9

Defining the Nation

1801–1823

Eager to stand apart from the allegedly aristocratic ways of his Federalist predecessors, President Thomas Jefferson displayed impatience for ceremony. But on his first New Year's Day in office, he awaited the ceremonial presentation of a much-heralded tribute to his commitment, as one gift bearer put it, to "defend Republicanism and baffle all the arts of Aristocracy." Crafted in Massachusetts, the belated inaugural gift weighed more than twelve hundred pounds and measured four feet in diameter, bearing the inscription "THE GREATEST CHEESE IN AMERICA—FOR THE GREATEST MAN IN AMERICA."

The "mammoth cheese" was conceived the previous July and made by the "Ladies" of Cheshire, a Massachusetts farming community as resolutely Jeffersonian-Republican as it was Baptist. As a religious minority in largely Congregationalist New England, the Cheshire Baptists celebrated a president whose vision featured agrarianism and separation of church and state.

Federalist editors joked that the mammoth cheese's maggot-infested condition upon delivery symbolized the nation under Republican rule. Its size represented the excesses of democracy, in which even women and backwoods preachers could play leading roles. Federalists' derision of the mammoth cheese only inspired additional showy expressions of democratic pride. In the following months, a Philadelphia baker sold "Mammoth Bread," while two years later in 1804, a "mammoth loaf" was served in the Capitol to Republicans, including President Jefferson. Behind such symbolism lay serious political ideologies. Jeffersonians believed virtue derived from agricultural endeavors. They thus celebrated the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, but efforts to expand their agriculturally based "empire of liberty" westward were resisted by Native Americans and their European allies, and sometimes by Federalists. The War of 1812 largely removed such resistance, and the United States began its expansion west. Although that war ended with few issues resolved, it had profound consequences for American development. It secured the United States' sovereignty, opened much of the West to European-Americans and

Chapter Outline

their African American slaves, and helped spur revolutions in transportation and industry.

Contemporary observers hailed postwar nationalism as an "Era of Good Feelings," but when economic boom turned to bust, nationalistic unity faded. No issue proved more divisive than slavery's future in the West, as Missouri's petition for statehood revealed.

As you read this chapter, keep the following questions in mind:

* **What characterized the two main competing visions for national development?**
* **How did America's relationship with Europe influence political and economic developments?**
* **In what ways did nonvoting Americans—most blacks, women, and Native Americans—take part in defining the new nation?**

Political Visions

Was Jefferson's election and political vision truly "the revolution of 1800"?

In his inaugural address, Jefferson addressed the electorate as citizens with common beliefs: "We are all republicans, we are all federalists. . . . A wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them free to regulate their pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it had earned. This is the sum of good government."

But outgoing president John Adams did not hear Jefferson's call for unity, having left Washington before dawn. Former friends, the two men now disliked each other. Democratic-Republicans—as the Republicans of the 1790s now called themselves—and Federalists bitterly disagreed on how society and government should be organized. Federalists advocated a strong national government to promote economic development. Democratic-Republicans believed that limited government would foster republican virtue. Nearly two decades later, Jefferson would call his election "the revolution of 1800."

Separation of Church and State

The mammoth cheese symbolized the Cheshire farmers' gratitude for Jefferson's commitment to the separation of church and state. Jefferson believed that "religion is a matter which lies solely between Man & his God." New England Baptists hailed Jefferson as a hero, but New England Federalists thought their worst fears were confirmed. During the 1800 election, Federalists had waged a venomous campaign, incorrectly labeling Jefferson an atheist. Their rhetoric proved so effective that, after Jefferson's election, some New England women hid their Bibles in their gardens and wells to foil Democratic-Republicans allegedly bent on confiscating them.

Jefferson became president during a period of religious revivalism, particularly among Methodists and Baptists, whose democratic preaching—all humans, they said, were equal in God's eyes—encouraged a growing democratic political culture. Thus, the Cheshire Baptists informed the president that their cheese had been made "without a single slave to assist."

Link to Jefferson's letter to Danbury Baptists.

Chronology

1801	Marshall becomes chief justice
	Jefferson inaugurated as president
1801–05	United States defeats Barbary pirates
1803	*Marbury v. Madison*
	Louisiana Purchase
1804	Jefferson reelected president, Clinton vice President
1804–06	Lewis and Clark expedition
1805	Tenskwatawa emerges as Shawnee leader
1807	*Chesapeake* affair
	Embargo Act
1808	Congress bans slave importation
	Madison elected president
1808–13	Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh organize Indian resistance
1811	National Road begun
1812	Madison reelected president
1812–15	War of 1812
1813	Tecumseh's death
	Boston Manufacturing Company starts textile mill in Waltham, Massachusetts
1814	Treaty of Ghent
1814–15	Hartford Convention
1815	Battle of New Orleans
1817	Regular steamboat travel begins on Mississippi
1817–1825	Erie Canal constructed
1819	*McCulloch v. Maryland*
	Adams-Onis Treaty
1819–early 1820s	First major depression
1820–1821	Missouri Compromise
1823	Monroe Doctrine

Political Mobilization The revolution of 1800, which gave the Democratic-Republicans majorities in both houses of Congress along with the presidency, resulted from an electorate limited largely to property-holding men. Under the Constitution, states regulated voting. Nowhere but New Jersey could women vote; that right was granted inadvertently and revoked in 1807. In 1800, free black men meeting property qualifications could vote everywhere but Delaware, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, though local custom often kept them from exercising that right. Partisan politics nonetheless captured Americans' imaginations. Political mobilization took place locally, as candidates rallied popular support on militia training grounds, in taverns and churches, at court gatherings, and during holiday celebrations. Voters and nonvoters expressed their views through parades, petitions, songs and debates. Importantly, they devoured a growing print culture of pamphlets, broadsides (posters), almanacs, and newspapers.

The Partisan Press Read aloud in taverns, artisans' workshops, and homes, newspapers gave national importance to local events. In 1800, the nation had 260 newspapers; by 1810, it had 396, virtually all of them partisan.

The parties adopted official organs. After his election, Jefferson persuaded the *National Intelligencer* to move from Philadelphia to Washington, where it became the Democratic-Republicans' voice. In 1801, Alexander Hamilton launched the *New York Evening Post* as the Federalist vehicle. Published six or seven times a week, party papers helped feed the growing obsession with partisan politics.

Limited Government To bring into his administration men sharing his vision of individual liberty, an agrarian republic, and limited government, Jefferson rejected appointments that Adams made in his presidency's last


Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum

Although most places limited the vote to property-owning white men, elections, such as this one in Philadelphia, drew multi-racial crowds of men, women, and children.

days and dismissed Federalist customs collectors. He awarded treasury and judicial offices to Republicans. Jeffersonians worked to make the government leaner. If Alexander Hamilton had viewed the national debt as the engine of economic growth, Jefferson deemed it the source of government corruption. Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin halved the army budget and reduced the 1802 navy budget by two-thirds. He moved to reduce the national debt from $83 million to $57 million, hoping to retire it altogether by 1817. Jefferson closed two of five diplomatic missions abroad, at The Hague and in Berlin. And the Democratic-Republican–controlled Congress oversaw the repeal of all internal taxes, including the despised whiskey tax of 1791.

Ideas of liberty also distinguished Democratic-Republicans from Federalists. Opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 had united Republicans. Jefferson now declined to use the acts against his opponents, instead pardoning those convicted of violating them.

Congress let the Sedition Act expire in 1801 and the Alien Act in 1802, and repealed the Naturalization Act of 1798, which required fourteen years of residency for citizenship. The 1802 act that replaced it required five years of residency, loyalty to the Constitution, and the forsaking of foreign allegiances and titles. It remained the basis of naturalized American citizenship into the twentieth century.

Judicial Politics

To many Democratic-Republicans, the judiciary represented a centralizing and undemocratic force, since judges were appointed, not elected, and served for life. At Jefferson's prompting, the House impeached (indicted) and the Senate convicted Federal District Judge John Pickering of New Hampshire, whose alleged alcoholism made him an easy mark. The House also impeached Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase for judicial misconduct. A staunch Federalist, Chase had pushed for prosecutions under the Sedition Act, campaigned for Adams in 1800, and denounced Jefferson's administration. But Democratic-Republicans failed to muster the two-thirds Senate majority necessary for conviction. The failure to remove Chase preserved the Court's independence and established the precedent that criminal actions, not political disagreements, justified removal from office.

