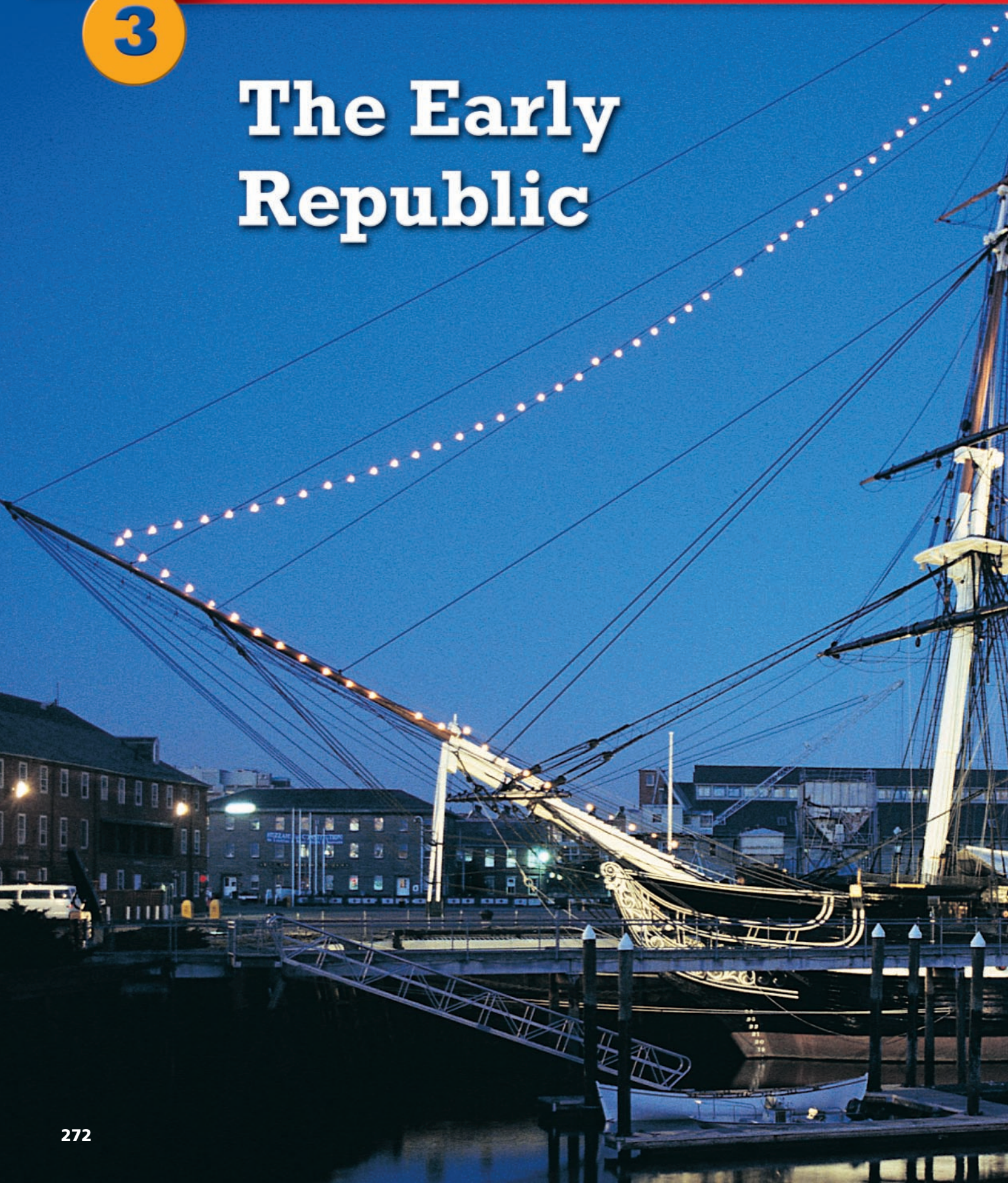


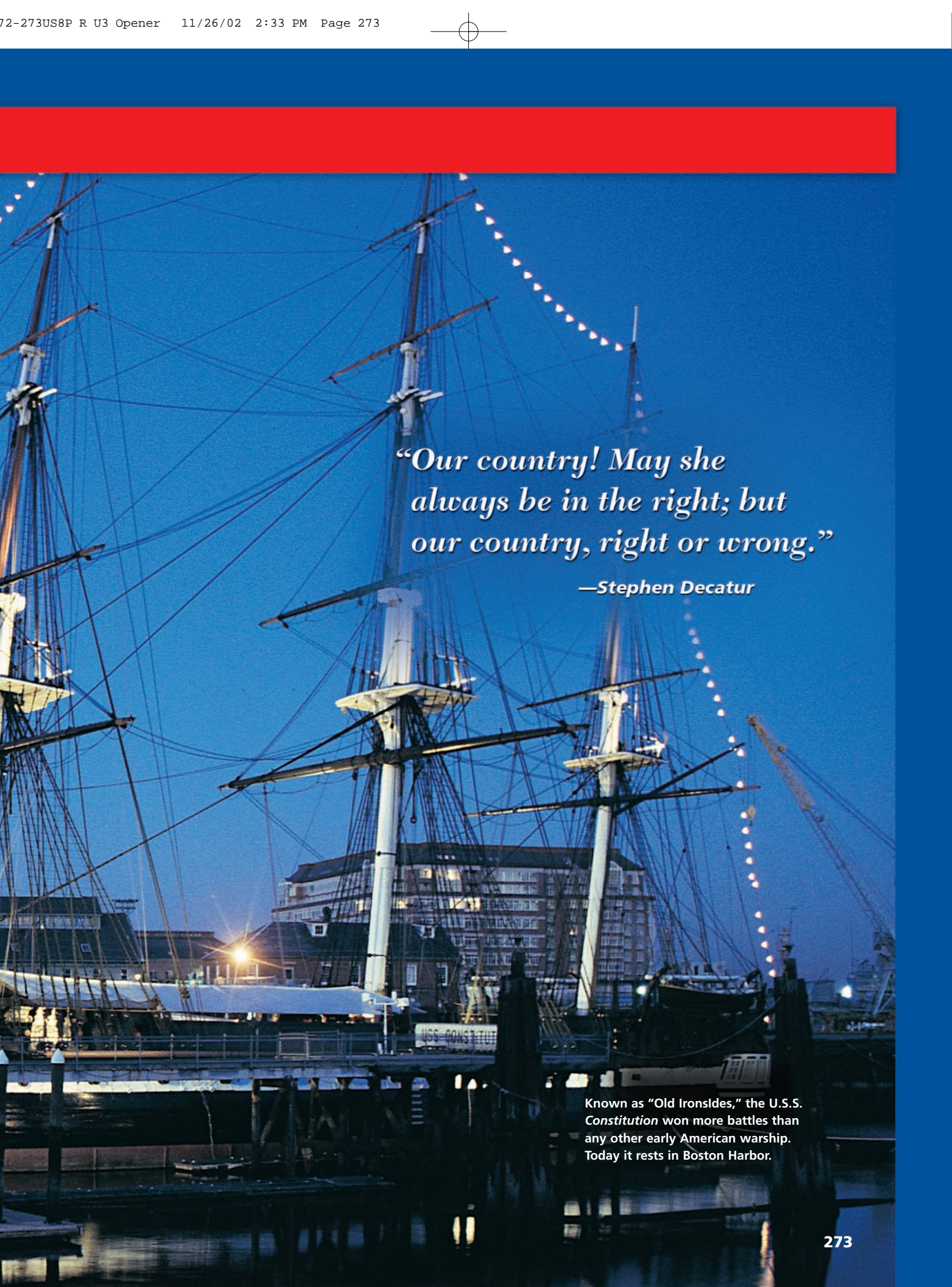
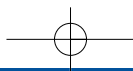
UNIT

1789 – 1844

3

The Early Republic

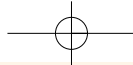


A photograph of the USS Constitution, a three-masted sailing ship, docked at a pier in Boston Harbor at night. The ship's masts and rigging are silhouetted against a dark blue twilight sky. A string of small, white lights is draped across the sky. In the background, a large, multi-story building with many lit windows is visible. The ship's name "USS CONSTITUTION" is partially visible on the hull.

