Launching the Republic

Why It’s Important

With the Constitution in place, the newly chosen government began to set procedures and customs for the country. The nation continued to gain new territory and grow, but faced challenges from other countries, including its old foe, Great Britain. The United States also set foreign policy that would guide its actions for many years.

- The American political process took shape during the country’s early years.
- The United States began to establish its place in the world as it gained territory and fought wars with foreign powers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1780</th>
<th>1790</th>
<th>1800</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>1798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington becomes first president</td>
<td>Bill of Rights is added to Constitution</td>
<td>Alien and Sedition Acts are passed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804</td>
<td>Lewis and Clark begin expedition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1796</td>
<td>American ship opens up trade with California</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Strong earthquake hits San Diego region</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1789
The French Revolution begins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1798</th>
<th>1804</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alien and Sedition Acts are passed</td>
<td>Napoleon crowns himself emperor of France</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

The Federalist Era

The Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.

Where & When?

1788

1789
George Washington is nation’s first president

1794
1796
John Adams is elected president

1798
Congress passes Alien and Sedition Acts

Washington, D.C.

THE UNITED STATES in 1800
The First President
Political ideas and major events shape how people form governments.
President Washington and the first Congress built a new government.

Early Challenges
Political ideas and major events shape how people form governments.
The new American government struggled to keep peace at home and avoid war abroad.

The First Political Parties
Citizen participation is essential to the foundation and preservation of the U.S. political system. By the election of 1796, two distinct political parties with different views had developed.

View the Chapter 5 video in the Glencoe Video Program.
Recognizing Bias

Most people have feelings and ideas that affect their point of view. This viewpoint, or bias, influences the way they interpret events. For this reason, an idea that is stated as a fact may really be only an opinion. Recognizing bias will help you judge the accuracy of what you read. You can look for clues to help uncover bias in written form. Read the list below for hints you can use to identify bias.

- Identify the author of the statement, and examine his or her views and possible reasons for writing the material.
- Look for language that reflects an emotion or opinion—words such as all, never, best, worst, might, or should.
- Examine the writing for imbalances—focusing on one viewpoint and failing to discuss other perspectives.

One way to identify bias is to find out more about the author. Can you find information about the author that will help you understand opinions he or she may express?
Look at the two quotes below. Each has a different opinion about “the people.” On a separate sheet of paper, restate each opinion in your own words. Discuss your conclusions with a partner.

“The people are turbulent [disorderly] and changing. . . . They seldom judge or determine right.”
—Alexander Hamilton, Federalist, page 292

“I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence [what we depend on] for continued freedom.”
—Thomas Jefferson, Republican, page 293

Read to Write
Write a paragraph describing a person or event about which you feel very strongly. Now try to write a paragraph about the same person or event without including any personal opinion.

Apply It!
Look for examples of bias in comments made by key figures described in the text.
Looking Back, Looking Ahead
American leaders faced a great challenge. Nobody knew if the political system laid out by the Constitution would work. Many people wondered: Could this new kind of government last?

Focusing on the Main Ideas

- President Washington and the new Congress established the departments in the executive branch, set up the nation’s court system, and added the Bill of Rights to the Constitution. (page 279)
- Alexander Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury under Washington, worked to fix financial problems and strengthen the economy. (page 281)

Locating Places
Washington, D.C.

Meeting People
Thomas Jefferson
Alexander Hamilton
Henry Knox
Edmund Randolph
John Jay

Content Vocabulary
precedent (PREH• suh• duhnt)
cabinet
national debt (DEHT)
bond (BAHND)
speculator (SPEH• kyuuh• LAY• tuhr)
unconstitutional
tariff (TAR• uhf)

Academic Vocabulary
ultimate (UHL• tuh• muht)
structure
confirm
revenue (REH• vuh• NOO)

Reading Strategy
Classifying Information Use a diagram like the one below to list the actions taken by Congress and Washington’s first administration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actions</th>
<th>Congress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Washington’s First Administration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Who & When?

1789
Apr. 30, 1789 Washington takes the oath of office

1790
Sep. 1789 Judiciary Act sets up federal court system

1791
Dec. 1791 Bill of Rights added to the Constitution

George Washington
John Jay
James Madison


President Washington

Main Idea President Washington and the new Congress established the departments in the executive branch, set up the nation’s court system, and added the Bill of Rights to the Constitution.

Reading Connection If you were founding our nation’s government, what do you think would be most important? As you read this section, think about the choices that Washington and the new Congress had to make.

An American Story

Celebrations erupted in the streets of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Charleston in 1789. News of the Constitution’s ratification was greeted with relief and enthusiasm. All that was needed now was a leader to guide the new nation.

On April 6, the new Senate counted the presidential ballots. To no one’s surprise, the votes were unanimous. Senator John Langdon wrote to General George Washington: “Sir, I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency the information of your unanimous election to the office of President of the United States of America.” Washington was ready to begin the difficult task of leading the country.

The Nation’s First President The 57-year-old president-elect made his way slowly toward New York City, then the nation’s capital. After the Constitutional Convention, George Washington had looked forward to a quiet retirement. Instead his fellow citizens elected him to the highest office in the land. On April 30, 1789, Washington took the oath of office as the first president of the United States under the federal Constitution. John Adams became vice president.

Perhaps no office in the new government created more suspicion among the people than the office of president. Many Americans feared that a president would try to become king, but Americans trusted Washington and they believed that it was his leadership that brought them victory in the Revolutionary War. Equally important, he had willingly given up his military power as soon as the war was over to return to his civilian life tending his plantation.

