UNIT 3
The Early Republic

1789–1848

45-50-minute classes | 15-19 classes

UNIT PREVIEW

Structure

Why Teach the Early Republic

The United States of America is an "experiment in self-government." None other than the Father of the Country, George Washington, said as much at his inauguration. The experiment had seemed to be on the verge of failure by 1787, but the Constitution gave it a second chance. This is the story of the beginning decades of that "second chance." What is so remarkable about these decades is that the ideas and structures of the Constitution were put into action with real people, real challenges, and real opportunities. America's first elected and appointed statesmen would set the precedents by which American representative democracy would operate. Indeed, much of American self-government still reflects the precedents established in those first decades. These acts were not performed in a vacuum, however. America's leaders

had to face very real struggles, and the American people had to learn to trust the Constitution and one another. All the while, America also found before her opportunities rarely afforded to any nation. In navigating the challenges and seizing the opportunities, America matured into an increasingly, though still imperfect, democratic society. Living within the remnants of that "second chance" in the American experiment, students will learn much about the America of today by studying this first era of free self-government.

Enduring Ideas from This Unit

1. The presidency of George Washington was indispensable in establishing precedents conducive to free self-government and in keeping America free of what would have been a disastrous war.
2. The opportunities afforded to the United States were exceedingly rare in the history of nations.
3. Amidst the great strides in the practice of self-government and in taking advantage of opportunities, America's treatment of Native Americans and the entrenching of slavery in the Southern states reveal the imperfections of the American regime and the injustices that were permitted.
4. American democracy expressed itself in a variety of unique ways and had a deep effect on the habits, thoughts, and character of Americans.
5. The idea of America's "manifest destiny" to expand from coast to coast and spread its democratic ideas was a mixture of noble and material motivations which led to the Mexican-American War and a renewed debate over the expansion of slavery.

What Teachers Should Consider

The American founding was one of the most momentous—and dramatic—three decades in world history. How many times in history does a group of extraordinary individuals construct a novel government while winning a war against the world's foremost power? The challenge in teaching the history of the early republic, therefore, is in trying to match the interest and excitement of the founding unit.

We are aided in this challenge by our having already met the cast of characters. The first four presidents were all founding fathers, and many cabinet members, diplomats, and justices were either present in Philadelphia in 1776 and 1787, fought in the War of Independence, or both. It proved consequential to the early national stability of America that these figures should have been the first to govern under the Constitution, George Washington above all others. Students should come to understand how much of the way American government functions and how many traditions of the American political order are owed to President Washington.

At the same time, students should understand the precarious situations into which the young country was drawn and learn how America's first leaders managed these challenges. From maintaining a fragile unity to enduring buffets from Great Britain and Revolutionary France, these first four presidents had more than enough to handle, including a national existential crisis in the War of 1812.

And yet, America also had an abundance of opportunities during the first half of the 1800s. These began with the Louisiana Purchase and proceeded to include the acquisition of Florida, the Monroe Doctrine's assertion of American authority in the Western Hemisphere, the annexation of Texas, and the Mexican Cession following the Mexican-American War. Alexander Hamilton's financial efforts helped to calm and focus the American economy over the long term, while subsequent investments and inventions combined with the security of the rule of law to unleash a vibrant economy.

American representative democracy was thus put into action, and the experiment in self-government seemed to be succeeding. But how did democratic society affect its citizens? Considering this question with students gives them the opportunity to study life in a democratic republic, from its forms of religion to the kind of interests and leaders that it produces. Students should also study the ways in which America's founding principles were not upheld, with respect to slavery and the treatment of Native Americans. They should understand the way that the institution of slavery changed during these initial decades and varied by region.

Students can access these pictures of American democratic life through the study of Alexis de Tocqueville's observations in *Democracy in America* and the presidency of Andrew Jackson. As the former attempted to articulate the nature of democratic government, the latter operated within a representative democracy for what he considered to be the sake of the common man.

The study of America's "manifest destiny" is an opportunity for students to enter the minds of Americans at the time and attempt to understand the spirit of the democratic age. Based on the circumstances, it seemed almost inevitable that America would spread many of its unique ideas and accomplishments throughout all of North America. Yet this sentiment was sometimes in tension with America's founding principles. The culmination of this spirit in the Mexican-American War would gain for America an astonishing amount of new land, resources, and opportunity, but also bring closer the prospect of civil war.

How Teachers Can Learn More

TEXTS

Empire of Liberty, Gordon Wood
What Hath God Wrought, Daniel Walker Howe
The Rise of American Democracy, Sean Wilentz
An Empire of Wealth, John Steele Gordon
Land of Promise, Michael Lind
American Heritage: A Reader, ed. Hillsdale College History Faculty

ONLINE COURSES | Online.Hillsdale.edu

The Great American Story
American Heritage

Lesson Planning Resources

Teacher Resources

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay and John McBride

Student Resources

Land of Hope, Wilfred McClay

Primary Sources

Thanksgiving Proclamation, George Washington
Letter to the Hebrew Congregation, George Washington
Fragment on the French Revolution, Alexander Hamilton
Farewell Address, George Washington
First inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson
On the Amendment to the Missouri Statehood Bill, James Tallmadge
Fourth of July address, John Quincy Adams
Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe
Democracy in America, Volume I, Alexis de Tocqueville
Webster-Hayne debate, Daniel Webster and Robert Hayne
Speech on the Indian Removal Bill, Theodore Frelinghuysen
Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Annual message to Congress, 1830, Andrew Jackson
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, John C. Calhoun
"The Great Nation of Futurity," John Louis O'Sullivan

Lesson Plans, Assignments, and Quizzes

Lesson 1 — The New Government

1789–1801

3–4 classes

Lesson Objective

Students learn about the first decades of American self-government under the Constitution, including the major events and developments during the presidencies of George Washington and John Adams.

Teacher Preparation

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope	Pages 78–90
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope	Pages 85–92, 121–123
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope	Pages 47–51

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The Great American Story	Lectures 5 and 6
American Heritage	Lecture 5

Student Preparation

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 78–90, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 47–51) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate George Washington's Farewell Address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Core Content in This Lesson

Geography and Places

- New York City
- Federal Hall
- Mount Vernon
- Philadelphia
- Vermont
- Kentucky
- New Orleans
- Washington City in the Federal District of Columbia
- Executive Mansion
- Northwest Territory
- Tennessee

Persons

George Washington
John Adams
Thomas Jefferson
Alexander Hamilton
Henry Knox
Edmund Randolph
James Madison
Pierre L'Enfant
Eli Whitney
Marquis de Lafayette
Citizen Genêt
Anthony Wayne
John Jay
Thomas Pinckney

Terms and Topics

Bill of Rights
11th Amendment
Father of Our Country
cabinet
department
bureaucracy
treasury
silver dollar
war debt
credit
tariff
national bank
Whiskey Rebellion
French Revolution
Proclamation of Neutrality
Judiciary Act of 1789
district courts
circuit courts
civil suit
criminal suit
attorney general
Department of Justice
original jurisdiction
appellate jurisdiction
Jay's Treaty
Fugitive Slave Law
cotton gin
census
First Party System
Federalist Party
Democratic-Republican Party
XYZ Affair
Alien and Sedition Acts
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
nullification

Primary Sources

Thanksgiving Proclamation, George Washington
Letter to the Hebrew Congregation, George Washington
Fragment on the French Revolution, Alexander Hamilton
Farewell Address, George Washington

To Know by Heart

"In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." —George Washington, Farewell Address

"Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious People. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other." —John Adams, To the Officers of the Militia of Massachusetts

Timeline

1787	Constitutional Convention
1788	Constitution ratified
1789	Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins
1796	John Adams elected
1800	Thomas Jefferson elected

Images

Historical figures and events
Depictions of Federal Hall and Washington's inauguration
Diagram of a cotton gin
Early maps and designs for Washington, DC, and the Executive Mansion
Electoral maps

Stories for the American Heart

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and John Adams
- George Washington's travels to New York City for his inauguration
- Thomas Jefferson's presence in Paris during the opening months of the French Revolution
- George Washington's presidency, including the "coach and six" and Senator William Maclay's criticisms of his policies and "monarchical" comportment
- The travels of Citizen Genêt in the United States
- The ebb and flow of the friendship between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson
- Stories of the building of Washington, DC
- Thomas Jefferson walking to his inauguration and riding bareback around Washington, DC
- The death of George Washington

Questions for the American Mind

- Why would George Washington's presidency prove to be so important for America's future?
- What challenges did George Washington face at the start of and during his presidency?
- As best we can tell, what were George Washington's goals for his time as president?
- What was America's debt problem, and how did Alexander Hamilton plan to solve it?
- What were the competing visions for America's future based on the views of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson?
- What were Alexander Hamilton's greatest contributions to the young nation?
- What were the stances of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson regarding the conflict between Great Britain and the French revolutionaries?
- How were the American and French Revolutions similar and different? What factors accounted for the very different outcomes?
- How did George Washington navigate foreign policy concerning the French Revolution and Great Britain?
- How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?

- How did the country expand during the 1790s? How did that expansion take place, and what did it look like?
- How does the American federal judiciary system operate, based on the Judiciary Act?
- What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.
- In what sense may it be said that George Washington was America's "indispensable man"?
- What were the respective positions of the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans on the issues facing the country by the late 1790s?
- How might John Adams's presidency be characterized?
- How did John Adams navigate foreign policy concerning the French Revolution and Great Britain?
- What risks emerged as the result of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions?
- What was so consequential about the election of 1800 and the subsequent change in administrations?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
    - Question 37: The president of the United States can serve only two terms. Why?
    - Question 47: What does the president's cabinet do?
    - Question 48: What are two cabinet-level positions?
    - Question 50: What is one part of the judicial branch?
    - Question 51: What does the judicial branch do?
    - Question 52: What is the highest court in the United States?
    - Question 53: How many seats are on the Supreme Court?
    - Question 86: George Washington is famous for many things. Name one.
    - Question 89: Alexander Hamilton is famous for many things. Name one.
    - Question 119: What is the capital of the United States?

KEYS TO THE LESSON

With the Constitution ratified following robust debate, America embarked on the next phase of its experiment with self-government. Success was far from assured. The first statesmen to govern within this new system would play a decisive role in determining not only the immediate success of the fledgling republic but also its long-term well-being. Nearly every action would set a precedent, and there were very real threats to the country, both from without and from within. The statesmanship of George Washington and John Adams was indispensable for setting these precedents while steering the young nation through many trials, including deepening domestic division. When this division was ameliorated through a peaceful national election in 1800, followed by a transfer of power in 1801, the United States could mark a successful passage through its first dozen years of self-government under the Constitution, setting the stage for the next two hundred years of American government and history.

Teachers might best plan and teach The New Government with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Start the lesson by noting the different trajectories taken in two attempts at self-government, both begun in 1789. In the United States, the first government under the Constitution convened in April in New York. Just a few weeks later, in May, across the Atlantic, the French Estates General was convened at Versailles. By July, revolutionaries were storming the Bastille, marking the beginning of years of bloodshed and tyranny. Help students to compare these parallel efforts at

self-government, both ostensibly based on similar principles. Once students have been able to study each revolution within their overall course of high school study, teachers may wish to have a discussion on the differences between the two revolutions that led to such disparate results. These lessons should inform students' understanding and appreciation of their country's achievements in free self-government.

- Review with students the challenges facing the new nation. There was America's disappointing first attempt at government under the Articles of Confederation, at the time still present in the minds of most Americans. Then there were the various problems that remained, such as sizeable war debts among the states, different currencies, tensions between borrowers and creditors, and the continued presence of British soldiers in American territory. And on top of these struggles was the undefined and untested work of actually governing through the structure of the new Constitution.
- Spend time teaching about the importance of George Washington in these first years under the Constitution, including his character and his example. Of special note is Washington's setting of precedents for the presidency, his unifying example, his balancing of competing interests and views, and his efforts to prevent the young country from being dragged into a foreign war. To gain a sense of Washington's teachings and the way in which his words and comportment established beneficial precedents, read with students some of his letters and addresses.
- Provide an overview of George Washington's first cabinet, and outline the emerging debates over the kind of economy, workforce, and society the nation should have—debates represented by the disagreements between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton.
- Review George Washington's emphasis on learning, religious practice, and religious freedom as essential to America as a self-governing republic. Read with students in class parts of Washington's Thanksgiving Proclamation and Letter to the Hebrew Congregation at Newport that manifest Washington's arguments.
- Introduce Alexander Hamilton's biography and the important and bold plans he developed for the nation, especially those related to the economy and finance. Explore with students Hamilton's plans for the nation's debt, protective tariffs, a national bank, and the effects of these programs.
- In foreign policy, the dominant issue facing America was navigating the conflict engulfing Europe during the French Revolution. More pointedly, the danger with respect to the French Revolution itself involved the conflicting sympathies that various Americans had toward Great Britain or France. This issue also forced Americans to think about their own revolution and its similarities to and differences from the French Revolution. George Washington was again vital in charting a course of neutrality, which kept the fragile nation out of a conflict that might have ruined it and its experiment forever. Read with students Alexander Hamilton's Fragment on the French Revolution to see the position that Washington and even Jefferson would eventually share.
- Mark 1793 as the year in which Eli Whitney developed his cotton gin. Explain the ideal cotton-growing climate in the Southern states and yet the laborious and slow work of separating cotton seeds from the cotton. Then show how Whitney's gin worked and how it revolutionized the cotton industry. Cotton plantations quickly began to expand and revitalized the demand for slave labor that had been in general decline through many of the founding years.
- Talk with students about the Fugitive Slave Law, which Congress passed to allow for the enforcement of Article IV, Section 2, of the Constitution, and about the laws many Northern legislatures passed in response, including those that allowed alleged fugitive slaves to defend themselves in court and sought to prevent the kidnapping of free African Americans.

- Consider with students how different territorial acts between 1798 and 1822 permitted or prohibited slavery in territories, ultimately resulting in seven new slaveholding states and five new free states. Discuss also how the western land cession grants of the original slaveholding states, such as Georgia and North Carolina, to the federal government allowed slavery to spread west in the Southern region of the country, while the Northwest Ordinance prohibited the spread of slavery in the Northwest Territory.
- Explain how the plan for surveying and settling the Northwest Territory went into effect through the Northwest Ordinance. Highlight how the distribution of public lands through the township system along with an allotment for a public school were both unique in world history.
- Discuss Jay's Treaty and Pinckney's Treaty and how these two agreements better established the extent of the United States' territory while also normalizing some trade expectations with European powers, such as the effects of the "right of deposit" in New Orleans.
- Teach about the various acts of the first congresses, including their passing the Judiciary Act that set the Supreme Court at six justices; the Senate confirming John Jay as the first Chief Justice; passing twelve amendments to the Constitution, ten of which the states ratified as the Bill of Rights; moving the capital to Philadelphia; and founding Washington, DC.
- Outline with students the contours of the federal judiciary as established by the Judiciary Act. Students should be familiar with the various courts at the time and the kinds of cases that may be brought before each, including distinctions between civil and criminal cases.
- Emphasize for students the great growth in population and industry during this decade, including further settlement westward and new conflicts between Native Americans and settlers, such as the Northwest Indian War. Explore how disease, treaties, conflict, population density, and competing ideas of land and property factored into westward settlement and the reduction in the number and locations of Native Americans. Conflict, especially on the frontier, was still common—a combination of misunderstanding, outright dishonesty, and revenge. Where treaties were employed, their slightest violation usually gave the opposing side an excuse to act with force, thus undermining any kind of agreement. The distant and unsettled frontier left most nationally decreed restrictions on settlement unenforced.
- Consider how voting privileges expanded with the removal of property requirements, what was then a monumental development in self-government unique to America.
- Conclude the treatment of George Washington's presidency with a close reading of his Farewell Address. Especially significant points to read and discuss with students include his warnings about party and the importance of union; his advocacy for remaining independent of other nations with respect to war and alliances; and his emphasis on religion, education, and upright moral conduct as essential to the success of the United States. Implied throughout is the necessity of reverence for the rule of law.
- Discuss John Adams's presidency, beginning with a review of his contributions during the Revolution. Note with students how Adams had a hard act to follow and little of the respect, admiration, or mystique that Washington had possessed. Help students to understand Adams's major accomplishments, including building a navy and navigating a neutral position with respect to the French wars of revolution, not to mention following the precedents set by Washington, thus lending them greater permanence.
- Based on previous conversation about the competing views for the country (as put forward by Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton), trace the development of political parties during the Washington and Adams administrations, culminating in the election of 1800, during which the American people were deeply divided. The threat of civil unrest was high, and Jefferson's defeat of

Adams posed a risk that such unrest would overflow during the first attempt to transfer power. That the transfer of power was, however, entirely peaceful after twelve years of rule by one regime seemed to confirm the sturdiness of the Constitution and the prudence of those who governed for that first decade. Students should appreciate how extraordinarily rare such transfers of power are in history and what allowed the Americans to avoid bloodshed—the all-too-common outcome in the history of nations.

Strengthening Understanding: Post-Lesson Assignments

Assignment 1: Explain how George Washington navigated the various challenges facing the young nation in the 1790s and the importance that his example set for the future of American government (2–3 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the differences between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson on the kind of country they believed America should become (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 3: Explain the similarities and differences between the American Revolution and the French Revolution, including what accounted for their different outcomes (2–3 paragraphs; only for students who have already studied the French Revolution).

Name_____ Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.1

The Early Republic | Lesson 1
Land of Hope, Pages 78–90

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. How long did George Washington expect the Constitution to last?

2. Who was America's "indispensable man," according to the text?

3. The Washington Administration was divided between the differing policy views and visions for the country expressed by which two figures?

4. What was George Washington's policy with respect to the wars between Great Britain and France?

5. To what did the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions respond?

Lesson 2 — Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

1801–1815

3–4 classes

Lesson Objective

Students learn about events during the presidencies of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, including Americans' conflict with the British in the War of 1812.

Teacher Preparation

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope	Pages 90–104
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope	Pages 92, 106–111
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope	Pages 51, 63–65

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The Great American Story	Lecture 6
American Heritage	Lectures 5 and 7

Student Preparation

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 90–104, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (pages 51, 63–65) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate Thomas Jefferson's first inaugural address and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Core Content in This Lesson

Geography and Places

Virginia	Missouri River
Monticello	Great Britain
Barbary Coast	New England
Tripoli	Canada
Louisiana Territory	Lake Ontario
France	Lake Erie
St. Louis	Lake Champlain
Ohio	Washington, DC

Executive Mansion
Louisiana
Fort Detroit
Fort Mackinac
Mississippi Territory
Indiana

Persons

Thomas Jefferson
Alexander Hamilton
Aaron Burr
John Marshall
Napoleon Bonaparte
Meriwether Lewis
William Clark
Sacagawea
Stephen Decatur
Davy Crockett
James Madison
Dolley Madison
Tecumseh
William Henry Harrison
Oliver Perry
Francis Scott Key
Andrew Jackson

Terms and Topics

Federalists
Democratic-Republicans
Judiciary Act of 1801
Marbury v. Madison
judicial review
"unconstitutional"
12th Amendment
Louisiana Purchase
Napoleonic Wars
Corps of Discovery
Barbary Pirates
US Marine Corps
Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves of 1807
impressment
Embargo Act of 1807
American Indian raids
Battle of Tippecanoe
war hawks
War of 1812
First Invasion of Canada
Thames Campaign
USS *Constitution*
Battle of Lake Erie
Burning of Washington
Hartford Convention
Battle of Horseshoe Bend
"The Defense of Ft. McHenry"
Battle of New Orleans
Treaty of Ghent

Primary Sources

First inaugural address, Thomas Jefferson

To Know by Heart

"Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever." —Thomas Jefferson on slavery in America

"The Marines' Hymn"

Timeline

1800	Thomas Jefferson elected
1801–05	First Barbary War
1803	US purchases the Louisiana Territory from Napoleonic France
1808	James Madison elected
1812–15	War of 1812
1815	Battle of New Orleans

Images

Historical figures and events
Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
Executive Mansion
Washington, DC, depictions
Statue of Thomas Jefferson (Hillsdale College campus)
Jefferson Memorial
Images and uniforms of British and American officers and soldiers
Depictions of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
Maps: overall strategies; specific battles
Relevant forts
USS *Constitution* in Boston Harbor
Medical equipment
Reenactment photos
Depictions of the Executive Mansion on fire
Depictions of the defense of Fort McHenry
Scenes from the Battle of New Orleans
Statue of James Madison (Hillsdale College campus)

Stories for the American Heart

- Biographies and the roles of Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison, and Dolley Madison
- John Adams's last-minute judicial appointments through the Judiciary Act of 1801
- Thomas Jefferson's walk to and from his inauguration
- Margaret Bayard Smith's account of Thomas Jefferson at the Executive Mansion
- James Monroe and Robert Livingston's negotiations with France for New Orleans, and then Louisiana
- Lucien Bonaparte's account of Napoleon's sale of Louisiana to the United States
- Entries from the diaries of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark
- Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's encounter with a grizzly bear
- John Marshall's clever reasoning to "lose the battle but win the war" for a strong Supreme Court in *Marbury v. Madison*
- Aaron Burr killing Alexander Hamilton in a duel
- William Henry Harrison's account of Tecumseh
- News of the US declaration of war and the British decision to stop interfering with American shipping as they passed each other on the Atlantic
- Dolley Madison fleeing the British with the portrait of George Washington

- The burning of Washington, DC, including the Executive Mansion
- George Gleig's account of British soldiers in the Executive Mansion
- The defense of Fort McHenry and the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner"
- Andrew Jackson's various duels and adventures
- The Battle of New Orleans and how it occurred after a peace treaty had been signed—unbeknownst to the battle participants

Questions for the American Mind

- What were the major actions and characteristics of Thomas Jefferson's presidency?
- What were the three major foreign policy issues that Thomas Jefferson addressed?
- What was the impact of the Louisiana Purchase on America's future?
- In what ways did Thomas Jefferson depart from his Democratic-Republican views as president?
- What did Congress and Thomas Jefferson outlaw in 1808?
- What were Thomas Jefferson's views and actions, both personal and public, regarding slavery?
- What did the Supreme Court establish in *Marbury v. Madison*? How did John Marshall arrive at this determination?
- What role did John Marshall and the other Federalist-appointed judges play in the early decades of the republic?
- What were the main characteristics of James Madison's presidency?
- What were the causes of the War of 1812? How was war actually declared?
- What were the major moments during the War of 1812? How can we characterize America's degree of success during this war?
- Why was the Battle of New Orleans important for America's future, even though it was unwittingly fought after a peace treaty had been signed?
- What were the terms of the Treaty of Ghent?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
    - Question 87: Thomas Jefferson is famous for many things. Name one.
    - Question 88: James Madison is famous for many things. Name one.
    - Question 90: What territory did the United States buy from France in 1803?
    - Question 91: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1800s.
    - Question 117: Name one American Indian tribe in the United States.
    - Question 123: What is the name of the national anthem?