The Marshall Court

Although Jefferson appointed three new Supreme Court justices, the Court remained a Federalist stronghold under John Marshall. Even after the Democratic-Republicans achieved a majority of Court seats in 1811, Marshall remained influential as chief justice. Under the Marshall Court (1801–1835), the Supreme Court upheld federal supremacy over the states while protecting commercial interests.

Marshall made the Court an equal branch of government. Marshall strengthened the Court by having it speak with a unified voice; rather than issuing individual concurring judgments, justices now issued joint majority opinions. From 1801 through 1805, Marshall wrote twenty-four of the Court's twenty-six decisions; through 1810 he wrote 85 percent of the opinions.

Judicial Review

In his last hours in office, Adams named Federalist William Marbury a justice of the peace in the District of Columbia. Jefferson's secretary of state, James Madison, declined to certify the appointment, allowing the new president to appoint a Democratic-Republican. Marbury sued, requesting a writ of mandamus (a court order forcing the president to appoint him). If the Supreme Court ruled in Marbury's favor in ***Marbury v. Madison***, the president probably would not comply, and the Court could not force him to do so. Yet, by refusing to issue the writ, the Federalist-dominated bench would hand the Democratic-Republicans a victory.

***Marbury v. Madison*:** Case in which the Supreme Court's power to determine the constitutionality of laws was established.

To avoid both pitfalls, Marshall recast the issue. He ruled that Marbury had a right to his appointment but that the Supreme Court could not compel Madison to honor it because the Constitution did not grant the Court power to issue a writ of mandamus. Without specific mention in the Constitution, Marshall wrote, the section of the Judiciary Act of 1789 authorizing the Court to issue writs was unconstitutional. Thus, the Supreme Court denied itself the power to issue writs of mandamus but established its far greater power to judge the constitutionality of laws. In doing so, Marshall fashioned the theory of judicial review. Because the Constitution was "the supreme law of the land," Marshall wrote, any federal or state act contrary to the Constitution must be null and void. This power of the Supreme Court to determine the constitutionality of legislation and presidential acts enhanced the independence of the judiciary and breathed life into the Constitution.

Election of 1804

In the first election after the Twelfth Amendment's ratification, Jefferson dropped Burr as his running mate and, to have a North-South balance, chose George Clinton of New York. They swamped their opponents—South Carolinian Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and New Yorker Rufus King—in the electoral college by 162 votes to 14, carrying fifteen of the seventeen states. That 1804 election escalated the animosity between Burr and Hamilton, who supported Burr's rival in the New York gubernatorial election. When Hamilton called Burr a liar, Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel. Because New York had outlawed dueling, the encounter happened in New Jersey. Details of the duel remain hazy but the outcome was clear: Hamilton died after being shot by Burr. New York and New Jersey prosecutors indicted Burr for murder.

Link to a Federalist handbill attacking Aarron Burr.

Burr fled to the West. While historians disagree about his motives, the "Burr Conspiracy" was understood at the time to involve a scheme with Brigadier General James Wilkinson to create a new empire by militarily taking what is now Texas and by persuading existing western territories to leave the United States. Tried for treason in 1807, Burr faced a prosecution aided by President Jefferson but overseen by Jefferson's rival Chief Justice Marshall. Prompted by Marshall to interpret treason narrowly, the jury acquitted Burr, who fled to Europe.

Nationalism and Culture

As statesmen bickered, other Americans conveyed their nationalist visions artistically. Nearly three decades after the Constitution's ratification, painters continued to memorialize great birth scenes of American nationhood, such as the Declaration of Independence's signing, Revolutionary War battles, and the Constitutional Convention. Four of John Trumbull's revolutionary scenes, commissioned in 1817, still hang on the Capitol building rotunda in Washington.

Architecturally, Americans self-consciously constructed an independent nation. Designed by Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the city of Washington was meant to embody a "reciprocity of sight": Each of the government's three branches—the legislative, judicial, and executive—should keep an eye on one another. Across America, wealthier people commissioned "federal" style homes, which imitated the simplicity of classical architecture.

The era's best-selling book was Noah Webster's spelling book, which proposed making English more "republican." It sold an estimated 100 million copies by the end of the nineteenth century. Webster advocated a national language that, unlike "King's English," would not require elite training. Words should be spelled as they sound—for example, "honor" should replace "honour." A shared language would unite an increasingly far-flung population.

National Expansion Westward

Why was the Louisiana Purchase among Jefferson's most popular decisions as president?

By 1800, hundreds of thousands of white Americans had settled in the rich Ohio River and Mississippi River valleys, intruding on Indian lands. In the Northwest, they raised foodstuffs, primarily wheat; in the Southwest, they cultivated cotton. During the American Revolution, cotton production was profitable only for the Sea Island planters in South Carolina and Georgia, who grew the long-staple variety. Short-staple cotton, which grew in the interior, was unmarketable because its sticky seeds required removal by hand. After New England inventor **Eli Whitney** designed a cotton gin in 1793, allowing one person to remove the same number of seeds that previously required fifty people, cultivation of short-staple cotton spread rapidly into Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and Tennessee. The cotton gin greatly increased the demand for slaves, who seeded, tended, and harvested cotton fields.

Eli Whitney: Invented the cotton gin that made cleaning of southern cotton fast and cheap.

American settlers depended on free access to the Mississippi River and its Gulf port, New Orleans. Whoever controlled the port of New Orleans had a hand on the American economy's throat.

New Orleans

Spain, which acquired France's territory west of the Mississippi after the Seven Years' War (1763), secretly transferred it back to France in 1800 and 1801. American officials discovered the transfer in 1802, when Napoleon seemed poised to rebuild a French empire in the New World.

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At the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, New Orleans was already a bustling port, though boosters predicted an even brighter future under American "wings."

American concerns intensified when Spanish officials, on the eve of ceding control to the French, violated Pinckney's treaty by denying Americans the privilege of storing their products at New Orleans prior to transshipment to foreign markets. Western farmers and eastern merchants thought Napoleon had closed the port; they talked war.

To relieve the pressure for war and win western farmers' support, Jefferson urged Congress to authorize the call-up of eighty thousand militiamen. He also sent Virginia Governor James Monroe to join Robert Livingston in France to buy the port of New Orleans and as much of the Mississippi valley as possible. Arriving in Paris in April 1803, Monroe learned that France had already offered to sell Louisiana to the United States for a mere $15 million. With St. Domingue torn from French control by revolution and slave revolt, Napoleon abandoned dreams of a New World empire and no longer needed Louisiana as its breadbasket. He urgently needed money to wage war against Britain. On April 30, Monroe and Livingston signed a treaty buying the 827,000-square-mile territory (see Map 9.1).

Louisiana Purchase: The United States bought the Louisiana Territory (the area from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains) from France in 1803 for $15 million. The purchase virtually doubled the area of the United States.

Louisiana Purchase

The **Louisiana Purchase** ensured that the United States would control the Mississippi's mouth, pleasing western settlers who relied on the river to market their goods. It also inspired those who imagined the United States as the nexus of international trade networks reaching between Europe and Asia. Louisiana promised to fulfill easterners' dreams of cheap, fertile lands. Its vast expanse meant, too, that land could be reserved for Indians displaced by white settlers and their black slaves. But some doubted its constitutionality; others worried that it belied the Democratic-Republicans' commitment to debt reduction; and some New England Federalists complained that it undermined their commercial interests and threatened the republic by spreading the population beyond where it could be controlled. Overall, though, the Louisiana Purchase was the most popular achievement of Jefferson's presidency.

When the United States acquired Louisiana, hundreds of thousands of people there became American subjects, including Native Americans from various nations, as well as people of European and African descent—or, often, a complex mixture of the two. Around New Orleans, Louisiana's colonial heritage was reflected in its people: creoles of French and Spanish descent, slaves of African descent, free people of color, and Acadians, or Cajuns (descendants of French settlers in eastern Canada), and some Germans, Irish, and English. The 1810 census reported that 97,000 non-Indians lived in the area. Although Jefferson imagined the West as an "empire of liberty," free people of color and slaves soon discovered they were excluded from the Louisiana Purchase treaty's provision that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory" would gain American citizenship. Denied the right to vote and serve on juries, New Orleans' people of color fought to retain their rights to form families and to bequeath as they pleased, and some succeeded.

