

The Origins of American Politics

(1789–1820)

SECTION 1 Liberty Versus Order in the 1790s

SECTION 2 The Election of 1800

SECTION 3 The Jefferson Administration

SECTION 4 Native American Resistance

SECTION 5 The War of 1812



Lewis and Clark explore the West.

1794

The federal government uses the threat of military force to end the Whiskey Rebellion.

American Events

1795

The Treaty of Greenville forces Native Americans to give up land in the Old Northwest.

1801

The inauguration of Thomas Jefferson represents a peaceful transfer of power between parties.

Presidential Terms:

George Washington 1789–1797

J. Adams 1797–1801

Thomas Jefferson 1801–1809

1790

World Events

1793

The Reign of Terror begins in France.

1800

1801

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is established.

1805

1804

Haiti declares independence from France.

The Louisiana Purchase, 1803



United States, 1803
 Louisiana Purchase



The USS Constitution

1807

The Embargo Act outlaws most foreign trade and angers New England merchants.

1814

The Treaty of Ghent ends the War of 1812.

1820

The Missouri Compromise maintains the balance in the Senate between slave states and free states.

James Madison 1809–1817

James Monroe 1817–1825

1810

The French leader Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo.

1815

1815

Simón Bolívar frees Colombia from Spanish rule.

1819

1820

Liberty Versus Order in the 1790s

READING FOCUS

- What was Alexander Hamilton's program for dealing with national and state debt?
- How did foreign policy issues divide Americans?
- What issues led to the emergence of political parties?

MAIN IDEA

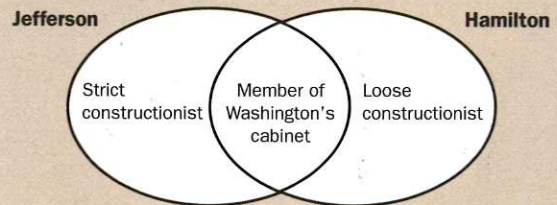
Americans became sharply divided in the 1790s over whether order or liberty was more important.

KEY TERMS

tariff
interest
strict construction
loose construction
neutral
Jay's Treaty
Whiskey Rebellion
political party

TAKING NOTES

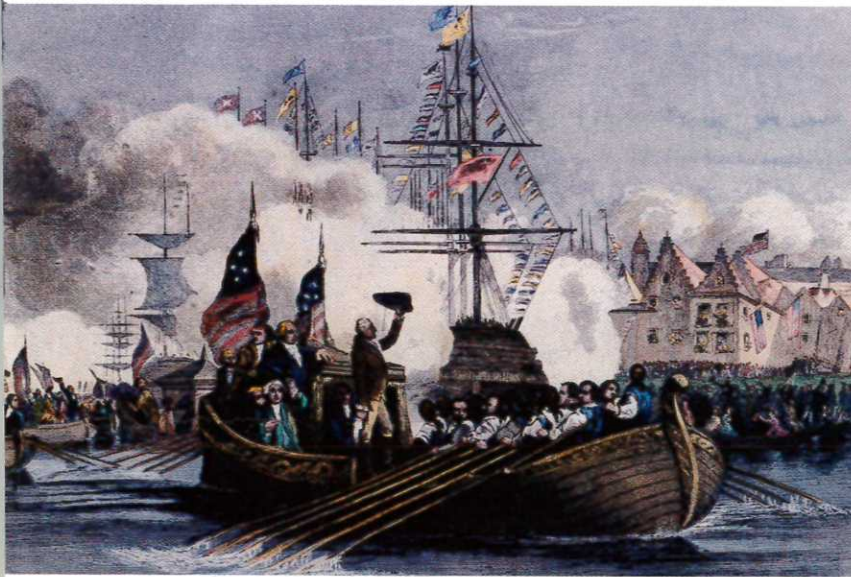
Copy this incomplete Venn diagram. As you read, write key facts about Jefferson and Hamilton in the appropriate sections. Write common characteristics in the overlapping section.



Setting the Scene In a letter written early in 1790, President George Washington expressed confidence in the new government:

“That the government, though not absolutely perfect, is one of the best in the world, I have little doubt. . . . It was indeed next to a miracle that there should have been so much unanimity [agreement], in points of such importance, among such a number of Citizens, so widely scattered, and so different in their habits in many respects as the Americans were.”

—George Washington, letter to Catharine Macaulay Graham, January 9, 1790



VIEWING HISTORY George Washington leaves for New York, waving his tricorne hat as he sails from Virginia. **Drawing Conclusions** What impressed Washington about the new American government?

One of the biggest issues facing the new nation dealt with the huge debts it owed to other nations and its own citizens following the Revolutionary War. As Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton had the responsibility of organizing an economic policy that could help the nation pay off its debts and become economically stable.

Hamilton used this opportunity to push for the kind of national government that he wanted. As he developed and proposed his policies, it became clear that two very different views of the new government were taking shape.

Hamilton's Program

Hamilton, a Federalist, was a keen supporter of strong national power. He had little faith in the people. The Constitution, he believed, was not enough in itself to preserve the new nation. In his view, the government had to expand its role and actively direct the development of the American economy. To this end, Hamilton proposed a complicated plan designed to help the economy and strengthen the national government.

A Deal With the South In 1790, after months of debate, Congress approved Hamilton's plan for the national government to assume (or take responsibility for) the debts acquired by the states during the Revolution. Congress's vote was a controversial one. Southern states did not want to help pay back the loans owed by northern states. Yet Hamilton managed to win the support of the southern states through a deal: If southern states would back Hamilton's debt plan, Hamilton would gain northern support for a plan to locate the nation's capital in the South. Thus, in 1790, Congress approved both the debt plan and a plan to locate the capital on the banks of the Potomac River.

Assuming State Debts Gaining southern support was only one obstacle Hamilton's debt plan faced. His plan raised controversy for another reason as well. As critics pointed out, the federal government already had a huge debt of about \$75 million. Why would the government want to add to this burden?

The answer is simpler than one might think—with this plan, the central government would be strengthened. Most of the state and national debt was owed to European banks and to American merchants and speculators, or people who take a financial risk in the hope of future profit. Hamilton knew that these lenders, or creditors, did not want any government that owed them money to collapse. If the states owed creditors money, Hamilton reasoned, creditors would care mostly about the states. If, on the other hand, the United States owed creditors money, creditors would care mostly about the nation as a whole. This idea appealed to Federalists, who believed in a strong central government.

Hamilton's Strategy Why would creditors go along with this plan? To satisfy their concerns, Hamilton outlined a specific budget and set up a regular payment plan. Two measures would help raise money to pay off the debts. In 1789, Congress had created a **tariff**—a tax on imported goods. In 1791, Congress placed a tax on distilled liquors that was called the whiskey tax.

Most of the money raised by these two taxes went to pay the expenses of the government, such as the salaries of officials. Hamilton, however, also put some of it into a special fund used to pay creditors a little money every year. He did not intend to pay them off right away; if he did, they would have no reason to care about what happened to the United States. Instead, the government paid them **interest**—an extra sum of money that borrowers pay creditors in return for the loan. To handle these complicated financial matters, Congress established the Bank of the United States in 1791.

Hamilton thus transformed the debts of the state governments into what amounted to a long-term investment in the United States government. The country's creditors now held an interest in the stable functioning of the government.

Hamilton's Opponents Many Americans did not like Hamilton's plan. They did not want the federal government to interfere in local and state affairs. They also disliked Hamilton's new taxes.

Focus on ECONOMICS

National Debt The total amount of money owed by the federal government to citizens or other nations who have invested in the United States.

The Historical Context In 1791, the national debt was about \$75 million, and the population was roughly 4 million. Thus, each person's share of the national debt was about \$18.75.

The Concept Today In 2001, the national debt was approximately \$5.6 trillion, and the population was about 284 million. That means each person's share of the national debt was almost \$20,000. (Keep in mind, though, that because of inflation a dollar buys much less today than it did in 1791!) Like anyone who borrows money, the federal government must pay interest on this debt. Reducing the national debt would lower the government's annual interest payments, allowing the government to spend more money in other areas, such as defense, education, or social security.



Alexander Hamilton participated in framing the Constitution and favored a strong central government.

Federalists vs. Jeffersonian Republicans

Federalists (Alexander Hamilton)	Jeffersonian Republicans (Thomas Jefferson)
Typical view of Constitution: • Loose • Favored strong central government • Favored a national bank	Typical view of Constitution: • Strict • Favored weak central government • Opposed a national bank
Favored using national debt to establish credit	Favored paying off the national debt
Pro-business	Pro-agriculture
For strong standing armies and navies	Against large standing armies and navies
Believed political power should rest with wealthy, educated men	Believed that common men should hold political power
Pro-British	Pro-French
Generally businessmen from the commercial northeast, but also included professionals, artisans, congregational ministers, and rural people satisfied with the status quo	Tended to be more diverse, including southern slaveholders, urban artisans, tradespeople, and commercial farmers

INTERPRETING CHARTS The Federalists thought the Constitution should be considered a loose framework on which to build the nation. Thus they felt Congress could create a national bank, even though the Constitution does not explicitly give Congress the power to do so. **Identifying Central Issues** Why did Jeffersonian Republicans oppose the national bank?

Opponents of the Washington administration regarded Hamilton's policy of taxation and regulation as similar to the one the British had proposed in the 1760s. Combined with the elegant style of Washington's presidency, the Federalist program suggested to opponents a return to aristocracy and monarchy. Critics saw it as an all-out assault on the hard-won liberty of the American people.

Hamilton vs. Jefferson Secretary of State Jefferson was particularly opposed to Hamilton's plans. President Washington usually sided with Hamilton, and Jefferson increasingly found he held a minority opinion in the President's Cabinet. At the end of 1793, Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State.

One way to contrast Jefferson and Hamilton is in terms of their construction, or view, of the Constitution. Jefferson favored a **strict construction**. That is, he believed that the government should only use the implied powers of the Constitution when it was absolutely necessary. Hamilton preferred a **loose construction**. He thought the Constitution was

only a loose framework of laws on which the government could build the nation as it saw fit. The government, in other words, could use the implied powers of the Constitution to do many things as long as they were not expressly prohibited by the Constitution.

The differences between the two men went deeper than their interpretation of the Constitution, however. Jefferson believed that Hamilton and his Federalist allies were betraying the American Revolution. They were, he told Thomas Paine in 1792, "a sect preaching up and pouting after an English constitution of king, lords, & commons." Jefferson had more faith in the people than in their government. He took pride in *not* preferring "the calm of despotism [tyranny] to the boisterous sea of liberty."

Foreign Policy Issues

That "boisterous sea" threw a tidal wave over France in 1789, when the people of that nation started the French Revolution. According to a public declaration, the revolution was committed to "liberty, fraternity, and equality." By the early 1790s, though, disagreement over how to make these ideals reality led not to fraternity (or brotherhood) but to a prolonged period of violence called the Reign of Terror. During this time, the revolutionary government executed thousands of people, including King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette.

Americans Split Over the French Revolution The French Revolution sharply divided Americans. Federalists tended to oppose it, seeing it as an example of a democratic revolution gone wrong. Jefferson's supporters, on the other hand, generally viewed the French Revolution as an extension of the American Revolution. Though upset by its violence, they applauded its rejection of government by kings and its acceptance of republican government. Even during the Reign of Terror, Jefferson said that he "would have seen half the earth desolated [ruined] rather than see the French Revolution fail."

Citizen Genêt The political split over the French Revolution grew more intense in 1793, when the French minister to the United States, "Citizen"

Edmond Genêt, arrived in South Carolina. France and Britain were now at war, and Genêt's mission was to win Americans' support for the French in that war.

In the process, Genêt overstepped the bounds of diplomacy. Without the permission of United States officials, he tried to convince private Americans to serve as soldiers and privateers against the British. Eventually, Genêt's actions forced Washington to ask that France recall him. Even Jefferson agreed that Genêt had to go. By this time, though, political power had again shifted in France, and Genêt feared he would face the guillotine if he returned home. To avoid being executed, Genêt married a governor's daughter and became a U.S. citizen.

Proclaiming American Neutrality While Americans debated the French Revolution, the war between Britain and France created more immediate practical problems. Which side should the United States take? The nation could not afford to offend the British, whose navy dominated the oceans. Few people, however, wanted to abandon the French, who had helped Americans during the War for Independence.

