

Political Developments in the Early Republic

Overview and Objectives

Overview

In an Experiential Exercise, students compare Federalist and Republican visions for the United States by taking on the roles of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson to debate the main issues that divided the two groups.

Objectives

In the course of reading this chapter and participating in the classroom activity, students will

Social Studies

- represent the key positions of Federalists and Republicans in a debate, taking on the roles of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.
- analyze Washington's attitude toward the role of the federal government in the Whiskey Rebellion and in his Farewell Address.
- identify the positions of Federalists and Republicans in the election of 1800.

Language Arts

- deliver oral presentations that include important ideas, concepts, and direct quotations and that paraphrase and summarize the relevant perspectives on the topic.
- participate in a dialogue.

Social Studies Vocabulary

Key Content Terms Whiskey Rebellion, Washington's Farewell Address, loose construction, strict construction, sedition, nullify, states' rights theory

Academic Vocabulary reluctant, finance, accumulate, eloquent, resolution

Preview Songs

Hail, Columbia

*Hail, Columbia, happy land!
Hail, ye heroes, heav'n-born band,
Who fought and bled in freedom's cause,
Who fought and bled in freedom's cause,
And when the storm of war was gone
Enjoy'd the peace your valor won.
Let independence be our boast,
Ever mindful what it cost;
Ever grateful for the prize,
Let its altar reach the skies.*

*Firm, united let us be,
Rallying round our liberty,
As a band of brothers joined,
Peace and safety we shall find.*

*Immortal patriots, rise once more,
Defend your rights, defend your shore!
Let no rude foe, with impious hand,
Let no rude foe, with impious hand,
Invade the shrine where sacred lies
Of toil and blood, the well-earned prize,
While off'ring peace, sincere and just,
In Heaven we place a manly trust,
That truth and justice will prevail,
And every scheme of bondage fail.*

*Firm, united let us be,
Rallying round our liberty,
As a band of brothers joined,
Peace and safety we shall find.*

Columbia: another name for the United States of America

valor: the qualities of a hero

impious: without respect

Fair and Free Elections

*While some on rights and some on wrongs
Prefer their own reflections,
The people's rights demand our song—
The right of free elections.*

*Law and order be the stake
With freedom and protection
Let's all stand by the ballot box
For fair and free elections.*

*For government and order's sake
And laws' important sections
Let's all stand by the ballot box
For freedom of elections.*

*Should enemies beset us round
Of foreign fierce complexions.
Undaunted we can stand our ground
Upheld by free elections.*

*Law and order be the stake
With freedom and protection
Let all stand by the ballot box
For fair and free elections.*

*Elections are to make us laws,
For trade, peace and protection.
Who fails to vote forsakes the cause
Of fair and free elections.*

*Each town and county's wealth and peace,
Its trade and all connections.
With science, arts must all increase
By fair and free elections.*

*Law and order be the stake
With freedom and protection
Let all stand by the ballot box
For fair and free elections.*

*Then thwart the schemes of fighting lands
And traitor disaffections.
Stand up with willing hearts and hands
For fair and free elections.*

Talk-It-Out Prompts

Issue 1: Views of Human Nature



People are selfish!
For that reason
we can't give too
much power to the
common people.

Alexander Hamilton

The common
people are the best
suited to govern
because . . .

Thomas Jefferson



Issue 2: Views on Government



The national
government
should have limited
powers and leave
Americans alone!

Thomas Jefferson

The best form
of government
is one that . . .

Alexander Hamilton



Issue 3: Views on the Economy



The ideal
economy is based
on industry!

Alexander Hamilton

The real way
to expand our
economy is . . .

Thomas Jefferson



Issue 4: Views on Great Britain and France



You Federalists are
a bunch of British
bootlickers! We
need to continue to
support France.

Thomas Jefferson

The new French
rulers are barbar-
ians! We should
stay close to Great
Britain because . . .

Alexander Hamilton



Political Developments in the Early Republic

How did the Federalist and Republican visions for the United States differ?

Setting the Stage - Launching the New Republic

The 50 years following the drafting of the Constitution were a time of great change for the United States. By 1838, a total of 13 new states had joined the original 13, as shown on the map below. New territory had been added to the republic as well. The nation's first 50 years also saw the birth of the first political parties, another war fought with Great Britain, and the election of the nation's first western president. In addition, transportation links had been built, and many of the nation's American Indians had been relocated west of the Mississippi River.

Along with new states and territories came a steady increase in population, as the graph below shows. Seven presidents served in office from 1789 to 1837, beginning with George Washington and ending with Andrew Jackson. Both men came to the presidency as military heroes—Washington from the American Revolution and Jackson from the War of 1812.

In this unit, you will learn about key events that took place during the administrations of Washington through Jackson. Some of those events are listed below.

1789: George Washington takes the oath of office as the first president of the United States in New York City, the nation's capital at the time.

1794: An army led by President Washington crushes the Whiskey Rebellion, an uprising by some frontier farmers who resisted paying certain taxes.

1800: John Adams, the nation's second president, is the first president to live in Washington, D.C., the new capital city, in the still-unfinished White House.

1814: In a conflict between the United States and Great Britain known as the War of 1812, British forces capture Washington, D.C. The British burn the White House, the Capitol building, and other government buildings.

During the War of 1812, U.S. forces turn back a British attack on Baltimore, Maryland. The Americans' defense of Fort McHenry inspires Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner," which later becomes the country's national anthem.

1815: An American army led by General Andrew Jackson defeats the British in the Battle of New Orleans. It is the final battle of the War of 1812. It is also the greatest U.S. victory of the war and it makes Jackson a national hero.

1825: The Erie Canal opens. Begun in 1817, the canal creates a water route connecting Lake Erie and the Hudson River. Its success sets off a canal-building boom in the United States. You can locate the Erie Canal on the map titled "Growth and Change in the United States, 1789-1839." It is located in the state of New York.

1828: Andrew Jackson of Tennessee is elected the nation's seventh president. He is the first president to come from a state other than Virginia or Massachusetts.

1838–1839: Troops round up the remaining Cherokee in the East and move them west along a route that becomes known as the Trail of Tears. The Trail of Tears is shown on the map on the opposite page. It is located in the southern United States.

Section 1 - Introduction

~~Thomas Jefferson (above) and Alexander Hamilton (below) led the first political parties of the new~~

The illustration to the left shows four leaders in the first government formed under the Constitution. On the far right stands former Continental army general George Washington, who had been lured out of retirement to serve as the nation's first president. Seldom has a leader seemed more reluctant to take power. "My movements to the chair of government," he wrote on leaving home, "will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit [criminal] who is going to the place of his execution."

Henry Knox sits opposite Washington. During the American Revolution, this Boston bookseller became a general and Washington's close friend and adviser. When Washington became president in 1789, he made Knox his secretary of war.

Take a close look at the other two men portrayed here. Alexander Hamilton, who stands beside the president, served as Washington's secretary of the treasury. Thomas Jefferson, who stands behind Knox, served as secretary of state. It was his job to manage relations between the United States and other countries.

George Washington, at the far right, meets with his close advisers.

Washington chose Hamilton and Jefferson for these positions because of all they had in common. Both were strong patriots. Both had served their country during the war—Hamilton in the Continental army and Jefferson in the Continental Congress. Both had brilliant minds.

But for all they had in common, the two men were opposites in many ways. Hamilton dressed with great care. Jefferson was sloppy with clothes. Hamilton moved with precision. Jefferson slouched. Hamilton was a doer who moved briskly from task to task. Jefferson was a thinker who took time to explore ideas.

As you will discover, Hamilton and Jefferson soon became political rivals. Their rivalry eventually gave rise to the nation's first political parties, which had different visions for the new nation.

Section 2 - Launching the New Government

Martha Washington, on the left, held tea parties on Friday evenings at the presidential mansion in...

On April 30, 1789, George Washington took the oath of office as the first president of the United States. After his inauguration, Washington addressed both houses of Congress. He asked Congress to work with

him to put into place “the wise measures on which the success of this government must depend.” At times, his hands shook so much that he had trouble reading his speech.

The Debate over Washington’s Title Washington had reason to be nervous. The first Congress was deeply divided. Some members were eager to build a strong national government. Others were just as eager to limit the power of the new government. These differences showed up immediately in a debate over what title to use when addressing the president.

Vice President John Adams pointed out that European heads of government had titles like “Your Excellency” that showed respect for their office. The president, he argued, should have a similar title. Supporters of a strong national government agreed.

Others argued that such titles smelled of royalty and had no place in a democracy. A few members of Congress joked that the rather plump Adams should be given the title “His Rotundity” (His Roundness). The debate finally ended when Washington let it be known that he preferred the simple title “Mr. President.”

Setting Up the Executive Branch Next, Congress turned to the task of creating executive departments. As Washington had feared, arguments broke out at once over what those departments should be and what powers they should have.

Congress eventually approved three departments. The Department of State was set up to handle relations with other countries. The Department of War was established to defend the nation. The Treasury Department was set up to oversee the nation’s finances. Congress also created an attorney general to serve as the president’s legal adviser and a postmaster general to head the postal system.

Washington chose men he trusted —such as Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Henry Knox—to fill these positions. He often met with them to ask for their ideas and advice. The heads of the executive departments came to be known as the president’s cabinet.

Section 3 - Washington as President

The most critical problem facing the new government was a lack of funds. The national treasury was empty. Congress had the power to raise funds through taxes. But its members argued endlessly about what to tax and by how much. In 1791, Congress finally agreed to place an excise tax on whiskey and other luxury goods, such as carriages. An excise tax is a tax on the production or sale of a product.

The Whiskey Rebellion Settlers living west of the Appalachian Mountains reacted angrily to the tax. Western farmers found it too costly to transport their grain across the mountains to sell in eastern cities. Instead, they distilled their bulky wheat into whiskey, which could be shipped more cheaply. Many farmers complained that the tax made their whiskey too expensive, and they refused to pay it.

The Whiskey Rebellion challenged the new nation’s ability to enforce its laws. ~~When several hundred~~

To end these protests, Congress lowered the excise tax in 1793. Most farmers began to pay up, but not the tax rebels of western Pennsylvania. In 1794, these "Whiskey Boys" tarred and feathered tax collectors who tried to enforce the law.

Alexander Hamilton and George Washington saw the Whiskey Rebellion as a threat to the authority of the national government. At Hamilton's urging, Washington led 13,000 state militia troops across the mountains to crush the rebels. Faced with overwhelming force, the rebellion ended.

Thomas Jefferson thought that the idea of sending an army to catch a few tax rebels was foolish. Even worse, he believed, was that Hamilton was prepared to violate people's liberties by using armed force to put down opposition to government policies.

~~When the French Revolution turned violent and thousands of nobles were beheaded on the guillotine,~~

The French Revolution Meanwhile, the nation was caught up in a debate over events in France. In 1789, the French people rebelled against their king. The leaders of the French Revolution dreamed of building a nation based on "liberty, equality, and fraternity [brotherhood]." Three years later, France became a republic and declared "a war of all peoples against all kings."

Many Americans were thrilled by the French Revolution. This was especially true of Jefferson and his followers, who began calling themselves Democratic-Republicans, or simply Republicans. The Republicans saw the French Revolution as part of a great crusade for democracy.

In time, news from France caused supporters of the revolution to change their opinion. Cheered on by angry mobs, France's revolutionary government began beheading wealthy nobles. Some 20,000 men, women, and children were killed.

Hamilton and his followers, who called themselves Federalists, were appalled by the bloodshed. Many Federalists were themselves wealthy. After hearing about the fate of wealthy families in France, they began to fear for their own safety, wondering whether such terrors could happen in the United States. "Behold France," warned one Federalist, "an open hell . . . in which we see . . . perhaps our own future."

Washington's Farewell Address The growing division between Republicans and Federalists so disturbed Washington that he agreed to run for a second term as president in 1792. He was the only person, Hamilton and Jefferson told him, who could keep the nation together.

