

not constitutional? The states? Congress? The President? The courts? The Constitution itself did not provide a clear answer, but people had plenty of opinions on the matter. States' rights advocates such as Jefferson argued that since the states had ratified the Constitution in the first place, state governments had the power to interpret it. Chief Justice John Marshall, however, said this power belonged to the Supreme Court.

Marshall's view became apparent in the first of his landmark decisions, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). In this case the Court declared for the first time that a law passed by Congress was unconstitutional. More than half a century would pass before the Court struck down another federal law. But Marshall had established a principle crucial to the operation of the American government: the power of judicial review.

SECTION REVIEW

1. KEY TERMS XYZ Affair, Alien and Sedition Acts, Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, states' rights, *Marbury v. Madison*

2. PEOPLE Talleyrand, Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr

3. COMPREHENSION Why did Congress pass the Alien and Sedition Acts? What was the response of the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures?

4. COMPREHENSION How and why did the Republicans try to undo Hamilton's financial system?

5. CRITICAL THINKING It is sometimes said that the power to appoint judges is one of the strongest powers a President has. Why, do you think, might this be true?

4 Jefferson Looks West

Section Focus

Key Terms Louisiana Purchase ■ Lewis and Clark expedition

Main Idea In 1800 the movement of people was bringing rapid change to the Trans-Appalachian West. Jefferson's foreign policy, weighted toward the concerns of westerners and southerners, resulted in the acquisition of new lands for the United States.

Objectives As you read, look for answers to these questions:

1. What changes were taking place on the Pacific Coast? What changes were taking place on the Great Plains?
2. How did events in the West Indies affect the course of American history?
3. What effect did the frontier have on Jefferson's foreign policy?

"This is a great country, the most peaceful and quiet country in the world," the new arrival wrote home. "One lives better here than in the most cultured court in Europe." The new arrival was Diego de Borica, appointed by Spain in 1794 to be governor of its colony of California. Borica probably knew little about the struggling new republic on the other side of the continent. But that republic—the United States—was taking a more active interest in events taking place to its south and west.

CHANGES ALONG THE PACIFIC COAST

The entire continent of North America was undergoing change in 1800. This was caused by European rivalry, movements of people, new technology, new trading patterns, and new ideas. Americans were involved in some of this change, but not all of it.

The Pacific Coast was one region experiencing change. Spain had once claimed the entire coast. By 1800, however, it was forced to share its claim to the Pacific Northwest, where other nations

SPANISH SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA



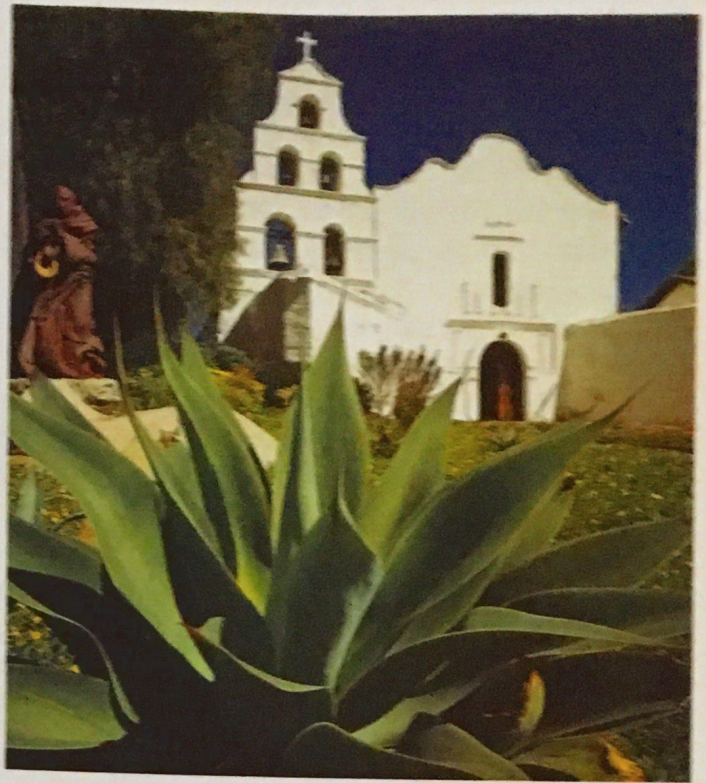
MAP SKILLS

The Spanish called the road connecting their California missions El Camino Real, or “the king’s road.” The road began at San Diego in the south and followed the coast north to San Francisco. **CRITICAL THINKING** Why might Spain have decided not to settle the area north of San Francisco?

were establishing a presence. In the 1740s the Russians had begun to establish fur trading outposts in Alaska. They gradually moved southward along the coast in search of sea otters and seals. By 1812 their influence extended as far as Fort Ross, just north of present-day San Francisco.

