

Forging the new REPUB

1789-1815



NC

In the last decade of the 1700s, debates over the size and role of the federal

government led to the emergence of rival political parties. Thomas Jefferson's election as president in 1800 marked the rise of the Democratic-Republican Party.

North Carolina Standards

Social Studies Objectives

1.01 Identify the major domestic issues and conflicts experienced by the nation during the Federalist Period.

1.03 Assess commercial and diplomatic relationships with Britain, France, and other nations.

Language Arts Objectives

3.02 Select an issue or theme and take a stance on that issue by:

supporting the argument with specific reasons.



President George Washington celebrates his second inauguration at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in 1793. As the country's first president, Washington not only led the nation but also set the style and tone for the office. **Interpreting Visuals** What image, style, or tone does this painting suggest?

See Skills Handbook, p. H30

U.S.

1790



1793 Thousands are killed during the Reign of Terror in France.

1791

Pierre Charles L'Enfant is hired

to plan the new

national capital.

The Bill of Rights

is added to the Constitution.



1795

History's Impact video program

Watch the video to understand the impact of expanding frontiers.

July 1798 Congress passes the Alien and

Sedition Acts.

Lewis es off to cont th

May 1804 Lewis and Clark set off to explore the continent west of the Mississippi.

1803

June 1807 British ship fires on American frigate *Chesapeake*.



June 1812 United States declares war on Great Britain.

1801 The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland

is formed.

1800

D'

Haitian liberator Pierre Toussant-Louverture dies in a French prison.

1805

1807

Great Britain outlaws the slave trade in its empire.



1814 Treaty of Ghent ends war between Great Britain and the United States.

1815

Washington Becomes President

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

President Washington and other leaders tried to solve the new nation's economic problems. This

led to the rise of

political parties.

READING FOCUS

- 1. What steps did Congress and the president take to organize the new government?
- 2. What was Alexander Hamilton's plan to settle the nation's debts?
- 3. What was the debate over the national bank?
- **4.** How did the first political parties form?

THE INSIDE **STORY**

How did Americans welcome the new president? The new government was slow getting started. Even after

electors voted unanimously for Washington, it took months for Congress to make the results official. Washington had already packed his bags for the trip from Virginia to New York, the temporary capital. As he waited, both he and his wife, Martha, had serious doubts about the coming months.

After the war, Washington had looked forward to a quiet life as a farmer at Mount Vernon. Now it seemed that responsibility for the success of the new nation rested on his shoulders. To make things worse, he was short of money and had to borrow to pay for his trip. He wrote gloomily that he approached the presidency "with feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to his place of execution."

Finally, on April 14, the election results were official, and Washington set out for New York. As his coach passed through towns and villages on the trip north, enthusiastic crowds cheered him. Men on horseback rode alongside the coach, stirring up dust from the dirt roads. He stopped in small towns to make speeches. He led parades and went to lavish dinners.

The emotions of the people were almost overwhelming. At last Washington reached New York, and the joyful celebrations reached a peak on the historic day of the nation's first presidential inauguration.

► Washington's stately image has come to symbolize the presidency.

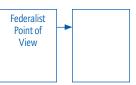
Key Terms and People

cabinet Judiciary Act of 1789 strict construction loose construction Bank of the United States Whiskey Rebellion two-party system Democratic-Republicans

TAKING NOTES

NOTES take notes on the Federalist point of view on government. Record your notes on a graphic organizer like the one shown here.

As you read,



A Born Leade

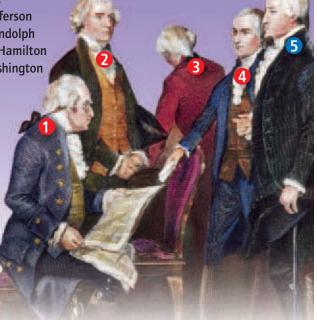


The President's Cabinet

Washington appointed four cabinet members, pictured with him here:

1 Henry Knox

- **2** Thomas Jefferson
- 6 Edmund Randolph
- 4 Alexander Hamilton
- **5** George Washington



THE CABINET, 1789 TO TODAY

Today the president's cabinet includes the vice president and the heads of 15 executive departments.

 Department of War.* 1789 2 Department of State, 1789 8 Attorney general, 1789 4 Department of the Treasury, 1789 Department of the Interior, 1849 Department of Justice.** 1870 Department of Agriculture, 1889 Department of Commerce, 1903 Department of Labor, 1913

Department of Health and Human Services. 1953 Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1965 Department of Transportation, 1966 Department of Energy, 1977 Department of Education, 1979 Department of Veterans Affairs, 1988 Department of Homeland Security, 2002

 Today, this is called the Department of Defense.
 ** The attorney general became the head of the new Department of Justice in 1870.

THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

Organizing the Government

No one doubted that George Washington would become the first president of the United States. The whole time that the Constitutional Convention had debated the role of the president, most people had Washington in mind for the job. Indeed, when the presidential electors met in February 1789, Washington won unanimously. John Adams, who received the second highest number of votes, became vice president.

Inauguration day, April 30, 1789, began with the sound of cannons and church bells. The streets of New York were hung with banners. Washington stepped onto the balcony of Federal Hall on Wall Street and took his oath of office. He was formally dressed in a brown suit of American-made broadcloth, to encourage American business. He also wore white silk stockings and silver-buckled shoes, and his graying hair was powdered white.

Washington spoke briefly, and then the celebrations began. Fireworks lit up the sky over New York City. The new president joined members of Congress at a church service in Saint Paul's Church. **Washington chooses a cabinet** In his inaugural address, Washington spoke modestly about his lack of administrative experience. But the former commander in chief was certainly an experienced leader. His dignity and quiet power, along with his impressive height, gave him an air of authority.

Washington knew that what he did as president would set a pattern for later administrations. For example, the Constitution mentions the "heads of the executive departments" but did not specify what those departments should be. So, in 1789 Congress created the first three executive departments—state, treasury, and war. The leaders of these departments would become known as the president's **cabinet**.

For the cabinet positions, Washington chose men he knew and trusted. Henry Knox, who had been in charge of weaponry in the Revolutionary War, became secretary of war. Thomas Jefferson became secretary of state, and Alexander Hamilton became secretary of the treasury. Edmund Randolph of Virginia was attorney general, the president's legal adviser.

There were personal and political clashes in the brand-new government. Washington and



The Supreme Court today consists of a chief justice and eight associate justices. Chief Justice William Rehnquist served as the nation's 16th chief justice until his death in 2005. He was succeeded by John Roberts. John Adams, the vice president, were old opponents. They avoided working closely with each other. Similarly, Hamilton and Jefferson—both brilliant men—disagreed about policies. They were also very different in personality and grew to dislike each other intensely.

Many compromises had been made in writing the Constitution. Many questions about the direction the country should take had not been answered. Deep differences remained. The Federalists, led by Hamilton, envisioned a strong centralized nation, with prospering cities and businesses and a role in world affairs. But others preferred a smaller central government, more rural than urban, with a good deal of power left to the states. Led by Jefferson and Madison, these people were known as Jeffersonian Republicans.

The first Congress Only 10 states had joined the government by this time, so the first Congress was small. The Constitution stated that Vice President Adams would preside over the Senate. That was the vice president's only job at the time.

As you read earlier, Congress quickly debated a Bill of Rights and sent proposed amendments to the states. By 1791 the 10 amendments known as the Bill of Rights became an important part of the Constitution.

The Constitution left the structure of the federal court system up to Congress. In the

Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress organized the judicial branch. It had a six-person Supreme Court with one chief justice and five associates. Washington named John Jay as the first chief justice of the United States. Congress also created district courts and courts of appeal.

READING CHECK Making Generalizations What kind of government did Democratic-Republicans want and what kind did Federalists want?

Settling the Nation's Debts

The Treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton, faced enormous problems. The new government owed money to foreign nations, to private lenders, and even to former soldiers.

Hamilton thought the secret of stable government was a wealthy aristocratic class. To win their support, he had to make the government's financial position more secure, both at home and abroad. Financial stability, he said, would help

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44 to promote the increasing respectability of the American name; to answer the calls of justice; . . . to furnish new resources, both to agriculture and commerce; to cement more closely the union of the States; to add to their security against foreign attack; to establish public order.**99**

> —Alexander Hamilton, Report on the Public Credit, 1790

HAMILTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN

Alexander Hamilton developed a three-point plan to solve the nation's financial problems.

Point	Arguments For	Arguments Against
 Pay the national debt Take on foreign and domestic debt by replacing creditors' old low-value bonds with new, interest-bearing bonds Take over most of the states' \$25 million Revolutionary War debts 	 Would build confidence in the new nation Would free up state money for business and trade 	 Would reward rich speculators and punish ordinary citizens who had sold their bonds at low prices Southern states had already paid their war debts, and resented being taxed to pay the Northern debt.
2. Raise money to pay the debt Pass the Tariff of 1789 and a new excise tax	• Would raise money for the new nation and help manufacturers	• Some people resented these new taxes and tariffs
3. Standardize the banking system Create a national bank and a national mint	• Would raise money for the new nation and help manufacturers	• The Constitution did not specifically say the federal government could create a national bank.

Hamilton's economic plan Hamilton's plan had several features. He wanted the federal government to take on all debt from the Revolutionary War—including the debts of both the states and national government. To do that, he had to find ways to bring the government more income, or revenue. Finally, he wanted to establish a national bank, which would control credit and make loans to the government.