Near the end of his second term, Washington announced that he would not run again. Before leaving office, the president prepared a message that became known as Washington's Farewell Address. In it, he reminded Americans of all that bound them together as a people. "With slight shades of difference," he said, "you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together."

Next, Washington warned of two threats to the nation's future. One of those threats was problems the nation was having with other countries. The other threat was the "spirit of party." It was natural for

people to hold different opinions, Washington said. But he warned against the dangers of passionate loyalty to parties. If fighting between parties was not controlled, it could tear the young nation apart.

Despite his worries for the future, Washington had much to be proud of as he left office. The new government was up and running. The nation was growing so fast that it had added three new states: Kentucky, Tennessee, and Vermont. Most of all, Washington had steered his government safely through quarrelsome times. He left the nation united and at peace.

Section 4 - Alexander Hamilton and the Federalist Party

American artist John Trumbull painted this portrait of Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton rose from pove...

George Washington's warnings did not stop the rise of political parties in the young nation. The Federalist Party appeared first during the debates over the ratification of the Constitution. Its most influential leader was Washington's energetic treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton.

Personal Background Hamilton was born in the West Indies and raised on the Caribbean island of St. Croix. When Hamilton was 13, a devastating hurricane struck the island. Hamilton wrote a vivid description of the storm that impressed all who read it. A few St. Croix leaders arranged to send the talented teenager to New York, where he could get the education he deserved. Once in America, Hamilton never looked back.

Hamilton's blue eyes were said to turn black when he was angry. But most of the time they sparkled with intelligence and energy. With no money or family connections to help him rise in the world, he made his way on ability, ambition, and charm.

George Washington spotted Hamilton's talents early in the American Revolution. Washington made the young man his aide-de-camp, or personal assistant. Near the end of the war, Hamilton improved his fortunes by marrying Elizabeth Schuyler, who came from one of New York's richest and most powerful families. With her family's political backing, Hamilton was elected to represent New York in Congress after the war. Later, he served as a delegate from New York to the Constitutional Convention.

View of Human Nature Hamilton's view of human nature was shaped by his wartime experiences. All too often, he had seen people put their own interests and desire for personal profit above the cause of patriotism and the needs of the country. "Every man ought to be supposed a knave [scoundrel]," he concluded, "and to have no other end [goal] in all his actions, but private interest."

Most Federalists shared Hamilton's view that people were basically selfish and out for themselves. For this reason, they distrusted any system of government that gave too much power to "the mob," or the common people. Such a system, said Hamilton, could only lead to "error, confusion, and instability."

Views on Government Federalists believed that "the best people" —educated, wealthy, public-spirited men like themselves—should run the country. Such people, they believed, had the time, education, and background to run the country wisely. They could also be trusted to make decisions for the general

good, not just for themselves. "Those who own the country," said Federalist John Jay bluntly, "ought to govern it."

Federalists favored a strong national government. They hoped to use the new government's powers under the Constitution to unite the quarreling states and keep order among the people. In their view, the rights of states were not nearly as important as national power and unity.

Hamilton agreed. Having grown up in the Caribbean, Hamilton had no deep loyalty to any state. His country was not New York, but the United States of America. He hoped to see his adopted country become a great and powerful nation.

Alexander Hamilton believed that to become strong, the United States needed to develop businesses ...

Views on the Economy Hamilton's dream of national greatness depended on the United States developing a strong economy. In 1790, the nation's economy was still based mainly on agriculture. Hamilton wanted to expand the economy and increase the nation's wealth by using the power of the federal government to promote business, manufacturing, and trade.

Before this could happen, the new nation needed to begin paying off the huge debts that Congress and the states had accumulated during the American Revolution. In 1790, Hamilton presented Congress with a plan to pay off all war debts as quickly as possible. If the debts were not promptly paid, he warned, the government would lose respect both at home and abroad.

Hamilton's plan for repaying the debts was opposed by many Americans, especially in the South. Most southern states had already paid their war debts. They saw little reason to help states in the North pay off what they still owed.

To save his plan, Hamilton linked it to another issue: the location of the nation's permanent capital. Both northerners and southerners wanted the capital to be located in their section of the country. Hamilton promised to support a location in the South if southerners would support his debt plan. The debt plan was passed, and the nation's new capital—called the District of Columbia—was located in the South, on the Potomac River between Maryland and Virginia.

Next, Hamilton asked Congress to establish a national bank. Such a bank, Hamilton said, would help the government by collecting taxes and keeping those funds safe. It would print paper money backed by the government, giving the nation a stable currency. Most important, the bank would make loans to businesspeople to build new factories and ships. As business and trade expanded, Hamilton argued, all Americans would be better off.

Hamilton asked Congress to establish the first national bank. ~~The bank collected taxes, printed money,~~

Once again, Hamilton's proposal ran into heavy opposition. Where in the Constitution, his opponents asked, was Congress given the power to establish a bank? In their view, Congress could exercise only those powers specifically listed in the Constitution.

Hamilton, in contrast, supported a loose construction, or broad interpretation, of the Constitution. He pointed out that the elastic clause allowed Congress to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" for carrying out its listed powers. Since collecting taxes was one of those powers, Congress could set up a bank to help the government with tax collection.

After much debate, Hamilton was able to get his bank approved by Congress. Once established, in 1791, the Bank of the United States helped the nation's economy grow and prosper.

Views on Great Britain and France When the French Revolution began, Hamilton hoped that it would lead to the "establishment of free and good government." But as he watched it lead instead to chaos and bloodshed, his enthusiasm for the revolution cooled.

When war broke out between France and England in 1793, most Federalists sided with Great Britain. Some were merchants and shippers whose business depended on trade with America's former enemy. Others simply felt more comfortable supporting orderly Great Britain against revolutionary France.

Hamilton favored Great Britain for yet another reason. Great Britain was all that he hoped the United States would become one day: a powerful and respected nation that could defend itself against any enemy.

Section 5 - Thomas Jefferson and the Republican Party

Alexander Hamilton's success in getting his plans through Congress alarmed Thomas Jefferson and his fellow Republicans. In Jefferson's view, almost everything Hamilton did in the name of putting the United States on the path to greatness was instead a step down the road to ruin. The two men held very different views on almost everything.

Personal Background Jefferson was born in Virginia to an old and respected family. One of ten children, he was gifted with many talents. As a boy, he learned to ride, hunt, sing, dance, and play the violin. Later, he carried a violin with him in all his travels.

Jefferson was also a gifted student. When he entered college at age 16, he already knew Greek and Latin. He seemed to know something about almost everything. He once wrote that "not a sprig of grass [is] uninteresting to me." This curiosity would remain with him all his life.

With land inherited from his father, Jefferson set himself up as a Virginia tobacco planter. Like other planters, he used slaves to work his land.

Once he was established as a planter, Jefferson entered Virginia politics. As a politician, he lacked the ability to make stirring speeches. Instead, Jefferson wrote eloquently with a pen. His words in the Declaration of Independence and other writings are still read and admired today.

Agriculture, according to Thomas Jefferson, was the most important part of the economy. ~~He believed~~

View of Human Nature Jefferson's view of human nature was much more hopeful than Hamilton's. He assumed that informed citizens could make good decisions for themselves and their country. "I have so much confidence in the good sense of man," Jefferson wrote when revolution broke out in France, "that I am never afraid of the issue [outcome] where reason is left free to exert her force."

Jefferson had great faith in the goodness and wisdom of people who worked the soil—farmers and planters like himself. "State a [problem] to a ploughman [farmer] and a professor," he said, and "the former will decide it often better than the latter."

Views on Government Republicans favored democracy over any other form of government. They had no patience with the Federalists' view that only the "best people" should rule. To Republicans, this view came dangerously close to monarchy, or rule by a king.

Republicans believed that the best government was the one that governed the least. A small government with limited powers was most likely to leave the people alone to enjoy the blessings of liberty. To keep the national government small, they insisted on a strict construction, or interpretation, of the Constitution. The Constitution, they insisted, meant exactly what it said, no more and no less. Any addition to the powers listed in the document, such as the creation of a national bank, was unconstitutional and dangerous.

Along with advocating for a weak national government, Republicans favored strong state governments. State governments, they argued, were closer to the people, and the people could control them more easily. Strong state governments could also keep the national government from growing too powerful.

Views on the Economy Like most Americans in the 1790s, Jefferson was a country man. He believed that the nation's future lay not with Federalist bankers and merchants in big cities, but with plain, Republican farmers. "Those who labor in the earth," he wrote, "are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people."

Republicans favored an economy based on agriculture. They opposed any measures, such as the national bank, designed to encourage the growth of business and manufacturing. In their view, the national bank was not only unconstitutional, but against farmers. While the bank was happy to loan money to businesspeople to build factories and ships, it did not make loans to farmers to buy land.

~~Lumina Genet, the French representative to the United States, attempted to convince Americans to~~

Views on Great Britain and France Another topic over which Republicans and Federalists had heated arguments was the French Revolution. Most Americans favored the revolution until it turned violent and led to war. As you have read, most Federalists then turned against the new French republic and sided with Great Britain. For this change of heart, a Republican newspaper called the Federalists "British bootlickers," implying that they were weak and eager to please the British.

Despite the violence of the revolution, most Republicans continued to support France. While regretting the bloodshed, they argued that the loss of a few thousand aristocrats was a small price to pay for

freedom. For their loyalty to France, Republicans were scorned in a Federalist newspaper as “man-eating, blood-drinking cannibals.”

In 1793, the French government sent Edmond Genêt (zhuh-NAY) to the United States as its new official representative. Genêt preferred to be called “Citizen Genêt.” French revolutionaries adopted this title to emphasize the equality of all people. His mission was to convince Americans that they should join France in its war against Great Britain.

Republicans welcomed Citizen Genêt as a conquering hero. Large crowds cheered him as he traveled about the country. In Philadelphia, the nation’s temporary capital, a great banquet was held in his honor.

When Genêt formally presented himself to President George Washington, he expected another warm and enthusiastic reception. Washington, however, did not want to be drawn into war with Great Britain. His response to Genêt was cool and dignified.

Genêt began making speeches against the president. These attacks on Washington brought thousands of Genêt’s supporters into Philadelphia’s streets. “Day after day,” recalled Vice President John Adams, the protesters “threatened to drag Washington out of his house, and . . . compel [the government] to declare war in favor of the French revolution.”

This was too much, even for Jefferson. Calling Genêt “hotheaded . . . disrespectful, and even indecent toward the President,” Secretary of State Jefferson asked the French government to recall its troublesome representative.

Section 6 - The Presidency of John Adams

When the framers of the Constitution created the Electoral College, they imagined that the electors would simply choose the two best leaders for president and vice president. That was how the nation’s first two presidential elections worked. By the third election in 1796, however, it was clear that political parties had become part of the election process.

The Republicans supported Thomas Jefferson for president that year. His support came mainly from farmers in the South and West. The Federalists supported John Adams, who appealed to lawyers, merchants, ship owners, and businesspeople in the North. When the electoral votes were counted, John Adams was elected president by just three votes. Jefferson came in second, making him vice president. The nation’s new top two leaders were political leaders from opposing parties.

John Adams, a Federalist, was elected the second president of the United States by only 3 votes

The Alien and Sedition Acts At first, President Adams tried to work closely with Jefferson. “Party violence,” Adams found, made such efforts “useless.” Meanwhile, Federalists in Congress passed four controversial laws known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. They argued that these laws were needed as protection against foreigners who might threaten the nation. In fact, the real purpose of the Alien and Sedition Acts was to make life difficult for the Federalists’ rivals, the Republicans.

Three of the laws, the Alien Acts, were aimed at aliens, or noncitizens. The first law lengthened the time it took for an immigrant to become a citizen with the right to vote—from 5 to 14 years. Since most immigrants voted Republican, Jefferson saw this law as an attack on his party. The other two Alien Acts allowed the president to either jail or deport aliens who were suspected of activities that threatened the government. Although these laws were never enforced, they did frighten a number of French spies and troublemakers, who then left the country.

