This is version 1.0.9 of this resource, released in August 2018

Information on the latest version and updates are available on the project homepage:  http://textbooks.wmisd.org/dashboard.html
The Michigan Open Book Project

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The Michigan Open Book Project Team would like to thank the following individuals for their help in reviewing some content in the book and guiding the development process.

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Chapter 5

To What Extent Did the Presidents After Washington Follow the Foreign Policy Advice From His Farewell Address?

1. Were President Jefferson’s foreign policy decisions reflective of his philosophy of limited governmental power or in sharp contrast to his philosophies?

2. Were President Madison’s war-hawkish foreign policy decisions aligned with his domestic policy decisions?

3. Was the Monroe Doctrine a policy of U.S. expansion or a policy of U.S. self-defense?
How did President Jefferson Deal With Foreign Policy?

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Were President Jefferson's foreign policy decisions reflective of his philosophy of limited governmental power or in sharp contrast to his philosophies?

2. Were President Madison's war-hawkish foreign policy decisions aligned with his domestic policy decisions?

3. Was the Monroe Doctrine a policy of U.S. expansion or a policy of U.S. self-defense?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

blockade
impression
embargo

Up to this point you have been studying the domestic issues that faced the new nation. In this chapter we're going to study the same relative time period as the last chapter but focus more on foreign policy issues. By 1803, America was tangled in a war between Great Britain and France once again. Both countries were taking American ships that were trading with their enemy. President Jefferson tried hard to follow Washington and Adams lead and remain neutral.

The British Navy controlled much of the Atlantic Ocean and this created problems for American ships. British ships began to search the American ships for British
navy deserters. Work on British ships was horrible and many men deserted, or ran away from the navy. However, many American sailors were wrongfully taken and forced to work on the British ships. Although the exact number of impressed, or kidnapped, American soldiers is unknown, it is estimated that 1,000 sailors were taken per year. Secretary of State James Madison explained the situation:

The Chesapeake Leopard Affair was one that really tested Jefferson’s neutrality policy and raised Americans’ voices in a war cry. The Leopard, a British ship, stopped the Chesapeake to check for British deserters. The captain of the Chesapeake refused to let the British search, knowing innocent men would be kidnapped.

Jefferson demanded an apology from Britain, the return of impressed sailors, and for the British to stop impressment of American sailors. Jefferson ordered 100,000 militia to prepare to enforce his orders. America had enough reasons to go to war at this time, but Jefferson did not feel the country was ready to face Great Britain once again. The U.S. only had a small navy and it was tied up in the Mediterranean Sea. King George III realized that America wasn’t ready to fight and he ordered more impressment of British soldiers sailing on American ships.

Jefferson was left without any real military options. Instead of war, he issued the Embargo Act of 1807. An embargo is an

"We consider a neutral flag, on the high seas, as a safeguard to those sailing under it. Great Britain, on the contrary, asserts a right to search for, and seize, her own subjects; and under that cover, as cannot happen, are often seized and taken off, citizens of the United States and citizens or subjects of other neutral countries, navigating the high seas, under the protection of the American flag."
official ban on trade with another country. This act completely stopped American ships from trading with other countries. It also kept the ships from leaving American ports, except to go to another American port. Jefferson thought he was keeping the American ships and sailors out of harm's way and avoiding being drawn into the war between Britain and France. As commander in chief, he avoided a large political move. Instead Jefferson made an equally aggressive economic move.

Unfortunately Americans were harmed by the Embargo Act. Thousands of sailors lost their jobs. Ships were left abandoned at the docks to rot. The American economy was hurt so badly that Congress repealed the Embargo Act two years later. It was replaced by the Nonintercourse Act, which only banned trade with France, Britain, and their colonies. Ultimately, this law was no more successful than the Embargo Act.

Barbary Pirates

Along with the problems with Britain and France, American ships faced another problem in the Mediterranean Sea. The region of North Africa was known as the Barbary Coast. It was made up of the Barbary states of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. Pirates from the Barbary Coast would take merchant ships and hold the sailors for ransom. If no ransom was paid the men would be enslaved. The act of piracy, or robbery, by the Barbary States had been going on since the end of the American Revolution, when the pirates realized that the U.S. was no longer protected by the British Navy.

STOP
And Think...

Was this effective? How could creating an embargo impact Americans?

STOP
And Think...

