

# 9

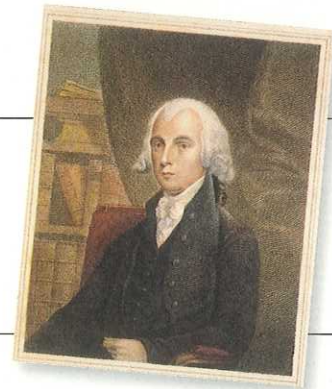


## THE TRIUMPH AND COLLAPSE OF JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLICANISM 1800–1824



**WHAT DID**  
Thomas Jefferson  
achieve as President?

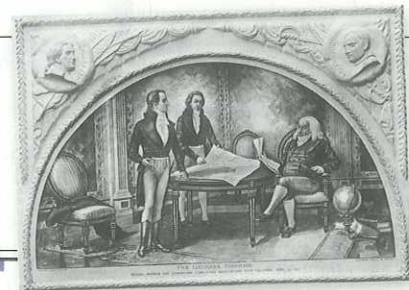
**WHAT CHALLENGES** did  
James Madison face as president?



**WHAT WERE** the consequences  
of the War of 1812?

**HOW DID** nationalism increase  
during the Era of Good Feelings?

**WHAT WAS**  
the Missouri Compromise?







Riversdale,  
30 August 1814

My dear Sister,

Since I started this letter [on Aug. 9] we have been in a state of continual alarm, and now I have time to write only two or three lines to ask you to tell Papa that we are alive, in good health, and I hope safe from danger. I am sure that you have heard the news of the battle of Bladensburg where the English defeated the American troops with Madison 'not at their head, but at their rear.'

From there they went to Washington where they burned the Capitol, the President's House, all the public offices, etc. During the battle I saw several cannonballs with my own eyes, and I will write all the details to your husband. At the moment the English ships are at Alexandria which is also in their possession.

I don't know how all this will end, but I fear very badly for us. It is probable that it will also bring about a dissolution of the union of the states, and in that case, farewell to the public debt. You know I have predicted this outcome for a long time. Wouldn't it be wise to send your husband here without delay, in order to plan with me the best course to pursue for Papa's interests as well as yours?

This letter will go, I think, by a Dutch ship. If I have time with the confusion we are in, I will write again in a few days, perhaps by the same vessel. At present my house is full of people every day and at night my bedroom is full of rifles, pistols, sabers, etc. Many thanks to your husband for the information in his letter of 27 April, and tell him that I invested all his money in the May loan [of the U.S. Treasury]. Please give many greetings to my dear Father and to Charles [her brother]. Embrace your children for me and believe me.

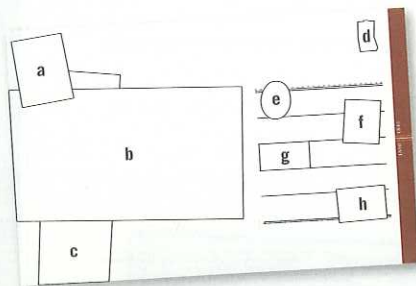
Your affectionate sister,

—Rosalie E. Calvert

Margaret Law Callcott, ed., *Mistress of Riversdale: The Plantation Letters of Rosalie Steir Calvert, 1795–1821* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 271–272.

## IMAGE KEY

for pages 216–217



- a. Thomas Jefferson.
- b. "Burning of the White House" by Leslie Saalburg.
- c. Map of the Great Lakes.
- d. An antique wooden compass with a leather pouch used on the expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.
- e. Portrait of Thomas Jefferson.
- f. Portrait of James Madison.
- g. War of 1812, Battle of Lake Erie.
- h. James Monroe and Robert R. Livingstone completing negotiations with Comte Talleyrand for the Louisiana Purchase.

**ROSALIE CALVERT**, from her plantation home in Maryland, wrote to her sister about the British attack on Washington, D.C. in August 1814, the low point of the American cause in the War of 1812.

The Calverts lived at Riversdale and managed three plantations worked by slave labor. Rosalie's wealth and elite social standing deepened her political conservatism. In her eyes, Jefferson and his followers were demagogues who catered to the poor and threatened to infect America with the political radicalism of the French Revolution. She blamed the War of 1812 on ill-conceived Republican policies and feared that the war would unleash massive unrest within the United States.

Her fears were overblown. The United States weathered the War of 1812 and the Calverts were spared any property damage at their Riversdale estate. Rosalie, however, survived the war by only six years. The strain of having nine children





and suffering one miscarriage in twenty-one years of marriage may have contributed to her death at the age of 43 from congestive heart failure.

Despite her denunciations of the Republicans, Jefferson and his Republican successors, James Madison and James Monroe, promoted the growth and independence of the United States. Expansionist policies to the south and west more than doubled the size of the republic and fueled the westward spread of slavery. The war against Britain from 1812 to 1815, if less than a military triumph, freed Americans to look inward for economic development.

At the height of Republican success during the Era of Good Feelings just after the War of 1812, the Federalist party collapsed. Without an organized opposition to enforce party discipline among themselves, the Republicans followed the Federalists into political oblivion. A financial panic and a battle over slavery in Missouri shattered Republican unity. By the mid-1820s, a new party system was emerging.

## JEFFERSON'S PRESIDENCY

Thomas Jefferson believed that a true revolution had occurred in 1800, a peaceful overthrow of the Federalist party and its hated principles of government consolidation and military force. In his eyes, the defeat of the monarchical Federalists reconfirmed the true political legacy of the Revolution by restoring the Republican majority to its rightful control of the government.

Unlike the Hamiltonian Federalists, whose commercial vision of America accepted social and economic inequalities as inevitable, the Jeffersonians wanted a predominantly agrarian republic based on widespread economic equality for white yeomen families to counter any threat posed by the privileged few to the people's liberties. Jefferson's first administration was a solid success. A unified Republican party reduced the size and scope of the federal government, allowed the Alien and Sedition Acts to lapse, and celebrated the Louisiana Purchase. His second term, however, was a bitter disappointment, marked by the failure of his unpopular embargo on American foreign trade. As a result, Jefferson left his successor, James Madison, a divided party, a temporarily revived Federalism, and an unresolved crisis in foreign affairs.

### REFORM AT HOME

Jefferson set the style and tone of his administration from the beginning. He was the first president to be inaugurated in Washington, D.C., and his inauguration was as unpretentious as the raw and primitive capital city itself. He walked from his lodgings to the Capitol building to be sworn in. His dress was neat but shorn of gentlemanly refinements such as a wig. After giving notice that an unadorned style of republican egalitarianism would now replace the aristocratic formalities of the Federalists, Jefferson emphasized in his inaugural address the overwhelming commitment of Americans to the "republican form" of government and affirmed his own support of civil liberties as an American principle.

A poor public speaker, Jefferson sent written messages to Congress to avoid having to read them in person. This change from Federalist policy both eliminated the impression of a monarch addressing his subjects and played to Jefferson's formidable skills as a writer. He replaced the stiff formalism and aristocratic etiquette of receptions for presidential visitors with more relaxed weekly meetings around a circular table at which fine food and wine were nevertheless served.

The cornerstone of Republican domestic policy was retrenchment, a return to the frugal, simple federal establishment the Jeffersonians believed was the original intent

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WHAT DID Thomas

Jefferson achieve as president?

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WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Monticello,  
Charlottesville, Virginia

[www.monticello.org/](http://www.monticello.org/)





**Dolley Madison**, the engaging young wife of James Madison, Jefferson's secretary of state, served as the unofficial social hostess in the White House during the administration of Jefferson, a widower.

The Granger Collection, New York

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Judiciary Act of 1801

- ◆ Enlarged the judiciary and packed it with Adams' appointees.
- ◆ Repealed by Republican Congress.
- ◆ Conflict came to head in case of *Marbury v. Madison* (1803).

***Marbury v. Madison*** Supreme Court decision of 1803 that created the precedent of judicial review by ruling as unconstitutional part of the Judiciary Act of 1789.

of the Constitution. The Republicans began with fiscal policy. Jefferson's secretary of the treasury was Albert Gallatin, who convinced Jefferson that the Bank of the United States was essential for financial stability and yet succeeded in reducing the national debt from \$83 million in 1800 to \$57 million by 1809. Gallatin's conservative fiscal policies shrank both the spending and taxes of the national government. The Republicans eliminated all internal taxes, including the despised tax on whiskey. Slashes in the military budget enabled government expenditures to stay below the level of 1800. The cuts in military spending combined with soaring revenues from customs collections left Gallatin with a surplus in the budget that he could devote to debt repayment.

Jeffersonian reform targeted the political character, as well as the size, of the national government. He moved to break the Federalist stranglehold on federal offices and appoint officials with sound Republican principles, replacing those deemed guilty of misusing their offices for political gain. By the time Jefferson left the presidency in 1809, Republicans held nearly all the appointive offices.

Jefferson moved most aggressively against the Federalists in the judiciary. Just days before they relinquished power, the Federalists enraged the Jeffersonians by passing the Judiciary Act of 1801, legislation that both enlarged the judiciary and packed it with more Federalists appointed by Adams, the outgoing president.

The Republicans fought back. Now dominant in Congress, they quickly repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801. Frustrated Federalists now turned to John Marshall, a staunch Federalist-appointed chief justice of the United States by President Adams in 1801, in the hope that he would rule that Congress had acted unconstitutionally in removing the recently appointed federal judges. Marshall moved carefully, aware that the Republicans contended that Congress and the president had at least a coequal right with the Supreme Court to decide constitutional questions.

