

A New Nation



Essential Question

Was the establishment of political parties beneficial to the United States?



About the Painting: This painting, *Carter's Tavern at the Head of Lake George* (1817–1818) by Francis Guy, depicts a New York landscape in the new nation.

In this module you will learn how the Constitution was put into effect and how two rival political parties developed.

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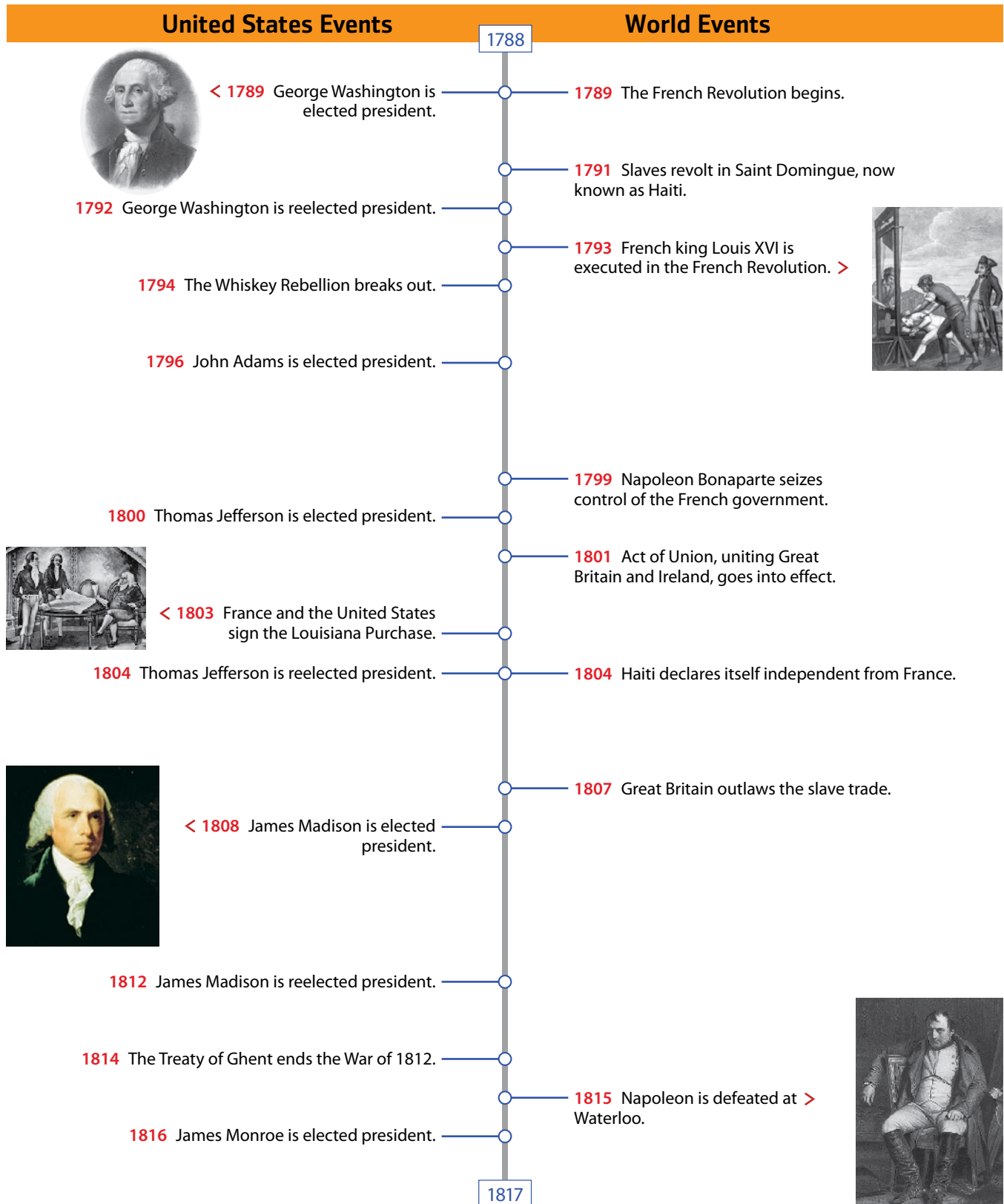
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Difficult Decisions: To Stand Up to Pirates or Not?

Timeline of Events 1788–1817

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Washington's Presidency

The Big Idea

President Washington transformed the ideas of the Constitution into a real government.

Why It Matters Now

The cabinet, an institution Washington created, is still a key element of every presidential administration.

Key Terms and People

Judiciary Act of 1789

Alexander Hamilton

cabinet

Bank of the United States

Democratic-Republicans

two-party system

protective tariff

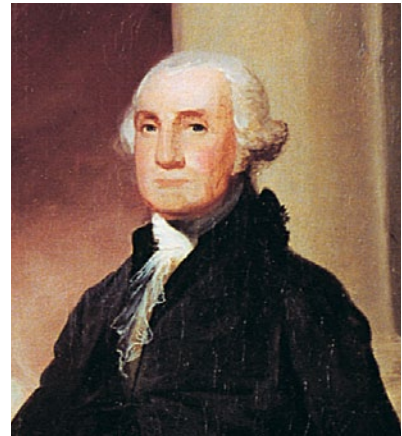
excise tax

One American's Story

George Washington had no desire to be president after the Constitutional Convention. His dream was to settle down to a quiet life at his Virginia estate, Mount Vernon. The American people had other ideas, though. They wanted a strong national leader of great authority as their first president. As the hero of the Revolution, Washington was the unanimous choice in the first presidential ballot. When the news reached him on April 16, 1789, Washington reluctantly accepted the call to duty. Two days later, he set out for New York City to take the oath of office.

"About ten o'clock I bade adieu [farewell] to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity [happiness]; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York . . . with the best dispositions [intentions] to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

—George Washington, from *The Diaries of George Washington*



George Washington

When Washington took office as the first president of the United States under the Constitution, he and Congress faced a daunting task—to create an entirely new government. The momentous decisions that these early leaders made have resounded through American history.

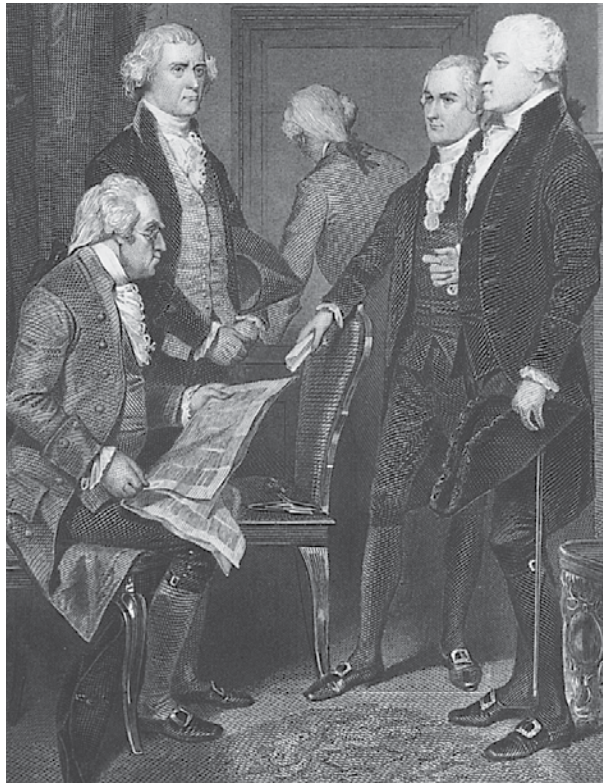
The New Government Takes Shape

Washington took charge of a political system that was a bold experiment. Never before had a nation tried to base a government on the Enlightenment ideals of republican rule and individual rights. No one knew if a government based on the will of the people could really work.

Although the Constitution provided a strong foundation, it was not a detailed blueprint for governing. To create a working government, Washington and Congress had to make many practical decisions—such as how to raise revenue and provide for defense—with no precedent, or prior example, for American leaders to follow. Perhaps James Madison put it best: “We are in a wilderness without a single footstep to guide us.” In every decision they made during this first presidency, President Washington and his administration set the precedents that shaped future government processes.

JUDICIARY ACT OF 1789 One of the first tasks Washington and Congress tackled was the creation of a judicial system. The Constitution had authorized Congress to set up a federal court system, headed by a Supreme Court, but it failed to spell out the details. What type of additional courts should there be and how many? What would happen if federal court decisions conflicted with state laws?

The **Judiciary Act of 1789** answered these critical questions, creating a judicial structure that has remained essentially intact. This law provided for a Supreme Court consisting of a Chief Justice and five associate justices. It also set up 3 federal circuit courts and 13 federal district courts throughout the country. (The numbers of justices and courts increased over time.) Section 25 of the Judiciary Act, one of the most important provisions of the law, allowed



President Washington (far right) meets with his first cabinet: (from left to right) Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Randolph (with back turned), and Alexander Hamilton.

state court decisions to be appealed to a federal court when constitutional issues were raised. This section guaranteed that federal laws remained “the supreme Law of the Land,” as directed by Article 6 of the Constitution.

