

Jeffersonian Democracy

STUDY THING

1. **The congressional election of 1810 was important because it:**
 - A. greatly increased the size of the Republican Party
 - B. brought in a number of peace advocates
 - C. added a number of young, western, anti-British representatives to the House
 - D. gave rise to a new political party
 - E. represented the genesis of the Era of Good Feelings

2. **The Missouri Compromise of 1820 accomplished all of the following except:**
 - A. admit Maine as a free state
 - B. prohibit slavery north of latitude 36° 30'
 - C. maintain the balance of slave and free states
 - D. admit Missouri as a slave state
 - E. establish the principle of popular sovereignty south of 36° 30'

3. **Recent historians describe the "Era of Good Feelings" as:**
 - A. marked by deep divisions over economic and sectional issues
 - B. free of ideological disputes
 - C. characterized by multiparty harmony
 - D. marked by little interference of the Supreme Court in political affairs
 - E. warm and fuzzy

4. **During both the Washington and Jefferson administrations, the western settlers' most urgent and consistent demand on the federal government was for the:**
 - A. repeal of the Whiskey Tax
 - B. guarantee of an outlet to the sea for their produce
 - C. establishment of a national banking system
 - D. reduction in the tariff
 - E. removal of Indians to reservations

5. In the Rush-Bagot Treaty, Great Britain and the United States agreed:

- A. on a timetable for withdrawal of British forces from the Oregon territory
- B. on the fishing rights of each in the Atlantic
- C. to the creation of an Indian buffer state in the Northwest
- D. to limit their naval forces on the Great Lakes
- E. that Halloween was their favorite holiday

6. After the War of 1812, Henry Clay called for an "American System" by which he meant:

- A. high tariffs to keep out European products
- B. unique manufacturing methods which Europeans could not emulate
- C. revamped foreign policy toward Europe
- D. internal improvements that would make the nation self-sufficient
- E. complete overhaul of the flawed Electoral College system

7. Chief Justice John Marshall asserted that only Congress, not the states, possessed the power to control interstate commerce. The case was:

- A. *Marbury v. Madison*
- B. *Plessy v. Ferguson*
- C. *Cohens v. Virginia*
- D. *Jones v. Clinton*
- E. *Gibbons v. Ogden*

8. The War Hawks were:

- A. mostly from New England
- B. eager for war against Napoleon in order to gain the Louisiana Territory
- C. supporters of the Jefferson/Madison policy of economic coercion
- D. Republicans from the West and South who wanted to take Florida from Spain and Canada from Britain
- E. largely noncommittal on the U.S. question of possible war against Great Britain

9. In diplomatic and economic terms, the War of 1812:

- A. was a disaster for the United States
- B. could be considered the Second War for American Independence
- C. was considered a victory for Britain
- D. resulted in the fall of the British government that concluded the conflict
- E. the dual losers of the war were the French and the Spanish

10. When the House of Representatives passed the Tallmadge Amendment in response to Missouri's request for admission to the Union, the South thought the measure:

- A. would threaten the sectional balance
- B. might keep alive the institution of slavery
- C. would slow the growth of the West
- D. would silence the abolitionists
- E. might alienate northern support for the Fugitive Slave Act

11. Among the following, Thomas Jefferson's closest political ally was:

- A. George Washington
- B. Aaron Burr
- C. James Madison
- D. Alexander Hamilton
- E. John Marshall

12. The Lewis and Clark expedition occurred as a result of the:

- A. War of 1812
- B. Louisiana Purchase
- C. Embargo Act of 1807
- D. Missouri Compromise
- E. Nullification Crisis

13. In addition to the Embargo Act of 1807, a significant factor in the development of American industry in the period 1800-1820 was:

- A. invention of the cotton gin
- B. availability of cheap immigrant labor
- C. development of railroads
- D. the Louisiana Purchase
- E. protective tariffs

