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**Department of English**



**The Political Party System in  
America (1789-1880's)**

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# Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated:

To my parents especially to the lovely women who comforted me when I have shed tears, my angel Mother.

To my family members whom I love very much.

To everyone who knows me.

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who help me to carry on this researchwork that concluded my degree in English Language and Cultural studies.

Many thanks go to my internship supervisor, Mr Mohammed KAMECHE who has devoted much of his time in guiding and supervising me, and I gratefully respect his strong personality, his vast knowledge and his endless patience.

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Special thanks to our teachers Dr. Mohammed KHELLADI, Dr. Noureddine MOUHADJER, Pr. Farida DRISSI, Pr Zoubir DENDANE, and all teachers of the Department of English for their cooperation.

## **Abstract**

This extended essay aims tackling “The Political Party System in America (1789-1880’s)” to achieve this aim, the researcher has found it necessary to divide the research work into two chapters. The first one seeks to define the term party system. It also attempts to deal with the formation of national government. In the end, it tries to explore the new type of government. As for the second chapter, it starts first with the concepts of political parties in contrast with factions and interest groups and the role that they did during this period. Second and finally, it introduces the distinctive features and characteristics of the American political parties, why two-party system in the United States and what are the differences between the two major parties. The subject of the second chapter is the foundation of the political parties. The method adopted in this dissertation is descriptive since it deals with the history of The Political Party System in America.

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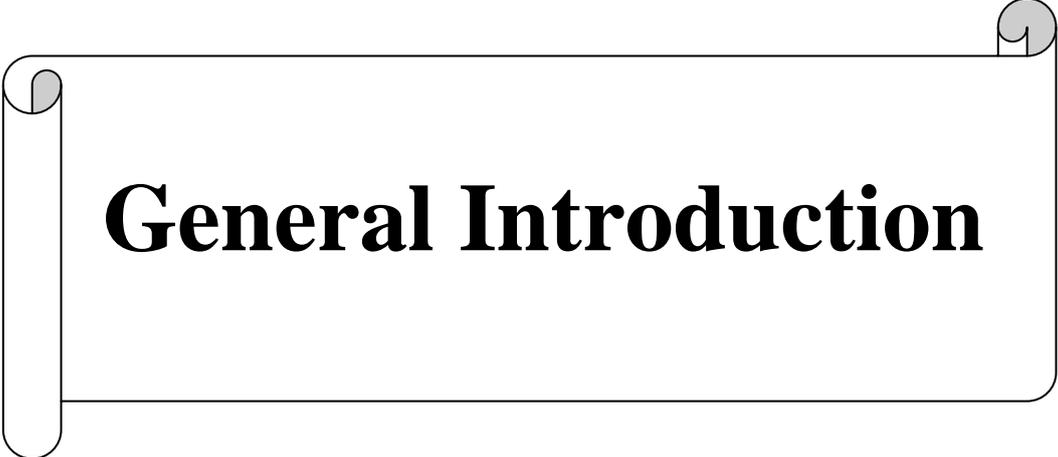
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# **General Introduction**

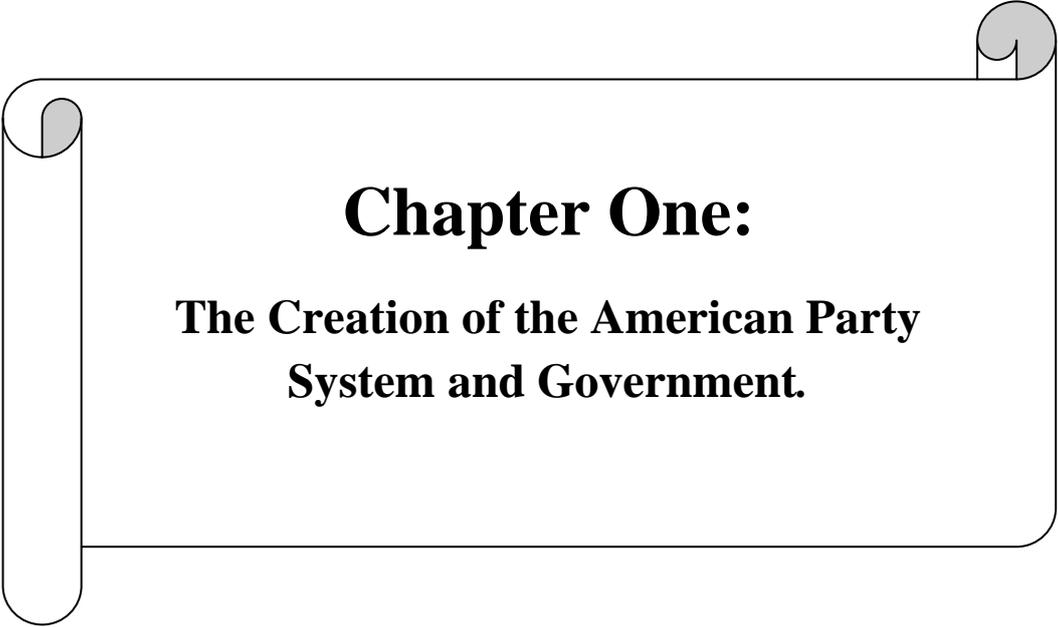
The American political parties had worked in various routes since their foundation in **1789**. That circumstance created over embracing the constitution particularly in the verbal debate over the ratification in **1787**. These discussions prompted the presence of two diverse political sides created to be the initial two primary political parties in the **United States**

Consequently, one of the prevalent misguided judgments of American legislative issues is that the control of the national government substituted at short intervals between the two major parties. In the first place, there were the federalists and the republicans. At that point, after the vanishing of the Federalist Party, the Republican Party turned into the party pioneer which it was partitioned between the devotees of Andrew Jackson who took the name of Democrats and the New Republicans who were against JACKSONIAN majority rule government. The new Republican Party turned into the Whig party which contended with the democrats. As needs be, the Republican Party showed up as a restriction to bondage and kept on contending with the law based gathering.

Thus, What is a party system and political party and what led to the formation of the first two political factions in America? Also, How did the political parties emerge and what were the first two parties? In order to answer all these questions, the researcher has tried to highlight the development of political parties and their influence on the political life of the **United States**.

This work deals with the American party system as a concept. It is divided into two chapters. The first one is concerned with the definition of the party system and political party which led to the creation of the first two political parties.

As for the second one that is concerned with the qualification of these parties from other American interest groups and also deals with the comparison between these two major parties which led to the rise of the New Type of Government.



**Chapter One:  
The Creation of the American Party  
System and Government.**

- 1.1. Introduction**
- 1.2. Definition of Party System**
- 1.3. The Basic Establishment of the American Democracy**
- 1.4. The Roots of Majority Rules System in the United States**
- 1.5. The Creation of National Government**
- 1.6. The New Type of Government**
- 1.7. Conclusion**

### **1.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, the researcher will tackle the theme entitled the **Creation of the American Party System and Government that will entail the following** points. First, she will start by giving the definition of the term party system. Second, she will deal with the Growth of the American Democracy. Then, she will move to the Creation of National Government. Next, she will not notice the Roots of majority rules system and the American branches. Third and finally she will try to cover to some degree the New Type of Government.

### **1.2. Definition of the Party System**

It is a great importance to define the term party system before moving to the following points. Party system is a term of art used by political scientists to describe a relatively durable system of Political Party and voter arrangements, electoral rules, and policy priorities that dominate a democratic political system's electoral process for some delimited period of time.

The "system" reveals how political parties control the government, how they mobilize a base of voters, and how they handle funding, information, and selection of candidates and office holders. In one country, two party systems are separated by a Critical Elections that transformed major parts of the old system and creates a new one. In the **United States**, political scientists number the party systems, starting with the, which lasted from the **1790s** until about **1824**<sup>1</sup>. Now, the researcher will move to the next point that is characterised in the following subtitle “the Creation of the National Government.

### **1.3. The Basic Establishment of the American Democracy**

Previously, the word democracy was used by a group of persons belonging to the revolutionary generation of the eighteenth century as a means to run their political and social programs. After the abolition of the British control, legislatures became very powerful in all the states representing a positive tendency in the direction of democracy.

During the revolution, the word “**Democracy**” was unused. It did not appear neither in the declaration of independence, nor in the first state constitutions nor in the constitution of

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<sup>1</sup> Definition of Party System in [http://en.citizendium.org/wiki/Party\\_system](http://en.citizendium.org/wiki/Party_system) . Retrieved on March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2018, at 10:05.

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the **United States**. Even **Thomas Jefferson** didn't use the term in any of his messages or addresses, because he believed that the government by a simple majority-even of farmers could be as a one man tyranny.

