

Chapter 12

The New Nation Defends Itself

REVOLUTIONS LEAD TO REVOLUTIONS

DISORDERS IN OTHER PARTS of the world began to trouble this nation from its beginning. The success of the British colonists in gaining self-government inspired other peoples to break away from kingly rule. Some South Americans had served with the French in aiding the people of the United States to win independence. They returned to their Spanish colonies and spread revolutionary ideas among the people. Kentuckians complained that prices had dropped on flour and tobacco in New Orleans. Trade had fallen off with the South American colonies of Spain where revolutions were hampering business.

For some time discontent had been growing among the masses in France who had kept a watchful eye on the American war. In 1789, the same year that Washington was inaugurated, the King of France, Louis XVI, was forced to grant his people a share in government. Although representatives were elected to a national assembly, the king yielded too late to halt the conspiracy against him. He and his queen, Marie Antoinette, were beheaded four years later, and the thunder

of the French Revolution echoed all over Europe and across the seas in both Americas.

In Saint Domingue, a French settlement in the West Indies, the Negro slaves rebelled against their white masters and terror swept over the island. From Port-au-Prince word reached the United States that over 300 coffee and sugar plantations had been plundered and burned. Many of the white owners had been killed. Those who escaped boarded a ship for other lands, leaving the island to the Negroes.

The rebellion was led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, a Negro slave, born on a big plantation owned by a French nobleman. Toussaint's godfather, living on the same land, had learned to read and write when serving Jesuit missionaries. The old Negro, a religious man, taught the young man to read and write French, and a little Latin. His master promoted Toussaint to a position of trust, and took him out of the sugar fields. Later, when a mob threatened his kindly master, he hid the family in nearby woods and provided for their escape on an American vessel.

After Toussaint became the governor of the French part of Haiti, he conquered the Spanish part of the island, freed the slaves,

and declared Haiti independent. This freedom was short-lived. Toussaint was captured by French soldiers and sent to France where he died in 1803 a prisoner, in a dark, damp dungeon.

In 1793 when war broke out between France and Great Britain, Edmond Genet came to this country as an agent from the French Republic. By many he was received as a hero. He began to fit out privateers in American ports to prey on British commerce, although the President had issued a proclamation of neutrality. Finally, Washington asked the French government to recall Genet who approved the French Revolution in which the President did not want the new United States involved.

On the high seas the British captured American merchantmen, kidnapped the crews, and forced the sailors to serve on British ships. The excuse for this outrage was that the vessels were carrying supplies to France. Washington sent John Jay to England to get what terms he could to maintain the peace. Jay negotiated a treaty but it did not deal with the question of impressment. This treaty aroused such anger that Jay was hanged in effigy and branded a traitor.

Since Washington was a military man he frequently urged Congress to appropriate money to build and man a navy and to support an army for defense. Less than a year after his inauguration, Washington said in a speech to Congress:

To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

During his two terms Washington managed to keep the nation out of the squabbles in other countries and to bring prosperity to the people of the United

States. He refused to consider a third term. On September 17, 1796 his farewell address was printed in a newspaper for all to read. His parting advice, "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations," still influences the thinking of Americans and colors the pages of American history.

Washington lived at Mount Vernon until his death in 1799. Henry Lee's tribute to him in a funeral oration is still quoted by many Americans:

"First in war — first in peace — and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

TWO-PARTY SYSTEM DEVELOPS FROM INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

ADAMS, HAMILTON, and many others argued that the clause in the Constitution, "to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States" carried "implied powers" for the Federal Government to make any laws necessary for the benefit of the people. Those who agreed with this point of view and who believed in a strong central government were called Federalists. In this party were the citizens who depended upon manufacturing and commerce for a living. They needed a strong central government to protect their trade and their jobs. The Federalist Party was strongest in the manufacturing states of New England.

Jefferson, Madison, and many others believed that the Federal Government had only the powers definitely assigned to it by the Constitution and that all other powers belonged to the states. They wanted a strict interpretation of the document. Because Jefferson and Madison sympathized so strongly with the French people fighting

for a republic, they and their followers were called Republicans, and sometimes, Democratic-Republicans. In this party were the agriculturists – the southern planters, the small farmers, and the “westerners” who had settled beyond the Alleghenies. Being able to raise their own food and make most of their clothing, they were independent and did not feel the need of a strong central government to protect their interests. They stood for states’ rights.

Out of the friction that developed in Washington’s Cabinet between Hamilton and Jefferson, New Yorker and Virginian, northerner and southerner, Federalist and Democratic-Republican, grew the roots of the two-party system. Washington’s election had been unanimous but the vote for his successor was close. In the Electoral College John Adams, the Federalist, received only three more votes than Thomas Jefferson, the Republican. According to the Constitution, Adams became President and Jefferson, Vice President. This led to bitter rivalry between the two parties and the people took sides in the controversy.

Meanwhile, foreign troubles continued to plague the nation. After the Jay Treaty American commerce suffered less attacks from British vessels and more from the French. The French considered the treaty with Great Britain an insult to them. Americans had lost about \$50,000,000 through ships and cargoes captured by the French corsairs. In an effort to keep peace, President Adams sent Elbridge Gerry, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and John Marshall to Paris. Although France had changed from a monarchy to a republic, the revolution was still in progress. The new government, the Directory, needed money. Talleyrand, the

Minister of Foreign Relations, sent three agents, Mr. X, Mr. Y, and Mr. Z to talk with the three American ministers.

Mr. X called first. Since Pinckney was the only American who spoke French, Mr. X asked to speak with him alone. The two men stepped into the next room. Mr. X whispered that for a sum of a quarter of a million dollars given secretly to Talleyrand, the Americans could have peace. Talleyrand would use his influence with the Directory to check attacks on American ships. Pinckney explained that he had no authority to grant money.

The next caller was Mr. Y who repeated the demand for money, threatening the Americans with the rising power of Napoleon whose armies were succeeding in Italy.

“Gentlemen, you do not speak to the point,” said Mr. Y impatiently. “It is money. It is expected that you will offer money.”

The Americans insisted they had no authority to promise money, and they had clearly explained that fact.

“No,” said he, “you have not. What is your answer?”

Pinckney answered in a loud tone of voice. “It is no, no! Not a sixpence.”

A few days later, Mr. Z came to see Gerry and to invite him for a talk alone with Talleyrand. Talleyrand had spent over two years in America as an exile and he could speak English. During his stay in America, he had met Gerry.

On April 3, 1798, a report on the XYZ Affair was read in Congress, quoting the bribe: “It is necessary to pay money – to pay a great deal of money.”

As this news spread through the newspapers, the public turned against France. Marshall, the first one of the

three ministers to leave Paris, arrived in New York City, unannounced, to find an outburst of patriotism sweeping over the nation. Everywhere, people were singing the latest popular song, with words by Hopkinson set to the lively music of "The President's March."

Hail, Columbia! happy land!
Hail, ye heroes! heaven-born band!

To Marshall's great surprise, he was one of the heroes. Twenty years after he had passed through Philadelphia to fight in the Battle of Monmouth, he returned to the city. Marshall the soldier was Marshall the hero. Church bells rang and crowds cheered. At a banquet in his honor, a toast was made that became a slogan of national pride:

MILLIONS FOR DEFENSE
BUT NOT A CENT FOR TRIBUTE!

The French revolutionists quickly sought peace without a bribe when the Americans began to prepare for war. A few weeks before the end of his term, President John Adams nominated John Marshall to be Chief Justice of the United States. He held this position until his death in 1835 in his eightieth year.

When the danger of conflict passed over, the two political parties at home quarreled, bitterly criticizing each other. The Federalists, with a majority in Congress, passed a law giving the President power to send aliens out of the country if he suspected they were dangerous to the United States. Emigrants from Europe, who had fled from governments with limited freedoms, naturally joined the Republicans who wished to reduce the

power of government. Some well educated aliens became newspaper editors and writers and ridiculed the Federalists. The purpose of the Alien Act was to control the efforts to stir up ill feelings toward the government in power. Another law made written attacks upon the government punishable as a crime. It carried a penalty of fine and imprisonment. Although this Sedition Act was intended to prohibit libel (the publication of charges not true), it was interpreted as a limitation on freedom of press and speech as guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution. Both Virginia and Kentucky passed resolutions condemning the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional. The acts were repealed.

The Democratic-Republicans won the election of 1800. Both Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr received seventy-five votes each and the House of Representatives had to choose between them. Jefferson was chosen President and Burr, Vice President. Not long afterward, the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution was added to prevent such a happening again. Thereafter electors voted separately for a President and a Vice President.

The Federalists never won another Presidential election and the party passed out of existence. The Federalist leaders had been the fighting men of the war for independence and the far-seeing statesmen of the Constitutional Convention, on whom the people had depended in time of stress. They held the reins of Government in their hands until the Federal Union was firmly established. Their work was done. Now, men younger and less experienced could take part in their Government successfully with Jefferson, as President and Madison, the "Father of the Constitution," as Secretary of State.

The year 1800 marks the beginning of more confidence on the part of the people to govern themselves under a national union. In a letter to a friend in 1787, before the Constitution was made, Jefferson had said:

I am persuaded myself that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves.

