

6

# Federalists and Republicans 1789–1816

## Why It Matters

In the first government under the Constitution, important new institutions included the cabinet, a system of federal courts, and a national bank. Political parties gradually developed from the different views of citizens in the Northeast, West, and South. The new government faced special challenges in foreign affairs, including the War of 1812 with Great Britain.

## The Impact Today

During this period, fundamental policies of American government came into being.

- Politicians set important precedents for the national government and for relations between the federal and state governments. For example, the idea of a presidential cabinet originated with George Washington and has been followed by every president since that time
- President Washington’s caution against foreign involvement powerfully influenced American foreign policy.



**The American Vision Video** The Chapter 6 video, “The Battle of New Orleans,” focuses on this important event of the War of 1812.

**1789**  
• Washington elected president

**1794**  
• Jay’s Treaty signed

**1798**  
• Alien and Sedition Acts introduced

**1804**  
• Lewis and Clark begin to explore and map Louisiana Territory

**1803**  
• Louisiana Purchase doubles size of the nation



Washington  
1789–1797

J. Adams  
1797–1801

Jefferson  
1801–1809

1790

1797

1804



**1793**  
• Louis XVI guillotined during French Revolution

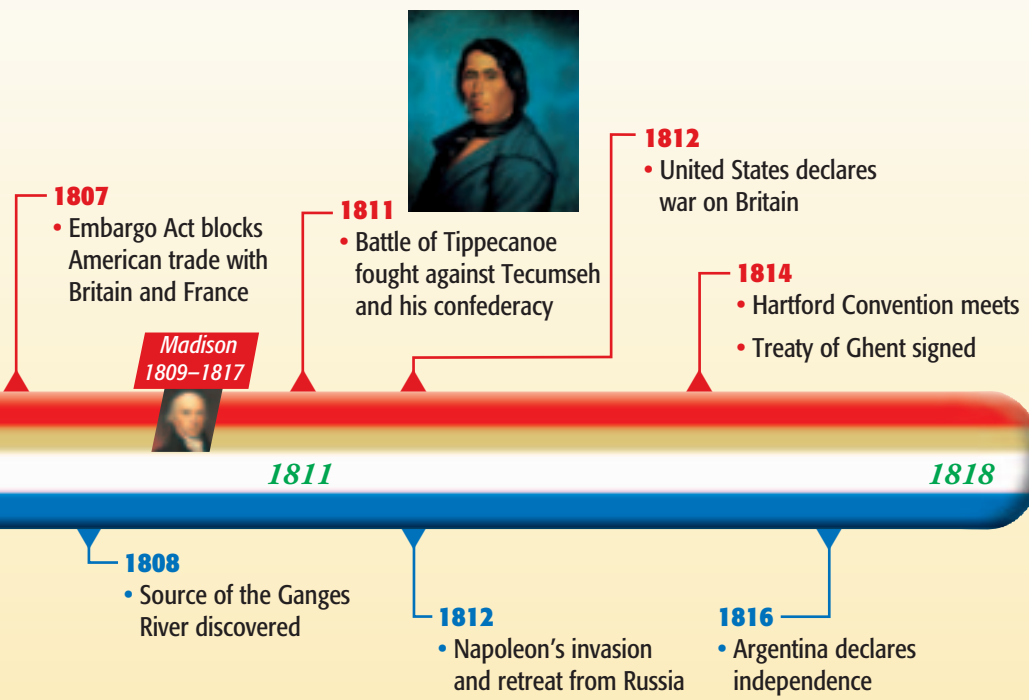
**1794**  
• Polish rebellion suppressed by Russians

**1800**  
• Beethoven’s Symphony no. 1 written

**1805**  
• British navy wins Battle of Trafalgar



Painter and President by J.L.G. Ferris



**HISTORY**  
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# Washington and Congress

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

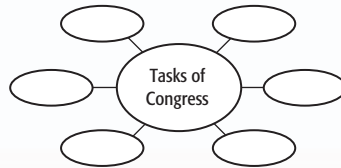
With the adoption of the new Constitution, Americans and their leaders had to establish a central government to deal effectively with the challenges facing the new nation.

### Key Terms and Names

cabinet, Tariff of 1789, bond, speculator, enumerated powers, implied powers, Bank of the United States, Whiskey Rebellion, agrarianism

### Reading Strategy

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



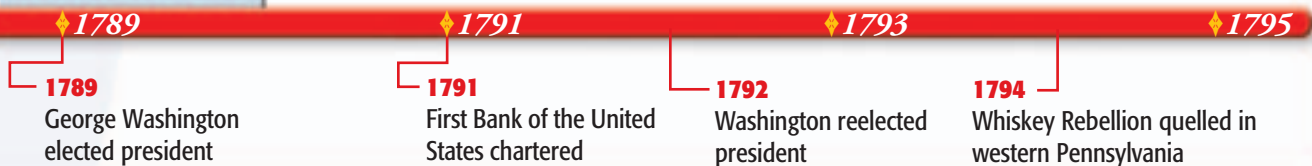
### Reading Objectives

- **Explain** Alexander Hamilton's economic initiatives.
- **Discuss** the growing tensions between the nation's political parties.

### Section Theme

**Culture and Traditions** George Washington helped define the office of the American presidency.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



George Washington

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

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

—adapted from *Washington: The Indispensable Man*

## Creating a New Government

The Philadelphia Convention had given the nation a new Constitution. Washington's task, and the task facing the newly elected Congress, was to take the words of the Constitution and turn them into an effective government for the United States.

## **GOVERNMENT**

**Institutions of Power** One of the first tasks of the new government was to provide the president with a bureaucracy to handle different responsibilities. In 1789 Congress created the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of War, and the Office of the Attorney General.

To manage these departments, Washington wanted individuals who were “disposed to measure matters on a Continental Scale” instead of thinking only of their own states. He chose Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, Alexander Hamilton for the Treasury Department, and General Henry Knox as secretary of war. For attorney general, Washington selected Edmund Randolph, the former governor of Virginia. Washington regularly met with these men to ask for their advice. The department heads came to be known as the **cabinet**, a group of advisers to the president.

Congress also organized the judicial branch. In the Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress established 13 district courts, 3 courts of appeal, and the Supreme Court. With the Senate’s consent, Washington chose the federal judges, including John Jay as the first chief justice of the United States.

**The Bill of Rights** One of the most important acts of Congress was the introduction of the Bill of Rights. During the campaign to ratify the Constitution, the Federalists had promised to add such a bill. James Madison, one of the leaders in Congress, made the passage of a Bill of Rights top priority. He hoped it would demonstrate the good faith of federal leaders and build support for the new government.

In drafting the Bill of Rights, Madison relied heavily on the Virginia Declaration of Rights that George Mason had prepared in 1776 and the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom that Thomas Jefferson had written in 1786. In late September 1789, after many debates, Congress agreed on 12 constitutional amendments. They were then sent to the states for ratification, but only 10 were approved. These 10 went into effect in 1791. They are generally referred to as the Bill of Rights, although only the first 8 protect the rights of individuals against actions of the federal government. The Ninth Amendment states that the people have other rights not listed. The Tenth Amendment states that any powers not specifically given to the federal government are reserved for the states.

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

## **Financing the Government**

By the end of 1789, the new federal government was up and running. The government’s most pressing need now was a source of revenue. Without money, the government could not operate. James Madison and Alexander Hamilton responded to this need with different plans for financing the government.

**The Tariff of 1789** James Madison suggested that the federal government raise most of its money by taxing imports from other countries. After much discussion, Congress passed the **Tariff of 1789**. This law required importers to pay a percentage of the value of their cargo when they landed it in the United States. Shippers also had to pay tonnage—a tax based on how much their ships carried.

The tariffs and tonnage rates angered many Southern planters. High tonnage rates meant they would be charged higher rates to ship their rice and



### **History Through Art**

**First Cabinet** Depicted with the president (far right) are, from left, Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph, and Alexander Hamilton. **What departments did these four cabinet members head?**

tobacco to Europe. The new duty meant higher prices for the many goods they imported. Many Southerners began to suspect that the new federal government was opposed to their region's interests.

## **ECONOMICS**

**Hamilton's Financial Program** Hamilton supported the Tariff of 1789, but he believed the government also needed the ability to borrow money. In 1790, he asked Congress to accept the debts of the Continental Congress at their full value. To fund the Revolutionary War, the Confederation Congress had issued **bonds**—paper notes promising to repay money after a certain length of time with interest. By 1789, the United States owed roughly \$40 million to American citizens and another \$11.7 million to France, Spain, and the Netherlands. Few believed the bonds would be repaid in full, and they had fallen in value to as little as 10 cents on the dollar.

