

## The Articles of Confederation

The colonies did not wait to win their independence from England before setting up their own governments. As soon as the Declaration of Independence was signed, states began writing their own constitutions. In 1777 the Continental Congress sent the **Articles of Confederation**, the first national constitution, to the colonies for ratification. The colonists intentionally created little to no central government since they were afraid of ridding themselves of Britain's imperial rule only to create their own tyrannical government. The articles contained several major limitations, as the country would soon learn. For one, it did not give the national government the power to tax or to regulate trade. Furthermore, amendments to the articles required the unanimous consent of all the states, creating a situation in which one state could hold the others hostage to its demands. The Articles of Confederation were clearly more concerned with prohibiting the government from gaining too much power than with empowering it to function effectively.

With the end of the war, the colonies had other issues to confront as well. The decrease in England's power in the region opened a new era of relations with Native Americans. This new era was even more contentious than the previous one because a number of tribes had allied themselves with the Crown. Second-class citizens and noncitizens—namely, women and blacks—had made sacrifices in the fight for liberation, and some expected at least a degree of compensation. **Abigail Adams** wrote a famous letter to her husband pleading the case for women's rights in the new government; she reminded John to “remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors.” The number of free blacks in the colonies grew during and after the war, but their increased presence among free whites was also accompanied by a growth of racist publications and legislation. Such conditions led to the early “ghettoization” of blacks and, for similar reasons, other minorities.

The problems with the Articles of Confederation became apparent early on. The wartime government, unable to levy taxes, tried to finance the war by printing more money, which led, naturally, to wild inflation. After the war, the British pursued punitive trade policies against the colonies, denying them access to West Indian markets and dumping goods on American markets. The government, unable to impose tariffs, was helpless. A protective tariff would impose duties on imported goods; the additional cost would be added to the selling price, thereby raising the cost of foreign products. By making domestic products cheaper than imports, most tariffs protected American manufacturers. Having just fought a war in part caused by taxes imposed by a central authority, the newly independent Americans were reluctant to give this power to their new federal government. In fact, the first protective tariff in United States history wasn't passed until 1816. The issue of the tariff exposed another source of tension within the new country—economic sectionalism—a major conflict that eventually led the new nation to civil war and continues to play a role in partisan politics to this very day.

Furthermore, when state governments dragged their heels in compensating loyalists for lost property, the British refused to abandon military posts in the States, claiming that they were remaining to protect the loyalists' rights. The government, again, was powerless to expel them. Perhaps the rudest awakening came in the

### Translate the answer choice:

(E) imposed high duties on foreign goods  
Translation: *made it more expensive to buy stuff from other countries*



form of **Shays's Rebellion**. Lasting from August 1786 to January 1787, it started when an army of 1,500 farmers from western Massachusetts marched on Springfield to protest a number of unfair policies, both economic and political. They were armed and very angry, and they gave the elite class the wake-up call that the revolution might not be over yet. As with the earlier **Bacon's Rebellion** and later **Whiskey Rebellion**, this rebellion revealed lingering resentment on the part of the backcountry farmers toward the coastal elite—and such rebellions were the focus of an FRQ in 2007. One thing that especially worried the wealthy, though, was that the Articles of Confederation had created a national government that was essentially powerless to stop such rebellions.

The government under the Articles was not totally without its successes, though. Its greatest achievements were the adoption of ordinances governing the sale of government land to settlers. Best known is the **Northwest Ordinance of 1787**, which also contained a bill of rights guaranteeing trial by jury, freedom of religion, and freedom from excessive punishment. It abolished slavery in the Northwest territories (northwest of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River, up to the Canadian border), and also set specific regulations concerning the conditions under which territories could apply for statehood. Thus, the ordinance is seen as a forerunner to the Bill of Rights and other progressive government policies. It was not so enlightened about Native Americans, however; in fact, it essentially claimed their land without their consent. War ensued, and peace did not come until 1795 when the United States gained a military advantage over the Miami Confederacy, its chief Native-American opponent in the area. The Northwest Ordinance remained important long after the Northwest territories were settled, because of its pertinence to the statehood process and to the issue of slavery.

## A New Constitution

By 1787 it was clear that the federal government lacked sufficient authority under the Articles of Confederation. **Alexander Hamilton** was especially concerned that there was no uniform commercial policy and feared for the survival of the new republic. Hamilton convened what came to be known as the **Annapolis Convention**, but only five delegates showed up! Subsequently, Congress consented to a “meeting in Philadelphia” the following May for the sole purpose of “revising the Articles of Confederation.” This meeting would eventually become the now-famous Constitutional Convention, comprising delegates from all states except Rhode Island, which met throughout the long, hot summer of 1787.

