



CHAPTER

4

Federalists and Republicans 1789–1820

Why It Matters

In the nation's new constitutional government, important new institutions included the cabinet, a system of federal courts, and a national bank. Political parties gradually developed from the different views of citizens in the Northeast, South, and West. The new government faced special challenges in foreign affairs, including the War of 1812 with Great Britain. After the war, a spirit of nationalism took hold in American society. A new national bank was chartered, and Supreme Court decisions strengthened the power of the federal government.

The Impact Today

Policies and attitudes that developed at this time have helped shape the nation.

- Important precedents were set for the relations between the federal and state governments.
- Washington's caution against foreign involvement has powerfully influenced American foreign policy.
- Many Americans have a strong sense of national loyalty.



The American Republic Since 1877 Video

The Chapter 4 video, "The Battle of New Orleans," chronicles the events of this pivotal battle of the War of 1812.



1789

- Washington elected president

1794

- Jay's Treaty signed

1798

- Alien and Sedition Acts introduced

1804

- Lewis and Clark explore and map Louisiana Territory

Washington
1789–1797

J. Adams
1797–1801

Jefferson
1801–1809

United States
PRESIDENTS

1785

1795

1805

1793

- Louis XVI guillotined during French Revolution

1794

- Polish rebellion suppressed by Russians

1799

- Beethoven writes Symphony no. 1

1805

- British navy wins Battle of Trafalgar

World



Painter and President by J.L.G. Ferris

1808

- Congress bans international slave trade



1811

- Battle of Tippecanoe fought against Tecumseh's Shawnee confederacy

Madison
1809–1817



1812

- United States declares war on Great Britain

1819

- Spain cedes Florida to the United States; Supreme Court decides *McCulloch v. Maryland* case

1823

- Monroe Doctrine declared

Monroe
1817–1825



1815

1825

1812

- Napoleon's invasion and retreat from Russia

1815

- Napoleon defeated at the Battle of Waterloo

1821

- Mexico achieves independence from Spain
- Greek independence declared

HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 4** to preview chapter information.

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SECTION 1 The Federalist Era

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

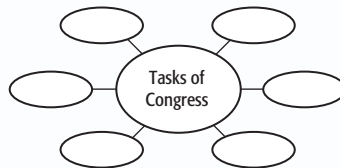
President Washington had to tackle economic and foreign policy challenges. President Adams continued to guide the country through troubled times.

Key Terms and Names

cabinet, enumerated powers, implied powers, excise tax, most-favored nation, XYZ Affair, alien, interposition, nullification

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about how the United States established a central government, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by indicating the tasks completed by Congress.



Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the growing divisions between the nation's political parties.
- **Discuss** the major foreign policy developments during the Washington and Adams administrations.

Section Theme

Global Connections The United States settled its differences with Britain and Spain but then faced the threat of war with France.

Preview of Events

♦ 1790

1789

Washington elected president

♦ 1794

1794

Whiskey Rebellion quelled

♦ 1798

1798

XYZ Affair; Alien and Sedition Acts passed

♦ 1802

1800

Convention of 1800 ends Quasi-War

★ An American Story ★

On April 6, 1789, the ballots of the presidential electors were officially counted in the new United States Senate. As expected, George Washington became the first president of the United States under the new Constitution. Americans everywhere greeted the news with great joy, but Washington remained unexcited. Calling his election “the event which I have long dreaded,” Washington described his feelings as “not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution.”

Although Washington had high hopes for the new Constitution, he did not know if it would work as intended. “I am . . . [bringing] the voice of the people and a good name of my own on this voyage; but what returns will be made of them, Heaven alone can foretell.” Despite his doubts and frustrations with the “ten thousand embarrassments, perplexities and troubles of the presidency,” the new president retained his faith in the American people. He explained that “nothing but harmony, honesty, industry and frugality are necessary to make us a great and happy people. . . . We are surrounded by the blessings of nature.”

—adapted from *Washington: The Indispensable Man*



George Washington

Creating a New Government

When Washington and the newly elected Congress took office, one of the first tasks they faced was organizing the government itself. In the summer of 1789, Congress created three executive departments: the Department of State, which focused on foreign affairs, the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of War. Congress also created the Office of the Attorney General to advise the government on legal matters.



To head these departments, Washington wanted men who were “disposed to measure matters on a Continental Scale” instead of thinking about their own states. He chose Thomas Jefferson to serve as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton to lead the Treasury Department, General Henry Knox as secretary of war, and Edmund Randolph as attorney general. During his presidency, Washington regularly met with these officials. Over time, the department heads came to be known as the **cabinet**, a group of advisers to the president.

In addition to creating the executive departments, Congress also organized the judicial branch. The **Judiciary Act of 1789** established 13 federal district courts and three circuit courts of appeal. Washington, with the consent of the Senate, then selected the first federal judges. The Judiciary Act also stated that the Supreme Court would have six justices, and Washington chose John Jay as the first chief justice of the United States.

One of the most important acts of Congress during its first session in 1789 was passing the **Bill of Rights**. During the campaign to ratify the Constitution, the Federalists had promised on several occasions to add a bill detailing the rights of American citizens. James Madison, who emerged as one of the key leaders in Congress, made the passage of such a bill top priority. He hoped it would demonstrate the good faith of federal leaders and build support for the new government.

In late September 1789, after many debates, Congress sent 12 constitutional amendments to the states for ratification. Ten were approved and went into effect in 1791. They are generally referred to as the Bill of Rights, although only the first eight offer safeguards to protect the rights of individuals against the government. The Ninth Amendment states that the people have other rights that are not listed in the Constitution. The Tenth Amendment states that any powers not specifically given to the federal government are reserved for the states. At the time, Madison tried to word the Bill of Rights to apply to the state governments as well, but Congress rejected that idea. Not until after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment after the Civil War would the Supreme Court begin to apply the Bill of Rights to the states.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** What executive departments did Congress establish?

Hamilton's Financial Program

By the end of 1789, the new federal government was up and running. Now its most pressing concerns were economic.

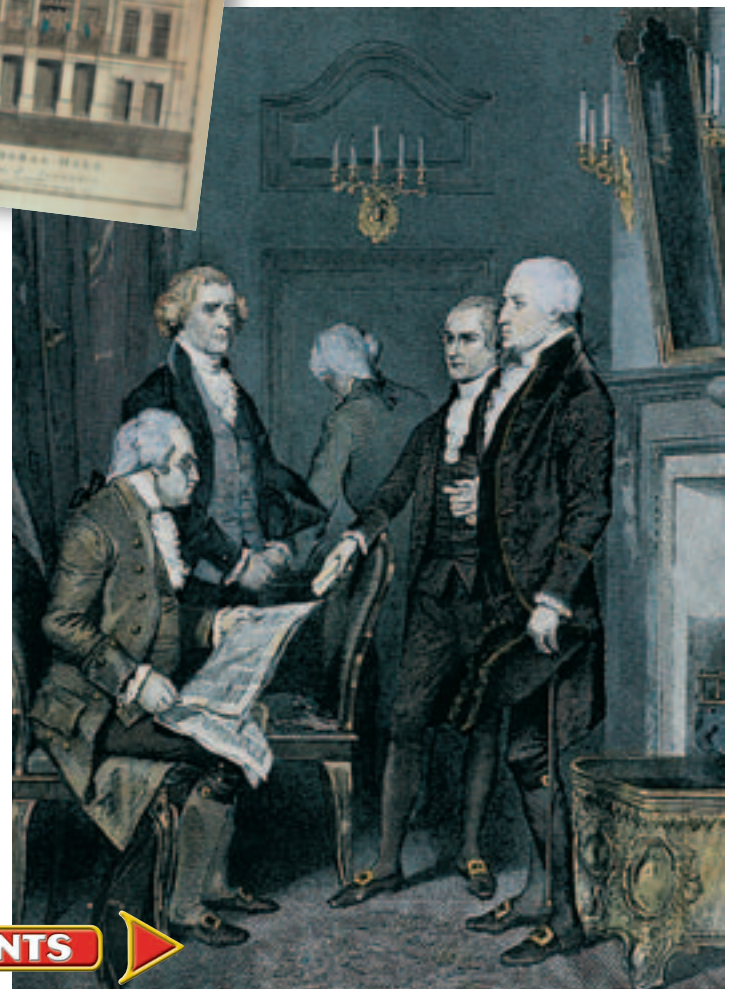
ECONOMICS

Repaying the National Debt The federal government had inherited a huge debt from the Continental Congress. To fund the Revolutionary War, the Congress had issued **bonds**—paper notes promising to repay money after a certain length of time. By 1789 the new United States owed roughly \$40 million to American citizens and another \$11.7 million to France, Spain, and the Netherlands.

Alexander Hamilton believed the only way for the new federal government to establish its credit was to make good on these debts. If it called in the old bonds and exchanged them at full value for new, interest-bearing ones, then the wealthy creditors, bankers,

Picturing History

New Government The cabinet and the Congress, which met in New York's Federal Hall (left), included some of the new elements of Washington's first administration. **What departments did the four cabinet members head?**



and merchants who held the bonds would have a stake in the federal government's success. In his First Report on Public Credit, issued in January 1790, Hamilton proposed funding the Confederation's debts in this way. He also proposed that the federal government take over the states' debts from the war.