Is an embargo as effective as a fight? or Is an embargo an effective way to settle a disagreement with another country?
Presidents Washington and Adams had both paid the ransom to the pirates for the safe return of American ships. Even during the XYZ Affair when Americans were chanting “millions for defense, not a penny for tribute,” President Jefferson felt strongly about not paying the ransom. The ruler of Tripoli demanded more money. To make matters worse, he declared war on the United States. Jefferson sent a small naval fleet to the Mediterranean to protect American ships. The Philadelphia crashed into a reef bed in Tripoli’s harbor. The crew were captured and the ship was eventually repaired. To prevent Tripoli from using the Philadelphia, Stephen Decatur and a group of sailors snuck into the harbor after dark and burned the ship. A year later, Tripoli and the United States reached a peace agreement to end the First Barbary War. Tripoli would leave American ships alone and the U.S. would pay $60,000 for the crew of the Philadelphia. That was a bargain compared to the original price.
The Fervor of War

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

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TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

restrictions
nationalism
confederation

Although James Madison took office without facing huge domestic issues, the same couldn’t be said for issues of foreign policy. At home and abroad, the nation was deeply involved in the embargo crisis passed in 1807 by Congress. The Embargo Act prohibited trade with all other countries. Jefferson had wanted to prevent direct trade with France and Great Britain. While seen as a disaster thus allowing the weaker Nonintercourse Act to only prohibit trade with Britain and France, President Madison heard war cries by the American public grow louder and louder.

In 1810, Congress passed a law that would permit the U.S. to trade directly with France or Britain depending on which of the two countries would lift its trade restrictions or limits against the U.S. Napoleon as leader of France, promised to end France’s trade restrictions but French seizing of American ships continued. War was brewing but who was the bigger threat: France or Great Britain?

THINK ABOUT: what your strategy would be if you were President of the U.S. in 1810. Which country would you see as the bigger threat and why? What actions would you try to convince Congress to take?
Conflicts on the Western Frontier

Meanwhile, as white settlers continued their quest for more land in the Ohio Valley, tensions increased as indigenous people from various nations built a confederacy under Tecumseh, a powerful Shawnee chief. Believing that the U.S. government’s treaties with separate indigenous nations were worthless, Tecumseh’s strategy was to build a strong alliance with the British in Canada that could halt white movement and eventual settlement into indigenous lands.

As Tecumseh and his brother, Tenskwatawa, known as the Prophet continued to build the power of the confederacy, the governor of the Indiana Territory, William Henry Harrison (who would later become the 9th President in 1841) was growing increasingly alarmed by the combined power of the two Shawnee brothers. He warned Tecumseh that the U.S. Army had many more warriors than Tecumseh and his brother. Tecumseh was not threatened by Harrison’s warning and went south to expand the confederacy.

The Battle of Tippecanoe

Tecumseh and his brother, Tenskwatawa (also known as the Prophet), told indigenous people that their culture was being destroyed by the adoption of white customs. The brothers said that if they returned to the traditional culture of their ancestors, the indigenous people would have the power to resist further encroachment by white settlers. In 1808, Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa founded a village for their followers called Prophetstown, located near where the Wabash and Tippecanoe Rivers meet in present-day Indiana.

Tecumseh used his skill as an eloquent orator to persuade people from various indigenous nations between the Mississippi River and Appalachian Mountains to join his confederation, or alliance, to stand up against the Americans. He believed that one tribe didn’t have a chance when trying to deal with the American government, but that if many tribes joined together, they would have more power in resisting the taking of their lands.

Support of the confederacy grew after the Treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809. William Henry Harrison, the governor of the Indiana Territory, negotiated a deal in which several tribes gave up over 3 million acres in exchange for a small amount of money. Tecumseh declared that the treaty was not valid because the signers did not have the authority to speak for all of the impacted people. The Shawnee chief warned settlers to not come to the
areas defined in the treaty and asked the governor to nullify the treaty. Harrison refused.

Settlers in Indiana Territory were frightened by the growing influence of Tecumseh and the Prophet. Equally concerned, Harrison gathered a military force of 1000 men and set up camp near Prophetstown while Tecumseh was traveling and searching for allies. In the early morning of November 7, 1811, a group of about 500 indigenous people under the command of the Prophet attacked Harrison and his men.

