SAN JUAN DE BAUTISTA, CALIFORNIA The mission of San Juan de Bautista was founded in 1797 by Fr Fermín de Lasuén, the successor to Junípero Serra, the Franciscan friar who spearheaded the spread of the Spanish mission system northward in California. This illustration pictures the church building at the mission that was begun in 1803.

defenses were weakened by the population collapse brought on by European diseases. Other Indians, like some Chumash, embraced baptism but retained a syncretic view of the world that maintained their native beliefs alongside Roman Catholicism. Some Christian Indians later rejected baptism, and Chumash rebelled against the Spanish in 1824.

Severe drought in the 1790s caused many Indians to seek refuge in the missions where Spanish friars provided food in exchange for labor and conversion. Hispanic settlers called *Californios*, many of them mixed-race Mexicans and descendents of earlier Spanish soldiers and southern Indians, claimed land, and their livestock threatened native land use. Spanish soldiers compelled Indian laborers to build the system of presidio forts that further consolidated control over California territory. The missions prospered, growing from crude chapels to elaborate adobe towns surrounded by farm fields and trading posts.

STUDY QUESTIONS FOR SHIFTING BORDERS

1. How did Spanish expansion in California compare to efforts of the United States to expand westward between 1789 and 1824?
2. How did the westward expansion of the United States revive and exacerbate conflicts over slavery?

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SHIFTS

The movement of goods, people, and ideas across and beyond North America at the beginning of the 19th century affected the creation of an "American" culture within the United States. The lawyer and future congressman Charles Jared Ingersoll wrote in 1810 that Americans were an "adolescent people . . . dispersed over an immense territory," both attracted to the old culture of Europe and seeking to establish their own

identities. Ingersoll's use of the word "adolescent" captured the awkward nature of an American society seeking simultaneously to look backward and forward as it experienced rapid change.

Indian Acculturation

At the turn of the 19th century, native women and men adopted a variety of strategies ranging from acculturation to native cultural revival to deal with change and demographic pressure. Indian groups who lived within the United States continued to adapt after more than a hundred years of intensive contact with Europeans and Americans. During the same years in which Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa led movements for cultural revival and military resistance among Shawnee and their allies (see Chapter 8), some Indian people who lived further south used a different strategy—of acculturation and accommodation. Some Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek accepted U.S. Indian policies that encouraged them to "civilize" by adopting European-style agriculture, clothing, and culture. Creek warriors fought a civil war during the War of 1812 partly because of internal disagreements over assimilation, but the pro-acculturation forces triumphed with the backing of Andrew Jackson and U.S. military power.

Cherokee people pursued survival by ceding land in exchange for education and the promise of good U.S. relations. Henry Knox, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson—along with other U.S. officials—believed that "civilizing" Indians would prevent their extinction. American government agents and missionaries lived within Cherokee society. Although they never adopted private land ownership, many Cherokee did adapt to other American customs: they changed their gender roles to match American family structure, some owned slaves, and they centralized their government under a National Council structure in 1808 that removed power from the traditional matrilineal clans. The council also extended citizenship to the biracial children of Cherokee men and white women (who could not belong to a clan), and mixed-race Cherokee became prominent leaders. **Sequoyah** standardized the Cherokee alphabet, which made printing possible, and more than 25 percent of Cherokee people could read by the 1820s—a high figure that gained international attention.

Cherokee leaders disagreed about the degree to which acculturation would solve their problems, and some agreed to move their families west to Arkansas territory to gain favor with the United States. Tensions rose after the War of 1812, and white population growth near Cherokee lands in Tennessee, Alabama, and Georgia accelerated the debate over survival and acculturation. As early as 1785, Cherokee leader Corn Tassel had warned that "when we entered into treaties with our brothers, the whites, their whole cry is more land!" Cherokee people continued to adopt new social roles to try and respond.

Gender in Early Republican Society

What it meant to be a white woman also changed in this period. Following on the heels of the revolutionary ideology of republican motherhood, women were expected to help create a better republican society through their ability to raise educated children to be

NEEDLEWORK SAMPLER This sampler was sewn by Catharine Ann Speel in Philadelphia when she was 12 or 13 years old, in 1805. Girls often sewed samplers like this to practice stitches and to show off needlework skill, which they learned from family members and at schools. Speel's sampler is typical in showing a house, the alphabet, animals, and a man, and it includes a typical moral poem. Speel identifies herself as her mother's daughter on the sampler, emphasizing female lineage.

