

UNIT III

GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC

CHAPTER 6 Federalists and Democratic- Republicans in Power

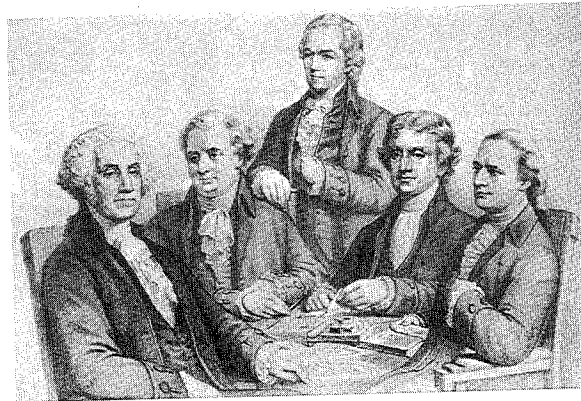
In April 1789, the members of the electoral college unanimously elected Washington president. John Adams, with the second highest number of votes, became vice president.

DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS UNDER WASHINGTON

New York City was the first capital of the United States under the Constitution. At Federal Hall, on April 30, 1789, Washington was inaugurated as the nation's first president.

1. Organizing the Government. The first Congress created three executive departments—State, Treasury, and War. For secretary of the treasury, the most important post at the time, Washington selected Alexander Hamilton. He made Thomas Jefferson secretary of state and Henry Knox secretary of war. The three secretaries and Attorney General Edmund Randolph formed the nation's first Cabinet.

Congress set up a court system. The Judiciary Act of 1789 provided that the Supreme Court would have six judges: a chief justice and five associate justices. Washington appointed John Jay, a lawyer from New York, as the first chief justice. The first federal court system also consisted of 13 district courts and 3 circuit courts.



The first presidential Cabinet included (from left to right after Washington): Henry Knox, secretary of war; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state; and Edmund Randolph, attorney general.

2. Hamilton's Financial Program. The most serious problem facing the new government was finances. The Second Continental Congress and the Confederation had not repaid most of the money that it had borrowed from both foreign sources and U.S. citizens. The individual states had large debts, too. The federal treasury did not hold enough money to operate the government. Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton proposed a number of bills to place the nation on a solid financial footing.

a. Restoring credit. Hamilton believed that the U.S. government had to pay its debts in full, both abroad and at home. Few objected to funding the \$12 million owed to foreign investors. But his proposal to fully repay the debts owed to people at home met with resistance.

The federal government owed about \$44 million to Americans. During the war, the Continental Congress had raised money by selling *bonds*, and had paid soldiers with IOUs called *pay certificates*. Many of those who held bonds and certificates, doubting that the government would ever redeem them, sold their holdings to speculators for considerably less than their face value. At first, Congress objected to enriching speculators by funding the national debt at full value. But it finally passed the required laws.

There was even greater resistance to a proposal called *assumption of debt*. Under this plan, the federal government would assume (take over) some \$25 million in debts owed by the states. Northern states owed more money than Southern states, and Southerners objected to paying off Northern debts. Hamilton overcame the Southerners' opposition by granting their demand that the nation's permanent capital be located in the South. (While Washington, D.C., was being built, Philadelphia served as the temporary capital.)

b. Establishing a National Bank. Hamilton proposed that a National Bank be organized. He gave three main arguments for a

National Bank: (1) It would provide a safe place for federal funds. (2) It would make it easier for the government and private individuals to borrow. (3) It would create a uniform and dependable currency by issuing sound paper money. The bank would be chartered for 20 years. Its headquarters would be in Philadelphia, with branches elsewhere. The bank would be privately owned and managed. But the government would own a fifth of the stock.

Many people were afraid that such a bank would dominate the banking business. Jefferson and others thought that the plan was unconstitutional since the Constitution did not specifically grant Congress the power to create banks. (This view, called *strict construction*, maintains that the government cannot do anything that is not clearly specified in the Constitution.)

Hamilton held that the bank bill was constitutional because Congress had the right to coin money, collect taxes, and borrow money. And the elastic clause of the Constitution enabled Congress to do what is "necessary and proper" to carry out its specified tasks. In this case, said Hamilton, a bank was needed to handle finances. (Hamilton's view, called *loose construction*, argues that the government has powers that are implied in the Constitution.) Hamilton's view prevailed, and in 1791, Congress set up the first National Bank.

c. Creating a coinage system. The many different foreign coins in circulation had to be replaced with a uniform metal currency. Hamilton proposed a *decimal system* of coinage (one based on units of 10). Congress set up a mint to produce a new series of gold, silver, and copper coins.

d. Raising money. A 1789 tariff act had placed duties on certain imports. But the levies did not bring in enough money to run the government. Therefore, in 1791 Congress approved Hamilton's idea for a tax on making whiskey. Frontier farmers, who distilled whiskey from their surplus grain, complained that this tax cut deeply into their profits. Farmers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay the tax and threatened federal tax collectors with violence. As a result, President Washington sent a force of 13,000 troops to put down the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. Order was quickly restored. By this action, the government showed that it was able to enforce the laws.

e. Encouraging industry. Hamilton believed that the United States should encourage manufacturing. One way to do so was to adopt *protective tariffs* (high taxes on imported goods in order to protect domestic manufacturers from foreign competition). Congress did not approve this measure, mainly because of Southern opposition. The South had fewer factories and imported more foreign goods than the North.



