

19th Century U.S. History
Mr. Hoblitzelle

TEXTBOOK

1 Making the Constitution Work

The ratification of the United States Constitution did not mean that the new government would succeed. The three branches of government needed to be organized, a bill of rights needed to be adopted, and many problems faced the young country. One of the most pressing concerns was the poor financial condition of the United States. However, largely through the efforts of leaders who held Federalist views and who favored strengthening the national government, the new government under the Constitution was successfully started.

The First Presidency The presidency was to be filled according to provisions laid out in the Constitution. Electors voted for two persons. The person receiving the largest vote, if a majority, was to be President. The Vice-Presidential position would be filled by the person receiving the next largest vote. The presidential electors all chose George Washington of Virginia as the first President in 1789. The choice of the 57-year-old Revolutionary War hero helped make certain that the government would succeed. His leadership during the war and his part as president of the Constitutional Convention earned him the admiration and trust of the American people. In addition, Washington commanded great respect overseas.

Instead of pursuing a political career, Washington would rather have remained a Virginia planter. However, Washington was a leader with a strong sense of duty. As he wrote his friend Benjamin Lincoln, "Nothing in this world can ever draw me from [retirement] unless it be a conviction that the partiality of men had made my services absolutely necessary." Shortly after receiving the news of his election, Washington began the eight-day journey from Mount Vernon to New York City, the temporary national capital. Everywhere along the way, Washington was greeted with feasts, parades, and great enthusiasm. At noon on April 30, 1789, Washington became our nation's first President.

Washington was greatly aware of the responsibility that lay before him in organizing a new government. He could not draw upon the past and he knew that his acts and decisions would, in the future, be looked upon as examples of the Presi-

dent's role in the government. Furthermore, Washington was aware that his decisions would greatly affect America's prestige overseas. "I walk on untrodden ground," he said. "There is scarcely any part of my conduct that may not hereafter be drawn into precedent."

The presidential electors had chosen John Adams of Massachusetts as Vice-President. Adams, who had served America in several positions, believed strongly in the Constitution and was Washington's choice for Vice-President.

Three Major Tasks President Washington, Vice-President Adams, and the newly elected senators and representatives faced many problems. The United States in 1789 was a weak country. Its army was small and it did not have a navy. Indians attacked frontier settlements and pirates threatened American commerce.

In addition to these and other difficulties, the new government was faced with three major tasks. Congress was responsible for organizing the new government. Congress also had to act to add a bill of rights—limiting the power of the national government—to the Constitution. Furthermore, the new country was in serious financial trouble and needed to raise money.

Congress Organizes the New Government Of the many problems facing the new Congress, probably the most pressing was to organize the new government. Therefore, one of Congress's first acts was to set up the executive branch. Article II of the Constitution allowed the creation of any number of executive departments. In the summer of 1789, Congress set up the departments of State, War, and the Treasury. The Judiciary Act of 1789, passed in September of that year, established the office of attorney general. However, Congress did not set up the Department of Justice, which today the attorney general heads, until 1870. Washington started the tradition of regularly consulting with department heads, known as the cabinet.

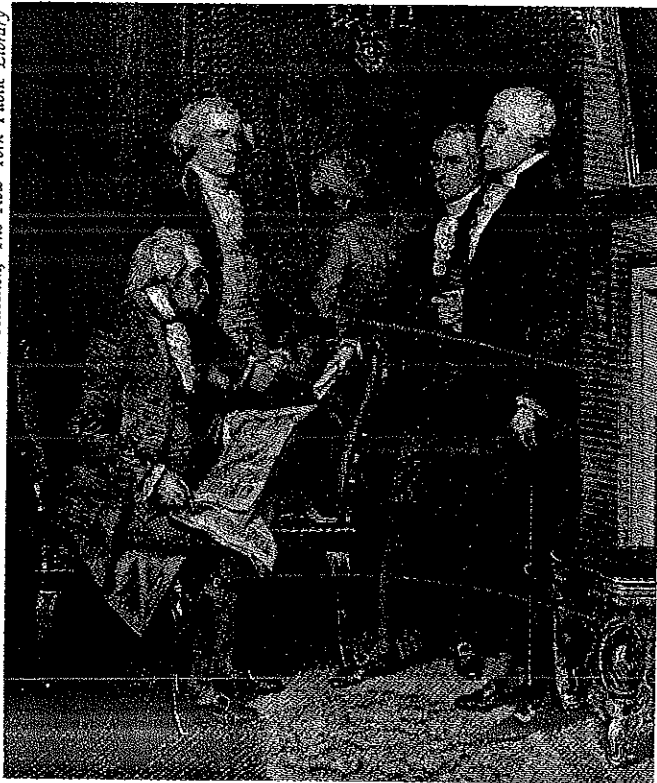
George Washington demanded and won the right to appoint and dismiss department heads without the approval of Congress. Washington argued that since these departments were part of

the executive branch they should fall under the jurisdiction of the President. As a result, George Washington carefully chose able leaders who supported the Constitution to head the cabinet departments. Washington chose Henry Knox of Massachusetts, who had served as chief of artillery during the Revolution, as the first secretary of war. As attorney general, Washington chose Edmund Randolph of Virginia, an able and respected lawyer.

Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson of Virginia as secretary of state and Alexander Hamilton of New York as secretary of the treasury. These two bright and articulate leaders played key parts in shaping the policies of the United States during its early years. Their differing political ideas became the bases of America's first political parties—the Republicans and the Federalists—in the late 1790's.

Congress also acted to set up the national judiciary. The Constitution stated that there should

President Washington—on the far right—chose for his cabinet—from left to right—Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph, and Alexander Hamilton.



Print Collection, The New York Public Library

be a Supreme Court. The Constitution, however, did not state how the court should be set up. Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1789, which stated that the Supreme Court should be made up of 1 Chief Justice and 5 associate justices. It also established 3 circuit courts and 13 district courts, 1 in each state. The act gave the Supreme Court the power to review the decisions of the state courts that had to do with the Constitution, treaties, and federal laws. George Washington chose John Jay as the first Chief Justice.

One of the most pressing problems facing the New Congress was the passage of a bill of rights. Many of the states were willing to accept the Constitution only after they had been assured that a bill of rights would be added. Numerous amendments were proposed to protect individual rights at the state ratifying conventions. James Madison headed a committee to review these proposals. On June 28, 1789, James Madison introduced 12 proposed amendments to Congress. By the end of 1791, 10 of the amendments—the Bill of Rights—had been ratified by three fourths of the states and added to the Constitution.

Financial Problems The new United States government faced several financial problems. An immediate problem was to raise enough money for the government's day-to-day business. In early 1789, largely through the work of James Madison, Congress passed a tariff bill to raise money. This bill, which also protected domestic industries from foreign competition, gave the central government a regular income for the first time.

Perhaps the most serious financial problem of the new government was the huge debt from the war. The government had borrowed millions of dollars to finance the war, and this had yet to be paid back. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton pointed out the poor economic state of the United States in his *Report on the Public Credit*, presented to Congress in January 1790. Hamilton's report showed that the United States had a foreign debt of about \$12 million. Most of the money was owed to France and the Netherlands. Hamilton also determined that the government had a domestic debt of more than \$44 million, and state debts of about \$25 million.

As secretary of the treasury, it was Alexander Hamilton's task to set the new government on a

strong financial base. Hamilton's economic plans showed his aristocratic nature. He did not trust the common people and respected only the rich and the able. His economic plans often favored those with wealth. His plans were formulated to ensure that the rich would be loyal to the new government.

A strong supporter of national government, Hamilton believed that the new country would succeed and grow powerful if its credit—at home and overseas—was firmly established. He also believed that the country would become stronger if the growth of manufacturing and trade was helped by the government. To achieve his aims, Hamilton put together an economic program that was made up of four parts. First, Hamilton called for the national government to pay off the states' debts as well as the national debt. He then asked Congress to set up a national bank, to pass a protective tariff, and to pass an excise tax.

Funding the Debt Hamilton first asked that the national debt be *funded*. This is a process whereby a government raises or borrows money to pay off a debt. To reach this goal, Hamilton planned to replace the old, worthless bonds that had been sold during the Revolutionary War with new bonds. Owners of these bonds would begin to receive interest on the new bonds right away. Thus, America would show its creditors that it would pay its debts. And the new government would be strengthened as well.

There was almost no controversy over the payment of the foreign debt at full value. However, disagreement arose over the payment of the debt at home—the money owed to American citizens. Many of the Revolutionary War soldiers and the widows of soldiers who fought in the Revolutionary War had to sell their bonds during the hard times of the Confederation period. They sold their bonds to speculators. These people had bought the bonds for a few cents in the hope of selling them for a profit in the future. Hamilton believed that the government should pay full value for all the bonds, but others did not agree. Some members of Congress, led by James Madison, said that speculators should be paid at a lower rate. They thought that only the first bond holders should be paid at full value. These leaders believed it was not fair for the speculators to make such

a huge profit. Madison's reasons also mirrored the early sectional differences in the country. Most of the speculators were from New England. The money to fund the debt would be raised by taxing all Americans. Thus southerners' money would be rewarding New Englanders.

Hamilton did not agree. He thought that all bond owners—including speculators—should be paid at full value because they had backed the nation during critical times. Hamilton also noted that many of the speculators were persons of wealth, and the nation needed their financial backing. Also, by taxing all Americans to fund the national debt, the country's unity would be strengthened. Hamilton's plan to fund the entire national debt was passed by Congress, even though Madison objected, by a three to one vote.

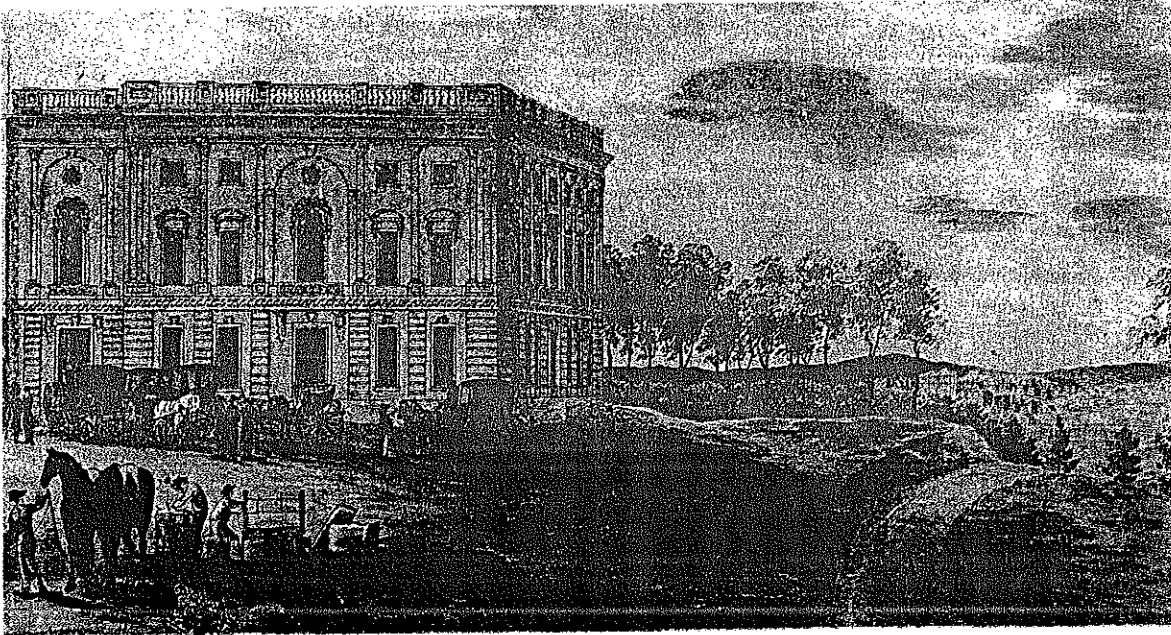
Another part of Hamilton's economic plan that caused an even greater controversy was his proposal that the national government pay back the state debts from the Revolutionary War. Some states, especially in the South, had already paid all or most of their debts. Most states in the North, however, were still heavily in debt. James Madison and other southern representatives again opposed Hamilton's plan.

To gain support for this part of his program, Hamilton reached a compromise with Thomas Jefferson. Hamilton agreed to support the relocation of the nation's capital in the South on the Potomac River. In return, Jefferson agreed to support the national payment of state debts. Jefferson agreed to this because he and other southern leaders believed the South would gain prestige and trade advantages by having the capital located in the South. So Washington, D.C., came to be built on the Potomac River.

The First Bank of the United States The second part of Hamilton's plan to put the United States on a sound economic footing involved the starting of a national bank. Hamilton proposed that the bank would provide the nation with much needed paper money and the government and businesses with banking services. All federal tax money would be deposited in the bank.

In return for depositing tax money in the bank, the government would own one fifth of the stock in the bank. The remaining 25,000 shares of stock could be purchased by other investors at \$400 a

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The location of the nation's capital was a result of political compromise, but the exact site on the Potomac River was chosen by George Washington. The President also selected the stone to be used for the Capitol, one of the few government buildings constructed by 1800.

share. Because the stockholders would choose the bank's officers, control of the bank would remain in private hands, rather than in the hands of the government. Hamilton's goals were to provide the country with a large pool of money to borrow from and to bind the loyalty of rich investors to the new government.

Though Jefferson had supported the payment of the national debt and had backed the assumption of the state debts, he was against a national bank. In February 1791, over the opposition of Jefferson and his supporters, Congress passed a bill creating a national bank. Jefferson asked President Washington to veto the bill as unconstitutional. Washington asked Jefferson and Hamilton for their views in writing.

Jefferson wrote that the government clearly did not have the power to create a national bank because it was not specifically stated in the Constitution. Jefferson also pointed to Article I, Section 8, Clause 18, which is sometimes called the elastic clause. This clause gives Congress the power "to make all laws necessary and proper" to carry out the powers listed in the Constitution. However, Jefferson stated that this clause should not be interpreted too loosely. Congress, he went on,

could carry out the listed powers without a bank. So a bank was not needed and was thus unconstitutional. Jefferson's interpretation of the Constitution has become known as *strict construction*.

On the other hand, Hamilton wrote that a national bank was clearly constitutional. The Constitution gave the government the power to collect taxes, borrow money, and direct trade. Hamilton stated that a national bank was needed to carry out these government tasks. Since no part of the Constitution prohibited Congress from starting a national bank, such a bank was certainly constitutional. Hamilton's interpretation of the Constitution has become known as *loose construction*.

President Washington was not completely won over by either side. However, he signed the bill because he believed that he needed to back the cabinet member—Hamilton—whose department was most closely involved. Over the years, loose construction would most often be favored because it adds to the flexibility of the Constitution.

The Protective Tariff Even though Hamilton steered his funding and bank plans through
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Congress, he was not able to pass a protective tariff. The tariff proposed by Hamilton was intended to protect American manufacturers from foreign competition.

Hamilton firmly believed that the protection of American industries was necessary. In his *Report on Manufactures*, in 1791, Hamilton pointed out the two major problems with American industries. First, the new industries suffered from a lack of experienced labor. Secondly, many industries did not have sufficient capital to operate effectively. It was Hamilton's contention that without the government's help, the new American industries could not be expected to compete with the established industries of Europe.

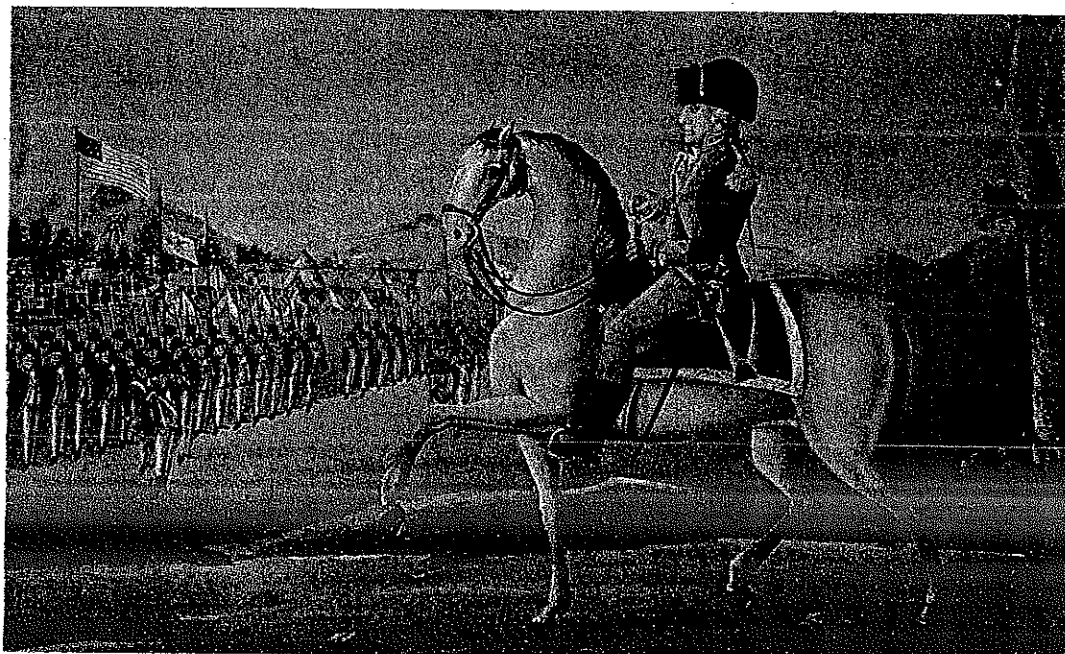
However, southerners were against this tariff. Because the South was basically agricultural, southerners had to buy more goods from other countries than did northerners. Southerners defeated Hamilton's tariff because they felt it was unfair to them.

The Whiskey Rebellion The fourth part of Hamilton's plan was an *excise tax*—a tax placed on the manufacture, sale, or use of certain goods made, sold, or used within a country—on distilled liquor. The excise tax, passed by Congress in late 1790, was made not only to raise money, but to

remind western citizens of the power of the new government. The tax directly affected the farmers of western Pennsylvania. Because of the lack of good transportation routes between western Pennsylvania and the East, these farmers turned their grain into whiskey, which was more easily sent to market and brought a higher price. Anger about the excise tax increased as farmers watched their profits dwindle. In 1794, the farmers rebelled. They attacked government tax officials, burned the home of the regional tax inspector, and destroyed the stills of those farmers who paid the tax.

Hamilton looked at the uprising as a chance to test the strength of the national government. According to the Constitution, Congress had the power "to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions." With the approval of Congress, President Washington called out the state militias from four neighboring states. This would be the first test of state loyalty to the Union. As the militia marched into western Pennsylvania, the rebels ran into the hills, and the uprising ended without a shot being fired. Washington's act showed the strength of the federal government, but many Americans, particularly Westerners, believed that he had been too harsh.

When farmers in western Pennsylvania rebelled against the excise tax on distilled liquor, President Washington called out the militia. James Peale painted this scene of President Washington reviewing the force of nearly 15,000 militia at Fort Cumberland, Maryland.



Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum

They noted that Washington's move was an unnecessary show of power.

Alexander Hamilton's economic plan helped build a sound economic base for the United States. Hamilton's plan also restored the confidence of investors overseas and at home, and promoted

economic activity. Washington's strong reaction to the Whiskey Rebellion also made the government stronger. Washington's actions showed the federal government's power to act within a state and it proved that the government would act readily in a crisis.

■ Section Analysis

1. What three cabinet departments did the First Congress establish?
2. How did Hamilton propose that the foreign and domestic debts be paid?
3. Why did Hamilton propose that Congress establish a national bank?

2 Maintaining Neutrality

George Washington's first term as President had been largely given to the establishment of the new government's authority at home. Having become President again in 1792, much of Washington's second term was spent on foreign relations. Advised by Hamilton and Jefferson, Washington wisely steered the nation on a middle course and kept the country at peace. This policy helped the United States to prosper. Washington had successfully guided the nation through troublesome years, and upon finishing his second term, he stressed the importance of keeping the country united and of avoiding ties to other countries.

Difference Over Foreign Policy In 1789, shortly after Washington became President, the people of France rose up against their king and the aristocracy. Opinions about the revolution differed. At first, most Americans viewed the overthrow of the French king as a victory for the cause of liberty. However, after 1793, the French Revolution turned into a bloodbath as a fanatical group known as the Jacobins set up a dictatorship. King Louis the XVI and many French nobles were killed.

Many Americans were shocked by the turn of events in France. Even liberal Americans found it hard to sympathize with the French cause. The American public became divided even more after war broke out between France and Great Britain.

