the task of creating the main administrati departments whose heads became members of the pre dent's Cabinet. Three departments were created at t first session of the *Congress*. The head of the departm of foreign affairs was called the *Secretary of State*; that the department of finance was called the *Secretary*

asury and that of the war department was called the *retary of War*. Washington appointed *Thomas Jefferson* Secretary of state and *Alexander Hamilton* the Secretary Treasury. The first cabinet also included *Henry Knox* Secretary of War and *Edmund Randolph* as Attorney neral. A cabinet had not been prescribed by the stitution; but Washington always preferred to seek advice of the cabinet on important matters.

iciary

First of all, the organisation of the Judiciary attracted attention of the new administration. The constitution left vague the organisation of this department. The ctment of the *Judiciary Act* in 1789 provided for ing up a *Supreme Court* with one Chief Justice and associate Judges. Three *Circuit Courts* and thirteen *rict Courts* were also set up. The *Judiciary Act* de it clear that the Federal Judges must interpret the stitution as the supreme law of the land. *John Jay* Newyork was appointed the first Chief Justice of the ited States.

ilton and Fiscal programme

Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of Treasury was ly responsible for the successful financial administra- of the new government. He was born in West es in 1757. He came to Newyork to seek his fortune. ilton was from the beginning ambitious, brilliant hardworking. He was handsome in appearance and possessed sterling qualities. He took part in the *War ndependence*. He always championed the cause of rich businessmen and the aristocratic class. As a ng Federalist, he stood for a strong Federal govern- . As the Secretary of Treasury under Washington,

he tried "to establish an alliance between the Feder Government and the wealthy class."

Financial problems

Hamilton as secretary of Treasury, faced compl financial problems. Vast quantities of papermoney issu by the continental congress and the states during t period of the revolution had created inflation in t country. The huge amount of domestic debt owed private individuals and the loans raised by various stat were to be paid off urgently. Tax and tariff systems w in confusion. Above all foreign debts owed mainly France and Holland were to be paid off urgently.

Public Credit

Hamilton's financial measures were embodied i series of reports submitted to the congress. In his rep on public credit, Hamilton recommended that the d inherited from the *Confederation* should be funded at face value and the Federal government should also assu the debts of the states on the ground that they were curred in aid of the revolution. Hamilton believed t such a policy would win the confidence and support all creditors to the government besides fostering the nat nal solidarity. He also stressed the need for rais sufficient money by taxation in order to make regu interest payments as well as to pay off the principal its He further insisted on the immediate payment of fore debts. According to him as long as the U. S. A. ow money to any foreign nation, the country would not truly independent.

While Hamilton's proposal concerning the paym of foreign debt was accepted unanimously by the congre his plan to fund the domestic debt was bitterly oppo

y Jefferson and his Republican followers. At this time the ongress was also debating on the location of the Federal apital. Hamilton cleverly made use of the opportunity o make a compromise with Jefferson. Accordingly Hamilton agreed to exert his influence to fix the Federal apital in the South in return for the Republican pledge o support the *Assumption Bill*. In the light of this com- promise the *Assumption Bill* and the *Federal Capital Bill* were passed by the congress.

he First Bank of U. S. 1791

Another important measure of Hamilton was the cre- ation of the *Bank of the United States*. This bank, like the Bank of England was to assist the government in holding its funds and if necessary by advancing loans. Its powers included those of issuing notes, receiving deposits and opening branches throughout the country. Its total capital was to be Ten million dollars. As the private investors held four fifths of its shares, they had an upper hand in the management of the bank.

The bank policy of Hamilton was bitterly opposed by Jefferson and his followers. They argued that the bank would give a small group of investors "excessive power over the national economy and too many opportunities for large profits." According to Jefferson, the constitution had not authorised the Federal Government to establish such a national bank. Hamilton replied by developing the *Theory of Implied Powers*. He argued that a vast body of powers had to be implied by general clauses and one of these authorised the congress "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for" carrying out the other powers granted. The constitution authorised the national government to levy and collect taxes, to pay debts and to borrow money. A national bank would materially help

in performing these functions efficiently. The congress was therefore entitled under its *Implied powers* to create such a bank. Washington supported Hamilton and in 1791, the bank was established by the congress with a charter to run it for twenty years.

Aid to Manufacturers

Hamilton also recommended Federal aid to the manufacturers. He criticised the *laissez faire* theory of Adams Smith and pointed out the need for providing protection to infant industries by means of direct subsidies and protective tariff. But, these recommendations failed to make any immediate impression in the congress.

Whisky Rebellion

In order to strengthen the financial position of the Federal Government, Hamilton levied an *Excise Duty* on Whisky. It adversely affected the interests of the farmers in the primitive West who had used their grains for the production of Whisky. So they rose in rebellion and obstructed the collection of taxes. In Pennsylvania, the rebellion was so violent that Hamilton persuaded Washington to call out the militia of four states to enforce obedience. This demonstration of Federal authority soon put an end to the so called *Whisky Rebellion*. The suppression of this rebellion proved that the new government was strong enough to enforce obedience to its decisions.

Formation of political parties

It was the sincere desire of Washington that the new government might be carried on without the development of political parties. So he included men of diverse views like Hamilton and Jefferson in his cabinet. But gradually their differing points of view began to manifest

American politics. During the *Ratification campaign*, the *Federalists* and the *Anti-Federalists* had appeared on the political scene. Hamilton's financial measures further intensified the gulf between the *Federalists* and their opponents who called themselves *Republicans*. As a staunch Federalist, Hamilton stood for a strong and centralised government. His financial measures were definitely designed to benefit a favoured class of financiers, manufacturers and big businessmen. Hamilton and his Federalist friends believed in a government by "the wise, the rich and the well-born." Hamilton's policies were severely criticised and greatly opposed by Thomas Jefferson and his Republican followers. James Madison and Aaron Burr also joined hands with the Republicans. They enrolled in their ranks the defenders of state rights, city workers and small farmers. For them, the purpose of Republicanism was to maintain the ideals of the American Revolution, the ideals of popular government, the rights of men and protection for the interests of the mass of people rather than a privileged upper class." The two party organisations took a definite shape in 1791. Then the members of the Congress and State Legislatures began to think in terms of their party policies. Washington supported the views of Hamilton which shattered the hopes of the Republicans. At the end of 1793, finding himself consistently outvoted at cabinet meetings, Jefferson induced Washington to allow him to resign. Washington replaced him with another Virginian Republican, Edmund Randolph.