Much has been written about the framers of the Constitution. There were fifty-five delegates: all men, all white, many of whom were wealthy lawyers or landowners, many of whom owned slaves. They came from many different ideological backgrounds, from those who felt the Articles needed only slight adjustments to those who wanted to tear them down and start from scratch. **The New Jersey Plan** called for modifications, and it also called for equal representation from each state. **The Virginia Plan**, largely the brainchild of James Madison, called for an entirely new government based on the principle of **checks and balances** and for the number of representatives for each state to be based upon the population of the state, giving some states an advantage.



The convention lasted for four months, over the course of which the delegates hammered out a bundle of compromises, including the **Great Compromise** (also known as the **Connecticut Compromise**), which blended the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey plan to have a bicameral legislature, and the **Constitution**. This bicameral legislature included a lower house (the House of Representatives) elected by the people and the upper house (the Senate) elected by the state legislatures. (Direct election of senators, believe it or not, is a twentieth-century innovation.) The president and vice president were to be elected by the electoral college, not the citizens themselves.

The Constitution also laid out a method for counting slaves among the populations of Southern states for “proportional” representation in Congress, even though those slaves would not be citizens. This became known as the Three-Fifths Compromise, because each slave counted as three-fifths of a person. It also established

three branches of government—the **executive**, **legislative**, and **judicial**—with the power of checks and balances on each other. Only three of the 42 delegates who remained in Philadelphia to the end refused to sign the finished document (two because it did not include a bill of rights).

Ratification of the Constitution was by no means guaranteed. Opposition forces portrayed the federal government under the Constitution as an all-powerful beast. These opponents, known as **Anti-Federalists**, tended to come from the backcountry and were particularly appalled by the absence of a bill of rights. Their position rang true in many of the state legislatures where the Constitution’s fate lay, and some held out for the promise of the immediate addition of the **Bill of Rights** upon ratification. The **Federalist** position was forcefully and persuasively argued in the **Federalist Papers**, anonymously authored by **James Madison**, **Alexander Hamilton**, and **John Jay**. The Federalist Papers were published in a New York newspaper and were later widely circulated. They were critical in swaying opinion in New York, a large and therefore politically important state. (Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts were the other powerhouses of the era.) The **Constitution** went into effect in 1789; the **Bill of Rights** was added in 1791.

#### The Bill of Rights in a Nutshell

1. Freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition
2. Right to bear arms in order to maintain a well-regulated militia
3. No quartering of soldiers in private homes
4. Freedom from unreasonable search and seizure
5. Right to due process of law, freedom from self-incrimination, double jeopardy (being tried twice for the same crime)
6. Rights of accused persons; for example, the right to a speedy and public trial
7. Right of trial by jury in civil cases
8. Freedom from excessive bail and from cruel and unusual punishment
9. Rights not listed are kept by the people
10. Powers not listed are kept by the states or the people



## The Washington Presidency

The electoral college unanimously chose **George Washington** to be the first president. Washington had not sought the presidency, but as the most popular figure in the colonies, he was the clear choice, and he accepted the role out of a sense of obligation.

Knowing that his actions would set precedents for those who followed him in office, Washington exercised his authority with care and restraint. He determined early on to use his veto only if he was convinced that a bill was unconstitutional. He was comfortable delegating responsibility and so created a government made up of the best minds of his time. Although the Constitution does not specifically grant the president the duty or even the power to create a cabinet, every president since George Washington has had one. The cabinet is made up of the heads of the various executive departments, which have grown in number over the years, and it functions as the president's chief group of advisors.

Prominent among his cabinet selections were **Thomas Jefferson** as secretary of state and **Alexander Hamilton** as secretary of the treasury. These two men strongly disagreed about the proper relationship between the federal government and state governments. Hamilton favored a strong central government and weaker state governments. Jefferson, fearing the country would backslide into monarchy, or tyranny, favored a weaker federal government empowered mainly to defend the country and regulate international commerce. All other powers, he thought, should be reserved to the states.

Their argument was not a mere intellectual exercise. The new government was still defining itself, and each man had a vision of what this nation was to become. The debate came to the forefront when Hamilton proposed a **National Bank** to help regulate and strengthen the economy. Both houses of Congress approved Hamilton's plan, but Washington, uncertain of the bank's constitutionality, considered a veto. In the debate that followed, the two main schools of thought on constitutional law were established. On one side were the **strict constructionists**, led by Jefferson and **James Madison**. They argued that the Constitution allowed Congress only those powers specifically granted to it or those "necessary and proper" to the execution of its **enumerated powers**. While a bank might be "desirable" and perhaps beneficial, they argued, it was not "necessary," and thus its creation was beyond the powers of the national government. Hamilton took the opposing viewpoint, framing the **broad (loose) constructionist** position. He argued that the creation of a bank was an **implied power** of the government because the government already had explicit power to coin money, borrow money, and collect taxes. Hamilton put forward that the government could do anything in the execution of those enumerated powers—including create a bank—that was not explicitly forbidden it by the Constitution. Washington agreed with Hamilton and signed the bill.