WASHINGTON SHAPES THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH At the same time that Congress shaped the judiciary, Washington faced the task of building an executive branch to help him make policies and carry out the laws that Congress passed. In 1789 when Washington took office, the executive branch of government consisted of two officials, the president and the vice-president. To help these leaders govern, Congress created three executive departments: the Department of State, to deal with foreign affairs; the Department of War, to handle military matters; and the Department of the Treasury, to manage finances.

To head these departments, Washington chose capable leaders he knew and trusted. He picked Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state, **Alexander Hamilton** as secretary of the treasury, and Henry Knox, who had served as Washington’s general of artillery during the Revolution, as secretary of war. Finally, he chose Edmund Randolph as attorney general, the chief lawyer of the federal government. These department heads soon became the president’s chief advisers, or **cabinet**.

Hamilton and Jefferson Debate

Both Hamilton and Jefferson were brilliant thinkers. Both men believed that all Americans should be able to pursue the “American Dream” of improving their lives by working hard. However, Hamilton and Jefferson had very different political ideas. The differences between the two caused bitter disagreements, many of which centered on Hamilton’s plan for the economy.

HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON IN CONFLICT Political divisions in the new nation were great. No two men embodied these differences more than Hamilton and Jefferson. Hamilton believed in a strong central government led by a prosperous, educated elite of upper-class citizens. Jefferson distrusted a strong central government and the rich. He favored strong state and

Reading Check

Analyze Motives

Why did federal law have to be “the supreme Law of the Land” in the new nation?

NOW

&

THEN

The Cabinet

The Constitution provided the president the right to “require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments.” Washington chose to seek those opinions in person. He met with the heads of his four executive departments on a regular basis. In 1793 James Madison called this group the cabinet, a term used in Britain for advisers to the king.

Since Washington’s time, the number of departments has increased to 15. In addition to the secretaries of these 15 departments, cabinet officers include other executive branch officials such as the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, and the vice-president. The cabinet meets at the request of the president and frequency varies from administration to administration.

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826)



The writer of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson began his political career at age 26, when he was elected to Virginia's colonial legislature. In 1779 he was elected governor of Virginia, and in 1785 he was appointed minister to France. He served as secretary of state from 1790 to 1793.

A southern planter, Jefferson was also an accomplished scholar, the architect of Monticello (his Virginia house), an inventor (of, among other things, a machine that made copies of letters), and the founder of the University of Virginia in 1819. Despite his elite background and his ownership of slaves, he was a strong ally of the small farmer and average citizen.

Alexander Hamilton (1755–1804)



Born into poverty in the British West Indies, Alexander Hamilton was orphaned at age 13 and went to work as a shipping clerk. He later made his way to New York, where he attended King's College (now Columbia University). He joined the army during the Revolution and became an aide to General Washington. Intensely ambitious, Hamilton quickly moved up in society.

Although in his humble origins Hamilton was the opposite of Jefferson, he had little faith in the common citizen and sided with the interests of upper-class Americans. Hamilton said of Jefferson's beloved common people: "Your people, sir, your people is a great beast!"

local governments rooted in popular participation. Hamilton believed that commerce and industry were the keys to a strong nation. Jefferson favored a society of farmer-citizens.

Overall, Hamilton's vision of America was that of a country much like Great Britain, with a strong central government, commerce, and industry. His views found more support in the North, particularly New England, whereas Jefferson's views won endorsement in the South and the West.

HAMILTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN As secretary of the treasury, Hamilton's job was to set the nation's finances in order and put the nation's economy on a firm footing. To do this, he proposed a plan to manage the country's debts and a plan to establish a national banking system.

According to Hamilton's calculations in his *Report on the Public Credit*, the public debt of the United States in 1790 (most of it incurred during the Revolution) was many millions of dollars. The national government was responsible for about two-thirds of this debt, and individual states were responsible for the rest. The new nation owed some of the debt to foreign governments and some to private citizens, including soldiers who had received bonds—certificates that promised payment plus interest—as payment for their service during the war.

Contrasting Views of the Federal Government

Hamilton	Jefferson
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Concentrating power in federal government	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sharing power with state and local governments; limited national government
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Fear of mob rule	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Fear of absolute power or ruler
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Republic led by a well-educated elite	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Democracy of virtuous farmers and tradespeople
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Loose interpretation of the Constitution	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Strict interpretation of the Constitution
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National bank constitutional (loose interpretation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• National bank unconstitutional (strict interpretation)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economy based on shipping and manufacturing	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economy based on farming
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Payment of national and state debts (favoring creditors)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Payment of only the national debt (favoring debtors)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Supporters: merchants, manufacturers, landowners, investors, lawyers, clergy	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Supporters: the “plain people” (farmers, tradespeople)

Interpret Tables

- 1. Whose view of the federal government was a wealthy person more likely to favor? Why?
- 2. How do you think Jefferson differed from Hamilton in his view of people and human nature?

Hamilton proposed to pay off the foreign debt and to issue new bonds to cover the old ones. He also proposed that the federal government assume the debts of the states. Although this would increase the federal debt, Hamilton reasoned that assuming state debts would give creditors—the people who originally loaned the money—an incentive to support the new federal government. If the government failed, these creditors would never get their money back. However, this proposal made many people in the South furious. Some southern states had already paid off most of their debts. Southerners resented assumption of state debts because they thought that they would be taxed to help pay the debts incurred by the northern states.

PLAN FOR A NATIONAL BANK Hamilton’s line of reasoning also motivated his proposal for a national bank that both the federal government and wealthy private investors would fund. Hamilton hoped to tie wealthy investors to the country’s welfare. The **Bank of the United States** would issue paper money and handle tax receipts and other government funds.

Hamilton’s proposals aroused a storm of controversy. Opponents of a national bank, including James Madison, claimed that the bank would forge an unhealthy alliance between the government and wealthy business interests. Madison also argued that since the Constitution made no provision for a national bank, Congress had no right to authorize it. This argument began the debate between those who favored a “strict” interpretation of the Constitution, one in which the federal government has very limited powers, and a

“loose” interpretation, which favors greater federal powers. The latter group appealed to the so-called elastic clause of the Constitution (Article I, Section 8, Clause 18). This clause gives Congress the authority to do whatever is “necessary and proper” to carry out its specific enumerated powers, such as regulating commerce. In the end, however, Hamilton convinced Washington and a majority in Congress to accept his views, and the federal government established the Bank of the United States.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA To win support for his debt plan from southern states, Hamilton offered a suggestion: What if the nation’s capital were moved from New York City to a new city in the South, on the banks of the Potomac River? This idea pleased southerners, particularly Virginians such as Madison and Jefferson, who believed that a southern site for the capital would make the government more responsive to their interests. With this incentive, Virginians agreed to back the debt plan. In 1790 the debt bill passed Congress, along with authorization for the construction of a new national capital in the District of Columbia, located between Maryland and Virginia.

Pierre L’Enfant, a French engineer, drew up plans for the new capital. George Washington later fired L’Enfant for being obstinate. Andrew Ellicott replaced L’Enfant. Ellicott redrew L’Enfant’s plan but kept much of the grand vision. An African American surveyor, Benjamin Banneker, assisted Ellicott with the surveying work. They made their plan on a grand scale, incorporating boulevards, traffic circles, and monuments that were reminiscent of European capitals. By 1800 the capital had been moved to its new site on the Potomac River.

Reading Check

Analyze Issues

Why did the new nation need to pay off its debts?



Pierre L’Enfant proposed a federal capital of spacious, tree-lined boulevards, symbolizing the freedom of the young republic.

The First Political Parties and Rebellion

President Washington tried to remain above the arguments between Hamilton and Jefferson and to encourage them to work together despite their basic differences. These differences were so great, however, that the two men continued to clash over government policy. Their conflict divided the cabinet and fueled a growing division in national politics.

FEDERALISTS AND DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS The split in Washington's cabinet helped give rise to the country's first political parties. The two parties formed around one of the key issues in American history—the power and size of the federal government in relation to state and local governments. Those who shared Hamilton's vision of a strong central government called themselves Federalists. Those who supported Jefferson's vision of strong state governments called themselves Republicans. No relation to today's Republican Party, Jefferson's Republicans—later called **Democratic-Republicans** to emphasize that they favored popular government—were in fact the ancestors of today's Democratic Party.

The very existence of political parties worried many leaders, including Washington, who saw parties as a danger to national unity. Despite criticism, the two parties continued to develop. The **two-party system** was well established by the time Washington left office.

THE WHISKEY REBELLION During Washington's second term, an incident occurred that reflected the tension between federal and regional interests. In 1789 Congress had passed a **protective tariff**, an import tax on goods produced in Europe. This tax, meant to encourage American production, brought in a great deal of revenue, but Secretary Hamilton wanted more. So he pushed through an **excise tax**—a tax on a product's manufacture, sale, or distribution—to be levied on the manufacture of whiskey.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Two Political Parties

At the close of his presidency, Washington criticized the development of a two-party system within the United States.

"It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment[s] [incites] occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption. . . ."

—George Washington, from his Farewell Address, 1796

Analyze Historical Sources

Why did Washington oppose a two-party system?



A group of rebels taking part in the Whiskey Rebellion tar and feather a tax collector.