Foreign policy of Washington

Washington wisely (supervised) the foreign policy of his administration, displaying an invaluable realism and soundness of judgement. He felt that the United States

as an independent nation was in need of a long period peace in order to build up her strength. The cornerst of his foreign policy was the preservation of peace the promotion of national unity.

Red Indian Trouble

The North West frontier regions presented a diffic problem to the President and the *Congress*. There Indians encouraged by British Canadian traders encroac the U. S. boundaries and attacked the white settlers Ohio and Kentucky. A few expeditions sent against Indians were beaten back. Then the President depu *General Wayne* to suppress the invaders. In spite of British backing and arms aid, the Red Indians were for to sue for peace. By the treaty of *Greville*, large tracts Indian territories were surrendered to the United Stat This victory enhanced the fame and prestige of Presid Washington.

Controversies with France

Washington's administration witnessed the outbr of the French Revolution in 1789. The Ameri Republicans who believed in the ideas of liberty rega the revolution as a struggle for *Human Rights*. But Federalists who were greatly horrified by the *Jacobin Re of Terror* condemned the bloody revolution. Thus revolution did much to sharpen party differences in United States. The outbreak of the Anglo-French created a complicated problem to America. The Un States was still an ally of France and according to treaty of 1778, the U. S. was bound to help France aga the British attack. But President Washington wished avoid war. The welfare of the nation and the safety o independence were his main concern. After several cab

cussions, the President made his famous proclamation 1793. It affirmed the *American neutrality* and warned U. S. citizens not to assist any of the parties of war.

enet Episode

But the arrival of a French Minister, *Edmond Genet* the United States put the *neutrality proclamation* to test. ashington greeted him with stern formality. But the esident boldly turned down the demand of Genet to use e United States as base for the French to attack British d Spanish colonies. It embittered Genet to a great tent that he found fault with Washington and his vernment. Greatly infuriated at the indecent behaviour Genet, Washington demanded the French government call back their minister. The new government which me into power in France issued orders for arresting enet. Thus Washington succeeded in his policy of utrality during the French Revolution.

elations with Great Britain

The next threat to American neutrality came from the de of Britain. In spite of the treaty of 1783, British oops refused to evacuate the North West military posts aking some lame excuses. The British Canadian Governor ed to encourage the Indians to encroach the U. S. rritory. The Anglo-American relations were further ained by the "*British Orders in Council.*" Britain seized veral American ships carrying French goods much ainst American protests. In addition to that, British val officers began to search American ships for British bjects and in a number of instances they carried away me fide American citizens. As a result of these unpleasant ies of events, the two nations reached on the verge of ar. However, Washington by his cool sense of judgement

decided to draw a treaty with Britain. He despatched t
Chief Justice *John Jay* who signed a treaty with Britain
1794. By this treaty, *Jay* accepted the British blocka
and gave Britain several commercial advantages in Americ
Though the British troops were withdrawn from t
Western posts, Britain was not ready to give compensati
for the loss of American ships. So *Jay's Treaty* becan
very unpopular in the United States. But it assur
temporary peace and established friendship betwe
Britain and the United States.

Pickney's Treaty

Another significant event in the foreign affairs und
Washington was the signing of *Pickney's Treaty* wi
Spain. In 1795 Spain resolved to establish friend
relations with the United States, anticipating a war wi
Britain. *Thomas Pickney*, the American minister w
entrusted to negotiate a treaty with Spain. The trea
gave the United States unlimited power to use t
Mississipi and the right to deposit merchandise in Ne
Orleans, Spain also consented to cut off her ties wi
the Indians and agreed to a boundary settlement
accordance with American claims.

Thus much was accomplished by George Washingt
before he retired from service in 1797. It was under h
able leadership and brave guidance that the United Stat
became a powerful nation. The Americans in honour
the first president, had named the new capital after hi

Estimate

Washington was a remarkable personality in t
history of America. "He was first in war, first in pea
and first in the hearts of his countrymen." The qualiti
that made him a first rate freedom fighter also made him

at statesman. His patriotic zeal and fervent devotion to
y had won him universal admiration. No doubt, his
owledge of military tactics was defective; but it was
ficient to meet the needs of the situation. As an
ministrator, he was wise in the choice of his advisers,
de up his mind in time, acted decisively and kept abreast
his duties. His sound judgement and plain common-
se saved the country from many trials. As a statesman
was far sighted and sagacious In the words of Nevins
d Commager "He toiled successfully to give the govern-
nt elevation and principle and to impress upon the
untry the admonition which he put into his farewell
dress; *Be United the Americans*." It may not be an
ggeration to say that his immense prestige, personal
pularity and unbounded ability had gone a long way to
ire public confidence in the new republic during the
ly critical period of its existence. He was the father
the policy of *Non-alignment*' in diplomatic relations.
ording to C. P. Hill, his stature as a statesman was
e the less high. His patience and sureness of judge-
nt helped the U. S. A. to establish itself as a great
ion. Washington's fame would never fade and his
me would always remain dear to the hearts of all who
e human rights and liberties.

CHAPTER V

(JOHN ADAMS 1797—1801)

John Adams, the Federalists' candidate was elected
presidency in 1797. He became the logical candidate
the Federalists due to the unpopularity of the other

leaders like Hamilton and Jay. The Republican lea
Thomas Jefferson who secured the second largest num
of votes became the vice-president under Adams.

Early career

Adams had been in public life for a long time and
well-known to his countrymen as one of the early lea
of the revolutionary movement. He was an able law
and an accomplished student of political theory. A
delegate to the first and second continental congresses
had a large share in drafting the *Petition of Rights*
making the *Declaration of Independence*. During the
federation period, he served as America's minister
Great Britain. Adams stood for a strong national gov
ment. It was his firm belief that liberty could be prese
by balancing wealth againt numbers.

Divided cabinet

In spite of his fine qualities and high qualificati
Adams was not a success as president. Even befor
entered the presidency, Adams had quarelled with Ha
ton who had contributed much to the previous adm
tration. Adams began his administration with a "divi
party behind him and a divided cabinet at his side."
unwisely retained the members of Washington's cab
who did not feel their primary loyalty to the new p
dent. At last Adams came to know that he was "not
real captain of his own ship." Then he dismissed
disloyal ministers and reorganised the cabinet appoin
loyal Federalists.

Controversy with France

Adams' administration witnessed the growth of
friendly relations with France. *John Jay's treaty*
Britain made France to treat the United States virtu

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an ally of Britain. The recall of the pro-French Re-
blican ambassador, Monroe and the appointment of a
deralist, *C. C. Pickney* as the new American ambassador
France further infuriated the Government of France.
they refused to recognise the new ambassador of
erica. To make matters worse, the French fleet began
ttack American merchant ships and had seized more
n three hundred of them by the summer of 1797.