Jefferson was a man of peace but, like Washington and Adams before him, he found it difficult to keep the nation out of the feuds and wars of European countries. Although he succeeded, except for a little war with pirates of the Barbary States in Africa, he was forced to use "implied powers" of the Constitution for which he had criticized the Federalists. The Constitution did not state that a President could buy land but Jefferson purchased Louisiana to avoid war.

LOUISIANA WAS A BARGAIN

DURING THE HARD TIMES following the Revolutionary War hundreds of families left the states on the Atlantic seaboard to seek new homes in a western wilderness beyond the Appalachian Mountains. Many of these emigrants had given their fortunes, as well as their services, in the cause of liberty. Penniless but still proud, they started life all over again. Some of these Revolutionary soldiers were allotted farms in the Northwest Territory because the Government had no money to pay them for their services in the War for Independence. A large grant of land in southern Indiana, opposite Louisville, Kentucky, was divided among the soldiers

who had marched with George Rogers Clark through icy waters and sticky mud to win that country. In the first year after the opening of the Northwest Territory 967 boats, carrying 18,370 men, women, and children with 7986 horses, 2372 cows, 1110 sheep, and 646 wagons went down the Ohio River, the front door to the West. Still more came on horseback and on foot through Cumberland Gap and over the Wilderness Road into Kentucky and Tennessee. Before Boone's path was widened for wagon travel, Kentucky had a population of 220,000 persons. How did they earn a living?

The majority were farmers and their living depended upon markets for their produce. The farmers had flour, cornmeal, tobacco, wool, and hickory-smoked hams for sale. The farmers could not sell to their neighbors because they, too, were farmers and had the same products for sale. There were no towns of any size, only settlements in a wilderness. Along the Atlantic seaboard lived many townsmen who would relish the woodsy aroma of smoked ham frying for breakfast. However, it was a long and dangerous journey with pack horses over mountain trails to reach the eastern markets. The trip would cost more than the sale would bring. Since water transportation was cheap, the Mississippi River became the highway of commerce for the westerners. New Orleans at the mouth of the river became their market.

However, it was not safe for a few farmers to travel to market alone. They went in small fleets of twenty or more boats and carried guns.

When the farmers arrived at New Orleans, buyers were waiting on the docks to bid for their cargo. It was not all food

and tobacco. Nearly every man had a pile of skins on his boat to sell to the fur buyers. In the winter the settlers had time to trap beaver, muskrat, and other fur-bearing animals. The fur buyers would load the furs on to sailing ships for markets in Philadelphia, New York, and the ports of foreign countries. In those days drifting down the Mississippi to the "Paris of America" was a voyage of excitement and romance to the young frontiersmen.

All went well until this trade became involved in the game of international politics. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762, the King of France gave Louisiana to his cousin, the King of Spain. The treaty was kept a secret. Following the French and Indian War, the Treaty of Paris, signed on the tenth of February, 1763, publicly confirmed this gift. Spain received from France "so much of Louisiana as lay west of the Mississippi River, including both sides of the river at its mouth."

In November of 1762, British forces captured Havana, Cuba, belonging to Spain. A few months later, in the Treaty of Paris, Spain traded Florida to England for Havana and Manila, Philippine Islands, also captured by the British, in these words:

"His Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees in full right, to His Britannic Majesty, Florida, with Fort Augustine and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the Continent of North America, to the east, or to the southeast of the river Mississippi."

Later in the same year, by the Treaty of Versailles, England traded Florida, which had been captured by Spanish soldiers, to Spain. By the Treaty of Paris in 1783, after the Revolutionary War, free navigation of the Mississippi River was pledged in Article VIII:

"The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States."

Since the Spanish government had not been consulted on the Treaty of Paris in 1783, it did not feel obligated to accept the document. Difficulties arose with Spain soon after Washington became President. Under a date line of February 15, 1790, Washington told in his journal of reading two letters which the Secretary of War had received from the Mississippi frontier and had forwarded to him. One letter from an army officer stationed in Nashville, Tennessee reported that the Spanish governor of Louisiana was drawing citizens of the United States to settle in his territory. He promised them land and freedom of navigation on the Mississippi River to New Orleans. There they could sell their products by paying a fifteen percent duty to the King of Spain. The officer warned that the western settlers must be assured markets in New Orleans and navigation on the Mississippi River, or they would accept the invitation to become subjects of the King of Spain. The other letter told of the threat of war from the Creek Indian nation dwelling in territory claimed by both the United States and Spain.

In 1795, during Washington's second term, Thomas Pinckney negotiated the Treaty of San Lorenzo with Spain. This treaty settled the boundary with Florida and gave citizens of the United States free navigation of the Mississippi River and the right of deposit in New Orleans for three years. Soon afterwards the United States made a treaty with Great Britain giving that nation rights of navigation on the Mississippi. Spain objected on the grounds

that this country could not legally transfer the rights of navigation to another nation. The dispute was still unsettled when Jefferson was elected third President of the United States. The issue resulted in a crisis which threatened war.

When the three-year agreement expired the Spanish governor withdrew the freedom of the port in New Orleans at a time when the cotton was almost ready to be picked and freighted down the river to market. The western farmers were indignant, threatening to raise their own army to take the city and the mouth of the Mississippi River for themselves. Jefferson, friend of the belligerent westerners, pleaded with them to control their tempers. He knew he could not long hold them back if they lost their market in New Orleans. He would buy the town and give it to them.

There was another reason. Napoleon's rising power in France was threatening all of Europe. He harbored a secret ambition to recover some of the territory once held by France in North America. By a secret treaty signed in Madrid, Napoleon traded lands he had conquered in Italy for Louisiana in North America. He gave this territory to the Duke of Parma whose wife was a daughter of the King of Spain, and made the Duke the King of Tuscany. The Spanish King was pleased with the bargain. His daughter was a queen. Jefferson, President of the United States was alarmed when the news of this treaty leaked out. He did not want Napoleon for a next door neighbor.

He instructed Robert R. Livingston, American Minister to France, to arrange for the purchase of New Orleans. He sent James Monroe to assist him in the negotiations. Napoleon needed cash to support his planned conquests in Europe. Since, in the

event of war with Great Britain, he could not hold Louisiana, he offered to sell the whole territory for 80,000,000 francs (\$15,000,000.) There was no time for the commissioners to consult the President and then wait weeks and weeks for a reply. Giving Napoleon no time to change his mind, the American representatives snatched the bargain. Early in May, 1803 the treaty was signed. This purchase of Louisiana removed the immediate danger of war with both France and Spain.

The western farmers were overjoyed. They owned the Mississippi River from its source near the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. Although Spain objected to the deal, the territory was formally ceded to the United States December 20, 1803. The Spaniards were fearful that this purchase might doom their empire in North America. In a French Louisiana, Spain had had little to fear. The freedom loving peoples of the rising republic, the land hungry Anglo Saxons, were now their neighbors. Would they cross the Mississippi to conquer their new West?

PEOPLES AND PROBLEMS WERE PART OF THE BARGAIN

JEFFERSON LOST NO TIME in sending explorers to the territory he had purchased "sight unseen." In May of the following year an expedition left St. Louis to paddle its way up the Missouri to the river's source. It continued overland beyond the boundary of Louisiana to the headwaters of the Columbia and down that stream to the Pacific Ocean. The leaders were army officers — Meriwether Lewis, a close friend of President Jefferson, and William Clark, a brother of

George Rogers Clark who had captured the British forts north of the Ohio during the Revolutionary War.

About forty-five hardy frontiersmen, carefully picked, made up this exploring party. Among them were blacksmiths, gunsmiths, hunters, boatmen, carpenters, woodchoppers, and interpreters. Two were fiddlers, one a Frenchman and the other, a backwoods American. They furnished music for the lonely men who sang and danced around the evening fires. Many of these young men were the sons of the Scotch Irish pioneers who came into Kentucky and Tennessee through Cumberland Gap and over the Wilderness Road. Clark's big Negro servant excited the curiosity of the Indians along the way. They had never seen a black man before.