The fourth law, known as the Sedition Act, made sedition—encouraging rebellion against the government—a crime. Its definition of sedition included “printing, uttering, or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious [hateful] writing” against the government, Congress, or the president. Alexander Hamilton approved of this law, believing that it would punish only those who published lies intended to destroy the government.

Instead, the Sedition Act was used to punish Republican newspaper editors who insulted President Adams in print. One, for example, called him “old, querulous [whiny], bald, blind, crippled, toothless Adams.” Twenty-five people were arrested under the new law. Ten of them were convicted of printing seditious opinions.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions Republicans viewed the Sedition Act as an attack on the rights of free speech and free press. Since the federal government was enforcing the act, Republicans looked to the states to protect these freedoms.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison drew up a set of resolutions, or statements, opposing the Alien and Sedition Acts and sent them to state legislatures for approval. They argued that Congress had gone beyond the Constitution in passing these acts. States, therefore, had a duty to nullify the laws—that is, to declare them to be without legal force.

Only two states, Virginia and Kentucky, adopted the resolutions. The arguments put forward in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were based on the states’ rights theory of the Constitution. This theory holds that rights not specifically given to the federal government remain with the states. Of these, one of the most important is the right to judge whether the federal government is using its powers properly.

~~In this political context, a law that encourages Great Britain, encourages a Federalist...~~

When no other states approved the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, the protest died. The states’ rights theory, however, was not forgotten. It would be raised and tested again in the years ahead.

The New National Capital In 1800, the federal government moved to the city of Washington in the District of Columbia. Most of the government’s buildings were still under construction. President Adams’s wife, Abigail, described the new “President’s House” as a “castle” in which “not one room or chamber is finished.” She used the large East Room for hanging laundry, as it was not fit for anything else.

Section 7 - The Election of 1800

This Republican presidential campaign banner is from 1800. The banner reads, "T. Jefferson Preside..."

The move to Washington, D.C., came in the middle of the 1800 presidential election. Once again, Republican leaders supported Thomas Jefferson for president. Hoping to avoid the strange outcome of the last election, they chose a New York politician named Aaron Burr to run as his vice president.

The Federalists chose John Adams to run for reelection as president. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina was selected to run for vice president. Some Federalists would have preferred Alexander Hamilton as their presidential candidate. But the Caribbean-born Hamilton was not eligible to run, as the Constitution requires the president to be a U.S.-born citizen.

The Campaign The candidates outlined their campaign issues early. Jefferson supported the Constitution and states' rights. He promised to run a "frugal and simple" government. Adams ran on his record of peace and prosperity.

The campaign, however, centered more on insults than on issues. Republican newspapers attacked Adams as a tyrant. They even accused him of wanting to turn the nation into a monarchy so that his children could follow him on the presidential throne.

Some Federalist newspapers called Jefferson an atheist. An atheist is someone who denies the existence of God. Jefferson, these newspapers charged, would "destroy religion, introduce immorality, and loosen all the bonds of society." Frightened by these charges, some elderly Federalists buried their Bibles to keep them safe from the "godless" Republicans.

The Divided Federalists Hamilton and his followers refused to support Adams because of disagreements over the president's foreign policy. "We shall never find ourselves in the straight road of Federalism while Mr. Adams is President," stated Oliver Wolcott, one of Hamilton's close allies.

As the campaign heated up, Hamilton worked feverishly behind the scenes to convince the men chosen for the Electoral College to cast their presidential ballots for Pinckney over Adams. Pinckney seemed more likely than Adams to value Hamilton's advice and his firm Federalist principles. With Pinckney as president, Hamilton believed that he would be able to personally guide the United States into the new century.

Section 8 - A Deadlock and a New Amendment

Here, Republican women help Thomas Jefferson win the election in New Jersey in 1800. ~~Women were~~

When the Electoral College voted early in 1801, it was clear that John Adams had lost the election. But to whom? Under the Constitution, each elector cast two votes, with the idea that the candidate finishing second would be vice president. All of the Republican electors voted for Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The result was a tie between them.

In the presidential election of 1800, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received the same number of

Breaking the Tie In the case of a tie, the Constitution sends the election to the House of Representatives. There, each state has one vote. Burr could have told his supporters in the House to elect Jefferson president, as his party wanted. Instead, he remained silent, hoping the election might go his way. When the House voted, the result was another tie.

After 6 days and 35 ballots, it was Federalist Alexander Hamilton who broke the deadlock. He asked his supporters in the House to vote for Jefferson. Of the two Republicans, he said, "Jefferson is to be preferred. He is by far not so dangerous a man." The tie was broken, and Jefferson was elected president.

In 1804, the Twelfth Amendment was added to the Constitution to prevent such ties. The amendment calls for the Electoral College to cast separate ballots for president and vice president. If no presidential candidate receives a majority of electoral votes, the House of Representatives chooses a president from the top three candidates. If no candidate for vice president receives a majority, the Senate chooses the vice president.

A Peaceful Revolution The election of 1800 was a victory for Jefferson and his Republican Party. But it was also a victory for the new system of government established by the Constitution. In other countries, power changed hands by means of war or revolution. In the United States, power had passed from one group to another without a single shot being fired.

Summary

In this chapter, you read about the beginnings of political parties in the United States.

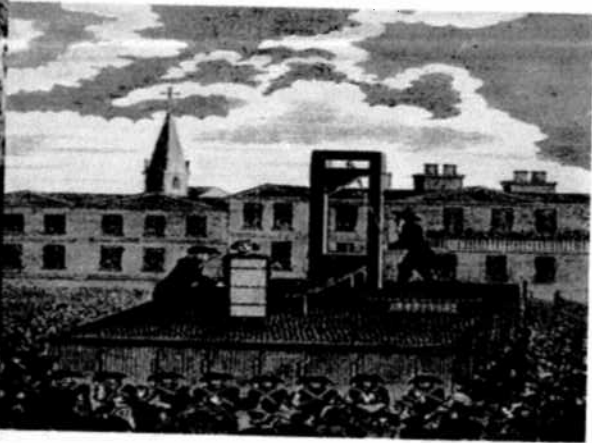
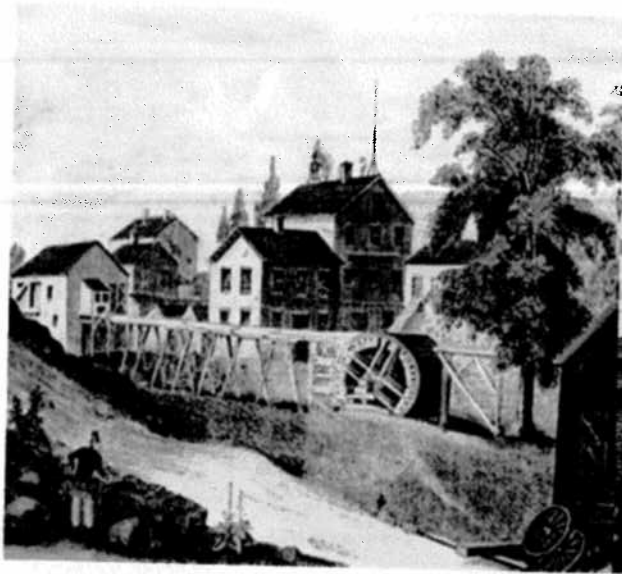
The New Government Under Washington George Washington took office as president in 1789. In 1794, he ended the Whiskey Rebellion, a farmers' protest against taxes.

Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists Hamilton and the Federalists favored a strong national government. They supported a loose construction of the Constitution. They also favored using the government's power to support business, manufacturing, and trade. Alarmed by the violence of the French Revolution, the Federalists favored Great Britain in its war with France.

Thomas Jefferson and the Republicans Jefferson and the Republicans championed states' rights and an economy based on agriculture. They supported a strict construction of the Constitution. Republicans saw the French Revolution as a step toward democracy and attacked the Federalists' support for Great Britain.

The Presidency of John Adams During Adams's presidency, Federalists used the Alien and Sedition Acts to attack Republicans. In response, Republicans urged states to nullify these laws.

The Election of 1800 and the Twelfth Amendment Adams lost the election of 1800 to Thomas Jefferson after the Federalists broke a tie vote between Jefferson and Aaron Burr. In 1804, the Twelfth Amendment was added to the Constitution to prevent such ties.



The Election of 1800

Presidential Candidate	Party	State	Electoral Votes
Thomas Jefferson	Republican	Virginia	73
Aaron Burr	Republican	New York	73
John Adams	Federalist	Massachusetts	65
Charles Pinckney	Federalist	South Carolina	64
John Jay	Federalist	New York	1

Foreign Affairs in the Young Nation

Overview and Objectives

Overview

In a Response Group activity, students assume the roles of foreign policy advisers to early presidents to evaluate the extent to which the country should have become involved in world affairs.

Objectives

In the course of reading this chapter and participating in the classroom activity, students will

Social Studies

- propose solutions to early U.S. foreign policy challenges, then compare with real decisions and evaluate them.
- identify major events of the War of 1812 and sequence on a timeline.
- explain the intent of the Monroe Doctrine.

Language Arts

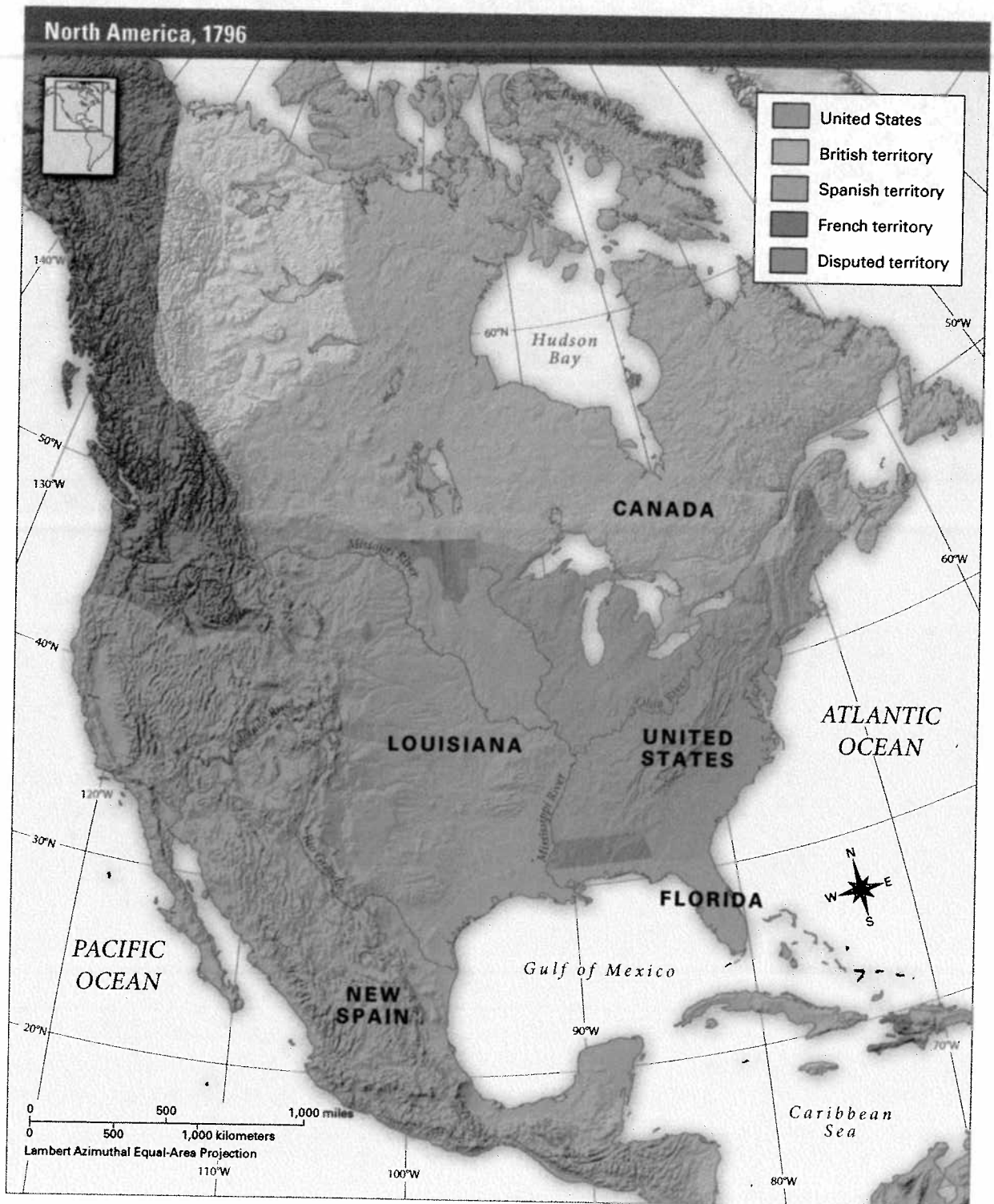
- deliver persuasive presentations that make clear and knowledgeable judgments.
- support arguments with detailed evidence, examples, and reasoning.
- anticipate and answer listener concerns and counterarguments effectively.