Washington was aware of the difficulties he faced. He knew that the precedents (PREH• suh•duhnts), or traditions, he established as the nation’s first president would shape the future of the United States. “No slip will pass unnoticed,” he remarked. One precedent he established concerned the way people should address him. Vice President Adams supported “His Highness the President of the United States,” but ultimately it was decided that “Mr. President” would be more appropriate.

Washington and the new Congress also had many decisions to make about the structure of government. For example, the Constitution gave Congress the power to establish executive departments, but it did not state whether the department heads would report to the president or to Congress.

The First Congress During the summer of 1789, Congress established three executive departments: a Department of State to take charge of foreign affairs, a Department of the Treasury to handle the nation’s finances, and a Department of War to manage the military.

Banner celebrating George Washington
Congress also created the office of attorney general to handle the government’s legal affairs and the office of postmaster general to direct the postal service. To head the departments, Washington chose prominent political figures of the day—*Thomas Jefferson* as secretary of state, *Alexander Hamilton* as secretary of the treasury, and *Henry Knox* as secretary of war. He appointed *Edmund Randolph* as attorney general. Washington met regularly with the three department heads and the attorney general, who together became known as the cabinet.

According to the Constitution, the Senate must approve presidential appointments to many important positions. However, other issues arose. For example, should the president be able to replace an official that he had appointed and the Senate had confirmed? Senators were evenly divided when they voted on the issue.

Vice President Adams broke the tie by voting to allow the president the authority to dismiss cabinet officers without the Senate’s approval. This decision strengthened the president’s position. It also helped establish the president’s authority over the executive branch.

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**The Electoral College**

**Past** The presidents are not elected directly by the voters, but by a body of representatives called the Electoral College. The Constitution left it up to the states to determine how the electors of the Electoral College are chosen. In the first few presidential elections, the state legislatures chose the electors in many states.

**Present** Today, the voters choose the members of the Electoral College in all the states. Although the ballot shows the names of the presidential candidates, voters are actually voting for a list of presidential electors pledged to that candidate. Why do you think voters choose the members of the Electoral College?
What Did the Judiciary Act Do? The first Congress also had to decide how to set up the nation’s court system. The Constitution briefly mentioned a supreme court but did not provide details about the court system. This became a job for Congress.

In the Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress established the Supreme Court and the lower federal courts: district courts and courts of appeals. The Supreme Court would be the final authority on many issues. Washington nominated John Jay to lead the Supreme Court as chief justice, and the Senate approved Jay’s nomination. With the Judiciary Act, Congress had taken the first steps toward creating a strong and independent national judiciary.

The Bill of Rights Americans mistrusted strong central governments. They had fought a revolution to throw off one and did not want to replace it with another. Many people insisted that the Constitution needed to include guarantees of personal liberties. Some states had supported the Constitution on the condition that a bill of rights be added to protect individual rights.

James Madison introduced a set of amendments during the first session of Congress. Congress passed 12 amendments, and the states ratified 10 of them. In December 1791, these 10 amendments were added to the Constitution and became known as the Bill of Rights.

The Bill of Rights protects our individual liberties. Government may not interfere with freedom of speech, press, or religion and must provide a fair and speedy trial for those accused of crimes. The Tenth Amendment protects the rights of states and individuals by saying that powers not specifically given to the federal government “are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.” With the Tenth Amendment, Madison hoped to use the states as an important line of defense against a too-powerful national government. (See pages 260–261 for the entire text of the Bill of Rights.)

Strengthening the Economy

Main Idea Alexander Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury under Washington, worked to fix financial problems and strengthen the economy.

Reading Connection Have you ever borrowed money from a family member or one of your friends? By doing so, you acquired a debt and had to figure out how and when to pay it back. Hamilton faced a similar challenge with the nation’s debt.

Washington himself rarely proposed laws, and he almost always approved the bills that were passed by Congress. The first president concentrated on foreign affairs and military matters and left the government’s economic policies to his secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton.

The new nation faced serious financial problems. The national debt—the amount the nation’s government owed—was growing. The United States owed millions of dollars to France and the Netherlands for loans made during and after the Revolutionary War. The Continental Congress also had borrowed millions of dollars from American citizens.

What Was Hamilton’s Plan? In 1790 Hamilton proposed that the new government pay off the millions of dollars in debts owed by the Confederation government to other countries and to individual American citizens. The states had fought for the nation’s independence, Hamilton argued, so the national government should pay for the cost of their help. Hamilton also believed that federal payment of state debts would give the states a strong interest in the success of the national government.

Opposition to the Plan Congress readily agreed to pay the money owed to other nations, but Hamilton’s plan to pay off the debt to American citizens unleashed a storm of protest. When the government borrowed money during the American Revolution, it issued bonds—paper notes promising to repay the money in a certain length of time.
While waiting for the payment, many original bond owners—shopkeepers, farmers, and soldiers—had sold the bonds for less than their value. They were purchased by speculators (speh•kyuh•lay•tuhrz), people who take risks with their money in order to make a larger profit. Hamilton proposed that these bonds be paid off at their original value. Opponents believed that Hamilton’s plan would make speculators rich.

The original bond owners felt betrayed by Hamilton’s proposal. They had lost money on the bonds they had bought in support of the war effort while new bond owners would profit.

Opponents in Congress argued that the proposal was contrary to “national justice, gratitude, and humanity.”

Even stronger opposition came from the Southern states, which had accumulated much less debt than the Northern states. Southern states complained that they would have to pay more than their share under Hamilton’s plan.