14. Thomas Jefferson maintained that:

- A. only educated men could know the truth
- B. until the masses were educated aristocratic government was more likely to be just than was representative government
- C. by means of education, democratic societies should train the ablest minds for leadership
- D. education would make all men equal in ability
- E. the greatest enemies of liberty were the over-educated

15. In the *McCulloch v. Maryland* case, the Supreme Court declared that:

- A. Congress lacked the power to charter a national bank
- B. states cannot tax an agency of the federal government
- C. the state of Maryland was superior to the United States
- D. colleges possessed the right to a charter
- E. interstate commerce was regulated at the federal level

16. The resolutions from the Hartford Convention:

- A. helped to cause the death of the Federalist Party
- B. resulted in the resurgence of states' rights
- C. called for southern secession from the Union
- D. supported use of state militias against the British
- E. contributed to the recall of the Embargo Act of 1807

17. The Embargo Act of 1807 most hurt:

- A. England
- B. France
- C. New England
- D. the South
- E. the West



Thomas Jefferson: Political Theorist. To Thomas Jefferson the ideal design for American society was an educated electorate of small independent farmers. He opposed large-scale industrialization and urbanization, whereas Alexander Hamilton had proposed economic measures to encourage the growth of industries and the power of the wealthy. The conflict between Jefferson and Hamilton came to a head slowly, but they regularly disagreed on foreign affairs and internal controls (Whiskey Rebellion); by 1791 party factions, stimulated by newspaper propagandists, were intent on gaining power once Washington retired.

Federalists and Republicans. Why did national political parties emerge after the ratification of a Constitution which made no provision for them? The main reason is that by creating a strong national government the Constitution produced a focus for the discussion and settlement of national issues. But the Constitution did not provide machinery for nominating candidates for federal offices, a vacuum filled by party organizations. Jefferson's friends called themselves Democratic Republicans; they were the first to organize and the more efficient. Hamilton's supporters were called Federalists. The most significant differences were psychological. The typical Federalist thought of change as an orderly progression presided over by established authority; the Republican view emphasized individual ability and effort. There were no clear-cut social or economic alignments. Political divisions over foreign policy held the greatest threat for national security. Hamilton, believing Jefferson so pro-French that he was unable to conduct foreign affairs rationally, overcompensated by being too cooperative with the British.

In 1796, the nation's first contested presidential election occurred. Jefferson, the Republican candidate, was opposed by John Adams representing the Federalists. Jefferson, receiving the second highest vote, 71 to 68 electoral votes, became vice-president. Dissension within Federalist ranks and the closeness of the election indicated the growth of Republican popularity.

The Revolution of 1800. Despite widespread fears that a Jefferson victory in the election of 1800 would result in weakening the central government and disrupt Hamilton's economic programs, the Virginian defeated Adams by an eight-vote electoral margin. However, Jefferson and his vice-presidential running mate, Aaron Burr, ended in a tie with 73 votes each (Republican electors had failed to "waste" a Burr vote). The election, thrown into the House, was not resolved until mid-February 1801, when Hamilton persuaded enough Federalist congressmen to break the deadlock by voting for Jefferson. The 12th Amendment was ratified in 1804 to prevent a recurrence of this problem. The Federalists largely contributed to their own defeat in 1800 by overreacting to political criticism and "alien" philosophies.

Jefferson as President. In his inaugural address, Jefferson's main stress was on the cooling of partisan passions: "We are all Republicans--we are all Federalists." While denouncing the national debt, Jefferson stated the Hamiltonian position of stimulating commerce as well as his beloved agriculture. Jefferson showed his sincerity by reducing military expenditures and the national debt, by repealing excise taxes and naturalization laws, and by accepting as permanent the Hamiltonian economic structure. "Pell-mell" was good politics. Jefferson avoided pretentious presidential ceremonies, and he made political mileage from informal dinner parties for congressmen.