Keys to the Lesson

Changes in power have historically been among the most tumultuous moments in a nation's history. America's first transition from Federalist to Democratic-Republican control not only avoided much tumult but was perfectly peaceful. But how would the nation cope with new policies? And perhaps even more importantly, how would those making those changes behave? It turned out that Thomas Jefferson the president ended up being far less revolutionary than Thomas Jefferson the thinker and party leader. His policies were relatively conservative and even tended in the direction of Federalist positions. Jefferson was also checked by a federal judiciary under the leadership of Chief Justice John Marshall and a host of Federalist judges, securing the coequality of the branch. Yet challenges remained, particularly during the years of the Napoleonic Wars, culminating with the War of 1812 under James Madison. But even when the young nation made serious mistakes, somehow America seemed to emerge the better for it.

Teachers might best plan and teach Prospects, Uncertainties, and War with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Begin the lesson with a review of Thomas Jefferson's childhood and biography. Like so many of his contemporary American Founders and statesmen, Jefferson had an exceptional mind with many interests and plenty of practical political skill. Of particular note is his storied career as a political thinker and statesman, his devotion to education, and the contradiction between his private efforts and statements against slavery and his continued ownership of slaves at Monticello.
- Treat Thomas Jefferson's presidency chronologically, including events that do not directly relate to him. Within his presidency, be sure to include instruction on the many ways that Jefferson preserved the Federalist economic policies and the ways that he exerted national authority more forcefully than would have been anticipated. The almost unilateral (and of questionable constitutionality) Louisiana Purchase and the military expedition against the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean are two examples of Jefferson's use of presidential power. Begin Jefferson's administration by reading and discussing parts of his first inaugural address.
- Teach students about *Marbury v. Madison*. Although the topic of judicial review may be somewhat dull in and of itself, explaining how the precedent was arrived at through John Marshall's reasoning is quite enjoyable for students. They will appreciate Marshall's skill and respect the power that he and his subsequent decisions secured for the status of the judiciary and the Supreme Court in America. The assertion of its coequality with the other branches in *Marbury* ensured that power was equally distributed and equally accountable to the people.
- Note for students the kind of federal government the Federalist courts and John Marshall himself molded through their cases. In brief, the national government was strengthened, ties of union were deepened, the interpretation of what was "necessary and proper" was expanded, and the federal government's primacy over the states in regulation of commerce was defended.
- Tell students the stories of the Corps of Discovery Expedition through the Louisiana Territory. Be sure to show plenty of drawings and maps from Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's sketchbooks. Use this opportunity to review geography material as the Corps traveled westward.
- Discuss the continued menace of the Napoleonic Wars and Americans' attempts to trade with both the French and the British. Illustrate clearly for students why impressment of American sailors was such an affront, why the British considered it just, and how British and American conceptions of citizenship were at the heart of the issue. Touch also upon the role of the British in sponsoring conflict between Native Americans and settlers on the frontier in order to secure more economic influence from Canada over what was then the American Northwest (present-day Midwest). Outline Thomas Jefferson's struggles (like Washington and Adams before him) with the British, including his Embargo Act that led to talks of secession within New England.
- Conclude the Jefferson administration by noting how Thomas Jefferson cemented the two-term limit tradition for presidents by following Washington's example. In the last year of his presidency, Jefferson also signed into law in 1808 the abolition of the international slave trade, the earliest moment the Constitution allowed for it to be abolished.
- Introduce James Madison with a review of his biography and his role in the Constitutional Convention and ratification debates. From this background students should not be surprised that he had become president, just as many Americans at the time had likewise been unsurprised. Madison is an interesting case study in history, since he was now governing within a Constitutional system much of which he himself had designed. The entirety of Madison's presidency, however, would be absorbed with British aggression and an outright war.

- Tell the stories of Tecumseh's attempts to unite Native Americans east of the Mississippi River against American settlers and Tecumseh's defeat at the Battle of Tippecanoe by forces under William Henry Harrison. The internal divisions over whether to defy a more powerful enemy or to capitulate were present within many Native American tribes in their responses to settlers and the United States government.
- When teaching about the start of the War of 1812, characterize it as a sort of "slipping toward war." That is, neither party necessarily desired the war but the complexities of the Napoleonic Wars, trade, and miscommunication gradually led to conflict.
- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the war and how these shifted over the years. Having students take simple notes as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Introduce students to the contemporary style of warfare by using images, maps, and artifacts. This approach will provide a foundation for their subsequent study of battles, help them to understand what happens in battle, and allow them to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Explain each side's strategy at various stages of the war and the tactics and battle plans employed in specific battles.
- Teach major battles in detail. Students should understand how the battles came to be, the key stories, factors, and moments from the battles themselves, and the significance of their various outcomes on subsequent events. Employ battle maps often. As with any conflict, draw attention to the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war.
- Note the great division between New England and the rest of the country in the War of 1812. In addition to secession talks, some New England states and New York actively supplied the British through trade for much of the war.
- Of particular note in the War of 1812 are the frontier nature of fighting around the Great Lakes, the brutality of this warfare, the Americans' actual attempt to conquer Canada, the American naval victories on inland lakes such as that of Commodore Oliver Perry in the Battle of Lake Erie as well as the Battle of Plattsburgh Bay on Lake Champlain, the half-hearted British fighting in the early years of the war due to their preoccupation with Napoleon, atrocities by both sides on the frontier and during the Thames Campaign, the British invasions of Washington, Baltimore, New York, and New Orleans, and the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner."
- Introduce Andrew Jackson, the soldier and frontier lawyer-statesman. Consider the warfare of the day and the understandings each side held as to the means and purpose of combat. Explore with students accounts of Jackson as a military commander by both those in his command and his Native American opponents. Jackson will, of course, be covered again in future lessons, but this is an opportunity to introduce and tell some of the early stories that show different sides to Andrew Jackson.
- Conclude this lesson with the Battle of New Orleans, which technically occurred after peace had been agreed to. Note the diverse and ragtag army under Andrew Jackson's command and their utter decimation of the regular British forces, including three generals. The Battle of New Orleans left Americans with a sense of triumph and pride from a war that had largely lacked such decisive victories, and which had included several embarrassing defeats and policy failures. The Treaty of Ghent did little to formally rectify American grievances. In reality, however, the treaty's failure to address the maritime legal questions that had caused the war meant little in the wake of Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo. Similarly, the treaty's reaffirmation of the prewar geopolitical status quo in North America actually favored Americans, thanks to Harrison's and Jackson's

triumphs over native tribes allied with Great Britain. The war would be the last major conflict with a foreign power that America would fight on its own soil.

Strengthening Understanding: Post-Lesson Assignments

Assignment 1: Explain the major decisions of Thomas Jefferson's administration and the extent to which they were consistent with his Democratic-Republican views (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Retell the story of the War of 1812 (2–3 paragraphs).

Name_____ Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.2

The Early Republic | Lesson 2
Land of Hope, Pages 90–104

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the "revolution of 1800"?

2. Which branch of the federal government was firmly in Federalist control, thwarting many of Thomas Jefferson's policies?

3. How did Thomas Jefferson double the size of the United States?

4. What did the Embargo Act of 1807 do?

5. Who was president during the War of 1812?

Name_____ Date_____

Unit 3 — Formative Quiz

Covering Lessons 1-2
10-15 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question in at least one complete sentence.

1. As best we can tell, what were George Washington's goals for his time as president?

2. What were Alexander Hamilton's greatest contributions to the young nation?

3. How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?

4. What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.

5. What were the three major foreign policy issues that Thomas Jefferson addressed?

6. What did the Supreme Court establish in *Marbury v. Madison*?

7. What were the causes of the War of 1812?

Lesson 3 — The American Way

1815–1829

3–4 classes

Lesson Objective

Students learn about the Era of Good Feelings under James Monroe, the rivalry between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, continued American expansion, and observations on the nature and practice of American democracy.

Teacher Preparation

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope	Pages 104–112, 117–126, 139–146
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope	Pages 111–115, 118–119, 123–124, 129–132, 145–156
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope	Pages 64–66, 74–75, 86–87

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The Great American Story	Lectures 7 and 8
American Heritage	Lecture 5

Student Preparation

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 104–112, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (64–66) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 117–126, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (74–75) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 139–146, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (86–87) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Core Content in This Lesson

Geography and Places

Red River
Mississippi
Illinois
Florida Territory
New Spain
Mexico
Tejas
Deep South
Alabama
Maine
Missouri

Persons

James Monroe
James Fenimore Cooper
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
Henry Clay
John C. Calhoun
John Quincy Adams
Andrew Jackson
Daniel Webster
Alexis de Tocqueville
Stephen F. Austin
Joseph Smith
William Lloyd Garrison

Terms and Topics

The Virginia Dynasty
"Era of Good Feelings"
Adams-Onís Treaty
49th Parallel
immigration
internal improvements
Erie Canal
railroad
steamship
steel-cast plow
mechanical reaper
Unitarianism
Second Great Awakening
Burned-Over District
Evangelism
Catholics
Mormonism
American System
McCulloch v. Maryland
Monroe Doctrine
slave trade
cotton gin
King Cotton
Missouri Compromise
36° 30' line
Corrupt Bargain
populist
Democratic Party
Democracy in America
individualism

Primary Sources

On the Amendment to the Missouri Statehood Bill, James Tallmadge
Fourth of July address, John Quincy Adams
Monroe Doctrine, James Monroe
Democracy in America, Volume I, Alexis de Tocqueville

To Know by Heart

"[America] goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own…. Her glory is not dominion, but liberty." —John Quincy Adams

"[He] loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with zeal for its advancement, prosperity, and glory, because he saw in such, the advancement, prosperity, and glory of human liberty, human right, and human nature." —Abraham Lincoln, eulogy for Henry Clay

"America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." —Alexis de Tocqueville

Timeline

1816	James Monroe elected
1816–19	Era of Good Feelings
1820	Missouri Compromise
1824	John Quincy Adams elected
1828	Andrew Jackson elected

Images

Historical figures and events
Landscape pictures of geographic places featured in this lesson
First versions of inventions from this time period, such as steamboats, rail, telegraph, and multicylinder printing presses
The Erie Canal
Photos of cotton plantations today
Depictions of life as a slave
Depictions of the Second Great Awakening gatherings and revival scenes
Political cartoons, especially surrounding the Adams-Jackson campaigns
"Old Hickory" campaign paraphernalia
Maps of Mexico and Texas

Stories for the American Heart

- Biographies and the roles of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson
- Andrew Jackson in the South after the War of 1812 and in Spanish Florida, acting largely autonomously from the authority of the United States government
- The deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on July 4, 1826
- Frances Trollope's account of life in early Cincinnati
- José María Sánchez's account of life in early Texas
- Andrew Jackson's many duels, rivalries, feats, and accomplishments, before he became president
- Andrew Jackson's decimation of a Native American village, and then taking in a Native American baby whose mother had been killed

- The campaign smears between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson
- Margaret Bayard Smith's account of the inauguration of Andrew Jackson

Questions for the American Mind

- In what ways may America be said to have "found its footing" following the War of 1812?
- What international agreements allowed America to focus on domestic policy and peace in the years following the War of 1812?
- How was America changing during the 1820s and 1830s, particularly concerning immigration, transportation, and the prospects for both business and the common man?
- What kind of religious and reform movements emerged during the 1820s and 1830s?
- What did the Monroe Doctrine state? To what extent was it realistic at the time? How effective was it and why?
- What was society and life like in the South compared to the North and West?
- What was life like for slaves during the early nineteenth century?
- How did the status of slavery change following the invention of the cotton gin? How was this similar to and different from the status of slavery in the founding generation—before 1789?
- In what ways did the division over slavery manifest itself, and how was this division usually addressed by politicians?
- Why was there disagreement over the admission of Missouri into the Union, especially compared to the admittance of other slave states previously? How did the Missouri Compromise resolve the issue for the time being?
- How did Henry Clay change American politics?
- What was Henry Clay's "American System"?
- How were parts of Texas first settled by Americans?
- How may the Adams-Jackson campaigns be characterized?
- What was the "Corrupt Bargain," and how did it affect John Quincy Adams's presidency?
- What did Andrew Jackson mean by "democracy"?
- Why did Andrew Jackson promote the common man?
- What risks did Andrew Jackson believe were threats to the well-being of the common man?
- What were Alexis de Tocqueville's major observations about democracy in America?
- What risks to the American experiment in self-government did Alexis de Tocqueville observe in American society?
- Question from the US Civics Test:
  - Question 118: Name one example of an American innovation.

Keys to the Lesson

The surprisingly equable outcome of the War of 1812 and the settling of lingering issues with world powers allowed America finally to "gain its footing." The "Era of Good Feelings" that followed—complete with prosperity at home and peace abroad—permitted America to come into its own, to further develop the potential of its distinctly American character. As America underwent this maturation and as Americans grew more established in the free practice of business enterprise and self-reliance, the democratic nature of the nation was made even more clear. Perhaps no individual channeled or seemed to embody this democratic spirit of the time and the stake of the common man more fully than Andrew Jackson. And perhaps no one has articulated the nature of democratic self-government in America as well as the French

observer Alexis de Tocqueville did in his book *Democracy in America*. From statesmen like Jackson to observers like Tocqueville, students can find an excellent window into the nature and practice of representative democracy as it developed in the early years of the United States. Early nineteenth-century America was the setting of a unique phenomenon on the world stage and formed much of what we consider to be the American way of self-government.

Teachers might best plan and teach The American Way with emphasis on the following approaches:

- Teach students about the background and biography of James Monroe, whose accomplishments prior to his becoming president were already storied and remarkable, and the impressive streak of Virginian presidents—sometimes called the "Virginia Dynasty."
- Review with students the terms of the Treaty of Ghent and the other agreements with nations to secure America's frontiers, including Florida. Also note the beginning of one of the first great immigration waves of the nineteenth century. With Europe in shambles following the Napoleonic Wars, European immigrants found new security, personal ownership of land, and opportunity in America, with half settling in New York and Philadelphia, while the other half settled in what is now the Midwest.
- Describe for students the great changes in technology and transportation during the 1820s and 1830s, including canals, the railroad, the steamboat, and advances in agriculture.
- Survey the emergence of new religious ideas and groups during the Second Great Awakening and originating from the Burned-Over District of upstate New York.
- Review the effects of the cotton gin on the practice of slavery in slaveholding states, and the economic value of slavery and the domestic slave trade. Greater percentages of slaves were also shifted decisively into manual field work while new justifications for slavery were often created based on religious interpretation and outright prejudice. Note the years in which different states were admitted as free states or outlawed slavery themselves. Nevertheless, even as the free-state/slave-state balance was maintained, the country was gradually losing the argument of many antislavery Founders, in whose view slavery was to be kept on the path to extinction as a temporary evil destined for its own ruin.
- Provide students with insights into Southern culture and society. Give an overview of Southern socioeconomic demography. Be sure to address the planter class—including the variety of estate sizes within the planter class—the free subsistence farmers, enslaved African Americans, etc. Spend some time on the life of slaves and the culture that emerged among slaves; include reading specific slave narratives. *Land of Hope*'s treatment of these themes on pages 139–145 is an excellent aid in these discussions.
- Discuss with students the major factors that have produced the great wealth and prosperity of America, namely the freedom to innovate and invest, property rights, a peaceful daily life governed by the rule of law and consent of the governed, and the ability to patent ideas and inventions. Discuss also the extent to which many Southerners and even Northerners and Englishmen made considerable fortunes off of slavery and cotton textiles during the nineteenth century.
- Present the question over Missouri's admission as a state as the first major reemergence of the slavery issue after the founding and a mark of the growing divide in America in the post–cotton gin era. It was clear from this fierce debate, which involved talks of secession, that the hopes of many Founders that slavery would resolve itself organically were no longer tenable with the invention of the cotton gin, and that the deepest of America's divisions could not be ignored

forever. As the elderly Thomas Jefferson noted at the time, the crisis over Missouri could be the death knell of the Union. Even though conflict would be postponed forty years, the temporary peace acquired by the Missouri Compromise would leave the problem of slavery to haunt America for those four decades. Read and discuss with students the speech of Representative James Tallmadge that resurfaced and exposed the deepening division over slavery in the country.

- Use this opportunity to introduce major statesmen of the period, such as Henry Clay (the Great Compromiser), John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster. On Clay in particular, explore his political maneuverings; note that the way he empowered the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives would be legendary and would mark a new chapter in American politics. On a policy matter, explain for students Clay's "American System," which paired well with the growth and technological change America was experiencing.
- Discuss the settlement of Texas by Stephen Austin and other Americans during the 1820s, for the emergence of this American outpost within New Spain and then in Mexico would be consequential for events of subsequent decades.
- Note the importance of the Monroe Doctrine and how unrealistically ambitious it was. Nonetheless, it did secure George Washington's view of foreign policy as America's default position and, combined with good timing, was efficacious in fulfilling what it said. Read with the class its text as well as its forerunner, John Quincy Adams's Fourth of July address, who was the principal mind behind the Monroe Doctrine policy. Students should consider these remarks and policies in light of George Washington's Farewell Address.
- Describe how American political campaigning sank to new lows in the elections of 1824 and 1828, particularly between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. Adams's presidency itself was largely impotent, nagged by the perception of its having been stolen through a "corrupt bargain" and by Jackson's constant resistance.
- Review with students Andrew Jackson's biography, full of impressive triumphs and controversial actions, particularly with respect to Native American tribes and Jackson's thwarting of civilian authority over the military.
- In order to encourage student understanding of America as she was coming into her own during the 1820s and 1830s, read with students portions of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, chosen at the teacher's discretion. For many students, these discussions should reveal how unique America was and is when it comes to self-government and freedom, slavery notwithstanding (as Tocqueville underscores). They should also come to understand the promises and risks involved in a society of and by the people, and how to preserve the promises and mitigate the risks therein. Asking students to consider how the Founders would have reacted to Tocqueville's observations is also fruitful.

Strengthening Understanding: Post-Lesson Assignments

Assignment 1: Describe the ways in which America was rapidly changing following the War of 1812 (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the idea of the democratic era or the age of the common man as promoted by Andrew Jackson and articulated by Alexis de Tocqueville (2–3 paragraphs).

Name_____ Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.3

The Early Republic | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 104–112

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one agreement reached between the British and the Americans in the treaty to end the War of 1812?

2. What did the Monroe Doctrine say?

3. Name one "internal improvement" to transportation—besides railroads—mentioned by the text.

4. The pending admittance of which state reignited the question over slavery and its expansion in 1820?

5. The presidential campaigns and rivalries between which two figures proved to be especially personal and nasty?

Name_____ Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.4

The Early Republic | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 117–126

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was the name of the French political observer who visited America in the 1830s and wrote *Democracy in America*?

2. What was the "Burned-Over District"?

3. Name one religious group from the Second Great Awakening mentioned by the text.

4. Who was Joseph Smith?

5. The Oneida Community was one example of what kind of experimental communities that were attempted in the first half of the nineteenth century?

Name_____ Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.5

The Early Republic | Lesson 3
Land of Hope, Pages 139–146

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. To what region did most Irish and German immigrants migrate in the 1840s?

2. What was the religious makeup of the South?

3. The Old South had an economy that was focused overwhelmingly on what kind of activity?

4. What divisions existed among Southerners of European descent?

5. What does the text argue was "at the center of slaves' communal life"?

Lesson 4 — Manifest Destiny

1829–1848

4–5 classes

Lesson Objective

Students learn about the presidency of Andrew Jackson, the Mexican-American War, and expansion to the Pacific Ocean under the banner of "manifest destiny," along with the issues associated with such expansion.

Teacher Preparation

Create a note outline based on the following:

Student Texts

Land of Hope	Pages 112–117, 126–127, 129–138, 146–156
Primary Sources	See below.

Teacher Texts

A Teacher's Guide to Land of Hope	Pages 114–115, 120–121, 124–125, 132–136, 140, 143–144, 157–161
A Student Workbook for Land of Hope	Pages 67, 75–77, 87–88, 94–95

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The Great American Story	Lectures 7, 8, and 9
American Heritage	Lectures 5, 6, and 7

Student Preparation

Assignment 1: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 112–117, 126–127, 129–138, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (67, 75–77) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Assignment 2: Students read and annotate Theodore Frelinghuysen's Speech on the Indian Removal Bill and John Ross's Address to the People of the United States, and answer guiding reading questions (provided in appendix).