After violence erupted in western Pennsylvania in 1794, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton led a militia from four states to put down this Whiskey Rebellion.

3. The First Political Parties. Hamilton's financial program created a strong financial foundation for the United States. But since it helped the well-to-do more than average Americans, it aroused opposition as well as support. This division of opinion led to the formation of the nation's first political parties. One group called themselves Federalists. The other group was known as Democratic-Republicans, or simply Republicans. (The Democratic-Republican party was a forerunner of the present-day Democratic party. Today's Republican party was not founded until 1854.)

The Federalist party, which backed Hamilton's policies, was especially strong in the Northeast. Its members, mainly merchants, bankers, and manufacturers, favored a strong national government and loose construction of the Constitution. They wanted to encourage commerce and industry, as well as farming. The Federalists distrusted democracy, preferring government to be in the hands of the educated and wealthy.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison led the Democratic-Republicans. The party's chief strength was in the South and West. Most of its members were small farmers and laborers. Fearing that a strong federal government might hamper individual freedom, Democratic-Republicans supported strict construction of the Constitution as a way of limiting the government's power.

The Federalists controlled the government during the presidencies of Washington and his successor, John Adams. The years 1789–1801 are therefore known as the Federalist period. Washing-

ton is considered a Federalist, but he did not side officially with either party. In fact, in his Farewell Address he pointed out that political parties would lead to "riot and insurrection."

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: bond, pay certificate, assumption of debt, protective tariff, strict construction, loose construction.

CRITICAL THINKING: Do you think that setting up the National Bank was constitutional? Why or why not?

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The French Revolution took place about the same time that Washington was in office. This uprising, which broke out in 1789, led to a series of wars that involved most of Europe. In the conflicts between France and Britain, Democratic-Republicans generally favored France, while Federalists usually supported Britain.

1. France and the Genêt Affair. Early in 1793, the French king was executed. France then found itself at war with Britain, Spain, and the Netherlands. The French expected the United States to help them because the two nations had signed a treaty of alliance during the American Revolution. But Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton felt that the United States was too weak to go to war. Washington issued a Proclamation of Neutrality in April 1793. It declared that the United States would remain at peace with both sides. The president warned U.S. citizens to avoid unfriendly acts against any nation at war.

Meanwhile, the French government sent a diplomat, Edmond Genêt, to obtain help from the United States. In the spring of 1793, "Citizen" Genêt began to organize military expeditions against Spanish-held Florida and Louisiana. He provided Americans with commissions in the French army. He also arranged for privateers to sail from U.S. ports to attack British merchant ships. After Genêt ignored warnings to stop these activities, Washington asked the French government to recall him. As it turned out, a new regime had come to power in France that wanted Genêt brought home under arrest. Fearing for his life, Genêt requested and received permission to remain in the United States.



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2. Britain and the Jay Treaty. In violation of the 1783 Treaty of Paris, the British continued to occupy the Northwest Territory, where they carried on a far-reaching fur trade. They also sold guns to Native Americans and incited them to attack frontier settlements. Britain justified its occupation of U.S. territory by claiming that the United States had not honored several provisions of the peace treaty. These included (1) failure to pay prerevolutionary debts owed by Americans to British merchants and (2) failure to pay Loyalists for property taken by the states.

As a neutral nation, the United States traded with both France and Britain. To keep supplies from reaching the French, the British navy in 1793 began seizing neutral ships bound for France or its colonies. The British also took American seamen from U.S. ships and forced them to serve in the British navy. This practice was known as *impressment*.

Washington sent John Jay to Britain to negotiate an end to the U.S.-British conflict. The resulting 1794 Jay Treaty provided for (1) withdrawal of British troops from the Northwest Territory, (2) payment of debts owned to British creditors by Americans, and (3) compensation to American shippers for ships and cargoes seized by the British.

This treaty was widely criticized in the United States. Britain made no promises to stop seizing U.S. ships bound for French territory. Nor did it agree to halt the impressment of Americans. Washington himself did not like the treaty. But he felt that it would help keep peace at a time when the United States was not prepared to fight a war. At his urging, the U.S. Senate ratified the Jay Treaty.

3. Spain and the Pinckney Treaty. Americans wanted the right to ship goods down the Mississippi. They also wanted to deposit the goods in New Orleans and then transfer them to oceangoing vessels without paying duties to Spain. This so-called *right of deposit* was important to Western farmers because New Orleans was their only outlet to Eastern and European markets. A third concern was the disputed boundary between Georgia and Spanish Florida. Thomas Pinckney negotiated a settlement of these concerns. The Pinckney Treaty (1795) guaranteed Americans navigation rights on the lower Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans. It also fixed the boundary between Spanish and U.S. territories east of the Mississippi at the 31st parallel.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: French Revolution, Edmond Genêt, Jay Treaty, Pinckney Treaty.

CRITICAL THINKING: Identify *two* problems the Washington administration had with Great Britain. Tell how or whether these problems were resolved by 1797.

ADAMS AS PRESIDENT

Washington decided not to run for a third term in 1796. The Federalist candidate, John Adams, won by a narrow margin over his Democratic-Republican opponent, Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson became vice president.

