

CHAPTER 10

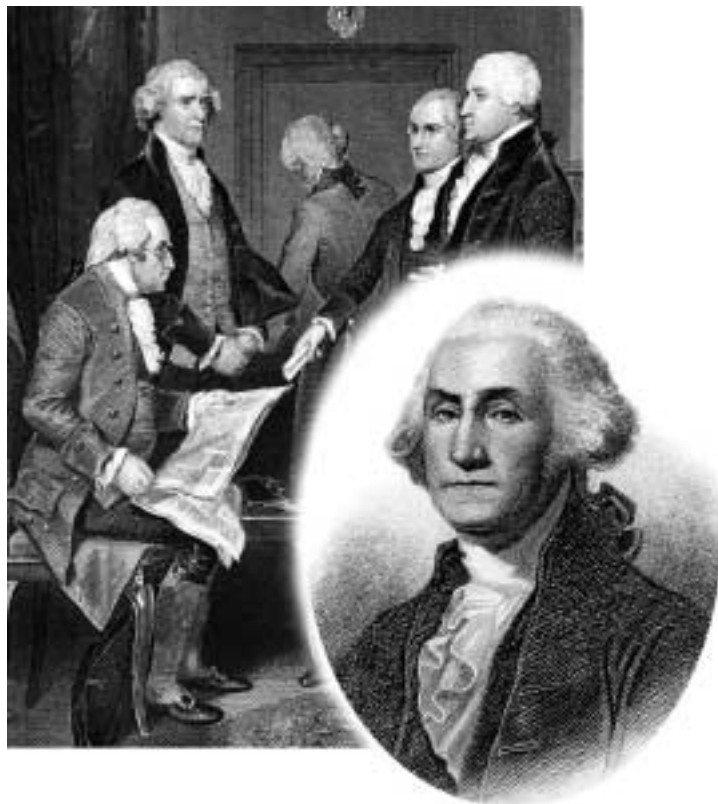
Stronger Nation Under Five Presidents

GEORGE WASHINGTON (1789–1797)

Washington's first order of business as president was a domestic policy: (1) to shape the executive department and (2) raise revenues to eliminate the **national debt** (accumulation of debts owned to buyers of government bonds).

Executive Government The Constitution empowered the president to appoint heads of executive departments. Washington named four: secretaries of state (Thomas Jefferson), treasury (Alexander Hamilton), war (Henry Knox), and the attorney general (Edmund Randolph). They became his chief advisers, or cabinet. New department heads were created over time; today, there are 15.

President Washington (inset) and his first cabinet: (left to right) Henry Knox, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and Edmund Randolph



Finances Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton drafted a program to make the nation's finances sound:

- Establish the nation's credit at home and abroad by paying the national debt.
- Create a national bank to assist in tax collection, make loans to the federal government, and provide sound currency.
- Impose a **protective tariff** to shield American industries from foreign competition.
- Impose an **excise tax** on luxury commodities, including whiskey.

The excise tax provoked a *Whiskey Rebellion* (1794). Western farmers converted surplus grain into whiskey, which was easier to ship. They refused to pay the whiskey tax. Washington then sent troops to put down the rebellion. This showed that the new federal government was more effective than the Confederation, which had been helpless during Shays's Rebellion (see page 104).

Political Parties Factions that had formed during ratification of the Constitution developed into two national political parties.

Foreign Policy Foreign policy is decided by the president and Congress. Washington's goal was to establish neutrality by taking no sides for or against other nations. Events abroad, however, played a strong role in determining the U.S. course.

Tarring and feathering a tax collector during the Whiskey Rebellion



RISE OF POLITICAL PARTIES		
	Federalists	Democratic-Republicans
Leaders	Hamilton, Adams, Marshall.	Jefferson, Madison, Monroe.
Geographic strength	Northeastern merchants.	Southern and Western farmers.
Position on Hamilton's financial plan	Favored national bank, paying national debt, protecting new industries, federal involvement in economy.	Totally opposed to plan.
Position on constitutional issues	Favored loose construction * to strengthen federal power.	Favored strict construction ** to limit federal power and protect states' rights.
Position on foreign policy	Supported trade with Britain; supported Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality.	Favored France; supported Jefferson's attempts at neutrality during Napoleonic wars.

*Belief that elastic clause gives federal government additional unstated powers.

**Belief that federal powers are limited to those named in Constitution.

Adapted from: Peiser/Serber: *Reviewing United States History and Government*, 2nd ed. (New York: Amsco, 2001).

