
Chapter 7

Politics and Society in the New Republic

1787–1820

Teaching Resources

Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. What were the differences between Hamilton's and Jefferson's visions of the operation and the role of government?
2. What effects did the French Revolution have on American policy and decision making?
3. How and why did public policy and economic incentives inspire settlers and speculators to migrate westward? What were the consequences of this migration for Native Americans?
4. What was Jefferson's vision for the future of American government and society? How did he implement his beliefs during his presidency?
5. What were the policies of the Republican presidents between 1801 and 1820? How did they contrast with the Federalist programs of the 1790s?
6. How and why was the War of 1812 fought? What was the significance of its outcome?

Chapter Annotated Outline

- I. The Political Crisis of the 1790s
 - A. The Federalists Implement the Constitution
 1. Federalists swept the election of 1788; members of the Electoral College chose George Washington as president, and John Adams became vice president.
 2. The Constitution gave the president the power to appoint major officials with the consent of the Senate, but Washington insisted that only the president could remove them.
 3. The Judiciary Act of 1789 created a hierarchical federal court system with a federal district court in each state as well as three circuit courts to hear appeals.
 4. The Judiciary Act permitted constitutional matters to be appealed to the Supreme Court, which had the final say.
 5. The Federalists added the Bill of Rights to the Constitution, which safeguarded certain fundamental rights and mandated certain legal procedures to protect the individual.
 - B. Hamilton's Financial Program
 1. The Federalists divided into two irreconcilable factions over financial policy, with Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson defining contrasting views of the American future.
 2. Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, devised bold and controversial policies to enhance the authority of the national government and to favor financiers and seaport merchants.
 3. Hamilton's *Report on the Public Credit* asked Congress to redeem millions of dollars in securities issued by the Confederation, providing windfall profits to speculators and creating a permanent **national debt** owned mostly by wealthy families.
 4. The House rejected James Madison's proposal for helping the shopkeepers, farmers, and soldiers who were the original owners of the Confederation securities.
 5. Congress approved Hamilton's second proposal that the national government assume the war debts of the states (which

unleashed a flurry of speculation and some government corruption) after Hamilton agreed to reimburse those states that had already paid off much of their war debt and supported locating the permanent national capital along the banks of the Potomac.

6. Hamilton asked Congress to charter the Bank of the United States, to be jointly owned by private stockholders and the national government.
 7. Washington signed the legislation creating the bank, although Jefferson and Madison charged that a national bank was unconstitutional because the Constitution did not specifically provide for one.
 8. At Hamilton's insistence, Congress imposed a variety of domestic excise taxes and modestly increased tariffs on foreign imports. Hamilton did not support a high **protective tariff** that would exclude competing foreign productions. Instead, he favored **revenue tariffs** that would pay the interest on the debt and defray the expenses of the national government.
 9. Increased trade and customs revenue allowed the treasury to pay for Hamilton's redemption and assumption programs.
- C. Jefferson's Agrarian Vision
1. By 1793 most northern Federalists adhered to the political alliance led by Hamilton and most southerners to a rival group headed by Madison and Jefferson, the Republicans.
 2. Jefferson pictured a West settled by farm families whose grain and meat would feed Europeans in exchange for clothing and other comforts.
 3. During the 1790s, Jefferson's vision was fulfilled as warfare disrupted European farming.
 4. Simultaneously, a boom in the export of raw cotton boosted the economy of the lower South.
- D. The French Revolution Divides Americans
1. American merchants profited from the European war because a Proclamation of Neutrality allowed American citizens to trade with both sides.
 2. The American merchant fleet increased dramatically, commercial earnings rose, and work was available to thousands of Americans.
 3. Even as they prospered from the European struggle, Americans argued passionately over its ideologies and events.
 4. The ideological conflicts sharpened the debate over Hamilton's economic policies and brought on disruptions such as the Whiskey Rebellion, a protest against new excise taxes on spirits.
 5. In 1793 the Royal Navy began to prey on American ships bound for France from the West Indies.
 6. To avoid war, John Jay was sent to Britain and returned with a treaty that Republicans denounced as too conciliatory.
 7. As long as the Federalists were in power, the United States would have a pro-British foreign policy.
- E. The Rise of Political Parties
1. State and national constitutions made no provisions for political parties because they were considered unnecessary and dangerous.
 2. Merchants, creditors, and urban artisans favored Federalist policies, while the Republican coalition included support from farmers and planters.
 3. During the election of 1796, the Federalists celebrated Washington's achievements, and Republicans invoked the egalitarian principles of the Declaration of Independence.
 4. Federalists elected John Adams as president, and he continued Hamilton's pro-British foreign policy.
 5. Responding to the XYZ Affair, the Federalist-controlled Congress cut off trade with France and authorized American privateers to seize French ships, which extended party conflict begun over Hamilton's economic policies to foreign affairs.
- F. Constitutional Crisis, 1798–1800
1. To silence their critics, Federalists enacted a series of coercive measures—the Naturalization Act, the Alien Act, and the Sedition Act—which created a constitutional crisis.
 2. Republicans charged that the Sedition Act violated the First Amendment's prohibition against abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.
 3. At Republicans' urging, the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures declared the Alien and Sedition Acts to be void, resolutions that set forth a **states' rights** interpretation of the Constitution.
 4. Republicans strongly supported Jefferson's bid for the presidency in 1800.
 5. Adams rejected the advice of Federalists to declare war on France and instead negotiated an end to the fighting.