The issue came to a head in the case of *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), which centered on Secretary of State James Madison's refusal to deliver a commission to William Marbury, one of Adam's "midnight appointments." Marshall held that although Marbury had a legal right to his commission, the Court had no jurisdiction in the case. The Court ruled that the section of the Judiciary Act of 1789 granting it the power to order the delivery of Marbury's commission was unconstitutional because it conferred on the Court a power not specified in Article 3 of the Constitution on cases of original jurisdiction. Marshall created the precedent of judicial review, the power of the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of federal law. This doctrine was of pivotal importance for the future of the Court. Marshall had brilliantly turned a threatening situation into a success for the judiciary.

### THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

In foreign affairs, fortune smiled on Jefferson during his first term. The European war that had almost sucked in the United States in the 1790s subsided. Jefferson, despite his distaste for a strong navy, ordered a show of force in the Mediterranean to punish the Barbary pirates who were preying on American shipping.

For years, the North African states of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli had demanded cash tribute from foreigners as the price for allowing trade in the Mediterranean. Jefferson stopped the payments in 1801, and when the attacks on American shipping resumed, he retaliated by sending warships to the Mediterranean. The tribute system continued until 1815, but on much more favorable terms for the United States.

The Anglo-French peace was a mixed blessing for the United States. Although it removed any immediate threat of war, the return of peace also enabled Spain and France to reclaim their colonial trade in the Western Hemisphere. The new military





ruler of France, Napoleon Bonaparte, in a secret treaty with Spain in 1800, reacquired for France the Louisiana Territory, a vast, vaguely defined area stretching between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. Sketchy, unconfirmed reports of the treaty in the spring of 1801 alarmed Jefferson. France, for its part, was a formidable opponent whose control of the Mississippi Valley, combined with the British presence in Canada, threatened to hem in the United States. Jefferson was prepared to reverse the traditional foreign policy of his party and opened exploratory talks with the British on an Anglo-American alliance to drive the French out of Louisiana. He also strengthened American forces in the Mississippi Valley and secured congressional approval for an exploring expedition through upper Louisiana led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. This was initially intended to be more of a military than a scientific mission.

Jefferson then sought to acquire New Orleans and control the mouth of the Mississippi River, outlet to world markets. He persuaded Congress to pass resolutions threatening an attack on New Orleans (see Map 9–1).



8-8

Sacagawea Interprets for Lewis and Clark (1804)

## MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map9.1>



MAP 9-1

**The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition** The vast expanse of the Louisiana Purchase was virtually unknown territory to Americans before the Lewis and Clark expedition gathered a mass of scientific information about it.

**BASED ON** this map, how did the Louisiana Purchase impact United States trade and trade routes?





## CHRONOLOGY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p><b>1801</b> Thomas Jefferson is inaugurated, the first Republican president.<br/>John Marshall becomes chief justice.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1802</b> Congress repeals the Judiciary Act of 1801.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1803</b> <i>Marbury v. Madison</i> sets the precedent of judicial review by the Supreme Court.<br/>Louisiana Purchase.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1804</b> Vice President Aaron Burr kills Alexander Hamilton in a duel.<br/>Judges John Pickering and Samuel Chase impeached by Republicans.<br/>Jefferson is reelected.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1806</b> Britain and France issue orders restricting neutral shipping.<br/>Betrayal of the Burr conspiracy.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1807</b> <i>Chesapeake</i> affair.<br/>Congress passes the Embargo Act.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1808</b> Congress prohibits the African slave trade.<br/>James Madison elected president.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1809</b> Repeal of the Embargo Act.<br/>Passage of the Nonintercourse Act.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1810</b> Macon's Bill No. 2 reopens trade with Britain and France.<br/>United States annexes part of West Florida.<br/>Georgia state law invalidated by the Supreme Court in <i>Fletcher v. Peck</i>.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1811</b> Battle of Tippecanoe and defeat of the Indian confederation.<br/>Charter of the Bank of the United States expires.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1812</b> Congress declares war on Britain.<br/>American loss of Detroit.<br/>Madison reelected.</p> | <p><b>1813</b> Perry's victory at Battle of Put-in-Bay.<br/>Battle of the Thames and death of Tecumseh.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1814</b> Jackson crushes the Creeks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.<br/>British burn Washington, D.C., and attack Baltimore.<br/>Macdonough's naval victory on Lake Champlain turns back a British invasion.<br/>Hartford Convention meets.<br/>Treaty of Ghent signed.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1815</b> Jackson routs British at the Battle of New Orleans.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1816</b> Congress charters the Second Bank of the United States and passes a protective tariff.<br/>James Monroe elected president.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1817</b> Rush-Bagot Treaty demilitarizes the Great Lakes.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1818</b> Anglo-American Accords on trade and boundaries.<br/>Jackson's border campaign in Spanish East Florida.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1819</b> Trans-Continental Treaty between United States and Spain.<br/>Beginning of the Missouri controversy.<br/>Financial panic sends economy into a depression.<br/><i>Dartmouth College v. Woodward</i> upholds the charter rights of corporations.<br/><i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i> upholds constitutionality of the Bank of the United States.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1820</b> Missouri Compromise on slavery in the Louisiana Purchase.<br/>Monroe reelected.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1823</b> Monroe Doctrine proclaims Western Hemisphere closed to further European colonization.</p> <hr/> <p><b>1825</b> John Quincy Adams elected president by the House of Representatives.</p> |
|---|--|

Meanwhile, Napoleon had envisioned the rich sugar island of St. Domingue (today divided between Haiti and the Dominican Republic) as the jewel of his new empire and he intended to use the Louisiana Territory as a granary to supply the island. But he failed to recover St. Domingue from the slaves on the island, led by Touissant L'Ouverture, who had captured it in a bloody and successful bid for independence. Without firm French control of St. Domingue, Louisiana was of little use to Napoleon and a renewed war against Britain was looming. To Jefferson's surprise, Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States for \$15 million (the cost to the United States was about 3 1/2 cents per acre). Jefferson, the strict constructionist, now turned pragmatist. Despite the lack of any specific authorization in the Constitution for the acquisition of foreign territory, he accepted Napoleon's deal and doubled the size of the United States with the *Louisiana Purchase*. Jefferson was willing, as the Federalists had been when they were in power, to stretch the Constitution to support his definition of the national good. Ironically, it was now the Federalists, fearful of a further decline in their political power, who relied on a narrow reading of the Constitution.



8-6

A Matter of Honor or Vengeance? (1804)





## FLORIDA AND WESTERN SCHEMES

The magnificent prize of Louisiana did not satisfy Republican territorial ambitions. Still to be gained were river outlets on the Gulf Coast essential for the development of plantation agriculture in Alabama and Mississippi. The boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase were so vague that Jefferson felt justified in claiming Spanish-held Texas and the Gulf Coast eastward from New Orleans to Mobile Bay, including the Spanish province of West Florida. This provoked the first challenge to his leadership of the party.

Once it was clear that Spain did not want to sell West Florida to the United States, Jefferson covertly accepted Napoleon's offer to act as a middleman in the acquisition. Former Republican stalwarts in Congress staged a party revolt against the president's devious tactics.

Jefferson's failed bid for West Florida emboldened Westerners to demand that Americans seize the territory by force. In 1805 and 1806, Aaron Burr, Jefferson's first vice president, apparently became entangled in an attempt at just such a land grab. Republicans had been suspicious of Burr since his dalliance with the Federalists in their bid to make him president rather than Jefferson in 1800. A minority of die-hard Federalists, fearing that incorporation of the vast territory of the Louisiana Purchase into the United States would reduce New England's power, backed Burr in the New York gubernatorial race of 1804. Burr lost, largely because Hamilton denounced his character. The enmity between the two men reached a tragic climax in July 1804, when Burr killed Hamilton in a duel. Facing murder charges, Burr fled to the West and lined up followers for a separatist plot.

The Burr conspiracy remains mysterious. Burr may have been thinking of carving out a separate western confederacy in the lower Mississippi Valley. Whatever he had in mind, he blundered in relying on General James Wilkinson as a co-conspirator. Wilkinson, the military governor of the Louisiana Territory and also a double agent for Spain, betrayed Burr. Jefferson made extraordinary efforts to secure a conviction, but Burr was acquitted when the government failed to prove its case for treason in 1807.

## EMBARGO AND A CRIPPLED PRESIDENCY

Concern about a possible war against Britain in 1807 soon quieted the uproar over Burr's trial. After Britain and France resumed their war in 1803, the United States became enmeshed in the same thicket of neutral rights, blockades, ship seizures, and impressment of American sailors that had almost dragged the country into war in the 1790s. Caught in the middle, but eager to supply both sides, was the American merchant marine, the world's largest carrier of neutral goods. American merchants and shippers had taken full advantage of the magnificent opportunities opened up by the European war. The flush years from 1793 to 1807 witnessed a tripling of American ship tonnage, and the value of exports soared five times over. American merchants dominated trade not only between Britain and the United States but also between the European continent and the French and Spanish colonies in the West Indies.