Genêt Affair The Franco-U.S. alliance of 1778 required Americans to aid the French West Indies when under attack (though not to join France in war). In 1793, France sent Edmond Genêt to recruit Americans into the French navy and to make use of U.S. ports as naval bases. Defying U.S. neutrality, Genêt tried to gain public support for France by publishing his demands in American newspapers. The nation, however, backed Washington, and Genêt was recalled. (He remained in New York and married Governor Clinton's daughter.)

French Revolution In 1789, revolution erupted in France. Eventually, power shifts in Europe caused a series of wars. Even before then, however, Britain and France, as historical enemies, had faced off against each other.

The United States could not escape involvement. As a neutral, it claimed a right to trade with any country. Both Britain and France angered Americans by blocking U.S. ships and cargo from enemy ports. Because of its 1778 treaty with France, the United States was supposed to help defend the French West Indies. If it did so, war with Britain was inevitable.

On April 22, 1793, Washington, supported by both Hamilton and Jefferson, issued the *Proclamation of Neutrality*. It forbade U.S. citizens to support any warring nation on land or at sea.

Interference With U.S. Trade The British continued their fur trade in the Northwest Territory. Even worse, the British navy, short of seamen, stopped U.S. ships, searched for deserters, and forced American sailors with British accents to join their crews. The British called it **impressment**; for Americans, it was kidnapping.

The *Jay Treaty* (1794) stated, in part: "His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. . . ." It required Britain to withdraw from the Northwest Territory and pay for U.S. ships and cargo it had seized. In return, Americans promised to pay British creditors. The treaty did not mention impressment.



A U.S. sailor is brought before British officers for inspection and impressment.

The *Pinckney Treaty* with Spain (1795) settled U.S. disputes with Spain over the boundaries of Florida and Georgia. Spain agreed to stop inciting Native Americans in Georgia and to the west. The United States gained two important rights: (1) to navigate the Mississippi River freely, and (2) to deposit American goods at New Orleans. These concessions helped Western farmers, for whom the Ohio and Mississippi rivers were vital trade routes to New Orleans.

Washington's Farewell After serving two terms, Washington delivered his *Farewell Address* to Congress in 1796. He first cautioned Americans against political parties and then reemphasized his foreign policy:

- ★ The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible.
 It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.



JOHN ADAMS (1797–1801)

In the presidential election of 1796, Adams defeated Jefferson. With the second highest number of electoral votes, Jefferson became vice president. Adams, a Federalist, maintained Washington's policies.

Foreign Policy In 1797, the nation was again close to war. The Jay Treaty had angered France, which seized American ships to prevent them from trading with Britain.

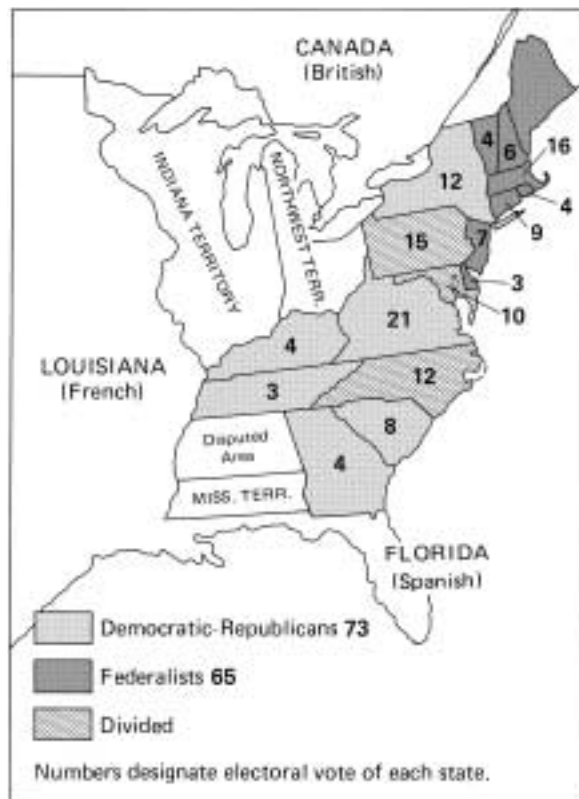
Adams sent three ambassadors to Paris—Charles Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall. They waited for weeks until three French agents—later identified as X, Y, and Z—demanded a \$250,000 bribe payment and a \$12 million loan to France before talks could begin. The ambassadors refused.

When Adams reported the incident, Congress canceled its treaties with France, recruited an army, created the navy department, and gave U.S. ships permission to attack the French.