Frenchmen, half-breeds, and Indians

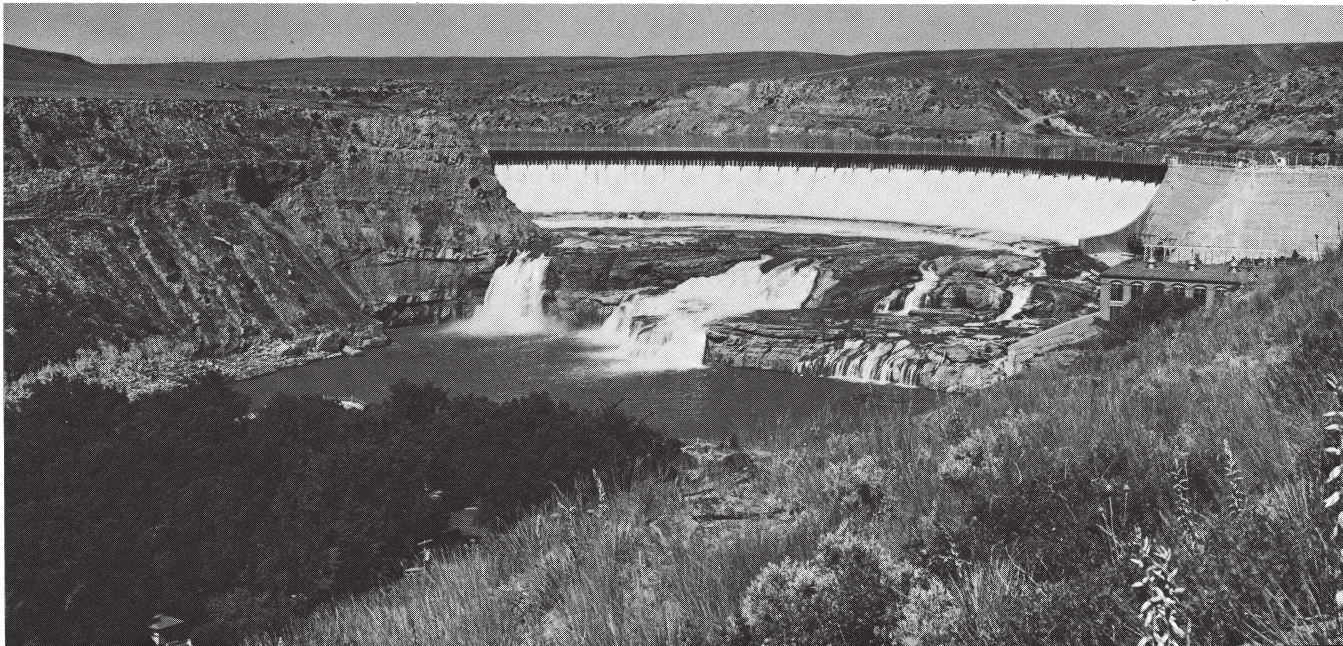
joined the party as interpreters and guides as the explorers moved forward into unknown country. One of these was Sacajawea, the Indian-girl wife of a French trader. The couple joined the party at a trading post on the Missouri River near the present site of Bismarck, North Dakota. Sacajawea was the daughter of a Shoshone chief. As a child she had been captured by an enemy tribe from the prairie but she remembered the language of her father's people. Many times she saved the white men when their lives were threatened by hostile Indians. There was great rejoicing when she found her own people again and they welcomed the white strangers who had brought her home. With her tiny papoose strapped to her back, she rode on horseback to guide Lewis and Clark over the mountains to the Columbia River and

RYAN DAM, MISSOURI RIVER, MONTANA

On the way west in 1805, Lewis and Clark discovered the Great Falls of the Missouri River blocking their way upstream. The explorers were forced to make a long and trying portage for miles around this barrier. Their soft homemade moccasins sewn from skins of animals afforded little protection to their bleeding feet as they tramped over rocky ground thorny with cactus and spiky plants. Some boats were hauled on sleds but supplies were carried in bundles tied to the backs of the men.

Today Ryan Dam owned by the Montana Power Company spans the Missouri River at the Great Falls.

Montana Power Company



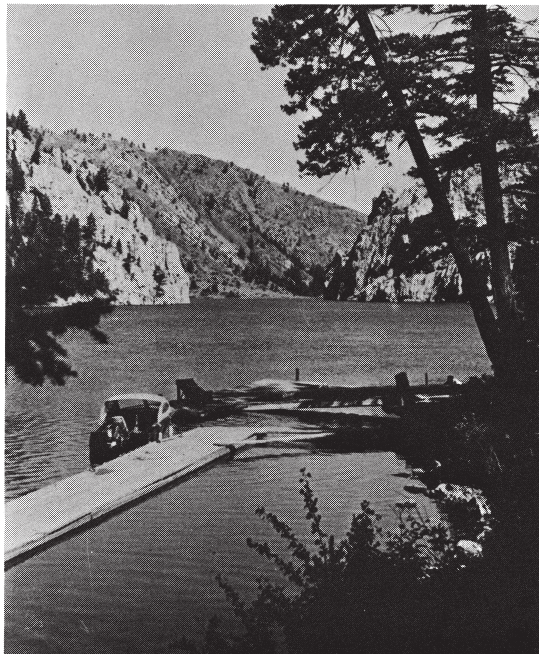
on to Everywhere-Salt-Water, Indian name for the Pacific Ocean.

After an absence of nearly two and a half years, during which time they had traveled over 8000 miles in canoes, on horseback, and on foot, Lewis and Clark returned to tell what they had seen and heard in the Louisiana Purchase. From this expedition the people of the United States gained a vague idea of the great natural resources in the vast new territory beyond the Mississippi River.

Perhaps the most important result of this expedition was a strengthened claim to the rich Oregon country where the British were establishing fur trading posts. Although British seamen had sailed through the northwest waters, an American, Captain Gray from Boston, had crossed the treacherous sand bar to enter the Columbia River. Lewis and Clark had tracked the stream from the mountains to the sea. Now, both Great Britain and the United States claimed Oregon, creating another international problem.

In the year after Lewis and Clark returned from the Northwest, Zebulon Pike explored the central part of the Louisiana Purchase to the Rocky Mountains. Pikes Peak in Colorado is named for him. Like Lewis and Clark, he found the inhabitants of the territory were Indians with a sprinkling of Spanish, French, and half-breed traders.

In the southern tip of the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson inherited a strange and interesting mixture of people. These were Acadians, banished from Nova Scotia when the British took that province from the French in 1755. Across the mountains on foot, down the Mississippi River in canoes, and through the Gulf of Mexico on sailing vessels, the Acadians found their way to



Montana Highway Commission

GATES OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

“For five and three quarter miles these rocks rise perpendicularly from the water’s edge to the height of nearly twelve hundred feet . . . Nothing can be imagined more tremendous than the frowning darkness of these rocks which project over the river and menace us with destruction. The river, of one hundred and fifty yards in width, seems to have forced its channel down this solid mass, but so reluctantly has it given way that during the whole distance the water is very deep even at the edges. For the first three miles there is not a spot except one of a few yards, in which a man could stand between the water and the towering perpendicular of the mountains . . . This extraordinary range of rocks we called the GATES OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.”

From the Journal of Lewis and Clark.

the coast of Louisiana where the people spoke French, the only language they knew. The French in New Orleans helped their destitute countrymen to start life anew along the Bayou Teche, west of the city. Being a rural people, the Acadians turned to farming and cattle raising. Each

farm had a waterfront on the sluggish bayou where the boats were moored; a stretch of prairie where cane, corn, and sweet potatoes grew; and a marsh where traps were set for mink and muskrat and timber was cut for fires. It was to this new Acadia in Louisiana that the exiled blacksmith welcomed Evangeline and old neighbors in these lines from Longfellow's poem, "Evangeline":

Welcome once more, my friends, who long have
been friendless and homeless,
Welcome once more to a home, that is better
perchance than the old one!

Smugglers and pirates were also a part of the great bargain. Past the farms of the honest and upright Acadians, strange vessels with even stranger cargoes moved noiselessly up the bayous into the back country. The boats were filled with Negroes, chained together, bound for hidden stockades on little islands in the marshes. In one year alone more than ten thousand slaves from Africa were smuggled into New Orleans and sold. Pirates with fleet ships sailed out into the Caribbean to capture the slavers bound for ports in the Spanish colonies. It was a prosperous business because officials of the United States Government could find neither the smugglers nor the booty. Both were swallowed up by the swampy jungle with its network of waterways.

The king of smugglers was Jean Lafitte. He was tall, dark, and slender like a story-book pirate. His hideout was Grand Isle in Barataria Bay south of New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico. His gang of a thousand pirates roamed the seas. Becoming weary of these raids, Spain sent armed vessels with convoys of merchantmen. Then the bold buccaneers turned to plundering American

ships and the Government was forced to wage war on piracy. With a price on his head, the gay and charming Lafitte moved from the bayous of Louisiana to the island of Galveston in Mexican territory.

Long after the slave trade was forbidden by law in 1808, slaves could be bought from the smugglers of the Gulf Coast. Southerners moved to the fertile lands beyond the Mississippi River where laborers could be obtained for their fields of cotton, rice, and sugar cane. Jefferson, who opposed the system of slavery, extended the system unknowingly by the purchase of Louisiana. People and problems were part of the bargain.

NAPOLEON'S SUCCESS IN EUROPE INVOLVES THE AMERICAS

THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA did not remove Napoleon from the American scene. As he rose to power in France, he became ambitious to conquer Europe. His major rival was Great Britain. Three years after Jefferson bought Louisiana, Napoleon issued a decree forbidding all trade with the British Isles by any country. (Any ship bound for a British port was seized if caught by the French.) On the high seas American vessels were also often taken and their crews pressed into service by the British Navy if they were carrying goods to France. Our nation was unprepared for war and Jefferson was determined to keep the peace. With his support, Congress passed the Embargo Act forbidding American vessels to sail for foreign countries.

From the beginning it was plain that it would be difficult to enforce this law. Commerce was carried on illegally in all parts of the nation. Shippers were willing

to take a chance because they figured the French would not be able to capture many vessels. Since ships could sail from port to port in United States territory, some slipped away into the open seas, or reloaded their cargoes at out-of-the-way places. Many people, especially the New Englanders, depended largely upon trade for a living. They felt they had to find ways and means of selling their goods. Many farmers transported their produce to the shores of Lake Champlain. Out of the timber they made rafts upon which they piled their flour, pork, and potash; built crude shelters on these boats; and waited for a strong south wind to fill their sails. Under cover of darkness, fleets of these rafts drifted down the lake and passed the guards unheard and unseen to the northern shore in Canadian territory. In winter, farmers in Vermont hauled their products

on sleds to the Canadian border. Sometimes, if officers were on guard, a sham accident was staged. The trick was to park a sled atop a hill on the line, pull out the blocking stone, and let the barrels of pork, flour, and potash roll down the slope into Canada.