Democracy spread especially after the opening of French revolution in **1789**. After the **American Revolution** which took place in **1793**, local societies were organized in every state in order to carry on politics and education. There were forty-two societies which called themselves "**Democratic**"- "**Republican**", fifteen called themselves "**Democratic**" societies, and the others selected the term "**Republic**". There were two well-organized parties held in the congress and each did its best to improve its interest. Then, the anti-federalist party held local conventions and chose the name that corresponded to them. Some of them called themselves republicans, others selected the name "**Democratic-Republican**", and the rest called themselves democratic. However, there were no official names of the parties.

In **1840**, the national convention spoke of "**Cardinal Principles in the Democratic Faith**". In **1844**, it was ready to declare the party to be "**the American Democracy**", the democratic party of this union<sup>2</sup>. All the Americans agreed that democracy appeared in the ideal time to help people realise their liberty and prosperity. In a very short time, the democratic ideas began to spread in the nation. There was more equality in wealth and social condition. After the adoption of the constitution, the new states gained the right to vote. However, the senators and representatives increased in the congress. There was more chance to apply the aspects of democracy in the daily life. All the Americans agreed that democracy appeared in the ideal time to help people realise their liberty and prosperity.

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.history.com> retrieved on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018, at 11:10.

### **1.4. The Roots of Majority Rules System in the United States**

While studying the history of **America**, we distinguish that the roots of democracy extended from the settlement of **Virginia**. At that time, democracy was unknown until **1606**, when **Virginia** was chosen as the first plantation in **New England**.

At the same year, “**the Royal Charter**” for the **Virginia** Corporation was adopted. This document stated that each colony shall have a council which governs but under the king’s province, “...that each of the said colonies shall have a council, which shall govern and order all matters and causes, which shall arise, grow, or happen, to or within the same several colonies, according such laws, ordinances, and instructions, as shall be, in that behalf, given and signed with our hand and sign manual, and pass under the privy seal of our realm of **England**; each of which councils shall consist of thirteen persons, to be ordained, made and removed, in time,...”<sup>3</sup>.

The fact to get a council for each colony is one aspect of democracy in **America**. After that, In **1619**, **Virginia** was chosen as a representative assembly consisting of representatives from each colony. It was the first time that a mother country got a representative government. Even **Robert LAOUR** declared to his book that American democracy was born in **Virginia**. In **1620**, the pilgrims wrote a great document known as “**the May Flower Compact**”. They came from Europe to plant the first colony and build a new nation on democratic basis. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two major events played an important role in growth of democratic attitudes

First, the beheading of **Charles I** in **England** in **1649**, and the execution of the king **Louis XVI** and queen **Mary Antoinette** of **France**, in **1793**. Second the French revolution abolished aristocratic titles, and the American constitution provides that no title of nobility shall be granted in the **United States**.

### **1.5. The American Branches**

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<sup>3</sup> The Royal Charter- the beards’ new basic History of the United States. (Doubleday and Company, INC. 1968). p. 487.

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The constitution of the **United States** divides the federal government into three branches to ensure a central government in which no individual or group gains too much control:

- 1- Legislative-makes laws (congress)
- 2- Executive-carries out laws (president, vice president, cabinet)
- 3- Judicial-evaluates laws (supreme court and other courts)

- **Legislative Institution:**

**Congress** is the legislative branch of the government of the **United States** which is divided into structures, a house of representatives and a senate, and these structures are jointly assigned “**all Legislative Powers**” in the national government. The founders expected Congress on a chance to be those predominant limbs of the early **1800**'s, **James Monroe**, the fifth what's to come for **U.S** encountered with urban decay because of deindustrialisation, engineering concocted, government.

However, from those starting the authors additionally felt that it might have been significant should hold some control over the forces for congress. Similarly as a result, that constitution particularly enumerates ten things, a percentage from claiming them no more relevant, that Congress might not would.

- **Executive Institution:**

The office of presidents of the **United States** which one of the most powerful in the world. The president according to the constitution must “take mind that the laws make steadfastly executed”. With do this responsibility, he presides in the official extension of the central government.

The president also as much vice would those just authorities chosen toward all nationals of the **United States**; both serve Four-Years terms. In spite of the fact that those president allotments energy for congress and the judiciary, he or she is the majority capable what's more paramount officeholder in the country. Furthermore to this, those president need no vote done congress, yet all the Proposes much of the enactment that becomes law.

- **Judiciary Institution:**

The second branches of federal government, consists of a system of courts headed by the Supreme Court and including subordinate courts throughout the country. The Supreme Court is the highest court in the **United States** litigants dissatisfied with a lower court decision may appeal to the Supreme Court, although very few cases ever reach the court. A ruling of the Supreme Court cannot be appealed.

### **1.6. The Creation of the National Government**

Attempts to unify the separate British colonies had been made, as far back as **1643**. The provinces of **Plymouth, Massachusetts, Bay, Connecticut** and **New Haven** had been assembled in the **New England Confederation** as an insurance against the French and the Indians settlers. Each state had self-government and consented to help different settlements on account of a furnished assault. At the point when the peril of European and Indian assault was over, the **New England** Confederation vanished.

A moment attempt to bring together the different settlements was in **1754**, agents from different provinces as **New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland** and the **New England** met in **Albany Congress** in **June 1754** keeping in mind the end goal to figure out how to fortify the frontier guard and to pronounce an association of the **American states**, The pilgrim agents introduce received the **Albany** design of association which **Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)**<sup>4</sup> who was a negotiator and a city reformer and democrat, had drafted. It provided that a president appointed by the king act with a grand council of delegates chosen by the assemblies, each colony to be represented in proportion to its financial contributions to the general treasury. The government was to have charge of all British interests in the West-Indian treaties, trade, defence and settlements.

Nevertheless, none of the colonies accepted **Franklin's** plan, because none wished to surrender to an outside body either to the power of taxation or control over the development of the West. In **1765**, the English parliament passed a law known as the stamp demonstration. This law was planned to fund-raise to pay for the safeguard of the settlements; the homesteaders needed to purchase extraordinary tax stamps and connected them to daily paper, licenses, and legitimate papers. Delegates from various states met in **New York** to examine

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<sup>4</sup> A man of astounding intellectual curiosity and a world figure. His contributions to early American society were as important as they were numerous.

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what ought to be done about the stamp law. They established the stamp demonstration<sup>5</sup> congress in **October 1765**, a sorted out resistance to the stamp demonstration. Feeling the effects of the American blacklist, vendors and businesspeople from every one of the settlements particularly **Massachusetts** declined to offer English merchandise. They tossed their weight behind a nullification development and in **1766**; the parliament yielded the annulment of the stamp demonstration<sup>6</sup>.

Another attempt of union was held in **Philadelphia** on **September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1774** known as the mainland **Congress**<sup>7</sup>. It was gone to by fifty-six representatives speaking to each English state aside from **Georgia**. an arrangement of trade off proposed by **Joseph Galloway** of **Pennsylvania** came extremely close to appropriation, in which he would have made a great gathering of agents, picked by the different provincial congregations to manage magnificent relations and subject to the veto of president general designated by the crown **Galloway** likewise requested a revelation of rights and grievances which demonstrated the American case against taxation without representation which was considered as an oppression among all Americans. In spite of the fact that the representatives had buckled down, no outcome was gotten from any of these early attempts to bring together the **New Britain** provinces in **America**.

After the lapse of a year, a moment mainland congress was to meet on **May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1775** at **Philadelphia** to watch the advance of the occasions as the English settlements in America were confronting war with their motherland. The **Congress** had barely been organized before it was called upon to face the issue of open warfare. It took the militia into continental service and appointed **Colonel George Washington (1732-1799)**<sup>8</sup> commander in chief of the American forces. **G. Washington** was a **Virginia** landowner and surveyor with experience of fighting in the French and Indian war in **1754**. The congress also sent representatives to ask for help from European nations, especially from **France, Britain**'s old enemy.

By the following year, the war spread beyond Massachusetts. It had developed into a full-scale war. Finally, on **July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1776** the second continental **Congress**<sup>9</sup> took a step that any American believed to be inevitable; each colony had declared in favour of separation

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<sup>5</sup> John D. Hicks and George E. MOWRY, *A Short History of American Democracy*, the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1956, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> George B. TINDALL and David E. Shi, *America*, W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 1989, p. 116.

<sup>8</sup> He was the first American President and one of the greatest American politicians.

<sup>9</sup> George B TINDALL and David E. Shi, Op. Cit, p. 119.

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from Great Britain. The final report of the committees composed of **John Adams (1735-1826)**<sup>10</sup>, **Benjamin Franklin**, **Roger Sherman** and **Robert R. Livingston** headed by **Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)** was entrusted with drafting document containing the great principles of the declaration the independence of the American colonies from **Britain** which was adopted on **July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1776**. It was not only an announcement of the birth of a new nation but also a philosophy of human freedom, which was thenceforth to be a dynamic force in the entire western world. Independence left the American not only free of domination from abroad but also free to develop a society shaped by the political concepts born of their new environment.