Domestic Policy During Adams's term, the Federalist Congress enacted the *Alien and Sedition Acts* (1798) to suppress criticism by Democratic-Republicans. In the *Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions*, the legislatures of those states challenged federal authority by stating their right to **nullification**, that is, to disregard such federal acts as unconstitutional violations of their citizens' right to free speech.

Election of 1800 From 1789 to 1801, three Federalist leaders—Washington, Hamilton, and Adams—had the greatest influence. That era ended with the 1800 election of Democratic-Republicans Jefferson and Aaron Burr. After they received the same number of electoral votes, the House of Representative voted for Jefferson as the nation's third president.

Election of 1800



✓ INFO CHECK

1. Summarize Hamilton's financial program.
2. Name three international events that tested Washington's policy of neutrality.
3. Define the principle of nullification, and cite the first occasion that gave rise to it.
4. In what two ways was the presidential election of 1800 significant?

THOMAS JEFFERSON (1801–1809)

Jefferson believed in states' rights and strict construction. As president, however, his first duty was to strengthen the nation, which caused him to modify his view of constitutionality.

Louisiana Purchase In 1802, Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself emperor of the French. To continue his war against Britain, he needed more money. He offered to sell to the United States Louisiana, a vast territory between the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains.

Robert Livingston and James Monroe were sent to negotiate with France for the purchase. Although the Constitution did not authorize the purchase of foreign lands, Jefferson decided to buy Louisiana under the presidential power to make treaties. In other words, he chose loose construction. As a result of the 1803 purchase, the United States doubled in size.

Louisiana Purchase



Exploration of Louisiana Three expeditions set out to explore the new territory. Zebulon Pike led two of them, in 1803 and 1806—during which he explored the northeastern and southwestern parts of Louisiana, respectively. Pikes Peak, in the Colorado Rockies, was named in his honor.

The most important expedition, however, took place between 1804 and 1806 and was led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

Traveling by boat and horseback, they explored westward along the Missouri River. Near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota, they met a French trader and his Shoshone wife, Sacagawea. Crossing the Missouri, the explorers followed their Shoshone guides through the Rockies, to the Snake River, and finally to the Columbia River. They followed it to the Pacific Ocean in the Oregon Country, which they claimed for the United States.

These American expeditions had significant results in three areas:

- **Maps.** The first precise maps of the Louisiana Territory were drawn from observations of Lewis and Clark and Pike. They would prove extremely valuable to subsequent travelers to the West.
- **Western settlement.** In 1811, John Jacob Astor established a fur trading post at Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River. Hunters and trappers known as “mountain men” added to knowledge of the West as they opened new routes in the search for furs. By the 1840s, several thousand Americans lived in the Oregon Country.
- **Great Plains.** For many years, Americans believed that the Great Plains were arid and unsuited to farming because Pike called the region the “Great American Desert.” This belief led to the shameful idea of moving Native Americans, by force if necessary, from east of the Mississippi to the plains. At the same time, exploration of the West proceeded without regard for Native Americans who already lived there and regarded it as their homeland.

Lewis and Clark at the mouth of the Columbia River during exploration of the Louisiana Territory





Collection of The New-York Historical Society

Snapping turtle “Ograbme” (“embargo” spelled backwards) stops shipment of U.S. goods to Britain.

Foreign Affairs France and Britain continued to challenge U.S. stability and neutrality. During the Napoleonic Wars (1805–1815), British warships searched U.S. merchant ships, removed cargo, and again impressed American sailors. Then, the British warship *Leopold* demanded to search the American *Chesapeake* for deserters. When the American commander refused, the *Leopold* opened fire, killing or wounding 21 of the *Chesapeake*’s crew. Many Americans called for war, but Jefferson believed that the nation was ill prepared.

Embargo Anxious to avoid further incidents at sea, Jefferson, in 1807, persuaded Congress to pass the *Embargo Act*. The **embargo** stopped all trade between the United States and Britain and France. Neither European nation changed its warlike policy, and more than 100,000 Americans lost their jobs. Farmers suffered too, for they lost markets for their produce. Jefferson asked Congress to repeal the embargo early in 1809.

Frontier While Easterners cursed the embargo and the British Navy, Westerners accused the British of inciting Native Americans against them.

The westward flow of settlers was pressuring Native Americans in the Ohio Valley. A widely respected Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, tried to unite them to prevent further loss of land. Settlers feared Tecumseh’s confederacy. In 1811, U.S. forces under General William Henry Harrison decisively defeated a Native American army at the *Battle of Tippecanoe* in Indiana. British weapons found at the site provoked an outcry against Britain. Westerners in Congress—a group called the *War Hawks*—pushed for a war in which the United States might take Canada from Britain and Florida from Spain.