1. More Trouble With France. Relations with France grew worse after the signing of the Jay Treaty. The French felt that the United States was ignoring its mutual-aid agreement with them and moving closer to Britain. French vessels began to seize merchant ships bound for British ports. The French government refused to receive the U.S. minister, Charles Pinckney.

a. XYZ Affair. In 1797, Adams sent a delegation to France to try to settle the difficulties. It met with three French agents, who demanded a large bribe and the promise of a U.S. loan to France before



French Monster in the XYZ Affair: "Money, Money, Money!" U.S. Commissioners: "Cease bawling, Monster! We will not give you six pence."

negotiations could begin. These demands were rejected. Early the next year, American newspapers reported the demands made by the French agents, who were identified simply as X, Y, and Z. The XYZ Affair, as it was called, aroused a storm of anti-French protest in the United States. In preparation for war, Congress passed defense measures and created the Department of the Navy.

b. Undeclared naval war. From 1798 through 1800, the United States and France fought an undeclared naval war. The tiny U.S. Navy took more than 80 French ships while losing only one of its own. Not wanting a full-scale war, the French negotiated an agreement with the United States that ended the hostilities.

2. The Alien and Sedition Acts. At the height of the French crisis, in 1798, the Federalist-dominated Congress passed four laws known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. (An *alien* is a resident noncitizen; *sedition* means treason.) (1) One act raised the residency requirement for citizenship from 5 to 14 years. (2) Another gave the president power to deport any alien considered dangerous to the nation. (3) The third act gave the president authority to arrest or deport enemy aliens in time of war. (4) The fourth made it a crime to publish "false, scandalous, and malicious writing" about the U.S. government or its officials. Federalists defended the Alien and Sedition Acts as necessary war measures. The real purpose of the acts, though, was to check the growing power of the Democratic-Republicans. Since most immigrants tended to be anti-Federalist in their outlook, delaying citizenship for newcomers prevented them from voting for Democratic-Republican candidates. The only people to be arrested for "seditious" writings were Democratic-Republicans.

3. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. In 1798 and 1799, the state legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions declaring the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional. Both sets of statements claimed that since the states had created the national government, they could ignore acts of Congress that they regarded as illegal. The resolutions formed the basis of the nullification doctrine. This is the belief that states have the power to *nullify* (declare invalid) any federal action that they consider unconstitutional. Other states, however, did not support the resolutions and the issue of nullification died down for the time being.

THE ELECTION OF 1800

In the presidential election of 1800, the Federalists nominated John Adams for a second term. Opposing him as the Democratic-Republican candidate was Thomas Jefferson.

1. Jefferson Chosen. The Democratic-Republicans won a sweeping victory in 1800. But an unusual problem then arose. According to the Constitution, members of the electoral college were to vote for two candidates, without indicating which office each was to fill. The person receiving the most votes was to become president; the runner-up, vice president. The Democratic-Republicans had nominated Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice president. Since each elector cast two votes for his party's candidates, Jefferson and Burr tied.

The Constitution provides that when two candidates are tied in the electoral college, the House of Representatives must choose between them. Federalist congressmen tried to swing the election to Burr because his political views were closer to those of the Federalists. The deadlock was finally broken by Hamilton. Although a Federalist, Hamilton did not trust Burr and influenced the House to choose Jefferson. To prevent such a mixup in the future, the Twelfth Amendment was adopted in 1804. It provided that electors were to cast separate ballots for president and vice president.

2. Decline of the Federalists. The Federalists never won a presidential election again and disappeared from the political scene some 15 years after their defeat in 1800. While Federalist policies had done much to get the United States off to a good start, they favored business groups over the majority of the population. Moreover, Federalist sponsorship of the Alien and Sedition Acts aroused people's fears that a Federalist administration would destroy civil liberties.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: XYZ Affair, alien, sedition, nullify, Aaron Burr.

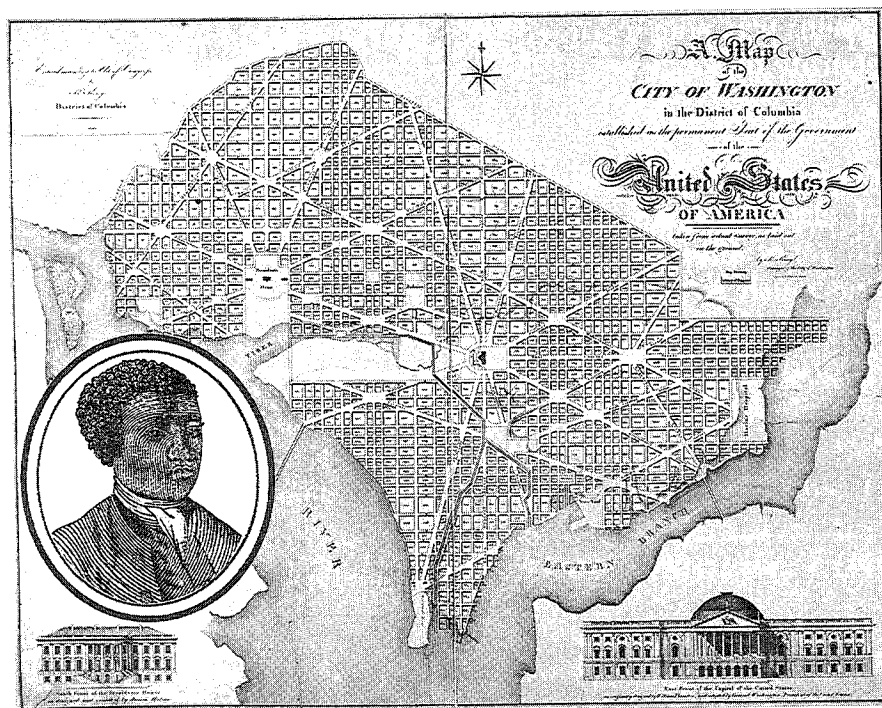
CRITICAL THINKING: How was the presidential election of 1800 unusual? How did it lead to a change in the U.S. Constitution?