Assignment 3: Students read *Land of Hope*, pages 146–156, and either complete the reading questions handout in *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope* (87–88, 94–95) or prepare for a reading quiz (provided below).

Core Content in This Lesson

Geography and Places

- Texas
- The Alamo
- Goliad
- Republic of Texas
- Arkansas
- Oklahoma Territory
- Oregon Country
- Michigan
- Florida
- Rio Grande
- Seneca Falls
- Iowa
- Wisconsin
- California Territory
- San Francisco Bay
- Utah Territory
- New Mexico Territory

Persons

- Henry Clay
- Daniel Webster
- John C. Calhoun
- Sam Houston
- Antonio López de Santa Anna
- Davy Crockett
- Jim Bowie
- Sequoyah
- Martin Van Buren
- William Henry Harrison
- John Tyler
- Brigham Young
- Ralph Waldo Emerson
- Henry David Thoreau
- Nathaniel Hawthorne
- Herman Melville
- Elizabeth Cady Stanton
- Sojourner Truth
- William Lloyd Garrison
- Frederick Douglass
- Levi and Catharine Coffin
- Harriet Tubman
- James Polk
- Zachary Taylor
- Abraham Lincoln
- Winfield Scott
- John Frémont

Terms and Topics

- spoils system
- bureaucracy
- veto
- Nat Turner Rebellion
- gag rule
- "positive good"
- compact theory
- "state sovereignty"
- "We the People"
- Tariff of 1832
- secession
- Nullification Crisis
- Bank of the United States
- National Republicans
- *Worcester v. Georgia*
- Indian Removal Act
- Cherokee
- Trail of Tears
- The Alamo
- Texas Revolution
- Second Party System
- Panic of 1837
- immigration
- railroad
- temperance
- abolitionism
- Underground Railroad
- personal liberty laws
- Transcendentalism
- manifest destiny
- pioneer
- 49th Parallel

Aroostook War
Morse code
annexation
Wilmot Proviso
Spot Resolutions
Mexican-American War
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Mexican Cession

Primary Sources

Webster-Hayne debate, Daniel Webster and Robert Hayne
Speech on the Indian Removal Bill, Theodore Frelinghuysen
Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Annual message to Congress, 1830, Andrew Jackson
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, John C. Calhoun
"The Great Nation of Futurity," John Louis O'Sullivan

To Know by Heart

"I Hear America Singing" —Walt Whitman

Timeline

1836	Texas independence
1845	US annexes Texas
1846–48	Mexican-American War

Images

Historical figures and events
First flags of Texas
Uniforms and munitions of soldiers in the Mexican-American War
Depictions of battles and battlefields, including strategy and tactics
Depictions of figures at various scenes and moments in battle
Maps: overall strategies, specific battles
Relevant forts
Medical equipment
Reenactment photos

Stories for the American Heart

- Biographies and the roles of Andrew Jackson, Stephen F. Austin, Sam Houston, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, Martin Van Buren, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, William Henry Harrison, John Tyler, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and James Polk
- John Latrobe's account of a race between the first train and a horse
- The 1831–32 slavery debate in the Virginia General Assembly
- Frederick Douglass's account of his experience with a slave breaker
- Toasts between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun regarding nullification at a Democratic Party dinner
- The passage of the Force Act and Henry Clay's deal-making to resolve the Nullification Crisis

- Andrew Jackson's many quotes and stories as he railed against nullification and the National Bank
- William Barret Travis's letter from the Alamo
- Vicente Filísola's account of the Battle of the Alamo
- William Coodey's account of the start of the Trail of Tears
- Francis Parkman's account of traveling the Oregon Trail
- The sudden illness and death of William Henry Harrison
- The feud between John Tyler and Henry Clay
- Charles Dickens's accounts of America from his *American Notes*
- Explosion on the USS *Princeton*
- The US Marines entering the "Halls of Montezuma" during the Mexican-American War
- John Quincy Adams suffering a stroke at his desk in the House of Representatives, and subsequent death in the Speaker's Room

Questions for the American Mind

- What were the arguments concerning slavery that delegates debated during the 1831–32 meeting of the Virginia General Assembly?
- How did the South's stance toward slavery change in response to the Nat Turner Rebellion?
- What was John C. Calhoun's idea that slavery was a "positive good"? Why did he argue this, and how was this a change from previous arguments about slavery?
- How would Frederick Douglass have replied to John C. Calhoun's assertions?
- Compared to the North, how would the South's society and economy suggest John C. Calhoun was wrong about the supposed economic and social benefits of slavery?
- How did the idea of slavery as a "positive good" challenge the Constitution's stance on slavery and the path on which the founding generation had set slavery?
- How did John C. Calhoun reject the ideas of the Declaration of Independence in arguing for slavery?
- Which of Andrew Jackson's actions as president demonstrated his democratic ideas?
- How did the "state sovereignty" and "We the people" views of union differ from each other?
- What was at issue during the Nullification Crisis? What roles did Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay play during the crisis?
- What policies were adopted concerning Native Americans during the 1820s and 1830s? To what extent did these policies represent an attempt to resolve the conflicts between Native Americans and settlers?
- What factors shaped the history of relations between Native Americans and settlers?
- How did the National Bank work? What were the arguments for and against the rechartering of the National Bank?
- How did Andrew Jackson respond to decisions of the Supreme Court with which he disagreed? Why did he believe he was justified to act in these ways?
- How did the Texas Revolution come about?
- Why did Andrew Jackson evade Texas's request for admission to the Union?
- What was the Whig Party platform?
- What were the main ideas of Transcendentalism?
- What was the idea of "manifest destiny"? Why were many Americans confident in this assumption?

- How did the Mexican-American War begin? What were James Polk's motivations for the war?
- Why did the Americans win the Mexican-American War?
- Questions from the US Civics Test:
  - Question 4: The US Constitution starts with the words "We the People." What does "We the People" mean?
  - Question 91: Name one war fought by the United States in the 1800s.
  - Question 117: Name one American Indian tribe in the United States.

KEYS TO THE LESSON

With Andrew Jackson's background and Alexis de Tocqueville's insights fresh in mind, students can learn about the increasing democratization of America during the Jackson administration. In each of Jackson's major policy decisions, students should be able to draw out both the ways in which these policies benefited the common man and how they cemented the power of the presidency. At the same time, a spirit of optimistic expansion imbued American politics, eventually termed America's "manifest destiny" to settle from coast to coast. Confidence in the benefits of American freedom and self-government, coupled with other motivations and seemingly endless opportunities for expansion, fueled this spirit. Expansion, however, often involved displacing Native Americans in ways that lacked honor or justice. At America's then-southwestern border, Americans who had settled in Texas were fighting their own revolution against Mexico. The resulting Republic of Texas and its potential admission to the Union stalked the next decade of American politics, as the slavery question lurked over all other debates. Since the Nat Turner Rebellion, the Southern position on slavery had ossified, and the stakes in the "balance of power" struggle in the US Senate became even greater. The Texas question came to a head with the Mexican-American War, the consequences of which would re-ignite the slavery debate and drive the nation toward civil strife.

Teachers might best plan and teach Manifest Destiny with emphasis on the following approaches:

- When teaching about Andrew Jackson and his presidency, consider with students the theme of his democratic appeal, namely in favor of the common man. At its heart, this meant a faith in the rightness of the views of the common man and the defense of his station in life against commercial elites and wealthier coastal and urban interests. Note also this democratic view that government was too often corrupted by these elite interests, that the larger the size of government, the greater the likelihood of corruption and tyranny, and that a permanent bureaucracy created a monopoly on information and power that corrupt politicians and self-interested elites curried for their own benefit. Jackson brought nearly all of these positions to bear on a presidency in which he largely reduced the size of the government and rejected expansion, all the while embodying the ethos of the commoner. Consider with students the extent to which Jackson marked a revitalization and fulfillment of self-government as articulated in the founding view of limited government and the sovereignty of the people.
- As the epitome of Andrew Jackson's political philosophy and policies, teach about his tour de force against the National Bank of the United States. Jackson left no tactic unused and threw his entire personality and popularity against the bank and, in his eyes, in defense of the common man. Read and discuss with students Jackson's veto message.
- Teach about Nat Turner's revolt, the debate over slavery in the Virginia General Assembly of 1831–32 that followed, the series of tightening restrictions on slaves, and the hardening of the slaveholding position during the 1830s and 1840s.

- Note the continued North-South divide manifesting itself in the Nullification Crisis of 1833, and Andrew Jackson's somewhat surprising position against the idea of nullification. Some at the time saw the tariff issue as merely a front for slaveholding states to preserve their power to protect slavery. Read and discuss with the class portions of the debate between Daniel Webster and Robert Hayne on the nature of the union to see the fault lines that would dominate the next half-century.
- Take the opportunity when discussing the Indian Removal Act to recap the history of relations between American settlers and Native Americans. *Land of Hope*'s treatment of this topic on pages 115–117 is very good. When it comes to a settled policy, few were ever solidified, and those that were formalized were rarely enforced or openly broken, by settlers or governments or sometimes by tribes. Some frontier settlements were lawless places where the presence of greed, dishonesty, and brutality were unmistakable. When teaching the resettlement chapter of American and Native American history in particular, it is important to capture the diversity of thoughts, motivations, and actions by the different parties: bad, good, and mixed. The general treatment of Native Americans is a bitter and sad part of America's history, and unfortunately one that may have been better if a more deliberate and imaginative policy were devised, and if the view of the human person laid out in the Declaration of Independence had been more consistently referenced in relationships with the indigenous population. Read Theodore Frelinghuysen's speech on the Indian Removal Bill, John Ross' Address to the People of the United States, and Andrew Jackson's defense of the Act to understand this part of American history. Additionally, spend time teaching about efforts to maintain Native American heritage, such as how Sequoyah and the Cherokee sought to preserve their culture.
- Explain to students how the growth in population in the North compared to the South would eventually allow Northern states to restrict slavery further and perhaps even abolish it with a constitutional amendment. Use the Missouri Compromise map handout (*A Student Workbook for Land of Hope*, pages 274–275) to show students the situation in 1820 compared to 1850. Slaveholders recognized that they had to expand the number of slave states if they were to prohibit such actions by Northerners. The challenge, however, was that they needed Northern states to acquiesce to such expansion. To do so, they appealed to the argument that slavery was a positive good, as articulated in the writings of John C. Calhoun. Students should read Calhoun's speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions in order to examine his arguments and to understand how Calhoun explicitly rejects the American founding principles as captured in the Declaration of Independence. Students should work through and understand the serious faults in Calhoun's arguments.
- Share the stories of the Texas Revolution, including the Alamo, Texas's subsequent efforts to join the United States, and the effects of the Texas question on American politics.
- Discuss the immigration waves from Ireland and Germany during the 1840s, where most of the people settled first in New York and New England. And discuss the growing reform efforts in the areas of temperance, women's political participation, and abolitionism.
- Outline for students the emerging American literary tradition, spending time especially with the romantics and Transcendentalists of New England. Ask students to think about these figures and their ideas in light of the new religious movements and the democratic spirit they learned about in the last lesson.
- Introduce and discuss the idea of "manifest destiny" with students. *Land of Hope*'s treatment of this topic on pages 154–155 is especially helpful. In brief, manifest destiny involved many different dimensions, some of which were noble; others less so. Even then, the meaning of this

expression in the minds of different people varied greatly. The common point is that many Americans believed—based on the situation at the time—that America was destined to reach from coast to coast across a comparably sparsely populated wilderness, and to do great things for freedom, human flourishing, and individuals in the process. This was the sentiment that influenced many decisions during the 1830s and 1840s. Read with students the parts of John Louis O'Sullivan's "The Great Nation of Futurity," in which he uses the phrase "manifest destiny" and attempts to explain what it means.

- Present the less-than-honorable origins and intentions behind the Mexican-American War within the contexts of the annexation of Texas, manifest destiny, the consequences of expansion for the slave-state/free-state balance of power, and the resistance to the war by figures such as Abraham Lincoln and Henry David Thoreau.
- Ask students to identify and compare the various advantages and disadvantages of each side at the outset of the war and how these shifted over the years. Having students take simple notes as a "T-Chart" can be effective for this part of the lesson.
- Introduce students to the contemporary style of warfare by using images, maps, and artifacts. This approach will provide a foundation for their subsequent study of battles, help them to understand what happens in battle, and allow them to appreciate the bravery of soldiers fighting on both sides.
- Teach the Mexican-American War with a pace that captures the swiftness with which it was fought and concluded. Explain each side's strategy at various stages of the war, tactics and battle plans, and the battles themselves in more general terms compared to the War of Independence and the War of 1812. Employ battle maps often. As with any conflict, draw attention to the key contributions of both leaders and common soldiers in the war. Of special interest in teaching this war is foreshadowing the many soldiers who would rise to famous generalships during the Civil War a dozen years later.
- Emphasize with students the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and its effects on American territory and politics.

Strengthening Understanding: Post-Lesson Assignments

Assignment 1: Explain the major policies of Andrew Jackson's administration and their effects on American politics and democratic life (1–2 paragraphs).

Assignment 2: Explain the ideas behind "manifest destiny" and the ways in which this assumption showed itself during the 1830s and 1840s (1–2 paragraphs).

Name_____ Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.6

The Early Republic | Lesson 4
Land of Hope, Pages 112–117, 126–127, 129–138

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was Andrew Jackson's position in the Nullification Crisis of 1823–33?

2. How did Andrew Jackson respond to the Supreme Court decision *Worcester v. Georgia*?

3. Name one reform movement from the first half of the nineteenth century mentioned in the text.

4. Name one American author from the first half of the nineteenth century mentioned in the text.

5. What was one idea of Transcendentalism?

Name_____ Date_____

Reading Quiz 3.7

The Early Republic | Lesson 4
Land of Hope, Pages 146–156

DIRECTIONS: Answer each question.

1. What was one passive or indirect way that slaves resisted their enslavement?

2. How did stances toward slavery change in slave states following Nat Turner's Rebellion?

3. Who was the prominent American who first led three hundred settlers into Texas?

4. What was Andrew Jackson's policy toward Texas's request for annexation?

5. What justification did America make for starting the Mexican-American War?

APPENDIX A

Study Guide

Test

Writing Assignment

Study Guide — The Early Republic Test

Unit 3

Test on _____

Timeline

When given chronological dates, match events from a list to the years or dates that they happened.

1787	Constitutional Convention
1788	Constitution ratified
1789	Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins
1800	Thomas Jefferson elected
1803	US purchases the Louisiana Territory from Napoleonic France
1812–15	War of 1812
1815	Battle of New Orleans
1816–19	Era of Good Feelings
1820	Missouri Compromise
1828	Andrew Jackson elected
1836	Texas independence
1845	US annexes Texas
1846–48	Mexican-American War

Geography and Places

Identify each on a map and/or tell where it is and explain its significance.

New Orleans
Washington City in the Federal District of Columbia
Northwest Territory
Barbary Coast
Louisiana Territory
St. Louis
Lake Erie
Lake Champlain
Florida Territory
Mexico
Tejas
Deep South
Missouri
The Alamo
Goliad
Republic of Texas
Oklahoma Territory
Oregon Country
Rio Grande
California Territory
San Francisco Bay

Persons

Identify each, provide biographical details, and explain what he or she thought or did in specific periods or events.

George Washington
John Adams
Thomas Jefferson
Alexander Hamilton
James Madison
Eli Whitney
John Jay
Aaron Burr
John Marshall
Napoleon Bonaparte
Meriwether Lewis
William Clark

Sacagawea
Davy Crockett
Dolley Madison
Tecumseh
Oliver Perry
Francis Scott Key
Andrew Jackson
James Monroe
Henry Clay
John C. Calhoun
John Quincy Adams
Daniel Webster
Alexis de Tocqueville
Stephen F. Austin
Joseph Smith
William Lloyd Garrison
Sam Houston
Antonio López de Santa Anna
Sequoyah
Martin Van Buren
William Henry Harrison
John Tyler
Brigham Young
Henry David Thoreau
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Elizabeth Cady Stanton
Frederick Douglass
Levi and Catharine Coffin
Harriet Tubman
James Polk
Zachary Taylor
Abraham Lincoln
Winfield Scott
John Frémont

Terms and Topics

Identify each and explain its significance to the period of history studied.

Bill of Rights
cabinet
bureaucracy
war debt
Whiskey Rebellion
French Revolution
Judiciary Act of 1789
Jay's Treaty
Fugitive Slave Law
cotton gin
First Party System
Alien and Sedition Acts
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
nullification
Marbury v. Madison
judicial review
Louisiana Purchase
Napoleonic Wars
Corps of Discovery
Barbary Pirates
US Marine Corps
Act Prohibiting Importation of Slaves of 1807
impressment
Embargo Act of 1807
Battle of Tippecanoe
war hawks
War of 1812
Battle of Lake Erie
Burning of Washington
Hartford Convention
Battle of Horseshoe Bend
Battle of New Orleans
Treaty of Ghent
"Era of Good Feelings"
49th Parallel
immigration
internal improvements
steel-cast plow
mechanical reaper
Second Great Awakening
Evangelism
Mormonism
American System
McCulloch v. Maryland
slave trade
Missouri Compromise
Monroe Doctrine
Democracy in America
Nat Turner Rebellion
gag rule
"positive good"
"state sovereignty"
"We the People"
secession
Nullification Crisis
Bank of the United States
Worcester v. Georgia
Indian Removal Act
Cherokee
Trail of Tears
The Alamo
Texas Revolution
Second Party System
railroad
temperance
abolitionism
Underground Railroad
personal liberty laws
Transcendentalism
manifest destiny
Morse code
annexation
Spot Resolutions
Mexican-American War
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Mexican Cession

Primary Sources

Based on annotations and notes from seminar conversations, be able to answer questions on each primary source. While you will not necessarily be asked why each primary source was created, what it did or argued, and what its effects were, being able to answer these kinds of questions will make you well-prepared.

Thanksgiving Proclamation, George Washington
Farewell Address, George Washington
Fourth of July address, John Quincy Adams
Address to the People of the United States, John Ross
Veto message on the Bank of the United States, Andrew Jackson
Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions, John C. Calhoun
"The Great Nation of Futurity," John Louis O'Sullivan

To Know by Heart

Be prepared to fill in missing words and/or identify the speaker and context.

"In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." —George Washington, Farewell Address

"Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious People. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other." —John Adams, To the Officers of the Militia of Massachusetts

"Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever." —Thomas Jefferson on slavery in America

"[America] goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own…. Her glory is not dominion, but liberty." —John Quincy Adams

"[He] loved his country partly because it was his own country, but mostly because it was a free country; and he burned with zeal for its advancement, prosperity, and glory, because he saw in such, the advancement, prosperity, and glory of human liberty, human right, and human nature."
—Abraham Lincoln, eulogy for Henry Clay

"America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, America will cease to be great." —Alexis de Tocqueville

Stories for the American Heart

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

- Biographies and the roles of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison, Dolley Madison, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.
- The ebb and flow of the friendship between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson
- The death of George Washington
- Lucien Bonaparte's account of Napoleon's sale of Louisiana to the United States
- Entries from the diaries of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark
- Aaron Burr killing Alexander Hamilton in a duel
- William Henry Harrison's account of Tecumseh
- The burning of Washington, DC, including the Executive Mansion
- The defense of Fort McHenry and the writing of "The Star-Spangled Banner"
- The Battle of New Orleans and how it occurred after a peace treaty had been signed—unbeknownst to the battle participants
- The deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on July 4, 1826
- Andrew Jackson's many duels, rivalries, feats, and accomplishments, before he became president
- Margaret Bayard Smith's account of the inauguration of Andrew Jackson
- The 1831–32 slavery debate in the Virginia General Assembly
- Frederick Douglass's account of his experience with a slave breaker
- Toasts between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun regarding nullification at a Democratic Party dinner
- The passage of the Force Act and Henry Clay's deal-making to resolve the Nullification Crisis
- Accounts of the Battle of the Alamo
- Accounts of the start of the Trail of Tears
- Accounts of traveling the Oregon Trail
- The US Marines entering the "Halls of Montezuma" during the Mexican-American War

Questions for the American Mind

Based on notes from lessons and seminar conversations, answer each of the following.

Lesson 1 | The New Government

- ☐ What challenges did George Washington face at the start of and during his presidency?
- ☐ What were the competing visions for America's future based on the views of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson?
- ☐ What were Alexander Hamilton's greatest contributions to the young nation?
- ☐ What were the stances of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson regarding the conflict between Great Britain and the French revolutionaries?
- ☐ How were the American and French Revolutions similar and different? What factors accounted for the very different outcomes?

- ☐ How did George Washington navigate foreign policy concerning the French Revolution and Great Britain?
- ☐ How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?
- ☐ How does the American federal judiciary system operate, based on the Judiciary Act?
- ☐ What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.
- ☐ In what sense may it be said that George Washington was America's "indispensable man"?
- ☐ How might John Adams's presidency be characterized?
- ☐ What risks emerged as the result of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions?
- ☐ What was so consequential about the election of 1800 and the subsequent change in administrations?

Lesson 2 | Prospects, Uncertainties, and War

- ☐ What were the major actions and characteristics of Thomas Jefferson's presidency?
- ☐ What were the three major foreign policy issues that Thomas Jefferson addressed?
- ☐ What was the impact of the Louisiana Purchase on America's future?
- ☐ What did Congress and Thomas Jefferson outlaw in 1808?
- ☐ What were Thomas Jefferson's views and actions, both personal and public, regarding slavery?
- ☐ What did the Supreme Court establish in *Marbury v. Madison*? How did John Marshall arrive at this determination?
- ☐ What role did John Marshall and the other Federalist-appointed judges play in the early decades of the republic?
- ☐ What were the causes of the War of 1812? How was war actually declared?
- ☐ What were the major moments during the War of 1812? How can we characterize America's degree of success during this war?
- ☐ Why was the Battle of New Orleans important for America's future, even though it was unwittingly fought after a peace treaty had been signed?
- ☐ What were the terms of the Treaty of Ghent?