The wars in Europe stemming from the French Revolution raised questions for Washington's administration. Some Republicans, remembering

France's help during the American Revolution, wanted to aid the French. These same Republicans pointed to our 1778 treaty with France, which stated that if France was attacked, the United States would defend the French West Indies. On the other hand, New England Federalists wanted closer ties to Great Britain. New England merchants were carrying on a lively trade with Britain, and any aid to the French would harm this profitable trade. Furthermore, much of the new government's money came from the duties on British goods.

President Washington, who wanted to keep the United States out of the war, asked Jefferson and Hamilton for their advice. Jefferson believed that since the United States made the 1778 treaty with France, the treaty was still binding. However, Jefferson noted that it was in America's best interest to keep out of the war. Hamilton said that, since the treaty was made between the French king and the Continental Congress, neither of which were still in power, the treaty was not binding upon the American government. Hamilton also feared that a war with Britain would destroy American trade and bring about economic hardship. In 1793, Washington issued the Neutrality Proclamation. In the proclamation he stated that the United States would remain *neutral*—not siding with either side—in the wars between France and Great Britain.

The Struggle to Remain Neutral If Great Britain and France had accepted the United States

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By 1800, many New England merchants were involved in a brisk trade with Europe. Here, American trading vessels line Crowninshield's Wharf at Salem, Massachusetts, after returning from a transatlantic voyage.

as a neutral country and had not interfered with American trading vessels, American merchants would have made a great deal of money. However, this was not to be the case. France and Great Britain both captured American vessels headed for the other country. In 1793 and 1794 nearly 600 American ships were seized.

The French attacks on American ships aroused less anger than did the British attacks because the French navy was weaker and the French professed to favor the rights of neutral countries. However, a diplomatic rift soon grew between the French and the American governments. At about the same time that Washington issued the Neutrality Proclamation, the French government sent Citizen Edmond Genet to seek American support. Rather than going directly to the capital in Philadelphia to present his credentials, Genet landed in Charleston, South Carolina, where he was given an enthusiastic welcome. Genet received the same kind of warm greeting as he made his way northward. Quickly concluding that the American people opposed Washington's policy of neutrality, Genet asked Americans to aid the French cause. In violation of American law, he began to commission American ships to attack British ships. He also began to organize attacks on the western forts of Spain—one of Britain's allies—in Florida and Louisiana.

Genet's actions were a clear violation of American neutrality. President Washington was upset by Genet's conduct. When Genet finally reached Philadelphia, Washington received him coolly and later ordered him to stop his illegal activities. But Genet persisted. Washington, now infuriated, asked France to recall Genet.

At the same time, Britain's increasing attacks on American trading ships aroused the ire of the American public. The French opened ports in the French West Indies to American shipping in 1793. These ports had previously been closed to ships from foreign countries. The French allowed American shipping to use the French West Indies ports because the French were in desperate need of supplies. The British had been destroying French ships carrying supplies, and the French hoped that the ships from neutral countries would not be stopped. As a result, the British invoked their Rule of 1756. This rule stated that trade denied in peacetime could not be opened in wartime. So the British took over American ships trading with the French West Indies. The British seized their cargoes and began the *impressment*—forcing into service—of American sailors into the British navy, claiming that they were British citizens.

Relations between the United States and Great Britain had been at a low level since the Treaty of Paris of 1783. A number of differences added

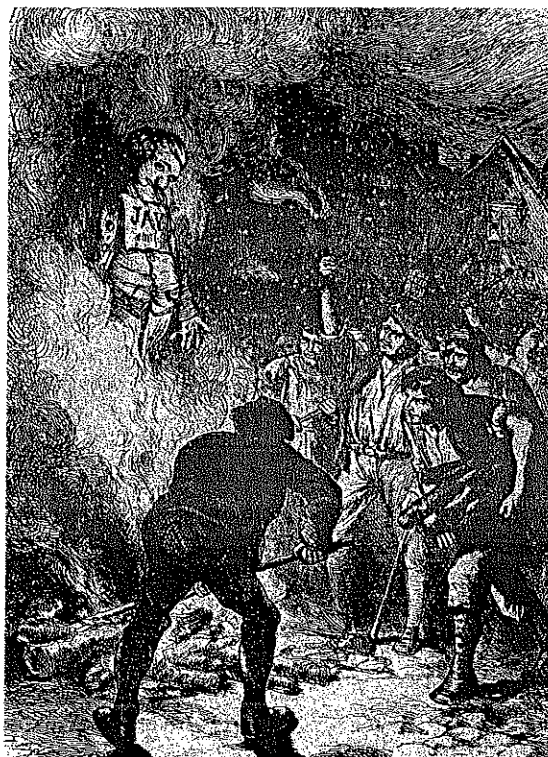
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to the bad feelings. The British held that the Americans did not carry out two provisions of the Treaty of Paris—the return of Loyalist property and the payment of money owed to British merchants at the outbreak of the war. In retaliation, the British had not withdrawn from their forts in the northwest. The British also sold firearms to Indians who were attacking American settlements in the Northwest Territory. These frontier tensions, along with the British attacks on American ships and the impressment of American sailors, angered many Americans. War with Great Britain seemed unavoidable.

The Jay Treaty In 1794, President Washington sent John Jay, the Chief Justice of the United States, as a special minister to Great Britain to try to settle the differences between the two countries. Jay tried to remove the tensions arising out of the Treaty of Paris. He demanded to be paid for the loss of American ships, and he tried to negotiate a trade treaty. However, Jay could not negotiate from a position of strength. The United States had no real military power and the British knew that Washington refused to enter into an alliance with any other European power. The treaty Jay negotiated demonstrated the weakness of the American position.

The Jay Treaty stated that the British government would evacuate all forts on American soil by June 1, 1796, and that Americans could have some trading rights in the British West Indies. Britain did not, however, promise to stop the seizure of American ships trading with France or with the French West Indies. Nothing in the Jay Treaty mentioned the issue that was most insulting to the Americans—impressment of American sailors. The treaty did state that the differences between the two countries would be settled by arbitration. Arbitration became an important means of settling international disputes. Most importantly, the Jay Treaty removed, for the time being, the danger of war between the United States and Great Britain.

When the terms of the Jay Treaty became known, the American public grew hostile. Some Republicans charged Jay with selling his country to the British. Angry crowds burned John Jay in effigy. Hamilton wrote newspaper essays defending the treaty. Meanwhile, Jefferson, who had left



When John Jay negotiated a treaty with Britain in 1794, he expected it would "give occasion to much declamation." American reaction to the Jay Treaty was somewhat stronger—crowds of Anti-Federalists burned Jay in effigy.

the cabinet in 1793, attacked the treaty from his home in Monticello. Only President Washington's backing secured the Jay Treaty's ratification—by a bare two-thirds majority of the Senate.

The Treaty With Spain As a result of the unpopular Jay Treaty, the United States was able to make a favorable treaty with Spain. While John Jay was negotiating with Britain, Spain broke ties with Britain and became an ally of France. The Spanish government feared that the Jay Treaty might lead to a British-American alliance that could one day be directed against the Spanish territories of Louisiana and Florida. So when Thomas Pinckney arrived in Madrid, he had no trouble settling old disputes.

The United States and Spain had two long-standing disputes. The border between the United States and Spanish Florida had never been firmly established. Also, the Spanish had interfered with American shipping on the Mississippi River. For many years, the Spanish had threatened to stop the Americans from depositing their goods at New

Orleans until the goods could be picked up by oceangoing vessels.

Spain agreed to the thirty-first parallel as the southern boundary of the United States. Spain further agreed to allow Americans to use the Mississippi River and recognized New Orleans as a port of deposit for American goods. Federalists and Republicans unanimously ratified the Pinckney Treaty. The Pinckney Treaty was important because now trade could develop and grow in the western United States.

Washington's Warnings As Washington neared the end of his second term as President, he decided to leave public life. Though he still stood for national unity, Washington was in ill health, and he refused to be a candidate for the

presidency in 1796. In September 1796, Washington gave his Farewell Address to his cabinet. It was never read publicly by the President but the address was printed in a Philadelphia newspaper.

In his address, Washington warned of three dangers facing the United States. He warned against the development of political parties, which Washington believed would divide Americans into enemy camps and destroy national unity. He also warned against the growing rivalry among different parts of the United States that had grown up during his second term. Finally, Washington warned against American involvement in "permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Washington believed that the United States would prosper if it steered a course away from Europe's problems.

■ Section Analysis

1. What did Washington's Neutrality Proclamation state?
2. How did Citizen Genet cause diplomatic problems between the American and French governments?
3. Why did Washington believe that the United States should maintain a neutral foreign policy?

3 Federalists v. Republicans

Between 1796 and 1800, the rivalry between Hamilton's and Jefferson's followers grew and the first national parties took shape. For the first time, political parties influenced the policies of the federal government. Parties played a key part in foreign policy as well. However, President John Adams placed the national good ahead of party gains. His wise actions kept the United States out of war, but caused the downfall of the Federalist party.

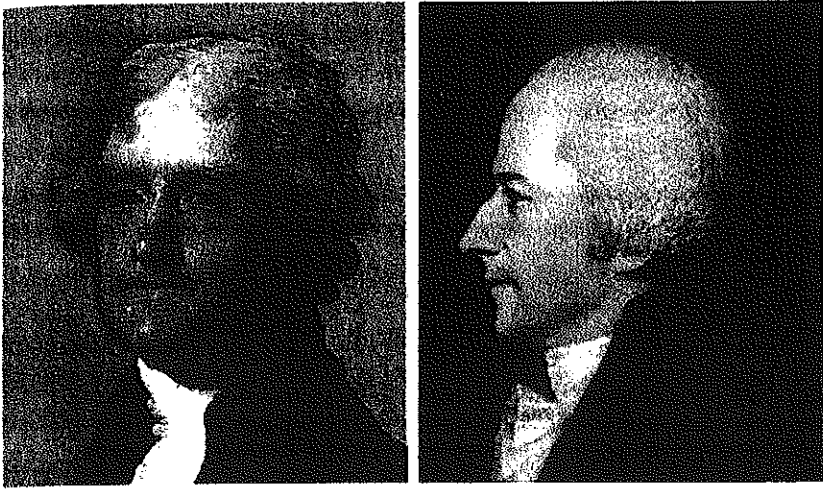
The Two Parties Formal political parties did not exist during Washington's first administration. During Washington's second term, however, political parties began to form. By the early 1790's, two opposing groups began to organize themselves around the ideas of either Thomas Jefferson or Alexander Hamilton.

Thomas Jefferson believed in representative democracy. He was sure that the people could

govern themselves through their chosen representatives. So he favored universal education. Jefferson thought that the nation's economy should be based on farming. He was against a strong central government. As he showed in his arguments against a national bank, Jefferson was a strict constructionist. Jefferson did not trust Great Britain, and he believed that the United States should seek closer ties to France.

Alexander Hamilton, on the other hand, was basically aristocratic. He favored a strong central government with its power concentrated in the hands of the rich and able. Hamilton thought that the nation's economy should be based on manufacturing and trade, as well as farming. Furthermore, Hamilton was a loose constructionist who believed that the Constitution implied powers it did not list. Hamilton favored Great Britain and thought that the United States should have the same kind of strong government. He believed the interests

(Left) Jointly owned by Monticello and the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation. (Both) National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



Deep political divisions appeared soon after President Washington left office. The first national political parties developed from these divisions. Thomas Jefferson (left) and the Republicans believed in representative democracy, while Alexander Hamilton (right) and the Federalists believed in a strong central government led by the wealthy and the able.

of the United States would be best served if the government worked closely with Great Britain.

During Washington's second term, those who backed Hamilton and his programs became known as Federalists. The Federalists drew their support from the trade and financial interests of the North and the East and some of the rich plantation owners of the South. Some city workers also supported the Federalists.

Jefferson, his friend Madison, and their followers were against most of Hamilton's programs. They became known as Republicans. In general, Republican backing came from the rural South and the West and from those who feared a strong national government.

Jefferson, Madison, and the Republicans were closely tied to Hamilton's chief political enemies in New York—Governor George Clinton and Aaron Burr. In this way, the Republicans tried to defeat Hamilton's programs and gain added support for their own party. Jefferson also helped the poet Philip Freneau start a pro-Republican newspaper, the *Gazette of the United States*, printed by John Fenno.

By the time of the presidential election of 1796, the Federalists and Republicans were well organized. Members of Congress from each party came together in a party *caucus*—meeting—to select their candidates. The Federalists chose John Adams as their candidate for President and Thomas Pinckney as their vice-presidential candidate. The Republicans named Thomas Jefferson

as their candidate for President and Aaron Burr as their vice-presidential candidate.

The Election of 1796 The election of 1796 is unique in American history because members of different parties were elected President and Vice-President. The Constitution did not direct the presidential electors to vote for candidates of the same party. This was because at the time the Constitution was written there were no political parties. According to the Constitution, the person receiving the largest number of votes became President and the person with the second largest became Vice-President.

Neither Adams nor Jefferson did any campaigning to win the people's votes. But the campaign was filled with lies about both men. Adams was charged with plotting against the United States and of being a monarchist. Jefferson was accused of being both a coward and an atheist. Furthermore, Hamilton, who feared he could not easily influence Adams, tried to secure the presidency for Pinckney. He hoped that Pinckney would win more votes than Adams or Jefferson and so become President.

Hamilton's plan did not work. Adams's supporters, seeing the danger of the scheme, voted first for Adams and second for different candidates. Pinckney won only 59 electoral votes. Adams, a Federalist, received 71 electoral votes and the presidency. Jefferson, a Republican, won 68 votes and the vice-presidency. The election of

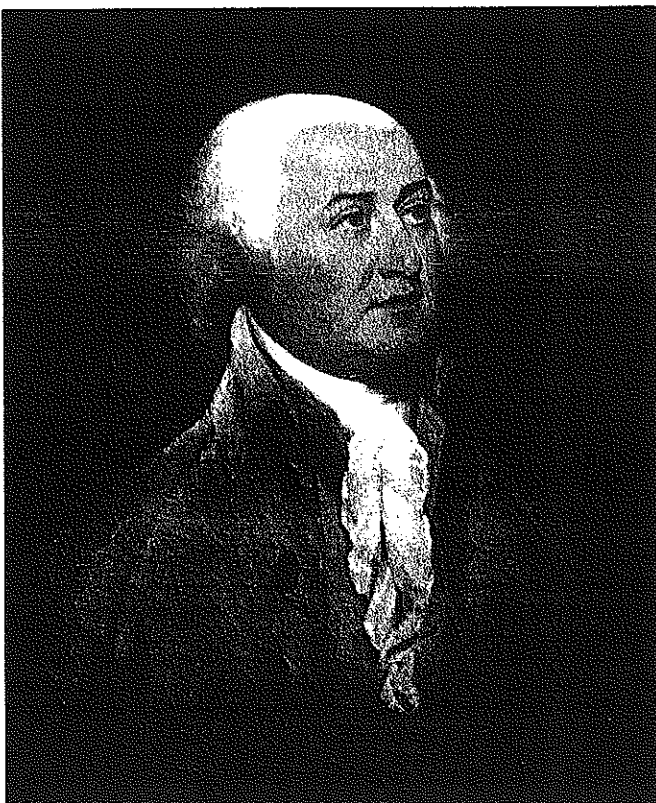
1796 pointed out a shortcoming in the Constitution and showed that candidates with differing views could be chosen President and Vice-President.

The Adams Administration John Adams was 61 years old when he became the second President in 1797. He had served the United States in several posts—minister to the Netherlands, member of the peace commission that secured the Treaty of Paris, minister to Great Britain, and Vice-President under George Washington. Adams was known to be fair, honest, and dedicated to his work. However, Adams did not have the political skill needed to unite the country behind his leadership.

President Adams kept the cabinet members who had served during Washington's second term. Unfortunately for Adams, Washington's cabinet

When John Adams became President, he had been involved in American affairs for more than 30 years. His public career began in 1765, when he spoke against the Stamp Act.

National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



members were friends of Hamilton and had tried to stop Adams from becoming President. These Federalists did not always support President Adams. Throughout his administration, Adams often was at odds with members of his own party as well as with Republicans.

For the most part, Adams was concerned with foreign affairs. Adams became President at a time when America's troubles with France, still at war with Great Britain, were growing. Even though Federalists pushed for war against France, Adams decided to continue Washington's policy of neutrality.

Relations With France When Adams took office in 1797, the French had seized 300 American ships going to Britain. The French had ordered this measure in answer to the Jay Treaty, which the French viewed as evidence of a British-American alliance. Relations between France and the United States grew worse when the Duc de Talleyrand, the foreign minister, rejected the Federalist Charles Pinckney as America's minister to France. The French continued to seize American ships, which even further fueled the Federalists' demand for war.

President Adams, however, was determined to avoid a war with France. He sent a special commission to try to resolve the problems between the two countries. The commission was made up of Charles C. Pinckney, the minister to France; John Marshall, a Federalist from Virginia; and Elbridge Gerry, a Republican from Massachusetts. Three representatives of Talleyrand met with the Americans. The French agents asked for a loan of \$1 million to the French government and a bribe of \$250,000. After months of fruitless discussions with the French, Pinckney and Marshall returned home. Gerry was later ordered home by Adams.

President Adams was asked by Congress to give a report of this incident. Adams did not give the names of the French agents but called them X, Y, and Z. As a result, the incident became known as the X,Y,Z Affair. Both Federalists and Republicans were angered by the reports. Many Federalists wanted war. Their cry became "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." The President was under great pressure to go to war. But Adams did not give in to popular demands. Hamil-

ton backed Adams's decision not to go to war, while members of Adams's cabinet urged him to do so.

As much as Adams did not want to go to war, he knew that the United States must be prepared in case war came. Many Federalists had asked Adams to raise an army and a navy. However, since all the skirmishes between France and the United States had been at sea, Adams supported the development of the American navy. Congress set up the Navy Department in 1798 and set aside money for 27 warships.

Between 1798 and 1800, the United States and France carried on an undeclared war at sea. American warships had been instructed to only attack French warships that were a threat to American trading ships. By the end of 1798, the American warships had captured about 80 French vessels. President Adams and the Federalists gained growing popularity because of these military victories, while the Republicans' support fell. Some Federalists still pushed for a declared war. Such a move could have added to the Federalists' popularity and might have gained Adams a second term.

Rather than further his or his party's fortunes, however, Adams chose to try to end this unofficial warfare. When Adams heard reports that Talleyrand would now accept an American minister with the proper respect, Adams sent a commission to France. Though Adams's action proved sound, many Federalists were angered.

By the time the commission reached France, Napoleon Bonaparte had made himself the head of a new French government. Napoleon, who was more interested in European conquest than in war with America, was ready to reach an agreement with the United States. This agreement, known as the Convention of 1800, released the United States from its earlier treaty with France. The French promised that the seas would be open to American shipping. The United States agreed not to ask for payment for the loss of American ships during the fighting.

Adams had kept the United States out of a major war with France. However, many Americans still hated the French, and Adams was sharply criticized by some for ending the fighting at sea. His popularity, which had gone up at the height of the crisis, fell sharply.

The Alien and Sedition Acts During the war at sea with France, several Republican newspaper editors and writers attacked President Adams and his policies. Other editors were French refugees and they, like most Republicans, thought Adams was anti-French. The Federalists feared that the ideas of these writers threatened the country's safety during the crisis with the French. As a result, the Federalist-controlled Congress passed four laws in 1798 aimed at putting down activities and writings against the government. In addition, the Federalists hoped these laws would undermine the growing power of the Republican party. These laws have become known as the Alien and Sedition Acts.

The Naturalization Act increased the time an immigrant had to live in the United States in order to become a citizen from 5 to 14 years. Most immigrants joined the Republican party when they became citizens. By making the required residency longer, the Federalists hoped to stem the growing tide of Republicans. The Alien Enemies Act gave the President the power to arrest or to send out of the country enemy aliens during a declared war. The Alien Act gave the President the power to send away any aliens he considered dangerous to the safety of the country. The fourth and most repressive of these laws was the Sedition Act aimed at Republican leaders. Anyone who stood in the way of the government or who slandered its officers could be fined or put in prison. By the end of the Adams administration, ten Republican newspaper editors had been convicted of going against the Sedition Act.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions A great number of Americans felt that the Alien and Sedition Acts took away freedoms guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. Republicans, sure that these laws were directly aimed at them and that these acts were illegal, turned to the state governments to air their views. In 1798, the legislature of Kentucky passed resolutions written by Thomas Jefferson. The same kinds of resolutions, written by James Madison, were passed by the Virginia legislature.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions stated that since the United States had been formed by a compact of sovereign states, each state could judge for itself when the compact had been

broken. So, a state could decide that a law passed by Congress is unconstitutional. The states, not the Supreme Court, had the final say on the constitutionality of federal laws.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions had little effect at the time because no other states were willing to pass the same kind of resolutions. Many state legislatures were run by the Federalists and many legislatures did not want to approve an idea that logically led to the right of a state to *secede*—withdraw—from the Union. The idea of government set forward in these resolutions, later known as states' rights, would be used in the years that followed to support states' rights when important issues divided the country.

