CHAPTER 7

National Growing Pains

ANTICIPATION/REACTION

Directions: Before you begin reading this chapter, place a check mark beside any of the following nine statements with which you now agree. Use the column entitled “Anticipation.” When you have completed your study of this chapter, come back to this section and place a check mark beside any of the statements with which you then agree. Use the column entitled “Reaction.” Note any variation in the placement of check marks from anticipation to reaction and explain why you changed your mind.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anticipation</th>
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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading Chapter 7 you should be able to:

1. Explain why the United States and Britain went to war in 1812.
2. Explain why the United States was initially unprepared for war in 1812, why New England opposed the war, why America’s military strategy failed, and why the War of 1812 ended in a stalemate.
3. Describe the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent and the major diplomatic settlements the United States made with Britain and Spain in the aftermath of the War of 1812.
4. List the major issues that began to divide the nation into competing political sections in the 1820s. Identify the emerging leaders from the North, South and West in the 1820s and state their positions on these issues.
5. Define the key issues at stake in the Missouri controversy and list the terms of the Missouri Compromise. State the message contained in The South Carolina Exposition and Protest (1828). Explain how these two posed a potential threat to the Union.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Madison in Power

President James Madison was devoted to Jeffersonian principles, and, like Jefferson, he tried to use foreign trade as a tool of American diplomacy. Like Jefferson’s embargo, however, the Nonintercourse Act and Macon’s Bill No. 2 failed to force concessions from either the British or the French. But a wily Napoleon maneuvered Madison into demanding that Britain repeal the Orders in Council or face a declaration of war.

Tecumseh and Indian Resistance

Incorrectly, many American frontiersmen who were busily seizing Indian lands believed that British Canadians were responsible for provoking Indian attacks on their settlements. General William Henry Harrison’s aggressive campaign to try to solve this “Indian problem,” provoked an Indian counterattack led by Chief Tecumseh.

Together with his brother, the Prophet, Tecumseh attempted to organize an Indian confederacy and revitalize Indian culture. Harrison thwarted their efforts at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, leaving the Indians disillusioned and their confederation shattered.

Depression and Land Hunger

The falling prices of agriculture goods threw the West’s economy into depression. American commercial restrictions and a poor transportation system were the major causes of these
conditions, but western farmers blamed their problems on the loss of foreign markets caused by
British violations of American neutral rights.

Many westerners demanded war with Britain in hopes it would result in America’s acquisition of
British Canada and Spanish Florida. Further, Madison saw a conquered Canada as a hostage the
United States could use to compel the British to respect America’s neutral rights. Finally,
western “War Hawks” demanded a war with Britain as the only way to uphold the nation’s
honor and secure true independence.

Opponents of War

Many New England Federalists opposed war with Britain for partisan reasons and because they
feared the damage war would do to New England’s commercial economy. They did not relish
taking on the world’s largest navy and they self-interestedly counseled patience. Also, the
United States and Britain had strong cultural and economic ties. Nevertheless, although
Napoleonic France, rather than Great Britain, posed the greater potential danger to American
interests and ideals, on June 18, 1812, Congress declared war on Great Britain.

The War of 1812

The United States was poorly prepared to achieve its military objectives in 1812. A handful of
naval frigates and scores of commissioned privateers performed well in isolated engagements with
the powerful Royal Navy early in the war, but by 1813 American ships were bottled up in port as
British squadrons ranged offshore.

Poor military leadership doomed the United States to an overly complicated and unsuccessful
invasion of Canada in 1812: a three-pronged offensive fell short at Detroit, the Niagara River, and
Montreal. In 1813, Americans were more successful, winning a naval battle on Lake Erie, and
General Harrison’s troops were victorious at the Battle of the Thames where Tecumseh was
killed. Still, Americans were no closer to a conquest of Canada at year’s end and the British navy
extended its blockade and freely harassed New England ports and shipping.