MAP 9.1

Louisiana Purchase

The Louisiana Purchase (1803) doubled the area of the United States and opened the trans-Mississippi West for American settlement.

Source: Copyright © Cengage Learning.

Lewis and Clark Expedition

Jefferson had a long-standing interest in the trans-Mississippi West, fearing that, if Americans did not claim it, the British, who still controlled present-day Canada and parts of the Pacific Northwest, would. He launched a military-style mission to chart the region's commercial possibilities—its water passages to the Pacific and trading opportunities with Indians—while cataloguing its geography, peoples, flora, and fauna.

The expedition, headed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, began in May 1804 and lasted for more than two years; it traveled up the Missouri River, across the Rockies, and down the Columbia to the Pacific Ocean—and back. The **Lewis and Clark Expedition** members "discovered" (as they saw it) dozens of previously unknown Indian tribes. Although the Corps of Discovery, as the expedition came to be called, was prepared for possible conflict, its goal was peaceable: to foster trade relations, win political allies, and tap into Indians' knowledge of the landscape. Lewis and Clark brought twenty-one bags of gifts for Native American leaders to establish goodwill and to stimulate interest in trade. Most interactions were cordial, but when Indians were unimpressed by the gifts, tensions arose.

Lewis and Clark Expedition: Expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the Louisiana Territory.

The Corps of Discovery proved democratic in seating enlisted men on courts-martial and allowing Clark's black slave York and the expedition's female guide **Sacagawea** to vote on where to locate winter quarters in 1805. But, unlike other

Sacagawea: Female guide who aided Lewis and Clark in exploring the Louisiana Territory.

expedition members, neither York nor Sacagawea drew wages, and when York later demanded his freedom, Clark repaid him with "a severe trouncing."

Lewis and Clark failed to discover a Northwest Passage to the Pacific, and the route they mapped across the Rockies proved perilous, but their explorations contributed to nationalist visions of American expansion. Fossils and Native American artifacts they collected were displayed in Charles Willson Peale's "American Museum," an institution emphasizing the uniqueness of America's geography and its republican experiment. Nationalists overlooked Indians' land claims. Although Jefferson had more sympathy for Indians than did many contemporaries—he took interest in their cultures and believed Indians to be intellectually equal to whites—he lobbied, unsuccessfully, for a constitutional amendment that would transport them west of the Mississippi into Louisiana Territory. He became involved in efforts to pressure the Chickasaws to sell their land, and if legal methods failed, he advocated trickery. Traders, he suggested, might run them into debt, which they would have to repay "by a cessation of lands."

Divisions Among Indian Peoples

Some Indian nations adopted white customs as a means of survival and often agreed to sell their lands and move west. These "accommodationists" (or "progressives") were opposed by "traditionalists," who urged adherence to native ways and refused to relinquish their lands. Distinctions between accommodationists and traditionalists were not always so clear-cut, however.

Tecumseh: The Shawnee leader who sought to unite several tribes from Canada to Georgia against encroachment on their lands by American settlers; allied with the British in the War of 1812.

In the early 1800s, two Shawnee brothers, Tenskwatawa (1775–1837) and **Tecumseh** (1768–1813), led a traditionalist revolt against American encroachment by fostering a pan-Indian federation centered in the Old Northwest and reaching into parts of the South. By the 1800s, the Shawnees lost most of their Ohio land, occupying scattered sites there and in the Michigan and Louisiana territories. Despondent, Lalawethika—Tenskwatawa's name as a youth—turned to a combination of European remedies (particularly whiskey) and Native American ones, becoming a shaman in 1804. But when European diseases ravaged his village, he despaired.

Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh

Lalawethika emerged from an illness in 1805 as a new man, renamed Tenskwatawa ("the Open Door") or—by whites—"the Prophet." Claiming to have died and been resurrected, he traveled in the Ohio River valley as a religious leader, attacking the decline of moral values among Native Americans, warning against whiskey and condemning intertribal battles. He urged Indians to return to the old ways: to hunt with bows and arrows, not guns; to stop wearing hats; and to give up bread for corn and beans.

By 1808, Tenskwatawa and his older brother Tecumseh focused on resisting American aggression. They invited all Indians to settle in pan-Indian towns in Indiana, first at Greenville (1806–1808) and then at Prophetstown (1808–1812). This challenged the treaty-making process by denying the claims of Indians who were given the same land under the Treaty of Greenville of 1795. Younger Indians flocked to Tecumseh, the more political of the two brothers.

Convinced that only an Indian federation could stop white settlement, Tecumseh sought to unify northern and southern Indians from Canada to Georgia. Among southern Indians, only one Creek faction welcomed him, but his efforts alarmed white settlers and government officials. In November 1811, while Tecumseh was in the South, Indiana governor William Henry Harrison moved against Tenskwatawa's followers. During the battle of Tippecanoe, the army burned their town; as they fled, the Indians exacted revenge on white settlers. When Harrison avowed reprisals, Tecumseh allied with the British. This alliance in the West, combined with American neutrality rights on the high seas, was propelling the United States toward war with Britain.

The Nation in the Orbit of Europe

What led to the War of 1812?

The republic's economy relied heavily on fishing and the carrying trade, with the American merchant marine transporting commodities between nations. Merchants in Boston, Salem, and Philadelphia traded with China, sending cloth and metal to swap for furs with Chinook Indians on the Oregon coast, and then sailing to China to trade for porcelain, tea, and silk. The slave trade lured American ships to Africa. Not long after Jefferson's first inaugural address, the United States was at war with Tripoli—a state along North Africa's Barbary Coast—over a principle that would long be a cornerstone of American foreign policy: freedom of the seas. That is, outside of national territorial waters, the high seas should be open for free transit.

First Barbary War

In 1801, the bashaw (pasha) of Tripoli declared war on the United States for its refusal to pay tribute for safe passage of its ships through the Mediterranean. After two years of stalemate, Jefferson declared a blockade of Tripoli, but when the American frigate *Philadelphia* ran aground in the harbor, its three hundred officers and sailors were imprisoned. Jefferson refused to ransom them, and a small American force accompanied by Arab, Greek, and African mercenaries marched from Egypt to the "shores of Tripoli" to seize the port of Derne. A treaty ended the war in 1805, but the United States continued to pay tribute to the three other Barbary states—Algiers, Morocco, and Tunis—until 1815. In the intervening years, the United States became embroiled in European conflicts.

At first, Jefferson distanced the nation from European turmoil in the wake of the French Revolution. After the Senate ratified the Jay Treaty in 1795, the United States and Great Britain reconciled. Britain withdrew from its western forts on American soil and interfered less in American trade with France. Then, in May 1803, two weeks after Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States, France was at war against Britain and, later, Britain's allies, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Initially, the United States benefited, as merchants gained control of most of the West Indian trade. After 1805, when Britain defeated the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar, Britain's Royal Navy tightened its control of the oceans. Two months later, Napoleon crushed the Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz. Stalemated, France and Britain launched a commercial war, blockading trade and costing the United States dearly.

Threats to American Sovereignty

To replenish their supply of sailors, British vessels stopped American ships and impressed (forcibly recruited) British deserters, British-born naturalized American seamen, and other sailors suspected of being British. Perhaps six to eight thousand Americans were impressed between 1803 and 1812. Alleged deserters—many of them American citizens—faced British courts-martial. Americans saw the principle of "once a British subject, always a British subject" as a mockery of U.S. citizenship and their national sovereignty. Americans also resented the British interfering with their West Indian trade and seizing American vessels within U.S. territorial waters.

In April 1806, Congress responded with the Non Importation Act, barring British manufactured goods from American ports. Because the act exempted most cloth and metal articles, it had little impact on British trade; instead, it warned the British what to expect if they continued to violate American neutral rights. In November, Jefferson suspended the act while Baltimore lawyer William Pinkney joined James Monroe in London to negotiate a settlement. The treaty they carried home did not mention impressments; hence, the president never submitted it for ratification.