The Legacy of the Federalists As the election of 1800 neared, the Federalists saw that their

■ Section Analysis

1. What was unique about the election of 1796?
2. How did President Adams end the undeclared naval war with France?
3. Why might it be said that the Alien and Sedition Acts reflect the growth of political-party rivalry?

SUMMARY

The new United States government organized by the Constitution started in 1789, and George Washington was unanimously chosen the first President. The First Congress worked quickly to put together the new government, set up the federal judiciary, and add a bill of rights to the Constitution. To solve the financial troubles of the country, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton planned a four-part economic program. It called for the funding of the national debt, the creation of a national bank, a protective tariff, and an excise tax on liquor. The excise tax caused an uprising among the farmers of western Pennsylvania. This uprising, known as the Whiskey Rebellion, ended when President Washington ordered a large militia into the state. Washington's strong reaction to the Whiskey Rebellion proved the strength of the federal government.

During Washington's second term, he tried to keep the United States neutral in foreign affairs. War had broken out between France and Great Britain, and neither country respected America's neutrality. Rela-

hold on the presidency was slipping. Fighting within the party had weakened the political power of the Federalists. The popularity enjoyed by President Adams and his party had faded after the excitement over the war with France had ended. Though the popularity of the Federalists dropped, their contribution to the young United States was important.

The Federalists guided the country through hard, uncertain years. They set up a system of government. In addition, the Federalists established a soundly based economic system. Federalist attempts at diversifying the economy helped the nation grow. In the area of foreign affairs, the Federalists wisely steered the young country on a neutral course, keeping the United States out of Europe's wars. The record of the Federalists' accomplishments cannot be diminished.

tions between the United States and France reached a low level, especially after Citizen Genet broke American laws trying to gain support for France. At the same time, relations between the United States and Great Britain grew worse. The Jay Treaty of 1794 stopped a possible war between the two countries. After eight years as President, Washington stepped down from office. In Washington's Farewell Address, he warned against the rise of political parties, growing sectional differences, and ties to other countries.

Despite Washington's warning, two political parties were organized. Hamilton's followers formed the Federalist party, and Jefferson's followers formed the Republican party. In 1796, John Adams, a Federalist, was chosen President. The Adams administration was marked by political-party rivalry. Through Adams's wise actions, a major war with France was averted. Even so, Adams's popularity fell, and as the election of 1800 neared, the Federalists' hold on the government was uncertain.

reveal about President George Washington's social life?

Senate adjourned early. At a little after four I called on Mr. Bassett, of the Delaware State. We went to the President's to dinner. . . . The President and Mrs. Washington sat opposite each other in the middle of the table; the two secretaries, one at each end. It was a great dinner, and the best of the kind I ever was at. The room, however was disagreeably warm. . . .

It was the most solemn dinner ever I sat at. Not a health drank; scarce a word said until the cloth was taken away. Then the President, . . . with great formality drank to the health of every individual by name round the table. Everybody imitated him, . . . and such a buzz of "health, sir," and "health, madam," and "thank you, sir," and "thank you, madam," never had I heard before. . . . The ladies sat a good while, . . . but there was a dead silence almost. Mrs. Washington at last withdrew with the ladies.

I expected the men would now begin, but the same stillness remained. The President told of a New England clergyman who had lost a hat and wig in passing a river called the Brunks. He smiled, and everybody else laughed. He now and then said a sentence or two on some common subject, and what he said was not amiss. . . . The President kept a fork in his hand, when the cloth was taken away, I thought for the purpose of picking nuts. He ate no nuts, however, but played with fork striking on the edge of the table with it. We did not sit long after the ladies returned. The President rose, went up-stairs to drink coffee; the company followed. I took my hat and came home.

Acknowledgment: from Honor to George Washington, United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission.

11C *Jefferson Remembers a Cabinet Meeting*

Although he respected George Washington, Thomas Jefferson was not a political ally of the first President. However, Jefferson left several revealing descriptions of Washington in various situations, including the following account of a cabinet meeting where

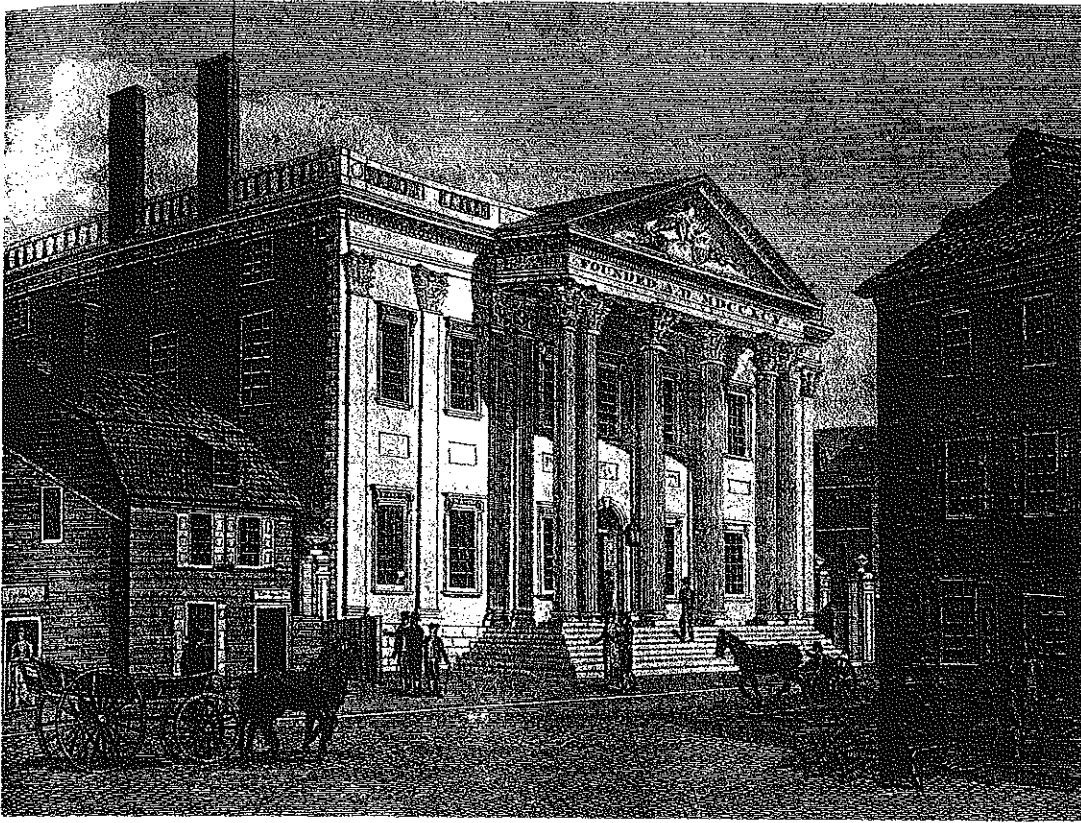
Washington displayed a certain loss of control. What made President Washington so angry?

The President manifestly inclined to the appeal to the people. Knox, in a foolish incoherent sort of a speech, introduced the pasquinade [lampoon] lately printed, called the funeral of George Washington and James Wilson, King and Judge, & c., where the President was placed on a guillotine. The President was much inflamed; got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself; ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his since he had been in the government, which was not done on the purest motives; that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that . . . he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than be made *Emperor of the world*; and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a King. That that *rascal Freneau* sent him three of his papers every day, as if he thought he would become the distributor of his papers; that he could see in this, nothing but an impudent design to insult him. He ended in this high tone. There was pause. Some difficulty in resuming our question; it was, however, after a little while, presented again, and he said there seemed to be no necessity for deciding it now; the propositions before agreed on might be put into a train of execution, and perhaps events would show whether the appeal would be necessary or not. He desired we would meet at my office the next day, to consider what should be done with the vessels armed in our ports by Mr. Genêt, and their prizes.

Acknowledgment: from Honor to George Washington, United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission.

11D *Controversy Over the Constitutionality of a United States Bank*

Two of the members of Washington's cabinet, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, often disagreed on policies. One such instance concerned the need for a national



Although many Americans were opposed to a national bank, Congress chartered the Bank of the United States, which opened in a neoclassical building in Philadelphia in December 1791.

bank, modeled on the Bank of England. Hamilton favored it, and got Congress to pass a law establishing it. Before signing the bill into law, Washington asked Jefferson and Hamilton to give him their written opinions on the bill. Parts of these opinions are given here. What were Jefferson's objections to the bank? Why did Hamilton favor a bank?

1. Thomas Jefferson

I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid on this ground: That "all powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states or to the people" (Tenth Amendment). To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Congress is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition.

The incorporation of a bank, and the powers assumed by this bill, have not, in my opinion, been delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

1. They are not among the powers specially enumerated; for these are:

First, a power to lay taxes for the purpose of paying the debts of the United States; . . .

Second, "to borrow money." But this bill neither borrows money nor insures the borrowing it. . . .

Third, to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the states, and with the Indian tribes." . . .

For the power given to Congress by the Constitution does not extend to the internal regulation of the commerce of a state (that is to say of the commerce between citizen and citizen), which remain exclusively with its own legislature; . . .

It would reduce the whole instrument to a single phrase, that of instituting a Congress with power to do whatever would be for the good of the United States; and, as they would be the sole judges of the good or evil, it would be also a power to do whatever evil they please.

II. Alexander Hamilton

In entering upon the argument it ought to be premised that the objections of the secretary of state and attorney general are founded on a general denial of the authority of the United States to erect corporations. The latter, indeed, expressly admits that if there be anything in the bill which is not warranted by the Constitution, it is the clause of incorporation.

Now it appears to the secretary of the treasury that this general principle is *inherent* in the very *definition* of government and *essential* to every step of the progress to be made by that of the United States, namely: that every power vested in a government is in its nature sovereign and includes, by force of the term, a right to employ all the *means* requisite and fairly applicable to the attainment of the *ends* of such power, and which are not precluded by restrictions and exceptions specified in the Constitution, or not immoral, or contrary to the essential ends of political society. . . .

If it would be necessary to bring proof to a proposition so clear as that which affirms that the powers of the federal government, as to its objects, were sovereign, there is a clause of its Constitution which would be decisive. It is that which declares that the Constitution, and the laws of the United States made in pursuance of it, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority, shall be the supreme law of the land. The power which can create the supreme law of the land in any case is doubtless sovereign as to such case.

This general and indisputable principle puts at once an end to the abstract question whether the United States have power to erect a corporation; that is to say, to give a legal or artificial capacity to one or more persons, distinct from the natural. For it is unquestionably incident to sovereign power to erect corporations, and consequently to that of the United States, in relation to the objects entrusted to the management of the government.

The difference is this: where the authority of the government is general, it can create corporations in all cases; where it is confined to certain branches of legislation, it can create corporations only in those cases.

Here then, as far as concerns the reasonings of the secretary of state and the attorney general, the affirmative of the constitutionality of the bill might be permitted to rest. It will occur to the President that the principle here advanced has been untouched by either of them.

For a more complete elucidation of the point, nevertheless, the arguments which they had used against the power of the government to erect corporations, however foreign they are to the great and fundamental rule which has been stated, shall be particularly examined. . . .

The first of these arguments is that the foundation of the Constitution is laid on this ground: "That all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited to it by the states, are reserved for the states, or to the people." Whence it is meant to be inferred that Congress can in no case exercise any power not included in those not enumerated in the Constitution. And it is affirmed that the power of erecting a corporation is not included in any of the enumerated powers. . . .

It is not denied that there are implied as well as express powers and that the former are as effectually delegated as the latter. . . . Then it follows that as a power of erecting a corporation may as well be implied as any other thing, it may as well be employed as an instrument or mean of carrying into execution any of the specified powers as any other instrument or mean whatever.

Acknowledgment: from A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897, Vol. I, edited by James D. Richardson. 1896-1899.

11E Proclamation of Neutrality

On February 1, 1793, our former ally France declared war on England. President Washington and his cabinet thought it important that the young nation not get involved in what they considered a strictly European war. Thus, on April 22, 1793, the

President issued this proclamation, clearly stating our positions. How did Washington propose to maintain our neutrality?

Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands on the one part and France on the other, and the duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers:

I have therefore thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid toward those powers respectively, and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.

And I do hereby also make known that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations by committing, aiding, or abetting hostilities against any of the said powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States against such punishment or forfeiture; and further, that I have given instructions to those officers to whom it belongs to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons who shall, within the cognizance of the courts of the United States, violate the law of nations with respect to the powers at war, or any of them.

Acknowledgment: from A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789–1897, Vol. 1, edited by James D. Richardson. 1896–1899.

11F *A Meeting With President Washington*

In 1794, Henry Wansey, a retired British business leader, came to New England for business reasons and then traveled to Philadelphia to visit the nation's capital. During his stay in the capital, Wansey was invited to have breakfast with President and Mrs. Washington. His account of that event is given below and reflects the "star" image

that Washington had among many Europeans. What were Henry Wansey's feelings about meeting George Washington? How does Henry Wansey's description of George Washington compare with others you have read?

June 6 [1794]. I had the honor of an interview with the President of the United States, to whom I was introduced by Mr. Dandridge, his secretary. He received me very politely, and after reading my letters, I was asked to breakfast.

I confess I was struck with awe and veneration when I recollected that I was now in the presence of one of the greatest men upon earth—the great Washington—the noble and wise benefactor of the world! . . .—the advocate of human nature—the friend of both worlds.

Whether we view him as a general in the field, vested with unlimited authority and power; at the head of a victorious army; or in the Cabinet, as the President of the United States; or as a private gentleman, cultivating his own farm; he is still the same great man, anxious only to discharge with propriety the duties of his relative situation.

His conduct has always been so uniformly manly, honorable, just, patriotic, and disinterested that his greatest enemies cannot fix on any one trait of his character that can deserve the least censure. . . .

Acknowledgment: from An Excursion to the United States of North America, in the Summer of 1794 by Henry Wansey, 1798.

11G *Thomas Jefferson Details His Opposition to Hamilton*

On September 9, 1792, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson wrote to President Washington in reply to a letter Washington had sent to both Hamilton and Jefferson, berating them for causing such dissension in the government. In the excerpt below from Jefferson's letter to Washington, the secretary of state defends his actions and explains his reasons for opposing Hamilton. What reasons did Jefferson give for his opposition to Hamilton and his policies? Did Jefferson's

personal criticisms of Hamilton seem sound? Explain your answer.

I now take the liberty of proceeding to that part of your letter wherein you notice the internal dissensions which have taken place within our government, and their disagreeable effect on its movements. . . . To no one have they given deeper concern than myself; to no one equal mortification at being myself a part of them. Though I take to myself no more than my share of the general observations of your letter, yet I am so desirous ever that you should know the whole truth, and believe no more than the truth, that I am glad to seize every occasion of developing to you whatever I do or think relative to the government; and shall, therefore, ask permission to be more lengthy now than the occasion particularly calls for, or could otherwise perhaps justify.

Alexander Hamilton, the first secretary of the treasury, believed that the nation needed a strong federal government.

Bowdoin College Museum of Fine Art



When I embarked in the government, it was with a determination to intermeddle not at all with the Legislature, and as little as possible with my co-departments. . . . If it has been supposed that I have ever intrigued among the members of the Legislature to defeat the plans of the Secretary of the Treasury, it is contrary to all truth. As I never had the desire to influence the members, so neither had I any other means than my friendships, which I valued too highly to risk by usurpation on their freedom of judgment, and the conscientious pursuit of their own sense of duty. That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the Treasury, I acknowledge and avow . . . His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty, and was calculated to undermine and demolish the Republic, by creating an influence of his department over the members of the Legislature. . . . If, what was actually doing, begat uneasiness in those who wished for virtuous government, what was further proposed was not less threatening to the friends of the Constitution. . . .

To this justification of opinions, . . . against the views of Colonel Hamilton, I beg leave to add some notice of his late charges against me in Feno's Gazette; for neither the style, matter, nor venom of the pieces alluded to can leave a doubt of their author. Spelling my name and character at full length to the public, while he conceals his own under the signature of "An American," he charges me, 1st. With having written letters from Europe to my friends to oppose the present Constitution, while depending. 2d. With a desire of not paying the public debt. . . . 1st. The first charge is most false. No man in the United States, I suppose, approved of every tittle [small part] in the Constitution: no one, I believe, approved more of it than I did, and more of it was certainly disapproved by my accuser than by me, and of its parts most vitally republican. Of this the few letters I wrote on the subject (not half a dozen I believe) will be a proof . . . You will there see that my objection to the Constitution was, that it wanted a bill of rights securing freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom from standing armies, trial by jury, and a constant habeas corpus act. Colonel Hamilton's was, that it wanted a king and house of lords. The sense of America has approved my objection and added the bill of

rights, not the king and lords. . . . 2d. The second charge is equally untrue. My whole correspondence while in France, and every word, letter and act on the subject, since my return, prove that no man is more ardently intent to see the public debt soon and sacredly paid off than I am. This exactly marks the difference between Colonel Hamilton's views and mine, that I would wish the debt paid tomorrow; he wishes it never to be paid, but always to be a thing wherewith to corrupt and manage the Legislature. . . .

Though little known to the people of America, I believe, that as far as I am known, it is not as an enemy to the Republic, not an intriguer against it, nor a waster of its revenue, . . . as the "American" represents me.

Acknowledgment: from The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. VIII, edited by Albert Ellery Bergh. The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1905.

CHAPTER

12

The Republicans Assume Control

12A Journal Entries

To explore the vast territory acquired in the Louisiana Purchase, President Jefferson dispatched an expedition under his secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and Captain William Clark. In May of 1804 the party of about 50 adventurers proceeded up the Missouri River. They reached their destination, a point where the Columbia River meets the Pacific Ocean, in November of 1805. The journey covered 9,000 miles (14,600 kilometers). Their relations with Indian tribes were made easier by the presence of Sacajawea, a young Shoshone married to a French trader, Charboneau. In the first of these accounts, Lewis describes an encounter with a lone Indian in August of 1805. In the

second, a member of the expedition describes Sacajawea meeting her brother a week later. What did Lewis do to make friends with the Indian? What news did Sacajawea learn from her brother?

I. I therefore proceeded towards him at my usual pace. When I had arrived within about a mile he mad a halt which I did also and unloosing my blanket from my pack, I mad him the signal of friendship known to the Indians of the Rocky mountains and those of the Missouri, which is by holding the mantle or robe in your hands at two corners and then throwing it up in the air higher than the head bringing to the earth as if in the act of spreading it, thus repeating three times. This signal of the robe has arrisen from a custom among all those nations of spreading a robe or skin for ther gests to set on when they are visited.

This signal had not the desired affect; he still kept his position and seemed to view Drewyer and Shields who were now comming in sight on either hand with an air of suspicion. . . .

I therefore haistened to take out of my sack some beads, a looking glas and a few trinkets which I had brought with me for this purpose and leaving my gun and pouch with McNeal advanced unarmed towards him. He remained in the same stedfast posture untill I arrived in about 200 paces of him when he turned his horse about and began to move off slowly from me; I now called to him in as loud a voice as I could command repeating the word *tab-ba-bone* which in their language signifeyes *white-man*.

But looking over his sholder he still kept his eye on Drewyer and Shields' who wer still advancing neither of them haveing segacity enough to recollect the impropriety of advancing when they saw me thus in parley with the Indian. . . .

When I arrived within about 150 paces I again repeated the word *tab-ba-bone* and held up the trinkits in my hands and striped up my shirt above to give him an opportunity of seeing the colour of my skin and advanced leasurely towards him; but he did not remain untill I got nearer than about 100 paces when he suddonly turned his horse about, gave him the whip, leaped the creek and disapeared in the willow brush to an instant and with him vanished all my hopes of obtaining horses for the preasant. . . .

ing the Sedition Act. But the Senate refused to convict Chase. It pointed out that his acts were not the "high crimes and misdemeanors" required by the Constitution to remove a federal judge. So the judiciary remained independent and, despite Jefferson, the Federalists remained in control of the judicial branch.