Hamilton believed that by accepting these debts at their full value, the wealthy creditors, bankers, and merchants who owned the bonds would have a stake in the federal government's success and enough confidence in its financial stability to loan it money in the future. Hamilton had described the importance of debt several years earlier:

“A national debt, if it is not excessive, will be to us a national blessing; it will be a powerful cement of our new union. It will also create a necessity for keeping up taxation . . . which without being oppressive, will be a spur to industry. . . .”

—quoted in *America, A Narrative History*

**Opposition to Hamilton's Plan** Led by Madison, critics argued that Hamilton's plan was unfair to the original purchasers of the bonds, many of whom were farmers and Revolutionary War veterans and their widows. These people, fearing they would never be paid, had sold their bonds at a discount to **speculators**—people willing to take a risk in hopes of a future financial gain. Madison was outraged that speculators who had paid as little as \$10 for a \$100 bond would now receive full value.

Madison and other Southerners were also upset because Northerners owned most of the bonds, while much of the tax money that would be used to pay off the bonds would come from the South. Madison also worried that creditors would eventually dominate American society and endanger liberty.

The congressional debate over Hamilton's proposals raged for months. Finally, in July 1790, Hamilton, Madison, and Jefferson struck a deal. Madison and Jefferson would use their influence to convince Southerners in Congress to vote for Hamilton's plan. In return, the capital of the United States would be moved from New York to a section of land along the Potomac River to be called the District of Columbia. Southerners believed that having the capital in the South would help to offset the strength of the Northern states in Congress.

**The Bank of the United States** With his system of public credit finally in place, Hamilton asked Congress to create a national bank. He argued that the government needed the bank to manage its debts and interest payments. The bank would also issue bank notes—paper money. The notes also would provide a national currency that would promote trade, encourage investment, and stimulate economic growth.

Southerners opposed the plan. They pointed out that Northern merchants would own most of the



## **History Through Art**

**First Capital** Washington took his oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall in New York City, the nation's first capital. This Amos Doolittle engraving was made from a famous painting. [Why is Federal Hall identified as “the seat of Congress?”](#)

bank's stock. Madison argued that Congress could not establish a bank because it was not among the federal government's **enumerated powers**, or powers specifically mentioned in the Constitution.

Despite Madison's objections, Congress passed the bank bill. Washington realized that his decision to sign the bill or to veto it would set an important precedent. Attorney General Randolph and Secretary of State Jefferson argued that the Constitution did not give the federal government the power to create a bank. Hamilton disagreed, pointing out that Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution gave the federal government the power "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" to execute its responsibilities. The "necessary and proper" clause created **implied powers**—powers not explicitly listed in the Constitution but necessary for the government to do its job.

A national bank, Hamilton argued, was necessary to collect taxes, regulate trade, and provide for the common defense. Jefferson agreed that implied powers existed, but he believed "necessary and proper" meant absolutely necessary, not simply convenient. After studying Hamilton's response, Washington agreed to sign the bill. In 1791 the **Bank of the United States** was established for a 20-year period.

**The Whiskey Rebellion** Hamilton believed the federal government also had to establish its right to impose direct taxes on the people. In 1791, at Hamilton's urging, Congress imposed a tax on the manufacture of whiskey. The new tax enraged Western farmers. In the Western regions of the United States, where bank notes and coins were not available in large quantities, whiskey was used as a medium of exchange. Because the Spanish had closed the Mississippi, distilling whiskey was also the easiest way for Western farmers to move their grain to Eastern markets.

Although complaints against the whiskey tax began in 1791, it was not until the summer of



*Commander in chief reviewing the troops*

1794 that a rebellion erupted. In western Pennsylvania, farmers terrorized tax collectors, stopped court proceedings, robbed the mail, and destroyed the whiskey-making stills of those who paid the tax.

Hamilton wanted to establish firmly the authority of the federal government. He urged President Washington to put down the rebellion. In August 1794 Washington sent nearly 15,000 troops to crush the **Whiskey Rebellion**. The huge army caused the rebels to disperse without a fight. The federal government's willingness to use troops against its own citizens, however, worried many people.

**Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did Madison object to Hamilton's plan for a national bank?

## The Rise of Political Parties

During Washington's first term in office, the debate over Hamilton's financial program split Congress into factions. These factions became the nation's first political parties. Hamilton's supporters called themselves **Federalists**. Hamilton's opponents, led by Madison and Jefferson, took the name Democratic-Republicans, although most people at the time referred to them as **Republicans**. In the 1800s, the party became known as the Democrats. Today's Republican Party is a different party.

**HISTORY Online**   
**Student Web Activity** Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 6** for an activity on early political parties.

  
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 **CONTENTS** 

## Competing National Visions

Hamilton and the Federalists	Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans
National government supreme	State governments supreme
Ruling power given to wealthy, educated	Ruling power given to <i>all</i> landowners
Government should promote manufacturing	Government should promote agriculture
Loose interpretation of the Constitution	Strict interpretation of the Constitution
Protective tariffs protect domestic industries	Protective tariffs burden farmers

### Chart Skills

- Interpreting Charts** Which party favored tariffs, and why?
- Drawing Conclusions** Which party do you think distrusted national government more?

**Hamilton and the Federalists** Hamilton favored a strong national government. He believed that democracy was dangerous to liberty and stated that “the people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right.” This distrust led him to favor putting government into the hands of the “rich, well born, and able.”

Hamilton also believed that manufacturing and trade were the basis of national wealth and power. He favored policies that would support these areas of the economy. Supporters of the Federalist Party often included artisans, merchants, manufacturers, and

bankers. The party also attracted urban workers and Eastern farmers who benefited from trade.

**Jefferson and the Republicans** Although James Madison led the opposition to Hamilton’s program in Congress, Thomas Jefferson emerged as the leader of the Democratic-Republicans. Jefferson believed that the strength of the United States was its independent farmers. His ideas are sometimes referred to as **agrarianism**. Jefferson argued that owning land enabled people to be independent. As long as most people owned their own land, they would fight to preserve the Republic.

Jefferson feared that too much of an emphasis on commerce would lead to a society divided between the rich who owned everything and the poor who worked for wages. He also believed that the wealthy would corrupt the government and threaten the rights and liberties of ordinary people. In general, Democratic-Republicans supported agriculture over commerce and trade. They also expressed concern that Hamilton’s policies tended to favor the North. Over time, the Democratic-Republicans became the party that stood for the rights of states against the power of the federal government.

The development of America’s first two political parties divided the country regionally. The rural South and West tended to support the Republicans, while the more urban Northeast tended to support the Federalists. Although these parties emerged during the dispute over Hamilton’s programs, events in Europe would deepen the divisions between them and create new crises for the young Republic.

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

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Define:** cabinet, bond, speculator, enumerated powers, implied powers, agrarianism.
- Identify:** Tariff of 1789, Bank of the United States, Whiskey Rebellion.
- Describe** the intended purpose of the national bank.

### Reviewing Themes

- Culture and Traditions** What precedent did George Washington set as president of the United States?

### Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** Why did Hamilton think it was important to pay the national debt, the domestic debt, and the state debts?
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the first political parties, who their supporters were, and what issues they supported.

Political Party	Supporters	Issues Supported

### Analyzing Visuals

- Studying Art** Examine the painting on page 211 of President Washington’s first cabinet. What was the function of this group, and who served as its first members?

### Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Imagine you are James Madison. Write a speech explaining why you are against Alexander Hamilton’s financial program.

# SECTION 2 Partisan Politics

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

The United States faced difficult foreign policy challenges during the presidencies of Washington and Adams.

### Key Terms and Names

Jay's Treaty, most-favored nation, Pinckney's Treaty, Washington's Farewell Address, Quasi-War, Alien and Sedition Acts, alien, sedition, interposition, nullification

### Reading Strategy

**Categorizing** As you read about the foreign policy challenges of the Washington and Adams presidencies, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by filling in the provisions of treaties made by the United States.

Treaty	Provisions
Jay's Treaty	
Pinckney's Treaty	
Convention of 1800	

### Reading Objectives

- **Discuss** the rising tensions between Western settlers and Native Americans.
- **Explain** the importance of Washington's Farewell Address.