The most sensible strategy was to remain **neutral**, or not to take either side. In April 1793, after being reelected for a second term as President, Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality. The United States would not take sides in the struggle.

Despite this proclamation, the United States found it very difficult to avoid getting involved in the war. In 1793, the British began to seize neutral U.S. trading ships headed for the French West Indies. At the same time, Americans were increasingly frustrated by British support for Indians in the Northwest Territory who wanted to keep settlers south of the Ohio River. With anti-British sentiment on the rise, by 1794, the debate over whether the United States should remain neutral in the conflict between Great Britain and France rose to a fever pitch.

Jay's Treaty Washington and Hamilton believed that the long-term interests of the United States would be served best by avoiding war with Britain. In 1794, therefore, Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to London to negotiate an agreement with the British. Jay wrote, "My objects are, to prevent a war, if justice can be obtained."



READING CHECK

Why did President Washington issue a proclamation of neutrality?

INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS

The British Prime Minister William Pitt and French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte sit down to a dinner in which they carve up the world. **Determining Relevance** How does this cartoon express the world politics affecting the United States at the time?

READING CHECK

What was the purpose of John Jay's trip to London?

In the resulting agreement, called **Jay's Treaty**, Britain agreed to leave the forts it occupied in the Northwest Territory. Other provisions were aimed at expanding trade between the two nations. Jay was unable, however, to convince the British to end their practice of stopping American ships on the high seas and searching them for British subjects.

Jay's Treaty unleashed a storm of controversy throughout the United States. Critics complained that it contained no protection for American shipping. More broadly, many Americans saw the treaty as a betrayal of revolutionary ideals, a sellout to the hated British. Despite the anger, however, Congress ratified the treaty in 1795.

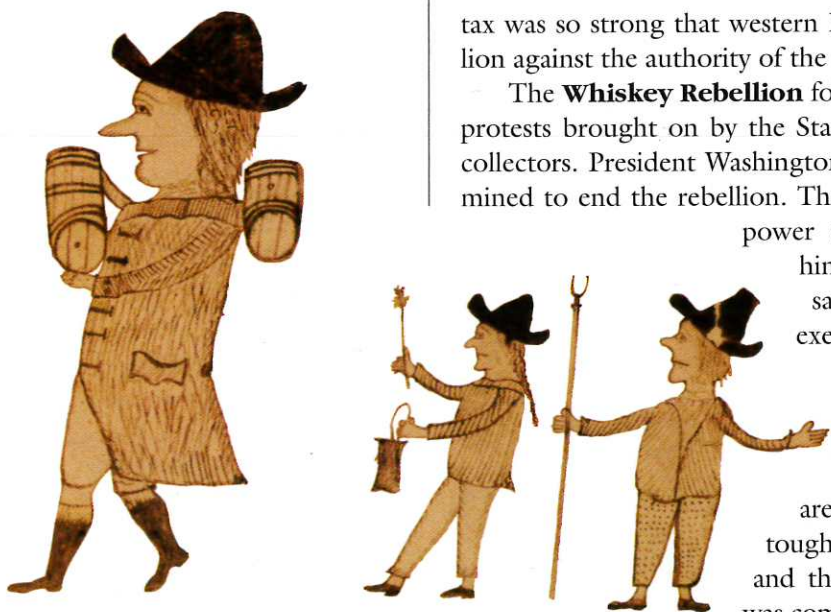
Political Parties Emerge

Meanwhile, within the United States, resistance to Hamilton's economic program grew. One aspect of his plan in particular, the tax on whiskey, led some citizens to challenge the new government.

The Whiskey Rebellion In western Pennsylvania and other frontier areas, many people refused to pay the tax on whiskey. Whiskey was of critical importance to the frontier economy. It was not just a traditional beverage—it was one of the only products that farmers could make out of corn that could be transported to market without spoiling. Whiskey was even used as a kind of currency, as tobacco leaves were in colonial Virginia. In 1794, opposition to the whiskey tax was so strong that western Pennsylvania appeared to be in a state of rebellion against the authority of the federal government.

The **Whiskey Rebellion** followed the tradition of Shays' Rebellion and the protests brought on by the Stamp Act. Rebels closed courts and attacked tax collectors. President Washington and Secretary Hamilton, though, were determined to end the rebellion. They saw it as an opportunity to demonstrate the power of the United States government. Hamilton himself declared that a government can never be said to be established until it has proved itself by exerting its military force.

In the summer of 1794, Washington gathered an army of more than 12,000 men. General "Light Horse Harry" Lee, accompanied by Hamilton, led the army to the Pittsburgh area. The rebellion soon dissolved. Washington's tough response had demonstrated to American citizens and the world that the young American government was committed to enforcing its laws.



VIEWING HISTORY This drawing shows a government agent collecting taxes—in the form of two kegs of whiskey. He is being followed by angry farmers wishing to tar and feather him. **Predicting Consequences** What might have happened if the federal government had not responded forcefully to the Whiskey Rebellion?

The Jeffersonian Republicans The Federalists had established their economic program, suppressed the Whiskey Rebellion, and ensured peace with Great Britain. Yet in so doing, they had lost the support of a great many Americans.

As early as 1793, artisans and professional men were forming what they called Democratic Societies to oppose the Federalists. Meanwhile, Jefferson and various state leaders were furiously promoting resistance to the Federalists in letters to one another. Some leaders also encouraged newspaper attacks on the Washington administration.

Originally these critics of the Federalists were called Republicans or Democratic-Republicans because they stood for a more democratic republic. To avoid confusing them with the modern Republican Party, historians call them Jeffersonian Republicans. They, along with the Federalists, were the first political

parties in the United States, although both groups denied that they were permanent organizations. A **political party** is a group of people who seek to win elections and hold public office in order to shape government policy and programs.

Alexander Hamilton summarized the differences between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans in 1792:

“One side [the Jeffersonians] appears to believe that there is a serious plot to overturn the State governments and substitute a monarchy to the present republican system. The other side [the Federalists] firmly believes there is a serious plot to overturn the general government and elevate the separate powers of the States upon its ruins.”

—Alexander Hamilton, 1792

To this statement Hamilton added, “Both sides may be equally wrong.” Only a few Federalists—and they did not include Washington or Hamilton—wanted to install a monarchy in the United States; most were deeply committed to the new republic. Similarly, virtually all of the Jeffersonian Republicans accepted the national government created by the Constitution.

The Election of 1796 President Washington had thought about retiring in 1792. However, Jefferson and Hamilton had convinced him that the country needed his leadership for another term. By the end of his second term, in the midst of criticism from the Jeffersonian Republicans, Washington chose not to run for a third term. He thus set a precedent followed in later times.

With Washington out of the race and the nation politically divided, the election of 1796 was sure to be close. Washington’s Vice President, John Adams, ran as the Federalist candidate for President, while Thomas Pinckney ran for Vice President. Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr ran on the Republican side. The Federalists won a narrow victory, as Adams captured 71 electoral votes to Jefferson’s 68. Because Jefferson finished second in the electoral vote race, he became the new Vice President under the election system originally established by the Constitution.

Washington Says Farewell Washington had made the announcement that he would not seek a third term in his Farewell Address of 1796. In the address, he drew on his years of experience and offered much advice to the young nation for the years ahead.

Many people had labeled Washington a Federalist because he generally agreed with Hamilton on policy issues and because he was the head and symbol of the central government, which the Jeffersonians distrusted. Throughout both of his terms, however, Washington generally remained above the political bickering between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans. He did not believe political parties were good for the nation. In his farewell address he warned against competing political parties:



“[A system of political parties] agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, [and] foments [stirs up] occasionally riot and insurrection.”

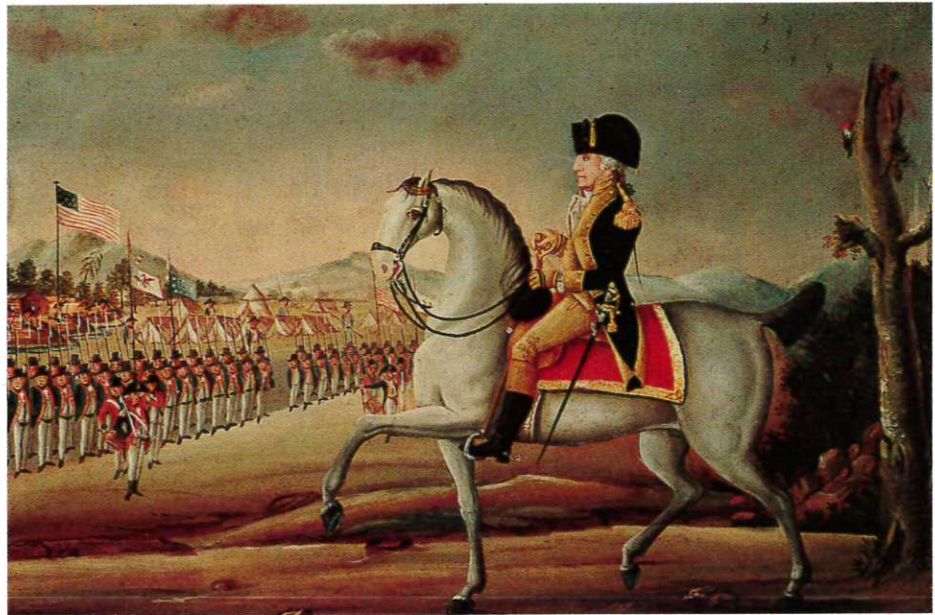
—George Washington, Farewell Address, 1796

Washington also called for a foreign policy of neutrality. He warned against “antipathies [hatreds] against particular nations and passionate attachments for



VIEWING HISTORY John Adams (top) and Thomas Jefferson (bottom) squared off in both the 1796 and 1800 presidential elections. **Synthesizing Information** (a) How did Jefferson become Adams’s Vice President in 1796? (b) How might this have been a problem? (c) How are Vice Presidents chosen today?

VIEWING HISTORY George Washington, shown here reviewing troops gathered to put down the Whiskey Rebellion, declined to run for a third term of office. **Analyzing Information** Why did Washington warn against the formation of political parties?



others.” In Washington’s view, the United States, because of its geographic location, had a unique opportunity to remain outside of the complicated entanglements of European nations:

KEY DOCUMENTS

“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. . . . Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. . . . Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?”

—George Washington, Farewell Address, 1796

The events of the next several years would show that Washington’s advice about the dangers of political parties and European conflicts was wise indeed.

Section

1

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. Why was Hamilton’s debt plan controversial?
2. How did the French Revolution highlight political differences within the United States?
3. Why did many Americans oppose **Jay’s Treaty**?
4. Summarize the differences between the first two **political parties** in the United States.
5. What advice did Washington give Americans in his farewell address?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

6. **Making Comparisons** Washington believed the United States had a unique opportunity to remain neutral in foreign affairs. (a) Do you think this is true in today’s world? (b) Why might it be more difficult for the United States to remain neutral in the twenty-first century?
7. **Writing to Persuade** Prepare a campaign speech for a Jeffersonian Republican in 1796. List reasons why voters should elect Jefferson over Adams.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Analyzing Primary Sources Examine George Washington’s response to the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794. How did our first President react to the insurrection? Write a brief report summarizing your findings. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com

The Election of 1800

READING FOCUS

- What actions did John Adams take as President?
- Why was the election of 1800 a turning point?
- What was significant about the transfer of power between parties in 1801?

MAIN IDEA

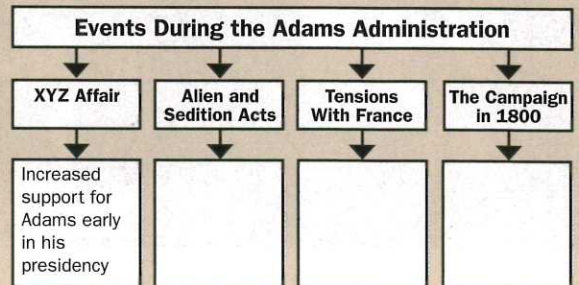
With the election of 1800, Americans peacefully accomplished the nation's first transfer of power from one party to another.

KEY TERMS

XYZ affair
Alien and Sedition Acts
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

TAKING NOTES

Copy the flowchart below. As you read, fill in the boxes with events during Adams's presidency that influenced the election of 1800.