Britain Assumes the Offensive

With their defeat of Napoleon in early 1814, the British were able to expend a greater effort on
their war with the United States. The British strategy for 1814 called for a three-pronged attack:
full-scale invasion from Montreal; skirmishes and raids on Washington, D.C., and Baltimore in
the Chesapeake; and an attack on New Orleans to bottle up the American west. This strategy
was little more successful for the British than was America’s invasion of Canada, although
Washington, D.C., was raided and burned.
“The Star Spangled Banner”

The British were repelled at Fort McHenry (Baltimore) where Francis Scott Key penned “The Star Spangled Banner.” The British-attempted invasion from Montreal was turned back at the Battle of Plattsburg in New York. That left only the British assault on New Orleans.

The Treaty of Ghent

In early 1814, both the United States and Britain agreed to discuss peace terms at Ghent, Belgium. The British made no concessions on neutral rights or impressments, and the Americans refused to yield any territory. Finally, the two sides agreed on a status quo ante bellum and ceased hostilities. The formal Treaty of Ghent was signed on Christmas eve, 1814.

The Hartford Convention

From its beginning, New England had opposed the War of 1812. Federalist-controlled state administrations there refused to allow state militia to participate in the fighting, and discouraged banks from making loans to the federal government to pay for the war. New England merchants conducted an illegal trade with British Canada throughout the war. The Federalist party was temporarily rejuvenated in New England by the war and some encouraged New England’s secession from the Union. The Hartford Convention, however, settled for a statement of states’ rights and a series of constitutional amendment proposals designed to serve New England’s economic and political interests. These Federalists and their proposals were discredited when news of the Treaty of Ghent reached Washington, D.C.

The Battle of New Orleans

The defense of New Orleans was entrusted to the tough, hot-tempered Indian fighter, Andrew Jackson “Old Hickory.” The early fighting was inconclusive, but with a well-conceived order of battle, Jackson’s forces repelled the British invasion with withering fire in early January 1815.

Victory Weakens the Federalists

The War of 1812 was a standoff. Many Americans, nevertheless, assumed that Jackson’s victory in New Orleans meant they had won the war. Relieved, they believed the war had completed their independence and affirmed their republican system of government. The Indians, forced to cede millions of acres of their land to the United States, were the main losers. The anti-war Federalist party was made an object of ridicule and scorn and disappeared in the wake of postwar patriotism.
With the end of the Napoleonic War in Europe, the United States now was freed from foreign involvement and the domestic conflict it had nourished. Peace, prosperity, patriotism, and an end to partisan bickering returned with a rush.

**Anglo-American Rapprochement**

Gradually the United States and Britain found their way to friendship. The war had taught the British to respect Americans. In the Rush-Bagot Agreement in 1817 the two nations agreed to naval arms limitations on the Great Lakes. In the Convention of 1818, they negotiated a boundary settlement along the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, agreed to a joint occupation of the Oregon Country, and settled a dispute over the use of Canadian fisheries.

**The Transcontinental Treaty**

In a spirit of intimidation, rather than friendship, the United States settled outstanding issues with Spain. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams initiated negotiations for the American acquisition of Florida in 1819. In the resulting Transcontinental Treaty, Spain relinquished Florida as part of a larger settlement that established the western boundary to America’s Louisiana Purchase Territory and extended the nation’s territorial claims to the Pacific coast.

**The Monroe Doctrine**

The Monroe Doctrine (1823) completed America’s withdrawal from European entanglement. The doctrine came in response to Russia’s threat to colonize along the Pacific Coast and to the threat of several European nations to recolonize the newly independent Latin American republics. In the Monroe Doctrine, the United States unilaterally asserted that the Western Hemisphere was no longer open to new colonization, that the United States opposed any European nation’s interference in Latin America’s political affairs, and that the United States would refrain from involvement in strictly European affairs.

Although the United States was too weak at the time to enforce these pronouncements, the Monroe Doctrine perfectly expressed the wishes of the American people. The doctrine may be seen as the final stage in a process of separation and self-determination that began with the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

**The Era of Good Feelings**

Less a figure than his predecessors, President James Monroe nevertheless came to embody American nationalism, and he presided over the brief postwar Era of Good Feelings. One reason for the harmony during his first term was that Republicans had come to accept most of the economic policies earlier advocated by the Federalists. A Republican Congress created a new
national bank, passed America’s first protective tariff, and appropriated federal aid for transportation improvements. The Jeffersonians had successfully struck a balance between individual liberty and responsible government. Soon, however, national expansion would threaten the postwar spirit of unity.