X, Y, Z Affair

In order to avoid further fued and friction Adams
patched a *Peace Mission* of three men to Paris. They
ld not meet even any high official of authority in the
nch Capital. Unfortunately the American mission was
fficially approached by three anonymous Frenchmen
om the American documents referred to as X, Y, Z.
y demanded a huge U. S. loan to France and a heavy
om to the French minister, Talleyrand as pre-requi-
s for negotiation. To these demands, the American
ion replied "Millions for defence; but, not one cent
tribute." They returned to America in disappointment
disgrace. When the account of the shameful treat-
t of the American envoys in Paris was published, the
ple of America fell into a patriotic rage and demanded
mediate declaration of war against France. The con-
s voted money for a larger army and navy. A num-
of French ships were captured by the Americans. But
n Adams was a man of peace. A little reflection con-
ed him of the futility of a destructive war. By this
e, the French government also indicated its willingness
negotiate a settlement. Greatly to the disgust of the
deralists in the congress and in the cabinet, John Adams
a minister to France to make peace. Napoleon who
just come to power in France received him cordially

and signed a treaty with America in 1800. It is said th
Adams' action brought peace and war at the same tim
It brought peace with France, but it brought war with
the rank and file of the Federalist party.

Domestic Affairs

At home, Adams was equally disturbed. His politi
views were narrow and outdated. He could not toler
the criticisms and allegations raised by the Republi
editors and orators. Some of the leading Republi
critics were European refugees. Adams passed seve
acts to close their mouths and to get rid of them fr
the United States. Ultimately these measures brou
discredit to his administration and contributed to the
of the Federalists from power.

Naturalisation Act

In 1798, the Congress passed the *Naturalisation*
It extended the period of residence required for natura
ation from 5 to 14 years. Adams used this Act as a str
instrument for getting rid of many Frenchmen from
soil of the United States.

The Alien Act

The Alien Act authorised the president to order
of the country, all foreigners who were likely to dist
the peace and safety of the country. The Republican p
pointed out that the Act was unconstitutional as well
an infringement on the rights of states. The enactmen
the *Sedition law* soon imposed certain restrictions on
freedom of press.

Sedition Act

The Act stated that all speeches and writings aga
the president and the Congress which seemed to

famatory were serious crimes. The Act also forbade
lawful combinations and conspiracies. The punishments
such crimes were imprisonment for more than 5 years
addition to heavy fine.

These acts were passed much against the advice of the
ederalists. Many persons were convicted under these
ts. But, every person punished under these acts became
"martyr for freedom of speech" in the eyes of the
mmon people. As these Acts violated the 'Bill of
ghts.' People looked at Adams' administration with
favour. The Republican leaders described these acts
unnecessary, despotic and unconstitutional." The tide
public opinion in the legislatures, in market places and
the press rose relentlessly against the Federalists. The
publicans asserted that the states have the legitimate
ght to nullify the unconstitutional Acts of the Federal
overnment. As a result of these unpopular Acts, the
deralist candidate failed in the presidential election of
00 and Thomas Jefferson, the Republican candidate
me out with flying colours.

xcise Duty

Equally unpopular was Adams' measure to impose
xcise duty. In order to increase the revenue of the
deral government, Adams introduced direct taxes on
nd, houses and slaves. The tax on land and house was
sed on their respective value. Many of the Federalists
ho owned extensive land and big buildings were adversely
fected by the tax that they raised their strong protests
ainst it.

udicial Reforms

One of the last official acts of Adams was the ap
intment of John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the

supreme court. He was an arch-Federalist who enjoy
that dignified office for a period of 34 years. He w
responsible for giving a Federalist interpretation to t
constitution. The decisions handed down by Marsh
and the other Federalist judges had more influence
American development than the policies followed
Jefferson and his Republican followers.

Midnight Judges

Adams' administration also saw the passing of t
Judiciary Act which created 16 *Circuit courts* and inc
ased the number of Marshals, Attorneys and Clerks.
principle, the measure was justified, but it was exploit
by Adams for political reasons. It is said that Ada
signed their orders of appointment till the midnight of h
last day in office. The creation of these *Midnight Judg*
was a real misuse of the powers of the president.

Fall of the Federalists

A party divided against itself would never win t
election. In the presidential election of 1800, the Federalis
were divided into the factions of Adams and Hamilto
Moreover the *Alien* and the *Sedition* Acts brought di
credit and unpopularity to the Federalists. The Republica
took advantage of the situation and their candida
Jefferson won the presidential election. The victory
Jefferson brought the Federalist rule practically to an en
It was after 12 years of political supremacy that th
Federalist party was thrown out of power. It may be sa
to its credit that the Federalists solved the numero
problems left behind the confederation. The Fedaralis
strengthened the Federal authority and saved the countr
from anarchy and confusion. But, it was highly centralise
and stood in the way of the rights of the states. As the

ways championed aristocratic interests, they failed to
the sympathy and support of the masses.

timate

John Adams was not a great man like Washington nor
first class brain like Hamilton nor an astute manipulator
public opinion like Jefferson. He was a typical New
glander of the best quality well-informed, ruggedly
nest and dour. Adams by virtue of his family heritage
ame very popular throughout America as one of the
pporters of a strong government. He and his brother
muel Adams rendered great service to the cause of
erican freedom. As a true follower of Washington he
d to preserve unity and understanding among the
ericans.

In spite of his talents and abilities, he was not at all a
ess as president. He failed to understand the views
the other Federalist and was deprived of their favour.
stubborn and despotic decisions caused schism in his
party. His reactionary reforms brought discredit to
Federalist party and handicapped his re-election to
presidency. In foreign policy, he brought discredit to
nation as well as to the Federalists. He was unques-
ably upright and patriotic in his actions. But, he
ved to be incapable of winning and managing men.
was less fitted to the office of the president than either
predecessor or successor.

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CHAPTER VI

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

THOMAS JEFFERSON (1800–1808)

The election of Thomas Jefferson to the prsidenc 1800, marked a turning point in tne history of Amer It put an end to the Federalist administration and in gurated an era of Republican democracy. Jefferson cribed the Republican triumph of 1800, as a 'Revoluti It was a revolution in the sense that the old gover group which distrusted democracy and stood for ar cracy in government gave place to men of liberal v and democratic ideals.