Although smuggling was bold, the embargo almost put an end to trade. In the shipping towns sailmakers, shipwrights, rope walkers, draymen, and sailors were out of work. Merchants and shopkeepers closed their doors. However, sailors suffered the most. In Boston unemployed seamen marched to the governor's house and demanded work or bread. Finally the embargo hit the farmers. Unable to sell their produce, they lacked funds to pay their debts and to buy seed for the spring planting.

Opposition in New England became so

MONTICELLO — HOME OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

As a young man, Jefferson began work on his house, completing a little at a time. During his service as Ambassador to France, he visited great buildings in that country, gathering ideas for his own home. Although Jefferson was a lawyer, a writer, a farmer, a diplomat, and a President of the United States, he probably enjoyed most being an architect, designing the house and gardens of Monticello near Charlottesville, Virginia.

Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation



strong that the Embargo Act was repealed. On February 27, 1809 the Non-intercourse Law was passed. It closed the ports of the United States to vessels from the warring nations, France and Great Britain, but permitted trade with all other nations. Nothing could be carried to France and Great Britain and nothing could be taken away. Jefferson signed the bill three days before his term ended.

Like Washington, Jefferson refused to accept the nomination for a third term. Although Jefferson served his country during eight stormy years when war clouds hovered on the horizon, he managed to keep the peace, to reduce taxes and the national debt, and to lessen the executive patronage. He simplified government, bringing it nearer the people. The long finger of history points to the purchase of Louisiana as the outstanding achievement of his Administration. In a storm of snow and sleet, Jefferson rode out of Washington on horseback, bound for the plantation home he cherished in Monticello. He left the office of President to James Madison, his trusted Secretary of State and neighbor from Virginia. The "Father of the Constitution" inherited the conflict that Jefferson had dodged for eight years and could be dodged no longer — the War of 1812.

THE SECOND WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

THE WAR OF 1812, so named because it began in that year, was a mixture of conflicts embroiling Europe and both Americas. British, French, and Spanish peoples, as well as Indians and pirates, were involved in this struggle over issues left unsettled in former wars. In the long

standing feud between France and Great Britain, American commerce suffered. In addition to capturing vessels and cargo, the British kidnapped American sailors and pressed them into the service of Great Britain to fight against Napoleon. However, this impressment of American sailors began during Washington's term of office. Over a period of nine months in the years 1796 and 1797, the United States Minister in London applied for the release of nearly 300 seamen, most of whom were citizens of this country. At first, the British claimed to be seeking only deserters from the British navy but the search was extended to include all British subjects. Any sailor unable to prove on the spot that he was a citizen of the United States was forced to serve on a British vessel.

Meanwhile revolutions were brewing in the Spanish colonies in North and South America. Pirates were preying on Spanish commerce. Tecumseh, the brilliant Shawnee chief, organized a confederacy of Indian tribes to halt the westward march of settlers occupying their lands. Thus, the War of 1812 spread on land from Canada to Mexico and on water from the English Channel to Chesapeake Bay.

The land struggle began on the frontier where the farmers suspected that the British were furnishing the Indians with guns and ammunition for raids upon the settlements. In Congress the frontier faction, called the "War Hawks," was led by Henry Clay from Kentucky and John C. Calhoun from South Carolina. Both the western and southern Indians were on the warpath. Although the New Englanders suffered most from French and British attacks on shipping and the impressment of seamen, they did not want war. Their prosperity depended upon commerce and

an all-out war would practically destroy their trade with foreign countries. The westerners wanted to fight. On June 18, 1812 Congress declared war upon Great Britain by a vote of 79 to 49 in the House of Representatives, and 19 to 13 in the Senate. From the beginning of this conflict the nation was divided.

War began in the West on the lake border between territories of Great Britain and the United States. As in the War for Independence, the invasion of Canada was high on the docket of military strategy. The western command was entrusted to General Hull, governor of Michigan, an officer who had marched with Washington. Hull moved too slowly. A letter telling him that war had been declared was captured, along with his baggage and hospital stores, by the British commander in the territory. Meanwhile before Hull learned that Great Britain and the United States were at war, the British commander had time to

prepare. Hull made only a timid defense, losing not only ground in Canada, but forts on the Great Lakes including Detroit.

Hull was bitterly criticized for his surrender of Detroit and his army without firing a shot. He was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot but was pardoned by President Madison. To save the northwestern frontier from invasion, an army of about 10,000 men was recruited by the westerners and placed under General William Henry Harrison, who had defeated Indian followers of Tecumseh the summer before at Tippecanoe in Indiana. American armies stationed at Niagara and farther east were also too cautious. The initial invasion of Canada was a failure. It gave the British time to enlarge their forces and defend the country, not only with garrisons but also with a fleet on Lake Erie.

In February of 1813 Oliver Hazard Perry, a young naval officer stationed at

After the Battle of Lake Erie and using his Navy cap for a pad, Commodore Perry wrote the following message to General Harrison.

*I have met the enemy and they are ours.
Two Ships, two Brigs one
Schooner & one Sloop.
Yours, with great respect and esteem
O. H. Perry.*

Newport, Rhode Island, received orders to take command of a fleet on Lake Erie. He traveled across the state of New York in a sleigh to Sackett's Harbor. Early in the spring at Erie, Pennsylvania, he put his men to work chopping down trees and sawing lumber to build the fleet he was to command. Five vessels arrived from Black Rock near Buffalo. Then when the boats were completed, he lacked men to sail them. When a hundred recruits arrived early in August, Perry ventured out on the lake. On the evening of the nineteenth General Harrison came on board the flagship, *Lawrence*, for a conference with Perry and his officers on a campaign to recover Michigan.

Perry cruised with his little fleet in search of the British patrol. On the morning of September 10 the sentinel watching in the maintop of the *Lawrence* shouted, "Sail, ho!" a signal that he had sighted the British squadron. The battle began at noon and was still in progress when the moon rose. When the *Lawrence* had been riddled with shot and only one mast remained, Perry was rowed to the *Niagara* amid a spray of bullets, arriving safely to direct the battle from the new flagship. When victory was assured, Perry wrote his famous message to General Harrison. At nine o'clock in the evening, the captured ships of the British fleet joined the American squadron sailing into Put-in-Bay near Sandusky on the southern shore. After the Battle of Lake Erie, Perry assisted Harrison in retaking Detroit which was recovered later in the year 1813.

IN THE SOUTH

THE SURRENDER OF Hull and loss of territory around the Great Lakes had

encouraged the Indians to join the British, who promised to give back their lands taken from them by settlers in the United States. Tecumseh went south to stir up revolt among the tribes living in the region of the Gulf of Mexico. The leaders of the southern confederacy of Indians were the Muscogees, whom the first Europeans called Creeks because their country abounded in little streams.

The Creeks had attained skill in building houses, barges, canoes, arms, and fortifications. They cultivated the land, wove carpets of rushes, and made pottery for cooking purposes. As settlers moved westward into Tennessee and occupied the hunting grounds of the southern tribes, the Creeks grew restless. Then Jefferson purchased Louisiana which included territory that the tribes had occupied to escape the settlers. Both Spain and the United States claimed the region known as West Florida. The Creeks now felt impelled to resort to war in an effort to hold their lands. In August of 1813, shortly before Perry's victory on Lake Erie, Creek warriors attacked Fort Mims on the Alabama River. Of three hundred persons in the garrison at the time of the attack, only about twenty escaped with their lives. The women and children, seeking refuge on the top floor during the battle, were burned to death when the Indians fired the buildings of the fort.

After this massacre at Fort Mims the legislature of Tennessee voted to borrow a sum of money, not exceeding \$300,000 to pay and supply an army of not more than 3500 men, to fight the Creek nation. The troops were gathered almost immediately and placed under the command of Andrew Jackson, the Indian fighter from Nashville. With added forces from East

Tennessee under General Cocke, from Georgia under General Floyd, and from Mississippi under General Claiborne, Jackson waged a war of extermination upon the Creeks. He destroyed their fields, burned their villages, and shot them on sight. The broken nation sued for peace. The Creeks lost most of their territory in the treaty signed by thirty-six of their chiefs. Reduced to starvation, the Creeks who survived the war were furnished with food and necessities by the Government until the next corn crop was harvested. Some Creeks fled to join their kindred, the Seminoles, who were hiding in the Florida swamps.

The defeat of Napoleon released British troops and ships for the war in North America, and threatened an invasion of the Atlantic coast. A force from British vessels landed in Chesapeake Bay. They advanced upon Washington, scattered the American troops who tried to stop the invaders, and burned the government buildings of the new capital. President Madison and his Cabinet fled across the Potomac into Virginia. Although a carriage stood waiting at her door, Mrs. Madison did not leave until the fire of British soldiers was heard. She took along valuable state papers, silver tableware, and Stuart's painting of Washington which she cut from its frame with a carving knife, as there was not time to remove it all. After destroying the capital, the British returned to their ships.