Hamilton's tenure at treasury was a busy and successful one. Among his achievements was his successful handling of the **national debt** accrued during the war. Hamilton's financial plan called for the federal government to assume the states' debts (further increasing the federal government's power over them) and to repay those debts by giving the debt holders land on the western frontier. The plan



### The National Debt

One often hears grumbling about the national debt, but Hamilton considered the creation of a sizable national debt a very good thing. The government regularly borrows money by various means, such as offering bonds for sale, and the national debt is simply the amount the government owes on those loans. Hamilton's logic was that if the government racked up a national debt—that is, if it owed money to its wealthiest citizens—then those citizens would be invested in the success of the government, for only if the government survived could they hope to be paid back.

clearly favored Northern banks, many of which had bought up debt certificates at a small portion of their worth. Northern states also had more remaining debt than Southern states, another reason why the plan drew accusations that Hamilton was helping the monied elite at the expense of the working classes. (Some issues are perennials of American politics; this is one of them. Opposition to tax increases is another.) Hamilton was able to strike a political deal to get most of his plan implemented. His concession was a Southern location for the nation's capital. In 1800, the capital was moved to **Washington, D.C.**, a city created to become the seat of government.

The **French Revolution** took place during the Washington administration, and it too caused considerable debate. Jefferson wanted to support the revolution and its republican ideals. Hamilton had aristocratic leanings and so disliked the revolutionaries, who had overthrown the French aristocracy. The issue came to the forefront when France and England resumed hostilities. The British continued to be America's primary trading partner after the war, a situation that nudged the United States toward neutrality in the French–English conflict. Even Jefferson agreed that neutrality was the correct course to follow. When French government representative **Citizen Edmond Genêt** visited America to seek its assistance, Washington declared the U.S. intention to remain “friendly and impartial toward belligerent powers.” This was called the **Neutrality Proclamation**. Genêt's visit sparked large, enthusiastic rallies held by American supporters of the revolution.

Historians cite the differences between Hamilton and Jefferson as the origins of our two-party system. Those favoring a strong federal government came to be known as **Federalists** (not to be confused with the Federalists who supported ratification of the Constitution, even though they were often the same people), while the followers of Jefferson called themselves the Republicans, later known as **Democratic-Republicans** to avoid confusion with members of the Republican Party created in the 1850s, a very different group which still survives today. The development of political parties troubled the framers of the Constitution, most of whom regarded parties as factions and dangerous to the survival of the Republic.

Our First Party System		
	Federalists	Democratic-Republicans
Leaders	Hamilton, Washington, Adams, Jay, Marshall	Jefferson, Madison
Vision	Economy based on commerce	Economy based on agriculture
Governmental Power	Strong federal government	Stronger state governments
Supporters	Wealthy, Northeast	Yeoman farmers, Southerners
Constitution	Loose construction	Strict construction
National Bank	Believed it was "necessary"	Believed it was merely "desirable"
Foreign Affairs	More sympathetic toward Great Britain	More sympathetic toward France

Note: The Federalist party would die out after the **Hartford Convention**, following the War of 1812. Hamilton's vision and programs would be carried out by the nationalist program and Henry Clay's **American System** during the **Era of Good Feelings**. The **Second Party System** would emerge during the presidency of **Andrew Jackson** and would consist of the **Whigs**, who embraced many Federalist principles and policies, and the **Jacksonian Democrats**, who saw themselves as the heirs of the Jeffersonian Republicans.

Hamilton's financial program not only stirred controversy in Congress and helped to create our two-party system but also instigated the **Whiskey Rebellion**, which began in western Pennsylvania when farmers resisted an excise tax on whiskey. As part of his financial program, Hamilton imposed the tax in an attempt to raise revenue to defray the debt incurred by the Revolution. Washington, determined not to let his new government tolerate armed disobedience, dispatched the militia to disperse the rebels. After the opposition was dispelled, the rebels went home, and although there were some arrests and two convictions, Washington eventually pardoned both men. The Whiskey Rebellion is significant because, like Bacon's Rebellion and Shays's Rebellion before it, the uprising demonstrated the lasting class tensions between inland farmers and the coastal elites who ran the new government. But while Shays's Rebellion demonstrated that the national government of the time had lacked the power to respond, Americans noted that the new government had power it wasn't afraid to use. Some saw fairness in Washington's actions; others saw the makings of tyranny. James Madison, among others, would retreat from his support of the Federalists to back Jefferson's camp of Democratic-Republicans.

During his second term, Washington sent John Jay to England to negotiate a treaty concerning the evacuation of the British from the Northwest Territory, as stipu-



lated in the Treaty of Paris that concluded the Revolutionary War, as well as to discuss British violations of free trade. Although Jay's Treaty prevented war with Great Britain, opponents of the treaty believed Jay made too many concessions toward the British, who in essence were not respecting our rights as a sovereign nation (the treaty also involved paying some war debts). Jay's Treaty is often considered to be the low point of Washington's administration, and Jay himself was burned in effigy in the streets of New York.