Lesson 3 | The American Way

- ☐ How was America changing during the 1820s and 1830s, particularly concerning immigration, transportation, and the prospects for both business and the common man?
- ☐ What kind of religious and reform movements emerged during the 1820s and 1830s?
- ☐ What was life like for slaves during the early nineteenth century?
- ☐ How did the status of slavery change following the invention of the cotton gin? How was this similar to and different from the status of slavery in the founding generation—before 1789?
- ☐ In what ways did the division over slavery manifest itself, and how was this division usually addressed by politicians?
- ☐ Why was there disagreement over the admission of Missouri into the Union, especially compared to the admittance of other slave states previously? How did the Missouri Compromise resolve the issue for the time being?
- ☐ What was Henry Clay's "American System"?
- ☐ What did the Monroe Doctrine state? To what extent was it realistic at the time? How effective was it and why?

- ☐ What was the "Corrupt Bargain," and how did it affect John Quincy Adams's presidency?
- ☐ What did Andrew Jackson mean by "democracy"?
- ☐ Why did Andrew Jackson promote the common man?
- ☐ What risks did Andrew Jackson believe were threats to the well-being of the common man?
- ☐ What were Alexis de Tocqueville's major observations about democracy in America?
- ☐ What risks to the American experiment in self-government did Alexis de Tocqueville observe in American society?

Lesson 4 | Manifest Destiny

- ☐ What were the arguments concerning slavery that delegates debated during the 1831–32 meeting of the Virginia General Assembly?
- ☐ How did the South's stance toward slavery change in response to the Nat Turner Rebellion?
- ☐ Which of Andrew Jackson's actions as president demonstrated his democratic ideas?
- ☐ How did the "state sovereignty" and "We the people" views of union differ from each other?
- ☐ What was at issue during the Nullification Crisis? What roles did Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay play during the crisis?
- ☐ What policies were adopted concerning Native Americans during the 1820s and 1830s? To what extent did these policies represent an attempt to resolve the conflicts between Native Americans and settlers?
- ☐ How did the National Bank work? What were the arguments for and against the rechartering of the National Bank?
- ☐ How did Andrew Jackson respond to decisions of the Supreme Court with which he disagreed? Why did he believe he was justified to act in these ways?
- ☐ How did the Texas Revolution come about?
- ☐ What was the Whig Party platform?
- ☐ What were the main ideas of Transcendentalism?
- ☐ What was the idea of "manifest destiny"? Why were many Americans confident in this assumption?
- ☐ How did the Mexican-American War begin? What were James Polk's motivations for the war?
- ☐ Why did the Americans win the Mexican-American War?

Name_____ Date_____

Test — The Early Republic

Unit 3

Timeline

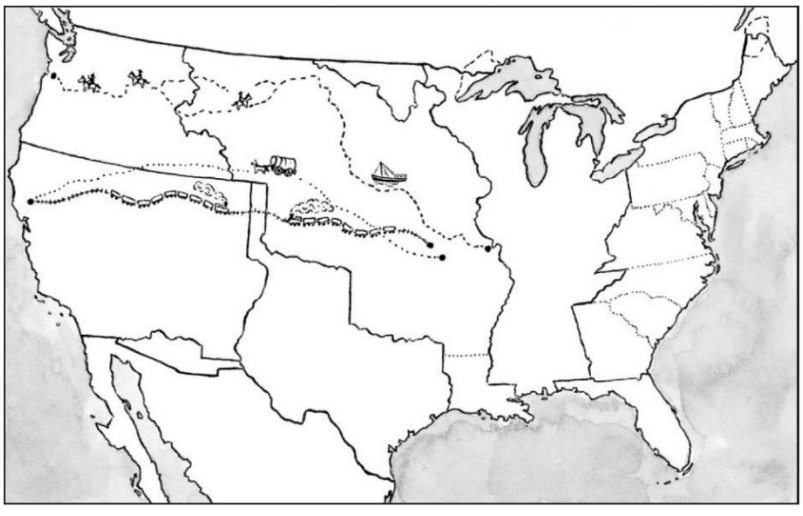
Write the letter of each event next to the date or years it took place.

1787	_____	A. Andrew Jackson elected
1788	_____	B. Battle of New Orleans
1789	_____	C. Constitution ratified
1800	_____	D. Constitutional Convention
1803	_____	E. Elections held; First Congress convened; George Washington inaugurated; French Revolution begins
1812–15	_____	F. Era of Good Feelings
1815	_____	G. Mexican-American War
1816–19	_____	H. Missouri Compromise
1820	_____	I. Texas independence
1828	_____	J. Thomas Jefferson elected
1836	_____	K. US annexes Texas
1845	_____	L. US purchases the Louisiana Territory from France
1846–48	_____	M. War of 1812

Geography and Places

1. Mark the location of each place on the map using dots, circling, and the corresponding letters:

A. New Orleans
B. Washington, DC
C. Northwest Territory
D. Louisiana Territory
E. St. Louis
F. Lake Erie
G. Mexico
H. Deep South
I. Missouri
J. Republic of Texas
K. Oklahoma Territory
L. Oregon Country
M. Rio Grande
N. California Territory
O. San Francisco Bay



Map courtesy of *A Student Workbook for Land of Hope.*

Persons, Terms, and Topics

Fill in the blank.

2. Although his debt-reduction plan angered several special interest groups, _____'s financial plans helped restore the credit of the fledgling United States and placed the country on a path to prosperity based on early industrialism. In 1804, without firing a shot himself, he was shot and killed in a duel by his rival, Aaron Burr.

3. Despite Washington's efforts and warnings, the party spirit began to divide America even during his administration. The two unofficial parties in this first party system were the _____-_____s, who tended to be more democratic, pro-France, and in favor of both an agrarian society and state governments; and the _____s, who envisioned a stronger national government, an industry-based society, and support for Great Britain.

4. Having served his country as a respected lawyer, revolutionary leader, ambassador, and Vice President—and arguably the most intelligent of the Founding Fathers—_____'s presidency suffered in part from his stubborn and cantankerous character but also from having to follow the magnanimous George Washington. It was during his tenure that the president first resided in the new capital of Washington, DC, in the Executive Mansion.

5. Domestic divisions over the Napoleonic Wars led to early challenges for the Constitution, including the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the assertions that states could declare a law unconstitutional, as expressed in the _____ and _____ Resolutions.

6. In a very un-Jeffersonian move, President Thomas Jefferson dispatched the US Marines to fight the _____ in Tripoli to end the exaction of tribute and assert the practice of freedom of the seas for American shipping.

7. Chief Justice John Marshall outlined the power of _____ in the majority decision for *Marbury v. Madison*, establishing the Supreme Court's authority to judge laws to be unconstitutional and cementing the authority of both the federal courts and federal government.

8. The Jefferson administration doubled the size of America in the greatest land deal of all time ($15 million for 500 million acres, or 3 cents per acre) when it purchased the _____ from Napoleonic France, which offered the land in order to raise money to launch its wars of conquest in Europe.

9. Known as the "Father of the Constitution," _____'s first term as president consisted of a gradual, avoidable, and poorly handled "slipping-towards-war" with Great Britain, which deeply divided the nation. First Lady Dolley had to flee the Executive Mansion as the British burned Washington, DC.

10. The Indiana Territory governor-general William Henry Harrison fought the commanding Indian leader _____ at the Battle of Tippecanoe, forcing the latter to flee to British Canada, where three years later he would be killed in battle during the Thames Campaign in the War of 1812.

11. During the early 1800s, a religious revival known as the _____ along the frontier emphasized spiritualism and feeling. The movement increased the size of the distinctly American denominations of Baptists and Methodists and saw the emergence of Mormonism.

12. The rather quiet and gentlemanly _____ served his country with distinction ever since the Battle of Trenton, in which he had been severely wounded. As his reputation for statesmanship grew with his career, he not only secured the Louisiana Purchase for Thomas Jefferson but as Secretary of War he also helped the nation regroup after the Burning of Washington during the War of 1812. He ushered in the "Era of Good Feelings" and the most famous act of his presidency was the issuance of his foreign policy doctrine which warned European nations against starting new colonies in the Western Hemisphere.

13. In 1807 Congress passed and President Thomas Jefferson signed into law an Act Prohibiting _____ of _____, thus banning the practice at the first opportunity provided by the US Constitution.

14. Known as the "Great Compromiser," _____ was a renowned statesman similarly despised and admired by friend and foe alike. He would help work out three agreements that would preserve the Union, beginning with the Missouri Compromise.

15. Congress and President Andrew Jackson enacted the _____ that authorized the federal government to negotiate treaties with Native Americans that would relocate them to territories in the west. When Native American populations refused to move voluntarily under the terms of treaties signed by what they consider imposter leaders, federal troops were used to escort Native Americans to the west by force and without proper care for their health or safety.

16. The most notable action of Jackson's presidency was his battle against the _____, during which he defied both Congress and the Supreme Court in his belief of its unconstitutionality.

17. Western settlement of North America during the 1830s and '40s was aided by new farming techniques and inventions, such as the steel-cast plow by John Deere and the mechanical reaper by Cyrus McCormick. Moreover, transportation was made easier by travelling by steamboat on the Mississippi River and by _____ over land.

18. Mexican forces under the leadership of their military-dictator _____ wiped out a force of Tennessee sharpshooters who ignored Samuel Houston's orders to retreat in the Battle of the Alamo. The event was dubbed an atrocity by the Texians and, together with the memory of the Goliad Massacre, the Texians were able to win their independence from Mexico.

19. Having campaigned with the slogan "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!," _____, in his inaugural address, promised to do four things: lower tariffs, establish an independent treasury system, settle the question about the Oregon Country with Great Britain, and secure the abundant and natural land of Texas from Mexico, in addition to promising only to serve one term. He accomplished each of these goals during his administration.

20. Asserting that the president purposefully provoked Mexican aggression by sending forces under Zachary Taylor beyond the River Nueces and to the banks of the Rio Grande, the first-year Whig Congressman _____ introduced demands that the president explain on exactly which spot in American territory the attack by Mexicans on American troops took place. Due to these "Spot Resolutions," this Congressman lost his seat in the House of Representatives in the next election.

Know by Heart

Fill in missing words and identify the source.

21. "Our _____ was made only for a _____ and _____

People. It is wholly _____ to the government of any other."

Speaker:_____

"Indeed I _____ for my country when I reflect that God is _____; that his justice

cannot _____ forever."

Speaker:_____

Topic:_____

Stories for the American Heart

In your own words, retell each episode in narrative form. Consider your audience to be middle school students.

22. The Battle of New Orleans

23. The 1831–32 slavery debate in the Virginia General Assembly

24. Accounts of the Trail of Tears

Questions for the American Mind

Answer each of the following. Complete sentences are not necessary, but correct spelling and good writing should be employed, and responses must fully answer each question.

25. What were the competing visions for America's future based on the views of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson?

26. How were the American and French Revolutions similar and different? What factors accounted for the very different outcomes?

27. How did Eli Whitney's cotton gin change the course of slavery in America from what many during the founding generation had expected?

28. What were the three main points of Washington's Farewell Address? Explain each.

29. What was the impact of the Louisiana Purchase on America's future?

30. What were Thomas Jefferson's views and actions, both personal and public, regarding slavery?

31. What were the causes of the War of 1812? How was war actually declared?

32. Why was the Battle of New Orleans important for America's future, even though it was unwittingly fought after a peace treaty had been signed?

33. How was America changing during the 1820s and 1830s, particularly concerning immigration, transportation, and the prospects for both business and the common man?

34. What was life like for slaves during the early nineteenth century?

35. In what ways did the division over slavery manifest itself, and how was this division usually addressed by politicians?

36. What risks did Andrew Jackson believe were threats to the well-being of the common man?

37. What risks to the American experiment in self-government did Alexis de Tocqueville observe in American society?

38. What was at issue during the Nullification Crisis? What roles did Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, and Henry Clay play during the crisis?

39. How did the National Bank work? What were the arguments for and against the rechartering of the National Bank?

40. How did Andrew Jackson respond to decisions of the Supreme Court with which he disagreed? Why did he believe he was justified to act in these ways?

41. What was the idea of "manifest destiny"? Why were many Americans confident in this assumption?

Writing Assignment — The Early Republic

Unit 3

Due on _____

DIRECTIONS

Citing events and primary sources in your argument, write a 500–800-word essay answering this question:

> In what ways did the first half-century of American history under the US Constitution demonstrate further fulfillments of and departures from the ideas presented in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution?

APPENDIX B

Primary Sources

George Washington

Alexander Hamilton

Thomas Jefferson

James Tallmadge

John Quincy Adams

James Monroe

Alexis de Tocqueville

Daniel Webster

Robert Hayne

Theodore Frelinghuysen

John Ross

Andrew Jackson

John C. Calhoun

John Louis O'Sullivan

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON

A Proclamation

PROCLAMATION

October 3, 1789
Federal Hall | New York City, New York

Thanksgiving Proclamation

BACKGROUND

In response to a joint resolution of Congress, President George Washington issued this proclamation.

ANNOTATIONS

NOTES & QUESTIONS

By the President of the United States of America, a Proclamation.

Whereas it is the duty of all Nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favor—and whereas both Houses of Congress have by their joint Committee requested me "to recommend to the People of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many signal favors of Almighty God especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness."

Now therefore I do recommend and assign Thursday the 26th day of November next to be devoted by the People of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being, who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be—That we may then all unite in rendering unto him our sincere and humble thanks—for his kind care and protection of the People of this Country previous to their becoming a Nation—for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favorable interpositions of his Providence which we experienced in the course and conclusion of the late war—for the great degree of tranquility,

---

George Washington, "Thanksgiving Proclamation," 3 October 1789, in *The Papers of George Washington*, "Presidential Series," Vol. 4, 8 September 1789–15 January 1790, ed. Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 131–32.

ANNOTATIONS **NOTES & QUESTIONS**

union, and plenty, which we have since enjoyed—for the peaceable and rational manner, in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national One now lately instituted—for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed; and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge; and in general for all the great and various favors which he hath been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions—to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually—to render our national government a blessing to all the people, by constantly being a Government of wise, just, and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed—to protect and guide all Sovereigns and Nations (especially such as have shewn kindness unto us) and to bless them with good government, peace, and concord—To promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us—and generally to grant unto all Mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.

Given under my hand at the City of New-York the third day of October in the year of our Lord 1789.

George Washington

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON

To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island

LETTER

August 21, 1790

BACKGROUND

During President George Washington's goodwill visit to Newport following Rhode Island's ratification of the Constitution, Moses Seixas—a leading official in Newport and a member of the local Jewish synagogue—publicly read a letter to Washington. Washington responded three days later in a letter of his own.

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Gentlemen:

While I receive, with much satisfaction, your Address replete with expressions of esteem; I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you, that I shall always retain grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced in my visit to Newport, from all classes of Citizens.

The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past is rendered the more sweet, from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity and security. If we have wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail, under the just administration of a good Government, to become a great and happy people.

The Citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of

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George Washington, "To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island," 18 August 1790, in *The Papers of George Washington, 1748-1799*, "Presidential Series," Vol. 6, ed. W. W. Abbot et al. (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1996), 284-85.

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imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my Administration and fervent wishes for my felicity. May the Children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other Inhabitants; while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in his own due time and way everlastingly happy.

Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton

On the French Revolution

Unpublished Writing Fragment

1794

Background

In an unpublished and unfinished piece, Alexander Hamilton expresses serious concerns over the irreligiosity of the French Revolution.

Guiding Questions

1. What are the opinions that threaten the foundations of religion, morality, and society?
2. Which two groups are the enemies of religion and government?
3. How is the French Revolution the practical development of these irreligious and anarchic opinions?

Alexander Hamilton, "Fragment on the French Revolution," 1974, in *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, Vol. 8, Federal Edition, ed. Henry Cabot Lodge (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), 425-29.

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Facts, numerous and unequivocal, demonstrate that the present aera is among the most extraordinary, which have occurred in the history of human affairs. Opinions, for a long time, have been gradually gaining ground, which threaten the foundations of Religion, Morality and Society. An attack was first made upon the Christian Revelation; for which natural Religion was offered as the substitute. The Gospel was to be discarded as a gross imposture; but the being and attributes of a God, the obligations of piety, even the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments were to be retained and cherished.

In proportion as success has appeared to attend the plan, a bolder project has been unfolded. The very existence of a Deity has been questionned, and in some instances denied. The duty of piety has been ridiculed, the perishable nature of man asserted and his hopes bounded to the short span of his earthly state. Death has been proclaimed an Eternal Sleep—"the dogma of the *immortality* of the soul a *cheat* invented to torment the living for the benefit of the dead." Irreligion, no longer confined to the closets of conceiled sophists, nor to the haunts of wealthy riot, has more or less displayed its hideous front among all classes.

Wise and good men took a lead in delineating the odious character of Despotism; in exhibiting the advantages of a moderate and well-balanced government, in inviting nations to contend for the enjoyment of rational liberty. Fanatics in political science have since exaggerated and perverted their doctrines. Theories of Government unsuited to the nature of man, miscalculating the force of his passions, disregarding the lessons of experimental wisdom, have been projected and recommended. These have every where attracted sectaries and every where the fabric of Government has been in different degrees undermined.

A league has at length been cemented between the apostles and disciples of irreligion and of anarchy. Religion and Government have both been stigmatised as abuses; as unwarrantable restraints upon the freedom of man; as causes of the corruption of his nature, intrinsically good; as sources of an artificial and false morality, which tyrannically robs him of the enjoyments for which his passions fit him; and as cloggs upon his progress to the perfection for which he was destined.

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As a corollary from these premisses, it is a favourite tenet of the sect that religious opinion of any sort is unnecessary to Society; that the maxims of a genuine morality and the authority of the Magistracy and the laws are a sufficient and ought to be the only security for civil rights and private happiness.

As another corollary, it is occasionally maintained by the same sect, that but a small portion of power is requisite to Government; that even this portion is only temporarily necessary, in consequence of the bad habits which have been produced by the errors of ancient systems; and that as human nature shall refine and ameliorate by the operation of a more enlightened plan, government itself will become useless, and Society will subsist and flourish free from its shackles.

If all the votaries of this new philosophy do not go the whole length of its frantic creed; they all go far enough to endanger the full extent of the mischiefs which are inherent in so wild and fatal a scheme; every modification of which aims a mortal blow at the vitals of human happiness.

The practical developement of this pernicious system has been seen in France. It has served as an engine to subvert all her antient institutions civil and religious, with all the checks that served to mitigate the rigour of authority; it has hurried her headlong through a rapid succession of dreadful revolutions, which have laid waste property, made havoc among the arts, overthrow cities, desolated provinces, unpeopled regions, crimsonned her soil with blood and deluged it in crime poverty and wretchedness; and all this as yet for no better purpose than to erect on the ruins of former things a despotism unlimited and uncontrouled; leaving to a deluded, an abused, a plundered, a scourged and an oppressed people not even the shadow of liberty, to console them for a long train of substantial misfortunes, of bitter sufferings.

This horrid system seemed awhile to threaten the subversion of civilized Society and the introduction of general disorder among mankind. And though the frightful evils, which have been its first and only fruits, have given a check to its progress, it is to be feared that the poison has spread too widely and penetrated too deeply, to be as yet eradicated. Its

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activity has indeed been suspended, but the elements remain concocting for new eruptions as occasion shall permit. It is greatly to be apprehended, that mankind is not near the end of the misfortunes, which it is calculated to produce, and that it still portends a long train of convulsion, Revolution, carnage, devastation, and misery.

Symptoms of the too great prevalence of this system in the United States are alarmingly visible. It was by its influence, that efforts were made to embark this country in a common cause with France in the early period of the present war; to induce our government to sanction and promote her odious principles and views with the blood and treasure of our citizens. It is by its influence, that every succeeding revolution has been approved or excused—all the horrors that have been committed justified or extenuated—that even the last usurpation, which contradicts all the ostensible principles of the Revolution, has been regarded with complacency; and the despotic constitution engendered by it slyly held up as a model not unworthy of our Imitation.

In the progress of this system, impiety and infidelity have advanced with gigantic strides. Prodigious crimes heretofore unknown among us are seen. The chief and idol of…[ENDS]

PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON

To the People of America

LETTER

September 19, 1796
American Daily Advertiser | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Farewell Address

BACKGROUND

George Washington wrote this letter to the American people announcing his retirement from the Presidency after his second term. At the time, there were no term limits on the presidency.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. What is one of the main pillars supporting American independence, according to Washington?
2. How are the various geographical parts of the country connected to one another?
3. What are Washington's main criticisms of partisanship?
4. Which habits are necessary for political prosperity and popular government?
5. Why is Washington opposed to permanent alliances with other nations?
6. What should be the foreign policy of the United States in relation to other nations?

George Washington, "Farewell Address," 19 September 1796, in *George Washington: A Collection*, ed. W. B. Allen (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1988), 512–17.

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Friends, and Fellow Citizens:

The period for a new election of a Citizen, to Administer the Executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country, and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your Suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire.

