



# Chapter 9

# The New Republic Begins

## 1789-1800

### What's Ahead

**Section 1**  
Launching the New Government

**Section 2**  
A Policy of Neutrality

**Section 3**  
The Rise of Political Parties

**Section 4**  
The Second President

In this chapter, you will learn about the early years of the United States. The new nation faced many decisions about how it would govern itself. Everything was a fresh issue, from what the President should be called to how the nation should pay its bills. The young republic also had to meet violent challenges inside its borders and on the high seas.

In these confusing times, leaders clashed over what policies to follow. Some wanted a stronger national government. Others felt the states should have more power. Before long, two political parties formed. Despite powerful feelings on both sides, the nation successfully elected its second President and moved into the 1800s.

### Why Study History?

Again and again, as you study American history, you will find people arguing about something called "the tariff." Tariffs may not seem very exciting. However, they can directly affect how much we pay for the things we buy. To focus on a recent issue involving tariffs, see the *Why Study History?* feature, "The Debate Over Tariffs Continues," in this chapter.

### American Events

**1789**  
George Washington becomes first President of the United States

**1791**  
Congress creates the Bank of the United States

**1793**  
Washington issues Neutrality Proclamation to keep the United States out of war

1788

1790

1792

1794

### World Events

**1789 World Event**  
French Revolution begins

**1792 World Event**  
French assembly votes to end monarchy

# Unit Theme Nationalism

In the years after winning independence and adopting a new Constitution, the United States grew and prospered. As the nation took shape, so did American nationalism. Nationalism is a feeling of loyalty and devotion to one's country.

Proud Americans sought to identify qualities that set the United States apart from older nations.

How did Americans of the time describe their feelings about their country? They can tell you in their own words.

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## VIEWPOINTS ON AMERICAN NATIONALISM

“ Britain, whose children we are, and whose language we speak, should no longer be *our* standard. . . . Customs, habits, and language, as well as government, should be national. America should have her *own* distinct from all the world. ”

*Noah Webster, scholar and dictionary writer (1789)*

“ We have learned to love our country. . . because the sweat of our fathers' brows has subdued its soil; . . . because it embraces our fathers and mothers. ”

*John Thornton Kirkland, Boston minister (1798)*

“ Our country! In her [dealings] with foreign nations, may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong. ”

*Stephen Decatur, naval hero (1816)*

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**Activity Writing to Learn** Another word for nationalism is patriotism. Many things might stir patriotic feelings, including holidays like the Fourth of July, symbols like the flag, or songs like “The Star-Spangled Banner.” List 5 or 6 other things that may stir patriotic feelings. Then, choose one of the items from your list. Write a paragraph describing what you think it represents.



# Launching the New Government

As You Read

## Explore These Questions

- How did George Washington's actions set an example for future Presidents?
- How did Alexander Hamilton plan to strengthen the nation's economy?
- Why did some people oppose Hamilton's economic plan?

## Define

- Inauguration
- precedent
- Cabinet
- national debt
- bond
- speculator
- tariff
- protective tariff

## Identify

- Judiciary Act
- District of Columbia
- Bank of the United States
- Whiskey Rebellion

## SETTING the Scene

The new Congress met for the first time in the spring of 1789.

Vice President John Adams brought up a curious question. How should people address the President?

For three weeks, members of Congress debated the issue. Some favored the simple title "President Washington." Others felt that it lacked dignity. Instead, they suggested titles such as "His Elective Highness" or "His Highness the President of the United States and Protector of the Rights of the Same."

Finally, Washington let Congress know he was content with "President of the United States." By choosing a simple title, Washington showed he was not interested in the kind of power that European monarchs had. In this decision, like many others, Washington set an example for later Presidents.

## The New Government

George Washington was inaugurated in New York City on April 30, 1789. A President's **inauguration** is the ceremony at which the President officially takes the oath of office. A witness reported that the new President looked "grave, almost to sadness." Washington no doubt was feeling the awesome responsibility of his office. He knew that Americans were looking to him to make their new government work.

As the first President, Washington had no one to imitate. While the Constitution provided a framework for the new government, it did not explain how the President should govern from day to day. Washington knew he was setting an example for future generations. "There is scarcely any part of my conduct," he said, "which may not hereafter be drawn into precedent." **Precedent** (PREHS uh dehnt) is an act or decision that sets an example for others to follow.

Washington set one important precedent at the end of his second term. In 1796, he decided not to run for a third term. Not until 1940 did any President seek a third term.