### Section Theme

#### Civic Rights and Responsibilities

Disagreements between political parties threatened citizens' rights.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



John Marshall

In 1797 Americans John Marshall, Charles Pinckney, and Elbridge Gerry went to Paris to hold talks with the French government about improving relations between the two countries. After weeks of waiting, three agents representing Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, the French minister of foreign affairs, approached the Americans. They asked for a bribe of \$250,000 just to initiate talks, and they also sought an American loan of \$12 million. In his journal, Marshall recounts an exchange between Pinckney and one of the agents (a "Mr. H."):

“Mr. H. again returned to the subject of money. Said he Gentlemen you do not speak to the point—it is money—it is expected that you will offer money—Genl. Pinckney said we had spoken to that point very explicitly. . . . No said he, you have not. What is your answer? Genl. Pinckney replied it is no, no, not a sixpence.”

When President John Adams informed Congress of the incident, he referred to the French agents as X, Y, and Z, inspiring newspapers to refer to the incident as the XYZ Affair. Newspaper writers turned Pinckney's response into the stirring Federalist slogan, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

—adapted from *The Flavor of the Past*

## Washington's Foreign Policy

Shortly after George Washington was inaugurated in 1789, the French Revolution began in Europe. At first, most Americans sympathized with the revolutionaries, who seemed to be fighting for the same rights Americans had won a few years earlier. By the





### Analyzing Political Cartoons

**A Fiery Protest** Antifederalists burned at the stake a figure representing John Jay after Jay's Treaty with England was signed in 1794. **What parts of the treaty angered people such as those shown here?**

spring of 1793, however, a new group of French radicals had seized control. They stripped aristocrats of their property and executed thousands of people, including the king and queen.

The radicals soon executed the French king and declared war on Britain. Since both Britain and France traded with the United States, Americans quickly found themselves embroiled in the European conflict.

**The American Response** Americans were divided over the French Revolution. Many Federalists, horrified by the violence and chaos, opposed it. Despite the bloodshed, many Republicans supported it, admiring the fight for liberty.

The war between Britain and France put Washington in a difficult position. The Treaty of 1778 with France required the United States to help defend France's colonies in the Caribbean. Fulfilling this agreement might mean war with Great Britain.

On April 22, 1793, Washington issued a proclamation declaring the United States to be "friendly and impartial" toward both warring powers.

**Jay's Treaty** Despite Washington's declaration, the British navy began intercepting all neutral ships carrying goods to French ports, including hundreds of American ships. At the same time, reports appeared that the British, operating out of forts they still occupied on American territory, were inciting Native Americans to attack western settlers. These reports, combined with British seizures of American ships, pushed Congress to the brink of war in 1794.

Desperately hoping to avoid war, Washington sent John Jay to Britain to seek a solution. The British were busy fighting France. They did not want to fight the United States, but they also knew that the United States depended on trade with Britain. They agreed to sign **Jay's Treaty**, but they drove a hard bargain.

Jay was forced to agree that Britain had the right to seize cargoes bound for French ports. He also failed to get compensation for American merchants whose goods had been seized. The British did agree, however, to submit the issue to international arbitration—a hearing by neutral third countries. In return, the British gave the United States **most-favored nation** status. This meant that American merchants would not be discriminated against when they traded with Britain. Britain also allowed limited American trade with its Caribbean colonies.

When Jay's Treaty was sent to the Senate for ratification, the senators were shocked by its terms and tried to keep them secret. Although they eventually ratified the treaty, news of its terms leaked to the public. The Republicans immediately attacked the treaty, accusing the Federalists of being pro-British. Across much of the country, public meetings were held condemning the treaty. After prolonged deliberation, Washington agreed to implement the treaty. The decision prevented war with Great Britain and protected the fragile American economy.

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

In 1795 the Spanish signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo—better known as **Pinckney’s Treaty**. The treaty granted the United States the right to navigate the Mississippi and to deposit goods at the port of New Orleans. The treaty won broad acceptance, especially among western farmers who wanted to use the Mississippi to get crops to market.

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

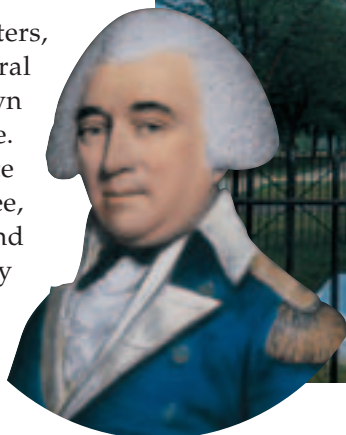
## **GEOGRAPHY**

### **Westward Expansion**

By 1790 the area between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River had become the most rapidly growing region in the United States. Drawn by abundant land, fertile soil, wide rivers, and a wide variety of fish and game, Americans flocked to the region. In less than a decade, Kentucky had grown from a few hundred settlers to over 70,000, and in 1792, it became a state. Four years later, Tennessee became a state as well. In the meantime, other settlers were moving steadily west from Pennsylvania and Virginia into the Northwest Territory. The rise in white settlement led to confrontations with Native Americans in the region.

In the Northwest Territory, a chief of the Miami people named **Little Turtle** had formed a confederacy of the Miami, Shawnee, Delaware, and other groups. The confederacy sought to defend its land against white settlement. In the fall of 1790, Little Turtle’s warriors defeated American troops led by General Josiah Harmar. In November 1791, they ambushed another American force led by General Arthur St. Clair, killing nearly half his men.

After these disasters, Washington sent General Anthony Wayne to put down Native American resistance. In August 1794, a large force made up of Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi warriors, led by the Shawnee chief Blue Jacket, attacked Wayne’s troops at the Battle of



Fallen Timbers, near where Toledo, Ohio, is located today. This time the American troops inflicted heavy losses on the Native Americans.

Wayne’s victory dealt a decisive blow to Native American resistance in the Northwest Territory. In August 1795, 12 Native American nations signed the Treaty of Greenville. (See map on page 235.) They agreed to give up part of what is today southern Ohio and Indiana in exchange for a yearly payment of \$10,000 from the federal government. They also gave up land near where Chicago, Detroit, and Vincennes, Indiana, are located today. After the treaty signing, the flow of Americans into the region rapidly increased. By 1803 Ohio had enough settlers to become a state.

**Reading Check** **Examining** Why did Little Turtle form a confederacy?

### **Washington Leaves Office**

By the end of his second term in office, George Washington had grown exasperated by party politics and the attacks on his character. He decided to retire.

**The Farewell Address** Before leaving office, the president wrote a letter to the American people. Widely reprinted, **Washington’s Farewell Address** warned Americans against sectionalism—to avoid



#### **Picturing History**

**Battle of Fallen Timbers** This monument commemorates the victory of General Anthony Wayne (left) over Blue Jacket. The Treaty of Greenville in 1795 opened the Ohio territory to American settlers. **What amount did the government pay the Native Americans?**


dividing the country into North against South or East against West. Washington also cautioned Americans about political parties:

“Let me now . . . warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party. . . . The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual.”

Washington also warned against Americans becoming too attached to any foreign nation:

“The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. . . . 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.”

—from Washington’s Farewell Address

 (See page 1068 for a longer excerpt from Washington’s Farewell Address.)

**The Election of 1796** With Washington stepping down, the United States held its first openly contested election. The Federalists rallied around John Adams for president, while the Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson. Anger over Jay’s Treaty made the election close, but when the electoral votes were tallied, John Adams edged out Jefferson 71 to 68 and became the second president of the United States.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What advice did Washington give about political parties and alliances?



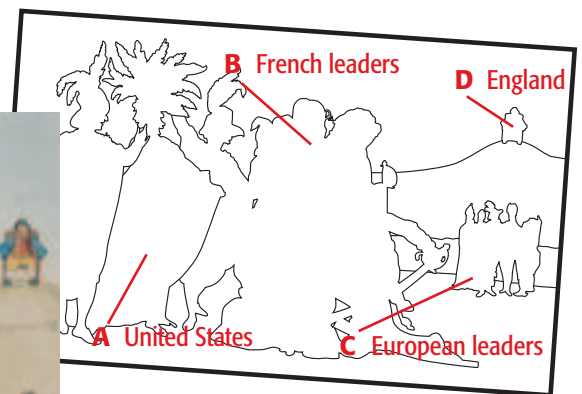
## The Quasi-War With France

President Adams faced troubled times at home and abroad. Enraged by Jay’s Treaty, the French had begun stopping American ships and seizing their goods if they were going to Britain. France’s actions led many Federalists to call for war against France. Although critical of the French, Adams, like Washington, was reluctant to involve the United States in a major war. Instead he sent Charles Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall to negotiate with France. Americans called the French effort to get bribes before beginning negotiations the XYZ Affair (described on page 215).