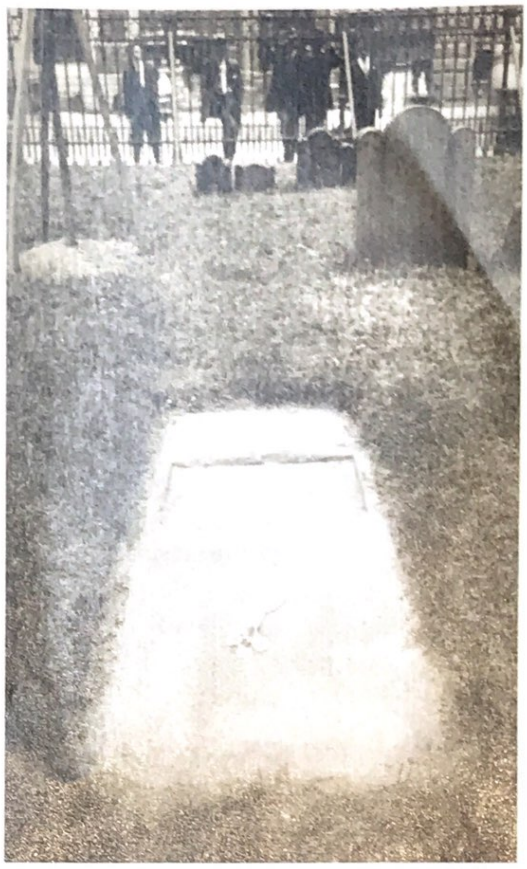
good citizens. As it became clear that a successful republic would be shaped by a virtuous society as well as by correct politics, women also claimed the ability to augment male political virtue by leading benevolent and refined social activities.

White women's educational opportunities expanded dramatically during the early republic, in part as a reaction to the theories of British feminist **Mary Wollstonecraft**, who was read widely in the United States. Women's rights advocate **Judith Sargent Murray** wrote that "women have a talent" and "should be taught to depend on their own efforts." New schools for girls were founded in every region, and girls were included in the growth of, mostly Northern, public education. After 1789, women also began to find career opportunities as teachers, and many of the most important girls' academies were founded by women such as **Emma Willard** and Julia Tevis. Most girls were not offered the same education as boys—for example, classical languages were largely off limits. But academic subjects such as math and history joined girls' education in needlework and dancing. Educators differed on whether girls should be educated for their own intellectual fulfillment or more to serve the interests of family and society; but, in either case, greater education meant progress as female literacy rates soared.

Advances in women's legal status proved to be more modest, as state coverture laws continued to define married women as legally under their husbands' control. In the 1790s, however, it became easier for women to obtain divorces. Women petitioned both state and federal legislatures, they participated in political rituals such as Fourth of July celebrations and French Revolutionary festivals, and some wrote for newspapers and magazines. Single women and widows, who could own property, ran businesses such as the Brandywine Ironworks, the successful boilerplate manufactory controlled by Pennsylvania Quaker Rebecca Lukens. Prominent women in Washington, DC, such as congressional wife **Margaret Bayard Smith** and especially first lady **Dolley Madison**, directly influenced politics by organizing social events that fostered political party organization. The vast majority of poorer women and all black women led less public lives, and changing gender roles affected their daily lives more slowly.

Literature and Popular Culture

Women formed one of the quickest-growing audiences in the United States for the dramatic increase in books, magazines, newspapers, and other kinds of print culture. Historians estimate that by 1790, more than 90 percent of the white population in the United States could read—a figure estimated to be twice as large as in Britain. The availability of reading material greatly increased in the following decades. A much smaller percentage of African Americans were literate because many slaves were prohibited from learning. As the postal service expanded, subscription newspapers and magazines made up the majority of mail. By 1822, the United States had more newspaper readers than any other country, and hundreds of papers were printed in small towns in every state and territory. Religious magazines and literary journals, such as the *North American Review*, also attracted wide readership.



CHARLOTTE TEMPLE "GRAVE" This photograph from the early 20th century shows the grave at Trinity Church, New York, constructed around 1804, for the fictional character Charlotte Temple. The fictional character created by Susannah Rowson was such a popular figure of tragic romance that after this grave was installed, visitors flocked to leave flowers, pieces of hair, and love letters as tributes to her. Alexander Hamilton is buried nearby.

Until after 1825, when improvements in printing occurred, most books in the United States remained expensive and were imported from Britain. But publishers such as Philadelphia's Matthew Carey showed interest in producing a truly "American" literature even before then. Many books relied on the American Revolution for plot, and authors such as Mason Locke Weems sought to inspire their readers with biographies such as his *Life of Washington* (1800). **Hugh Henry Brackenridge**'s *Modern Chivalry* (1804) satirized the social climbing of Americans on the move. **Susannah Rowson**'s best seller *Charlotte Temple* (1791) appealed to legions of middle-class female readers by transporting the English seduction novel to the United States—it emphasized the fragility of women's virtue in highly sentimentalized language. More writers—including Rowson, Washington Irving, and James Fenimore Cooper—began to earn their living by publishing. Alongside their fictional works inspired by America's past, histories were very popular. Many cheaper books were plagiarized because copyright

enforcement remained quite lax. Transatlantic book culture also nourished American Christianity, as the American Bible Society (1816) and the American Tract Society (1823) grew out of English efforts to spread religious publications.