*“Our country! May she
always be in the right; but
our country, right or wrong.”*

—Stephen Decatur

Known as “Old Ironsides,” the U.S.S. *Constitution* won more battles than any other early American warship. Today it rests in Boston Harbor.



CHAPTER
9

Launching a New Republic 1789-1800

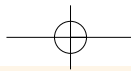
Section 1 Washington's Presidency

Section 2 Challenges to the New Government

Section 3 The Federalists in Charge



George Washington arrives by boat in New York on April 23, 1789, for his presidential inauguration.



Interact *with* History



Alexander Hamilton, brilliant lawyer and economist, becomes secretary of the treasury.

Thomas Jefferson, farmer, diplomat, and principal author of the Declaration of Independence, becomes secretary of state.

Edmund Randolph, attorney general of Virginia, becomes attorney general of the federal government.

Henry Knox, a general of artillery during the Revolution, becomes secretary of war.

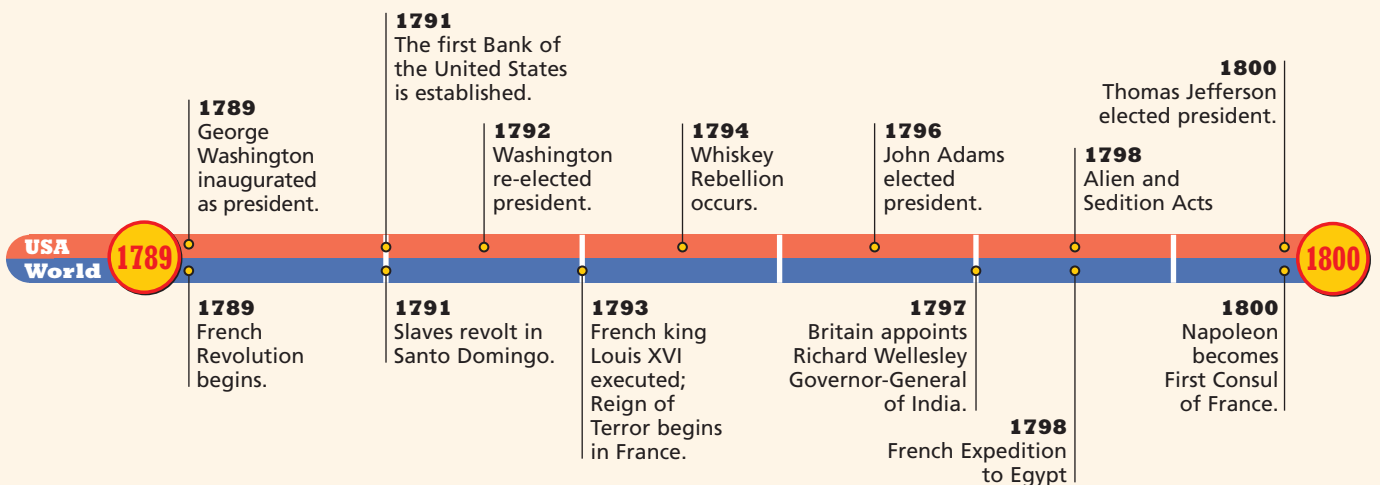
George Washington, general and Revolutionary War hero, is president.

The year is 1789, and George Washington has been inaugurated as the first president of the United States. It quickly becomes obvious to you and to others that the president will need help. He chooses people with different talents and experience to help him govern.

What Do You Think?

- Why might you want people with different viewpoints in your government?
- How would you go about setting up a government?
- What do you think your biggest challenges would be?

What kind of person would you choose to help you govern?





Chapter 9 SETTING THE STAGE

BEFORE YOU READ



Previewing the Theme

Democratic Ideals During the Federalist era (1789–1801), the leaders of the United States faced many challenges and difficulties. In this chapter, you will see how the way in which they responded to those obstacles and opportunities established a democratic foundation.

Inaugural coat buttons, 1789, proclaim the beginning of the Washington presidency.


What Do You Know?

What do you think of when you hear the words *democracy* and *republic*? Why do you think the citizens and leaders of the new country wanted to establish a republic governed by laws?

THINK ABOUT

- the experience of the colonists under British rule
- the effect of the Revolutionary War and the period immediately after the war

What Do You Want to Know?

 What questions do you have about the people who created the U.S. government? Record your questions in your notebook before you read the chapter.

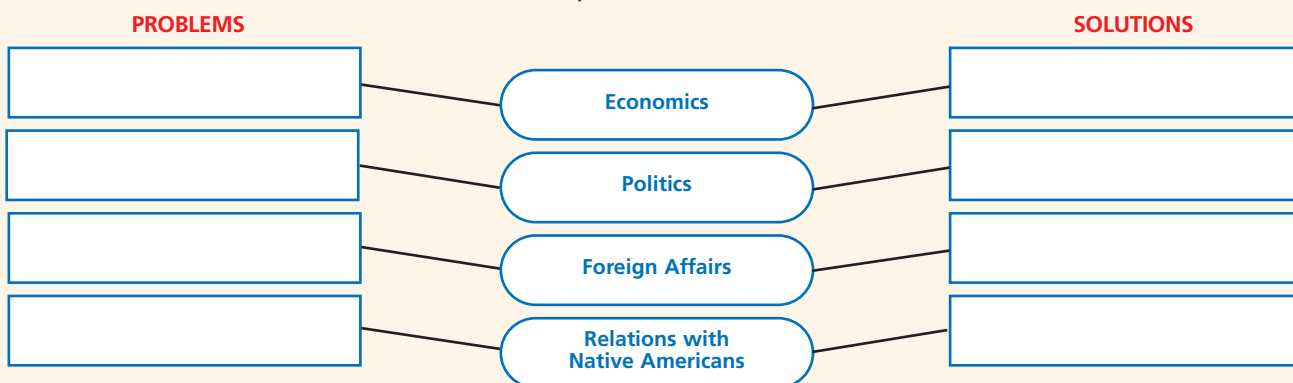
READ AND TAKE NOTES

Reading Strategy: Identifying and Solving Problems

As you read history, try to identify problems in past times and the solutions that people came up with to solve their problems. A graphic organizer such as the chart below can help you to keep track of problems and their solutions. In the middle of the chart, four

headings categorize the major issues faced by the young nation. Copy the chart into your notebook and then record problems and the proposed solutions in each category.

 See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R18.





1 Washington's Presidency

TERMS & NAMES

inaugurate
Federal Judiciary Act
cabinet
tariff

MAIN IDEA

The president and the Congress began to set up the new government.

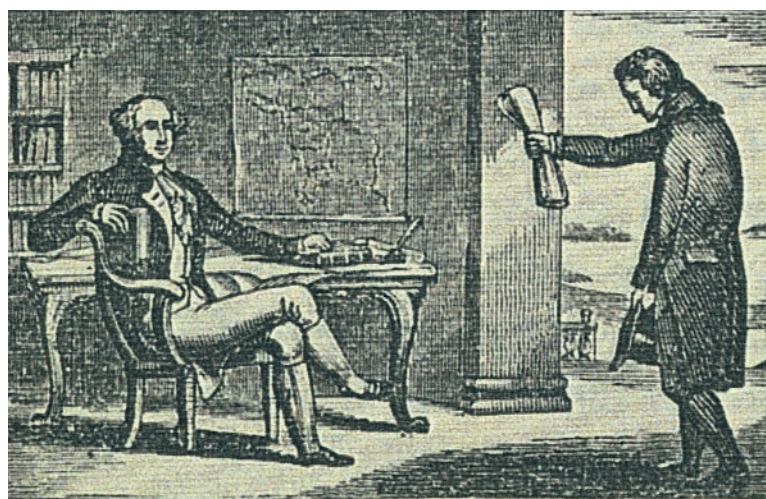
WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The strength of the U.S. today is due to the decisions of the Founders about how to organize the government.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Charles Thomson had known George Washington for many years. Thomson had served as secretary of the Continental Congress when delegates from the colonies first met in Philadelphia in 1774.