Upon leaving the burning capital late in August of 1814, the British took with them Dr. Beanes, a prominent physician. Francis Scott Key, a lawyer in Georgetown, gained permission from President Madison to board the flagship of Admiral Cochrane and plead for the release of Dr. Beanes. Key and a leading citizen of Baltimore

went out to the fleet, massed near the mouth of the Potomac River for an attack upon Baltimore, next city on the list for capture after Washington. The Americans went out in the *Minden* under a flag of truce. Admiral Cochrane, although agreeing to release the doctor, held him, his attorney, and friend on board the *Minden*. He feared that they would reveal the plan of attack on Baltimore upon their return to shore. The three men watched during a whole night the bombardment of Fort McHenry, wondering if the morning would reveal the white flag of surrender or the Stars and Stripes on the flagpole.

In the dim light of the early morning, through glasses, they saw the nation's flag still waving over the fort. The firing had ceased. Overjoyed, Key, who was also a poet, scribbled The Star Spangled Banner on the back of a letter he had in his pocket. Set to the tune of an old English song, the poem later became the national anthem. When the British fleet was ready to sail away, the prisoners were sent ashore.

ON THE SEA

WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, Americans lost the battles on land but they won most of the engagements on the water. The War of 1812 was essentially a naval conflict. The small United States Navy won more than its share of victories on lakes and at sea. Two months after war was declared, the United States frigate, *Constitution*, met the British ship, *Guerrière*, off the coast of Nova Scotia. Isaac Hull, captain of the *Constitution*, withheld fire until at close range to save ammunition. After forty-five minutes of close fighting the *Guerrière* was a total wreck and struck her flag. After the

Americans had taken off the British seamen who survived the battle, Hull ordered their vessel burned. His victory cheered Americans who were alarmed by his uncle's surrender at Detroit a few days before. Congress voted thanks and \$50,000 to Hull and his crew. His ship was nicknamed *Old Ironsides*.

When war broke out between Great Britain and the United States, few persons in either country realized that it would develop into a conflict on the sea. When war was declared by Congress on the eighteenth of June, 1812, this nation had only seven well-manned, seaworthy frigates — *Constitution, President, United States, Congress, Constellation, Chesapeake, Essex* — with a total 278 guns. Great Britain had over a thousand ships and most of these were cruising the seas. Hopelessly outnumbered in warships, the Government of the United States turned to privateering to cripple British sea power.

A week after war was declared, Congress passed an act encouraging private ship owners to apply for letters of marque to fit out vessels as privateers. The act stated:

Prize money to accrue only to the owners, officers, and crews of the privateers, to be distributed according to any written engagement between them. Two percent of the net amount of prize money to be paid over to the collectors as a fund for widows and orphans and disabled seamen.

Hundreds of seamen, long out of work because of the embargo, enlisted for duty on privateers. The risk and adventure of chasing and capturing the British merchant vessels, as well as the chance to win a small fortune, lured them back to the seas. While defending their country they might also fill their own pockets. The immediate response to the act, passed

June 26, 1812, can be judged from a news item appearing in a Halifax paper under a date line of July 20, 1812:

American privateers are swarming round our coast and in the Bay of Fundy. Hardly a day passes but we hear of some captures by them. — Indeed, so numerous are the privateers around the coast that we consider it very imprudent for any vessel to sail from this port unless under convoy.

News of captures were published by newspapers everywhere, and eagerly read by citizens, anxious to keep track of the number of vessels taken to date. In October of 1814, the twelve hundredth capture was recorded in Niles Weekly Register as follows:

Brig, *Nancy*, from Liverpool for Halifax laden with dry goods, captured by the Portsmouth, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, divested of 318 bales and packages of goods invoiced at 27,000 pounds sterling, and ordered in. This is a great prize well accounted for, as the privateer with her rich spoils has safely arrived.

The privateersmen, actually licensed pirates, had their own code of honor. The owners of the ship *Benjamin Franklin* learned that the British ship, *Industry*, laden with about two thousand dollars worth of pickled salmon, belonged to a poor widow and her family. They ordered the captain of their privateer to return the captured vessel and its cargo to the woman.

Ships and cargoes worth many millions of dollars were captured or destroyed by privateers, roving singly or in groups. These armed raiders were actually men-of-war, taking the place of the battleships that usually belong to a navy. In some encounters with the enemy these privateers were captured or scuttled and many sea-

James Madison, President of the United States of America,

TO ALL WHO SHALL SEE THESE PRESENTS, GREETING:

BE IT KNOWN, That in pursuance of an act of congress, passed on the *eighteenth* day of *June* one thousand eight hundred and twelve, I have commissioned, and by these presents do commission, the private armed Schooner called the *Leonidas* — of the burden of *one hundred thirty five* tons, or thereabouts, owned by *J. W. Brown, B. W. Conkuff, Samy Williams, James Wesley, Henry Dieder & Robert Carey* of the City of Baltimore in the State of Maryland

mounting *one* carriage guns, and navigated by *nineteen* men, hereby authorizing *John Chase* captain, and *Thomas W. Jencks* lieutenant of the said Schooner *Leonidas* — and the other officers and crew thereof, to subdue, seize, and take any armed or unarmed British vessel, public or private, which shall be found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or elsewhere on the high seas, or within the waters of the British dominions, and such captured vessel, with her apparel, guns, and appertenances, and the goods or effects which shall be found on board the same, together with all the British persons and others who shall be found acting on board, to bring within some port of the United States; and also to retake any vessel, goods, and effects of the people of the United States, which may have been captured by any British armed vessel, in order that proceedings may be had concerning such capture or recapture in due form of law, and as to right and justice shall appertain. The said *John Chase* is further authorized to detain, seize, and take all vessels and effects, to whomsoever belonging, which shall be liable thereto according to the law of nations and the rights of the United States as a power at war, and to bring the same within some port of the United States, in order that due proceedings may be had thereon. This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the president of the United States for the time being.

GIVEN under my hand and the seal of the United States of America, at the City of Washington, the *Twelfth* day of *December* in the year of our Lord, *one thousand eight hundred and fourteen* and of the independence of the said states the *Thirty ninth*

BY THE PRESIDENT,

James Madison

Jas. Monroe Secretary of State.

From original in National Archives

LETTER OF MARQUE ISSUED BY PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON DURING THE WAR OF 1812.

BE IT KNOWN, That in pursuance of an act of congress passed on the eighteenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and twelve, I have commissioned, and by these presents do commission, the private armed Schooner called the *Leonidas* — of the burden of one hundred thirty five tons, or thereabouts, owned by . . . of the City of Baltimore in the State of Maryland

mounting one carriage gun, and navigated by nineteen men, hereby authorizing John Chase captain, and Thomas W. Jencks, lieutenant of the said Schooner *Leonidas* — and the other officers and crew thereof, to subdue, seize, and take any armed or unarmed British vessel, public or private, which shall be found within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, or elsewhere on the high seas, or within the waters of the British dominions, and such captured vessel, with her apparel, guns, and appertenances, and the goods or effects which shall be found on board the same, together with all the British persons and others who shall be found acting on board, to bring within some port of the United States; and also to retake any vessel, goods, and effects of the people of the United States, which may have been captured by any British armed vessel, in order that proceedings may be had concerning such capture or recapture in due form of law, and as to right and justice shall appertain. The said John Chase is further authorized to detain, seize, and take all vessels and effects, to whomsoever belonging, which shall be liable thereto according to the law of nations and the rights of the United States as a power at war, and to bring the same within some port of the United States, in order that due proceedings may be had thereon. This commission to continue in force during the pleasure of the president of the United States for the time being.

GIVEN under my hand the seal of the United States of America, at the city of Washington, the Twelfth day of December in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen and of the independence of the said states the Thirty ninth.

BY THE PRESIDENT

James Madison

Jas. Monroe Secretary of State

men lost their lives. Part of their code was to defend their country, first and last. Few, if any, rendered as much service as the *General Armstrong*, which was owned by a group of merchants in New York.

In September of 1814 this privateer sought refuge in a harbor of the Azores Islands, which belonged to the neutral country of Portugal, to get water and other necessities for the men on board. In violation of international rules of warfare three British men-of-war entered the neutral port of Fayal to attack the American vessel. Captain Lloyd, commanding the squadron, intended to add the *General Armstrong* to his unit on the way to join a fleet assembling in Jamaica for an attack on New Orleans. He dispatched boatloads of men to board the privateer and capture it. At their approach Captain Reid fired upon them. It was a bright moonlit night. Crowds from the town gathered on the shore to watch the battle that raged for forty minutes. With his ship badly damaged and escape blocked by the British squadron, Captain Reid ordered his men to scuttle the ship and flee to shore.

The engagement was costly to the British who had over three hundred casualties. However, the loss of time amounted to a major defeat of the British. The fleet at Jamaica waited ten days past the scheduled sailing date for the arrival of Captain Lloyd's squadron. This delay gave General Jackson time to gather forces for the defense of New Orleans. In the public mind the captain of the privateer shared honors with a general in the army for saving the city of New Orleans from capture.