In 1810 the Supreme Court was faced with deciding whether or not a state law was uncon-

stitutional. The case, *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), involved land grants made to several companies by the Georgia legislature in 1795, which were later revoked. However, some of the land had already been sold by the companies. The new landowners argued that the land was theirs by legal contract. The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the landowners, thus establishing the supremacy of the Constitution over state laws.

■ Section Analysis

1. Who played a significant role in securing the presidency for Thomas Jefferson in the election of 1800?
2. How did Thomas Jefferson set a tone of moderation in his first inaugural address?
3. Why was the case of *Marbury v. Madison* important to the development of the Supreme Court?

2 The Nation Grows Under the Republicans

During Jefferson's administration, the size of the land of the United States nearly doubled and the country grew more prosperous. Though Jefferson was a strict constructionist, he took a broader view of the constitution to aid in the purchase of Louisiana. A wise leader, he looked to the future and tried to make certain of the prosperity of generations that would come after him. The sound condition of the country assured Jefferson's reelection. However, the beginning of his second four years in office was clouded by scandals at home.

The Louisiana Purchase Perhaps the greatest act of Jefferson's presidency was the buying of the Louisiana Territory. Jefferson had not planned to add more land to the United States. In his inaugural address, he spoke of the future settlement "of extensive country still remaining vacant within our limits . . ." However, the buying of Louisiana was made possible by events in the Caribbean, by European politics, and by Napoleon Bonaparte.

In 1763, Louisiana had been ceded by the French to the Spanish as part of the Treaty of Paris, which ended the French and Indian War. In 1800, under the terms of the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso, Spain returned Louisiana to France.

Jefferson learned of this secret treaty in early 1801; immediately he recognized the danger to the United States. French rule over Louisiana and, especially New Orleans, threatened the trade that was so important to America's western farmers. Jefferson also feared that the French leader Napoleon planned to reestablish a French empire in North America.

Jefferson wrote in 1802 to the United States minister to France, Robert R. Livingston. Jefferson asked him to discover from the French if American rights in New Orleans would be honored. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," Jefferson warned, "we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." Surprising as this possible friendship with Great Britain may seem, Jefferson was very aware that, as long as another country controlled the mouth of the Mississippi River, American trade was in danger.

Jefferson's fears were well founded. He learned that early in 1802, a French army of 20,000 soldiers, under the command of General Charles Leclerc, had sailed to reconquer the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo was to be the center of Napoleon's new French empire in North America. During the French Revolution, the slaves on the island had revolted and by 1801 the island was in their hands. A temporary peace

The success of Toussaint-Louverture's revolution in Santo Domingo caused some Americans to fear that slave uprisings would spread to the southern states. (right) On December 20, 1803, the Louisiana Territory officially became a part of the United States. To mark this occasion, a ceremonial raising of the American flag was performed in the city of New Orleans. (bottom right)

between France and Great Britain allowed Napoleon the time to try to regain the island. However, the French army proved to be no match for the local troops under the leadership of Toussaint-Louverture, a former slave. In addition, yellow fever almost destroyed the French army. After Napoleon learned of the French losses, he gave up his plans for a new French empire in North America.

At about the same time that Leclerc's army reached Santo Domingo, the Spanish, who administered Louisiana for the French, suddenly closed the port of New Orleans to American shipping. Western farmers were outraged. Some farmers demanded that Jefferson declare war on Spain. At one point, government officials were fearful that the angry farmers might attack New Orleans themselves.

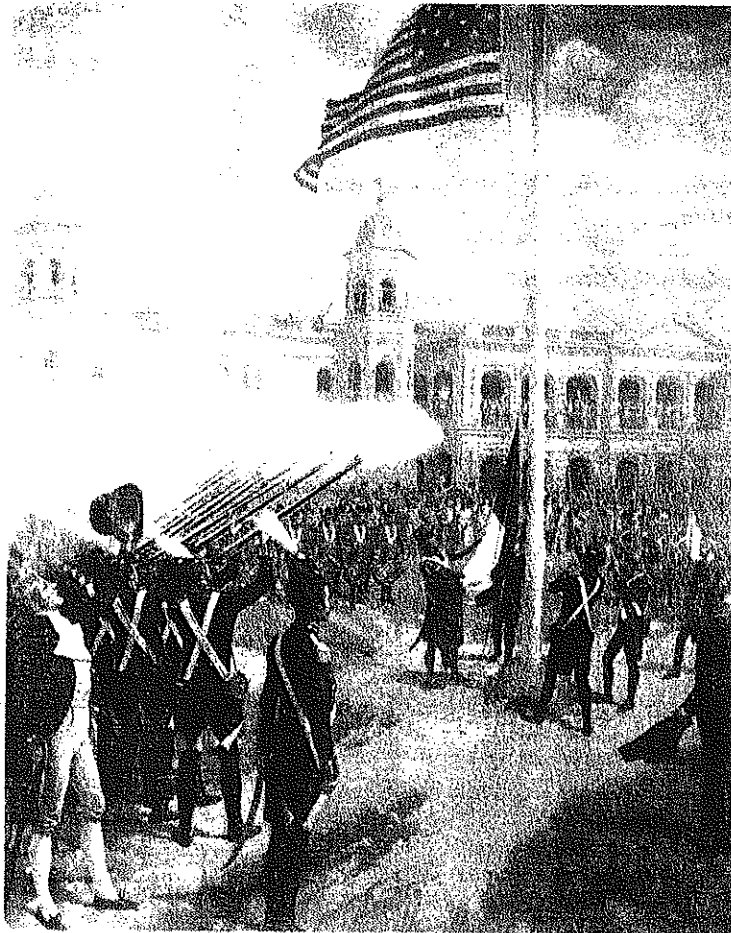
The United States Obtains Louisiana

President Jefferson sent James Monroe to France as a special representative to calm the fears of the western farmers and to help Livingston negotiate an acceptable treaty. Jefferson authorized Monroe to offer France up to \$10 million for New Orleans and Florida, because these territories would provide for the security of the United States. If France refused to sell, then Monroe and Livingston were to secure the right to deposit goods at New Orleans.

Negotiations between Livingston and Talleyrand, the French minister, had started before Monroe arrived. But these talks had not proved fruitful. Then on April 10, 1803, Talleyrand asked Livingston how much the United States would pay for all of Louisiana. A surprised Livingston replied that the United States wanted only New Orleans and Florida, but that he would consult with Monroe about buying additional land. Livingston faced a serious dilemma. His instructions said nothing about an area almost as large as the United States in 1803, yet he did not have time to write



Religious Communities for the Arts



Louisiana Historical Society

for new orders. Furthermore, Livingston did not know if such a purchase was constitutional.

Luckily, Monroe arrived the next day. The two Americans consulted with each other and talked with Talleyrand. Then they agreed to the purchase. A treaty, signed in early May 1803, gave the United States all of Louisiana for about \$15 million.

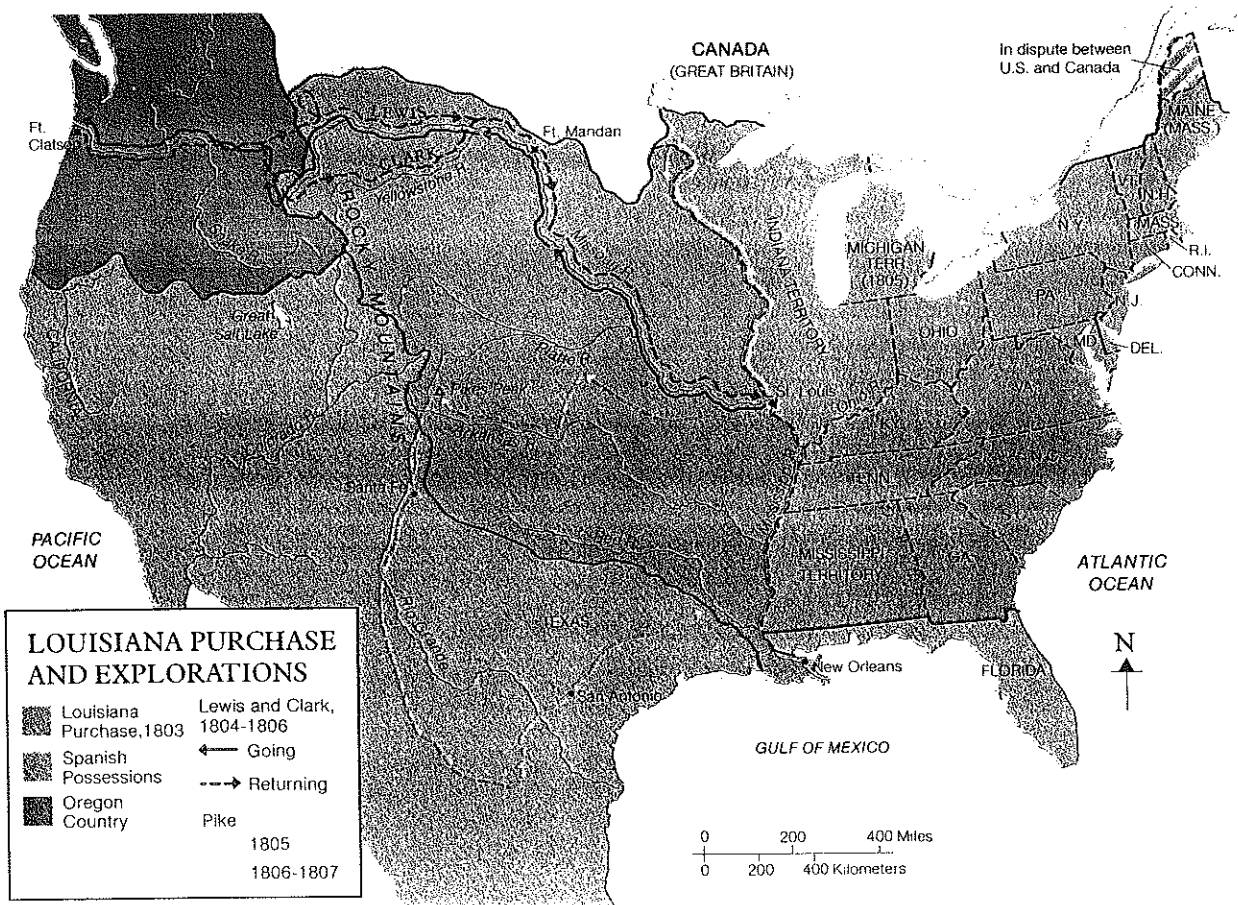
While making the treaty, neither the French nor the Americans considered the rights of the nearly 150,000 Indians who lived in the Louisiana Territory. However, Napoleon did gain American promises that French Catholics living in the territory would be given citizenship and the right to worship freely.

Ratification of the Treaty News of the treaty placed President Jefferson in a difficult position. As a strict constructionist, Jefferson did not believe that the Constitution gave the government

the power to buy new land. To solve the problem, Jefferson wrote a constitutional amendment that would make the buying of Louisiana constitutional. However, his advisers asked him not to wait to act on the treaty since Napoleon might change his mind at any time.

At the same time, Jefferson came under fire from a number of New England Federalists. Generally, these Federalists favored a loose interpretation of the Constitution. But political considerations led them to a stricter view of the government's power regarding Louisiana. The Federalists saw that the lands of Louisiana would in time be divided into states. When these states joined the Union, they would take away some of the political and economic power of New England. So a number of Federalists were against buying Louisiana. They argued that the federal government did not have the power to buy land. However, not all Federalists agreed. Alexander Hamilton, who at first

The Louisiana Purchase opened up vast tracts of western land to American exploration. Lewis and Clark explored the Northwest, and Zebulon Pike explored the Mississippi River and the Southwest.





Olaf Seltze portrayed Meriwether Lewis and William Clark at Black Eagle Falls—in what is now the state of Montana—with their Indian guide, Sacajawea, and Clark's servant, York.

was against the purchase, changed his mind and worked to have the treaty passed by Congress.

On October 17, 1803, Jefferson submitted the treaty with France to the Senate for ratification. Since what Jefferson called "the good sense of our country" wanted Louisiana, he decided to overlook the constitutional difficulties. Congress quickly passed the treaty and the United States formally acquired Louisiana on December 20, 1803.

Exploration in the West Jefferson had always been deeply interested in the West. Even before the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson had asked for and received money from Congress for an expedition to explore western lands. To head the expedition, Jefferson chose his secretary, Meriwether Lewis, and Lieutenant William Clark, brother of the Revolutionary War hero George Rogers Clark. Both men had served in the army, were amateur scientists, and knew how to carry on business with the Indians. The expedition had three goals. It was to try to find an all-water route across the continent, to gather scientific facts about the region, and to strengthen the weak American claim to the faraway Oregon Country. The Oregon Country had been visited in 1792 by Robert Gray, an American explorer, while on a journey to China.

In the spring of 1804, the Lewis and Clark expedition left St. Louis and made its way up the Missouri River. By late fall the explorers had reached what is now North Dakota, home of the Mandan Indians. Here they built Fort Mandan and spent the winter. In April 1805, they set out toward the Rocky Mountains, guided by Sacajawea, a Shoshone Indian. Sacajawea knew the land west of the Rocky Mountains well because her own people lived there. Her assistance as an interpreter proved to be invaluable to Lewis and Clark. With Sacajawea's guidance, the expedition soon reached the Columbia River, and in November, Lewis and Clark sighted the Pacific Ocean. After spending the winter of 1805-1806 in the Oregon Country, the expedition began its return journey. On September 23, 1806, the expedition reached St. Louis.

Jefferson was delighted with the reports of Lewis and Clark, and the expedition completely fulfilled Jefferson's hopes. No all-water route across the continent was found, for there was none. But the expedition did find several passes through the Rockies, and Lewis and Clark established friendly relations with several Indian tribes. They also brought back a wealth of data about the country, its plants, its animals, and its resources. This data became a major source of information for students,

scientists, and later explorers of the Louisiana Territory. More importantly, the Lewis and Clark expedition served to strengthen America's claim to the Oregon Country.

At the same time that Lewis and Clark were exploring the Louisiana Territory, Lieutenant Zebulon Pike searched for the source of the Mississippi River. Though unsuccessful, he did learn much about the land and about British trade there. Later, in 1806-1807, Pike explored the Colorado region and sighted the mountain that is now known as Pike's Peak. Pike then went into Spanish-held land in the Southwest and was arrested as a spy. After Pike gave the Spanish the data he had gathered, they released him and his expedition. Pike, not as accurate an observer as Lewis and Clark, brought back less information. Pike's account of the expedition led others to believe that the land between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains was a "great American desert," unfit for settlement.

The Election of 1804 Jefferson easily won reelection in 1804. He and his running mate, George Clinton, carried all but two states—Delaware and Connecticut. Aaron Burr, Jefferson's Vice-President during his first four years in office, had been dropped from the Republican ticket.

The condition of the United States at the end of his first term virtually reassured Jefferson's reelection. The country was at peace and was prosperous. The national debt had been decreased. The Louisiana Purchase had nearly doubled the area of the United States. As a result, Republicans not only kept the presidency but also won more than half the seats in both houses of Congress. However, the calm of Jefferson's first four years was soon shaken by troubles at home.

The Burr Conspiracy The domestic controversies that surfaced during Jefferson's second

term centered on Aaron Burr. In 1804, then Vice-President Aaron Burr ran for governor of New York against the candidate supported by the Republican party. Burr's candidacy drew limited support from Federalists in New York and New England. A small group of New England Federalists, upset over the growing power of the South and the West, planned to withdraw the entire Northeast from the Union. To carry out the plan, they asked Burr for his help. Although Burr did not promise to bring New York into the proposed confederacy, he eagerly accepted the Federalists' backing. However, when Burr lost the election the entire plot fell apart.

Throughout the campaign Alexander Hamilton, a leader of the Federalist party, fought hard against Burr. Burr accused Hamilton of telling lies about him and challenged Hamilton to a duel. On July 11, 1804, Burr and Hamilton and their seconds met on the banks of the Hudson River, near Weehawken, New Jersey. Burr took careful aim, fired, and mortally wounded Hamilton. The Vice-President became a political outcast. The Republicans did not trust him and the Federalists hated him. After a time, he made his way to the West.

In 1805, Burr became involved in a strange conspiracy with James Wilkinson, the governor of the Louisiana Territory. Even today no one knows all about Burr's plan. It appears from all available evidence that Burr hoped to set up an empire for himself in part of the Louisiana Territory or the Spanish-held lands of the Southwest. Then, for some reason, Wilkinson betrayed Burr. When the plan became known, Burr was charged with treason, and in 1807, he was brought to trial. At the trial, Chief Justice John Marshall applied a strict constitutional definition of treason. He also insisted that conviction was possible only "on the testimony of two witnesses to the . . . act, or an open confession in Court." Burr was acquitted and went to France.

■ Section Analysis

1. What did President Jefferson hope to accomplish by sending James Monroe to France?
2. How did the Lewis and Clark expedition increase America's knowledge about the Louisiana Territory?
3. Why was Jefferson's reelection virtually reassured in 1804?

3 Foreign-Policy Challenges

Although Jefferson's domestic policies generally were successful, his foreign policies often met difficult challenges. The outcome of America's conflicts with the Barbary States added to the young nation's prestige. However, the trade policies of France and Great Britain insulted American pride and threatened our rights as a neutral country. Much of Jefferson's second four years in office was given to foreign affairs.

The Barbary Coast Pirates During Jefferson's first term, the United States was at peace with the European powers and American commerce with these countries grew. However, as trade expanded, problems with the Barbary States—Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—also increased. For years, these North African states had levied *tribute*—a huge charge—on shipping in the Mediterranean Sea. The European powers paid tribute to the Barbary pirates as an easy and cheap way of keeping the peace. The United States, under Presidents Washington and Adams, had also paid tribute to the Barbary pirates. In 1801, the ruler of Tripoli tried to increase the tribute paid by the United States. In response, Jefferson sent warships to the Mediterranean Sea to protect American ships.

In the early 1800's, the United States navy was small and its officers inexperienced. Nonetheless, America's young officers acted admirably. Commo-

dore Edward Prebble took a city on the coast of Tripoli, and William Eaton, an American army officer, led an overland expedition. Early in 1804, Stephen Decatur led ten American sailors on a daring raid to the American ship *Philadelphia*, which had been captured by the pirates. Decatur and his sailors secretly boarded the *Philadelphia* and set it afire, depriving the pirates of its use.

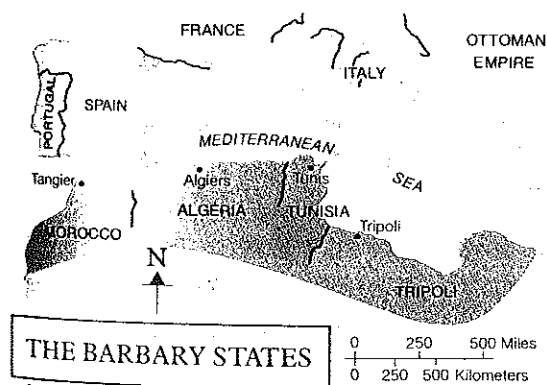
In 1805, the ruler of Tripoli concluded a treaty in favor of the United States. Even so, all payments to the Barbary States did not end until 1815, when a treaty with Algiers ended the practice of paying tribute. The war against the Barbary States is important because it demonstrated the need to maintain a navy, and it showed to other countries that the United States was willing to fight to protect its interests.