Now, 15 years later, on April 14, 1789, he had a very different job to do. He had come to Mount Vernon in Virginia with a letter for George Washington. Washington knew the reason for the visit. Thomson's letter was to tell him that he had been elected the nation's first president. Before giving Washington the letter, Thomson made a short speech.



Charles Thomson delivers the letter to Washington announcing his election as president.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

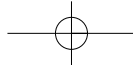
I have now Sir to inform you that . . . your patriotism and your readiness to sacrifice . . . private enjoyments to preserve the liberty and promote the happiness of your Country [convinced the Congress that you would accept] this important Office to which you are called not only by the unanimous votes of the Electors but by the voice of America.

Charles Thomson, quoted in Washington's Papers, Library of Congress

As you will read in this section, Washington accepted the honor and the burden of his new office. He guided the nation through its early years.

Washington Takes Office

Washington had been elected only a few months before. Each member of the electoral college had written down two names. The top vote-getter, Washington, became president. The runner-up, John Adams, became vice-president. Washington left Mount Vernon on April 16, 1789. He traveled north through Baltimore and Philadelphia to New York City, the nation's capital. On April 30 at Federal Hall, Washington was **inaugurated**, or sworn in, as president. John Adams of Massachusetts was his vice-president.



As the nation's first president, Washington faced a difficult task. He knew that all eyes would be on him. His every action as president would set a precedent—an example that would become standard practice. People argued over what to call him. Some, including John Adams, suggested “His Excellency” or “His Highness.” Others argued that such titles would suggest that he was a king. The debate tied up Congress for a month. Finally, “Mr. President” was agreed upon. Congress had to settle other differences about how the new government should be run.

Setting Up the Courts

The writers of the Constitution had left many matters to be decided by Congress. For example, the Constitution created a Supreme Court but left it to Congress to decide the number of justices. Leaders also argued about how much power the Supreme Court should have. One reason for disagreement was that the states already had their own courts. How would authority be divided between the state and federal courts?

To create a court system, Congress passed the **Federal Judiciary Act** of 1789. This act gave the Supreme Court six members: a chief justice, or judge, and five associate justices. Over time, that number has grown to nine. The act also provided for other lower, less powerful federal courts. Washington appointed John Jay, the prominent New York lawyer and diplomat, as chief justice.

ReadingHistory

A. Making Inferences Why were people so concerned about how to address the president?

Vocabulary

judiciary: system of courts and judges

Now and then

THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET

The president's cabinet has more than tripled in size since it began with the secretaries of state, war, and treasury, and the attorney general. As the nation has faced new challenges, the government has added new departments. In 1977, concerns about oil shortages led to the creation of the Department of Energy. The Department of Veterans' Affairs was added in 1989. Today the cabinet (Clinton's cabinet shown below) includes the heads of 14 departments.

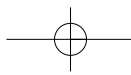
Washington's Cabinet

The Constitution also gave Congress the task of creating departments to help the president lead the nation. The president had the power to appoint the heads of these departments, who were to assist the president with the many issues and problems he had to face. These heads of departments became his **cabinet**.

The Congress created three departments. In his first major task as president, Washington chose talented people to run them. For secretary of war, he picked Henry Knox, a trusted general during the Revolution. It was Knox's job to oversee the nation's defenses. For secretary of state, Washington chose Thomas Jefferson. He had been serving as U.S. minister to France. The State Department oversaw relations between the

United States and other countries. Washington turned to the brilliant Alexander Hamilton to be the secretary of the treasury. Hamilton had to manage the government's money. The secretary's ties to the president began during the war when he had served as one of Washington's aides. To advise the





government on legal matters, Washington picked Edmund Randolph as attorney general.

These department heads and the attorney general made up Washington's cabinet. The Constitution made no mention of a cabinet. However, Washington began the practice of calling his department heads together to advise him.

Economic Problems

As secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton faced the task of straightening out the nation's finances. First of all, the new government needed to pay its war debts. During the Revolution, the United States had borrowed millions of dollars from France, the Netherlands, and Spain. Within the United States, merchants and other private citizens had loaned money to the government. State governments also had wartime debts to pay back. By 1789, the national debt totaled more than \$52 million.

Most government leaders agreed that the nation must repay its debts to win the respect of both foreign nations and its own citizens. Hamilton saw that the new nation must assure other countries that it was responsible about money. These nations would do business with the United States if they saw that the country would pay its debts. If the nation failed to do so, no country would lend it money in the future.

Hamilton came up with a financial plan that reflected his belief in a strong central government. He thought the power of the national government should be stronger than that of the state governments. Hamilton also believed that government should encourage business and industry. He sought the support of the nation's wealthy merchants and manufacturers. He thought that the nation's prosperity depended on them. The government owed money to many of these rich men. By paying them back, Hamilton hoped to win their support for the new government.

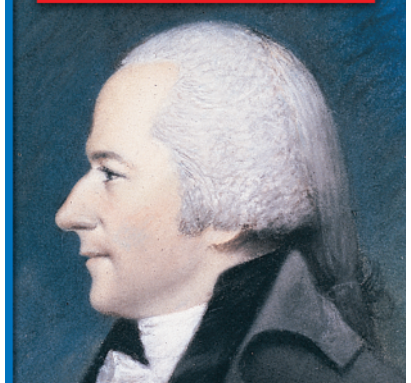
Hamilton's Financial Plan

In 1790, Hamilton presented his plan to Congress. He proposed three steps to improve the nation's finances.

1. paying off all war debts
2. raising government revenues
3. creating a national bank

Hamilton wanted the federal government to pay off the war debts of the states. However, sectional differences arose over repayment of state debts. Virginia, Georgia, and many other Southern states had already repaid their debts and did not like being asked to help Northern states pay theirs.

AMERICA'S HISTORY MAKERS



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

1755?–1804

Alexander Hamilton was born into poverty in the British West Indies. When he was ten years old, the young Alexander went to work as a clerk. He so impressed his employers that they helped to send him to school at King's College (now Columbia University) in New York.

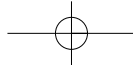
During the Revolutionary War, he became an aide to General Washington. Hamilton moved up quickly in the army and later in political life. Although of humble origins, Hamilton had little faith in the common people and put his trust in the wealthy and educated to govern.

Why is it odd that Hamilton distrusted the common people to govern?

Reading History

B. Making

Inferences Why might merchants and manufacturers support a strong central government?



Hamilton asked Thomas Jefferson of Virginia to help him gain Southern support. They reached a compromise. In exchange for Southern support of the plan, Northerners agreed to place the new nation's capital in the South. The location chosen was on the Potomac River between Virginia and Maryland.

The secretary of the treasury favored tariffs. A **tariff** is a tax on imported goods. It serves two purposes: raising money for the government and encouraging the growth of American industry. The government placed the highest tariffs on foreign goods—such as shoes and textiles—that Americans bought in great quantities. This ensured a steady flow of income to the government. In addition, since tariffs made foreign goods more expensive, they encouraged people to buy American goods.

Hamilton also called for the creation of a national bank. Such a bank would meet many needs. It would give the government a safe place to keep

Economics *in* History

How Banks Work

Why did Hamilton want to create a national bank? He believed that such a bank could help the economy of the new nation. It would create a partnership between the federal government and American business.

Let's say you deposited money into a bank account. Then you went back another day to withdraw some of the money. What happened in the meantime? Did the money just sit in the bank until you wanted it back? No—the bank used your money, and in doing so, helped fuel economic growth. In this way, money flows in a circular path from people like you into the general economy and back to you again. In the process, money can create goods and services, jobs, and profits, as the diagram explains.

CONNECT TO HISTORY

1. Analyzing Points of View

Do you think that the people who feared a strong central government supported Hamilton's idea of a national bank? Why or why not?