The *Chesapeake Incident* in June 1807 nearly triggered an Anglo-American war. When the commander of the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake* refused to submit to a British search in coastal waters off Norfolk, the British ship *Leopard* opened fire, and three Americans were killed. Jefferson resisted the popular outcry for revenge. Instead, he barred American ports to British warships and called for monetary compensation and an end to impressment, not only because the country was woefully unprepared for war but also because he passionately believed that

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Jefferson and Florida

- ◆ Jefferson failed in attempts to buy West Florida.
- ◆ Westerners demanded that the territory be seized by force.
- ◆ Aaron Burr involved in such a land grab.

### QUICK REVIEW

#### Growth of American Trade: 1793–1807

- ◆ Britain and France resumed war in 1803.
- ◆ American merchants wanted to supply both sides.
- ◆ Value of American exports increased five-fold between 1793 and 1807.

**Chesapeake Incident** Attack in 1807 by the British ship *Leopard* on the American ship *Chesapeake* in American territorial waters.





The caption on this 1807 illustration of a deserted pier in Portland, Maine—“And the grass literally grew upon the wharves.”—reflects the hardship Jefferson’s embargo caused as it choked off the American export trade.

North Wind Picture Archives

**Embargo Act of 1807** Act passed by Congress in 1807 prohibiting American ships from leaving for any foreign port.

international law should resolve disputes between nations. In a last burst of the idealism that had animated the republicanism of the Revolution, Jefferson resorted to a trade embargo as a substitute for war. The **Embargo Act of 1807** prohibited American ships from clearing port to any nation until Britain and France repealed their trading restrictions on neutral shippers.

The basic premise of the embargo, that Europe was completely dependent on American-supplied foodstuffs and raw materials, was not so much wrong as unrealistic. The embargo did hurt Europe, but the people who first felt the pain were British textile workers and slaves in the colonies, hardly those who wielded the levers of power. Meanwhile, the American export trade and its profits dried up, and nearly all economic groups suffered. Especially hard hit were New England shippers and merchants, who accused the Republicans of near-criminal irresponsibility for forcing a depression on the country. Jefferson responded with a series of enforcement acts that consolidated executive powers far beyond what the Federalists themselves had been able to achieve while in power. As the embargo tightened and the 1808 election approached, Federalism revived. The Federalist Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina tripled his electoral vote over that of 1804, but Secretary of State Madison carried the South and the West, the heartland of Republican support. Before Madison took office, the Republicans abandoned Jefferson’s embargo in 1809, replacing it with the **Nonintercourse Act**, a measure that prohibited American trade only with Britain and France.

## MADISON AND THE COMING OF WAR

**F**rail-looking and short, Madison struck most contemporaries as an indecisive and weaker version of Jefferson. Yet in intellectual toughness and resourcefulness he was at least Jefferson’s equal. He failed because of an inherited foreign policy that was partly of his own making as Jefferson’s secretary of state. The Republicans’ idealistic stand on neutral rights was ultimately untenable unless backed up by military and political force. Madison concluded as much when he decided on war against Britain in the spring of 1812. Thus did the Republicans push for a war they were eager to fight but unprepared to wage.

### THE FAILURE OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

Early in his administration, Madison became convinced that the impasse in Anglo-American relations was about to be broken. Britain benefited from the Nonintercourse Act at the expense of France. Once at sea, American ships were kept away from France and steered to England by the strong British navy. Perhaps in recognition of this unintended consequence of the new American policy, the British began to relax their restrictions on neutral shipping, known as the Orders in Council, in favor of U.S. commerce. At the same time, the British minister in Washington, David Erskine, reached an agreement with Madison that called for completely rescinding the Orders in Council as they applied to the United States. Unfortunately, Erskine had exceeded his instructions, and the Madison-Erskine agreement was later disavowed in London. Although Madison reimposed sanctions on Britain in August, he was left looking the fool.

Congress stepped in with its own policy in 1810. Macon’s Bill No. 2 threw open American trade to everyone but stipulated that if either France or England lifted its restrictions, the president would resume trading sanctions against the other. Madison now looked even more foolish when he accepted Napoleon’s duplicitous promises in 1810 to withdraw his decrees against American shipping on the

### WHAT CHALLENGES

did James Madison face as president?



WHERE TO LEARN MORE

Montpelier, Montpelier Station, Virginia

[www.montpelier.org](http://www.montpelier.org)





condition that if Britain did not follow suit, Madison would force the British to respect American rights. French seizures of American ships continued, and by the time Napoleon's duplicity became clear, he had already succeeded in worsening Anglo-American tensions to the point that in November 1810, Madison reimposed nonintercourse against Britain, putting the two nations on a collision course.

## THE FRONTIER AND INDIAN RESISTANCE

Mounting frustrations in the South and West also pushed Madison toward a war against Britain. Farm prices, including those for the southern staples of cotton and tobacco, plunged when Jefferson's embargo shut off exports and stayed low after the embargo was lifted. Blame for the persistent agricultural depression focused on the British and their stranglehold on overseas trade after 1808.

Western settlers also accused the British of inciting Indian resistance. After the *Chesapeake* incident, the British did seek alliances with Indians in the Old Northwest, reviving the strategy of using them as a buffer against any American move on Canada. It was the unceasing demand of Americans for ever more Indian land, however, not any British incitements, that triggered the **pan-Indian resistance movement** that so frightened western settlers on the eve of the War of 1812.

In the Treaty of Greenville (1795), the American government had promised that any future acquisitions of Indian land would have to be approved by all native peoples in the region. Nonetheless, government agents continued their former tactics of playing one group against another and of dividing groups from within. By such means, William Henry Harrison, the governor of the Indiana Territory, procured most of southern Indiana in the *Treaty of Vincennes* of 1804. Two extraordinary leaders, the Shawnee chief Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet Tenskwatawa, channeled Indian outrage over this treaty into a movement to unify tribes throughout the West for a stand against the white invaders. As preached by Tecumseh and the Prophet, Indian land could be saved and self-respect regained only through racial solidarity and a spiritual rebirth. With the assistance of Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa established the Prophet's Town in 1808, at the confluence of the Wabash and Tippecanoe Rivers in north-central Indiana, as headquarters of an intertribal confederation. As he tried to explain to the worried Governor Harrison, his goals were peaceful. He admonished his followers, "[Do] not take up the tomahawk, . . . do not meddle with any thing that does not belong to you, but mind your own business, and cultivate the ground, that your women and your children have enough to live on."

That ground, of course, was the very reason the Indians could not live in peace and dignity. The white settlers wanted it and would do anything to get it. In November 1811, Harrison marched an army to Prophet's Town and provoked the *Battle of Tippecanoe*. While Tecumseh was absent on a recruiting mission among the southern tribes, impetuous young braves attacked Harrison's army. Harrison's victory came at a high cost, for Tecumseh now joined forces with the British.

While Harrison's aggressiveness was converting fears of a British-Indian alliance into a self-fulfilling prophecy, expansionist-minded Southerners struck at Britain through Spain, now its ally against Napoleon. With the covert support of President Madison, American adventurers staged a bloodless revolt in Spanish West Florida between Louisiana and the Pearl River. Hatred of Native Americans, expansionist pressures, the lingering agricultural depression, and impatience with the administration's policy of economic coercion all pointed in the same direction—a war against Britain coupled with an American takeover of British Canada and Spanish Florida. This was the rallying cry of the **War Hawks**, the forty or so prowar congressmen swept into office in 1810. Generally younger men from the South and



**The Prophet Tenskwatawa** was the spiritual leader of the pan-Indian movement that sought to revitalize native culture and block the spread of white settlement in the Old Northwest.

Courtesy of Library of Congress

## QUICK REVIEW

### Treaties and Resistance

- ◆ Treaty of Greenville (1795) promised all further acquisitions of Indian land would be approved by all native peoples in the region.
- ◆ Treaty of Vincennes (1804) procured most of southern Indiana in violation of Treaty of Greenville.
- ◆ Indian tribes throughout West unified for stand against settlers.

### WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Tippecanoe Battlefield Museum,  
Battle Ground, Indiana  
[www.tcha.mus.in.us/battlefield.htm](http://www.tcha.mus.in.us/battlefield.htm)

### Pan-Indian resistance movement

Movement calling for the political and cultural unification of Indian tribes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

**War Hawks** Members of Congress, predominantly from the South and West, who aggressively pushed for a war against Britain after their election in 1810.





West, the War Hawks were led by Henry Clay of Kentucky. Along with other outspoken nationalists such as John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Clay played a key role in building congressional support for Madison's growing aggressiveness on the British issue.

### DECISION FOR WAR

In July 1811, deceived by Napoleon and dismissed by the British as the head of a second-rate power, Madison had run out of diplomatic options and was losing control of his party. When Congress met in November, Madison tried to lay the groundwork for war. But the Republican-controlled Congress balked at strengthening the military or raising taxes to pay for a war that seemed ever more likely, citing their party's traditional view of high taxes and a strong military as the tools of despots. Madison secretly asked Congress on April 1 for a sixty-day embargo, a move designed to give American merchant ships time to return safely to their home ports. On June 1, he sent a war message to Congress in which he laid out the stark alternative of submission or resistance to the British control of American commerce. For Madison and most other Republicans, the impending conflict was a second war for independence. Free and open access to world markets was certainly at stake, but so was national pride. The arrogant British policy of impressment was a humiliating affront to American honor and headed the list of grievances in Madison's war message.