Irate Americans, who had been angry with Britain a few years earlier, now called for war against France. Resolutions, mass meetings, and patriotic songs further aroused the public. In June 1798, Congress suspended trade with France and directed the navy to capture armed French ships. The two nations were soon fighting an undeclared war at sea that came to be known as the **Quasi-War**.

In the fall of 1798, France proposed new negotiations. In September 1800, the two countries signed the Convention of 1800. In this agreement, the United States gave up all claims against France for damages to American shipping. In return, France released the United States from the treaty of 1778. With the signing of the Convention of 1800, the Quasi-War came to an end.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What caused the Quasi-War?



### Analyzing Political Cartoons

**French Bribes** Americans took a dim view of the French after the XYZ Affair. Here French leaders harass a woman who stands for the United States. On a hill in the distance, the British watch while other nations gossip over the affair. **What nation was France at war with at this time?**

## The War Between the Parties

The Quasi-War also affected domestic politics in the United States. Many Federalists resented the harsh criticisms printed in Republican newspapers. They remembered the angry Republican crowds that had protested Jay's Treaty. Now, the Quasi-War had reversed the situation, and Federalists in Congress decided to strike back at the Republicans.

**The Alien and Sedition Acts** At the height of public anger at France in 1798, the Federalists pushed four laws through Congress. These laws became known as the **Alien and Sedition Acts**.

The first three laws were aimed at **aliens**—people living in the country who were not citizens. The Federalists knew that many recent immigrants had come from France and Ireland. These immigrants were often anti-British and tended to vote for the Republican Party once they became citizens. The first law required immigrants to wait 14 years before becoming citizens, thus weakening Republican support. The next two laws gave the president the power to deport without trial any alien deemed dangerous to the United States.

The fourth law was aimed at preventing **sedition**, or incitement to rebellion. This law made it a federal crime to utter or print anything “false, scandalous, and malicious” against the federal government or any officer of the government. In short, the act deprived citizens of their right to criticize public officials. The government indicted 15 people under this act, including several Republican newspaper editors and politicians.

**The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions** In 1798 and 1799, the Republican-controlled legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions, secretly written by Jefferson and Madison, criticizing the Alien and Sedition Acts. Both resolutions argued that since the states had created the Constitution, they could declare federal laws unconstitutional.

The Virginia Resolutions introduced the theory of **interposition**. They argued that if the federal government did something unconstitutional, the state could interpose between the federal government and the people and stop the illegal action. The Kentucky Resolutions advanced the theory of **nullification**. According to this theory, if the federal government passed an unconstitutional law, the states had the right to nullify the law, or declare it invalid. Although these resolutions had little effect in 1800, states used these ideas in later decades to defend their regional interests.



### Analyzing Political Cartoons

**War Between the Parties** This cartoon reveals the emotions of American politics in the 1790s. Republican Matthew Lyon and Federalist Roger Griswold are shown fighting in the House of Representatives. [How did Federalists respond to Republican attacks?](#)

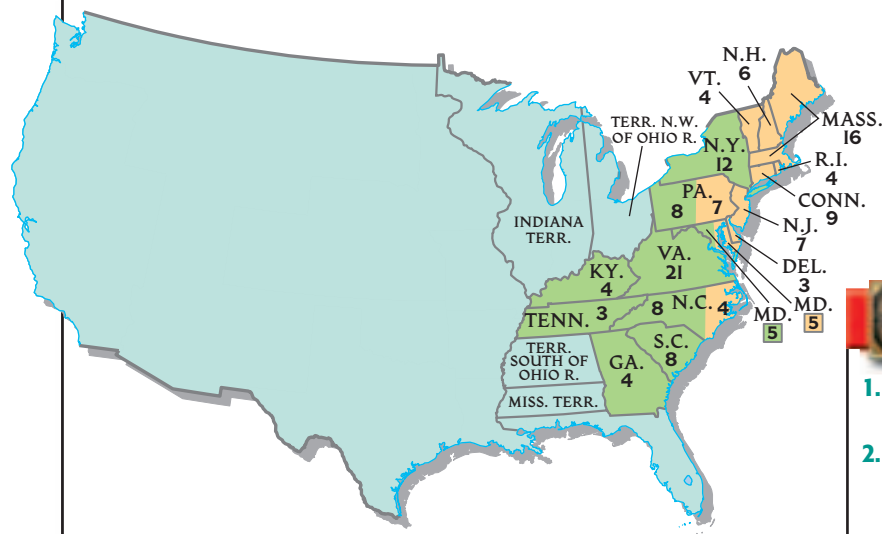
### TURNING POINT

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

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

The Constitution called for each elector in the Electoral College to vote for two people. The normal practice was for an elector to cast one vote for his party's presidential candidate and another for the vice presidential candidate. To avoid a tie between Jefferson and Burr, the Republicans had intended for one elector to refrain from voting for Burr, but the plan went awry. When the votes were counted, Jefferson and Burr each had 73. Since no candidate had a majority, the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives had to choose a president.

Many Federalists despised Jefferson and wanted to select Burr, but Alexander Hamilton preferred Jefferson. Hamilton urged his followers to support Jefferson, leading to a tie in the House of Representatives.



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



Geography Skills

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

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

Finally, in February 1801, Jefferson let Federalist James Bayard know that if elected, Jefferson would not fire all the Federalists in the government, nor dismantle Hamilton's financial system. These assurances convinced Bayard to cast a blank ballot, ensuring that Jefferson would receive more votes than Burr. Jefferson became the new president.

They could have refused to step down and overthrown the Constitution. Instead, they respected the people's right to choose the president. The election of 1800 demonstrated that power in the United States could be peacefully transferred despite strong disagreements between the parties.

The election of 1800 was an important turning point in American history. At the time, the Federalists controlled the army, the presidency, and

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

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Define:** most-favored nation, alien, sedition, interposition, nullification.
- 2. Identify:** Jay's Treaty, Pinckney's Treaty, Washington's Farewell Address, Quasi-War, Alien and Sedition Acts.

Reviewing Themes

- 3. Civic Rights and Responsibilities** How did the Alien and Sedition Acts interfere with the lives of people living in the United States?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Synthesizing** How did France and Great Britain test American neutrality?
- 5. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the foreign policy challenges that Washington and Adams faced during their presidencies.



Analyzing Visuals

- 6. Analyzing Political Cartoons** Study the cartoon pictured on page 219. Why do you think the political situation of the 1790s led to fights among members of Congress?

Writing About History

- 7. Expository Writing** Write an editorial that responds to George Washington's Farewell Address. Explain whether or not you think Washington was correct in warning Americans against political parties and alliances.



## Guide to Reading

**Main Idea**

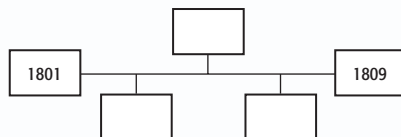
As president, Jefferson worked to limit the scope of the federal government, obtain the Louisiana Territory, and keep the United States out of European wars.

**Key Terms and Names**

John Marshall, judicial review, Louisiana Purchase, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Sacagawea, Zebulon Pike, impressment, embargo

**Reading Strategy**

**Sequencing** As you read about Thomas Jefferson's administration, complete a time line similar to the one below to record the major events of Jefferson's presidency.

**Reading Objectives**

- **Evaluate** the changing role of the Supreme Court.
- **Discuss** the events leading to the Louisiana Purchase.

**Section Theme**

**Government and Democracy** An important Supreme Court decision asserted that the Court had the power to decide whether laws passed by Congress were constitutional.

## Preview of Events

★ *An American Story* ★

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

“The sun shone bright on that morning. . . Mr. Jefferson had not yet arrived. He was seen walking from his lodgings, which were not far distant, attended by five or six gentlemen who were his fellow lodgers. Soon afterwards he entered . . . and bowing to the Senate, who arose to receive him, he approached a table on which the Bible lay and took the oath which was administered to him by the Chief Justice. . . The new President walked home with two or three of the gentlemen who lodged in the same house. At dinner . . . a gentleman from Baltimore, . . . asked permission to wish him joy. ‘I would advise you,’ answered Mr. Jefferson smiling, ‘to follow my example on nuptial occasions when I always tell the bridegroom I will wait till the end of the year before offering my congratulations.’ And this was the only and solitary instance of any notice taken of the event of the morning.”