Early Career

Jefferson, like Washington brought to the preside office a long record of public service. A product of agricultural society of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson wellknown to his countrymen as a great democratic lea As a delegate to the *Continental Congress*, he drafted *Declaration of Independence*.' He also served the cou as the Governor of Virginia and the U.S.A's minist France. As secretary of state in Washington's cabi he tried his best to protect the interests of the com people. Owing to the aristocratic ascendency of Hamilton group in the cabinet, he left the cabinet organised bitter opposition to the Federalist programm

Policy

Jefferson enjoyed extraordinary ascendency in country because of his appeal to America's ideal simplicity, youth and hopeful outlook. The manner

hich he assumed the presidency in 1801, emphasised the t that democracy had come into power. Jefferson care- rly garbed as usual, walked from his simple boarding use to the capital with a few friends and took the oath office administered by John Marshall, the Chief Justice the Supreme Court. In his inaugural address, he mised "a wise and frugal government" which should serve order among the inhabitants but it should "leave n otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of dustry and improvement." He also stressed the need a government of limited powers, economy in administr- on, preservation of civil liberties and support of state ernments in all their rights. In his policy of moder- n and liberalism, he was honestly supported by two inent Republicans - Madison, the Secretary of State Gallatin, the Secretary of Treasury.

Domestic Affairs

The accession of Jefferson synchronised with the guration of the new federal capital in Washington . As a strong anti-Federalist, Jefferson amended the *ralisation Act*, reducing the qualifying period for ralisation from 14 to 5 years. The *Excise duty* on ky was abolished and the *Alien* and *Sedition Acts* were ed to expire. All those who had been imprisoned these acts were set free. These measures made the pular reforms of the Federalist administration null void.

Financial reforms

Albert Gallatin, the Secretary of Treasury introduced financial measures which reduced the national debt proved the finances of the country. By minimising penses of administration and cutting down the

expenditure of the army and the navy, he succeeded producing a comfortable financial surplus. A number unnecessary and useless offices were abolished. His planning and efficient financial administration reduced national debt to less than sixty million. When prop qualifications were abolished for the ballot and m humane laws for debtors and criminals were passed wave of Jeffersonian feeling swept through the length breadth of the country.

Attack on judiciary

Jefferson's administration witnessed a serious con with the judiciary. The alarming and unexpected gr of the powers of the Federal judiciary posed a threa the Republican government. The bench was mar almost wholly by the Federalists who had shown ma partiality in their judgements. The Federal courts declared some of the state laws unconstitutional and seemed to make a deliberate attempt to strengthen power of the Federal government at the expense of rights. Marshall, the Federal chief justice believed i sovereignty of the Federal government and opposed ideals of the Republicans in many respects. In dec the case of *Marbury-vs Madison* in 1803, he made a for assertion of the right of the Supreme Court to inval the acts of the congress. This decision greatly angered Republicans as it gave a veto on Federal law to ju who were neither chosen by the people nor dir accountable to them by periodical elections.

The Republicans finally decided to proceed ag the Judiciary by making use of the weapon of impe ment. In 1803, the Republicans impeached a di Judge, *John Pickering* and removed him from office. The weapon of impeachment was turned against Sa

[illegible], an associate judge of the Supreme Court, for abusing Jefferson in an open court. Chase was however acquitted as some of the charges framed against him seemed to be irrelevant and unprovable. After this failure, Jefferson tried to transform the judiciary by appointing Republicans. He dismissed the *Midnight judges* as their appointments were irregular. Though he could not remove the other judges in the same way, he tried to fill up the new and retirement vacancies by appointing his own followers. Owing to the dominating influence of Marshall, the chief justice, they were not able to do anything to help the Republicans. Jefferson's attack on the judiciary compelled the Federal judges to take decisions impartially and to refrain from direct participation in political conflicts.

Louisiana purchase

One of the most remarkable achievements of Jefferson's administration was the purchase of Louisiana which helped to double the area of the United States. The colony of Louisiana was originally founded by French pioneers. After the *Seven Years War*, it became a Spanish colony. But soon after Jefferson come into office, Napoleon forced the weak Spanish government to cede the vast territory of Louisiana back to France. The Americans had been using the port of *New Orleans* for the shipment of American products grown in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys. Napoleon's plan for a huge colonial empire just West of the United States stood in the way of American trading rights and the safety of all the interior settlements. As soon as Jefferson came to know about the Louisiana transaction, he asserted his firm decision to safeguard the interest of U. S. A. in the following words, "There is on the globe one single

spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitu
enemy. It is New Orleans through which the produce
3/8 of our territory must pass to market. France, placi
herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defianc
The day that France takes possession of New Orleans,
we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation.
However, Jefferson despatched James Monroe to Franc
to open negotiations for the purchase of Louisiana, Tho
were the days of the Napoleanic wars. Realising the fu
consequences of an Anglo-American alliance agains
France, Napolean resolved to fill his treasury by sellin
Louisiana to the United States. For 15 million dolla
the vast area passed into the possession of Americ
"Jefferson stretched the constitution till it cracked"
giving effect to this transaction. As a result the Unite
States obtained more than a million square miles of lan
which included not only the present state of Louisian
but an immense territory extending northwards as far
Canada. The acquisition of this vast region was one
the greatest diplomatic achievements of Jefferson and th
whole people of America were greatly astonished at th
magnitude of this successful transaction.

Decline of Federalism

Everything that happened in Jefferson's first administ
ration especially his success in purchasing Louisiana pleas
ed the American people immensely that it ensured hi
re-election in 1804. Meanwhile the Federalists were divided
and they lost the hope of winning another national election
Some of the fanatical Federalists of New England, out
of their frustration as well as hatred for the Republican
government prepared a plan to form a Northern confeder
ation and to separate it from the union. Hamilton gave
them no encouragement, in spite of his opposition to th

ies of Jefferson. Then they found a willing tool for
plot in the Vice-President. Aaron Burr, who had
his standing in the Republican, party due to his
ility towards Jefferson. In 1804 Aaron Burr ran for
overnorship of Newyork, with a view to form a
hern Confederation and thereby to break up the union.
ately Hamilton came to know about the plot and
posing it he brought about Burr's defeat in the
ion. Hamilton had described Burr as "a dangerous
and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins
vernment." Burr now completely disappointed and
dited challenged Hamilton to a duel. In the encounter
ilton was fatally wounded and he passed away after
hours. Owing to internal faction and fued, the
alist candidate was defeated in the presidential
on of 1804. By its lack of faith in the wisdom of
mmon people and its opposition to the irresistible
ment towards democracy, the Federalist party
ed itself to rapid extinction.