Attack on the Judiciary. Upon taking office Jefferson was enraged to discover that John Adams had appointed 16 new federal judges and numerous court officers, all conservative Federalists, trying to gain long-term Federalist domination of the judiciary. By refusing to deliver several justice of the peace commissions, previously signed by Adams, Jefferson inadvertently set the stage for John Marshall's *Marbury v. Madison* decision wherein the principle of Supreme Court judicial review was established. Rebuffed by the Supreme Court, Jefferson carried his attack on the Federalist judiciary against individual judges. District Judge John Pickering was impeached and convicted by Congress, but Jefferson failed in attempting to remove Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase in the same manner. Jefferson's attack on the courts was as partisan as the Federalists' use of the Alien and Sedition Acts.

The Barbary Pirates. During the Washington and Adams administrations, the United States followed a long-established European practice of paying tribute to North African Arab states for trade privileges; otherwise, these Barbary pirates harassed Mediterranean shipping. Determined to stop such humiliation, Jefferson refused payment of increased tribute and sent a squadron to Tripoli in 1801 in response to a declaration of war by the pasha. Although the expedition failed to crush the pirates, the pasha agreed to make a new treaty more favorable to the United States.

The Louisiana Purchase. In 1801 Spain ceded Louisiana back to France under the terms of the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso. Learning of this, Jefferson was concerned that the transfer would threaten American navigation and commercial privileges obtained in Pinckney's Treaty. Napoleon had intended to develop Louisiana into an imperial breadbasket, but he was distracted by a slave revolt led by Toussaint L'Ouverture in Saint Domingue and threatening war clouds in Europe. American ministers in France, Robert Livingston and James Monroe, who had been instructed to attempt the purchase of New Orleans and Florida, were astonished when Napoleon offered to sell all of Louisiana for \$15 million. The treaty was negotiated and, in spite of constitutional misgivings, Jefferson obtained its ratification, and in so doing nearly doubled the nation's size.

Federalism Discredited. Unable to block ratification of the Louisiana Purchase and fearful that soon-to-be-admitted western states would reduce the North's political power, a group of reactionary Federalists, led by Timothy Pickering, organized the Essex Junto (1804). The group devised a plan for a "Northern Confederacy," in which New England and New York state would secede from the Union. The scheme failed when Aaron Burr, who appeared sympathetic to the Junto's design, was defeated for the governorship of New York. Hamilton had vigorously campaigned against Burr and continued to cast aspersions on his character. Burr challenged him to a duel, and Hamilton was killed.

Lewis and Clark. Jefferson had a long-standing interest and curiosity in the Louisiana Purchase territory, and in 1803 he got Congress to authorize an expedition into the region. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark led a group of explorers across the Plains to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition returned in 1806 after collecting data on flora and fauna and establishing friendly relations with several Indian tribes.

Jeffersonian Democracy. Although Jefferson politically undermined the Federalists, he accepted the Federalist economic structure, backed internal improvement projects, and maintained a respectful regard for public opinion. Republicanism triumphed in an orderly manner without a large military establishment and with reduced taxation. In 1804, the nation appeared headed into a golden age.

John Randolph of Roanoke. John Randolph of Roanoke became Jefferson's severest Republican critic and denounced the president's backing of Yazoo land claimants in their legal fight against Georgia. He finally broke with the administration after learning of Jefferson's request for \$2 million to be used in bribing Spain to relinquish West Florida.

The Burr Conspiracy. Aaron Burr, having dreams of acquiring a western empire for himself, illegally acted in 1806 to arm a band of men for action. Historians do not agree as to Burr's precise objective. Jefferson, slow to react to rumors of Burr's intentions, finally had Burr arrested on treason charges. The trial became part of the ongoing struggle between Jefferson and the judiciary as the president became a vindictive executive intent on obtaining a conviction, while John Marshall, who presided at the trial, showed favoritism to the prisoner. Burr was acquitted largely because Marshall defined treason narrowly (two independent witnesses had to testify to an overt act).