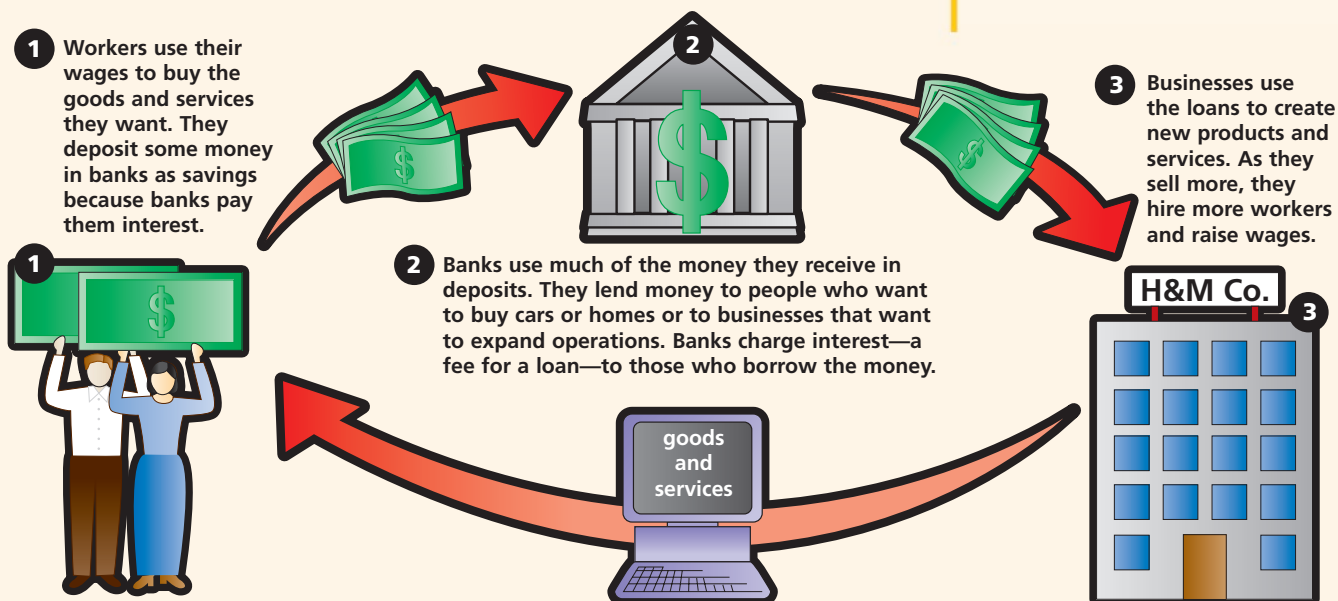
S See Skillbuilder Handbook, page R9.

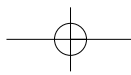
CONNECT TO TODAY

2. Making Inferences

How do banks make money?

For more about banking . . .





Vocabulary

currency: money

money. It would also make loans to businesses and government. Most important, it would issue bank notes—paper money that could be used as currency. Overall, Hamilton’s plan would strengthen the central government. However, this worried Jefferson and Madison.



Two of the first U.S. coins, 1792

Interpreting the Constitution

Jefferson and Madison believed that the Constitution discouraged the concentration of power in the federal government. The Constitution’s writers had tried to make the document general enough so that it would be flexible. As a result, disagreements sometimes arose over the document’s meaning.

The debate over Hamilton’s plan for a national bank exposed differences about how to interpret the Constitution. Madison and Jefferson argued that the Constitution did not give the government the power to set up a bank. They believed in the strict construction—narrow or strict interpretation—of the Constitution. They stated that the government has only those powers that the Constitution clearly says it has. Therefore, since the Constitution does not mention a national bank, the government cannot create one.

Hamilton disagreed. He favored a loose construction—broad or flexible interpretation—of the Constitution. Pointing to the elastic clause in the document, he argued that the bank was “necessary and proper” to carry out the government’s duties. (See *The Living Constitution*, page 238.) According to this view, when the Constitution grants a power to Congress, it also grants Congress the “necessary and proper” means to carry out that power. Jefferson and Hamilton argued their positions to Washington. Hamilton won, and the Bank of the United States was set up in 1791. The president, meanwhile, was dealing with other challenges at home and abroad, which you will read about in Section 2.

Reading History

C. Contrasting

What is the main difference between strict and loose interpretations of the Constitution?

Section 1 Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- inaugurate
- Federal Judiciary Act
- cabinet
- tariff

2. Taking Notes

In a chart, list members of Washington’s cabinet and their responsibilities.

Cabinet member	Responsibilities

Which cabinet member had the greatest responsibilities? Explain.

3. Main Ideas

- What was the purpose of Washington’s cabinet?
- What economic problems did the new government face?
- How did Hamilton’s financial plan attempt to solve the nation’s economic problems?

4. Critical Thinking

Contrasting How did Hamilton and Jefferson differ in their interpretation of the Constitution?

THINK ABOUT

- views on the national bank
- views on the role of government

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

LANGUAGE ARTS

ART

Imagine you oppose or support Hamilton’s plan for the nation’s finances. Write a **letter to the editor** or draw a **political cartoon** expressing your opinion.



2 Challenges to the New Government

TERMS & NAMES

Battle of Fallen Timbers

Treaty of Greenville

Whiskey Rebellion

French Revolution

neutral

Jay's Treaty

Pinckney's Treaty

MAIN IDEA

Washington established central authority at home and avoided war with European powers.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Washington's policies at home and abroad set an example for later presidents.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

Pioneers had been moving west since before the Revolution. However, the settlers met fierce resistance from Native Americans. One of their most respected military leaders was Chief Little Turtle of the Miami tribe of Ohio. In 1790 and 1791, he had won decisive victories against U.S. troops.

Now, two years later, the Miami and their allies again faced attack by American forces. At a council meeting, Little Turtle gave a warning to his people about the troops led by General Anthony Wayne.



General Anthony Wayne negotiates with a Miami war chief.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

We have beaten the enemy twice under different commanders. . . . The Americans are now led by a chief [Wayne] who never sleeps. . . . During all the time he has been marching on our villages . . . we have not been able to surprise him. Think well of it. . . . It would be prudent [wise] to listen to his offers of peace.

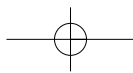
Little Turtle, quoted in *The Life and Times of Little Turtle*

While the council members weighed Little Turtle's warning, President Washington was making plans to secure—guard or protect—the western borders of the new nation.

Securing the Northwest Territory

As a general, Washington had skillfully waged war. As the nation's president, however, he saw that the country needed peace in order to prosper. But in spite of his desire for peace, he considered military action as trouble brewed in the Trans-Appalachian West, the land between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. The 1783 Treaty of Paris had attempted to resolve the claims. The source of the trouble was competing claims for these lands. Some years later, however, Spain, Britain, the United States, and Native Americans claimed parts of the area as their own.

Spain held much of North America west of the Mississippi. It also claimed Florida and the port of New Orleans at the mouth of the



Mississippi. For American settlers in the West, this port was key to trade. They carried their goods to market by flatboat down the Mississippi to New Orleans. They took Spanish threats to close the port very seriously. The Spanish also stirred up trouble between the white settlers and the Creeks, Choctaws, and other Native American groups in the Southeast.

ReadingHistory

A. Making

Inferences What expectations might the Native Americans have had of the British as the tribes came into conflict with white settlers?

The strongest resistance to white settlement came from Native Americans in the Northwest Territory. This territory was bordered by the Ohio River to the south and Canada to the north. Native Americans in that territory hoped to join together to form an independent Native American nation. In violation of the Treaty of Paris, the British still held forts north of the Ohio River. The British supported Native Americans in order to maintain their access to fur in these territories. Eventually, Native Americans and white settlers clashed over the Northwest Territory.

Battle of Fallen Timbers

Believing the Northwest Territory was critical to the security and growth of the new nation, Washington sent troops to the Ohio Valley. As you read in *One American's Story*, this first federal army took a beating from warriors led by Little Turtle in 1790. The chief's force came from many tribes, including the Shawnee, Ottawa, and Chippewa, who joined in a confederation to defeat the federal army.