6. Jefferson won a narrow 73 to 65 victory in the Electoral College, but Republicans also gave 73 votes to Aaron Burr, sending the election to the House of Representatives.
 7. Federalists in the House blocked Jefferson's election until Hamilton, declaring Burr "unfit" for the presidency, persuaded key Federalists to vote for Jefferson.
 8. The bloodless transfer of power demonstrated that governments elected by the people could be changed in an orderly way, even amidst bitter partisan conflict and foreign crisis. It was therefore termed by Jefferson the "Revolution of 1800."
- II. The Westward Movement and the Jeffersonian Revolution
- A. The Expanding Republic and Native American Resistance
1. Invoking the Treaty of Paris and viewing Britain's Indian allies as conquered peoples, the United States government asserted its ownership of the trans-Appalachian west; Native Americans rejected this claim and pointed out that they had not signed the treaty and had never been conquered.
 2. In 1784 the United States used military threat to force the pro-British Iroquois peoples to sign the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and relinquish much of their land in New York and Pennsylvania.
 3. Farther to the west, the United States induced Indian peoples to give up most of the future state of Ohio.
 4. The Indians formed a Western Confederacy to defend themselves against aggressive settlers and forced a compromise peace in the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.
 5. In practice, this agreement eventually brought the transfer of millions of acres of Indian land to the U.S. government and sparked a wave of American migration into the region, resulting in new conflicts with native peoples over land and hunting rights.
 6. Most Native Americans resisted attempts to assimilate them into white society and rejected European farming practices.
- B. Migration and the Changing Farm Economy
1. The migratory upsurge of white farmers and planters brought financial rewards to many settlers and transformed the American farm economy.
 2. Most migrants who flocked through the Cumberland Gap were white tenant farmers and yeomen families fleeing the depleted soils and planter elite of the Chesapeake region.
3. Though poor migrants to Kentucky and Tennessee believed they had a customary right to occupy "waste vacant lands," the Virginia government allowed them to purchase up to 1,400 acres of land at reduced prices but sold or granted estates of 20,000 to 200,000 acres to wealthy individuals and partnerships.
 4. A second stream of migrants, dominated by slave-owning planters and their enslaved workers, moved along the coastal plain of the Gulf of Mexico into the future states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.
 5. Cotton financed the rapid settlement of this region as well as the expansion of slavery into the Old Southwest as technological breakthroughs increased the demand for raw wool and cotton.
 6. Seeking land for their children, a third stream of migrants flowed out of the overcrowded communities of New England into New York, Indiana, and Ohio.
 7. In New York, speculators snapped up much of the best land and attracted tenants to work it by offering farms rent-free for seven years, after which they charged rents. Many New England yeomen preferred the Holland Land Company, which allowed settlers to buy the land as they worked it, but high interest rates and the lack of markets initially mired thousands of these freeholders in debt.
 8. Unable to compete against low-priced western grains, eastern farmers changed their agriculture methods—rotating crops, diversifying production, and planting year round—which helped increase their productivity and boosted the entire American economy.
- C. The Jeffersonian Presidency
1. Thomas Jefferson was the first chief executive to hold office in the District of Columbia, the new national capitol.
 2. Before John Adams left office, the Federalist-controlled Congress had passed the Judiciary Act, which created sixteen new judgeships and six new circuit courts. Just before leaving office, Adams filled the judgeships and courts with "midnight appointments."
 3. James Madison's refusal to deliver the commission appointing William Marbury,

one of Adams's midnight appointees, as a justice of the peace in the District of Columbia caused Marbury to petition the Supreme Court to compel delivery under the terms of the Judiciary Act of 1789. In *Marbury v. Madison*, Chief Justice John Marshall asserted the Court's power of judicial review.

4. Despite this setback, Jefferson mobilized Republicans to shrink back the national government's size and power, which they believed was grossly overexpanded through Federalist policies.
 5. Republicans refused to reenact the Alien and Sedition Acts when they expired, amended the Naturalization Act to permit resident aliens to become citizens after five years, and secured repeal of the Judiciary Act, thereby ousting forty of Adams's "midnight appointees," though Jefferson allowed competent Federalist bureaucrats to retain their jobs.
 6. In foreign affairs, Jefferson met the crisis of the Barbary "pirates" by initially refusing to pay an annual bribe ("tribute") to protect American vessels in the Mediterranean; to avoid war, however, he negotiated a diplomatic settlement that reduced the tribute payment.
 7. In domestic matters, Jefferson set a clearly Republican course: he abolished internal taxes, reduced the size of the army, and tolerated the Bank of the United States.
 8. With Thomas Jefferson and Albert Gallatin at the helm, the national debt was reduced and the nation was no longer run in the interests of northeastern creditors and merchants.
- D. Jefferson and the West
1. As president, Jefferson seized the opportunity to increase the flow of settlers to the West; Republicans passed laws reducing the minimum acreage available for purchase.
 2. In 1801, Napoleon Bonaparte coerced Spain into returning Louisiana to France; then he directed Spanish officials to restrict American access to New Orleans.
 3. To avoid hostilities with France, Jefferson instructed Robert R. Livingston, an American minister in Paris, to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans; simultaneously, he also sent James Monroe to Britain to seek its assistance in case of war with France.