Burr Conspiracy

After the murder of Hamilton, Aaron Burr made hit
to New Orleans with a view to set up an independens
in the troubled border land between the U. S. and
anish colony. He had the support of some Senators
eral *James Wilkinson* who was in charge of the
troops in Louisiana. He also tried to get the
Spain and Britain to carry out his plan. But at
of time Jefferson came to know about the con-
and he issued orders for the arrest of Aaron Burr
already been betrayed by his supporters. At
the Chief Justice Marshall summoned the
as a witness; but the President declined to appear
off. At last, the Chief Justice acquitted Burr on

the ground that there was no evidence to prove the ch
of treason against him. The decision of the court was h
by the Republicans with great alarm and resentment.

Foreign Affairs

In his inaugural address Jefferson had outlined
cardinal principles of his foreign policy. He declared
"Nature and wide ocean would keep the U. S. A. en
isolated from European rivalries." Following the
steps of Washington in his definition of foreign po
Jefferson advocated "peace and honest friendship
all nations and entangling alliance with none." But,
principles were to be discarded when the President h
face problems of an international nature.

War with Tripoli

The first threat to peace came not from Europe
from Tripoli, a small state on the North coast of A
The American ships had been paying tribute to the p
of the barbarous state of *Tripoli* in order to save
ships from their plunder and attack. When the *Pas*
Tripoli increased the demand for tribute and insulte
American national flag, Jefferson could not avoid
He sent the powerful American navy against the pira
the *Pasha*. The vigorous attack and blockade
American navy forced the *Pasha of Tripoli* to make
with the U. S. A. The treaty safeguarded the Am
interests in the Mediterranean waters.

Relation with Europe

Jefferson's presidency witnessed the outbreak
Napoleonic wars in Europe. In 1803, Great Britai
France went to war after a truce of less than two
Napoleon became invisible on land and had won m
the European Continent. Britain on the other han

Invincible - on sea

ablished her command over the sea by destroying the
ch navy at *Trafalgar* in 1805. These two powers
rted to economic warfare and tried to starve each other
submission by interfering with commerce. As a neu-
commercial country, with the largest merchant marine
United States had taken advantage of the European
for developing her commercial activities in Europe.
erson made a deliberate attempt to maintain American
trality during this colossal struggle between England
France. But, Napoleon's *Continental System* and
ain's *Orders in Council* adversely affected American
ping and commercial activities. Any ship whether
ish or neutral which sailed to or from British ports
declared liable to confiscation by the French. Britain
ade the ships of all countries from trading with
ce and her allies. Britain also insisted on the neutral
ps to get a clearance certificate from a British port
re sailing to the open ports on the continent. The
soon reached a point where no American craft could
s with the broad region controlled by France without
g liable to seizure by the British and none could trade
Britain without danger from France. Thus American
s were placed between 'the devil and the deep sea'.
ng this period about 1500 American ships were des-
d both by Britain and France.

Chesapeake-Leopard Affair 1807

During this war, Britain increased the strength of her
. As the men of her fleet were ill paid, ill fed and ill
ted, many sailors deserted and found refuge on the
merican ships. Hence, the British naval offi-
began to search the American ships for getting hold
British subjects. Sometimes, even American sailors
captured by the British officers. In 1807 one American

ship, *Chesapeake* was attacked and forced to surre
to a British ship, *Leopard*. News of the inci
intensified the anti-British feeling in the United St
At once Jefferson issued a proclamation orderin
British ships to leave the U.S. territorial waters. A
ter British proclamation ordered a more vigorous p
cution of *Impressment* of British subjects from n
ships. At this Jefferson decided to use economic pre
to bring the belligerent powers to terms. In 1807,
congress passed an *Embargo Act* forbidding all
except foreign ships from leaving the U. S. ports.
Act adversely affected American economy and c
commercial stagnation and fall of prices. As the g
bling at home increased, Jefferson repealed the *Emb*
Act and substituted it with the *Non Intercourse Act*
permitted American commerce with all countries e
Britain and France. In 1810 Napoleon officially dec
that he had abandoned his measures against the
ships in spite of the fact that he continued to mai
them. But, the United States believed him and there
limited the *Non-Intercourse* to Britain alone. This
riated Britain to a great extent.

In 1809, Jefferson completed his second presid
term and James Madison took charge as the
president. Jefferson's period of presidency witnes
new era of expansion in the history of the United St
He is remembered in America as a great *Agrarian l*
of Democracy.

Character and Estimate

Jefferson occupies a unique place in the histo
America. He was an outstanding champion of liber
democratic ideals. Animated by the optimism of
enlightenment, he firmly believed that men were natu

d and inclined to follow the guidance of reason. But
were spoiled by bad institutions. He idealised agricul-
as the only way of life that would promote moral and
itical virtues. Out of his contempt for urban life
erson declared "When we get piled upon one another
arge cities, we shall become corrupt as in Europe and
eating one another as they do there." He believed
all men were created equal and they possessed certain
nable rights like life, liberty and pursuit of hap-
Jefferson's mere presence in the *White House*
raged democratic procedures. To him the plainest
n was as worthy of respect as the highest individual.
taught his subordinates to regard themselves merely
nsters for the people. He encouraged agriculture and
ward expansion. As an ardent *Anti-Federalist* he
plained the rights of states and repealed the *Alien*
Sedition Acts. He instilled democracy into American
and put the zeal of *Republicanism* in the national
tutions. His administration made a parade of econo-
and simplicity in all branches of administration. He
the rare gift of expressing ideas pointedly and unfor-
ably and some of his well-known phrases are insepa-
y associated with the democratic faith.

Jefferson was equally interested in arts and science.
was personally a poet, philosopher and naturalist.
had a passion for music and was the finest architect of
time. The main interest of his later years was the
dation of the *University* of *Virginia* which became a
ing monument of its founder who looked forward to
creation of a truly educated democratic society.
gh he did not believe in Christian doctrines, he pro-
d a revised and improved version of the *New Testa-*
He also invented a reformed spelling of the Anglo-
an language. Jefferson was a many sided genius.
was one of the greatest presidents of the United States.

CHAPTER VII

JAMES MADISON (1809—1817)

James Madison, the fourth president belonged to Republican party. He was also a representative of Virginian Planter Class. Madison was more a politi theorist than a statesman or a politician. Owing to immense knowledge of the theory and practice of differ governments, he assumed the burden of floor leadershi the constitutional convention at Philadelphia. *Federalist papers*, a good many of which he wrote, pl an influential part in the creation of a sentiment, favo ble to the ratification of the constitution. For eight y he served as Jefferson's Secretary of State and close a ser. Thus Madison had adequate political apprentice and administrative experience at the time he took ch of the presidential office.