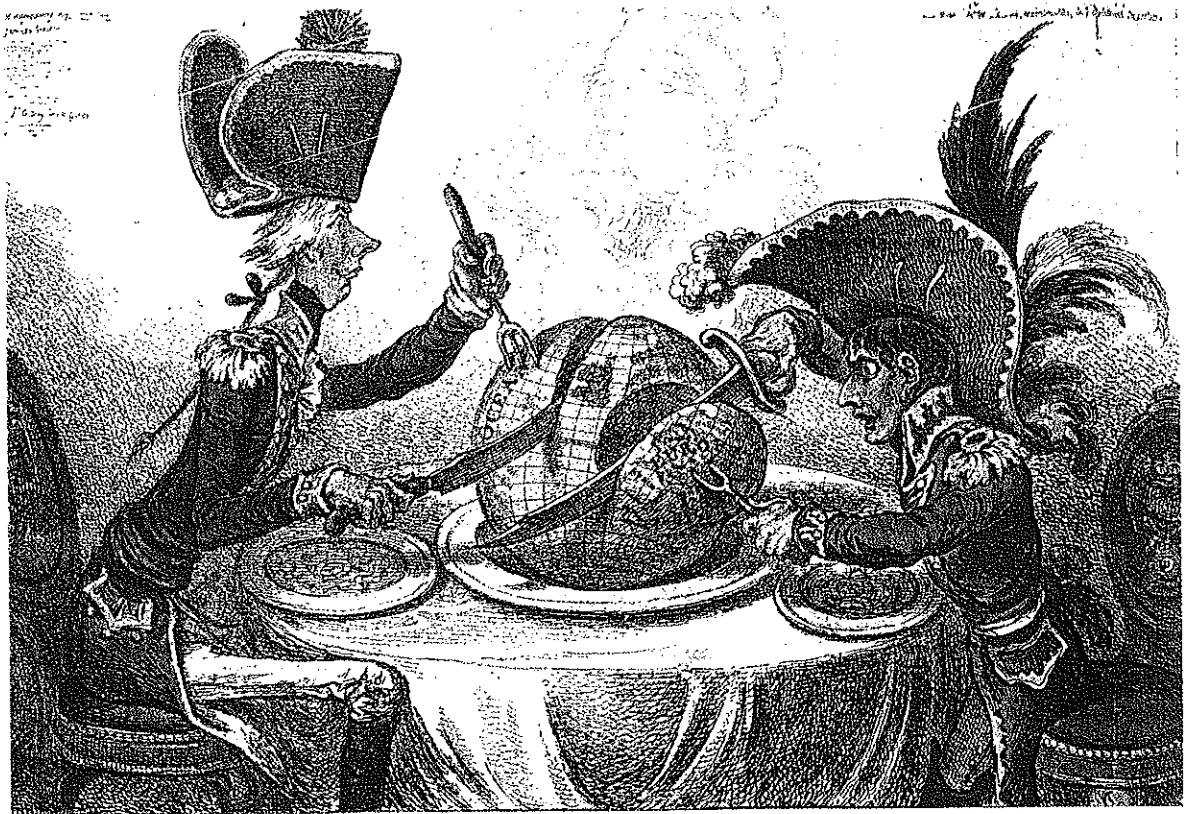
Challenges to American Neutrality In 1803 the peace in Europe was abruptly shattered when France and Great Britain went to war. Jefferson declared America's neutrality in the conflict, as had Presidents Washington and Adams during earlier European wars. Although both French and British warships interfered with American ships, neutrality proved profitable to American trade. America's foreign trade overseas almost doubled between 1803 and 1805.

However, late in 1805, the situation in Europe changed as a deadlock arose when, in October 1805, the British naval hero Admiral Horatio Nelson destroyed the combined French and Spanish fleets at the Battle of Trafalgar. This victory made certain that Great Britain ruled the high seas. Then, in December 1805, Napoleon soundly defeated the armies of Britain's allies, Austria and Russia, at the Battle of Austerlitz. Napoleon's victory assured French domination of Europe. In this deadlocked situation, neither country could strike directly at the other. Britain and France began to use commercial warfare in an attempt to upset the other's economy and gain military superiority.

Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree in November 1806. This decree stated that a blockade would be set up around the British Isles and that all trade with Britain was forbidden. It also stated that all ships trying to enter Britain would be seized. The British government retaliated in January 1807 by

Pirates based in the Barbary States effectively controlled the trade routes between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean.





This cartoon, published in the British magazine *Punch* in 1805, shows Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger of Britain and Emperor Napoleon of France carving up the world. Pitt, whose navy "ruled the waves," claimed the oceans, while Napoleon, whose army had conquered much of Europe, took the land.

issuing the Orders in Council. These orders blockaded most European ports and forbade all ships from other countries to trade at these ports unless they first stopped at a British port to pay customs duties. These and later French and British edicts were used to enforce the blockades. The aim of the blockades was not to capture American or other neutral ships, but to hurt the enemy by stopping goods from reaching the enemy.

Despite the French and British blockades, American shipping continued to prosper. Americans lost hundreds of vessels to the French and the British, but successful blockade-runners reaped large profits. In 1807, the export trade of the United States reached more than \$100 million, a lot of money for the time. Jefferson considered the French and British blockades an insult to the United States. However, he realized that neutrality was the wisest course for the nation.

The Impressment Controversy Though both British and French warships interfered with

American shipping, Great Britain with its larger navy seemed to be the worst offender. Particularly irritating was the British habit of *impressment*—the taking of sailors to serve on British ships. Impressment, viewed as a violation of the neutral shipping rights of Americans, had been a cause of British-American conflict for many years.

Under British law, any British subject could be drafted for service in the Royal Navy in an emergency. The British also maintained that they had the right to stop neutral vessels to search for British subjects. Because conditions on Royal Navy vessels were bad, British sailors frequently deserted their own ships. Many of these British sailors would then sign on to serve on American vessels, where the living conditions were good. Thus, the British felt they were justified in stopping and searching American vessels.

Impressment also raised serious legal questions about citizenship. When did an English or Scottish immigrant become an American citizen? "After the immigrant was naturalized," was the claim of the

United States government. But the government of Great Britain claimed that "once an Englishman, always an Englishman." Thus, former British citizens were seized from American ships and forced into the service of the Royal Navy. To further complicate the situation, some Americans encouraged British sailors to desert their ships and then gave them forged naturalization papers. Although the United States protested, impressment continued. Then, as the British need for sailors grew, the British began impressing native-born Americans as well.

Americans grew especially angry in the summer of 1807. The new but not yet finished American warship, the *Chesapeake*, had just sailed out of Norfolk, Virginia, when it was stopped by the British warship, the *Leopard*. The captain of the *Leopard* demanded to search the *Chesapeake* for 4 alleged British sailors. When the American commander refused, the *Leopard* opened fire; the *Chesapeake*, which was unprepared for action, was forced to surrender. On board the American ship, 3 sailors were killed and 18 were wounded. The British boarded the *Chesapeake* and seized the 4 suspected deserters.

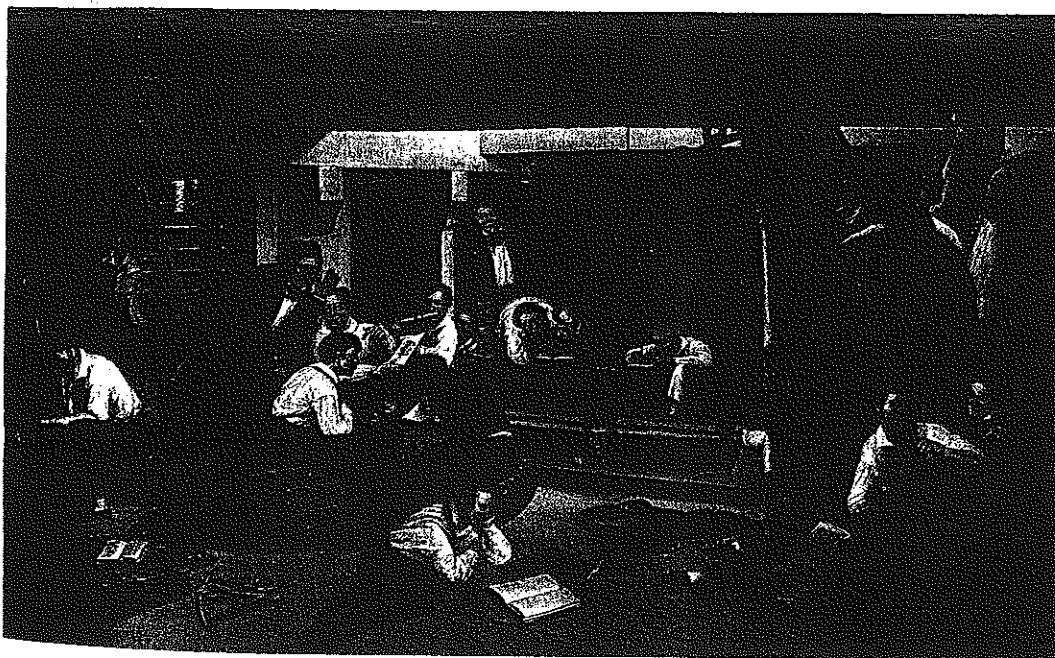
After the *Chesapeake* limped back to its home port, many Americans were outraged. Some people demanded that war against Great Britain be de-

clared. Although Jefferson understood how most Americans felt, he realized that the United States was not prepared for war. However, Jefferson was determined to stop the interference with America's trade and to put an end to insults to American pride. He was also anxious to avoid any further confrontations.

Jefferson's Solution Instead of going to war, Jefferson proposed a trade boycott of the warring countries. By denying certain goods to both Britain and France, Jefferson hoped to hurt their war efforts and make the two countries remove their restrictions on American trade. He also wanted to make them honor America's rights as a neutral nation. Congress passed the Embargo Act in December 1807. The act prohibited all exports. Imports were not forbidden, but few ships would enter America from other countries if they had to return without a cargo. The Embargo Act cut off almost all of America's trade with other countries.

Rather than harming the British or French war efforts, the Embargo Act hurt the American economy. Hundreds of ships lay at their docks and thousands of sailors and workers lost their jobs. The value of American exports fell from \$108 million in 1807 to about \$22 million in 1808; the

"The Midshipmen's Berth," by the English artist Augustus Earle, gives a romantic view of a sailor's life belowdecks. Earle showed sailors using their leisure time to read, paint, debate, and play music.



National Maritime Museum, London

value of imports fell from \$183 million to less than \$57 million. New England merchants and traders had to bear the heaviest losses. Farmers and planters also suffered since they lost markets in other countries for their crops. Smuggling into Canada became common, and many ships set sail illegally as Americans tried to escape the embargo. A few Federalists called for the secession of New England from the Union.

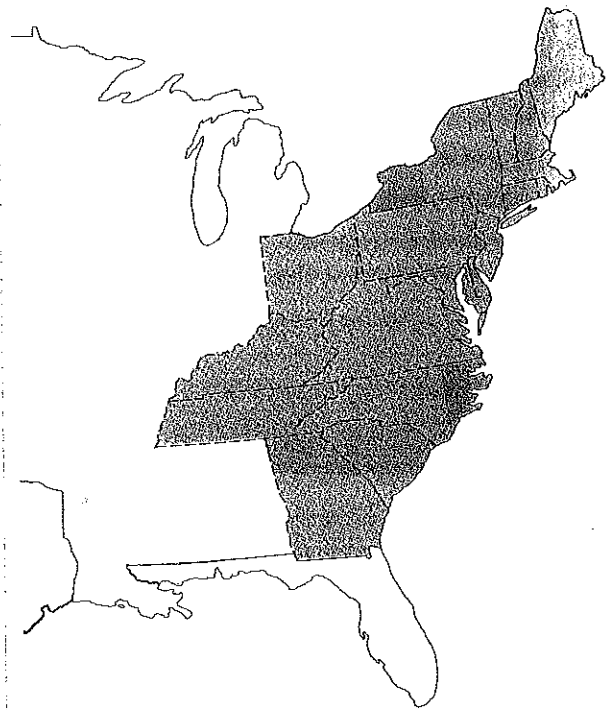
Both the Republicans and the Federalists in Congress saw that the embargo was not working. The Republicans in Congress were more concerned than the Federalists with the failure of the Embargo Act because public support was turning away from the Republican party. During the last week of Jefferson's second term, Congress repealed the Embargo Act and replaced it with the Non-Intercourse Act. This law forbade trade only with Britain and France and authorized the President to end the boycott against either country when that country stopped violating America's rights as a neutral nation.

The Election of 1808 Jefferson refused to run for a third term, and he supported his friend and secretary of state, James Madison, as his successor. Jefferson persuaded the Republican caucus to nominate Madison. George Clinton was again chosen as the vice-presidential candidate. The Federalists chose the same candidates as in 1804—Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King.

Though many Americans had been angered by the Embargo Act, the Republican candidates were easily elected. Madison received 122 electoral votes to Pinckney's 47. All the New England states, except Vermont, voted against the Republicans. However, the South and the West voted heavily for Madison. In addition to holding the presidency, the Republicans remained the major power in both houses of Congress, though by smaller majorities.

■ Section Analysis

1. What did America's war with the Barbary Coast pirates demonstrate?
2. How did President Jefferson plan to end the French and the British restrictions imposed upon America's shipping?
3. Why did the Embargo Act fail to end the British and the French challenges to American neutrality?



ELECTION OF 1808

	VOTES
	Electoral
James Madison (Democratic-Republican)	122
Charles C. Pinckney (Federalist)	47
George Clinton (Independent Republican)	6

James Madison won the election of 1808 with 70 percent of the electoral votes. Although George Clinton was slated for Vice-President, he received 6 presidential votes.

James Madison was a learned man. His ideas of government were almost the same as those of Jefferson. As President, Madison planned to follow Jefferson's policy of neutrality and to enforce the Non-Intercourse Act. However, a series of domestic and foreign events drew the United States into a war that Madison tried to avoid.

4 The War of 1812

The declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812 stemmed from years of growing tension, economic restrictions, and a public sense that America's honor had to be restored. By 1814, however, the reasons for fighting Britain no longer seemed important. Nonetheless, the end of the war had important consequences for the United States.

The Coming of War The Non-Intercourse Act, made to be less restrictive than the Embargo Act, proved to be almost as unpopular because most of America's trade was with France and Great Britain. The Non-Intercourse Act ended in 1810 and in May of that year Congress passed a bill known as Macon's Bill No. 2 to take its place. This law removed all restrictions on trade with France and Great Britain. However, it gave the President the power to reapply nonintercourse to either France or Great Britain, if the other nation should stop violating America's neutral rights.

Macon's Bill No. 2 helped the British as trade with Britain quickly reached pre-embargo levels. However, the bill did little to help the French war effort because of the British Navy's blockade of France. Napoleon, now the French emperor, moved to stop America's trade with Britain. Napoleon announced that he would repeal the Berlin Decree and other French blockade measures if the United States would return to nonintercourse with Great Britain. Madison, taking Napoleon at his word, notified Great Britain that unless it repealed its Orders in Council, the United States would suspend its trade with Great Britain. Britain, doubtful of Napoleon's intentions, refused to end its trade restrictions. Madison then ordered the suspension of trade with Britain. Relations between the United States and Great Britain deteriorated rapidly. Napoleon, of course, did not end the trade restrictions against America, and continued to seize American ships.

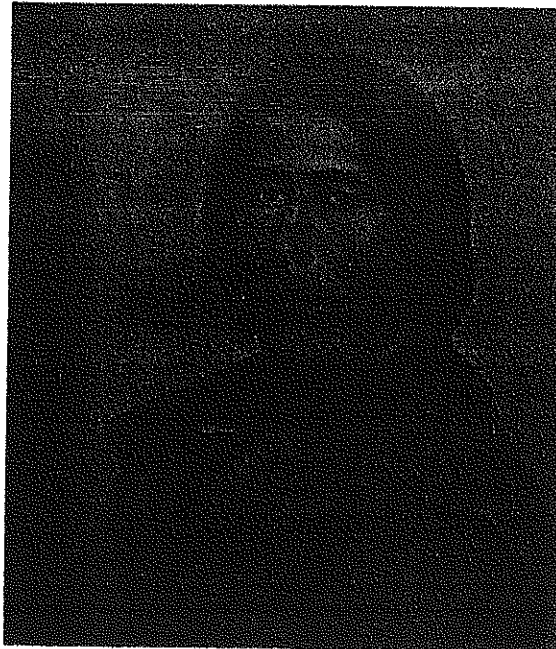
The years of insults to American pride caused the American public to grow frustrated. People in all parts of the country talked openly of war with Great Britain to vindicate America's honor. This warlike spirit was reflected in the congressional elections of 1810. At this time, many nationalistic representatives were chosen. The warlike spirit grew in May 1811, when an American

and a British warship clashed in New York harbor. Feelings against Britain also grew in the West, where frontier settlers were convinced that the British in Canada were supplying Indians with guns and encouraging Indian raids on American settlements.

Tecumseh and the Prophet Since the end of the Revolutionary War, Americans had been moving westward in ever larger numbers. The Indians often granted thousands of acres of land to the white settlers without really knowing the consequences of their acts. The tricks, bribes, and whiskey sometimes used by settlers often resulted in treaties by which the Indians lost their land but gained little in return.

Determined to stop the Americans from moving farther west and the further loss of Indian land, the Shawnee chief Tecumseh worked to unite all the tribes east of the Mississippi River into a large confederation. Tecumseh was aided by his brother Tenskwatawa, an Indian religious leader known as

This picture is believed to depict the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, who helped to unite a number of Indian tribes against American settlers.



Courtesy Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

the Prophet. Together they founded a settlement in the Indiana Territory, called Prophetstown, located where the Tippecanoe Creek meets the Wabash River. This settlement was to be the center of the Indian confederation.

By 1811, thousands of Indians were organizing to drive back the white settlers. Wild fear ran through America's western settlements. In November 1811, General William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory, led a large militia to Prophetstown. Tecumseh was away recruiting other Indian tribes, and in his absence, the Prophet staged an attack on Harrison's camp. After a day of fighting, the Indians fell back. Harrison then burned Prophetstown. The Battle of Tippecanoe destroyed the Indian confederation and ended the united Indian opposition to white settlement. Harrison gained national fame, which later helped him win the presidency.

However, scattered Indian warfare in the West continued. The white settlers were unwilling to see that their own greed and brutality were the chief causes of the warfare. They blamed the British for the Indian trouble. Though the settlers accused the British of supplying guns and ammunition to the Indians, this was not the case. In reality, the British in Canada turned back Tecumseh's braves when they crossed the border in search of arms.

Land Hunger and Depression Two other factors contributed to the anti-British sentiment in the West. One factor was the belief that the United States should add land to its already vast territory. The second factor was an agricultural depression. Many people in the West believed that, when war came, Canada could easily be taken over. Likewise, they thought that Florida—a possession of Britain's ally, Spain—would quickly fall to the United States. People in the South particularly wanted Florida, for it was used as a haven for runaway slaves and a base for Indian raiding parties. Many settlers felt that the conquest of Canada and Florida would help the development and growth of the South and West.

A large number of farmers also called for war against Britain because of an agricultural depression that began around 1806. At that time prices for wheat, tobacco, and other crops began to fall. Prosperity turned into an economic depression.

The farmers blamed the British trading restrictions for their difficulties. The farmers believed that if the seas were open to American ships, trade would increase, prices would go up, and prosperity would return. In reality, a major cause of the economic problems of the western farmers was the high cost of the cumbersome and inefficient transportation system. However, most farmers, as they often had done in the past, blamed Great Britain for their problems.

The War Hawks and War In the congressional elections of 1810, strong and energetic representatives took the places of the more cautious representatives who had served before them. This was especially true of the representatives from the South and the West. These Republican members of Congress, known as *War Hawks*, shared the pro-war feelings of their constituents and dominated the Congress. Henry Clay of Kentucky, a leader of the War Hawks, was chosen as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Henry Clay, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina were among the most vocal War Hawks who wished to see America's national honor defended.

Conditions in the United States favored the War Hawks' goals. British trade restrictions, impressment, the belief that the British were stirring up Indian attacks, the economic depression in the West, and the desire to annex Canada and Florida were among the factors that contributed to the call to war.

Yet, many historians believe that war between the United States and Great Britain could have been avoided. Between 1810 and 1812, British manufacturers had an economic downturn. These business leaders blamed their difficulties on the loss of American markets and asked for the repeal of the Orders in Council. Slowly, the British government changed its policy, and it repealed the orders on June 23, 1812.

President Madison, however, was not aware of what the British government had done. He gave in to the demands of the War Hawks and asked Congress for a declaration of war against Great Britain. On June 19, 1812, just four days before Britain revoked the orders, the United States declared war on Great Britain.

(Text continues on page 256.)

Causes of the War of 1812

Leaders of warring countries often see the causes of the war from opposite viewpoints. Below are excerpts from James Madison's war message to Congress and from the declaration of war presented to the House of Commons by Prince Regent George IV. As you read the excerpts, note how each leader states opposing reasons and how each leader assigns blame to the other.

President James Madison

"The conduct of [Great Britain's] Government presents a series of acts hostile to the United States as an independent and neutral nation.

"British cruisers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it. . . .

"Under pretended blockades, . . . our commerce has been plundered in every sea . . .

"In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain toward the United States our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the [Indians] . . . a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex and to be distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity. . . .

"We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Great Britain."

Prince Regent George IV

"The earnest endeavors of the Prince Regent to preserve the relations of peace and amity with the United States of America having unfortunately failed, his Royal Highness,

acting in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, deems it proper publicly to declare the causes, and origin of the war, in which the government of the United States has compelled him to engage. . . .

