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Chapter 4

To what Extent Did Presidents Following Washington Heed Domestic Policy Advice From His Farewell Address?

1. Did President Jefferson’s vastly different beliefs in the role of the federal government ensure that Washington’s domestic policy advice would be ignored?

2. How did Jefferson’s strict constructionist interpretation of the Constitution impede his plan to acquire additional U.S. territory?

3. How was Madison’s support of the re-chartering of the Bank of the U.S. hypocritical of his political party affiliation?

4. Did President Monroe overstep his bounds by working with Congress in the Missouri Compromise or was he merely a strong leader of the executive branch?
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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

judicial review

This chapter as well as the next one will focus on the same eras of time but is divided to focus on domestic issues facing the new nation (this chapter) and foreign policy issues facing the new nation (Chapter 5)

Jefferson’s Inauguration

President Jefferson’s style was very different from that of Adams and Washington; because of that, many Americans looked forward to his inauguration. As people from across the nation gathered in the new capital to listen to Jefferson’s inaugural address, many wondered if the less formal president did in fact, want to limit the powers of government. They didn’t have to wait long. From the excerpt of

“Still one thing more, fellow-citizens -- a wise and frugal Government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government...”
Jefferson’s Inaugural Address below, what words and phrases indicate his support for a small national government?

**Jefferson in Office**

As President, Jefferson believed strongly that the primary functions of government were to:

- Protect the nation from foreign threats,
- Deliver the mail, AND
- Collect customs duties,

Jefferson hit the ground running with his attempts to put his republican ideas into practice. He urged the newly won Democratic-Republican controlled Congress to allow the Alien and Sedition Acts to expire. Jefferson then lowered military spending and reduced the size of the U.S. Army, reduced the number of Navy ships, and urged newly appointed Secretary of Treasury Albert Gallatin to find ways to get rid of domestic taxes.

Some believed that Jefferson’s first actions as President flew in the face of Washington’s domestic advice delivered in his Farewell Address in 1796. For example, some of Washington’s key tenants of advice with regard to domestic policy addressed the following topics:

- Preservation of the Union should be maintained first and foremost
- Internal factions (presence of political parties) should be avoided
- Stable public credit should be maintained through the collection of taxes
- Maintenance of the level of power of the Constitution is essential
- Beware of the consolidation of power in any department of government

This case happened over 200 years ago. How is it still influencing the United States today?

**Judicial Review - Marbury v. Madison**

The case of Marbury v Madison is considered a very important case in US History. Why was it so important? Read to find out, and think about the following question:
Marbury v Madison

Although the Democratic-Republican party controlled both the executive and legislative branches of government, the Federalist party still controlled the federal judiciary. In an attempt to continue to control the federal judiciary, in the final days and hours of his presidency, John Adams passed the Judiciary Act of 1801, which restructured the judicial branch. Part of this act created several new judges who would be picked by Adams. Adams selected the judges and his Secretary of State, John Marshall, filled out the important papers for the judges. When the judges received their papers, they could begin the new position. These judges are known as the midnight judges because Adams picked them at the last minute. John Marshall did not get all of the papers delivered to the new judges but he figured James Madison, the next Secretary of State, would finish the job. When Jefferson took office, he told Madison not to finish delivering the papers. Jefferson did not want more judges, especially from the Federalist party.

William Marbury was one of the judges that did not receive his paperwork. Without the papers in hand, Marbury could not officially take his job as judge. Marbury felt he was being treated unfairly, and took his case to the Supreme Court. In the case of Marbury v. Madison, William Marbury sued James Madison for not delivering the paperwork to make him a judge. He hoped the court would make Madison hand over the papers.

Strangely enough, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court was none other than John Marshall. Chief Justice Marshall used the case of Marbury v. Madison (1803) to declare the court’s power of Judicial Review. Marshall explained that the Judicial Act of 1789, which spelled out how the paperwork for judges should be handled, was unconstitutional. It gave the Supreme Court power which was denied to it in Article III of the Constitution. This was the first time that the Supreme Court struck down a law passed by Congress. The power of the Supreme Court to declare a law unconstitutional is known as judicial review.

“it is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is... the Constitution is superior to any ordinary act of the legislature...”