After a second defeat in 1791 of an army headed by General Arthur St. Clair, Washington ordered another army west. This time Anthony Wayne, known as "Mad Anthony" for his reckless courage, was at its head.

The other chiefs ignored Little Turtle's advice to negotiate. They replaced him with a less able leader. Expecting British help, Native American warriors gathered at British-held Fort Miami. On August 20, 1794, a fighting force of around 2,000 Native Americans clashed with Wayne's troops. The site was covered with trees that had been struck down by a storm. The Native Americans were defeated in what became known as the **Battle of Fallen Timbers**.

The Battle of Fallen Timbers memorial sculpture below shows two American soldiers and a Native American.

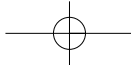


The Trans-Appalachian West, 1791–1795



GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Maps

- Region** What does the yellow area of the map represent?
- Location** Why might the British forts be located near water?



The Native Americans retreated to Fort Miami. The British, not wanting war with the United States, refused to help them. The Battle of Fallen Timbers crushed Native American hopes of keeping their land in the Northwest Territory. Twelve tribes signed the **Treaty of Greenville** in 1795. They agreed to cede, or surrender, much of present-day Ohio and Indiana to the U.S. government.

The Whiskey Rebellion

Not long after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, Washington put another army into the field. The conflict arose over the government's tax on whiskey, part of Hamilton's financial plan. From Pennsylvania to Georgia, outraged farmers resisted the tax. For them, whiskey—and the grain it was made from—were important products.

Because of poor roads, backcountry farmers had trouble getting their grain to market. Crops such as wheat and rye were more easily carried to market in liquid form, so farmers made their grain into whiskey. A farmer's horse could haul only two bushels of rye but could carry two barrels of rye whiskey. This was an amount equal to 24 bushels of the grain. In addition, their customers paid more for whiskey than grain. With little cash to buy goods, let alone pay the tax, farmers often traded whiskey for salt, sugar, and other goods. The farmers used whiskey as money to get whatever supplies they needed.

ReadingHistory

B. Reading a Map

Use the map on page 283 to see which two states to the south bordered the land ceded by Native Americans.

CITIZENSHIP TODAY

Obeying Rules and Laws

As the Whiskey Rebellion shows, since the earliest days of the republic our government has made laws and punished those who broke them. These laws affect not only adult citizens, but young people as well.

Today, for example, communities across the country are trying to control the problem of juvenile crime by imposing curfews on young people. These laws require minors to be off the streets after a certain time, often ten or eleven at night. Penalties can be harsh. In certain communities, minors who break curfew laws can be detained, and their parents can be fined.

People who favor curfews believe such laws cut crime. Those who oppose curfews think such limits are the responsibility of parents and not the government.

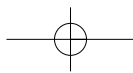
Why Should You Obey Rules and Laws?

1. What are some arguments in favor of curfew laws? What are arguments against them? Make a list of each.
2. Poll your classmates to see how many agree with each position.
3. Write an essay expressing your opinion on this issue.
4. Brainstorm changes or adaptations to curfew laws that you think would make them more flexible.

 See Citizenship Handbook, page 267.

For more about young people and the law . . .

 **RESEARCH LINKS**
CLASSZONE.COM



In the summer of 1794, a group of farmers in western Pennsylvania staged the **Whiskey Rebellion** against the tax. One armed group beat up a tax collector, coated him with tar and feathers, and stole his horse. Others threatened an armed attack on Pittsburgh.

Washington, urged on by Hamilton, was prepared to enforce the tax and crush the Whiskey Rebellion. They feared that not to act might undermine the new government and weaken its authority. Hamilton condemned the rebels for resisting the law.

“Such a resistance is treason.”

Alexander Hamilton

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Such a resistance is treason against society, against liberty, against everything that ought to be dear to a free, enlightened, and prudent people. To tolerate it were to abandon your most precious interests. Not to subdue it were to tolerate it.

Alexander Hamilton, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*

In October 1794, General Henry Lee, with Hamilton at his side, led an army of 13,000 soldiers into western Pennsylvania to put down the uprising. As news of the army’s approach spread, the rebels fled. After much effort, federal troops rounded up 20 bare-foot, ragged prisoners. Washington had proved his point. He had shown that the government had the power and the will to enforce its laws. Meanwhile, events in Europe gave Washington a different kind of challenge.

The French Revolution

In 1789, a financial crisis led the French people to rebel against their government. Inspired by the American Revolution, the French revolutionaries demanded liberty and equality. At first, Americans supported the **French Revolution**. By 1792, however, the revolution had become very violent. Thousands of French citizens were massacred. Then, in 1793, Louis XVI, the king of France, was executed.

Other European monarchs believed the revolution threatened their own thrones. France soon declared war on Britain, Holland, and Spain. Britain led the fight against France.

The war between France and Britain put the United States in an awkward position. France had been America’s ally in the Revolution against the British.

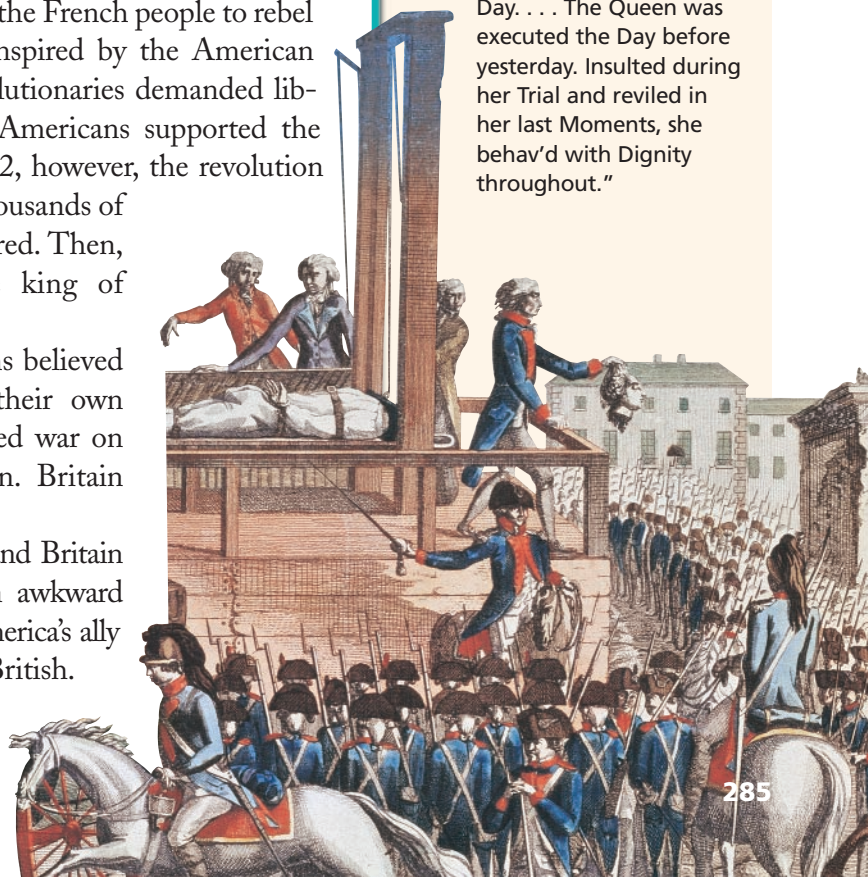
Connections TO WORLD HISTORY

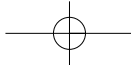
EYEWITNESS TO REVOLUTION

In 1789, an American citizen with a strange first name, Gouverneur Morris, went to Paris as a private business agent. Three years later, President Washington appointed him U.S. minister to France. An eyewitness to the French Revolution, Morris kept a detailed record of what he saw, including the execution of the king and queen by guillotine, as shown below.

Here is part of a letter he wrote on October 18, 1793:

“Terror is the order of the Day. . . . The Queen was executed the Day before yesterday. Insulted during her Trial and reviled in her last Moments, she behav’d with Dignity throughout.”