"His Royal Highness can never acknowledge any blockade whatsoever to be illegal . . . because the ports or coasts blockaded, are not at the same time invested by land. . . .

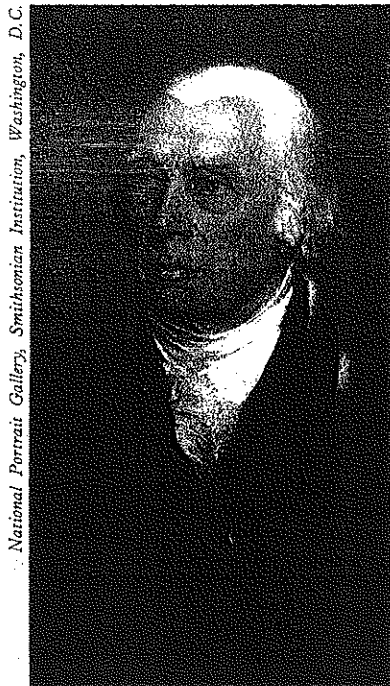
"His Royal Highness can never admit, that in the exercise of the undoubted and hitherto undisputed right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, the impressment of

British seamen, when found therein, can be deemed any violation of a neutral flag. . . .

"The charge of exciting the Indians to offensive measures against the United States, is equally void of foundation. . . .

"Such are the causes of war which have been put forward by the government of the United States. But the real origin of the present contest will be found in that spirit, which has long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States: their marked partiality in palliating [covering] and assisting the aggressive tyranny of France. . . ."

The two leaders in the War of 1812 had close connections with the American Revolution. James Madison (left) had served as a member of the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War, and the prince regent (right) was the son of the "Royal Brute," George III.



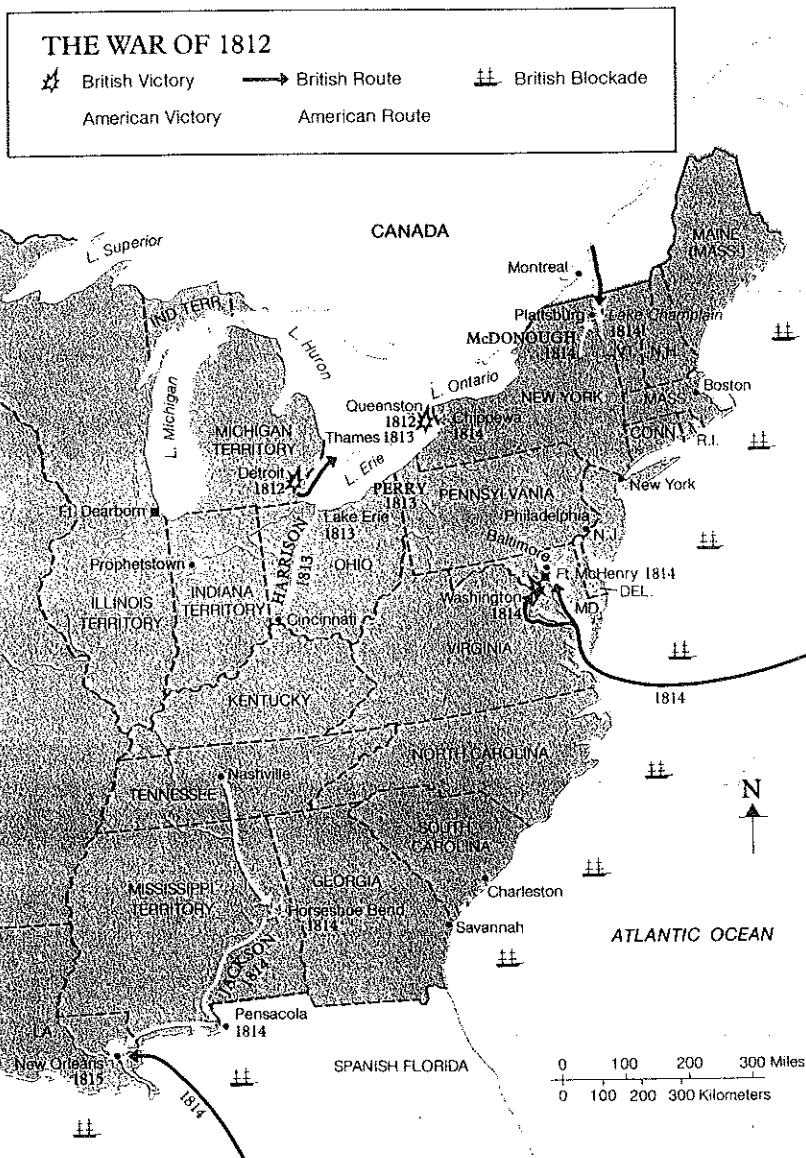
National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.



The Bridgeman Art Library

Disadvantages Facing the United States A significant difficulty in the United States during the war was divided public opinion. Americans did not agree about whether or not the war was necessary. Some people, especially New England merchants, were against the war because it would disrupt trade. New England business leaders feared that the war would cause them serious financial loss. Many New Englanders believed that the War Hawks were more interested in taking over Canada than in securing freedom of the seas for America's trading ships.

This division was evident in the election of 1812. The Republican caucus nominated President Madison for a second term. However, the Republicans of New York backed De Witt Clinton, who was against the war. Most Federalists endorsed Clinton's candidacy. The nation's sectional differences were shown by the outcome of the election. Madison received 128 electoral votes to Clinton's 89. But the election results show that all of the New England states, except Vermont, and many of the Middle states, voted solidly for Clinton. The South and the West supported Madison.



American plans to invade and capture Canada in 1812 had to be shelved after the British and their Indian allies occupied much of the Old Northwest. Within a year, however, American forces had regained this territory, and in 1815 the Americans crushed the British forces in the Battle of New Orleans.

Another problem that the United States faced at the beginning of the war was the weak and unprepared condition of the military. The regular army had only about 10,000 soldiers and most of the officers were inexperienced. As a result, much of the fighting during the war was done by state militias. In 1812, the navy had less than 20 ocean-going ships, and Congress failed to authorize the construction of any new warships during the first year of the war. So one of the American goals of the war—challenging British rule of the seas—was impossible to attain.

Early Battles of the War, 1812-1813 One of the major American goals of the war was to take over Canada. To reach this goal, the Americans planned a three-pronged invasion. American forces were to invade Canada from Detroit, from Fort Niagara, and from Lake Champlain in upstate New York. The invasion began in July 1812, when General William Hull led 2,200 American soldiers across the Detroit River into Canada. However, Hull delayed his attack and then was threatened by hostile Indians. He quickly retreated to Detroit, and after being chased by Canadian forces, Hull surrendered without firing a shot. The second American force, from Fort Niagara, briefly held Queenstown Heights in Canada, but was later captured when the New York State militia refused to come to its support. The third force, the American army in upstate New York, simply refused to leave United States territory and invade Canada. The planned takeover of Canada failed completely.

Not only was the invasion of Canada a failure, but British and Indian forces captured Fort Michilimackinac in northern Michigan and Fort Dearborn, the place where Chicago now stands. Thus much of the Northwest fell under British control.

The following year, however, American forces won an important victory when Captain Oliver Hazard Perry took over Lake Erie. Perry's victory allowed General Harrison, victor of the Battle of Tippecanoe, to force the British to pull out of Detroit. Harrison then defeated a combined British and Indian force at the Battle of the River Thames. Tecumseh, the organizer of Indian resistance and a leader of the Indian forces, was killed in this battle. Tecumseh's death at the Battle

of the River Thames led to the breakup of the alliance between the Indians and the British. By the end of 1813, American forces had regained control of the Northwest.

Later Battles of the War By the spring of 1814, Napoleon had been defeated in Europe. Britain was then free to send seasoned troops to fight in the United States. In August 1814, a British army landed near Washington, D.C. When the British army attacked, the Americans protecting Washington fled. The British marched into the city and burned the Capitol, the White House, and other public buildings. President Madison, Dolley Madison, and the President's cabinet barely escaped capture.

The British then attacked Baltimore. However, the British were stopped at Fort McHenry, which protected the city's harbor. For 25 hours, the British Navy bombarded the fort, but without success. The Americans held their own against the British who were then forced to retreat. An Ameri-

When the British set fire to the White House in 1814, Dolley Payne Madison, President Madison's wife, risked her life in trying to save important state papers.



Independence National Historic Park Collection

can, Francis Scott Key, was so moved by the sight of the stars and stripes still waving over Fort McHenry that he wrote the words to "The Star Spangled Banner." Those words, when put to music, later became the national anthem of the United States.

In September 1814, about 11,000 British soldiers were ready to march on Plattsburg, near Lake Champlain in northern New York. The British also sent a small fleet to Lake Champlain, but an American fleet under the command of Captain Thomas Macdonough successfully challenged the British. After a brutal battle, Macdonough destroyed the British ships. The British soldiers near Plattsburg had no choice but to retreat to

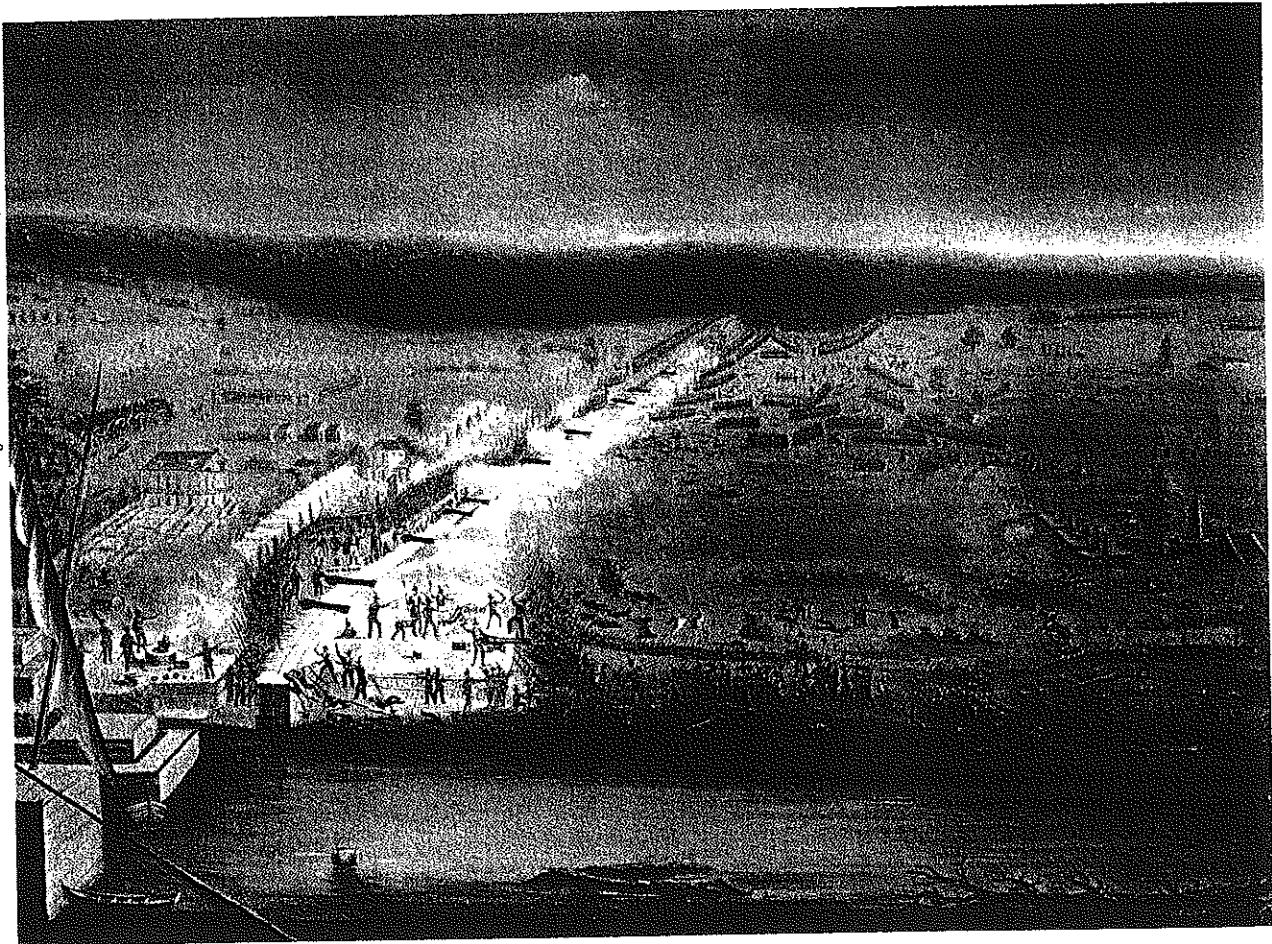
Canada. This battle ended the immediate danger of a British invasion from Canada.

The British then launched an attack on New Orleans in December 1814, but the American forces, under General Andrew Jackson, held their ground. Two weeks later, on January 8, 1815, the British made an assault on Jackson's position. Jackson's army severely defeated the British, who had almost 2,100 killed and wounded soldiers. On the American side 8 soldiers were killed and 13 were wounded.

The Battle of New Orleans was the last battle of the war. This battle made Jackson a national hero, especially in the West. Although Jackson's victory was a great military triumph, it had no

Although there were a number of routes available, British forces chose to make a frontal attack on General Andrew Jackson's well-fortified positions at New Orleans. The American forces inflicted a terrible defeat upon the British, and Jackson became a national hero.

Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch Collection



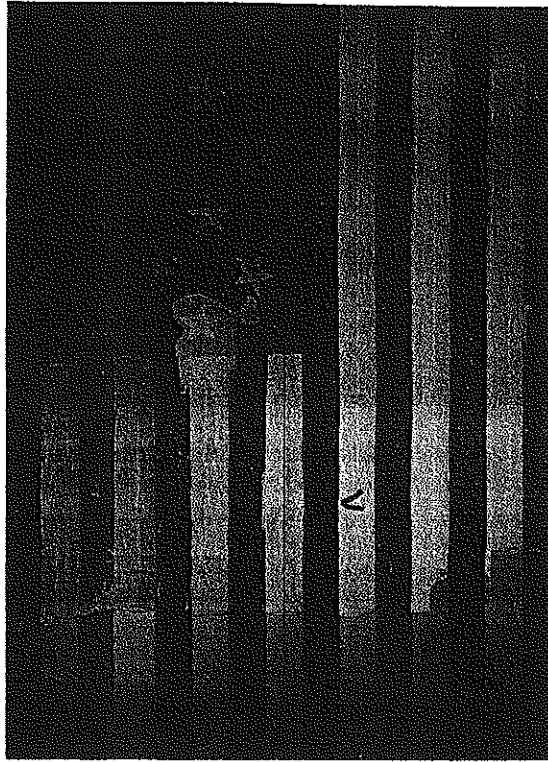
effect on the outcome of the war. Because communications were slow, neither the British nor the Americans knew that a peace treaty had been signed about two weeks before the battle.

The Treaty of Ghent The people of Britain were becoming tired of the war. They were especially tired of paying taxes, which were imposed to fund the war effort. As a result, the British government was forced to initiate talks with the United States. Early in 1814, the British and the Americans opened peace talks in the city of Ghent, in what is now Belgium. The peace talks dragged on through most of the year. The British officials, despite the feelings of most citizens, were in no hurry to sign a treaty, for they believed they would win the war.

The British demands for peace were harsh. They wanted the United States to cede territory in the Northwest to the Indians and to set up a permanent Indian reservation. They also demanded that the United States cede other territory to Canada and surrender American fishing rights off the Canadian coast. The Americans called for the ending of impressment, a guarantee of freedom of the seas, the return of American territory in British hands, and compensation for the loss of trading vessels.

None of these concerns was addressed in the final treaty. Fortunately for the United States, the British had realized that by pushing for concessions, they would only spur the Americans to continue fighting. In December 1814, the American and British representatives signed a treaty that simply ended the hostilities. Each country was left in possession of the territory it held before the war. Nothing was said about impressment or trading rights. However, the treaty specified that all territorial disputes between the United States and Canada would be settled by arbitration. The United States Senate ratified the Treaty of Ghent on February 17, 1815.

The Hartford Convention Many people in New England had been against the war from its beginning. Discontent in New England grew as the war dragged on. Taxes increased and trade dwindled. The declining Federalist party, eager to gain support, fired these antiwar feelings, and Federalist-controlled state legislatures in New



Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

This flag—which flew above Fort McHenry, in Baltimore harbor, during a British attack in September 1814—inspired Francis Scott Key to write “The Star-Spangled Banner.”

England refused to provide militia for the war. The antiwar feeling reached its climax when representatives from the New England states met at the Hartford Convention. This meeting lasted from December 1814 to January 1815.

At the Hartford Convention, radical Federalists talked of forming a confederacy of the New England states and making a separate peace with Britain. Luckily, moderate Federalists controlled the convention. In words like those used in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the convention said that a state had the right to nullify an act of Congress. The convention also proposed amendments to the Constitution that would limit federal power.

Though none of the proposals of the Hartford Convention was treasonous, it was decided that the convention should be kept secret. Nevertheless, stories of the possible secession of New England spread throughout the country. Then, before the convention’s proposals reached Con-

gress, the country learned of Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans and the signing of the peace treaty ending the war. The Federalists, who had organized the Hartford Convention and who had said that the British would win, were discredited.

Results of the War Though the War of 1812 was not a military victory for the United States, the war did have positive outcomes. The war increased America's prestige overseas. At home the war caused a spirit of patriotism and of national unity. As Albert Gallatin, an American representative at the American peace talks at Ghent, pointed out:

The war . . . renewed and reinstated the national feeling and character . . . The people have now more general objects of attachment, with which their pride and political opinions are connected. They are more Americans; they feel and act more as a nation. . . .

In addition, the war furthered the growth of American manufacturing. Because of the war,

■ *Section Analysis*

1. What effect did Macon's Bill No. 2 have on America's trade with Great Britain and with France?
2. How did the American forces plan to capture Canada during the War of 1812?
3. Why were New England merchants opposed to the War of 1812?

SUMMARY

As President, Thomas Jefferson worked to unite the country behind his leadership. He repealed many Federalist excise taxes and the Naturalization Act. In 1803, events in the Caribbean and in Europe allowed Jefferson to achieve his greatest accomplishment—the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France. Soon after the purchase, Jefferson sent Lewis and Clark to explore the new land.

Jefferson declared American neutrality in the war between France and Great Britain. However, neither power respected America's neutral trading rights. Both countries harassed America's shipping as they carried

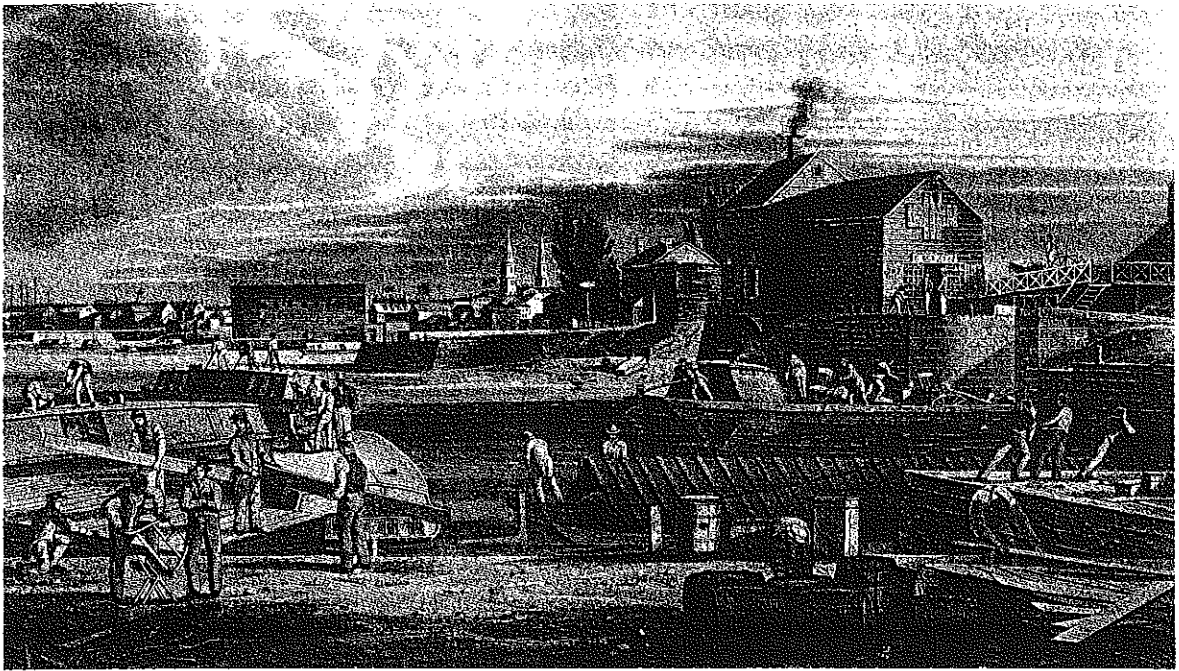
Americans were cut off from foreign manufactured goods and had to supply their own.