Why did the British want to take New Orleans? The reason was stated by the editor of the London Courier in his paper dated June 17, 1813:

If Great Britain will only take New Orleans, she will divide the States. By shutting that outlet to the fruits of western industry, she will make herself known and respected by those States, in spite of the power of the rest of the Union. If in the war of 1755, France had been as superior at sea, as Britain then was, we should never have heard of the United States of America. The back country would have been as well settled before this with Frenchmen, as it now is with the descendants of Britons.

Jamaica became the gathering place for British troops and ships for the invasion of the coastal region of the United States. About the first of December, 1814, a military force of about 10,000 men, including sailors and marines, embarked on forty ships and sailed from Jamaica for New Orleans. The army was placed under the command of Sir Edward Pakenham, a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars. The small United States Navy was represented by a few squadrons of gunboats under Lieutenant Jones, who could do little more than fight a delaying action against the invading fleet.

The British troops were safely landed and prepared for the attack on the key city of Louisiana. Jackson delayed the battle until militia arrived from Kentucky. His men completed fortifications of logs, cotton bales, and mud. Behind this crude bulwark ranged a battle line of strange fighting men, enrolled under the banner of the Stars and Stripes. There were regulars of the United States Army, free Negroes, French dragoons, frontiersmen in homespun shirts, and sailors from boats in the river. In the midst of them was Jean Lafitte, who had guided his swarthy pirate gang over miles of secret trails through swamps to join the forces of General Jackson. Pakenham's well-trained soldiers

advanced across level country in the face of deadly fire. They were met by expert marksmen who had learned to use a rifle in boyhood, hunting turkeys, deer, and squirrels in the woods surrounding their frontier farms. About seven hundred British lost their lives and twice that number were wounded before they deserted the field of battle. General Packenham was killed in the rout.

The Battle of New Orleans on the eighth of January, 1815 was fought two weeks after peace had been signed on Christmas Eve in Ghent, Belgium. The news could not reach the armies until a sailing ship brought it across three thousand miles of ocean and through the Gulf of Mexico.

The war had been unpopular both in Great Britain and the United States. British merchants complained about the losses due to privateers and American traders missed their foreign markets. Although the war aims were not mentioned in the treaty, the results of the conflict were far-reaching. With foreign trade cut off by the British blockade, Americans built their own cotton and woolen mills and other factories to produce the things they needed. In this way the War of 1812 helped the United States to become an industrial nation. However, the real victory was on water, not land. The conflict coming so soon after the Revolutionary War has been called the Second War for Independence, because, by it, the United States won the freedom of the seas.

Pirates who long had robbed American ships in the Mediterranean were finally defeated, and that great waterway was free to commerce. Several years before Washington was inaugurated, the captain of a British vessel brought the news that the Algerians had declared war on the United

States. They were building eight ships to prey on American commerce. This captain knew of two merchant ships from Boston that had been captured. Their crews had been sold into slavery on the auction block by the pirates of Algiers.

During Jefferson's term, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur boldly entered the harbor of Tripoli in a small row boat with a few sailors, set fire to the *Philadelphia* which pirates had taken from Americans, and escaped unhurt to his ship under heavy bombardment from shore batteries. To reward Decatur for his gallant service in the wars with the Barbary States and the war with England, James Monroe, Secretary of State in Madison's cabinet, promoted him to the Board of Navy Commissioners.

A few months later, his new duties took him to Norfolk, Virginia, his wife's birthplace, where they were entertained at a dinner by old friends. The guests responded to this toast in honor of Decatur:

"National glory! A gem above all price, and worthy every hazard to sustain its splendor."

To this praise for his part in defending national glory, Decatur modestly replied:

"Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

The War of 1812 was the last armed controversy between Great Britain and the United States. Ever since, the two English-speaking nations have been allies in war and in peace. Before the treaty was signed, however, other wars for independence in the Spanish colonies of the Americas threatened to involve this country in another European conflict.

REVOLUTIONS IN SPANISH AMERICA BRING FORTH THE MONROE DOCTRINE

SOUTH AMERICA was also affected by Napoleon's rise to power in France. In the year following the decree forbidding trade with Great Britain, Napoleon's army marched into Portugal. The royal family of that little kingdom fled to their South American colony of Brazil under the protection of a British fleet. Rio de Janeiro became the capital of Portugal instead of Lisbon. Queen Maria was insane and her son, Prince John, ruled the country as regent. Immediately he opened the ports of Brazil to foreign ships; freed industry and encouraged trade; established the Bank of Brazil; started a printing press; and founded a royal library open to all readers. These measures made Prince John popular with his former colonists. With the royal family on the throne in Brazil, that nation escaped the revolutionary upheavals which started in the Spanish colonies when Napoleon invaded Spain the following year, 1808. Napoleon placed his brother Joseph on Ferdinand's throne.

However, the seeds of revolution had been planted in South America before Napoleon began his conquest of Europe. Four years before our War for Independence started at Lexington, Francisco de Miranda, a young man twenty years old, left his native country of Venezuela, and sailed for Spain to seek a military career denied him in his homeland. His father, a Spaniard of Basque origin, had migrated from the Canary Islands to Venezuela, where he became a wealthy man, owner of a cacao plantation and a fine house in Caracas. Francisco was refused entrance to the Royal Cadet Corps, reserved for the sons of the first families,

direct descendants of the conquistadores. With injured pride young Francisco left for Spain to continue his studies in language, mathematics, and military tactics. In 1772 he entered the service of Spain with a commission of captain in a favored regiment. This was gained through his influence at court and a payment of money.

During the Revolutionary War, Miranda had been transferred to a regiment leaving Spain to fight the British in the West Indies. Since France and Spain were then allies and France was helping the American colonies to win their independence, the King of Spain was forced to declare war on Great Britain although he was not in favor of it. Miranda's arrival in the West Indies was a turning point in the history of the Americas. Here he joined his French allies to whom he rendered a service as he was able to speak the language fluently. After a military base was established in the islands, Miranda went along with the expedition of French and Spanish forces to capture the town of Pensacola, Florida, held by the British. In his diary, Miranda reported the capture of the Florida fort:

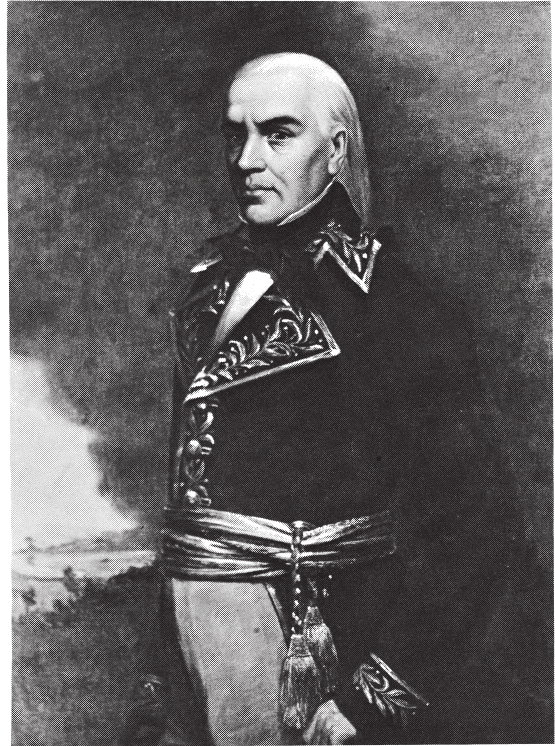
On May 9, 1781, at seven A.M., Sergeant Major Campbell came to our camp with full powers to conclude a capitulation; and at two P.M., all was terminated as regards the arrangements. At three, General Galvez left with two companies of Grenadiers to take over the city, and they were well received by the inhabitants.

Upon his return to Havana, Miranda was sent to Jamaica to arrange with the British governor for the exchange of prisoners. Next he joined a combined force of French, Spanish, and United States naval units in an attack upon the Bahama Islands. On this expedition Miranda served side by

side with soldiers and sailors, mostly men from the southern states, who explained to him the principles of the Declaration of Independence, based upon the idea that the human rights of man are above the rights of government. Miranda was keenly interested in the "something new" germinating in the Western Hemisphere and he wanted to learn more about it.

After the capture of the Bahamas and the surrender of the British garrison, Miranda returned to Cuba expecting to be well received. His general had officially cited him for merit and commended him for his part in making the campaign a success. Instead, he faced a series of charges that he had been too generous to the British commander in Jamaica when exchanging prisoners. Although the Governor-General of Cuba defended Miranda, his enemies pressed the charges against him and threatened to bring an end to his military career. While inactive in Cuba, Miranda rendered a service to the cause of independence in the United States by using his influence with the Governor-General to secure a loan of 35,000 pounds from the Cuban treasury for purchasing supplies for the French fleet. This financial aid, secured by Miranda, hastened the departure of the French fleet under Admiral de Grasse who sailed up Chesapeake Bay in time to block the escape of the British army by sea. This resulted in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

When word came to Miranda that orders had been issued for his arrest and return to Spain, he paced the terrace of his lodgings and watched the lights on the ships riding at anchor in the bay. He made a fateful decision during the night. Because he was also an American he would go to the United States to learn more about the new freedom in that



FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA 1750-1816

Francisco de Miranda visited France, England, and the United States, seeking advice and arms to free Venezuela, his birthplace, from the rule of Spain. Being a military man, he took part in the wars of these four countries. On July 5, 1811, a congress made up of delegates of seven provinces declared they were "by act and right, free sovereign, and independent states." Real independence, however, was won only after a long and bloody war, following the death of Miranda in 1816. He spent the last four years of his life in prison on the island of Leon near Cadiz, Spain.