Hamilton's ideas were controversial. The government had sold bonds to merchants and farmers and army officers and soldiers, promising to pay back the money in a certain number of years. But during the hard times after the war, many people holding the bonds needed cash. They sold their bonds to speculators, who paid far less than the actual face value of the bonds. Speculators were betting that the bonds would regain their value.

Under Hamilton's plan, the government would pay the face value to the speculators who now held the bonds. The speculators would make a profit, while those people who originally held the bonds had lost money. Some people thought this was unfair.

Imposing new taxes Unlike the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution gave Congress the power to impose taxes. So far, however, most government income had come from sales of lands in the West.

To increase revenue, Hamilton proposed two different kinds of taxes. One was a tariff, a tax on imported goods. Congress quickly passed the Tariff of 1789.

In 1791 Congress also passed the first excise tax, which is a tax on the production or sale of a certain product. The 1791 tax was on liquor, sugar, snuff, and carriages. It would prove to be very unpopular.

Hamilton's plan to pay off the states' debts was also controversial. Northern states had greater debts than most of the southern states. If the national government assumed all state debts, people in the South would have to pay taxes to pay off other states' debts. Jefferson and others objected to the plan, and Congress voted it down several times.

Compromise leads to a new capital

Hamilton tried to change Jefferson's mind about his economic plan. He also needed to win over southerner James Madison, who led



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The son of a former slave, Benjamin Banneker taught himself advanced mathematics. At the age of 30, he built a

precise wooden clock and, at the age of 58, he accurately predicted a solar eclipse. His scientific and mathematical skills helped him earn an appointment by George Washington to survey land for the new capital in Washington, D.C.

Banneker worked closely with Pierre L'Enfant, the architect in charge of planning the new nation's capital. When L'Enfant was dismissed from the project because of his temper, he took the plans with him. Banneker recreated the drawings from memory. These recreated plans were used to complete the work on the city. **Explain** How did Banneker help build the city of Washington, D.C.?

the opposition in Congress. Over dinner, they crafted a compromise.

In 1790 the nation's capital had moved from New York to Philadelphia. But many Virginians wanted it in the South. Now the three men agreed that the capital would be moved to the new Federal City in the South by 1800. In return, southerners in Congress would allow Hamilton's debt bill to pass.

Washington was pleased because the historic bargain allowed him to choose an area on the Potomac River between Virginia and Maryland, near his Mount Vernon home. In March 1791 Washington chose a French engineer, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, to plan the new capital's layout. At Jefferson's suggestion, he named Benjamin Banneker, an African American mathematician, as a member of the planning commission.

L'Enfant conceived a grand and elegant plan for the city. The overall plan included wide boulevards radiating out from the Capitol, like spokes of a wheel. Washington, who had been a professional surveyor, admired L'Enfant's plan. Jefferson, however, had already designed and built several beautiful buildings. He disliked L'Enfant's grand, imperial style and drew his own plan for a simpler town. Although L'Enfant was eventually dismissed from the project, much of his plan was followed.

READING CHECK Summarizing How did Hamilton increase revenue?

Debating a National Bank

The most controversial part of Hamilton's plan was the national bank. The debate made clear that Jeffersonian Republicans and Federalists had opposing viewpoints about government. Like many debates during the Constitutional Convention, the disagreement centered on how much power the central government should have.

A broader debate arose over two ways of viewing the Constitution: **strict construction** and **loose construction**. People who favor strict construction believe that the government should only do what the Constitution specifically states it can do. On the other hand, those who favor loose construction think that the government can take reasonable actions that are not outlined in the Constitution—as long as those actions are not specifically prohibited.

Hamilton's bank plan The Constitution (Article I, Section 8) listed a number of specific, or expressed, powers that are granted to Congress. When Hamilton proposed a national bank, he pointed to the clause in the Constitution that allows Congress to pass all laws that are "necessary and proper" to carry out its assigned powers.

This broad interpretation of the Constitution was a prime example of loose construction. From Hamilton's point of view, the "necessary and proper" clause allowed actions that follow the intent of the Constitution even though those actions are not specifically named in the Constitution. This clause has allowed the government to expand its powers and to adjust to changing times. To this day, it is still a question for debate.

Jefferson opposes the bank Jeffersonian Republicans continued the Antifederalists' arguments against a strong central government. Jefferson himself, although he admired Washington and Madison, was lukewarm about the Constitution in its final form.

Jefferson wanted a small central government with more power left to the states. He favored limiting government powers to only

COUNTERPOINTS

Views of the Constitution

Alexander Hamilton argued passionately that to constrain the powers of the federal government too much would mean to weaken it considerably.

Covernment is in its nature sovereign, and includes . . . a right to employ all the means requisite [necessary], and fairly applicable to the attainment of the ends of such power; and which are not percluded by restrictions & exceptions specified in the constitution. **P**

Alexander Hamilton, 1791

Thomas Jefferson feared that the "necessary and proper" clause would open the door to abuse of power.

C To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Congress, is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition.... The Constitution allows only the means which are "necessary," not those which are merely "convenient" for effecting the enumerated powers.**??**

Thomas Jefferson, 1791

Kills READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Distinguishing Fact from Opinion Are the arguments presented by Hamilton and Jefferson expressions of facts or opinions? Explain your answer.

See Skills Handbook, pp. H28-H29

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those specifically spelled out in the Constitution—and that would not include the power to form a national bank.

Washington signs the bank bill The bank proposal made others uneasy as well. Its directors were to be private bankers, who would clearly gain more influence and wealth from it. Madison, Randolph, and others joined Jefferson in opposing it. Speaking to Congress, Madison said that the right to regulate trade had little to do with a national bank.

Despite the opposition, Congress passed the bill and sent it to the president to sign. Jefferson urged Washington to veto the bank bill. While Washington admitted that he was "greatly perplexed," he did not want to use the presidential veto.

Hamilton eventually persuaded President Washington to be flexible. Washington signed the bill to charter the first **Bank of the United States** in February 1791.

READING CHECK Summarizing Why did Jefferson oppose the national bank?

Washington led

an army of about 13,000 men.

First Political Parties Form

Hamilton and Jefferson had personal differences. But their rift between the two leaders also reflected a deep split among national leaders. The people themselves were divided along the same lines as they were during the battle over ratifying the Constitution. Soon, another of Hamilton's controversial financial plans—the excise tax—led to a violent clash between supporters and opponents of strong government.

The Whiskey Rebellion Farmers and settlers in the woods and mountains of the western frontier had always resented the wealth and power of people in the East. They felt their interests were ignored. They disliked being told how to act by easterners—including the national government in Philadelphia.

In 1794 farmers on the frontier in western Pennsylvania objected violently to Hamilton's excise tax on whiskey. Their livelihoods depended on turning their surplus grain into rye whiskey. Whiskey was easier to transport

WASHINGTON REVIEWING THE WESTERN ARMY AT FORT CUMBERLAND, MARYLAND

This painting depicts Washington as a hero on a white horse.

Skills FOCUS READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

President Washington responded decisively—and in person— to the Whiskey Rebellion, leading an army to suppress it. **Interpreting Visuals** How does the painting reinforce the idea of a strong federal government?

than grain and could be sold for more money. The rebel farmers led an uprising known as the Whiskey Rebellion.

The farmers attacked tax collectors. They burned the barns of people who gave away the location of stills where whiskey was made. A crowd of more than 2,000 angry farmers threatened Pittsburgh, then a small town. There was talk of setting up an independent nation.

Washington took command. He wanted to make it clear that armed rebellion against the national government would not be tolerated. To help the Pennsylvanians, he called out the militia from Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey. That raised a force of some 13,000 or more men. Washington sent one last order to the rebels to stop. He and Hamilton rode west to lead the troops into Pennsylvania.

Instead of resisting the huge militia force, the surprised farmers scattered in all directions. The militia caught and arrested them. Two were later convicted of treason, but Washington eventually pardoned them. A pleased Washington said that the rebel farmers had been taught a lesson "without spilling a drop of blood." He had also shown that the federal government would take action within a state.

Political parties develop The Constitution did not anticipate political parties. Most of the Framers thought parties were dangerous to national unity. Washington opposed political parties as well. In *The Federalist*, James Madison had warned about factions.

In the 1790s, however, Americans became politically divided. The Whiskey Rebellion showed that some people did not agree with Washington's policies.

Both sides—Jeffersonian Republicans and Federalists—were starting to act like political parties. The Federalists under Hamilton took the lead. They established local associations. They gave political offices and other favors to their supporters. Jeffersonian Republicans went even further than the Federalists in setting up their party organizations. In various states, Jeffersonian Republicans worked together to influence elections.

Each side justified its actions as necessary to resist what they considered the dangerous ideas of the other. By forming these two groups, early American leaders were well on their way to establishing a **two-party system**.

Jeffersonian Republicans were later called **Democratic-Republicans** to emphasize that they favored popular government. However, none of the Framers or other early leaders were in favor of a government as democratic as it eventually became. They did not completely trust the mass of ordinary and largely uneducated people.

READING CHECK Identifying Cause and **Effect** What was the main cause of the Whiskey Rebellion?



Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. a. Identify Who were the members of Washington's first cabinet?

b. Explain How did Washington influence the role of future presidents?

c. Predict What were likely to be the results of the compromises made while writing the Constitution?