A divided Congress declared war on Britain. Support for the war was strongest in regions like the South and the West, whose economies had been damaged the most by the British blockades and control of Atlantic commerce. The votes that carried the war declaration came from northern Republicans, who saw the impending struggle as a defense of America's experiment in self-government. Nine-tenths of the congressional Republicans voted for war, but not a single Federalist did so. For the Federalists, the real enemy was France, which had actually seized more American ships than the British. (See American Views: "Federalist Antiwar Resolutions.") The Federalists' anger increased when they learned that the British had been prepared to revoke for one year the Orders in Council against the United States. A poor harvest and the ongoing economic pressure exerted by Madison had finally caused hard times in England and produced a policy reversal intended to placate the Americans. This concession, however, did not address impressment or monetary compensation, and news of it reached America too late to avert a war.

#### QUICK REVIEW

##### Prelude to War

- ◆ Republican-controlled Congress balked at strengthening military.
- ◆ Divided Congress declared war.
- ◆ Support for war strongest in the South and West.

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WHAT WERE the consequences of the war of 1812?

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## THE WAR OF 1812

The Republicans led the nation into a war it was unprepared to fight (see Map 9–2, p. 228). The bungled American invasions verged on tragicomedy, and for much of the war, Britain was preoccupied with Napoleon in Europe. When free to concentrate on the American sideshow in 1814, the British failed to secure naval control of the Great Lakes, their minimal strategic objective. By the fall of 1814, both sides were eager for an end to the military stalemate.

Internal dissent endangered the Union almost as much as the British. The war exacerbated Federalist disenchantment with southern dominance of national affairs. A minority of Federalists, convinced that New England could never regain its rightful place in shaping national policy, prepared to lead a secession movement. Although blocked by party moderates at the Hartford Convention in 1814, the secessionists tarred Federalism with the brush of treason. Consequently, the Republicans, the party that brought the country to the brink of a military disaster, emerged from the war more powerful than ever.





## ◆ AMERICAN VIEWS ◆

### FEDERALIST ANTIWAR RESOLUTIONS

**A**s the policies of the Madison administration in the spring of 1812 increasingly pointed toward war against Great Britain, New England Federalists protested. Passed at a meeting in Providence, Rhode Island, on April 7, 1812, the following resolutions make the Federalist case against a war against Britain and reveal the depths of the party divisions over foreign policy.

**WHY DID** the Federalists accuse the Republicans of anti-British bias? What did the Federalists argue would be the results of a war against Britain? Why did the Federalists depict France as a greater threat to American freedoms than Britain?

Voted and Resolved unanimously.

That, in our opinion, the peace, prosperity and happiness of these United States, are in great jeopardy, inasmuch as, we have the strongest reasons to believe, the general government have determined to make war on Great-Britain. . . .

We are further confirmed in our apprehensions . . . by the evident partiality [the Republicans] have for a long time manifested towards one of the belligerents; and their deep-rooted enmity towards the other. The decrees of both nations equally violate our neutral rights; but France by her Berlin Decree, was the first aggressor; and still persists in capturing and burning our vessels on the high seas; and in robbing, imprisoning, and insulting our citizens; yet all these atrocities have been either palliated, or excused; while every effort has been made to excite the prejudices and animosities of our people against Great Britain. British vessels are excluded from our harbors; and our citizens are forbidden to import goods of the growth and manufacture of Britain and her dependencies; at the same time that French privateers are suffered to refit in American ports; and French goods are received, and protected, by our government. . . . All this, too, is done, when our trade to France, is of little value; and that to England, and her dependence is, of more importance to the United States, than with all the world besides.

Resolved, That . . . believing as we most sincerely do, that a war with England, at this time, is neither necessary, nor expedient, we deem it a duty which we owe to our families, and to our country, to use our utmost efforts to avert so great a calamity; and . . . we are of opinion that this expression ought to be given in the approaching elections. If we choose Democratic [Republican] State Rulers, we choose war; if we choose Federal State Rulers, we choose peace. . . .

But should we, forgetful of our duties, elect democratic rulers, and thereby let loose this wild spirit of war, what calamities, and horrors must spread themselves over those devoted States! All the taxes proposed must fall upon us; our foreign and coasting commerce be cut off; our fisheries be destroyed; our agriculture neglected. . . . The destruction of our navigation would interrupt, and we fear, ruin our numerous, and flourishing manufactories; for, when the enemies['] ships cover our coasts, we can neither obtain the necessary materials, nor export the manufactured goods.

But these evils are only the beginning of sorrows. When war arrives, what will give protections to our harbours and maritime towns? [The enemy] will . . . make a war of frequent, and sudden descent on our long, and defenceless sea-coast. Ships manned, and now moored on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, can, in forty days, be riding on the waters of our bay and river. What could then save our sea-port towns, together with all the vessels in our harbours from conflagration, pillage, and military exaction?

Dreadful are these consequences of war: but more dreadful will await us. A war with England will bring us into alliance with France. This alliance would make the last page of our history as a nation. All the horrors of war might be endured; but who can endure to become a Slave?—If we are allied to that putrid pestilence of tyranny; our laws, freedom, independence, national name and glory, are blotted out from the memory of man—If Bonaparte sends to this country, ships, and French soldiers, and French generals, we shall soon be like Holland, and Italy, and Switzerland, and every other country where this scourge of nations has been permitted to set his foot.



# MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map9.2>



MAP 9-2

**The War of 1812** Most of the battles of the War of 1812 were fought along the Canadian-American border, where American armies repeatedly tried to invade Canada. Despite the effectiveness of the British naval blockade, the American navy was successful in denying the British strategic control of the Great Lakes. Andrew Jackson's smashing victory at the Battle of New Orleans convinced Americans that they had won the war.

**WHY WAS** the successful British naval blockade not enough to secure a victory in the War of 1812?





## SETBACKS IN CANADA

The outbreak of the **War of 1812** unleashed deep emotions that often divided along religious lines, with Federalists Congregationalists (mostly) opposing the war and the Baptists and Methodists favoring the war as “just, necessary, and indispensable.” Fiercely loyal to Madison, who had championed religious freedom in Virginia, these Methodists and Baptists harbored old grudges against the established churches of both Britain and New England for suppressing their religious rights.

Madison hoped to channel this Christian, anti-British patriotism into the conquest of Canada. Assuming the Canadians would welcome the U.S. Army with open arms Madison expected American militia troops to overpower the small British force of five thousand soldiers that was initially stationed in Canada. By seizing Canada, Madison also hoped to weaken Britain’s navy and undercut its navigation system by cutting off American foodstuffs and provisions from the British West Indies.

Madison’s strategic vision was clear, but its execution was pathetic. Three offensives against Canada in 1812 were embarrassing failures. In the first, in July, General William Hull surrendered to a smaller British-Indian force.

The loss of Detroit and the abandonment of Fort Dearborn (present-day Chicago) exposed western settlements to the full fury of frontier warfare. Americans in the Indiana Territory fled outlying areas for the safety of forts in the interior. By the end of the year, the British controlled half of the Old Northwest.

Farther east, the Americans botched two offensives in 1812. In October, an American thrust across the Niagara River was defeated when a New York state militia refused to cross the river to join the regular army troops on the Canadian side. This left the isolated forces under General Stephen Van Rensselaer an easy prey for the British at the Battle of Queenston Heights. Then the long-delayed third offensive aimed at Montreal, the center of British operations in Canada, ended in a bloodless fiasco.

All the Republicans had to show for the first year of the war were morale-boosting but otherwise insignificant naval victories. The small American navy acquitted itself superbly in individual ship-to-ship combat.

Military setbacks and antiwar feelings in much of the Northeast hurt the Republicans in the election of 1812. Madison won only narrowly. The now familiar regional pattern in voting repeated itself with Madison sweeping the electoral vote of the South and West. He ran poorly in the Northeast and won only because his party held on to Pennsylvania.

## WESTERN VICTORIES AND BRITISH OFFENSIVES

American forces fared better in 1813. In September, the navy won a major engagement on Lake Erie that opened up a supply line in the western theater. Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry attacked the British fleet in the **Battle of Put-in-Bay**, on the southwestern shore of the lake, and forced the surrender of all six British ships.

With the loss of Lake Erie, the British were forced to abandon Detroit. Demonstrating bold leadership and relying on battle-tested western militias, General William Henry Harrison won a decisive victory on the banks of the Thames River in Ontario. Tecumseh, the most visionary of the Indian warriors, was killed, and the backbone of the Indian resistance broken. The Old Northwest was again safe for American settlement.

A coalition of European powers forced Napoleon to abdicate in April 1814, thus freeing Britain to focus on the American war. British strategy in 1814 called

## QUICK REVIEW

### Invasion of Canada

- ◆ Madison hoped to conquer Canada.
- ◆ Three offensives against Canada in 1812 were failures.
- ◆ By the end of 1812 British controlled half of Old Northwest.

WHERE TO LEARN MORE



Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, Put-in-Bay, Ohio  
[www.nps.gov/pevi/](http://www.nps.gov/pevi/)

**War of 1812** War fought between the United States and Britain from June 1812 to January 1815 largely over British restrictions on American shipping.

**Battle of Put-in-Bay** American naval victory on Lake Erie in September 1813 in the War of 1812 that denied the British strategic control over the Great Lakes.