Led by Madison, critics attacked Hamilton's proposals. During the 1780s, many original bond purchasers such as farmers and Revolutionary War veterans had been forced to sell their bonds at a discount to **speculators**, people willing to take a business risk in hopes of financial gain in the future. Madison was outraged that Northern speculators who had paid as little as \$10 for a \$100 bond would now receive full value, while the original buyers received nothing. Furthermore, Northerners now owned roughly 80 percent of the bonds, but much of the tax money that would be used to pay off the bonds would come from the South.

Madison objected to taking over state debts for similar reasons. Most Southern states had already paid their debts. They did not want their taxes used to pay the debts of the Northern states.

The congressional debate over Hamilton's proposals raged for months. Finally, in July 1790, Hamilton struck a deal with Madison and Jefferson. The latter two would use their influence to convince Southerners in Congress to vote for Hamilton's plan. In return, the capital of the United States

would eventually be moved from New York to a location along the Potomac River. Southerners believed that having the capital in the South would help to offset the strength of the Northern states in Congress. To get the last few votes he needed, Hamilton also agreed that the federal government would compensate the states that had already paid off their debts.

The Bank of the United States With his system of public credit finally in place, Hamilton asked Congress to create a national bank to manage the country's debts and interest payments. Under Hamilton's plan, the **Bank of the United States** would also have the power to make loans to the government and to private individuals. Most importantly, the bank would be allowed to issue paper money, providing a national currency that would stimulate trade, investment, and economic growth.

Hamilton's proposal for a national bank immediately encountered opposition. Southerners pointed out that Northern merchants would own most of the bank's stock because only they could afford it. At the same time, Madison argued that Congress had no power to establish a bank because that was not among its **enumerated powers**, or powers specifically mentioned in the Constitution.

Despite Madison's objections, Congress passed the bank bill and sent it to the president. Unsure whether to sign or veto the bill, Washington consulted Attorney General Randolph and Secretary of State Jefferson. Both opposed the bill, arguing that the Constitution did not authorize the government to create a bank. Washington then asked Hamilton for his opinion.

Hamilton pointed out that Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution gave the federal government the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" to execute its responsibilities. The "necessary and proper" clause created **implied powers**—powers not explicitly listed in the Constitution but necessary for the government to do its job. A national bank, Hamilton argued, was necessary to collect taxes, regulate trade, and provide for the common defense. Jefferson agreed the implied powers existed, but he believed "necessary and proper" meant absolutely necessary and not simply convenient. Hamilton's logic persuaded Washington to sign the bill. In 1791 the Bank of the United States was established for a 20-year period.

History Through Art

Commander in Chief This illustration shows the president reviewing troops at the time of the Whiskey Rebellion. **What triggered the rebellion?**





The Whiskey Rebellion Hamilton believed the federal government also had to establish its right to impose direct taxes on the people. In his Second Report on Public Credit, issued in December 1790, Hamilton proposed an **excise tax** on American whiskey. An excise tax is a tax paid by the manufacturer of a product and passed on to those who buy the product. The sales tax many Americans pay today is an example of an excise tax.

In 1791 Congress approved Hamilton’s proposal and enacted a high excise tax (about 25 percent) on whiskey. The tax hit Western farmers hard. Whiskey was used as a medium of exchange in the West, where bank notes and coins were not available in large quantities.

Complaints against the whiskey tax began in 1791, but it was not until the summer of 1794 that rebellion erupted. Farmers in western Pennsylvania began terrorizing tax collectors, robbing the mail, and destroying the whiskey-making stills of those who paid the tax. Determined to uphold federal authority to impose taxes, President Washington sent nearly 13,000 troops to crush the **Whiskey Rebellion**. The huge army caused the rebels to disperse without a fight.

 **Reading Check Explaining** Why did Alexander Hamilton propose an excise tax on American whiskey?

The Rise of Political Parties

During Washington’s first term in office, disagreement over Hamilton’s financial program had split Congress into factions. These factions became the nation’s first political parties. Hamilton’s supporters called themselves Federalists. Their opponents, led by Madison and Jefferson, took the name Democratic-Republicans. They were commonly referred to as Republicans. (The party became known as the Democratic Party later in the 1800s.)

Hamilton favored a strong national government led by the “rich, well born, and able.” He believed that democracy was dangerous to liberty. Hamilton also believed that manufacturing and trade were the basis of national wealth and power. He favored policies that supported these areas of the economy. The Federalist Party included many artisans, merchants, manufacturers, and bankers. The party also attracted urban workers and Eastern farmers who benefited from trade.

Thomas Jefferson emerged as the leader of the Democratic-Republicans. Jefferson believed that the strength of the United States was its independent farmers. As long as most people owned their own land, they would fight to preserve the Republic.

Competing National Visions

Hamilton and the Federalists

Strong national government
Ruling power given to wealthy, educated
Government should promote manufacturing
Loose interpretation of the Constitution
Protective tariffs protect domestic industries

Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans

Strong state government
Ruling power given to *all* landowners
Government should promote agriculture
Strict interpretation of the Constitution
Protective tariffs burden farmers

Chart Skills

- 1. Interpreting Charts** Which party did not support tariffs, and why?
- 2. Making Generalizations** Which party usually attracted bankers and manufacturers?

In general, Democratic-Republicans supported agriculture over commerce and trade. They feared that too much emphasis on commerce would lead to a society divided between the rich who owned everything and the poor who worked for wages. Over time, the Democratic-Republicans came to stand for the rights of states against the federal government. The party had a strong base in the rural South and West.

 **Reading Check Identifying** What were the nation’s first two political parties, and what issues did each favor?

Washington’s Foreign Policy

Shortly after Washington was inaugurated in 1789, the French Revolution began in Europe. At first, most Americans sympathized with the revolutionaries, who seemed to be fighting for the same rights Americans had won a few years earlier. By spring 1793, however, a group of French radicals had seized power. They stripped aristocrats of their property and executed thousands of people, including the French king, Louis XVI, and the queen, Marie Antoinette. The violence and chaos turned many Federalists against the French. Many Republicans, however, continued to support the Revolution, viewing it as a fight for liberty.

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HISTORY Online

Student Web Activity Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 4** for an activity on early political parties.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

A Fiery Protest Antifederalists burned at the stake a figure representing John Jay after Jay's Treaty with England was signed in 1794. **Why were people angry about the treaty?**

The turmoil within France soon led to conflict with other European kingdoms. When France declared war against Great Britain in 1793, the United States found itself in a difficult position. The Treaty of 1778 with France required the United States to help defend France's colonies in the Caribbean. Fulfilling this agreement might mean war with Great Britain. In an effort to avoid the conflict, President Washington issued a proclamation on April 22, 1793, declaring the United States to be "friendly and impartial" toward both warring powers.

Jay's Treaty Remaining neutral proved difficult. Britain used its navy to block the delivery of goods to French ports, seizing hundreds of American ships. At the same time, the British were reportedly inciting Native American attacks in the West, where British soldiers still occupied some forts they had promised to evacuate after the American Revolution. These activities pushed the United States to the brink of war in the spring of 1794.

Desperate for a diplomatic solution, Washington sent John Jay to Britain. The British were busy fighting France and did not want to fight the United States as well. They agreed to sign what came to be called **Jay's Treaty**.

The British drove a hard bargain, however, knowing that the Americans depended on trade with Britain. They refused to stop seizing American ships or to compensate American merchants for lost cargoes. Instead, they agreed to create an international commission to hear the merchants' claims. They also insisted on establishing another commission to consider the claims of British subjects seeking repayment of pre-Revolutionary debts.

Although he gave ground on many issues, Jay was able to persuade the British to give the United States **most-favored nation** status. This meant that Americans would not be discriminated against when they traded with Britain but would receive the same treatment as other favored nations. Britain also agreed to allow limited American trade with its Caribbean colonies and to evacuate its forts in American territory.

When the public learned the terms of Jay's Treaty, the Democratic-Republicans immediately accused the Federalists of being pro-British. Across much of the country, public meetings were held condemning the treaty. George Washington deliberated long and hard but finally agreed to implement it. His decision prevented war with Great Britain and protected the fragile American economy.

Pinckney's Treaty Jay's Treaty also helped the United States win concessions from Spain, which still controlled Florida and territory west of the Mississippi River. In 1795 Spain joined France in its struggle against Britain. The signing of Jay's Treaty raised fears in Spain that the British and Americans might now join forces to seize Spain's North American holdings. Spain quickly offered to negotiate all outstanding issues with the United States.

Also in 1795 the Spanish signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo—better known as **Pinckney's Treaty**, after the American negotiator, Thomas Pinckney. The treaty granted the United States the right to navigate the Mississippi and to deposit goods at the port of New Orleans. Spain also agreed to accept the 31st parallel as the northern boundary of western Florida.