A year after, in **1777**, the Articles of Confederation<sup>11</sup> were presented to the states for their approval. They were formal agreement, which had loosely unified the colonies since **1781**. Under the articles of confederation, a system of limited self-government was applied to the new western lands and satisfactorily bridged the gap between wilderness and statehood. The articles represented a government with a single legislative branch and a strong role for states. Unfortunately, their notable shortcoming was their failure to provide a real national government for the thirteen states, which had been tending strongly towards unification. Moreover, the national government should have had the power to put whatever tariffs were necessary and to regulate commerce but it did not. It should have had the authority to levy taxes for national purposes but again it did not.

**Congress** was no more than an advisory body. It could make laws but had no power to enforce them. It had no control over commerce and trade between the states, or between any state and a foreign nation, which caused serious problems that threatened the unification of the colonies<sup>12</sup>. Among these problems was the issue of the paper money. The American imports from Europe exceeded the exports in value. These imports had to be paid for in gold and silver, which weakened its economy. Thus, most of the states began to use the paper money, which soon decreased so much in value. As a result, foreign goods could not be brought with paper money and usually money printed in one state would not be used in other states. **Massachusetts** was one of the states, which refused to use the paper money.

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<sup>10</sup> The second American president, he was one of the ablest men to occupy the presidential chair. He was an aristocrat and he supported Washington and Hamilton's policies.

<sup>11</sup> William EBENSTEIN Et al. , *American Democracy*, Harper and Row, Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> William EBENSTEIN Et al. Op. Cit, p. 90.

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With no gold and no silver spent in European trades and no accessible paper cash, the general population had no real way to pay their obligations. Numerous were tossed into jail. Therefore, in the western piece of the express, an agriculturist named **Daniel Shays** raised a multitude of around **2000** men who had no cash to pay their obligations. The courthouse at western was encompassed and all the courthouse business was ceased. Simply in the wake of uprising was squashed did the council think about the equity of the grievances, which had caused it and find a way to cure them. At this time, **Washington** composed that the states were joined just by a rope of sand and the distinction of the congress had tumbled to a low point. Subsequently, in **1786** a gathering of agents of five states was held at **Annapolis**<sup>13</sup>. One of these agents was **Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804)**<sup>14</sup> who convinced his partners that business and social circumstances were excessively genuine, making it impossible to be talked about. He proposed to call upon every one of the states to choose delegates of the **U.S** to devise such further provisions. It was a gathering of notables that assembled as the federal convention in the **Philadelphia** State House in **May, 1787**.

**Virginia** had elected **G. Washington**, **Pennsylvania** sent **James Wilson (1742-1798)**, from **Virginia** came **James Madison (1751-1836)**<sup>15</sup>, and from **New York** came **A. Hamilton**. The convention had been authorized to draft amendments to the articles of confederation and to form a new government. The delegates recognized the necessity of giving the national government a real power; to coin money, to regulate commerce, to declare war and make peace. This necessity led to the establishment of three distinct branches of government, each equal and coordinate with the others. The legislatives, the official and the judicial powers were to be all around adjusted to allow the divisions to check the forces of each other<sup>16</sup>. The agents demanded that the authoritative branch should, like the English parliament, comprise of two houses. However, one difference debilitated the possibility of joining the states as a result of their more noteworthy populace should get a more noteworthy number of delegates than the littler states the instance of **Virginia** for example. Delegates of the little states, for example, new shirt declined to acquire the new frame each state which welcomed their impact in the government. Over this inquiry, the civil argument undermined the arrangement of unification.

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<sup>13</sup> John D. Hicks and George E. MOWRY, Op. Cit, p. 105.

<sup>14</sup> The nation's leading conservative. He was opposed to democracy and desired a government controlled by the rich and wellborn. He was the financial architect of the young republic during Washington's administration.

<sup>15</sup> The fourth American president, he was a better political theorist than he was a statesman and politician.

<sup>16</sup> David C. SAFFELL, *the Politics of the American National Government*, Winthrop Publishers, Inc, Massachusetts, 1978, pp. 34-35

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Fortunately, the Connecticut delegate came forward with a suitable plan in **1787** called the **Connecticut Plan**<sup>17</sup>. It provided for two houses of **Congress** an upper class walled the senate and a lower house called the House of Representatives from each state. Through this compromise, both the large and small states were satisfied. However, another problem appeared. It was the question of whether the slaves should be counted as parts of the population in the representation of the senate or not. The southern states had a great number of slaves in comparison to the north. Therefore, another compromise was needed to satisfy both of them. In this compromise, known as the Federal Convention<sup>18</sup>, the delegates of the states met in the **Philadelphia State House** in **May 1787**. The delegates agreed that each slave would be counted as three-fifth of a man. This was to be applied both in the representation of the state, in the House of Representatives and in dividing out the share of national taxes.

### **1.7. The New Type of The Government**

Conscientiously and with determination, during a hot **Philadelphia** summer, the delegates on **September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1787** finally achieved a satisfactory draft, which incorporated in a brief document the organization of the new government<sup>19</sup>. Its principle of the separation of powers, familiar in most colonial governments, had been given a fair trial in most state constitutions and thus the convention set up a governmental system in which there was a separate legislative, executive and judiciary branch, each checked by the others. Congressional enactments did not become law until they had been approved by the president who was to submit the most important of his appointments and all of his treaties to the Senate for confirmation. He might be impeached and removed by **Congress**. The judiciary was to hear all cases arising under the laws and the constitution<sup>20</sup>. The courts were, therefore, empowered to interpret both the fundamental and the statute laws. Nevertheless, the judiciary, appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate, might also be impeached by **Congress**<sup>21</sup>. Finally, the convention faced the most important problem of all: how should the powers given to the new government be enforced? Most of the delegates agreed on the use of force. However, it was seen that the application of force upon the states would destroy the

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<sup>17</sup> William EBENSTEIN Et al., Op. Cit, p. 163.

<sup>18</sup> John D. Hicks and George E. MOWRY, Op. Cit, p. 163

<sup>19</sup> George B. TINDALL and David E. Shi, Op. Cit, p. 170.

<sup>20</sup> John D. Hicks and George E. MOWRY, Op. Cit, pp. 111-112.

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth JANDA Et al., *the Challenge of Democracy*, Library of Congress, United States, 1983, pp. 275-280.

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union. Therefore, they decided that the government should act upon the states but upon the people within the states. It was to legislate for and upon all the individual residents of the country. The convention was over but the consent of popularly elected state convention was still required before the document could become effective. To the American people the document seemed full of dangers because the central government oppressed them with heavy taxes and dragged them into wars, these questions brought into existence two political parties, the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists<sup>22</sup>. The Federalists were in favour of a strong government and the anti-federalists preferred a loose association of separate states.

The constitution was finally adopted in **June 21<sup>st</sup>, 1788**. The Congress of the confederation arranged for the first presidential election, declared that the new government would begin on **March 4<sup>th</sup>, 1789** and the quietly expired. One name was on every man's lips for the new chief of state, and Washington was unanimously chosen president. **On April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1789**, he took the oath pledging faithfully to execute the office of the president of the **United States of America**, to the best of his ability to preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the **United States**<sup>23</sup>. Therefore, under the fight over the adaptation of the constitution led to the appearance of the first two political parties in America. Whether they are conservatives or revolutionaries, whether they function in a pluralistic democracy or in a monolithic dictatorship parties have one function in common: both of them were to participate to some extent, in the exercise of political power.

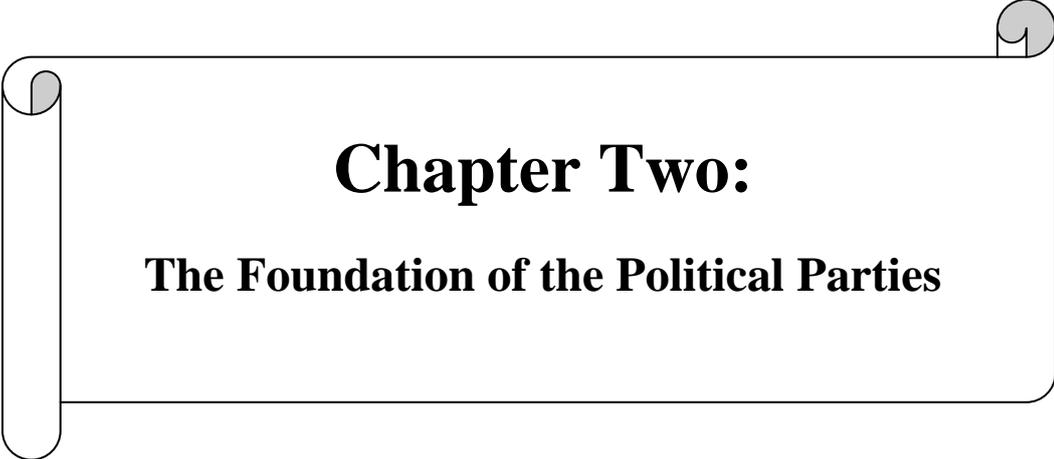
### **1.8. Conclusion**

Party system is one of the many factors of a healthy democratic process. It enables the people to be represented to the government, highlights their participation in the political process of the state provided that their claims are considered by the party politicians in concocting their platforms, and in the long run, will be a guide in framing policies. This later paves the way for the foundation of the political parties which is the subject of the second chapter.