Spain had become so nervous about the Russian move toward its territory that it decided to colonize California. Spain had claimed California 200 years before, but not until 1770 did it proceed to settle the region.

Spanish settlement of California was carried out in the Spanish tradition of using both soldiers and missionaries. Captain Gaspar de Portolá and Fa-



Father Junípero Serra established a series of missions along the California coast. The Franciscan mission church at San Diego, founded by Serra in 1769, appears above. San Diego remained under Spanish rule until 1846. **HISTORY** Why did Spain decide to colonize California?

ther Junípero Serra established the first mission settlement at San Diego in 1769. During the next 50 years a chain of 21 mission outposts, each a day’s march from the next, was set up along the California coast.

At the same time, British Canadians were pushing westward. In 1793 the great explorer Alexander MacKenzie became the first white man to cross North America on land and reach the Pacific. His feat gave the British a claim to the Pacific Northwest.

Stalwart Yankee traders were also reaching the Northwest by sailing around the southern tip of the Americas at Cape Horn. In 1792 Captain Robert Gray discovered the mouth of the river that now divides the states of Washington and Oregon. He named the river “Columbia” after his ship, and claimed the region for the United States. By 1800 so many New Englanders were trading along the Oregon coast that the Indians called all white men “Bostons.”

CHANGES ON THE GREAT PLAINS

Spain claimed most of the North American interior, but in name only. Except for Spanish settlements in southeast Texas and in the Rio Grande Valley as far as Santa Fe, Spanish power was scant. In the former French territory of Louisiana, river towns such as St. Louis remained French in culture.

Meanwhile, change was taking place in the Great Plains. The horse, introduced to America by the Spaniards, had triggered a social and economic revolution among the Indians that bordered the Plains. As tribe after tribe learned to ride, they moved onto the Plains. With the horse, the Plains Indians easily hunted buffalo, which became their principal food. With more leisure, the Plains Indians turned to art. The men painted tepees and shields; the women created beautiful clothing decorated with intricate beadwork and quill embroidery. It was the golden age of Plains culture.

AMERICAN PIONEERS IN TRANS-APPALACHIA

Even as Plains culture was reaching its peak, farther to the east a development was taking place that would one day doom the Plains Indians. This was the Americans' steady westward migration. Settlers by the thousands were spilling over the Appalachians. By 1800 Kentucky and Tennessee were both states, and Ohio would enter the Union in 1803. As the numbers of westerners grew, so did their political influence. For instance, in 1800 the Jefferson-Burr ticket won every state that had a sizable frontier population.

The society that was developing on the Trans-Appalachian frontier differed from earlier frontiers. The frontier family was as distant in time from Boston or New York as those cities were from London or Paris. Removed from the traditions and attitudes of the Eastern Seaboard, frontier people developed their own.

"The Mississippi boatman and the squatter on Indian lands were perhaps the most distinctly American type then existing," wrote historian Henry Adams. "Their language and their imagination showed contact with Indians." As an example he quoted the following exchange between two boatmen as the prelude to a fight.

"I am a man; I am a horse; I am a team," cried one voice; "I can whip any man in all Kentucky, by God!" "I am an alligator," cried the other; "half man, half horse; can whip any man on the Mississippi, by God!" "I am a man," shouted the first; "have the best horse, best dog, best gun, and hand-somest wife in all Kentucky, by God!" "I am a Mississippi snapping-turtle," rejoined the second; "have bear's claws, alligator's teeth, and the devil's tail; can whip any man, by God."

In their crude log cabins set amidst an acre or two of cleared land, the pioneers lived with the possibility of Indian attack and the near-certainty of fever and sickness. Those who had moved west because they were poor often stayed to build a life for themselves and to become part of a community. Those for whom the West meant adventure and independence were likely to pick up and move on as soon as they could see the smoke from a neighbor's chimney.