## WHERE TO LEARN MORE

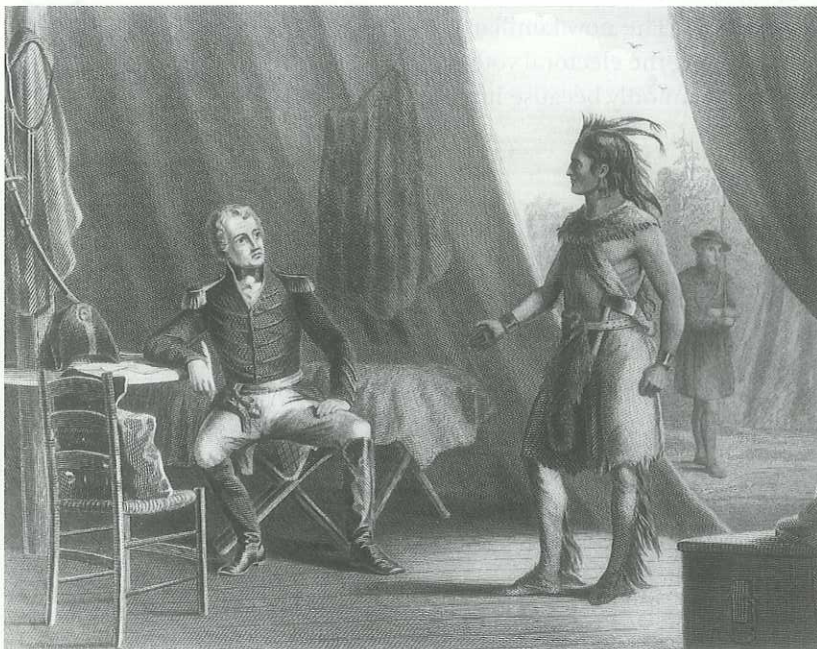
Fort McHenry National Monument, Baltimore, Maryland  
[www.nps.gov/fomc/archeology/overview.html](http://www.nps.gov/fomc/archeology/overview.html)

**Treaty of Ghent** Treaty signed in December 1814 between the United States and Britain that ended the War of 1812.

**Battle of New Orleans** Decisive American War of 1812 victory over British troops in January 1815 that ended any British hopes of gaining control of the lower Mississippi River Valley.

**Creek war leader** Red Eagle surrenders to Andrew Jackson after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814.

© Corbis



for two major offensives, an invasion south from Montreal down Lake Champlain in upstate New York and an attack on Louisiana aimed at seizing New Orleans with a task force out of Jamaica. The overall objective was nothing less than a reversal of America's post-1783 expansion.

The British attacks could hardly have come at a worse time for the Madison administration. The Treasury was nearly bankrupt. Against the wishes of Treasury Secretary Gallatin, Congress had refused to preserve the Bank of the United States when its charter expired in 1811. Lacking both a centralized means of directing wartime finances and any significant increase in taxes, the Treasury was forced to rely on makeshift loans. As the country's finances tottered toward collapse, political dissent in New England was reaching a climax. There was even talk of secession.

The darkest hour came in August 1814. A British amphibious force occupied and torched Washington, D.C. in retaliation for an American raid on York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada. The defense of Washington was slipshod at best. Baltimore's defenses held, stirring Francis Scott Key, a young lawyer who viewed the bombardment from a British prisoner-of-war ship, to write "The Star Spangled Banner." Fittingly in this strange war, the future national anthem was set to the tune of a British drinking song.

The Chesapeake campaign was designed to divert American attention from the major offensive General George Prevost was leading down the shores of Lake Champlain. Prevost commanded the largest and best-equipped army the British had yet assembled, but he was forced to turn back when Commodore Thomas Macdonough defeated a British fleet on September 11 at the Battle of Plattsburgh. The British were now ready for peace, but one of their trump cards had yet to be played—the southern offensive against New Orleans.

### THE TREATY OF GHENT AND THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

Although the British signed the **Treaty of Ghent** in December 1814, they were not irrevocably committed to the as yet nonratified peace settlement. The showdown between British and American forces at the **Battle of New Orleans** in January 1815 had immense strategic significance for the United States. The hero of New Orleans, in song and legend, was Andrew Jackson. A planter-politician from Tennessee, Jackson rose to prominence during the war as a ferocious Indian fighter. As a general in the Tennessee militia, Jackson crushed Indian resistance in the Old Southwest at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in March 1814 and forced the vanquished Creeks to cede two-thirds of their territory to the United States.

After his Indian conquests, Jackson was promoted to general in the regular army and given command of the defense of the Gulf Coast. In November 1814, he seized Pensacola in Spanish Florida and then hurried to defend New Orleans. The overconfident British frontally attacked Jackson's lines on January 8, 1815. The result was a massacre. More than two thousand British soldiers were killed or wounded while American casualties totaled twenty-one.

Strategically, Jackson's smashing victory at New Orleans ended any possibility of a British sphere of influence in Louisiana.





Politically, it was a deathblow to Federalism. As Americans were rejoicing with revived nationalism over the Treaty of Ghent and Jackson's routing of the British, the Federalists now seemed to be parochial sulkers who put regional interests above the national good.

## THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

In 1817, on the occasion of a presidential visit by James Monroe, a Boston newspaper proclaimed the **Era of Good Feelings**, an expression that nicely captured the spirit of political harmony and sectional unity that washed over the republic in the immediate postwar years. National pride surged with the humbling of the British at New Orleans, the demise of the Federalists lessened political tensions, and the economy boomed. The Republicans had been vindicated, and for a short time they enjoyed *de facto* status as the only governing party.

In 1819, however, an economic depression and a bitter controversy over slavery shattered the harmony, and the Republicans divided on sectional and economic issues.

### ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

The War of 1812 had taught the Republicans to appreciate old Federalist doctrines on centralized national power. For Henry Clay and John Calhoun, leaders of a new generation of young nationalist Republicans, the first order of business was creating a new national bank. Introduced by Calhoun, the Bank bill passed Congress in 1816. Modeled after Hamilton's original Bank and also headquartered in Philadelphia, the **Second Bank of the United States** was capitalized at \$35 million, making it by far the nation's largest bank. Its size and official status as the depository and dispenser of the government's funds, gave the Bank tremendous power over the economy.

After moving to repair the fiscal damage of the war, the Republicans then acted to protect what the war had fostered. In 1815 and again in 1816, the British inundated the American market with cheap imports to strangle American industry in its infancy. Responding to this challenge to the nation's economic independence, the Republicans passed the Tariff of 1816, the first protective tariff in American history. The act levied duties of 20 to 25 percent on manufactured goods that could be produced in the United States.

Revenue from the tariff and \$1.5 million from the Bank of the United States were earmarked for internal improvements (roads and canals). The push for federal subsidies for transportation projects came from the War Department and the West. In early 1817, an internal improvements bill passed Congress. Despite the soaring rhetoric of John Calhoun, the bill's sponsor, seeking to "bind the republic together with a perfect system of roads and canals," President Madison remained unmoved. Though in agreement with the bill's objectives, he was convinced that the Constitution did not permit federal financing of primarily local projects. He vetoed the bill just before he left office.

Congressional passage of Calhoun's internal improvements bill marked the pinnacle of the Republicans' economic nationalism. Frightened by the sectional disunity of the war years, Republicans jettisoned many of the ideological trappings of Jefferson's original agrarian party. Their program was a call for economic, and therefore political, unity. Such unity was to be achieved through a generous program of national subsidies consisting of tariffs for manufacturers in the Northeast and transportation funds for planters and farmers in the South and West.

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HOW DID nationalism increase during the Era of Good Feelings?

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**Era of Good Feelings** The period from 1817 to 1823 in which the disappearance of the Federalists enabled the Republicans to govern in a spirit of seemingly nonpartisan harmony.

**Second Bank of the United States** A national bank chartered by Congress in 1816 with extensive regulatory powers over currency and credit.





# OVERVIEW

## TERRITORIAL EXPANSION UNDER THE REPUBLICANS

Benchmark	Year	Land Area of United States and Its Territories (square miles)
Republicans gain power	1801	864,746
Louisiana Purchase	1803	1,681,828
Trans-Continental Treaty	1819	1,749,462

Support for this program was strongest in the Mid-Atlantic and Western states, the regions that stood to gain the most economically. Opposition centered in the Southeast and took on an increasingly hard edge in the South as the Supreme Court outlined an ever more nationalist interpretation of the Constitution.

### JUDICIAL NATIONALISM

Under Chief Justice John Marshall, the Supreme Court had long supported the nationalist perspective that Republicans began to champion after its war. A Virginia Federalist whose nationalism was forged during his service in the Revolutionary War, Marshall dominated the Court throughout his tenure (1801–1835) by his forceful personality and the logical power of his nationalist convictions. The defining principles of Marshall's jurisprudence were the authority of the Supreme Court in all matters of constitutional interpretation and the sanctity of contractual property rights. In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), the Court overturned a Georgia law by ruling that it violated the prohibition in the federal Constitution against any state "impairing the obligation of contracts."

In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), the Court ruled that Dartmouth's original royal charter of 1769 was a contract protected by the Constitution. The ruling prohibited states from interfering with the rights and privileges they had bestowed on private corporations.

In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), a unanimous Court, in language similar to but even more sweeping than that used by Alexander Hamilton in the 1790s, upheld the constitutional authority of Congress to charter a national bank and thereby regulate the nation's currency and finances. As long as the end was legitimate "within the scope of the Constitution," Congress had full power to use any means not expressly forbidden by the Constitution to achieve that end. Here was the boldest statement to date of the loose or "implied powers" interpretation of the Constitution.