Compromise Results in a Capital
To win support for his plan, Hamilton worked out a compromise with Southern leaders. They voted for his plan to pay off the state debts, and in return he supported locating the permanent capital in the South. A special district was laid out between Virginia and Maryland along the banks of the Potomac River. This district became Washington, D.C. While workers prepared the new city for the federal government, the nation’s capital was moved from New York to Philadelphia.

The Fight Over the Bank
Hamilton made other proposals for building a strong national economy. He asked Congress to create a national bank, the Bank of the United States. The bank would be a place for the federal government to deposit money raised from taxes. The bank could also provide loans to government and to businesses.

Madison and Jefferson opposed the idea of a national bank. They believed it would give the wealth too much power over national finances. They also charged that the Bank was unconstitutional—that it was inconsistent with the Constitution. Hamilton argued that although the Constitution did not specifically say that Congress could create a bank, Congress still had the power to do so. In the end, the president agreed with Hamilton and signed the bill creating the national bank.

What Is a Tariff?
Although most Americans earned their living by farming, Hamilton thought the development of manufacturing would make America’s economy stronger. He proposed a tariff (tar•uhf)—a tax on imports—to encourage people to buy American products.
Alexander Hamilton was born on the West Indies island of Nevis, where he worked as a clerk as a young man. In 1773 he moved to New York and studied at King’s College. Hamilton quickly became involved in the fight for American independence. He impressed General George Washington, who made him one of his aides-de-camp (secretaries). Hamilton and Washington established a strong friendship and Hamilton served his country on the battlefield and in government.

Hamilton was elected to the Continental Congress and was a driving force in the ratification of the Constitution. Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay wrote a series of essays called *The Federalist Papers* that explained how the new Constitution worked and why it was needed. Hamilton became the nation’s first Secretary of the Treasury. He believed that manufacturing and trade were the basis of national wealth and power. He favored policies that would support these areas of the economy.

During Washington’s presidency, Hamilton and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson had some major differences. They disagreed strongly about how the U.S. government should operate. Hamilton was the leader of the Federalist Party, and Jefferson led the Democratic-Republican Party. These two men became, in essence, the founders of today’s political parties.

When Jefferson and Aaron Burr tied with 73 electoral votes in the presidential election of 1800, the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives had to choose a president. Hamilton urged his followers to support Jefferson, and Jefferson became the new president. After Burr failed in his bid to become president, he campaigned to become governor of New York in 1804. Hamilton worked actively against Burr. When Burr lost, he blamed his defeat on Hamilton and challenged him to a duel. Hamilton was fatally wounded and died on July 12, 1804, ending the life of one of the nation’s most influential leaders.

“A feeble executive implies a feeble execution of the government.”

—Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist, No. 70*

Which of Hamilton’s actions do you think most influenced the nation’s government? Explain your reasoning.
Opposition to the Tariff  This protective tariff would not only raise revenue for the new national government, but also protect American industry from foreign competition. However, many Americans were against the tariff.

The South, having little industry to protect, opposed protective tariffs. Congress rejected protective tariffs but did pass low tariffs to raise money. By the 1790s, the revenue from tariffs provided 90 percent of the national government’s income.

Taxes  The final part of Hamilton’s economic program concerned the creation of national taxes. The government needed additional funds to operate and to make interest payments on the national debt. At Hamilton’s request, Congress approved a variety of taxes, including one on whiskey distilled in the United States.

Hamilton and Jefferson  Under Alexander Hamilton’s economic program, the national government exercised new financial powers. Soon, however, well-organized opposition to Hamilton’s political and economic beliefs grew.

The opposition to Hamilton was led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Where Hamilton’s policies favored merchants, bankers, and speculators, his opponents spoke for the interests of the farmers and laborers. When Hamilton favored increasing the power of the federal government, Jefferson wanted to limit it. They had a very different vision of what America should become.

Reading Check  Compare  Summarize the arguments for and against protective tariffs.

Reading Summary

Review the Main Ideas

• President Washington and the first Congress established the cabinet and a federal court system. The first 10 amendments to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, were introduced during the first session of Congress.

• Under Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, the national government agreed to pay off states’ debts, created a national bank, and put in place a number of tariffs and taxes.

What Did You Learn?

1. What challenges did Washington face as the nation’s first president?
2. Name one thing Hamilton wanted to do to create a stable economic system and strengthen the economy.
3. Comparing Re-create the diagram below. Compare the views of Hamilton and Jefferson. In the boxes, write “for” or “against” for each issue. CA.H8.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Hamilton</th>
<th>Jefferson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National bank</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective tariff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National taxes</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. What compromise led to acceptance of Hamilton’s plan for reducing the national debt? CA.H12.

5. Expository Writing  Imagine you are choosing the first cabinet members. Write job descriptions for the secretaries of state, treasury, and war. CA.BWA.2.5

6. Recognizing Bias  Read Hamilton’s quote. Explain in writing why it does or does not contain bias.

“Can a democratic assembly… steadily pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence [disregard of others] of democracy.” CA.H8.
Early Challenges

Looking Back, Looking Ahead
The United States needed money to pay its war debts and to finance national growth. Although located an ocean away from Europe, the United States could not hope to exist in isolation. The nation had to respond to overseas pressures.

Focusing on the Main Ideas
• Hamilton’s taxes led to rebellion in western Pennsylvania and changed the way the government handled protesters. (page 286)
• The new government faced difficult problems in the West. (page 287)
• President Washington wanted the nation to remain neutral in foreign conflicts. (page 288)

Locating Places
Fallen Timbers
New Orleans

Meeting People
Anthony Wayne
Edmond Genêt (zhuh • NAY)
Thomas Pinckney (PINGK • nee)

Content Vocabulary
neutrality (nool • TRA • luh • tee)
impressment (ihm • PREHS • muhnt)

Academic Vocabulary
transport
maintain

Reading Strategy
Classifying Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and list results of government actions during the early Republic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government action</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treaty of Greenville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proclamation of Neutrality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jay’s Treaty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinckney’s Treaty</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

History
Social Science Standards
US8.3 Students understand the foundation of the American political system and the ways in which citizens participate in it.