Setting the Scene Despite having served as one of the most important leaders of the Revolution and as the nation's first Vice President, John Adams lacked the prestige of George Washington. In his Inaugural Address, Adams expressed his determination to follow the example of his predecessor:

“ [George Washington's] name may still be a rampart, and the knowledge that he lives a bulwark, against all open or secret enemies of his country's peace. This example has been recommended to the imitation of his successors by both Houses of Congress and by the voice of the legislatures and the people throughout the nation.”

—John Adams, Inaugural Address, 1797

As President, Adams faced the threat of war from abroad. He also faced the difficult task of trying to govern a young country in which party differences were growing wider and wider.

John Adams as President

From the beginning of the Adams administration, the United States began to drift toward war with France. The French were angry about Jay's Treaty with the British and began seizing American ships in French harbors. Trying to avoid war, Adams sent officials to Paris to negotiate with the revolutionary government.

The XYZ Affair and Trouble With France Once in Paris, the American officials were met by secret agents sent by the French foreign minister. These agents were later identified only as X, Y, and Z. The French agents demanded a bribe of \$250,000 and a loan to the French of \$10 million before the Americans would even be allowed to see the French foreign minister. Although such a request was common practice in European diplomacy, it outraged Americans and became known as the **XYZ affair**.



VIEWING HISTORY John Adams, an outspoken and decisive Federalist President, was driven out of office after only one term when the Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans clashed in the election of 1800. **Synthesizing Information** What were Adams's strengths and weaknesses as President?



INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS

American diplomats refused to pay bribes to the French agents X, Y, and Z. **Analyzing Visual Information** (a) Who are the three men on the left? (b) Why does the man they are talking to have several heads? (c) What is the overall message of the cartoon?

READING CHECK

What was the difference between the Spirit of 1776 and the Spirit of 1787?

Refusing to pay the bribe, the American diplomats quickly returned home. They were met with public cries of patriotism, war, and defiance against the French. The slogan “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute [bribery]” rang out in the United States. Unable to resolve their differences, by 1798, France and the United States were involved in what amounted to an undeclared naval war. Both sides fired on and seized each other’s ships.

The Alien and Sedition Acts The Federalists took advantage of the war crisis and Adams’s popularity to push important new measures through Congress. These measures included an increase in the size of the army, higher taxes to support the army and navy, and the **Alien and Sedition Acts** of 1798.

Under the Alien Act, the President gained the right to imprison or deport citizens of other countries living in the United States. Under the Sedition Act, persons who wrote, published, or said anything “false, scandalous, and malicious” against the American government or its officials could be fined or jailed. In other words, it was against the law to criticize government officials unless you could prove everything you said. The Federalists used the Sedition Act to silence Republican opposition. Under the act, ten Republicans were convicted and many others were put on trial.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions Jefferson, James Madison, and other Republicans believed that the Sedition Act violated the constitutional protection of freedom of speech. Yet the Constitution did not spell out who had the authority to judge whether an act of Congress went beyond the powers stated in the Constitution.

Jefferson and Madison believed that the states should make that judgment. They responded to the Alien and Sedition Acts with the **Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions**. These resolutions, adopted by the legislatures of those two states, argued that the states had the right to judge whether federal laws agreed with the Constitution. If a state decided that a law was unconstitutional, it could declare that law “null and void” within the state.

For the time being, this principle of nullification remained untested. Neither Virginia nor Kentucky tried to enforce the resolutions. Still, their defiance of federal power was clear.

Increasing Tensions Tensions between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans continued to grow during the late 1790s. Members of Congress attacked each other in the House of Representatives. Crowds taunted President Adams, at times forcing him to enter the presidential residence in Philadelphia through the back door.

As the presidential election of 1800 loomed, many people believed that the future of the nation was at stake. Would the nation tilt toward what Jefferson called the Spirit of 1776 and the idea of liberty found in the Declaration of Independence, or would it choose the Spirit of 1787, with an emphasis on order as stated in the Constitution?

Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion Although barred from any participation in the emerging political system, enslaved African Americans embraced the discussion of liberty all around them. In the summer before the election of 1800, an event took place that demonstrated the conflict surrounding the unresolved issue of slavery. A blacksmith named Gabriel Prosser and several other slaves planned a rebellion in the area around Richmond, Virginia. In meetings at night, Prosser encouraged his followers to adopt the ideas about liberty that sparked the American Revolution. The leaders intended to take over Richmond and win their freedom.

Prosser's small-scale rebellion failed before it could get underway. The rebels were caught and tried, and at least 30 of them, including Prosser, were executed. At the trial, one defendant said, "I have adventured my life in endeavoring [trying] to obtain the liberty of my countrymen, and am a willing sacrifice to their cause."

The Election of 1800

With the election of 1800, the nation turned from the Federalist interest in order to the Jeffersonian focus on liberty. In later years, Jefferson said that the election of 1800 was "as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form." This complex and competitive election left its mark in several other areas of American politics as well.

Adams Loses Federalist Support President Adams reached the height of his popularity with the American people for his tough stand against France during the XYZ affair. Adams knew, however, that the undeclared naval war with France needed to stop. In seeking a peaceful resolution with France, Adams angered many Federalists, including Alexander Hamilton. These Federalist hardliners were in favor of a harsher policy toward France, one that included a formal declaration of war.

Rising above Federalist hostility to France, Adams sent a second diplomatic mission to that country in 1799. This mission cooled tensions between the United States and France considerably. Strangely, this triumphant moment for Adams hurt him in the coming election of 1800 for several reasons.

First, he lost a lot of support from the more aggressive Federalists in his party. Second, because the United States had made peace with France, the Jeffersonian Republicans' support for France became less of a rallying point for the Federalists and a non-issue for the Jeffersonians. Third, the highly unpopular Alien and Sedition Acts seemed to be even less justified now that the threat of war had faded. Thus, Adams entered the 1800 election without the support of much of his party and without the momentum he had picked up in 1798.

Adams could not win without Federalist backing. Yet Alexander Hamilton and his supporters rallied support

Fast Forward to Today

Political Parties

Political parties play a leading role in the American political system—a much greater role than the founders of the nation ever intended. The nation's early leaders initially opposed political parties. Yet during Washington's presidency, these same

men actively encouraged their growth.

Today, as in most of our history, two major parties dominate American politics. The modern Democratic Party descended from the Jeffersonian Republicans. It is the oldest continuous political party in the United States. The modern Republican Party formed in the 1850s. From time to time, however, an independent candidate or third party challenges the two-party system.

Many other nations have multiparty systems—with as many as two dozen or more

parties. Some people believe that having more than two parties would allow more views to be represented. With only two strong parties, they say, voters have less of a choice. Other people argue that multiple parties create confusion. They point out that reaching agreement is already difficult in Congress, which is dominated by only two parties.

? Can you think of a time when a third party played a major role in the outcome of a presidential election? What are the benefits and drawbacks of such an influence?



against Adams, urging Federalists to support their vice presidential nominee, Charles Pinckney, instead.

Adams's bid for reelection received another severe blow when the Jeffersonian Republican nominee for Vice President, Aaron Burr, obtained a copy of a privately distributed pamphlet written by Hamilton called "The Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States," in which Hamilton had written:

"I should be deficient in candor were I to conceal the conviction, that he [Adams] does not possess the talents adapted to the Administration of Government, and that there are great and intrinsic [deep-seated] defects in his character which unfit him for the office of Chief Magistrate."

—Alexander Hamilton, 1800

Without Hamilton's approval, Burr printed excerpts such as this in Republican newspapers during the campaign. Hamilton's plotting and the lack of unity within the Federalist Party would be major reasons for Adams's defeat in the upcoming election.

In a way, John Adams's defeat was an unfair judgment of his abilities. Some historians believe that Adams was more devoted to public service and more honest than most Presidents. Like most decisive Presidents, however, Adams failed to quiet his critics and angered many of his supporters.

The Jeffersonian Republicans The Jeffersonians had reached a low point in the 1798 midterm congressional elections. Their support for France had damaged their popularity during the naval war and the XYZ affair.

NOTABLE PRESIDENTS

Thomas Jefferson



3rd President
1801–1809

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

—Declaration of Independence

Thomas Jefferson had impressive qualifications for the presidency. The Virginia-born planter and lawyer had not only drafted the Declaration of Independence but had served as ambassador to France, Secretary of State, and Vice President. Jefferson promised a more democratic government, one that would leave most decisions in the hands of the people.

During his first term (1801–1805), Jefferson had considerable success. He trimmed the federal government's size and cost and acted as President in a simple, democratic manner. In addition, his approval of the purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 considerably increased the country's size.

Jefferson's second term (1805–1809), though, was far less successful than his first. His Embargo Act of 1807, which halted trade with European nations until they promised to stop harassing American ships on

the high seas, was a disaster.

Jefferson died on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Today, Jefferson remains a puzzle for historians, for the author of some of the most eloquent words ever written about human freedom was himself an owner of slaves.

Connecting to Today

Do you think the famous phrase from the Declaration of Independence, "all men are created equal," affects political issues today? Use examples from the news to support your answer.



Take It to the NET Biography More information about this President is provided at the following Web site: www.phschool.com

However, they were able to use the conflicts within the Federalist Party to their advantage.

By 1800, Thomas Jefferson was the clear leader of those who preferred local to national government. Jefferson and his followers believed it was better to risk too much liberty than suffer from too much government. Jefferson always denied that he was a politician. He never saw himself as working to build a permanent political party. Nevertheless, that is exactly what he did.

The Campaign In 1800, there were no campaign speeches and no statements from the candidates. Candidates were expected to remain behind the scenes, preparing for the term of service they hoped to win. The campaigns for the candidates were instead conducted through newspapers, pamphlets, and other sources.

This did not mean, however, that the personal attacks and negative campaigning found in elections today did not exist two centuries ago. The election of 1800 was a truly nasty campaign. Jeffersonian newspapers accused Adams of being a monarchist, which was a terrible insult at the time. The Jeffersonians appealed to “the common man” and portrayed Adams as an enemy of the people. They linked Adams with the hard-line Federalists who had pushed for the Alien and Sedition Acts. In so doing, they also attempted to separate him in the public’s mind from George Washington, who remained the nation’s greatest hero.

Federalists, on the other hand, asserted that Jefferson was a godless man who would lead the United States into chaos. They claimed that he was an agent of the French Revolution and feared that the United States would become weak and disorganized under his leadership. Most American voters, however, did not share these fears.

Jefferson’s Victory Jefferson won the popular vote in December 1800 but did not win a majority in the electoral college. His main rival there was not Adams but his own vice presidential running mate, Aaron Burr. Jefferson and Burr each received 73 electoral votes. Adams had won 65, and his running mate Pinckney won 64.

Under Article II of the Constitution, if two candidates tied for the same number of electoral votes, the House of Representatives had to choose the new President. Each delegation from the 16 states would get one vote. Though Jeffersonians had won most of the seats in the congressional elections of 1800, these new members had not yet entered office. Thus the vote for President would be taken by the old House, which the Federalists controlled.

Even before the voting began in the House on February 11, 1801, it was clear that no candidate could gain a majority immediately. The Republicans knew they could count on the votes from eight states, which meant that the Federalists would also have eight states. Some Federalists tried to gain votes for Burr, whom they viewed as less of a threat than Jefferson. However, Jefferson received support from an unlikely source—Alexander Hamilton, who preferred Jefferson over Burr. For several days the House remained deadlocked, unable to choose a President. Finally, on February 17, only a few days before the end of Adams’s term, the House of Representatives elected Jefferson the third President of the United States on the thirty-sixth ballot.

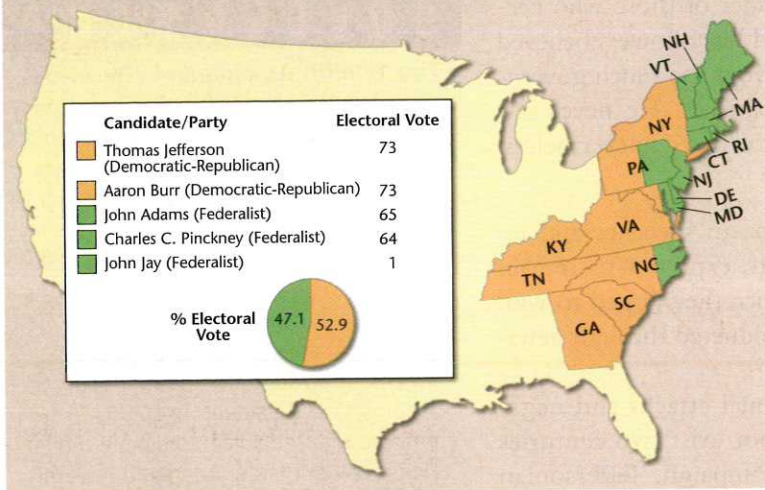
Focus on GOVERNMENT

The Twelfth Amendment The elections of 1796 and 1800 demonstrated that there was an unexpected problem with the existing constitutional process for electing a President. According to Article II of the Constitution, which outlined election procedures, electors did not have to specify whether their vote was for President or Vice President. The candidate with the most votes became President and the runner-up became Vice President. In 1796, Jefferson, a Republican, became the Vice President under Adams, a Federalist. Clearly, this would be a difficult situation. Four years later, the controversy surrounding the election of 1800 would be enough for lawmakers to take a second look at the Constitution.