The fighting was fierce and sustained for several hours, with the Prophet’s forces at first looking like they would be victorious. Harrison’s men were ultimately able to attack the flanks of the attacking forces and force them to retreat. Additionally, they destroyed Prophetstown. The Battle of Tippecanoe is often presented as a decisive victory for the American forces, but the Prophet’s forces inflicted serious casualties, indigenous resistance in the region was not weakened, and the confederacy built an even stronger bond with the British.

**War Hawks**

Many Americans believed that the British were behind the indigenous peoples attacks on white settlers. This, combined with the issue of impressment and trade issues with Britain, created a sense of **nationalism**, or enthusiastic loyalty to one’s country. Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina were nationalist leaders in the House of Representatives. Clay, Calhoun, and their followers in the House were known as the War Hawks. Primarily from the West and South, the War Hawks pressed for war with Britain. They thought that this action would eliminate the threat of British-backed indigenous people and maybe even let the United States take over some territory in Canada.

**War Is Declared**

As the impressment of sailors, conflicts with indigenous peoples, and economic hostilities continued, America and Great Britain grew closer and closer to war. By the spring of 1812, President Madison felt there was no alternative but to declare war. In his War Message to Congress on June 1, 1812, he urged the legislature to consider the “series of acts hostile to the United States as an independent and neutral nation”.

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**Interactive 5.1 Tecumseh’s Address**

Read the full text of Tecumseh’s address to General William Henry Harrison here.
The House of Representatives acted quickly. On June 4, the House approved the war bill by a vote of 79-49. The Senate, however, took a bit more time. Some senators preferred a limited war on the high seas, while others were proponents of a larger-scale action. On June 17, 1812, the latter opinion prevailed: the Senate voted 19-13 to approve a declaration of war. President Madison signed the bill into law on June 18, 1812, thereby beginning the War of 1812.

Opposition to the War

Not everybody thought that war was a good idea. There was strong opposition to the war in New England, where many people believed that American trade would be hurt by a war with Britain. Some Federalists feared a potential alliance with Napoleon against Britain. They perceived Napoleon as a blood-thirsty dictator and they didn’t want to associate themselves with “the Nightmare of Europe” or the “Corsican fiend”. Additionally, many Federalists objected to the war because they felt it was being fought to further the interests of the Republicans and to silence any opposition to their policies.

Particularly violent examples of opposition to the war were the Baltimore Riots of 1812. While much of Baltimore was in favor of the war, Alexander Contee Hanson was the publisher of the Federal Republican, a Federalist newspaper critical of President Madison and the Republican party. On June 20, 1812, two days after the declaration of war, Hanson published a harsh criticism of the president’s decision. Two days after that, a pro-war mob that considered Hanson’s writing treasonous destroyed the newspaper office and printing press.

Hanson considered his options. Ultimately, he decided to continue his work and set up a new office and press in Baltimore. He got a group of his Federalist friends and supporters to protect the location and equipment and put out an edition even more critical of the administration.

Angry supporters of the war, primarily Republican, attacked the new Charles Street location on July 28. The Federalist protectors shot into the mob and killed a man. Eventually, an agreement was reached where the Federalists were escorted to the city jail for their protection. The angry pro-war group broke into the jail and viciously beat the Federalists. James Lingan, a veteran of the Revolution, died of his injuries. Severely injured was Henry “Light-Horse Harry” Lee, the father of future Civil War general Robert E. Lee.
Beginning of the War

The war didn’t come at a great time for either nation. Britain was still at war with France. This meant that many British soldiers and warships were already deployed to serve the country in that conflict. The economic policies of President Thomas Jefferson, which had cut military spending, had weakened the American military. While the British navy had hundreds of ships, the United States had fewer than 20 warships.

In order to stop American trade, the British navy established blockades of American ports. A blockade is a closing of a port or road to prevent supplies or people from entering or exiting the area. By the end of the war, all of America’s ports were closed.

All was not lost for the Americans on the high seas, however. One famous early naval battle took place about 600 miles southwest of southern Newfoundland between the USS Constitution and the HMS Guerrière. On August 19, 1812, Captain Isaac Hull of the Constitution had his crew open fire on the slightly smaller British ship, which was commanded by Captain James Dacres. Ultimately, the Guerrière lost both of her masts and suffered severe damage. Her crew was taken from the ship and the vessel was burned and sunk.