Social Studies Vocabulary

Key Content Terms neutrality, isolationism, embargo, blockade, Monroe Doctrine

Academic Vocabulary signify, pursue, cease, liberate

Preview



Foreign Affairs in the Young Nation

To what extent should the United States have become involved in world affairs in the early 1800s?

Section 1 - Introduction

The Great Seal of the United States.

Did you know that you are carrying a history lesson in your pocket or purse? You will find it on any \$1 bill. Look at a dollar and see for yourself.

On one side, you will see two circles showing the Great Seal of the United States. For thousands of years, governments have used seals like this one to mark their approval of important documents. Our nation's founders thought that a national seal was so important that they began work on it the same day they declared independence: July 4, 1776. In 1782, Congress approved the design we see on our currency today.

The Great Seal symbolizes the nation's principles. For example, the unfinished pyramid on one side of the seal signifies strength and endurance. The bald eagle on the other side is a symbol of the United States. In one claw, the eagle holds an olive branch, a symbol of peace. In the other, the eagle holds arrows to symbolize war. The olive branch and arrows of war show that the United States will pursue peace but will also protect itself. Notice that the eagle faces peace.

Now turn the dollar bill over. You will see a portrait of George Washington. Americans still honor Washington as the nation's first president. But few remember that Washington defined U.S. foreign policy in the early years of the nation's history.

George Washington was considered a hero even in his own time. ~~Here we see Lady Liberty crowning a~~

During his presidency, Washington established policies that would guide the United States in its future dealings with other nations. The United States could be actively involved in world affairs, risking war. Or it could avoid involvement in other nations' conflicts in the hope of staying at peace. Which choice would you have made for the new nation? In this chapter, you will read about four dilemmas that faced early U.S. presidents. Their decisions would shape the foreign policy pursued by later presidents.

Section 2 - President Washington Creates a Foreign Policy

George Washington's Farewell Address was published in newspapers in 1796. ~~As part of his address,~~

When George Washington took office as the nation's first president in 1789, the United States appeared to be weak militarily. The army that Washington had commanded during the American Revolution had disbanded. It had not been replaced for two reasons. First, the government did not have the money to keep its army active. Second, Americans had learned that a standing national army could be used to take away their liberty. State militia troops, they believed, could handle any threats the country might face.

And there were indeed threats. The new nation was surrounded by unfriendly powers. To the north, Great Britain still controlled Canada. The British also refused to abandon their forts in the Ohio Valley, even though this region now belonged to the United States. To the south and west, Spain controlled Florida and Louisiana.

Events in Europe also threatened the new nation. In 1789, the French people rose up against their king and declared France a republic. Most Americans were thrilled by the French Revolution. In 1793, however, France declared war against Great Britain. The war between France and Great Britain presented President Washington with the difficult problem of deciding which side to take.

~~In 1796, the United States was surrounded by colonies that belonged to the European countries of Ger...~~

During its own revolution, the United States had signed a treaty of alliance with France in 1778. Alliances are agreements made with other nations to aid and support each other. In that treaty, the United States had promised to aid France in time of war. Many Americans were eager to honor that pledge, even if it meant going to war with Great Britain.

Washington knew that the United States was not prepared for war. Instead, he announced a policy of neutrality. Under this policy, the United States would do nothing to aid either France or Great Britain in their war.

Before leaving office, Washington summed up his foreign policy in a farewell address to the nation. The United States, he said, could gain nothing by becoming involved in other nations' affairs. "It is our true policy," he declared, "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Washington's policy of avoiding alliances with other countries became known as isolationism. For the next century, isolationism would be the foundation of U.S. foreign policy.

Section 3 - President Adams's Dilemma: Protecting U.S. Ships

Isolationism sounded good in theory. But it is often hard to stay out of other countries' conflicts. No one knew this better than John Adams, the nation's second president. Adams tried to follow George Washington's policy of neutrality. With France, however, staying neutral proved to be difficult.

The Jay Treaty French leaders hoped that Great Britain's refusal to leave the Ohio Valley would lead to war between Great Britain and the United States. Those hopes were dashed when Washington sent John Jay, chief justice of the Supreme Court, to London to settle things with the British. In the treaty signed in 1794, known as the Jay Treaty, the British finally agreed to pull their troops from the Ohio Valley. France, still at war with Great Britain, viewed the Jay Treaty as a violation of its own treaty with the United States, made back in 1778. In July 1796, the French navy began attacking U.S. merchant ships bound for Great Britain. Over the next year, French warships seized 316 American ships.

~~In this cartoon, American envoys meet with a French diplomat, depicted as a multi-headed monster no...~~

The XYZ Affair President Adams sent three envoys, or representatives, to France to ask the French to end the attacks. French foreign minister Talleyrand refused to speak to the Americans. Instead, they

were met by secret agents, later identified only as X, Y, and Z. The agents said that no peace talks would be held unless Talleyrand received a large sum of money as a tribute. A tribute is money given to someone in exchange for that person's protection. Shocked by the request, the American envoys refused.

The XYZ Affair, as it became known, outraged Americans when the story reached home. At President Adams's request, Congress voted to recruit an army of 10,000 men. It also voted to build 12 new ships for the nation's tiny navy. The slogan "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" was heard everywhere as Americans prepared for war.

Meanwhile, Congress authorized U.S. warships and privately owned ships, called privateers, to launch a "half war" on the seas. During this undeclared war, American ships captured more than 80 armed French vessels.

As war fever mounted, President Adams, never a well-loved leader, found himself unexpectedly popular. His Federalist Party gained support in all parts of the country. The question facing Adams was whether the popular thing—waging an undeclared war on France—was also the best thing for the country.

Section 4 - What Happened: Adams Pursues Peace

President John Adams knew that no matter how good war might be for the Federalist Party, it would not be good for the country. In February 1799, he announced that he was sending a group of men to France to work for peace. Federalist leaders were furious. They pleaded with the president to change his mind, but Adams would not budge.

By the time the peace mission reached France, a French military leader named Napoleon Bonaparte had taken over the French government. Napoleon was eager to make peace with both Great Britain and the United States. He had already ordered the navy to stop seizing American ships and to release captured American sailors.

President John Adams believed that the United States needed a strong navy. ~~Congress approved the~~.

In a treaty made between France and the United States in 1800, Napoleon agreed to end France's 1778 alliance with the United States. In exchange, the Americans agreed not to ask France to pay for all the ships it had seized. This meant that the U.S. government would have to pay American ship owners for their lost property. To Adams, this seemed a small price to pay for peace with France.

Choosing the olive branch cost Adams political popularity. His pursuit of peace with France created strong disagreements within the Federalist Party. These disagreements lost Adams and the Federalists votes when he ran for reelection in 1800. Jefferson defeated Adams in the election, and the Federalist Party lost much of its support. Over the next few years, Adams would watch his Federalist Party slowly fade away.

Still, Adams had no regrets. He wrote,

I will defend my missions to France, as long as I have an eye
to direct my hand, or a finger to hold my pen . . . I desire no
other inscription over my gravestone than: "Here lies John
Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace
with France in the year 1800."

Section 5 - President Jefferson's Dilemma: Dealing with Pirates

The peace that John Adams achieved with France did not last long. In 1803, France and Great Britain were again at war. As the conflict heated up, both nations began seizing American ships that were trading with their enemy. President Thomas Jefferson, who took office in 1801, complained bitterly that "England has become a den of pirates and France has become a den of thieves." Still, like Washington and Adams before him, Jefferson tried to follow a policy of neutrality.

Impressment Remaining neutral when ships were being seized was hard enough. It became even harder when Great Britain began impressing American sailors—kidnapping them and forcing them to serve in the British navy. The British claimed that the men they impressed were British deserters. This may have been true in some cases, as some sailors may well have fled the terrible conditions on British ships. Yet thousands of unlucky Americans were also impressed.

American anger over impressment peaked in 1807 after a British warship, the Leopard, stopped a U.S. warship, the Chesapeake, to search for deserters. When the Chesapeake's captain refused to allow a search, the Leopard opened fire. Twenty-one American sailors were killed or wounded. This attack triggered another case of war fever, this time against Great Britain.

Piracy American ships faced a different threat from the Barbary States of North Africa: piracy, or robbery at sea. For years, pirates from Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli had preyed on merchant ships entering the Mediterranean Sea. The pirates seized the ships and held their crews for ransom.

~~In the late 1700s and early 1800s, the Mediterranean Sea was filled with pirates who attacked U.S. ships.~~

Presidents Washington and Adams both paid tribute to Barbary State rulers in exchange for the safety of American ships. While Americans were shouting "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute" during the XYZ Affair, the United States was quietly sending money to the Barbary States.

By the time Jefferson became president, the United States had paid the Barbary States almost \$2 million. The ruler of Tripoli, however, demanded still more tribute. To show that he was serious, he declared war on the United States. Jefferson hated war. But he also hated paying tribute. The question was, which was worse?

Section 6 - What Happened: Jefferson Solves the Problem

As much as Thomas Jefferson hated war, he hated paying tribute more. In 1802, he sent a small fleet of warships to the Mediterranean to protect American shipping interests. The war with Tripoli plodded along until 1804, when American ships began bombarding Tripoli with their cannons.

Then one of the ships, the Philadelphia, ran aground on a hidden reef in the harbor. The captain and crew were captured and held for ransom. Rather than let pirates have the Philadelphia, a young naval officer named Stephen Decatur led a raiding party into the heavily guarded Tripoli harbor and set the ship afire.

After a year of U.S. attacks and a blockade, Tripoli signed a peace treaty with the United States in 1805. Tripoli agreed to stop demanding tribute payments. In return, the United States paid a \$60,000 ransom for the crew of the Philadelphia. This was a bargain compared to the \$3 million first demanded.

Pirates from other Barbary States continued to raid ships in the Mediterranean. In 1815, U.S. and European naval forces finally destroyed the pirate bases.

Meanwhile, Jefferson tried desperately to convince both France and Great Britain to leave American ships alone. All of his diplomatic efforts failed. Between 1803 and 1807, Great Britain seized at least a thousand American ships. France captured about half that many.

When diplomacy failed, Jefferson proposed an embargo—a complete halt in trade with other nations. Under the Embargo Act passed by Congress in 1807, no foreign ships could enter U.S. ports and no American ships could leave, except to trade at other U.S. ports. Jefferson hoped that stopping trade would prove so painful to France and Great Britain that they would agree to leave American ships alone.

The embargo, however, proved far more painful to Americans than to anyone in Europe. Some 55,000 sailors lost their jobs. In New England, newspapers pointed out that embargo spelled backward reads “O grab me,” which made sense to all who were feeling its pinch.

Congress repealed the unpopular Embargo Act in 1809. American ships returned to the seas, and French and British warships continued to attack them.

Section 7 - President Madison's Dilemma: Protecting Sailors and Settlers

~~Indiana governor William Henry Harrison, on the far left, is shown encouraging his troops during the~~

President James Madison took office in 1809. He tried a new approach to protecting Americans at sea. He offered France and Great Britain a deal: if you agree to cease your attacks on American ships, the United States will stop trading with your enemy.