On a monument to Miranda in Caracas, Venezuela, these words are inscribed:

He took part in three great political movements of his age: the independence of the United States of America; the French revolution; and the independence of South America.

country. When the Spanish fleet sailed from Havana for Cadiz, Miranda was not aboard. In his diary for June 1, 1783, he wrote:

I went many times to the Court of Justice. I really cannot express my pleasure and satisfaction at seeing the admirable system of the British Constitution in practice. — What a contrast to the Spanish system of Government!

In Philadelphia he met George Washington and discussed military affairs. In touring battlefronts in New York and Massachusetts he became friendly with Alexander Hamilton and General Knox who had served on Washington's staff. Miranda, coming from a country where promotions in the army and the government were open only to persons of wealth and influence, was somewhat surprised to learn that General Knox whom he admired as "one of the best informed military men in theory and in practice of war" had been a bookseller before he joined the militia. Miranda often visited legislative assemblies to learn how laws were made by representatives of the people. In Boston he was a little disturbed that a tailor, an innkeeper, a porter, and a blacksmith were members of the state assembly. This way of providing government by the governed was so new to him.

Before leaving the United States for England in December of 1784, Miranda acquired an estimate of the cost of supplying an army of 5000 men for one year. The next four years were spent traveling through the countries of Europe. There he studied the various forms of government. He also contemplated the pattern best suited for South America when that continent would gain its freedom from Spain. He returned to New York in the autumn of 1805 to organize an expedition intended to liberate his native country, Venezuela. Although it failed, Miranda continued his efforts to promote revolution in the Spanish colonies of the

Americas. But Napoleon, not Miranda, touched off the spark that kindled the flame of war.

NAPOLEON INVADES SPAIN

WHEN NAPOLEON deposed Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, and placed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the throne, the Spanish Americans revolted as a gesture of loyalty to their monarch. This event was a good excuse for the general outbreak of revolutions smoldering in the Spanish provinces since the United States had declared its independence. However, independence was not so easily won in Spanish America as it was in British America. Although Great Britain and Spain had the same idea, that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country, the British colonials gained a large measure of self-government. While still subjects of Great Britain they learned to enjoy freedoms and to fight for them. Therefore, the struggle for independence in the United States was more a general uprising of the people and less the vision of their leaders.

The Spanish colonies were ruled almost entirely by officials sent over from Spain. These viceroys had mounted guards, fine carriages, and the trappings of royalty. In the villages the people had a small voice in local affairs, but not enough for them to learn how to govern themselves in a separate nation. Therefore, the independence movement in Spanish America was like a game of "follow the leader." It rose and fell with the success and failure of the military chiefs who led the uprisings. Today in cities of the Americas, statues in public places honor the memory of these

leaders whom the people call, affectionately, the "libertadores." The only one who rose to power in the revolutionary movement was another Venezuelan, Simon Bolivar.

Bolivar was born in the capital, Caracas, in 1783 the same year that Miranda sailed from Cuba for a tour of the United States. Like Miranda, he was the son of wealthy parents, but Bolivar's family belonged to the aristocrats who had refused to admit Miranda to their cadet corps. The two men, however, were destined to meet in later years on common ground, fighting for the independence of South America. At the age of nine Simon was orphaned. Like most sons of rich colonials he was sent to school in Spain when sixteen years of age. He had already served two years in the battalion where his father had once been a colonel. In 1802 he married the daughter of a Spanish nobleman and returned to Venezuela, intending to spend his days on his father's estate. But the death of his wife started him wandering with his former tutor as a companion. His teacher, Rodriguez, had fled from Venezuela after serving a prison sentence for stirring up a rebellion against Spanish authorities there. From Rodriguez, no doubt, the young Bolivar gained encouragement to liberate South America, according to a remark made in a letter to his former instructor after the country was freed from Spain and Simon Bolivar was the national hero:

Do you remember when we were together at the Holy Mount in Rome to swear upon that sacred earth the liberty of our country?

In 1807 Bolivar visited the United States to learn something about government in that country. Then, when

Napoleon invaded Spain, Bolivar cast his lot with the revolutionaries who refused to accept Napoleon's brother as their monarch. In 1810 Miranda returned from Europe to his home country of Venezuela to foment another revolt. The following year, on the fifth day of July, he joined the patriots in a declaration of independence made by the American Confederation of Venezuela. It stated:

These united provinces are, and ought to be from this day forth, in fact and of right, free, sovereign, and independent states.

The Spanish governor was expelled from the country along with his associates. A constitution similar to the one in the United States was adopted, but the newborn republic did not last long. A year later Miranda surrendered to a loyalist Spanish army under a treaty agreement that persons and property of Venezuelans would be respected, but the nation's freedom was sacrificed. A storm of criticism fell upon Miranda. When he tried to escape on a British ship, several patriots, one of whom was Bolivar, captured him and threw him into prison where he was later found by the Spanish governor. After serving time in jails in the West Indies, he was transported to Spain where he died in a dungeon in July of 1816. His place as leader of the revolution had been taken by Simon Bolivar.

THE REVOLT SPREADS IN SPANISH AMERICA

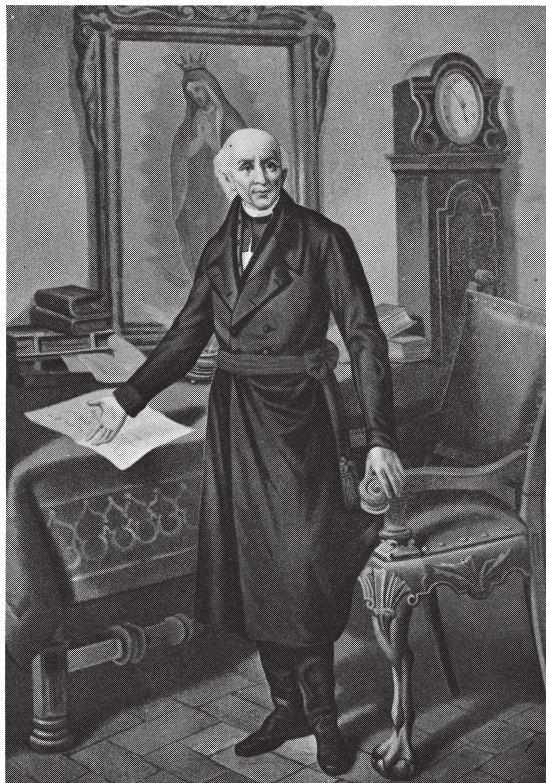
DURING PRESIDENT Madison's administration, revolts broke out here and there all over Spanish America. While Miranda had been gathering recruits in

Venezuela, Hidalgo had been organizing an army in Mexico to overthrow the Spanish regime. Although the revolution started as an Indian uprising on September 16, 1810, Mexicans of Spanish blood joined Hidalgo's forces in their triumphal

march into the country west of the capital. The revolutionaries, lacking arms and discipline, were defeated by the drilled and well-equipped regulars of the Spanish army.

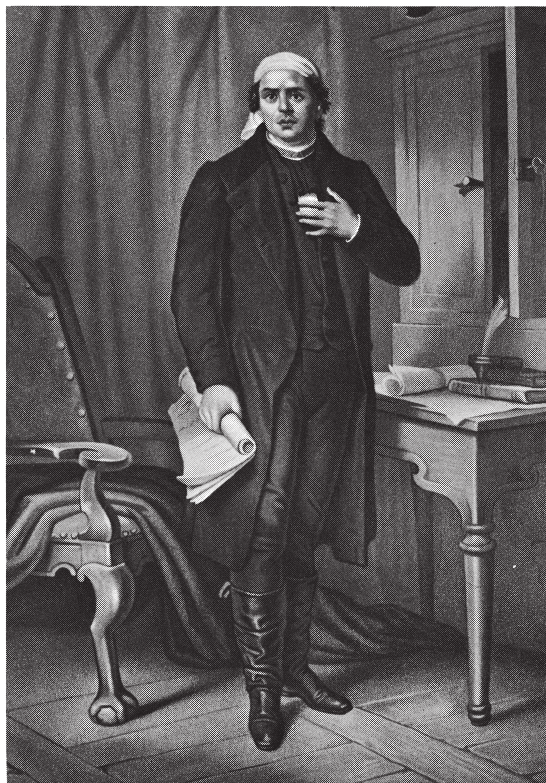
Hidalgo was traveling north through friendly country with only a few com-

HEROES OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION



MIGUEL HIDALGO Y COSTILLA 1753-1811

It was Sunday morning, September 16, 1810. Hidalgo, a priest in the village of Dolores, Mexico rang the church bell. The people knew this was the signal to start the planned revolt for independence. Although thousands of Mexicans joined the ranks of Hidalgo's army, they lacked weapons of war and army discipline, and were defeated by the well-trained Spanish forces. Hidalgo was shot as a traitor, July 30, 1811 in Chihuahua. Today, in Mexico, September 16 is a national holiday – Independence Day.