The goal of the Twelfth Amendment, which went into effect just before the 1804 election, was to avoid these problems in the future. The most major change instituted by the Twelfth Amendment thus required electors to cast separate votes for President and Vice President.

One reason why the framers of the Constitution did not foresee these issues had to do with the unexpected development of political parties. Without political parties, it made sense for the candidate with the most votes to become President and the runner-up to become Vice President. In a political party system, however, each party selects its own presidential and vice presidential candidates. Today, voters vote for electors who are morally bound to choose the candidates of their particular party.

Presidential Election of 1800



MAP SKILLS The political divisions within the country were made clear by the election of 1800. **Place** How does this map show the regional differences in the nation in 1800?

the Jeffersonian Republicans take over. Whether they stood for individual liberty or a strong, central government, Americans had proved that they could transfer power from one party to another—and do it peacefully.

Jefferson recognized the significance of this peaceful transfer of power. He also understood that his administration would not succeed, nor the nation survive, unless Americans were able to disagree peacefully. As he stated in his First Inaugural Address:

KEY DOCUMENTS

“Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans—we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.”

—Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, 1801

Section

2

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

- How did the **XYZ affair** help lead to the **Alien and Sedition Acts**?
- Explain how the **Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions** reflected the Jeffersonian philosophy of government.
- What was the significance of Gabriel Prosser's rebellion?
- What factors led to Jefferson's victory in the election of 1800?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

- Recognizing Ideologies** How did the Sedition Act reflect the Federalists' position in the controversy between those who favored liberty and those who favored order?
- Writing an Outline** Write an outline for a response to the following essay question: "What did Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans fear most about each other's ideas before the election of 1800?"



Take It to the NET

Activity: Writing a Newspaper Article Use the Internet to learn more about one of the events mentioned in this section. Then, write a newspaper article on that event in the style of the time. Be sure not to mention any modern conveniences. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com

The Jefferson Administration

READING FOCUS

- How did Jefferson reduce the power of the national government?
- What problem did Jefferson have with the federal courts?
- How did Jefferson achieve his program in the West?
- Why did Jefferson easily win reelection in 1804?
- How did Jefferson respond to increasing tensions with Europe?

MAIN IDEA

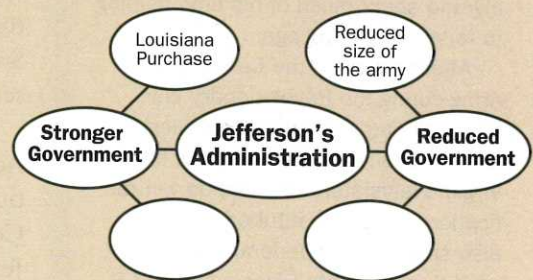
President Jefferson sought to reduce the power of the federal government, but he also demonstrated the government's power when he bought new lands and restricted foreign trade.

KEY TERMS

agenda
bureaucracy
midnight judge
Marbury v. Madison
judicial review
Louisiana Purchase
Lewis and Clark expedition
embargo

TAKING NOTES

Copy the web diagram below. As you read, fill in each circle with important facts about Jefferson's administration. You may add more circles as needed.



Setting the Scene Thomas Jefferson entered office with a straightforward **agenda**, or list of things that he wanted to accomplish. His goal was to reduce the influence of the national government in the lives of the American people. Jefferson called the sum of a good government:

“ a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.”

—Thomas Jefferson, 1801

Reducing Government

To accomplish his goals, Jefferson reversed much of what the Federalists had done, starting with matters of presidential style. He refused to deliver speeches to Congress, claiming that to do so would seem too much like the act of a king. He also resolved a question that had troubled Congress for many years—what to call the President. Jefferson asked to be addressed simply as “Mr. President.”

Of course, Jefferson's effect on government went beyond style. Together with Congress, he reduced the amount of taxes paid by the American people and severely cut the size of the federal **bureaucracy**—the departments and workers that make up the federal government. The Attorney General, for instance, was not even allowed a clerk. Jefferson also slashed the size of the army to just over 3,000 men. Jefferson's goal was to limit the national government's presence in people's lives.

Jefferson, however, did not intend to destroy the government created by the Constitution, or even to undo all the acts of the Federalists. For example, he



Jefferson's informal presidential style extended to his clothing, which was casual by the standards of the day.

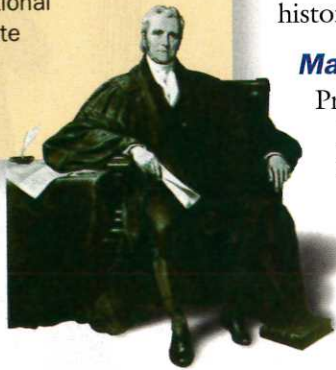
American BIOGRAPHY

John Marshall
1755–1835

Born in a log cabin near Germantown, Virginia, John Marshall grew up on the family farm. He had little formal schooling and spent much of his time helping to raise his 14 siblings.

After serving in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War, Marshall studied law at the College of William and Mary. He served in the Virginia legislature and helped win ratification of the Constitution. Marshall also served in the federal government as U.S. minister to France, in the U.S. House of Representatives, and as Secretary of State before his appointment to the Supreme Court.

In his 34 years as Chief Justice, John Marshall helped establish a strong judiciary. In addition to *Marbury v. Madison*, Marshall's landmark cases included the following: *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), in which the Court declared a state law unconstitutional for the first time; *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), which established the superiority of federal power over state power; and *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), in which Marshall's opinion defined national power over interstate commerce.



let the Bank of the United States continue to function, knowing that its 20-year term would run out in 1811.

Jefferson and the Courts

The most controversial part of Jefferson's first term was his relationship with the judicial branch, particularly the Supreme Court. The Constitution had not fully explained either the organization or the role of this branch of government.

The Judiciary Acts With the Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress had filled in the missing details. The act created a national court system with three circuit courts and thirteen district courts, all headed by the Supreme Court. The act also stated that the Supreme Court would settle differences between state and federal laws.

Not long before Jefferson took office, Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801. This act decreased the number of Supreme Court justices and increased the number of federal judges. Outgoing members of Congress, in cooperation with President Adams, were trying to limit Jefferson's opportunity to appoint judges to the Supreme Court. They were also working to leave behind a powerful group of Federalist judges who would hold their jobs for life. Adams quickly filled the new judicial posts just before leaving office. These last-minute appointments, known as the **midnight judges**, angered Jefferson, who believed that he had the right to appoint judges from his own party.

One of Adams's judicial appointments was John Marshall, a long-time Federalist leader and cousin of Thomas Jefferson. At the time of his appointment, Marshall was serving as Secretary of State. Marshall was sworn in as Chief Justice (the leading judge of the Supreme Court) on February 4, 1801. He held that post for 34 years, until his death in 1835. While on the Supreme Court, Marshall helped establish many important principles of constitutional law. Marshall also helped build the prestige and authority of the Supreme Court in such cases as the historic *Marbury v. Madison* (1803).

Marbury v. Madison The case of *Marbury v. Madison* arose when President Jefferson tried to deny the appointments of Federalist judges.

Just before he left office, President Adams had appointed William Marbury as justice of the peace for the District of Columbia. Yet Secretary of State James Madison, under orders from President Jefferson, never delivered the official papers giving Marbury his authority. Marbury sued Madison, demanding that the Supreme Court order the Secretary of State to let him take his office. According to the Judiciary Act of 1789, the Court had the power to give such an order.

Judicial Review Chief Justice John Marshall ruled against Marbury, declaring that it was against the Constitution for the Supreme Court to give this order to the executive branch. In other words, Marshall declared part of the Judiciary Act of 1789 unconstitutional—the first time a federal court had been so bold.

The Court's ruling was a victory for the Jefferson administration. Yet in a much larger sense it was a victory for the Supreme Court, for the case established the power of **judicial review**. The power of judicial review enables courts to decide whether laws passed by Congress are constitutional. It also

READING CHECK

How did *Marbury v. Madison* establish the power of judicial review?

allows federal courts to review state laws and state court decisions to determine if they are in keeping with the federal Constitution. In this way, the Court plays an important role in preserving the federal union. Marshall, a Federalist, wanted to establish the supremacy of the national government over the states.

Judicial review is not clearly stated anywhere in the Constitution. Yet thanks in part to *Marbury v. Madison*, it remains a vital power of the judicial branch today.

Jefferson's Program in the West

As a strict constructionist, Jefferson opposed the development of a strong central government. In issues concerning American expansion west of the Appalachians, however, Jefferson and his supporters used the power and money of the national government as boldly as the Federalists had ever dared.

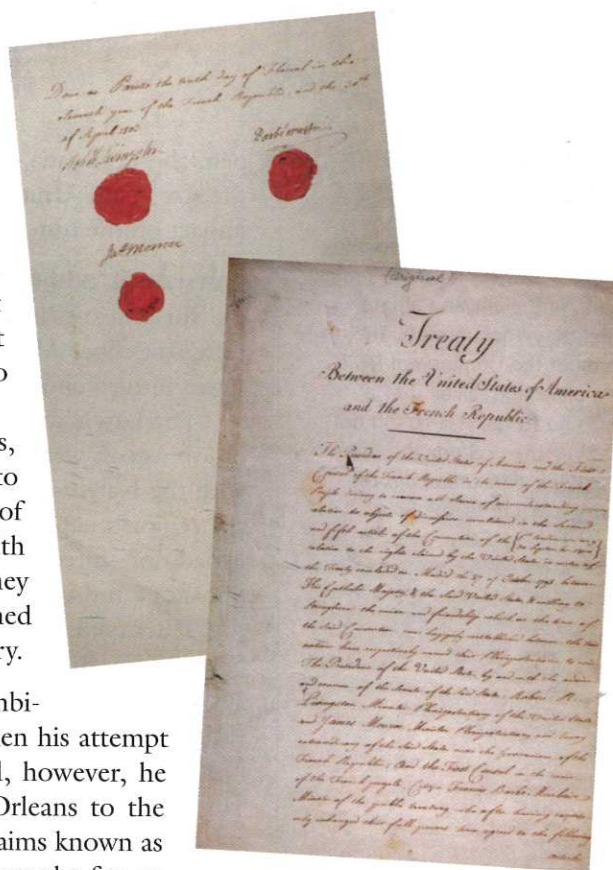
The Land Act of 1800 The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had established a process by which territories, as lands in the West were called, could become states. The Jeffersonians encouraged the development of the frontier—which now extended only as far west as the Mississippi River—through a new federal land policy. Under the Land Act of 1800, adopted before Jefferson became President, Americans were able to buy land in small parcels and on credit. Federal land offices appeared across the West, making the transfer of land easier from the government to private citizens.

Napoleon and the French American farmers in the West depended on the Mississippi River to transport their crops to foreign markets. When the French ruler Napoleon took over much of the Spanish land in the West, he gained control of the mouth of the Mississippi at New Orleans. The French used this control to extract large sums of money from American traders who had no choice but to travel the Mississippi.

Fearing this French control and Napoleon's ambitions, Jefferson appointed James Monroe envoy extraordinary to France and sent him to Paris in 1803 to buy the city of New Orleans. Congress instructed Monroe, along with Robert Livingston, the American minister in Paris, that they could pay up to \$10 million for the land. What happened next was one of the most fateful events in American history.