2. a. Describe What were the main features of Hamilton's economic plan?

b. Analyze Which leaders objected to paying the states' debts, and what were their objections?

3. a. Recall Why did Hamilton and Jefferson disagree on the bank bill?

b. Compare Describe the two opposing points of view on how to interpret the Constitution.

c. Evaluate How would the country's growth have been limited if leaders had always followed **strict construction**?

4. a. Identify Who were some of the leading Republicans in the 1790s?

b. Explain What events and points of view during the 1790s showed that a **two-party system** was developing?

Critical Thinking

5. Comparing Copy the chart below and compare the points of view of Federalists and Republicans.

Federalists	Republicans

FOCUS ON WRITING

6. Persuasive As a newspaper editor in either Philadelphia or Virginia, write an editorial explaining why the national capital should be located in your region.

THE IMPACT

Government Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party eventually developed into the modern Democratic Party. The modern Republican Party was founded in the 1850s.

SECTION **Challenges of the 1790s**

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The United States faced many challenges during the 1790s. It tried to remain neutral in European wars while dealing with conflicts with Native Americans in the Northwest Territory.

READING FOCUS

- 1. Why did Washington want to remain neutral in response to events in Europe?
- 2. What conflicts took place in the Northwest Territory?
- 3. What challenges did John Adams face as president, and what was the XY7 affair?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Neutrality Proclamation Jay's Treaty Pinckney's Treaty Little Turtle **Battle of Fallen Timbers** Treaty of Greenville sectionalism XYZ affair Alien and Sedition Acts Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions nullification

As you read, NOTES take notes on what Jay's Treaty, Pinckney's Treaty, and the Treaty of Greenville accomplished for the United States.

Record your notes in a

AKING

graphic organizer like the one shown here. Accomplishments Jay's Pinckney's Treaty Treaty Treaty of

Greenville



How would the Americans respond to a French Revolution? Just as the new U.S. government was

getting organized, the people of France launched a revolution of their own. In France, the king had absolute power. The monarch and a few noble families owned most of the country's land and wealth. Only nobles had a voice in government.

There was an immense gap between this privileged upper class and the rest of the people. Most were poor peasants or urban laborers who paid high taxes to support the nobles' grand estates.

In early 1789 France exploded into horrific bloodshed. People protested against food shortages, high prices, and taxes. On July 14, 1789, a crowd of angry Parisians stormed the Bastille prison, a hated symbol of royal power. Soon, a revolutionary government took over. It limited the king's power and made France a constitutional monarchy.

The Americans faced a difficult question. Should they support another country's revolution against an oppressive monarchy? Or, should the United States remain neutral?

Remaining Neutral

The overthrow of the French monarchy alarmed other European rulers. Austria and Prussia declared war on France. Other nations, including Great Britain and Spain, soon joined them.

But in the United States, many people celebrated the news from France. After all, help from the French military had been vital in winning the Revolutionary War. Democratic-Republicans thought that the revolution in France meant the end of monarchy and a turn toward liberty. They also feared that if the French

> French revolutionaries seize the Bastille, where arms and munitions were stored.

Keeping the Peace

The United States attempted to remain neutral in foreign conflicts following the French Revolution. Three agreements supported this goal:

1793 Neutrality Proclamation

The United States would be "friendly and impartial" toward France and Great Britain.

1794 Jay's Treaty

Britain relinquished control of the Northwest to the United States and agreed to pay for its attacks on American merchant ships.

1795 Pinckney's Treaty

Spain gave the United States the right to use the Mississippi River and port of New Orleans. Spain and the United States settled the northern boundary of Florida.



Skills FOCUS INTERPRETING TIME LINES

How might Jay's Treaty and Pinckney's Treaty have helped the United States remain neutral?

See Skills Handbook, p. H14

Revolution failed, it meant a failure of republican government everywhere.

The more conservative Federalists were horrified. Hamilton had always had a great deal of respect for monarchy and not much for democracy. But the Federalists seemed to be in the minority.

A declaration of neutrality Once war in Europe began, both France and Britain tried to draw the United States into the conflict. One crucial issue was trade by sea. Britain was a major sea power, while France was not. The French needed American ships on their side.

The new French government called on old alliances as well as public sympathy for the republican cause. Nevertheless, Washington wanted to remain strictly neutral. He did agree to recognize the new government in France, however. Jefferson explained:

HISTORY'S VOICES

We surely cannot deny to any nation the right whereon our own government is founded, that every nation may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases.**99**

- Thomas Jefferson, letter to Gouverneur Morris, 1792

Washington was convinced that the future growth and prosperity of the United States depended on staying neutral. In April 1793, he issued the **Neutrality Proclamation**. It committed the United States to "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers." He held to the Neutrality Proclamation for the rest of his presidency.

Genet defies neutrality Republican newspapers harshly attacked the president and the proclamation. They spread rumors that the Federalists wanted a return to monarchy. Then France's new ambassador to the United States, Edmund Genet, tried to convince ordinary American citizens to support the French. Pro-French mobs held street rallies. Eventually, Genet openly defied the Neutrality Proclamation. He enlisted an American crew to fight on a French ship against the British.

Washington, who had a quick temper, was furious. Even Jefferson thought that Genet had gone too far. Washington demanded that France replace Genet with a new ambassador.

More diplomatic challenges For years, Jefferson had wanted to resign as secretary of state. Now Washington could no longer convince him to stay. Jefferson's departure meant that there was no one in the cabinet to balance Hamilton's point of view.

Then close on the heels of the French crisis came trouble with Britain. In early 1794 the British began to seize American merchant ships in the West Indies, claiming they carried French goods or were sailing to a French port. They threw the American sailors into prison.

ACADEMIC

VOCABULARY

deny to refuse

In addition, in the Northwest Territory the British were stirring up trouble among the Native Americans.

Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to negotiate with the British. In Jay's Treaty (1794), the British agreed to pay for damages to American ships. They also agreed to leave their forts, giving the United States control of the Northwest. In return, the United States agreed to pay debts owed the British.

Jay's Treaty was wildly unpopular. It did pave the way to settle another problem, however. Spain was now worried that the United States and Britain would unite against Spain in North America. This concern aided diplomat Thomas Pinckney in his negotiations with Spain. **Pinckney's Treaty** (1795) with Spain settled many border and trade disputes between the United States and Spain.

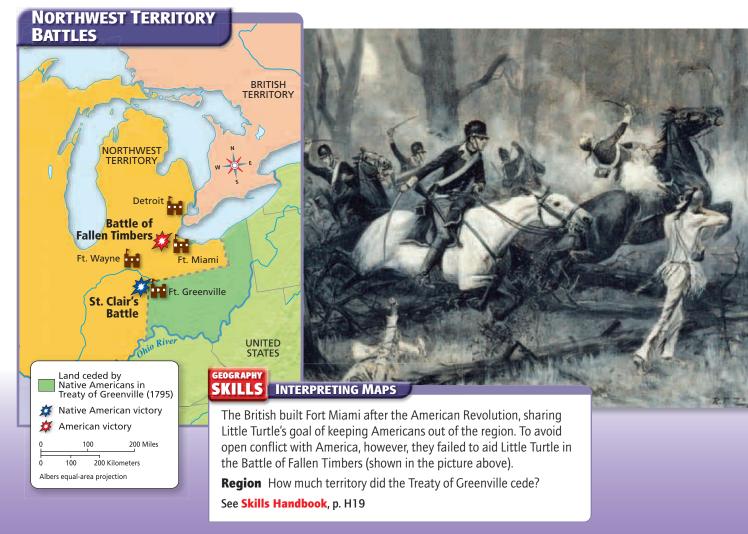
READING CHECK Summarizing Why did many Democratic-Republicans sympathize with the French revolutionaries?

Conflicts in the Northwest Territory

After the Revolution, settlers poured across the Appalachians into the western lands. The Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance established patterns for dividing and settling the Northwest Territory. This land, however, was already home to many Native American nations.

The government put pressure on Iroquois, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee leaders, sometimes forcing them to sign treaties giving up land. Other Native American nations formed confederations to resist white settlement. In the early 1790s violence broke out in Ohio and Indiana. A large force of American soldiers moved in but were turned back by a confederation of Miamis and Shawnees. Their war chief was Michikinqua, or Little Turtle.

In 1791 Arthur St. Clair, the governor of the Northwest Territory, brought an army to



force the Miamis, Shawnees, and Delawares to give up their lands for settlement. In November 1791 Little Turtle and his forces met St. Clair's army and won the greatest victory Native Americans had ever achieved over white armies.

U.S. General Anthony Wayne, a hero of the Revolution, then brought some 4,000 troops into the Ohio Valley. There they built forts and brought in supplies. Little Turtle realized that he could no longer expect help from the British. He urged his people to negotiate with the Americans, but he lost their support.

At the **Battle of Fallen Timbers** in 1794, the American forces won a decisive victory over the Miamis. In the **Treaty of Greenville** (1795) the Miamis gave up large territories in Ohio and parts of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. The treaty also recognized the Miamis' claim to the land they still had. Little Turtle himself turned to trying to maintain peace.

READING CHECK Making Inferences What did the loss of British support mean for Indians in the Ohio Valley?

President Adams and the XYZ Affair

In 1792 Washington reluctantly agreed to a second term in office. He was getting older and his health was not good. He wanted only to go home to Mount Vernon. In addition, Washington was no longer the universally admired hero that he had been just a few years before. His insistence on neutrality was unpopular, and many of his policies were harshly criticized by ardent Democratic-Republicans.