Reading Check Explaining Why did President Washington choose neutrality in the war between Britain and France?



A New Administration

George Washington served two terms in office. By the end of his second term, however, he had grown exasperated by party politics and the attacks on his character in Democratic-Republican newspapers. Although many people urged him to run again, Washington decided to retire.

Before leaving office, the president wrote a long letter to the American people. Published on September 19, 1796, and widely reprinted, **Washington's Farewell Address** urged Americans to support the federal government and avoid sectionalism—dividing the country into North against South, or East against West. Washington also warned against the dangers of political parties, comparing party fervor to a fire that could easily burn out of control. Washington further advised Americans against excessively strong attachments to foreign countries: "'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

With Washington stepping down, the United States held its first openly contested presidential election in 1796. The Federalists nominated John Adams, and the Republicans chose Thomas Jefferson. Anger over Jay's Treaty made the election close, but when the votes were counted, John Adams had won.

Adams and the Quasi-War One of Adams's first challenges was dealing with French aggression at sea. France, still at war with Britain, had been enraged by Jay's Treaty. The French had begun stopping American ships and seizing their goods if they were going to Britain. These actions led many Federalists to call for war against France. Although critical of the French, Adams, like Washington, was reluctant to involve the United States in a major war. Instead he sent Charles Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall to negotiate with France in 1797.

After weeks of waiting, the Americans were finally approached by three French officials, referred to in later documents as X, Y, and Z. They asked for a bribe of \$250,000 to initiate talks, along with an American loan of \$12 million. Pinckney's indignant reply—"No, no, not a sixpence"—inspired pro-war Federalists to coin a stirring slogan: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

The **XYZ Affair** heightened tensions with France. In June 1798, Congress voted to suspend all trade with France and to allow the navy to capture armed French ships. The two nations were soon fighting an undeclared war at sea, which came to be known as the **Quasi-War**.

In the fall of 1798, France proposed new negotiations. To the Federalists' dismay, Adams agreed to the talks. In September 1800, the two countries signed the Convention of 1800, ending the Quasi-War. The United States gave up all claims against France for damages to American shipping. France released the United States from the Treaty of 1778.

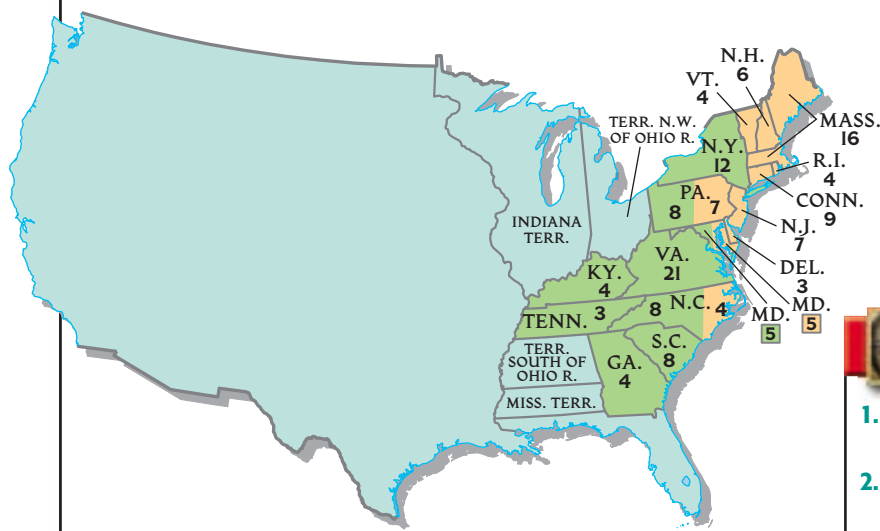
Domestic Troubles At home, divisions between the two political parties had been deepening. Many Federalists suspected pro-French Republicans of stirring up the people so much that they would attempt to overthrow the government. They also resented the harsh criticisms printed in Republican newspapers. Taking advantage of their congressional majorities, the Federalists decided to strike back at the opposing party.

In the spring and summer of 1798, the Federalists pushed four laws through Congress that became known as the **Alien and Sedition Acts**. The first three laws were aimed at **aliens**, people living in the country who were not citizens. The Federalists knew that

Picturing History

Compromise and the Capital City Southern states that had already paid their war debts accepted Hamilton's financial program on the condition that the new national capital be located along the Potomac River. **Why did Southerners think having a Southern capital would benefit them?**





Candidate	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote	Political Party
Jefferson	Unknown	73	Democratic Republican
Adams	Unknown	65	Federalist
Burr	Unknown	73	Democratic Republican
Pinckney	Unknown	64	Federalist
Jay	Unknown	1	Federalist



Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** Which states split their electoral votes between the two parties?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Where did the Federalists have strong support? What policies did they favor that would account for their strength there?

*According to the Constitution, each elector in the Electoral College voted for two people in a presidential election. The person receiving the most votes became president, and the person receiving the second-highest number of votes became vice president. Under this system a tie was possible, as happened in the case of the tie between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr in 1800. The House of Representatives then elected Jefferson after 35 rounds of voting in which there was no clear winner. To prevent such confusion in the future, the Twelfth Amendment was added to the Constitution in 1804. The amendment stipulates that electoral votes for president and vice president are counted and listed separately.

many recent immigrants had come from France and Ireland. These immigrants were often anti-British and tended to vote for the Republican Party once they gained citizenship. The first law required immigrants to wait 14 years before becoming citizens, thus weakening Republican support. The next two laws gave the president the power to deport without trial any alien deemed dangerous to the United States.

The fourth law made it a federal crime to utter or print anything “false, scandalous, and malicious” against the federal government or any federal official. In short, the act deprived citizens of their right to criticize public officials. The government indicted 15 people under this act, including leading Republicans.

In 1798 and 1799, the Republican-controlled legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions, secretly written by Jefferson and Madison, criticizing the Alien and Sedition Acts. Both resolutions argued that the Constitution was an agreement among the states. The states therefore had the power to judge whether a federal law was unconstitutional.

This idea that states have authority over the Constitution is called state sovereignty. It is different from the idea of states’ rights. Americans today often


believe the federal government is above the state governments in power, but the Constitution originally intended to divide power between the states and the federal government. Defenders of states’ rights wanted to prevent the federal government from exercising powers that should belong to the states. Both the Virginia and the Kentucky Resolutions were trying to protect states’ rights, but in doing so, they developed the new idea of state sovereignty.

The Virginia Resolutions introduced the theory of **interposition**. They argued that if the federal government did something unconstitutional, the states could interpose between the federal government and the people to stop the action. The Kentucky Resolutions advanced a similar theory called **nullification**. According to this theory, if the federal government passed an unconstitutional law, the states had the right to nullify the law, or declare it invalid.

Although the **Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions** had little immediate effect, states used these ideas later to defend their interests. During the War of 1812, for example, New England states refused to enforce federal laws restricting trade. In



the years before the Civil War, Southern states cited the resolutions to protect their trade and to preserve slavery.

 **Reading Check** **Analyzing** What was the purpose of the Alien and Sedition Acts?

The Election of 1800

Although John Adams hoped to win re-election in 1800, he faced a difficult battle. The Alien and Sedition Acts had angered many people, as had a new tax the Federalists had introduced on houses, land, and enslaved Africans. The Republican nominees for president and vice president, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, campaigned against the new taxes and the national bank. They accused the Federalists of favoring monarchy and discouraging political participation.

The election was closely contested and had an unexpected outcome, one that revealed a flaw in the system for selecting the president. The Constitution does not let citizens vote directly for the chief executive. Instead each state chooses a number of electors equal to its number of senators and representatives in Congress. This group, known as the Electoral College, then votes for the president.

The Constitution specified that each elector would vote for two candidates. The candidate receiving the most votes would become president; the runner-up would become vice president. Ties would be decided by the House of Representatives.

To avoid a tie between Jefferson and Burr, the Republicans had intended for all their electors to vote for Jefferson, and for all but one to vote for Burr. Somehow the plan went awry. When the votes were counted, Adams had 65, and Jefferson and Burr each had 73. Now the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives had to choose the president from the top two vote getters, who were both Republicans.

Some Federalists in the House hoped to use the deadlock to keep their party in power. Some despised Jefferson and wanted to select Burr. Other Federalists, including Burr's archenemy Alexander Hamilton, gave their support to Jefferson. This led to a tie in the House of Representatives. Finally, in February 1801, Jefferson informed Federalist James Bayard that if elected, he would not undo Hamilton's financial system. Bayard then cast a blank ballot, ensuring that Jefferson would have more votes than Burr. Jefferson became the new president.

The election of 1800 was an important turning point in American history. The Republicans had won not only the presidency but a majority of seats in Congress. The Federalists, who controlled the army as well as the government, could have refused to step down. Instead, they upheld the Constitution. The election of 1800 established that power in the United States could be peacefully transferred despite disagreements between political parties. The election also led to the Twelfth Amendment in 1804, which provided for separate ballots for the president and vice president.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What changes did the election of 1800 bring?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** cabinet, bond, speculator, enumerated powers, implied powers, excise tax, most-favored nation, alien, interposition, nullification.
2. **Identify:** Whiskey Rebellion, XYZ Affair.
3. **Explain** how the Alien and Sedition Acts interfered with the lives of people living in the United States.