John Marshall
In summary, the Marbury v. Madison case was important for several reasons. First, it reinforced the Court’s power of judicial review; in doing so, the Court was established as the final authority on the Constitution. For the first time in the new nation’s short history, the judicial branch of government was equal to the other two branches.

Marshall Court Impacts the U.S.

John Marshall was Chief Justice from 1801 to 1835. During that time he made many decisions that affected the way the United States was run. The first was establishing Judicial Review, and therefore making the Supreme Court the final say in deciding what the Constitution means. Another well-known decision by Marshall was in the case McCulloch v Maryland (1819). In 1812 there was a bank of the United States, and one branch operated out of Baltimore, Maryland. The state of Maryland passed a law saying that banks had to pay taxes to the state. James McCulloch, manager of the Baltimore branch, refused to pay the tax. Maryland sued McCulloch for the taxes but McCulloch took the case to the Supreme Court. John Marshall and the Supreme Court made two important decisions. First the Bank of the United States was constitutional (this had been debated since the beginning of the bank). Second, the states could not tax the federal government. Once again John Marshall gave more power to the federal government.

Other important cases during the Marshall Court also gave the federal government more power than the state government. In Dartmouth v Woodward (1819), the court ruled that the state of New Hampshire could not change a written agreement to make the private college a state university. In Gibbons v. Ogden (1824) the Supreme Court struck down a state law in New York that gave one company the sole right to operate steamboats in New York waters. The Court decided that all business that took place across state lines fell under the Constitution’s commerce clause. This decision was a gateway for Congress to become involved in most areas of the national economy.
Section 2

Westward Expansion Begins

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Did President Jefferson’s vastly different beliefs in the role of the federal government ensure that Washington’s domestic policy advice would be ignored?

2. How did Jefferson’s strict constructionist interpretation of the Constitution impede his plan to acquire additional U.S. territory?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

specimen: commissioned:

Keelboat:

Corps:

In 1790, as Thomas Jefferson looked to the West, he saw a land of possibility where America could become an agrarian (farming) economic powerhouse in North America. He called this new, expanded America an “Empire of Liberty” that would be an “extensive and fertile Country.” Once Jefferson ascended to the Presidency in 1801, he would see that vision fulfilled by the largest land purchase in United States history. This land, the Louisiana Purchase, would become a part of a contentious issue in American going forward as the nation grappled with the future of slavery in the West.

Mississippi River and the Port of New Orleans

As Americans began to move west past the Appalachian Mountains in the early 1800s, many were in search of new land and economic opportunity. Kentucky and Tennessee had become states in 1792 and 1796 respectively.

Image source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:LouisianaPurchase.png
followed by Ohio in 1803. New settlers in the region needed ways to get their goods such as flour, tobacco and pork to market. Crossing the Appalachian Mountains proved very difficult. Rivers provided the easiest method of travel for cargo as goods could be floated down the river cheaply and easily. New Orleans sat at the mouth of the Mississippi and served as the gateway for goods moving into the Gulf of Mexico and on to Europe. New Orleans had been settled by Europeans, indigenous peoples, and Africans and was a thriving city.

The city of New Orleans was so important to the economy in the West that, after it was closed to American shipping by the Spanish in 1802, Jefferson sought to have New Orleans and the surrounding territory purchased by the United States. Soon after closing the port, the Spanish, who had been frustrated for years with Americans moving into Spanish territory, sold the territory to France and its ruler, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had dreams of building a French empire in America. He sent Robert Livingston, U.S. Ambassador to France and James Monroe to France to negotiate the purchase.

**Jefferson's Incredible Luck**

Upon their arrival, Livingston and Monroe were offered a deal they were shocked to receive from the French foreign minister Charles Talleyrand. Instead of purchasing the city of New Orleans, the pair were faced with the offer to purchase all of the Louisiana Territory for $15 million, or only four cents per acre! Why was France offering this huge
territory at such a low price? Napoleon’s plans for a French empire in North America had been dashed when he lost the island of St. Domingue in the Caribbean Sea in a slave uprising. Napoleon no longer saw the need for the land in North America and needed money for an upcoming war with England. Livingston and Monroe knew a good deal when they saw it and accepted the offer. Now they needed to explain the purchase to their boss, President Jefferson.