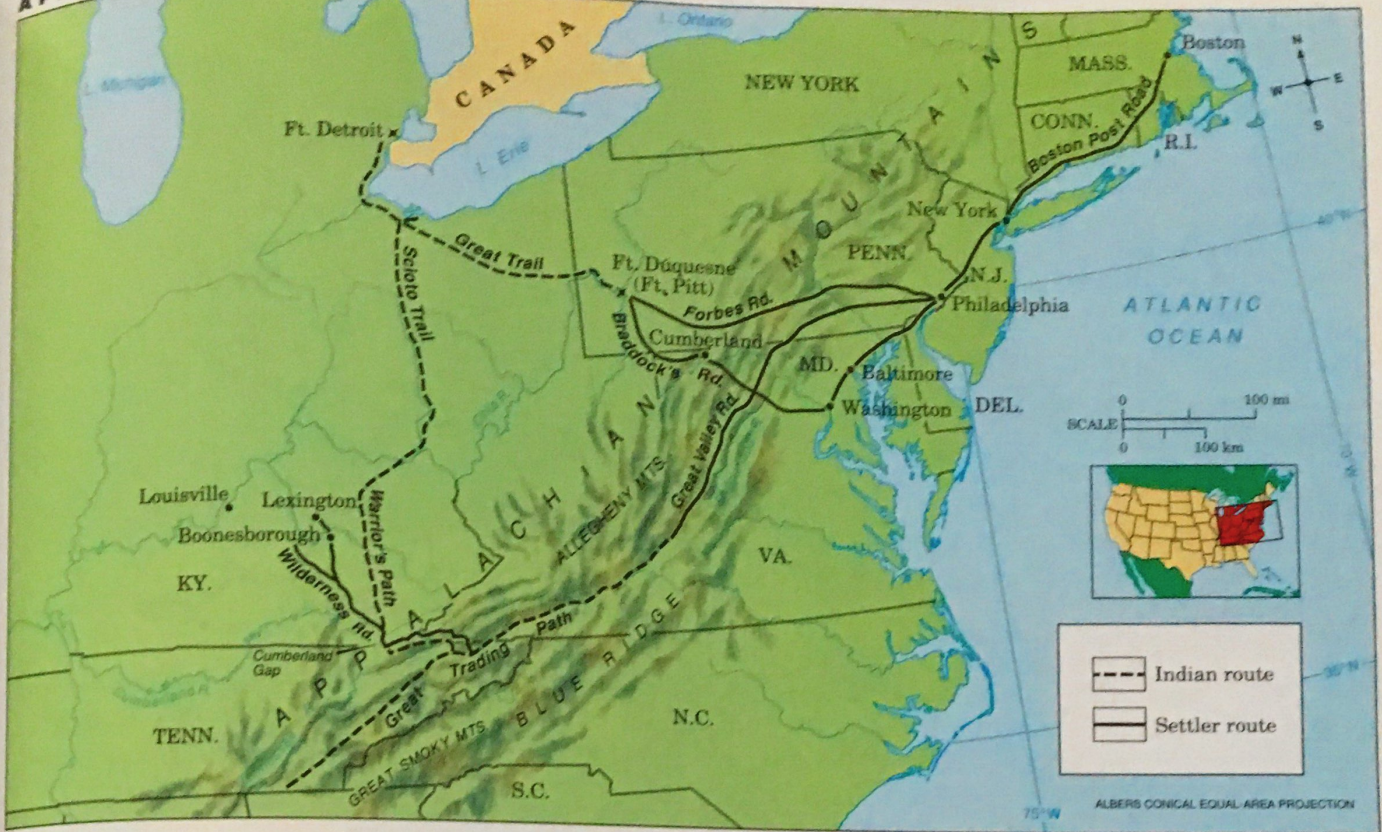
TRADE AND TURMOIL IN THE WEST INDIES

Since 1793 American trade had thrived, in part as a result of Federalist efforts to encourage commerce. American trade also benefited from the disruptions caused by the French Revolution. France, Britain, and other nations caught up in warfare needed food and supplies. No wonder wise Americans favored neutrality!

More than one-third of American trade took place with the West Indies. Within those islands the most important market was Hispaniola. France controlled the western half of the island (now Haiti), while Spain controlled the eastern half (now the Dominican Republic). The French colony on Hispaniola was the jewel of the French empire. Its production of sugar, coffee, indigo, and cotton was responsible for two-thirds of France's total commerce. This rich commerce depended on the labor of half a million black slaves.