By 1796 nothing could persuade Washington to consider a third term as president. His Farewell Address was a long letter published in a Philadelphia newspaper. In it he continued to warn against getting involved in party politics and foreign affairs.

The election of 1796 Even though some people criticized him harshly, Washington was still a unifying symbol for the country. With his retirement, the rivalry between the two parties became more intensely political.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Washington's Farewell Address

In 1796 George Washington announced that he would not seek a third term in office. In his Farewell Address, he gave his advice on several subjects of importance to the future of the country. Following are some of his comments regarding the role of religion and politics.

> Washington emphasized the influence of religion on moral and ethical behavior.

"Of all the dispositions [moods] and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious [religious] man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity [truth]... And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

CUS READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- **1. Comparing** According to Washington, what is the relationship between religion and morality?
- 2. Analyzing Primary Sources According to Washington, what is religion's role in building the country ?
- See Skills Handbook, pp. H10, H28-H29

Jefferson was the clear choice as the Democratic-Republican candidate. Although Hamilton was the most prominent Federalist leader, many of his plans, including the excise tax, were unpopular. Hamilton also had no interest in the presidency. So the Federalists chose John Adams as their candidate.

Since before the Revolutionary War, Adams had been an outstanding leader. He had played a major role in creating the United States and in handling diplomacy in Europe. But to some people, Adams seemed cold, distant, and not well suited for the presidency.

As a result, while the Federalists easily won a majority of presidential electors, Adams did not have their full support. Sectionalism, or loyalty to one's region, played a role. Adams was best known in New England. In the South, many Federalists preferred his running mate, Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina.

The vote of the electors revealed a serious flaw in the new Constitution. Adams won with only a few votes more than Jefferson: 71 to 68. According to the Constitution, that meant that Adams's vice president would be the candidate who came in second: Jefferson, his greatest political rival.

More problems with France Relations with European nations were still a problem. Jay's and Pinckney's treaties had settled some conflicts with Britain and Spain. But Jay's Treaty made relations with revolutionary France more tense. French ships began to seize U.S. merchant vessels at sea. President Adams sent Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (older brother of Thomas) as the diplomatic representative of the United States, but the French turned him away. This was a serious insult.

Some angry Federalists wanted war. In 1797 Adams sent three distinguished American diplomats to France: Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall. Again, the U.S. representatives were insulted. Rather than meeting with them, the French foreign minister, Prince Talleyrand, sent three minor diplomats who demanded bribes and a loan.

An angry President Adams sent a report to Congress, naming the three French agents as "X, Y, and Z." When the **XYZ affair** became public, many Americans wanted war. A popular slogan was: "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute!"

FACES OF HISTORY John ADAMS

John Adams entered Harvard College at the age of 15 and later became a respected lawyer. He rose to prominence as a Patriot

during the Revolutionary War. Despite his good reputation, Adams was often critical of himself. When Thomas Jefferson pressed him to write the Declaration of Independence, Adams refused, insisting that he was "obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular." In reality, however, others respected him for his wisdom and honesty.

After serving as Washington's vice president, Adams was elected to the presidency. Although he strengthened the military and avoided war with Great Britain and France during his term, Adams's presidency is mainly remembered for its partisan conflict. Remarkably, Adams and Thomas Jefferson both died on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

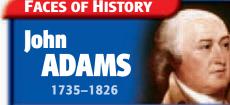
Summarize What characterized Adams's presidency?

Pulling back from outright war, Congress cut off trade with France. It canceled wartime treaties it had made with pre-revolutionary France, authorized building warships, and allowed the U.S. navy to capture French vessels at sea. Congress's actions persuaded the new French government, headed by a young general named Napoleon Bonaparte, to sign treaties on trade. The president and Congress had skillfully avoided a costly war with France.

Censoring free speech Indignation over the XYZ affair brought new support for the Federalists. It also brought new suspicions about the Democratic-Republicans' pro-French sympathies and a general resentment of foreigners. That mood allowed Congress to pass measures aimed at protecting the country from foreign enemies and domestic dissent during what was expected to be a war with France.

The series of four laws are known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. The three alien laws were aimed mainly at French and Irish refugees, most of whom supported France. Those measures increased the period of residency required for citizenship from 5 years to 14; required foreigners to register with the government; and allowed the president to jail or expel any foreigner thought to be "dangerous to the peace and safety" of the country.

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Reactions to the XYZ Affair



XYZ Affair

 France had attacked American merchant ships. French agents (referred to as X, Y, and Z) demanded bribes. The XYZ affair nearly brought France and the United States to war.

Alien and Sedition Acts (1798)

- The Alien Acts allowed the president to order foreigners considered to be a threat to national security to be jailed or deported.
- The Sedition Act made it a crime to speak against the government. Its target was the Democratic-Republicans, who historically had supported the French.

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798 and 1799)

 Some people saw the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions nullified, or declared void, the Alien and Sedition Acts.

The Sedition Act outlawed any opposition to government policies by actions or by "false, scandalous, or malicious writing." In effect, it prohibited any criticism of public officials, a clear contradiction to the First Amendment rights of free speech and a free press.

Adams used the Alien and Sedition Acts cautiously. No aliens were deported, but nine Democratic-Republican newspaper editors and a member of Congress were convicted under the Sedition Act.

In an attempt to be rid of the hated laws, Jefferson and Madison drafted the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. In these resolutions, Jefferson and Madison argued that the Alien and Sedition Acts were unconstitutional. They hoped that state legislatures would nullify the laws, or declare them void. Many supporters of states' rights believed that **nullification** of federal laws by states was legal. In the end, however, only Virginia and Kentucky passed the resolutions.

The end result of these actions was a deeper and more bitter political divide in Congress and the country. As you will read in the next section, Jefferson would eventually be elected president, and the new Congress would allow the Alien and Sedition Acts to expire.

EFFECT How did the XYZ affair lead to the Alien and Sedition Acts?

go.hrw.com Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP6

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. a. Recall What major event occurred in France from 1789 to 1793?

b. Compare How did Federalists and Democratic-Republicans react to the situation in France?

c. Evaluate Was Edmund Genet's influence a threat to the United States? Why or why not?

- **2. a. Identify** Who was Little Turtle?**b. Summarize** What happened in Ohio and Indiana as settlers moved into the Northwest Territory?
- 3. a. Describe How did Washington's retirement influence party politics?

b. Explain What was the **XYZ affair?** How did it affect American public opinion?

c. Rate Were the Alien and Sedition Acts effective weapons against foreign interference and internal turmoil? Explain.

Critical Thinking

4. Analyzing Copy the chart below and list the important points of each of these three treaties.

Jay's Teaty	Pinckney's Treaty	Treaty of Greenville

FOCUS ON WRITING

5. Supporting a Position You are a journalist who has been arrested under the Sedition Act for criticizing President Adams. Write a speech defending your right to criticize the president.

SECTION Jefferson's Presidency

BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

The rise of political parties influenced the election of 1800. brinaina **Thomas Jefferson** and a new outlook to the presidency.

READING FOCUS

- 1. Why was the transfer of power in the election of 1800 significant?
- 2. What changes did Jefferson make when he took office?
- 3. What was the impact of the Louisiana Purchase?
- 4. How did the role of the Supreme Court change?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Aaron Burr Twelfth Amendment Louisiana Purchase Lewis and Clark expedition Meriwether Lewis William Clark Sacagawea Zebulon M. Pike Judiciary Act of 1801 judicial review

AKING As you NOTES

effect called for.

read, take notes on ways that the Louisiana Purchase might affect the United States. In each column of a diagram like the one below, fill in the kind of

Commerce	Government	Country Size

A TIED ELECTION

THE INSIDE STORY

Will Aaron Burr be president? Under the Constitution's plan for

selecting a president, electors from each state voted for two candidates. The one with the most votes became president and the runnerup became vice president. This worked fine in the first election, because Washington was the unanimous choice. In 1796 the rise of political

parties led to an uncomfortable situation. President John Adams, a Federalist, served with his political rival, Thomas Jefferson, as vice president. Politics became even more confusing in the bitterly contested election of 1800.

The Democratic-Republicans intended Jefferson to be president with Aaron Burr as vice president. In a close election, however, Jefferson and Burr each received 73 votes. A tied vote meant the House of Representatives would decide the outcome. Because Federalists were in control of the House until after the inauguration, they had to decide which Democratic-Republican they disliked less. Many despised and feared Jefferson. A few others, especially Alexander Hamilton, distrusted Burr even more.

The honorable thing for Burr to do was to concede to Jefferson, his party leader. But he did not. Over six days and nights, House members took vote after vote. Finally, on the 36th ballot, Jefferson won the presidency. Burr blamed Hamilton for his loss and never forgave him.



▲ Thomas Jefferson (left) won the election of 1800 against rival party candidate President John Adams (right) but first had to triumph over a member of his own party, Aaron Burr.

The Election of 1800

The dawn of a new century brought many changes to the young American nation. One important political event was the presidential election of 1800. This contest marked the first time that power passed from one American political party to another.