At the same time, Washington sent Thomas Pinckney to Spain to negotiate use of the Mississippi River, duty-free access to world markets, and the removal of any remaining Spanish forts on American soil. During this mission, Pinckney was able to extract a promise from Spain to try and prevent attacks on Western settlers from Native Americans. The **Treaty of San Lorenzo**, also known as **Pinckney's Treaty**, was ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1796 and is often considered to be the high point of Washington's administration. The next year, however, Congress attempted to withhold funding to enforce the treaty. The House of Representatives asked Washington to submit all documents pertinent to the treaty for consideration. Washington refused, establishing the precedent of **executive privilege** (the right of the president to withhold information when doing so would protect national security, e.g., in the case of diplomatic files and military secrets).

The end of Washington's presidency was as monumental as its beginning. Wishing to set a final precedent, Washington declined to run for a third term. In his famous **farewell address**, composed in part by Alexander Hamilton, he warned future presidents to "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Washington's call for **neutrality** defined American foreign policy from 1800 until the late 1890s (at which point the United States pursued a policy of **imperialism**), and then again from the end of World War I until 1941.

## Republican Motherhood

During the 1790s, women's roles in courtship, marriage, and motherhood were all reevaluated in light of the new republic and its ideals. Although women were largely excluded from political activity, they had an important civil role and responsibility. They were to be the teachers and producers of virtuous male citizens.

While public virtue had been a strictly masculine quality in the past, *private* virtue emerged as a very important quality for women, who were given the task of inspiring and teaching men to be good citizens through romance and motherhood. The idea here is that a woman should entertain only suitors with good morals, providing more incentive for men to be more ethical. Women also held a tremendous influence on their sons, leading advocates for female education to speak out, arguing that educated women would be better mothers, who would produce better citizens. Even though the obligations of women had grown to include this new political meaning, traditional gender roles were largely unchanged as the education of women was meant only in service to husbands and family.



## The Adams Presidency

The electoral college selected **John Adams**, a Federalist, as Washington's successor. Under the then-current rules, the second-place candidate became vice president, and so Adams's vice president was the Democratic-Republican Thomas Jefferson.

Following the Washington era, Adams's presidency was bound to be an anticlimax. Adams, argumentative and elitist, was a difficult man to like. He was also a hands-off administrator, often allowing Jefferson's political rival **Alexander Hamilton** to take charge. The animosity between Jefferson and Hamilton and the growing belligerence between the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans set the ugly, divisive tone for Adams's term.

Perhaps Adams's greatest achievement was avoiding war with France. After the United States signed the Jay Treaty with Britain, France began seizing American ships on the open seas. Adams sent three diplomats to Paris, where French officials demanded a huge bribe before they would allow negotiations even to begin. The diplomats returned home, and Adams published their written report in the newspapers. Because he deleted the French officials' names and replaced them with the letters X, Y, and Z, the incident became known as the **XYZ Affair**. As a result, popular sentiment did a complete turnaround; formerly pro-French, the public became vehemently anti-French to the point that a declaration of war seemed possible. Aware of how small the American military was, Adams avoided the war (a war Hamilton wanted) and negotiated a settlement with a contrite France.

The low point of Adams's tenure was the passage and enforcement of the **Alien and Sedition Acts**, which allowed the government to forcibly expel foreigners and to jail newspaper editors for "scandalous and malicious writing." The acts were purely political, aimed at destroying new immigrants'—especially French immigrants'—support for the Democratic-Republicans. Worst of all, the Sedition Act, which strictly regulated anti-government speech, was a clear violation of the First Amendment. In a scenario almost unimaginable today, Vice President Jefferson led the opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts. Together with Madison, he drafted the **Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions** (which were technically anonymous), which argued that the states had the right to judge the constitutionality of federal laws. The resolutions went on to exercise this authority they claimed, later referred to as **nullification**, by declaring the Alien and Sedition Acts void. Virginia and Kentucky, however, never prevented enforcement of the laws. Rather, Jefferson used the laws and the resolutions as key issues in his 1800 campaign for the presidency.

## The "Revolution of 1800"

By 1800 the Federalist party was split, clearing the way to the presidency for the Democratic-Republicans. Two men ran for the party nomination: **Thomas Jefferson** and **Aaron Burr**. Each received an equal number of votes in the electoral college, which meant that the Federalist-dominated House of Representatives was required to choose a president from between the two. It took 35 ballots, but Jefferson finally won. Alexander Hamilton swallowed hard and campaigned for Jefferson, with whom he disagreed on most issues and whom he personally



disliked, because he believed Burr to be “a most unfit and dangerous man.” Burr later proved Hamilton right by killing him.