While the Constitution took fire from the British in the battle, the reinforced oak sides of the ship were about two feet thick and caused the round shot to bounce off the sides. This gave the illusion that the ship had metal on the exterior of her hull, earning her the nickname “Old Ironsides”.

War in the West

The war wasn’t only being fought on the high seas, however. The Americans and the British were also fighting for control of the Mississippi River, the Great Lakes, and Canada.

The War Hawks had long desired the conquest of British Canada because of the vast amounts of land and resources that would then be available to American citizens. Many thought that the Canadians would welcome the opportunity to not be controlled by Britain. A three-point invasion of Canada was planned that would involve locations in or near Detroit, Niagara Falls, and Montreal.
William Hull had served with distinction during the Revolutionary War, and was serving as the governor of Michigan Territory when he was chosen to lead military action in the West.

Hull organized an army of about 2,000 soldiers and militia in Ohio prior to the official declaration of war. He led his men toward Fort Detroit, located just across the Detroit River from Canada. When they reached the Maumee River (near present-day Toledo, Ohio) at the end of June, Hull put his ill men, baggage, and supplies on the Cuyahoga, a schooner that would take the men and items up the river and across Lake Erie to Detroit. Included in the baggage were Hull’s battle plans.

Hull and the rest of his army continued to Detroit on foot. The Cuyahoga, however, was intercepted by the British when it entered the Detroit River from Lake Erie. This allowed the British to have inside information regarding Hull’s plans and the condition of his men.

Hull arrived in Detroit on July 5. Later that month, Hull led his men on an invasion of Canada. Fearing that he might not have enough men to be successful, Hull quickly retreated.

Taking advantage of Hull’s insecurity, General Isaac Brock, the British commander, devised a plan. Working with Tecumseh and members of his confederacy, Brock decided to capitalize on Hull’s well known fear of indigenous people. Brock fed misinformation about the number of indigenous people in the area supporting him. After the fall of the fort at Mackinac, Hull believed the information and gave up Fort Detroit. The other planned invasions of Canada also failed.

How might the War of 1812 in the West been different if Hull hadn’t been afraid to take decisive action during his invasion of Upper Canada?

Lake Erie

The Americans knew that they needed to take control of Lake Erie if they were to have any possibility of success in Canada. They pinned their hopes on Captain Oliver Hazard Perry. Perry was based in Presque Isle (present-day Erie, Pennsylvania). He hired carpenters to build ships for him and gathered and trained a force to man the ships.

Perry then moved his men and ships to Put-in-Bay in western Lake Erie. On September 10, 1813, they saw British ships moving toward them. Perry gave the order to engage the enemy. After several hours of intense fighting (during which Perry had to leave his destroyed flagship, the Lawrence, and row over to his other ship, the Niagara), the Americans had inflicted such severe damage on the British ships that they surrendered. Perry then
wrote his famous note to General William Henry Harrison to tell him of the great victory: “Dear General: We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop. Yours with great respect and esteem, O.H. Perry.” The entire British naval force on Lake Erie was now under the control of Perry, which forced the British and their indigenous allies under the command of Major General Henry Procter to leave Detroit and go back to Canada.

Conflict in the South

Warned by Tecumseh of the dangers of losing their culture to the white man and tired of American settlers moving onto and taking their land, a faction of Creek Indians known as the Red Sticks attacked several settlements in 1813. One of these locations was Fort Mims. When the Creek attacked, not only military people were killed. Civilians, women, and children also died. This event, often called the Fort Mims Massacre, galvanized action against the Creek. Andrew Jackson, the commander of the Tennessee militia, led his forces against the Creek nation.

On March 27, 1814, Jackson’s forces and some Cherokee allies attacked a major Red Stick camp at Horseshoe Bend, a village on the Tallapoosa River. The Creeks suffered a crushing defeat here, losing nearly a thousand men. The terms of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, which ended the Creek War, also brought nearly 23 million acres of Creek land into the United States. Andrew Jackson was hailed as a hero and his enhanced reputation would help him win the presidency fourteen years later.

Final Battles

By the spring of 1814, Britain had won the war against Napoleon thus allowing for more soldiers to be sent to the U.S. By August of 1814, the British sailed into Chesapeake Bay en route to the nation’s capital, Washington, D.C. Quickly overpowered by British troops, the American militia retreated and watched as the Capitol and the White House were burned. A thunderstorm prevented maximum damage to both buildings but the attack upon national buildings was a low point for the United States.