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<sup>22</sup> A FONTENILLES and G. LABAT, *American Constitution Today*, Library Hachette, United States, 1969, p. 91.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.



# **Chapter Two:**

## **The Foundation of the Political Parties**

- 2.1- Introduction**
- 2.2- The Concepts of Political Parties in Contrast with Interest Groups and Factions**
- 2.3- The Historical Improvements of Political Parties from 1787 until 1800's**
- 2.4- Distinctive Features of American Political Parties**
- 2.5- Two-Party System in the United States**
- 2.6- Similar Examination between the Two Major Political Parties in the USA**
- 2.7- Minor Parties in the United States**
- 2.8- Conclusion**

## 2.1. Introduction

This chapter starts with the concepts of political parties in contrast with factions and interest groups and the role that they did during the period from **1789** to **1800**'s. Then, it introduces the distinctive features of the American political parties, why two-party system in the **United States** and what are the differences between the two major parties. This is what we will see in this chapter.

## 2.2. The Concepts of Political Parties in Contrast with Interest Groups and Factions

In most modern countries, the only legitimate means by which individuals require political authority is through political parties. Thus, political parties became semi-governmental organizations, which distinguished themselves from interest groups and social movements for parties tries to elect officials whereas interest groups try to influence officeholders after they are elected<sup>24</sup>. A party is generally described as an association of like thinking people with regards to politics, social issues economic policy and general view of the world. The development of modern parties into firmly established bodies in the **United States** took place in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and the early **19<sup>th</sup> century**. This process was strongly influenced by the example set by political life in England where, during the **18<sup>th</sup> century** the **Whigs**<sup>25</sup> and the **Tories**<sup>26</sup> established themselves as relatively solid parties.

The aim of the establishment of a political party in the **United States** is to form a majority in the parliament thereby dominance would be gained over the state political policy from a parliamentary opposition. This interplay between the parties is a fundamental condition of the modern constitutional state particularly in parliamentary systems of government, where a single party alone tries to embody the political will of people or regards itself as being the elite talk of one party system. Although political parties belong to the most fundamental and influential elements of a constitutional state they are not recognized in the constitutions of the most nations since members of parliament are regarded as representatives of the people and not of a particular party. Only in **Germany** and to certain extent in the

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<sup>24</sup> Cal Gilson, *American Government*, Harcourt Brace and Company, United States, **1999**, pp. 200-201.

<sup>25</sup> It was one of the two Major Parties in England. The party was in power from **1714** to **1760**. Its members were interested in industrial and commercial developments.

<sup>26</sup> It was the British Political Power from **1680** to **1830** (conservative party).

**United Kingdom**<sup>27</sup> are political parties formally recognized by the constitutions. Even as far as their internal organization is concerned, parties in the **United States** have a rather unique system. Both an organized membership and a tight formalization of the process of forming a political party between a party leadership and its lower ranks are stronger to parties in **America**. For most people, however, membership of a party is a very vague and difficult term to define. There are no formal ceremonies for welcoming new members. A formal membership usually does not exist; those joining are not required to sign a written statement of allegiance to the party and its political policies, they do not raise contributions. In addition to this, individuals can change their minds and political allegiance as often as they want. Thus, the task of determining the number of members in a given party is a difficult one especially when considering that there is reliable criteria as to who can regard as being member. The unique characteristics of American parties are also reflected to their organizational structure<sup>28</sup>.

Individual party levels from local grassroots to country level to state organization, which for its parts lead to national representation, are activated in autonomous committees. They are filled with party members in the form of delegates regulated by primary elections at an internal party or state level. Since the primary objective of parties is to function as election associations and to get their candidates elected to public office, the political weight of local associations and country committees is particularly large because the majority of public-office posts are filled at a local or country level.

At the state level, parties are especially interested in coordinating congressional elections, trying to urge a great number of committees to communicate in drawing up the overall political concept of the party in the country, and in raising money to finance differing activities. At a national level, American parties have developed three courses: The National Chairman, The National Committee and The National Convention<sup>29</sup>. These three institutions, however, in no way represent the top of a hierarchal structure similar to those in **Europe**, which is able to pass down orders from above. The chairman, who is usually appointed by the president in agreement with the national committee, is responsible for coordinating the party's activities at a national level taking care of public relations work with the media, maintaining

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<sup>27</sup> <http://www.scholastic.com/origins-and-functions-political-parties>, on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018, at 18:30.

<sup>28</sup> Cal Gilson, Op. Cit, p. 196.

<sup>29</sup> Herbert Jacob, K N. *Politics in American States*, Little Brown Company, United States, 1972, p. 65.

contacts to state organization and preparing elections at a national level<sup>30</sup>. The national chairman is supported in his responsibilities by the national committee which rarely convenes, and comprises of delegates from all the states and represents a high heterogeneous entity. The national convention performs some important functions. It nominates the party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates and adapts both the party's political platform and the party's statutes. The national convention of both parties convenes every four years and it is made up of delegates from all the nation's states. The roles that apply to the individual states also form the legal framework for regulating political parties, for regulating a minimum level of inner party democracy. The process of nominating candidates for posts within the party and together with federal law also regulated at least the beginnings of the difficult era of party finance. This process is based almost entirely on voluntary donation, provided disregarded state contribution during presidential elections.

### 2.3. The Historical Improvements Of Political Parties From 1787 to 1800's

The founding fathers hoped to see the country moved ahead as one united citizenry rather than divided opposing factions. This hope was expressed by the president George Washington who in his Farwell address in **September 1796**<sup>31</sup>, warned of "the baneful effects of the spirits of party"<sup>32</sup>. Thus, the man who wrote the federal constitution assumed that the constitution would produce a conservative and stable national government peopled by the leading citizens of the new nation. However, what actually happened, even as early as the late part of the president **Washington**'s first term, was that factions formed in the cabinet and **Congress** around **Alexander Hamilton** on the one hand and **James Madison** and **Thomas Jefferson** on the other hand who had opposite point of views. **Hamilton** was aristocratic in his personal tastes and in his political philosophy. He admired the British political system and wished to adopt its principle as closely as he could to the government in the **United States**<sup>33</sup>. He thought that what the country most needed was order and stability and that the people already had enough freedom. He also thought that the new government could be strengthened and succeeded if it had the support of wealthy men. Thus, he planned for a program of

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p. 197

<sup>31</sup> Earnest R. May Et al., Op. Cit, p. 351.

<sup>32</sup> Kenneth JANDA Jeffrey Et al. , Op. Cit, ppp. 268-269-270.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p 267.

legislation that was intended to cause the propertied classes to look to the federal government for profitable investments and for the protection and the promotion of their property interests.

**Hamilton**, as a secretary of treasury, submitted the first and the most important of his economic reports concerning the public credit to the House of Representatives in **January 1790**<sup>34</sup>. This report is made up of two suggestions: first; funding of the federal debt at face value, which meant that those citizens holding government securities could turn them in for new interest, bearing bonds of the same face value, and the second; the federal government's assumption of state debt from the revolution to the amount of **\$21 million**<sup>35</sup>. The funding scheme was controversial because many farmers and soldiers in need of immediate money had sold their securities for a fraction of their value to speculators. Spokesmen for these Americans argued that they should be reimbursed for their losses otherwise the speculators would gain a wind fall. **Hamilton** insisted that the government should do all what could be done to win over the financial community. Government bonds would be received in payment for three-fourths of stocks in the bank and the other fourth would be payable in gold and silver<sup>36</sup>. As a result, Madison who opposed Hamilton's report rose to lead the opposition. He could find no bases in the constitution for such a bank, which was enough to raise in President **Washington**'s mind serious doubts as the constitutionality of the measure that **Congress** passed over **Madison**'s objections.

Before signing the bill into a law, President **Washington** sought the advice of his cabinet and found an equal division of opinion, which caused a great debate on constitutional interpretation. Such a language led to a confrontation between **Jefferson** and **Hamilton**. On the one hand, **Hamilton** insisted that the power to charter corporation was included in the sovereignty of any government whether expressly stated or not. President **Washington** accepted **Hamilton**'s argument and signed the bill. **Thomas Jefferson**, on the other hand, was a man of thought rather than actions. He was frequently at odds with **Hamilton**. He realized the value of a strong central government in foreign relations but he did not want it strong in many other respects, fearing it would fetter men. He fought always for freedom from the British crown, from church control, from a landed aristocracy and from inequalities of wealth<sup>37</sup>. **Hamilton**'s great aims were to give the country a more efficient organization.

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<sup>34</sup> Samuel E. Morison Et al., *The Growth of American Republic*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1962, pp. 324-325.