Napoleon promptly agreed to Madison's offer. At the same time, Napoleon gave his navy secret orders to continue seizing American ships headed for British ports. Madison, who desperately wanted to believe Napoleon's false promise, cut off all trade with Great Britain.

Meanwhile, the British continued seizing ships and impressing American sailors. Madison saw only one way to force Great Britain to respect American rights. He began to think about abandoning George Washington's policy of isolationism and going to war with Great Britain.

New Englanders and Federalists generally opposed going to war. Merchants in New England knew that war would mean a blockade of their ports by the British navy. They preferred to take their chances with the troubles at sea.

Many people in the South and to the west, however, supported going to war. Like all Americans, they resented Great Britain's policy of impressing U.S. sailors. They also accused the British of stirring up trouble among Indians in the states and territories to the northwest.

~~The Shawnee leader Tecumseh united American Indians in an attempt to halt the advance of white settlers.~~

Trouble with the Indians was growing as settlers moved into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys and pushed Indians off their lands. Two Shawnee Indians—a chief named Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet—tried to fight back by uniting Indians along the Mississippi River into one great Indian nation. On November 7, 1811, Shawnee warriors fought against a militia force led by Indiana governor William Henry Harrison in the Battle of Tippecanoe Creek. Harrison defeated the Indian forces. After the battle, however, Harrison's men discovered that the Indians were armed with British guns.

Americans were outraged. Several young congressmen from the South and West, including Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, were so eager for war with Great Britain that they were nicknamed "War Hawks." They argued that to make the northwestern frontier safe for settlers, the United States needed to drive the British out of Canada. Once that was done, Canada could be added to the United States.

Losses at sea, national pride, and a desire to make the frontier safe for settlement all contributed to the reasons for war. Still, Madison hesitated. Was the nation strong enough to launch the arrows of war? Or should he hold tightly to the olive branch of peace?

Section 8 - What Happened: The War of 1812

This map shows American and British offensives, or attacks, during the War of 1812. ~~Despite victory,~~
see map

James Madison chose to abandon isolationism. At his request, Congress declared war on Great Britain on July 17, 1812. This was a bold step for a nation with an army of 7,000 poorly trained men and a navy of only 16 ships.

Battles on Land and Sea War Hawks were overjoyed when the War of 1812 began. They thought that conquering Canada was "a mere matter of marching." They were wrong. In 1812, 1813, and again in 1814 U.S. forces crossed into Canada, but each time British forces turned them back.

The British, too, found the going much rougher than expected. On September 10, 1813, a U.S. naval force under the command of Oliver Hazard Perry captured a British fleet of six ships on Lake Erie. Perry's

victory enabled William Henry Harrison to push into upper Canada, where he defeated the British in a major battle. Chief Tecumseh, who was fighting on the side of the British, was killed. But in December, the British drove the Americans back across the border.

By 1814, Napoleon had been defeated in Europe, and Great Britain was able to send 15,000 troops to Canada. American plans to conquer Canada came to an end.

Meanwhile, in August 1814, another British army invaded Washington, D.C. The British burned several public buildings, including the Capitol and the White House. President Madison had to flee for his life.

Next the British attacked the port city of Baltimore, Maryland. On September 13, an American lawyer named Francis Scott Key watched as the British bombarded Fort MCHenry, which guarded the city's harbor. The bombardment went on all night. When dawn broke, Key was thrilled to see that the American flag still waved over the fort, proving that the fort had not been captured. He expressed his feelings in a poem that was later put to music as "The Star-Spangled Banner."

The Battle of New Orleans A British fleet had surrendered to U.S. forces after the Battle of Lake Champlain in New York just two days before the unsuccessful attack on Baltimore. In Great Britain, news of this defeat would greatly weaken the desire to continue the war. But the news took time to travel, and in the meantime British commanders in the United States launched another invasion. This time, their target was New Orleans.

New Orleans was defended by General Andrew Jackson and a ragtag army of 7,000 militia, free African Americans, Indians, and pirates. On January 8, 1815, more than 7,500 British troops marched confidently into battle. Jackson's troops met them with deadly fire. Some 2,000 British soldiers were killed or wounded, compared with only about 20 Americans.

The Battle of New Orleans was the greatest U.S. victory of the War of 1812. It was also totally unnecessary. Two weeks earlier, American and British diplomats meeting in Ghent (GHENT), Belgium, had signed a peace treaty ending the war. The news did not reach New Orleans until after the battle was fought.

Results of the War Although both sides claimed victory, neither Great Britain nor the United States really won the War of 1812. The Treaty of Ghent settled none of the issues that had led to the fighting. Instead, the problems of impressment and ship seizures faded away as peace settled over Europe. Still, the war had important effects.

First, Indian resistance in the Northwest Territory weakened after Tecumseh's death. Over time, most of the American Indians who fought with Tecumseh would be driven out of the Ohio Valley.

Second, national pride in the United States surged. Many Americans considered the War of 1812 "the second war of independence." They felt that by standing up to the British, the United States had truly become a sovereign nation.

Third, the war had political effects. The Federalists were badly damaged by their opposition to the war, and their party never recovered. Two of the war's heroes—William Henry Harrison and Andrew Jackson—would later be elected president.

Section 9 - President Monroe's Dilemma: A New Foreign Policy Challenge

James Monroe became president in 1817. After the excitement of the War of 1812, he was relieved to return the nation to its policy of isolationism. Americans began to turn their attention away from Europe, however, and direct it to events happening in Latin America. From Mexico to the tip of South America, Latin Americans were rising up in revolt against Spain.

A Catholic priest, Miguel Hidalgo (lower case), inspired an independence movement in Mexico.

Latin America's Revolutions In Mexico, the revolt against Spanish rule was inspired by a Catholic priest named Miguel Hidalgo (me-GHELL heh-DAHL-goh). On September 16, 1810, Hidalgo spoke to a crowd of poor Indians in the town of Dolores. "My children," Hidalgo said, "will you make an effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your fore-fathers three hundred years ago? Death to bad government!" Hidalgo's speech, remembered today as the "Cry of Dolores," inspired a revolution that lasted ten years. In 1821, Mexico finally won its independence from Spain.

Two other leaders liberated South America. In 1810, a Venezuelan named Simón Bolívar (see-MOHN buh-LEE-var) launched a revolution in the north with this cry: "Spaniards, you will receive death at our hands! Americans, you will receive life!" José de San Martín (ho-ZAY de SAN mar-TEEN), a revolutionary from Argentina, led the struggle for independence in the south. By the end of 1825, the last Spanish troops had been driven out of South America.

New Latin American Nations Many Americans were excited by independence movements in Latin America. The British also supported the revolutions—for their own reasons. Spain had not allowed other nations to trade with its colonies. Once freed from Spanish rule, the new Latin American nations were able to open their doors to foreign trade, including trade with Great Britain.

Other European leaders were not so pleased. Some even began to talk of helping Spain recover its lost colonies. In 1823, Great Britain asked the United States to join it in sending a message to these leaders, telling them to leave Latin America alone.

President James Monroe asked former presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison for advice. Should the United States do something to support the new Latin American nations? If so, what?

Section 10 - What Happened: The Monroe Doctrine

Both Thomas Jefferson and James Madison liked the idea of joining with Great Britain to send a warning to the nations of Europe. Jefferson wrote to James Monroe, "Our first and fundamental maxim [principle] should be, never entangle ourselves in the broils [fights] of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle [interfere] with . . . America, North and South."

~~With the Monroe Doctrine by his side, Uncle Sam warns foreign powers to keep their hands off the...~~

President Monroe's secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, agreed with Jefferson. But Adams insisted that "it would be more candid [honest], as well as more dignified," for the United States to speak boldly for itself. President Monroe agreed.

In 1823, Monroe made a speech to Congress announcing a policy that became known as the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe stated that the nations of North and South America were "free and independent" and were "not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." The United States, he said, would view efforts by Europeans to take over "any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

Europeans denounced Monroe's message as arrogant. By what right, asked a French newspaper, did the United States presume to tell the other nations of the world what they could do in North and South America?

Americans, however, cheered Monroe's message. It made them proud to see the United States stand up for the freedom-loving people of Latin America.

In the years ahead, the Monroe Doctrine joined isolationism as a basic principle of U.S. foreign policy. The doctrine asserted that the United States would not accept European interference in American affairs. It also contained another, hidden message. By its very boldness, the Monroe Doctrine told the world that the United States was no longer a weak collection of quarreling states. It had become a strong and confident nation—a nation to be respected by the world.

Summary

In this chapter, you learned about the development of foreign policy in the United States under the nation's first five presidents.

President Washington Creates a Foreign Policy The first U.S. president knew that the young nation was unprepared for war. George Washington established a policy of isolationism to avoid alliances with other countries, which could draw the country into wars abroad.

President Adams's Dilemma During the presidency of John Adams, France attacked U.S. ships. Adams followed Washington's policy of isolationism and kept the United States at peace by securing a treaty with France.

President Jefferson's Dilemma President Thomas Jefferson also faced threats at sea. When peace talks failed, he passed the Embargo Act of 1807. It, too, was unsuccessful.

President Madison's Dilemma President James Madison offered a trade deal to both France and Great Britain, but the attacks at sea continued. He finally abandoned isolationism and declared war on Great Britain. The War of 1812 ended in a peace treaty with Great Britain.

President Monroe's Dilemma President James Monroe, in support of the new Latin American states, issued a policy called the Monroe Doctrine. In it, he warned European nations to respect the newly independent colonies. The Monroe Doctrine established the United States as a strong nation, willing to stand up for its own freedom and that of its neighbors.

A Growing Sense of Nationhood

Overview and Objectives

Overview

In a Writing for Understanding activity, students visit an art exhibit, cotillion, and literary gathering to experience American culture in the early 1800s. They then create a chapter of a book describing what it meant to be an American in this period.

Objectives

In the course of reading this chapter and participating in the classroom activity, students will

Social Studies

- describe Henry Clay's American System.
- identify themes in American art, music, and literature including works by Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.
- identify ways in which politics and popular culture reflected America's growing national identity.

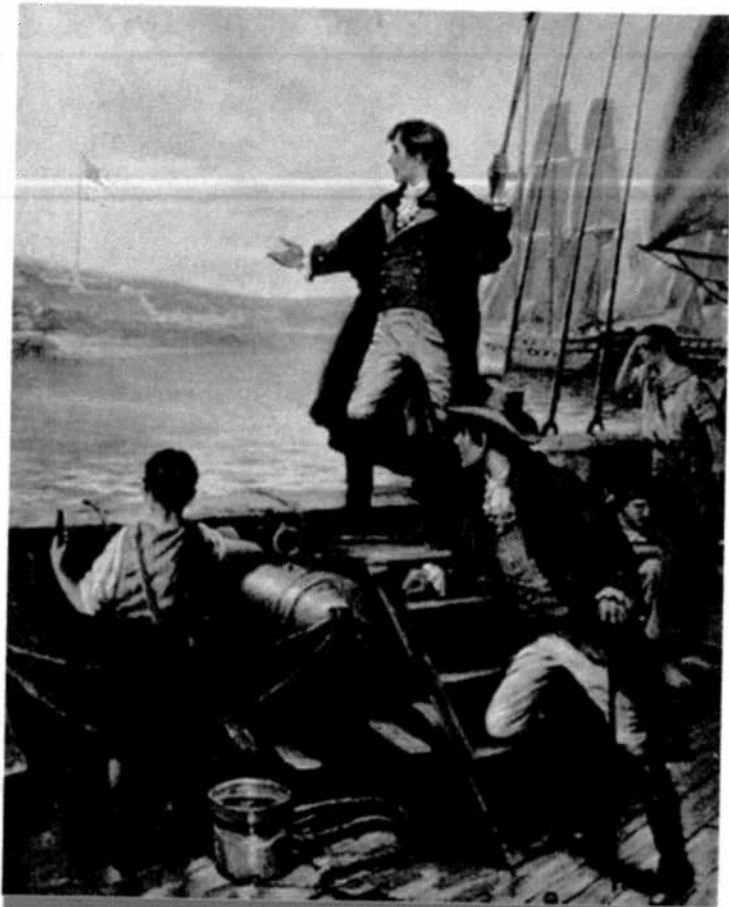
Language Arts

- write and revise a tightly argued essay that includes a coherent thesis, supporting evidence, and well-supported conclusion.
- support a thesis or conclusions with paraphrases, opinions, and comparisons.
- read and respond to historically or culturally significant works of literature and identify and analyze recurring themes.
- revise writing for content, appropriate organization, and transitions between paragraphs, passages, and ideas.