A 1778 treaty still bound the two nations together. In addition, many saw France's revolution as proof that the American cause had been just. Jefferson felt that a move to crush the French Revolution was an attack on liberty everywhere. Hamilton, though, pointed out that Britain was the United States' most important trading partner, and British trade was too important to risk war.

In April 1793, Washington declared that the United States would remain **neutral**, not siding with one country or the other. He stated that the nation would be "friendly and impartial" to both sides. Congress then passed a law forbidding the United States to help either side.

Remaining Neutral

Britain made it hard for the United States to remain neutral. Late in 1792, the British began seizing the cargoes of American ships carrying goods from the French West Indies.

Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to England for talks about the seizure of U.S. ships. Jay also hoped to persuade the British to give up their forts on the Northwest frontier. During the talks in 1794, news came of the U.S. victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Fearing another entanglement, the British agreed to leave the Ohio Valley by 1796. In **Jay's Treaty**, the British also agreed to pay damages for U.S. vessels they had seized. Jay failed, however, to open up the profitable British West Indies trade to Americans. Because of this, Jay's Treaty was unpopular.

Like Jay, Thomas Pinckney helped the United States reduce tensions along the frontier. In 1795, **Pinckney's Treaty** with Spain gave Americans the right to travel freely on the Mississippi River. It also gave them the right to store goods at the port of New Orleans without paying customs duties. In addition, Spain accepted the 31st parallel as the northern boundary of Florida and the southern boundary of the United States.

Meanwhile, more American settlers moved west. As you will read in the next section, change was coming back east as Washington stepped down.

ReadingHistory

C. Drawing Conclusions

What sort of U.S. obligation to France did the wartime alliance and treaty of 1778 create?

ReadingHistory

D. Evaluating

What were some of the advantages to the new nation of remaining neutral?

Section 2 Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- Battle of Fallen Timbers
- Treaty of Greenville
- Whiskey Rebellion
- French Revolution
- neutral
- Jay's Treaty
- Pinckney's Treaty

2. Taking Notes

Use a chart to record U.S. responses to various challenges.

Challenge	Response
From Spain	
From Britain	
From France	

Which challenge seemed greatest? Why?

3. Main Ideas

- What military and other actions secured the West for the United States?
- Why did Washington consider it important to put down the Whiskey Rebellion?
- How did the French Revolution create problems for the United States?

4. Critical Thinking

Drawing Conclusions

Why was neutrality a difficult policy for the United States to maintain?

THINK ABOUT

- ties with France
- ties with Britain
- restrictions on trade

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

GEOGRAPHY

ART

Make a **map** that describes the Battle of Fallen Timbers, or draw a **scene** from that battle.



3 The Federalists in Charge

TERMS & NAMES
 foreign policy
 political party
 XYZ Affair
 Alien and Sedition Acts
 states' rights

MAIN IDEA

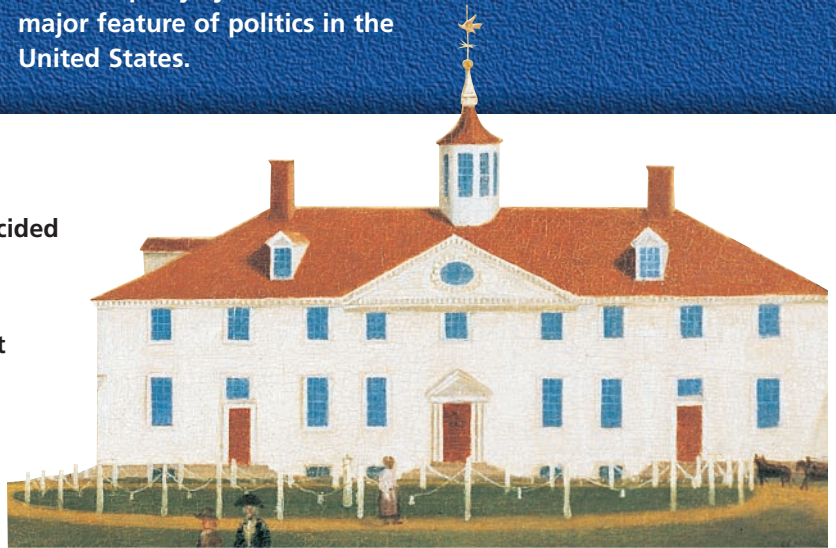
The split between Hamilton and Jefferson led to the growth of political parties.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The two-party system is still a major feature of politics in the United States.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

In 1796, President George Washington decided that two terms in office was enough. The president was fed up with political quarreling. He wanted to return to Mount Vernon, his estate in Virginia. But as he left office, he feared the development of political parties would split the nation into enemy camps. With Hamilton's help, in 1796 he wrote a final address to the nation.



This painting portrays Mount Vernon in 1792.

A VOICE FROM THE PAST

Let me now . . . warn you . . . against the [harmful] effects of the spirit of party. . . . This spirit, unfortunately . . . exists in different shapes in all governments . . . but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

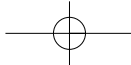
George Washington, Farewell Address

In his address, Washington warned of the dangers of political division, or what he termed “the spirit of party.” As you will see in this section, few people took his advice.

Washington Retires

Washington had come to the presidency greatly admired by the American people. Throughout his eight years in office (1789–1797), he had tried to serve as a symbol of national unity. In large part, he succeeded. During his second term, however, opponents of Jay’s Treaty led attacks on the president. Thomas Paine called Washington “treacherous in private friendship . . . and a hypocrite in public life” because he failed to support the French Revolution.

Washington saw such attacks as the outcome of political disagreements. In his farewell address, he warned that such differences could weaken the nation. Despite his advice, political parties became a part of American politics.



Americans listened more closely to Washington's parting advice on **foreign policy**—relations with the governments of other countries. He urged the nation's leaders to remain neutral and "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." He warned that agreements with foreign nations might work against U.S. interests. His advice served to guide U.S. foreign policy into the twentieth century.

Growth of Political Parties

Despite Washington's warning against political parties, Americans were deeply divided over how the nation should be run. During Washington's first term (1789–1792), Hamilton and Jefferson had hotly debated the direction the new nation should take. Then Jefferson returned to Virginia in 1793. During Washington's second term, Madison took Jefferson's place in the debates with Hamilton.

Both sides disagreed on how to interpret the Constitution and on economic policy. Hamilton favored the British government and opposed the French Revolution. Jefferson and Madison were the opposite. Hamilton fought for a strong central government. Jefferson and Madison feared such a government might lead to tyranny. They had different visions of what the nation should become. Hamilton wanted a United States in which trade, manufacturing, and cities grew. Jefferson and Madison pictured a rural nation of planters and farmers.

These differences on foreign and domestic policy led to the nation's first political parties. A **political party** is a group of people that tries to promote its ideas and influence government. It also backs candidates for office. Together, Jefferson and Madison founded the Democratic-Republican Party. The party name reflected their strong belief in democracy and the republican system. Their ideas drew farmers and workers to the new party. Hamilton and his friends formed the Federalist Party. Many Northern merchants and manufacturers became Federalists.

ReadingHistory

A. Summarizing

What were the major beliefs of each party?

The First Political Parties

FEDERALISTS	DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICANS
Strong national government	Limited national government
Fear of mob rule	Fear of rule by one person or a powerful few
Loose construction (interpretation) of the Constitution	Strict construction (interpretation) of the Constitution
Favored national bank	Opposed national bank
Economy based on manufacturing and shipping	Economy based on farming
Supporters: lawyers, merchants, manufacturers, clergy	Supporters: farmers, tradespeople

SKILLBUILDER Interpreting Charts

- Which economic interests were served by the Federalists?
- Which party favored a ruling elite? Which put more trust in the common people?



America's HERITAGE

WASHINGTON, D.C., AND BENJAMIN BANNEKER

Benjamin Banneker was a free African-American farmer. He was a self-taught mathematician and astronomer. He also wrote an almanac (see below). He was named to the survey commission appointed to lay out the boundaries of the nation's new capital. Working with chief planner Pierre L'Enfant, Banneker helped to decide where the White House and Capitol would be located. Their final design is shown at the left.