US8.4 Students analyze the aspirations and ideals of the people of the new nation.

Where & When?
1791 1793 1795
Nov. 1791 Little Turtle defeats St. Clair’s forces
July 1794 Whiskey Rebellion
Aug. 1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers
Oct. 1795 Spain opens Mississippi River to American shipping
The Whiskey Rebellion

Main Idea Hamilton’s taxes led to rebellion in western Pennsylvania and changed the way the government handled protesters.

Reading Connection Is there a recent government action that you have opposed? What actions did you take? Read to learn what actions the farmers took in regards to the whiskey tax.

An American Story

Far removed from the bustle of trade and shipping along the Atlantic coast, farmers on the western frontier lived quite differently. In fact, western ways seemed almost primitive to travelers from the East. Easterners seemed to notice only the poor roads and the plain diet of corn and salted pork. Living in scattered, isolated homesteads, frontier farmers were proud of their self-reliance. They wanted no “eastern” tax collectors heading their way.

Life in the West In the days before canals and railroads, the Western farmers did not ship their grain east of the Appalachian Mountains because transporting the grain was expensive.

A wagonload of whiskey was worth much more than a wagonload of grain, so Western farmers distilled their grain into whiskey before they shipped it to market.

The farmers rarely had cash. As a result, most lived on a system of bartering—exchanging whiskey and other items they produced for goods they needed.

The Tax Leads to Protests In 1791 both houses of Congress approved a bill that placed a special tax on whiskey and other alcoholic beverages. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton wanted the tax to help prevent the national debt from growing.

The farmers’ resistance was mostly peaceful—until July 1794, when federal officers stepped up efforts to collect the tax. Then a large mob of farmers armed with swords, guns, and pitchforks attacked tax collectors and burned down buildings.

The armed protest, called the Whiskey Rebellion, alarmed government leaders as had Shays’s Rebellion in 1786. (See Chapter 3, pages 194–195.) Now, however, the national government had the taxing and military power that it lacked in 1786. The secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, urged President Washington to use the full power of the federal government to crush the challenge. The president sent an army of 15,000 across the Appalachian Mountains, only to find that the rebels had already disbanded.

By his action, Washington sent a clear message to those who opposed government actions. If citizens wished to change the law, they had to do so peacefully, through constitutional means such as proposing legislation or using the courts. Otherwise, government would use force when necessary to maintain order.

Reading Check Explain How did the Whiskey Rebellion affect the way government handled protesters?
**Struggle Over the West**

**Main Idea** The new government faced difficult problems in the West.

**Reading Connection** Imagine you are a member of George Washington’s government in 1791. Could you balance the interests of settlers who are moving into the Northwest Territory with the interests of the Native American nations who live there? Read on to see how President Washington handled a similar challenge.

The Native Americans who lived between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River insisted that the United States had no authority over them.

Armed to defend their lands and encouraged by the British and the Spanish, Native Americans battled settlers over frontier land. Hundreds of people were killed.

Washington sent an army under the command of General Arthur St. Clair to restore order in the Northwest Territory. In November 1791, St. Clair’s forces were defeated by Little Turtle, chief of the Miami people. More than 600 American soldiers died in a battle by the Wabash River.

**Battle of Fallen Timbers**

The Native Americans demanded that all settlers north of the Ohio River leave the territory. Washington sent another army headed by Anthony Wayne, a former Revolutionary War general, to challenge their demands. In August 1794, his army defeated more than 1,000 Native Americans who fought under Shawnee chief Blue Jacket at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (near present-day Toledo, Ohio). The Battle of Fallen Timbers crushed the Native Americans’ hopes of keeping their land. In the Treaty of Greeneville (1795), the Native Americans agreed to surrender most of their land in present-day Ohio.

**Reading Check** Explain Why did President Washington send troops to the Northwest Territory?

Upon signing the Treaty of Greenville, 12 Native American nations received $20,000 worth of goods to share. How did the treaty affect white settlement?
Problems With Europe

Main Idea  President Washington wanted the nation to remain neutral in foreign conflicts.

Reading Connection  Have you ever felt like you were in the middle of a disagreement between two other people? Read on to see how President Washington looked for middle ground in a war between Great Britain and France.

Shortly after Washington was inaugurated in 1789, the French Revolution began. At first most Americans cheered upon hearing the news. The French people had helped the Americans in their struggle for independence, and their revolution seemed to reflect many of the ideals of the American Revolution.

By 1793 the French Revolution had turned bloody. The leaders had executed the king and queen of France and thousands of French citizens. Public opinion in the United States started to divide. The violence of the French Revolution offended many Americans. Others hailed the new republic as a copy of the United States.

When Britain and France went to war in 1793, Washington hoped that the nation could maintain its neutrality—that is, that it would not take sides in the conflict between France and Britain. As time went on, however, remaining neutral became increasingly difficult.

Washington Proclaims Neutrality  The French wanted the help of the United States. In April 1793, they sent diplomat Edmond Genêt (zhuh•NAY) to the United States. His mission was to recruit American volunteers to attack British ships.