Background

In addition to promoting American goods, the Tariff Act of 1789, as well as tariffs that followed, provided the majority of the federal government's revenue until the 20th century.

Reading Check

Contrast How did the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans differ from each other?

thought Great Britain was inflicting an unfair tax burden on them. In 1794 farmers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay the excise tax. They beat up federal marshals in Pittsburgh, and they even threatened to secede from the Union.

Hamilton looked upon the Whiskey Rebellion as an opportunity for the federal government to show that it could enforce the law along the western frontier. Accordingly, some 15,000 militiamen were called up. Accompanied by Washington part of the way and by Hamilton all the way, the federal troops hiked over the Alleghenies and scattered the rebels without the loss of a single life.

The Whiskey Rebellion was a milestone in the consolidation of federal power in domestic affairs. At the same time, the new government was also facing critical problems and challenges in foreign affairs—particularly in its relations with Europe and with Native American peoples west of the Appalachians.

Most whiskey producers were small frontier farmers. Their major crop was corn. Corn was too bulky to carry across the Appalachian Mountains and then sell it in the settled areas along the Atlantic. Therefore, the farmers distilled the corn into whiskey, which could be more easily sent to market on the backs of mules.

Since whiskey was the main source of cash for these frontier farmers, Hamilton knew that the excise tax would make them furious. And it did. The frontier farmers thought the U.S. government was inflicting an unfair tax burden on them. This was similar to reasons for the Revolutionary War, when colonists

Lesson 1 Assessment

- 1. Organize Information** In a table, list the leaders, beliefs, and goals of the country's first political parties.

Federalists	Democratic-Republicans

If you had lived in that time, which party would you have favored?

- 2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- 3. Form Opinions** How would you judge President Washington's decision to put two such opposed thinkers as Hamilton and Jefferson on his cabinet?

Think About:

- both men's merits
- their philosophies
- the conflicts that developed

- 4. Analyze Issues** How was the Whiskey Rebellion an opportunity for the federal government to demonstrate its authority?
- 5. Develop Historical Perspective** Based on your knowledge of the problems the nation faced, would you have supported Hamilton's economic plan? Explain why or why not.
- 6. Evaluate** Evaluate the lasting impact of the Judiciary Act of 1789.

Tackling Foreign Affairs

The Big Idea

Events in Europe sharply divided American public opinion in the late 18th century.

Why It Matters Now

Foreign policy remains a key element of every presidential administration.

Key Terms and People

neutrality

Edmond Genêt

Thomas Pinckney

Little Turtle

John Jay

sectionalism

XYZ Affair

Alien and Sedition Acts

nullification

One American's Story

Gouverneur Morris, the man responsible for the final draft of the Constitution, witnessed one of the great events of history—the French Revolution. On July 14, 1789, a mob stormed the Bastille, the infamous Paris prison, releasing the prisoners and killing the prison governor. Not long afterward, while walking on a Paris street, Morris got a close look at revolutionary violence.

“[T]he Head and Body of Mr. de Foulon are introduced in Triumph. The Head on a Pike, the Body dragged naked on the Earth. Afterwards this horrible Exhibition is carried thro the different Streets. His crime [was] to have accepted a Place in the Ministry. This mutilated form of an old Man of seventy five is shewn to Bertier, his Son in Law, the Intend’t. [another official] of Paris, and afterwards he also is put to Death and cut to Pieces, the Populace carrying about the mangled Fragments with a Savage Joy.”



French revolutionaries storm the Bastille in Paris, France, on July 14, 1789.

—Gouverneur Morris, from his journal

Morris was appointed minister to France in 1792. Despite his horror at the violence around him, Morris remained at his post throughout the bloodiest days of the Revolution. Meanwhile, at home, Americans were divided in their views concerning the events underway in France.

U.S. Response to Events in Europe

Most Americans initially supported the French Revolution because, like the American Revolution, it was inspired by the ideal of republican rule. Heartened by the American struggle against royal tyranny, the French set out to create a government based on the will of the people. The alliance between France and the United States, created by the Treaty of 1778, served as an additional bond between the two nations. Whether or not the United States should support the French Revolution was one of the most important foreign policy questions that the young nation faced.

REACTIONS TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION Despite the bonds between the nations, Americans soon became divided over the Revolution. In early 1793 a radical group called the Jacobins seized power in France. They beheaded the French king, Louis XVI. They then launched the Reign of Terror against their opponents, sending moderate reformers and royalists alike to the guillotine. In an excess of revolutionary zeal, the Jacobins also declared war on other monarchies, including Great Britain.

Because of their alliance with the United States, the French expected American help. The American reaction tended to split along party lines. Democratic-Republicans, such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, wanted to honor the 1778 treaty and support France. Federalists, such as Alexander Hamilton, wanted to back the British. President Washington took a middle position. On April 22, 1793, he issued a declaration of **neutrality**. The declaration stated that the United States would support neither side in the conflict. Hamilton and Jefferson came to agree; entering a war was not in the new nation's interest.

Earlier in April, the French had sent a young diplomat, **Edmond Genêt**, to win American support. Before following diplomatic procedure and presenting his credentials to the Washington administration, Genêt began to recruit Americans for the war against Great Britain. This violation of American neutrality and diplomatic protocol outraged Washington. The president demanded that the French recall Genêt. By then, however, Genêt's political backers had fallen from power in Paris. Fearing for his life, the young envoy remained in the United States and became a U.S. citizen. Although Jefferson protested Genêt's actions, Federalists called Jefferson a radical because he supported France. Frustrated by these attacks and by his ongoing feud with Hamilton, Jefferson resigned from the cabinet in 1793.

TREATY WITH SPAIN The United States wanted to secure land claims west of the Appalachian Mountains. It also wanted to gain shipping rights on the Mississippi River. To do this, it needed to come to an agreement with Spain, which still held Florida and the Louisiana Territory, a vast area of land west of the Mississippi River.

Negotiations stalled because of the turmoil in Europe. Spain, unlike Britain, signed a treaty with France. Spain then feared British retaliation and suspected that a joint British-American action might be launched against the Louisiana Territory. Suddenly, Spain agreed to meet with the U.S. minister

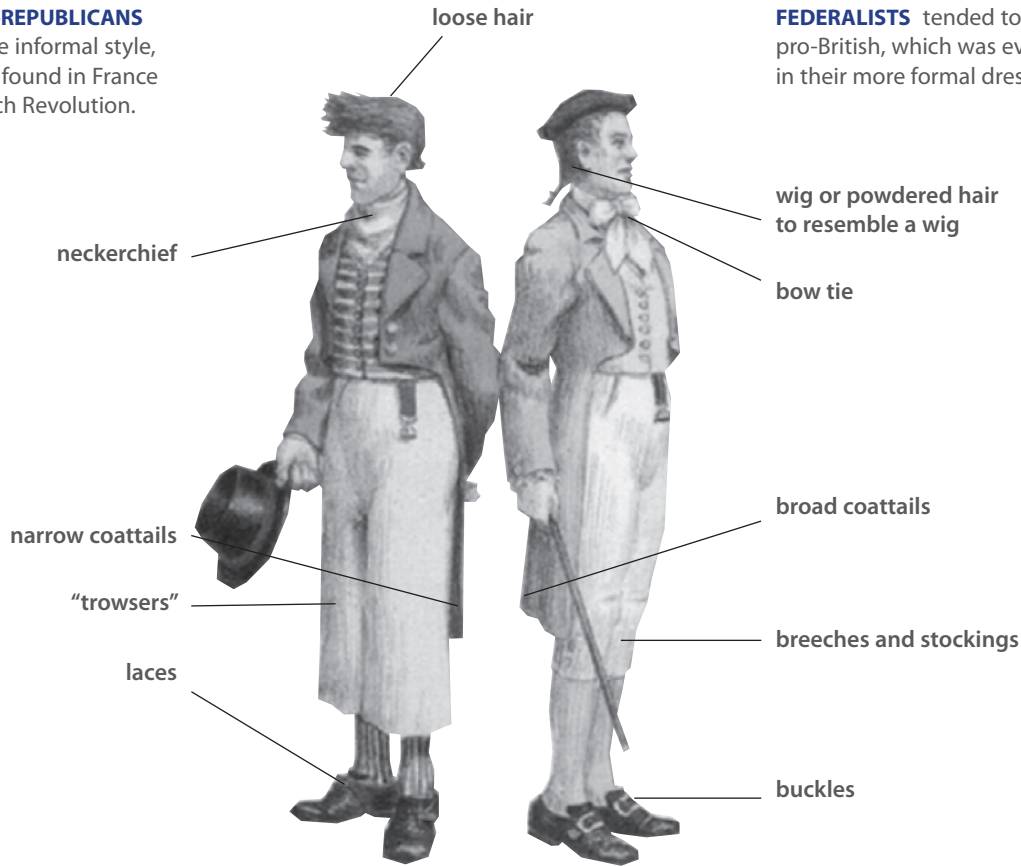
Politics and Style

Events in France not only affected politics in the United States, they influenced styles of clothing as well. Political differences could often be detected by observing different styles of dress and appearance.

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS

avored a more informal style, similar to that found in France after the French Revolution.