Social Studies Vocabulary

Key Content Terms frontier, capitalism, American System, folk art, spiritual

Academic Vocabulary proclaim, emerge, distinct, stereotype



North America, 1820



A Growing Sense of Nationhood

What did it mean to be an American in the early 1800s?

Section 1 - Introduction

This painting depicts Francis Scott Key watching the flag flying over Fort McHenry ~~during the battle~~
see picture

If you had been there on that rainy night in Maryland during the War of 1812, you might have mistaken the bombardment for thunder. But Maryland lawyer Francis Scott Key knew better. He huddled in a boat in Baltimore harbor and watched as British warships fired on Fort McHenry.

Fort McHenry had a flag so big “that the British would have no trouble seeing it from a distance,” boasted the fort’s commander. It was 30 feet high and 42 feet long. You can see a photograph of that very flag on the opposite page. Key knew that if the flag came down, it meant that both the fort and Baltimore had been defeated. But when the sun rose, the flag was still there and the British were retreating.

Key celebrated by writing a poem, “The Defence of Fort McHenry.” Six days later, it was published in a newspaper. Before long, it had been reprinted across the country. It was set to music in 1814 and sung as “The Star-Spangled Banner.” In 1931, it was proclaimed the national anthem.

The flag that inspired the writing of “The Star-Spangled Banner” is displayed at the Smithsonian’s ...

Moments like these during the War of 1812 helped give Americans a feeling of national identity. But what did being American mean? How was it different from being European? Alexis de Tocqueville, a French nobleman who toured the United States in 1831 and 1832, had one answer. “I do not know a country where the love of money holds a larger place in the heart of man,” he wrote in his book *Democracy in America*. The pursuit of wealth was an important element of the emerging American identity. But there were also other elements that united Americans of different backgrounds and experiences. In this chapter, you will learn how a growing sense of nationhood developed during the early 1800s in spite of significant differences between various regions of the country.

Section 2 - Developing a Nation in a Land of Differences

In 1820, most Americans lived east of the Mississippi River. ~~To the west of the river lay the great~~
see picture

In the early 1800s, the United States was a very young country. Older adults at that time could still remember when they were British subjects. Even after the American Revolution, the United States seemed less like a single nation than a collection of states.

A surge of patriotism following the War of 1812 helped forge a new national identity. Because many Federalists had been opposed to the war—a stance their opponents described as disloyal—the Federalist Party struggled to survive in the face of this growing patriotism. Leaders like James Monroe hoped that partisan strife, or fighting between political parties, was a thing of the past. Most Americans looked with pride on a rapidly growing country whose brightest days, they believed, lay ahead.

The United States in the Early 1800s The nation in 1800 was very different from what it is today. Two out of every three Americans still lived within 50 miles of the Atlantic Coast. Fewer than one in ten lived west of the Appalachians. These round-topped, forested mountains extended like a bumpy spine from Maine through Georgia. They made travel between east and west very difficult.

Beyond the mountains, the land flattened out and was covered by dense woods. More and more settlers crossed the Appalachians in the early 1800s, clearing trees and starting farms and mills. For Americans of the day, this land between the eastern mountains and the Mississippi River was known as “the West.” Across the Mississippi lay the frontier, a vast, unexplored wilderness.

Everywhere, travel was difficult and slow. Nothing moved faster than a horse could run—not people, not goods, not messages. News could take weeks to travel from one city to another, as the post office labored to deliver letters and newspapers over rutted, muddy roads.

In part because of geographical differences, distinct regional lifestyles developed. This led to stereotypes, or exaggerated images, of different groups. The “Yankees” of the Northeast, with its growing cities and bustling trade, were seen as enterprising, thrifty, and—in the eyes of southerners—quick to chase a dollar. The rich plantation owners of the South were seen as gracious, cultured, and—in the eyes of northerners—lazy. The frontier settlers who sought their fortunes in the West were seen as rugged, hardy, and—in the eyes of people on the East Coast—crude.

Many of the country’s leaders knew they would have to overcome geographical obstacles and stereotypes to truly unite the country. One idea they favored was an ambitious program of building roads and canals to make transportation easier and faster.

~~The U.S. Capitol, shown here in an 1824 painting after the structure was rebuilt following the War...~~

Symbols and Values Uniting the nation required more than building roads and waterways. Citizens needed to feel American. One way to accomplish this was to build on Americans’ pride in their government. After the British burned Washington, D.C., during the War of 1812, Congress hired architects to rebuild the White House and the Capitol in a style that would equal the grand, stately buildings of Europe. Congress complained about the cost, but not about the result. These magnificent buildings are admired to this day as national symbols.

Another national symbol was born during this period: Uncle Sam. Legend has it that the name came from Sam Wilson, a New York butcher. “Uncle Sam,” it was said, had provided the army with meat during the War of 1812. More likely the name was made up to match the initials U.S. for United States. After the war, “Uncle Sam” became a popular nickname for the federal government.

A national identity requires more than symbols. Citizens need to share values as well. White American men saw themselves as devoted to individualism and equality. Their commitment to these values may not have extended to enslaved African Americans, American Indians, or women. Still, they were united in the belief that they were different—and better—than Europeans.

Alexis de Tocqueville sensed this feeling just four days into his visit. "The Americans carry national pride to an altogether excessive length," he noted. By the end of his trip, however, he had come to admire this distinctly American spirit. That spirit was reflected in every aspect of life, from politics to art, music, and literature.

Section 3 - Politics: The Era of Good Feelings

James Monroe was the last president to have fought in the American Revolution. ~~When he was born~~

After being elected president in 1816, James Monroe went on a goodwill tour. Huge crowds greeted him so warmly that a newspaper proclaimed an "Era of Good Feelings." Monroe's eight years as president are still known by this name today. To many Americans at the time, it seemed that a new period of national unity had dawned.

Economic Nationalism The swelling of nationalist spirit was reflected in proposals that the federal government take a more active role in building the national economy. One of the leading supporters of such measures in Congress was Henry Clay of Kentucky.

Clay was a persuasive speaker, full of charm and intelligence. Driven by ambition, Clay wanted to be president. He campaigned for the office five times, but was never elected.

Clay believed that America's future lay in capitalism, an economic system in which individuals and companies produce and distribute goods for profit. Most supporters of capitalism agreed that government should have a limited role in the economy. But Clay believed that the national government had a role to play in encouraging economic growth. Clay supported an economic plan called the American System. This plan called for taxes on imported goods to protect industry as well as federal spending on transportation projects like roads and canals.

A third part of Clay's plan was a new national bank to standardize currency and provide credit. Congress adopted this idea in 1816 when it created the second Bank of the United States. (The first national bank had lapsed in 1811.) The bank was a private business, but the government owned one-fifth of it and deposited government funds there.

Another early champion of economic nationalism was South Carolina's John C. Calhoun. In Congress, Calhoun supported the national bank, a permanent road system, and a tax on imports. Yet in other ways he resisted federal power. By the 1830s, he would become the leading spokesman for states' rights, largely to protect slavery in the South. His career illustrates the tensions between nationalism and the pull of regional differences.

A third proponent of nationalism was Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Webster served several terms in both the House and Senate. Unlike Clay, who was a War Hawk, Webster bitterly opposed the War of 1812. After the war, however, he voiced strong support for Clay's American System. "Let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four states are one country," Webster

urged in 1825. Later, he would strongly challenge Calhoun's claim that states had the right to defy the federal government.

Judicial Nationalism Both nationalism and commerce had a friend in the Supreme Court's chief justice, John Marshall. Appointed by John Adams in 1801, Marshall wrote some of the most important court decisions in U.S. history.

Marshall's decisions had two major effects. First, they strengthened the role of the Supreme Court itself and the federal government's power over the states. Second, they encouraged the growth of capitalism, as a few specific cases show. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), the Court confirmed Congress's authority to create a national bank that was free from state interference. This strengthened the federal government's position. In another case, the Marshall Court held that business contracts could not be broken, even by state legislatures. This decision gave contracts a fundamental place in constitutional law. In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Court further reduced state powers. This case ended a monopoly that New York State had granted to a steamboat company operating between New York and New Jersey. Only Congress, the Court said, had the authority to regulate interstate commerce. Besides strengthening the power of the federal government, this decision promoted business growth by limiting the ability of states to regulate transportation.

The End of the Era of Good Feelings In 1824, four candidates, including Clay, competed to succeed Monroe as president. None of the candidates won a majority in the Electoral College. As a result, the election had to be decided by the House of Representatives. The House elected John Quincy Adams, the son of John Adams.

The House's action enraged the candidate who had received the most votes on Election Day. That candidate was Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, one of the heroes of the War of 1812. Jackson vowed to run again in the next election. The voters who rallied around him in 1828 would become the heart of a new political party, the Democrats. The Era of Good Feelings was over. Partisan strife was here to stay.

Section 4 - Early American Art

Americans had brought European art traditions with them to the colonies, but by the 1800s they were expressing their national identity by developing styles all their own. Not all artists were professionals. Ordinary people produced many kinds of folk art. Men carved weather vanes and hunting decoys. Women sewed spare bits of cloth into quilts. Untrained artists created signs, murals, and images of national symbols like the American flag. Such folk art was simple, direct, and often very colorful.

Most professional artists made a living doing portraits. Portrait artists of the period tried to capture the personalities and emotions of their subjects. The best-known portrait artist was Gilbert Stuart. The image of George Washington on a dollar bill is adapted from a Stuart painting. The painting was so treasured that when the British attacked Washington, D.C., during the War of 1812, President Madison's wife, Dolly, saved Stuart's painting of Washington from the burning White House.

Strangely enough, it was an Englishman whose work led to a uniquely American brand of fine art. When Thomas Cole arrived from England in 1818, he fell in love with the immense and varied American landscape. His most famous works feature both storm clouds and sunny skies over broad stretches of land. The glowing light made a striking contrast to the stormy darkness. Fellow artists followed Cole's example and started what became known as the Hudson River School of painting. These painters focused on nature rather than people, often choosing to paint broad, scenic vistas.

~~In The Subsiding of the Waters of the Deluge (1829), Thomas Cole bathed his scene in a so...~~

Other artists portrayed more particular aspects of nature. John James Audubon painted finely detailed portraits of birds. In some respects, Audubon was more a naturalist than an artist. He made accurate, realistic studies of the species he observed in the fields and woods. No one in the United States would print his four-volume book, so he found a publisher in England. The Birds of America made him the country's first internationally famous artist.

Philadelphia's George Catlin turned his eye on the natives of the American West. He saw that American Indians' traditional ways were disappearing. For years, Catlin crisscrossed the West, drawing the native people and capturing in rich colors their villages, hunts, and rituals.

By choosing as their subject the wondrous features of their new country, Americans gave their art a distinct identity. At times, they presented dangerous landscapes in deceptively positive tones. Still, the vividness and optimism of their work accurately reflected the national outlook.

Section 5 - Early American Music

~~Some Americans relaxed with folk songs and fiddle tunes, while others listened to classical music...~~

Americans' national identity was also expressed through music. Until the 1800s, music in the United States was performed and heard mostly in church. Songs were performed outside church, too, but they were usually old tunes with new lyrics. The music for "The Star-Spangled Banner," for instance, came from an English tune.

With growing prosperity came an outburst of musical activity. In the North, orchestras played classical music from Europe. They also provided the music for the cotillion, in which groups of four couples danced together with elegantly coordinated movements. Dancers swirled through ballrooms, performing lively minuets, gavottes, mazurkas, and waltzes. Sometimes, female dancers lifted their floor-length petticoats to show off their footwork. Displaying their ankles was considered quite daring.