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS IN POWER

The election of Thomas Jefferson as president in 1800 ended 12 years of Federalist domination of the government. It also marked a shift in political power from wealthy merchants and landowners to small farmers and property holders. Jefferson's election is often called "the revolution of 1800," but this is an exaggeration. Although his administration did reverse some Federalist policies, the changes were fewer than expected.

Jefferson was one of the best educated and most versatile of U.S. presidents. He had written the Declaration of Independence and served as governor of Virginia, foreign diplomat, secretary of state, and vice president. In addition, he was an inventor, a musician, a scientific farmer, and an architect. On the negative side, he was a slaveholder.

1. Undoing Federalist Measures. The Democratic-Republicans repealed some of the Alien and Sedition Acts and allowed others to expire. Jefferson pardoned people who had been imprisoned



The surveyor Benjamin Banneker (*inset*) helped lay out the boundaries of the new capital—Washington, D.C. Jefferson's inauguration was the first to be held in the city.

under the acts. Congress lowered the residence requirement for citizenship from 14 to 5 years. The Democratic-Republicans also repealed the tax on whiskey and cut federal expenses.

2. Marshall and the Judiciary. Shortly before the Federalists left office, Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801, which authorized an increase in the number of federal judges. By filling these positions with their supporters, the Federalists hoped to keep control of the judiciary. The newly appointed officials were called "midnight judges."

When the Democratic-Republicans came into office, they repealed the Judiciary Act and removed most of the last-minute appointees. But the episode led to another judicial development that was contrary to Jefferson's principles. This was the Supreme Court decision in a case called *Marbury v. Madison* (1803).

One of the "midnight judges," William Marbury, asked the Supreme Court to issue an order forcing Secretary of State James Madison to deliver his appointment. An earlier Judiciary Act, passed in 1789, had given the Supreme Court the right to rule in certain cases involving federal officials. The Supreme Court, however, pointed out that the *Marbury v. Madison* case was not one of the types of cases that the Constitution had specified could go directly to the Supreme Court. Therefore, part of the Judiciary Act of 1789 was unconstitutional. This decision helped establish the principle of judicial review (discussed first on page 91).

The decision in *Marbury v. Madison* was a brilliant move on the part of Chief Justice John Marshall—himself a Federalist appointed by Adams. Although the decision gave the Democratic-Republicans the power to deny a job to a Federalist judge, it limited the kinds of cases that the Supreme Court could hear. But the underlying idea—that the Supreme Court could judge a law or action unconstitutional—conflicted with the Democratic-Republican belief in strict construction. Supporters of this view felt that the Supreme Court was taking on powers not granted by the Constitution. Marshall dominated the Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835. His views angered Jefferson and his followers. But Marshall's influence helped make the Court a strong arm of the government.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

The most significant event of Jefferson's presidency was the purchase of Louisiana. At this time, the term referred to vast lands lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains.

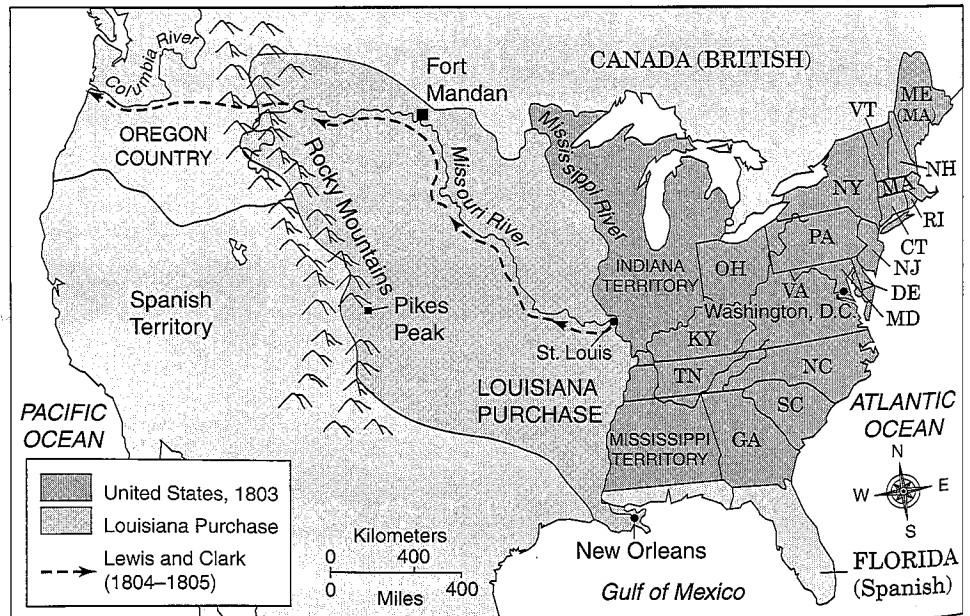
1. Background. France, which had originally claimed Louisiana, ceded it to Spain at the end of the French and Indian War (1763). But the French ruler Napoleon wanted to restore France's empire in America. In 1800, he forced Spain to return Louisiana to France. Two years later, the French canceled the American right of deposit at New Orleans.