His character

In spite of his political experience and blam character, Madison proved to be a weak and inverteb president. To a great extent, he allowed the policie the government to be determined by the Congress. relations between the United States and the Europ belligerents during the first term of his presidency pre ted a complicated tangle of misunderstandings. It le the outbreak of the Anglo-American war of 1812.

THE WAR OF 1812

The war that broke out in 1812 between the Un States of America and Great Britain was more or le byproduct of the Napoleonic wars. It has been descri "the second war of American Independence." Though merica got freedom in 1783, after the *Treaty of Paris*, e independence which she obtained was incomplete, so ng as some of her portions were still possessed by the ropean powers like Britain and Spain. These two wers were encouraging the Indian tribes in the West ainst the Americans. Thus there were many problems to solved and war became unavoidable for the settle- ut of some of these serious problems.

nts leading to the war

The first half of the 19th century was a period of rm and stress in the history of Europe. The meteoric earance of Napoleon in the political horizon of France d his imperialistic designs caused great fear and anxiety over the world. Napoleon became invincible on land d had won most of the European continent. But Bri- which was proud of her naval superiority challenged power of Napoleon and declared war against France. a result of the laws passed by these two belligerent tions, American trade was much affected. Nearly 1500 her merchant ships were damaged both by Britain and nce. But the United States took no serious action ll her warship *Chesapeake* was destroyed and drowned the British ship *Leopard* in 1807. Immediately Jefferson ed the *Embargo Act*, preventing all ships, except ican ships from leaving the United States for any ign port. Though the *Embargo Act* was repealed at interest of the American traders, it was followed by *n Intercourse Act* in 1809 prohibiting trade with nce and Britain. Napoleon then came into good terms America. But Britain refused to abandon her *Orders* *uncil*. Hence ill feelings and tension grew between ain and the United States.

Western Expansion

Meanwhile troubles were growing in the west territory. The settlers in the west decided to move furt towards the *Great Lakes* because of the fertility of soil. But, the entire area of land beyond the *Great La* was under the control of Britain. Often the new sett had troubles from the Indians who were instigated by British officials in Canada. In order to prevent the furt infiltration of the Indians, the white settlers decided occupy the fertile region of the Great Lakes. It natur paved the way for a war between Britain and America.

Indian Hostility - ill feeling

Soon dark clouds of trouble thickened in the N West Territory. There hostilities grew between the Am caus and the Indians. A certain Indian Chieftain ca *Tecumseh* started a movement in order to resist advance of the white settlers. He called on the diffe tribes to stand together against the white expansion organised an Indian confederacy against the settlers f the United States. The British governor in Canad well as the English four traders were giving blessings backing to *Tecumseh* and his followers. When vi Indian activities created great fear and anxiety among frontier settlers, *William Henry Harrison*, the Governo Indiana took active steps against the Indian tr Although Harrison won the battle against the India 1811, he failed to inflict any crushing defeat on *Tecum* Hence the settlers throughout the West continued to themselves in danger. The Americans believed *Tecumseh* would not have gone to war if he had expected the British assistance. Naturally, anti-B sentiment increased in the frontier regions and it res in louder demands for expelling the English from Ca

...fluence of Warhawks

The pro-war feeling that swept through the length and ...adth of the United States left its marks on the cor... ...ssional elections. A number of young men who dis... ...yed a sort of aggressive and boastful nationalism ...eeded in getting elected to the legislatures. These ...g patriots and their followers were so fond of war ...t they came to be known as *Warhawks*. In spite of ... numerical minority, the *Warhawks* achieved a ...mmanding position in the House and their principal ...der *Henry Clay* became the speaker. Most of the ...rhawks came from the agrarian areas of the south and ...t were people were adversely affected by the maritime ... They looked upon the British naval blockades and ...*pressment* with great resentment. The *Warhawks* from ...North West were anxious to put an end to the Indian ...ance. They found fault with the British for assisting ...Indians. These *Warhawks* were mainly responsible ... forcing the president, Madison to follow the warpath ...h against his will.

...sident Little Belt Incident

The unfriendly relations between Britain and America ... further aggravated by the *President - Little Belt* ...*dent*. In May 1811, it was reported that the British ... were active in the *Impressment* of American sailors. ... news that an American captain was taken away by ...ish frigate alarmed the U. S. Sectretary of Navy. ... orders an American ship, *President* chased the ...ish ship which was alleged to have *Impressed* the ...erican captain on board. Under the cover of darkness, ...captain of *President* attacked and disabled a British ... Unfortunately it turned out to be another British ...called, *Little Belt* which had no *impressed* seamen

at all. This incident was hailed with delight by Americans who looked upon it as an admirable act vengeance for the *Chesapeake* incident.

Declaration of war

By this time Britain had realised the dangers continuing the offensive *Orders in Council*. So the Brit government sent a new minister Augustus J. Foster America to make a settlement. He found America re for war and offered to settle the disputes peaceful Obviously the British people had no stomach for American war at a time when their nation was engaged a life and death struggle with Napoleon. Further m the British manufacturers had suffered miserably from loss of American markets and the British people stoo desperate need of American food. Unfortunately, British concession came too late. On the very day, British minister told the parliament that the *Orders Council* were withdrawn, Madison under the moun pressure of the *Warhawks* had declared war against Brit

American Difficulties

As a matter of fact, the United States was unprepared for war. Madison was too weak to con it efficiently. While the south and the west gener favoured war, Newyork and New England opposed The army preparations were far from satisfactory. regular soldiers were distributed in widely scattered p along the Canadian border. The navy consisted of a frigates and small vessels, none of them was good eno to face the strong British ships. The rich peopl America found fault with *Madison's War* and refused lend money to the government. So the Secretar Treasury had to struggle hard to raise funds for the

urse of the war

At the beginning of the war, the Americans planned early invasion of Canada. But the entire campaign was carried and the British army occupied *Detroit* foiling plan of the United States. But in the next two battles tains, Oliver Hazard Perry and William Henry Harrison ught credit to the United States. The American army, only recaptured *Detroit* but also killed *Tecumseh* at *Battle of Thames*. But the arrival of a fresh British y, stood in the way of the American attempt to ture Canada.

At sea, the Americans had more cause for congra- tion. The U. S. ships manned by brave captains won ies of victories over the British ships. The brilliant ory of *Captain Hull* and the success of the American *Wasp* over the British ships brought credit to United States.

In 1814, a large British fleet arrived at the American t and established a successful blockade of the coast. en the British troops marched into the city of shington carrying fire and sword. However they were ated and repulsed by the American army.