In a negative sense, the war also served as an excuse to drive the Indians from their land. The Indians were the real losers in the war, for it ended the possibility of an Indian nation in the Northwest. The Indians were also forced to surrender huge tracts of land during the war. For example, when Jackson defeated the Creeks in 1814, he forced them to give up 23 million acres in the Southeast to the United States. As Indian resistance was reduced, frontier settlements grew in number.

Indirectly, the war furthered the fall of the Federalist party. After the peace, some enemies of the Federalists charged that they had plotted treason at the Hartford Convention. The Federalists never regained their credibility. The war had made heroes of William Henry Harrison and Andrew Jackson. Their military fame later helped elect them to the presidency. Perhaps most importantly, the end of the war allowed Americans to turn their energies inward, toward domestic affairs.

on economic war against each other. To end the interference with American shipping, Jefferson asked Congress to pass the Embargo Act of 1807. However, this law proved unsuccessful.

Relations between the United States and Great Britain grew worse until, in 1812, the United States declared war on Great Britain. Among the causes of the war were the question of American rights as a neutral, the impressment of sailors, the desire to annex Canada, and the belief that America's honor had to be vindicated. After nearly two years of fighting, the Treaty of Ghent, ending the war, was signed in late 1814.



Although the Erie Canal with its intricate system of locks cost over \$7 million to construct, the tolls charged to shippers made the canal profitable, yielding over \$121 million for the New York state treasury between 1825 and 1882, when tolls were finally abolished.

DeWitt Clinton's plan to use state funds to construct a canal. The new canal would link Buffalo, on Lake Erie, with Albany, on the Hudson River. When completed in 1825, the Erie Canal made it possible for western farmers to ship their goods on a water route all the way to New York City, at the mouth of the Hudson River.

The Erie Canal was a remarkable engineering achievement. The canal, 363 miles (581 kilometers) long, was cut through dense wilderness and used a system of locks to compensate for the differences in water levels between Lake Erie and the Hudson River. Because the Erie Canal cut east-west freight charges from \$100 a ton to \$5 a ton, it was an instant success. This success led, in turn, to a canal-building boom throughout the United States. The Erie Canal, however, remained the major link between the East and the West until railroads were constructed.

The Beginnings of Sectionalism While improved transportation was binding the young nation closer together, certain factors were proving increasingly divisive. Since colonial times, dif-

ferent ways of life had developed in the different regions of America. Despite the burst of nationalism that followed the War of 1812, these differences continued to develop until the United States was divided into three distinct sections.

The North, which included the states east of the Appalachian Mountains and north of Maryland, depended on manufacturing. The South, including the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and south of the Ohio River, was united by its belief in slavery. The West, north of the Ohio River and west of the Appalachian Mountains, became a section of small farmers and growing cities that depended on trade with the factories of the North. Each section had its own unique interests and social views. Unfortunately, these differences often led to conflict, and Americans often placed sectional loyalties above loyalty to their country.

Sectional Differences Public feelings toward many important issues clearly showed the growing differences between the country's three sections. The question of protective tariffs was one of these

issues. Early tariffs were supported by people in all sections. By the 1820's, however, support for tariffs generally followed sectional lines. Northerners favored high duties in order to protect their growing industries from other countries' competition. On the other hand, the South, with its large farming economy and its few factories, was against the tariff because it raised the price of manufactured goods. In the West, opinion was divided. In general, westerners wanted tariffs that would protect their farm products, but they did not want to pay more for manufactured goods.

The sale of public lands at low prices was also a divisive issue. Not surprisingly, the westerners wanted low prices so that farmers could buy more land. Southerners, hoping to expand cotton acreage into the Old Southwest, also favored low prices. The North, however, feared that low western land prices would lure workers away from northern factories. As a result, most northerners were against cheap western land.

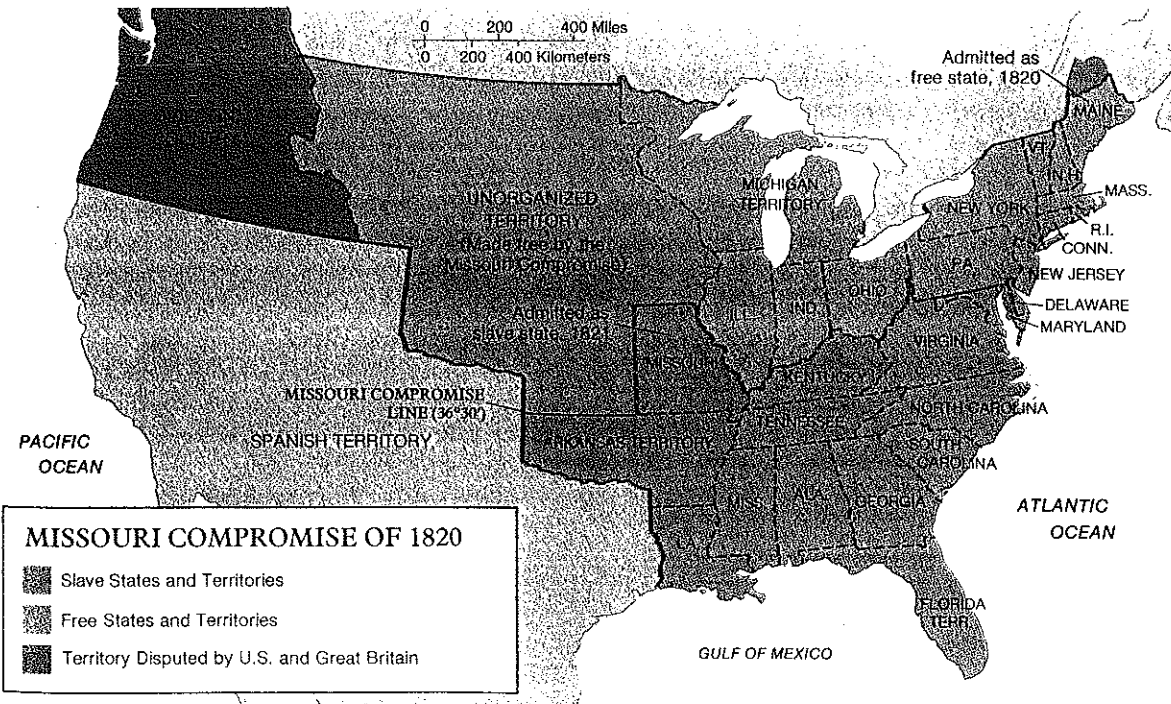
The issue of internal improvements at federal expense caused disagreement between the sections. Westerners naturally favored such improvements because they directly helped their economy. The North was generally in favor of the idea of im-

provements but did not want taxes to pay for them. Southerners, with their many rivers, were opposed. Also, southerners feared that if the federal government became more and more involved in state affairs, Congress might try to interfere with slavery.

The most emotional and visible sectional conflicts were undoubtedly caused by slavery. In the colonial and early national periods, slavery was legal in many states throughout the United States. By the 1820's, however, slavery, even though still allowed in a few northern states, was centered mostly in the South. Southerners thought that their "peculiar institution," as they called slavery, was a needed part of their way of life. They wanted to expand their system into western lands. The North and the West were violently against this spread. Unfortunately for the future of our country, slavery was to cause bitter conflicts in the years to come.

The Missouri Compromise The first major confrontation over slavery began in 1819 when the Missouri territory petitioned Congress to enter the Union as a slave state. During the congressional debate over Missouri's admission, Representative

The Missouri Compromise, passed largely because of the efforts of Speaker of the House Henry Clay, was only one in a series of compromises over slavery that failed to lessen sectional antagonisms.



James Tallmadge of New York introduced a bill that would allow Missouri to be a slave state but would stop other slaves from being brought into the new state. Also, the bill—the Tallmadge Amendment—provided that all children born to Missouri slaves should be freed on their twenty-fifth birthday. The Tallmadge Amendment meant that Missouri would eventually become a free state, and southerners rejected it.

Debate on the Tallmadge Amendment was very bitter, revealing the deep-seated differences between the North and the South on the slavery issue. In voting that largely followed sectional lines, the House of Representatives passed the amendment. The Senate, however, rejected it.

The Missouri controversy continued throughout 1819 and into 1820. By that time, the admission of Alabama as a slave state had brought the total number of states to 22—11 free and 11 slave. If Missouri became a slave state, the South would control the Senate.

■ Section Analysis

1. What western states were admitted to the Union between 1810 and 1830?
2. How did the Erie Canal help western farmers?
3. Why was the Tallmadge Amendment unacceptable to most southerners?

4 *Politics in the Growing Nation*

As the Industrial Revolution and the westward movement were changing the ways that many Americans lived and worked, a new generation of political leaders was taking office. Frightened by the growing spirit of sectionalism, some of the young politicians favored laws that would make the federal government stronger and bind the country closer together. Even though many of these proposals became law, the forces of disunity remained strong. Then, as America came out of its first grave economic depression, the Era of Good Feelings ended. At the same time, a new political party began to emerge.

Clay, Calhoun, and Webster In the years after the War of 1812, three young congressmen, who were to serve the country in various capacities until the middle of the 1800's, became powerful

Finally, largely through the efforts of Speaker of the House of Representatives Henry Clay of Kentucky, Congress reached an agreement. According to the agreement, known as the Missouri Compromise, Missouri became a slave state, while Maine, which had separated from Massachusetts, became a free state. Thus, the balance between free states and slave states was maintained. In addition, the Missouri Compromise prohibited slavery in the territories north of 36°30' north latitude. Since most southerners did not think the Great Plains were suitable for plantation agriculture, the southern members of Congress voted to accept the compromise.

Many Americans realized that the controversy over slavery had not ended with the Missouri Compromise. As Thomas Jefferson sadly stated: "This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror." History proved that Jefferson's fears were well-founded.

in national politics. Though these leaders were all nationalists, they were also concerned with safeguarding the interests of their states.

Perhaps the most nationalistic of the new leaders was Henry Clay, a Republican from Kentucky. Tall, thin, and grey-eyed, Clay had moved to Kentucky from Virginia when he was 20. In Kentucky, Clay built a law practice and became known for his warmth and openness. In 1811, Clay entered Congress as a War Hawk. He was selected Speaker of the House the same year. Throughout Clay's career, he promoted programs that he believed would help unify the country. In later years, he became known as the Great Compromiser for his role in trying to bring the sections of the country closer together.

Another War Hawk, Republican, and lawyer who entered Congress in 1811 was John C. Cal-

1 A Period of Change

During the first quarter of the 1800's, broad changes in electoral laws helped to give the common people in America a voice in government. By 1828, these changes had been adopted by almost every state and had helped to elect a new President who, many Americans believed, represented the ideals of social mobility and endless opportunity in the young Republic.

New Rights for the Common People In the early years of the Republic, most state constitutions placed restrictions on *suffrage*—the right to vote. In general, these constitutions allowed only white men who owned land, paid taxes, or belonged to certain religious groups to vote. The constitutions of many new states that were carved out of the West, however, granted the right to vote to all white men. Gradually, this movement to extend voting rights spread to the East. There many states, despite conservative opposition, revised their constitutions to allow a wider suffrage. Also, many offices that had been appointive became elective during the early 1800's.

Changes in the way a President was chosen reflected the move toward giving the people a greater voice in government. At first, state legislators had chosen electors, who then chose the President. By 1828, however, only Delaware and South Carolina still chose electors this way. In all other states, the voters chose electors directly. Direct election of presidential electors by voters meant that more people had a voice in choosing Presidents.

The early 1800's also saw a growth in the percentage of Americans who used their right to vote. In the presidential election of 1824, for example, only 26.9 percent of those who could vote turned out to vote. In 1828, however, 57.6 percent of the electorate voted. By 1840, this percentage had grown to 80.2 percent. The great rise in voter participation meant that people running for office needed to be more responsive to the people and had to appeal to a wide range of interests in order to be elected.

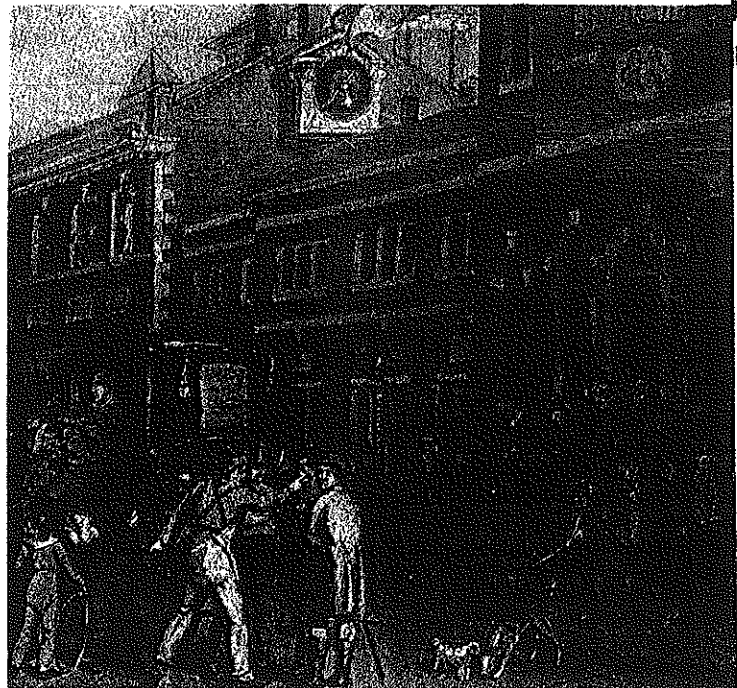
Changes in the ways that political parties chose a presidential candidate also helped to give more people a voice in the American political process. Since the early political parties did not have the

tight organization of present-day parties, candidates were chosen by a few congressional leaders at a party caucus. The caucus system was successful until the 1820's, when many Americans became resentful of "King Caucus" and called for change.

In the 1824 election, three of the four presidential candidates were chosen by the state conventions or state legislatures instead of by caucuses. Rather quickly, political parties began to hold national conventions to choose presidential candidates. The delegates to these conventions were still chosen by party leaders. However, the nominating conventions did give more party members a voice in choosing candidates.

Despite the changes in voting requirements and in methods of presidential selection, certain groups did not gain a voice in government. Women, blacks, and Indians were barred from participation in the American government until much later in our history.

By the 1830's, political campaigns and elections had become exciting contests in which office seekers attempted to appeal to a wide range of voter interests.

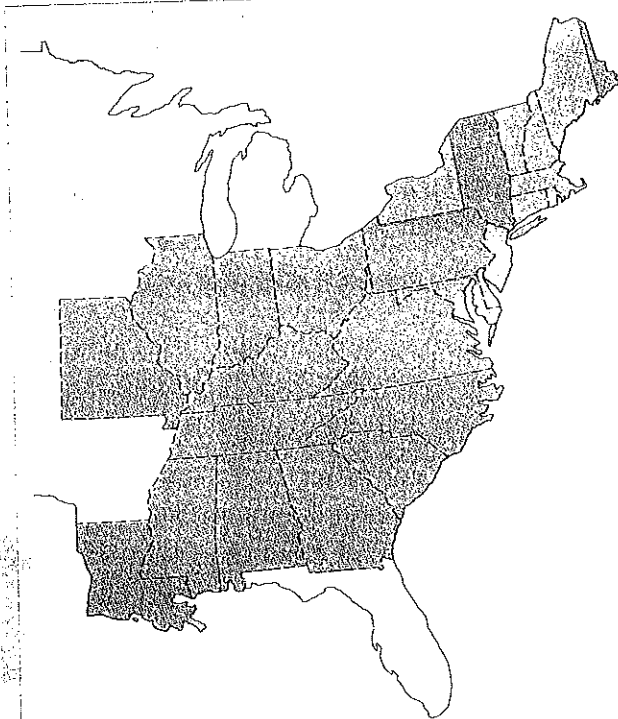


Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The Rise of Andrew Jackson One of the beneficiaries of the changes giving the people a larger voice in government was Andrew Jackson. Born into a poor Carolina family, Andrew Jackson rose to become a rich landowner and a prominent Tennessee lawyer and politician. He also distinguished himself as the dashing hero of the Battle of New Orleans in the War of 1812. Because of his humble beginnings, many Americans believed that Jackson stood for the ideals of social mobility and opportunity in the young nation.

When the House of Representatives chose John Quincy Adams President in 1824, Andrew Jackson loudly accused Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams of reaching a "corrupt bargain." Jackson

In part because of his reputation as the hero of the common people, Jackson won the hotly contested election of 1828.



	VOTES	
	Popular	Electoral
Andrew Jackson (Democratic-Republican)	647,286	178
John Quincy Adams (National-Republican)	508,064	83

then returned to Tennessee and began to build a national party organization to defeat Adams in 1828. In building this new organization, Jackson depended heavily on the support of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Martin Van Buren of New York. Van Buren had successfully forged a strong party organization—known as the Albany Regency—in his home state. The Albany Regency was based on *patronage*—granting jobs to party supporters—and party loyalty, and Van Buren helped to form a similar national political alliance that backed Jackson. In the process, Van Buren and Jackson helped to create the first modern political party—the Democratic party.

The Election of 1828 In 1828, many Americans supported Jackson as the candidate of the common people and the champion of democratic government. Though he was a rich land speculator, slaveowner, and southern planter, Jackson stood for democracy and opportunity to many Americans. So, Jackson was able to build a broad coalition made up of small farmers, southern planters, city workers, and owners of small businesses. Members of each of these groups believed that Jackson shared their interests. By 1828, Jackson and the Democratic-Republicans, later known as the Democrats, had widespread support throughout the West and the South as well as in certain mid-Atlantic states. On the other hand, support for John Quincy Adams and the National Republicans was concentrated in New England.

The actual campaign of 1828 centered more on personalities than on issues. It became an increasingly vicious battle. Jackson's supporters pictured Adams as an aristocratic friend of privilege who was an enemy of democracy. Jackson's supporters also called Adams a man of questionable moral values. They based their judgment on his "corrupt bargain" with Henry Clay in 1824. Adams's backers attacked Jackson as a murderer and a drunkard who had lived with his wife, Rachel, before the two were married.

In what many historians have called the first modern presidential election, the Democratic-Republicans concentrated on capturing the popular vote in certain key states—those with the most electoral votes. Also, the Democratic-Republicans depended on a tight party organization to gain

(Text continues on page 290.)

Andrew Jackson's Personality

Like many politicians, Andrew Jackson was a controversial figure throughout his life. While some Americans felt that Jackson was a crude frontier character totally lacking in social graces, other Americans praised him and believed that his character and personality were above reproach. Mrs. Anne Rutherford of Tennessee, for example, remembered Jackson as a dashing young lawyer.

Mrs. Anne Rutherford

"His ways and manners with young ladies were the most captivating. He always gave us the impression of holding us in the highest and most delicate respect, and as if he would be glad of opportunity to perform some chivalrous act in our behalf. . . . The papers that oppose him now [1824] say he was quarrelsome and turbulent. This is not so. He settled ten disputes and composed a dozen quarrels among young men for every one he had himself. . . .

"In feature he was by no means good-looking. His face was long and narrow, his features sharp and angular and his complexion yellow and freckled. But his eyes were handsome. They were very large, a kind of steel-blue, and when he talked to you he always looked straight into your own eyes. . . . It was the same way with men. He always looked them straight in the eye, as much as to say, 'I have nothing to be ashamed of and I hope you haven't.' This and the gentle manner he had made you forget the plainness of his features. . . . [T]here was always something about him I cannot describe except to say that it was a presence, or a kind of

majesty I never saw in any other young man."

Other observers, however, painted Jackson as an almost barbaric character who was totally unfit for public office.

Andrew Gallatin

"[Jackson is] a tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of

hair hanging over his face, and a cue [braid] down his back tied in an eel-skin; his dress singular, his manners and deportment that of a rough backwoodsman."

Thomas Jefferson

"I feel much alarmed at the prospect of seeing General Jackson, President. He is one of the most unfit men, I know of for such a place. He has had very little respect for Laws or Constitutions,— & is in fact merely an able military chief. His passions are terrible. When I was President of the Senate, he was a Senator; & he could never speak from the *rashness* of his feelings. I have seen him attempt it repeatedly, & as often choak [choke] with rage. His passions are no doubt cooler now;—he has been much tried since I knew him—but he is a *dangerous man*."