The 1800 election matched Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson against Federalist John Adams, just as in the election of 1796. This time, however, Aaron Burr was the Democratic-Republican candidate for vice president and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was the Federalist candidate. Each party believed that the republic's survival depended on the success of their

THE ELECTION OF 1800: Power Changes Hands

Federalists

John Adams and Charles C. Pinckney

- Wanted a strong federal government
- Thought the country should be ruled by the elite
- Emphasized manufacturing
- Believed in loose interpretation of the Constitution
- Supported Great Britain

Democratic-Republicans

Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr

- Wanted a limited national government that shared power with state and local governments
- Believed the country should be ruled by ordinary citizens
- Emphasized agriculture
- Believed in strict interpretation of the Constitution
- Supported France

THE IMPACT

Daily Life

One famous example of negative campaigning is Lyndon Johnson's "daisy" TV ad of 1964. It featured a small girl with a daisy, fading to the image of a nuclear explosion. It was meant to raise fears that his opponent, Barry Goldwater, would risk nuclear war. candidates. As a result, the campaign was vicious. Supporters of each side made their arguments in letters and newspaper editorials, which often made wild accusations and spread scandalous stories.

Federalists claimed that Jefferson was dangerously pro-French. They warned that if the Democratic-Republican candidate were in office, the violence and chaos of the French Revolution would follow. Federalists also accused Jefferson of wanting to destroy organized religion because of his interest in science and philosophy.

The Democratic-Republicans attacked the Federalists as well. Unpopular Federalist policies such as the Alien and Sedition Acts were easy targets for criticism. Democratic-Republicans also claimed that Adams wanted to crown himself king and that the Federalists would try to limit Americans' rights.

When the votes were counted, the election ended in a tie. At the time, political parties did not specify who was the party's preferred candidate for president. When Jefferson and Burr each received the same number of votes, an unprecedented electoral crisis began.

The Constitution made it clear that ties would be decided by the House of Representatives. But the House was deadlocked as well. Vote after vote took place, but each ended in a tie. Alexander Hamilton urged Federalists to support Jefferson and finally, on the 36th vote, Jefferson was chosen as the third president of the United States.

The problems with the voting system led Congress to propose the **Twelfth Amendment**, which was ratified in 1804. This amendment said that electors must cast separate ballots for president and vice president.

Hard feelings over the election continued for years. Burr blamed Hamilton for his loss, and when Hamilton helped prevent Burr from being elected governor of New York, Burr challenged him to a duel. In July 1804 the duel was fought, and Hamilton died. The news shocked the country and ended Burr's political career.

CREADING CHECK Drawing Conclusions How did the Alien and Sedition Acts hurt Federalists?

Jefferson Makes Changes

The election was finally decided just two weeks before inauguration day. Although both sides had bitterly fought, Jefferson's inaugural address urged unity and tolerance. He spoke of the special blessings that Americans enjoyed, and then said:

HISTORY'S VOICES

44 With all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.**99**

-Thomas Jefferson, Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801

Jefferson considered his election victory the "revolution of 1800." His actions as president were not revolutionary, but he did succeed in reducing the size and influence of the federal government.

The members of Jefferson's cabinet shared his belief in a smaller government. His closest ally was James Madison of Virginia, who became secretary of state. Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin had economic ideas that differed vastly from policies of the past.

Under the Federalists, Hamilton's economic plans had increased the level of public debt and established a federal tax system. In order to reduce the size of the government, the Jefferson administration changed the tax system in 1802. With the new system, only customs duties and the sale of lands in the western United States produced revenue for the government. Gallatin also reduced the size of the executive department staff.

Jefferson did not think there should be a large standing army in peacetime, as the army could be a threat to civil liberties. Accordingly, he shrank the size of the army and navy, although he did help found the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1802.

The president later reversed course and began a naval buildup in response to the plight of merchants. Their ships started coming under attack from the so-called Barbary pirates from North Africa, who demanded tribute from U.S. merchant ships in the Mediterranean Sea.

READING CHECK Making Inferences How did cutting taxes fit with Jefferson's ideals?

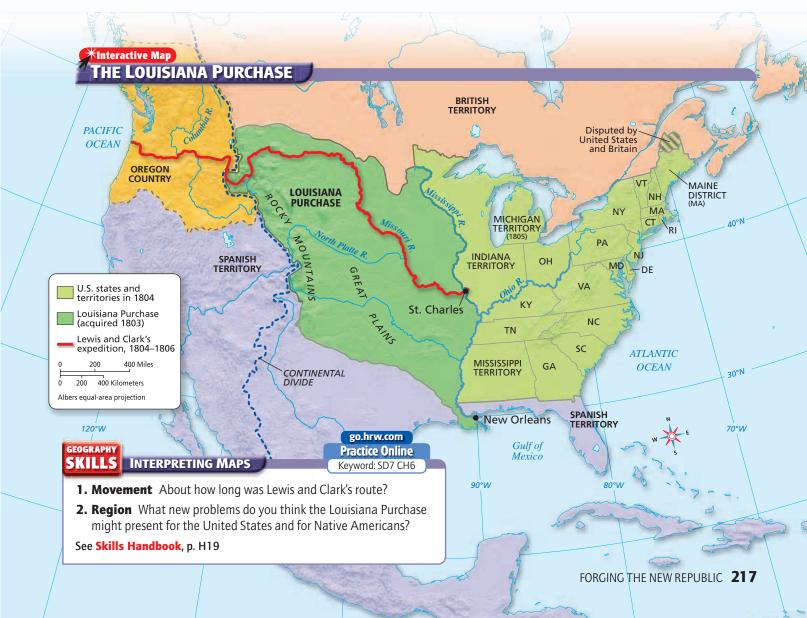
The Louisiana Purchase

Many issues linked the United States with France. The new ruler of France was General Napoleon Bonaparte, who wanted to build a French empire. He hoped to regain France's former lands in North America to the west of the Mississippi River, a region called the Louisiana Territory. Those lands had gone to Spain in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. In 1800 in a secret treaty, Spain returned Louisiana to France along with the port city of New Orleans.

Jefferson had hoped that the United States could take control of Louisiana and New Orleans and was very concerned by this treaty. Access to New Orleans and the Mississippi River was vital to American <u>commerce</u>. In order to sell their products, farmers in the West needed to ship their goods down the Mississippi to New Orleans. In Pinckney's

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY commerce pur-

case and sale of commodities



TRACING HISTORY

Westward Expansion

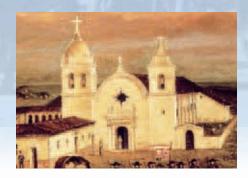
Of the 10 most populous cities in the United States today, six are in the West. Conquest of the West began with Spanish colonizers in the 1700s. Study the time line to learn about how the American West grew.



1700s Spanish colonizers built mission settlements in what are now Texas, New Mexico, and California.

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1804–1806 With Sacagawea as a guide, Lewis and Clark traveled some 8,000 miles exploring the Louisiana Purchase. Fur trappers and settlers would soon follow.



Treaty, Spain had promised to protect American access to the river. In 1802, however, Spanish officials suddenly closed the lower Mississippi and New Orleans to American shipping. The officials soon turned over control of the area to France.

President Jefferson had to act quickly to protect American trade. He sent James Monroe to Paris to try to purchase New Orleans and West Florida. At the meeting, Monroe was stunned when French foreign minister Talleyrand offered to sell the United States all of the vast Louisiana Territory.

Napoleon had come to realize that controlling a North American empire might be difficult. The French colony of Haiti, in the Caribbean, had been taken over by enslaved Africans who revolted against French rule. Napoleon was afraid of future trouble in North America. He decided to abandon his claims in North America and to focus instead on waging war in Europe.

Jefferson had authorized James Monroe and Robert Livingston, the American ambassador, to buy only New Orleans, not all of Louisiana. But Monroe and Livingston did not have time to write to Jefferson for his approval, however, or Napoleon might change his mind. On April 30, 1803, they signed an agreement with France to buy the land. The final price of the territory included in the Louisiana Purchase was about 80 million francs, or \$15 million. The purchase almost doubled the territory of the United States.

A constitutional puzzle The Louisiana Purchase was a remarkable bargain, but it raised many questions. Jefferson himself had to reconsider his long-held position in favor of strict construction of the Constitution. Jefferson believed that the Constitution should be interpreted based only on its precise meaning. Nowhere did the Constitution directly give Jefferson the authority to buy new territory for the nation, yet common sense told him that it was clearly a good idea.

Jefferson and his advisers finally decided that the right to acquire territory was <u>implicit</u> in the president's constitutional power to make treaties. Some Federalists in Congress, however, called the Louisiana Purchase unconstitutional. They also feared it would result in more states dominated by Democratic-Republicans. Yet even Hamilton agreed that the purchase was good for the country. Congress quickly approved it.

Lewis and Clark explore the West

Americans knew very little about the people and the land of this enormous new territory to the West. In fact, they did not even know the exact size and boundaries of the land they had purchased. Jefferson wanted to learn more

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY implicit suggested or implied **1838–1839** To make room for white settlers, the United States forcibly relocated thousands of Native Americans from the East to Oklahoma.

1836 Narcissa Whitman and her husband, Marcus, were among the first settlers of Oregon Territory, where they founded a mission.

1800

1930s Route 66 became a major migration path to California for Americans fleeing an economic disaster and catastrophic Midwest dust storms.

about the area. He also wanted to see if there was a river route that could be taken across the country to the Pacific Ocean.

Jefferson sent out a number of expeditions to explore the West and make contact with the Native Americans there. The most famous was the Corps of Discovery, usually called the **Lewis and Clark expedition**. Its leaders were **Meriwether Lewis**, Jefferson's secretary, and **William Clark**, an experienced frontiersman. Their ultimate goal was to reach the Pacific Ocean. Jefferson wanted Lewis and Clark to map the country and survey its natural history, including plants, animals, and landforms.