The election was noteworthy for two reasons. For the second time in as many elections, a president was saddled with a vice president he did not want. That problem was remedied in 1804 with the **Twelfth Amendment** to the Constitution, which allowed electors to vote for a **party ticket**. The other, more important reason the election was significant is that in America’s first transfer of power—from the Federalists to the Democratic-Republicans—no violence occurred, a feat practically unprecedented for the time. Jefferson referred to his victory and the subsequent change-over as “the bloodless revolution.”

## THE JEFFERSONIAN REPUBLIC (1800–1823)

Note: The next two sections primarily review political history. They are followed by a review of social and economic history between 1800 and 1860 because many of the important socioeconomic trends of the era developed over the course of several decades. The economic and social conditions of this period also played a major role in bringing about the Civil War, and the AP exam often tests them in this context. That’s why we’ll review them as we get closer, chronologically, to the Civil War.

### Jefferson’s First Term

The transition of power from the Federalists to the Democratic-Republicans may have been a bloodless one, but it was not a friendly one. Adams was so upset about the election that he left the capital before Jefferson took office in order to avoid attending the inauguration ceremony. Before he left town, however, he made a number of “**midnight appointments**,” filling as many government positions with Federalists as he could. Jefferson’s response was to refuse to recognize those appointments. He then set about replacing as many Federalist appointees as he could. He dismissed some, pressured others to retire, and waited out the rest. By his second term, the majority of public appointees were Democratic-Republicans.

Jefferson’s refusal to accept Adams’s midnight appointments resulted in a number of lawsuits against the government. One, the case of *Marbury v. Madison*, reached the Supreme Court in 1803. William Marbury, one of Adams’s last-minute appointees, had sued Secretary of State James Madison for refusing to certify his appointment to the federal bench. Chief Justice **John Marshall** was a Federalist, and his sympathies were with Marbury, but Marshall was not certain that the court could force Jefferson to accept Marbury’s appointment. Marshall’s decision in the case established one of the most important principles of the Supreme Court: **judicial review**. The court ruled that Marbury did indeed have a right to his judgeship, but that the court could not enforce his right. Why? Although the power to do so had been granted to the Supreme Court in the Judiciary Act of 1789, Marshall now declared it unconstitutional. In one fell swoop, Marshall had handed Jefferson the victory he wanted while simultaneously claiming a major role for the Supreme Court: the responsibility



ity for reviewing the constitutionality of Congressional acts. Throughout the rest of his tenure, Marshall worked to strengthen that doctrine and, thus, the court.

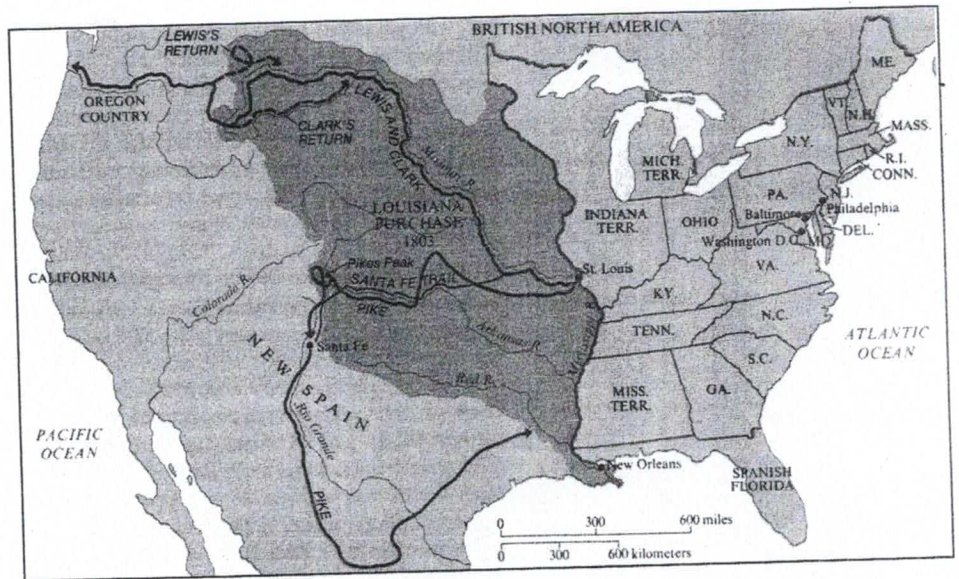
The major accomplishment of Jefferson's first term was the **Louisiana Purchase**. When Spain gave New Orleans to the French in 1802, the government realized that a potentially troublesome situation was developing. The French, they knew, were more likely to take advantage of New Orleans' strategic location at the mouth of the Mississippi, almost certainly meaning that American trade along the river would be restricted. In hopes of averting that situation, Jefferson sent James Monroe to France. Monroe's mandate was to buy New Orleans for \$2 million. Monroe arrived at just the right time. Napoleon was gearing up for war in Europe, and a violent slave revolt in Haiti against the French further convinced him to abandon French interests in the New World. The French offered to sell Monroe the whole Louisiana territory for \$15 million.