New Sectional Issues

Sectional tensions were fueled by disputes over the national bank, protective tariffs, federal land and internal improvement policies, and, most of all, slavery. Like all the other issues in the Era of Good Feelings, both the War of 1812 and the Panic of 1819 agitated the tariff controversy. The Tariff Act of 1816 was enacted to protect America’s new industries and jobs. Except for the commercial interests of New England, high tariffs were supported in every section of the country. In time, however, the South and Southwest turned against protective tariffs, concluding that they increased the costs of imports and inhibited the export of cotton.

The national bank’s charter was not renewed in 1811. Some opponents questioned its constitutionality; others opposed its competition with state banks and were alarmed that English investors owned most of the Bank’s stock. The absence of a national bank during the War of 1812 complicated war financing and lowered the value of bank notes. In response, Congress created a second Bank of the United States in 1816. The new bank was badly managed at first and was endangered by the Panic of 1819. New management and tighter credit policies saved the bank, but at the expense of public favor. All sections were split over the desirability of having a new bank, and westerners in particular opposed its tight money policies during the Panic of 1819.

The liberal land acts of 1800 and 1804 reduced the price of public land and the minimum unit offered for sale. Public land sales in the West boomed until 1818. Then, agricultural prices fell as foreign markets shrank and the Panic of 1819 destroyed many farms. The West strongly favored a cheap land policy while the North feared it would drain off cheap labor. The South worried about competition from cotton producers in the virgin lands of the Southwest. Westerners were also most enthusiastic for federally financed internal improvements like the National Road.

The most divisive sectional issue was slavery. This issue generated surprisingly little controversy from 1789 to 1819—most persons considered slavery mainly a local issue. Slave importations increased in the 1790s, but the foreign slave trade was quietly abolished in 1808. Free and slave states entered the Union in equal numbers (11 each in 1819). Southerners ardently defended slavery while most northerners, to the extent they took a position, opposed it. Many westerners, especially native southerners, also supported slavery.

Northern Leaders

In the post-War of 1812 years, a new generation of national leaders came to power. Monroe’s secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, was the North’s best-known political leader in the
1820s. Originally a Federalist like his father, Adams converted to the Republican party after 1800. Adams was capable, ambitious, and intelligent, but he was inept in personal relationships and was a demanding perfectionist. He was a committed nationalist: open-minded toward tariff policy, and supportive of federally-funded internal improvements. Like most New Englanders, Adams opposed slavery.

Daniel Webster was a congressional leader. He was a skillful constitutional lawyer and a remarkable orator. Webster had a powerful mind, but, though a nationalist, he was slavishly devoted to serving New England’s business interests. He opposed the War of 1812, protective tariffs, the bank, cheap land, and internal improvements.

The North’s most masterful politician was Martin Van Buren, the affable leader of New York’s Albany Regency. Van Buren seldom took a strong position on any of the key issues of the day. To him, issues were merely means of winning elections.

Southern Leaders

Georgia’s William H. Crawford, a spokesman for southern planters, was the South’s most prominent leader. South Carolina’s John C. Calhoun, the other major southern leader, was an ardent nationalist before 1825, although he was devoted to the South and its institutions.

Western Leaders

Kentuckian Henry Clay was one of the most charming political leaders of his generation. Intellectually inferior to Adams and Calhoun, Clay nevertheless used his charisma and skill at arranging compromises to carry him far in national politics. A nationalist, he authored the American System of protective tariffs and internal improvements to try to meld the economic interests of the East and West. He disliked, but tolerated slavery.

Another western leader was the colorful expansionist, Thomas Hart Benton. He supported homestead legislation and federal internal improvements, but strongly opposed all banks. He was the champion of small western farmers. Military heroes and Indian fighters William Henry Harrison and Andrew Jackson were emerging as political leaders in the West.