### TOWARD A CONTINENTAL EMPIRE

Marshall's legal nationalism paralleled the diplomatic nationalism of John Quincy Adams, secretary of state from 1817 to 1825. A former Federalist and the son of the second president, Adams broke with the Federalist party over its refusal to support an expansionist policy. Adams made few friends as a negotiator but he was an effective diplomat, using whatever tactics were necessary to realize his vision of an America that stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Adams shrewdly exploited the British desire for friendly and profitable relations after the War of 1812. The **Rush-Bagot Agreement** of 1817 signaled the new pattern of Anglo-American cooperation. The agreement strictly limited naval armaments on the Great Lakes, thus effectively demilitarizing the border. The

**Fletcher v. Peck** Supreme Court decision of 1810 that overturned a state law by ruling that it violated a legal contract.

**Dartmouth College v. Woodward** Supreme Court decision of 1819 that prohibited states from interfering with the privileges granted to a private corporation.

**Rush-Bagot Agreement** Treaty of 1817 between the United States and Britain that effectively demilitarized the Great Lakes by sharply limiting the number of ships each power could station on them.





**Anglo-American Accords** of the following year resolved a number of issues left hanging after the war. Of great importance to New England, the British once again recognized American fishing rights off Labrador and Newfoundland. The boundary of the Louisiana Territory abutting Canada was set at the 49th parallel.

Having secured the northern flank of the United States, Adams was now free to deal with the South and West. Adams wanted all of Florida and an undisputed American window on the Pacific. The adversary here was Spain. In March 1818, Jackson led his troops across the border into Spanish Florida in an attempt to stop Indian raids in the Alabama-Georgia frontier. He destroyed the encampments of the Seminole Indians, seized two Spanish forts, and executed two British subjects. Despite later protestations to the contrary, Jackson had probably exceeded his orders. He might well have been censured by the Monroe administration had Adams not taken the offensive by lecturing Spain that Jackson was acting in the defense of American interests and warning that he might be unleashed again.

Spain yielded to the American threat in the **Trans-Continental Treaty of 1819** (see Map 9–3 on page 234). The United States annexed East Florida, and Spain recognized the prior American seizures of West Florida in 1810 and 1813. Adams secured an American hold on the Pacific Coast by drawing a boundary between the Louisiana Purchase and the Spanish Southwest.

Adams's success in the Spanish negotiations turned on the British refusal to threaten war or assist Spain in the wake of Jackson's highhanded actions in Florida. Spanish possessions and the lives of two British subjects were worth little when weighed against the economic advantages of retaining close trading ties with the United States. Moreover, Britain had a vested interest in the Latin American market opened by the loss of Spain's monopoly.

Adams was confident that within a generation, the United States would acquire California, Texas, and perhaps Cuba as well. He wanted to maintain the maximum freedom of action for future U.S. policy and avoid any impression that America was beholden to Britain. Thus originated the most famous diplomatic statement in early American history, the **Monroe Doctrine**. In his annual message to Congress in December 1823, Monroe declared that the Americas "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." In turn, Monroe pledged that the United States would not interfere in the internal affairs of European states.

## THE BREAKDOWN OF UNITY

**F**or all the intensity with which he pursued his continental vision, John Quincy Adams worried in early 1819 that "the greatest danger of this union was in the overgrown extent of its territory, combining with the slavery question." His words were prophetic. A sectional crisis flared up in 1819 over slavery and its expansion when the territory of Missouri sought admission to the Union as a slave state. Simultaneously, a financial panic ended postwar prosperity and crystallized regional discontent over banking and tariff policies. Party unity cracked under these pressures, and each region backed its own presidential candidate in the wide-open election of 1824.

### THE PANIC OF 1819

From 1815 to 1818, Americans enjoyed a wave of postwar prosperity. European markets were starved for American goods after a generation of war and trade restrictions, and farmers and planters met that demand by expanding production and bringing new land into cultivation. Before the bubble burst, cotton prices doubled to 30 cents a pound, real estate values became wildly inflated, and the money Westerners owed the federal government for the purchase of public lands rose to \$21 million, an amount greater than the value of all western farm goods.

**Anglo-American Accords** Series of agreements reached in the British-American Conventions of 1818 that fixed the western boundary between the United States and Canada, allowed for joint occupation of Oregon, and restored American fishing rights.

**Trans-Continental Treaty of 1819** Treaty between the United States and Spain in which Spain ceded Florida to the United States, surrendered all claims to the Pacific Northwest, and agreed to a boundary between the Louisiana Purchase territory and the Spanish Southwest.

**Monroe Doctrine** In December 1823, Monroe declared to Congress that the Americas "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

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WHAT WAS the Missouri Compromise?

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## MAP EXPLORATION

To explore an interactive version of this map, go to <http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield2/map9.3>



### MAP 9-3

**The Missouri Compromise of 1820 and Territorial Treaties with Britain and Spain, 1818–1819** Treaties with Britain and Spain in 1818 and 1819 clarified and expanded the nation's boundaries. Britain accepted the 49th parallel as the boundary between Canada and the United States in the Trans-Mississippi West to the Oregon Country; Spain ceded Florida to the United States and agreed to a boundary stretching to the Pacific between the Louisiana Purchase territory and Spanish possessions in the Southwest. Sectional disputes over slavery led to the drawing of the Missouri Compromise line of 1820 that prohibited slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of 36°30'.

**HOW DID** the treaties with Spain and Britain of 1818 and 1819 and the Missouri Compromise of 1820 geographically change the United States?

European markets for American cotton and food supplies returned to normal by late 1818. In January 1819, cotton prices sank in England, and the Panic of 1819 was on. The fall in cotton prices triggered a credit contraction that soon engulfed the overextended American economy. A sudden shift in policy by the Bank of the United States virtually guaranteed that the economic downturn would settle into a depression as the Bank stopped all loans, called in all debts, and refused





to honor drafts drawn on its branches in the South and West. Hardest hit by these policies were farmers and businessmen in the West, who had mortgaged their economic futures. Bankruptcies mushroomed as creditors forced the liquidation of farms and real estate.

In addition to resenting the hard times brought on by low cotton prices, Southerners saw an ominous pattern of unchecked and unconstitutional federal power emerging in the form of high tariffs, the judicial nationalism of the Supreme Court, and Northern efforts to interfere with slavery in Missouri. If Northerners, they asked, could stretch the Constitution to incorporate a bank or impose a protective tariff, what could prevent them from emancipating the slaves?

## THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

Until 1819, slavery had not been a major divisive issue in American politics. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which banned slavery in federal territories north of the Ohio River, and the Southwest Ordinance of 1790, which permitted slavery south of the Ohio, represented a compromise that had allowed slavery in areas where climate and soil conditions favored slave-based agriculture. What was unforeseen in the 1780s, however, was the explosive demand for slave-produced cotton generated by the English textile industry in the early nineteenth century. By 1819, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama had all been added to the Union as slave states. Florida was expected to be another slave state, and even Missouri, a portion of the Louisiana Purchase, had fallen under the political control of slaveholders.

The Missouri issue increased long-simmering Northern resentment with the spread of slavery and the Southern dominance of national affairs under the Virginia presidents. In February 1819, James Tallmadge, a Republican congressman from New York, introduced an amendment in the House mandating a ban on future slave importations and a program of gradual emancipation as preconditions for the admission of Missouri as a state. Missourians, as well as Southerners in general, rejected the Tallmadge Amendment as completely unacceptable, arguing that any attempt by Congress to set conditions for statehood was unconstitutional. Without a two-party system in which each of the parties had to compromise to protect its intersectional interests, voting followed sectional lines. The Northern-controlled House passed the amendment, but it was repeatedly blocked in the Senate, where there were eleven free and eleven slave states.

The stalemate persisted into the next session of Congress. Finally, Speaker of the House Henry Clay engineered a compromise in March 1820. Congress put no restrictions on slavery in Missouri, and the admission of Missouri as a slave state was balanced by admitting Maine (formerly part of Massachusetts) as a free state. In return for their concession on Missouri, northern congressmen obtained a prohibition on slavery in the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the 36°30' parallel, the southern boundary of Missouri (see Map 9–3 on page 234).

The compromise almost unraveled when Missouri submitted a constitution the next November that required the state legislature to bar the entry of free black people. This mandate violated the guarantee in the U.S. Constitution that “the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.” The nearly universal acceptance of white Americans of second-class citizenship for free black Americans permitted Clay to dodge the issue. Missouri’s constitution was accepted with the proviso that it “shall never be construed” to discriminate against citizens in other states. In short, with meaningless words that begged the issue of Missouri’s defiance of the federal Constitution, the **Missouri Compromise** was salvaged. At the cost of ignoring the claims of free black people



9–5  
Thomas Jefferson Reacts to  
the “Missouri Question”  
(1820)

## QUICK REVIEW

### Tallmadge Amendment

- ◆ Tallmadge Amendment (1819): ban on future slave importations and imposition of program of gradual emancipation as condition of Missouri statehood.
- ◆ Passed by the House but rejected by the Senate.
- ◆ Voting broke down on regional lines.

**Missouri Compromise** Sectional compromise in Congress in 1820 that admitted Missouri to the Union as a slave state and Maine as a free state and prohibited slavery in the northern Louisiana Purchase territory.