Thomas Jefferson was now faced with a dilemma. As secretary of state under Washington, he had argued for a strict interpretation of the Constitution, thus limiting the power of the federal government to those powers specifically stated in the Constitution. Nowhere did the Constitution authorize the president to purchase land, yet clearly Jefferson could not pass up this opportunity to double the size of the United States. Ultimately, Jefferson resolved the issue by claiming his presidential power to negotiate treaties with foreign nations. His decision to purchase Louisiana without Congressional approval was not unanimously applauded: some Federalists derided the deal as too expensive (though the land was three cents per acre). Some Republicans, led by John Randolph of Virginia, criticized Jefferson for violating Republican principles. This group became known as the **Quids**.

Jefferson sent explorers, among them **Lewis and Clark**, to investigate the western territories, including much of what was included in the Louisiana territory. All returned with favorable reports, causing many pioneers to turn their attentions westward in search of land, riches, and economic opportunities. Those early explorers also reported back to Jefferson on the presence of British and French forts that still dotted the territory, garrisoned with foreign troops that had been (deliberately?) slow to withdraw after the regime changes of the previous half-century.

In 1804 Jefferson won reelection in a landslide victory. During the 1804 elections, Aaron Burr ran for governor of New York. Again, Alexander Hamilton campaigned against Burr. When Burr lost, he accused Hamilton of sabotaging his political career and challenged him to a **duel** in which he killed Hamilton. Afterward, Burr fled to the Southwest, where he plotted to start his own nation in parts of the Louisiana Territory. He was later captured and tried for treason but was acquitted because of lack of evidence.





The Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition

## Jefferson's Second Term

Jefferson's second term did not go nearly as smoothly as his first. During these years, the United States got caught in the middle of yet another French–English dispute. The situation eventually led to the **War of 1812**.

In 1805 the British and French were at war and at a stalemate. In an effort to gain an advantage, each side began blockading the other's trade routes. The United States, dependent on both as trade partners, suffered greatly from the blockades. To add insult to injury, the British began stopping American ships and **impressing** sailors: that is, they declared, often with little or no proof, that those sailors had deserted from the British navy, and forced them back into it. Unfortunately, the English were not as particular about whom they "reenlisted" as the Americans would have liked them to be. Tensions mounted, then boiled over, when a British frigate attacked an American ship in American waters. Jefferson was at a loss. He couldn't go to war against the British because the U.S. Navy was no match for England's forces. So, Jefferson responded with a boycott, biding his time while increasing military and naval appropriations.

Because both the British and the French continued to harass American ships, Jefferson lobbied for and won passage of the **Embargo Act of 1807**. The law basically shut down America's import and export business, with disastrous economic results. New England's economy collapsed, and smuggling became widespread. The **Non-Inter-course Act of 1809** reopened trade with most nations, but it still officially banned trade with the two most significant trade partners, Britain and France. In the end, Jefferson decided, as had Washington before him, that two terms as president were enough. He endorsed his secretary of state, **James Madison**, who handily defeated the ever-weakening Federalists.



## Madison's Presidency and the War of 1812

Madison sought a solution to America's trade problems, and Congress responded with **Macon's Bill No. 2**, a bill that reopened trade with both France and England. However, Madison promised that if either country renounced its interference with American trade, he would cut off trade with the other one. Napoleon made that promise, forcing the United States to cut off trade with England, but France then continued to harass American ships. The British, angry at the new embargo, stepped up their attacks on American ships, making a bad situation even worse. These developments helped build pro-war sentiments in the United States. Particularly anxious for a confrontation with the British were the Southern and Western **War Hawks**, who saw war as an opportunity to grab new territories to the west and southwest. Their leaders were **Henry Clay** and **John C. Calhoun**. Madison held out as long as he could but finally relented and asked Congress to declare war in 1812.

You should know several important points about the **War of 1812**. Once again, Native Americans aligned themselves with the British. The great chief **Tecumseh** unified area tribes in an effort to stop American expansion into Indiana and Illinois, both before and during the war. Meanwhile, his brother Tenskwatawa, also known as **the Prophet**, led an extensive revival of traditional Native American culture and religion. Tecumseh's coalition fell apart after he was killed in battle.

American forces were ill-prepared for the war, and much of the fighting went badly. The British captured Washington, D.C. in 1814 and set the White House on fire. However, in most battles America was able to fight to a stalemate. When English-French hostilities ended (with Napoleon's defeat), many of the issues that had caused the war evaporated, and the British soon negotiated peace. Unaware that the Treaty of Ghent had been signed and the war was over, General Andrew Jackson fought and won the Battle of New Orleans, the only clear-cut U.S. victory of the war. The Federalists, opposed to the war because it disrupted trade and unaware that its end was coming, met in Hartford, Connecticut, to consider a massive overhaul of the Constitution or, failing that, secession. When the war ended soon after, most people considered the Federalists to be traitors, and their national party dissolved soon after the Hartford Convention (although the party continued to exert influence in some states through the next decade).