—quoted in *The Life of Thomas Jefferson*

**Thomas Jefferson Takes Office**

Thomas Jefferson privately referred to his election as the “Revolution of 1800.” He believed that Washington and Adams had acted too much like royalty, and he tried to create a less formal style for the presidency. He rode horseback rather than traveling in carriages. In place of formal receptions, he entertained at more intimate dinners around

a circular table so that, as he said, “When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal.” Although Jefferson set a new style for the presidency, he did not overturn all of the Federalists’ policies. Instead he sought to integrate Republican ideas into the policies that the Federalists had already put in place.

A strong believer in small government, Jefferson hoped to limit the scope of federal power. He began paying off the federal debt, cut government spending, and did away with the hated whiskey tax. Instead of a standing army, he planned to rely on local militia.

Jefferson’s economic ideas had worried many Federalists, who expected the new president to dismantle the national bank. Jefferson’s choice of Albert Gallatin as secretary of the treasury reassured them. Gallatin was a skilled financier who supported Hamilton’s system.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What was new about Jefferson’s approach to the presidency?

## The Rise of the Supreme Court

Before their term expired, the Federalist majority in Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801. This act created 16 new federal judges. Before leaving office,

President Adams appointed Federalists to these positions. These judges were nicknamed “midnight judges” because Adams supposedly signed appointments until midnight on his last day in office.

**Impeaching Judges** Neither Jefferson nor the Republicans in Congress were pleased that the Federalists controlled the courts. One of the first acts of Congress after Jefferson took office was to repeal the Judiciary Act of 1801, thereby doing away with the “midnight judges” by abolishing their offices.

The Republicans then tried to remove other Federalists from the judiciary by impeachment. Republican leaders believed that the impeachment power was one of the checks and balances in the Constitution. Congress could impeach and remove judges for arbitrary or unfair decisions, not just for criminal behavior.

In 1804, the House impeached Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase. During one trial, Chase had ordered “any of those persons or creatures called democrats” removed from the jury. He had also denounced Jefferson while addressing another jury. Although these actions may have been unfair, the Senate did not convict Chase. Many senators did not think he was guilty of “treason, bribery, or other high

## Birth of a Capital

To plan the new national capital, President Washington chose Pierre Charles L’Enfant. One of L’Enfant’s first decisions was to place the future “Congress House” (what would become the Capitol) on high ground with a commanding view of the Potomac River. Congress House was to be the central point in a square grid of streets slashed by avenues that radiated from Capitol Hill like spokes on a wheel. L’Enfant’s plan called for circular intersections to join three or more avenues at strategic spots.

After a series of disputes with the local landowners, L’Enfant was removed from the project, and he took his plans with him. Fortunately one of the surveyors, an African American named Benjamin Banneker, was able to draw the plans from memory, thus enabling the project to continue. Modern Washington, D.C., still retains many of the elements of this plan.



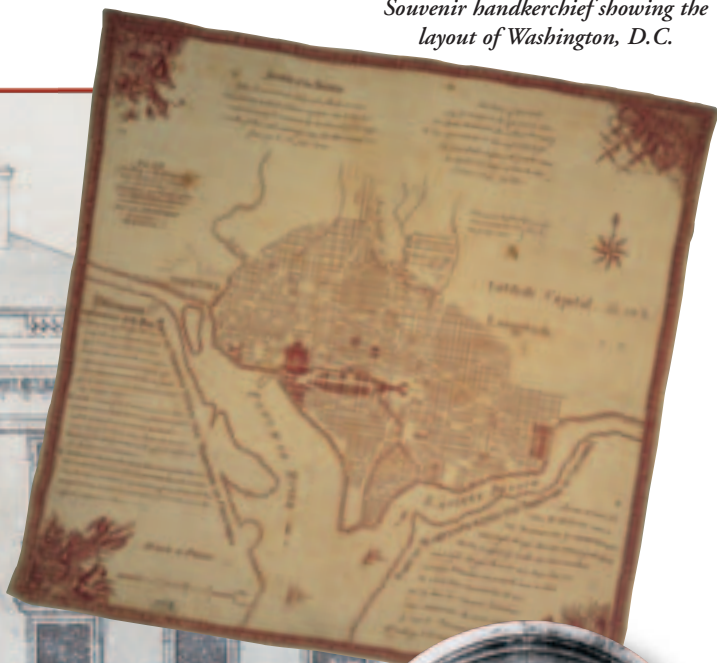
*The clothes President Jefferson wore at his inauguration in the new capital*

crimes and misdemeanors” that the Constitution required for his removal. The impeachment of Justice Chase established that judges could only be removed for criminal behavior, not simply because Congress disagreed with their decisions.

**Marbury v. Madison** The most important judicial appointment President Adams made before leaving office was to choose **John Marshall** as Chief Justice of the United States. Marshall served as Chief Justice for 34 years. He was more responsible than any other justice for making the Supreme Court into a powerful, independent branch of the federal government.

Initially, the Supreme Court was a very minor body, but its role began to change in 1803 with the case of *Marbury v. Madison*. William Marbury was a Federalist who had been appointed justice of the peace in Washington, D.C., shortly before Adams left office. Although Adams had signed Marbury’s appointment, the documents were not delivered before Adams left office. The new Secretary of State, James Madison, was supposed to deliver the documents, but Jefferson told him to hold them, hoping Marbury would quit and allow Jefferson to appoint a Republican to the job.


*Souvenir handkerchief showing the layout of Washington, D.C.*



*Medallion honoring Pierre L'Enfant*



Instead, Marbury asked the Supreme Court to issue a court order telling Madison to deliver the documents. Marbury based this request on the Judiciary Act of 1789, which stipulated that requests for federal court orders go directly to the Supreme Court. In *Marbury v. Madison*, the Supreme Court unanimously agreed with Chief Justice Marshall that the Court could not issue the order.

Marshall explained that the Court could not issue the order because it had no jurisdiction. The Constitution, Marshall pointed out, was very specific about the kind of cases that could be taken directly to the Supreme Court. A request for a court order was not one of those cases, making that section of the Judiciary Act of 1789 unconstitutional and invalid. The decision strengthened the Supreme Court because it asserted the Court’s right of **judicial review**, the power to decide whether laws passed by Congress were constitutional and to strike down those laws that were not.  (See page 1081 for more information on *Marbury v. Madison*.)

 **Reading Check Explaining** Why did Congress repeal the Judiciary Act of 1801?

## The United States Expands West

One of Jefferson’s strongest beliefs was that a republic could only survive if most of the people owned land. This belief led him to support the idea of expanding the country farther west.

**The Louisiana Purchase** In 1800 French leader Napoleon Bonaparte convinced Spain to give Louisiana back to France in exchange for helping Spain take control of part of Italy. Napoleon’s deal worried Jefferson, because it gave France control of the lower Mississippi. Jefferson believed that having France back in North America would force the United States into an alliance with the British, whom Jefferson despised.

Jefferson ordered his ambassador to France, **Robert Livingston**, to try to block the deal or gain concessions for the United States. Livingston arrived in Paris in the spring of 1801, but his negotiations accomplished little until 1803.

By 1803 Napoleon had begun making plans to conquer Europe. If France resumed its war against Britain, the last thing the French wanted was an alliance between the United States and Great Britain. Furthermore, France’s government was short on funds. In 1803, therefore, Napoleon offered to sell all of the Louisiana Territory, as well as New Orleans, to the United States. Livingston immediately accepted.





### **Picturing History**

**Mountain Explorer** Besides giving his name to Colorado's Pikes Peak, army officer Zebulon Pike led an expedition to find the Mississippi's headwaters. **What skills might army officers have that would aid them in such an assignment?**

On April 30, 1803, the United States bought Louisiana from France for \$11.25 million. It also agreed to take on French debts owed to American citizens. These debts were worth about \$3.75 million, making the total cost about \$15 million. The Senate overwhelmingly ratified the **Louisiana Purchase**. As a result of the deal, the United States more than doubled its size and gained control of the entire Mississippi River.

**The Lewis and Clark Expedition** Even before Louisiana became a part of the United States, Jefferson asked Congress to fund a secret expedition into the Louisiana Territory to trace the Missouri River and find a route to the Pacific Ocean. After Congress approved the expedition, Jefferson chose **Meriwether Lewis**, his private secretary, and **William Clark**, the younger brother of Revolutionary War hero George Rogers Clark, to lead the expedition.

In May 1804 the "Corps of Discovery," as the expedition was called, headed west up the Missouri

River. Along the way they met **Sacagawea**, a Shoshone woman who joined the expedition as a guide and interpreter. The expedition found a path through the Rocky Mountains and eventually traced the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition greatly increased American knowledge of the Louisiana Territory and also gave the United States a claim to the Oregon territory along the coast.