The expedition, made up of about 50 skilled frontiersmen, left St. Louis in May 1804 and traveled up the Missouri River. The men made their way west across the continent, over lands that they had never before seen. They paddled along raging rivers, trudged across plains and rugged mountains, and hiked through thick forests. Along the way, they acquired a valuable guide: a young Shoshone woman, **Sacagawea**, the wife of a French Canadian fur trapper.

In November 1805 the expedition finally reached the west coast of North America. Clark called the sight of the Pacific Ocean one of "the grandest and most pleasing prospects which my eyes ever surveyed."

The group spent the winter on the coast and started home in the spring, finally reaching

St. Louis in September 1806. Jefferson was delighted to hear of the expedition's success. Many Americans had feared that the entire expedition had died along the way. In fact, only one man had died—of appendicitis.

Lewis and Clark had kept detailed journals of everything they encountered, including 120 species of plants and animals that they had never seen. They sent many boxes of specimens back to Jefferson. Other members of the expedition made notes and sketches.

After the exploration and further mapping of the territory, the United States claimed ownership of land extending as far to the southwest as the Rio Grande, in what is now Texas. These land claims would later lead to disagreement between the United States and Spain.

Another explorer in the West was a young army lieutenant, **Zebulon M. Pike**. His 1805 expedition traveled 2,000 miles to explore the upper Mississippi Valley, looking for the source of the river. In 1806 Pike's group traveled to the Southwest. They explored the Arkansas and Red Rivers and gathered information about the economy and defenses of Spanish New Mexico and Texas. Pike reported back that the central plains were too dry for settlement.

READING CHECK Identifying Problems and Solutions What constitutional question did the Louisiana Purchase raise?

FACES OF HISTORY



Although Thomas Jefferson is well known today as the writer of the Declaration of Independence, few people knew it at

[#1867.306] @COLLECTION OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

the time. As president, Jefferson sought to smooth the discord that brought him to office, declaring, "We are all Republicans—we are all Federalists."

Jefferson was a man of many talents and contradictions. He was not only a politician but also a gifted architect, scholar, scientist, and writer. He was a poor public speaker, however, and preferred to communicate in writing. Even though he was a wealthy and educated Virginia planter, he truly believed in republican simplicity. He dressed casually, walked to his inauguration, and kept state dinners informal. **Explain** How did Jefferson's actions reflect his beliefs?

The Role of the Supreme Court Changes

In the election of 1800 the Federalists had lost control of both the presidency and Congress. As a result, they tried to increase their hold on the third branch of government: the judiciary.

Federalist legislators in Congress passed the Judiciary Act of 1801 shortly before their terms ended. This act created new positions in the judicial branch. Departing President John Adams hurried to fill them with Federalists.

Adams worked late into the night of March 3, 1801, to sign the commissions for these new judges. These documents had to be delivered to the new judges in order to make the appointments official. But not all were delivered before Jefferson took office the next day. James Madison, the new secretary of state, refused to deliver the remaining commissions to the socalled midnight judges.

One of the undelivered commissions was for William Marbury, who turned to the Supreme Court for help. He asked the Court to order Madison to deliver his commission.

The Court ruled that the Constitution only gave the Supreme Court the power to hear certain kinds of cases. The Constitution did not give the Court the power to force Madison to deliver Marbury's commission. Therefore, the Court said, the law that gave it that power—the Judiciary Act of 1789—was unconstitutional. *Marbury v. Madison* was important because it established the Supreme Court's right to declare that a law violates the Constitution. This power is known as **judicial review**.

READING CHECK Making Inferences Why did Adams appoint the midnight judges?



Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Recall Why was the Twelfth Amendment passed?
 b. Summarize What were the issues in the election of 1800?
 c. Evaluate Why was the election important in American politics?
- **2. a. Describe** What were Jefferson's goals in office? **b. Contrast** How were Adams and Jefferson different in manner and outlook?

c. Evaluate Why do you think Jefferson urged unity and tolerance in his inaugural address?

- **3. a. Identify** What roles did Lewis, Clark, Sacagawea, and Pike play in exploring the Louisiana Territory? **b. Summarize** How did the Louisiana Purchase come about? **c. Elaborate** Given Jefferson's strong feelings about strict construction, how could he justify the Louisiana Purchase?
- **4. a. Recall** Who were the midnight judges?**b. Analyze** What were the main points of the Supreme Court's decision in *Marbury v. Madison*?

c. Rate How did this decision relate to the system of checks and balances?

Critical Thinking

5. Predicting Copy the chart below and use it to show different ways in which the Louisiana Purchase would affect American government and society.



6. Persuasive As a political campaign worker in 1800, write a speech promoting the campaign of either Adams or Jefferson.

LANDMARK SUPREME COURT CASES Constitutional Issue: Judicial Review

Marbury v. Madison (1803)

Why It Matters *Marbury* v. *Madison* established the Supreme Court's power to decide whether laws passed by Congress are constitutional. This power, known as judicial review, remains the central job of the Supreme Court today.

Background of the Case

In the fall of 1800, President John Adams rushed to sign commissions filling 58 new government positions with members of his own party before he left office. Adams's secretary of state, John Marshall, sealed the commissions but failed to deliver 17 of them. The new secretary of state, James Madison, refused to deliver some of these commissions. One of the men who did not receive his commission, William Marbury, brought suit in the Supreme Court. He claimed that the Judiciary Act of 1789 gave the Supreme Court the power to order Madison to deliver his commission.

The Decision

In *Marbury* v. *Madison*, the Supreme Court ruled that it did not, in fact, have the power to order Madison to deliver Marbury's commission. This is because the Constitution had designated the Supreme Court an appellate court. With very few exceptions, it hears only appeals from decisions issued by other courts. Although the Judiciary Act of 1789 had tried to expand the Supreme Court's powers, that expansion violated the Constitution and could not be allowed. John Marshall, then chief justice of the Supreme Court, explained this landmark decision:

G It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is.

In other words, *Marbury* v. *Madison* established that the Supreme Court has the authority to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional.



THE IMPACT TODAY How the Supreme Court (shown in the artist's sketch above) interprets the Constitution through judicial review remains an issue in government today. As in Madison's day, the debate involves strict constructionists and loose constructionists.

CRITICAL THINKING

go.hrw.com Research Online Keyword: SS Court

- 1. Analyze the Impact Using the keyword above, find *Federalist* No. 78. Read paragraphs 9 through 14. Did Hamilton anticipate the constitutional question decided in *Marbury v. Madison*? Would he have agreed with Marshall's opinion?
- 2. You Be the Judge Given what you have read about checks and balances in the Constitution, do you think it is important for the Supreme Court to have the power of judicial review? How might our government be different today if the Supreme Court did not have this power?

HISTORY & Geography

7. Reaching the Pacific Finding no ocean-going ships to take them home, the Corps spends the winter at Fort Clatsop before the long trip back.

4. Great Falls, June 1805

The Corps' boats are stopped by a series of great waterfalls. Two wagons made on the spot are loaded with canoes and baggage and pulled over 18 miles.

PACIFIC OCEAN

Columbia Rives

6. Canoe Camp, September– October 1805 A Nez Percé chief shows Clark how to use fire to hollow out canoes. The Columbia River and its tributaries now carry the Corps to the Pacific.

Lewis Clark's and Clark's Journey to the Pacific

"Your mission is to explore the Missouri river [to locate] the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent," President Thomas Jefferson wrote to Meriwether Lewis in 1803. Under orders to map a route across the Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery traveled up the Missouri River, across the Rocky Mountains, and down rivers to reach the Pacific Ocean. Along the way, they met Native Americans and cataloged geography, plants, and animals. Their mission stands as one of history's greatest explorations.

5. Over the Rockies With horses carrying their baggage, the Corps struggles through snowstorms over the steep trails. On September 17, they reach their

On September 17, they reach their highest point, 7,032 feet above sea level.

GEOGRAPHY FACTS

- The expedition traveled about 8,000 miles. Today the trip by car would be about 4,300 miles.
- It took 53 days for the expedition to travel 250 miles across the Rocky Mountains.
- The expedition discovered and described new species including: 10 plants, 11 birds, and 11 mammals.
- Lewis and Clark determined there was no all-water route across North America.



3. Fort Mandan, Winter 1804–1805

The Corps spends a very cold winter with the Mandan people, surviving on their beans, corn, and squash. Sacagawea joins them as a Shoshone translator. Six canoes replace the large keelboat.



1. Camp Dubois, May 14, 1804

A 55-foot keelboat and two smaller pirogues carry the 44 members of the expedition, a Newfoundland dog, and supplies.

2. Council Bluffs, August 1804

Now entering the Great Plains, the Corps continues to pole, pull, row, and sail their boats upriver.



A line of the second of the se

Journals Clark illustrated his descriptions with drawings like this one of the pheasant-tailed grouse.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLS INTERPRETING MAPS

go.hrw.com Interactive Map Keyword: SD7 CH6

- 1. Human-Environment Interaction Over the course of the trip, how did the environment affect the Corps' mode of travel?
- **2. Region** Describe some of the different regions the Corps traveled through.

See Skills Handbook, p. H20



BEFORE YOU READ

MAIN IDEA

In the early 1800s. Americans unified to face Great Britain in war once again and to battle resistance from Native Americans over attempts to seize their lands.