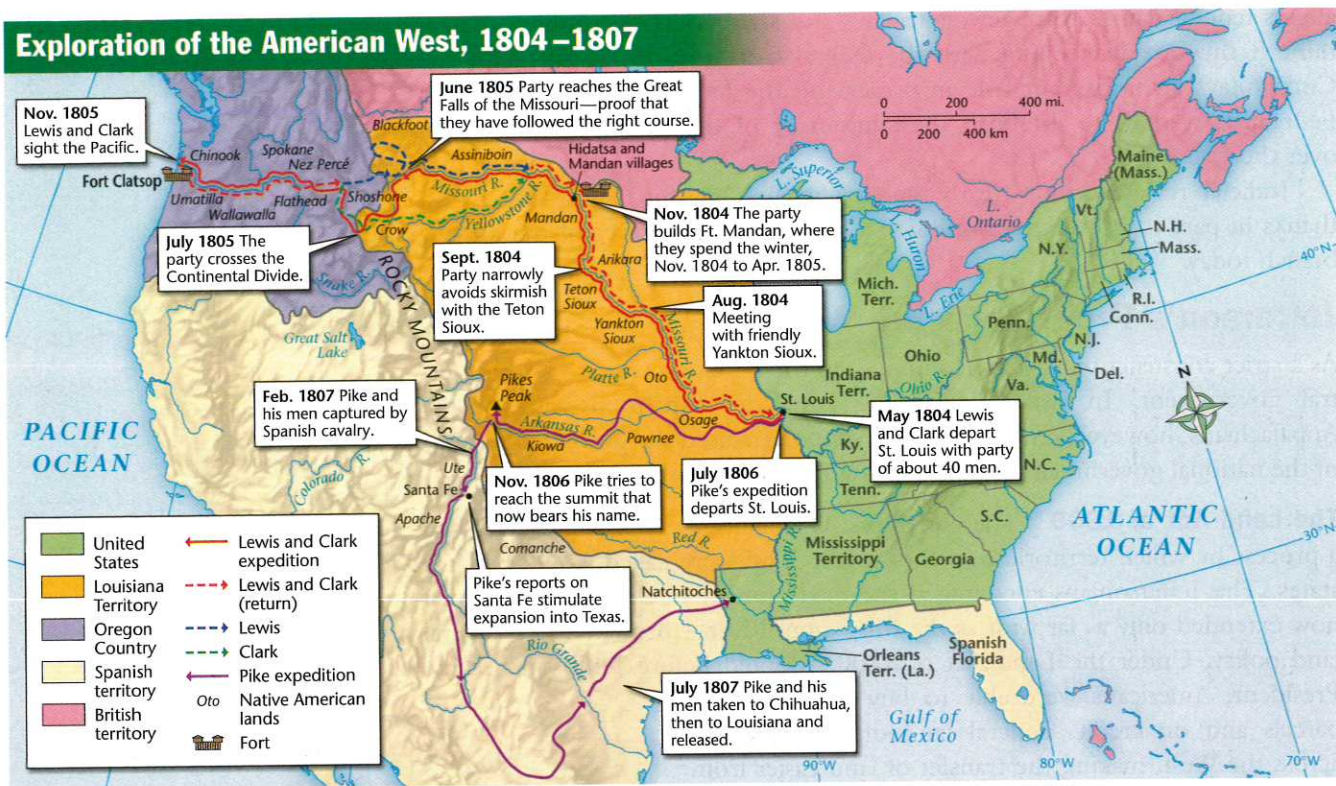
The Louisiana Purchase Napoleon did in fact have ambitions to create a new French Empire in the Americas. When his attempt to crush a rebellion on the French island of Haiti failed, however, he quickly changed his mind. Rather than sell only New Orleans to the United States, Napoleon wanted to sell all of the French claims known as Louisiana. Not daring to ask him to wait for weeks or months for an answer, Monroe and Livingston offered Napoleon \$15 million for the **Louisiana Purchase**. They desperately hoped that Congress and the President would support their decision.

When Jefferson heard of the agreement with the French, he was troubled. The Constitution did not mention the purchase of foreign lands. He was also wary of spending large amounts of public money. Jefferson overcame his doubts, however, and urged Congress to approve the sale. With the stroke of a



VIEWING HISTORY Above are pages from the official treaty of the Louisiana Purchase. **Identifying Central Issues** (a) Why did Jefferson want to buy New Orleans from Napoleon? (b) How did the United States end up acquiring much more than New Orleans?

Exploration of the American West, 1804–1807



MAP SKILLS In their two-year expedition, Lewis and Clark explored thousands of miles and collected information on the lands, peoples, and plant and animal species they encountered. Their crossing of the Continental Divide proved once and for all that a water route to the Pacific did not exist. **Movement** Study the map above. What difficulties did the exploring parties face?

pen, the Louisiana Purchase dramatically increased both the national debt and the size of the United States. The Louisiana Purchase was to have an enormous impact on the history of the United States.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition Congress agreed to finance Jefferson's call for an expedition to explore the area included in the Louisiana Purchase. Jefferson chose Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, to lead the expedition. Lewis in turn chose William Clark as his companion officer.

The **Lewis and Clark expedition** began in the spring of 1804. The expedition's goals were to search for river routes to the western ocean, make contact with the Native Americans living in the territory, and gather information about the region's natural resources. To help in this task, a year after setting out, the expedition hired a French-Canadian fur trapper and his wife Sacajawea, a Shoshone Indian, as interpreters.

The expedition reached the Pacific Ocean late in 1805 and returned east by September 1806. The journey, which had lasted two years and four months, succeeded in filling in many of the details of the vast lands to the west. Additional information about the West was gathered by Zebulon Pike, who traveled as far west as the Rockies and then south into Spanish-held territory between 1806 and 1807.

The Election of 1804

Jefferson's policies made him an extremely popular President during his first term. He succeeded in lowering taxes, acquiring vast new territory in the West, and allowing the unpopular Alien and Sedition Acts to expire. In addition to these domestic successes, he kept the nation at peace.

The Federalist Dilemma What had happened to the bitter rivalry between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans? The Federalists remained a strong

force in national politics. However, the Louisiana Purchase, which they fiercely opposed, struck a great blow to their base of popular support. As the nation expanded into the new lands in the South and the West, the population of farmers, who tended to support the Jeffersonians, began to grow. The only real support for the Federalists came from the industrial centers of the Northeast. Even there, many people were happy with Jefferson's presidency. Jefferson, after all, had not dissolved the government or led the nation to ruin and tyranny, as some Federalists had feared.

Hamilton and Burr Meanwhile, Jefferson and his Vice President, Aaron Burr, had not worked very closely during Jefferson's first term. In fact, Burr, who had the support of the Federalists when the 1800 election was thrown to the House, decided to seek the governorship of New York in 1804. This time, Burr ran as a Federalist and not as a Jeffersonian Republican.

Alexander Hamilton, still a leading Federalist and patriot, strongly opposed Burr's bid for the governorship. Hamilton viewed Burr as an unprincipled man, concerned only with "interest and ambition." Determined to prevent Burr from the governorship, Hamilton urged his friends and followers in New York not to throw their support to Burr. Hamilton's efforts were successful. Burr did not even receive the Federalist nomination for governor of New York.

Burr was furious with Hamilton, for this was not the first time Hamilton had prevented Burr from scoring a political victory. In the 1800 election, Hamilton had urged Federalists to support Jefferson over Burr when the two candidates were tied in the electoral college. This time, Burr believed, Hamilton had gone too far. In the summer of 1804, Burr wrote to Hamilton and challenged him to a duel. Hamilton opposed duels, but he accepted the challenge so that he could prove his courage to a nation he might one day have to lead.

The two met on the morning of July 11, 1804, in northern New Jersey. They each fired a shot, and Hamilton fell, mortally wounded from a bullet below the chest. With one shot, Burr removed the leader of the Federalists and ruined his own political future. Usually, a duelist who had killed an opponent was not charged with murder. But this was not the case with Burr. In order to avoid prosecution, he fled New York, leaving behind his home and possessions. Burr's career following the duel went sharply downhill. He even attempted to invade Mexico and was tried for treason in 1807.

Jefferson Wins a Second Term The enormous success of Jefferson's first term, combined with a weakened Federalist Party, led to a landslide victory for Jefferson in 1804. Capturing all but two states, Jefferson defeated the Federalist candidate Charles Pinckney with 162 electoral votes to Pinckney's 14. Even the electoral votes from Massachusetts, a state dominated by Federalists, went to Jefferson.

Increasing Tensions With Europe

During Jefferson's first term, a brief peace had settled on European nations. When the European wars resumed, so too did troubles between Europe and the United States.

Focus on CULTURE

Dueling in America Dueling was a relatively common part of American culture in the early nineteenth century. The fateful duel between Hamilton and Burr in 1804 was not out of the ordinary. Duels were carefully planned out, provoked, and designed to restore or defend one's honor. After Hamilton

foiled Burr's run for governor of New York in 1804, Burr, whose reputation was essentially ruined, needed a way to restore his honor.

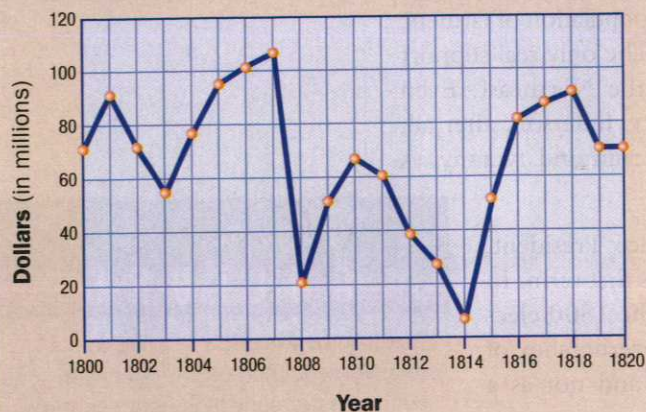
According to the custom, the challenger needed specific evidence that their character had in fact been attacked. Once the evidence was gathered, the challenger

could initiate a duel. Burr came across a newspaper in which it appeared Hamilton had attacked Burr's character. He quickly wrote a letter to Hamilton asking him to either deny or accept responsibility for these comments.

Upon receiving the letter, Hamilton recognized immediately that Burr was looking for a duel. Not wanting to risk public ridicule and even the end of his political career, Hamilton did not back away from the challenge. Several letters passed between the two before the official duel was challenged, accepted, and arranged. Above, Hamilton's grave stands outside Trinity Church in New York City.



United States Exports, 1800–1820



SOURCE: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

INTERPRETING GRAPHS

The Embargo of 1807 sharply cut U.S. export trade. **Analyzing Information** (a) What was the level of trade before the embargo? (b) After the embargo? (c) Did export trade return to its pre-embargo high during the period covered by the graph?

weapon against the British and French. At his insistence, Congress passed the Embargo Act of 1807, which outlawed almost all trade with foreign countries. An **embargo** is a restriction on trade. Britain's trade, however, had grown too strong to be severely injured by the embargo. The French, too, were largely unaffected.

Many Americans, on the other hand, hated the embargo—particularly New Englanders who made their living through trade. They now smuggled goods to Great Britain and other countries in defiance of the President and Congress. With the authority of the national government at stake, Jefferson had no alternative but to use his small navy and federal agents to enforce the law.

The embargo ruined Jefferson's second term. Many Americans despised the direct interference of the national government in the economy. Federalists exploited this anger, and the party enjoyed a revival. At the end of his second term, Jefferson retired to his home at Monticello, with his popularity shaken. Despite this loss of support for Jefferson and a Federalist revival, voters elected Jeffersonian Republican candidate James Madison President in 1808.

The Chesapeake Jay's Treaty, under which the United States had remained at peace with Great Britain, expired in 1805. By then, Europeans were back at war with each other. French warships began harassing American ships trading with Britain, and British ships interfered with American ships trading with France. The British also kidnapped American sailors to serve in their navy. In 1807, a British ship, the *Leopard*, attacked the USS *Chesapeake*, inflicted 21 casualties, and boarded it to search for deserters from His Majesty's navy.