**The Pike Expedition** Lewis and Clark's expedition was not the only one exploring the Louisiana Purchase. In 1805 **Zebulon Pike** mapped much of the upper Mississippi, and in 1806 he headed west to find the headwaters of the Arkansas River. Pike traveled to Colorado, where he charted the mountain now known as Pikes Peak. He later mapped part of the Rio Grande and traveled across northern Mexico and what is now southern Texas. Pike's account of this trip gave Americans their first detailed description of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains.

**The Essex Junto** The Louisiana Purchase alarmed New England Federalists. It meant that eventually their region would lose its influence in national affairs while the South and West gained political strength through new states. In Massachusetts, a small group of Federalists known as the **Essex Junto** drafted a plan to take New England out of the Union.

Hoping to expand their movement, they persuaded Vice President Aaron Burr to run for governor of New York in 1804. During the campaign, Alexander Hamilton called Burr "a dangerous man, and one who ought not be trusted with the reins of government." An offended Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel. When the two met on July 11, 1804, though, Hamilton refused to fire. Burr shot and killed his foe. In 1807 Burr was accused of plotting to create a new country in the western United States. He was charged with treason but found not guilty.

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

## **Rising International Tensions**

Burr's schemes were only a minor annoyance to President Jefferson. During his second term in office, the president was much more concerned with keeping the United States out of the war between Britain and France. A fragile peace between France and England had fallen apart in mid-1803, when Napoleon's armies surged out of France and headed east.

**Economic Warfare** At first, the war actually benefited American merchants. As the British seized French ships, American merchants began trading with French colonies in the Caribbean. The British left the American ships alone because the United States had proclaimed neutrality.

In 1806 Britain issued regulations known as the Orders in Council. These declared that all ships going to Europe needed British licenses and would be searched for contraband. In response, Napoleon declared that merchants who obeyed the British system would have their goods confiscated when they reached Europe. Americans were caught in the middle. No matter whom they obeyed, they were going to lose their goods.

**Impressment** Although British and French trade restrictions upset Americans, the British practice of stopping American ships to seize sailors angered them even more. The British navy was short of recruits because of its low pay and terrible shipboard conditions. British sailors often deserted for American vessels. Britain solved this problem by **impressment**, a legalized form of kidnapping that forced people into military service. Britain claimed the right to stop American ships and search for deserters. On many occasions they impressed American citizens into service as well.

In June 1807, these tensions reached the boiling point when the British warship *Leopard* stopped the American warship *Chesapeake* to search for British deserters. When the captain of the *Chesapeake* refused to comply, the *Leopard* opened fire, killing three Americans. After the Americans surrendered, the British went aboard and seized four sailors.

**Economic Diplomacy Fails** The attack on the *Chesapeake* enraged the public, and American newspapers clamored for war. Like Washington and Adams before him, however, President Jefferson did not want to entangle the United States in the affairs of Europe. Instead of going to war, he asked Congress to pass the Embargo Act of 1807, halting all trade between the United States and Europe.

The **embargo**, a government ban on trade with other countries, wound up hurting the United States more than France or Britain. In the Northeast, once-lucrative shipping businesses came to a standstill, while farmers in the South and West saw the demand for their crops plummet. In Congress, Maryland's Philip Barton Key railed against the embargo:

“It has paralyzed industry. . . . Our most fertile lands are reduced to sterility. It will drive our seamen into foreign employ, and our fishermen to foreign sandbanks. . . . It has dried up our revenue.”

—quoted in *The American Spirit*

Realizing that the embargo was not working and that it was costing the Republican Party political support, Congress repealed it in March 1809, shortly before Jefferson left office.

After his second term, President Jefferson gladly retired to his estate, Monticello, in Virginia. While the embargo made Jefferson unpopular, his administration had reversed the Federalist course by limiting the power of the federal government. It had also acquired a vast new territory in the West.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** Why did Jefferson have Congress pass the Embargo Act of 1807?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

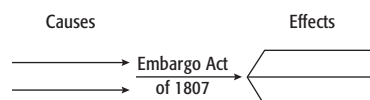
- Define:** **judicial review**, **impressment**, **embargo**.
- Identify:** John Marshall, Louisiana Purchase, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Sacagawea, Zebulon Pike.

### Reviewing Themes

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

### Critical Thinking

- Comparing and Contrasting** How was Jefferson's presidency similar to and different from those of Washington and Adams in political style, goals, and foreign policy?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes and effects of the Embargo Act of 1807.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Maps** Study the sketch of Washington, D.C., on page 223. Why do you think Pierre L'Enfant designed the city with wide avenues and circular intersections?

### Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine you are a member of the Zebulon Pike expedition in the Colorado territory. Write a journal entry describing what you have seen on the trip.



**The Journey West**

- ● ● Route west
- Continental Divide
- ▲ Camp

Scale of map varies in this perspective

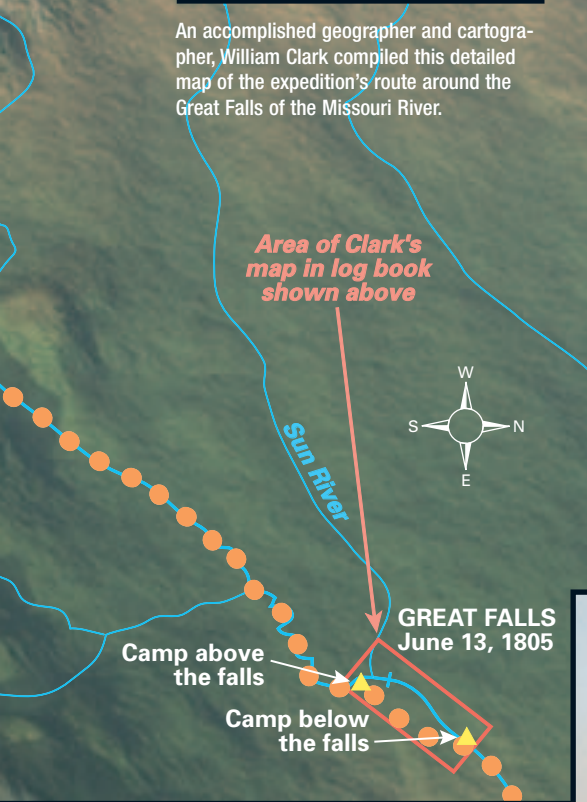


This locator map shows Lewis and Clark's route from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition collected valuable information about the people, plants, animals, and geography of the West. Americans soon followed in the footsteps of the intrepid explorers to open up the American West.

# Westward to the Pacific



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



Area of Clark's map in log book shown above



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

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

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

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

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

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



## LEARNING FROM GEOGRAPHY

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

# SECTION 4 The War of 1812

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

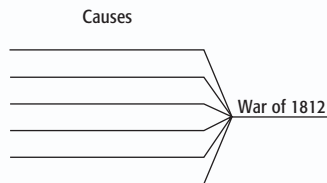
While the War of 1812 produced no clear winner, it gave Americans a strong sense of national pride.

### Key Terms and Names

Non-Intercourse Act, War Hawks, Tecumseh, William Henry Harrison, Oliver Perry, Hartford Convention, nationalism, Treaty of Ghent

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the War of 1812, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the causes of the war.



### Reading Objectives

- **Describe** why the United States declared war on Britain, and discuss the major campaigns of the war.
- **List** the results of the Treaty of Ghent.

### Section Theme

**Individual Action** Military leaders, including William Henry Harrison, Tecumseh, Oliver Perry, and Andrew Jackson, helped decide the outcome of the War of 1812.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



Francis Scott Key

On the night of September 13, 1814, Francis Scott Key, a young Maryland lawyer, stood on the deck of a British ship in Baltimore Harbor and watched the British bombard Fort McHenry. The shelling continued into the morning hours. Explosions lit up the night, and shells with trailing fuses streaked towards the fort. Rockets arced across the sky, as a huge American flag waved over the fort.

As the sun rose, Key strained to see if the flag still waved. To his great joy, it did. He took a letter from his pocket and began scribbling these words for a poem on the back:

“Oh, say can you see, by the dawn’s early light,  
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight’s last gleaming?  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars, through the perilous fight,  
O’er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming?  
And the rockets’ red glare, the bombs bursting in air,  
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.  
Oh, say does that star spangled banner yet wave,  
O’er the land of the free and the home of the brave?”