Judicial Activism While Adams, was still president, John Marshall, a Federalist, began his service as chief justice of the United States. Between 1801 and

1835, the Marshall Supreme Court made decisions that strengthened the federal government and made the judicial branch an equal partner with the other two branches.

- *Marbury v. Madison* (1803): In this landmark case, the Court refused to approve a judge's appointment because the law allowing it was unconstitutional. Thus, the Court established the principle of judicial review (see page 111).
- *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819): In declaring the Bank of the United States constitutional, the Court used the elastic clause (see page 112) to expand the power of the federal government. It decided that the bank was an arm of the federal government, immune from interference by states.
- *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819): The Court found that a charter granted to an institution by a state was protected by the Constitution. This decision allowed the Court to guarantee contracts between groups or individuals (and later paved the way for the legality of monopolies).
- *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824): The court found that steamboats (and, later, railroads) involved in interstate transportation could function without state regulation. This ruling reaffirmed the federal government's right to regulate interstate commerce while leaving internal commerce to the states.

The landmark cases decided by his court embodied Marshall's vision of the Constitution as a document capable of serving a changing society.



INFO CHECK

1. Summarize Jefferson's constitutional dilemma over the Louisiana Purchase. What did he decide?
2. What lasting benefit resulted from Lewis and Clark's expedition? How did Pike adversely affect settlement of the West?
3. Give two reasons why the Embargo Act of 1807 failed.
4. How did Marshall's leadership as chief justice reflect his political beliefs as a Federalist?



JAMES MADISON (1809–1817)

As president, Madison tried to defend U.S. rights at sea while maintaining neutrality. He was unable to do so.

War of 1812 Although war fever grew, trade in the Northeast was reviving after the embargo. Merchants, shipowners, and workers feared that war would cut off trade again and leave coastal cities open to attack by the British. Federalists, in general, opposed further hostilities.

Nevertheless, Madison asked Congress for war. In June 1812, Congress declared war against Britain, which set up a naval blockade along the eastern coast. By 1814, foreign trade had dropped to about one-tenth of its level in 1811.



Oliver Hazard Perry, victor over the British at the Battle of Lake Erie, leaves his damaged flagship to continue the fight.

Burning of Washington, D.C., during the War of 1812



The war began well enough for the Americans, but they proved unprepared later on.

Great Lakes Campaigns Early on, the British gained control of Lake Erie, but a small U.S. fleet under Oliver Hazard Perry defeated the enemy. They were then pushed back into Canada by General Harrison and routed at the Thames River in 1813. With Tecumseh's death there, Indian allies of the British deserted.

In 1814, the British moved south from Canada to invade New York. At the *Battle of Lake Champlain*, the Americans bested the British, who withdrew to Canada.

Chesapeake Campaign A second British force had more success. Sailing through Chesapeake Bay, it landed and fought its way to Washington, D. C. The British torched the White House, the Capitol, and other public buildings, and then moved on to Baltimore. After bombarding Fort McHenry and fighting to a draw on land, the British withdrew.

Francis Scott Key, a young lawyer, watched the attack through the night and rejoiced the next morning to see the U.S. flag still flying over Fort McHenry. He was inspired to write the poem *The Star-Spangled Banner*, which was later set to music as the national anthem. Its fourth and final stanza is:

O thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved home and the war's desolation,
Blest with vict'ry and peace, may the Heav'n-rescued land
Praise the Pow'r that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust."
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

New Orleans Meanwhile, in the South, Andrew Jackson defeated the Creeks and seized Pensacola in Spanish West Florida (the panhandle). When he learned that the British threatened New Orleans, he built a defense line south of the city and defeated the enemy. The *Battle of New Orleans* (January 1815, one month after the war ended officially) cost the British 2000 casualties, while American losses amounted to 8 killed and 13 wounded. In addition to regular army soldiers, Jackson's troops included Louisiana Creoles, African Americans, and pirates.

Treaty of Ghent As 1814 ended, U.S. and British diplomats met in Ghent, Belgium. They signed the *Treaty of Ghent* on December 24.

It stopped the fighting but settled nothing. The United States did not win agreement to end impressment, nor did it acquire any British territory. The only positive outcomes were increased American **nationalism** (sense of unity and pride in one's country) and the desire to push farther west. The nations of Europe—including Britain—*did* begin to treat the United States with new respect. So, the nation had preserved its independence and improved its international status.