4. In April 1803, Bonaparte, Livingston, and James Monroe concluded what came to be known as the Louisiana Purchase for \$15 million (\$450 million in today's dollars).
5. Since the Constitution did not provide for adding new territory, Jefferson pragmatically reconsidered his strict interpretation of it.
6. In 1804, Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on an expedition; they returned two years later with maps of the new territory (and regions beyond).
7. Fearing that western expansion would diminish their power, New England Federalists talked openly of leaving the Union.
8. Refusing to support the secessionists, Alexander Hamilton accused their chosen leader, Aaron Burr, of participating in a conspiracy to destroy the Union. Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel. Hamilton accepted and was shot to death.
9. As evidenced by Burr's probable plan to either capture territory in New Spain or to foment a rebellion to establish Louisiana as a separate nation headed by himself, the Republicans' policy of western expansion increased party conflict and generated secessionist schemes in both New England and the West.

III. The War of 1812 and the Transformation of Politics

A. Conflict in the Atlantic and the West

1. As the Napoleonic Wars ravaged Europe, Great Britain and France refused to respect the neutrality of American merchant vessels.
2. Napoleon imposed the "Continental System," which required customs officials to seize neutral American ships that had stopped in Britain.
3. The British naval blockade stopped American ships carrying goods to Europe and also searched them for British deserters, who were then impressed (forced) back into service in the Royal Navy.
4. Americans were outraged in 1807 when a British warship attacked the *Chesapeake*, killing or wounding twenty-one men and seizing four.
5. Jefferson devised the Embargo Act of 1807, which prohibited American ships from leaving their home ports until Britain and France repealed restrictions on U.S. trade.
6. The act caused American exports to

plunge, prompting Federalists to demand its repeal.

7. Despite discontent over the embargo, voters elected Republican James Madison to the presidency in 1808. As president, James Madison replaced the embargo with new economic restrictions, none of which persuaded Britain and France to respect America's neutrality rights.
 8. Republican congressmen from the West thought Britain was the major offender, as evidenced by its assistance to the Indians in the Ohio River Valley.
 9. Republican expansionists in Congress condemned British support of Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, who had revived the Western Confederacy, and threatened to invade Canada in retaliation.
 10. In 1811, following a series of clashes between settlers and the Western Confederacy, William Henry Harrison, the governor of the Indiana Territory, led an army against Tenskwatawa's village of Prophetstown, fended off the confederacy's warriors at the Battle of Tippecanoe, and burned the village to the ground.
 11. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, hoping to gain new territory and discredit the Federalists, pushed Madison toward war with Britain.
 12. With elections approaching, Madison demanded British respect for American sovereignty in the West and neutral rights on the Atlantic, but when the British did not respond quickly, asked Congress for a declaration of war. In June 1812 a sharply divided Senate voted 19 to 13 for war, and the House of Representatives concurred, 79 to 49.
- B. The War of 1812
1. The War of 1812 was a near disaster for the United States, both militarily and politically.
 2. Political divisions in the United States prevented a major invasion of Canada in the East; New Englanders opposed the war and Boston merchants declined to lend money to the government.
 3. After two years of sporadic warfare, the United States had made little progress along the Canadian frontier and was on the defensive along the Atlantic; moreover, the new capital city was in ruins.
 4. In the Southwest, Andrew Jackson led an army of militiamen to victory over British-supported Creek Indians in the Battle of Little Horseshoe Bend and forced the Indians to cede 23 million acres of land.
5. Federalists met in Hartford, Connecticut, to discuss strategy "for a radical reform in the National Compact"; though some proposed succession, the majority wanted an amendment to the Constitution that would limit presidents to a single four-year term and rotate the presidency among citizens of different states, and also suggested amendments restricting commercial embargoes and requiring a two-thirds majority in Congress to declare war, prohibit trade, or admit a new state to the Union.
 6. The war continued to go badly; an American naval victory on Lake Champlain narrowly averted a British invasion of the Hudson River Valley, and British troops landed outside New Orleans and threatened to cut American trade down the Mississippi river.
 7. American military setbacks strengthened opposition to the war, but, fortunately, Britain, sapped from its twenty-year war with France, wanted peace.
 8. The Treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, restored the prewar borders of the United States.
 9. Andrew Jackson's victory against the British at New Orleans not only made Jackson a national hero but redeemed the nation's pride, and, together with the coming of peace, undercut the Hartford convention's demands for a significant revision of the Constitution.
 10. As a result of John Quincy Adams's diplomacy, the United States gained undisputed possession of nearly all the land south of the forty-ninth parallel and between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains.
 11. It was also at Adams's urging that Monroe announced a new American foreign policy (the Monroe Policy) in which it was declared that the American continents were not "subject for further colonization," in return for which the United States agreed "not to interfere in the internal concerns" of European nations.
- C. The Federalist Legacy
1. The War of 1812 ushered in a new phase of the Republican political revolution.