In the South, slaves combined the hymns of white churchgoers with African musical styles to create spirituals. They also entertained themselves—and sometimes slave owners—with folk songs accompanied by violin, drum, and banjo (an African American invention).

In the South and West, square dances became common. These were less formal versions of the popular cotillion. As fiddles played, a "caller" told dancers which steps to perform.

As demand for popular songs grew, composers answered with a stream of patriotic anthems. The best known is "America," written in 1832 by Samuel Francis Smith. It begins "My country, 'tis of Thee" and is sung to the tune of England's "God Save the King."

White composers from the South, inspired by the music of African Americans, created a type of music known as minstrel songs. These songs honored black music by mimicking it. But at the same time, the performers mocked African Americans by blackening their own white faces, wearing shabby clothes, and singing in exaggerated African American dialects. One white composer, Thomas Dartmouth Rice, caused a national sensation in 1828 with his song "Jump Jim Crow":

Weel about and turn about and do jis so

Ebery time I weel about I jump Jim Crow.

The racist phrase "Jim Crow," which came from Rice's black minstrel show character, had a long life. Many years later, laws that discriminated against African Americans would be known as "Jim Crow laws."

Minstrel shows became the most popular form of entertainment in the country. They inspired composer Stephen Foster to write such famous songs as "Old Folks at Home," "Camptown Races," and "Oh! Susanna." Foster earned nationwide fame, proof that a truly American musical tradition had arrived.

Section 6 - Early American Literature

In 1820, a British writer sneered, "Who reads an American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue?" In the eyes of Europeans, the United States was a culturally backward nation. Yet America was finding its cultural voice, especially in literature.

~~In a typical humorous boast, frontiersman Davy Crockett described himself as "half-horse, half-all."~~

Like the painters of the Hudson River School, writers began to use uniquely American subjects and settings. One of the first to achieve literary fame was Washington Irving. He drew on German folklore for his colorful tales of "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," but he set them in the wilds of upstate New York. Irving's enchanted stories were an immediate hit.

One of the nation's first novelists was James Fenimore Cooper. In books such as *The Pioneers* and *The Last of the Mohicans*, Cooper wrote about the adventures of settlers in the wilderness. His descriptions of frontier life and American Indians attracted worldwide interest. In France, 18 publishers competed to publish *The Pioneers*.

Davy Crockett was a real-life frontiersman who spun tall tales about his life as a hunter, scout, soldier, and explorer. His election to Congress from Tennessee horrified Alexis de Tocqueville. The Frenchman described Crockett as a man "who has no education, can read with difficulty, has no property, no fixed residence, but passes his life hunting, selling his game to live, and dwelling continuously in the woods."

But that very image captivated Americans, who saw Crockett as the fictional frontier hero come to life. Crockett's autobiography, which was full of his plain backwoods speech and rough humor, helped give popular literature a new, distinctly American accent.

New England's Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was one of the first serious American poets. He wrote America's first epic poem, *The Song of Hiawatha*, based on stories of American Indians. Other poems, like his famous "Paul Revere's Ride," touched on patriotic themes. In "The Building of the Ship," Longfellow celebrated the growing importance of the United States to the world:

Sail on, O Ship of State!

Sail on, O Union, strong and great!

Humanity with all its fears,

With all the hopes of future years,

Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

In both subject matter and style, writers like these encouraged the growth of a national identity. In particular, they promoted the myth of rugged individualism that for many people—at home and abroad—best characterized the United States.

Summary

In this chapter, you read about the growing sense of nationhood in the United States after the War of 1812.

Developing a Nation in a Land of Differences A spirit of patriotism after the War of 1812 helped the United States form a national identity, even though distinct lifestyles developed in different regions of the country. This national identity was shown in Americans' pride in symbols, such as the White House, the Capitol, and Uncle Sam, and in shared values, such as equality.

Politics: The Era of Good Feelings James Monroe became president in 1816. His presidency is known as the Era of Good Feelings because of the national unity the country experienced between 1816 and 1824. During these years, leaders like Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster supported proposals that called for the federal government to take a more active role in developing the nation's economy. Also during this period, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, helped strengthen federal power over the states and encourage the growth of capitalism.

Early American Art, Music, and Literature American art forms also helped the nation develop a unique identity. Painters of the Hudson River School created artworks that highlighted the landscape's natural beauty, and George Catlin painted scenes of American Indian life. New forms of music included spirituals and patriotic anthems. Writers used uniquely American settings and subjects to create such stories as "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and popular novels like *The Pioneers* and *The Last of the Mohicans*.

Andrew Jackson and the Growth of American Democracy

Overview and Objectives

Overview

In a Visual Discovery activity, students analyze and bring to life images of key events in the presidency of Andrew Jackson to evaluate how well he promoted democracy.

Objectives

In the course of reading this chapter and participating in the classroom activity, students will

Social Studies

- describe the perspectives of various groups of people in response to Jackson and his key policies.
- assess the impact of Jackson's policies on the outcome of events.
- evaluate how well Jackson promoted democracy, citing both his positive and negative contributions.

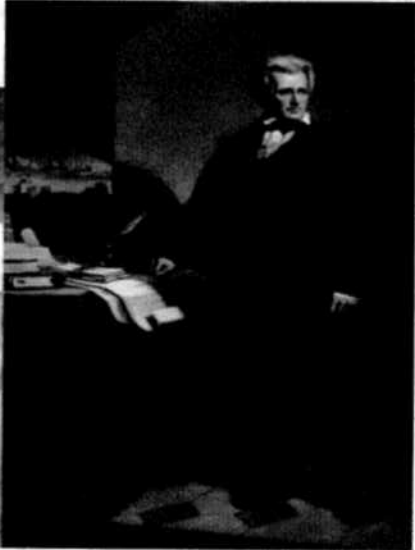
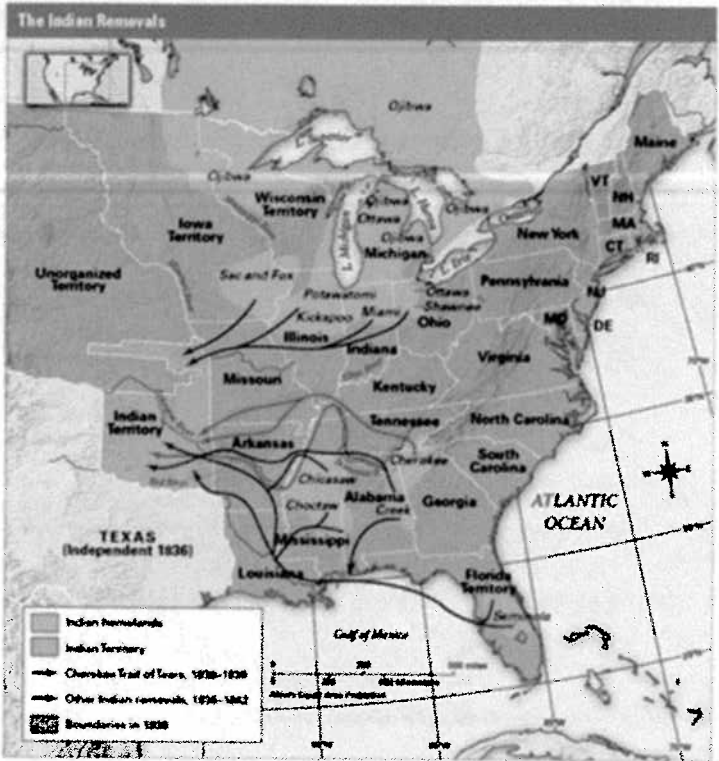
Language Arts

- deliver narrative presentations that relate a clear, coherent event by using well-chosen details and employing strategies such as relevant dialogue.

Social Studies Vocabulary

Key Content Terms Jacksonian Democracy, civil servant, spoils system, tariff, secede, Trail of Tears

Academic Vocabulary ignorant, dispute, voluntarily



Andrew Jackson and the Growth of American Democracy

How well did President Andrew Jackson promote democracy?

Section 1 - Introduction

Men line up to vote in the presidential election of 1828.

The presidential campaign of 1828 was one of the dirtiest in U.S. history. The two candidates were John Quincy Adams, running for reelection, and Andrew Jackson, the popular hero of the War of 1812's Battle of New Orleans.

During the campaign, both sides hurled accusations at each other, a practice called mudslinging. Adams, for example, was called a "Sabbath-breaker" for traveling on Sunday. He was accused of using public money to purchase "gambling furniture" for the White House. In reality, he had used his own money to buy a billiard table.

The president's supporters lashed back. They called Jackson a crude and ignorant man who was unfit to be president. They also brought up old scandals about his wife. Jackson was called "Old Hickory" by his troops because he was as tough as "the hardest wood in all creation." But when he read such lies, he broke down and cried.

~~Jackson, at the upper left, greeted his supporters after winning the presidency in the election of~~

When the votes were counted, Jackson was the clear winner. But his supporters came from among the general population, not the rich and upper class. In this chapter, you will discover how his presidency was viewed by different groups of people. You will also learn how Jackson's government affected the growth of democracy in the nation.

Section 2 - From the Frontier to the White House

Andrew Jackson was born on the South Carolina frontier. ~~In the early 1800s, he moved to Tennessee~~

Andrew Jackson was born in 1767, on the South Carolina frontier. His father died before he was born, leaving the family in poverty. Young Jackson loved sports more than schoolwork. He also had a hot temper. A friend recalled that he would pick a fight at the drop of a hat, and "he'd drop the hat himself."

The American Revolution ended Jackson's childhood. When he was just 13, Jackson joined the local militia and was captured by the British. One day, a British officer ordered Jackson to polish his boots. "Sir," he replied boldly, "I am a prisoner of war, and claim [demand] to be treated as such." The outraged officer lashed out with his sword, slicing the boy's head and hand. Jackson carried these scars for the rest of his life.

Frontier Lawyer After the war, Jackson decided to become a lawyer. He went to work in a law office in North Carolina. He quickly became known as "the most roaring, rollicking, game-cocking, horse-racing, card-playing, mischievous fellow" in town.

In 1788, Jackson headed west to Nashville, Tennessee, to practice law. At that time, Nashville was a tiny frontier settlement of rough cabins and tents. But the town grew quickly, and Jackson's practice grew with it. He soon earned enough money to buy land and slaves and set himself up as a gentleman farmer.

Despite his success, Jackson never outgrew his hot temper. A slave trader named Charles Dickinson found this out when he called Jackson "a worthless scoundrel." Enraged, Jackson challenged Dickinson to a duel with pistols. At that time, duels were accepted as a way of settling disputes between gentlemen. Jackson killed Dickinson with a single shot, even though Dickinson shot first and wounded him.

The People's Choice Jackson entered politics in Tennessee, serving in both the House and Senate. But he did not become widely known until the Battle of New Orleans during the War of 1812. His defense of the city made "Old Hickory" a national hero.

In 1824, Jackson ran for president against three other candidates: Henry Clay, William Crawford, and John Quincy Adams. Jackson won the most popular votes as well as the most electoral votes. But he did not have enough electoral votes for a majority. When no candidate has an electoral majority, the House of Representatives chooses a president from among the three leading candidates.

Clay, who had come in fourth, urged his supporters in the House to vote for Adams. That support gave Adams enough votes to become president. Adams then chose Clay to be his secretary of state.

It made sense for Adams to bring Clay into his cabinet, because the two men shared many of the same goals. Jackson's supporters, however, accused Adams and Clay of making a "corrupt bargain" to rob their hero of his rightful election. They promised revenge in 1828.

Jackson's supporters used the time between elections to build a new political organization that came to be called the Democratic Party, the name it still uses today. This new party, they promised, would represent ordinary farmers, workers, and the poor, not the rich and upper class who controlled the Republican Party.