I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last Election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our Affairs with foreign Nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice, that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

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The impressions, with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the Organization and Administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the Passions agitated in every direction were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of Success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your Union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its Administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and Virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a

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preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments; which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a People. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very Liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned, and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our

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Country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to You, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of Patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same Religion, Manners, Habits and political Principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts; of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your Interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

The *North*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *South*, protected by the equal Laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of Maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *South* in the same Intercourse, benefitting by the Agency of the *North*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation envigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the National navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a Maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *East*, in a like intercourse with the *West*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *West* derives from the *East* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future Maritime strength of the

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Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one Nation*. Any other tenure by which the *West* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign Power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular Interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their Peace by foreign Nations; and, what is of inestimable value! they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and Wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown Military establishments, which under any form of Government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty: In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of Patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective Subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason, to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

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In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by Geographical discriminations: Northern and Southern—Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of Party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other Districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render Alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen, in the Negotiation by the Executive; and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the Treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests [in] regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two Treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our Foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their Brethren and connect them with Aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a Government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances however strict between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all Alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of Government, better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its

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own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its Laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true Liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, 'til changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole People, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the People to establish Government presupposes the duty of every Individual to obey the established Government.

All obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and Associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the Constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party; often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the Community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the Mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or Associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People, and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of

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Governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypotheses and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypotheses and opinion, and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian. It is indeed little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the Society within the limits prescribed by the Laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human Mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissention, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an Individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

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Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils and enfeeble the Public administration. It agitates the Community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in Governments of a Monarchical cast Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective Constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our

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country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free Government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote then as an object of primary importance, Institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible: avoiding occasions of expense by cultivat-

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ing peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of Peace to discharge the Debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the Conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all Nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great Nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human Nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one Nation against

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another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The Nation, prompted by ill will and resentment sometimes impels to War the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and Wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification: It leads also to concessions to the favorite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concession; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld: And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite Nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition[,] corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public Councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful Nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

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Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The Great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connections as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled, with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities:

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by justice shall Counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle

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our peace and prosperity in the toils of European Ambition, Rivalship, Interest, Humor or Caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent Alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. So far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it, for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy). I repeat it therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all Nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of Commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with Powers so disposed; in order to give to trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to enable the Government to support them; conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that 'tis folly in one Nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its Independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors and yet, of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from Nation to Nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression, I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which

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has hitherto marked the Destiny of Nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the Impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my Official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must Witness to You and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting War in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793 is the index to my Plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of Your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me; uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain I was well satisfied that our Country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest, to take a Neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations, which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the Belligerent powers has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a Neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every Nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of Peace and amity towards other Nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without

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interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my Administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my Country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its Service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the Mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several Generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow Citizens, the benign influence of good Laws under a free Government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

President Thomas Jefferson (democratic-republican)

First Inaugural Address

Speech

March 4, 1801
Old Senate Chamber | U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

Background

President Thomas Jefferson delivered this address upon his inauguration in 1801.

Guiding Questions

1. What "sacred principle" does Jefferson invoke?
2. What has America "banished from our land" and what must still be cast out?
3. Has the American Republic been successful?
4. What does Jefferson say about American geography and culture?
5. What are the essential principles of American government?

Maryland Gazette (12 March 1801): 2—3.

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Friends and Fellow Citizens:

Called upon to undertake the duties of the first executive office of our country, I avail myself of the presence of that portion of my fellow citizens which is here assembled to express my grateful thanks for the favor with which they have been pleased to look toward me, to declare a sincere consciousness that the task is above my talents, and that I approach it with those anxious and awful presentiments which the greatness of the charge and the weakness of my powers so justly inspire. A rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, traversing all the seas with the rich productions of their industry, engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of mortal eye—when I contemplate these transcendent objects, and see the honor, the happiness, and the hopes of this beloved country committed to the issue, and the auspices of this day, I shrink from the contemplation, and humble myself before the magnitude of the undertaking. Utterly, indeed, should I despair did not the presence of many whom I here see remind me that in the other high authorities provided by our Constitution I shall find resources of wisdom, of virtue, and of zeal on which to rely under all difficulties. To you, then, gentlemen, who are charged with the sovereign functions of legislation, and to those associated with you, I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world.

During the contest of opinion through which we have passed the animation of discussions and of exertions has sometimes worn an aspect which might impose on strangers unused to think freely and to speak and to write what they think; but this being now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course, arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and

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one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. During the throes and convulsions of the ancient world, during the agonizing spasms of infuriated man, seeking through blood and slaughter his long-lost liberty, it was not wonderful that the agitation of the billows should reach even this distant and peaceful shore; that this should be more felt and feared by some and less by others, and should divide opinions as to measures of safety. But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this government is not strong enough; but would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. Sometimes it is said that man can not be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question.

Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own federal and republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Kindly separated by nature and a wide ocean from the exterminating havoc of one quarter of the globe; too high-minded to endure the degradations of the others; possessing a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation;

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entertaining a due sense of our equal right to the use of our own faculties, to the acquisitions of our own industry, to honor and confidence from our fellow citizens, resulting not from birth, but from our actions and their sense of them; enlightened by a benign religion, professed, indeed, and practiced in various forms, yet all of them inculcating honesty, truth, temperance, gratitude, and the love of man; acknowledging and adoring an overruling Providence, which by all its dispensations proves that it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness hereafter—with all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? 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, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

About to enter, fellow citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. I will compress them within the narrowest compass they will bear, stating the general principle, but not all its limitations. Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the right of election by the people—a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principle of republics, from which is no appeal but to force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy

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of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of the public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or of alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety.

I repair, then, fellow citizens, to the post you have assigned me. With experience enough in subordinate offices to have seen the difficulties of this the greatest of all, I have learnt to expect that it will rarely fall to the lot of imperfect man to retire from this station with the reputation and the favor which bring him into it. Without pretensions to that high confidence you reposed in our first and greatest revolutionary character, whose preeminent services had entitled him to the first place in his country's love and destined for him the fairest page in the volume of faithful history, I ask so much confidence only as may give firmness and effect to the legal administration of your affairs. I shall often go wrong through defect of judgment. When right, I shall often be thought wrong by those whose positions will not command a view of the whole ground. I ask your indulgence for my own errors, which will never be intentional, and your support against the errors of others, who may condemn what they would not if seen in all its parts. The approbation implied by your suffrage is a great consolation to me for the past, and my future solicitude will be to retain the good opinion of those who have bestowed it in advance, to conciliate that of others by doing them all the good in my power, and to be instrumental to the happiness and freedom of all.

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Relying, then, on the patronage of your good will, I advance with obedience to the work, ready to retire from it whenever you become sensible how much better choice it is in your power to make. And may that Infinite Power which rules the destinies of the universe lead our councils to what is best, and give them a favorable issue for your peace and prosperity.

Rep. James Tallmadge, Jr. (democratic-republican-ny)

On the Amendment to the Missouri Statehood Bill

Speech Excerpts

February 16, 1819
House of Representatives Chamber, U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

Background

New York Representative James Tallmadge, Jr., offered these remarks on his proposed amendment to a bill to make the Missouri Territory a state.

Annotations

Notes & Questions

Sir, has it already come to this; that in the Congress of the United States . . . the subject of slavery has become a subject of so much feeling—of such delicacy, of such danger, that it cannot safely be discussed? . . . Are we to be told of the dissolution of the Union; of civil war, and of seas of blood? And yet, with such awful threatenings before us, do gentlemen, in the same breath, insist upon the encouragement of this evil; upon the extensions of this monstrous scourge of the human race? An evil so fraught with such dire calamities to us as individuals, and to our nation, and threatening, in its progress, to overwhelm the civil and religious institutions of the country, with the liberties of the nation, ought at once to be met, and to be controlled. If its power, its influence, and its impending dangers have already arrived at such a point that it is not safe to discuss it on this floor, and it cannot now pass under consideration as a proper subject for general legislation, what will be the result when it is spread through your widely extended domain? Its present threatening aspect, and the violence of its supporters so far from inducing me to yield to its progress, prompts me to resist its march. Now is the time. It must now be met, and the extension of the evil must now be prevented, or the occasion is irrecoverably lost, and the evil can never be contracted.

Annals of Congress, House of Representatives, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, 1203–14.

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…Sir, we have been told, with apparent confidence, that we have no right to annex conditions to a state on its admission into the Union; and it has been urged that the proposed amendment, prohibiting the further introduction of slavery is unconstitutional. This position, asserted with so much confidence, remains unsupported by any argument, or by any authority derived from the Constitution itself. The Constitution strongly indicates an opposite conclusion, and seems to contemplate a difference between the old and the new states. The practice of the government has sanctioned this difference in many respects….

Sir, the bill now before us proves the correctness of my argument. It is filled with conditions and limitations. . . . And to all these amendments we have heard no objection; they have passed unanimously. But now, when an amendment prohibiting the further introduction of slavery is proposed, the whole House is put in agitation, and we are confidently told that it is unconstitutional to annex conditions on the admission of a new state into the Union. The result of all this is, that all amendments and conditions are proper, which suit a certain class of gentlemen, but whatever amendment is proposed, which does not comport with their interests or their views, is unconstitutional, and a flagrant violation of this sacred charter of our rights. In order to be consistent, gentlemen must go back and strike out the various amendments to which they have already agreed. The Constitution applies equally to all, or to none.

Sir, we have been told that this is a new principle for which we contend, never before adopted, or thought of. So far from this being correct, it is due to the memory of our ancestors to say, it is an old principle, adopted by them, as the policy of our country. Whenever the United States have had the right and the power, they have heretofore prevented the extension of slavery. The states of Kentucky and Tennessee were taken off from other states, and were admitted into the Union without condition, because their lands were never owned by the United States. The Territory Northwest of the Ohio is all the land which ever belonged to them. Shortly after the cession of those lands to the Union, Congress passed, in 1787, a compact which was declared to be unalterable, the sixth article

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of which provides that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment for crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." In pursuance of this compact, all the states formed from that territory have been admitted into the Union upon various considerations, and among which the sixth article of this compact is included as one. . . .

Sir, in the course of the debate on this subject, we have been told that, from the long habit of the Southern and Western people, the possession of slaves has become necessary to them, and an essential requisite in their living. It has been urged, from the nature of the climate and soil of the Southern countries, that the lands cannot be occupied or cultivated without slaves. It has been said that the slaves prosper in those places, and that they are much better off there than in their own native country. We have even been told that, if we succeed, and prevent slavery across the Mississippi, we shall greatly lessen the value of property there, and shall retard, for a long series of years, the settlement of that country.

Sir, if the Western country cannot be settled without slaves, gladly would I prevent its settlement till time shall be no more. If this class of arguments is to prevail, it sets all morals at defiance, and we are called to legislate on the subject, as a matter of mere personal interest. If this is to be the case, repeal all your laws prohibiting the slave trade; throw open this traffic to the commercial states of the East; and, if it better the condition of these wretched beings, invite the dark population of benighted Africa to be translated to the shores of Republican America. But, sir, I will not cast upon this or upon that gentleman an imputation so ungracious as the conclusion to which their arguments would necessarily tend. I do not believe any gentleman on this floor could here advocate the slave trade, or maintain, in the abstract, the principles of slavery. I will not outrage the decorum, nor insult the dignity of this House, by attempting to argue in this place, as an abstract proposition, the moral right of slavery. How gladly would the "legitimates of Europe chuckle" to find an American Congress in debate on such a question!

As an evil brought upon us without our own fault, before the formation of our government, and as one of the sins of that nation from which we have revolted, we must of necessity

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legislate upon this subject. It is our business so to legislate, as never to encourage, but always to control this evil; and, while we strive to eradicate it, we ought to fix its limits, and render it subordinate to the safety of the white population, and the good order of civil society.

Sir, on this subject the eyes of Europe are turned upon you. You boast of the freedom of your Constitution and your laws; you have proclaimed, in the Declaration of Independence, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and yet you have slaves in your country. The enemies of your government, and the legitimates of Europe, point to your inconsistencies, and blazon your supposed defects. If you allow slavery to pass into territories where you have the lawful power to exclude it, you will justly take upon yourself all the charges of inconsistency; but, confine it to the original slaveholding states, where you found it at the formation of your government, and you stand acquitted of all imputation. . . .

Sir, I shall bow in silence to the will of the majority, on whichever side it shall be expressed; yet I confidently hope that majority will be found on the side of an amendment, so replete with moral consequences, so pregnant with important political results.

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams (federalist)

An Address Delivered at the Request of a Committee of the Citizens of Washington for Celebrating the Anniversary of Independence at the City of Washington on the Fourth of July

Speech Excerpts

July 4, 1821
U.S. House of Representatives | Washington, D.C.

Background

President James Monroe's Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, gave this address to the U.S. House of Representatives on the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Annotations

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…And now, friends and countrymen, if the wise and learned philosophers of the elder world, the first observers of nutation and aberration, the discoverers of maddening ether and invisible planets, the inventors of Congreve rockets and Shrapnel shells, should find their hearts disposed to enquire what has America done for the benefit of mankind?

Let our answer be this: America, with the same voice which spoke herself into existence as a nation, proclaimed to mankind the inextinguishable rights of human nature, and the only lawful foundations of government. America, in the assembly of nations, since her admission among them, has invariably, though often fruitlessly, held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity.

John Quincy Adams, *An Address Delivered at the Request of a Committee of the Citizens of Washington for Celebrating the Anniversary of Independence at the City of Washington on the Fourth of July, 1821* (Cambridge, Hilliard and Metcalf, 1821), 31-32, 34.

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She has uniformly spoken among them, though often to heedless and often to disdainful ears, the language of equal liberty, of equal justice, and of equal rights.

She has, in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations while asserting and maintaining her own.

She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart.

She has seen that probably for centuries to come, all the contests of that Aceldama the European world, will be contests of inveterate power, and emerging right.

Wherever the standard of freedom and Independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions and her prayers be.

But she goes not abroad, in search of monsters to destroy.

She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all.

She is the champion and vindicator only of her own.

She will commend the general cause by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example.

She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy, and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom.

The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force....

She might become the dictatress of the world. She would be no longer the ruler of her own spirit....

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[America's] glory is not dominion, but liberty. Her march is the march of the mind. She has a spear and a shield: but the motto upon her shield is, Freedom, Independence, Peace. This has been her Declaration: this has been, as far as her necessary intercourse with the rest of mankind would permit, her practice.

PRESIDENT JAMES MONROE (DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN)

Annual Message to Congress

LETTER EXCERPTS

December 2, 1823
Washington, D.C.

Monroe Doctrine

BACKGROUND

President James Monroe sent his seventh Annual Message to Congress in 1823, as required by the Constitution.

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Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:…

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers as respects our negotiations and transactions with each is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement connected with the national prosperity and public defense. It is by rendering justice to other nations that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries and redress wrongs that we may avoid them.…

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiation the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the North West coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which

James Monroe, Annual Message, December 2, 1823, *Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st session, Senate Journal,* 12-19.

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they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.…

A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world take a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and of acquisition with a view to aggrandizement, which mingles so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them; that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes.

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been so far very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators.

The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the

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European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do.

It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers.

The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere, but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

In the war between those new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

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The late events in Spain and Portugal shew that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed by force in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States.

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none.

But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.…

Alexis Charles Henri Clérel, comte de Tocqueville

De La Démocratie en Amérique, Volume I

Book Excerpts

1835
Saunders and Otley | London, England

Background

The French political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville wrote his book *Democracy in America* based on his observation of America during a nine-month tour of the country in 1831 and into the early part of 1832.

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The Principle of the Sovereignty of the People in America

Whenever the political laws of the United States are to be discussed, it is with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people that we must begin. The principle of the sovereignty of the people, which is to be found, more or less, at the bottom of almost all human institutions, generally remains concealed from view. It is obeyed without being recognized, or if for a moment it be brought to light, it is hastily cast back into the gloom of the sanctuary. "The will of the nation" is one of those expressions which have been most profusely abused by the wily and the despotic of every age. To the eyes of some it has been represented by the venal suffrages of a few of the satellites of power; to others by the votes of a timid or an interested minority; and some have even discovered it in the silence of a people, on the supposition that the fact of submission established the right of command.

In America the principle of the sovereignty of the people is not either barren or concealed, as it is with some other nations; it is recognized by the customs and

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Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Henry Reeve, trans. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835), I.I.IV, I.I.V, I.I.XII, I.I.XV, I.I.XVII-XVIII, II.II.II.

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proclaimed by the laws; it spreads freely, and arrives without impediment at its most remote consequences. If there be a country in the world where the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people can be fairly appreciated, where it can be studied in its application to the affairs of society, and where its dangers and its advantages may be foreseen, that country is assuredly America.

I have already observed that, from their origin, the sovereignty of the people was the fundamental principle of the greater number of British colonies in America. It was far, however, from then exercising as much influence on the government of society as it now does. Two obstacles, the one external, the other internal, checked its invasive progress. It could not ostensibly disclose itself in the laws of colonies which were still constrained to obey the mother-country: it was therefore obliged to spread secretly, and to gain ground in the provincial assemblies, and especially in the townships.

American society was not yet prepared to adopt it with all its consequences. The intelligence of New England, and the wealth of the country to the south of the Hudson (as I have shown in the preceding chapter), long exercised a sort of aristocratic influence, which tended to retain the exercise of social authority in the hands of a few. The public functionaries were not universally elected, and the citizens were not all of them electors. The electoral franchise was everywhere placed within certain limits, and made dependent on a certain qualification, which was exceedingly low in the North and more considerable in the South.

The American revolution broke out, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which had been nurtured in the townships and municipalities, took possession of the State: every class was enlisted in its cause; battles were fought, and victories obtained for it, until it became the law of laws.

A no less rapid change was effected in the interior of society, where the law of descent completed the abolition of local influences.

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At the very time when this consequence of the laws and of the revolution was apparent to every eye, victory was irrevocably pronounced in favor of the democratic cause. All power was, in fact, in its hands, and resistance was no longer possible. The higher orders submitted without a murmur and without a struggle to an evil which was thenceforth inevitable. The ordinary fate of falling powers awaited them; each of their several members followed his own interests; and as it was impossible to wring the power from the hands of a people which they did not detest sufficiently to brave, their only aim was to secure its good-will at any price. The most democratic laws were consequently voted by the very men whose interests they impaired; and thus, although the higher classes did not excite the passions of the people against their order, they accelerated the triumph of the new state of things; so that by a singular change the democratic impulse was found to be most irresistible in the very States where the aristocracy had the firmest hold. The State of Maryland, which had been founded by men of rank, was the first to proclaim universal suffrage, and to introduce the most democratic forms into the conduct of its government.

When a nation modifies the elective qualification, it may easily be foreseen that sooner or later that qualification will be entirely abolished. There is no more invariable rule in the history of society: the further electoral rights are extended, the greater is the need of extending them; for after each concession the strength of the democracy increases, and its demands increase with its strength. The ambition of those who are below the appointed rate is irritated in exact proportion to the great number of those who are above it. The exception at last becomes the rule, concession follows concession, and no stop can be made short of universal suffrage.

At the present day the principle of the sovereignty of the people has acquired, in the United States, all the practical development which the imagination can conceive. It is unencumbered by those fictions which have been thrown over it in other countries, and it appears in every possible form according to the exigency of the occasion. Sometimes the laws are made by the people in a body, as at Athens; and sometimes its representatives,

chosen by universal suffrage, transact business in its name, and almost under its immediate control.

In some countries a power exists which, though it is in a degree foreign to the social body, directs it, and forces it to pursue a certain track. In others the ruling force is divided, being partly within and partly without the ranks of the people. But nothing of the kind is to be seen in the United States; there society governs itself for itself. All power centres in its bosom; and scarcely an individual is to be meet with who would venture to conceive, or, still less, to express, the idea of seeking it elsewhere. The nation participates in the making of its laws by the choice of its legislators, and in the execution of them by the choice of the agents of the executive government; it may almost be said to govern itself, so feeble and so restricted is the share left to the administration, so little do the authorities forget their popular origin and the power from which they emanate.

The American System of Townships and Municipal Bodies

…Municipal freedom is not the fruit of human device; it is rarely created; but it is, as it were, secretly and spontaneously engendered in the midst of a semi-barbarous state of society. The constant action of the laws and the national habits, peculiar circumstances, and above all time, may consolidate it; but there is certainly no nation on the continent of Europe which has experienced its advantages. Nevertheless local assemblies of citizens constitute the strength of free nations. Town-meetings are to liberty what primary schools are to science; they bring it within the people's reach, they teach men how to use and how to enjoy it….

In order to explain to the reader the general principles on which the political organization of the counties and townships of the United States rests, I have thought it expedient to choose one of the States of New England as an example, to examine the mechanism of its constitution, and then to cast a general glance over the country. The township and the county are not organized in the same manner in every part of the Union; it is, however,

easy to perceive that the same principles have guided the formation of both of them throughout the Union. I am inclined to believe that these principles have been carried further in New England than elsewhere, and consequently that they offer greater facilities to the observations of a stranger. The institutions of New England form a complete and regular whole; they have received the sanction of time, they have the support of the laws, and the still stronger support of the manners of the community, over which they exercise the most prodigious influence; they consequently deserve our attention on every account.