- Before the conflict, Federalists had strongly supported Alexander Hamilton's program of national mercantilism. After the war, the Republicans split into two factions, National Republicans and Jeffersonian Republicans.
2. Henry Clay led the National Republicans. In 1816 Republican Henry Clay of Kentucky won legislation creating the Second Bank of the United States and persuaded President Madison to sign it.
 3. Meanwhile, the Federalist Party was in severe decline. Nationalist Republicans had won the allegiance of many Federalist voters in the East, and the profarmer policies of Jeffersonian Republicans maintained their party's dominance in the South and West.
 4. The election of 1818 demonstrated Republican power: Republicans outnumbered Federalists 37 to 7 in the Senate and 156 to 27 in the House.
 5. Despite the Federalists' demise, their policies remained very much in evidence because of John Marshall's long tenure on the Supreme Court.
 6. Marshall was a committed Federalist who shaped the evolution of the Constitution through three principles that formed the basis of his jurisprudence: a commitment to judicial authority, the supremacy of national over state legislation, and a traditional, static view of property rights.
 7. After Marshall proclaimed the power of judicial review in *Marbury v. Madison*, the doctrine evolved slowly; the Supreme and state courts used it sparingly and only to overturn state laws that conflicted with constitutional principles.
 8. Marshall adopted a loose construction of the Constitution and asserted the dominance of national statutes over state legislation (*McCulloch v. Maryland*, 1819, and *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 1824).
 9. Under Marshall, the Supreme Court construed the Constitution so that it extended protection to the property rights of individuals purchasing state-owned lands (*Fletcher v. Peck*, 1810 and *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 1819).
 10. Nationalist-minded Republicans won the allegiance of many Federalists in the East, while Jeffersonian Republicans won the support of western farmers and southern planters.
 11. The career of John Quincy Adams is a case in point. The son of President John Adams, a Federalist, John Quincy Adams joined the Republican Party before the War of 1812. He served two terms as secretary of state under President James Monroe, and played a role in several major treaties signed with foreign governments ceding land to the young United States.
 12. Although the decline of the Federalists and of party politics prompted observers to dub James Monroe's two terms as president (1817–1825) as the "Era of Good Feeling," the Republican Party divided into a "national" faction and a "Jeffersonian," or state-oriented, faction.
 13. This division in the ranks of the Republican Party would produce a second party system in which national-minded Whigs faced off against state-focused Democrats.

Key Terms

national debt The financial obligations of the U.S. government for money borrowed from its citizens and foreign investors. Alexander Hamilton wanted wealthy Americans to invest in the national debt so that they would support the new national government. In recent decades, that same thinking has led the United States to encourage individuals and institutions in crucial foreign nations—Saudi Arabia and Japan, for example—to invest billions of dollars in the American national debt. (206)

protective tariff A tax on imports levied to protect domestic products from foreign competition. A hot political issue throughout much of American history, protective tariffs became particularly controversial in the 1830s and again between 1880 and 1914, when Republicans (for protectionism) and Democrats (for free trade) centered their political campaigns on the issue. (207)

revenue tariff A tax on imports levied to raise money for the government. See *protective tariff*. (207)

states' rights An interpretation of the Constitution that exalts the sovereignty of the states and circumscribes the authority of the national government. Expressed first by Antifederalists in the debate over the Constitution, and then in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, the ideology of states' rights became especially important in the South. It informed white southerners' resistance to the high tariffs of the 1820s and

1830s, to legislation to limit the spread of slavery, and to attempts by the national government in the mid-twentieth century to end Jim Crow practices. (211)

Lecture Strategies

1. Write a lecture on the impact on American society and politics of the war between France and Britain from 1793 to 1798, and why and how the United States tried to avoid becoming openly allied to either nation. It is often difficult to impress on students the diplomatic predicament of the United States during the conflict. Formulate an analysis by imagining American policy toward the two belligerents, both of whom had past ties with the United States. As American sympathies were expressed, the other belligerent responded, altering the popularity of each party's position and changing the context of the dispute. The Ghent Affair weakened the pro-French forces; British retaliation and Jay's Treaty weakened support for Britain; and the XYZ Affair pushed the United States back toward Britain and into a near war with France. As the United States moved back and forth, the advantage shifted from one party to the other. Ultimately, in their effort to support a pro-British and anti-French policy, the Federalists overstepped the rights of free speech, damaging their image and leading to a Republican victory.
2. Write a lecture that explains the major factors that fostered the development of a capitalist economy in the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Describe the forces behind the enactment of the Embargo Act of 1807. Elucidate the economic hardships and divisiveness it caused, and explain why it was replaced by less stringent legislation. Then describe the outwork, or putting-out, system. Explore its origins and the effects it had on farm families, agriculture, and the market economy. Explain how those changes contributed to the Industrial Revolution in the United States.
3. Write a lecture that discusses the trans-Appalachian migration in the context of major economic and social changes impacting the United States during the early nineteenth century. Examine the complex forces that encouraged settlers to move west, the migrants' origins and social backgrounds, the many difficulties they encountered, and the effects of migration on the eastern states and the Native American population of the region.
4. Write a lecture that examines the causes of the U.S. war against the more powerful nation of Great

Britain in 1812. Explain the many forces that compelled Madison and Congress to place the young nation in such jeopardy. Describe the political and sectional division over the decision to go to war. Be sure to comment on the impact of the war on the economy and society of the United States.