<sup>35</sup> John D. Hicks and George E. MOWRY, Op. Cit, p. 118.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 119.

<sup>37</sup> Ernest R. May Et al., Op. Cit, p. 346.

**Jefferson**'s goal was to give the individual man a wider liberty believing that "every man and every body of men on earth possesses the right of self-government"<sup>38</sup>. **Hamilton** feared anarchy and thought in terms of liberty. The **United States** needed both influences. It required both a strong national government and the unfettering of men. It was the country's good fortune that it had both men and could in time reconcile their special contributions.

The young country, thought its first tasks were to strengthen the domestic economy and to make the union secure, would ignore political occurrences abroad. But this ignorance did not last for a long time, it changed because of the French revolution in **1789**<sup>39</sup> which seemed to some a clean-cut between monarchy and republicanism, oppression and liberty, autocracy and democracy and to others a new eruption of strife between anarchy and order, atheism and religion, poverty and property. As a result, the concept of a loyal opposition of Two Party System was yet to be formulated; **Hamilton** said that the alliance between the United States and the French king was over since the king **Louis XVI** was killed. **Jefferson**, however, proclaimed that the alliance had already been made between the **United States** and French by the treaty of **Paris**<sup>40</sup> on **September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1783**.

The crystallization of the two poles of American public opinion appeared clearly in **April 1793** when **France** declared war on **Great Britain** and **Spain**. **Washington** asked Americans not to take any side by passing the neutrality proclamation in **1794**<sup>41</sup>. Nevertheless, the French government sent **E C. Genet**<sup>42</sup> to the **United States** in order to negotiate a treaty of commerce but he organized privates in order to attack British ships from the American shores. President **Washington**, however, sought to make **Genet** understand that the American declaration of neutrality meant exactly what it said and asked the French government for his recall. By this time, **Britain** started capturing American ships bound in the French West Indies. British ships searched American ships and forced some American sailors to work for the British navy, which made the Americans very angry.

As a result, **Washington** sent to **London** as American envoy extraordinary, an experienced diplomat, who was at the same time chief justice of the Supreme Court. Acting with moderation, **Jay** negotiated a treaty whereby he secured the withdrawal of the British

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<sup>38</sup> Burton F. Beer, *an Outline of American History*, Prentice Hall, United States, 1983, p. 25.

<sup>39</sup> Richard N. CURRENT et al. , Op. Cit, p 116.

<sup>40</sup> This treaty acknowledged the independence, freedom and sovereignty of the thirteen states, to which it granted the much coveted territory west to the Mississippi, with the northern boundary nearly as it runs now.

<sup>41</sup> Frances Friedman, Op. Cit, p. 31.

<sup>42</sup> John D. Hicks and George E. MOWRY, Op. Cit, p. 126.

from the western fort and some slight trading concessions. Nothing was said, however, about returning property, about the seizure of American ships in the American ships in the future or about the forcing of American sailors into British naval service. **Jay Treaty**<sup>43</sup> made a general disagreement and a split among the American political leaders. The Federalists favoured this treaty whereas the Republicans were against. Later, in September **1796**, **Washington** refused a third term and **John Adams** became the president.

During **Adams**'s presidency, the **United States** again faced troubles with France concerning the capture of her ships in **1798**. As a result, the **US** sent **Charles C. PINKNEY**, the minister of the **US** in **France**, **John Marshal**, a federalist leader from **Virginia** and **Elbridge Gerry**, a **Massachusetts** Republican to **France** where they met three French agents in **October 1797**. Those agents asked for a loan for **France** and a bribe as a condition for negotiations. This meeting was called "the **X, Y, Z, Affair**"<sup>44</sup> referring to three French agents. When **Adams** knew the conditions of the negotiation, he asked the **Congress** for declaring war against **France**. Republicans asked for evidence to declare the war. Consequently, President **Adams** published the report of three commissioners. This report aroused the spirits of most Americans and made the federalist popular.

As a result, the **United States** declared war against **France** in **1797**, and in national elections of the same year, Federalists raised their majorities in both houses; the Lords and the Representatives. In order to guard this majority, federalist leaders pushed the **Congress** to pass a large program in **1798**; since most of the emigrants who came to the **United States** in this period joined the Republican Party. The Federalists wanted to make more difficult for these emigrants to become citizens of the **United States** especially that many republican critics of the administration were either Irish or French by birth. This large program was known as "*The Alien and Sedition Acts*"<sup>45</sup>. As a reaction, the Republicans wanted to remove these acts but they had no cause to rely on the Supreme Court because this later had no power to do so but they believe that these were unconstitutional. Thus, the republicans leaders **Jefferson** and **Madison** decided to express their view in two sets of resolutions, one written by and approved by "*Kentucky legislature*" and the other written by **Madison** and approved by "**Kentucky Virginia** resolution" of 1798 which states that the alien and sedition act should be nullified.

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<sup>43</sup> John D. Hicks and George E. MOWRY, Op. Cit, p. 128.

<sup>44</sup> Samuel E. Morison, Op. Cit, p. 360.

<sup>45</sup> William EBENSTEIN Et al., Op. Cit, p 125.

The presidential elections of **1800** came when the Americans were protesting against the federalists policies<sup>46</sup>. Firstly, because federalists put taxes on houses, lands and slaves. Secondly, when **Adams** decided to make peace with **France** on **September 13<sup>th</sup>, 1800**, **Jefferson** was elected president in **March 1801** and **Burr**<sup>47</sup> as a vice-president. The Republicans won the majority of the seats in both houses in the congressional elections of that year. The only branch, which was left in the hands of the Federalists, was the judiciary branch as **Adams** spent all his last days in office on signing the commission of the federalist judges. The Federalists were defeated because: first, they did not took into consideration the opinions of the population, in other words, they denied democracy of the **United States**. Secondly, they insisted on monopolizing the government by the well educated and the well-to-do classes. Thirdly, they turned their efforts to make a strong centralized government denying that a large part of Americans was interested in the soil. In spite of all these negative opinions, the Federalists had succeeded in making the government work. They also eliminated all the difficult and the complicated affairs with Europeans. They also established the credit of the **United States** inside and abroad. They also gave an administration of honest and simplicity to the future<sup>48</sup>.

The Federalists and the Republicans had been accusing each other for a long time of destroying the country. **Jefferson**, however, called for the cooperation of the two parties when he said: “*we have called by different names, brethren of the same principle, we are all republicans, we are all federalists*”<sup>49</sup>. But this quotation did not change his basic ideas as republican. He still believed that the **United States** should have first of all rights for the states. It also had to eliminate the public debts and found a small army and navy and also to make freedom of religion and press. Jefferson repealed “*the alien and the sedition act*” in **1801**. He also repealed all taxes except for the one of imported goods. He did not change all federalists’ work he left some of **Hamilton**’s economic program.

The purchase of **Louisiana** of **1803**<sup>50</sup>, which doubled the territory of the **United States** by bringing into its borders the entire **Mississippi Valley**, presented problems to **Jefferson** and the other republicans because **Jefferson** had no power to buy a land from **France** and the

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<sup>46</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, *the Election of 1800 and the Administration of Thomas Jefferson*, Mason Crest Publishers, United States, 2003, p. 51.

<sup>47</sup> **Aaron Burr** was a revolutionary soldier, a United States Senator, and the third vice-president. His brilliant youth was followed by a tragic career.

<sup>48</sup> George B. TINDALL and David E. Shi, Op. Cit, p. 260.

<sup>49</sup> George B. TINDALL and David E. Shi, Op. Cit, p. 204.

<sup>50</sup> William EBENSTEIN Et al., Op. Cit, p 159.

Federalists in the senate, refused his proposal. The two parties had completely different ideas on this important issue but at the end, the senate accepted Jefferson's issue on **April 30<sup>th</sup>, 1803**. In **1809**, **James Madison** the republican candidate won the elections during which the British American troubles arouse and led the president to declare war on **June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1812**. The Federalists, however, opposed the war and Republicans were against the taxes imposed by the government in order to supply the war. Later, Americans and the British signed the treaty of **Ghent**<sup>51</sup> on **December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1814**. This war resulted many good things: the constitution, which had been tested, was found satisfactory; the appearance of the political parties, which had disturbed many Americans during **Washington's** second term, was accepted by American as a fact of life.