JOSE MARIA MORELOS 1765-1815

Morelos, also a village priest, joined the army of Hidalgo in 1810, and became the leader of the revolution after Hidalgo's execution. Morelos was a successful general. Within two years, he controlled most of the southern part of Mexico. He summoned a congress to meet in Chilpancingo to draft a constitution giving the people the right to vote and to share in their government. His government soon fell. As more soldiers arrived from Spain, his armies were defeated. Morelos was shot as a traitor on December 22, 1815.

panions to seek refuge in Louisiana when he was captured through the treachery of one of his own officers. In less than a year after the uprising on September 16, now celebrated as Independence Day, the Father of Mexican Independence was executed by a firing squad.

One of Hidalgo's followers, Morelos, then became the leader of the revolution. He recruited soldiers and gathered an army that drove royalist soldiers from the district south of Mexico City lying between Acapulco and the capital. He summoned a congress, which met at Chilpancingo in the province of Guerrero. On November 6, 1813, seven of the eight delegates signed the first declaration of independence for Mexico. About a year later a constitution was adopted, but the document had little force because Spanish soldiers patrolled large sections of the country. The new government soon fell when Morelos was captured and shot as a traitor. Others took up the cause of the revolution, and fought until Mexico was free from Spain. Today two provinces of that country are named for Hidalgo and Morelos who gave their lives for Mexican independence.

After Napoleon's defeat in 1814 the King of Spain regained his throne. Immediately, Ferdinand dispatched troops to quell the rebellions gaining ground in the Spanish colonies of the Americas. His first concern was to save his empire in the New World. The largest number of soldiers was landed in the northern provinces of South America. There the wars for independence began, raged with the greatest fury, and lasted the longest time. There, the leader of the revolutionaries was General Bolivar, a rich landowner, who freed the thousand slaves he had inherited, used his fortune to equip his soldiers, and devoted his life to

winning independence for the southern continent. There, the struggle was a long story of battles lost and won; freedoms granted and denied; towns pillaged and burned; women and children massacred; prisoners shot on both sides; congresses called and disbanded; and constitutions proclaimed and discarded. At times it was a war of extermination.

These wars for independence enlisted the sympathy of freedom loving peoples everywhere. Hundreds of volunteer troops from England, Scotland, and Ireland joined the ranks of revolutionaries in Spanish America. Among the officers were such names as Cochrane, MacGregor, and O'Leary. A Frenchman who lived in Baltimore became known as the Lafayette of the Spanish American revolutions. Many adventurous westerners in the United States joined the patriot armies of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and the provinces farther south. Since the papers and magazines printed news from every battlefield and articles about the countries and the people, citizens of the United States learned about their southern neighbors with whom they strongly sympathized.

In 1817 James Monroe became President of the United States. Monroe, who had fought with Washington in the War for Independence, inherited the diplomatic problems of the South American revolutions. The events in South America during Monroe's term created anxiety in the United States where Henry Clay was advocating recognition of the revolutionary governments established in Mexico, Central and South America. In election parades in Mexico pictures of Washington and Franklin were carried along with those of the candidates for



MONUMENT TO SAN MARTIN AND HIS ARMY OF THE ANDES

On a peak overlooking the city of Mendoza in western Argentina, this monument commemorates the daring crossing of the Andes by General San Martin and his army. The extraordinary feat of taking both infantry and cavalry from Mendoza and through a snowy, unmarked pass in the high mountains caught the Spaniards in Chile by surprise. The royal army was defeated at Chacabuco. Both Chile and Argentina were free. The figure of an angel holds aloft the broken chain that had tied these countries to Spain.

office. A short time after Monroe was elected, this note was published in the papers:

The supreme congress of the Mexican Republic have voted to Henry Clay, the speaker of the House of Representatives, their thanks for the disinterested, manly and generous sentiments he expressed on the floor of the house, for the welfare of that infant republic.

The feat of San Martin opened the passage through Peru for uniting the armies of the north and the south. Jose de San Martin was born in an Indian mission in

Uruguay where his father was an army officer. When Jose was seven years old, his family returned to Spain. At eleven the boy enlisted in the Spanish army and grew into manhood fighting the wars of his King. He was thirty-four when he arrived at Buenos Aires, after an absence of twenty-seven years. He joined the revolutionary armies and fought to free the southern provinces in South America.

While governor of Cuyo, a province at the foot of the Andes, San Martin decided to cross the mountains and free Chile. Although the people of Cuyo were poor, they provided horses, mules, slaves, soldiers, arms, ammunition, blankets, food, and money for this daring expedition. In January of 1817, during the warmest summer weather, the army of 5,200 men and 10,000 horses and mules started on this journey. Along narrow ledges the mules trudged single file, carrying their loads of arms, food, and firewood. It kept three hundred men busy shoveling snow to clear a path for men and beasts. Five thousand pack animals were lost but only a few men perished in crossing the mountains. On the Pacific slope of the Andes, San Martin took the Spaniards by surprise, defeating the loyalist army at Chacabuco.

Soon Chile had a constitution modeled after that of the United States. The Chileans furnished soldiers, arms, and money to enlarge San Martin's army for freeing Peru. With the help of a fleet commanded by Admiral Cochrane formerly of the British Navy, Lima fell to the revolutionaries. Most of the country outside the capital was held by loyalist troops.

To free Peru, General San Martin on July 28, 1821 in company with representatives of the University of San Marcos, public officials, and many nobles marched in



Painting by Don Tito Salas. Bank of Venezuela

BOLIVAR'S ARMY CROSSING THE ANDES

After establishing the Republic of Venezuela, Bolivar decided to take Bogota on the other side of the mountains and add that territory to what he had taken from Spain. On May 23, 1819 the General called a meeting of his officers in a shabby hut on the bank of the Agure River that flows into the Orinoco. For chairs, the men sat on the skulls of cattle bleached white with sun and rain, all that was left of a herd slaughtered to feed the Spanish soldiers who had fled. Bolivar's men agreed to cross the Andes and take Bogota by surprise.

The army marched through flooded lands and swam raging streams to the foothills of the towering Andes. On June 22, the army, pelted by rain, hail, and icy wind, began the treacherous ascent to the cold heights. Men, horses and mules died on the way, but the army won enough skirmishes to enter Bogota. The surprise maneuver was a success. On the tenth day of August, Bolivar rode up to the palace of the Spanish viceroy who fled disguised as an Indian. He changed the name of the country. New Granada became Colombia, but borders were not settled for many years.



SIMON BOLIVAR – EL LIBERTADOR
1783-1830

People in South America call Bolivar “the Liberator.”

triumph to the great square of Lima. There, San Martin unfurled, for the first time, the flag of another independent nation. Dramatically, he waved the banner three times, while the cheering crowd echoed his words, “Long live the country! Long live liberty! Long live independence!” Cannons fired salutes, the church bells rang, and the people shouted for joy. Peru was free.

A year later San Martin, the hero of the South, met Bolivar, the hero from the North, at the port of Guayaquil in the present nation of Ecuador. What happened when the two great men met remains somewhat of a mystery. Soon after the conference San Martin retired as protector

of Peru and became a voluntary exile in Europe. He left the glory of Libertador to his rival, Simon Bolivar, in order that their ambitions would not clash and injure the united cause of independence. At this crucial time, the United States threw a protecting arm around the infant republics of Spanish America.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

WHEN EUROPEAN MONARCHS met in 1822, both North and South Americans feared that the monarchs might help the King of Spain regain his lost provinces in the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, Russians were creeping down the Pacific coast from Alaska. Their trading posts extended five hundred miles south of the Columbia River, only thirty miles from the Spanish settlements in California. Every year, Russian ships laden with American furs sailed from the northwest coast. How long could the United States remain free and independent if rulers in Europe and Asia were able to conquer the nation’s neighbors?

For the answer to this puzzling question Monroe consulted his friend and teacher, Thomas Jefferson, and his capable Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams.

Monroe considered asking Great Britain to join with the United States in declaring that any attempt to take any part of the Americas by force of arms would be resented by both countries. John Quincy Adams wanted this nation to stand alone and not “come in as a cockboat in the wake of the British man-of-war.” In fact, the Monroe Doctrine was largely the work of John Quincy Adams. It was a rather simple statement but it startled the world.

On December 2, 1823, President Monroe informed Congress that the Western Hemisphere was no longer open for further colonization by powers in the Eastern Hemisphere. His statement was blunt, declaring “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.” President Monroe added an explanation, stating the necessity for this opinion because the political systems in European countries were different from those in the Americas:

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.

The bold message struck the European diplomats like a bolt of lightning. Some spoke out against it and others ignored it. Among the new South American nations, the doctrine was most enthusiastically received in Chile. Congressmen, although approving the Monroe policy, were fearful

that it might involve the United States in war. The people, however, were enthusiastic about the Monroe Doctrine which appealed to their national pride.

Monroe’s Secretary of State, largely responsible for the document, won the next Presidential election. John Quincy Adams was the son of John Adams, the second President of the United States. As a little boy, holding tightly to his mother’s hand, he had watched the Battle of Bunker Hill. He grew up with the nation. His term marks the end of a period when the Government had been guided by men from the original thirteen states and by citizens who had taken some part in the War for Independence. During that forty years the nation had paid its debts and restored credit; established business and become self-supporting; defended itself in war; and aided others fighting for freedom. The United States of America had won the respect of the world. Then “something new” came out of the West.

MAPS:

WA12r, WA18r, WA19r

Atlas of American History by Edgar B. Wesley