The Embargo of 1807 Like other Americans, Jefferson was outraged by these acts and believed that they should not go unpunished. Yet he rejected the use of force, in part because of the small size of the American navy. Instead, Jefferson chose an economic

Section

3

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. What changes did Jefferson try to make in the relationship between government and the people?
2. Explain how **judicial review** shaped the role of the federal courts.
3. What effects did the **Louisiana Purchase** have on (a) national politics and (b) the national economy?
4. Why did Jefferson's foreign policy cause him to lose popularity in the United States?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

5. **Analyzing Information** Explain the position Jeffersonian Republicans would be likely to take on the principle of judicial review.
6. **Making Comparisons** How was the enforcement of the Embargo Act of 1807 like the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794?
7. **Writing to Persuade** Write a letter to Thomas Jefferson from a Northeast merchant explaining why the Embargo Act should be lifted.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Virtual Field Trip Visit an online museum that focuses on the Lewis and Clark expedition. Write a brief essay describing an artifact or section of the trail that you were able to see. Be sure to describe the artifact or site in detail. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com



Creating an Oral or Visual Presentation

How can you make a historical event come alive for an audience? One way is to synthesize several kinds of sources to create an oral or visual presentation. Suppose your topic is the burning of Washington, D.C., by the British in 1814. Although there are no photographs or recordings of the event, you can show maps, diagrams, paintings, and drawings, or you can read aloud from primary sources such as newspaper accounts, letters, and journals. The author of Source A below was a captain in a British regiment that burned the White House. Source B was written in the White House by the First Lady.

LEARN THE SKILL

Use the following steps to create an oral or visual presentation:

- 1. Explore a variety of sources.** Use a reliable secondary source for general information. Consider the topic: Are there likely to be letters or diaries? What visual depictions might be useful?
- 2. Select and evaluate your sources.** Knowing the background of a writer or the source of a map helps you evaluate the information. For balance, try to select sources representing different points of view. Also vary the types of sources.
- 3. Draw conclusions.** Determine the main points of each source. Combine different pieces of information to present and support your conclusions.
- 4. Give life to your presentation.** Read excerpts from primary sources aloud as though you were the historical person who wrote them, show a variety of illustrations depicting the event, or combine oral and visual presentations for a more dramatic effect.

PRACTICE THE SKILL

Answer the following questions:

- 1. (a)** Are Sources A and B primary or secondary sources? **(b)** How can you tell? **(c)** Taken together, do your sources represent one side of the War of 1812, or both sides?
- 2. (a)** What information do you get from Source A that you would not get from the American side? **(b)** Do you think that this information is reliable? Explain. **(c)** What information do you get from Source B that you could not get from a newspaper account? **(d)** Evaluate Dolley Madison's reaction to the event.
- 3. (a)** What is the main point of each excerpt? **(b)** Use what you already know and these sources to draw one or more conclusions about this event.
- 4. (a)** What parts of each excerpt might make a good dramatic reading? **(b)** How might you use visuals in your presentation?

APPLY THE SKILL

See the Chapter Review and Assessment for another opportunity to apply this skill.

A

"[W]e entered Washington for the barbarous purpose of destroying the city. Admiral Cockburn would have burnt the whole, but [General] Ross would only consent to the burning of the public buildings. I had no objection to burn arsenals, dockyards . . . etc., but well do I recollect that . . . we were horrified at the order to burn the elegant Houses of Parliament [the Capitol] and the President's house. . . . I shall never forget the destructive majesty of the flames as the torches were applied to beds, curtains, etc."

—Harry Smith, *Various Anecdotes and Events of My Life*, 1846 (published 1901)

B

*"Dear Sister—
My husband left me yesterday morning to join General Winder. . . .
Three o'clock.—Will you believe it, my sister? We have had a battle, or skirmish, near Bladensburg, and here I am still, within sound of the cannon! Mr. Madison comes not. May God protect us! . . . Our kind friend, Mr. Carroll, has come to hasten my departure, and in a very bad humor [mood] with me, because I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall. This process was found too tedious for these perilous moments; I have ordered the frame to be broken, and the canvas taken out. It is done! and the precious portrait placed in the hands of two gentlemen from New York, for safe keeping. And now, dear sister, I must leave this house, or the retreating army will make me a prisoner in it. . . . When I shall again write to you, or where I shall be tomorrow, I cannot tell!"*

—Dolley Madison, August 23–24, 1814

Native American Resistance

READING FOCUS

- What led to war between the United States and Native Americans in the Old Northwest?
- In what different ways did Native American leaders react to United States expansion?

MAIN IDEA

As the United States continued to expand onto Native American lands, Indians responded in various ways, ranging from acceptance to war.

KEY TERMS

Battle of Fallen Timbers
Treaty of Greenville
reservation
assimilation
Battle of Tippecanoe

TAKING NOTES

Copy the chart below. As you read, fill in information about the views of the Native American leaders listed.

Native American Views	
Leader	Strategy for Dealing With U.S. Expansion
Little Turtle	Accepted white culture; lived peacefully with white settlers; adopted some of their ways
Handsome Lake	
Tenskwatawa	
Tecumseh	

Setting the Scene Before the American colonies gained independence from Britain, relations between Native Americans and colonists often had been marked by violence. If anything, the creation of the United States had worsened the situation, as large numbers of European settlers had then moved westward onto Indian lands. A Shawnee chief declared:



“The being within, communing [communicating] with past ages, tells me that once, nor until lately, there was no white man on this continent; that it then all belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit that made them, to keep it, to traverse [travel across] it, to enjoy its productions, and to fill it with the same race, once a happy race, since made miserable by the white people who are never contented but always encroaching [invading].”

—Tecumseh, 1810

War in the Old Northwest

The American Revolution had broken the power of the Iroquois nations in the North and beaten back the Cherokee in the South. In the early 1790s, however, the Miami, Delaware, Shawnee, and other Native American groups came together to fight American expansion. Assisted by the British in Canada and led by warriors such as Little Turtle and Blue Jacket, they defeated a United States army at Miamitown (present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana) in 1790. Then they defeated an expedition commanded by Northwest Territory Governor Arthur St. Clair, inflicting one of the biggest defeats ever suffered by a United States army in Indian warfare.

The British soon deserted the Native Americans, however. To add to their woes, Native Americans now faced a new national army known as the Legion of the United States. Realizing the skills and tools of this army, Little Turtle tried to persuade the other chiefs to seek a peace settlement rather than face military defeat.

VIEWING HISTORY William Henry Harrison reported that Tecumseh (above with a British general) wished to “form a combination of all the Indian Tribes . . . to put a stop to the encroachments of the white people.” **Expressing Problems Clearly** What difficulties did Tecumseh face in trying to unite Native American nations?



VIEWING HISTORY Miami Indians meet with U.S. soldiers at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.

Recognizing Cause and Effect

(a) What led to the Treaty of Greenville? (b) What effect did the treaty have on Native Americans?

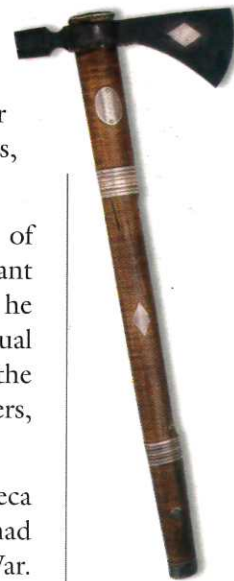
The chiefs chose not to listen to Little Turtle's advice. In 1794, General "Mad Anthony" Wayne led the Legion to victory over the Native Americans at the **Battle of Fallen Timbers** in present-day northwestern Ohio. As a result of this battle, the Miami, Delaware, Shawnee, and other Native Americans were forced, in 1795, to accept the **Treaty of Greenville**, in which they relinquished the southern two thirds of Ohio. The treaty also forced them to accept that the Ohio River was no longer a permanent boundary between their lands and those of the white settlers. From New York to Indiana to Mississippi, Native Americans ended the 1700s in a greatly weakened condition.

Native American Reactions

In the early 1800s, several Native American leaders proposed different ways to deal with the United States. The options they suggested included four broad strategies: accepting white culture, blending Indian and white cultures, returning to Indian religious traditions, and taking military action.

Accepting White Culture Some Native Americans followed the path of Little Turtle, a leader of the Miami people. Though Little Turtle was a brilliant military leader who had engineered the great victories of the early 1790s, he later made peace with white settlers and lived in northern Indiana on annual payments from the government. Over time, Little Turtle adopted some of the settlers' customs. After devoting much of his life to fighting the white settlers, Little Turtle tried to live peacefully with them.

Blending Indian and White Cultures In western New York, a Seneca named Handsome Lake followed a different course. Handsome Lake had fought with the British against the Americans during the Revolutionary War. Later, he had been forced to live on a **reservation**, an area that the federal government set aside for Native Americans who had lost their homelands. In 1799, Handsome Lake called for a rebirth of Seneca culture that would blend Native American customs with those of the white Americans.



In 1807, Tecumseh presented this pipe tomahawk to Thomas Worthington, then senator and later governor of Ohio.

Handsome Lake urged Native Americans to abandon war and instead to give more attention to traditional Indian rituals. While holding on to age-old beliefs, Handsome Lake and his followers adopted white American notions about land, agriculture, and family life. While Little Turtle's way was acceptance, Handsome Lake's was acceptance on Native American terms. As he told President Jefferson:

“Our lands are decaying because we do not think on [about] the Great Spirit, but we are now going to renew our Minds and think on the great Being who made us all. . . . Dear Brother, the Lord has confidence in your people as well as ours, provided we can settle all our Business.”

—Handsome Lake



VIEWING HISTORY The Shawnee prophet, Tenskwatawa, called on his followers to return to their ancient ways and obey the Master of Life. He said the Master of Life had told him: “If you Indians will do everything which I have told you, I will overturn the land, so that all the white people will be covered and you alone shall inhabit the land.” **Recognizing Ideologies** According to Tenskwatawa, how did assimilation threaten Native Americans?

READING CHECK

Why did Tecumseh meet with Governor Harrison in 1810?

Returning to Indian Traditions In Indiana, another leader arose among the Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami. Tenskwatawa, also known simply as “the Prophet,” called for a return to traditional Native American ways and a total rejection of European values. He strongly opposed **assimilation**, the process by which people of one culture merge into and become part of another culture.

In 1808, Tenskwatawa established Prophetstown on the Wabash River (near present-day Lafayette, Indiana). There, he offered his followers a sense of dignity and the promise of a stable life together. He also adopted an increasingly warlike attitude toward the United States. In this he was aided by his older brother, Tecumseh.

Taking Military Action Born in 1768, Tecumseh had fought against the United States in the 1780s and 1790s and had earned a reputation as a talented war chief. In 1795, he refused to participate in the talks that led to the Treaty of Greenville.

Tecumseh believed that the Indians' only hope of resisting U.S. expansion was to unite by overcoming local and group differences. He and Tenskwatawa acted on this belief by rallying opposition to the Treaty of Fort Wayne. In this treaty, negotiated in 1809 by Governor William Henry Harrison of the Indiana Territory, Native Americans had given up much of south-central Indiana. Like many treaties with Native Americans, this settlement made use of a legal trick. Because Native Americans held their land in common, they all had to agree before the status of the land could change. United States government officials would first persuade a few individuals to sign away their people's land, and then ignore protests from the rest of the group.

In August 1810, Tecumseh and several dozen warriors met with Governor Harrison to protest such a trick. Tecumseh warned that if the government continued to purchase lands, “it will produce war among the different tribes and at last I do not know what will be the consequence to the white people.” Governor Harrison heeded the warning and moved first. While Tecumseh was in Alabama and Mississippi trying to get the Choctaw and the Creek to join in the resistance, Harrison marched north from Vincennes to Prophetstown with roughly 1,000 militia and soldiers.

Just before sunrise on November 7, 1811, Tenskwatawa sent his warriors to attack Harrison and his men. The **Battle of Tippecanoe** lasted about two hours. Neither side won, but the battle shattered Native American morale and eroded confidence in Tenskwatawa's leadership. Within a few days, Harrison burned an abandoned Prophetstown to the ground.



VIEWING HISTORY Native Americans suffered great losses in the Battle of Tippecanoe.

Drawing Inferences Why was this a turning point for Native American resistance?

Native American military resistance was not over, however. During the War of 1812 between the United States and Britain, Tecumseh rallied warriors to join the British in Canada. (See the next section.) When a British officer began to talk of retreat, Tecumseh responded:

“If you have an idea of going away, give [your weapons] to us, and you may go and welcome. As for us, our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it be his will we wish to leave our bones upon them.”

—Tecumseh

A few weeks later, on October 5, 1813, Tecumseh died in the Battle of the Thames in Ontario, Canada. Although Tecumseh and his brother did not accomplish their objectives, they left a vital legacy of defiance and respect for their people and their culture.