Americans also amused themselves with traditional sports such as horse racing, cock fighting, and foot races. City dwellers might visit neighbors in taverns or coffee houses, whereas their rural counterparts met at fairs, dances, or quilting bees. During the 1790s, most state legislatures lifted their colonial prohibitions on theater performances; and by the 1820s, professional companies performed dramas, comedies, and light operas in most cities. Famous English actors made money in the United States, as audiences continued to revere European high culture while also clamoring to watch "true-blue" American plays.

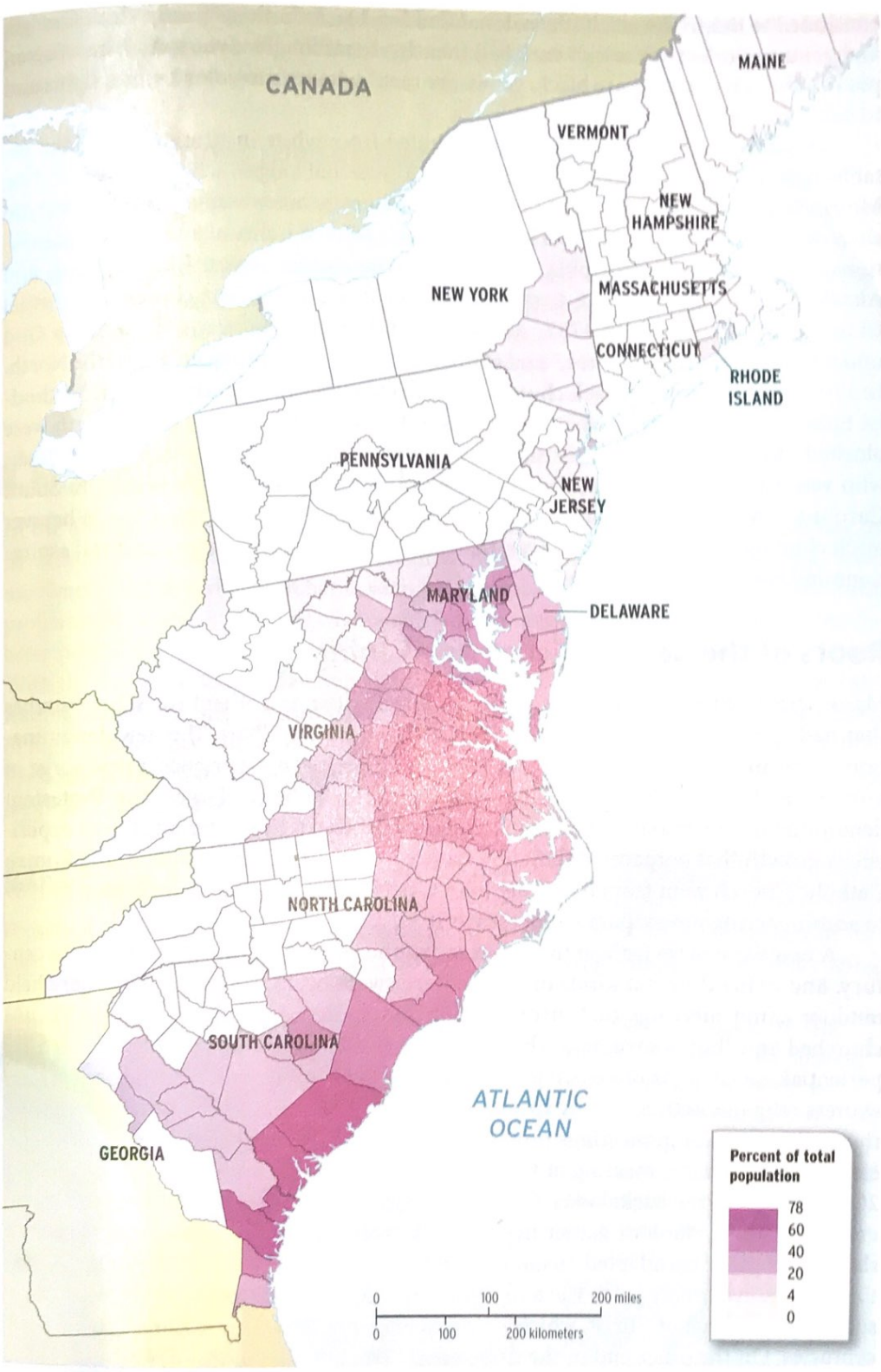
By the time Susannah Rowson died in 1824, young middle- and upper-class white women who avidly read *Charlotte Temple* and other novels had turned her into the first U.S. literary celebrity. They bought, passed around, and discussed her book, and some even made pilgrimages to a gravestone for the character Charlotte Temple in New York's Trinity churchyard. By consuming novels such as *Charlotte Temple*, women showed their influence in American culture, even as religious and literary critics warned that novel reading was a dangerously immoral activity. One critic warned in 1798 that as a young woman reads a novel, "evil steals imperceptibly into her heart."

African American Culture: Slaves and Free People

Even though the institution of slavery denied slaves control of their own lives, African American men and women strengthened black culture between 1789 and 1824. Black culture varied by region and among slave and free populations. The end of the legal slave trade in 1808 meant that blacks could establish their own fully native-born culture, influenced by many different regional African traditions in religion, food, clothing, funeral, and burial traditions. Black and white culture continued to be intertwined because many slaves lived with their masters on small farms.