Reviewing Themes

4. **Global Connections** How did Great Britain and France test American neutrality during the presidencies of Washington and Adams?

Critical Thinking

5. **Synthesizing** Why did Hamilton think the United States should take responsibility for the debts of both the Confederation and the states?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the first political parties, their leaders and supporters, and their positions on issues.

Political Party	Leaders	Supporters	Policy Positions

Analyzing Visuals

7. **Comparing Charts and Maps** Study the chart on page 155 and the map on page 158. How did the election results reflect the Democratic-Republican position on protective tariffs?

Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** Write an editorial that responds to George Washington's Farewell Address. Defend or dispute Washington's opinion that political parties and permanent foreign alliances are dangerous.



Social Studies SKILLBUILDER

Reading a Flowchart

Why Learn This Skill?

Sometimes, determining a sequence of events can be confusing, particularly when many events are occurring at the same time. Reading a flowchart can help you understand how events are related and how one event leads to others.

Learning the Skill

Flowcharts show the steps in a process or a sequence of events. A flowchart could be used to show the movement of goods through a factory, of people through a training program, or of a bill through Congress. The following steps explain how to read a flowchart:

- Read the title or caption of the flowchart to find out what you are studying.
- Read all of the labels or sentences on the flowchart.
- Look for numbers indicating sequence or arrows showing the direction of movement.
- Evaluate the information in the flowchart.

Practicing the Skill

The flowchart on this page shows a sequence of events that led to the expansion of territory within the United States. Analyze the information in the flowchart and then answer the questions.

- 1 What does the flowchart show?
- 2 How do you know in what sequence the events took place?
- 3 What inspired Napoleon to acquire the Louisiana Territory from Spain?
- 4 How did the United States react to France's acquisition of the Louisiana Territory?
- 5 What additional information from the chapter could you add to the flowchart to show a further sequence of events?

Circumstances Leading to the Louisiana Purchase

French leader Napoleon plans to rebuild France's empire in North America.

Napoleon convinces Spain to give the Louisiana Territory back to France.

President Jefferson sends ambassador Robert Livingston to France to try to block the deal.

Napoleon later wants to conquer Europe, but he needs funds to carry out his plans.

President Jefferson agrees to purchase Louisiana Territory.

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 175 and the Chapter 4 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Making a Flowchart Gather information about the steps necessary to apply to college. Then make up a flowchart outlining the steps. Present your flowchart to the class.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.



SECTION 2

The Republicans Take Power

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

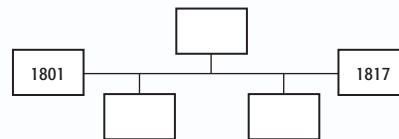
President Jefferson limited the scope of the federal government and made the Louisiana Purchase. President Madison led the country into the War of 1812.

Key Terms and Names

judicial review, Louisiana Purchase, contraband, impressment, embargo, War Hawks

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, complete a time line similar to the one below to record major events of their administrations.



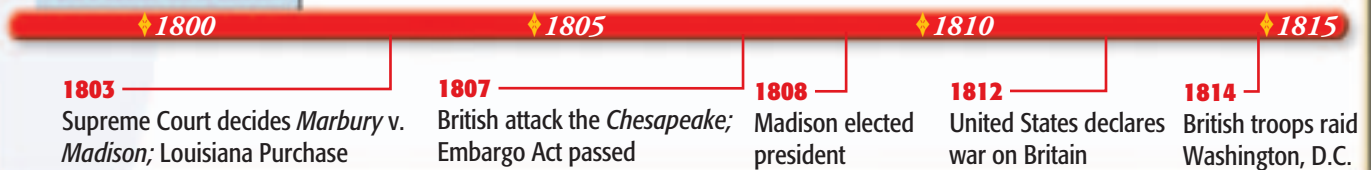
Reading Objectives

- **Summarize** the changes Thomas Jefferson brought to the federal government.
- **Describe** the causes and the outcome of the War of 1812.

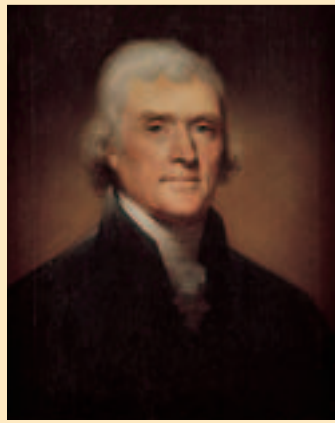
Section Theme

Government and Democracy The Supreme Court asserted the power to decide whether laws passed by Congress were constitutional.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Thomas Jefferson

March 4, 1801, was Inauguration Day in Washington, D.C. The still unfinished capital of the United States was only a tiny village. Stumps and mud holes filled Pennsylvania Avenue, and a swampy wilderness separated Capitol Hill from the president's mansion. A Washington resident described the modest inauguration ceremony:

“The sun shone bright on that morning. . . . Mr. Jefferson . . . walk[ed] from his lodgings, which were not far distant. . . . Soon afterwards he entered . . . and bowing to the Senate, who arose to receive him, he approached a table on which the Bible lay and took the oath which was administered to him by the Chief Justice. . . . At dinner . . . A gentleman from Baltimore, . . . asked permission to wish him joy. ‘I would advise you,’ answered Mr. Jefferson smiling, ‘to follow my example on nuptial occasions when I always tell the bridegroom I will wait till the end of the year before offering my congratulations.’ And this was the only and solitary instance of any notice taken of the event of the morning.”

—quoted in *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*

Thomas Jefferson Takes Office

Thomas Jefferson privately referred to his election as the “Revolution of 1800.” Believing that Washington and Adams had acted too much like royalty, the new president opted for less pomp and ceremony. Jefferson was the first president to begin his



Picturing History

John Marshall During his Supreme Court tenure, this staunch Federalist was concerned with establishing a strong federal government. [What case established the principle of judicial review?](#)

term at the new capital, Washington, D.C., and he used this opportunity to break with his predecessors' style. He rode on horseback rather than in carriages, and he substituted intimate dinners for formal receptions. In addition to setting a new style, Jefferson also reversed some of his predecessors' policies, but he did not overturn the entire Federalist program.

Restraining Federal Power A strong believer in small government, Jefferson hoped to limit the scope of federal power. Many Federalists expected him to dismantle the Bank of the United States. However, Jefferson's secretary of the treasury, **Albert Gallatin**, supported Hamilton's system and convinced the president to keep the national bank. Instead of maintaining the public debt and paying interest on it, though, Jefferson began paying it off. He cut government spending, did away with all excise taxes, including the hated whiskey tax, and trimmed the armed forces.


Conflict With the Courts Jefferson also hoped to weaken the Federalists' control of the judiciary. Just before Congress had changed hands, the Federalist majority had passed the **Judiciary Act of 1801**. This

act created 16 new federal judgeships, which Adams filled with Federalists. Adams supposedly stayed up until midnight on his last day in office, signing their appointments.

One of the first acts of the new Republican Congress was to repeal the Judiciary Act of 1801, abolishing the offices of the "midnight judges." The Republicans then tried to remove other Federalists from the bench by impeachment. Republican leaders believed that the impeachment power was one of the Constitution's checks and balances. Congress could therefore remove judges for arbitrary and unfair decisions, not just for criminal behavior. Only two judges were brought to trial, however, and only one was ousted. The attempt to remove the judges established the tradition that judges could only be removed for criminal behavior, not simply because Congress disagreed with their decisions.

Jefferson tried a different tactic with William Marbury. In his last days as president, Adams had appointed Marbury to be justice of the peace in Washington, D.C. Jefferson told his new secretary of state, James Madison, to withhold the documents that would confirm the appointment.

Marbury asked the Supreme Court for a writ, or court order, directing Madison to deliver the documents. The Court might have been expected to comply. After all, the Judiciary Act of 1789 empowered the Supreme Court to issue such writs.

In 1803 in *Marbury v. Madison*, Chief Justice **John Marshall** and his fellow justices unanimously agreed that Marbury should be given his documents, but that the Supreme Court could not issue the court order because it had no jurisdiction. Marshall pointed out that the Constitution was very specific about the kind of cases that could be taken directly to the Supreme Court rather than a lower court. Thus the section of the Judiciary Act of 1789 that authorized the Supreme Court to issue writs was unconstitutional and invalid.  (See page 963 for information on *Marbury v. Madison*.)

Although the ruling did not help Marbury, it was a landmark decision for the Supreme Court. The Court had asserted its right of **judicial review**, the power to decide whether laws passed by Congress are constitutional and to strike down those that are not. Marshall remained as Chief Justice for more than 30 years, building the Supreme Court into a powerful, influential, and independent branch of the federal government.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** Why was *Marbury v. Madison* significant?