President Washington took action to discourage American involvement. On April 22, he issued a Proclamation of Neutrality. It prohibited American citizens from fighting in the war and barred French and British warships from American ports. Genêt’s plans eventually failed, but he did manage to sign up a few hundred Americans to serve on French ships. These ships seized British vessels and stole their cargoes.

Outraged by the French attacks at sea, the British began capturing American ships that traded with the French. The British also stopped American merchant ships and forced their crews into the British navy. This practice, known as impressment (ihm•PREHS•muhnt), infuriated the Americans. British attacks on American ships and sailors pushed the nation close to war with Great Britain.

A Controversial Treaty  President Washington decided to make one last effort to come to a peaceful solution with Britain. He sent John Jay, chief justice of the Supreme Court, to negotiate.

The British were willing to listen to Jay’s proposals. War with the United States would only make it harder to carry on the war with France. In addition, Britain did not want to lose its profitable trade with the United States.

In Jay’s Treaty the British agreed to evacuate their forts on American soil, to pay damages for ships they had seized, and to allow some American ships to trade with British colonies in the Caribbean.

Despite these gains, few Americans approved of Jay’s Treaty. They protested that the treaty did not deal with the issue of impressment and did not mention British interference with American trade. Although President Washington found fault with Jay’s Treaty, he realized it would end an explosive crisis with Great Britain. He sent the treaty to the Senate, which approved it after a fierce debate.

Treaty With Spain  When Jay’s Treaty was made, Spanish leaders realized that the United States and Great Britain might now join forces to seize Spanish territory in North America. Spain wanted to establish a positive relationship with the United States and was willing to offer concessions. President Washington sent Thomas Pinckney (PINGK•nee) to Spain to try to settle the differences between the two nations. In 1795 Pinckney’s Treaty gave the Americans free navigation of the Mississippi River and the right to trade at New Orleans.
**Washington’s Farewell** In September 1796, after serving two four-year terms as president, Washington announced he would not seek a third term. By choosing to serve only two terms, Washington had set a precedent that later presidents would follow.

Plagued with a variety of ailments, the 64-year-old president looked forward to retirement. He also felt troubled over the divisions that had developed in American politics and with what he considered a grave danger to the new nation—the growth of political parties.

Washington’s “Farewell Address” was published in a Philadelphia newspaper. In it he attacked the evils of political parties and entanglement in foreign affairs. He urged citizens to

> “Observe good faith and justice toward all nations... It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances.”

—George Washington

**What Did You Learn?**

1. What message was Washington sending to the American people when he used force to stop the Whiskey Rebellion?

2. What precedent did George Washington set for future presidents?

3. **Determining Cause and Effect** Re-create the diagram below. In the boxes, list the cause and effects of the Whiskey Rebellion. [CA.H12]

4. **The Big Ideas** How did the Treaty of Greenville affect the land claims of Native Americans in the Northwest Territory? [CA.CS3]

5. **Creative Writing** Imagine you are a Shawnee following chief Blue Jacket. Write a speech you could give to the Shawnee about the implications of giving up your lands. [CA.B3.13]

6. **Evaluate** What did the United States have to gain by remaining neutral in foreign affairs? Write a short essay describing your conclusions. [CA.H13]
Today the United States has two major political parties. The origins of the nation’s two-party political system are found in the conflicts between the followers of Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.

Americans began to take opposing sides on issues by 1796, and, as a result, two political parties emerged. (page 291)

John Adams dealt with many things in office, including a dispute with France, which led to a group of measures called the Alien and Sedition Acts. (page 293)

Meeting People
Philip Freneau (frih NOH)
Charles de Talleyrand (TA lee RAND)

Looking Back, Looking Ahead

Focusing on the Main Ideas
• Americans began to take opposing sides on issues by 1796, and, as a result, two political parties emerged.
• John Adams dealt with many things in office, including a dispute with France, which led to a group of measures called the Alien and Sedition Acts.

Content Vocabulary
partisan (PAHR tuh zuhn)
 implied powers
caucus (KAW kuhs)
alien (AY lee uhn)
sedition (sih DIH shuhn)
nullify (NUH luh FY)
states’ rights

Academic Vocabulary
distinct
contrast
accompany (uh KUHM puh nee)
assign (uh SYN)

Reading Strategy
Classifying Information As you read Section 3, create a diagram like the one below and list the differences between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Federalists</th>
<th>Democratic-Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role of federal government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where & When?

1796
Adams and Jefferson run for president

1797
John Adams becomes president

1798
Congress passes Alien and Sedition Acts

1800
Convention of 1800

THE UNITED STATES, 1790
Opposing Views

**Main Idea** Americans began to take opposing sides on issues by 1796, and, as a result, two political parties emerged.

**Reading Connection** Think about a time when you disagreed with something that one of your classmates said. Did you voice your opinion? Read to learn what happened when conflict occurred between the supporters of Hamilton and Jefferson.

Although hailed by Americans as the nation’s greatest leader, George Washington did not escape criticism during his two terms as president. From time to time, harsh attacks on his policies and on his personality appeared in newspapers. One paper even called Washington “the misfortune of his country.”

**How Did Americans View the President?**
Most attacks on Washington came from supporters of Thomas Jefferson. They were trying to discredit the policies of Washington and Hamilton by attacking the president. By 1796 Americans were beginning to divide into opposing groups and to form political parties.

In Washington’s cabinet, Hamilton and Jefferson often took opposing sides. They disagreed on economic policy and foreign relations, on the power of the federal government, and on interpretations of the Constitution. Even Washington was sometimes **partisan** (PAHR•tuh•zuhn)—favoring one side of an issue. Although he believed he stood above politics, Washington usually supported Hamilton’s positions.