Cultural traditions helped enslaved people to survive the violent reality of day-to-day life, especially on larger plantations. Josiah Henson remembered how he and his fellow slaves balanced misery with the pleasure of family life during his youth in the 1790s: "Along with memories of miry cabins, frosted feet, weary toil under the blazing sun, curses and blows, there flock in others, of jolly Christmas times . . . midnight visits to apple orchards, broiling stray chickens, and first-rate tricks to dodge work." Despite the wide variation in slave life caused by working conditions, the density of the black population, and even the personality of individual slave masters, black people maintained pieces of their own identities despite the institution that controlled them.

The free African American population experienced huge growth in the new republic, especially in the Northern states that had abolished or phased out slavery since the end of the American Revolution. The free black population in the United States grew from around 60,000 in 1790 to approximately 235,000 by 1820. Both Northern and Southern free African Americans tended to live in cities. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans, distinct free African American cultures emerged. Even as the great majority of the African American population



MAP 9.3 ▲ African Americans as a Total Percentage of Population, 1790 What is significant about the geographic location of densely populated African American communities?

continued to live in slavery, both enslaved and free blacks built up family, church, work, and community networks that enriched their lives and fought slavery. As James Forten put it, "Though our faces are black, yet we are men" who seek to enjoy human rights and to help "our afflicted Brethren."

African Americans in cities, often excluded from white institutions, set about establishing their own mutual aid societies, black fraternal lodges, schools, and churches. Most urban black men and women were poor laborers, but a rising class of well-to-do shop owners, hairdressers, doctors, and ministers formed political and social organizations, especially in Philadelphia and Boston. Two former slaves, Richard Allen and **Absalom Jones**, founded the first independent black Protestant church, the Bethel Church, in Philadelphia in 1792. Allen wanted African Americans "to worship God under our own vine and fig tree," and similar congregations sprang up across the North. In 1816, the independent black churches banded together to form the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denomination. Efforts to found AME churches in the South were blocked after the thwarted 1822 slave revolt plot attributed to Denmark Vesey. Vesey, who was a fervent Christian, was convicted of planning a violent rebellion in South Carolina, whose state legislature promptly forbade separate black churches. Wherever black churches could thrive, however, they nurtured African American cultural aspirations and efforts toward freedom.

Roots of the Second Great Awakening

Many African Americans belonged to Methodist, Baptist, and other Protestant churches that had dramatically increased their membership by the 1790s. The new denominations born in the 18th-century Great Awakening began to experience a new surge of growth, as the Methodists and Baptists quickly grew to be the largest two Protestant denominations by mid century. Even the more traditional Presbyterian church experienced growth that outpaced population increase during the early republic. The Roman Catholic Church went from installing John Carroll as its first American bishop in 1789 to administering nine separate dioceses in 1829.

A new wave of revivalism took hold across the United States at the turn of the century, and many different kinds of people were swept up in it. Popular preachers held outdoor camp meetings that attracted a mixed audience of whites and blacks, unchurched and church members. The 19th-century camp meeting revivals provided experiential, social occasions when people gathered to hear sermons, meet neighbors, and express religious enthusiasm by speaking in tongues, shouting, weeping, and declaring their salvation. Camp meetings proved most popular in the South and West. The largest and most famous meeting at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801 attracted as many as 20,000 people to the backwoods. Camp meetings bore some similarity to the informal, and often secret, outdoor gatherings that characterized the Christianity of American slaves, and they also adapted customs from Scots and Ulster revivals. Revivals such as Cane Ridge eventually led to the founding of even more new Protestant denominations such as the Church of Christ, which strayed away from the strict Calvinism of previous centuries. On the other end of the social spectrum, but nonetheless enthusiastic, were the throngs of students who flocked to the Yale College chapel in New Haven, Connecticut, to hear the inspiring sermons of moderate evangelical **Timothy Dwight**, the university president who was Jonathan Edwards's grandson. Dwight converted and educated

a generation of ministers including **Lyman Beecher** and Nathaniel Taylor, who became leaders of the **Second Great Awakening** as it grew into a more defined religious movement in the later 1820s and 1830s.

STUDY QUESTIONS FOR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SHIFTS

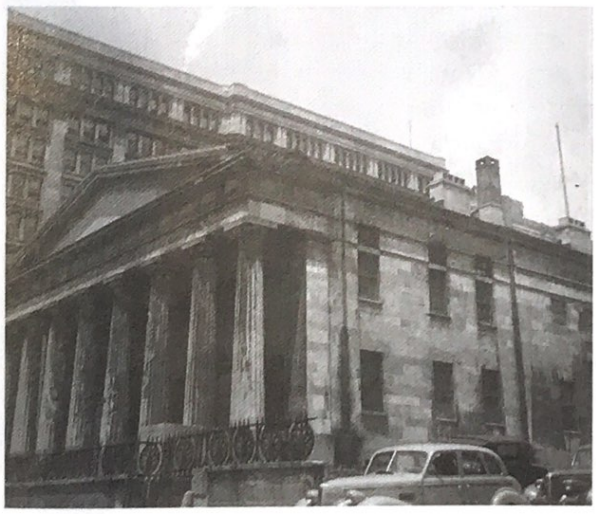
1. Did African American survival strategies differ from those of Indians? If so, how? If not, why not?
2. In what ways did printed materials influence the creation of "American" culture from the 1790s to the 1820s? How did print culture affect different groups in different ways?