Napoleon and the British. The renewal of hostilities between England and France had reached a stalemate by 1806; France controlled the continent while England dominated the sea. In attempting to disrupt each other's economy, both resorted to commercial warfare, which amounted to organized exploitation of American shipping. Americans had previously benefited from European wars as considerable colonial trade fell into their hands. However, the British decided to clamp down on neutral trade profits through court decisions which outlawed the profitable reexport trade.

The Impressment Controversy. For many years Anglo-American relations had been impaired by British insistence on using impressment for manning their navy. Between 1803 and 1812 at least 5,000 American sailors were impressed. Undoubtedly, the British took advantage of lax American immigration laws to impress many English-speaking sailors who were unable to prove their citizenship. The United States government conceded the British right to impress their own citizens; when, however, naturalized and native-born Americans were seized, the government strenuously protested. American suggestions that impressment be ended were rejected by the British.

The Embargo Act. Anglo-American relations were severely strained on June 22, 1807, when the British frigate *Leopard*, after searching for deserters, attacked the American frigate *Chesapeake* off Norfolk, Virginia. While the American public demanded war, Jefferson recognized that American naval strength limited retaliation to economic sanctions. The Embargo Act (December 1807) was the United States' answer to growing European harassment of neutral rights. The embargo simply prohibited all exports. Jefferson had intended to uphold national honor by not subjecting American shipping to insults and to pressuring Britain and France into moderating their policies. Instead, the Act had disastrous effects on the American economy and little effect upon the British who simply found new markets. The embargo proved unpopular and many citizens violated its provisions. The Embargo Act was repealed in 1809 and replaced by the Non-Intercourse Act which forbade trade only with England and France.

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Madison in Power. Taking office in 1809, President James Madison had no better solution for curing American foreign problems than had Jefferson. Congress took the initiative in foreign affairs by passing Macon's Bill No. 2 (1810), which removed all restrictions on commerce with France and England. However, the act authorized the president to reapply nonintercourse to either France or England should the other cease to violate American commerce. Napoleon, promising to withdraw harassing French decrees, tricked Madison into reapplying nonintercourse to England. Once Madison acted, Napoleon resumed seizing American ships whenever it suited him to do so. Madison reluctantly concluded that unless Britain repealed the Orders, the United States must declare war.

Tecumseh and the Prophet. Hostilities between frontiersmen and Indians also contributed to war fever, and western farmers habitually blamed the British in Canada for frontier troubles. The basic reasons for the growing frontier anxieties were the greed of white settlers and their prejudices against Indians. Recognizing that white man's civilization was about to obliterate Indian culture, the Shawnee Chief Tecumseh and his brother, known as the Prophet, organized thousands of Indians into a political unit to resist further white incursions. While the Battle of Tippecanoe was pretty much a draw, it disillusioned the Indians and shattered their confederation. Convinced that the British had aided Tecumseh, westerners clamored for war.

Depression and Land Hunger. Westerners were also quick to blame England for their economic woes. Ignoring the debilitating effects of American commercial restrictions and their own regional and geographical conditions that reduced profits, farmers believed that neutral rights were the keys to economic success. Expansionist desires contributed to heated feelings as Canada and Florida were seen as potential American holdings. While these forces combined to encourage war, hostilities would have been impossible without the overriding belief that the nation's honor had to be defended.

Resistance to War. Easterners failed to share western enthusiasm for war. Federalists tended to oppose war on strictly partisan grounds and shipowners were not eager to take on the largest navy in the world. Too few Americans recognized that Napoleon, not England, was the greatest potential threat. Ignoring ties of culture and language and insensitive to a growing spirit of conciliation in England, the United States declared war against Great Britain.