5. Examine Chief Justice Marshall's view of constitutional nationalism. Explain how his court strengthened federal authority at the expense of the states, providing a favorable climate for business that led to the development of a capitalist commonwealth.

Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

The Political Crisis of the 1790s (pp. 204–212)

1. What was Hamilton's vision of the future? What policies did he advocate to achieve it? How was Jefferson's vision different?
 - Strongly conservative and wealthy, Hamilton condemned the violence and democratic spirit of the newly enfranchised, white male American electorate.
 - Hamilton called for an authoritarian government, and as treasury secretary he enhanced national authority in favor of wealthy financiers and merchants through a program of national mercantilism, a system of state-assisted economic development.
 - Speaking for southern planter Federalists, Jefferson embraced the Enlightenment spirit of optimism and expressed a democratic vision of an agricultural nation based on small, independent farmers.
2. What were the consequences of the French Revolution in America? How did it affect the development of American politics?
 - The French Revolution produced ideological conflict over religion and politics, and created economic prosperity for merchants, slaveowners, and farmers as a result of high food prices in Europe.
 - Ideological conflicts increased political divisions within American society, particularly the domestic debate over Hamilton's economic policies, which helped create a domestic insurrection in western Pennsylvania (the Whiskey

rebellion of 1794). Party identity of Federalists and Republicans crystallized as well.

3. Do you agree with Jefferson that the election of 1800 was a revolution? Explain your answer.

- The election of 1800 was a revolution because of the new importance of political parties in shaping national elections, the new attitude of political candidates who now actively ran for office and placed party loyalty ahead of national concerns, and the “bloodless” transfer of power to those who believed in a different vision of government.

The Westward Movement and the Jeffersonian Revolution (pp. 212–222)

1. Why did the Western Indian Confederacy fail to limit white settlement west of the Appalachians?

- Settlement was not limited because there was a large population of white settlers in eastern states; the expansion of the farming economy during the late eighteenth century increased white immigration on to Indian lands; the white settlers had a genocidal attitude toward Indian people; it was the U.S. government’s policy to acquire Indian lands through treaty, trickery, and warfare; and Indians lacked enough guns and troops and suffered from disease and food loss.

2. How did Jeffersonian policy encourage expansion westward? Why did Jefferson and other expansionists believe the West was crucial to the well-being of the republic?

- Jefferson believed that the West provided a great source of land for farm families. He was concerned about urbanization and its inability to create contented urban workers who would act in the spirit of republicanism. A nation of yeoman farmers would provide the independence from capitalists necessary for a republic to sustain itself over time.
- Jefferson’s policies encouraged expansion westward by making it easier for farm families to acquire land, by exporting crops through Spanish New Orleans, by opening new lands through the purchase of Louisiana territory from the French in 1803, and by dispatching Lewis and Clark on their expedition the following year.

3. Why did easterners leave their communities and move to the trans-Appalachian west?

- Easterners moved westward to speculate on lands for a profit, to purchase independent farms for their growing families, to pay debts, to avoid overcrowding, to leave areas dominated by slave labor, and to establish new cotton plantations.

The War of 1812 and the Transformation of Politics (pp. 222–234)

1. What were the causes of the War of 1812? Where did Republicans and Federalists stand on declaring and then fighting the war? What regional tensions did the war expose?

- Napoleonic wars enabled the United States to claim neutrality and trade with France and England through Jefferson’s policy of coercion, but alienated Britain in the process. The British practice of impressment of American sailors angered the U.S. public. The British also supported Indian land claims against the United States in the trans-Mississippi West.
- Republican war hawks from the South and West wanted war in order to acquire territory in British Canada and Spanish Florida. New England Federalists opposed the war because of the raising of taxes and tariffs and the national conscription of state militiamen.
- The war exposed regional tensions between (1) the South and West where voters wanted more lands for slavery expansion, and (2) the northeastern states, which favored industry and the interests of free labor, urban workers, shippers, and merchants. Boston merchants and banks refused to lend money to the federal government, making the war difficult to finance.

2. How did the decisions of the Supreme Court between 1801 and 1820 affect the nation’s understanding of the Constitution? How did they change American society?

- The court was dominated by John Marshall, a committed Federalist. Three principles dominated his policies and shaped the nation’s understanding of the Constitution: judicial authority (judicial review), the supremacy of national laws, and traditional property rights. He was a loose constructionist.
- Courts now routinely overturn state laws that infringe on the U.S. Constitution; they uphold property rights more strongly; and limit monopolies held by private industry. The decisions of that era shaped the U.S. banking system through judicial regulation.

Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 7 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. Explain the rise and fall of the First Party System. How did the policies pursued by Republican presidents between 1801 and 1825 differ from those implemented by Hamilton and the Federalists during the 1790s? Why did the Federalist agenda fall out of favor? What legacy did the Federalists leave?
 - Republican polices advocated more westward migration, and low taxes and tariffs for farmers and merchants. They championed the yeoman farmer and an agricultural-based economy over urban development, and favored state's rights over a strong centralized government.
 - Federalist policies favored a strong executive branch, urban development, national improvements, a strong central banking system, high tariffs and taxes, and national mercantilism, and did not see westward expansion as a primary national goal.
 - The Federalist agenda fell out of favor due in part to the War of 1812, which enabled the Nationalist Republicans to win the allegiance of many Federalist voters. Jefferson's pro-farmer policies congealed voter sympathy in the South and West.
 - The Federalist legacy continued with the judicial policies of Supreme Court Justice John Marshall, who remained on the court until 1822, establishing the primacy of judicial authority, the supremacy of national laws, and traditional property rights.
2. What impact did the two great developments of this period—the French Revolution and war in Europe, and westward expansion in the United States—have on each other?
 - The French Revolution increased party politics and ideological divisions in United States, which accelerated polices of westward expansion to achieve ideological ends.
 - Turmoil in Europe increased agricultural prices, which accelerated westward expansion in the United States as farmers took advantage of new lands.
 - Jefferson's Embargo of 1807 in response to European warfare ruined urban and farm families, motivating many to migrate west to escape debt.

- Napoleon's desire to rid France of the Louisiana territory in 1799 led to the Louisiana Purchase and an increase of westward expansion.
- U.S. declarations of neutrality in carrying goods to both France and Britain alienated the British, who sided with Indians in attacking westward migrants and reducing westward migration, leading to the War of 1812.

Class Discussion Starters

1. Why did Jefferson and Madison oppose Hamilton's programs?

Possible answers

- a. The powers Hamilton invested in the central government were not stated in the Constitution as powers of the government.
- b. The centralization of capital would encourage manufacturing, which would create a class of exploited wage earners and undermine a republican government supported by a free and independent people.
- c. A central bank would enlarge the national debt, create indebtedness, force the government to increase taxes, and gradually impoverish independent yeoman farmers.
- d. Hamilton, they argued, wanted to reimpose an English-style mixed government in America and was beginning by empowering the moneyed elite.

2. How did the United States acquire Native American lands with such ease?

Possible answers

- a. The government forced treaties on the Indians under the threat of military force.
- b. The United States bribed Indians, using American goods to compel them to relinquish the right to their lands.
- c. The government allowed settlers to intrude on Indian land and thus force the issue of ownership.
- d. It was the government's policy to deal with the Native Americans one tribe at a time, thus keeping them divided.

3. Why did Jefferson take such a conciliatory attitude toward the Federalists?

Possible answers

- a. Jefferson wanted to unite the nation politically.
 - b. Jefferson was a moderate, practical politician.
 - c. Jefferson disliked vigorous controversy and criticism.
 - d. With the Federalists out of power, Jefferson saw little danger of the political system being used as a tool of corruption.
 - e. Jefferson saw ways in which Federalist policies could be revised to benefit more people.
4. **Did the Americans achieve their goals in the War of 1812?**

Possible answers

- a. Yes. They successfully severed the alliance between the Native Americans in the West and the British. The British grudgingly recognized American sovereignty in the West.
- b. Yes. American neutrality was recognized, and the Americans gained the respect of the British, ending a long period of diplomatic subservience to Britain.
- c. Yes. They sustained and enhanced national honor.
- d. No. The United States did not prevail over the British militarily; indeed, it was almost a military disaster.
- e. No. Prewar boundaries were maintained, and unresolved issues were referred to future negotiations.

Classroom Activities

1. Make a list of the major social groups within the early American Republic and distribute it to the students. Even better, have the students come up with the list during an in-class brainstorming exercise. The list might include African American slaves, Native Americans, the British government, the American government, American farmers and planters, American urban workers, and U.S. merchants. Then ask the students (individually or in groups) to select a particular social group and create a list that explains that group's perspective on the major issues impacting the nation during the early nineteenth century. Then come together as a class and list the major issues for each group on the board.
2. Distribute a document (such as a historical treaty, a newspaper article or image, or a diary entry) to

the class that relates to the lecture you are presenting. Make sure that the document is short and easily understood. After the students have read the document, ask them a series of questions. Try to connect the document to the larger historical context framing the textbook chapter and your lecture. You may also wish to ask the students about the limitations and insights of the document as a tool for understanding the past.

Oral History Exercise

- At the start of your lecture, tell the class that they will be visited by a person from the era of the early Republic. Save an extra fifteen minutes at the end of your lecture, then tell your students that you are now a person from that time period. The class must determine your identity through a series of oral questions. You should answer the questions with as few words as possible. In trying to understand the character and time period, the students should also come to realize the limitations of oral communication as a form of historical analysis. You may wish to emphasize in a later discussion that the students had only you as their primary source, and no documents or other written material to utilize for understanding the past.

Working with Documents

COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

Factional Politics and the War of 1812
(p. 226)

1. According to Washington, what is the ultimate cause of political factionalism? Why might he believe that factionalism is most dangerous in “pop-ular”—that is, republican—governments?
 - Political parties are based on geographical considerations and interests created by the desires of human nature to dominate and seek revenge.
 - Factionalism in republican governments may lead to rapid takeovers of power by one selfish interest group inflaming the “mob” during an election, whereas monarchies resist political change from outside more strongly.
2. What specific dangers did Josiah Quincy and the Federalists foresee with regard to Republican war policies? Read the section on the War of 1812 in the text, and then discuss the accuracy of their predictions. Why might New England Federalists oppose an imperialistic war that would add western states to the Union?