The war had one clear positive result: It spurred **American manufacturing**. Cut off from trade with Europe, the states became more self-sufficient by necessity. New England became America's manufacturing center during the war, and after the war, the United States was less dependent on imports than it had been previously. (For more information on economic developments of the period, see pages 133–138.)

### Effects of the War of 1812

- First and foremost, it represented the end of Native Americans' ability to stop American expansion.
- The American economy, by necessity, became less reliant on trade with Britain.
- It made Andrew Jackson into a celebrity and paved the way to his presidency.
- The victory in New Orleans led to national euphoria.
- The popularity of the war destroyed the Federalists, who had opposed it, and taught American politicians that objecting to going to war could be hazardous to their careers.



Throughout the rest of his tenure, Madison worked to promote national growth. At the same time, he remained true to his Democratic–Republican principles, and so extended federal power only cautiously. Madison championed a combination of programs that included protective tariffs on imports, improvements to interstate roads (including expansion of the **National Road** from Maryland to Ohio), and the re-chartering of the National Bank after the first National Bank’s charter had expired. The programs were known collectively as the **American System**, sometimes referred to as the Nationalist Program. Speaker of the House **Henry Clay** lobbied for them so aggressively that many history books refer to “Henry Clay’s American System.”

## Monroe’s Presidency

The demise of the Federalists briefly left the United States with only one political party. This period of unity is referred to as the **Era of Good Feelings**, although the term belies the growing tension created by economic development and increased sectionalism. During this period, Chief Justice John Marshall’s rulings continued to strengthen the federal government and its primacy. For example, he ruled in *McCulloch v. Maryland* that the states could not tax the National Bank, thus establishing the precedence of national law over state law.

The good feelings nearly came to an abrupt end in 1819 when a financial scare called the **Panic of 1819** threw the American economy into turmoil. The panic followed a period of economic growth, inflation, and land speculation, all of which had destabilized the economy. When the National Bank called in its loans, many borrowers couldn’t repay them. The consequences included numerous mortgage foreclosures and business failures. Many people were thrown into poverty. Nonetheless, no nationally organized political opposition resulted from the panic, and Monroe easily won reelection in 1820.

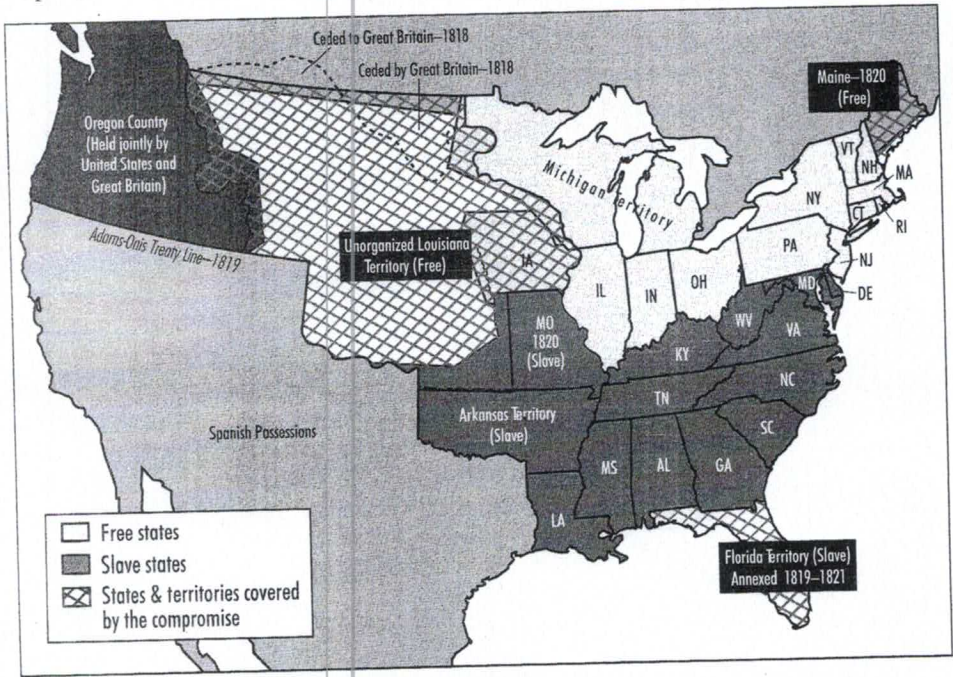
The postwar period had also ushered in a new wave of westward expansion. As secretary of state under Monroe, **John Quincy Adams**, son of former president John Adams, deftly negotiated a number of treaties that fixed U.S. borders and opened new territories. The United States acquired Florida from the Spanish by the Adams-Onís Treaty in 1819. Adams also had to handle international tensions caused by a series of revolutions in Central America and South America, as the inhabitants of those regions won their independence from Spain. Ultimately, events compelled Monroe and Adams to recognize the new nations. At the same time, they decided that America should assert its authority over the Western Hemisphere. The result was the **Monroe Doctrine**, a policy of mutual noninterference. You stay out of the Americas, Monroe told Europe, and we’ll stay out of your squabbles. The Monroe Doctrine also claimed America’s right to intervene anywhere in its own hemisphere, if it felt its security was threatened. No European country tried to intercede in the Americas following Monroe’s declaration, and so the Monroe Doctrine *appeared* to work. No one, however, was afraid of the American military; Spain, France, and others stayed out of the Western Hemisphere because the powerful British navy made sure they did.