John Adams Takes Office

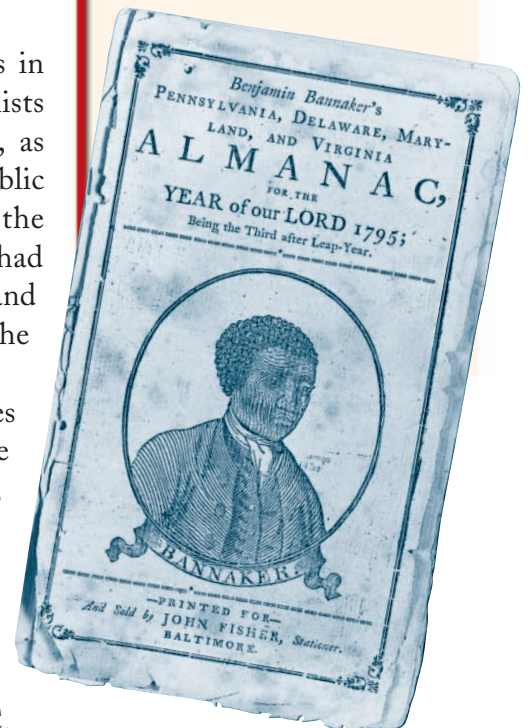
In 1796, the United States held its first elections in which political parties competed. The Federalists picked Washington's vice-president, John Adams, as their candidate for president. An experienced public servant, Adams had been a leader during the Revolution and at the Continental Congress. He had also been a diplomat in France, the Netherlands, and Britain before serving with Washington. The Democratic-Republicans chose Jefferson.

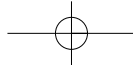
In the electoral college, Adams received 71 votes and Jefferson 68. The Constitution stated that the runner-up should become vice-president. Therefore, the country had a Federalist president and a Democratic-Republican vice-president. Adams became president in 1797. His chief rival, Jefferson, entered office as his vice-president. In 1800, Adams became the first president to govern from the nation's new capital city, Washington, D.C.

Problems with France

When Washington left office in 1797, relations between France and the United States were tense. With Britain and France still at war, the French began seizing U.S. ships to prevent them from trading with the British. Within the year, the French had looted more than 300 U.S. ships.

Although some Federalists called for war with France, Adams hoped talks would restore calm. To this end, he sent Charles Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall to Paris. Arriving there, they requested a meeting with the French minister of foreign affairs. For weeks, they were

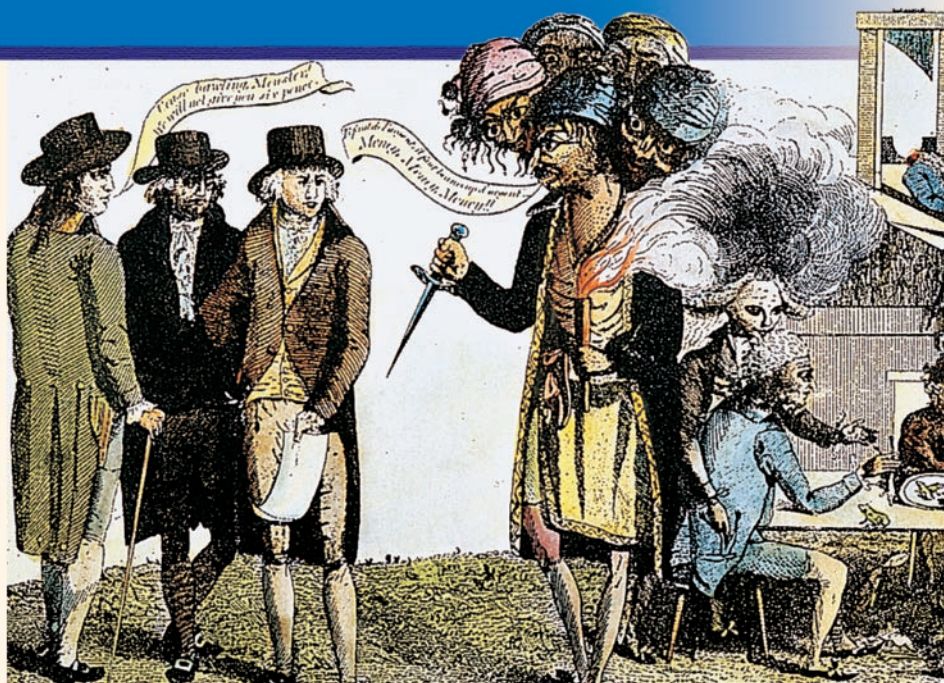




HISTORY through ART

American newspapers fueled public anger over the XYZ Affair by publishing editorials and cartoons like this one. Here the five-man group ruling France demands money at dagger point from the three Americans. The American diplomats respond, “Cease bawling, monster! We will not give you sixpence!”

What attitude does the cartoonist have toward France’s role in this affair? How can you tell?



ignored. Then three French agents—later referred to as X, Y, and Z—took the Americans aside to tell them the minister would hold talks. However, the talks would occur only if the Americans agreed to loan France \$10 million and to pay the minister a bribe of \$250,000. The Americans refused. “No, no, not a sixpence,” Pinckney shot back.

Adams received a full report of what became known as the **XYZ Affair**. After Congress and an outraged public learned of it, the press turned Pinckney’s words into a popular slogan: “Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute!” In 1798, Congress canceled its treaties with France and allowed U.S. ships to seize French vessels. Congress also set aside money to expand the navy and the army.

The Alien and Sedition Acts

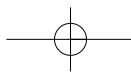
The conflict with France made Adams and the Federalists popular with the public. Many Democratic-Republicans, however, were sympathetic to France. One Democratic-Republican newspaper called Adams “the blasted tyrant of America.” In turn, Federalists labeled Democratic-Republicans “democrats, mobcrats, and other kinds of rats.”

Angered by criticism in a time of crisis, Adams blamed the Democratic-Republican newspapers and new immigrants. Many of the immigrants were Democratic-Republicans. To silence their critics, the Federalist Congress passed the **Alien and Sedition Acts** in 1798. These acts targeted aliens—immigrants who were not yet citizens. One act increased the waiting period for becoming a U.S. citizen from 5 to 14 years. Other acts gave the president the power to arrest disloyal aliens or order them out of the country during wartime. A fourth act outlawed sedition, saying or writing anything false or harmful about the government.

With these acts, the Federalists clamped down on freedom of speech and the press. About 25 Democratic-Republican newspaper editors were

Reading History

B. Drawing Conclusions How did the XYZ Affair show the young nation’s growing confidence?



charged under this act, and 10 were convicted of expressing opinions damaging to the government. A Vermont congressman, Matthew Lyon, was also locked up for saying that the president should be sent “to a mad house.” The voters re-elected Lyon while he was in jail.

ReadingHistory

C. Making

Inferences How might the theory of states’ rights undermine the federal government?

The Democratic-Republicans, led by Jefferson and Madison, searched for a way to fight the Alien and Sedition Acts. They found it in a theory called **states’ rights**. According to this theory, states had rights that the federal government could not violate. Jefferson and Madison wrote resolutions (or statements) passed by the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures in 1798 and 1799. In the Kentucky Resolutions, Jefferson proposed nullification, the idea that a state could nullify the federal law within the state. In the Virginia Resolutions, Madison said a state could interpose, or place, itself between the federal government and its citizens. These resolutions declared that the Alien and Sedition Acts violated the Constitution. No other states supported Kentucky and Virginia. However, within two years the Democratic-Republicans won control of Congress, and they either repealed the Alien and Sedition Acts or let them expire between 1800 and 1802.

Peace with France

While Federalists and Democratic-Republicans battled at home, the United States made peace with France. Although war fever was high, Adams reopened talks with France. This time the two sides quickly signed the Convention of 1800, an agreement to stop all naval attacks. This treaty cleared the way for U.S. and French ships to sail the ocean in peace.

Adams’s actions made him enemies among the Federalists. Despite this, he spoke proudly of having saved the nation from bloodshed. “I desire no other inscription over my gravestone than: ‘Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800.’” Adams lost the presidential election of 1800 to Thomas Jefferson. You will read more about Jefferson in the next chapter.