From the beginning, the American army was suc- ful in the South under the leadership of Andrew son. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the British y at *New Orleans* in 1815. This victory restored erican morale and re-established the credit of dison's administration.

aty of Ghent 1815

At last Britain and America got tired of the inde- e war. As a result, peace negotiations were made at nt in Belgium (1815). During the treaty negotiations

both sides gave up their demands one after another v
the curious result that in the final treaty neither s
gained nor lost. It merely provided for the cessatio
hostilities, the restoration of conquests and the
pointment of a commission to settle boundary disput
Not a word was said about the *Impressment* and *Neutra*
Rights, for which the war was mainly fought. M
things were left unsettled. In the end the *Treaty of Gh*
did little more than to declare that the war was o

Results

The Americans still look upon the war of 1812 a
great war of liberation. Britain did not get territo
gains. It shattered the British monopoly over the
The war had several admirable impact on Ameri
life. The dramatic victory of Andrew Jackson over
British forces in the South gave the United State
real cause for exaltation. It threw up the great h
Andrew Jackson into political leadership. The Ameri
navy by a series of victories over the British s
proved that it was nearly a match to the British na
The war also did much to strengthen the national u
and patriotism of the Americans. According to Gall
"The war has renewed and reinstated the national feel
and character which the revolution had given and wh
were daily lessening." On the whole, the Americ
were satisfied with the outcome of the war. Besi
establishing, the individuality of the United States a
nation it was able to embark upon a career of commer
expansion. The relations between Britain and the U.
became more cordial after the war.

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CHAPTER VIII

JAMES MONROE (1816–1824)

In 1817, James Madison was succeeded in the
dency by James Monroe. The waning strength of the
ralists coupled with their popular discredit during the
of war gave the Republican candidate James Monroe
erwhelming victory in the presidential election.

career

James Monroe also belonged to a Virginian planter
ly. At the time of his election to the presidency,
had acquired ample political training and admir-
administrative experience to his credit. His services
the Virginian Assembly, in the Congress of the
federation and in the U. S. Senate were remarkable.
represented his country in important diplomatic
ons to France, Spain and England. He rendered his
es to the nation as Secretary of State and Secretary
. His diplomatic skill, shrewd common sense and
will were well-known to his countrymen. In the
s of J. Q. Adams "He had a mind sound in its
ate judgement and firm in its final conclusions." In
augural address, Monroe revealed "the Republican
's adoption of Federalist, national principles
ting support of a standing army, an adequate naval
blishment and the systematic and fostering care of
overnment for manufactures." He also pointed out
ed for a solid uniform national currency, a
ective tariff for war-born American industry and a
m of roads and canals to improve communications
een the Eastern and Western states.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1) The Second Bank of U. S.

At the beginning of Monroe's presidency, the U
States had to face a severe financial crisis. The wa
1812, had ruined the financial structure of the cou
As the Bank of U. S. was refused a renewal of its ch
in 1811, national banking business fell to the state b
Many of them were small and shaky. The great dem
for credit from speculators and land buyers gave a g
opportunity for western bankers to exploit the situ
and to build their own nests. Careless banking prac
produced the so called *wild cat Banks*. In order to sta
credit and to regulate the banking business, the se
Bank of the United States was created in 1816. It
chartered for a period of 20 years. In organisation
in functions, it resembled *Hamilton's Bank*.

2) Tariff

The next important economic problem was t
During the *Embargo* and the war of 1812, few m
factured goods were imported to America. So
businesmen set up factories to produce the esse
industrial products. After the war, European merch
sold goods in the United States at low prices to force
new American factories out of business. Hence
American manufacturers demanded tariff protection ag
European competition. By this time, the Republi
also forgot their scruples over the protective tariff.
the Congress *Henry Clay of* Kentucky pleaded for *pla*
economy and tariff protection. His *American system*
intended to make the U. S. "a self governing econo
unit." As a result of the mounting pressure for t
protection, the Congress passed the *Tariff Act* of 1

ich imposed rates of duty high enough to give the
nufacturers the advantages of protection.

Constructional programme

The rapid development of the west and the south
ed a great need for adequate transportation facilities
link the outlying western agricultural regions with the
ts of the Eastern sea-board. Many westerners argued
internal improvements such as roads, canals and
ours would make the country grow and everybody
uld benefit from them. President Madison had believed
such projects should be undertaken by the states.
Monroe felt differently about *internal improvements*
the Congress spent the national money for roads and
ours. The Cumberland Road with a length of about
miles connected Cumberland to Maryland through the
strial and agricultural centres of Virginia, Ohio,
issippi, etc. The next important project was the
struction of *Erie Canal* linking the Atlantic and the
ohn River with the *Great Lakes*. Though these works
started by the Federal government, in course of
the entire responsibility was transferred to state
ernments. These projects greatly increased the
sport facilities in the country.

Influence of Chief Justice Marshall

By this time, the Supreme Court had also extended
ts power. The Chief Justice, John Marshall who
ed the Supreme Court was always careful to give a
alistic interpretation to the constitution. He belie-
in a strong national government, in the protection of
erties and had a deep distrust of democracy. The
th of the national spirit served to bring the court and
Republican party closer together. In a series of de-
ons which are still landmarks, Marshall gave legal

confirmation to the superior authority of the nat
government. In the famous case of *Marbury vs Ma*
(1803) the Chief Justice has asserted the right of the
preme Court to review any law of the *Congress* or a
legislature. Again in the case of *Mc-Culloch vs Mor*
(1819) Marshall affirmed the *Implied powers* of the Fe
government and declared that "the states had no rig
impede the Federal Government in the exercise o
constitutional powers." In the case of *Gibbons vs O*
(1824) the Supreme Court upset the attempt of the
of Newyork to establish a monopoly on steam-boat
gation in the state. The Chief Justice, Marshall dec
that the constitution had given power to the Fe
Government to regulate interstate and international
merce. In some other cases, Marshall asserted the ri
the Federal Judiciary to review and reverse the dec
made by the state courts whenever there were consti
nal issues. By such decisions, Marshall, the Chief Ju
did much to make America's central government a
ctive force. These decisions indirectly empowered
Monroe to take strong steps to safeguard the intere
the Federal authority.