Museum of the City of New York

In the early 1800's, many Americans believed that Andrew Jackson was not worthy of being President, while others believed that he embodied the American principles of equality and social mobility. Today, most historians believe that Jackson ranks as one of the greatest chief executives in the history of the nation.

voter support. Due largely to the work of loyal party supporters, Jackson defeated Adams by winning 56 percent of the people's votes. In the electoral college, the final total was 178 votes for Jackson to 83 for Adams.

The Reign of King Mob Many Americans viewed Jackson's election as a victory for democracy and the common people. Accordingly, thousands of ordinary Americans went to Washington, D.C., to see Jackson inaugurated on March 4, 1829. After the ceremony at the Capitol, many of these supporters followed Jackson to the White House to catch a closer look at their hero. In the confusion of the White House reception, many people tracked mud over valuable carpets, stood on fine chairs, or knocked over tables. The crowd became so unruly that Jackson, protected by a group of friends, had to leave the White House and spend the night in a hotel. The boisterous celebrants left the White House only when the staff put refreshment tables on the White House lawn.

Some Americans viewed the confusion of the inaugural celebration as a symbol of a new and unpleasant era in American history. As Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story said, "the reign of King Mob seemed triumphant." Although Story's observation was not accurate, many historians agree that the election of Andrew Jackson was the product of a steadily growing movement toward a more democratic government in America.

Policy of Indian Removal While many Americans were gaining more political rights during the early 1800's, the Indians were losing the few rights they already had. In 1820, about 125,000 Indians lived east of the Mississippi River. The westward-moving whites viewed these Indians as hunter-savages who stood in the way of peaceful settlement of the western lands. Therefore, many white Americans wanted to force the Indians to move west of the Mississippi into what the whites believed were barren lands.

In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which provided funds to move the Indians still living east of the Mississippi River to new reservations on the lands of the Louisiana Purchase. The law also stated that treaties had to be signed with the Indian tribes and that all Indians

had to be paid for their lands. Despite these protections, however, corrupt and greedy officials often tricked the Indians into signing unfair agreements.

In the Old Northwest, the removal policy was completed by 1843. Although the process was generally peaceful, the trip to the new lands was very hard for the Indians. Forced to deal with dishonest officials, sickness, and harsh weather, many Indians died on the trip west.

One group of Indians fought valiantly to resist deportation. In 1831, the Sauk and the Fox agreed to move west. Once across the Mississippi, however, they encountered the hostile Sioux. Facing famine in their new lands, the Sauk and the Fox, under the leadership of Chief Black Hawk, returned to Illinois. In the Black Hawk War of 1832, the Illinois militia chased the half-starved Indians until almost all of Black Hawk's 1,000 followers, including women and children, were killed.

The policy of Indian removal also met with resistance in Florida. As early as 1818, American soldiers led by General Andrew Jackson had entered Florida to try to find runaway slaves that were being aided by the Seminole Indians. In large part because of the threat of American intervention in Florida, the Spanish government gave the territory to the United States in 1819.

In 1832, a few Seminole leaders agreed to move west. Most of the Seminoles, however, objected to the treaty, and they began to resist removal in 1835. Taking advantage of the swamps of Florida, the Seminoles, under Chief Osceola, resisted United States troops in a long and costly war. Even though Osceola was captured when he attended a peace conference, the war lasted until 1842. At that time, the remaining members of the tribe were sent to a reservation in the Indian Territory.

In the Old Southwest, the Chickasaw, Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw Indians had farmed and hunted for centuries. Soon after the passage of the Indian Removal Act, all the tribes except the Cherokee signed treaties with the United States government and moved west.

The Trail of Tears Perhaps the most tragic part of the Indian removal policy was the deportation of the Cherokee. As early as 1791, the United States had recognized the independence of the

which I sent him before

Ch. Ross

CHEROKEE PHOENIX.

NEW ECHOTA, WEDNESDAY JUNE 4, 1825. NO. 15.

ARTICLE 1. We the Commissioners, do hereby agree, that all the Creeks that are north of the said line shall be considered as being under the protection of the Cherokee nation.

ARTICLE 2. All the Creeks that are south of the said line shall be considered as being under the protection of the Creek nation, which shall be considered as chief of said nation.

ARTICLE 3. If any chief or chiefs of the Georgia, should fall within the Cherokee, that is north of said line they shall be considered as chiefs of said nation.

ARTICLE 4. If any subject of the Cherokee nation, should commit murder and run into the Creek nation, the Cherokee will make application to the Creek nation, through their chiefs, and when they give the man who killed the murderer, \$200.

ARTICLE 5. If any subject of the Creek nation, should commit murder and run into the Cherokee, the Creeks will make application to the Cherokee to have the murderer killed, and when they give the man who killed the murderer, \$200.

ARTICLE 6. If any Cherokee, should come over the line and commit murder on that of the Creeks, the Creeks will make a demand of the Cherokee for satisfaction.

ARTICLE 7. If any Cherokee, should come over the line and commit murder on that of the Creeks, the Creeks will make a demand of the Cherokee for satisfaction.

ARTICLE 8. If any Cherokee, should come over the line and commit murder on that of the Creeks, the Creeks will make a demand of the Cherokee for satisfaction.

CONSTITUTION

CHEROKEE NATION,

MADE AND ESTABLISHED

GENERAL CONVENTION OF DELEGATES,

FULLY AUTHORIZED FOR THAT PURPOSE,

NEW ECHOTA,

JULY 25, 1827.

PRINTED FOR THE CHEROKEE NATION,
AT THE OFFICE OF JOHN STANTMAN AND PATRICK
GEORGE.

New York Public Library, Rare Book Division, Astor Lenox and Tilden Foundations

The Cherokee constitution set up a government based on that of the United States. The bilingual *Cherokee Phoenix* helped keep a highly literate population informed on important matters of the day.

Cherokee nation in what is now northwestern Georgia. The Cherokee became efficient farmers and merchants. The Cherokee leader Sequoya developed an alphabet for the Cherokee language, and by the early 1800's, the Cherokee were printing books, magazines, and a newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, in their native language. In addition, the Cherokee had their own laws, constitution, and legislature. Obviously, the Cherokee nation did not fit the mold of hunter-savages in which most white Americans placed all Indians. Nevertheless, white Georgians wanted to take over Indian lands.

In 1828, Georgia passed a law voiding all Cherokee laws. In 1830, a Georgia law stated that all whites living in the Cherokee territories had to swear allegiance to Georgia. The Cherokee took their case to the Supreme Court. In 1832, in the case of *Worcester v. Georgia*, John Marshall ruled that Georgia could not extend its laws into Cherokee lands. Marshall stated that the Cherokee, as well as other Indians, were

distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive, and having a right to all lands within those boundaries, which is not only acknowledged, but guaranteed by the United States.

Andrew Jackson sided with the people of Georgia in the dispute. As a westerner, Jackson wanted to open new lands for white settlers. As a result, Jackson opposed Marshall's decision. As the President reportedly said, "John Marshall has made this decision, now let him enforce it." The Supreme Court had no military power to enforce the law. Therefore, the federal policy of forcing the Indians off their homelands continued unchecked.

In 1835, the Cherokee were given 3 years by the state of Georgia to move to the Indian Territory. When the Indians did not comply with this order, federal soldiers forced approximately 15,000 Cherokee and the last of the Chickasaw, Creek, and Choctaw into detention centers. In the winter

of 1838–1839, these once proud people were forced to move to reservations in the Indian Territory. The journey was so difficult that nearly 4,000 Indians died on what has become known as the Trail of Tears.

In discussing the new Indian reservations, Andrew Jackson promised the Indians that the white Americans

will have no claim to the land, and you can live upon it, you and all your children, as long as the grass grows or the water runs, in peace and plenty. It will be yours forever.

Tragically, even though Jackson's sentiments were probably sincere, future white settlers would call upon the government to force the Indians off their new lands.

■ Section Analysis

1. What restrictions on voting rights were removed by most states during the early 1800's?
2. In what ways were the methods that political parties used to nominate candidates for President changed in the early 1800's?
3. Why was John Marshall's decision in favor of the Cherokee useless in preventing the tribe's removal?

2 Jacksonian Politics

Andrew Jackson brought a new concept of presidential power to the executive office. Believing that the President should be a strong leader, Jackson took an active part in controversies over tariffs and the Bank of the United States. Despite opposition to his policies, Jackson always championed the interests of the Union over those of a state or section.

Jacksonian Leadership Andrew Jackson believed that the President should take an active part in making government policies and in exerting strong leadership. One example of Jackson's idea of the presidency was his use of the veto. Before Jackson's time, Presidents had vetoed only bills that they believed to be unconstitutional, and the veto had been used only 9 times. In contrast, Jackson vetoed bills that he considered unwise as well as measures that he believed to be unconstitutional. In the 8 years of his presidency, Jackson vetoed 12 bills. Also, Jackson was the first President to use the *pocket veto*—a way of killing a bill at the end of a session of Congress by refusing to sign or veto it.

Another way that Jackson differed from earlier Presidents was in his use of the cabinet. Though Jackson appointed an official cabinet, he seldom

consulted this group on important subjects. Instead, Jackson depended on an informal group of newspaper editors, officeholders, and Tennessee friends, known as the kitchen cabinet. Though Secretary of State Martin Van Buren was often included in the meetings of the kitchen cabinet, the other members of the group had no official status in Jackson's administration.

The Spoils System Shortly after his inauguration, Jackson began appointing his supporters to government posts. Known as the *spoils system*, this policy was based, in part, on Jackson's belief that any intelligent person could fill a government position. Also, Jackson feared that if officeholders were not replaced from time to time, a professional class of federal officials would arise in America. Such a class would ultimately become an officeholding aristocracy. This would be against the democratic ideals of the country.

Some of Jackson's followers were even more insistent than Jackson on appointing supporters to government posts. They argued that government jobs should be used to reward people who were instrumental in putting the political party in power. A favorite saying among Jackson followers was "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy."

Jackson's spoils system was not a new policy in American government. Earlier Presidents had often rewarded their supporters with government jobs. However, the same political party had been in power since 1800. So there had been very few major changes in political appointments for almost 30 years. Therefore, many Americans, forgetting that earlier Presidents had given jobs to their friends and supporters, viewed Jackson's spoils system as a new and radical policy. These critics charged that the spoils system would destroy efficient government by replacing experienced officeholders with party hacks. Despite these protests, most of the people that Jackson appointed did their jobs well. Moreover, during Jackson's whole administration, only 20 percent of the federal officials were changed, and many of those removed were incompetent.

The Tariff of Abominations During the first years of his administration, Jackson faced a crisis that threatened the Union. This crisis grew out of a tariff that had been passed in 1828—before Jackson had become President.

By the late 1820's, the tariff had become a highly divisive sectional issue. In the North, factory owners wanted more protection from imports. In the West, farmers wanted high duties on imported agricultural goods. The South, however, was against higher duties. Many southerners, hoping that the South would soon build its own factories, had favored the Tariff of 1816. By 1828, the southerners saw that their economy would remain agricultural, and they naturally wanted cheaper imported goods.

In 1828, Andrew Jackson's friends in Congress proposed a tariff that would win support for their candidate in the November election. The tariff included high duties on raw materials, such as wool, hemp, flax, and fur as well as on manufactured goods. Jackson's supporters thought that the North would never support high duties on raw materials. They thought the North would side with the South to defeat the bill. Because Jackson did not take a public stand on the high duties, his supporters hoped that they could present their candidate as a friend of tariffs to the North and the West and as an opponent of tariffs to the South.

The plan of the Jacksonians, however, did not work. Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts

had argued against tariffs in 1816 because he feared that import duties would hurt New England shipping interests. But he favored the Tariff of 1828. By then, Webster had come to believe that New England factories needed the protection of high import duties. Accordingly, Webster led the fight that helped to pass what opponents called the Tariff of Abominations. President John Quincy Adams then signed the bill.

The Theory of Nullification Not surprisingly, the high import duties of the Tariff of Abominations provoked strong opposition in the South. Vice-President John C. Calhoun led this opposition. In late 1828, Calhoun wrote an anonymous article titled "The South Carolina Exposition and Protest." Calhoun's article built on the arguments raised by Jefferson and Madison in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. Calhoun's article stated that the Union was a compact of sovereign states. The United States government, as set up by the Constitution, was only an agent for these states. So, Calhoun reasoned, each state government had the power to call a convention to rule on the constitutionality of any federal law. If a convention decided that a law was indeed unconstitutional, the delegates could then *nullify*—declare void—the law within their state.

Calhoun went on to state that the Constitution gave Congress the right to tax to raise money. But the Tariff of Abominations, Calhoun wrote, had been passed to protect industry rather than to raise money. So the tariff was unconstitutional. Therefore, South Carolina, or any other state, could nullify the tariff. Though South Carolina did not move to apply Calhoun's ideas in 1828, the state legislature endorsed Calhoun's article. The state legislature also passed resolutions calling the tariff unjust and unconstitutional.

Even though Calhoun wrote his article in answer to the Tariff of 1828, the idea of nullification was not limited to tariffs. Calhoun and his supporters knew that this idea could easily be used against federal interference with slavery or any national policy that the southern states did not accept.

The Webster-Hayne Debate As sectional differences over the tariffs grew, southern leaders became more upset by their section's growing isolation. To lessen this isolation, some southerners

tried to build closer ties with the West. The attempt to form such an alliance led to one of the most well-known debates in the history of Congress.

The historic debate began on December 29, 1829. Senator Samuel A. Foote of Connecticut proposed a federal restriction on the sale of western lands. Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri spoke for many westerners when he accused Senator Foote of taking part in a northern conspiracy to cripple western growth. This conspiracy, Benton stated, was formed to stop westward migration so that northern factories would not lose any more workers.

Hoping to gain the West's support for the South's call for lower tariffs, Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina then rose and backed Benton. Daniel Webster quickly denied any northern plan to impede western growth. Afterwards, Hayne again took the floor. Hayne spoke against federal restrictions. He also emphasized the danger of a powerful central government and advocated nullification. Several weeks later, on January 26, 1830, Daniel Webster began his reply to Hayne. Denouncing the idea behind nullification, Webster

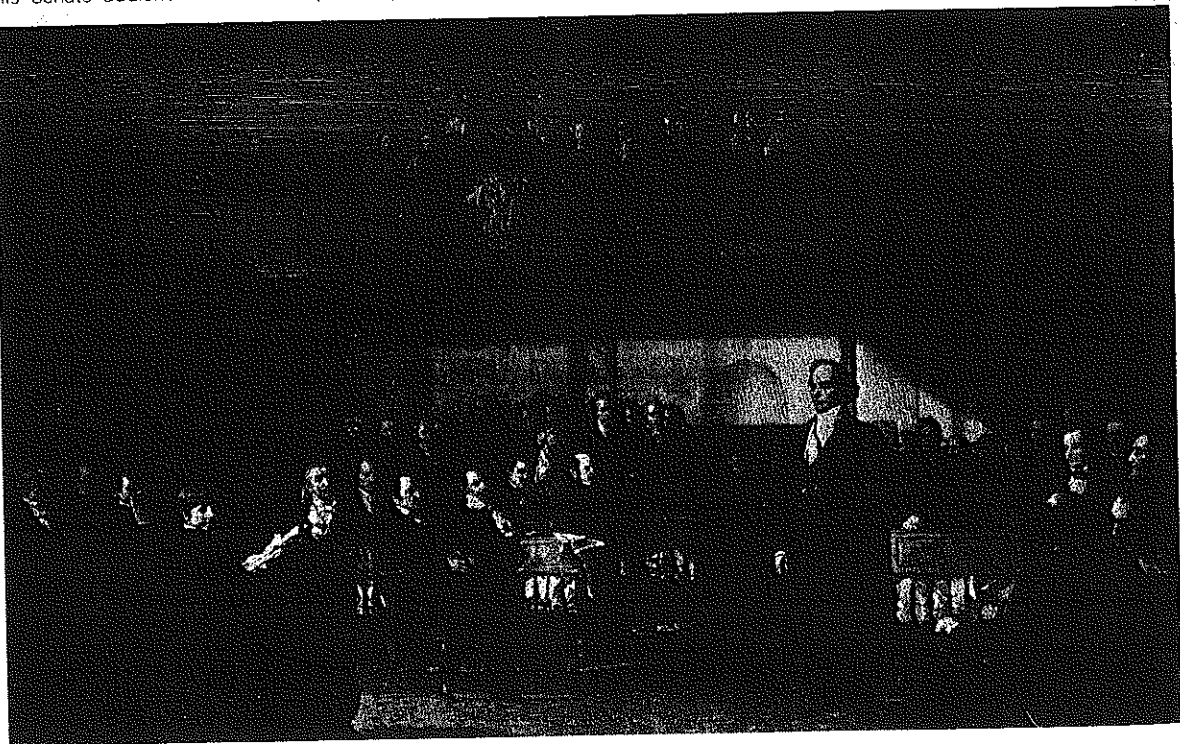
stated that the Constitution was far more than only a compact between sovereign states as Calhoun said it was. In fact, said Webster, the federal government was actually the agent of the people, not the agent of the states. So no state had the power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. Webster believed that if nullification were ever allowed, the United States would be destroyed. In one of the most important speeches in American history, Webster said:

When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union . . . Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced . . . Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

Webster's speech had a great impact on the country. It helped to destroy the South's chances of making an alliance with the West. However, the issue of the rights of the states in relation to the power of the federal government was not set-

Championing the cause of a strong federal government over the theory of states' rights and nullification, Daniel "Black Dan" Webster, one of the most articulate orators in the history of the Republic, transfixed his Senate audience with his eloquent reply to Senator Hayne of South Carolina.

City of Boston, Faneuil Hall



tied. This was particularly true in the minds of many southerners.

Jackson and States' Rights During the debate and in the first years of his administration, Jackson never made clear how he stood on states' rights and on nullification. Many southern planters hoped that because Jackson was a planter and a slaveowner, he would support states' rights. In 1830, Jackson raised the hopes of the states'-rights backers when he vetoed the Maysville Road bill. This bill would have set aside federal money to build a road completely within Kentucky. Jackson vetoed the bill on the grounds that it was unconstitutional to use federal funds to build a road within a particular state. But later that year, Jackson made clear his position on states' rights and the power of the federal government.

In 1830, states'-rights backers planned a dinner in honor of Thomas Jefferson's birthday. At the dinner many toasts were offered in praise of states' rights. When it was Jackson's turn to offer a toast, however, he stared at Vice-President John C. Calhoun and said, "Our Federal Union: It must be preserved!" Obviously, the President placed the solidarity of the Union above the interests of individual states. Calhoun, visibly upset, said, "The Union, next to our liberty, most dear!"

Jackson and Calhoun The disagreements between Jackson and Vice-President Calhoun went beyond political issues. Soon after Jackson came into office, personal differences arose between the two men over the treatment of Peggy Eaton.

Jackson's secretary of war, John Eaton, had married a tavernkeeper's daughter—Peggy—soon after her husband's death. Thinking Peggy Eaton was socially below her, John C. Calhoun's wife led a group of cabinet wives who snubbed Mrs. Eaton. This reminded Jackson of the vicious treatment that his own wife, Rachel, had received during the presidential campaign. Jackson believed that these attacks had been partly responsible for Rachel's death shortly after the election. Jackson was sympathetic to the Eatons and sided with the secretary of war. As a result, Calhoun and the other cabinet members lost Jackson's confidence. Only Secretary of State Martin Van Buren, who had befriended Mrs. Eaton, remained an important part of Jackson's administration.



Library of Congress

Peggy Eaton, who married John Eaton less than a year after her first husband's death, was snubbed by Washington society, but she found an ardent defender in Andrew Jackson.

In 1831, relations between Jackson and Calhoun grew worse. At that time, Jackson discovered that Calhoun had opposed Jackson's unauthorized military campaign in Florida in 1818. Calhoun, who had then been President Monroe's secretary of war, had wanted Monroe to charge Jackson with going against orders. The matter had never been made public. In the years since 1818, Calhoun led Jackson to believe that he had backed Jackson's military actions. When Jackson found out about Calhoun's earlier opposition, the break between the two men grew wider. Finally, in 1832, Calhoun left the vice-presidency and entered Congress as a senator from South Carolina. After entering Congress, Calhoun continued to work for states' rights and nullification.

The Nullification Crisis Nullification became a major issue again in 1832. In that year, Congress passed a new tariff. It lowered some im-