FEDERALISTS tended to be pro-British, which was evident in their more formal dress.



Reading Check

Analyze Motives

Why did the United States want to maintain its neutrality?

to Great Britain, **Thomas Pinckney**. Spain's concerns about a united British-American front aided Pinckney in negotiating a treaty, which both sides signed on October 27, 1795.

Pinckney's Treaty of 1795, also known as the Treaty of San Lorenzo, included virtually every concession that the Americans desired. Spain gave up all claims to land east of the Mississippi (except Florida). Spain also recognized the 31st parallel as the southern boundary of the United States and the northern boundary of Florida. Finally, Spain agreed to open the Mississippi River to traffic by Spanish subjects and U.S. citizens, and to allow American traders to use the port of New Orleans.

Native Americans Resist White Settlers

Pioneers moving west assumed that the 1783 Treaty of Paris, in which Great Britain had ceded its land rights west of the Appalachians, gave them free rein to settle the area. But the British still maintained forts in the Northwest Territory—an area that included what are now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—in direct violation of the treaty. In addition to this continued British presence, the settlers met fierce resistance from the original inhabitants.

British Forts on U.S. Land, 1783–1794



Interpret Maps

- 1. Location** What is one common feature of the locations of most of the British forts on this map?
- 2. Human-Environment Interaction** Why would this feature be of great importance to an army?

FIGHTS IN THE NORTHWEST Having been excluded from the negotiations that led to the Treaty of Paris, Native Americans in the Northwest Territory never accepted the provisions of the treaty. They continued to claim their tribal lands and demanded direct negotiations with the United States. They also took heart from the presence of British troops, who encouraged their resistance. When white settlers moved into their territory, Native Americans often attacked them.

To gain control over the area that would become Ohio, the federal government sent an army led by General Josiah Harmar. In 1790 Harmar's troops clashed with a confederacy of Native American groups led by a chief-tain of the Miami nation named **Little Turtle**. The Native Americans won that battle. The following year, the Miami Confederacy inflicted an even worse defeat on a federal army led by General Arthur St. Clair.

BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS Finally, in 1792 Washington appointed General Anthony Wayne to lead federal troops against the Native Americans. Known as “Mad Anthony” for his reckless courage, Wayne spent an entire year drilling his men. Greatly impressed, Little Turtle urged his people to seek peace.

“We have beaten the enemy twice under different commanders. . . . The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. . . . We have never been able to surprise him. . . . It would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace.”

—Little Turtle, from a speech to his allies

The other chiefs did not agree with Little Turtle and replaced him with a less able leader. On August 20, 1794, Wayne defeated the Miami Confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, near present-day Toledo, Ohio. After the battle, Wayne’s army marched defiantly past the British Fort Miami, only two miles away. They then built an American post nearby.

This victory ended Native American resistance in Ohio. The following year, the Miami Confederacy signed the Treaty of Greenville, agreeing to give up most of the land in Ohio in exchange for \$20,000 worth of goods and an annual payment of nearly \$10,000. This settlement continued a pattern in which settlers and the government paid Native Americans much less for their land than it was worth. Meanwhile, in the Northwest Territory, new sources of conflict were developing between Britain and the United States.

JAY’S TREATY At the time of the Battle of Fallen Timbers, **John Jay**, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was in London to negotiate a treaty with Britain. One of the disputed issues was which nation would control territories west of the Appalachian Mountains. When news of Wayne’s victory at Fallen Timbers arrived, the British agreed to evacuate their posts in the Northwest Territory and a treaty was signed on November 19, 1794. The treaty managed to pass the Senate, but many Americans, especially western settlers, were angry at its terms, which allowed the British to continue their fur trade on the American side of the U.S.-Canadian border.

Adams Provokes Criticism

The bitter political fight over Jay’s Treaty, along with the growing division between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans, convinced Washington not to seek a third term in office. In his Farewell Address, he urged the United States to “steer clear of permanent alliances” with other nations. Then, in 1797 Washington retired to his home at Mount Vernon.

THE ELECTION OF 1796 In the presidential election of 1796, Americans faced a new situation: a contest between opposing parties. The Federalists nominated Vice-President John Adams for president and Thomas Pinckney for vice-president. The Democratic-Republicans nominated Thomas Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice-president.

Adams received 71 electoral votes, while Jefferson received 68. Because the Constitution stated that the runner-up should become vice-president, the country found itself with a Federalist president and a Democratic-Republican vice-president. What had seemed sensible when the Constitution was written had become a problem because of the unexpected rise of political parties.

Reading Check

Analyze Effects

How did the U.S. government’s treaties with Native Americans give white settlers an advantage over Native Americans?

The election also underscored the growing danger of **sectionalism**—placing the interests of one region over those of the nation as a whole. Almost all the electors from the southern states voted for Jefferson, while all the electors from the northern states voted for Adams.



John Adams

ADAMS TRIES TO AVOID WAR Soon after taking office, President Adams faced his first crisis: a looming war with France. The French government, which regarded Jay's Treaty as a violation of the French-American alliance, refused to receive the new American ambassador. The French also began to seize American ships bound for Britain. Adams sent a three-man delegation consisting of Charles Pinckney, minister to France; future Chief Justice John Marshall; and Elbridge Gerry to Paris to negotiate a solution.

By this time, the Reign of Terror had ceased and the French government consisted of a legislature and a five-man executive branch called the Directory. French power and prestige were at a high point because of the accomplishments of a young general named Napoleon Bonaparte who had conquered most of western Europe. The Directory had little patience with the concerns of the Americans.

The American delegation planned to meet with the French foreign minister, Talleyrand. Instead, the Directory sent three low-level officials, whom Adams in his report to Congress called "X, Y, and Z." These officials demanded a \$250,000 bribe as payment for seeing Talleyrand. News of this insult, which became known as the **XYZ Affair**, provoked a wave of anti-French feeling at home. "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute" became the slogan of the day. The mood was so anti-French that audiences refused to listen to French music.

In 1798 Congress created a navy department. It also authorized American ships to seize French vessels. Twelve hundred men marched to the president's residence to volunteer for war. Congress authorized the creation of an army of 50,000 troops and brought George Washington yet again out of retirement to be "Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the armies raised or to be raised." While war was never officially declared, for the next two years an undeclared naval war raged between France and the United States.

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS The anti-French feeling continued to flourish. And many Federalists believed that French agents were everywhere, plotting to overthrow the government. New arrivals from foreign countries were soon held in particular suspicion, especially because many immigrants were active in the Democratic-Republican Party. Some of the most vocal critics of the Adams administration were foreign-born. They included French and British radicals as well as recent Irish immigrants who lashed out at anyone who was even faintly pro-British, including the Federalist Adams.

To counter what they saw as a growing threat against the government, the Federalists pushed through Congress in 1798 four measures that became known as the **Alien and Sedition Acts**. Three of these measures, the Alien Acts, raised the residence requirement for American citizenship from five years to 14 years and allowed the president to deport or jail any alien considered undesirable.

Vocabulary

alien belonging to or coming from another country; foreign

sedition rebellion against one's country; treason

"The Paris Monster"

"*Cinque-tetes*, or the Paris Monster," is the title of this political cartoon satirizing the XYZ Affair. The five members of the French Directory, or ruling executive body, are depicted as a five-headed monster demanding money. The three American representatives—Elbridge Gerry, Charles Pinckney, and John Marshall—are on the left, exclaiming "Cease bawling, monster! We will not give you six-pence!"

Analyze Historical Sources

1. How would you contrast the cartoon's depiction of the American representatives with its depiction of the French Directory?
2. What other details in the cartoon show the cartoonist's attitude toward the French?



The fourth measure, the Sedition Act, set fines and jail terms for anyone trying to hinder the operation of the government or expressing "false, scandalous, and malicious statements" against the government. Under the terms of this act, the federal government prosecuted and jailed a number of Democratic-Republican editors, publishers, and politicians. Outraged Democratic-Republicans called the laws a violation of freedom of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment.

VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS The two main Democratic-Republican leaders, Jefferson and James Madison, saw the Alien and Sedition Acts as a serious misuse of power on the part of the federal government. They decided to organize opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts by appealing to the states. Madison drew up resolutions that the Virginia legislature adopted, while Jefferson wrote resolutions that Kentucky approved. The Kentucky Resolutions in particular asserted the principle of **nullification**—that states had the right to nullify, or consider void, any act of Congress that they deemed unconstitutional. Virginia and Kentucky viewed the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional violations of First Amendment citizens' rights.

The resolutions warned of the dangers that the Alien and Sedition Acts posed to a government of checks and balances guaranteed by the Constitution.

“Let the honest advocate of confidence [in government] read the alien and sedition acts, and say if the Constitution has not been wise in fixing limits to the government it created, and whether we should be wise in destroying those limits.”

—Thomas Jefferson, from the 8th Resolution, The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions

Moreover, Virginia and Kentucky claimed the right to declare null and void federal laws going beyond powers granted by the Constitution to the federal government.

The resolutions also called for other states to adopt similar declarations. No other state did so, however, and the issue died out by the next presidential election. Nevertheless, the resolutions showed that the balance of power between the states and the federal government remained a controversial issue. In fact, the election of 1800 between Federalist John Adams and Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson would center on this critical debate.

THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON Throughout 1799 George Washington remained active. He wrote letters to recruit possible generals and made plans for the army that might be needed in a possible war against France. However, on December 14, Washington died after catching a severe cold. Washington was buried according to his wishes with a military funeral at Mount Vernon.

Ironically, Washington’s death was instrumental in improving relations with France. Napoleon Bonaparte, at this time first consul of France, hoped to lure American friendship away from the British. He ordered the French armies to observe ten days of mourning for the American leader. Soon, Napoleon would offer even greater concessions to the Americans.

Reading Check
Analyze Issues How did the Kentucky Resolutions challenge the authority of the federal government?

Lesson 2 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** List some of the disputes mentioned in this lesson. Indicate the dispute and each side’s arguments.

Dispute	
One Side	Other Side

Choose one dispute and defend one side’s arguments.

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Evaluate** Should the United States have officially supported the French revolutionaries against the British? Support your opinion with examples from the text.

Think About:

- Federalist and Democratic-Republican attitudes toward France and Great Britain
 - the Reign of Terror
 - U.S. gratitude to France for its support against Britain
4. **Form Opinions** Do you agree with the Democratic-Republicans that the Alien and Sedition Acts were a violation of the First Amendment? Were they necessary? Support your opinion.
5. **Analyze Issues** How did the presidency of John Adams show that there continued to be a battle over the balance of power between the states and the federal government?

Jefferson Alters the Nation's Course

The Big Idea

The United States expanded its borders during Thomas Jefferson's administration.

Why It Matters Now

Part or all of 15 states now occupy the territory Jefferson acquired in the Louisiana Purchase.

Key Terms and People

Lewis and Clark

Aaron Burr

John Marshall

Judiciary Act of 1801

midnight judges

Marbury v. Madison

judicial review

Louisiana Purchase

Sacajawea

One American's Story

Patrick Gass was born on June 12, 1771, and died on April 2, 1870. During that time, the country grew from the original 13 colonies to 37 states. Gass played a part in that expansion as a participant in the **Lewis and Clark** expedition commissioned by President Jefferson to explore the West. Setting out from St. Louis, Missouri, in 1804, the expedition traveled overland to the Pacific Ocean. Along the way, Gass kept a journal. The following passage is from his journal entry of May 14, 1805.

"This forenoon we passed a large creek on the North side and a small river on the South. About 4 in the afternoon we passed another small river on the South side near the mouth of which some of the men discovered a large brown bear, and six of them went out to kill it. They fired at it; but having only wounded it, it made battle and was near seizing some of them, but they all fortunately escaped, and at length succeeded in dispatching it."

—Patrick Gass, from *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery*



Patrick Gass

By charting unexplored territory, the Lewis and Clark expedition helped lay the foundations for western expansion. It was one of the great achievements of the Jefferson presidency.

Jefferson Wins the Presidential Election of 1800

The presidential campaign of 1800 was a bitter struggle between Thomas Jefferson, a Democratic-Republican, and his Federalist opponent, President John Adams. Each party hurled wild charges at the other. To Democratic-Republicans, Adams was a tool of the rich who wanted to turn the executive branch into a British-style monarchy. To Federalists, Jefferson was a dangerous supporter of revolutionary France and an atheist bent on destroying organized religion.

In the balloting, Jefferson defeated Adams by eight electoral votes. However, since Jefferson's running mate, **Aaron Burr**, received the same number of votes in the electoral college as Jefferson, the House of Representatives was called upon to choose between the two highest vote getters. For six feverish days, the House took one ballot after another—35 ballots in all. Finally, Alexander Hamilton intervened. Hamilton persuaded enough Federalists to cast blank votes to give Jefferson a majority of two votes. Burr then became vice-president. Although Hamilton opposed Jefferson's philosophy of government, he regarded Jefferson as much more qualified for the presidency than Burr was.

The deadlock revealed a flaw in the electoral process as spelled out in the Constitution. As a result, Congress passed the Twelfth Amendment, which called for electors to cast separate ballots for president and vice-president. This system is still in effect today.

The Jefferson Presidency

In his inaugural address, Jefferson extended the hand of peace to his opponents. "Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle," he said. "We are all [Democratic-] Republicans; we are all Federalists." Nevertheless, Jefferson planned to wage a "peaceful revolution" to restore what he saw as the republican ideals of 1776 against the strong-government policies of Federalism. Under Washington and Adams, Federalists had filled the vast majority of government positions. Jefferson reversed this pattern by replacing some Federalist officials with Democratic-Republican ones. By 1803 the government bureaucracy was more evenly balanced between Democratic-Republicans and Federalists.

SIMPLIFYING THE PRESIDENCY Jefferson believed that a simple government best suited the needs of a republic. In a symbolic gesture, he walked to his own inauguration instead of riding in a carriage. As president, he took off his powdered wig and sometimes wore work clothes and frayed slippers when receiving visitors.

In accord with his belief in decentralized power, Jefferson also tried to shrink the government and cut costs wherever possible. He reduced the size of the army, halted a planned expansion of the navy, and lowered expenses

Reading Check
Analyze Causes
Why did Congress
pass the Twelfth
Amendment?

for government social functions. He also rolled back Hamilton's economic program by eliminating all internal taxes and reducing the influence of the Bank of the United States. Jefferson strongly favored free trade rather than government-controlled trade and tariffs. He believed that free trade would benefit the United States because the raw materials and food that Americans were producing were in short supply in Europe.



The White House during Thomas Jefferson's presidency

SOUTHERN DOMINANCE OF POLITICS Jefferson was the first president to take office in the new federal capital, Washington, DC. Though in appearance the city was a primitive place of dirt roads and few buildings, its location between Virginia and Maryland reflected the growing importance of the South in national politics. In fact, Jefferson and the two presidents who followed him—James Madison and James Monroe—all were from Virginia.

This pattern of southern dominance underscored the declining influence of both New England and the Federalists in national political life. Jefferson's political moderation hastened the decline of the Federalists. Also, many Federalists refused to participate in political campaigns because they did not want to appeal to the common people for support. National expansion worked against the Federalists because settlers in the new states tended to vote for the Democratic-Republicans, who represented farmers' interests.

JOHN MARSHALL AND THE SUPREME COURT Federalists continued to exert great influence in the judicial branch, however. Adams had appointed **John Marshall**, a staunch Federalist, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Marshall served on the Court for more than 30 years, handing down decisions that would strengthen the power of the Supreme Court and the federal government.

Some of Adams's other judicial appointments proved to be less effective, however. Just before leaving office, Adams had pushed through Congress the **Judiciary Act of 1801**, which increased the number of federal judges by 16. In an attempt to control future federal judicial decisions, Adams promptly filled most of these positions with Federalists. These judges were known as

DIFFICULT DECISIONS

To Stand Up to Pirates or Not?

President Thomas Jefferson had a tricky decision to make. He was trying to simplify and reduce the U.S. government. He had already stopped the planned expansion of the navy. However, then a foreign threat arose that challenged Jefferson's decision.

The rulers of the North African Barbary States of Algiers, Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli supported the practice of piracy. These rulers demanded payment of a tribute from European nations and the United States in exchange for immunity from attack from North African pirates in the Mediterranean Sea.

In 1801 the pasha of Tripoli demanded a larger tribute and declared war on the United States. President Jefferson decided it would set a disastrous precedent if the United States backed down. He created a special "Mediterranean Fund" that increased the U.S. Navy's size. Jefferson sent navy ships to Tripoli to fight the war. Finally, in 1805 the war ended with a peace treaty favoring the United States.

1. Evaluate the pros and cons of fighting a war with Tripoli pirates and backing down and continuing to pay the tributes.
2. Explain which choice you would have made and why.

Reading Check
Summarize What is
judicial review, and
why is it important?

midnight judges because Adams signed their appointments late on the last day of his administration.

Adams's packing of the courts with Federalists angered Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans. Since the documents authorizing some of the appointments had not been delivered by the time Adams left office, Jefferson argued that these appointments were invalid.

MARBURY v. MADISON This argument led to one of the most important Supreme Court decisions of all time: *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). William Marbury was one of the midnight judges who had never received his official papers. James Madison was Jefferson's secretary of state, whose duty it was to deliver the papers. The Judiciary Act of 1789 required the Supreme Court to order that the papers be delivered, and Marbury sued to enforce this provision. Chief Justice Marshall wrote the Court's decision that this provision of the act was unconstitutional because the Constitution did not empower the Supreme Court to issue such orders. The decision was later recognized as significant for affirming the principle of **judicial review**—the ability of the Supreme Court to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional.

The United States Expands West

During Jefferson's presidency, Americans continued their westward migration across the Appalachians. For instance, between 1800 and 1810 the population of Ohio grew from 45,000 to 231,000. Most of the settlers who arrived in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee came through the Cumberland Gap, a natural passage through the Appalachians near where Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia meet. A generation earlier, in 1775, Daniel Boone, one of America's great frontier guides, had led the clearing of a road from Virginia, through the Cumberland Gap, and into the heart of Kentucky. When it was finished, the Wilderness Road became one of the major routes for westward migration.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Westward Migration

Although pioneer life was hard, the pioneers kept moving westward and settling. The French government had sent Francois Michaux to study forests and agriculture in the United States. During his travels, he witnessed much more than just agriculture, and he recorded his observations in a journal.