- According to the Federalists the dangers of the War of 1812 included the disruption of commerce, the loss of innocent lives to assuage honor, and a quick defeat at the hands of a large British Navy. They believed the war would cause panic along the eastern seaboard and incite a British invasion of the United States.
 - New Englanders opposed the War of 1812 because of the reduction of jobs in trade and shipping, resulting from disruptions caused by a war that would not improve the economy of New England. New England would also lose power in Congress if new western states were created.
3. According to Hezekiah Niles, what were the war goals of the Republican administration by 1815? How had those goals changed since the start of the war? Niles charged the Federalists and their supporters with impeding the American war effort. What were his specific charges? Did they have any merit?
- *Goals:* The Republicans wanted to create a defensive policy based on protection of American property and not aggression toward Britain; to provide money for troops and supplies; and to foster political unity rather than partisan disagreements. *Changes:* The British invasion prompted an increase in troop deployment.
 - *Charges:* Niles claimed the Federalists were dividing the nation based on partisan political interests, and harassing and thwarting the government through votes against financing the U.S. war effort. *Merit:* Niles's claims have some merit since the actions of the Federalists, who opposed certain war measures, succeeded in depressing the national credit with their financial actions
- States; and recent attacks against the character of George Washington resembled the French threats against the king.
2. By 1796, Americans had a long tradition of popular protests. Which of those protests gave credence to Cobbett's warning that a bloodbath might "take place among us"?
- The tradition of street protests, burnings in effigy, the Boston massacre, tarring and feathering, mob actions, lynching, regulator movements, and Shays's rebellion could serve as warnings.
3. Why do you think Americans generally were able to resolve their political disputes peacefully, while the French took up arms to do so?
- Compared to France, the United States had a republican form of government that responded to lower-class demands more quickly. The United States also had less poverty, abundant land taken from Indians, and more possibilities for successful white migration to stifle violent class resistance against financial stagnation.
 - France possessed an entrenched monarchy and aristocracy that resisted working-class peasant demands for social improvement. Urban centers were crowded and the lack of available land prevented an exodus to countryside, concentrating angry poor peasants in Paris.

Reading American Pictures

Creating a National Political Tradition (p. 205)

VOICES FROM ABROAD

William Cobbett: Peter Porcupine Attacks Pro-French Americans (p. 210)

1. What horrors does Cobbett describe? Why does he believe a similar fate could befall the United States?
- Cobbett describes the murder of innocent civilians in France during the Revolution, the lack of religion and morals, and the loss of national wealth, manufacturing, and the sciences.
 - Cobbett believed the United States was a different land than in its colonial past: foreign and secular radicals fomenting rebellion had immigrated; some members of Congress had called for the use of the French guillotine in the United States.
1. George Washington had a lot to do with creating America's sense of nationhood. How is Washington portrayed in the image on the left, which depicts his journey from Virginia to New York in 1789 to assume the presidency? Pay attention to the symbols in the engraving—the laurel wreaths, the American flags, the eagle—and to the fact that Washington is riding a horse, long a symbol of authority and royal power. What do these symbols suggest about Washington? About the presidency? How might those interpretations conflict with America's republican self-image?
- Washington is depicted as a triumphant hero returning from battle, with women fawning and men assisting him.
 - These symbols suggest that Washington is the embodiment of America and the ideals of free-

dom, independence, democracy, and republican values that lay at the heart of the new United States.

- The symbols also suggest a spirit of domination and almost regal or monarchical power and masculine control, which contrasted with the republican values of equality that formed the basis of America's republican self-image.
2. In the Gettysburg Address, Lincoln speaks reverently of "our fathers." The banner in the engraving of Washington, which was created in 1845, reads: "the defender of the mothers will be the protector of the daughters." What is the significance of the use of family imagery by Lincoln and the engraver? How does this imagery personalize the abstract concept of the nation?
- The use of family imagery suggests that Americans were trying to understand the meaning and identity of a new nationality that was undergoing major political changes during the early Republican era. They were trying to explain to later generations the novel concept of the U.S. experiment in federalism and a republican government.
 - Family imagery makes personal the abstract concept of the nation by linking national identity with a founding family and patriarch. Later generations can then look back and see history unfolding in a linear and progressive manner based on the designs and models established by the "founding fathers."
3. The engraving in the text, from 1839, supports the incumbent president, Martin Van Buren (see Chapter 10). He firmly clasps the hand of Andrew Jackson, his predecessor, political ally, and the author of the famous toast "The Union Must Be Preserved." What use does the engraver make of Washington and the presidents who followed him? How do you think this imagery might have helped create a national political tradition?
- The engraver clearly elevates the importance of Washington and the next several presidents by enlarging their size and placing them near an eagle and Roman statues, symbols of American republicanism. He also links Van Buren and Jackson to the presidential greatness of Washington by depicting them as the same size and in the same posture.
 - Imagery helped to create a national political tradition by establishing Washington and early presidents as "founding fathers," thereby occupying an elevated and more progressive role among U.S. presidents. This established a political and historical tradition of U.S. presidents as

near-monarchical figures, celebrated within the government system and society as flawless.