In the presidential elections of **1824**, **John Quincy Adams (1767-1848)**<sup>52</sup> became president. He appointed **Henry Clay** as secretary of the state. **Andrew Jackson (1776-1845)**<sup>53</sup> and his followers claimed that the election was unfair because clay had used his influence in the House of Representatives to make **Adams** won. They considered this action as a "corrupt **Bargain**"<sup>54</sup>. This event made a division in the Republican Party: **Jackson** and his followers arranged the new democratic party and prepared for the next presidential election; the rest of the republican member under the leadership of **Adams** and clay who were against JACKSONIAN democracy. **Adams** and his followers insisted on two policies: a protective tariffs and internal improvement. They were soon called the national republicans. In the presidential elections of **1828**, **Andrew Jackson** won the presidency and **John C. Calhoun (1782-1850)** of **South Carolina** became vice president. Jackson stated his "spoil system"<sup>55</sup> by demitting some government workers and replacing them by his followers. **Jackson's** cabinet was divided between **Martin Van Buren** of **New York** who was the secretary of states and **Calhoun** of **South Carolina**, the vice-president, especially when **John Eaton**, the secretary of war, married a daughter of an innkeeper. Wives of the cabinet members refused to recognise **Eaton's** wife as a member of their society. **Jackson** was angry and stopped meeting with his cabinet. He started discussing his matters with a group of

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<sup>51</sup> This treaty reflected well the existing military situation, and ignored totally the potentialities of British might. It made provision for the future settlement of some of the outstanding differences between England and America. Americans during *Washington's* second term, was accepted as a fact of life.

<sup>52</sup> The sixth American president, the son of the second president and in many respects an even abler man.

<sup>53</sup> The seventh American president, he was an outstanding American military hero of the time.

<sup>54</sup> Samuel E. Morison, *the Growth of the American Republic*, Oxford University Press, 1962. p. 335.

<sup>55</sup> Earnest R. May. Op. Cit, p. 424.

politicians and newspapers men. This new cabinet was named “the kitchen cabinet”<sup>56</sup> of intimate friend for Jackson leaned for advice principally upon his own henchmen.

At that time, **Congress** has passed a new tariff law in **1828**. This law put a high tax on imported manufactured goods. The northerners were pleased but the southerners were not because there were no factories in the south. Southerners began to speak about nullification. **Calhoun** supported them but **Jackson** refused nullification leading the responsibility to the Supreme Court. The nullification created a deep dislike between **Jackson** and **Calhoun**, which led **Calhoun** to resign in **1832**<sup>57</sup>. In the presidential elections of **1832**, Jackson ran again as a democrat and **Henry Clay** was the candidate of the national republicans. **Jackson** won the elections with 279 votes and decided to destroy the national bank as he had been against it since its establishment in the **1790**'s. **Jackson** was assassinated on **January 30<sup>th</sup>**, **1835** leading the way to the national republicans who later became the Whig party. The Whigs were supported of **Hamilton**'s ideas insisting on the protective tariffs and a national system for internal improvement. That is, they wanted high taxes on the imported manufactured goods to protect the industry of Americans and wanted to build roads and to make rivers and harbours navigational for the interest of the country. They were supported by the bankers and the owners of the factories and businessmen but they needed to support of working people and farmers.

In the presidential election of **1836**, democrats selected **Martin Van Buren (1782-1862)**<sup>58</sup> while the Whigs chose **William Henry Harrison (1773-1841)**. **Van Buren** won the elections with 170 votes. Soon after the elections, **Buren** faced a great problem, created by Jackson when he had destroyed the national bank, which led to the depression of **1837** lasted three years. In **1840**, the Whigs with **Harrison** and **John Taylor (1790-1862)** won the presidential elections. **Harrison** died soon after the elections, and John Taylor, vice-president replaced him. During the **1840**'s, the **United States** expanded in seize. In the south, **Texas** took independence from **Mexico** in **1834** and joined the union in **December 1845**. Then, the **United States** faced the war with **Mexico** in early **1845**<sup>59</sup>. It ended by capturing California

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<sup>56</sup> Herbert Jacob, Kenneth N. Vines, *Politics in the American States*, Little Brown Company, 1976. p132.

<sup>57</sup> Richard N. CURRENT Et al, Op. Cit, p. 273.

<sup>58</sup> The eighth American President, he guided the United States during the period of depression. Despite his handicap, he won success in both law and politics.

<sup>59</sup> William EBENSTEIN Et al., Op. Cit, p. 393.

and some Western and South Western areas during **James. K Polk's (1795-1849)**<sup>60</sup> administration.

The territory of the **United States**, which was doubled made many problems among them was whether the states, which entered the union from the Mexican territory, would be free or slave. The problem arose in **1850** when **California** wanted to join the union as a free state. Discussions, like what had happened with **Missouri** in **1820**, ended by another compromise in **1850**. This compromise stated the “fugitive slave law”<sup>61</sup> of **1850**, which created a division in the **United States** and the problem of slavery. The slave owners favoured the law but some political leaders refused it and considered it as an unconstitutional law. Therefore, the law created a deep between the north and the South and between the Whigs and the Democrats. This disagreement did not last after the **Kansan-Nebraska** act passed in the summer of **1854**, which repealed the **Missouri** compromise and was signed by the democratic president **Franklin Pierce (1804-1869)**<sup>62</sup>. Some men of the two parties met together to make a party which opposed the extension of slavery. This new party had many supporters as farmers and working class who feared competition of slave workers. The new party supported a transcontinental railroad, internal improvements and high protective tariffs as the Whig party<sup>63</sup>. This new party was first called the know-nothing party and was interested in immigration. It stated that the Catholics and foreigners had no public office and to be resident in the **United States** for **21 years** to acquire citizenship.

In the presidential elections of **1856**, the democratic leader **James Buchanan (1791-1868)** of **Pennsylvania** became the president. During his presidency, the matters about slavery did not settle down which led to the division of the Democratic Party into two factions. Pro-war democrats, who supported the civil war, and anti-war elements named the copper-leaders who were against the civil war. Nevertheless, both northern factions did not split organically, they wanted and supported a common aim; the union of country, whereas southern democrats, who seceded from the union, were divided organically, and formed a new democratic party having different aims and a new president **Jefferson Davis (1808-1889)**<sup>64</sup>. In the campaign of **1864**, the republicans took the name of the union party. They nominated

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<sup>60</sup> The eleventh American President, he was one of the nation's great expansionists. He carried his policy of expansion well before his term of office was over.

<sup>61</sup> Richard N. Current, Op. Cit, p. 359.

<sup>62</sup> The fourteenth American president, he was a good lawyer and a polished speaker. He had entered the presidency with the hearty good will of almost the entire American public.

<sup>63</sup> Kenneth JANDA Et al. , Op. Cit, p. 271.

<sup>64</sup> The only president of the confederacy, he was a devoted southern nationalist, but he was far less skilful than Lincoln in getting the best from his subordinates.

**Andrew Johnson** a pro-war democrat from **Tennessee** as **Lincoln**'s running mate in order to attract the votes of northern pro-war democrats. A short time after his re-election, **Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865)**<sup>65</sup> was assassinated. Directly his vice-president **Andrew Jackson** was appointed president in **1865**<sup>66</sup>. **Andrew Jackson** did not succeed to carry on **Lincoln**'s reconstruction, because not only he was strongly opposed by the dominant groups in **Congress** known as radical republicans who could not control him, but also he was a southern pro-war democrat and a sympathizer with the south.

The radical republicans were radicals mainly on the subject of reconstruction. They wanted to impose radical reconstruction in order to keep southern conservatives from being represented in **Congress**. For these reasons **Johnson** was neither nominated by the Republicans, nor elected in the presidential elections of **1868**, instead general **Ulysses S. Grant (1822-1885)**<sup>67</sup>, a republican candidate was elected president. By this time both major parties were facing a conflict in terms of issues. Because the south still formed a major group in the Democratic Party, the Democrats were moderately opposed to the Republicans for high tariff and big business. For, the agricultural south, not so rich as the industrial north, was not able to pay high taxes. **Grant**'s administration was corrupt<sup>68</sup>, and the government was unwilling to do reform. Thereupon, the liberal republicans confronted a defection in **1872**<sup>69</sup>. The liberal republicans nominated **Horace Greeley**, editor of the **New York** tribune, as presidential candidate instead of **Charles Francis Adams**. As a result his change, most of the Democrats would not vote for **Greeley** who favoured a protective tariff and had been fighting their party for a quarter of a century. Because they did not nominate a candidate of their own, the Democrats did not vote at all and this insured the re-election of grant.

## 2.4. Distinctive Features Of American Political Parties

Political party system is generally classified according to the number of parties competing effectively for control of the government: one-party, two-party and multiparty systems. If two parties have a chance to win control of the government, the country will have a two party system, although one or more minor parties may also nominate candidates. The

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<sup>65</sup> The sixth American president, he was born in Kentucky and he idealized both nationalism and democracy. His career personified the essence of the American dream.

<sup>66</sup> Frank THISTLETHWAITE, *the Great Experiment*, the New American Library Cambridge, USA, 1963, p. 81.

<sup>67</sup> Was he eighteenth American president, and the ablest northern general of the war. In politics, his lack of expert knowledge made his independent judgments sometimes ridiculous

<sup>68</sup> Ernest R May and Winthrop D. Jordan, Op. Cit, p. 325.