The Missouri Compromise

The depression of 1819-1822 worsened tension among the sections, and growing sectionalism repeatedly influenced the politics of the 1820s. The most sharply divisive event was the Missouri Crisis of 1819-1820. Many of Missouri Territory’s settlers were native southerners who owned slaves, and they petitioned for Missouri’s admission as a slave state. But New York Congressman James Tallmadge’s amendment to the Missouri Enabling Act called for the gradual
abolition of slavery in the proposed new state, the first attempt to restrict the expansion of slavery since the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

The debate generated by the Tallmadge Amendment did not deal with the morality of slavery or the rights of blacks; what was at stake was political influence. Northerners complained of the advantages the South gained from the Three-fifths Compromise and also feared having to compete with slave labor.

Henry Clay fashioned the Missouri Compromise that admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state, and the Thomas Amendment barred slavery north of 36°30' latitude in the old Louisiana Purchase Territory. Southerners accepted these terms since they believed the banned territory was environmentally hostile to slavery anyway. Clay also worked out a compromise when the Missouri constitution tried to ban free blacks from migrating into the new state. The Missouri controversy warned of the potential divisiveness of the slavery issue.

**The Election of 1824**

Federal internal improvements also proved to be a divisive, though less disruptive, issue. And southerners strongly opposed a new protective tariff law that was equally strongly supported by the North and West. The old two-party system was breaking down by 1824; Republicans were factionalized and in disarray, and political leaders concentrated on positioning themselves for the presidency. Consequently, the presidential fight in 1824 was waged over personalities, not issues. The Electoral College vote was split among Adams, Jackson, Crawford, and Clay. Clay’s support helped Adams, who was elected president by the House of Representatives.

**John Quincy Adams as President**

Adams hoped to make his presidency a tribute to nationalism. Yet the boldness of his program exceeded his political ability to make it happen. He often appeared insensitive to public feelings, and he failed to use his power to build support for his programs. Scrupulously honest, he nevertheless was dogged by charges that he and Clay had struck a “corrupt bargain” to gain Adams the presidency in 1824.

**Calhoun’s Exposition and Protest**

As the North and West grew more favorable toward high tariffs, the export-conscious South grew more anti-tariff. Outraged by the record-high Tariff of Abominations in 1828, southerners turned to Calhoun, who now reached a turning point in his career. In *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest* (1828), he repudiated his earlier nationalism and emerged as the states’ rights spokesman of southern interests. He argued from a concept of government as a contractual relationship that a state could interpose its authority to nullify any act of Congress it found to be in violation of the Constitution. Thus was born the doctrine of nullification.
The Meaning of Sectionalism

Postwar prosperity produced national growth that in turn produced sectional conflict. Nationalists like Henry Clay hoped federal action could make sectional difference work for the benefit of everyone. Another unifying influence was the postwar patriotism of Americans and their pride in their unique system of government.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS

Defined the following:

privateer

status quo ante bellum

rapprochement

protective tariff

sectionalism

internal improvements

factionalism

nullification
Describe the following:

Macon’s Bill No. 2

Battle of Tippecanoe

Treaty of Ghent

Hartford Convention

Battle of New Orleans

Rush-Bagot Agreement

Convention of 1818

Transcontinental Treaty

Monroe Doctrine

Tariff of 1816
Panic of 1819

Second Bank of the United States

Albany Regency

American System

Tallmadge Amendment

Thomas Amendment

Missouri Compromise

“corrupt bargain”

Tariff of Abominations

The South Carolina Exposition and Protest

Identify the following:

James Madison
William Henry Harrison

Tecumseh

“War Hawks”

Andrew Jackson

John Quincy Adams

James Monroe

Daniel Webster

Martin Van Buren

William H. Crawford

John C. Calhoun

Henry Clay
Locate the following places. Write in both the place name and its map location number.

1. The three places where the British attempted to implement their three-pronged attack on the United States in 1814.

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

2. The Great Lake on which American naval forces achieved an important victory over the British in 1813.

________________________________________________________________________

3. The area to which the United States acquired joint occupation rights with Great Britain in 1818.

________________________________________________________________________

4. The western and eastern termini of the United States-Canadian boundary negotiated in 1818.

eastern ___________________________________________________   _____________

western ___________________________________________________   _____________

5. The Louisiana Purchase boundary line negotiated between the United States and Spain in 1819. (Name the treaty.)

________________________________________________________________________

6. The territory whose “purchase” by the United States was negotiated with Spain in 1819.

________________________________________________________________________

7. The 1811 battle where forces commanded by William Henry Harrison broke the back of Tecumseh’s bid to forge a formidable Indian confederacy in the West in 1811.