JAMES MONROE (1817–1825)

The Federalist party, already weakened, was further hurt by its opposition to the War of 1812. Without a political rival, the Democratic-Republicans enjoyed a period



Latin America: Dates of Independence From European Rule

Uncle Sam explains the Monroe Doctrine to John Bull (symbol of Great Britain) and the German Kaiser.



of political harmony—the so-called *Era of Good Feelings*. In 1816, its presidential candidate, James Monroe, easily won the election.

Acquisition of Florida In 1818, Andrew Jackson, in pursuit of hostile Seminoles, invaded East Florida (the peninsula jutting into the Atlantic). Clearly, Spain's territory was vulnerable to a U.S. takeover. Spain was willing to give up East Florida if it could preserve its control elsewhere in North America. In the "*Transcontinental Treaty*" (1819), U.S. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and Spain's negotiators agreed that:

- The United States would cancel Spain's \$5 million debt.
- Spain would cede West Florida to the United States.
- The United States would give up its claim to Texas.

Monroe Doctrine Inspired by the American and French revolutions, rebels in Central and South America successfully revolted against Spain, Portugal, and France. Monroe and Adams feared that the European nations would try to reconquer these new Latin American republics and make them **spheres of influence** (areas dominated by foreign powers).

In an 1823 message to Congress, Monroe stated, in part:

- ★ [T]he American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers. . . . Our policy in regard to Europe . . . is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; . . . But in regard to those continents circumstances are . . . different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; . . .

This *Monroe Doctrine* reflected three goals of U.S. foreign policy: U.S. neutrality, U.S. **isolationism** (noninvolvement in foreign entanglements or organizations), and noninvolvement in the Western Hemisphere by European powers—including Russia, which sought to extend its territory south from Alaska.

American System Even before the War of 1812, Americans had been producing goods once imported from Britain. With the return of peace, Congress, in 1816, moved to protect these new industries and tie the nation's sections together economically into a network of self-sufficiency. Known as Henry Clay's *American System*, this program included:

- Tariffs on European goods to protect Eastern textile mills, encourage the South and West to buy Eastern goods, and use Western and Southern farm produce and raw materials in the East.
- Creation of a second national bank, which would promote financial stability by safeguarding federal money.
- Federal construction of roads and canals to better link the West with the East.

Election of 1824 In 1824, the Democratic-Republicans split into factions favoring different presidential candidates—John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, William

Crawford, and Henry Clay. None received a majority of electoral votes. Adams, with Henry Clay's support, won the election in the House of Representatives.

Jackson's supporters were upset because their candidate had won the largest popular vote. They accused Adams and Clay of a "corrupt bargain," by which Clay sided with Adams in exchange for appointment as secretary of state.

With the party badly split, the followers of Adams and Clay henceforth called themselves National Republicans, while those of Jackson were known as Democrats.



INFO CHECK

1. What did the United States gain by the Treaty of Ghent?
2. How do you explain Spain's willingness to cede East and West Florida in 1819?
3. Why did Monroe feel it was necessary to issue the Monroe Doctrine?
4. Would Washington have approved or disapproved of the Monroe Doctrine? Explain.



CHAPTER REVIEW

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. One of Washington's policies that guided later presidents was
 1. support for states' rights
 2. exemptions for Western farmers from paying excise taxes
 3. selection of a cabinet to assist in making governmental decisions
 4. serving more than two terms.
2. Washington's dispatch of federal troops during the Whiskey Rebellion was significant because it
 1. strengthened local and state governments
 2. forced Congress to pass the Bill of Rights
 3. showed that the new federal government was more effective than the Confederation
 4. empowered Congress to stop whiskey production.
3. U.S. political parties developed shortly after adoption of the Constitution because
 1. Washington disliked Jefferson
 2. the Constitution provides for a two-party system
 3. Britain had a two-party system
 4. factions arose over political and economic issues.
4. In his Farewell Address, Washington stated that
 1. the new and weak nation should ally itself with strong European nations
 2. the United States should avoid permanent alliances with other nations
 3. the United States would intervene in Latin America when necessary
 4. European countries could not establish new colonies in the Western Hemisphere.
5. The best summary of early U.S. foreign policy is that the United States
 1. tried to remain neutral but eventually declared war against Britain
 2. sided with France
 3. refused to get involved in European wars
 4. successfully prevented attacks from Canada.
6. Hamilton based much of his financial program on the belief that
 1. the new government's success depended on having good credit at home and abroad
 2. states should not be dependent on the federal government
 3. buying and selling of government securities was to be banned
 4. land was the most important source of wealth.