The War of 1812. Unable to contest British naval superiority in a long war, the United States relied on frigate action to win several high sea encounters early in the war. The major objective of American military strategists was the capture of Canada. Several attempts to invade Canada in 1812 failed because of mismanagement, lack of initiative, and poor military leadership. In 1813 the situation improved with Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's destruction of the British Lake Erie fleet, but Canada was not conquered and the British fleet intensified its blockade of American ports.

Britain Assumes the Offensive. The most successful attack of the British was on Washington where they burned most of the public buildings. But they were stopped by the defenses at Baltimore and at Fort McHenry, where Francis Scott Key wrote the words to "The Star Spangled Banner."

The Treaty of Ghent. For all practical purposes the war ended in the summer of 1814 when peace commissioners for both nations met at Ghent to discuss peace. The British were slow to begin serious negotiations, but they finally agreed to settle for *status quo ante bellum* and on Christmas Eve the treaty was signed. No territory changed hands, and no concessions were made on impressment, ship seizures, or other neutral rights concerns. For the most part these issues which had contributed to the war were dead with the return of peace to Europe. The treaty simply ended hostilities.

The Hartford Convention. While peace commissioners were negotiating in Ghent, disgruntled New England Federalists called the Hartford Convention to protest the war and plan constitutional revisions. Rumors suggested a secessionist movement under a New England Confederacy would result, but moderate Federalists dominated the convention and proposed a list of constitutional amendments. When word of the peace reached the country, the Federalists were denounced for lack of support of the war and the party was thoroughly discredited.

The Battle of New Orleans. Unaware of the Treaty of Ghent, American forces engaged in a campaign to protect New Orleans from capture by General Edward Pakenham. On January 8, 1815, the British army assaulted the forces of Andrew Jackson and found the Americans' defense to be impregnable. The British suffered a staggering defeat, with 2,100 casualties. Thirteen Americans lost their lives and more were wounded.

Fruits of "Victory." Nationalism was stimulated by the War of 1812. Americans were proud of Jackson's victory at New Orleans. Europeans became more convinced that the United States was here to stay. The Federalist party was discredited by wartime activities. After 1815, peace in Europe restored commerce and sent a new wave of emigrants to develop the rapidly expanding country.

Anglo-American Rapprochement. While no territory changed hands at Ghent, several ongoing problems which had contributed to Anglo-American disputes were discussed. Joint commissions were established to negotiate these outstanding problems. In 1817 the Rush-Bagot Agreement, limiting naval power on the Great Lakes, became the forerunner of demilitarization of the United States-Canadian border. This agreement was followed by the Convention of 1818 which set the 49th parallel as the northern boundary of the Louisiana Territory.

Transcontinental Treaty. Spain's inability to control the Indians in East Florida prompted negotiations between John Quincy Adams, Monroe's secretary of state, and the Spanish minister, Luis de Onís, for a settlement of the Florida problem. In 1818 President Monroe ordered Andrew Jackson to drive the Indians from American soil and put an end to their marauding attacks. Jackson may have overstepped his authority as he destroyed two Spanish forts in Florida. The result of Jackson's expedition prompted Spain to complete negotiations with the United States. Driving a hard bargain, Adams obtained a western boundary for the Louisiana Territory extending to the Pacific, Florida was acquired in exchange for \$5 million in claims, and Spain's claim to Texas was recognized.

The Monroe Doctrine. Working on his State of the Union message, President Monroe and Secretary of State Adams collaborated in formulating a statement on foreign policy. What has since become known as the Monroe Doctrine was developed in response to expanding Russian interest in the Northwest and concern for the future of newly organized republics in Latin America. The message closed the American continent to further colonization and warned against foreign intervention in the affairs of independent American nations. The proclamation received little notice in 1823, but it accurately expressed widespread public opinion in the United States and would later become the keystone of the nation's Latin American policy.

The Era of Good Feelings. The election of James Monroe as president in 1816 ushered in a period of eight years of political tranquility which epitomized a national desire for the resolution of the post-Revolutionary conflicts that had marked American politics. If the "Era of Good Feelings" was superficial, Americans could still view the period as internally constructive. The nation's area had doubled, as had the population, most of it from natural increase rather than immigration.