Tense Anglo-American relations came to a head in June 1807 when the USS *Chesapeake,* sailing from Norfolk for the Mediterranean, was stopped by the British frigate *Leopard,* whose officers demanded to search the ship for British deserters. Refused, the *Leopard* opened fire, killing three Americans and wounding eighteen others. The British seized four deserters, three of whom held American citizenship; one was hanged. The incident outraged Americans and exposed American military weakness.

The Embargo of 1807

Jefferson responded with what he called "peaceable coercion." In July, the president closed American waters to British warships and increased military and naval expenditures. In December 1807, Jefferson put economic pressure on Great Britain by invoking the Non-Importation Act, followed by the **Embargo Act**. The embargo, which forbade exports from the United States to any country, was a short-term measure to avoid war by pressuring Britain and France to respect American rights and by preventing confrontation between American merchant vessels and European warships.

Embargo Act of 1807: Forbade exports from the United States to any country.

The embargo's biggest economic impact, however, fell on the United States. Exports declined by 80 percent in 1808, squeezing New England shippers and their workers. Manufacturers fared well, as the domestic market became theirs exclusively. Merchants began to shift from shipping to manufacturing. In 1807, there were twenty cotton and woolen mills in New England; by 1813, there were more than two hundred.

International Slave Trade

They had only to look at the vibrant slave trade to see how scarcity bred demand. With Jefferson's encouragement, Congress voted in 1807 to abolish the international slave trade as of January 1, 1808—the earliest date permissible under the Constitution. South Carolina still allowed the legal importation of slaves, but most of the state's planters favored a ban, nervous about adding to the black population of a state where whites were outnumbered. The final bill provided that smuggled slaves would be sold according to the laws of the state or territory in which they arrived, underscoring that even illegal slaves were property. Had the bill not done so, threatened one Georgia congressman, the result might have been "resistance to the authority of the Government," even civil war. During the last four months of 1807, sixteen thousand African slaves arrived at Gadsden Wharf in Charleston, where they were detained by merchants eager to wait out the January 1 deadline. Although many slaves—hundreds, if not thousands—died in the disease-ridden holding pens before they could be sold, merchants calculated the increased value of those who survived until the ban took effect would outweigh the losses. After January 1, 1808, a brisk—and profitable—illegal slave trade took over. In 1819, Congress authorized the president to use force to intercept slave ships along the African coast, but the small American navy could not halt the illicit trade.

Boarding and Taking of the American Ship Chesapeake (1816) portrays crew from the British frigate *Leopard* fighting to search the USS *Chesapeake* for British navy deserters. The sailors of the *Chesapeake* resisted, but the British overpowered them and seized four deserters, three of them American citizens. Americans were humiliated and angered by the British violation of American rights.

Election of 1808

As the 1808 presidential election approached, Democratic Republicans suffered from factional dissent and dissatisfaction in seaboard states hobbled by the trade restrictions. Although nine state legislatures passed resolutions urging Jefferson to run again, the president declined a third term. He supported James Madison, his secretary of state, as the Democratic-Republican standard-bearer. Madison won the endorsement of the party's congressional caucus, and Madison and Vice President George Clinton headed the ticket. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Rufus King again ran on the Federalist ticket.

The younger Federalists played up the widespread disaffection with Democratic-Republican policy, especially the embargo. Pinckney received only 47 electoral votes to Madison's 122, but he carried all of New England except Vermont, and won Delaware. Federalists also gained seats in Congress and captured the New York State legislature. Still, the transition from one Democratic-Republican administration to the next went smoothly.

Women and Politics

Wives eased the transition of elected and appointed officials by encouraging political and diplomatic negotiation. Such negotiations often occurred in social settings, even private homes. Women played crucial roles in bridging ideological divides by fostering conversation, providing an ear or a voice for unofficial messages, and—in international affairs—standing as surrogates for their nation. Wives' interactions among themselves served political purposes, too: when First Lady Dolley Madison visited congressmen's wives, she cultivated goodwill for her husband while collecting recipes so she could serve regionally diverse cuisine at White House functions.

Jeffersonians wanted women's support of the embargo. Sympathetic women responded by spurning imported fabric and making (or directing their slaves to make) homespun clothing. Federalists, however, encouraged women to "keep commerce alive," and sympathetic women bought smuggled goods.

Failed Policies

Under domestic opposition, the embargo collapsed. Instead, the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 reopened trade with all nations except Britain and France, and authorized the president to resume trade with those two nations once they respected American neutral rights. In June

1809, President Madison reopened trade with Britain after its minister to the United States offered assurances that Britain would repeal restrictions on American trade. But his Majesty's government in London repudiated the minister's assurances, leading Madison to revert to nonintercourse.

When the Non-Intercourse Act expired in 1810, Congress substituted Macon's Bill Number 2, reopening trade with Great Britain and France but providing that, when either nation stopped violating American commercial rights, the president would suspend American commerce with the other. When Napoleon accepted, Madison declared nonintercourse on Great Britain in 1811. Although the French continued to seize American ships, Britain became the focus of American hostility because it dominated the seas.

In spring 1812, the British admiralty ordered its ships not to stop, search, or seize American warships, and in June Britain reopened the seas to American shipping. But before word of this policy change reached America, Congress declared war.

Link to President Madison's "War Message" to Congress.

Mr. Madison's War

The House voted 79 to 49 for war; the Senate, 19 to 13. Democratic-Republicans favored war by 98 to 23; Federalists opposed it 39 to 0. Those who favored war, including President Madison, pointed to assaults on American sovereignty and honor: impressment, violation of neutral trading rights, and British alliances with western Indians. Others saw an opportunity to conquer and annex British Canada. Most militant were land-hungry southerners and westerners—the "**War Hawks**"—led by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and first-term congressman and House Speaker Henry Clay of Kentucky. Most representatives from the coastal states, especially the Northeast, feared trade disruption and opposed "Mr. Madison's War."

War Hawks: Militant Republicans who demanded more aggressive policies and who wanted war with Britain.

Initially, Federalists benefited from antiwar sentiment. They joined renegade Democratic-Republicans in supporting New York City mayor DeWitt Clinton for president in 1812. Clinton lost to Madison by 128 to 89 electoral votes, but Federalists gained some congressional seats and carried many local elections. The pro-war South and the West remained solidly Democratic-Republican.

The War of 1812

What were the consequences of the War of 1812?

Lasting from 1812 to 1815, the war unfolded in skirmishes, for which the U.S. armed forces were ill prepared. The U.S. Military Academy at West Point, founded in 1802, produced only eighty-nine regular officers, and campaigns were executed poorly. Although the U.S. Navy had a corps of experienced officers, it proved no match for the Royal Navy.

The government's efforts to lure recruits—with sign-up bonuses, and promises of three months' pay and rights to purchase 160 acres of western land—met with mixed success. At first, recruitment went well among westerners, motivated by civic spirit, desire for land, anti-Indian sentiment, and fears of Tecumseh's pan-Indian organization. But with pay delays and inadequate supplies, recruitment dwindled. In New England, Federalists discouraged enlistments. Militias in New England and New York often refused to fight outside their states. Desperate, New York offered freedom to slaves who enlisted, and compensation to their owners, and the U.S. Army made the same offer to slaves in the Old Northwest and in Canada. But in the Deep South, fear of arming slaves kept them out of the military except in New Orleans, where a free black militia dated back to Spanish control of Louisiana.

The British recruited slaves by promising freedom in exchange for service. In the end, British forces outnumbered the Americans.

Invasion of Canada

Despite recruitment problems, Americans expected to take Canada easily. Canada's population was sparse, its army small, and the Great Lakes inaccessible to the Royal Navy in the Atlantic. Americans hoped, too, that French Canadians might welcome U.S. forces.

Americans aimed to split Canadian forces and isolate pro-British Indians, especially Tecumseh, whom the British had promised an Indian nation in the Great Lakes region. In July 1812, U.S. general William Hull, territorial governor of Michigan, marched his troops, who outnumbered those of the British, into Upper Canada (modern Ontario), hoping to conquer Montreal. But by abandoning Mackinac Island and Fort Dearborn, and by surrendering Fort Detroit, he left the Midwest exposed. Captain Zachary Taylor provided the only bright spot, giving the Americans a land victory with his September 1812 defense of Fort Harrison in Indiana Territory. By the winter of 1812–1813, the British controlled about half of the Old Northwest.