Upon receiving the news, Jefferson was overjoyed. He saw the future of America in its westward expansion and this purchase did just that. “I confess I look to this duplication of area for the extending of a government so free and economical as ours, as a great achievement to the mass of happiness which is to ensue” Jefferson stated after the purchase. But, Jefferson was faced with the fact that, as a strict constructionist, he knew that the Constitution didn’t allow him or the government to purchase land. Jefferson’s attempts during his Presidency to lower government spending did not align with this huge government purchase. Yet, this was an undeniably good deal and now Jefferson needed Congressional approval and funding. Federalists were against the deal, worrying that they might be funding a French war against the Spanish and that the cost was too high. Fisher Ames, a former Federalist Congressman said, “we are to give money of which we have too little for land of which we already have too much.” Only one Federalist supported ratification, but on October 20, 1803, the Senate passed the treaty to approve the Louisiana Purchase and the House authorized the funding, doubling the size of the United States and securing America’s future expansion westward.

Interactive 4.3 The Haitian Revolution

Sidebar: To learn more about the Haitian Revolutions that resulted in the one of the most successful slave rebellions in world history, check out John Green’s CrashCourse Video!
The Lewis and Clark Expedition

Jefferson and the nation now needed to know what lay in the land that they had just purchased. Americans knew that indigenous people lived in the territory but they knew little about them or the ecology and geography of the lands west of the Mississippi. Jefferson commissioned his personal assistant, former army captain Meriwether Lewis to lead the Corps of Discovery expedition of 50 men westward, Lewis chose his friend Lieutenant William Clark to co-lead the journey. In addition to learning more about the people and environment of the west, they wanted to see if there was an all water route to the Pacific Ocean which could provide a key trading route to the west.

Post video questions:
What power did Jefferson ultimately use to support the Purchase of Louisiana?
Do you feel that leaders should change their beliefs if it benefits society as a whole?

As you watch this video, do you think that Thomas Jefferson, as a strict Constructionist, would have supported the purchase of Louisiana had he not been President?

What would you bring with you if you were heading on a trip west for years? Now, imagine that you are not fully aware of the path you’ll take, what supplies you will need and what challenges you will encounter. This is what faced the Corps of Discovery that headed out in May of 1804 to head up the Missouri River, a challenge in itself. They took a 55 foot keelboat and two smaller canoes along with supplies including camping equipment, clothing, medicine, arms and gifts for indigenous tribes they’d meet on the way. Clark stayed on the boat mainly, mapping their course and looking out for obstacles in the water while Lewis remained on land looking at rocks, soil and animals they encountered along the way. Through July, they had made no contact with any indigenous peoples. Through the rest of the that first year, the Corps had friendly exchanges with tribes such as the Otto and the Missouri. Jefferson had instructed the Corps to inform any indigenous groups that they land they were on was now owned by the United States and that Jefferson was their new leader. The group built Fort Mandan and stayed there until the following April, trading with the Mandan Indians and meeting French trapper Toussaint Charbonneau and his wife, Sacagawea who would serve as an interpreter for the Corps as they continued.

Interactive 4.5 Lewis and Clark Expedition Journals


Image source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sacagawea#/media/File:Detail_Lewis_%26_Clark_at_Three_Forks.jpg
The Corps of Discovery Crosses the Rockies

After sending back a boat to Jefferson with nature specimens and journals of their findings so far, they set out from Fort Mandan in April 1804. Over the next year, they would have encounters with animals and indigenous tribes in their efforts to cross the Continental Divide and make it to the Pacific Coast. They headed due west for the first time and experienced the wild of the west when a grizzly bear chased Lewis before it was killed. Progress slowed on an increasingly bending river with jutting rocks. The Corps made it to the River Forks in May and had to navigate the five sets of falls. In their hardest physical task of the trip, the group had to portage the rapids by carrying their boats and cargo around the falls. Needing to find horses to cross the Rocky Mountains, the Corps encountered the Shoshone and their chief who happened to be Sacagawea’s brother and received horses from them! They then set out to make it to the Nez Perce tribe across the Rockies. Life in the Rockies was hard as food was scarce and the men were close to starvation before making it to the Nez Perce who gave them fish. For the last few months of 1805, the Corps went from the Clearwater River into the Snake River, then into the mighty Columbia through the Cascade Mountains. They made it to the Pacific Ocean by mid-November weary and tired and there they wintered on the coast in Fort Clatsop named after the local Clatsop tribe.