The Subsidence of Sectionalism. As foreign threats to national security eased after the War of 1812, sectional problems emerged. With the exception of commercial New England, the North favored tariffs to protect native industries, but the South opposed tariffs as damaging to its export trade. In 1816, the second Bank of the United States was authorized by Congress in spite of northern opposition to the specifics of the act. The new bank was badly managed compared to Hamilton's first bank and failed to control inflation and speculation. After the Panic of 1819 the West opposed the bank. In the West people wanted cheap land, whereas the North and the South tended to view the national domain as an immediate cash-convertible asset. Not before 1820 did the question of national support for internal improvements become significant, but the regional breakdown was identical to the land issue.

Slavery was the most divisive issue. In 1808 the slave trade was abolished and the political balance in Congress was maintained, as free and slave states remained equal in number. With the expansion of cotton and slavery after 1815, the North and South became more aggressive in their feelings about slavery, and the West tended to sympathize with the South.

Those Who Would Be President. By 1824, the giants of the Revolution had completed their work, and new leaders had emerged who would dominate national politics until 1850. In the North, John Quincy Adams became most prominent. The ambitious son of the second president, Adams had by 1824 made an excellent showing as an American diplomat abroad and had become Monroe's secretary of state. He was a strong nationalist who supported the second Bank of the United States and internal improvements while opposing slavery. Daniel Webster, a noted Boston lawyer, gained prominence as a great orator; while he was basically a nationalist, he could be influenced by political expediency. The most talented politician of the era was Martin Van Buren of New York. The "Little Magician," whose political machine was known as the Albany Regency, never took a position on an issue if he could avoid doing so.

Southern Leaders. In the 1820s southern leadership reflected strong support for national issues. William H. Crawford of Georgia put together a political machine in trying to win the presidency in 1824. Crawford was basically a states' rights advocate, but he supported moderate tariffs and the Bank to broaden his national base. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, who began his career as a War Hawk in 1812, consistently supported a strong nationalist position until the late 1820s.

Western Leaders. Consistency on national issues was not characteristic of western politics in the 1820s. Henry Clay of Kentucky and Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri used the West's balance of political power on tariffs, banking, and slavery to pass legislation favorable to cheap land and internal improvements. Two military men, William Henry Harrison and Andrew Jackson, became political figures without sectional reputations.

The Missouri Compromise. The admission of Missouri to the Union as a slave state opened a sectional power struggle. Congressman Tallmadge of New York tried to amend the Missouri Enabling Act by providing for the gradual emancipation of all slaves; the amendment passed in the House but was defeated in the Senate. Since the question was political influence rather than the rights and wrongs of slavery, a compromise was worked out. Missouri entered the Union as a slave state and Maine was admitted as a free state, thus preserving the balance in the Senate. Slavery was forever prohibited in the Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30' north latitude. The vote on Missouri was on sectional lines; at best the compromise could only be a temporary solution.

The "Corrupt Bargain" of 1824. The presidential election of 1824 was fought on personal rather than party grounds. Active candidates were Andrew Jackson, William Crawford, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay. Jackson received the most popular and electoral votes, but he lacked a majority in the electoral college. Therefore, the election was decided in the House of Representatives where Clay swung his support to give Adams the election. Clay was later named as secretary of state, thus bringing on the charge of "corrupt bargain." Adams took a Hamiltonian view of the future of the country and pressed for a vast federal program of internal improvements, a national university, and an astronomical observatory. But his administration suffered from lack of popular support and from his own political ineptness.

Toward a National Economy. Between 1790 and 1803 a series of events took place that were basic to industrialization in the United States. Samuel Slater set up the first effective factory, spinning cotton thread by machine. Eli Whitney designed the cotton gin and manufactured rifles with interchangeable parts. Oliver Evans achieved automation in flour milling. John Fitch built the world's first regularly scheduled steamboat.