The United States Expands West

Jefferson strongly supported the country's westward expansion, which had begun well before his presidency. During Washington's terms, Americans had flocked to the fertile region between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. In 1792 Kentucky had enough people to become a new state, and Tennessee gained statehood in 1796. Meanwhile, settlers from Pennsylvania and Virginia were moving into the Northwest Territory, but they were coming into conflict with Native Americans there.

President Washington sent General Anthony Wayne to put down Native American resistance by force. In August 1794, at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in Ohio, Wayne's troops won a decisive victory. In August 1795, 12 Native American nations signed the **Treaty of Greenville**. In exchange for a yearly payment of \$10,000 from the federal government, they gave up land near present-day Chicago and Detroit, as well as a large area in southern Ohio and Indiana. The flow of Americans into the region rapidly increased. By 1803 Ohio had enough settlers to become a state.

The Louisiana Purchase While Americans were pushing west, the French were hoping to rebuild their empire in North America. French leader Napoleon Bonaparte convinced Spain to give Louisiana back to France in 1800. Jefferson was uneasy about France controlling the lower Mississippi. He ordered the American ambassador in Paris, Robert Livingston, to try to gain concessions for the United States.

Livingston accomplished little at first. By 1803, however, Napoleon had begun making plans to conquer Europe. To gain funds and to pre-empt an alliance between the United States and Great Britain, Napoleon offered to sell all of the Louisiana Territory, as well as New Orleans, to the United States. Livingston immediately agreed. On April 30, 1803, the United States bought Louisiana from France for \$11.25 million. It also agreed to take on French debts owed to Americans, worth about \$3.75 million, making the total cost about \$15 million.

The Senate overwhelmingly ratified the **Louisiana Purchase**. For less than three cents an acre, the United States had more than doubled its size and gained control of the entire Mississippi River.

GEOGRAPHY

Lewis and Clark and Zebulon Pike Even before Louisiana became a part of the United States, Jefferson convinced Congress to fund an expedition to explore the territory. Led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, the expedition headed west up the Missouri River in May 1804. Sacagawea, a Shoshone woman, acted as a guide during much of the voyage. Other Native Americans led the group along a path through the Rocky Mountains, and the explorers eventually traced the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. The **Lewis and Clark expedition** not only provided a wealth of information about Louisiana, it also gave the United States a claim to the Oregon Territory.

Zebulon Pike also explored the Louisiana Territory. In 1805 he mapped much of the upper Mississippi River. In 1806 he headed west to Colorado, where he encountered the mountain now known as Pikes Peak. Pike later mapped part of the Rio Grande and traveled across northern Mexico and southern Texas. His account of this trip gave Americans detailed information about the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains.

The Essex Junto The Louisiana Purchase alarmed many New England Federalists. They knew that as new states appeared in the South and West, New England would lose political influence. In Massachusetts, a small group of Federalists known as the **Essex Junto** drafted a plan to take New England out of the Union.



Picturing History

Battle of Fallen Timbers This monument commemorates the victory of General Anthony Wayne (right) over Blue Jacket. The Treaty of Greenville opened the Ohio Territory to American settlers. **What amount did the government pay the Native Americans for the territory?**

Vice President Aaron Burr, sympathetic to their goal, agreed to run for governor of New York in 1804. During the campaign, Alexander Hamilton called Burr “a dangerous man, and one who ought not be trusted with the reins of government.” When Hamilton’s remarks were published, Burr challenged him to a duel. Hamilton agreed, and on July 11, 1804, Burr shot and killed Hamilton. The nation had lost a brilliant leader and one of its founders.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did Thomas Jefferson want to purchase the Louisiana Territory?

Rising International Tensions

Foreign affairs preoccupied President Jefferson during his second term in office. France had resumed its war against Britain in mid-1803, and the United States had proclaimed its neutrality. In 1806 and 1807, however, both France and Britain adopted

policies forbidding neutral countries from trading with the enemy. Any vessels traveling to Europe became subject to search and seizure by one side or the other.

Soon British warships were regularly stopping American merchant ships and searching them for **contraband**—smuggled goods—and for British sailors who had fled their vessels. If the British found deserters, they practiced **impressment**, a legalized form of kidnapping, to force the sailors back into service. They also used impressment to take American sailors.

Calls for War In June 1807, tensions between the United States and Britain reached the boiling point when the British warship *Leopard* stopped an American warship, the *Chesapeake*. When the *Chesapeake*’s captain refused to submit to a search, the *Leopard* opened fire, killing three Americans. The British then boarded the *Chesapeake* and seized four sailors.

The attack enraged the public. Anti-British mobs rioted in several cities, and protesters marched through the streets. President Jefferson, like Washington and Adams before him, did not want to be drawn into a European conflict. Instead, he decided to use economic sanctions against both Britain and France.

Jefferson asked Congress to pass the **Embargo Act of 1807**, halting all trade between the United States and Europe. The **embargo**, a government ban on trade with other countries, wound up hurting the United States more than Britain or France. In the Northeast, once-lucrative shipping businesses came to a standstill, while farmers saw the demand for their crops fall. Realizing that the embargo was costing the Republican Party support, Congress repealed it in March 1809.

Shortly before its repeal, Jefferson left office, having decided not to seek a third term but to retire to Monticello, his estate in Virginia. Jefferson had succeeded in limiting the role of the federal government, but he also left his successor with a foreign policy crisis.

New Economic Pressures The new Republican president, James Madison, had easily won the election of 1808.

Profiles IN HISTORY

Tecumseh c.1768–1813

Tecumseh was a Shawnee chief born near present-day Springfield, Ohio. The Shawnee had taken part in many wars in the Northwest Territory. After the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, Tecumseh and many other Shawnee moved to the Indiana territory to escape white settlers.

Tecumseh urged all Native Americans to unite. They were all one people, he said, and should cooperate in a confederacy to control their destiny. He was furious when the Delaware and Potawatomi agreed to cede about 3 million acres (1.2 million ha) to the United States. The land belonged to all Native Americans, Tecumseh argued. How could one group cede it?

In the end, Tecumseh saw no choice but to fight the whites: “The hunting grounds are fast disappearing and they are driving the red man farther and farther to the west.” Ominously, he warned, “Surely [this] will be the fate of all tribes if the power of the whites is not forever crushed. . . .”

During the War of 1812, Tecumseh allied himself with the British. A superb



commander, he met his end at the Battle of the Thames River, fought near Chatham, Ontario, in October 1813. There, 400 British troops commanded by General Henry Proctor and about 1,000 Native Americans led by Tecumseh fought some 3,000 American troops led by General William Henry Harrison. During the battle, the British broke ranks and fled, leaving Tecumseh’s men to face the American forces alone. After Tecumseh fell, his confederacy collapsed, leaving the United States in firm control of the Northwest Territory.



Like Jefferson, Madison preferred to avoid war if at all possible. To force the British to stop seizing American ships, he asked Congress to pass the **Non-Intercourse Act** in 1809. This act prohibited commerce with France and Britain but promised to resume trade with whichever country first dropped its own trade restrictions. When the act had no effect, Congress replaced it with Macon's Bill Number Two. This new law stated that if either France or Britain removed its trade restrictions, the United States would stop importing goods from the other nation. France eventually took some conciliatory steps, and Congress passed a nonimportation act against Britain in early 1811.

By early 1812, the refusal of the United States to buy British goods had begun to hurt British merchants and manufacturers. They began to pressure their government to repeal its restrictions on trade, but by the time Britain agreed, the United States had declared war.

The War Hawks Most of the members of Congress who wanted to declare war came from the South and West. Nicknamed the **War Hawks**, they were led by Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Felix Grundy of Tennessee.

Americans living in the South and West were angry at Britain for several reasons. Southern planters and western farmers earned much of their income from exports of tobacco, rice, wheat, and cotton, so Britain's trade restrictions hurt them badly. Eastern merchants paid low prices for the farmers' crops and charged them high shipping fees to cover the potential loss of their ships bound for Europe.

Westerners also blamed Britain for their problems with Native Americans. In the early 1800s, settlers had begun moving past the line established by the Treaty of Greenville and onto Native American land. As clashes with Native Americans mounted, many settlers suspected that the British in Canada were arming the Native Americans.

A key incident occurred in November 1811, near the Tippecanoe River in the Indiana territory. The governor there, William Henry Harrison, decided to strike at Tenskwatawa (also known as "the Prophet"), the brother of Shawnee leader **Tecumseh**. Both men had been urging Native Americans to unify in order to hold on to their lands. The bloody **Battle of Tippecanoe** left about one-fourth of Harrison's troops dead or wounded, but its impact on the Native Americans was far greater. The clash shattered Native American confidence in the Prophet's leadership. Many, including Tecumseh, fled to Canada. This convinced some Americans that the British had indeed been aiding the Native Americans, as did the

Fact

Fiction

Folklore

The Star-Spangled Banner, 1779–1818 The Stars and Stripes flag gained two more stars and two more stripes in 1795, after Kentucky and Vermont joined the Union. This flag flew over Fort McHenry during the War of 1812 and inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Congress realized that the flag would become too large if a stripe were added for every new state. It decided to keep the stripes at 13—for the 13 original colonies—and to add a star for each new state.