The French Revolution provoked turmoil on Hispaniola. Inspired by revolutionary ideals of liberty and equality, the colony's slaves rebelled. They took control of the island under the brilliant leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture (loo-vayr-TOOR).

APPALACHIAN CROSSINGS



MAP SKILLS

The Appalachian Mountains, consisting of many small mountain ranges, hindered westward expansion. This map shows the routes that pioneers used to cross the Appalachians. What obstacles did these settlers face? **CRITICAL THINKING** How did western settlement further American policy goals?

Born a slave, but the grandson of an African chief, he was able to establish his rule over the whole colony. The Federalists, eager to woo Hispaniola from French influence, had given Toussaint military aid in exchange for trading privileges.



BIOGRAPHY

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE (1743–1803) is remembered as the liberator of Haiti and one of history's great generals. Toussaint was a slave until the age of 48, when he led the first successful slave revolt in history. When Napoleon sought to re-establish slavery in Haiti, Toussaint's armies defeated the French, but Toussaint himself was captured and died in prison.

THE WEST AND FOREIGN POLICY

When Jefferson became President, American foreign policy underwent a subtle but important shift. During his administration the concerns of westerners and southerners weighed more heavily than the commercial interests of the northeastern states.

The news that blacks had rebelled and were governing Hispaniola unnerved every American slaveowner. One-third of the southern population was black. As a slaveowner himself, Jefferson felt little sympathy for Toussaint L'Ouverture. He also was a well-known admirer of France. Thus, when Napoleon asked for American help in putting down the rebellion, Jefferson promised it. (Nothing came of this promise, however.)

What Jefferson did not know was that Napoleon's plans went further than Hispaniola. Napoleon now had Spain in his grip and was demanding the return of Louisiana. Napoleon planned to

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803



MAP SKILLS

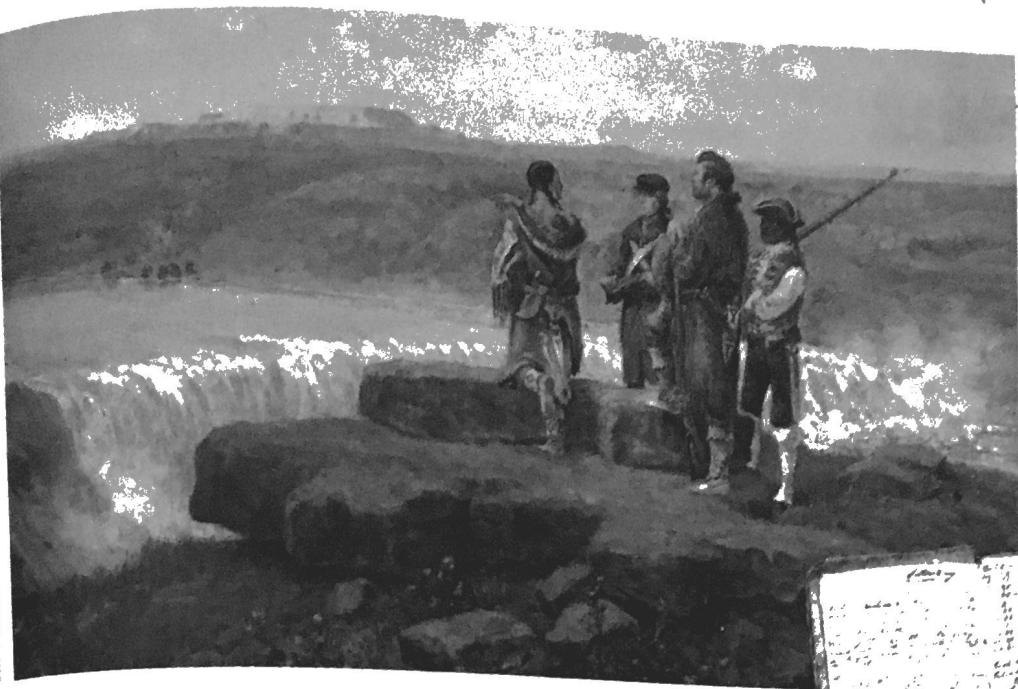
This map shows the Louisiana Purchase and the routes taken by Lewis and Clark and Zebulon Pike. What natural features made up the eastern and western borders of the purchase? **CRITICAL THINKING** Which rivers did Lewis and Clark follow? Why?

re-establish white rule on Hispaniola. Then he would launch his army up the Mississippi to occupy Louisiana.