READING FOCUS

- 1. What violations of American neutrality led to the War of 1812?
- 2. How did Tecumseh resist American settlers?
- 3. How did the War of 1812 begin? How did the war affect the new nation?

KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

impressment Embargo Act William Henry Harrison Tecumseh War Hawks Andrew Jackson Battle of New Orleans Treaty of Ghent

NOTES

As you read, take notes on the major battles in the War of 1812. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here. You may

Month/Year	Battle

need to add more rows.

The Burning of the Whi House



How did Dolley Madison save THE INSIDE an American treasure? In August STORY 1814 the British fleet sailed into Chesapeake Bay and headed toward Washington City. Few

soldiers were left to defend the capital, and government officials fled as the British approached.

On August 23 James Madison left the President's House to be with the army in the field. He left his wife, Dolley, to look after herself and the government papers in his office. The next day the First Lady was alarmed to receive two hastily written notes telling her to prepare to flee the advancing attack.

By August 25 there was still no sign of the president. Finally, Dolley found a wagon, filled it with silver and other valuables, and sent them to safety at a bank. An impatient friend had to wait while she made one last brave gesture.

"I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall." Finally, she had to break the picture frame and roll up the canvas.

The precious portrait saved, Dolley Madison fled the President's House. The British easily took the city and set fire to major buildings, including the White House.

Violating Neutrality

How did the United States and Great Britain find themselves at war again so soon after the Revolution? Unresolved tensions between the two nations, both on the Northwest frontier and on the seas, caused the Americans and the British to lock in battle once again.

As early as 1803, the United States became caught in the middle of British trade disagreements. When the

capital.

Napoleonic Wars broke out between France and Great Britain, American merchant shipping was affected.

Then in 1806 and 1807, France and Britain tried to cut off each other's access to European ports. Both nations ignored American neutrality. If American ships sailed directly to Europe, the British navy might stop them. If ships stopped in Britain, the French would seize them. American captains saw the British as the more serious threat. One reason was the practice of **impressment**. Ordinary sailors in the Royal Navy were badly paid and brutally treated. To find crews, men were often impressed—kidnapped and forced to work on ships. Many deserted whenever they could.

British captains claimed they had the right to stop and search American ships for deserters. But while looking for British sailors, they often took Americans as well. In 1807 the British ship *Leopard* stopped the American frigate *Chesapeake*. When the Americans refused to let the ship be searched, the *Leopard* opened fire. The British then seized four Americans.

Americans were furious about the *Chesapeake* incident. To avoid war, President Jefferson proposed and Congress passed a drastic law. The **Embargo Act** prohibited exports to foreign countries. Many captains evaded the act, but the ban on trade was a disaster for the economy. Goods piled up in warehouses, ships sat in the harbors, people lost their jobs, and businesses failed.

The 1808 presidential election took place in the hard times after the hated Embargo Act. James Madison, Jefferson's ally, won easily. A new law reopened all trade except that with Britain and France. Still, conflicts over commerce were pushing the country toward war.

CREADING CHECK Summarizing What were the consequences of the Embargo Act?

Tecumseh Resists Settlers

Another factor leading to war was the ongoing conflict between settlers and Native Americans in the Northwest Territory. Things had been fairly quiet since the the Battle of Fallen Timbers. But as anti-British feelings grew in the United States, the British tried to rebuild their old alliances with Native Americans.



Born in present-day Ohio, Tecumseh tried to organize all Native Americans in opposition to the advancement of settlers. He believed

that the land belonged to all Native Americans and that the United States had no right to take or purchase land from an individual tribe. Sadly, Tecumseh's efforts to unite Native Americans failed.

When the War of 1812 erupted, Tecumseh joined the British and was given the rank of brigadier general. He led a large group of Native Americans in the siege of Fort Meigs, defeating the American forces. However, Tecumseh died fighting in the Battle of the Thames when his forces were defeated by General William Harrison.

Summarize Describe Tecumseh's efforts against American settlers.

New policies William Henry Harrison was a Virginian who joined the army and fought in the Indian wars. He later became the Northwest Territory's delegate to Congress.

In 1800 Harrison was named governor of the new Indiana Territory. He was supposed to carry out President Jefferson's new Native American policy. Under this policy, Native Americans could choose either to become farmers and join white society or to move west of the Mississippi. As Harrison implemented the policy, Native Americans made treaties in which they lost millions of acres of tribal lands in Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois.

New Indian leaders Two Shawnee brothers emerged as leaders who could bring Native Americans together. One was a religious leader called the Prophet, or Tenskwatawa. Thousands came to hear him speak against white culture at Prophetstown, where the Wabash River met Tippecanoe Creek in present-day Indiana. He taught his followers to reject white culture.

Tecumseh, or Shooting Star, was the Prophet's brother and an inspiring leader. In 1809 he began to unite his brother's followers. But in 1811, while Tecumseh was away, Harrison's army attacked. Both sides suffered heavy losses, and Prophetstown was burned. The Battle of Tippecanoe made Harrison a national hero. He and Tecumseh would meet again.

READING CHECK Making Inferences Why did the British and Native Americans become allies?

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY prohibited did not allow

The War of 1812 Begins

Ever since the incident with the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard*, some American politicians had been calling for war. Known as **War Hawks**, most came from the western states. They were less concerned with world affairs than they were with frontier events. They hated the British and even hoped for a conquest of Canada.

War is declared Henry Clay, a leading War Hawk, became Speaker of the House in 1811. Under pressure from Congress, President Madison finally gave in. The United States declared war on Great Britain in June 1812.

The War of 1812 was fought on land and on sea, from Canada to Louisiana. Much of the war took place along the U.S.–Canadian border. The British also staged a massive blockade of the American coast and New Orleans.

Gains and losses The American navy won several surprising victories against the Royal

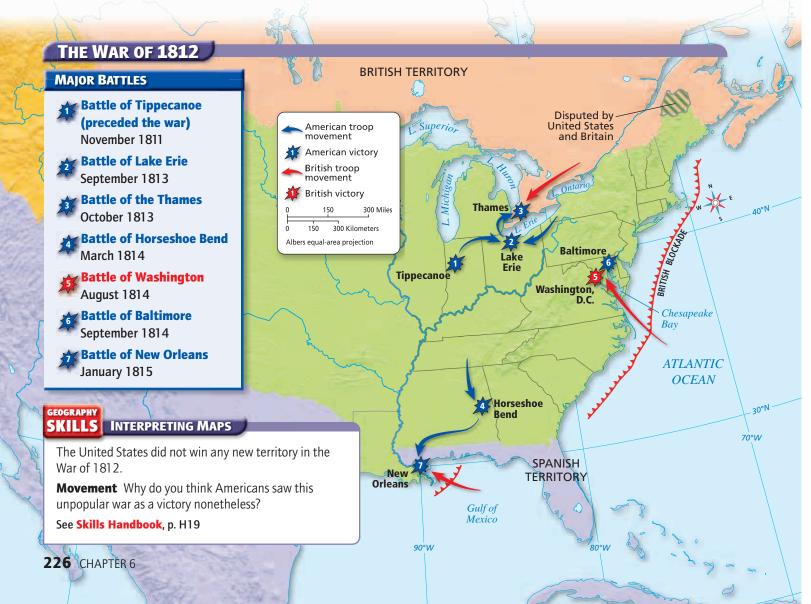
Navy. In August 1812 the USS *Constitution* sank the British *Guerrière*. British gunfire bounced off the ship's oak hull, giving it the nickname Old Ironsides.

The naval war moved into the Great Lakes. Captain Oliver Hazard Perry hastily built new ships and gathered a small fleet. In September 1813 he anchored at the end of Lake Erie and waited for British ships to arrive. When the Battle of Lake Erie was over, Perry reported, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

Soon after war was declared, American forces made several unsuccessful invasions of Canada. Tecumseh then joined the British in a campaign to capture Detroit and invade Ohio.

General Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, took command of U.S. forces in the Northwest Territory. After the American victory at Lake Erie, the British began a retreat from Detroit. Harrison's army followed them.

In October 1813, Harrison met British and Indian forces at the Battle of the Thames in



Ontario. The Americans outnumbered the enemy. Tecumseh was killed in the battle, ending the British–Native American alliance. Native Americans at once lost their greatest leader and their power in Ohio and Indiana.

Native Americans suffered another tragic loss in the South. There Tecumseh had organized the Creeks to resist settlers. Tennessee militia leader **Andrew Jackson** led a force against them. In March 1814, at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Jackson massacred Creek women, children, and warriors. He then seized the fort at Pensacola in Spanish Florida.

One British tactic was to make quick strikes against coastal cities. In August 1814 the British fleet sailed into Chesapeake Bay. Soldiers quickly marched to Washington, where they burned several major buildings.

The British then bombarded Fort McHenry, which guarded Baltimore harbor. After an overnight battle, a young lawyer, Francis Scott Key, was so overjoyed to see the American flag still flying that he started scribbling a poem that became America's national anthem: "The Star-Spangled Banner."

In the South, a British force landed near New Orleans in December. But Jackson got there first with an army of militia, pirates, and regular soldiers. In January 1815 the **Battle of New Orleans** made him a hero.