Naval Battles

Despite victories on the Atlantic by the USS *Constitution* (nicknamed "Old Ironsides"), the USS *Wasp,* and the USS *United States,* the American navy—which began the war with just seventeen ships—could not match the powerful Royal Navy. By 1814, the Royal Navy blockaded nearly all American ports along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. After 1811, American trade overseas declined by nearly 90 percent, and the lost customs duties threatened to bankrupt the federal government and prostrate New England.

The contest for control of the Great Lakes, the key to the war in the Northwest, evolved as a shipbuilding race. Under Master Commandant Oliver Hazard Perry and shipbuilder Noah Brown, the United States outbuilt the British on Lake Erie and defeated them at the bloody Battle of Put-in-Bay on September 10, 1813, gaining control of Lake Erie.

Burning Capitals

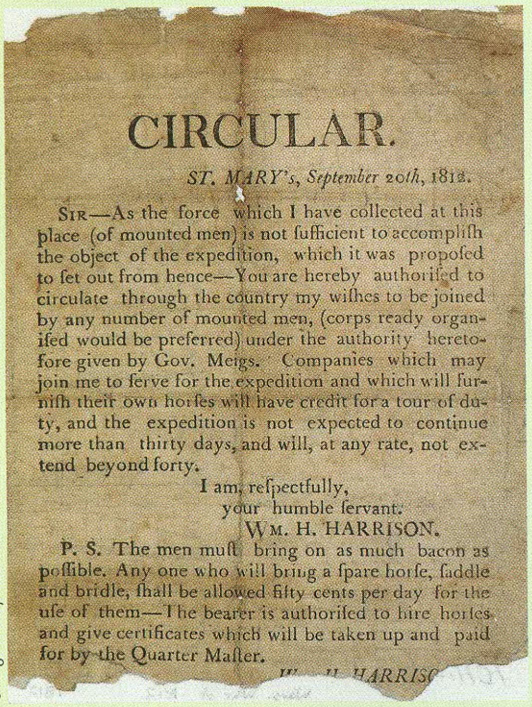
A ragged group of Kentucky militia volunteers, armed with swords and knives, marched 20 to 30 miles a day to join General William Henry Harrison's forces in Ohio. Now 4,500 strong, Harrison's forces took Detroit before crossing into Canada, where at the Battle of the Thames they defeated British, Shawnee, and Chippewa forces in October 1813. Among the dead was Tecumseh. The Americans then razed the Canadian capital of York (now Toronto).

After defeating Napoleon in Europe in April 1814, the British launched a land counteroffensive against the United States, concentrating on the Chesapeake Bay. Royal troops occupied Washington, D.C., in August and set it ablaze. The presidential mansion and parts of the city burned all night. The president and cabinet fled. Dolley Madison stayed to oversee the removal of cabinet documents and to save a Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington.

The British intended the attack on Washington as a diversion. The major battle occurred in September 1814 at Baltimore, where the Americans held firm. Francis Scott Key, detained on a British ship, watched the bombardment of Fort McHenry and wrote "The Star-Spangled Banner" (which became the national anthem in 1931). The British inflicted heavy damage but achieved little militarily; their offensive on Lake Champlain also failed. The war reached a stalemate.

Selling War

The War of 1812 was not always a popular war, but in its aftermath many Americans trumpeted the war's successes. To the left, we see a recruitment poster from 1812, in which General William Henry Harrison seeks additional cavalrymen. Hampered in part by transportation difficulties, Harrison is unable to offer much—soldiers are even requested to supply their own bacon as well as their own horses—but he does promise that the expedition will be short, undoubtedly a concern to men eager to return to the fall harvest. To the right, we see a handkerchief made in 1815, after the Treaty of Ghent and the Battle of New Orleans; it features the United States' victories against the world's greatest naval power, Great Britain. Made with a decorative border, the kerchief may have been for display. What similar values do we see promoted in the two images, and what factors—such as their intended audiences, their purposes, and when they were created—might account for any differences between them?



CIRCULAR.

ST. MARY'S, September 20th, 1812.

SIR—As the force which I have collected at this place (of mounted men) is not sufficient to accomplish the object of the expedition, which it was proposed to set out from hence—You are hereby authorised to circulate through the country my wishes to be joined by any number of mounted men, (corps ready organised would be preferred) under the authority heretofore given by Gov. Meigs. Companies which may join me to serve for the expedition and which will furnish their own horses will have credit for a tour of duty, and the expedition is not expected to continue more than thirty days, and will, at any rate, not extend beyond forty.

I am, respectfully,
your humble servant.
WM. H. HARRISON.

P. S. The men must bring on as much bacon as possible. Any one who will bring a spare horse, saddle and bridle, shall be allowed fifty cents per day for the use of them—The bearer is authorised to hire horses and give certificates which will be taken up and paid for by the Quarter Master.

WM. H. HARRISON.

With a tiny regular army, the United States often had to rely on short-term recruits to wage war on the British.

Made in 1815 from cotton textiles—whose domestic production soared during the War of 1812, with trade cut off from Britain—this handkerchief helps promote American "liberty and independence."

War in the South

To the south, two wars were happening simultaneously. In the Patriots War, a private army of Americans, secretly supported by the Madison administration, tried to seize East Florida from Spain. What started as a settlers' rebellion along the Georgia-Florida border—to grab more land, strike at the Spaniards' Indian allies, and later to protest the Spaniards' arming of black soldiers—turned into a war, with the Patriots backed by U.S. forces and Georgia militia. Federalists condemned the invasion of a neutral territory, and the Senate refused twice (in 1812 and 1813) to support a military seizure of Florida. Embarrassed, Madison withdrew his support, and the movement collapsed in May 1814.

In the war with Britain, the southern theater proved more successful. The final campaign began with an American attack on the Red Stick Creeks along the Gulf of Mexico and the British around New Orleans and ended with Americans gaining new territory. Responding to Tecumseh's call to resist U.S. expansion, in 1813 the Red Sticks attacked Fort Mims, about 40 miles from Mobile, killing hundreds of white men, women, and children. Seeking revenge, General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee rallied his militiamen and Indian opponents of the Red Sticks and crushed the Red Sticks at Horseshoe Bend (in present-day Alabama) in March 1814. This led to the Treaty of Fort Jackson, in which the Creeks ceded 23 million acres, or about half of their holdings, and withdrew to southern and western Mississippi Territory.

Jackson became a major general and continued south toward the Gulf of Mexico. After seizing Pensacola (in Spanish Florida) and then securing Mobile, Jackson's forces marched to New Orleans. Three weeks later, on January 8, 1815, Jackson's poorly trained army held its ground against two British frontal assaults. At day's end, more than two thousand British soldiers lay dead or wounded, while the Americans suffered only twenty-one casualties.

The Battle of New Orleans occurred two weeks after the war's conclusion: word had not yet reached America that British and United States diplomats had signed the **Treaty of Ghent** on December 24, 1814. Still, the Battle of New Orleans catapulted General Andrew Jackson to national political prominence.

Treaty of Ghent: Treaty that ended the War of 1812, restoring the prewar status quo.

Treaty of Ghent

The Treaty of Ghent essentially restored the prewar status quo. It provided for an end to hostilities, release of prisoners, restoration of conquered territory, and arbitration of boundary disputes. But the United States received no satisfaction on impressment, blockades, or other maritime rights for neutrals, and British demands for territorial cessions from Maine to Minnesota went unmet. The British dropped their promise of an independent Indian nation.

Napoleon's defeat allowed the United States to discard its prewar demands, because peace in Europe made impressment and interference with American commerce moot issues. Similarly, war-weary Britain—its treasury nearly depleted—stopped pressing for military victory.

American Sovereignty Reasserted

The War of 1812 affirmed the independence of the American republic and ensured Canada's independence from the United States. Trade and territorial disputes with Great Britain continued, but they never again led to war. The return of peace allowed the United States to again focus on the Barbary Coast, where the dey (governor) of Algiers declared war on the United States. In the Second Barbary War, U.S. forces held hundreds of Algerians while negotiating a treaty in the summer of 1815 that forever freed the United States from paying tributes for passage in the Mediterranean. The Second Barbary War reaffirmed America's commitment to freedom of the seas.

Hartford Convention: Federalist meeting that was perceived as disloyalty during time of war and began the downfall of the party.