## FROM THEN TO NOW

### The Lewis and Clark Expedition in Their World and Ours

In its day the Lewis and Clark expedition was as daring a venture as space exploration is today. The expedition, which began in 1803, ended in 1806, and lasted 863 days, brought Americans their first knowledge of the vast territory they had secured in the Louisiana Purchase. Traveling more than seven thousand miles by foot, boat, and horseback from St. Louis to the Pacific Coast and back, the explorers compiled a detailed record of their experiences and observations. In these journals they have bequeathed to us a vivid picture of the natural environment of the trans-Mississippi West before white settlement.

The West described by Lewis and Clark was a land of change, diversity, and abundance. The Missouri River that their party of forty-five followed to the north and west up to central Montana was wild and unpredictable. Its currents were ceaselessly eroding its banks, forming and displacing sandbars, and cutting new channels as they deposited soil eroded from the Rocky Mountains onto its immense floodplain. Today, a series of dams has tamed the river, controlling floods, generating electricity, and diverting water for irrigation. But the dams have had unforeseen consequences. The fertile sediments the Missouri once deposited on its floodplain, replenishing the soil in the farm states of the midwest, now flow into the Gulf of Mexico. As Midwesterners learned in the summer of 1993, the levees and retaining walls that confine the river can sometimes result in floods far more disastrous than ever occurred under natural conditions.

Lewis and Clark passed through regions of incredible biological diversity and abundance. They catalogued 122 animals and 178 plants that were new to American science. Traveling through present-day South Dakota in September, 1804, Lewis observed “Vast herds of Buffaloe deer elk and Antilopes . . . feeding in every direction as far as the eye of the observer could reach.” Upon seeing the salmon in the Columbia

River in 1805, Clark wrote that their numbers were “almost inconceivable.”

Before the end of the nineteenth century, the great herds of grazing animals in the West and the carnivores that stalked them had nearly been wiped out by government-sponsored extermination programs. The industrialization of the Pacific Northwest in the twentieth century reduced the natural habitat essential for the spawning and rearing of salmon, and their numbers fell sharply. Even more striking, most of the vast prairie landscape that Lewis and Clark crossed from the Mississippi Valley to the Rocky Mountains has disappeared, replaced by uniform fields of row-to-row crops. The prairie grasslands were once the largest ecosystem in North America, a patchwork of native grasses and herbs that supported a wide diversity of habitats.

Lewis and Clark were hardly romantic sentimentalists. Their West was dangerous and threatening, and their supplies included the latest in scientific equipment. They fully shared American notions of progress, and they carefully noted locations that were favorably situated for settlement. Still, the West they saw often left them with a sense of awe. For Lewis, the White Cliffs of the Missouri River in Montana were a spectacle “of visionary enchantment.” He described the Great Falls of the Missouri as “the grandest sight I ever beheld.”

The journals of Lewis and Clark provide a baseline from which to gauge how much the West has changed, putting Americans in a better position to preserve what is left and even restore some of what has been lost.

In commemoration of their epic expedition, President George W. Bush designated 2003 through 2006 as the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Beginning at Monticello in January 2003, a series of bicentennial events will highlight key dates and stages in the expedition and allow the public to gain a sense of how their journey unfolded. For information on these events, access the website listed in Web Resources.

for equal treatment as citizens, the Union survived its first great sectional crisis over slavery.

The Missouri crisis made white Southerners realize that they were now a distinct political minority within the Union. More rapid population growth in the North had reduced Southern representation in the House to just over 40 percent. Of greater concern was the crystallization in Congress of a Northern majority arrayed against the expansion of slavery.





## THE ELECTION OF 1824

The election of 1820 made Monroe, like both his Republican predecessors, a two-term president. Voters had no choice in 1820, and without two-party competition, no outlets existed for expressing popular dissatisfaction with the Republicans. Instead, the Republicans split into factions as they began jockeying almost immediately for the election of 1824 (see Map 9–4).

The politics of personality dominated Monroe's second administration. Monroe had no obvious successor, and five candidates competed to replace him. All of them (Secretary of War Calhoun, Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson) were nominal Republicans, and three were members of his cabinet.

None of the candidates ran on a platform, but Crawford was identified with states' rights and Clay and Adams with centralized government. Clay in particular was associated with the national bank, protective tariffs, and federally funded internal improvements, a package of federal subsidies he called the **American System**. Jackson took no stand on any of the issues.

Jackson's noncommittal stance turned out to be a great asset. It helped him project the image of a military hero fresh from the people who was unsullied by any connection with Washington politicians, whom the public associated with hard times and sectional controversies. He was the highest vote getter (43 percent of the popular vote), but none of the four candidates had a majority in the electoral college.

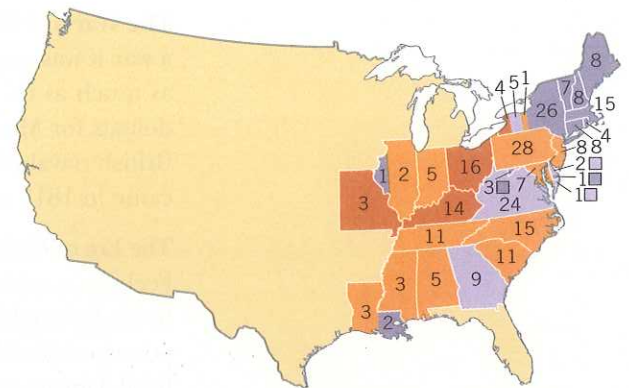
As in 1800, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives. Anxious to undercut Jackson, his chief rival in the West, Clay used his influence as speaker of the House to line up support for Adams, a fellow advocate of a strong centralized government.

Adams won the election, and he immediately named Clay as his secretary of state, the office traditionally viewed as a steppingstone to the presidency. Jackson and his followers were outraged. They smelled a "corrupt bargain" in which Clay had bargained away the presidency to the highest bidder. Vowing revenge, they began building a new party that would usher in a more democratic era of mass-based politics.

## CONCLUSION

In 1800, the Republicans were an untested party whose coming to power frightened many Federalists into predicting the end of the Union and constitutional government. The Federalists were correct in sensing that their days of power had passed, but they underestimated the ideological flexibility the Republicans would reveal once in office and the imaginative ways in which Jefferson and his successors would wield executive power to expand the size of the original Union. Far from being anarchists and demagogues, the Republicans were shrewd empire builders astute enough to add to their base of political support in the South and West. They also paved the way for the nation to evolve as a democratic republic rather than the more aristocratic republic preferred by the Federalists.

**American System** The program of government subsidies favored by Henry Clay and his followers to promote American economic growth and protect domestic manufacturers from foreign competition.



	Electoral Vote (%)	Popular Vote (%)
Andrew Jackson (Republican)	99 (38)	153,544 (43)
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS (Republican)	84 (32)	108,740 (31)
William H. Crawford (Republican)	41 (16)	46,618 (13)
Henry Clay (Republican)	37 (14)	47,136 (13)

MAP 9-4

**The Election of 1824** The regional appeal of each of the four presidential candidates in the election of 1824 prevented any candidate from receiving a majority of the electoral vote. Consequently, and as set forth in the Constitution, the House of Representatives now had to choose the president from the three leading candidates. Its choice was John Quincy Adams.

WHAT DOES this map suggest about the political climate in the United States in 1824?





By the mid-1820s, with no Federalist threat to enforce party discipline, the Republicans lost their organizational strength. Embracing economic nationalism after the war made the party's original focus on states' rights all but meaningless. But the party left as its most enduring legacy the foundations of a continental empire.

## SUMMARY

**Jefferson's Presidency** Thomas Jefferson believed that a true revolution had occurred in 1800, a peaceful overthrow of the Federalist party. Unlike Federalists, Jeffersonian Republicans wanted an agrarian republic based on widespread economic equality for white yeomen farmers. The cornerstone of his Republican policy was retrenchment, a return to the frugal, simple federal establishment. His foreign policy successes included the Louisiana Purchase; however, his Embargo Act of 1807 crippled his presidency in its final year.

**Madison and the Coming of War** Early in his administration, Madison became convinced that the impasse in Anglo-American relations was about to be broken. Mounting frustrations in the South and West also pushed Madison toward a war against Britain. On the eve of war Madison had to deal with the pan-Indian resistance movement and the Battle of Tippecanoe. And, as war with Britain seemed imminent, the war cries of the War Hawks pushed the nation ever closer to the brink.

**The War of 1812** In 1812, Republicans in a divided Congress led the nation into a war it was unprepared to fight. Internal dissent endangered the Union almost as much as the British. Early losses to the British in Canada were embarrassing defeats for Madison; however, later battles saw U.S. victories despite a successful British naval blockade. The final and decisive battle (the Battle of New Orleans) came in 1815 as Andrew Jackson led the United States to victory in the war.

**The Era of Good Feelings** In 1817 a Boston newspaper proclaimed the Era of Good Feelings, a spirit of political harmony in the postwar years. Henry Clay and John Calhoun, having learned to appreciate old Federalist doctrines on centralized national power, created the Second Bank of the United States. And, after moving to repair the fiscal damage of the War of 1812, Republicans then acted to protect what the war had fostered through tariffs. Nationalism also took hold in the form of judicial nationalism in several landmark Supreme Court rulings. Finally, diplomatic nationalism paved the way for expanding the United States through treaties with Britain and Spain.