**Political Parties Emerge** Like Hamilton and Jefferson, Congress and the nation at large also had differences. By the mid-1790s, two distinct political parties had taken shape.

The name **Federalist** had first described someone who supported ratification of the Constitution. By the 1790s the word was applied to the group of people who supported the policies of the Washington administration. Generally, Federalists stood for a strong federal government. They admired Britain because of its stability and distrusted France because of the violent changes following the French Revolution. Federalist policies tended to favor banking and business. Federalists received the strongest support in the Northeast and from wealthy plantation owners in the South.

Efforts to turn opinion against the Federalists began seriously in late 1791 when Philip Freneau (frih•NOH) began publishing the *National Gazette*. Jefferson, then secretary of state, helped the newspaper get started. Later he and Madison organized people who disagreed with Hamilton.
The followers of Jefferson and Madison called their party the Republicans, or the Democratic-Republicans. The Republicans wanted to limit government. They feared that a strong government would endanger people’s liberties. They supported the French and condemned what they regarded as the Washington administration’s pro-British policies. Republican policies appealed to small farmers and urban workers, especially in the Middle Atlantic states and the South.

**Views of the Constitution** One difference between Federalists and Republicans concerned the basis of government power. In Hamilton’s view, the federal government had **implied powers**, powers that were suggested but not directly stated in the Constitution.

Hamilton used the idea of implied powers to justify a national bank. He argued that the Constitution gave Congress the power to issue money and regulate trade, and a national bank would clearly help the government carry out these responsibilities. Therefore, he believed that creating a bank was within the constitutional power of Congress.

Jefferson and Madison, however, believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution. They accepted the idea of implied powers, but in a much more limited sense than Hamilton did. They believed that implied powers are those powers that are “absolutely necessary” for Congress to exercise its stated powers.

**The People’s Role** The differences between the parties, however, went even deeper. Federalists and Republicans had sharply opposing views on the role ordinary people should play in government.

Federalists supported representative government, in which elected officials ruled in the people’s name. They did not believe that it was wise to let the public become too involved in politics. Hamilton said:

> “The people are turbulent [disorderly] and changing; they seldom judge or determine right.”

—Alexander Hamilton, Speech on the Constitutional Convention

Public office, Federalists thought, should be held by honest and educated men who own property and would protect everyone’s rights. In contrast, the Republicans feared a strong central government controlled by a few people.
The Republicans believed that liberty would be safe only if ordinary people participated in government. As Jefferson explained:

“I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence [what we depend on] for continued freedom.”

—Letter to Samuel Kercheval

Washington tried to get his two advisers to work out their differences. Nevertheless, by 1793 Jefferson was so unhappy that he resigned as secretary of state. In 1795 Hamilton resigned, too, as secretary of the treasury. The rival political parties moved further apart.

**The Election of 1796** In the presidential election of 1796, candidates sought office for the first time as members of a party. To prepare for the election, the Federalists and the Republicans held meetings called **caucuses** (KAW•kuhs•ihz). At the caucuses, members of Congress and other leaders chose their party’s candidates for office.

The Federalists nominated Vice President John Adams for president and Charles Pinckney for vice president. The Republicans nominated Jefferson for president and Aaron Burr for vice president. Adams and Jefferson, who had been good friends, became rivals. The Federalists expected to carry New England. The Republicans’ strength lay in the South, which would give most of its votes to Jefferson.

In the end, Adams received 71 electoral votes, winning the election. Jefferson finished second with 68 votes. According to the Constitution at that time, the person with the second-highest number of electoral votes became vice president. Jefferson therefore became the new vice president. The administration that took office on March 4, 1797, had a Federalist president and a Republican vice president.

**President John Adams**

**Main Idea** John Adams dealt with many things in office, including a dispute with France, which led to a group of measures called the Alien and Sedition Acts.

**Reading Connection** Do you think you should be free to say or write anything you want about the government? Do you think the government has the right to send you to jail if you criticize its policies? The Federalists passed laws restricting freedom of speech. Read on to find out why.

John Adams had spent much of his life in government. One of Massachusetts’s most active patriots, he later became ambassador to France and to Great Britain. He helped negotiate the Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolution. Under Washington, he served two terms as vice president.

John’s wife, Abigail, actively supported the American cause and raised their sons and daughter while John was away on government business. Abigail also capably managed their family farm in Braintree, Massachusetts.

**The XYZ Affair** When Adams took office, the nation faced a crisis with France. The French regarded Jay’s Treaty, signed in 1794, as an American attempt to help the British in their war with France. To punish the United States, the French seized American ships that carried cargo to Britain.

Adams wanted to avoid war with France. In the fall of 1797, he sent a delegation to Paris to try to resolve the dispute. French foreign minister **Charles de Talleyrand** (TA•lee•RAND), however, refused to meet with the Americans. Instead, Talleyrand sent three agents who demanded a bribe and a loan for France from the Americans. “Not a sixpence,” the Americans replied and sent a report of the incident to the United States. Adams was furious. Referring to the three French agents as X, Y, and Z, the president urged Congress to prepare for war. The incident became known as the XYZ affair.
John Adams, a young lawyer, and Abigail Smith were married in 1764. The young couple lived on a farm in Braintree, Massachusetts, and had five children. John was one of the leaders of the movement for independence. In late 1774 John Adams went to Philadelphia as a delegate to the Continental Congress, while Abigail Adams remained in Massachusetts to manage their business affairs and take care of the family. During most of the Confederation period, Abigail Adams lived in Europe with John, who was the first American minister to Great Britain. Eventually, when John was elected the second president of the United States, Abigail became the first First Lady to preside over the still unfinished White House.