Image source: Map of Lewis and Clark’s route: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c0/Carte_Lewis_and_Clarke_Expedition.png
Heading Home

After a dreary winter of rain and cold, they began their journey back in 1806. After buying four more boats and stealing another, they set off up the Columbia in March. The Chinookan tribe kept attempting to steal their supplies and the men battled strong currents and portaged the Columbia with difficulty. They abandoned their canoes after one month and purchased horses from the Walla Walla tribe and set out overland. After splitting up in the Bitterroot Mountains, they encountered friendly tribes who traded with the Corps while other meetings left some indigenous peoples died in skirmishes and horses stolen. Clark and Lewis reunited and they made it home to St. Louis having been given up for dead by many!

Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery did not find an all water route to the Pacific but did gain information on 300 new species to science and made contact with nearly fifty Indian tribes. The contacts made with indigenous peoples were generally peaceful but also confrontational at times, especially with the Teton Sioux, Chinook and Blackfeet. The paths they mapped through the Rockies would prove useful for future western travelers seeking new adventure and land as Americans pushed west to realize Jefferson’s vision for the future.

Check for Understanding: What did the Lewis and Clark expedition accomplish? How did the geography of the West impact their goals?
Section 3
Domestic Challenges for President Madison

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Did President Jefferson’s vastly different beliefs in the role of the federal government ensure that Washington’s domestic policy advice would be ignored?

2. How did Jefferson’s strict constructionist interpretation of the Constitution impede his plan to acquire additional U.S. territory?

3. How was Madison’s support of the re-chartering of the Bank of the U.S. hypocritical of his political party affiliation?

4. Did President Monroe overstep his bounds by working with Congress in the Missouri Compromise or was he merely a strong leader of the executive branch?

James Madison for President

President Jefferson followed President Washington’s lead, or precedent, and refused to serve a third term. Instead he supported his friend, James Madison as the next candidate for the Democratic-Republican party. George Clinton ran as Madison’s vice president. The opposition from the Federalist party included Charles Pinckney and Rufus King. During the campaign, Federalists insulted Madison for his support of Jefferson’s Embargo Act. Despite those insults, the electoral college chose Madison. Madison received 122 votes to Pinckney’s 44. Madison had won over most of the country, excluding the New England states.
Madison's Domestic Challenges

Although most challenges President Madison faced were foreign, Madison did inherit a domestic headache with the rechartering of the Bank of the United States. As its charter was scheduled to terminate in 1812, the move to recharter the Bank met stiff opposition from three sources: “old” Republicans who viewed the Bank as unconstitutional, anti-British Republicans who objected to the substantial holdings of Bank stock by Britons, and state banking interests opposed to the U.S. Bank’s power to control the nation’s financial business. When the anti-Bank forces killed the push for rechartering, the U.S. confronted the British without the means to support war loans or to easily obtain government credit. In 1816, with Madison’s support, the Second Bank of the U.S. was chartered with a twenty-year term. Madison’s critics claimed that his support for the Bank revealed his pro-Federalist sympathies.
Section 4

Domestic Challenges for President Monroe

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Did President Jefferson’s vastly different beliefs in the role of the federal government ensure that Washington’s domestic policy advice would be ignored?

2. How did Jefferson’s strict constructionist interpretation of the Constitution impede his plan to acquire additional U.S. territory?

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

patriotism

emancipated

President Monroe Takes Office

James Monroe was elected President in the election of 1816. At the beginning of his presidency, the American public was generally optimistic. The nation had declared victory in the War of 1812 (which you will learn about in the next chapter) and the economy was booming thus allowing President Monroe to focus on domestic issues. Combined with his personable, extremely popular, and all-inclusive personality, President Monroe revived the presidential tour of the country first conducted by President Washington. Well-received across every region of the

Independence Day Celebration in Centre Square by John Lewis Krimmel (1787–1821).
country, President Monroe’s tour prompted the phrase, the “Era of Good Feelings” which would be how his legacy as President would be remembered.

Americans were feeling a huge sense of national pride, or patriotism. The economy was booming. As a result, transportation improved. The Erie Canal project had started to connect New York with the Great Lakes, allowing easier movement West. The national road was built between 1811 - 1834. It was the first road paid for with federal money. The national road was 820 miles long and passed through Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

The National Road linked the eastern and western states in the first half of the 19th century, running from Cumberland, Maryland to Vandalia, Illinois.