<sup>69</sup> Charles A BEARD Et al. , Op. Cit, p. 324.

most apparent and basic features of American party system is that it is two party system. The electorate in the **United States** is a heterogeneous mixture of many social, economic, ethnic and religious groups spread through all the states<sup>70</sup>. In effort to achieve a majority coalition, both parties make some appeal to every major segment of the population business, labour, farmers, the professions and others<sup>71</sup>. A party program is thus determined by both the desire to attract new voters and by the need to retain the support of groups within the party. As a result, party programs tend to be compromises, negotiated by party leaders between the often conflicting policies advocated by different groups.

Nevertheless, disagreement within each party may be found on virtually any question and also the two parties may not be fully united on any principle<sup>72</sup>. As each party is composed of groups with varying opinions, party programs often expressed in broad general terms, such programs are usually adopted in order to win votes and to maintain coalitions, and both parties attempt to avoid issues that will repel voters and divide their party.

Because of the federal form of government, political parties in the **United States** are decentralized<sup>73</sup>. In other words; members of the same party may have different opinions about adopting a policy. In addition, political parties have very little control over the actions and the officials in the government. In comparison with the British system, **Great Britain** has a unitary form of government: British parties are highly decentralised. In other words, once a British party adopts a policy, all party members in parliament may be required to vote for that policy and the national party leaders may determine who may stand for parliament in an electoral districts. In the **United States**, however, anyone with a necessary legal requirement may run for **Congress**, regardless of his philosophy of government and the wishes of national party leaders. A candidate once elected may consistently oppose the policies of his party and still be returned to office as long as a majority of his constituents vote for him. For instance, a **Congress** man from one state may have an opposed opinion on important issues with another state taking into account that both of them are the same party.

## 2.5. Two-Party System In The United States

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<sup>70</sup> Kenneth JANDA Et al. , Op. Cit, p. 272.

<sup>71</sup> William EEBENSTEIN Et al. , Op. Cit, p. 274.

<sup>72</sup> <http://www.wfd.org/what-we-do/programmes> March 28th, 2018. At 20:00.

<sup>73</sup> Leon Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*, PRAEGER Publisher, 1967, p. 59.

The history of the party politics in the United States essentially the story of two parties alternating control of the government but why does the **United States** with diverse population has a two-party system<sup>74</sup>?. The most significant fact contributing to the two-party system is the method used to elect members of **Congress** and to elect president. Members of **Congress** are elected under a single member, simple plurality system: the one candidate in each geographical district with the largest number of votes is elected.

Moreover, the separate election of the president which takes place in a single-member district in all the states also helps to create and to maintain the two-party system: one nominee receives the entire electoral votes of a state and the candidate who receives the highest number of electoral vote becomes president. If the **United States** has a parliamentary form of government, it is possible that there would be two parties throughout the nation. Other historical, legal and philosophical factors have been influential in the establishment and maintenance of party system in the **United States**. The **United States** inherited many political institutions and practices from the British and American parties were influenced by the British bipartisan practice.

## 2.6. Similar Examination Between The Two Major Political Parties In The U.S.A

The Republicans and the Democrats, the American two major political parties, had operated in different ways since their establishment in **1789**. That situation developed over the ratification in **1787**. The supporters of the new constitution chose the name of Federalists and named their opponents the Anti-Federalists and this was the first period of the two-Party System in the **United States**. The Federalists insisted that adding a bill of rights<sup>75</sup> to the constitution that was unnecessary for two reasons: the first was the structure of the constitution which was designed for protecting the rights of the people through the principles of delegation, representation and separation of powers, checks and balances. The second was

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<sup>74</sup> Hugh Brogan, *the Penguin History Of the United States*, Addison Wesley Longman, United States, 1999, p. 250.

<sup>75</sup> The Bill of Rights is the name given to the first ten amendments of the United State's Constitution. When the constitution was submitted to the state legislatures for ratification, many of its opponents claimed that the reason the constitution did not include a Bill of Rights was because the document was an aristocratic scheme to remove the rights of Americans.

the American constitution which consisted of powerful delegates who could not retain the unlisted rights of the people<sup>76</sup>.

**James Wilson (1742-1798)**, a federalist leader of the **Philadelphia** convention in 1787, was against adding a **Bill of Right** to the constitution because the government has power to act only where power has been expressly agreed he said: *“If we attempt an enumeration everything that is not enumerated, is presumed to be given. The consequence is that an imperfect enumeration would throw all implied power into the scale of the government; and the rights of people would be rendered incomplete”*.

**Hamilton**, a delegate from **New York City**, also believed that the Bill of Rights was unnecessary when he said: *“A Bill of Rights would contain various exceptions to powers which are not granted; and on this very account would afford a colourable pretext to chain more than were granted”*. On the other hand, the Anti-Federalists under the leadership of **Jefferson** and **Madison** were interested in a national Bill of Rights. **Madison** persuaded his followers in the first House of Representatives in **May 1787** to accept the Bill of Rights. By the end, the Bill of Rights went into effect as the first tenth amendment when Virginia became the tenth state to ratify on **December 15<sup>th</sup>, 1791**. Nevertheless, the Federalists in the **1790**'s were not exactly the Federalists who were against the ratification of the Bill of Rights in **1787**. For example **Madison** was one of founders of the constitution but he opposed **Hamilton**'s program concerning the public debts and the national bank in **1790**'s and he became one of the republican leaders. In addition to that, the Republicans were not the same men as the old Anti-Federalists. In other words, the anti-Federalists were against the constitution while the Republicans did not denounce it.

Both of the Republicans and the Federalists had a great number of followers after the **1780**'s: the Federalists were numerous in commercial centres of North East and in South seaports while the Republicans drew their strength in the rural areas of the South and the West. Moreover, the Federalists and the Republicans were opposed in three main points: first, their social philosophy concerning their reaction about the French revolution; the Federalists were criticising it when **Hamilton** said that the alliance between the **United States** and the French king was over since the king was killed while the Republicans applauding it because of **Jefferson**'s proclamation which stated that the alliance of **173** was still existed between the two countries. The Federalists referred to the Republicans as Jacobins because they eliminated

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<sup>76</sup> Frank K. Kelly, *To Make Man Free*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, United States, 1966, p. 19.

the French radicals whereas the Republicans accused the Federalists for being aristocrats and even monarchical. Then, their constitutional views when first, the Federalists, who were the leader party, in **1798** passed laws to weaken and to silence the Republicans who rejected these laws and tried to repealed them as what happened when **Jefferson** and **Madison** wrote the **Kentucky** and **Virginia** resolution, as a reaction against the alien and the sedition acts, in which the Federalists changed the citizenship requirement from five to fourteen years in **1798**. Second, when the Federalists had passed laws and used the court as a mean of strengthening their party for example the judiciary act of 1798 which was passed in order to persecute the Republicans who repealed this law during **Jefferson's** administration (**1801-1809**). Finally, in their economic interests, the Federalists under the leadership of **Alexander Hamilton**, who was the secretary of treasury, proposed on **January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1790's** report on public credit in order to keep this public credit, to keep confidence in the government through closer links business.

Later on, **Hamilton** wanted the **United States** to create a national bank for collecting taxes providing a safe place to reserve the government money when needed in order to link wealthy and national government. The Republicans under Jefferson leadership, secretary of states, opposed Hamilton's economic program and refused to be taxed by the federal government. They criticized **Hamilton** for being against a republic form of government. As a response, **Hamilton** said that the country under the weak government of the Republicans would fall apart. Nevertheless, the **US** government was under the Republicans dominance for **20 years**, from **1800** to **1820** during which, the federal party disappeared. Later on, the Republican Party was divided in **1824** between the followers of **Andrew Jackson**, who formed the new Democratic Party, and those who were against the JACKSONIAN democracy named national Republicans.

During the **1830's** the national Republican Party become known as the Whig party and started competing whit the Republican Party which led the **United States** to the second period of the two Party Systems. The Whigs and the Democrats stuck by the doctrines they had inherited from **Thomas Jefferson** and **Andrew Jackson**. The federal government, democrats believed, should be weak and the state strong. There should be no national bank, no paper money, instead a currency of gold and silver and an independence treasury where federal revenues derived from the sales of public lands rather than the tariff could be kept safe from aristocratic speculators and corruptors. The democrats were a party of free traders. The Whigs were equally loyal to memory of **Hamilton's** reports on manufactures and banking and

**Henry clay**'s American system, which contradicted the nations of democracy at every point. The Whigs wanted to build up American national strength by building up the economy; if that meant creating a class of rich men, so much the better. But, they were not undemocratic in their political sense, they enjoyed the gain too much for that; nor were they illiberal or reactionary as to social policy. These differences between the Whigs and the Democrats gave the American an objective means by which to judge between the parties. The Whigs and democrats performed a great service to the republic by making it seem to the citizens that grievances could be met within the constitutional system; simply chose your side, work for its victory and got justice for return.