Although she lacked a formal education, Abigail Adams developed a notable talent as a letter writer. Letter writing, she said, was “a habit, the pleasure of which increases with practice, but becomes irksome by neglect.” In one of her most well-known letters, she made the following plea to her husband and his associates in the Continental Congress.

“Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If [particular] care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice.”

Despite the hopes of Abigail and many women, they still could not vote or hold office in the years after the American Revolution. Abigail Adams believed strongly in equal rights for women and African Americans at a time in history when such views were not well received.

How does the role of women in government differ today from their role during Abigail Adams’s time?
**Undeclared War With France** Congress responded with a program to strengthen the armed forces. It established the Navy Department in April 1798 and set aside money for building warships. Congress also increased the size of the army. George Washington was appointed commanding general.

Between 1798 and 1800, United States and French naval vessels clashed on a number of occasions, although war was not formally declared. Adams’s representatives negotiated an agreement with France in September 1800 that ensured peace.

In the view of most Americans, France had become an enemy. The Republican Party, friendly toward France in the past, hesitated to turn around and condemn France. As a result, in the 1798 elections, Americans voted some Republicans out of office.

**Alien and Sedition Acts** The threat of war with France made Americans more suspicious of **aliens** (AY•lee•uhnez)—immigrants who were not citizens but were living in the nation. Many Europeans who came to the United States in the 1790s supported the ideals of the French Revolution. Some Americans questioned whether these aliens would remain loyal if the United States went to war with France. Because many of the newcomers to the nation were anti-British, many of them tended to support the Republican Party.

Federalists in Congress responded with strict laws to protect the nation’s security. In 1798 they passed a group of measures known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. **Sedition** (sih•DIH•shuhn) refers to activities aimed at weakening established government. Many Federalists believed that the laws would weaken the Republican Party.
What Effects Did the Acts Have? As it turned out, the anti-Republican laws hurt the Federalist Party more. The Alien Acts offended new immigrants and drove them more than ever to the support of the Republicans. Ten Republicans, mostly newspaper editors, who were jailed under the Sedition Act were hailed as heroes in the cause of freedom of the press.

Typical of the effects of the Sedition Act was the case of Matthew Lyon of Vermont, who was the editor of an Antifederalist newspaper. In 1798 he was convicted under the Sedition Act for the publication in the Vermont Journal of a letter criticizing President John Adams. While in jail, Lyon was reelected to Congress. After his release from prison he set off for Philadelphia. He was accompanied on the first day of his journey by a long parade of followers.

The Republicans Respond For some Americans, fears of a strong central government abusing its power seemed to be coming true. The Republicans looked to the states to preserve the people’s liberties and stand up to what they regarded as Federalist tyranny. Madison and Jefferson drafted documents of protest that were passed by the Virginia and Kentucky legislatures.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 claimed that the Alien and Sedition Acts could not be put into action because they violated the Constitution. The Kentucky Resolutions further suggested that states might nullify (NUH • luh • FY)—legally overturn—federal laws considered unconstitutional.

What does nullification mean? Thomas Jefferson, who authored the Kentucky Resolutions, explained that the states are “sovereign and independent.” If an act of the government exceeded the powers granted by the Constitution, Jefferson believed, a state had the right to refuse to obey.

What Are States’ Rights? The resolutions affirmed the principle of states’ rights—limiting the federal government to those powers clearly assigned to it by the Constitution and reserving to the states all other powers not expressly forbidden to them.
To phrase it differently, the state had the right to assert its power to protect its citizens from the misuse of federal power. The issue of states’ rights would arise again and again in the nation’s early history.

Federalists criticized the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions as a step toward the breakup of the Union. They argued that if any state could nullify any federal law it considered unconstitutional, the power of the federal government would cease.

**Making Peace With France**  As the election of 1800 approached, the Federalists found themselves under attack. They urged Adams to step up the war with France. If war continued, the Federalists expected to win reelection. They believed Americans would be reluctant to elect a new president in wartime. Adams refused to rush to war, especially for his own political gain. Instead he appointed a new commission to seek peace with France.

In 1800 the French agreed to a treaty and stopped attacks on American ships. Although the agreement with France was in the best interest of the United States, it hurt Adams’s chance for reelection. Rather than applauding the agreement, Hamilton and his supporters now opposed their own president. Federalist leaders were furious, but they could not long oppose an effort to make peace. By the end of Adams’s presidency, peace with France had been restored.

Adams’s action in making peace against the wishes of most of his party was a courageous act. Proud of his nonpartisan action, Adams wrote that on his gravestone he wanted written “Here lies John Adams who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800.”

With the Federalists split, the Republican prospects for capturing the presidency improved. The way was prepared for Thomas Jefferson in the election of 1800.

**Reading Check**  **Summarize** How did the peace agreement with France affect the Federalists?
On Becoming President

Americans were happy that the hero of the American Revolution, George Washington, was elected the nation’s first president. Washington expressed his feelings about becoming president in a letter.

I am embarking . . . on this voyage, but what returns will be made for them [Americans], Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness is all I can promise; these, be the voyage long or short, never shall forsake me although I may be deserted by all men.

—Letter to Henry Knox, April 1789

Washington’s First Inaugural

Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay was one of the many witnesses to the nation’s first presidential inauguration. He wrote about the event in his journal.

[The President was conducted out of the middle window into the gallery [overlooking Wall Street], and the oath was administered by the Chancellor [the highest judicial officer in the state of New York]. Notice that the business done was communicated to the crowd by proclamation . . . who gave three cheers, and repeated it on the President’s bowing to them.