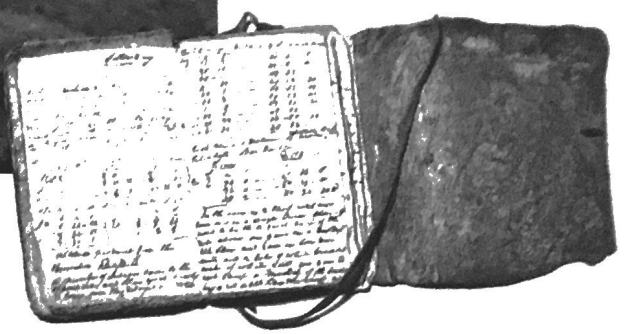
Meanwhile, Jefferson grew alarmed over an issue dear to the heart of every westerner. This was free navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans. In 1802 Jefferson learned that Spain had cut off the right of deposit. Then Jefferson learned that Spain was about to turn over Louisiana to France. Jefferson was determined, if he could, to buy New Orleans for the United States. He made such an offer, but accompanied it with a threat. If France should take possession of New Orleans, he wrote, "we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

Even though Toussaint had been captured, resistance on Hispaniola continued. To crush the rebellion, Napoleon sent nearly 34,000 troops. Heavy fighting and an epidemic of yellow fever reduced the French force to just 4,000. Disgusted with the whole venture, Napoleon decided in 1803 to withdraw from Hispaniola. He also decided to sell Louisiana—all of it. Thus it was that the United States made the **Louisiana Purchase** for about \$15 million. The Louisiana Purchase doubled the area of the United States.

Jefferson agonized over the legality of the purchase. He believed in a strict construction of the Constitution, and the Constitution said nothing about buying territory. Among those who per-



This painting shows Lewis and Clark, with their guide Sacajawea and their servant York, standing at the Great Falls of the Missouri River in 1805. Lewis and Clark recorded their expedition in this notebook bound with elkskin. **CULTURAL PLURALISM** How did Sacajawea help the expedition succeed?



sued him to accept a loose interpretation of the Constitution was that old revolutionary, Thomas Paine. Applying his common sense once again, Paine wrote Jefferson, "The cession makes no alteration in the Constitution. It only extends the principles of it over a larger territory."

EXPLORING THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY

The Louisiana Territory was the western half of the Mississippi River basin. However, no one actually knew the location of the rivers that drain into the Mississippi: the Missouri, Arkansas, and Red rivers. Eager to find out what lay beyond the Mississippi, Jefferson sent an expedition west.

Headed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, the Lewis and Clark expedition started up the Missouri River from St. Louis in the spring of 1804. In the next year they crossed the Rocky Mountains with the help of horses bought from the Shoshone Indians. Crucial to their successful dealings with the Shoshone was Sacajawea. She was a Shoshone married to a French fur trader whom Lewis and Clark had hired as a translator. When the explorers reached the Snake River, they built more canoes and traveled the Snake and Columbia rivers to reach the Pacific Coast.

Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis in 1806 with valuable scientific and geographic information. As a result, mapmakers could draw more accurate maps. The expedition also reinforced the American claim to the Pacific Northwest first made by Captain Gray in 1792.

Zebulon Pike was also sent out to explore more of the Louisiana Territory. In 1805-1806 he explored the headwaters of the Mississippi. Then in 1806-1807 he followed the Arkansas River to its source in the Colorado Rockies, discovering Pikes Peak along the way. Arrested by the Spanish for straying onto their territory, he was taken to Mexico and then released. The publication of Pike's notes provided the first information in English on the Great Plains.

SECTION REVIEW

- 1. KEY TERMS** Louisiana Purchase, Lewis and Clark expedition
- 2. PEOPLE AND PLACES** Alaska, California, Alexander MacKenzie, Robert Gray, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Napoleon Bonaparte, Louisiana, Lewis and Clark, Sacajawea
- 3. COMPREHENSION** Why did Spain colonize California in the late 1700s?
- 4. COMPREHENSION** What events led to the Louisiana Purchase?
- 5. CRITICAL THINKING** Why did Jefferson threaten that if France occupied New Orleans the United States would ally itself with Britain?