Section

4

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. What were the causes of conflict between the United States and Native Americans in the Old Northwest?
2. How did the **Treaty of Greenville** affect Native Americans?
3. How did Tenskwatawa differ from Handsome Lake on the issue of accepting white American ideas and beliefs?
4. What was the outcome of the **Battle of Tippecanoe**?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

5. **Drawing Conclusions** Which of the Native American ways of dealing with United States expansion do you think was most successful? Explain your answer.
6. **Writing to Inform** Write an outline for an essay about the basic sources of conflict between Native Americans and Americans of European descent.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Writing an Editorial

Review the Treaty of Greenville between Native American tribes and the federal government. Create a newspaper editorial voicing your opinion in favor of or against the stipulations of this historic agreement. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com

The War of 1812

READING FOCUS

- Why did war break out with Britain in 1812?
- How did the war's end affect the United States?
- What events led to the economic panic of 1819?
- What issues led to the Missouri Compromise?

MAIN IDEA

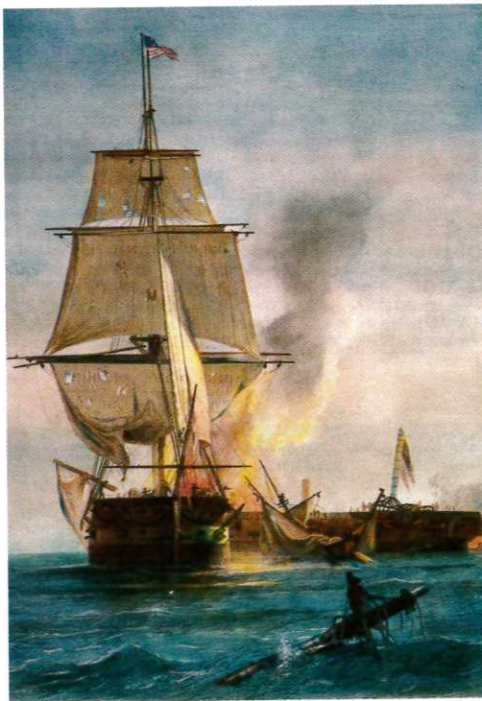
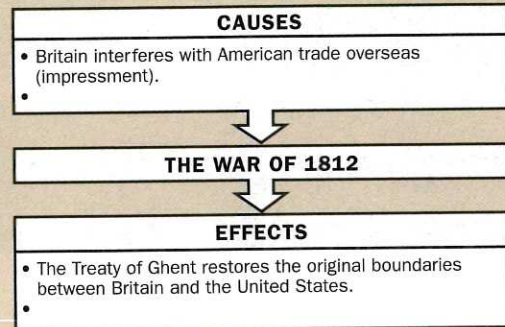
Americans emerged from the War of 1812 with a new sense of national pride, but economic and moral conflicts continued to trouble the country.

KEY TERMS

impressment
 War of 1812
 Treaty of Ghent
 Battle of New Orleans
 depression
 Missouri Compromise

TAKING NOTES

As you read, fill in the diagram below with the causes and effects of the War of 1812.



The USS *Constitution* gained fame during the War of 1812. After an impressive victory against the British ship *Guerrière*, the warship became known as “Old Ironsides” because of its resilience to British shots. The *Constitution* remains to this day the oldest commissioned warship in the world still afloat.

Setting the Scene Following the Battle of Tippecanoe in November 1811, Native Americans increased their attacks against settlers who were moving onto their lands. Most Americans believed that the Indians were being encouraged and armed by the British:

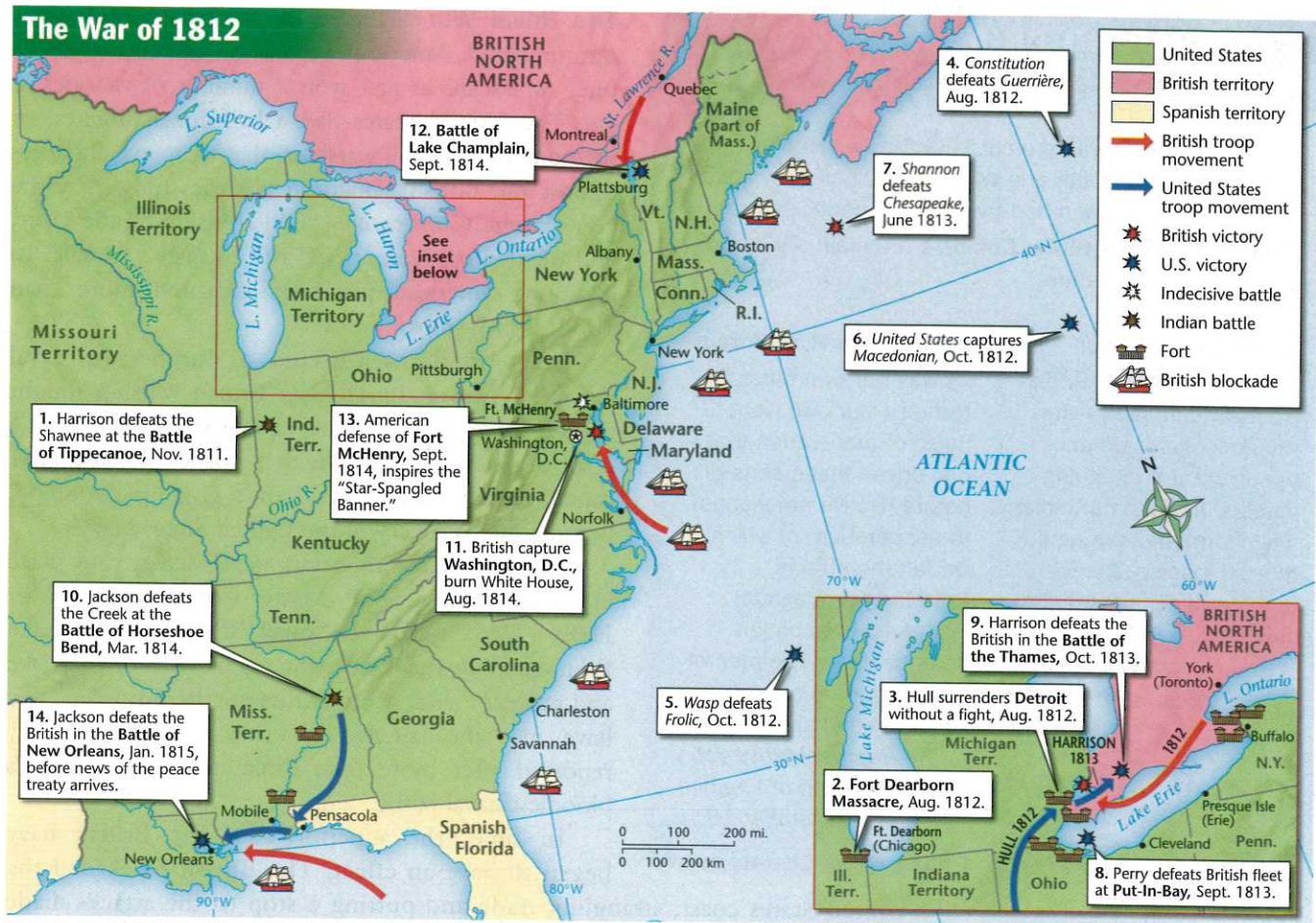
“In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain toward the United States our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the [Native Americans] on one of our extensive frontiers. . . . It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing themselves among tribes in constant [dealings] with British traders and garrisons without connecting their hostility with that influence. . . .”

—James Madison, message to Congress, 1812

War Breaks Out

Among those who blamed the British for the frontier violence were some members of Congress. Congress in 1812 included many new members from the South and West who represented the interests of farmers moving west onto Indian lands. The new members included Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. The leaders of this new group were known as the War Hawks. They favored a war with Britain to push the British out of North America and thereby put a stop to Native American attacks in the West.

Anger Toward Britain In June 1812, President Madison sent a message urging Congress to declare war against the British. Madison argued that the British had not only encouraged the Indians to attack American settlers but had also interfered with United States shipping. For years, the American government had tried without success to stop the British practice of **impressment**. Impressment is the act of forcing people into military service. British ships



regularly stopped American ships at sea and removed men, including American citizens, to serve in the British navy. Congress approved Madison's call for war. The war that followed became known as the **War of 1812**.

In many ways, the declaration of war was a foolish action. The United States had only a small army and navy, and no offers of help from foreign countries. The nation would have to deal not only with the powerful British, but also with Native Americans to the north and south who were angered by western expansion.

The Land War Despite these disadvantages, Americans believed that the United States could strike swiftly and effectively at Britain by invading British-held Canada. To their surprise, American troops—poorly equipped and led—were beaten by the British in the summer of 1812.

The United States did manage *some* victories on land. William Henry Harrison defeated the British and Native Americans, including Tecumseh's forces, at the Battle of the Thames in October 1813. Andrew Jackson, a general who (like Harrison) would later be President, defeated the Creek Indians, who were British allies, at Horseshoe Bend in Alabama in March 1814. Jackson's army of 3,000 men and his superior weapons easily destroyed the Creeks, who tried to defend their land with about 1,000 men. The Americans massacred more than 800 warriors and imprisoned some 500 women and children. On August 9, 1814, the Creeks were forced to sign the Treaty of Fort Jackson by which they ceded 23 million acres of land, which made up most of present-day Alabama and southern Georgia. Victories such as these, however, were not enough to convince a great power like Britain to give up.

MAP SKILLS Although the United States considered the War of 1812 a victory over England, in the end neither side gained nor lost any territory. **Movement** Why was the British naval blockade such a threat?

COMPARING PRIMARY SOURCES

For and Against the War of 1812

The War of 1812 was promoted by the War Hawks, mostly from the South and West, and opposed by leaders from New England and the Middle Atlantic states.

Analyzing Viewpoints Compare the main arguments made by the two writers.

For War With Britain

"We shall drive the British from our continent—they will no longer have an opportunity of intriguing [conspiring] with our Indian neighbors, and setting on the ruthless savage to tomahawk our women and children."

—Representative Felix Grundy of Kentucky, December 1811

Against War With Britain

"It was our own thirst for territory, our own want [lack] of moderation that had driven these sons of nature [Native Americans] to desperation, of which we felt the effects. . . . Go! March to Canada! . . . The coast is to be left defenseless, while men of the interior are reveling in conquest and spoil."

—Representative John Randolph of Virginia, December 1811

The Naval War Despite the fact that British ships outnumbered American vessels by about twenty to one, Americans at first won a number of victories at sea. The United States had a half-dozen frigates, or medium-sized sailing warships, that won several battles against the British. American victories fought by the crews of the *Constitution* ("Old Ironsides"), the *Wasp*, and the *United States* raised the country's morale. In addition, American privateers captured more than 1,000 British ships.

The Americans suffered a number of naval defeats, however. In 1813, a British warship fought and captured the American warship *Chesapeake* off the coast of Massachusetts. The dying order of *Chesapeake* captain James Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," became the battle cry of the United States Navy.

The war's most important naval victory took place in the summer of 1813. Master Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry defeated a small British fleet on Lake Erie, enabling the United States to control that lake and protect a vital stretch of its northern border. "We have met the enemy, and they are ours," Perry reported after more than three hours of the war's bloodiest naval battle.

In time, the superiority of the British navy began to have an effect. The British blockaded the

United States coast, strangling trade and putting a stop to the attacks made by American frigates.

The Burning of Washington, D.C. In 1814, the British ended a difficult and dangerous war they had been fighting against the French emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte, in Europe. They then turned their attention to the war in the United States. Some 14,000 British troops tried to invade the United States from Canada in the late summer of 1814. To the surprise of the British, however, a much smaller American force drove them back across the border.

By contrast, a fleet of British ships that arrived in Chesapeake Bay at about the same time scored a major success. About 4,000 British troops left the ships and descended on Washington, D.C., meeting little serious opposition. On August 24, President James Madison and his wife, Dolley Madison, were warned of the approach of the British and fled. Toward evening, the British entered the capital and started fires that consumed the city. Even the Capitol and the White House were gutted by flames.

From Washington, the British troops moved on toward Baltimore. Lawyer Francis Scott Key witnessed an all-night British bombardment of Fort McHenry, at the entrance to Baltimore harbor. Key wrote the following words as a testimony to the Americans' determination to stand strong against an overwhelming enemy:

British troops burn government buildings as they storm through Washington, D.C., in 1814.



KEY DOCUMENTS

“And the rocket’s red glare,
the bombs bursting in air
Gave proof through the night
that our flag was still there.
O say, does that Star-Spangled Banner yet wave
O’er the land of the free
and the home of the brave?”