________________________________________________________________________
SELF-TEST

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Like Jefferson, President Madison attempted to use ______ as a way to force Britain and France to recognize America’s neutral rights.
   A. secret alliances
   B. espionage
   C. foreign trade
   D. military preparedness

2. The “War Hawks”
   A. expressed the war sentiments of New England.
   B. supported Madison’s commercial retaliation as a means of conducting diplomacy with Britain and France.
   C. feared that Madison’s diplomacy was costing the nation its honor and, potentially, its independence.
   D. opposed the plan for an invasion of Canada.

3. All of the following issues helped Americans justify their declaration of war against Great Britain in 1812 EXCEPT
   A. recognition that Britain, not Napoleon, posed a greater threat to the United States.
   B. nonrecognition of neutral rights and the policy of impressment.
   C. British provocation of Indians in the Old Northwest.
   D. vindication of national honor and pride.
4. In the Treaty of Ghent ending the War of 1812, the British agreed to
   A. the creation of an Indian buffer state in the Old Northwest.
   B. stop the impressment of American sailors.
   C. several territorial concessions to the United States.
   D. stop the fighting.

5. Delegates to the Hartford Convention in 1814-1815
   A. endorsed a secession ordinance.
   B. proposed a number of constitutional amendments.
   C. denounced the principles embedded in Madison’s and Jefferson’s Kentucky and Virginia Resolves.
   D. adopted a resolution to form a New England confederation.

6. The attitudes of most Americans in the immediate aftermath of the War of 1812 included all of the following EXCEPT
   A. self-confidence.
   B. faith in republicanism.
   C. national patriotism.
   D. strident partisanship.

7. The United States and Britain agreed to limit naval armaments on the Great Lakes in the
   A. Transcontinental Treaty.
   B. Treaty of Ghent.
   C. Rush-Bagot Agreement.
   D. Monroe Doctrine.

8. In an agreement with Great Britain in 1818, the United States acquired
   A. joint responsibility for defending the Western Hemisphere.
   B. joint occupation rights in the Oregon Country.
   C. a new western boundary to the Louisiana Purchase Territory.
   D. possession of Florida.

9. The Louisiana Purchase boundary with Spanish territories in North America was first clearly defined in the
   A. Rush-Bagot Agreement, 1817.
   B. Treaty of Ghent, 1814.
   C. Transcontinental Treaty, 1821.
   D. Monroe Doctrine, 1823.

10. The Monroe Doctrine did NOT intend to prevent
   A. the founding of new European colonies in the Western Hemisphere.
   B. America intervening in the affairs of Europe.
   C. European nations interfering in the political affairs of Latin American republics.
   D. the United States acquiring any new territories in the Western Hemisphere.
11. After the War of 1812, many Republicans were convinced that the United States needed all of the following EXCEPT
A. a new national bank.
B. to abolish slavery.
C. a protective tariff.
D. federal aid to improve transportation.

12. Supporters of a protective tariff act in 1816 argued that it would do all of the following EXCEPT
A. promote the textile industry in the South.
B. advance America’s national economic self-sufficiency.
C. help lead to the abolition of slavery.
D. create an urban market for western agricultural goods.

13. The primary argument of those who opposed the rechartering of the original Bank of the United States in 1811 was that it was
A. poorly managed.
B. unconstitutional.
C. controlled by powerful state banks.
D. responsible for causing economic depressions.

14. Henry Clay’s American System was primarily designed to promote
A. military preparedness.
B. the centralization of political power.
C. territorial expansion.
D. national economic self-sufficiency.

15. If enacted, the Tallmadge Amendment would have
A. prohibited any restrictions on Missouri’s admission as a slave state.
B. gradually abolished slavery in Missouri.
C. banned slavery north of 36°30’ latitude in the old Louisiana Territory.
D. abolished slavery in all states north of 36°30’ latitude.