—from “The Star-Spangled Banner”

## The Decision for War

After Thomas Jefferson announced that he would not run again for president in 1808, the Republican Party nominated James Madison. The Federalists nominated Charles Pinckney. Despite some lingering anger about the Embargo of 1807, Madison won the election easily.

Madison assumed office in the midst of an international crisis. Tensions between the United States and Britain were rising, and it would fall to Madison to decide whether or not to lead the United States into its first full-scale war since the Revolution.

**Economic Pressures** Like Jefferson, Madison wanted to avoid war. To force the British to stop seizing American ships, he asked Congress to pass the **Non-Intercourse Act**. This act forbade trade with France and Britain while authorizing the president to reopen trade with whichever country removed its trade restrictions first. The idea was to play France and Britain against each other, but the plan failed.

In May 1810, Congress took a different approach with a plan drafted by Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina. The plan, called Macon's Bill Number Two, reopened trade with both Britain and France, but it stated that if either nation agreed to drop its restrictions on trade, the United States would stop importing goods from the other nation.

Soon afterward, Napoleon announced that France would no longer restrict American trade, although his statement still allowed for the seizure of American ships. Madison accepted Napoleon's statement, despite its conditions, hoping to pressure the British into dropping their trade restrictions. When the British refused, Congress passed a non-importation act against Britain in early 1811.

Madison's strategy eventually worked. By early 1812 the refusal of the United States to buy British goods had begun to hurt the British economy. British merchants and manufacturers began to pressure their government to repeal its restrictions on trade. Finally, in June 1812, Britain ended all restrictions on American trade, but it was too late. Two days later, the British learned that the United States Congress had declared war on Great Britain.

**The War Hawks** Although it appeared that Britain's actions against the United States had hurt mainly Eastern merchants, most members of Congress who voted for war came from the South and West. They were led by Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Felix Grundy of Tennessee. Their opponents nicknamed them the **War Hawks**.

Americans in the South and West wanted war for two reasons. British trade restrictions hurt Southern planters and Western farmers, who earned much of their income by shipping tobacco, rice, wheat, and cotton overseas. Eastern merchants could make a profit despite British restrictions because they passed the cost of losing ships and goods onto the farmers.

Western farmers also blamed the British for clashes with Native Americans along the frontier. In the early 1800s, settlers had begun moving past the line established by the Treaty of Greenville. As clashes with Native Americans increased, many settlers accused the British in Canada of arming the Native Americans and encouraging them to attack American settlements.

**Tecumseh and Tippecanoe** Although Western settlers blamed the British for their problems with the Native Americans, it was the increasing demands of speculators and settlers that sparked Native American resistance. **Tecumseh**, a Shawnee leader, believed that Native Americans needed to unite to protect their lands.

While Tecumseh worked for political union, his brother Tenskwatawa (known as "the Prophet") called for a spiritual rebirth of Native American cultures. His followers lived in Prophetstown on the Tippecanoe River in Indiana, where they tried to practice traditional Native American ways of living.

Aware that Tecumseh's movement was becoming more militant, **William Henry Harrison**, governor of the Indiana territory, prepared to stamp it out. In November 1811, Harrison gathered a force and marched towards Prophetstown. Tenskwatawa decided to strike first, sending fighters to attack Harrison and his troops near the Tippecanoe River. The bloody Battle of Tippecanoe left about one-fourth of Harrison's troops dead or wounded, but its impact on the Native Americans was far greater. The clash shattered Native American confidence in the Prophet's leadership. Many, including Tecumseh, fled to Canada.

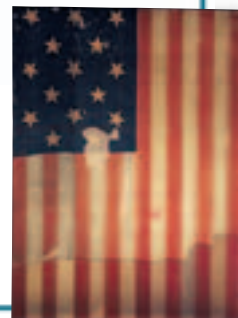
Fact

Fiction

Folklore

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

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



Tecumseh's flight to British-held Canada seemed to prove that the British were supporting and arming the Native Americans. Many Western farmers argued that war with Britain would enable the United States to seize Canada and end Native American attacks.

In early June 1812, President Madison gave in to the pressure and asked Congress to declare war. His war message spoke about national honor and emphasized the abuse Americans had suffered at the hands of the British:

“Thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public law and of their national flag, have been torn from . . . everything dear to them; have been dragged on board ships of a foreign nation . . . to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes to risk their lives in battles of their oppressors.”

—from Madison's  
*War Message to Congress*

In Congress, the vote split along regional lines. The South and West generally voted for war, while the Northeast did not.

**Reading Check** **Examining** Why did Americans in the South and West favor war with Great Britain?

## The Invasion of Canada

Although the Republican-led Congress had called for war, the nation was not ready to fight. The army had fewer than 7,000 troops and little equipment. The navy had only 16 ships. Also, Americans were deeply divided over the war. Many people in New York and New England called it “Mr. Madison's War,” implying that it was a private fight that did not deserve the nation's support.

Paying for the war also posed a problem. The year before the war, Republicans had shut down the Bank of the United States by refusing to renew its charter. This made it difficult for the government to borrow money because most private bankers were located in the Northeast. They opposed the war and would not

## Profiles IN HISTORY

### Tecumseh c. 1768–1813

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

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

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

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



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

loan money to the government. Despite the nation's military and financial weakness, President Madison ordered the military to invade Canada.

**Three Strikes Against Canada** American military leaders planned to attack Canada from three directions—from Detroit, from Niagara Falls, and up the Hudson River valley toward Montreal. All three attacks failed. The British navy on Lake Erie rapidly shuttled troops to Detroit and forced the American commander, General William Hull, to surrender.

Next, the British shifted their troops to Niagara Falls, where they took up positions on Queenston Heights. From there, they easily drove off some 600 American troops who had landed on the Canadian side of the Niagara River. The American force would have been larger, except that the New York militia, many of whom opposed the war, refused to cross the river. They argued that the terms of their military service did not require them to leave the country.

The third American attack fared no better than the first two. General Henry Dearborn, marching up the Hudson River toward Montreal, called off the attack after the militia accompanying his troops refused to cross the border.

**Perry's Victory on Lake Erie** The following year, the United States had more success after Commodore **Oliver Perry** secretly arranged for the construction of a fleet on the coast of Lake Erie in Ohio. On September 10, 1813, Perry's fleet attacked the British fleet on Lake Erie near Put-in-Bay. When his own ship was no longer able to fight, Perry rowed to another vessel. After a grueling four-hour battle, the British surrendered.

Perry's victory gave the Americans control of Lake Erie. It also enabled General Harrison to recover Detroit and march into Canada, where he defeated a combined force of British troops and Native Americans at the Battle of the Thames River.

Harrison's attack from the west was supposed to meet up with American troops from Niagara Falls in the east. British troops and Canadian militia, however, stopped the American attack from the east at the Battle of Stony Creek. When Harrison learned of the defeat, he retreated to Detroit. By the end of 1813, the United States still had not conquered any territory in Canada.

### Reading Check

**Explaining** Why was conquering Canada an important American goal in the War of 1812?

## The War Ends

In 1814, Napoleon's empire collapsed. With the war against France over, the British were able to send much of their navy and many more troops to deal with the United States. The British strategy for the war had three parts. First, the British navy would raid American cities along the coast. Second, they would march south into New York from Montreal, cutting New

England off from the rest of the country. Third, they would seize New Orleans and close the Mississippi River to western farmers. The British believed this strategy would force the United States to make peace.

**Raids on Washington, D.C., and Baltimore** With attention focused on Canada, in August 1814 a British fleet sailed into Chesapeake Bay and landed troops within marching distance of Washington, D.C. The British easily dispersed the poorly trained militia defending the capital and entered the city unopposed. Madison and other government officials hastily fled. The British set fire to both the White House and the Capitol. They then prepared to attack Baltimore.

Unlike Washington, D.C., Baltimore was ready for the British. The city militia inflicted heavy casualties on the British troops that went ashore. After bombarding Fort McHenry throughout the night of September 13, the British abandoned their attack on the city.







**The Battle of New Orleans** Less than a month after the Hartford Convention began, an American victory in the South put a stop to Federalist complaints. In January 1815, a British fleet with some 7,500 men landed near New Orleans. The American commander, General Andrew Jackson, quickly improvised a defense using cotton bales. The thick bales absorbed the British bullets, while the British advancing in the open provided easy targets for the American troops. The fighting ended in a decisive American victory.

The **Battle of New Orleans** made Andrew Jackson a national hero. It also helped to destroy the Federalist Party. As **nationalism**, or feelings of strong patriotism, surged, the Federalists at the Hartford Convention appeared divisive and unpatriotic. They never recovered politically, and within a few years the party ceased to exist.