British-made rifles the Shawnee forces had left behind after the battle. Many western farmers argued that a war against Britain would enable the United States to seize Canada and end Native American attacks.

In early June 1812, President Madison gave in to the pressure and asked Congress to declare war. The vote split along regional lines. Most of the South and West voted for war, while the Northeast, fearing it would hurt trade, did not.

✓ Reading Check **Examining** How did people in the South and the West feel about declaring war against Great Britain? Why did each group feel the way it did?

The War of 1812

At the start of the War of 1812, conquering Canada was the primary objective of the United States. Most American leaders predicted that Canada would fall easily. Military commanders planned to invade from three directions—from Detroit, from Niagara Falls, and up the Hudson River valley toward Montreal. The British foiled all three attacks.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie The following year, the United States had more success after Commodore **Oliver Perry** secretly arranged for the construction of a fleet on Lake Erie in Ohio. There, on September 10, 1813, Perry's ships attacked the British fleet. After a grueling four-hour battle, the British surrendered. As Perry famously reported, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

Perry's victory gave the Americans control of Lake Erie. British ships had used the lake to shuttle troops back and forth quickly to meet American attacks.



Geography Skills

- 1. Interpreting Maps** What British victory took place the farthest north?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** Why was control of Lake Erie so important to the American forces?

Now their ability to respond to American attacks was more limited. Shortly afterward, William Henry Harrison, now a general, marched from Detroit into Canada. At the battle of the Thames River, Harrison defeated a combined force of British troops and Native Americans led by Tecumseh. Tecumseh died during the fighting, and the Native American confederacy soon collapsed.

Harrison expected to meet up with American troops coming from Niagara Falls. After learning that they had been defeated at the Battle of Stony Creek, however, Harrison retreated to Detroit. By the end of 1813, the United States still had not conquered any territory in Canada.

The Battle of Lake Champlain In the early years of the War of 1812, the British were also fighting France. That changed in 1814 when Napoleon's empire fell apart. The British were then able to send many more troops to the United States.

In September 1814, about 15,000 well-trained and well-equipped British soldiers advanced southward from Montreal, intending to take New York. They were stopped when the American naval force on Lake Champlain, led by Commodore Thomas Macdonough, defeated the British fleet on September 11. When the British realized that the Americans could use their control of the lake to surround them, they retreated to Montreal.

Raids on Washington, D.C., and Baltimore With attention focused on Canada, a British fleet sailed into Chesapeake Bay in August 1814 and marched troops into Washington, D.C. Government officials hastily fled without a fight. The British set fire to both the White House and the Capitol and proceeded to Baltimore.

Unlike Washington, Baltimore was prepared. Some 13,000 militia troops and 1,000 American soldiers stood ready to defend the city. Throughout the night of September 13, the British bombarded Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor. Early the next morning, they abandoned their attack. **Francis Scott Key**, a young

lawyer held aboard a British ship during the shelling, was elated to see the American flag still flying at dawn. On the back of a letter, he scribbled a poem that would later become the national anthem. The final lines of the first verse evoke the powerful symbolism of the flag:

“O! say, does that Star-Spangled Banner yet wave,
O’er the land of the free and the home of the brave?”

Events in New England and New Orleans Opposition to the War of 1812 centered in New England. In December 1814, Federalists in Massachusetts organized delegates from Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont to



meet with them in Hartford, Connecticut. Some delegates urged New England to secede, or withdraw, from the United States. More moderate delegates refused to support such extreme action. Instead, the **Hartford Convention** ended by calling for constitutional amendments to increase the region's political power.

Less than a month after the Hartford Convention began, an American victory in the South put a stop to Federalist complaints. In January 1815, a British fleet landed about 7,500 men near New Orleans. American General Andrew Jackson quickly improvised a defense by building a barricade out of cotton bales from the nearby fields. The thick bales absorbed the British bullets, while the British advancing in the open provided easy targets for the American troops. After a brief battle, the British withdrew. It was a decisive victory for the United States.

The **Battle of New Orleans** made Jackson a hero. It also helped to destroy the Federalist Party. The smashing American victory led to a surge of patriotism, making the Federalists' actions at the Hartford Convention appear divisive. The Federalists never recovered politically. The battle, however, had little value militarily. It occurred two weeks after the war had officially ended and the peace treaty had been signed.

The Treaty of Ghent Peace talks began even before the major battles of 1814 in the European city of Ghent. Both sides agreed to sign the **Treaty of Ghent**



History Through Art

Inspiring Battle This Battle of New Orleans scene by John Landis shows General Andrew Jackson's cotton-bale defense of the Southern city. **Did the battle have an impact on the war's end? Why or why not?**

on December 24, 1814. This treaty restored prewar boundaries but did not mention neutral rights or impressment, and no territory changed hands. It did, however, create commissions to settle fishing rights and boundary disputes. Still, the War of 1812 increased the nation's prestige overseas and generated a new spirit of patriotism and national unity.

Four years later in the Convention of 1818, the United States and Great Britain set the U.S.-Canadian border from what is now Minnesota to the Rocky Mountains at 49° north latitude. The countries also agreed to claim jointly for the next ten years a region farther west known as the Oregon Country.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What were the effects of the Battle of New Orleans?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *judicial review, contraband, impressment, embargo, War Hawk.*
- Identify:** Louisiana Purchase.
- Summarize** why the Essex Junto and some Hartford Convention members wanted New England to secede from the United States.

Reviewing Themes

- Government and Democracy** How did *Marbury v. Madison* strengthen the Supreme Court?

Critical Thinking

- Comparing and Contrasting** In what ways was Jefferson similar to and different from Washington and Adams in terms of presidential style and policies?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the causes and effects of the War of 1812.

War of 1812		
Causes	Key Events	Effects

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Art** Study John Landis's depiction of the Battle of New Orleans on this page. What has the artist done to portray General Andrew Jackson (far right, on horseback) as a heroic figure?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine you are a member of the Lewis and Clark or Zebulon Pike expedition exploring unknown territory in the Far West. Write a journal entry describing a day's activities and sights.



This locator map shows Lewis and Clark's route from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition collected valuable information about the people, plants, animals, and geography of the West. Americans soon followed in the footsteps of the intrepid explorers to open up the American West.



Westward to the Pacific



An accomplished geographer and cartographer, William Clark compiled this detailed map of the expedition's route around the Great Falls of the Missouri River.

Area of Clark's map in log book shown above



Sun River

GREAT FALLS
June 13, 1805

Camp above
the falls

Camp below
the falls

On May 26, 1805, from a bluff above the Missouri River, Meriwether Lewis "beheld the Rocky Mountains for the first time."

In May 1804, the Corps of Discovery—Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and about 40 others—set sail up the Missouri River from their camp outside of St. Louis. Their mission was to find the so-called Northwest Passage—a water route across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. However, after crossing the Great Plains, they discovered the enormous obstacle between them and the Pacific: the Rocky Mountains. Tackling those "terrible mountains," wrote Lewis, proved "the most perilous and difficult part of our voyage" (see map at left).

One of their first challenges was to get beyond the Great Falls of the Missouri. It took them nearly a month to move their boats and supplies almost 18 miles (29 km) around the falls to a more navigable part of the river. Clear of the falls, they pressed on, up through a deep canyon known as the Gates of the Rocky Mountains—"the most remarkable cliffs that we have yet seen," recalled Lewis. From here, the Missouri River ran fast, and its current was strong. In late July 1805, the expedition arrived at Three Forks. After trekking up each fork of the river, Lewis and Clark opted for the western branch, which they named for President Thomas Jefferson. From here, progress slowed. The men often had to wade through the increasingly shallow water, drag-

ging their boats behind them. Soon they would have to abandon the boats altogether; but first they needed horses to carry their supplies over the mountains.

Lewis and three men went on ahead. On August 12 they crossed the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass, becoming the first explorers from the United States to do so. As Lewis and his party descended the steep mountains, they encountered a band of Shoshone. Lewis convinced Cameahwait, their leader, to go back to meet the others. To everyone's astonishment, the Shoshone recognized their Native American guide, Sacagawea, as a member of their band who had been kidnapped long ago. Sacagawea suddenly realized Chief Cameahwait was her brother, and she joyfully embraced him.

With Sacagawea's help, Lewis convinced the Shoshone to sell them horses and provide a guide. The Corps crossed into the Bitterroot Range around Lost Trail Pass. After a pause at Traveler's Rest, the expedition headed over the massive peaks. They climbed the snow-covered slopes and struggled around the fallen trees, watching in horror as their horses slipped and rolled down. Game was so scarce that the famished explorers were forced to kill and eat three of their colts. Despite the hardships, the weary party trudged on until they arrived at a village of the Nez Perce, who provided food and water. The explorers finally reached a tributary of the Columbia River, built dugout boats, abandoned their horses, and floated west all the way to the Pacific Ocean.



LEARNING FROM GEOGRAPHY

1. Why were Lewis and Clark unable to complete their mission?
2. Imagine that you are a member of the expedition. Write a letter home detailing some of the sights you have seen.