7. The Supreme Court under Chief Justice Marshall influenced U.S. history because
 1. it supported the states' rights movement
 2. many of its decisions helped strengthen the federal government
 3. it refused to deal with controversial issues
 4. it became deeply involved in foreign affairs.
8. The legal basis for the U.S. purchase of Louisiana was the
 1. Senate's duty to approve presidential appointments
 2. president's power as commander in chief
 3. Congress's power to declare war
 4. president's power to make treaties.
9. The War of 1812
 1. discouraged the South from growing cotton
 2. cost Britain its position as leading world power
 3. increased other nations' respect for the United States
 4. kept American pioneers from going west.
10. The map on page 128 shows that the main purpose of the Monroe Doctrine was to
 1. exclude Portugal from Latin America
 2. encourage French colonization in the Western Hemisphere
 3. create an alliance of Latin American nations
 4. keep European nations from interfering in the affairs of nations of the Americas.

Constructed-Response Questions

Base your answers to questions 1 and 2 on the table on page 119.

1. Explain why political parties arose in the United States.
2. Discuss how the rise of political parties is an example of the unwritten constitution.

Base your answers to questions 3–5 on the illustration on page 118.

3. Describe what is happening.
4. Explain why it is happening.
5. Write a title for the illustration.

Base your answers to questions 6–8 on the Jay Treaty excerpt on page 119.

6. The Jay Treaty was an agreement between which nations?
7. Explain the terms of the treaty.
8. Describe how it reinforced neutrality and isolationism.

Base your answers to questions 9 and 10 on the map on page 121.

9. What was unusual about the election of 1800?
10. How did the results of the election change the Constitution?

Base your answers to questions 11 and 12 on the illustration on page 123.

11. Describe what is taking place in the illustration.
12. What impact did exploration of this territory have on the United States?

Base your answers to questions 13–15 on the cartoon on page 124.

13. Who do the figures in the cartoon represent?
14. What does “Ograbme” mean?
15. According to the cartoon, who will be most affected by the action? Why?

Base your answers to questions 16–18 on the illustration at the top of page 126.

16. Explain the caption.
17. Why was Perry's victory important?
18. Why was the War of 1812 both a disappointment and a benefit to the United States?

Document-Based Question

Part A: Short Answer

Study each document and answer the questions that follow it. Then read the **Task** and write your essay. It should include references to most of the documents, along with additional information based on your knowledge of social studies.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: From 1776 to 1823, the nation moved from the Critical Period to the Era of Good Feelings. Presidents Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe helped shape the domestic and foreign policies of the early nation. As they responded to economic, social, and political issues, sometimes an existing policy was strengthened or weakened, and sometimes a new policy was created.

DOCUMENT 1 Refer to the illustration on page 117.

1. What is the role of the president's cabinet?
2. Explain why the cabinet is an example of the unwritten constitution.

DOCUMENT 2 Refer to the excerpt from Washington's Farewell Address on page 120.

3. State the main ideas in the address.
4. Define neutrality.
5. Explain why Washington favored isolationism and neutrality.

DOCUMENT 3 Refer to the map on page 122.

6. How was the United States changed after the Louisiana Purchase?
7. How did the purchase demonstrate expansion of presidential power?

DOCUMENT 4 Refer to the illustration on page 120.

8. What cause of the War of 1812 does the illustration depict?
9. How did the war represent a shifting away from Washington's foreign policy?

DOCUMENTS 5 AND 6 Refer to the illustration on the bottom of page 126 and the "Star-Spangled Banner" excerpt on page 127.

10. What is happening in the illustration?
11. What inspired Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner"?
12. Why were Americans filled with a spirit of nationalism after the War of 1812?

DOCUMENTS 7 AND 8 Refer to the cartoon on page 128 and the Monroe Doctrine excerpt on page 129.

13. Who do the figures in the cartoon represent?
14. Write an alternate caption for the cartoon.
15. What is the main idea of Monroe's statement?
16. How did the Monroe Doctrine expand isolationism?

Part B: Essay

TASK

- Select *two* presidents who led the nation between 1776 and 1823.
- For *each* president, identify *one* domestic and *one* foreign situation that he had to react to.
- Explain the cause(s) of each situation.
- Describe how each president responded to the domestic and foreign situations that you identified.
- Discuss the impact of *one* of these situations on the United States.