"The houses that they inhabit are built upon the borders of the river, . . . whence they enjoy the most delightful prospects [views]; still, their mode of building does not correspond with the beauties of the spot, being nothing but miserable log houses, without windows, and so small that two beds occupy the greatest part of them."

—F. A. Michaux, from *Travels to the West of the Allegheny Mountains*

Analyze Historical Sources

Why do you think that settlers' homes failed to "correspond with the beauties of the spot"?

Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806



Background

Even before the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson had planned to explore the West. In February 1803 Congress approved Jefferson's request for funds to finance an expedition.

Reading Check

Analyze Issues Why was the United States concerned about the Louisiana Territory?

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE In 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte of France persuaded Spain to return the Louisiana Territory, which it had received from France in 1762. When news of the secret transfer leaked out, Americans reacted with alarm. Jefferson feared that a strong French presence in the mid-continent would force the United States into an alliance with Britain.

Jefferson wanted to resolve the problem by buying New Orleans and western Florida from the French. He sent James Monroe to join American ambassador Robert Livingston in Paris. Before Monroe arrived, however, Napoleon had abandoned his hopes for an American empire. He had failed to reconquer France's most important island colony, Saint Domingue (now known as Haiti). By the time that Monroe arrived in Paris in April 1803, Napoleon had decided to sell the entire Louisiana Territory to the United States.

Fearing that Napoleon might change his mind, Monroe and Livingston quickly went ahead and closed the deal for \$15 million without talking to Jefferson first. Jefferson, though, was not certain that the purchase was constitutional. As a strict constructionist, he doubted whether the Constitution gave the government the power to acquire new territory. But, after a delay, he submitted the treaty finalizing the purchase, and the Senate ratified it. With the **Louisiana Purchase**, which included all land drained by the western tributaries of the Mississippi River, the United States more than doubled in size.

LEWIS AND CLARK Jefferson was eager to explore the new territory. In 1803 he appointed Meriwether Lewis to lead the expedition he called the Corps of Discovery from St. Louis to the Pacific coast. Jefferson ordered the corps to collect scientific information about unknown plants and animals en route to the Pacific and to learn as much as possible about the Native American peoples encountered along the way. Lewis chose William Clark to be second in command. Starting off with some 50 soldiers and woodsmen, the expedition later became smaller but added a Native American woman, **Sacajawea**, who served as interpreter and guide. The Lewis and Clark expedition took two years and four months and recorded invaluable information about the new territories.

Lesson 3 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Make a table listing the major accomplishments of Jefferson's presidency and the significance of each.

Event	Significance

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Analyze Issues** Why was *Marbury v. Madison* such an important case?
- Think About:**
- events that led to the case
 - Judge Marshall's decision
 - its effects on the future
4. **Draw Conclusions** How did the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark expedition affect the expansion of the United States?
5. **Analyze Events** Describe the diplomacy used by Jefferson to make the Louisiana Purchase from France.
6. **Summarize** How does Adams's appointment of Marshall exemplify how political party affiliations affect which people are appointed to the Supreme Court?

The War of 1812

The Big Idea

War broke out again between the United States and Britain in 1812.

Why It Matters Now

The War of 1812 confirmed American independence and strengthened nationalism.

Key Terms and People

blockade

impressment

embargo

William Henry Harrison

Tecumseh

war hawk

Andrew Jackson

Treaty of Ghent

armistice

One American's Story

During the War of 1812, Samuel Wilson became a symbol for the nation. The owner of a meatpacking business in Troy, New York, he began supplying barrels of salted meat to the army, stamping the barrels with the initials "U.S.," for United States. One of Wilson's employees joked that the letters stood for "Uncle Sam," Wilson's nickname. Soon, army recruits were calling themselves "Uncle Sam's soldiers." One of Wilson's great-nephews, Lucius Wilson, spoke about his famous relative in 1917.

He was the old original Uncle Sam that gave the name to the United States. . . . [He] engaged in many enterprises, employed many hands [workers], had extensive acquaintance, was jolly, genial, generous, and known [as] and called 'Uncle Sam' by everyone."

—Lucius E. Wilson, quoted in *Uncle Sam: The Man and the Legend*



One of the earliest depictions of Uncle Sam

The story took on the features of a legend. Uncle Sam came to symbolize American values of honesty and hard work. The war during which the phrase caught on was just around the corner for the United States.

The War Hawks Demand War

Jefferson's popularity soared after the Louisiana Purchase, and he won reelection in 1804. During his second term, renewed fighting between Britain and France threatened American shipping. In 1806 Napoleon decided to exclude British goods from Europe. In turn, Great Britain decided that the best way of attacking Napoleon's Europe was to **blockade** it, or seal up its ports and prevent ships from entering or leaving. By 1807 Britain had seized more than 1,000 American ships and confiscated their cargoes, and France had seized about half that number.



The British opened fire on American sailors during the *Chesapeake* incident.

GRIEVANCES AGAINST BRITAIN Although both France and Britain engaged in these acts of aggression, Americans focused their anger on the British. One reason was the British policy of **impressment**, the practice of seizing Americans at sea and “impressing,” or drafting, them into the British navy. Another reason was the *Chesapeake* incident. In June 1807 the commander of a British warship demanded the right to board and search the U.S. naval frigate *Chesapeake* for British deserters. When the U.S. captain refused, the British opened fire, killing 3 Americans and wounding 18.

Jefferson convinced Congress to declare an **embargo**, a ban on exporting products to other countries. He believed that the Embargo Act of 1807 would hurt Britain and the other European powers and force them to honor American neutrality. The embargo hurt America more than Britain, and in 1809 Congress lifted the ban on foreign trade—except with France and Britain.

TECUMSEH'S CONFEDERACY Another source of trouble appeared in 1809, when General **William Henry Harrison**, the governor of the Indiana Territory, invited several Native American chiefs to Fort Wayne, Indiana, and persuaded them to sign away 3 million acres of tribal land to the U.S. government.

Not all chiefs gave in. Like Little Turtle and chiefs from other groups, the Shawnee chief **Tecumseh** believed that the only way for Native Americans to protect their homeland against intruding white settlers was to form a confederacy, a united Native American nation. Tecumseh believed that “The Great Spirit gave this great land to his red children.”

Tecumseh's younger brother, known as the Prophet, aided him. Around 1805 the Prophet had started a reform movement within the Shawnee nation to cast off all traces of the white “civilization,” including Christianity. Both the Prophet and Tecumseh warned that the Great Spirit was angry with all of the nations who had abandoned their traditional practices and beliefs. The time had come to return to those beliefs, they urged, and to implore the aid of the Great Spirit in driving out the invaders.

More practical than his brother, Tecumseh was a brilliant strategist and a skillful diplomat. While continuing to press Harrison to withdraw from Native American land, Tecumseh began negotiations with the British for assistance in what seemed like an inevitable war with the Americans. Throughout 1810 and 1811, Tecumseh traveled throughout the Midwest and the South, trying to win followers to his confederacy. Unfortunately, many

Reading Check
Analyze Issues
What was Jefferson's reasoning behind the embargo of 1807?

nations had already accepted payment for their lands. Others were reluctant to give up tribal autonomy by joining the kind of confederacy that Tecumseh proposed.

THE WAR HAWKS In November 1811, while Tecumseh was absent, his brother led the Shawnee in an attack on Harrison and his troops. Harrison struck back. On the banks of the Tippecanoe River, he burned the Shawnee capital known as Prophetstown to the ground. Harrison's victory, at what came to be known as the Battle of Tippecanoe, made him a national hero, but his troops suffered heavy losses.

When it was discovered that the Native American confederacy was using arms from British Canada, a group of young congressmen from the South and the West known as the **war hawks** called for war against Britain. Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, led them. The war hawks were less concerned with world affairs than with frontier events. They hated the British and even hoped for a conquest of Canada. The war hawks rallied behind their motto: "On to Canada!" Whether or not to declare war became a divisive issue in Congress. Many Americans did not want to go to war, and opposed the war hawks. They preferred peace to another war with Great Britain.

The War Brings Mixed Results

In the election of 1808, another Virginia Democratic-Republican—James Madison—coasted to victory against a weak Federalist opponent, Charles C. Pinckney. By the spring of 1812, President Madison had decided to go to war against Britain. Madison believed that Britain was trying to strangle American trade and cripple the American economy. Congress approved the war declaration in early June.

THE WAR IN CANADA Declaring war was one thing—but fighting it was another. The American military was unprepared for war. The British captured Detroit shortly after war was declared, and the Americans suffered numerous setbacks, including a failed attempt to take Montreal. The following year, a fleet commanded by Oliver Hazard Perry defeated a British fleet on Lake Erie, and American soldiers retook Detroit and won several battles. Different Native American groups allied with British or U.S. forces, depending on relationships they had developed before the war. Tecumseh, like many Native Americans, had fought for the British with the hopes of continuing British aid in stopping U.S. expansion. The Shawnee leader was killed at the Battle of the Thames in 1813.