Reader’s Dictionary

embar•king (ihm • BAHRK • ihng): setting out
in•tegri•ty (ihn • TEH • gruh • tee): honesty
gallery: outdoor balcony
procla•ma•tion (PRAH • kluh • MAY • shuhn): announcement

agit•ated (A • juh • TAYT • ihd): upset and nervous
ungain•ly: awkward, clumsy
plain•est manner: in a simple way
As the company returned into the Senate chamber, the President took the chair and the Senators and Representatives their seats. He rose, and all arose also and [he] addressed them. This great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read, though it must be supposed he had often read it before…. When he came to the words all the world, he made a flourish with his right hand, which left rather an ungainly impression. I sincerely, for my part, wished all set ceremony in the hands of the dancing-masters, and that this first of men had read off his address in the plainest manner, without ever taking his eyes from the paper, for I felt hurt that he was not first in everything.

—from the Journal of William Maclay

The face of the seal shows an American eagle with its wings spread. The seal also includes the motto E pluribus unum (“From many, one”). Most Americans may not know it, but they often carry around the seal. The one-dollar bill shows both sides of the Great Seal.

The seal’s reverse side shows a 13-step pyramid with the year 1776 in Roman numerals at the base. Below the pyramid, a scroll reads, Novus Ordo Seclorum, meaning “New Order of the Ages.” It refers to the year 1776 as the beginning of a new era.

The number 13 is featured prominently on the Great Seal. There are 13 stars in the crest above the eagle, 13 stripes on the eagle’s shield, 13 arrows in the eagle’s left claw, and 13 olives and leaves in the eagle’s right claw. Why thirteen? The number represents the original 13 states of the nation.

The Great Seal of the United States

The Great Seal of the United States is the official seal of the United States government. The seal appears on important government documents. First adopted in 1782, it remains in use today.

On Becoming President

1. What promise did Washington make?
2. How would you describe Washington’s feelings about becoming president? Explain your answer.

Washington’s First Inaugural

3. What events at Washington’s inaugural did Maclay seem to like?
4. What was it about Washington’s public speaking manner that troubled Maclay?

The Great Seal of the United States

5. What image on the Great Seal is one of the nation’s symbols?

Read to Write

6. Choose a U.S. president that has been in office during the last 50 years. Do research to find out how that president might have viewed his role. Playing the role of this president, write a letter similar to George Washington’s letter. Then design a symbol that would have been appropriate for the nation under that president’s leadership.
Review Content Vocabulary

1. Use the following terms to write a paragraph about the new U.S. government:
   - cabinet
   - implied powers
   - caucus
   - states’ rights

Review the Main Ideas

Section 1 • The First President

2. Why did Hamilton want national taxes? Why did some oppose the taxes?

3. What was the importance of the Judiciary Act of 1789?

Section 2 • Early Challenges

4. What caused farmers in western Pennsylvania to revolt during the Whiskey Rebellion?

5. What was the significance of the Battle of Fallen Timbers?

Section 3 • The First Political Parties

6. According to Hamilton, what are implied powers?

7. What actions by France led to an undeclared war with the United States?

Critical Thinking

8. Evaluate Refer to the grievances listed in the Declaration of Independence. How were these grievances addressed in the Bill of Rights? [CA 6.5]

9. Analyze What did President Washington say in his Farewell Address about political parties and foreign policy? [CA 6.4]

10. Compare and Contrast In a brief essay, compare the positions of the Federalists and Democratic-Republicans on the national bank. [CA 6.3]

Geography Skills

Using this map, answer the following questions about the election of 1796. [CA 5.5]

11. Identify How many states did John Adams win? How many did Thomas Jefferson win?

12. Evaluate What was the total electoral vote count for each man? What was the election result?

13. Region What was the distribution of votes by state? What pattern do you see?
Read to Write

14. **Government and Democracy** Political ideas and major events shape how people form governments. Select an event from this chapter. Write an essay describing how people and ideas affected government through that event. **CA 8.W5.1.I**

15. **Using Your Foldables** Review the “American firsts” that you listed in your foldable. Using numbers, rank each first from the most important to the least important. Explain the reasons for your highest and lowest rankings. **CA 8.H.S.3.**

Using Academic Vocabulary

16. Read the following sentence and then write the meaning of the underlined word. The new federal government was interested in increasing revenue in order to pay off its debts.

Building Citizenship

17. **Research** Work in groups of four to discuss and develop answers to these questions:

- How does the Bill of Rights reflect the principle of limited government?
- What are two individual rights protected in the Bill of Rights?
- Why would it be necessary to change the Constitution? **CA 8.R.C.2.0**

Reviewing Skills

18. **Recognizing Bias** Imagine that you were living in the United States in 1798. Write an editorial to your newspaper that demonstrates bias about your view as to whether the Alien and Sedition Acts violated the U.S. Constitution. Use details from the text and chart about the Alien and Sedition Acts on page 295. **CA 8.W.A.2.4**

19. **Sequencing** Create a timeline that lists key events in President Adams’s dispute with France. Write a paragraph analyzing President Adams’s handling of this dispute. **CA C.S.2**

Select the best answer for each of the following questions.

20. Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton served as members of Washington’s

A congress.  
B judiciary.  
C cabinet.  
D military.  

21. Which amendment of the Bill of Rights protects the rights of the states?

A First Amendment  
B Fifth Amendment  
C Sixth Amendment  
D Tenth Amendment

22. The XYZ Affair dealt with problems between the United States and

A France.  
B Spain.  
C Great Britain.  
D Canada.

23. Hamilton proposed a national tax on imports, or a(n)

A bond.  
B impressment.  
C caucus.  
D tariff.