Western farmers were worried about shipping their goods. Americans in general did not want Napoleon's troops at the nation's back door. Therefore, Jefferson decided to buy New Orleans from the French. Early in 1803, he delegated James Monroe and Robert Livingston to offer France \$10 million for New Orleans.

2. A Surprise Package. By this time, Napoleon had given up his dream of an empire in America. He had lost thousands of French troops in trying to crush a slave rebellion led by Toussaint L'Ouverture on the island of Hispaniola. In addition, France was again on the verge of war with England and needed money. Napoleon offered to sell the United States all of Louisiana, including New Orleans, for only \$15 million.

This bargain doubled the size of the United States. But it troubled Jefferson. A believer in strict construction, Jefferson knew that the Constitution did not clearly authorize the government to buy foreign territory. But he was convinced that Louisiana was essential to the development of the United States. In spite of his misgivings, Jefferson persuaded the Senate to ratify the treaty.

The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition



3. Explorations of the Territory. Few Americans of Jefferson's time knew anything about the region that was now called the Louisiana Purchase.

a. Lewis and Clark. Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase. Their two-year expedition started in 1804 from St. Louis and followed the Missouri River to its source. The group then crossed the Rocky Mountains into Oregon Country, where they followed the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. A Shoshone woman, Sacagawea, and other Native Americans aided the explorers. The reports of Lewis and Clark informed Americans about the climate, geography, animals, and peoples of the West. The exploration of the Oregon Country also laid the basis for U.S. claims to that area.

b. Pike. Jefferson sent Zebulon Pike to find the source of the Mississippi River. Pike explored the northeastern part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1805 and 1806. Later in 1806, Pike made a second trip, to the southwestern region of the territory and into Spanish territory. His account of his travels aroused much interest in the new U.S. territory.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: *Marbury v. Madison*, Louisiana Purchase, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Lewis and Clark Expedition, Sacagawea.



Sacagawea with Lewis and Clark. Sacagawea's knowledge of the country and its people proved invaluable. She helped guide the explorers to and through the Shoshone lands.

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CRITICAL THINKING: Why was President Jefferson troubled about buying Louisiana?

APPROACHING CONFLICT

Jefferson was re-elected president in 1804. His second term (1805–1809) was beset with problems that arose from another war in Europe. Although U.S. interests were seriously threatened, Jefferson managed to keep the nation at peace.

1. Interference With American Shipping. Britain and France, briefly at peace, renewed their war in 1803. Their conflict again endangered the neutrality of the United States. Neither nation recognized the right of neutral countries to trade with its enemy. The British navy seized hundreds of American ships, confiscated their cargoes, and impressed their sailors.

2. Economic Pressure. Jefferson urged Congress to pass the Embargo Act of 1807. It set up an *embargo* (an official ban) on all U.S. trade with foreign countries. But it failed to bring about any change in British or French policies. Worse, it was a disaster for the U.S. economy. Merchants and shippers, faced with ruin, turned to smuggling. American shipbuilding came to a halt. Sailors, dock workers, and clerks were idled. The loss of foreign markets for crops hurt American farmers.

Opposition to the embargo was so great that it was repealed. A substitute, the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, reopened trade with all nations except Britain and France. But since the new law failed to change British and French war policies, it was allowed to lapse after a year.

3. The War Hawks. The War Hawks, a group of legislators from the West and South, dominated Congress at this time. They wanted the United States to expand. Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and other War Hawks called for a war with Britain. They hoped that it would enable the United States to take over British-held Canada and Spanish-held Florida. (Spain was Britain's ally at the time.)

4. Native Americans and the Frontier. American migration to the West had increased after 1794. In that year, troops under Anthony

Wayne had defeated a Native-American force at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (near present-day Toledo, Ohio). Wayne's victory ended organized Native-American resistance to settlement in Ohio.

Western migration then spread into Indiana and Illinois, where native groups became increasingly hostile. Two Shawnee chiefs, Tecumseh and his brother, "the Prophet," aimed to prevent settlement of their lands by uniting all the tribes east of the Mississippi into a powerful confederacy. During the summer of 1811, Native Americans attacked many pioneer settlements. Settlers blamed the British for stirring up the Native Americans. U.S. troops defeated Native Americans in the Battle of Tippecanoe (in northwestern Indiana) on November 7, 1811. British arms were found on the Native Americans. Using this evidence, the War Hawks called for an invasion of Canada.

THE WAR OF 1812

James Madison succeeded Jefferson as president in 1809. For the next three years, he tried to protect U.S. neutrality by using economic pressure against Britain. But the British continued to interfere with U.S. ships and otherwise violate the United States' rights as a neutral country. In June 1812, Congress, at Madison's request, declared war against Britain. Though the war lasted more than two years, it is known as the War of 1812.

1. America Holds Its Own. The United States was not prepared for war. Its army was small, poorly equipped, and lacked competent leaders. Its navy was tiny and, though it performed well, proved to be no match for the British navy.