Limits of the Township

The township of New England is a division which stands between the commune and the canton of France, and which corresponds in general to the English tithing, or town. Its average population is from two to three thousand; so that, on the one hand, the interests of its inhabitants are not likely to conflict, and, on the other, men capable of conducting its affairs are always to be found among its citizens…

Existence of the Township

I have already observed that the principle of the sovereignty of the people governs the whole political system of the Anglo-Americans. Every page of this book will afford new instances of the same doctrine. In the nations by which the sovereignty of the people is recognized every individual possesses an equal share of power, and participates alike in the government of the State. Every individual is, therefore, supposed to be as well informed, as virtuous, and as strong as any of his fellow-citizens. He obeys the government, not because he is inferior to the authorities which conduct it, or that he is less capable than his neighbor of governing himself, but because he acknowledges the utility of an association with his fellow-men, and because he knows that no such association can exist without a regulating force. If he be a subject in all that concerns the mutual relations of citizens, he is free and responsible to God alone for all that concerns himself. Hence arises the maxim that every one is the best and the sole judge of his own private interest, and that society has no right

to control a man's actions, unless they are prejudicial to the common weal, or unless the common weal demands his co-operation. This doctrine is universally admitted in the United States. I shall hereafter examine the general influence which it exercises on the ordinary actions of life; I am now speaking of the nature of municipal bodies.

The township, taken as a whole, and in relation to the government of the country, may be looked upon as an individual to whom the theory I have just alluded to is applied. Municipal independence is therefore a natural consequence of the principle of the sovereignty of the people in the United States: all the American republics recognize it more or less; but circumstances have peculiarly favored its growth in New England.

In this part of the Union the impulsion of political activity was given in the townships; and it may almost be said that each of them originally formed an independent nation. When the Kings of England asserted their supremacy, they were contented to assume the central power of the State. The townships of New England remained as they were before; and although they are now subject to the State, they were at first scarcely dependent upon it. It is important to remember that they have not been invested with privileges, but that they have, on the contrary, forfeited a portion of their independence to the State. The townships are only subordinate to the State in those interests which I shall term social, as they are common to all the citizens. They are independent in all that concerns themselves; and amongst the inhabitants of New England I believe that not a man is to be found who would acknowledge that the State has any right to interfere in their local interests. The towns of New England buy and sell, sue or are sued, augment or diminish their rates, without the slightest opposition on the part of the administrative authority of the State….

Public Spirit of the Townships of New England

In America, not only do municipal bodies exist, but they are kept alive and supported by public spirit. The township of New England possesses two advantages which infallibly secure the attentive interest of mankind, namely, independence and authority. Its sphere is

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indeed small and limited, but within that sphere its action is unrestrained; and its independence gives to it a real importance which its extent and population may not always ensure.

It is to be remembered that the affections of men generally lie on the side of authority. Patriotism is not durable in a conquered nation. The New Englander is attached to his township, not only because he was born in it, but because it constitutes a social body of which he is a member, and whose government claims and deserves the exercise of his sagacity. In Europe the absence of local public spirit is a frequent subject of regret to those who are in power; everyone agrees that there is no surer guarantee of order and tranquility, and yet nothing is more difficult to create. If the municipal bodies were made powerful and independent, the authorities of the nation might be disunited and the peace of the country endangered. Yet, without power and independence, a town may contain good subjects, but it can have no active citizens. Another important fact is that the township of New England is so constituted as to excite the warmest of human affections, without arousing the ambitious passions of the heart of man. The officers of the country are not elected, and their authority is very limited. Even the State is only a second-rate community, whose tranquil and obscure administration offers no inducement sufficient to draw men away from the circle of their interests into the turmoil of public affairs. The federal government confers power and honor on the men who conduct it; but these individuals can never be very numerous. The high station of the Presidency can only be reached at an advanced period of life, and the other federal functionaries are generally men who have been favored by fortune, or distinguished in some other career. Such cannot be the permanent aim of the ambitious. But the township serves as a centre for the desire of public esteem, the want of exciting interests, and the taste for authority and popularity, in the midst of the ordinary relations of life; and the passions which commonly embroil society change their character when they find a vent so near the domestic hearth and the family circle.

In the American States power has been disseminated with admirable skill for the purpose of interesting the greatest possible number of persons in the common weal. Independently

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of the electors who are from time to time called into action, the body politic is divided into innumerable functionaries and officers, who all, in their several spheres, represent the same powerful whole in whose name they act. The local administration thus affords an unfailing source of profit and interest to a vast number of individuals.

The American system, which divides the local authority among so many citizens, does not scruple to multiply the functions of the town officers. For in the United States it is believed, and with truth, that patriotism is a kind of devotion which is strengthened by ritual observance. In this manner the activity of the township is continually perceptible; it is daily manifested in the fulfilment of a duty or the exercise of a right, and a constant though gentle motion is thus kept up in society which animates without disturbing it.

The American attaches himself to his home as the mountaineer clings to his hills, because the characteristic features of his country are there more distinctly marked than elsewhere. The existence of the townships of New England is in general a happy one. Their government is suited to their tastes, and chosen by themselves. In the midst of the profound peace and general comfort which reign in America the commotions of municipal discord are unfrequent. The conduct of local business is easy. The political education of the people has long been complete; say rather that it was complete when the people first set foot upon the soil. In New England no tradition exists of a distinction of ranks; no portion of the community is tempted to oppress the remainder; and the abuses which may injure isolated individuals are forgotten in the general contentment which prevails. If the government is defective (and it would no doubt be easy to point out its deficiencies), the fact that it really emanates from those it governs, and that it acts, either ill or well, casts the protecting spell of a parental pride over its faults. No term of comparison disturbs the satisfaction of the citizen: England formerly governed the mass of the colonies, but the people was always sovereign in the township where its rule is not only an ancient but a primitive state.

The native of New England is attached to his township because it is independent and free: his co-operation in its affairs ensures his attachment to its interest; the well-being it affords

him secures his affection; and its welfare is the aim of his ambition and of his future exertions: he takes a part in every occurrence in the place; he practises the art of government in the small sphere within his reach; he accustoms himself to those forms which can alone ensure the steady progress of liberty; he imbibes their spirit; he acquires a taste for order, comprehends the union or the balance of powers, and collects clear practical notions on the nature of his duties and the extent of his rights.

Political Associations in the United States

In no country in the world has the principle of association been more successfully used, or more unsparingly applied to a multitude of different objects, than in America. Besides the permanent associations which are established by law under the names of townships, cities, and counties, a vast number of others are formed and maintained by the agency of private individuals.

The citizen of the United States is taught from his earliest infancy to rely upon his own exertions in order to resist the evils and the difficulties of life; he looks upon social authority with an eye of mistrust and anxiety, and he only claims its assistance when he is quite unable to shift without it. This habit may even be traced in the schools of the rising generation, where the children in their games are wont to submit to rules which they have themselves established, and to punish misdemeanors which they have themselves defined. The same spirit pervades every act of social life. If a stoppage occurs in a thoroughfare, and the circulation of the public is hindered, the neighbors immediately constitute a deliberative body; and this extemporaneous assembly gives rise to an executive power which remedies the inconvenience before anybody has thought of recurring to an authority superior to that of the persons immediately concerned. If the public pleasures are concerned, an association is formed to provide for the splendor and the regularity of the entertainment. Societies are formed to resist enemies which are exclusively of a moral nature, and to diminish the vice of intemperance: in the United States associations are established to promote public order, commerce, industry, morality, and religion; for there

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is no end which the human will, seconded by the collective exertions of individuals, despairs of attaining.

I shall hereafter have occasion to show the effects of association upon the course of society, and I must confine myself for the present to the political world. When once the right of association is recognized, the citizens may employ it in several different ways.

An association consists simply in the public assent which a number of individuals give to certain doctrines, and in the engagement which they contract to promote the spread of those doctrines by their exertions. The right of association with these views is very analogous to the liberty of unlicensed writing; but societies thus formed possess more authority than the press. When an opinion is represented by a society, it necessarily assumes a more exact and explicit form. It numbers its partisans, and compromises their welfare in its cause: they, on the other hand, become acquainted with each other, and their zeal is increased by their number. An association unites the efforts of minds which have a tendency to diverge in one single channel, and urges them vigorously towards one single end which it points out.

The second degree in the right of association is the power of meeting. When an association is allowed to establish centres of action at certain important points in the country, its activity is increased and its influence extended. Men have the opportunity of seeing each other; means of execution are more readily combined, and opinions are maintained with a degree of warmth and energy which written language cannot approach.

Lastly, in the exercise of the right of political association, there is a third degree: the partisans of an opinion may unite in electoral bodies, and choose delegates to represent them in a central assembly. This is, properly speaking, the application of the representative system to a party.

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Thus, in the first instance, a society is formed between individuals professing the same opinion, and the tie which keeps it together is of a purely intellectual nature; in the second case, small assemblies are formed which only represent a fraction of the party. Lastly, in the third case, they constitute a separate nation in the midst of the nation, a government within the Government. Their delegates, like the real delegates of the majority, represent the entire collective force of their party; and they enjoy a certain degree of that national dignity and great influence which belong to the chosen representatives of the people. It is true that they have not the right of making the laws, but they have the power of attacking those which are in being, and of drawing up beforehand those which they may afterwards cause to be adopted….

Tyranny of the Majority

Unlimited power is in itself a bad and dangerous thing; human beings are not competent to exercise it with discretion, and God alone can be omnipotent, because His wisdom and His justice are always equal to His power. But no power upon earth is so worthy of honor for itself, or of reverential obedience to the rights which it represents, that I would consent to admit its uncontrolled and all-predominant authority. When I see that the right and the means of absolute command are conferred on a people or upon a king, upon an aristocracy or a democracy, a monarchy or a republic, I recognize the germ of tyranny, and I journey onward to a land of more hopeful institutions.

In my opinion the main evil of the present democratic institutions of the United States does not arise, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, but from their overpowering strength; and I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny.

When an individual or a party is wronged in the United States, to whom can he apply for redress? If to public opinion, public opinion constitutes the majority; if to the legislature, it represents the majority, and implicitly obeys its injunctions; if to the executive power, it is

appointed by the majority, and remains a passive tool in its hands; the public troops consist of the majority under arms; the jury is the majority invested with the right of hearing judicial cases; and in certain States even the judges are elected by the majority. However iniquitous or absurd the evil of which you complain may be, you must submit to it as well as you can….

If, on the other hand, a legislative power could be so constituted as to represent the majority without necessarily being the slave of its passions; an executive, so as to retain a certain degree of uncontrolled authority; and a judiciary, so as to remain independent of the two other powers; a government would be formed which would still be democratic without incurring any risk of tyrannical abuse.

I do not say that tyrannical abuses frequently occur in America at the present day, but I maintain that no sure barrier is established against them, and that the causes which mitigate the government are to be found in the circumstances and the manners of the country more than in its laws.

Power Exercised by the Majority in America upon Opinion

It is in the examination of the display of public opinion in the United States that we clearly perceive how far the power of the majority surpasses all the powers with which we are acquainted in Europe. Intellectual principles exercise an influence which is so invisible, and often so inappreciable, that they baffle the toils of oppression. At the present time the most absolute monarchs in Europe are unable to prevent certain notions, which are opposed to their authority, from circulating in secret throughout their dominions, and even in their courts. Such is not the case in America; as long as the majority is still undecided, discussion is carried on; but as soon as its decision is irrevocably pronounced, a submissive silence is observed, and the friends, as well as the opponents, of the measure unite in assenting to its propriety. The reason of this is perfectly clear: no monarch is so absolute as to combine all

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the powers of society in his own hands, and to conquer all opposition with the energy of a majority which is invested with the right of making and of executing the laws.

The authority of a king is purely physical, and it controls the actions of the subject without subduing his private will; but the majority possesses a power which is physical and moral at the same time; it acts upon the will as well as upon the actions of men, and it represses not only all contest, but all controversy. I know no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America. In any constitutional state in Europe every sort of religious and political theory may be advocated and propagated abroad; for there is no country in Europe so subdued by any single authority as not to contain citizens who are ready to protect the man who raises his voice in the cause of truth from the consequences of his hardihood. If he is unfortunate enough to live under an absolute government, the people is upon his side; if he inhabits a free country, he may find a shelter behind the authority of the throne, if he require one. The aristocratic part of society supports him in some countries, and the democracy in others. But in a nation where democratic institutions exist, organized like those of the United States, there is but one sole authority, one single element of strength and of success, with nothing beyond it.

In America the majority raises very formidable barriers to the liberty of opinion: within these barriers an author may write whatever he pleases, but he will repent it if he ever step beyond them. Not that he is exposed to the terrors of an auto-da-fe, but he is tormented by the slights and persecutions of daily obloquy. His political career is closed forever, since he has offended the only authority which is able to promote his success. Every sort of compensation, even that of celebrity, is refused to him. Before he published his opinions he imagined that he held them in common with many others; but no sooner has he declared them openly than he is loudly censured by his overbearing opponents, whilst those who think without having the courage to speak, like him, abandon him in silence. He yields at length, oppressed by the daily efforts he has been making, and he subsides into silence, as if he was tormented by remorse for having spoken the truth.

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Fetters and headsmen were the coarse instruments which tyranny formerly employed; but the civilization of our age has refined the arts of despotism which seemed, however, to have been sufficiently perfected before. The excesses of monarchical power had devised a variety of physical means of oppression: the democratic republics of the present day have rendered it as entirely an affair of the mind as that will which it is intended to coerce. Under the absolute sway of an individual despot the body was attacked in order to subdue the soul, and the soul escaped the blows which were directed against it and rose superior to the attempt; but such is not the course adopted by tyranny in democratic republics; there the body is left free, and the soul is enslaved. The sovereign can no longer say, "You shall think as I do on pain of death;" but he says, "You are free to think differently from me, and to retain your life, your property, and all that you possess; but if such be your determination, you are henceforth an alien among your people. You may retain your civil rights, but they will be useless to you, for you will never be chosen by your fellow-citizens if you solicit their suffrages, and they will affect to scorn you if you solicit their esteem. You will remain among men, but you will be deprived of the rights of mankind. Your fellow-creatures will shun you like an impure being, and those who are most persuaded of your innocence will abandon you too, lest they should be shunned in their turn. Go in peace! I have given you your life, but it is an existence in comparably worse than death."

Monarchical institutions have thrown an odium upon despotism; let us beware lest democratic republics should restore oppression, and should render it less odious and less degrading in the eyes of the many, by making it still more onerous to the few.

Works have been published in the proudest nations of the Old World expressly intended to censure the vices and deride the follies of the times; Labruyere inhabited the palace of Louis XIV when he composed his chapter upon the Great, and Moliere criticised the courtiers in the very pieces which were acted before the Court. But the ruling power in the United States is not to be made game of; the smallest reproach irritates its sensibility, and the slightest joke which has any foundation in truth renders it indignant; from the style of its language to the more solid virtues of its character, everything must be made the subject

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of encomium. No writer, whatever be his eminence, can escape from this tribute of adulation to his fellow-citizens. The majority lives in the perpetual practice of self-applause, and there are certain truths which the Americans can only learn from strangers or from experience.

If great writers have not at present existed in America, the reason is very simply given in these facts; there can be no literary genius without freedom of opinion, and freedom of opinion does not exist in America. The Inquisition has never been able to prevent a vast number of anti-religious books from circulating in Spain. The empire of the majority succeeds much better in the United States, since it actually removes the wish of publishing them. Unbelievers are to be met with in America, but, to say the truth, there is no public organ of infidelity. Attempts have been made by some governments to protect the morality of nations by prohibiting licentious books. In the United States no one is punished for this sort of works, but no one is induced to write them; not because all the citizens are immaculate in their manners, but because the majority of the community is decent and orderly.

In these cases the advantages derived from the exercise of this power are unquestionable, and I am simply discussing the nature of the power itself. This irresistible authority is a constant fact, and its judicious exercise is an accidental occurrence.

Effects of the Tyranny of the Majority upon the National Character of the Americans

The tendencies which I have just alluded to are as yet very slightly perceptible in political society, but they already begin to exercise an unfavorable influence upon the national character of the Americans. I am inclined to attribute the singular paucity of distinguished political characters to the ever-increasing activity of the despotism of the majority in the United States. When the American Revolution broke out they arose in great numbers, for

public opinion then served, not to tyrannize over, but to direct the exertions of individuals. Those celebrated men took a full part in the general agitation of mind common at that period, and they attained a high degree of personal fame, which was reflected back upon the nation, but which was by no means borrowed from it.

In absolute governments the great nobles who are nearest to the throne flatter the passions of the sovereign, and voluntarily truckle to his caprices. But the mass of the nation does not degrade itself by servitude: it often submits from weakness, from habit, or from ignorance, and sometimes from loyalty. Some nations have been known to sacrifice their own desires to those of the sovereign with pleasure and with pride, thus exhibiting a sort of independence in the very act of submission. These peoples are miserable, but they are not degraded. There is a great difference between doing what one does not approve and feigning to approve what one does; the one is the necessary case of a weak person, the other befits the temper of a lackey.

In free countries, where everyone is more or less called upon to give his opinion in the affairs of state; in democratic republics, where public life is incessantly commingled with domestic affairs, where the sovereign authority is accessible on every side, and where its attention can almost always be attracted by vociferation, more persons are to be met with who speculate upon its foibles and live at the cost of its passions than in absolute monarchies. Not because men are naturally worse in these States than elsewhere, but the temptation is stronger, and of easier access at the same time. The result is a far more extensive debasement of the characters of citizens.

Democratic republics extend the practice of currying favor with the many, and they introduce it into a greater number of classes at once: this is one of the most serious reproaches that can be addressed to them. In democratic States organized on the principles of the American republics, this is more especially the case, where the authority of the majority is so absolute and so irresistible that a man must give up his rights as a citizen, and almost abjure his quality as a human being, if te intends to stray from the track which it lays down.

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In that immense crowd which throngs the avenues to power in the United States I found very few men who displayed any of that manly candor and that masculine independence of opinion which frequently distinguished the Americans in former times, and which constitutes the leading feature in distinguished characters, wheresoever they may be found. It seems, at first sight, as if all the minds of the Americans were formed upon one model, so accurately do they correspond in their manner of judging. A stranger does, indeed, sometimes meet with Americans who dissent from these rigorous formularies; with men who deplore the defects of the laws, the mutability and the ignorance of democracy; who even go so far as to observe the evil tendencies which impair the national character, and to point out such remedies as it might be possible to apply; but no one is there to hear these things besides yourself, and you, to whom these secret reflections are confided, are a stranger and a bird of passage. They are very ready to communicate truths which are useless to you, but they continue to hold a different language in public.

If ever these lines are read in America, I am well assured of two things: in the first place, that all who peruse them will raise their voices to condemn me; and in the second place, that very many of them will acquit me at the bottom of their conscience.

I have heard of patriotism in the United States, and it is a virtue which may be found among the people, but never among the leaders of the people. This may be explained by analogy; despotism debases the oppressed much more than the oppressor: in absolute monarchies the king has often great virtues, but the courtiers are invariably servile. It is true that the American courtiers do not say "Sire," or "Your Majesty"—a distinction without a difference. They are forever talking of the natural intelligence of the populace they serve; they do not debate the question as to which of the virtues of their master is pre-eminently worthy of admiration, for they assure him that he possesses all the virtues under heaven without having acquired them, or without caring to acquire them; they do not give him their daughters and their wives to be raised at his pleasure to the rank of his concubines, but, by sacrificing their opinions, they prostitute themselves. Moralists and philosophers

in America are not obliged to conceal their opinions under the veil of allegory; but, before they venture upon a harsh truth, they say, "We are aware that the people which we are addressing is too superior to all the weaknesses of human nature to lose the command of its temper for an instant; and we should not hold this language if we were not speaking to men whom their virtues and their intelligence render more worthy of freedom than all the rest of the world." It would have been impossible for the sycophants of Louis XIV to flatter more dexterously. For my part, I am persuaded that in all governments, whatever their nature may be, servility will cower to force, and adulation will cling to power. The only means of preventing men from degrading themselves is to invest no one with that unlimited authority which is the surest method of debasing them.

The Greatest Dangers of the American Republics Proceed from the Unlimited Power of the Majority

Governments usually fall a sacrifice to impotence or to tyranny. In the former case their power escapes from them; it is wrested from their grasp in the latter. Many observers, who have witnessed the anarchy of democratic States, have imagined that the government of those States was naturally weak and impotent. The truth is, that when once hostilities are begun between parties, the government loses its control over society. But I do not think that a democratic power is naturally without force or without resources: say, rather, that it is almost always by the abuse of its force and the misemployment of its resources that a democratic government fails. Anarchy is almost always produced by its tyranny or its mistakes, but not by its want of strength.

It is important not to confound stability with force, or the greatness of a thing with its duration. In democratic republics, the power which directs *e society is not stable; for it often changes hands and assumes a new direction. But whichever way it turns, its force is almost irresistible. The Governments of the American republics appear to me to be as much centralized as those of the absolute monarchies of Europe, and more energetic than they are. I do not, therefore, imagine that they will perish from weakness.

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If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some future time urge the minorities to desperation, and oblige them to have recourse to physical force. Anarchy will then be the result, but it will have been brought about by despotism.

Mr. Hamilton expresses the same opinion in the "Federalist," No. 51. "It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society. It ever has been, and ever will be, pursued until it be obtained, or until liberty be lost in the pursuit. In a society, under the forms of which the stronger faction can readily unite and oppress the weaker, anarchy may as truly be said to reign as in a state of nature, where the weaker individual is not secured against the violence of the stronger: and as in the latter state even the stronger individuals are prompted by the uncertainty of their condition to submit to a government which may protect the weak as well as themselves, so in the former state will the more powerful factions be gradually induced by a like motive to wish for a government which will protect all parties, the weaker as well as the more powerful. It can be little doubted that, if the State of Rhode Island was separated from the Confederacy and left to itself, the insecurity of right under the popular form of government within such narrow limits would be displayed by such reiterated oppressions of the factious majorities, that some power altogether independent of the people would soon be called for by the voice of the very factions whose misrule had proved the necessity of it."