SECTION 3

The Growth of American Nationalism

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

Americans developed powerful feelings of patriotism and national unity after the War of 1812.

Key Terms and Names

revenue tariff, protective tariff, *McCulloch v. Maryland*, Seminole, Monroe Doctrine

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the nation after the War of 1812, complete a graphic organizer by listing actions that strengthened the federal government at home and abroad.



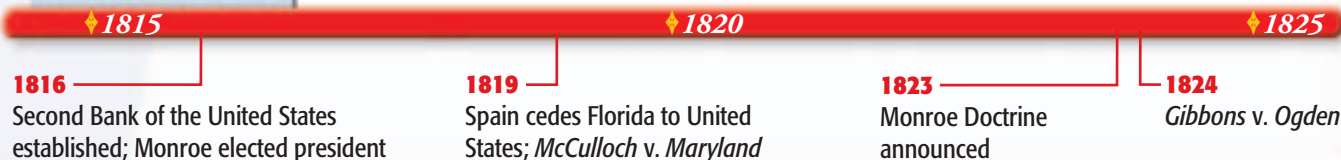
Reading Objectives

- **Analyze** how John Marshall strengthened the Supreme Court.
- **Evaluate** how nationalism affected American foreign policy after the War of 1812.

Section Theme

Continuity and Change Increased national pride marked the period immediately following the War of 1812.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



James Monroe

On a March day in 1817, a dignified group of government officials gathered in Washington, D.C., to witness the inauguration of the fifth president of the United States. The attentive audience was full of hope and optimism as James Monroe delivered his Inaugural Address.

“Never did a government commence under auspices so favorable, nor ever was success so complete. If we look to the history of other nations, ancient or modern, we find no example of a growth so rapid, so gigantic, of a people so prosperous and happy. In contemplating what we have still to perform, the heart of every citizen must expand with joy when he reflects how near our Government has approached to perfection. . . . If we persevere in the career in which we have advanced so far and in the path already traced, we can not fail, under the favor of a gracious Providence, to attain the high destiny which seems to await us.”

—from James Monroe’s Inaugural Address, March 1817

Political Unity

President Monroe’s words emphasized the sense of nationalism that swept the United States after the War of 1812. More and more Americans began to consider themselves to be part of a whole. Their loyalty to the United States overrode their identity with state or region. Riding this wave of nationalism, the new president made a goodwill tour of the



country, finding enthusiastic crowds at every stop. The *Columbian Centinel*, a Boston newspaper, declared that an **Era of Good Feelings** had dawned.

Harmony in national politics reached a new high, mostly because only one party, the Republicans, had any power. At the same time, the war had taught Americans that a stronger federal government was advantageous. In the postwar years, Republican leaders shifted their focus from world affairs to national growth.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why is the Monroe presidency known as the Era of Good Feelings?

Economic Nationalism

As Monroe's presidency began, Congress prepared an ambitious economic program. It included creating a new national bank, protecting American manufacturers from foreign competition, and building new roads and canals.

The Second Bank of the United States Republicans had blocked the rechartering of the First Bank of the United States in 1811 but offered nothing in its place. The results were disastrous. State-chartered banks and other private banks greatly expanded their lending with bank notes that were used as money. Without the regulatory presence of the national bank, prices rose rapidly during the War of 1812.

In 1816 Representative John C. Calhoun of South Carolina introduced a bill proposing the Second Bank of the United States. The bill passed and was signed by outgoing President Madison. It empowered the bank to control state banks and to issue notes that would serve as a national currency.

ECONOMICS

The Protective Tariff Protecting manufacturers from foreign competition was another Republican goal. Because the Embargo of 1807 and the War of 1812 had kept Americans from buying British goods, American industries had increased their output to meet demand. Once the war was over, British goods flowed into the United States at low prices, severely threatening American companies.

Congress responded with the Tariff of 1816. Unlike earlier **revenue tariffs**, intended to provide federal income, this was a **protective tariff**, aimed at protecting American manufacturers by taxing imports.

Internal Improvements The Republicans also wanted to improve the nation's transportation system. The difficulties of moving troops and supplies during the war highlighted the need for better roads and canals. In 1816 Calhoun sponsored a bill to fund such improvements. President Madison vetoed it, however, arguing that the Constitution did not empower Congress to improve transportation. Nevertheless, road and canal construction soon began in earnest with support from private businesses and state and local governments.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** What were three examples of economic nationalism after the War of 1812?

Judicial Nationalism

The judicial philosophy of the Chief Justice of the United States, John Marshall, provided another boost to postwar nationalism. He interpreted the Constitution broadly to support federal power. Between 1816 and 1824, several important cases established the power of the nation over the states.

McCulloch v. Maryland The 1819 case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* involved Maryland's attempt to tax the Baltimore branch of the Second Bank of the

Profiles IN HISTORY

John C. Calhoun 1782–1850

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was an influential member of Congress and, at least for a time, a close friend of Henry Clay. Like Clay, Calhoun was a War Hawk—one who urged war with Great Britain in 1812—and an ardent nationalist in his early career. After the War of 1812, Calhoun helped introduce congressional bills for a new Bank of the United States, a permanent road system to bind the nation together, and a tariff to protect the nation's industries.

In the 1830s Calhoun abandoned his nationalist stance in favor of states' rights and sectional interests. Fearing



that the North intended to dominate the South, Calhoun spent the rest of his career trying to prevent the federal government from weakening states' rights and from interfering with the Southern way of life.



Major Supreme Court Decisions, 1801–1824

Marbury v. Madison (1803)	Declared congressional act unconstitutional; Court asserts power of judicial review
Fletcher v. Peck (1810)	Protected contracts from legislative interference; Court could overturn state laws that opposed specific provisions of Constitution
Martin v. Hunter's Lessee (1816)	Court can accept appeals of state court decisions and review state decisions that involve federal statutes or treaties; asserted the Supreme Court's sovereignty over state courts
McCulloch v. Maryland (1819)	Upheld constitutionality of the Bank of the United States; doctrine of "implied powers" provided Congress more flexibility to enact legislation
Cohens v. Virginia (1821)	Reasserted federal judicial authority over state courts; argued that when states ratified Constitution, they gave up some sovereignty to federal courts
Gibbons v. Ogden (1824)	Revoked an existing state monopoly; Court gave Congress the right to regulate interstate commerce

Source: *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*

United States. Before addressing Maryland's right to tax the national bank, the Supreme Court first ruled on the federal government's right to create a national bank in the first place. In the Court's opinion, written by John Marshall, the bank was constitutional, even though the Constitution did not specifically give Congress the power to create one. Marshall observed that the Constitution gave the federal government the power to collect taxes, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, and to raise armies and navies. He noted that the national bank helped the federal government exercise these powers. He concluded that the "necessary and proper" clause allowed the federal government to use its powers in any way not specifically prohibited by the Constitution. (See page 963 for more information on *McCulloch v. Maryland*.)

Opponents argued that the necessary and proper clause meant the government could only take action that was absolutely necessary, but Marshall specifically rejected that idea. Instead, he held that "necessary and proper" meant the government could use any method that was convenient for carrying out its powers as long as the Constitution did not expressly forbid it.

Marshall then went on to argue that the federal government was "supreme in its own sphere of action." This meant that a state government could not interfere with an agency of the federal government exercising its specific constitutional powers within a state's borders. Taxing the national bank was a form of interference and was therefore ruled unconstitutional.

Gibbons v. Ogden The 1824 case of *Gibbons v. Ogden* dealt with interstate commerce. A company with a state-granted monopoly over steamboat traffic

Chart Skills

1. **Interpreting Charts** In which case did Chief Justice Marshall assert the Court's right of judicial review?
2. **Analyzing** Was Marshall a strict interpreter of the Constitution? Use a case to support your answer.

in New York waters also wanted exclusive control of steamboats crossing the Hudson River to New Jersey. The Supreme Court declared the original monopoly unconstitutional. In the Court's opinion, written by Marshall, a state could regulate commerce within its own borders, but navigation of a waterway between two states was interstate commerce, and the Constitution specifically granted the federal government control over interstate commerce.

In broadening the definition of interstate commerce beyond the exchange of goods between states, Marshall ensured that federal law would take precedence over state law in interstate transportation. Defenders of states' rights attacked many of Marshall's decisions, as his views helped make the "necessary and proper" clause and the interstate commerce clause vehicles for expanding federal power. (See page 963 for more information on *Gibbons v. Ogden*.)

Reading Check Explaining How did the Supreme Court strengthen the power of the federal government over the states?

Nationalist Diplomacy

Postwar nationalism influenced foreign as well as domestic affairs. Feeling proud and confident, the United States under President Monroe expanded its borders and asserted itself on the world stage.



Jackson Invades Florida During the early 1800s, Spanish-held Florida was a source of frustration for Southerners. Many runaway slaves hid there, and the **Seminoles**, a Native American group, often clashed with American settlers across the border in Georgia. Spain was unable to control the border, and many Americans demanded the United States step in. As tensions heightened, a Seminole leader named Kinache warned Americans to stay out of Florida:

“You charge me with killing your people, stealing your cattle and burning your houses; it is I that have cause to complain of the Americans. . . . I shall use force to stop any armed Americans from passing my towns or my lands.”