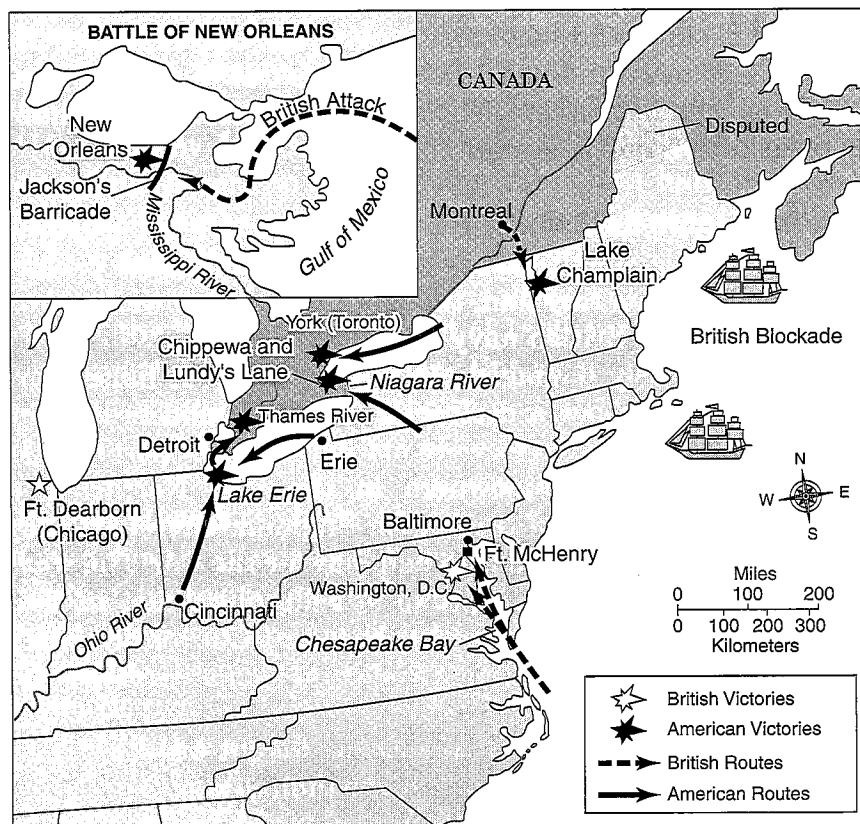
The war seriously damaged the U.S. economy. It halted foreign trade and brought about a decline in tariffs. To add to the United States' difficulties, its citizens were not united in support of the war. Many merchants and shipowners in the U.S. Northeast were against it because it cut off trade with England. Therefore, they refused to buy government bonds to help pay for the war. The war also caused political dissension. A group of Federalists met in 1814 in Hartford, Connecticut (the so-called Hartford Convention), to pass resolutions condemning the war. Some called for *secession* (withdrawal) from the union.

In spite of these problems, Americans fought bravely and well. Although they never managed to achieve their aim of taking Canada from the British, they achieved some major victories. (See the map on page 114.)

In August 1814, a British squadron entered Chesapeake Bay and landed troops in Maryland. They marched into Washington, D.C., almost unopposed. Retaliating for the destruction of York (in Canada) by American raiders the year before, the British set fire to many U.S. government buildings. Among them were the Capitol and the White House. Shortly thereafter, the British withdrew from the city.

In September the British sailed north to attack Baltimore but found it better prepared to resist invasion. Their landing party was stopped at the city's outskirts. British ships tried to destroy Fort McHenry at the entrance to the Baltimore's harbor. Despite an all-night bombardment, they failed. This unsuccessful attack ended the British offensive in Chesapeake Bay. One American who watched the attack was Francis Scott Key. The sight of the U.S. flag still flying the next morning inspired him to write the words to "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The War of 1812



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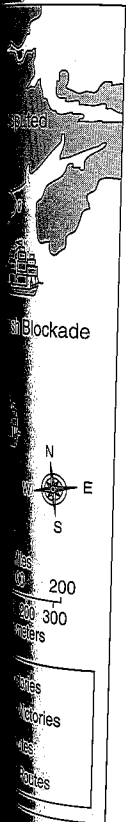


Andrew Jackson led American forces to a major victory over British forces near New Orleans, 1815. Later, Americans heard that a treaty of peace had been signed in Europe two weeks earlier.

2. The End of the War. Britain and the United States signed a treaty of peace in Ghent, Belgium, late in 1814. The treaty restored the boundaries as they had been before. The Treaty of Ghent did not mention two major causes of the war: the impressment of U.S. sailors and the violation of U.S. rights at sea. But since the wars with Napoleon were over, these issues had less urgency.

Neither side won the War of 1812, but it had important effects on the United States: (1) It inspired a feeling of nationalism among Americans. (2) It encouraged the growth of industry in the United States. Since Americans were unable to buy foreign manufactured goods during the war, their factories expanded their facilities and increased their output. (3) It stimulated westward expansion by ending Native-American resistance in a huge area between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. (4) It demonstrated to the world that the United States was capable of defending its rights.

After the war, Britain and the United States settled several problems. The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 provided that neither nation would keep warships on the Great Lakes. The Convention of 1818 fixed the disputed boundary between Canada and the United States from Minnesota to the Rockies along the 49th parallel. This agreement also reaffirmed U.S. fishing rights off the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland, and opened the Oregon Country to settlers from both nations.