Jefferson has also thus expressed himself in a letter to Madison: "The executive power in our Government is not the only, perhaps not even the principal, object of my solicitude. The tyranny of the Legislature is really the danger most to be feared, and will continue to be so for many years to come. The tyranny of the executive power will come in its turn, but at a more distant period." I am glad to cite the opinion of Jefferson upon this subject rather than that of another, because I consider him to be the most powerful advocate democracy has ever sent forth….

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Futures Condition of Three Races—Parts III and IV

The first negroes were imported into Virginia about the year 1621. *f In America, therefore, as well as in the rest of the globe, slavery originated in the South. Thence it spread from one settlement to another; but the number of slaves diminished towards the Northern States, and the negro population was always very limited in New England.

A century had scarcely elapsed since the foundation of the colonies, when the attention of the planters was struck by the extraordinary fact, that the provinces which were comparatively destitute of slaves, increased in population, in wealth, and in prosperity more rapidly than those which contained the greatest number of negroes. In the former, however, the inhabitants were obliged to cultivate the soil themselves, or by hired laborers; in the latter they were furnished with hands for which they paid no wages; yet although labor and expenses were on the one side, and ease with economy on the other, the former were in possession of the most advantageous system. This consequence seemed to be the more difficult to explain, since the settlers, who all belonged to the same European race, had the same habits, the same civilization, the same laws, and their shades of difference were extremely slight.

Time, however, continued to advance, and the Anglo-Americans, spreading beyond the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, penetrated farther and farther into the solitudes of the West; they met with a new soil and an unwonted climate; the obstacles which opposed them were of the most various character; their races intermingled, the inhabitants of the South went up towards the North, those of the North descended to the South; but in the midst of all these causes, the same result occurred at every step, and in general, the colonies in which there were no slaves became more populous and more rich than those in which slavery flourished. The more progress was made, the more was it shown that slavery, which is so cruel to the slave, is prejudicial to the master.

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But this truth was most satisfactorily demonstrated when civilization reached the banks of the Ohio. The stream which the Indians had distinguished by the name of Ohio, or Beautiful River, waters one of the most magnificent valleys that has ever been made the abode of man. Undulating lands extend upon both shores of the Ohio, whose soil affords inexhaustible treasures to the laborer; on either bank the air is wholesome and the climate mild, and each of them forms the extreme frontier of a vast State: That which follows the numerous windings of the Ohio upon the left is called Kentucky, that upon the right bears the name of the river. These two States only differ in a single respect; Kentucky has admitted slavery, but the State of Ohio has prohibited the existence of slaves within its borders.

Thus the traveller who floats down the current of the Ohio to the spot where that river falls into the Mississippi, may be said to sail between liberty and servitude; and a transient inspection of the surrounding objects will convince him as to which of the two is most favorable to mankind. Upon the left bank of the stream the population is rare; from time to time one descries a troop of slaves loitering in the half-desert fields; the primaeval forest recurs at every turn; society seems to be asleep, man to be idle, and nature alone offers a scene of activity and of life. From the right bank, on the contrary, a confused hum is heard which proclaims the presence of industry; the fields are covered with abundant harvests, the elegance of the dwellings announces the taste and activity of the laborer, and man appears to be in the enjoyment of that wealth and contentment which is the reward of labor. The State of Kentucky was founded in 1775, the State of Ohio only twelve years later; but twelve years are more in America than half a century in Europe, and, at the present day, the population of Ohio exceeds that of Kentucky by two hundred and fifty thousand souls. *j These opposite consequences of slavery and freedom may readily be understood, and they suffice to explain many of the differences which we remark between the civilization of antiquity and that of our own time.

Upon the left bank of the Ohio labor is confounded with the idea of slavery, upon the right bank it is identified with that of prosperity and improvement; on the one side it is degraded,

on the other it is honored; on the former territory no white laborers can be found, for they would be afraid of assimilating themselves to the negroes; on the latter no one is idle, for the white population extends its activity and its intelligence to every kind of employment. Thus the men whose task it is to cultivate the rich soil of Kentucky are ignorant and lukewarm; whilst those who are active and enlightened either do nothing or pass over into the State of Ohio, where they may work without dishonor.

It is true that in Kentucky the planters are not obliged to pay wages to the slaves whom they employ; but they derive small profits from their labor, whilst the wages paid to free workmen would be returned with interest in the value of their services. The free workman is paid, but he does his work quicker than the slave, and rapidity of execution is one of the great elements of economy. The white sells his services, but they are only purchased at the times at which they may be useful; the black can claim no remuneration for his toil, but the expense of his maintenance is perpetual; he must be supported in his old age as well as in the prime of manhood, in his profitless infancy as well as in the productive years of youth. Payment must equally be made in order to obtain the services of either class of men: the free workman receives his wages in money, the slave in education, in food, in care, and in clothing. The money which a master spends in the maintenance of his slaves goes gradually and in detail, so that it is scarcely perceived; the salary of the free workman is paid in a round sum, which appears only to enrich the individual who receives it, but in the end the slave has cost more than the free servant, and his labor is less productive.

The influence of slavery extends still further; it affects the character of the master, and imparts a peculiar tendency to his ideas and his tastes. Upon both banks of the Ohio, the character of the inhabitants is enterprising and energetic; but this vigor is very differently exercised in the two States. The white inhabitant of Ohio, who is obliged to subsist by his own exertions, regards temporal prosperity as the principal aim of his existence; and as the country which he occupies presents inexhaustible resources to his industry and ever-varying lures to his activity, his acquisitive ardor surpasses the ordinary limits of human cupidity: he is tormented by the desire of wealth, and he boldly enters upon every path which fortune opens to him; he becomes a sailor, a pioneer, an artisan, or a laborer with

the same indifference, and he supports, with equal constancy, the fatigues and the dangers incidental to these various professions; the resources of his intelligence are astonishing, and his avidity in the pursuit of gain amounts to a species of heroism.

But the Kentuckian scorns not only labor, but all the undertakings which labor promotes; as he lives in an idle independence, his tastes are those of an idle man; money loses a portion of its value in his eyes; he covets wealth much less than pleasure and excitement; and the energy which his neighbor devotes to gain, turns with him to a passionate love of field sports and military exercises; he delights in violent bodily exertion, he is familiar with the use of arms, and is accustomed from a very early age to expose his life in single combat. Thus slavery not only prevents the whites from becoming opulent, but even from desiring to become so.

As the same causes have been continually producing opposite effects for the last two centuries in the British colonies of North America, they have established a very striking difference between the commercial capacity of the inhabitants of the South and those of the North. At the present day it is only the Northern States which are in possession of shipping, manufactures, railroads, and canals. This difference is perceptible not only in comparing the North with the South, but in comparing the several Southern States. Almost all the individuals who carry on commercial operations, or who endeavor to turn slave labor to account in the most Southern districts of the Union, have emigrated from the North. The natives of the Northern States are constantly spreading over that portion of the American territory where they have less to fear from competition; they discover resources there which escaped the notice of the inhabitants; and, as they comply with a system which they do not approve, they succeed in turning it to better advantage than those who first founded and who still maintain it.

Were I inclined to continue this parallel, I could easily prove that almost all the differences which may be remarked between the characters of the Americans in the Southern and in the Northern States have originated in slavery; but this would divert me from my subject,

and my present intention is not to point out all the consequences of servitude, but those effects which it has produced upon the prosperity of the countries which have admitted it.

The influence of slavery upon the production of wealth must have been very imperfectly known in antiquity, as slavery then obtained throughout the civilized world; and the nations which were unacquainted with it were barbarous. And indeed Christianity only abolished slavery by advocating the claims of the slave; at the present time it may be attacked in the name of the master, and, upon this point, interest is reconciled with morality.

As these truths became apparent in the United States, slavery receded before the progress of experience. Servitude had begun in the South, and had thence spread towards the North; but it now retires again. Freedom, which started from the North, now descends uninterruptedly towards the South. Amongst the great States, Pennsylvania now constitutes the extreme limit of slavery to the North: but even within those limits the slave system is shaken: Maryland, which is immediately below Pennsylvania, is preparing for its abolition; and Virginia, which comes next to Maryland, is already discussing its utility and its dangers.

Of Individualism in Democratic Countries

I have shown how it is that in ages of equality every man seeks for his opinions within himself: I am now about to show how it is that, in the same ages, all his feelings are turned towards himself alone. Individualism is a novel expression, to which a novel idea has given birth. Our fathers were only acquainted with egotism. Egotism is a passionate and exaggerated love of self, which leads a man to connect everything with his own person, and to prefer himself to everything in the world. Individualism is a mature and calm feeling,

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which disposes each member of the community to sever himself from the mass of his fellow-creatures; and to draw apart with his family and his friends; so that, after he has thus formed a little circle of his own, he willingly leaves society at large to itself. Egotism originates in blind instinct: individualism proceeds from erroneous judgment more than from depraved feelings; it originates as much in the deficiencies of the mind as in the perversity of the heart. Egotism blights the germ of all virtue; individualism, at first, only saps the virtues of public life; but, in the long run, it attacks and destroys all others, and is at length absorbed in downright egotism. Egotism is a vice as old as the world, which does not belong to one form of society more than to another: individualism is of democratic origin, and it threatens to spread in the same ratio as the equality of conditions.

Amongst aristocratic nations, as families remain for centuries in the same condition, often on the same spot, all generations become as it were contemporaneous. A man almost always knows his forefathers, and respects them: he thinks he already sees his remote descendants, and he loves them. He willingly imposes duties on himself towards the former and the latter; and he will frequently sacrifice his personal gratifications to those who went before and to those who will come after him. Aristocratic institutions have, moreover, the effect of closely binding every man to several of his fellow-citizens. As the classes of an aristocratic people are strongly marked and permanent, each of them is regarded by its own members as a sort of lesser country, more tangible and more cherished than the country at large. As in aristocratic communities all the citizens occupy fixed positions, one above the other, the result is that each of them always sees a man above himself whose patronage is necessary to him, and below himself another man whose co-operation he may claim. Men living in aristocratic ages are therefore almost always closely attached to something placed out of their own sphere, and they are often disposed to forget themselves. It is true that in those ages the notion of human fellowship is faint, and that men seldom think of sacrificing themselves for mankind; but they often sacrifice themselves for other men. In democratic ages, on the contrary, when the duties of each individual to the race are much more clear, devoted service to any one man becomes more rare; the bond of human affection is extended, but it is relaxed.

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Amongst democratic nations new families are constantly springing up, others are constantly falling away, and all that remain change their condition; the woof of time is every instant broken, and the track of generations effaced. Those who went before are soon forgotten; of those who will come after no one has any idea: the interest of man is confined to those in close propinquity to himself. As each class approximates to other classes, and intermingles with them, its members become indifferent and as strangers to one another. Aristocracy had made a chain of all the members of the community, from the peasant to the king: democracy breaks that chain, and severs every link of it. As social conditions become more equal, the number of persons increases who, although they are neither rich enough nor powerful enough to exercise any great influence over their fellow-creatures, have nevertheless acquired or retained sufficient education and fortune to satisfy their own wants. They owe nothing to any man, they expect nothing from any man; they acquire the habit of always considering themselves as standing alone, and they are apt to imagine that their whole destiny is in their own hands. Thus not only does democracy make every man forget his ancestors, but it hides his descendants, and separates his contemporaries from him; it throws him back forever upon himself alone, and threatens in the end to confine him entirely within the solitude of his own heart.

Sen. Daniel Webster (NR-MA) & Sen. Robert Hayne (D-SC)

On the Resolution Concerning Federal Land Policy

Debate Excerpts

January 25-27, 1830

Webster-Hayne Debate

Background

Senators Daniel Webster of Massachusetts and Robert Hayne of South Carolina exchanged speeches in a debate concerning Senator Samuel Foot of Connecticut's resolution to abolish the office of Surveyor General and temporarily suspend the sale of new public lands.

Guiding Questions

1. How does Hayne understand the relationship between the federal government and state governments?

2. How does Webster understand the relationship between the federal government and state governments?

3. What preserves the Union and when should it be adapted or abolished, according to each senator?

Livingston, Edward and Clayton, John and Smith, William and Rowan, John and Benton, Thomas and Hayne, Robert and Webster, Daniel. *The Webster-Hayne Debate on the Nature of the Constitution: Selected Documents*. Liberty Fund, 1830.

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Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina
January 25, 1830

…Thus it will be seen, Mr. President, that the South Carolina doctrine is the republican doctrine of '98; that it was first promulgated by the Fathers of the Faith—that it was maintained by Virginia and Kentucky, in the worst of times—that it constituted the very pivot on which the political revolution of that day turned—that it embraced the very principles the triumph of which at that time "saved the Constitution at its last gasp;" and which New England Statesmen were not unwilling to adopt, when they believed themselves to be the victims of unconstitutional legislation! Sir, as to the doctrine that the Federal Government is the exclusive judge of the extent as well as the limitations of its powers, it seems to be utterly subversive of the sovereignty and independence of the States. It makes but little difference, in my estimation, whether Congress or the Supreme Court, are invested with this power. If the Federal Government, in all or any of its departments, are to prescribe the limits of its own authority; and the States are bound to submit to the decision, and are not to be allowed to examine and decide for themselves, when the barriers of the Constitution shall be overleaped, this is practically "a Government without limitation of powers;" the States are at once reduced to mere petty corporations, and the people are entirely at your mercy. I have but one word more to add. In all the efforts that have been made by South Carolina to resist the unconstitutional laws which Congress has extended over them, she has kept steadily in view the preservation of the Union, by the only means by which she believes it can be long preserved—a firm, manly, and steady resistance against usurpation. The measures of the Federal Government have, it is true, prostrated her interests, and will soon involve the whole South in irretrievable ruin. But this evil, great as it is, is not the chief ground of our complaints. It is the principle involved in the contest, a principle which, substituting the discretion of Congress for the limitations of the Constitution, brings the States and the people to the feet of the Federal Government, and leaves them nothing they can call their own. Sir, if the measures of the Federal Government were less oppressive, we should still strive against this usurpation. The South is acting on a principle she has always held sound—resistance to unauthorized taxation. These, Sir, are the principles which induced the immortal Hampden to resist the payment of a tax of

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twenty shillings—"Would twenty shillings have ruined his fortune? No—but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle on which it was demanded, would have made him a slave." Sir, if, in acting on these high motives—if, animated by that ardent love of liberty which has always been the most prominent trait in the Southern character, we should be hurried beyond the bounds of a cold and calculating prudence, who is there with one noble and generous sentiment in his bosom, who would not be disposed in the language of Burke, to exclaim, "you must pardon something to the spirit of liberty."

Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts
January 26 and 27, 1830

…If any thing be found in the National Constitution, either by original provision, or subsequent interpretation, which ought not to be in it, the People know how to get rid of it. If any construction be established, unacceptable to them, so as to become, practically, a part of the Constitution, they will amend it, at their own sovereign pleasure. But while the people choose to maintain it, as it is; while they are satisfied with it, and refuse to change it; who has given, or who can give, to the State Legislatures a right to alter it, either by interference, construction, or otherwise? Gentlemen do not seem to recollect that the People have any power to do any thing for themselves; they imagine there is no safety for them, any longer than they are under the close guardianship of the State Legislatures. Sir, the People have not trusted their safety, in regard to the general Constitution, to these hands. They have required other security, and taken other bonds. They have chosen to trust themselves, first, to the plain words of the instrument, and to such construction as the Government itself, in doubtful cases, should put on its own powers, under their oaths of office, and subject to their responsibility to them; just as the People of a State trust their own State Governments with a similar power. Secondly, they have reposed their trust in the efficacy of frequent elections, and in their own power to remove their own servants and agents, whenever they see cause. Thirdly, they have reposed trust in the Judicial power, which, in order that it might be trust-worthy, they have made as respectable, as disinterested, and as independent as was practicable. Fourthly, they have seen fit to rely, in

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case of necessity, or high expediency, on their known and admitted power, to alter or amend the Constitution, peaceably and quietly, whenever experience shall point out defects or imperfections. And, finally, the People of the United States have, at no time, in no way, directly or indirectly, authorized any State Legislature to construe or interpret their high instrument of Government; much less to interfere, by their own power, to arrest its course and operation.

If, sir, the People, in these respects, had done otherwise than they have done, their Constitution could neither have been preserved, nor would it have been worth preserving. And, if its plain provisions shall now be disregarded, and these new doctrines interpolated in it, it will become as feeble and helpless a being as its enemies, whether early or more recent, could possibly desire. It will exist in every State, but as a poor dependent on State permission. It must borrow leave to be; and will be, no longer than State pleasure, or State discretion, sees fit to grant the indulgence, and to prolong its poor existence.

But, sir, although there are fears, there are hopes also. The People have preserved this, their own chosen Constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown, grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault, it cannot be; evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not be, if we, and those who shall succeed us here, as agents and representatives of the People, shall conscientiously and vigilantly discharge the two great branches of our public trust—faithfully to preserve, and wisely to administer it.

Mr. President, I have thus stated the reasons of my dissent to the doctrines which have been advanced and maintained. I am conscious of having detained you and the Senate much too long. I was drawn into the debate, with no previous deliberation such as is suited to the discussion of so grave and important a subject. But it is a subject of which my heart is full, and I have not been willing to suppress the utterance of its spontaneous sentiments. I cannot, even now, persuade myself to relinquish it, without expressing, once more, my deep conviction, that, since it respects nothing less than the Union of the States, it is of most vital and essential importance to the public happiness. I profess, sir, in my career, hitherto, to

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have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home, and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influences, these great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and, although our territory has stretched out wider and wider, and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness. I have not allowed myself, sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty, when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken asunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion, to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this Government, whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union should be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the People when it shall be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that, in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in Heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance, rather behold the gorgeous Ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured—bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as, What is all this worth? Nor those other words of delusion and folly, Liberty first, and Union afterwards —but every where, spread all over

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in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole Heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen (National-Republican - NJ)

On the Bill for an Exchange of Lands with the Indians

Speech Excerpts

April 6, 1830
U.S. Senate Chamber | U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

Background

Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey delivered this speech in debate over the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which would have the federal government pursue treaties to move Native American tribes east of the Mississippi River to the west of the river.

Guiding Questions

1. What does Frelinghuysen request from the government?
2. If Georgia continues to encroach upon Indian territory, how should the government respond?
3. Who does Frelinghuysen quote to support his argument?
4. Why should the government protect the Indians?

Theodore Frelinghuysen, *On the Bill for an Exchange of Lands with the Indians Residing in any of the States or Territories, and for their Removal West of the Mississippi*, April 6, 1830. From the Digital Library of Georgia Internet Archives: https://archive.org/details/speechofmrfrelin00freliala/page/28/mode/2up/.

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…Let the General Government come out, as it should, with decided and temperate firmness and officially announce to Georgia, and the other States, that if the Indian tribes choose to remain, they will be protected against all interference and encroachment; and such is my confidence in the sense of justice, in the respect for law, prevailing in the great body of this portion of our fellow citizens, that I believe they would submit to the authority of the nation. I can expect no other issue. But if the General Government be urged to the crisis, never to be anticipated, of appealing to the last resort of her powers; and when reason, argument, and persuasion fail, to raise her strong arm to repress the violations of the supreme law of the land, I ask, is it not in her bond, Sir? Is her guaranty a rope of sand? This effective weapon has often been employed to chastise the poor Indians, sometimes with dreadful vengeance I fear, and shall not their protection avail to draw it from the scabbard? Permit me to refer the Senate to the views of Mr. Jefferson, directly connected with this delicate, yet sacred duty of protection. In 1791, when he was Secretary of State, there were some symptoms of collision on the Indian subject. This induced the letter from him to General Knox, then our Secretary of War, a part of which I will read:

"I am of opinion that Government should firmly maintain this ground: that the Indians have a right to the occupation of their lands, independent of the States within whose chartered limits they happen to be; that until they cede them by treaty, or other transaction equivalent to a treaty, no act of a State can give a right to such lands; that neither under the present constitution, nor the ancient confederation, had any State or persons a right to treat with the Indians, without the consent of the General Government; that that consent has never been given by any treaty for the cession of the lands in question; that the Government is determined to exert all its energy for the patronage and protection of the rights of the Indians, and the preservation of peace between the United States and them; and that if any settlements are made on lands not ceded by them, without the previous consent of the United States, the Government will think itself bound, not only to declare to the Indians that such settlements are without the authority or protection of the United States, but to remove them also by public force."

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Mr. Jefferson seems to have been disturbed by no morbid sensibilities. He speaks out as became a determined statesman. We can trace in this document the same spirit which shed its influence on a more eventful paper—the declaration of our rights, and of our purpose to maintain and defend them. He looked right onward, in the broad path of public duty; and if, in his way, he met the terrors of State collision and conflict, he was in no degree intimidated. The faith of treaties was his guide; and he would not flinch in his purposes, nor surrender the Indians to State encroachments. Let such decided policy go forth in the majesty of our laws now, and, Sir, Georgia will yield. She will never encounter the responsibilities or the horrors of a civil war. But if she should, no stains of blood will be on our skirts—on herself the guild will abide forever.

Mr. President, if we abandon these aboriginal proprietors of our soil—these early allies and adopted children of our forefathers, how shall we justify it to our country? To all the glory of the past, and the promise of the future? Her *good name* is worth all else besides that contributes to her greatness. And, as I regard this crisis in her history, the time has come when this unbought treasure shall be plucked from dishonor, or abandoned to reproach.

How shall we justify this trespass to ourselves? Sir, we may deride it, and laugh it to scorn now; but the occasion *will* meet every man, when he *must* look inward, and make honest inquisition there. Let us beware how, by oppressive encroachments upon the sacred privileges of our Indian neighbors, we minister to the agonies of future remorse.