Businessmen were buying new land and building new factories. There were many new inventions in America during this time. You will learn more about them in the chapter detailing the Industrial Revolution.

The Panic of 1819

President Monroe’s first major economic issue came just two years into his Presidency in 1819. As this was the first major depression to hit the country since the 1780s, it was considered a panic because of the widespread concern for economic despair that resonated throughout the entire country. The combination of declining imports and exports, and sagging agricultural prices caused a number of state banks to suspended payment on their notes and declare bankruptcy thus causing the Second Bank of the United States to shift to more conservative policies. The
High unemployment rates across the country which caused an increase in bankruptcies and foreclosures.

Although some criticized President Monroe for not responding in a more forceful manner to the economic downturn, the President could do little to alleviate the short-term effects created by the panic. Ultimately, the power to change economic policies rested with the states and the Second Bank of the United States. Additionally, President Monroe believed that depressions were natural results of a maturing economy and that the nation’s economy would soon rebound from the panic. President Monroe did support a policy proposed by Secretary of the Treasury William Crawford to relax payment terms on mortgages for lands purchased from the federal government and by 1823, economic recovery had been achieved.

The Missouri Compromise

President Monroe’s next domestic challenge also arose in 1819 when settlers in the Missouri Territory applied for admission to the Union. At the time, most of the white settlers in the territory either owned slaves or hoped to become slave owners in the future. Congressional debate on the admission of Missouri as a state exploded when Congressman James Tallmadge, Jr. of New York attached two amendments to the statehood bill. The first amendment barred new slaves from entering the state; the second amendment emancipated, or set free, all Missouri slaves born after admission upon their 25th birthday. In other words, the Tallmadge amendments would ensure that if Missouri was in fact admitted to the Union, it would only happen as a free state.

In the House of Representatives the North held a small majority of representatives and the South controlled a bare majority in the Senate. Voting on the Tallmadge amendments was sectional: the amendments passed in the House but lost in the Senate. Therefore, the House refused to admit Missouri as a slave state while the Senate insisted on Missouri’s admittance. President Monroe, along with many leaders in Congress, understood the volatile nature of the debate and the strong regional divide over slavery. But, even though he understood the source of the hostile debate, President Monroe thought it was unconstitutional to place restrictions on the admission of one state and because of the Tallmadge amendments, threatened to veto any bill that included any such restrictions.

Fearing that the dispute would divide the Union, President Monroe worked in support of a compromise package in Congress. But because he did not want to be accused of meddling in the affairs of Congress, President Monroe did not forcefully inject himself into the process. When a new Congress convened in the winter of 1819, legislators were able to settle the dispute: Maine would enter the Union as a free state and Missouri would be admitted as a slave state with the South’s willingness to outlaw slavery in western territories above the 36/30’ north latitude line. That line would open present-day Arkansas and
Oklahoma to slavery but would forbid it throughout the rest of the Louisiana Territory which would eventually be organized into nine states. President Monroe signed the bill on March 6, 1820, after he was satisfied that the provisions were, indeed, constitutional.

**Monroe’s Stance on Political Parties**

After the War of 1812, the Federalists as a political party were mostly discredited because of their opposition to the war. Although the government had enacted much of their program, (the national bank and a protective tariff) the Federalists could not mount a serious challenge to President Monroe.

As President, Monroe encouraged the decline of political parties, believing that the government could be effective without them. President Monroe’s time in office was not without partisanship. Even though President Monroe talked about ridding American politics of political party affiliation, he was unwilling to appoint any Federalists to his cabinet, believing the ideological differences were just too great. In some ways, the absence of a party system increased his difficulties as President. Without political party affiliations, President Monroe could not rely on a presumed loyalty to help accomplish his goals. With clear divides over issues and the existence of many different factions, President Monroe had to create partnerships and build consensus to get his programs enacted.

Even without the existence of two distinct political parties, the evident partnerships and deal-making between members of Congress and some of those in the president’s cabinet soared to new heights during the presidential election of 1824. Instead of presiding over the decline of political parties, the Monroe presidency helped to foster a transition from the first party system of the Democratic-Republicans and the Federalists to the second party system of the Democrats and the Whigs.

To what Extent Did Presidents Following Washington Heed Domestic Policy Advice From His Farewell Address? Create an argument with evidence from the chapter.