FINANCIAL EXPANSION

In the aftermath of the War of 1812, the United States had the chance to capitalize on new trade opportunities and the settlement of new territories brought on by population movement. Enterprising merchants such as John Jacob Astor proved that astronomical profits could be made by people who opened up new avenues of trade and finance, but debates persisted about how much the U.S. government should support business ventures. With the Federalist Party effectively dead in national politics following the War of 1812, leading Democratic-Republican politicians adopted some of the old Federalist embrace of high finance, but not without conflict. Financial expansion helped to contribute to President James Monroe's opinion that the United States was on a "high career of national happiness," but by 1819, good feelings soured as an economic depression took hold.

Banks and Panics

President James Madison had been convinced by the War of 1812 disruption of foreign trade that the United States must do more to encourage domestic manufacturing.



THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES This building in Philadelphia was designed in the Greek revival style by William Strickland and constructed between 1818 and 1824. Between its incorporation in 1816 and the bank war with the Jackson administration that caused it to fold in 1836, the Second Bank of the United States was the most important financial institution in the country.

Madison proposed to build roads and canals, to enact tariffs on foreign products, and to reauthorize the charter of the **Bank of the United States** (BUS). Madison had bitterly opposed the BUS on constitutional grounds when Alexander Hamilton proposed it in 1791, but he now believed that the "expediency and almost necessity" of wartime finance meant that the United States needed a federal bank. Although some "Old Republicans" like Virginian John Randolph opposed the bank and the encouragement of manufacturing, even Thomas Jefferson himself embraced Madison's vision by 1816 when he wrote that "We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturalist."

The BUS consisted of a partnership between federal government and private investors, and their intertwined interests became difficult to separate at the end of the War of 1812. Financial speculators, including John Jacob Astor and his fellow merchant Stephen Girard, bought up bonds and notes, and as their investments fluctuated, so did their commitment to central banking. In January 1815, President Madison vetoed Congress' proposed recharter of the BUS because the bill gave too much private advantage to merchants like Astor and Girard. True to his roots as a strict interpreter of the U.S. Constitution, Madison also vetoed the 1816 "Bonus Bill" that would have funded public transportation because the Constitution did not expressly grant Congress authority to pass such legislation.

Madison still hoped for a central bank, but Congress was contending over a variety of financial issues. Each of the more than 200 private and state banks issued its own bank notes, a practice that drove up inflation. Madison's supporters in Congress, including South Carolinian **John C. Calhoun** and Speaker of the House Henry Clay, proposed a charter for a Second Bank of the United States. The new federal bank, to be based in Philadelphia, would stabilize U.S. currency and would exert control over private investors. President Madison approved the new charter of the Second Bank of the United States in April 1816. In the same month, a 25 percent tariff on foreign wool cloth, cotton, and iron went into effect. Congress also passed legislation authorizing a National Road and other internal improvements advocated by Madison and Henry Clay. But when Congress also raised its own salary rate, voters turned out the majority of representatives in the 1816 election.

In the spring of 1817, newly elected president James Monroe toured the Northern states to reach out to disgruntled Federalists, but before he could depart, Monroe had to deal with more controversy over the Second Bank of the United States. A House of Representatives investigation uncovered what one member called "a system of fraud, stock-jobbing, and speculation" that enriched the bank's private directors and threatened public finance. The directors of the Baltimore branch of the BUS alone had embezzled over $1.5 million, an astronomical sum at the time. The public lost confidence in the bank, but a bill to revoke its charter failed in Congress in February 1819.

At the same time, a severe depression halted business expansion. Since the end of the War of 1812, U.S. exports had increased by over 100 percent and agricultural prices had soared. But by the end of 1818, rampant speculation in cotton and land, a shortage of gold and silver to back up U.S. currency, and the recovery of the British economy spelled trouble. The plummet of cotton prices in Europe and the United States demonstrated how that product had tightened the links in the transatlantic economy. In 1819, banks and businesses backed by inflated currency began to fail in droves, and the Second Bank of the United States reacted too slowly to prevent a collapse of the

economy. The effects were traumatic. Personal bankruptcies soared, land prices plummeted, and the financial crisis even temporarily slowed down the tide of settlers who were willing to uproot and seek new farmland on the frontier.