THE WAR AT SEA The war was an opportunity for the relatively young U.S. Navy to test its ability. Badly outnumbered with only 16 ships, the United States was aided by its three 44-gun frigates, or warships: the *President*, the *United States*, and the *Constitution*. Known for their speed and ability to sail close to enemy vessels and open fire, these ships sailed alone. Each scored victories against British vessels.

Tecumseh

This portrait of Tecumseh was made after the start of the War of 1812. Tecumseh joined the British in their fight against the United States. He was given the rank of brigadier general. The Shawnee leader led a large group of Native Americans in the siege of Fort Meigs, defeating the American forces. However, Tecumseh died fighting in the Battle of the Thames when General William Harrison defeated his forces.

Analyze Historical Sources

Why do you think Brigadier General Tecumseh is dressed as he is in this drawing?



However, the British navy's superior numbers were too much to overcome. In November 1812 the British government ordered a blockade of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. As the war progressed and U.S. frigates scored more victories against British ships, the blockade was extended along the east coast. Most American ships were bottled up in port by the end of 1813.

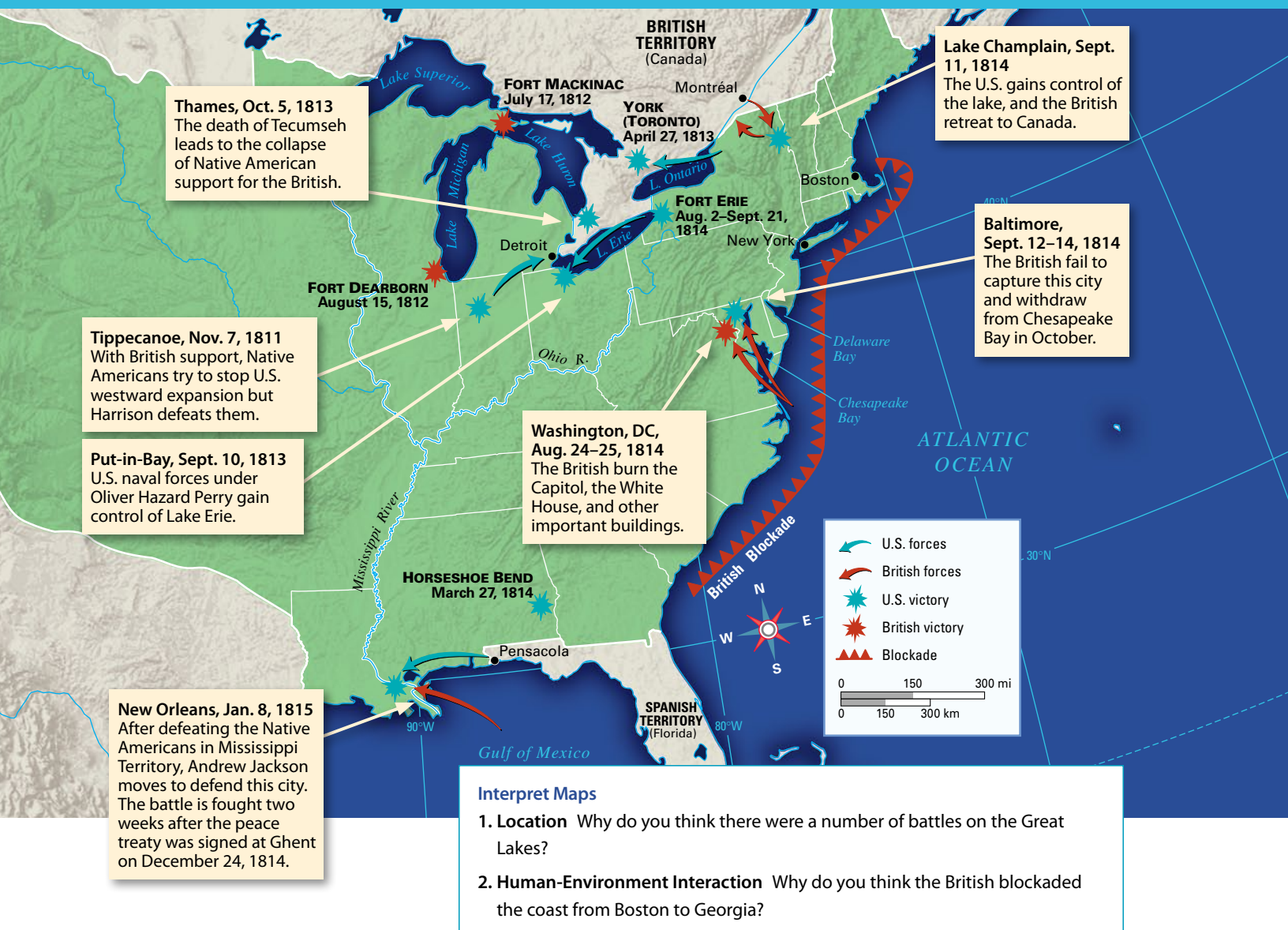
BRITISH BURN THE WHITE HOUSE By 1814 the British were raiding and burning towns all along the Atlantic coast. The Redcoats brushed aside some hastily assembled American troops and entered Washington, DC. In retaliation for the U.S. victory at the Battle of York, the capital of Upper Canada, in which U.S. forces burned the governor's mansion and the legislative assembly buildings, the British burned the Capitol, the White House, and other important buildings. On August 24 Madison and other federal officials had to flee from their own capital.

THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS At the same time, a general from Tennessee named **Andrew Jackson** was winning a series of battles that gained him national fame. After a six-month campaign involving four battles, Jackson defeated Native Americans of the Creek nation at the battle of Horseshoe Bend in March 1814. The Creeks had earlier been victorious at the battle of Fort Mims, in which all but 36 of the fort's 553 inhabitants were killed. Jackson's victory at Horseshoe Bend destroyed the military power of Native Americans in the South.

On January 8, 1815, Jackson's troops defeated a superior British force at the Battle of New Orleans. Hundreds of British troops died, while just a handful of Americans lost their lives.

THE TREATY OF GHENT Ironically, Jackson's greatest victory in New Orleans came after the war was over. Unknown to Jackson, British and American diplomats had already signed a peace agreement. The **Treaty of Ghent**, signed on Christmas Eve 1814, declared an **armistice**, or end to the fighting. Although it did not address the issues of impressment or neutral shipping rights, Americans were eager for peace and welcomed the treaty.

The War of 1812



Within a few years, the United States and Great Britain were able to reach agreement on many of the issues left open at Ghent. In 1815 a commercial treaty reopened trade between the two countries. In 1817 the Rush-Bagot Agreement limited the number of warships on the Great Lakes. In 1818 a British-American commission set the northern boundary of the Louisiana Territory at the 49th parallel as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The two nations then agreed to a ten-year joint occupation of the Oregon Territory.

Prior to the Battle of New Orleans, a group of New England Federalists had held a secret meeting in Hartford, Connecticut. At this Hartford Convention, the attendees agreed to meet with Congress to voice their opposition to the war. However, before they could carry out their plan, the Federalists received the news that the war had ended. The public scorn resulting from the futile Hartford Convention caused the Federalist Party to lose much of its political power.

Causes and Effects of the War of 1812

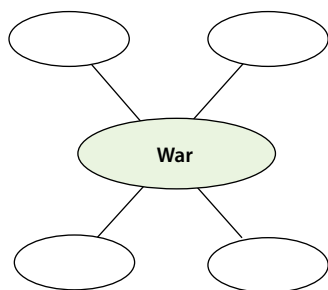
Causes	Effects
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• British impressment of American sailors• International conflicts over commerce• British military aid to Native Americans on the Northwest frontier	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Britain and France gain respect for the United States• National pride grows• U.S. manufacturing increases• Native American resistance declines

Reading Check
Analyze Effects
Why did nationalism
strengthen after the
War of 1812?

Another result of the War of 1812 was that national pride grew in America. Many Americans felt a swell of patriotism because they had won a second major victory over the British. This victory also gave Americans confidence in the strength of their young but growing country. This patriotism went hand-in-hand with a new nationalism—a devotion to the interests and culture of America. The huge increase in the nation's size due to the Louisiana Purchase also strengthened the feeling of nationalism. A new national identity had developed, and Americans looked forward to establishing their own traditions rather than emulating old European ways. Britain and France had also gained respect for the United States as a strong nation.

Lesson 4 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** In a web diagram, show the reasons why the war hawks wanted war with Great Britain.



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Evaluate** Do you think that Tecumseh's confederacy helped or hurt the cause of Native Americans?

Think About:

- the loss of Native American lands
 - the reluctance of certain nations to join the confederacy
 - Tecumseh's role in the War of 1812
4. **Evaluate** What was the most important achievement of the United States in this period?
5. **Analyze Events** Even though it was fought after an armistice had been signed, why was the Battle of New Orleans an important victory for the Americans?

Marbury v. Madison (1803)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE

A few days before Thomas Jefferson's inauguration, outgoing president John Adams appointed William Marbury to be a justice of the peace. But the commission was not delivered to Marbury. Later, Jefferson's new secretary of state, James Madison, refused to give Marbury the commission. Marbury asked the Supreme Court to force Madison to give him his commission.