—quoted in *The Seminoles of Florida*

The warning fell on deaf ears. Former representative Calhoun, now secretary of war, authorized action against the Seminoles. In 1818 Andrew Jackson led U.S. troops into Florida and quickly seized Spanish settlements at Pensacola and St. Marks.

The Spanish government demanded that American officials punish Jackson, but Secretary of State John Quincy Adams blamed Spain for failing to keep order in Florida. Adams then put pressure on Spain in ongoing border questions. Occupied with problems throughout its Latin American empire, Spain gave in and ceded all of Florida to the United States in the **Adams-Onís Treaty** of 1819.

The Monroe Doctrine Spain had good reason to worry about Latin America. Many of Spain’s colonies there were declaring their independence.

Meanwhile, some European monarchies expressed their interest in helping Spain suppress these Latin American revolutions.

Neither Great Britain nor the United States wanted Spain to regain control of its colonies. Both were trading with Latin America. In August 1823, Britain suggested that the United States join it in issuing a statement supporting Latin American independence.

John Quincy Adams urged President Monroe to issue his own statement on behalf of United States interests. The Monroe administration also had concerns at this time about Russia’s growing interest in the American northwest. In 1821 Russia had announced that its empire extended south from Alaska to the Oregon territory.

Under these circumstances, Monroe decided to issue a statement in December 1823. In the **Monroe Doctrine**, the president declared that the American continents should no longer be viewed as open to colonization. He specifically advised Europe to respect the sovereignty of new Latin American nations. (See page 952 for more information on the Monroe Doctrine.)

The Monroe Doctrine was a bold act for a young nation. The United States might not have been able to back up its new stand if it had been challenged. The doctrine upheld Washington’s policy of avoiding European entanglements and also guided American foreign policy for years.

Reading Check **Examining** How did the Adams-Onís Treaty and the Monroe Doctrine demonstrate a strong approach to foreign policy?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *revenue tariff, protective tariff.*
- Identify:** *McCulloch v. Maryland, Seminole, Monroe Doctrine.*
- Explain** how the Supreme Court rulings in *McCulloch v. Maryland* and *Gibbons v. Ogden* strengthened the federal government.

Reviewing Themes

- Continuity and Change** Did the Monroe Doctrine represent a continuation or change in President Washington’s foreign policy? Explain.

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** How did nationalism affect the foreign affairs of the United States?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list examples of nationalism in the United States after the War of 1812.

Examples of Nationalism		
Economic	Judicial	Diplomatic

Analyzing Visuals

- Posing Questions** Study the chart of Supreme Court decisions on page 172. Use the information to construct a 10-question quiz to give to your classmates to assess their understanding of the Marshall Court.

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine you are a newspaper editor in Georgia or Spanish-held Florida. Write an editorial in which you criticize or defend Andrew Jackson’s actions in seizing Spanish settlements in Florida.

CHAPTER

4

ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

1. cabinet
2. bond
3. speculator
4. enumerated powers
5. implied powers
6. excise tax
7. most-favored nation
8. alien
9. interposition
10. nullification
11. judicial review
12. contraband
13. impressment
14. embargo
15. War Hawk
16. revenue tariff
17. protective tariff

Reviewing Key Facts

18. **Identify:** XYZ Affair, Monroe Doctrine.
19. What was the main focus of the first eight amendments in the Bill of Rights?
20. Why did James Madison oppose the establishment of a national bank?
21. Why did tensions between Western settlers and Native Americans increase during Washington's presidency?
22. What events led to the War of 1812?
23. What were three actions that strengthened the federal government after the War of 1812?

Critical Thinking

24. **Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** What was the most important task for Congress after the U.S. Constitution was ratified? Explain your answer.
25. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to list the differences between the first political parties in the United States.

Federalists	Republicans

26. **Interpreting Primary Sources** In *McCulloch v. Maryland*, the Supreme Court was asked whether Congress had the power to set up the Bank of the United States. The following excerpt is from Chief Justice John Marshall's ruling. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“The government of the United States . . . though limited in its powers, is supreme; and its laws, when made in pursuance of the constitution, form the supreme law of the land. . . . Among the enumerated powers, we do not find establishing a bank or creating a corporation. But there is no phrase in the instrument which . . . requires that everything granted shall be expressly and minutely described. . . . Among the enumerated powers

Chapter Summary



George Washington

- Established legitimacy of the new government
- Created executive departments
- Favored neutrality
- Used troops to stop Native American resistance in the West

Thomas Jefferson

- Republican leader; worked to limit power of national government
- Favored land ownership for all people
- Supported farmers over commerce and trade
- Negotiated purchase of the Louisiana Territory



John Adams

- Federalist leader in favor of strong national government
- Supported commerce and trade
- Favored neutrality; negotiated treaties with Britain and France to avoid war
- Angered farmers and landowners with taxes; angered political opponents with Alien and Sedition Acts



James Madison

- Republican who favored neutrality
- Asked Congress to declare war on Britain to protect trade interest in the East and farmers and settlers in the West
- Under his administration, the War of 1812 generated feelings of nationalism, and the Treaty of Ghent established fishing rights and boundaries with Canada



CONTENTS



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Republic Since 1877* Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 4** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

of government . . . we find the great powers to lay and collect taxes; to borrow money; to regulate commerce; to declare war and conduct a war; and to raise and support armies and navies. . . . A government entrusted with such ample powers . . . must also be entrusted with ample means for their execution. . . . All means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional. . . .”

—from *McCulloch v. Maryland*

- What was Marshall’s opinion about the power of the government of the United States?
- Why do you think the ruling in *McCulloch v. Maryland* made American nationalism stronger?

Practicing Skills

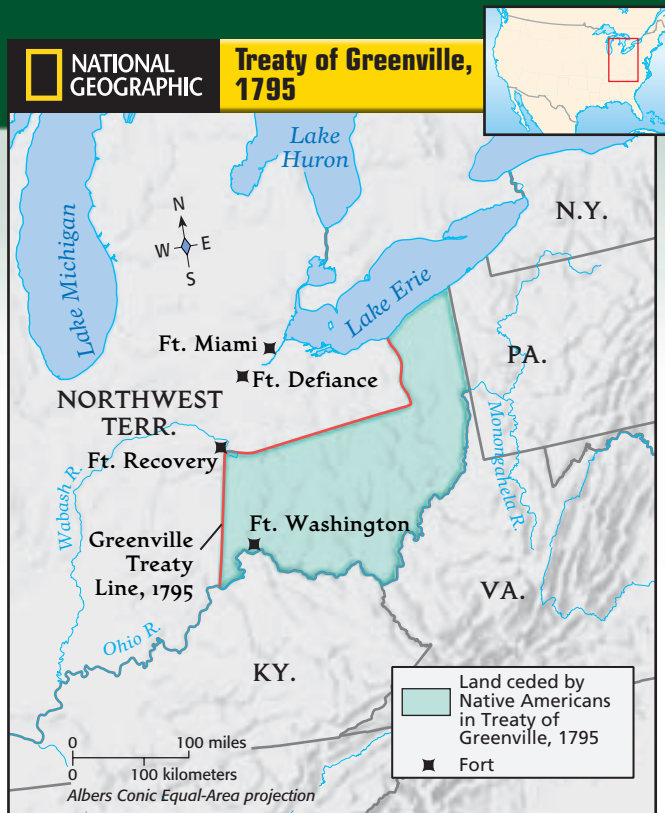
- Reading a Flowchart** Reread the passage about Rising International Tensions on pages 164–165 from Section 2. Then complete the following flowchart of events leading to the War of 1812.
 - British warship attacks the *Chesapeake*.
 - _____
 - Madison asks Congress to pass the Non-Intercourse Act.
 - _____
 - France takes conciliatory steps.
 - _____
 - Congress declares war.

Writing Activity

- Expository Writing** Imagine that you are a newspaper editor in 1817. You have been asked to write an article on the high and low points of the first four presidential administrations. Use evidence to support your reflections.

Chapter Activity

- American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** Under *A New Nation*, read George Washington’s Farewell Address and Thomas Jefferson’s First Inaugural Address. Debate modern political party performance with your classmates, using the opinions of Washington and Jefferson demonstrated in these primary sources.



Geography and History

- The map above shows land acquired in the Treaty of Greenville. Study the map and answer the questions below.
 - Interpreting Maps** In the Treaty of Greenville, Native Americans ceded most of which present-day state?
 - Applying Geography Skills** Why was the land the Native Americans gave up valuable to white settlers?

Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

Which of the following actions reflect President Jefferson’s goal of limiting the power of the federal government?

- He increased the size of the army.
- He proposed renewing the Alien and Sedition Acts.
- He dissolved the Republican Party to eliminate political conflict.
- He cut the federal budget.

Test-Taking Tip: Think about the word *limit*. It means to reduce or restrict. Therefore, you can eliminate answer F—it gave the government more power.