I have, in my humble measure, attempted to discharge a public and most solemn duty towards an interesting portion of my fellow men. Should it prove to have been as fruitless as I know it to be below the weight of their claims, yet even then, Sir, it will have its consolations. Defeat in such a cause is far above the triumphs of unrighteous power—and in the language of an eloquent writer—"I had rather receive the blessing of one poor Cherokee, as he casts his last look back upon his country, for having, though in vain, attempted to prevent his banishment, than to sleep beneath the marble of all the Caesars…."

General Council of the Cherokee Nation

Address to the People of the United States

Address Excerpts

July 1830

Background

The General Council of the Cherokee Nation made this appeal to the American people and its representatives, written primarily, it is believed, by Cherokee Chief John Ross.

Guiding Questions

1. When did United States policy towards the Cherokee change, according to Ross?

2. What does Ross believe will be some of the consequences if the Cherokee are forced to move?

3. What is the essence of Ross's final argument for why the United States should not force the Cherokee to move?

E.C. Tracy, *Memoir of the Life of Jeremiah Evarts, Late Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1845): 444-448.

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…[I]n the midst of our sorrows, we do not forget our obligations to our friends and benefactors. It was with sensations of inexpressionable joy that we have learned that the voice of thousands in many parts of the United States has been raised in our behalf, and the numerous memorials offered in our favor, in both houses of Congress. . . .Our special thanks are due however, to those honorable men, who so ably and eloquently asserted our rights, in both branches of the national legislature. . . .

Before we close this address, permit us to state what we conceive to be our relations with the United States. After the peace of 1785, the Cherokees were an independent people; absolutely so, so much as any people on earth. They had been allies to Great Britain, and as a faithful ally, took a part in the colonial war on her side…. [Great Britain] acknowledged the independence of the United States and made peace. The Cherokees therefore stood alone; and in these circumstances continued the war. They were then under no obligations to the United States any more than to Great Britain, France, or Spain. The United States never subjugated the Cherokees; on the contrary, our fathers remained in possession of their country, and with arms in their hands.

The people of the United States sought a peace; and, in 1785, the Treaty of Hopewell was formed, by which the Cherokees came under the protection of the United States and submitted to such limitation of sovereignty as are mentioned in that instrument. None of these limitations however, effected in the slightest degree their rights of self-government and inviolate territory.

. . . When the federal Constitution was adopted the Treaty of Hopewell was contained, with all other treaties, as the supreme law of the land. In 1791, the Treaty of Holston was made, by which the sovereignty of the Cherokees was qualified as follows: The Cherokees acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other sovereign. They engaged that they would not hold any treaty with a foreign power, with any separate state of the Union, or with individuals. They agreed that the United States should have the exclusive right of regulating their trade; that the citizens of the United States have a right of way in one direction through the Cherokee country; and that if an

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Indian should do injury to a citizen of the United States, he should be delivered up to be tried and punished. A cession of lands was also made to the United States. On the other hand, the United States paid a sum of money; offered protection; engaged to punish citizens of the United States who should do any injury to the Cherokees; abandoned white settlers on Cherokee lands to the discretion of the Cherokees, stipulated that white men should not hunt on these lands, nor even enter the country without a passport; and gave a solemn guaranty of all Cherokees lands not ceded. This treaty is the basis of all subsequent compacts; and in none of them are the relations of the parties at all changed.

The Cherokees have always fulfilled their engagements. . . .

The people of the United States will have the fairness to reflect that all the treaties between them and the Cherokees were made at the sole invitation and for the benefit of the whites; that valuable considerations were given for every stipulation, on the part of the United States; that it is impossible to reinstate the parties in their former situation; that there are now hundreds of thousands of citizens of the United States residing upon lands ceded by the Cherokees in these very treaties, and that our people have trusted their country to the guaranty of the United States. If this guaranty fails them, in what can they trust, and where can they look for protection?

We are aware that some persons suppose it will be for our advantage to remove beyond the Mississippi. We think otherwise. Our people universally think otherwise. Thinking that it would be fatal to their interests, they have almost to a man sent their memorial to Congress, deprecating the necessity of a removal. . . .It is incredible that Georgia should ever have enacted the oppressive laws, to which reference is here made, unless she had supposed that something extremely terrific in its character was necessary in order to make the Cherokees willing to remove. We are not willing to remove; and if we could be brought to this extremity, it would be not by argument, not because our judgment was satisfied, not because our condition will be improved; but only because we cannot endure to be deprived of our national and individual rights and subjected to a process of intolerable oppression.

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We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to claim without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guaranty our residence, and our privileges and secure us against intruders. Our only request is that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws executed.

But if we are compelled to leave our country, we see nothing but ruin before us. The country west of the Arkansas territory is unknown to us. From what we can learn of it, we have no prepossessions in its favor. All the inviting parts of it, as we believe, are preoccupied by various Indian nations, to which it has become assigned. They would regard us as intruders and look upon us with an evil eye. The far greater part of that region is, beyond all controversy, badly supplied with wood and water; and no Indian tribe can live as agriculturists without these articles. All our neighbors in case of our removal, though crowded into our near vicinity, would speak a language totally different from ours and practice different customs. The original possessors of that region are now wandering savages, lurking for prey in the neighborhood. They have always been at war, and would be easily tempted to turn their arms against peaceful emigrants. Were the country to which we are urged much better than it is represented to be, and were it free from objections which we have made to it, still it is not the land of our birth, nor of our affections. It contains neither the scenes of our childhood, nor the graves of our fathers. . . .

It is under a sense of the most pungent feelings that we make this, perhaps our last appeal to the good people of the United States. . . . Shall we be compelled by a civilized and Christian people, with whom we have lived in perfect peace for the last forty years, and for whom we have willingly bled in war, to bid a final adieu to our homes, our farms, our streams, and our beautiful forests? No. We are still firm. We intend still to cling with our wonted affection to the land which gave us birth and which every day of our lives brings to us new and stronger ties of attachment. . . . On the soil which contains the ashes of our beloved men we wish to live—on this soil we wish to die.

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We entreat those to whom the preceding paragraphs are addressed to remember the great law of love, "Do to others as ye would that others should do to you." Let them remember that of all nations on the earth, they are under the greatest obligations to obey this law. We pray them to remember that, for the sake of principle, their forefathers were compelled to leave, therefore driven from the old world, and that the winds of persecution wafted them over the great waters and landed them on the shores of the new world, when the Indian was the sole lord and proprietor of these extensive domains. Let them remember in what way they were received by the savage of America, when power was in his hand, and his ferocity could not be restrained by any human arm. We urge them to bear in mind that those who would now ask of them a cup of cold water, and a spot of earth, a portion of their own patrimonial possessions on which to live and die in peace, are the descendants of those, whose origin as inhabitants of North America history and tradition are alike insufficient to reveal. Let them bring to remembrance all these facts, and they cannot, and we are sure they will not, fail to remember and sympathize with us in these our trials and sufferings.

PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON (D-TN)

Annual Message to Congress

LETTER EXCERPTS

December 6, 1830
Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Andrew Jackson sent his second Annual Message to Congress in 1830, as required by the Constitution.

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…It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the Government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual States, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the Government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the General and State Governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north and Louisiana on the south to the settlement of the whites it will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier and render the adjacent States strong enough to repel future invasions without remote aid. It will relieve the whole State of Mississippi and the

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President Andrew Jackson's Message to Congress "On Indian Removal"; 12/6/1830; Presidential Messages, 1789 - 1875; Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46; National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

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western part of Alabama of Indian occupancy, and enable those States to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power. It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the States; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community.

What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization and religion?

The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern States were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward, and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to land where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual. Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children by thousands yearly leave the land of their birth to seek new homes in distant regions. Does Humanity weep at these painful separations from everything, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and facilities of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds and almost thousands of miles at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new homes from

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the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this Government when, by events which it can not control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions! If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled, civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the General Government toward the red man is not only liberal, but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the States and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the General Government kindly offers him a new home, and proposes to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement….

PRESIDENT ANDREW JACKSON (D-TN)

Veto Message from the President of the United States, returning the Bank Bill, with his objections, &c.

LETTER EXCERPTS

July 10, 1832
Washington, D.C.

BACKGROUND

President Andrew Jackson sent this message to the Senate accompany his veto of a bill passed to re-charter the Bank of the United States.

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…It is maintained by the advocates of the bank that its constitutionality in all its features ought to be considered as settled by precedent and by the decision of the Supreme Court. To this conclusion I cannot assent. Mere precedent is a dangerous source of authority, and should not be regarded as deciding questions of constitutional power except where the acquiescence of the people and the states can be considered as well settled. So far from this being the case on this subject, an argument against the bank might be based on precedent. One Congress, in 1791, decided in favor of a bank; another, in 1811, decided against it. One Congress, in 1815, decided against a bank; another, in 1816, decided in its favor. Prior to the present Congress, therefore, the precedents drawn from that source were equal. If we resort to the states, the expressions of legislative, judicial, and executive opinions against the bank have been probably to those in its favor as four to one. There is nothing in precedent, therefore, which, if its authority were admitted, ought to weigh in favor of the act before me.

Andrew Jackson, "Veto message from the President of the United States, returning the bank bill, with his objections, &c. To the Senate . . ." Washington, Herald Office, 1832.

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If the opinion of the Supreme Court covered the whole ground of this act, it ought not to control the coordinate authorities of this government. The Congress, the Executive, and the Court must each for itself be guided by its own opinion of the Constitution. Each public officer who takes an oath to support the Constitution swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others. It is as much the duty of the House of Representatives, of the Senate, and of the president to decide upon the constitutionality of any bill or resolution which may be presented to them for passage or approval as it is of the supreme judges when it may be brought before them for judicial decision. The opinion of the judges has no more authority over Congress than the opinion of Congress has over the judges, and on that point the president is independent of both. The authority of the Supreme Court must not, therefore, be permitted to control the Congress or the Executive when acting in their legislative capacities, but to have only such influence as the force of their reasoning may deserve….

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law; but when the laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics, and laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors to themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government. There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as Heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.

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Nor is our government to be maintained or our Union preserved by invasions of the rights and powers of the several states. In thus attempting to make our general government strong we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and states as much as possible to themselves—in making itself felt not in its power, but in its beneficence; not in its control, but in its protection; not in binding the states more closely to the center, but leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper orbit.

Experience should teach us wisdom. Most of the difficulties our government now encounters and most of the dangers which impend over our Union have sprung from an abandonment of the legitimate objects of government by our national legislation, and the adoption of such principles as are embodied in this act. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by act of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires we have in the results of our legislation arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundations of our Union. It is time to pause in our career to review our principles, and if possible revive that devoted patriotism and spirit of compromise which distinguished the sages of the Revolution and the fathers of our Union. If we cannot at once, in justice to interests vested under improvident legislation, make our government what it ought to be, we can at least take a stand against all new grants of monopolies and exclusive privileges, against any prostitution of our government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many, and in favor of compromise and gradual reform in our code of laws and system of political economy.

I have now done my duty to my country. If sustained by my fellow citizens, I shall be grateful and happy; if not, I shall find in the motives which impel me ample grounds for contentment and peace. In the difficulties which surround us and the dangers which threaten our institutions there is cause for neither dismay nor alarm. For relief and deliverance let us firmly rely on that kind Providence which I am sure watches with peculiar care over the destinies of our Republic, and on the intelligence and wisdom of our

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countrymen. Through His abundant goodness and heir patriotic devotion our liberty and Union will be preserved.

Sen. John C. Calhoun (D-SC)

On the Reception of Abolition Petitions

Speech Excerpt

February 6, 1837
U.S. Senate Chamber, U.S. Capitol | Washington, D.C.

Background

John C. Calhoun delivered this speech in the U.S. Senate in response to petitions submitted by abolitionists demanding an end to slavery in the District of Columbia and the abolition of the slave trade across state lines.

Guiding Questions

1. What does Calhoun argue to be the effect of enslavement in America on African Americans? Why?

2. In which ways does Calhoun take exception to northern criticism of the effects of slavery on European Americans?

3. What does Calhoun mean by a "positive good"? What evidence does he claim to support his assertion?

4. How does Calhoun argue that slaves are treated better than laborers in the north?

5. If slavery were to be abolished, what is Calhoun's fear?

6. What do Calhoun's tone and words suggest about the changing stance of southerners on the issue of slavery, especially with respect to northern criticism and policies against it?

John C. Calhoun, *Union and Liberty: The Political Philosophy of John C. Calhoun,* ed. Ross M. Lence (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992), 472-76.

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…Abolition and Union cannot co-exist. As the friend of the Union I openly proclaim it, and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time it will be beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events. We of the South will not, cannot, surrender our institutions. To maintain the existing relations between the two races, inhabiting that section of the Union, is indispensable to the peace and happiness of both. It cannot be subverted without drenching the country in blood, and extirpating one or the other of the races. Be it good or bad, it has grown up with out society and institutions, and is so interwoven with them, that to destroy it would be to destroy us as a people. But let me not be understood as admitting, even by implication, that the existing relations between the two races in slaveholding States is an evil—far otherwise; I hold it to be a good, as it has thus far proved itself to be to both, and will continue to prove so if not disturbed by the fell spirit of abolition. I appeal to facts. Never before has the black race of Central Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, attained a condition so civilized and so improved, not only physically, but morally and intellectually. It came among us in a low, degraded, and savage condition, and in the course of a few generations it has grown up under the fostering care of our institutions, reviled as they have been to its present comparatively civilized condition. This, with the rapid increase of numbers, is conclusive proof of the general happiness of the race, in spite of all the exaggerated tales to the contrary. In the mean time, the white or European race has not degenerated. It has kept pace with its brethren in other sections of the Union where slavery does not exist. It is odious to make comparison; but I appeal to all sides whether the South is not equal in virtue, intelligence, patriotism, courage, disinterestedness, and all the high qualities which adorn our nature. I ask whether we have not contributed our full share of talents and political wisdom in forming and sustaining this political fabric; and whether we have not constantly inclined most strongly to the side of liberty, and been the first to see and first to resist the encroachments of power. In one thing only are we inferior—the arts of gain; we acknowledge that we are less wealthy than the Northern section of this Union, but I trace this mainly to the fiscal action of this Government, which has extracted much from and spent little among us. Had it been the reverse—if the exaction had been from the other section, and the expenditure with us, this point of superiority would not be against us now, as it was not at the formation

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of this Government. But I take higher ground. I hold that in the present state of civilization, where two races of different origin, and distinguished by color, and other physical differences, as well as intellectual, are brought together, the relation now existing in the slaveholding States between the two, is, instead of an evil, a good—a positive good. I feel myself called upon to speak freely upon the subject where the honor and interests of those I represent are involved. I hold then that there never has yet existed a wealthy and civilized society in which one portion of the community did not, in point of fact, live on the labor of the other. Broad and general as is this assertion, it is fully borne out by history. This is not the proper occasion, but if it were, it would not be difficult to trace the various devices by which the wealth of all civilized communities has been so unequally divided, and to show by what means so small a share has been allotted to those by whose labor it was produced, and so large a share given to the non-producing classes. The devices are almost innumerable, from the brute force and gross superstition of ancient times, to the subtle and artful fiscal contrivances of modern. I might well challenge a comparison between them and the more direct, simple, and patriarchal mode by which the labor of the African race is, among us, commanded by the European. I may say with truth, that in few countries so much is left to the share of the laborer, and so little exacted from him, or where there is more kind attention paid to him in sickness or infirmities of age. Compare his condition with the tenants of the poor houses in the more civilized portions of Europe—look at the sick, and the old and infirm slave, on one hand, in the midst of his family and friends, under the kind superintending care of his master and mistress, and compare it with the forlorn and wretched condition of the pauper in the poor house. But I will not dwell on this aspect of the question; I turn to the political; and here I fearlessly assert that the existing relation between the two races in the South, against which these blind fanatics are waging war, forms the most solid and durable foundation on which to rear free and stable political institutions. It is useless to disguise the fact. There is and always has been in an advanced stage of wealth and civilization, a conflict between labor and capital. The condition of society in the South exempts us from the disorders and dangers resulting from this conflict; and which explains why it is that the political condition of the slaveholding States has been so much more stable and quiet than that of the North. The advantages of the former, in this

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respect, will become more and more manifest if left undisturbed by interference from without, as the country advances in wealth and numbers. We have, in fact, but just entered that condition of society where the strength and durability of our political institutions are to be tested; and I venture nothing in predicting that the experience of the next generation will fully test how vastly more favorable our condition of society is to that of other sections for free and stable institutions, provided we are not disturbed by the interference of others, or shall have sufficient intelligence and spirit to resist promptly and successfully such interference. It rests with ourselves to meet and repel them. I look not for aid to this Government, or to the other States; not but there are kind feelings towards us on the part of the great body of the nonslaveholding States; but as kind as their feelings may be, we may rest assured that no political party in those States will risk their ascendency for our safety. If we do not defend ourselves none will defend us; if we yield we will be more and more pressed as we recede; and if we submit we will be trampled under foot. Be assured that emancipation itself would not satisfy these fanatics—that gained, the next step would be to raise the negroes to a social and political equality with the whites; and that being effected, we would soon find the present condition of the two races reversed. They and their northern allies would be the masters, and we the slaves; the condition of the white race in the British West India Islands, bad as it is, would be happiness to ours. There the mother country is interested in sustaining the supremacy of the European race. It is true that the authority of the former master is destroyed, but the African will there still be a slave, not to individuals but to the community,—forced to labor, not by the authority of the overseer, but by the bayonet of the soldiery and the rod of the civil magistrate. Surrounded as the slaveholding States are with such imminent perils, I rejoice to think that our means of defence are ample, if we shall prove to have the intelligence and spirit to see and apply them before it is too late. All we want is concert, to lay aside all party differences, and unite with zeal and energy in repelling approaching dangers. Let there be concert of action, and we shall find ample means of security without resorting to secession or disunion. I speak with full knowledge and a thorough examination of the subject, and for one, see my way clearly. One thing alarms me—the eager pursuit of gain which overspreads the land, and which absorbs every faculty of the mind and every feeling of the heart. Of all passions avarice is the most blind and

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compromising—the last to see and the first to yield to danger. I dare not hope that any thing I can say will arouse the South to a due sense of danger; I fear it is beyond the power of mortal voice to awaken it in time from the fatal security into which it has fallen.

JOHN LOUIS O'SULLIVAN

"The Great Nation of Futurity"

EDITORIAL EXCERPTS

November 6, 1839
The United States Democratic Review

BACKGROUND

The United States Democratic Review's founder and editor, John Louis O'Sullivan, published this editorial in 1839.

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. Where does America derive its origins from, according to O'Sullivan?
2. What are the principles of America?
3. What is America's destiny?

John Louis O'Sullivan, "The Great Nation of Futurity," *The United States Democratic Review* (6 November 1839): 426-30.

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The American people having derived their origin from many other nations, and the Declaration of National Independence being entirely based on the great principle of human equality, these facts demonstrate at once our disconnected position as regards any other nation; that we have, in reality, but little connection with the past history of any of them, and still less with all antiquity, its glories, or its crimes. On the contrary, our national birth was the beginning of a new history, the formation and progress of an untried political system, which separates us from the past and connects us with the future only; and so far as regards the entire development of the natural rights of man, in moral, political, and national life, we may confidently assume that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity.

It is so destined, because the principle upon which a nation is organized fixes its destiny, and that of equality is perfect, is universal. It presides in all the operations of the physical world, and it is also the conscious law of the soul—the self-evident dictates of morality, which accurately defines the duty of man to man, and consequently man's rights as man. Besides, the truthful annals of any nation furnish abundant evidence, that its happiness, its greatness, its duration, were always proportionate to the democratic equality in its system of government. . . .

What friend of human liberty, civilization, and refinement, can cast his view over the past history of the monarchies and aristocracies of antiquity, and not deplore that they ever existed? What philanthropist can contemplate the oppressions, the cruelties, and injustice inflicted by them on the masses of mankind, and not turn with moral horror from the retrospect?

America is destined for better deeds. It is our unparalleled glory that we have no reminiscences of battle fields, but in defence of humanity, of the oppressed of all nations, of the rights of conscience, the rights of personal enfranchisement. Our annals describe no scenes of horrid carnage, where men were led on by hundreds of thousands to slay one another, dupes and victims to emperors, kings, nobles, demons in the human form called heroes. We have had patriots to defend our homes, our liberties, but no aspirants to crowns

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or thrones; nor have the American people ever suffered themselves to be led on by wicked ambition to depopulate the land, to spread desolation far and wide, that a human being might be placed on a seat of supremacy.

We have no interest in the scenes of antiquity, only as lessons of avoidance of nearly all their examples. The expansive future is our arena, and for our history. We are entering on its untrodden space, with the truths of God in our minds, beneficent objects in our hearts, and with a clear conscience unsullied by the past. We are the nation of human progress, and who will, what can, set limits to our onward march? Providence is with us, and no earthly power can. We point to the everlasting truth on the first page of our national declaration, and we proclaim to the millions of other lands, that "the gates of hell"—the powers of aristocracy and monarchy—"shall not prevail against it."

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High—the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere—its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood—of "peace and good will amongst men.". . .

Yes, we are the nation of progress, of individual freedom, of universal enfranchisement. Equality of rights is the cynosure of our union of States, the grand exemplar of the correlative equality of individuals; and while truth sheds its effulgence, we cannot retrograde, without dissolving the one and subverting the other. We must onward to the fulfilment of our mission—to the entire development of the principle of our organization —freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality. This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man—the immutable truth

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and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen; and her high example shall smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than that of beasts of the field. Who, then, can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?