Domestic Consequences

The War of 1812 had profound domestic consequences. The Federalists' hopes of returning to national prominence diminished with the **Hartford Convention.** New England delegates—frustrated by the stalemated war and the shattered New England economy—met in Hartford, Connecticut, for three weeks in the winter of 1814-1815 to discuss revising the national compact or pulling out of the republic. Although moderates prevented a resolution of secession—withdrawal from the Union—delegates condemned the war and the embargo while endorsing constitutional changes that would weaken the South's power and make it harder to declare war. When news arrived of Jackson's victory in New Orleans and the Treaty of Ghent, the Hartford Convention made the Federalists look wrong-headed, even treasonous. By the 1820s, the party faded from the national scene.

With Tecumseh's death, midwestern Indians lost their powerful leader; with the British withdrawal, they lost their strongest ally. Some accommodationists, such as the Cherokees, temporarily flourished, but the war effectively disarmed traditionalists bent on resisting American expansion. Although the Treaty of Ghent pledged the United States to end hostilities with Indians and to restore their prewar "possessions, rights, and privileges," Indians could not make the United States honor the agreement.

For American farmers, the war opened formerly Indian land for cultivating cotton in the Old Southwest and wheat in the Old Northwest. It stimulated industry, as Americans could no longer rely on overseas imports, particularly textiles. The War of 1812 thus fueled demand for raw cotton, and the newly acquired lands in the Southwest beckoned southerners who migrated there with slaves, or with expectations of someday owning slaves. The war's conclusion accelerated three trends that would dominate U.S. history for upcoming decades: westward expansion, industrial takeoff, and slavery's entrenchment.

The Nationalist Program

How did the American System mark the triumph of Federalist economic policy?

In his final year as president, James Madison and the Democratic-Republicans absorbed the Federalist idea that the federal government should encourage economic growth. His agenda, which Henry Clay later called the American System, included a national bank, improved transportation, and a protective tariff—a tax on imported goods to protect American manufacturers from foreign competition. Yet true to his Jeffersonian roots, Madison argued that only a constitutional amendment could authorize the federal government to build local roads and canals.

American System

Clay and other congressional leaders, such as Calhoun of South Carolina, believed the American System would ease sectional tension. The tariff would stimulate New England industry, whose goods would find markets in the South and West. The South's and West's agricultural products—cotton and foodstuffs—would feed New England mills and workers. Manufactured and agricultural products would move along roads and canals that tariff revenues would fund. A national bank would handle the transactions.

In 1816, Congress chartered the Second Bank of the United States (the bank's first charter expired in 1811) to serve as a depository for federal funds and to issue currency, collect taxes, and pay the government's debts. The Second Bank of the United States would also oversee state and local banks, ensuring that their paper money had backing in specie (precious metals). Like its predecessor, the bank mixed public and private ownership; the government provided one-fifth of the bank's capital and appointed one-fifth of its directors.

Congress also passed the Tariff of 1816, which taxed imported woolens and cottons, iron, leather, hats, paper, and sugar. The tariff divided the nation. New England and the western and Middle Atlantic states would benefit from it and thus applauded it, whereas many southerners objected that it raised prices on consumer goods and could prompt Britain to retaliate with a tariff on cotton.

Southerners such as Calhoun promoted roads and canals to "bind the republic together." However, on March 3, 1817, the day before leaving office, President Madison, citing constitutional scruples, vetoed Calhoun's "Bonus Bill," which would have authorized federal funding for such public works.

Early Internal Improvements

Federalists and Democratic-Republicans agreed that improved transportation would promote national prosperity. For Federalists, roads and canals were necessary for commercial development; for Jeffersonians, they would spur western expansion and agrarian growth. In 1806, Congress passed (and Jefferson had signed) a bill authorizing funding for the Cumberland Road (later, the National Road), running 130 miles between Cumberland, Maryland, and Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia). In 1820, Congress authorized a survey of the National Road to Columbus, Ohio, a project completed in 1833.

Most transportation initiatives received funding from states, private investors, or both. Between 1817 and 1825, New York constructed the **Erie Canal**, linking the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard. Although southern states constructed modest canals, the South's trade depended on river going steamboats after 1817, when steamboats began traveling regularly upriver on the Mississippi. With canals and steamboats, western agricultural products could travel to market faster and less expensively, fueling westward expansion. Canals expanded commercial networks into regions without natural waterways and reoriented midwestern commerce through the North.

Erie Canal: Major canal that linked the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard, opening the upper Midwest to wider development.

The Era of Good Feelings

James Monroe, Madison's successor, was the third Virginian elected president since 1801. A former senator and twice governor of Virginia, he served under Madison as secretary of state and of war and used his association with Jefferson and Madison to attain the presidency. In 1816, he and his running mate, Daniel Tompkins, trounced the last Federalist presidential nominee, Rufus King, garnering all the electoral votes except those of the Federalist strongholds of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. A Boston newspaper dubbed this one-party period the **"Era of Good Feelings."**

Led by Federalist chief justice John Marshall, the Supreme Court became the bulwark of the nationalist agenda. In ***McCulloch v. Maryland*** (1819), the Court struck down a Maryland law taxing banks that were not chartered by its legislature—a law aimed at hindering the Baltimore branch of the Second Bank of the United States. At issue was state versus federal jurisdiction. Writing for a unanimous Court, Marshall asserted the supremacy of the federal government over the states. The Court ruled, too, that

Era of Good Feelings: Period of one-party politics during administration of James Monroe.

McCulloch v. Maryland: Supreme Court decision that restated national supremacy over states.

Congress had the power to charter banks. The Marshall Court thus supported the Federalist view that the federal government could promote interstate commerce.

Government Promotion of Market Expansion

Later Supreme Court cases validated government promotion of economic development and encouraged business enterprise. In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Supreme Court overturned the New York law granting Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston a monopoly on the New York–New Jersey steamboat trade. Chief Justice Marshall ruled that the federal power to license new enterprises took precedence over New York's grant of monopoly rights and declared that Congress's power under the commerce clause of the Constitution extended to "every species of commercial intercourse." Within two years, the number of steamboats in New York increased from six to forty-three. A later ruling under Chief Justice Roger Taney, *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge* (1837), encouraged new enterprises and technologies by favoring competition over monopoly.

Federal and state courts, in conjunction with state legislatures, encouraged the proliferation of corporations—organizations holding property and transacting business as if they were individuals. Corporation owners, called shareholders, were granted limited liability, or freedom from personal responsibility for the company's debts beyond their original investment.

The government assisted commercial development, too, by expanding the number of U.S. post offices from three thousand in 1815 to fourteen thousand in 1845 and by protecting inventions through patent laws and domestic industries through tariffs on foreign imports.

Boundary Settlements

Monroe's secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, son of John and Abigail Adams, managed the nation's foreign policy from 1817 to 1825. He pushed for expansion of American fishing rights in Atlantic waters, political distance from Europe, and peace. Under Adams's leadership, in 1817 the United States and Great Britain signed the Rush-Bagot Treaty limiting them to one ship each on Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario and to two ships each on the remaining Great Lakes. This first modern disarmament treaty demilitarized the U.S.-Canadian border. Adams then pushed for the Convention of 1818, which fixed the U.S.-Canadian boundary from Lake of the Woods in Minnesota westward to the Rockies along the 49th parallel. They disagreed on the boundary west of the Rockies, so Britain and the U.S. settled on joint occupation of Oregon for ten years (renewed indefinitely in 1827).

Courtesy of the Maryland Historical Society

Travelers, merchants, and livestock clogged portions of the National Road, shown here alongside Milestone 3 in Baltimore in 1829.

Adams's negotiations resulted in the Adams-Onís Treaty, in which the United States gained Florida. Although the Louisiana Purchase omitted reference to Spanish-ruled West Florida, the United States claimed the territory as far east as the Perdido River (the present-day Florida-Alabama border). During the War of 1812, the United States seized Mobile and the remainder of West Florida; after the war, Adams claimed East Florida. In 1819, Don Luís de Onís, the

Spanish minister to the United States, agreed to cede Florida without payment if the United States renounced its dubious claims to northern Mexico (Texas) and assumed $5 million of claims by American citizens against Spain. The Treaty also defined the southwestern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase and divided Spanish Mexico and Oregon Country at the 42nd parallel.