Corporations and the Supreme Court

Less than two weeks after the Second Bank of the United States survived its challenge in the House of Representatives in 1819, the Supreme Court entered the political debate over federal economic power and issued one of its most important decisions ever. The court unanimously decided in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* that central banking was constitutional. Furthermore, Chief Justice John Marshall's opinion supported the idea that the federal government represented the people of one, unified United States. According to Marshall, even though the Constitution did not explicitly grant Congress the right to charter national banks, it implied that Congress could do so because it could exercise powers given by the people "for their benefit." The decision struck down a hefty tax that Maryland had imposed on the Baltimore branch of the BUS and declared that federal laws must supersede state action. In the future, the decision would hold power even beyond the issue of banking, as it declared that Congress could use broad powers implied by the Constitution so long as Congress avoided anything expressly forbidden in that document.

John Marshall, an old Federalist whose market ideas matched the new economic climate, led the Supreme Court to deliver several other opinions that buoyed American business and investment. In 1819, the court decided in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* that New Hampshire could not alter the Dartmouth College charter because Dartmouth was a private corporation whose property the state should not violate. The decision

JAMES MONROE Samuel F. B. Morse painted this portrait of President James Monroe in 1819. Monroe's presidency was marked by the strong influence of cabinet ministers, especially Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, and by nationalist policies that encouraged territorial expansion. The Monroe Doctrine that bore his name warned European countries not to intervene in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere.

GLOBAL PASSAGES

Francisco de Miranda, the United States, and Latin American Independence

At the end of the American Revolutionary War in 1783, Francisco de Miranda first came to the United States, where he toured cities and battlefields and befriended American military commanders, politicians, and figures from high society. A native of Caracas, Venezuela, Miranda had become a colonel in the Spanish army, but he fled to the United States to avoid charges of financial misuse. Convinced that Latin America should walk in the Revolutionary footsteps of the United States and declare independence from Spain, Miranda devoted the remainder of his colorful life to that cause.

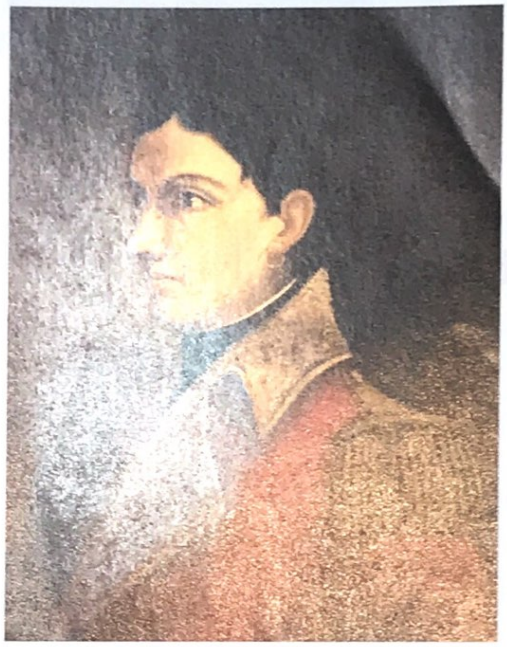
After returning to Europe in 1785, Miranda spent four years trying to convince European courtiers and diplomats, including Russia's Catherine the Great, to support Latin America, gaining much attention but little success. He fought in the French Revolutionary military, but ran afoul of radicals after 1793 and fled to Britain, where he rallied support from Spanish exiles and sympathetic members of the British government for a plan to liberate all of Latin America and install an independent parliamentary monarchy ruled by what he called an "Inca." U.S. politician Alexander Hamilton was drawn to Miranda's plan during the Quasi-War with France in 1798 and hoped to lead U.S. army troops to support him, but Hamilton was not able to convince fellow Federalist President John Adams to fully endorse Miranda. Adams believed that trying to spread democracy in Latin America was "as absurd as similar plans would be to establish democracies among the birds, beasts and fishes."

Miranda returned to the United States in 1805 and gathered U.S. support for an invasion of Venezuela. Miranda told President Jefferson and Secretary of State Madison of his plans at a dinner party, and he later claimed that he had their "tacit approval," although Jefferson disavowed granting either implicit or explicit blessings to Miranda. Miranda did receive considerable help from New Yorkers William Stevens Smith (John Adams's son-in-law) and Samuel G. Ogden, who aided Miranda in outfitting the *Leander*, a small ship; purchasing weapons; and enlisting a crew composed mostly of New York City toughs and apprentices, some of whom thought they were enlisting to protect President Jefferson or to guard a mail ship to New Orleans. President Adams's grandson also enlisted with Miranda. Miranda failed to realize that Spanish officials were spying on him as he prepared for the expedition against their colony.

In February 1806, Miranda embarked from New York City and chartered two additional ships in Santo Domingo. Even though the British Navy afforded his vessels some

encouraged the development of business corporations, which were just beginning to emerge as a major factor in the U.S. economy and which provided a great advantage to entrepreneurs by limiting their personal liability for business failures. In 1824, the court ruled in a case concerning steamboat monopolies, *Gibbons v. Ogden*, that the

protection, two of Miranda's ships were captured by the Spanish when the party first tried to land in Venezuela. Sixty of Miranda's men were captured and imprisoned in Puerto Cabello, and 10 were sentenced to death. Henry Ingersoll, a former printer's apprentice who had been taken on board to print Miranda's propaganda, wrote in his diary that he and the other prisoners were chained and "marched to the Gallows, where we beheld our companions hanged and beheaded." Ingersoll and the other Americans were imprisoned in Cartagena for years until public outcry and family appeals to European diplomats helped free them. Several resolutions in Congress for the U.S. government to come to their aid failed because federal officials disavowed any responsibility for Miranda's actions.