In the election of 1828, Jackson's supporters worked hard to reach the nation's voters. Besides hurling insults at Adams, they organized parades, picnics, and rallies. At these events, supporters sang "The Hunters of Kentucky"—the nation's first campaign song—and cheered for Old Hickory. They wore Jackson badges, carried hickory sticks, and chanted catchy campaign slogans like "Adams can write, but Jackson can fight."

The result was a great victory for Jackson. But it was also a victory for the idea that the common people should control their government. This idea eventually became known as Jacksonian Democracy.

Section 3 - The Inauguration of Andrew Jackson

People of every color, age, and class mobbed the White House to see Andrew Jackson take the oath o...

On March 4, 1829, more than 10,000 people, who came from every state, crowded into Washington, D.C., to witness Andrew Jackson's inauguration. The visitors overwhelmed local hotels, sleeping five to a bed. "I never saw such a crowd here before," observed Senator Daniel Webster. "Persons have come five hundred miles to see General Jackson, and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some dreadful disaster!"

Many of the people flocking into the capital were first-time voters. Until the 1820s, the right to vote had been limited to the rich and upper class. Until then, only white men with property were thought to have the education and experience to vote wisely.

The new states forming west of the Appalachians challenged this argument. Along the frontier, all men—rich or poor, educated or not—shared the same opportunities and dangers. They believed they should also share the same rights, including the right to vote.

With the western states leading the way, voting laws were changed to give the "common man" the right to vote. This expansion of democracy did not yet include African Americans, American Indians, or women. Still, over one million Americans voted in 1828, more than three times the number who voted in 1824.

Many of these new voters did believe they had rescued the country from disaster. In their view, the national government had been taken over by corrupt "monied interests"—that is, the rich. Jackson had promised to throw the rich out and return the government to "the people." His election reflected a shift in power to the West and to the farmers, shopkeepers, and small-business owners who supported him.

After Jackson was sworn in as president, a huge crowd followed him to the White House. As the crowd surged in, the celebration turned into a near riot. "Ladies fainted, men were seen with bloody noses, and such a scene of confusion took place as is impossible to describe," wrote an eyewitness, Margaret Bayard Smith. Jackson was nearly "pressed to death" before escaping out a back door. "But it was the People's day, and the People's President," Smith concluded. "And the people would rule."

Section 4 - Jackson's Approach to Governing

Andrew Jackson approached governing much as he had leading an army. He listened to others, but then did what he thought was right.

The Kitchen Cabinet Jackson did not rely only on his cabinet for advice. He made most of his decisions with the help of trusted friends and political supporters. Because these advisers were said to meet with him in the White House kitchen, they were called the "kitchen cabinet."

The rich men who had been used to influencing the government viewed the "kitchen cabinet" with deep suspicion. In their eyes, the men around the president were not the proper sort to be running the country. One congressman accused Amos Kendall, Jackson's closest adviser, of being "the President's . . . lying machine." Jackson ignored such charges and continued to turn to men he trusted for advice.

The Spoils System Jackson's critics were even more upset by his decision to replace many Republican officeholders with loyal Democrats. Most of these civil servants viewed their posts as lifetime jobs. Jackson disagreed. Rotating people in office was more democratic than lifetime service, he said, because it gave more people a chance to serve their government. Jackson believed that after a few years in office, civil servants should go back to making a living as other people do.

In this political cartoon, titled "Office Hunters for the Year 1824," Andrew Jackson is a puppet man.

Jackson's opponents called the practice of rewarding political supporters with government jobs the spoils system. This term came from the saying "to the victor belong the spoils [prizes] of war."

Jackson's opponents also exaggerated the number of Republicans removed from office. Only about 10 percent of civil servants were replaced—and many deserved to be. One official had stolen \$10,000 from the Treasury. When he begged Jackson to let him stay, the president said, "I would turn out my own father under the same circumstances."

Section 5 - The Nullification Crisis

In this cartoon, John C. Calhoun, who believed that states have the right to nullify federal laws, is in...

Andrew Jackson's approach to governing met its test in an issue that threatened to break up the United States. In 1828, Congress passed a law raising tariffs, or taxes on imported goods such as cloth and glass. The idea was to encourage the growth of manufacturing in the United States. Higher tariffs meant higher prices for imported factory goods. American manufacturers could then outsell their foreign competitors.

Northern states, humming with new factories, favored the new tariff law. But southerners opposed tariffs for several reasons. Tariffs raised the prices they paid for factory goods. High tariffs also discouraged trade among nations, and planters in the South worried that tariffs would hurt cotton sales to other countries. In addition, many southerners believed that a law favoring one region—in this case, the North—was unconstitutional. Based on this belief, John C. Calhoun, Jackson's vice president, called on southern states to declare the tariff "null and void," or illegal and not to be honored.

Jackson understood southerners' concerns. In 1832, he signed a new law that lowered tariffs—but not enough to satisfy the most extreme supporters of states' rights in South Carolina. Led by Calhoun, they proclaimed South Carolina's right to nullify, or reject, both the 1828 and 1832 tariff laws. Such an action was called nullification.

South Carolina took the idea of states' rights even further. The state threatened to secede if the national government tried to enforce the tariff laws.

Even though he was from South Carolina, Jackson was outraged. "If one drop of blood be shed there in defiance of the laws of the United States," he raged, "I will hang the first man of them I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find." He called on Congress to pass the Force Bill, which would allow him

to use the federal army to collect tariffs if needed. At the same time, Congress passed a compromise bill that lowered tariffs still further.

Faced with such firm opposition, South Carolina backed down and the nullification crisis ended. However, the tensions between the North and the South would increase in the years ahead.

Section 6 - Jackson Battles the Bank of the United States

~~Andrew Jackson, on the left, attacked the many-headed Bank of the United States with a veto strike in~~

Andrew Jackson saw himself as the champion of the people, and never more so than in his war with the Bank of the United States. The bank was partly owned by the federal government, and it had a monopoly on federal deposits.

Jackson thought that the bank benefited rich eastern depositors at the expense of farmers and workers, as well as smaller state banks. He felt that the bank stood in the way of opportunity for capitalists in the West and other regions. He also distrusted the bank's president, Nicholas Biddle, who was everything Jackson was not: wealthy, upper class, well educated, and widely traveled.

The bank's charter, or contract, was due to come up for renewal in 1836. Jackson might have waited until after his reelection to "slay the monster." But Henry Clay, who planned to run for president against Jackson in 1832, decided to force the issue. Clay pushed a bill through Congress that renewed the bank's charter four years early. He thought that if Jackson signed the bill, the farmers who shared his dislike of banks would not reelect him. If Jackson vetoed the bill, he would lose votes from businesspeople who depended on the bank for loans. What Clay had forgotten was that there were many more poor farmers to cast votes than there were rich bankers and businesspeople.

Jackson vetoed the recharter bill. Even though the Supreme Court had held that the bank was constitutional, Jackson called the bank an unconstitutional monopoly that existed mainly to make the rich richer. The voters seemed to agree. In 1832, a large majority elected Jackson to a second term.

Rather than wait for the bank to die when its charter ran out, Jackson decided to starve it to death. In 1833, he ordered the secretary of the treasury to remove all federal deposits from the bank and put the money in state banks. Jackson's enemies called these banks "pet banks" because the president's supporters ran them.

Delegations of business owners begged Jackson not to kill the bank. Jackson refused. Abolishing the bank, he believed, was a victory for economic democracy.

Section 7 - Jackson's Indian Policy

~~Sequoyan (sh. KNO' ah) developed an 80-letter alphabet for the Cherokee language. The alphabet~~

As a frontier settler, Andrew Jackson had little sympathy for American Indians. During his presidency, it became national policy to remove Indians who remained in the East by force.

White settlers had come into conflict with Indians ever since colonial days. After independence, the new national government tried to settle these conflicts through treaties. Typically, the treaties drew boundaries between areas claimed for settlers and areas that the government promised to let the Indians have forever. In exchange for giving up their old lands, Indians were promised food, supplies, and money.

Despite the treaties, American Indians continued to be pushed off their land. By the time Jackson became president, only 125,000 Indians still lived east of the Mississippi River. War and disease had greatly reduced the number of Indians in the East. Other Indians had sold their lands for pennies an acre and moved west of the Mississippi. Jackson was determined to remove the remaining Indians to a new Indian Territory in the West.

Most of the eastern Indians lived in the South. They belonged to five groups, called tribes by whites: the Creek, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Seminole. Hoping to remain in their homelands, these Indians had adopted many white ways. Most had given up hunting to become farmers. Many had learned to read and write. The Cherokee had their own written language, a newspaper, and a constitution modeled on the U.S. Constitution. Whites called these Indians the "Five Civilized Tribes."

While the Five Civilized Tribes may have hoped to live in peace with their neighbors, many whites did not share this goal. As cotton growing spread westward, wealthy planters and poor settlers alike looked greedily at Indian homelands. The Indians, they decided, had to go.

In the 1830s, American Indians were removed from their homelands and sent to a government-created .

The Indian Removal Act In 1830, urged on by President Jackson, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act. This law allowed the president to make treaties in which American Indians in the East traded their lands for new territory on the Great Plains. The law did not say that the Indians should be removed by force, and in 1831 the Supreme Court held that Indians had a right to keep their lands. An angry Jackson disagreed. Groups that refused to move west voluntarily were met with military force, usually with tragic results.

This was true of the Sac and Fox Indians of Illinois. Led by a chief named Black Hawk, the Sac and Fox fought removal for two years. Black Hawk's War ended in 1832 with the slaughter of most of his warriors. As he was taken off in chains, the chief told his captors,

Black Hawk is an Indian. He has done nothing for which an Indian ought to be ashamed. He has fought for his countrymen, the squaws [women] and papooses [young children], against white men who came, year after year, to cheat them of and take away their land. You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it.

~~This artist painted an unrealistic picture of the Trail of Tears. Most of the Cherokees had no hor...~~

The Trail of Tears Many whites were ashamed over the treatment of Indians and sent protests to Washington, D.C. Still, the work of removal continued. In 1836, thousands of Creek Indians who refused to leave Alabama were rounded up and marched west in handcuffs. Two years later, under President

Martin Van Buren, more than 17,000 Cherokees were forced from their homes in Georgia and herded west by federal troops. Four thousand of these Indians died during the long walk to Indian Territory, which took place in the winter. Those who survived remembered that terrible journey as the Trail of Tears. A soldier who took part in the Cherokee removal called it "the cruelest work I ever knew."

Led by a young chief named Osceola (ah-see-OH-luh), the Seminoles of Florida resisted removal for ten years. Their long struggle was the most costly Indian war ever fought in the United States. A number of Seminoles were finally sent to Indian Territory. But others found safety in the Florida swamps. Their descendants still live in Florida today.

When Andrew Jackson left office, he was proud of having "solved" the American Indian problem for good. In reality, Jackson had simply moved the conflict between American Indians and whites across the Mississippi River.

Summary

Andrew Jackson was the nation's first president from the frontier. He came to office with great po

In this chapter, you read about the presidency of Andrew Jackson and evaluated how well he promoted democracy from the perspectives of various groups.

From the Frontier to the White House Andrew Jackson was a self-made man who rose from poverty to become president of the United States. First-time voters, many of them farmers and frontier settlers, helped elect Jackson in 1828. His supporters celebrated his election as a victory for the "common man" over the rich and powerful.

Jackson's Approach to Governing As president, Jackson relied on his "kitchen cabinet" rather than the official cabinet. He replaced a number of Republican civil servants with Democrats in a practice that became known as the spoils system.

The Nullification Crisis A controversy over higher tariffs led to the nullification crisis, in which South Carolinians threatened to secede from the United States. Although Jackson forced them to back down, the crisis was another sign of developing tensions between North and South.

The Battle Against the Bank Jackson thought the Bank of the United States benefited rich eastern depositors at the expense of farmers, workers, and smaller state banks. He also thought it stood in the way of opportunity for capitalists in the West and other regions. Jackson vetoed the bank's renewal charter.

Jackson's Indian Policy Jackson's Indian policy was simple: move the eastern Indians across the Mississippi to make room for whites. The Indian Removal Act caused great suffering for tens of thousands of American Indians.