Deciding not to try and hold Washington, D.C. the British sailed north to Baltimore and attacked. A determined defense from Fort McHenry in Baltimore’s harbor kept the British from entering the city. While in its own right, this was not the most significant battle during the war, the battle at Fort Henry is most famously known for Francis Scott Key’s poem, later known as our national anthem, “The Star-Spangled Banner.”

For a detailed account of the history behind the writing of the anthem, check out this video:
Meanwhile, another group of British forces prepared to invade New York through a key city on the shore of Lake Champlain, Plattsburgh. However, the invasion was stopped when an American naval force on the lake defeated the British fleet in September of 1814. The British forces retreated into Canada and had decided that the war in North America was too costly and unnecessary.

**The End of the War**

By December of 1814, American and British representatives signed a peace agreement. Known as the Treaty of Ghent—named after the city in Belgium where the agreement was signed, the treaty did not change any existing borders, nor did it address the issue of *impressed* sailors.

However, before word of the treaty reached the U.S., one final battle occurred at New Orleans. In a gruesome but short battle, Andrew Jackson’s soldiers achieved a decisive victory. Andrew Jackson became a war hero, helping him win the presidency in 1828.

The War of 1812 had ended. Americans felt a new sense of patriotism and a strong national identity while also gaining respect from other nations throughout the world which would prove essential as the U.S. had to establish a new relationship with the “Old World.”
President Monroe Defines Foreign Policy

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Were President Jefferson’s foreign policy decisions reflective of his philosophy of limited governmental power or in sharp contrast to his philosophies?

2. Were President Madison’s war-hawkish foreign policy decisions aligned with his domestic policy decisions?

3. Was the Monroe Doctrine a policy of U.S. expansion or a policy of U.S. self-defense?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Relations with Britain

As President Monroe took office in 1817, relations with Britain had been ongoing since the end of the War of 1812. In 1817, the Rush-Bagot Treaty limited the number of naval vessels on the Great Lakes and removed weapons located along the borders of the U.S. and British Canada.

The following year, The Convention of 1818 further clarified relations with Britain as the following agreements had been made.

- The boundary of the Louisiana Territory was set between the U.S. and Canada at the 49th parallel.
- A secure and demilitarized border had been established.
- Americans gained the right to settle in the Oregon Country.

Relations with Spain

While relations were progressing with Britain, relations with Spain took a different turn. In 1818, General Andrew Jackson had been ordered to stop Seminole raids on America from Florida. Jackson and his men seized two Spanish forts. While the raid had not been authorized by the Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams,
Adams did believe the Spanish would be in favor of settling the dispute. With the signing of the Adams-Onis Treaty in 1819, the U.S. gained East Florida and the Spanish abandoned all claims to West Florida. The U.S. in return, gave up its claims to Spanish Texas and agreed to defined borders. As a result of this treaty, the U.S. gained territory in the Pacific Northwest.

The Monroe Doctrine

In 1822 France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, also known at the time as the Quadruple Alliance, were discussing plans to help Spain regain some of its recently-lost holdings in America. When President Monroe became aware of this he took action.

In his annual message to Congress on January 2, 1823, the president issued a statement, later known as the Monroe Doctrine. In the doctrine, Monroe declared, ‘The American continents ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.’ President Monroe had made it very clear that the U.S. would not interfere with any existing European colonies in the Americas but again reemphasized that North and South America were not to be considered as any countries or land that could be colonized. Like Washington’s Farewell Address, the Monroe Doctrine became a cornerstone of American foreign policy.

“With the existing colonies...of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the [Latin American] governments who have declared their independence and maintained it...we could not view any [involvement] for the purpose of oppressing them...by any European power in any other light than as the [showing] of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.”

--James Monroe, Speech to Congress, December 1823

Image source: https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3c04958/
President’s Advice

If you think back to chapter 3, In his farewell address, Washington warned the country that political parties could drive the young nation apart, though all of the following presidents had party ties and worked to do what was best for their party. Washington also warned about making permanent alliances with foreign countries. He set an example of neutrality, or staying out of the business of those foreign countries.

What factors made it difficult for other presidents to maintain the neutrality policy? Were other presidents interested in maintaining that policy?

To What Extent Did the Presidents After Washington Follow the Foreign Policy Advice From His Farewell Address?

Create an argument with evidence from the chapter to