16. The Missouri Compromise did NOT result in
A. admitting Missouri as a slave state.
B. banning slavery north of 36° 30’ latitude in the old Louisiana Territory.
C. banning slavery in all states north of 36° 30’ latitude.
D. maintaining the balance in the number of slave and free states in the Union.
17. The 1824 presidential election featured
A. an unusually heavy turnout of voters.
B. a tie between two vice-presidential candidates.
C. the choice of president made by the House of Representatives.
D. the election of a president and vice president from opposing political parties.

18. President John Quincy Adams was
A. a strong nationalist.
B. a skillful politician.
C. a brilliant orator.
D. well attuned to public sentiment.

19. John C. Calhoun was provoked to write *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest* in response to congressional legislation on
A. land policy.
B. internal improvements.
C. slavery.
D. tariff policy.

20. John C. Calhoun’s nullification doctrine argued that
A. a state had the constitutional right to secede from the Union.
B. a state could declare an act of Congress unconstitutional.
C. slavery was a positive good and morally defensible.
D. slavery could not be banned from U.S. territories.

**Essay Questions**

1. Which one of the following do you think was the primary cause of the War of 1812: neutral rights, Indian provocation, economic depression, land hunger, or the “War Hawks”? Evaluate the importance of each issue, and then justify your choice.

2. Compare and contrast the military strategies of the British and the Americans in the War of 1812, and then explain why the war ended in a stalemate.

3. Explain why the United States was so remarkably successful in the conduct of its diplomacy between 1815 and 1823 when it had been so unsuccessful before 1815.

4. Explain why each of the following issues tended to be politically controversial after 1815: protective tariffs, internal improvements, public land sales, the national bank.

5. Explain what was at stake in Missouri’s admission to the Union. Evaluate the text author’s claim that it was “one of the . . . most critical” of the sectional questions.
CRITICAL THINKING EXERCISE

Cause and Effect

In Chapter 3 you were introduced to the importance of cause-effect relationships to historical study. You completed an exercise involving causal chains. Chapter 7 presents events in the early nineteenth century, including the War of 1812, that were the effects of several contributory causes. Again, contributory causes are causes that act and interact simultaneously to produce an effect.

Each of the groups below is identified by an effect, followed by a list of items that may have been contributory causes to that effect. Your task is to line out those items from the list that were not contributory causes of the stated effect, then write a sentence that expresses the relationship between the remaining causes and the effect. (Note: Any number of causal items in each group may be correct). The first group has been completed as an example.

X. Effect: Economic depression on western farms
Contributory causes: American commercial restrictions, lack of cultivable land, British boycott of American goods, poor transportation facilities, bad weather

The depression that hit western farming was the consequence of both American commercial restrictions and a slow and cumbersome transportation system.

1. Effect: The War of 1812
Contributory causes: land hunger, sense of national honor, British rescinding the Orders in Council, agricultural depression, violations of neutral rights

______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
______________________________________________________________________________
2. Effect: Federalists oppose the War of 1812
   Contributory causes: impressment of merchant sailors, Madison’s refusal to invade
   Canada, partisan advantage, belief that Madison provoked war, concern for the health of
   New England’s economy

3. Effect: American military failures in the War of 1812
   Contributory causes: an inept navy, refusal of state militia to fight, an effective British
   blockade, the failure to realize the strategic importance of Canada, disappointing military
   leadership

4. Effect: Pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine
   Contributory causes: Russian colonization of the Pacific coast, concern over Spanish
   expansion in the Caribbean, the threat of European recolonization in Latin America, British
   interest in commercial opportunities in Latin America, fear that the United States would be
   drawn in Latin American revolutions

5. Effect: Start of an Era of Good Feelings
   Contributory causes: “victory” in the War of 1812, economic prosperity, proposals from
   the Hartford Convention, Republican adoption of Federalist programs, Monroe’s
   presidential style
6. **Effect:** Crisis over the admission of Missouri to the Union

Contributory causes: Tallmadge Amendment, Three-fifths Compromise, the morality of slavery, the North controlled the House of Representatives, the rights of African Americans, Missouri was located north of the Ohio River.