Monroe Doctrine

Adams's desire to insulate the United States and the Western Hemisphere from European conflict brought about his greatest achievement: the **Monroe Doctrine**. Between 1808 and 1822, the United Provinces of Río de la Plata (present-day northern Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay), Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico broke from Spain. In 1822, the United States became the first nation outside Latin America to recognize the new states. But with reactionary regimes ascending in Europe and France now occupying Spain, the United States feared that continental powers would attempt to return the new Latin American states to colonial rule.

Monroe Doctrine: Foreign policy statement that proclaimed that American continents are not to be subjected to European colonization and demanded nonintervention by Europe into the New World nations.

Monroe's message to Congress in December 1823 became known as the Monroe Doctrine. He announced that the American continents "are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by any European power." This addressed American anxiety about Latin America and Russian expansion beyond Alaska and its settlements in California. Monroe demanded nonintervention by Europe in the affairs of independent New World nations, and he pledged U.S. noninterference in European affairs, including Europe's existing New World colonies. European nations stayed out of New World affairs because they feared the British Royal Navy, not the United States' proclamations.

Sectionalism Exposed

How did the admission of new states after the War of 1812 ultimately divide the nation?

The embargo, the War of 1812, and postwar internal improvements encouraged the southern and northern economies to develop in different but interrelated ways. While the South became dependent on cotton, the North underwent an accelerated industrial development. With their commitment to an agrarian nation, Jeffersonians did not promote industry, but some entrepreneurs did.

Early Industrial Development

Despite their separatism, Americans relied on British technology to combine the many steps of textile manufacturing—carding (or disentangling) fibers, spinning yarn, and weaving cloth—under one factory. The first American water-powered spinning mill was established in 1790 by Samuel Slater, a British immigrant who reconstructed from memory the complex machines he had used in England. But Slater's mill only carded and spun yarn; hand-weaving it into cloth was often done by farm women seeking to earn cash. In 1810, Bostonian Francis Cabot Lowell visited the British textile center of Manchester, touring factories and later sketching from memory what he had seen. In 1813, he and his business associates founded the Boston Manufacturing Company, uniting all phases of textile manufacturing under one roof in Waltham, Massachusetts. A decade later, the Boston Manufacturing Company established a model industrial village—named for its now-deceased founder—along the banks of the Merrimack River. At Lowell, Massachusetts, there were boarding houses for workers, a healthy alternative to Manchester's tenements and slums.

When the British flooded the American market with cheap textiles after the War of 1812, Lowell realized the domestic market required protection. He lobbied hard to include cotton textiles in the Tariff of 1816, persuading reluctant South Carolinians to support it.

Northern industrialization was linked to slavery. Much of the capital came from merchants who partly made their fortunes through the trade. Two of the most prominent industries—textiles and shoes—expanded with a growing southern cotton economy. Southern cotton fed northern textile mills, and northern shoe factories sold "Negro brogans" (work shoes) to southern planters.

Panic of 1819

Immediately after the war, the international demand for (and price of) American commodities reached new heights. Poor weather in Europe led to crop failures, increasing demand for northern foodstuffs and Southern cotton, which, in turn, touched off western land speculation. Speculators raced to buy large tracts of land at modest, government-established prices and then to resell them at a hefty profit to would-be settlers.

Prosperity proved short-lived. By the late 1810s, Europeans could grow their own food again, and Britain's new Corn Laws established high tariffs on imports. Cotton prices fell in England. Wars in Latin America interfered with mining and reduced the supply of precious metals, leading European nations to hoard specie. American banks furiously printed paper money and expanded credit even further. Fearful of inflation, the Second Bank of the United States demanded in 1819 that state banks repay loans in specie. State banks then called in the loans and mortgages they had made. Falling commodity prices meant that farmers could not pay their mortgages, and plummeting land values—from 50 to 75 percent in portions of the West—meant they could not meet their debts even by selling their farms. The nation's banking system collapsed, triggering a financial panic.

Foreclosures soared. Unemployment skyrocketed, reaching 75 percent in Philadelphia. Workers and their families could not make it through the winter without charity for food, clothing, and firewood.

Americans everywhere contemplated the virtues and hazards of rapid market expansion, disagreeing on where to place the blame for its shortcomings. Even as the nation's economy rebounded in the early 1820s, amid a flurry of internal improvement projects, no one could predict in what region or sector the nation's fortunes would lie.

Missouri Compromise

America also faced a political crisis in 1819 about slavery's westward expansion. Residents of the Missouri Territory petitioned Congress for admission to the Union with a constitution permitting slavery. Missouri's admission would give slaveholding states a two-vote majority in the Senate and set a precedent for new western states created from the vast Louisiana Purchase.

Following the Louisiana Purchase and especially after the end of the War of 1812, the American population surged westward, leading five new states to join the Union: Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), and Alabama (1819). Of these, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama permitted slavery. Because Missouri was on the same latitude as free Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, its admission as a slave state would thrust slavery farther westward and northward.

For two and a half years, the issue dominated Congress. When Representative James Tallmadge Jr. of New York proposed gradual emancipation in Missouri, some

Links to the World

Industrial Piracy

Great Britain, which in the late eighteenth century pioneered mechanical weaving and power looms, knew the value of its head start in the industrial revolution and prohibited the export of textile technology. British-born brothers Samuel and John Slater, their Scottish-born power-loom-builder William Gilmore, and Bostonians Francis Cabot Lowell and Nathan Appleton evaded British restrictions to establish America's first textile factories.

As a supervisor in a British cotton-spinning factory, Samuel Slater had mastered the machinery and the process. To get around British technology laws, Slater emigrated to the United States disguised as a farmer. In 1790 in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, he opened the first water-powered spinning mill in America, rebuilding the complex machines from memory. With his brother John and their Rhode Island partners, Moses and Obadiah Brown and William Almy, Slater later built mills in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. In 1815, he hired a recent immigrant, William Gilmore, to build a water-powered loom like those in Britain. In the 1820s, the Slaters introduced steam-powered looms.

In 1810, while vacationing in Edinburgh, Scotland, Francis Cabot Lowell met fellow Bostonian Nathan Appleton. Impressed by the British textile mills, they planned to introduce water-powered mechanical weaving into the United States. Lowell went to Britain's textile center in Manchester, visiting and observing the factories by day; at night, he sketched the power looms and processes he had seen. Back in the United States, he and others formed the Boston Associates, which created the Waltham-Lowell Mills based on Lowell's industrial piracy. Within a few years, textiles would be a major American industry, and the Boston Associates would dominate it.

Thus, the modern American industrial revolution began with international links, not homegrown American inventions.

Courtesy of Gore Place Society, Waltham, Massachusetts

This contemporary painting shows the Boston Manufacturing Company's 1814 textile factory at Waltham, Massachusetts. All manufacturing processes were brought together under one roof, and the company built its first factories in rural New England to tap roaring rivers as a power source.

MAP 9.2

Missouri Compromise and the State of the Union, 1820

The compromise worked out by House Speaker Henry Clay established a formula that avoided debate over whether new states would allow or prohibit slavery. In the process, it divided the United States into northern and southern regions.

Source: Copyright © Cengage Learning

southerners accused the North of threatening to destroy the Union. The House, which had a northern majority, passed the Tallmadge Amendment, but the Senate rejected it.

House Speaker Henry Clay—himself a western slaveholder—suggested a compromise in 1820. Maine, carved out of Massachusetts, would enter as a free state, followed by Missouri as a slave state, maintaining the balance between slave and free states. In the rest of the Louisiana Territory north of Missouri's southern border of 36°30', slavery would be prohibited forever (see Map 9.2).

The compromise carried but almost unraveled when Missouri submitted a constitution barring free blacks from entering the state. Opponents contended that it violated the federal constitutional provision that citizens of each state were "entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Proponents countered that many states already barred free blacks. In 1821, Clay proposed a second compromise: Missouri would guarantee that its laws would not discriminate against citizens of other states. (Once admitted to the Union, Missouri twice adopted laws barring free blacks.) For more than three decades, the **Missouri Compromise** would govern congressional policy toward admitting new slave states. But the compromise masked rather than suppressed the simmering political conflict over slavery's westward expansion.