PORTRAIT OF FRANCISCO MIRANDA (1750–1816)

After the capture, Miranda regrouped at Barbados and invaded the Venezuelan city of Coro in August 1806. He found no support among local residents and clergy, and he eventually fled back to England. Later, when the Venezuelan independence movement began in 1811, Miranda returned, and for a time in 1812 he became the country's ruler. But he quickly lost the faith of Simón Bolívar and other independence leaders, who handed him over to the Spanish. He died in a Spanish prison in 1816, never having gained full support from the United States, a country whose revolution he felt Latin America should "prudently imitate."

- Compare Miranda's 1806 Venezuela invasion to Andrew Jackson's takeover of Florida in the First Seminole War.
- Why do you think neither President Adams nor President Jefferson wanted to support Miranda even though other Americans supported his plans?

Commerce Clause of the Constitution granted the federal government the sole right to regulate interstate commerce. Marshall and the Supreme Court cut through arguments that a "narrow construction" of the Constitution prohibited federal expansion of the economy, and they helped to fuel business development for decades to come.

STUDY QUESTIONS FOR FINANCIAL EXPANSION

1. In what ways did the three branches of the federal government each affect the economy during the 1810s?
2. In what ways did the Panic of 1819 reveal the strengths and weaknesses of U.S. economic development?

POLITICS AND HEMISPHERIC CHANGE

Although financial crisis slowed settlement for a time after 1819, a new wave of political and military engagements would soon again spark frontier movements. In the aftermath of the War of 1812, the United States showed a new confidence in foreign policy. The United States claimed to have no imperial ambitions, but aggressive military action by General Andrew Jackson and assertive diplomacy from Secretary of State **John Quincy Adams** added territory and enhanced the international stature of the nation. The United States linked itself firmly to the rest of the Western Hemisphere when it took an interest in revolutions in Latin America. But how could the United States solidify its new position without igniting more trouble with European nations?

First Seminole War

Since acquiring Louisiana in 1803, U.S. officials had tried various measures to gain Spain's territory in Florida. In 1818, conflict with Seminole Indians gave them new opportunity. Although it is not clear whether Secretary of War John C. Calhoun and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams intended to endorse belligerent action, they nonetheless capitalized on aggressive tactics employed by General Andrew Jackson to gain control of Florida. Seminoles, a mixed group of native peoples and former slaves, encouraged runaways from the United States to seek refuge in their territory in Spanish East Florida. Seminole groups also harbored Creek runaways who had fled south and west after Andrew Jackson crushed the Red Sticks rebellion in 1814. The United States refused to return Creek lands after the War of 1812 in spite of agreeing to do so in the Treaty of Ghent. In November 1817, U.S. general Edmund Gains burned the Creek village of Fowltown, Georgia, an action that caused reprisals from Florida Creek and Seminole against American settlers across the border. Calhoun sent Jackson to pacify the situation.

In March 1818, Jackson invaded Spanish territory with a force of Tennessee volunteers, regular army soldiers, and Creek allies hostile to the Red Sticks. Jackson had told President Monroe in January that he wanted to seize "the whole of East Florida," and when he received no reply, he took it as license to act freely. On April 6, Jackson captured the Spanish fort at St. Mark's, and he then attacked Seminole villages on the Suwannee River. In addition to burning property while fighting Indians and African Americans, Jackson also arrested and executed two British citizens whom he accused of helping the Seminole. On May 28, Jackson occupied the Spanish capitol of Pensacola,

expelled governor José Mascot, appointed a U.S. territorial governor, and declared that Spain would have to give up Florida if it could not control Seminole people within Spanish territory.

Jackson's actions caused uproar in Washington, DC, where the French, British, and Spanish protested his aggression. Although most of Monroe's cabinet believed that Jackson had exceeded his orders, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams restrained the executive reaction against Jackson. Adams, who had entered treaty negotiations with Spanish diplomat Luis de Onís, used the Seminole war as leverage and stressed that Spain had to demonstrate mastery of Seminole people to be trusted. In November 1818, after Onís pulled out of talks, Adams returned control of Pensacola and St. Marks to the Spanish, but controversy over Jackson's actions continued. In January 1819, President Monroe's annual message to Congress disavowed intentions to take over Spanish Territory. Congress immediately began to investigate and to debate whether Jackson's actions had been correct. Henry Clay delivered a blistering speech denouncing Jackson, but resolutions to censure Jackson were roundly defeated. Mississippi representative George Poindexter declared that Jackson had "fulfilled the measure of his country's glory," and many Americans seemed to agree as they thronged to praise him on a February triumphal tour around the eastern seaboard. Early in 1821, Congress reduced the size of the army and removed Andrew Jackson from service.