Birth of the Factory. The British had by the 1770s made tremendous progress in mechanizing the textile industry, and Americans bought the superior quality British goods. The Revolution, however, ended American access to British markets; this fact, along with nationalism, stimulated an interest in developing local industries. Samuel Slater immigrated from England in 1789 and the next year constructed a machine which made cotton thread. Beginning in 1813 mass production of textile goods was achieved by Francis Cabot Lowell, head of the Boston Associates, who combined large-scale operations, professional management, and centralized marketing practices to produce quality textiles at a good profit.

The Persistence of the Household System. While the "Lowell System" in textiles was immediately important, other American industry did not convert to factory production all at once. Instead, traveling artisans, town craftsmen, and neighborhood industries continued to supply most local needs and occasionally shipped manufactures throughout the states.

Corporations. Throughout the nation's early history a short supply of funds for capital investments curtailed industrial expansion. To form a corporation required a special act of a state legislature and between 1781 and 1801 only 326 were chartered. Most were for quasi-public projects such as roads and waterworks.

Cotton Revolutionizes the South. Southerners had long wanted to develop a second cash crop to supplement tobacco production and cotton was regarded as a possibility because of British industrial appetite for it. Planters had found that "sea-island" cotton had commercial value, but it could only be grown in semitropical areas, whereas upland cotton readily grew throughout the South, but it was difficult to separate its fibers from its seed. The invention of the cotton gin (1793) by Eli Whitney solved this problem and by the early 1820s annual production averaged well over 400,000 bales. Northerners benefited from cotton culture as well as southerners because transportation, insurance, and crop marketing were controlled by the North.

Revival of Slavery. The emergence of a cotton culture in the South revitalized the institution of slavery. Between 1795 and 1894, the price of slaves doubled. Some whites, reacting to both humanitarianism and racist urges, advocated colonization plans for blacks, and with the creation of the American Colonization Society in 1817, the African nation of Liberia was established. But once the economic impact of cotton hit, interstate slave trade boomed as Upper South blacks were shipped to newly opened cotton fields in the Deep South. Free blacks in the North suffered almost as much discrimination as those in the South, but limited legal processes gave them some protection in the North.

Roads to Market. Most major western problems were related to transportation. The Appalachian Mountains obstructed direct trade with eastern markets. The Mississippi River provided a natural downstream avenue for commerce, but upstream traffic was minor. In the 1790s Americans began copying European road building techniques and by the 1820s most principal northeastern towns were connected by a network of roadways.

Transportation and the Government. Private turnpike projects caused a boom in road building in the early 1800s, but private companies failed to make substantial profits. Local and state governments also sponsored road construction with some success. While the national government could have benefited directly from large-scale support of internal improvements, sectional rivalries blocked most road building legislation, with the exception of the Old National Road (connecting Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, Virginia) which was completed in 1818 with federal funding. Until the coming of the railroad, the West would not have cheap land transportation.

"Organs of Communication." Enterprising businessmen and inventors turned their talents to developing improved water transportation. The major breakthrough came in 1807 when Robert Fulton introduced his steamboat, the *Clermont*. Fulton simply improved existing designs and technology in creating an efficient vessel. The Mississippi Valley was immensely enriched, and New Orleans became a major port.

The Canal Boom. Steamboats expanded the West's economic base, but contact between West and East was still impaired by the Appalachians. In 1810, DeWitt Clinton, mayor of New York, proposed that the state build a canal linking the Hudson River to the Great Lakes. Clinton's plan was adopted, and the Erie Canal was completed in 1825 at a cost of \$7 million. The Erie was soon earning profits of about \$3 million per year. New York City had already become the largest city in the nation. In 1818 the Black Ball Line opened the first regularly scheduled freight and passenger service between New York and England. The Erie Canal cemented New York's position as the national metropolis. The success of the Erie Canal led to a nationwide canal boom, but in some areas, particularly west of the Appalachians, there was not enough traffic to pay for all the waterways dug.