The Missouri Compromise 1820

The rapid expansion of the country with the pur
of Lousiana created new problems to the governm
the United States. It became essential to organi
newly acquired regions into states and to admit th
the union. Then all important question arose "*Sla*
No Slavery." Among the original thirteen colonies
were free states and the other six were slave state
the close of 1819 when Missouri applied for stat
there were 22 states in the union; 11 slave states
free states. Thus, the political balance was mai

between the South and the North. So the admission of Missouri created a problem to the *Congress*. The question was whether to admit her as a free state or a slave state. When the Northeners rallied to admit Missouri as a free state, the Southern states bitterly opposed it and a storm of protest swept the country. For a time the Congress was at a deadlock. Meanwhile another state Maine applied for admission to the union. Then *Henry Clay* of Kentucky arranged a compromise plan in 1820. Accordingly, Missouri was admitted as a slave state and Maine came in as a free state in the union. The Congress also agreed to exclude slavery for ever from all Louisiana purchase territory north of the line 36°–30°. This was the famous Missouri compromise of 1820. In this manner several complicated internal problems were solved peacefully during the period of Monroe's presidency.

X FOREIGN POLICY

Monroe Doctrine

The name of James Monroe has been immortalised by his famous *Monroe Doctrine*. It opened a new era of hopes for the U.S. in her foreign policy. Himself being a great diplomat with his long standing political experience, Monroe was also ably assisted by J. Q Adams as the Secretary of State who played a predominent role in settling the problems faced by the American government in foreign affairs. In the words of H.B. Parkes "Adams was perhaps better qualified for the position by education, experience and native ability than any other Secretary of State in American history". These two great sons of America in their foreign policy believed to maintain freedom of the seas, freedom of foreign trade, neutrality in European disputes and above all the promotion of the cause of liberty throughout the world. The basic elements

of the *Monroe Doctrine* were all well recognised Americ
principles. The diplomatic background of the proclam
tion lay both in the New World and in the Old.

1. Latin American Independence

The vision of liberty had stirred the people of La
America from the time the English Colonies had gain
their freedom. The Spanish empire in the New World w
crumbling and disintegrating. Spain had no power
take strong steps against the revolutionary trends in h
colonial empire. Taking advantage of the Napoleo
wars, the Spanish Colonies in the New World revolt
and declared their Independence. Even after the fall
Napoleon, they refused to return to their former allegian
to Spain. Hence Spain decided to bring them back to su
mission by force. This was strongly resisted by the peo
of Latin America. Before 1821, Argentina and Chile h
established their Independence. Under the leadership
San Martin and *Simon Bolivar*, the other South Ameri
Colonies won their freedom. By 1824, European colon
remained only in the West Indies and on the north
coast of South America.

2. U. S. Recognition

The people of the United States expressed their joy
the attainment of freedom by the South American co
nies. The U.S. had several strong motives for favour
the Latin American independence. The expulsion of
European imperialists from the American continent wo
ensure her own security and make it easier for her to
main aloof from the wars and rivalries of Europe.
destruction of the Spanish empire, with its rigid tr
barries would give the U. S. new and extensive mark
throughout South America. The growth of Republi
institutions in other countries would add to the stren

d prestige of her own form of government. Moreover,
e United States considered the freedom struggle of the
uth American States analogous to that of her own free-
m fight against Britain. Hence, president Monroe gave
gnition to these new-born Republics and exchanged
bassadors with them.

Holy Alliance

But, in Europe, an opposite feeling prevailed. During
s period, a number of central European powers formed
Holy Alliance to support monarchy and to supress
olutionary movements. By intervening in countries
ere popular movements threatened the thrones of
narchs, the *Holy Alliance* hoped to prevent the spread
volution in their own countries. This policy was the
thesis of the American principle of self-determination.
the congress of *Verona* the allied powers discussed the
sibility of aiding Spain to recover her South American
onies. France was entrusted with the task of suppressing
Latin American revolts in order to enable Spain to
tablish her rights. Britain, on the other hand was
eatly alarmed of French interference in the affairs of
th America. To England, the possibility of French
erference in Latin America and the restoration of the
panish American Republic would mean the revival of
ntal trade barriers and the subsequent restrictions on
itish trade. So Canning, the British foreign minister
ught of a plan by which Britain could establish her
mercial right in Latin America in association with the
ited States. He proposed to *Richard Rush*, the Ameri-
n minister in London to issue a joint protest against
opean intervention in Latin America.

Menace of Russia in Oregon

About this time, the United States faced a threa

from the Czar of Russia. Russia had planted a colony
Alaska in the late 18th century. In 1821, Russia made
imperialistic attempt to extend the Russian territory i
Oregon. Russia also forbade the approach of fore
vessels within 100 miles off the coast of Russian Ameri
This became a new threat for the American governme

In order to face these threats and challenges, presid
Monroe consulted his cabinet and two Ex-Republi
presidents. They advised him to join hands with the Brit
and to make a joint declaration against the Europ
intervention in America. But Adams, the Secretary
State voiced a contrary opinion. He maintained that
U. S. should issue an independent declaration which m
be more candid and dignified. According to Adams, a j
declaration would place the United States in a subordi
position to Britain. If Britain was really interested
supporting the Latin American Republics, she was abl
do so even without the help of the U. S. Adams was
to win over president Monroe who issued the fam
Declaration.

Monroe Doctrine

On December 2, 1823, Monroe delivered to
Congress his annual message, several passages of w
constitute the Monroe Doctrine. It set fourth the
corner stones of the American foreign policy. Two o
provisions were in the nature of warnings and the o
two were in the form of reassurances.

1. Hands off the American Republics

"The political system of the allied powers is essen
different from that of America..... We should con
any attempt on their part to extend their system to
portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace
safety." By this statement, Monroe denied the Euro

...s, the right of intervention in the affairs of the
...n hemisphere.

...w colonisation in America

"The American continents by the free and indepen-
...condition which they have assumed and maintained,
...henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future
...tion by the European powers." This was mainly
...d against Russia the owner of Alaska which made
...claims to Oregon.

...isting European colonies safe

"With regard to existing European colonies or de-
...encies in the New World, we have not interfered and
...not interfere." While objecting to new colonisation,
...United States reassured the European powers that
...existing colonies in America would be completely
...and sound.

...American interference in European internal affairs

"As far as the United States was concerned, she would
...interfere in "the wars of the European powers in
...matters relating to themselves." This was an affirmation
...U. S. policy to remain free from the European
...alliances and rivalries.

...ance of Monroe Doctrine

"The Monroe Doctrine is a landmark in the diplomatic
...y of the United States. It laid the corner-stone of
...American foreign policy. It launched the United States
...on isolation of hundred years. The Monroe Doctrine
...the Russian plan of founding an empire in the New
...It also defeated the Spanish attempt to re-
...their authority in Latin America. At the same
...the United States became the champion of the