Treaty of Ghent By then, however, the peace treaty had been signed. In 1814 diplomats met in Ghent, Belgium, to finalize the **Treaty of Ghent**, which was signed in December. American and British diplomats were eager for peace. The Napoleonic Wars had been costly for England. In America, New Englanders were near rebellion over the war. No territory changed hands, but Americans had proved themselves as a nation.

CREADING CHECK Making Inferences Why did the War Hawks want war?



CAUSES AND EFFECTS

CAUSES

- British impressment of American sailors
- International conflicts over commerce
- British military aid to Native Americans on the Northwest frontier

EFFECTS

- Britain and France gain respect for United States
- National pride grows
- U.S. manufacturing increases
- Native American resistance declines

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

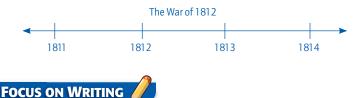
- a. Define Explain the policy of impressment and its importance.
 b. Make Inferences What was the purpose of the Embargo Act?
- **c. Evaluate** Why were threats to merchant shipping a cause for war?
- **2. a. Identify** What roles did **Tecumseh**, the Prophet, and **William Henry** Harrison play in the struggle for the western frontier? **b. Summarize** What was Jefferson's policy toward Native Americans in the Northwest Territory?

c. Predict How did British and Native American alliances contribute to the move toward war?

- 3. a. Define What was the Treaty of Ghent?
 - **b. Analyze** What losses did Native Americans suffer in the War of 1812? **c. Evaluate** Why did Americans see the end of the war as a victory?

Critical Thinking

4. Identifying Cause and Effect Copy the chart below and use it to make a time line of major battles in the War of 1812.



5. Persuasive Prepare a speech for a debate in which you argue for or against going to war in 1812.

CHAPTER

DOCUMENT-BASED INVESTIGATION

The First American Political Parties

Historical Context The documents below provide different perspectives on political parties in the federal period.

Task Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then you will be asked to write an essay about the development of the first American political parties, using facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

DOCUMENT (

In 1796 George Washington decided not to seek reelection for a third term as president of the United States. In his famous Farewell Address, Washington warned Americans to avoid divisions based on political parties and geography. Below is a short excerpt from his address.

"I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations. Let me now ... warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of Party, generally ...

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention . . . is itself a frightful despotism. . .

It serves always to distract the Public Council and enfeeble the Public Administration. It agitates the Community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one party against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection."

DOCUMENT (2)

In the election of 1800 between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, presidential power was transferred between political parties for the first time in the young nation's history. The electoral vote was sharply divided along geographic lines, as the map below shows.

THE ELECTION OF 1800 Thomas Jefferson (Democratic-Republican) John Adams (Federalist) Numbers refer to electoral NH votes candidates received in each state NY RI NJ PA DR-8 F-7 DE VA 21 MD DR-5 F-5 KY ΤN NC DR-8 F-4 sç GA Presidential ELECTION, 1800 Adams Jefferson 65 73 electoral electoral votes votes 47% 53% Total Electoral Votes: 138 Source: The National Atlas of the United States of America

DOCUMENT 3

In 1798 one of the most controversial issues in the U.S. Congress was the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Federalist government believed that Democratic-Republican criticism of Federalist policies was disloyal and that foreigners, or aliens, would sympathize with France during war. The political cartoon below depicts Congress in 1798. Roger Griswold, a Federalist, is using his cane to attack Matthew Lyon, a Democratic-Republican, who is retaliating with tongs.



THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

DOCUMENT 4

The presidential campaign of 1800 was a bitter political struggle. Each party made accusations against the other. Democratic-Republicans believed the Federalist president John Adams wanted to turn the country into a monarchy. Federalists worried that Thomas Jefferson might have ties to revolutionary France. In Jefferson's Inaugural Address (1801), he called for the country to unite around common goals.

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

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government."

Skills FOCUS READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

1. a. Identify Refer to Document 1. Name three ways Washington believed political parties could negatively affect the nation.

b. Interpret Why might Washington have considered political parties based on geography to be dangerous?

- **2. a. Identify** Refer to Document 2. According to the pie graph, what percentage of electoral votes did Jefferson receive? What percentage did Adams receive? **b. Analyze** What regional voting pattern can you identify using the map?
- **3. a. Describe** Refer to Document 3. How does this cartoon characterize the political divisions in the United States in 1798?

b. Analyze Why did the Democratic-Republicans

respond so strongly against the Sedition Act? Why did the Federalists believe it was necessary?

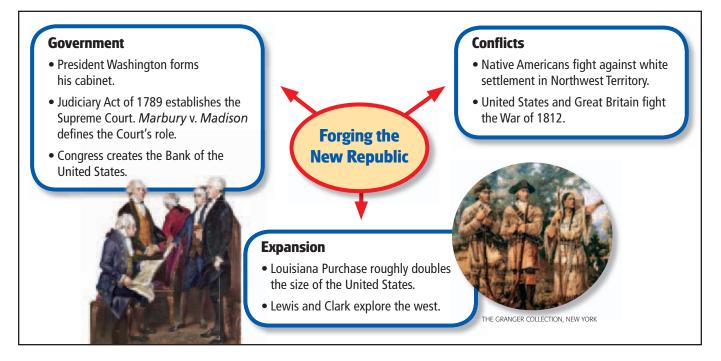
- **4. a. Recall** Refer to Document 4. What does Jefferson believe about political parties? **b. Analyze** Why might Jefferson have made this plea for unity in his inaugural address?
- 5. Document-Based Essay Question Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4, create an outline and write a short essay supporting your position. Explain and analyze the development of the first American political parties during the period 1794–1801. Did the presence of political parties help or harm the nation?

See Skills Handbook, pp. H21, H28-H29, H31

Chapter Review

Visual Summary: Forging the New Republic

CHAPTER



Reviewing Key Terms and People

Complete each sentence by filling the blank with the correct term or person.

- **1.** The idea that the powers of the central government should be limited to those specifically spelled out in the Constitution is called _____.
- **2.** The Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, and the Secretary of the Treasury made up President Washington's ______.
- **3.** The ______ set up the Supreme Court with one chief justice and five associates.
- **4.** Loyalty to one's geographic region, sometimes more than to one's country, is called ______.
- **5.** The idea that state legislatures can decide not to follow laws passed by the central government is called ______.
- **6.** <u>led Native American forces in the</u> Battle of Tippecanoe.
- 7. _____ is the right of the Supreme Court to declare that a law violates the Constitution.

- **8.** ______ states that the central government can do certain things as long as the Constitution does not specifically prohibit them.
- **9.** Jefferson's vice president, _____, killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel.
- **10.** ______ tried unsuccessfully to resist the expansion of American settlement in the Northwest Territory.
- **11.** The War of 1812 was ended by the _____.
- **12.** _____ commanded American troops at the Battle of New Orleans.
- **13.** _____ was the act of kidnapping men and forcing them to work on ships.

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 202–208)

14. a. Identify What roles did Pierre Charles L'Enfant and Benjamin Banneker have in the creation of Washington, D.C.?

History's Impact video program

Review the video to answer the closing question: How has the American spirit of exploration affected the history of the nation?

b. Contrast What were the main differences between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans?

c. Predict How would President Washington's actions during the Whiskey Rebellion help determine the actions of presidents facing similar situations in the future?

SECTION 2 (pp. 209–214)

15. a. Recall Why were Americans generally sympathetic to France after the French Revolution? Why did those sympathies change to hostility?

b. Summarize How did the U.S. government respond to the XYZ affair?

c. Evaluate Should a democratic government be allowed to pass a law like the Sedition Act? Why or why not?

SECTION 3 (pp. 215–220)

16. a. Identify What changes did Jefferson make during his presidency?

b. Analyze In what ways was Federalist opposition to the Louisiana Purchase an example of party politics?

c. Evaluate Defend this statement: "The Supreme Court should have the right to declare that a law violates the Constitution."

SECTION 4 (pp. 224–227)

17. a. Describe What British actions helped trigger the War of 1812?

b. Make Inferences Why did Native Americans resist Jefferson's policy for Indian affairs?

c. Evaluate What was ultimately accomplished by the War of 1812?

Using the Internet



18. The War of 1812 was the new

country's first war against a European nation. Using the keyword above, do research to learn more about this war. Pick one topic related to the war and create a detailed report on this element or event in the conflict.

Analyzing Primary Sources

Reading Like a Historian When Native Americans in the Northwest Territory were being forced to give up their land in the early 1800s, Tecumseh mourned for his people:

G The Great Spirit gave this great island to his red children. He placed the whites on the other side of the big water. They were not contented with their own, but came to take ours from us. They have driven us from the sea to the lakes—we can go no farther.**?**

—Tecumseh, Shawnee leader

- **19. Identify** What is "the big water"?
- **20. Interpret** What does Tecumseh mean by "they have driven us from the sea to the lakes"?

Critical Reading

Read the passage in Section 1 that begins with the heading "Political parties develop." Then answer the following question.

- **21.** In the third paragraph the passage reads: "Each sides justified its actions as necessary to resist the dangerous ideas of the other." Here the word *justified* means
 - **A.** claimed to be proper.
 - B. denied.
 - **C.** invented.
 - **D.** told many people about.

WRITING FOR THE SAT

Think about the following issue.

In his Farewell Address, George Washington warned the new nation to beware of party politics and involvement in the affairs of foreign countries.

22. Assignment Was Washington right or wrong about the danger of party politics and involvement in the affairs of other countries? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on these questions. Support your view with logical reasoning, examples from your reading, and current events.