Transcontinental (Adams–Onís) Treaty

President Monroe, who was quite indecisive, relied heavily on Secretary of State John Quincy Adams to guide him through many different policy decisions. Adams carefully balanced rivalries with other cabinet ministers including Treasury Secretary William H. Crawford and Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins. Adams put his stamp on a whole new era of U.S. foreign policy, and he did much to consolidate the status of the United States as a country to be taken seriously in the world. He had accompanied his father, John Adams, on several diplomatic missions as a young man, and he refined his negotiating skills during the War of 1812 as minister to Russia, where he befriended Czar Alexander I. On taking office, Adams immediately improved U.S. relations with Great Britain. He oversaw the Rush–Bagot Agreement in 1817 in which the British agreed to demilitarize the Great Lakes. In the midst of the diplomatic controversy over the Seminole War, Adams and U.S. Minister to Great Britain Richard Rush also cemented the Convention of 1818 in which the British agreed to set the border between the United States and Canada at the 49th parallel. After Adams sent a warship to the Oregon coast, the British also agreed to return Astoria to the United States and to recognize some U.S. territorial rights in Oregon.

Shocked by the lack of response from Great Britain to U.S. aggression in Florida and facing growing pressure from the independence movements in Latin America, Spanish officials decided to cut their losses and cede Florida when Luis de Onís returned to his negotiations with Adams in late 1818. Now confident that he could gain Florida, Adams made an even bolder proposal to acquire new territory from the Spanish, who still resisted U.S. claims on the southwestern border of the Louisiana Purchase territory. Adams proposed that Spain cede territory all the way to the Pacific Ocean north of California at the 42nd parallel. This was the first U.S. government bid to extend its territory across

the entire continent of North America, a move that Adams wrote in his diary would form "a great epocha in our history." In exchange for Spanish recognition of U.S. rights in Oregon, Adams consented to forgo all claim to Texas. Adams and Onís agreed to these terms in the Transcontinental Treaty in February 1819.

The United States and Latin American Revolutions

The U.S. Senate ratified the Adams–Onís Treaty just two days after Adams presented it. But Madrid held up final agreement until 1821, in large part because of arguments over U.S. response to the revolutions that had spread across most of Latin America. The United States had proclaimed neutrality in Spain's wars with its colonies in September 1815, but many U.S. traders and private citizens sought to aid Latin American rebels. In August 1817, Washington diplomats turned away an envoy from independence leaders Juan Martín Pueyrredón, Bernardo O'Higgins, and José San Martín, who sought recognition for Argentina, Peru, and Chile. Monroe and Adams reinforced the official position of neutrality despite Henry Clay's legislative efforts and frequent speeches demanding U.S. help to cast off the "despotism" of Spain.

Spain demanded that the United States not aid the Latin American rebels, but public opinion was in the rebels' favor. Many were convinced that these independence movements emulated the American Revolution, and others hoped that the United States might extend its influence south. The successes of Simón Bolívar against Spanish forces in Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela between 1819 and 1821; Augustín de Iturbide's securing of Mexican independence in 1821; and San Martín's independence victory in Peru in 1821 helped to convince the Monroe administration to alter its course and propose recognition of the Latin American independence movements in March 1822. By 1826, Congress had agreed to recognize the Republic of Greater Colombia, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, the Provinces of Central America, and Peru. Only the black republic of Haiti would have to wait until 1862 for U.S. recognition (Map 9.4).

The Monroe Doctrine

The U.S. recognition of Latin American independence did not end its wrangling with Spain, and, in 1822, other European powers also indicated that they might intervene in the region. Rebellions in Spain and Naples in 1820 had disturbed the Quintuple Alliance powers in Europe (Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and Britain) who feared that monarchy itself might be threatened by liberal challenges. After the October 1822 Congress of Verona, France restored Spain's King Ferdinand VII to the throne; and the United States feared that France, Britain, or other powers might also move on Latin America. By April 1823, Spain retained only Cuba and Puerto Rico as colonies. Although John Quincy Adams agreed to let Spain maintain control there, he warned that the United States would not approve if Spain let any other European power intercede and that the United States might be prepared to invade Cuba if Spain disagreed. Adams also took a hard line in British trade negotiations and objected to a Russian claim on American territory in Oregon. British Foreign Minister **George Canning** opposed European intervention in Latin America, but American officials worried that he would be ignored by other Alliance powers. Canning told U.S. diplomat Richard

MAP 9.4 ▲ Latin America and the Caribbean, c. 1830 This map shows the dates that various Latin American and Caribbean countries attained their colonial independence.

Rush that he would be willing to issue a joint British-American statement warning Europeans against Latin American intervention. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams was suspicious of Canning's motives, however, and he decided the United States should respond alone.

Adams took a bold approach and decided to warn Europe in no uncertain terms. Adams drafted Monroe's seventh annual message to Congress, and in it he enunciated