**The Treaty of Ghent** Peace negotiations began in the European city of Ghent even before the major battles of 1814. On December 24, 1814, the negotiators signed the **Treaty of Ghent**, ending the War of 1812. The treaty restored prewar boundaries but did not mention neutral rights or impressment, and no territory changed hands. Still, the War of 1812 increased the nation's prestige overseas and generated a new spirit of patriotism and national unity.

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

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

**History Through Art**

**Battle of New Orleans** This John Landis engraving depicts the triumph of Andrew Jackson (on horseback at right) over the British during the War of 1812. **What was unusual about the timing of the battle?**

**The Battle of Lake Champlain** That same month, about 15,000 well-trained British soldiers advanced southward from Montreal into New York. The key to the British advance was control of Lake Champlain. On September 11, 1814, the American naval force on the lake decisively defeated the British fleet. When the British realized that the Americans could use their control of the lake to surround the British, they abandoned the attack and retreated to Montreal.

**The Hartford Convention** The British offensive increased New England's opposition to the war. In December 1814, Federalists from the region met in Hartford, Connecticut, to discuss what they could do independently of the United States. Although members of the Essex Junto at the convention urged New England to secede, moderate delegates refused to support such extreme action. Instead, the **Hartford Convention** called for several constitutional amendments to increase the region's political power.

**SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

- Define:** War Hawks, nationalism.
- Identify:** Non-Intercourse Act, Tecumseh, William Henry Harrison, Oliver Perry, Hartford Convention, Treaty of Ghent.
- Analyze** why Perry's victory on Lake Erie was important for the Americans.

**Reviewing Themes**

- Individual Action** What did Tecumseh's death signify for Native Americans of the Northwest Territory?

**Critical Thinking**

- Synthesizing** How did the War of 1812 affect the United States?
- Classifying** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list how Americans in different sections of the country felt about war with Great Britain and why.

Section of U.S.	Position on War	Reason for War Position
West		
South		
North		

**Analyzing Visuals**

- Studying Art** Look carefully at the painting of the Battle of New Orleans pictured above. What advantage did the American forces have that helped them win the battle?

**Writing About History**

- Descriptive Writing** Think of an event that made you feel patriotic about the United States. Write a paragraph explaining why the event made you feel this way.



# Social Studies SKILLBUILDER

## Reading a Flowchart

### Why Learn This Skill?

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

### Learning the Skill

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

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

### Practicing the Skill

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

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

### Circumstances Leading to the Louisiana Purchase

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

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

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

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

President Jefferson agrees to purchase Louisiana Territory.

### Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 235 and the Chapter 6 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

### Applying the Skill

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



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

**Reviewing Key Terms**

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

- 1. cabinet
- 2. bond
- 3. speculator
- 4. enumerated powers
- 5. implied powers
- 6. agrarianism
- 7. most-favored nation
- 8. alien
- 9. sedition
- 10. interposition
- 11. nullification
- 12. judicial review
- 13. impressment
- 14. embargo
- 15. War Hawks
- 16. nationalism

**Reviewing Key Facts**

- 17. **Identify:** Bank of the United States, Whiskey Rebellion, Alien and Sedition Acts, John Marshall, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Sacagawea, Tecumseh, Treaty of Ghent.
- 18. What was the main focus of the first eight amendments in the Bill of Rights?
- 19. Why did James Madison oppose the establishment of a national bank?
- 20. Why did tensions between western settlers and Native Americans increase during Washington’s presidency?
- 21. What events led to the purchase of the Louisiana Territory?
- 22. What events caused the United States to declare war on Great Britain in 1812?

**Critical Thinking**

- 23. **Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** What was the most important task for Congress after the U.S. Constitution was ratified? Explain why you think this task was important.
- 24. **Identifying Effects** What were the effects of the War of 1812 on the United States?
- 25. **Forming an Opinion** Do you think the Alien and Sedition Acts were unconstitutional? Why or why not?
- 26. **Classifying** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the differences between the first political parties in the United States.

Federalists	Republicans
Favored:	Favored:

- 27. **Interpreting Primary Sources** Many people in New England did not support the War of 1812. At a town meeting in Brewster, Massachusetts, on July 20, 1812, the residents wrote a petition to President Madison. In this petition, they stated the reasons that they opposed the war. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“In attending to the *reasons* for the present state of warfare as exhibited to our view by public documents, we lament that they do not furnish to our minds satisfactory evidence of its prosperity. . . .”

**Chapter Summary**



**George Washington**

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

**Thomas Jefferson**



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

**John Adams**

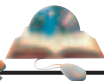


- Federalist leader in favor of strong national government
- Supported commerce and trade
- Favored neutrality; negotiated treaties with Britain and France to avoid war
- Angered farmer and landowners with taxes; angered political opponents with Alien and Sedition Acts

**James Madison**



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



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 6** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

We ask leave in conclusion to state that about three fourths of our townsmen depend on the sea for means of subsistence for themselves and families. By the recent declaration of war more than one half of that proportion is liable to fall into the hands of the enemy with a large proportion of their property, and many of their wives and children may thereby be reduced to extreme poverty. We would be permitted further to remark that out of this large proportion of [sailors] belonging to this town, we have but *four* detained by foreign nations. . . .”

—quoted in the *Columbian Centinel*, July 20, 1812

- What reasons do the residents give for opposing the war?
- According to the petition, were the residents of Brewster worried more about losing townsmen and property to impressment by foreign nations or to fighting the British in the war? What reasoning do the residents use?

Practicing Skills

28. **Making a Flowchart** Reread the passage titled *Westward Expansion* on page 217. Then create a flowchart documenting events leading up to the end of Native American resistance in the Northwest Territory. Use the following events as the first and last items in your flowchart. Find at least four events to fit in between these first and last entries.

**First event:** White settlers move from Pennsylvania and Virginia into the Northwest Territory.

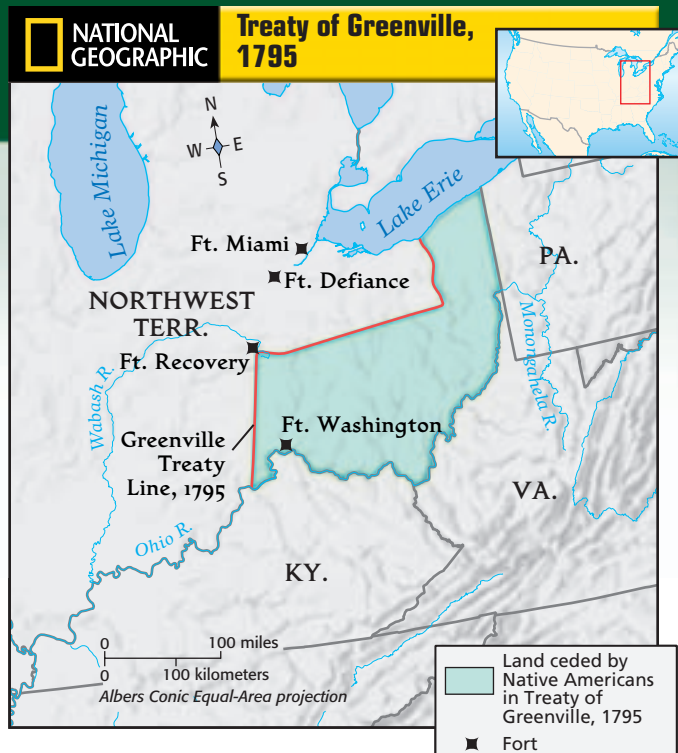
**Last event:** Treaty of Greenville is signed by 12 Native American nations in August 1795.

Writing Activity

29. **Expository Writing** Imagine that you are a political editor for a newspaper in 1817. Write an article on the high and low points of the presidencies of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison. Use evidence to support your ideas.

Chapter Activity

30. **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** Under *A New Nation*, read the “Farewell Address” by George Washington and the “First Inaugural Address” by Thomas Jefferson. Work with classmates to hold a debate about the effectiveness of today’s political parties, using the opinions about parties presented by Washington and Jefferson in these primary sources.



Geography and History

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

Standardized Test Practice

**Directions:** Choose the best answer to the following question.

President Jefferson wanted to limit the power of the Federal government. Which of the following was an action he took to achieve this goal?

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

**Test-Taking Tip:** Think about the word *limit*. It means to reduce or restrict. Therefore, you can eliminate answer G—it gave the government more power. You can also eliminate H because dissolving a party would not reduce governmental power.