**The Breakdown of Unity** In 1819, an economic depression and a bitter controversy over slavery shattered the harmony, and Republicans divided on sectional and economic issues. Sinking prices for American products overseas led to the Panic of 1819. Soon the economic panic led Southerners to worry about the North's emancipation powers. The slavery controversy was partly quelled by the Missouri Compromise. And, in 1824, John Quincy Adams became president in an election that effectively ended the unity in the Republican party.

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## REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What changes did the Republicans bring to the federal government? How did their policies differ from those of their Federalist predecessors?
2. Why did the United States go to war against Britain? Could this war have been avoided?











3. Why was the war widely viewed as a great American victory despite several defeats? How did the war lead to increased diplomatic cooperation between the United States and Britain?
4. Why did nationalism increase in the Era of Good Feelings? Why did Republican party unity collapse after 1819?

## KEY TERMS

<b>American System</b> (p. 237)	<b>Ghent, Treaty of</b> (p. 230)	<b>Rush-Bagot Agreement</b> (p. 232)
<b>Anglo-American Accords</b> (p. 233)	<b>Marbury v. Madison</b> (p. 220)	<b>Second Bank of the United States</b> (p. 231)
<b>Chesapeake Incident</b> (p. 223)	<b>Missouri Compromise</b> (p. 235)	<b>Trans Continental Treaty of 1819</b> (p. 233)
<b>Dartmouth College v. Woodward</b> (p. 232)	<b>Monroe Doctrine</b> (p. 233)	<b>War Hawks</b> (p. 225)
<b>Embargo Act of 1807</b> (p. 224)	<b>New Orleans, Battle of</b> (p. 230)	<b>War of 1812</b> (p. 229)
<b>Era of Good Feelings</b> (p. 231)	<b>Pan-Indian resistance movement</b> (p. 225)	
<b>Fletcher v. Peck</b> (p. 232)	<b>Put-in-Bay, Battle of</b> (p. 229)	

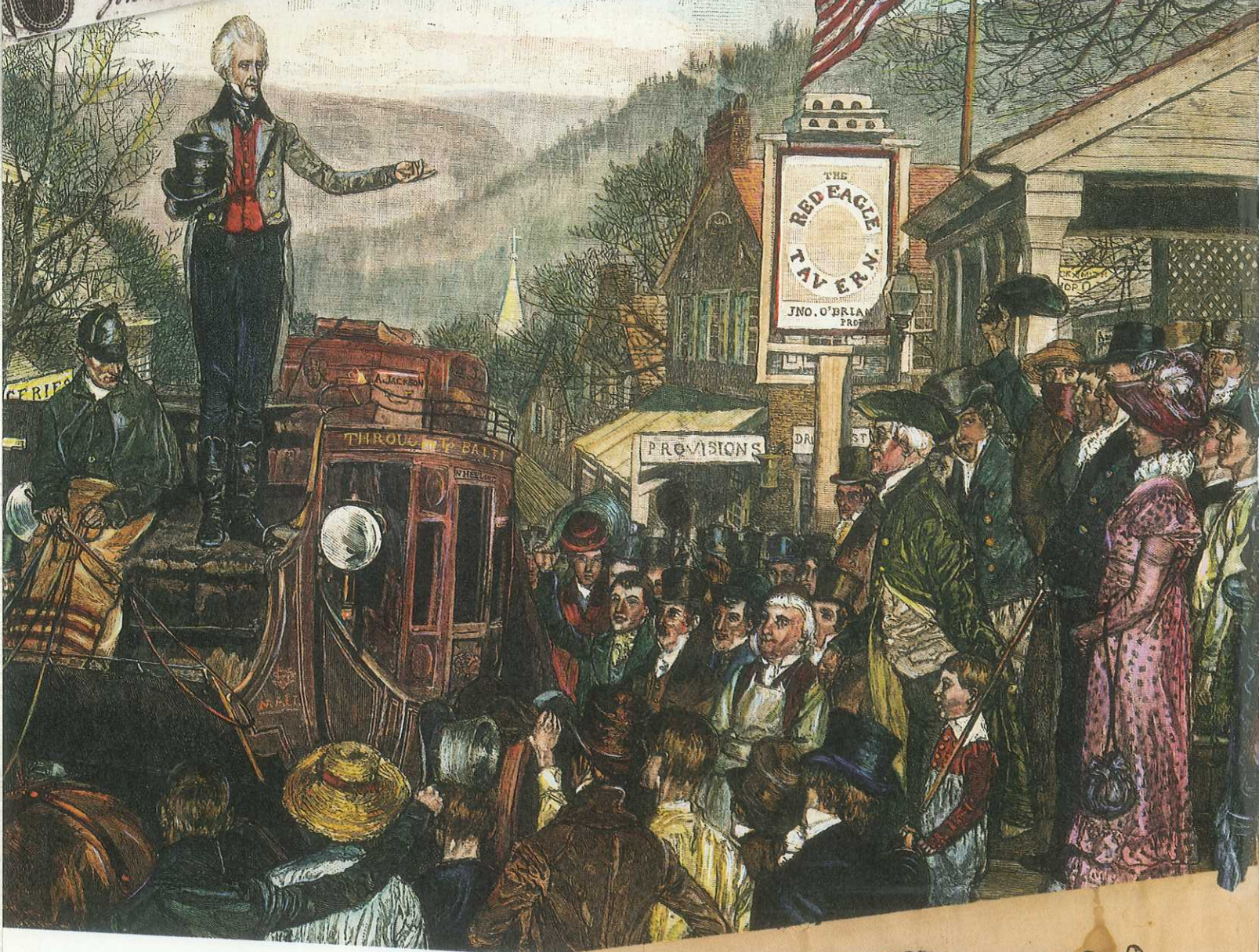
## WHERE TO LEARN MORE

-  **Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia.** The architecturally unique home of Thomas Jefferson and the headquarters for his plantation serves as a museum that provides insights into Jefferson's varied interests. Information on educational programs and upcoming events at Monticello, as well as the new Jefferson Library in Charlottesville, can be found at: [www.monticello.org/](http://www.monticello.org/)
-  **Montpelier, Montpelier Station, Virginia.** The museum here was the home of James Madison, and it includes material on his life as a politician and planter. Its website at [www.montpelier.org/](http://www.montpelier.org/) provides information on tours and programs and a look at the archeological findings at Montpelier.
-  **Tippecanoe Battlefield Museum, Battle Ground, Indiana.** This museum includes artifacts from the Indian and white settlement of Indiana and visual materials on the Battle of Tippecanoe of 1811. The museum's website at [www.tcha.mus.in.us/battlefield.htm](http://www.tcha.mus.in.us/battlefield.htm) includes an account of the battle and its aftermath.
-  **Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, Put-in-Bay, Ohio.** At the site of Perry's decisive victory on Lake Erie in 1813 now stands a museum that depicts the role of the Old Northwest in the War of 1812. For a printable travel guide and information on the new visitor center, see: [www.nps.gov/pevi/](http://www.nps.gov/pevi/)
-  **Fort McHenry National Monument, Baltimore, Maryland.** This historic site preserves the fort that was the focal point of the British attack on Baltimore and contains a museum with materials on the battle and the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner." For the military history of the fort and the archeological work at the site, see: [www.nps.gov/fomc/archeology/overview.html](http://www.nps.gov/fomc/archeology/overview.html)


 For additional study resources for this chapter, go to:  
[www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter9](http://www.prenhall.com/goldfield/chapter9)



*I blush for my country when I see such things,  
and I often tremble with apprehension that our  
Constitution will not long withstand the current  
which threatens to overwhelm it . . .*



Andrew Jackson speaking to a crowd after his election. Politics in the olden time—General Jackson, President-elect, on his way to Washington.

**GWY**  **PHENIX**

**CHEROKEE** **NEW ECHOA, THURSDAY FEBRUARY 21, 1828.** **NO. 1.**

**VOL. I.**

**CONSTITUTION OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.**

Adopted by a Convention of Delegates from the several Tribes, at New Echota, July 1827.

We, the Representatives of the Cherokee Nation, do hereby certify to the people of the United States, and to the several States, that the following is the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation, as adopted by the Convention of Delegates, at New Echota, on the 27th day of July, 1827.

**ARTICLE I.**

**Sec. 1.** The Executive Power shall be vested in one Chief Executive, who shall hold his Office for four Years, and until his Successor be chosen.

**Sec. 2.** The Legislative Power shall be vested in two distinct Branches, a Council, and a Council of Deputies, who shall be chosen by the People, and shall hold their Office for two Years, and until their Successors be chosen.

**Sec. 3.** The Judicial Power shall be vested in one or more Judges, who shall be chosen by the People, and shall hold their Office for six Years, and until their Successors be chosen.

**Sec. 4.** The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Powers, shall be exercised in the Name of the Cherokee Nation.

**Sec. 5.** The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Powers, shall be exercised in the Name of the Cherokee Nation.

**Sec. 6.** The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Powers, shall be exercised in the Name of the Cherokee Nation.

**Sec. 7.** The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Powers, shall be exercised in the Name of the Cherokee Nation.

**Sec. 8.** The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Powers, shall be exercised in the Name of the Cherokee Nation.

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**Sec. 10.** The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Powers, shall be exercised in the Name of the Cherokee Nation.