The party leadership tended loose site of all such important considerations in the heat of the battle. Victory was everything: it took even a man as able of up-right as **Martin Van Buren**, the eighteenth president of the **United States** during the period (**1836-1840**), a life time to learn that there might be higher good than party advantage. The Whigs and the Democrats alike wanted out to win the support of common men by any means: whether by appealing to his sympathies, by libelling the opposition in the cheap newspapers that the advance of technology was making or by haranguing crowds from the stump of newly felled trees in western forest cleanings. The Democrats, people's champions during the **1830**'s were forced to accept the legitimacy of the Whigs and they found that they had to link the Democratic Party organization and electorate techniques if they were to compete with them in the electorate.

By the **1840**'s, the Whigs had won twenty governorships, and they won the presidency in **1840** and **1848**. The Democrats and the Whigs were evenly balanced national parties from **1840** to the middle of the **1850**'s. The contest over slavery which started in **1860** and its role in the **America**'s future reduced the democrats to a predominantly southern party, destroyed the Whigs and led to the raise of the new Republican Party in the north and transmitted the United States to the third period of the two-Party System. By **1860**, **Abraham Lincoln** was elected as the first Republican president. His party also enjoyed majority control of both houses of the **National Congress**, the governorship of every northern state, and both houses of most of the northern state legislature.

Moreover, the Republicans held the presidency and both houses of **Congress** from **1860** to **1874**. Between **1876** and **1896**, the Democrats and the Republicans again competed evenly, winning two of five presidential elections and enjoying **1896**, whereas the

Republicans held the senate for eighteen of these years. The Republicans won control of the national government by promising to stop the expansion of slavery and to adopt broader version of the traditional Whig program of aggressive economic development. The Republicans combined support for internal development and high tariffs for commerce and industry, with free homesteads for those who wished to establish family farms in the Midwest, with open immigration to ensure a satisfactory supply of labour for the factory and the farm. Northern victory in the civil war (**1861-1865**) allowed the Republican Party to turn its full attention to this program of northern industrial development. The south was left to suffer from social dislocation, military defeat and economic damage.

The civil war and reconstruction (**1865-1877**) periods profoundly affected party history in the **United States**. One result was that the **United States** had a solid party region in the South which was the Democratic Party. Another result was the virtual monopolization of presidency by the Republicans for nearly three-quarters of a century. But the most important idea was that the Democrats continued as the chief opposition party to the Republicans. The election of **1896** was called the critical election<sup>77</sup>. The Republicans won new voters which led them to dominate national politics for the next three decades.

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<sup>77</sup> Richard N. Current, *Op. Cit.*, p. 533.

## 2.7. Minor Parties In The United States

The monopolization of electoral process by the Republicans and the Democrats during the 1800's tends to obscure the fact that in virtually every national election, a number of minor or third parties nominate candidates. The variety of these parties makes it difficult to classify them. For example, some parties have limited their activity to one state, some to one geographic area and others have sought votes throughout the nation. Most minor parties have short histories but a few have existed for several decades. Other minor parties promote a single issue or doctrine but other has broader more practical programs.

Although no means of classifying these large is entirely satisfactory, an examination reveals that minor parties with long histories have characteristics different from those parties which last for only a short time. Minor parties that have existed for several decades tend to be doctrinal or ideologically oriented, whereas short lived third parties often are protest movements of voters which have disassociated themselves from one of the two major parties. Those parties which have a single issue are formed to promote one principle, not a general philosophy of government. For example, the Anti-Masonic party was one of the well known third parties. It was the first third party in American national politics which was founded in 1825 in opposition to freemasonry in public affairs. In New York States **THURLOW Weed (1797-1882)** and **W. H Seward (1801-1872)** attempted to overthrow **Martin Van Buren**, who was the president, and the **Albany** regency<sup>78</sup>.

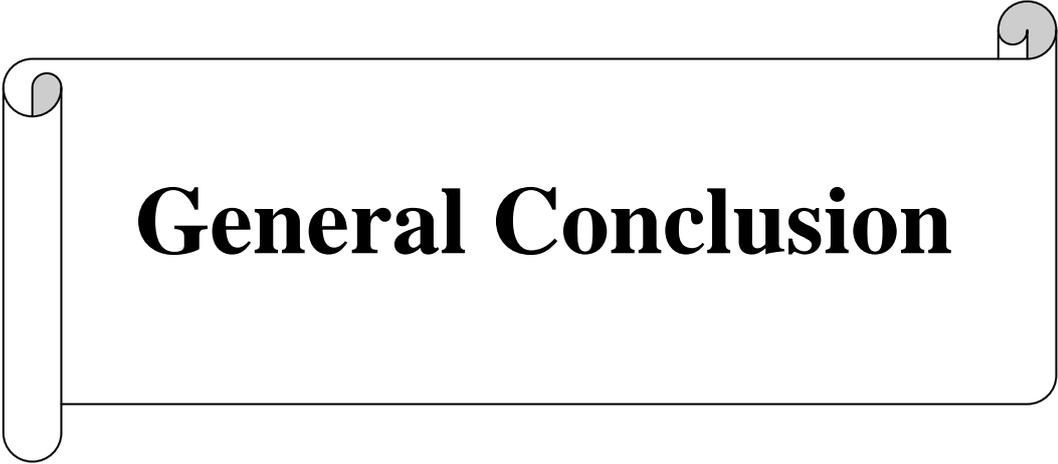
The anti-masonry spread from **New York** to neighbouring states and influenced many local and states elections. Usually the anti-masonry in national politics acted with the national Republican Party in opposition to JACKSONIAN democracy and in 1834 they helped to form the Whig party. Following the 1836, the anti-Masonic party declined rapidly in popularity. Along with the national Republican Party, it was absorbed into the nascent Whig party. Moreover, the free soil party of 1840's and 1850's worked to abolish slavery. In addition the Prohibition Party, formed in September 1869, opposed the manufacture and the sail of beverages. Third parties, then, have been formed primarily to express this content with the choices offered by the major parties. As policy advocates, minor parties have slightly better record. At times, they have had a real effect on the policies adopted by the major parties.

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<sup>78</sup> A name given after 1820 to the Democratic leaders was the supporters of Van Buren.

**2.8. Conclusion**

The history of the political parties in the USA is fundamentally the history of two-party system. Thus, among all the parties that America has seen, the democratic party still exists in the United States nowadays.



# **General Conclusion**

## General Conclusion

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Great Britain began building up its settlements in the new virgin land of America in. These settlements were isolated geologically and politically. Thus, a unified form of government was needed; as a result, the British settlements began the attempts to unify themselves.

These attempts finished by the arrangement of a new government in 1787 under which the thirteen settlements were joined together. Nevertheless, the debate over the approval of the constitution prompted the development of the initial two political parties in the United States; the Federalists and the counter federalists. After 1789, political parties established themselves as a fact in the American life.

In comparison to factions and interest groups, political parties are semi-governmental organizations, they have a rather unique system and they select leaders and organize the numbers of voters, whereas interest groups try to influence officeholders after their election.

Political parties in the United States developed through three periods: there were the Federalists and their opponents the Republicans. Then, there were the Whigs and the Democrats and finally, Republicans and the Democrats. This is the reason why the United States is said to have a two party system. Nevertheless, there were some minor parties which appeared in the American political life like the Anti-Masonic party established.

The two major parties in the United States were the Federalists vs. The Republicans, the Whigs vs. The Democrats and the Republicans vs. the Democrats. These political parties have had different ideologies since their establishment.

To sum up, America's history demonstrated clearly that the two large parties; the Republicans and the Democrats, had continually been opposed one another throughout long periods while one of these parties would generally win the congressional elections over several legislature periods, the other would usually deliver the president. Moreover, political parties affected the political opinion in which their aims were to influence the entire political landscape. In other words each president from one of the two major parties, when coming to presidency, presents the ideas and beliefs of his party by enacting laws, repealing them or by expressing his party's ideas through his achievements during his presidency.

Political parties have become more important as both of electorate and elections grew in number and complexity. Parties were necessary for bringing together votes of divers interests and providing common goals so that, the will of the people could express itself in a

## General Conclusion

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united and meaningful way. Parties were also necessary to give central direction to governments made up of independently elected officials. Hence, as the states became more democratic, political organizations within them became more tightly knit. Political machines and party bosses appeared in some states which had large and heterogeneous electorate with a variety of conflicting interests.

Political parties succeeded in achieving democracy in the United States of America. The first democratic leader, Andrew Jackson, was said to be a symbol of democracy; his doctrine of rotation in office was one of the important achievements. Jackson also held the idea of national nominating convention which was the basic idea of the Anti-Masonic third party. Jackson's aim behind these ideas was equal rights between the upper and working class.

Later, the Republican Party was organised under the idea of opposing slavery. The republican leader Abraham Lincoln, in a way to maintain democracy in the United States, abolished slavery after many attempts which were held by him in order to persuade loyal slave states to accept his program concerning emancipation. By the end, the achievement of blacks' rights was made clear in two great charters: the fourteen and fifteen amendments of the federal constitution which had been intended to assure citizenship and the suffrage to the former slaves.



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