Missouri Compromise: Sought to end the debate over the number of slave and free states admitted to the Union by admitting Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state and banned slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of the 36°30′ latitude line.

Legacy for a People and a Nation

States' Rights and Nullification

Under the Constitution, the exact nature of the relationship between the states and the federal government was initially ambiguous, because Constitutional Convention delegates disagreed on whether states or nation should prevail in an irreconcilable conflict. The Tenth Amendment offered a slight clarification: powers not delegated to the central government, it said, were reserved to the states or to the people.

When New England Federalists met in Hartford at the end of 1814 to prepare a list of grievances against "Mr. Madison's War," they drew on the doctrine of nullification, first announced sixteen years earlier in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, written by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, respectively. Opposing the Alien and Sedition Acts, these founding fathers asserted that, if the national government assumed powers not delegated to it by the Constitution, states could nullify federal actions—that is, declare them inoperative within state borders. Some New England Federalists discussed taking nullification further by seceding. Their formulation of states' rights to nullify federal authority left a legacy for dissent that was reinvoked in crises up to the present.

In the following decade, South Carolina nullified federal tariffs, and in 1861 southern states threatened by Abraham Lincoln's election as president claimed the right of secession. Although the Civil War supposedly settled the issue—states could neither nullify federal law nor secede—southern states opposing the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling in favor of school integration again claimed the right to nullify "unauthorized" federal policy within their borders. In the early twenty-first century, as the U.S. Congress failed to muster a two-thirds majority to propose a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage, dozens of states ratified their own such constitutional amendments. Symbolically, the threat of secession remains potent. Decrying the 2009 federal stimulus package to aid the ailing national economy, Texas Governor Rick Perry declared that his state might secede rather than face unwanted spending, taxation, and debt. The Hartford Convention's legacy provides Americans who dissent from national policy with a model for using state governments, and threats of secession, as vehicles for their protests.

Summary

The partisanship of the 1790s made the early republic a period of vigorous political engagement. With a vision of an agrarian nation that protected individual liberty, Jeffersonians promoted a limited national government—one that stayed out of religious affairs and spent little on military forces, diplomatic missions, and economic initiatives. The rival Federalists, who exerted their influence through the judiciary, declared federal supremacy over the states even as the judiciary affirmed its own supremacy over other government branches. Federalists hoped a strengthened federal government would promote commerce and industry.

Despite his belief in limited government, Jefferson considered the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory and the Corps of Discovery his greatest presidential accomplishments. Americans soon streamed into the Louisiana Territory. More would have gone if not for Indians (and their British allies) and poorly developed transportation routes.

With its economy focused on international shipping, the greatest threats to the United States came from abroad. In its wars with the Barbary states, the United States sought to guard its commerce and ships on the high seas. Although the War of 1812 was a military stalemate, it inspired a new sense of nationalism and launched an era of American development.

The Treaty of Ghent reaffirmed American independence; thereafter, the nation settled disputes with Great Britain by negotiation. The war also dealt a blow to Indian resistance in the Midwest and Southwest, while accelerating American industrial growth. Federalists' opposition to the war undermined their credibility, and their party faded from the national political scene by 1820. The absence of partisan conflict created what contemporaries called an Era of Good Feelings.

Still, competing visions of America's route to prosperity endured. Under Chief Justice John Marshall, the Supreme Court supported the Federalist agenda, issuing rulings that stimulated commerce and industry. The Democratic-Republicans looked, instead, toward the vast and fertile Louisiana Territory. Fearful of European intentions to reassert influence in the Americas and emboldened by the nation's expanding boundaries, President Monroe proclaimed that the United States would not tolerate European intervention in American affairs. But even as its expanding boundaries strengthened the United States' international presence, territorial expansion threatened newfound political unity at home.

Tensions mounted in 1819, when the postwar economic boom came to a halt and congressmen sharply divided over whether to admit Missouri as a slave state. Henry Clay's compromise temporarily removed the issue of slavery's western expansion from political center stage.

Chapter Review

Political Visions

Was Jefferson's election and political vision truly "the revolution of 1800"?

Jefferson considered his election in 1800 a revolution, since it also gave his Democratic-Republican Party a majority in both houses of Congress. That made it easier to enact his vision of limited government, individual liberty (which required the separation of church and state), and an agrarian (versus commercial) republic. Since Democratic-Republicans viewed national debt as a sign of corruption, he authorized his treasury secretary to cut the federal budget and decrease the national debt (which Federalists saw as a tool to stimulate the economy). Jefferson also pardoned those convicted under the Alien and Sedition Acts, which he regarded as a violation of liberties, and attempted to remove from court appointments people opposed to his brand of politics. (He was ultimately unsuccessful, which maintained the Court's independence).

National Expansion Westward

Why was the Louisiana Purchase among Jefferson's most popular decisions as president?

The purchase of 827,000 square miles of land west of the Mississippi from France doubled the size of the United States, secured American interests from potential European incursion at its inland borders, and opened more land for American settlement (even though Native Americans were already living there). Moreover, by purchasing the land on the other side of the river, the United States controlled access to the Mississippi, which appealed to western settlers who relied on it to get their goods to market. Finally, it fed dreams of cheap, fertile lands for would-be settlers.

The Nation in the Orbit of Europe

What led to the War of 1812?

Freedom of the seas was the main cause. Ongoing hostilities between European nations spilled over onto American ships, as Great Britain often stopped and seized U.S. ships and forced those aboard into military service. Trade embargoes did little to stop the practice and ultimately hurt American merchants and the U.S. economy. Madison pointed to violation of neutral trading rights, British alliances with western Indians, and affronts to American independence as additional causes, while others saw war as an opportunity to annex British Canada. Although Britain reopened the seas and ordered its ships not to disturb American warships by June of 1812, news of the policy change did not reach America until long after Congress declared war.

The War of 1812

What were the consequences of the War of 1812?

Although the Treaty of Ghent ended the fighting and restored the prewar status quo, the United States did not get the results it wanted on impressments, blockades, and maritime rights for neutral parties. The war did, however, affirm American independence and guarantee no future battles with Britain over trade or territory. On the home front, the war shattered the U.S. economy and led some New England Federalists to threaten secession, which contributed to the party's demise when the war soon ended. Indians who had supported the British lost a major ally. And while Indians had their land and rights restored by the Treaty of Ghent, they had no power to enforce it. With the end of war, three trends emerged that were pivotal for the nation's future: westward expansion, the entrenchment of slavery, and industrial development.

The Nationalist Program

How did the American System mark the triumph of Federalist economic policy?

Long opposed to big government, Democratic-Republicans amended this philosophy to adopt the Federalist notion that the central government should aid economic growth. Their program was dubbed the American System, and included a national bank, development of transportation networks, and a protective tariff that would tax imported goods to protect American products from foreign competitors. Advocates of the American System, such as South Carolina leader John C. Calhoun, believed it could bridge sectional divides and expand the nation. Both parties embraced internal improvements for different reasons: Federalists saw them as spurring commercial development, while Jeffersonians (Democratic-Republicans) thought they would lead to western and agrarian expansion.

Sectionalism Exposed

How did the admission of new states after the War of 1812 ultimately divide the nation?

The question of slavery's westward expansion sparked controversy in 1819 when the Missouri Territory asked to be admitted as a slave state. Many feared it would give slaveholding states a two-vote Senate majority and would set a precedent for admitting other western states. And since Missouri was on the same latitude as free Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, its admission as a slave state would move slavery northward. House Speaker Henry Clay suggested the winning compromise: to maintain the balance between free and slave states, Maine would enter as a free state, Missouri as a slave state, and all future new states north of Missouri's 36°30' border would prohibit slavery. As such, the Missouri Compromise divided the nation into two regions, north and south, according to the politics of slavery.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Stephen Aron, *American Confluence: The Missouri Frontier from Borderland to Border State* (2006)

David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (2006)

Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (2001)

Nancy Isenberg, *Fallen Founder: The Life of Aaron Burr* (2007)

John Lauritz Larson, *Internal Improvement: National Public Works and the Promise of Popular Government in the United States* (2001)

Jon Latimer, *1812: War with America* (2007)

Kent Newmyer, *John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court* (2001)

Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (2004)

Jeffrey Pasley, Andrew Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds., *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic* (2004)