THE RULING

The Court declared that the law on which Marbury based his claim was unconstitutional, and therefore it refused to order Madison to give Marbury his commission.

LEGAL REASONING

Writing for the Court, Chief Justice John Marshall decided that Marbury had a right to his commission, and he scolded Madison at length for refusing to deliver it.

However, he then considered Marbury's claim that, under the Judiciary Act of 1789, the Supreme Court should order Madison to deliver the commission. As Marshall pointed out, the powers of the Supreme Court are set by the Constitution, and Congress does not have the authority to alter them. The Judiciary Act attempted to do just that.

Marshall reasoned that, since the Constitution is the "supreme law of the land, no law that goes against the Constitution can be valid."

"If . . . the courts are to regard the constitution, and the constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature, the constitution, and not such ordinary act, must govern the case to which they both apply."



Chief Justice John Marshall

If an act of Congress violates the Constitution, then a judge must uphold the Constitution and declare the act void. In choosing to obey the Constitution, the Supreme Court did declare the Judiciary Act unconstitutional and void, and so refused to grant Marbury's request.

LEGAL SOURCES

U.S. CONSTITUTION

Article III, Section 2 (1789)

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases . . . arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made . . . under their authority."

Article VI, Clause 2 (1789)

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby."

RELATED CASES

Fletcher v. Peck (1810)

The Court ruled a state law unconstitutional for the first time.

Cohens v. Virginia (1821)

The Court overturned a state court decision for the first time.

Gibbons v. Ogden (1824)

The Court ruled that the federal Congress—not the states—had the power under the Constitution to regulate interstate commerce.



William Marbury

WHY IT MATTERED

In 1803 interest in Marbury's commission was primarily about partisan politics. The fight was just one skirmish in the ongoing battle between Federalists, such as Adams, and Democratic-Republicans, led by Jefferson and Madison, which had intensified in the election of 1800.

When Jefferson won the election, Adams made a final effort to hinder Jefferson's promised reforms. Before leaving office, he tried to fill the government with Federalists, including the "midnight" judges such as Marbury. Madison's refusal to deliver Marbury's appointment was part of Jefferson's subsequent effort to rid his administration of Federalists.

Marshall's opinion in *Marbury* might seem like a victory for Jefferson because it denied Marbury his commission. However, by scolding Madison and extending the principle of judicial review—the power of courts to decide whether or not specific laws are valid—the Court sent a message to Jefferson and to the Congress that the judiciary had the power to affect legislation. The Marshall Court, however, never declared another act of Congress unconstitutional.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

In striking down part of the Judiciary Act, an act of Congress, Marshall gave new force to the principle

of judicial review. The legacy of John Marshall and of *Marbury* is that judicial review has become a cornerstone of American government. One scholar has called it "America's novel contribution to political theory and the practice of constitutional government." As Justice Marshall recognized, judicial review is an essential component of democratic government; by ensuring that Congress exercises only those powers granted by the Constitution, the courts protect the sovereignty of the people.

Perhaps more importantly, the principle of judicial review plays a vital role in our federal system of checks and balances. With *Marbury*, the judicial branch secured its place as one of three coequal branches of the federal government. The judiciary has no power to make laws or to carry them out. However, judges have an important role in deciding what the law is and how it is carried out.

In *City of Boerne v. Flores* (1997), for instance, the Supreme Court declared void the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993. Members of Congress had passed the act in an attempt to change the way federal courts apply the First Amendment's Free Exercise Clause. The Supreme Court ruled that Congress does not have the authority to decide what the First Amendment means—in effect, to define its own powers. The Court, and not Congress, is the interpreter of the Constitution.

Through the 2007–2008 term, the Court had rendered 162 decisions striking down—in whole or in part—acts of Congress. It had also voided or restricted the enforcement of state laws 1,179 times. That the entire country has with few exceptions obeyed these decisions, no matter how strongly they disagreed, proves Americans' faith in the Supreme Court as the protector of the rule of law.

Critical Thinking

1. Connect to History Read encyclopedia articles about another Marshall Court decision, such as *Fletcher v. Peck*, *Cohens v. Virginia*, or *Gibbons v. Ogden*. Compare that decision with *Marbury*, and consider what the two cases and opinions have in common. Write a paragraph explaining the major similarities between the cases.

2. Connect to Today Do Internet research to learn about a recent Supreme Court decision involving judicial review of an act of Congress. Write a case summary in which you describe the law's purpose, the Court's ruling, and the potential impact of the decision.

Module 5 Assessment

Key Terms and People

For each term or person below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the new United States.

1. Alexander Hamilton
2. cabinet
3. neutrality
4. Alien and Sedition Acts
5. John Marshall
6. Lewis and Clark
7. Louisiana Purchase
8. embargo
9. Tecumseh
10. Andrew Jackson

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

Washington's Presidency

1. What were the first steps taken by the Washington administration in building a new government?
2. Why did President Washington want both Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton to be among his closest advisers?
3. How did Jefferson's and Hamilton's views of government differ?
4. Why was the excise tax that led to the Whiskey Rebellion a significant economic issue in the early days of the new government?

Tackling Foreign Affairs

5. What were three major international issues at this time, and how did the United States respond to them?
6. Why did the United States want access to the Mississippi River?
7. How did the expanding nation deal with Native Americans?
8. How did political parties affect the results of the election of 1796?

Jefferson Alters the Nation's Course

9. What were some of the accomplishments of Jefferson's first administration?
10. How did Jefferson's actions reflect his philosophy of government?
11. How did the Louisiana Purchase change the United States?
12. What were the main points of the Supreme Court's decision in *Marbury v. Madison*?

The War of 1812

13. Why did the war hawks call for the war with Britain?
14. What events led to the War of 1812?
15. Why did President James Madison declare war against Britain?
16. What did the Treaty of Ghent accomplish?

Critical Thinking

1. **Contrast** Create a chart listing some of the controversies between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans on domestic policies, foreign policies, and regional interests. Whose ideas appeal to you more?

	Federalists	Democratic-Republicans
Domestic policies		
Foreign policies		
Regional interests		

2. **Hypothesize** What if you had been your current age in 1800? What might have been some of the advantages and disadvantages of growing up in this period? Write two paragraphs describing what you like and dislike about the United States at that time. Provide examples from the text in your answer.
3. **Draw Conclusions** Why did many Americans oppose the war hawks and the declaration of war against Great Britain?

Module 5 Assessment, continued

4. **Compare** How was the tax situation that caused the Whiskey Rebellion similar to the tax situation that was one cause of the Revolutionary War?

Engage with History

Imagine that it is now 1814, and one of your former students has written to ask your opinion about how the United States has grown as a nation. Write a response in which you mention events from the module that show key challenges and achievements that helped to shape the young republic.

Focus on Writing

Imagine you are a citizen during the early years of the United States. Select an important issue from that time period. Write a persuasive letter to the federal government in opposition to its decision or policy. In your letter, clearly present why you are opposed to the government's actions and present an alternate plan of action that you feel the government should pursue.

Collaborative Learning

In a small group, read and discuss the "One American's Story" at the beginning of Lesson 3. Then consider the following questions: Who do you think are the explorers of our time? What challenges do they face in their journeys of exploration? Prepare a report and present it to the class.

Lewis and *Clark*

In 1804, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the 33-man Corps of Discovery began an 8,000-mile journey across uncharted territory. Under orders from President Thomas Jefferson, the expedition mapped a route across the Louisiana Purchase to the Pacific Ocean. From St. Louis, Missouri, they traveled west up the Missouri River, then across the Rocky Mountains, and to the Pacific. They met Native American peoples and cataloged geography,

plants, and animals. Not only was their mission one of history's greatest explorations, it also secured an American claim to the Pacific coast and helped inspire millions to migrate west.

Explore entries from Lewis's journal and other primary sources online. You can find a wealth of information, video clips, activities, and more through your online textbook.

... the Indian woman
recognized the point of a high
plain to our right which she
informed us was not very
distant from the summer
retreat of her nation on a river
beyond the mountains which
runs to the west."

— Meriwether Lewis



"Lewis's Journal, Entry 1"

Read an excerpt from Meriwether Lewis's journal that details Sacagawea's assistance during the journey.



Go online to view these and other **HISTORY®** resources.



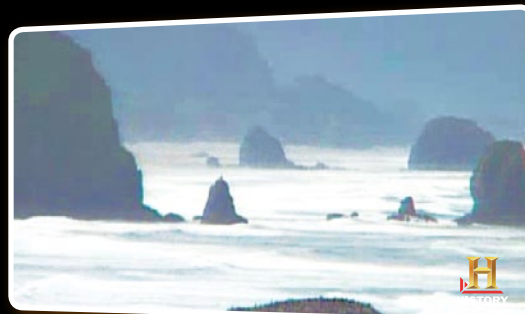
Underway on the Missouri

Watch the video to see how the Corps of Discovery sailed up the Missouri River to begin their expedition.



Making Friends Upriver

Watch the video to see which Native American peoples the Corps met and traded with as they made their journey west.



The Shores of the Pacific

Watch the video to see how the Corps tried to adapt to a different climate and the new peoples that they met along the Pacific coast.