Section 3 Assessment

1. Terms & Names

Explain the significance of:

- foreign policy
- political party
- XYZ Affair
- Alien and Sedition Acts
- states’ rights

2. Taking Notes

Use a cluster diagram to review details about the Alien and Sedition Acts.



What was the worst effect of the Alien and Sedition Acts? Why?

3. Main Ideas

- a.** What two pieces of advice did Washington give in his Farewell Address?
- b.** What led to the rise of political parties?
- c.** Why did Congress pass the Alien and Sedition Acts? How did Kentucky and Virginia respond?

4. Critical Thinking

Evaluating Do you think Washington’s warning about political parties was good advice? Explain.

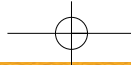
THINK ABOUT

- roles of political parties
- advantages of parties
- disadvantages of parties

ACTIVITY OPTIONS

**TECHNOLOGY
SPEECH**

Read more about Benjamin Banneker. Plan part of a **video presentation** on him or present **dramatic readings** of excerpts from the almanac he wrote.



Chapter 9 ASSESSMENT

TERMS & NAMES

Briefly explain the significance of each of the following.

1. inaugurate
2. cabinet
3. tariff
4. Battle of Fallen Timbers
5. Whiskey Rebellion
6. neutral
7. foreign policy
8. political party
9. Alien and Sedition Acts
10. states' rights

REVIEW QUESTIONS

Washington's Presidency (pages 277–281)

1. What questions about the judiciary were left open by the Constitution? How were they answered?
2. What financial problems did the new nation face?
3. How did Hamilton and Jefferson interpret the Constitution differently?

Challenges to the New Government (pages 282–286)

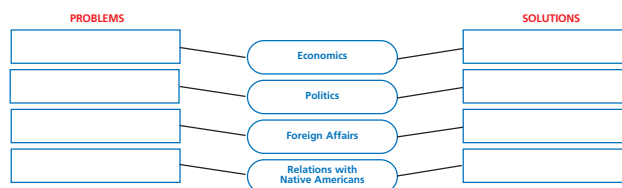
4. What did Washington do to secure the West?
5. What were the major arguments regarding taxation under the new government?
6. Why did Washington favor neutrality in the conflict between France and Britain?
7. What problems did the Jay and Pinckney treaties address?

The Federalists in Charge (pages 287–291)

8. Why did Washington oppose political parties?
9. What was the XYZ Affair?
10. Why did Federalists pass the Alien and Sedition Acts? How did Republicans respond?

CRITICAL THINKING

1. USING YOUR NOTES



Using your completed chart, answer the questions.

- a. What were the problems that characterized the Federalist era?
- b. What do the solutions to these problems reveal about the characteristics of the era?

2. ANALYZING LEADERSHIP

How did Washington's efforts to serve as a symbol of national unity help the new nation?

3. APPLYING CITIZENSHIP SKILLS

How might the farmers in the Whiskey Rebellion have expressed their disapproval of the whiskey tax while staying within the law?

4. THEME: DEMOCRATIC IDEALS

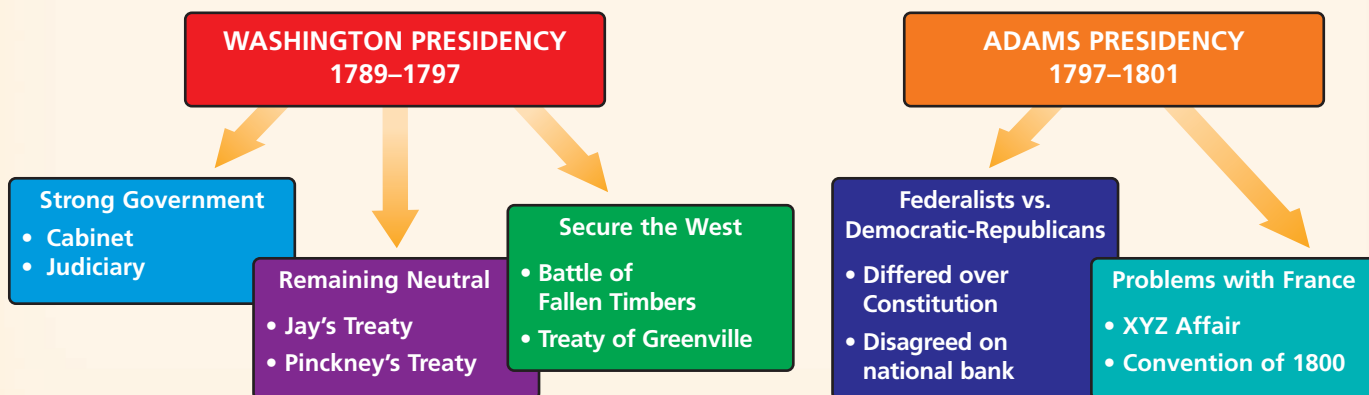
Did the formation of political parties make the nation more or less democratic?

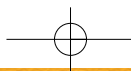
Interact *with* History

How did the challenges of setting up a government that you discussed before you read the chapter compare with the actual challenges you read about?

VISUAL SUMMARY

The First Presidents



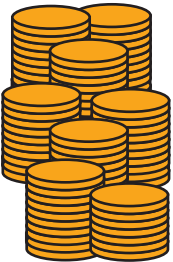




HISTORY SKILLS

1. INTERPRETING CHARTS

The following chart shows the money problems of the new nation between 1789 and 1791. The numbers have been rounded off. Study the chart and then answer the questions.

Financial Problems, 1789–1791

DEBTS	EXPENSES	INCOME
\$77,230,000 = total public debt 	\$4,270,000 budget to run government 	\$4,400,000 from duties or taxes imposed on imported and exported goods 

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*

- What was the government's total income in these years?
- How much money did the government owe in these same years?
- How might the government try to raise more money?

2. INTERPRETING PRIMARY SOURCES

In a letter to her sister, John Adams's wife, Abigail, had the following to say about President Washington. Read the quotation and answer the questions.

He is polite with dignity, affable without familiarity, distant without haughtiness, . . . modest, wise, and good.

Abigail Adams, letter of January 5, 1790

- What qualities seemed to set Washington apart from other political leaders?
- Is Mrs. Adams's overall impression of Washington positive or negative? Explain your answer.
- What qualities or characteristics did the people of Washington's time seem to expect in a leader?

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT

1. INTERDISCIPLINARY ACTIVITY: World History

Writing a Letter Imagine that you are a U.S. citizen during the French Revolution. Write a letter to the secretary of state recommending a policy you think the U.S. government should follow. Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation in your letter.

2. COOPERATIVE LEARNING ACTIVITY

Holding a Debate The controversy over the Alien and Sedition Acts deeply divided Federalists and Democratic-Republicans. Were the acts constitutional or an abuse of basic rights? Should criticism of the government be allowed in a time of near war?

Working in three groups, do research on the Alien and Sedition Acts and the positions taken by both political parties on these acts. Then have Federalist and Democratic-Republican groups pick representatives to debate the questions posed above, while the remaining group acts as audience and judge for the debate.

3. TECHNOLOGY ACTIVITY

Creating a Television Commercial People of the eighteenth century had different expectations of their political leaders than do people today. The quotation from Abigail Adams on this page is an example of the different perspective people held in Washington's time. Using the library or the Internet, find pictures of, and quotations about, political leaders of the time.

For more about the first presidents . . .



Create a 30-second television commercial that advertises an American history theme park, using the suggestions below.

- Try to find quotations that suggest the most important qualities of leaders such as Washington, Adams, Hamilton, and Jefferson.
- Try to find more than one image of each leader; find images that suggest different qualities in the person.
- Use quotations from and images of leaders as part of your commercial for a theme park.
- Show your commercial to the class.

4. HISTORY PORTFOLIO

Review your section and chapter assessment activities. Select one that you think is your best work. Then use comments made by your teacher or classmates to improve your work and add it to your portfolio.

Additional Test Practice,
pp. 51–533