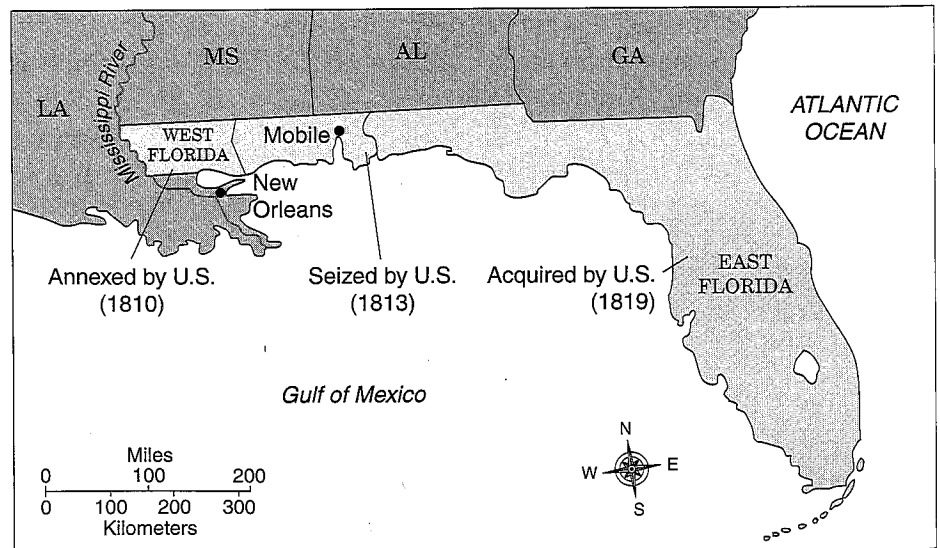


TWO IMPORTANT MOVES UNDER MONROE

In the presidential election of 1816, the Federalists ran their last candidate, Rufus King. The party, already weakened, had been further damaged by its opposition to the War of 1812. James Monroe of Virginia soundly defeated King. The period of Monroe's presidency (1817–1825) is sometimes called the Era of Good Feelings. Since the only party was that of the Democratic-Republicans, it was a time of political harmony. The period is noted for two developments in foreign relations—the acquisition of Florida and the Monroe Doctrine.

1. Adding Florida. In the early 19th century, Spain controlled an important area south of the United States. One part of it, East Florida, was the long peninsula jutting into the Atlantic. The other part, West Florida, was a narrow stretch of land extending west along the Gulf of Mexico to the Mississippi River. The United States claimed that a large portion of West Florida was included in the Louisiana Purchase. When American colonists north of New Orleans declared their independence from Spanish rule in 1810, the United States annexed this section. Three years later, during the War of 1812, U.S. troops captured the Spanish fort at Mobile. The United States kept this part of West Florida, too, despite Spain's protests.

Acquisition of Florida



Americans had long resented Spanish control of East Florida. Native Americans escaped to the area after attacking Southern settlements. Runaway slaves fled there, too. Pirates and smugglers used it as a base of operations. In 1818, Andrew Jackson pursued some Seminoles into East Florida who had been raiding settlements in Alabama and Georgia. He not only defeated them, he also captured several Spanish forts. His expedition made it clear that the United States could take *all* of East Florida by force if it wanted to. In 1819, Spain agreed to give up the region. In exchange, the United States agreed to cancel Spain's \$5 million debt to U.S. citizens. The Spaniards also surrendered their rights to West Florida. The United States, in turn, gave up its claim to Texas (which Americans considered part of the Louisiana Purchase).

2. The Monroe Doctrine. One reason why Spain was unable to defend Florida was that Spanish colonies in Latin America were in rebellion. The revolts, which began in Venezuela in 1810, soon spread to the other South American countries. In 1824, a Spanish army was decisively beaten in Peru. This defeat signaled the end of Spanish control of Latin America. Only the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish rule.

The United States quickly recognized the newly independent nations of Latin America, but Europe lagged behind. Spain was planning to recover its colonies with the aid of France. Russia, starting from its base in Alaska, was expanding southward. In 1821, the Russians claimed the Pacific coast as far south as the 51st parallel, within Oregon Country.

In 1823, President Monroe issued a strong warning to Europe to keep out of the Western Hemisphere. This proclamation, later called the Monroe Doctrine, became a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. It made three major points: (1) The American continents were closed to further colonization by European nations. (2) Any attempt by European powers to interfere with existing governments in America would be regarded as an unfriendly act against the United States. (3) The United States would not interfere in European affairs or with existing European colonies in the Western Hemisphere.

The British backed the Monroe Doctrine. They feared that Spanish or French occupation of Latin America would cut off British trade with the newly independent countries. Britain also opposed Russian expansion in the Oregon Country, where it had claims of its own. Faced with the opposition of Britain and the United States, the European powers dropped plans to retake Spain's former colonies. Russia, too, decided to pull back. In 1824, it agreed to set the boundary between the Oregon Country and Alaska at 54°40' north latitude.

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: embargo, War Hawk, Hartford Convention, Battle of New Orleans, Treaty of Ghent.

CRITICAL THINKING: Do you think that the Monroe Doctrine was justified? Why or why not?