The Monroe Doctrine is the first of several “doctrines” you should know for the AP exam. In general, these doctrines were presidential statements that became



foreign policy. For example, in 1823, President Monroe warned European nations that the Western Hemisphere was closed to future colonization. This policy, together with the advice given in Washington's Farewell Address, secured American neutrality all the way until World War I. (The **Truman Doctrine**, issued at the end of World War II, is especially important, but you should also familiarize yourself with the Eisenhower Doctrine, the Nixon Doctrine and, most recently, the Bush Doctrine).

The new period of expansion resulted in a national debate over slavery, as would every period of expansion to follow until the Civil War resolved the slavery question. In 1820 the Union consisted of 22 states. Eleven allowed slavery; 11 prohibited it. Missouri was the first state to be carved out of the Louisiana Purchase, and its application for statehood threatened the balance, particularly in the U.S. Senate. Henry Clay brokered the **Missouri Compromise**, which (1) admitted Missouri as a slave state, (2) carved a piece out of Massachusetts—Maine—and admitted Maine as a free state, (3) drew a line along the 36°30' parallel across the Louisiana Territory, and (4) established the southern border of Missouri as the northernmost point at which slavery would then be allowed in the western territories of the United States, except of course for Missouri itself, which in a way violated the Missouri Compromise since it was north of the line. The compromise was the first in a series of measures forestalling the Civil War. It also split the powerful Democratic-Republican coalition, ending its 20-year control of national politics.



Missouri Compromise, 1820



# Chapter 7 Drill

See Chapter 13 for answers and explanations.

- Historians often cite Shays's Rebellion (1786–1787) as a significant event in U.S. history because it
  - demonstrated the strength, yet fairness, of the newly-created federal government
  - made many Americans realize that slavery could not last
  - made Americans realize that excessive taxation often leads to violence
  - demonstrated the weakness of the federal government under the Articles of Confederation
  - demonstrated class antagonism, despite the absence of a landed aristocracy
- Under the Articles of Confederation, the national government had which of the following powers?
  - The power to collect taxes.
  - The power to negotiate treaties.
  - The power to supercede state law.
  - I only
  - II only
  - I and III only
  - II and III only
  - I, II, and III
- George Washington established the principle of executive privilege in a dispute with Congress over the
  - Alien and Sedition Acts
  - legality of political parties
  - Jay Treaty
  - Whiskey Rebellion
  - Louisiana Purchase
- Which of the following best summarizes the strict constructionist position on the establishment of the National Bank?
  - All matters not clearly reconciled by the Constitution, such as the establishment of a national bank, must be arbitrated by the federal judiciary.
  - The establishment of the National Bank is necessary to strengthen the United States economy and therefore must be allowed even if it is technically unconstitutional.
  - The decision on whether to establish a National Bank, like all important governmental decisions, should be left in the hands of a powerful executive branch.
  - The Constitution allows the establishment of the bank, because it allows Congress to take any action necessary to exercise its enumerated powers.
  - The Constitution forbids the establishment of the bank, because creating a bank is not among Congress's enumerated powers.
- Although the Supreme Court was the weakest of the three branches of government in the early days of the new republic, John Marshall strengthened the Court by
  - establishing the principle of federalism, giving federal courts the power to declare laws unconstitutional
  - declaring the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, which asserted the right of states to nullify federal laws, unconstitutional
  - establishing the principle of judicial review in the case of *McCulloch v. Maryland*
  - establishing the principle of judicial review in the case of *Marbury v. Madison*
  - exercising loose construction



6. The Louisiana Purchase was an important factor in the development of U.S. trade because it
- (A) opened new markets among the western Indian nations
  - (B) gave the country complete control of the Mississippi River
  - (C) added numerous French factories in the Louisiana Territory to the U.S. economy
  - (D) facilitated the immediate completion of the transcontinental railroad
  - (E) allowed the United States to develop ports on the Pacific coast

7. As a result of the Hartford Convention following the War of 1812,
- (A) the Federalist party lost credibility and eventually died out
  - (B) the Constitution was amended to limit the president to two terms in office
  - (C) the New England states threatened to secede
  - (D) Congress passed the War Powers Act, limiting future presidents from gaining too much power during wartime, as Madison had
  - (E) the British finally acknowledged American independence