Government Aid to Business. Economic expansion in the early 1800s benefited from government support of businesses. Corporations were gaining national acceptance and states began passing legislation favorable to corporate enterprises. In 1811 New York enacted the first general incorporation law and other states gave tax incentives to industries. Inventions were stimulated by the federal government when the United States Patent Office was created in 1790. Court decisions also favored business, particularly in the realm of labor disputes, and unions did not obtain legal status until after 1840.

The Marshall Court. John Marshall believed in a powerful central government and, during his tenure as chief justice of the Supreme Court, handed down decisions favorable to manufacturing and business interests. Between 1819 and 1824 the Court made several important rulings establishing the "sanctity" of contracts and upholding the supremacy of federal legislation over the laws of the separate states. In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), Marshall held that a charter granted by a state was a contract and could not be canceled or altered without the consent of both advocates. In *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), Marshall strengthened the implied powers of Congress by disallowing Maryland's attempt to tax the Bank of the United States. In 1824 the Court's ruling in *Gibbons v. Ogden* established the principle of national control over interstate commerce by dissolving an interstate shipping monopoly between New York and New Jersey. This resulted in the opening of all interstate commerce and encouraged competition. Marshall died in 1835, and his successor, Chief Justice Roger Taney, also leaned toward decisions which favored economic development. However, in the Charles River Bridge case, the Court favored the new state-constructed bridge's position over the older privately owned toll bridge.

Election of 1828. The presidential campaign of 1828 between Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams did not deal with the great sectional issues of the day. The candidates' supporters resorted to character assassination and slander, and Adams refused to attend Jackson's inaugural ceremonies.

In 1828, a new sectional crisis began with the passage of the "Tariff of Abominations," which placed high duties on wool, hemp, flax, fur, and liquor. New England manufacturers disliked the tariff and the South hoped New England would vote with her in defeating the measure. But New England politicians decided to support the tariff on principle. This marked the turning point in the career of John Calhoun, who responded to the tariff by penning the *South Carolina Exposition and Protest*, in which he repudiated the nationalist philosophy previously championed by arguing that a state had the right to nullify an act of Congress if deemed unconstitutional by a special state convention.

Ford as President. Gerald Ford was a hard-working, unimaginative president who was criticized for extending a presidential pardon to Nixon and for his handling of the severe economic slump. In foreign affairs, he asked Congress in 1975 to send arms to South Vietnam to stem the North Vietnamese advance. Congress refused, Saigon fell, and thousands of South Vietnamese sought political asylum in the United States. In May 1975 the American merchant ship *Mayaguez* was captured by the communist Cambodian naval forces in the Gulf of Siam. Ford demanded its release, Marines were sent in, and 38 died. Although probably unnecessary, the action was popular with many Americans.

Ford decided to run for the presidency in 1976, although he barely edged out the Republican right-wing favorite, Ronald Reagan, to become the party candidate. Ford was defeated in a close election by Jimmy Carter, former governor of Georgia.

The Carter Presidency. Carter tried to give a tone of democratic simplicity and moral fervor to his administration. He walked rather than rode in a limousine in part of the inaugural parade. He organized "town meetings" in small cities to chat with ordinary citizens. In foreign affairs he placed "human rights" above all issues. He had several notable diplomatic successes. In 1978 the Senate ratified a treaty with Panama providing for the gradual return of the canal to that country. His most striking achievement was the Camp David Agreement, in which Israel promised to withdraw from territory conquered in the "six-day" war in 1967, and Egypt recognized Israel as a nation, the first Arab country to do so.

His domestic policies did not go so well. The administration submitted complicated proposals to Congress concerning income tax rebates and energy, but when Congress did not give quick support, they were dropped.