Chapter Review



MATCHING TEST

Column A

1. James Madison
2. Tecumseh
3. Sacagawea
4. Zebulon Pike
5. James Monroe

Column B

- a. guide to Lewis and Clark in their explorations
- b. American who explored the Southwest
- c. U.S. president during the War of 1812
- d. U.S. president who warned Europe to stay out of the Western Hemisphere
- e. Native-American chief who tried to unite Northwest Territory tribes



MULTIPLE-CHOICE TEST

1. The first chief justice of the United States was a lawyer named (a) Alexander Hamilton (b) George Clinton (c) John Jay (d) Henry Knox.
2. The first secretary of the treasury of the United States was (a) Alexander Hamilton (b) George Clinton (c) John Jay (d) Henry Knox.
3. The site of Washington, D.C., was chosen for the nation's capital as a result of a controversy over (a) assumption of debt (b) a national bank (c) a protective tariff (d) the Florida boundary.
4. Foreign affairs during the 1790s were complicated by (a) a civil war in England (b) wars between Britain and France (c) a revolution in Spain (d) the American Revolution.

5. U.S. grievances against the British in the 1790s included all of the following *except* (a) British trading posts in the Northwest Territory (b) Native-American attacks on frontier settlements (c) impressment of seamen (d) assumption of debts.
6. One accomplishment of the Pinckney Treaty was to (a) settle U.S. claims against Spanish smugglers (b) fix the boundary between the Northwest Territory and Louisiana (c) secure the right of deposit for Americans at New Orleans (d) buy Florida from Spain.
7. The XYZ Affair involved the United States and (a) France (b) Spain (c) Britain (d) the Netherlands.
8. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions were reactions against (a) the XYZ Affair (b) the Jay Treaty (c) an undeclared naval war with France (d) the Alien and Sedition Acts.
9. The Federalist candidate for president in 1800 was (a) Washington (b) Adams (c) Burr (d) Hamilton.
10. The election of 1800 was settled by the (a) Senate (b) Supreme Court (c) House of Representatives (d) electoral college.



ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Describe at least *three* major provisions of Alexander Hamilton's financial program. Explain what happened to each provision in Congress.
2. Why did America's first two political parties form? What was President Washington's attitude toward them?
3. Explain how the power of the federal government was challenged by the Whiskey Rebellion and the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.
4. Why did many Americans want to go to war in 1812?
5. Describe *two* changes that the War of 1812 helped bring about in the United States.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

This question is based on the accompanying documents (1–5). It will improve your ability to work with historical documents.

Historical Context:

Since war is the word, let us strain every nerve
 To save our America, her glory increase;
 So, shoulder your firelock, your country preserve,
 For the hotter the war, boys, the quicker the peace.

These lyrics were printed on a poster put up by Republicans in Boston to gather support for a war with England. But New England was the main region of the country opposed to the war. Being divided, one wonders whether the young nation was ready for another war with its former home country.

Task:

Using information from the documents and your knowledge of United States history, read each document and answer the question that follows it. Your answers to the questions will help you write the document-based essay.

Document 1. Excerpt from a speech made by Representative Henry Clay of Kentucky, February 22, 1810:

It is said . . . that no object is attainable by war with Great Britain. . . . [But] the conquest of Canada is in your power. . . . It is nothing to the British nation. . . . Is it nothing for us to extinguish the torch that lights up savage warfare? Is it nothing to acquire the entire fur trade connected with the county?

Source: Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 1st Session (1810), pp. 580–581.

To what was Clay referring when he spoke of “the torch that lights up savage warfare”?

Document 2. Excerpts from remarks made by Representative John Randolph of Virginia, 1811:

It is our own thirst for territory, our own want of moderation, that had driven these sons of nature [Native Americans] to desperation, of which we felt the effects. . . .

Sir, if you go to war it will not be for the protection of, or defence of your maritime rights. . . . It is to acquire a preponderating Northern influence that you are to launch into war.

Source: Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, 1st Session (1811), I, pp. 446, 533.

What reason did Randolph give for why Native Americans were driven to desperation?

Document 3. Excerpt from President James Madison's war message to Congress, June 1, 1812, which resulted in Congress declaring war on Great Britain:

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. . . . Thousands of American citizens . . . have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation. . . . British cruisers have been in the practice also of violating the rights and the peace of our coasts. They hover over and harass our entering and departing commerce. . . . [O]ur attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers. . . . It is difficult to account for the activity . . . without connecting their hostility with . . . [British] influence.

Source: Richardson, James D. (ed.) *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Bureau of National Literature, 1897, II, p. 485ff.

What were the two basic reasons Madison gave for why Congress should declare war on Great Britain?

Document 4. Excerpt from an 1812 statement signed by 34 Federalist members of Congress who did not support war against Britain:

. . . how will war upon the land protect commerce upon the ocean? . . . But it is said that war is demanded by honor. . . . If honor demands a war with England, what . . . [about] the wrong done to us by France? On land, robberies, seizures, imprisonments by French authority; at sea, pillage, sinkings, burning under French orders.

Source: *Annals of Congress*, 12th Congress, 1st Session (1812), II, p. 2219ff.

What reasons did these members of Congress give in protest against a war with Britain?

Document 5. Excerpt from the Treaty of Ghent (1814), which officially ended the War of 1812:

All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease as soon as this treaty shall have been ratified by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken by either party from the other, during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the

artillery or other public property originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property.

Source: <http://www.historycentral.com/documents/Ghent.html>. Also, Miller, Hunter (ed.) *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931, II.

Why might a War Hawk in Congress have not supported the Treaty of Ghent? Explain your answer.

DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY

Using information from the above documents and your knowledge of United States history, write an essay in which you:

- Explain why some historians call the War of 1812 the “Second American War, for Independence” and others call it the “First American War of Conquest.”
- Explain why it can be said that the War of 1812 brought no changes and many changes at the same time.