—Francis Scott Key, “The Star-Spangled Banner”

The “star-spangled banner” did indeed still wave over the fort. The citizens of Baltimore had been strengthening their defenses, and American forces were able to turn back the enemy.

The War Ends

The British retreat from Baltimore lifted American spirits, but not all Americans felt as patriotic about the War of 1812 as did Francis Scott Key. Critics bitterly called it “Mr. Madison’s War,” while pointing to the harm it had done to the country. The national treasury was empty, the Capitol lay in ruins, and the British blockade had brought trade to a standstill.

The Hartford Convention New Englanders had suffered tremendous losses in trade during the war. In December 1814, they sent delegates to a meeting in Hartford, Connecticut, to consider the possibility of leaving the nation. In the end, however, the Hartford Convention called only for constitutional amendments to increase New England’s political power.

The Treaty of Ghent Meanwhile, both the British and the Americans had recognized that this was a war no one wanted, and one the British realized they could not win. On December 24, 1814, representatives of the two nations met in Belgium and signed the **Treaty of Ghent**, ending the war. The treaty did not resolve the issues for which the United States declared war—the British practice of impressment and respect for the neutral rights of the United States. However, all the old boundaries between the United States and British territory in North America were restored.

Despite the questionable terms of the treaty, many in the United States seemed happy with the treaty and the end of the war. Some Americans called the war the “Second War of Independence,” for now the United States had fully established itself as an independent nation in the eyes of the European powers.

The Battle of New Orleans Although the Treaty of Ghent had officially ended the war, the greatest victory for the United States came two weeks after the treaty was signed. This final twist to a strange war was the result of the slow communication of the times. News of the Treaty of Ghent did not reach the United States until mid-February 1815.

On December 23, 1814, a British force of more than 5,000 men tried to take New Orleans from the south. General Andrew Jackson and 5,000 soldiers and volunteers from all over the Mississippi Valley, including two battalions of free African Americans, defended the city.

On January 8, the overconfident British, fresh from victories over the French in Europe, foolishly threw their troops against the Americans’ well-protected positions. Without cover, the advancing British were easy targets for



Sounds of an Era

Listen to the “Star-Spangled Banner” and other sounds from our nation’s early years.

Focus on ECONOMICS

Wartime Manufacturing When the British blockaded the American coast during the War of 1812, they unintentionally did New England a big favor. Before the war, New England had developed a small manufacturing sector, but it had difficulty competing with imports from Britain, where factories operated on a larger scale with more advanced technologies. New Englanders generally preferred to invest in overseas trade, where they could make a better profit.

The British blockade ruined New England shipping, but it also cut the United States off from British imports. New Englanders rushed to invest in manufacturing. As a result, New England’s manufacturing sector expanded. In addition, because the British blockade meant that British imports could not get into the United States, New England manufacturers were able to capture a growing share of the American market. By the end of the war, New England had developed larger and more advanced textile mills and machine shops that could compete effectively with British producers. Little did the British know that their blockade would help create such a strong economic competitor!



VIEWING HISTORY This exaggerated painting highlights the new hero that the Battle of New Orleans gave to the United States: Andrew Jackson, shown riding a white horse. **Analyzing Visual Information** How does this painting both contribute to and reflect the American reaction to the Battle of New Orleans?

American riflemen. The battle was finished in just over an hour; in fact, most of the shooting took place in about 20 minutes. The British suffered more than 2,000 casualties; the Americans, a little more than 20.

The **Battle of New Orleans** was a remarkable victory for the United States. The battle allowed Americans to end an unhappy war on a powerful, positive note. The battle unified the country, restored patriotism, and made Andrew Jackson a national hero.

Postwar Boom and Panic

In 1815, the United States entered a period of growth and prosperity. Republican James Monroe, the former governor of Virginia, easily won election as the fifth President of the United States in 1816. Monroe and the Republican Party dominated American politics, as the Federalists faded out of existence.

The First Bank of the United States had dissolved in 1811, leaving the country with no central financing for the war. Congress, in an attempt to deal with financial problems resulting from the war, created the Second Bank of the United States in 1816. Encouraged by abundant credit from this bank and others, as well as by federal land laws, Americans began moving westward at an incredible rate. Meanwhile, American ships were busy carrying farm products and other goods to Europe.

Then, in 1819, the United States experienced the first **depression**, or severe economic downturn, in its history. Known as the Panic of 1819, it began across the Atlantic when London banks demanded that banks in the United States pay money owed to them. American banks, in turn, demanded the money that they had loaned to the American public. Many of the Americans who had borrowed too much in the days of easy loans after 1815 were financially ruined.

The Missouri Compromise

The economy would eventually rebound from the depression, but another problem that year posed a far greater long-term danger to the nation. In 1819, Congress began debating the admission of the state of Missouri to the United States. The basic issue at stake was slavery.

The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had established that no state northwest of the Ohio River could be a slave state (that is, a state in which slavery was legal). Because Missouri was not northwest of the Ohio River, however, it was not covered by this definition. Several members of Congress from the North

READING CHECK

Why did some members of Congress from the North object to admitting Missouri as a slave state?

objected to admitting Missouri as a slave state. They were not simply concerned about the liberty of African Americans; they worried that another slave state would increase the power of the southern states in the Senate. At that time, there existed 11 free states and 11 slave states. Representative James Tallmadge of New York attached an amendment to the Missouri statehood bill, calling for a gradual end to slavery in Missouri. The bill passed the House but failed in the Senate.

Southern members of Congress believed that the federal government had no business telling states what they could and could not do. If the federal government could forbid slavery in Missouri, they feared, it could do so elsewhere.

After months of bitter debate, Congress, under the leadership of Henry Clay, reached what is now called the **Missouri Compromise**. It was signed into law in 1820. The Missouri Compromise had two main points: (1) Slavery would not be restricted in Missouri; at the same time, Maine was carved out of what had been northern Massachusetts and admitted to the Union as a free, or nonslave, state. This arrangement kept the balance in the Senate between slave and free states at 12 each. (2) Furthermore, Congress agreed that as the United States expanded westward, territories north of 36° 30' N latitude in the Louisiana Purchase would be closed to slavery, as the map on this page shows.

By the mid-1820s, both the Panic of 1819 and the Missouri controversy had faded from public attention. The economy had recovered and politicians agreed to avoid the difficult issue of slavery. However, the economic and moral questions raised by these events were not going to go away.

To Thomas Jefferson, still a keen observer of the national scene, the Missouri controversy sounded “like a fire bell in the night” and “filled [him] with terror.” Could compromises enable the United States to avoid confronting the issue of slavery indefinitely? As Jefferson had written earlier about the existence of slavery in a democratic republic: “I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever.”

The Missouri Compromise, 1820



MAP SKILLS Under the terms of the Missouri Compromise, Maine was admitted as a free state, Missouri was admitted as a slave state, and slavery was prohibited north of 36° 30' N latitude. **Region** Which would cover more land under the compromise, new free states or new slave states?

Section

5

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

- Whom did the War Hawks represent, and why did they want war against Britain?
- What were the results of the **War of 1812**?
- How did the **Battle of New Orleans** affect Americans' attitudes toward the War of 1812 and their country?
- Why did the United States experience a **depression** in 1819?
- How did the **Missouri Compromise** deal with the issue of slavery?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

- Synthesizing Information** Why did different sections of the country have different attitudes toward the War of 1812?
- Making Comparisons** Compare the strengths and weaknesses of the American military during the War of 1812.
- Writing to Persuade** List reasons you would use in an essay persuading members of Congress to vote for or against war with Britain in 1812.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Writing a Diary Entry
Read firsthand accounts from the War of 1812. How is the conflict described? Based on what you've read, create a diary entry as if you were a citizen during the period. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

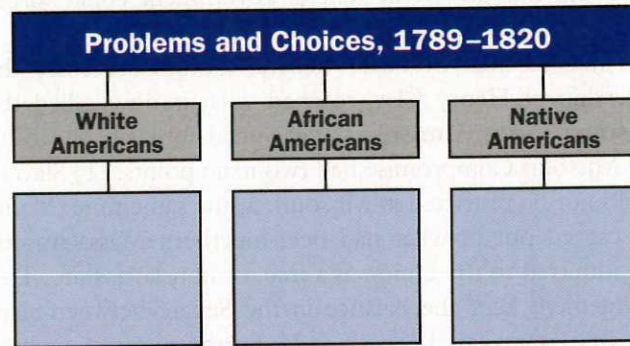
www.phschool.com

creating a CHAPTER SUMMARY

Copy the flowchart (right) on a piece of paper and complete it by adding information about the choices or actions taken by the group identified in each heading.



For additional review and enrichment activities, see the interactive version of *America: Pathways to the Present*, available on the Web and on CD-ROM.



★ Reviewing Key Terms

For each of the terms below, write a sentence explaining how it relates to the period following ratification of the Constitution.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. tariff | 8. judicial review |
| 2. strict construction | 9. Louisiana Purchase |
| 3. Jay's Treaty | 10. embargo |
| 4. political party | 11. Treaty of Greenville |
| 5. XYZ affair | 12. assimilation |
| 6. Alien and Sedition Acts | 13. impressment |
| 7. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions | 14. Treaty of Ghent |
| | 15. Missouri Compromise |

★ Reviewing Main Ideas

- How was Alexander Hamilton able to change the national debt from a weakness to a strength? (Section 1)
- Why was the federal government determined to crush the Whiskey Rebellion? (Section 1)
- Compare the views of Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans in the 1790s. (Sections 1 and 2)
- How did Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion reflect the political ideas of the time? (Section 2)
- Explain why Jefferson called the election of 1800 "as real a revolution in the principles of our government as that of 1776 was in its form." (Section 2)

- Why was the decision to approve the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon a difficult one for Jefferson? (Section 3)
- What was the purpose of the Lewis and Clark expedition? (Section 3)
- What were Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh's beliefs about the path that Native Americans should follow? (Section 4)
- What were the causes of the War of 1812? (Section 5)

★ Critical Thinking

- Identifying Assumptions** Today we expect a peaceful transfer of power when Americans vote to change political parties in a presidential election. Why were people unable to make this assumption in the election of 1800?
- Drawing Conclusions** How did John Marshall help establish the authority of the Supreme Court?
- Drawing Inferences** Why do you think Tecumseh had difficulty uniting Native Americans to resist the expansion of white people onto their lands?
- Predicting Consequences** Thomas Jefferson said that the Missouri Compromise "filled [him] with terror." Why might Jefferson have viewed the compromise with such fear?

★ Skills Assessment

Analyzing Political Cartoons ►

29. During the Embargo of 1807, smuggling increased dramatically. (a) How do you know the man with the barrel is a smuggler?
(b) What is *Ograbme* spelled backwards?
(c) What does the turtle represent?
30. How does *Ograbme* depict the embargo's effect on traders?
31. What is the cartoonist's view of the Embargo of 1807?



Interpreting Data

Look at the graph of United States exports in Section 3.

32. In which year was the value of United States exports the highest?
A 1801
B 1807
C 1810
D 1818
33. Which of the following events explains the drop in trade between 1810 and 1814?
F the Embargo of 1807
G the Missouri Compromise
H the War of 1812
J the Louisiana Purchase
34. Before the embargo, what was the general trend in exports during the Jefferson administration?
A Exports were sharply decreasing.
B Exports generally remained at the same level.
C A general trend cannot be determined from the information given.
D Exports generally increased.

Applying the Chapter Skill:

Creating an Oral or Visual Presentation

35. Review the steps needed to create a presentation. Then, research and prepare an oral presentation about either George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. Use visual aids to add interest to your presentation.

ACTIVITIES

Writing to LEARN

Writing a Letter to the Editor

The election of 1800 is rapidly approaching. Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper explaining why you plan to vote for Thomas Jefferson or John Adams. List reasons why you support your candidate and oppose the other candidate. Note the direction you would like to see the nation take during the next presidential term, and explain why your candidate is the best person to lead the country in that direction.

Primary Source CD-ROM

Working With Primary Sources Find additional information on the origins of American politics on the *Exploring Primary Sources in U.S. History CD-ROM* and use the selection(s) provided to complete the Chapter 6 primary source activity located in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site.

www.phschool.com

Take It to the NET

Chapter Self-Test As a review activity, take the Chapter 6 Self-Test in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area at the Web site listed below. The questions are designed to test your understanding of the chapter content.

www.phschool.com