Electronic Media

Web Sites

- Thomas Jefferson
www.pbs.org/jefferson/
This site offers further documents and scholarly information on Jefferson's complex life and political career to supplement the PBS documentary.
- The Marshall Cases
odur.let.rug.nl/usa/D/1801-1825/marshallcases/marxx.htm
A collection of the major cases presided over by the chief justice.
- George Washington
www.virginia.edu/gwpapers
The letters and other political and personal correspondence of the first president of the United States, on a site sponsored by the University of Virginia.
- Library of Congress
memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html
This government Web site contains the primary text of congressional documents, debates, and other congressional discussions published during the era.

Films

- *The Duel* (2000, PBS documentary, 60 minutes)
Directed by Carl Byker and produced by PBS in the American Experience series, this documentary re-creates the context of and actual duel between Burr and Hamilton.
- *Washington* (1992, PBS documentary, 60 minutes)
Directed by David Sutherland, this American Experience documentary chronicles the life and times of George Washington.
- *The First Invasion: The War of 1812* (2004, Native Sun Productions, 120 minutes)
Directed by Gary Foreman, this romanticized docudrama traces the causes and impact of the war on the American people.
- *A Midwife's Tale* (1995, PBS documentary, 120 minutes)
This film is a compelling historical re-enactment of Ulrich's Pulitzer-prize-winning portrait of the life of a midwife in Maine.

Literature

- Gore Vidal, *Burr: A Novel* (New York: Random House, 1973)
A historical-fictional account based on the relationship between Hamilton and Burr.

Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 7

FOR INSTRUCTORS

Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 7 are available as full-color acetates:

- American Commerce, c. 1800
- Washington's Journey from Mount Vernon
- "Independence Declared 1776. The Union Must Be Preserved."
- Map 7.1 The Presidential Elections of 1796 and 1800
- Map 7.2 Indian Cessions and State Formation, 1776–1840
- Map 7.3 Regional Cultures Move West, 1790–1820
- Map 7.4 U.S. Population Density in 1803 and the Louisiana Purchase
- Map 7.5 The War of 1812
- Map 7.6 Defining the National Boundaries, 1800–1820

Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 7, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 7.1 The Presidential Elections of 1796 and 1800
- Map 7.2 Indian Cessions and State Formations, 1776–1840
- Map 7.3 Regional Cultures Move West, 1790–1820
- Map 7.4 U.S. Population Density in 1803 and the Louisiana Purchase
- Map 7.5 The War of 1812
- Map 7.6 Defining the National Boundaries, 1800–1820
- Figure 7.1 Hamilton's Fiscal Structure, 1792
- American Commerce, c. 1800
- Washington's Journey from Mount Vernon
- "Independence Declared 1776. The Union Must Be Preserved."

Using the Bedford Series with *America's History*, Sixth Edition

Available online at bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries, this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 7 include

- *The Lewis and Clark Expedition: Selections from the Journals, Arranged by Topic*, Edited with an Introduction by Gunther Barth, *University of California, Berkeley*
- *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Confrontations that Shaped a Nation*, by Noble E. Cunningham Jr., *University of Missouri-Columbia*
- *THE FEDERALIST* by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay: *The Essential Essays*, Edited with an Introduction by Jack N. Rakove, *Stanford University*
- *Welfare Reform in the Early Republic: A Brief History with Documents*, by Seth Rockman, *Brown University*
- *Judith Sargent Murray: A Brief Biography with Documents*, by Sheila L. Skemp, *University of Mississippi*.

FOR STUDENTS

Documents to Accompany *America's History*

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 7 of the companion reader by Melvin Yazawa, *University of New Mexico*:

1. Alexander Hamilton, Report on Public Credit (1790)
2. George Washington, Farewell Address (1796)
3. Alexander Lawson, David Edwin, George Washington as a Symbol for America (1799, 1800)
4. The Sedition Act (1798)
5. Thomas Jefferson, The Kentucky Resolutions (1798)
6. Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address (1801)
7. Congressional Resolution on Western Lands (1800)
8. Henry Knox, Proposed Indian Policy for the New Republic (1789)
9. Thomas Jefferson, Message to Congress (January 18, 1803)
10. Jane Stevenson, A Pioneer Woman in Post-Revolutionary Kentucky (1840s)
11. John Marshall, Decision in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)

12. Meriwether Lewis, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expeditions* (1804–1806)
13. George Cruikshank, *Peter Pencil, Jefferson and the Embargo* (1808, 1809)
14. William Henry Harrison, *Speech to Tecumseh and the Prophet* (1811) and *Report to the Secretary of War* (1814)
15. *Hartford Convention Resolutions* (1814)

Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/henretta

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 7:

Map Activity

- Map 7.6 *Defining the National Boundaries, 1800–1820*

Visual Activity

- *Reading American Pictures: Creating a National Political Tradition*

Reading Historical Documents Activities

- *Comparing American Voices: Factional Politics and the War of 1812*
- *Voices from Abroad: William Cobbett: Peter Porcupine Attacks Pro-French Americans*

Critical Thinking Modules at bedfordstmartins.com/historymodules

These online modules invite students to interpret maps, audio, visual, and textual sources centered on events covered in the U.S. history survey. Relevant modules for Chapter 7 include

- *Meriwether Lewis Observes the Shoshone Indians, 1805*