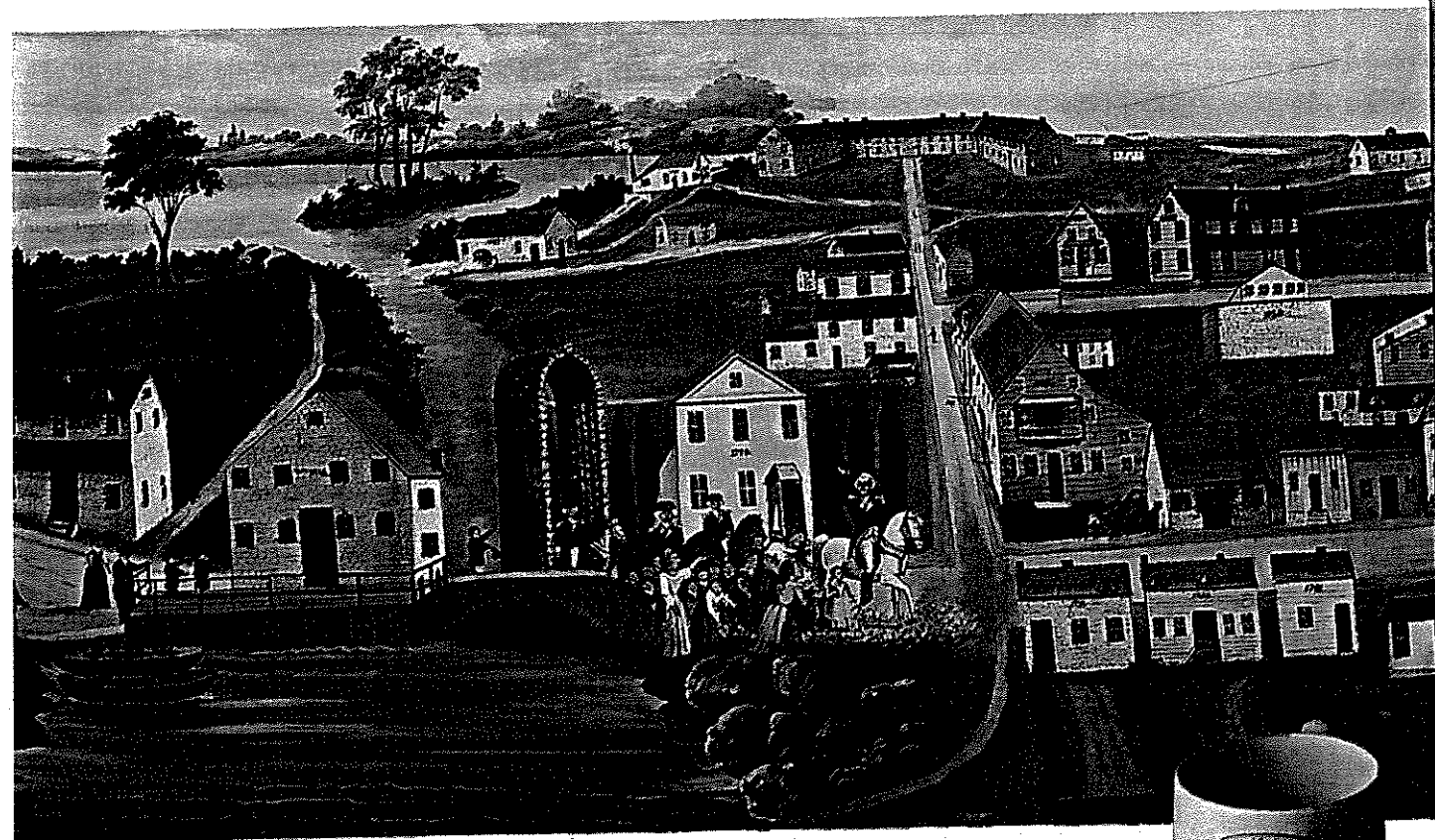
## The first Cabinet

The Constitution said little about how the executive branch should be organized. It was clear, however, that the President needed talented people to help him carry out his duties.



## Connections With Civics

The President who finally broke Washington's two-term precedent was Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1940, he ran for and won a third term. Four years later, Roosevelt was elected yet again. Today, the Twenty-Second Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any President from being elected more than twice.



## Viewing HISTORY The First President

George Washington traveled on horseback to his inauguration in New York City. Along the way, crowds gathered to cheer their new President. Here, women and children scatter flower petals in Washington's path. ★ How can you tell this painter greatly admired Washington?

Mug honoring President Washington's inauguration ►



In 1789, the first Congress created five executive departments. They were the departments of State, Treasury, and War and the offices of Attorney General and Postmaster General. The heads of these departments made up the President's **Cabinet**. Members of the Cabinet gave Washington advice and directed their departments.

Washington set a precedent by carefully choosing well-known leaders to serve in his Cabinet. The two most influential were the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, and the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton.

### The federal court system

The Constitution called for a Supreme Court. Congress, however, had to organize the federal court system. In 1789, Congress passed the **Judiciary Act**. It called for the

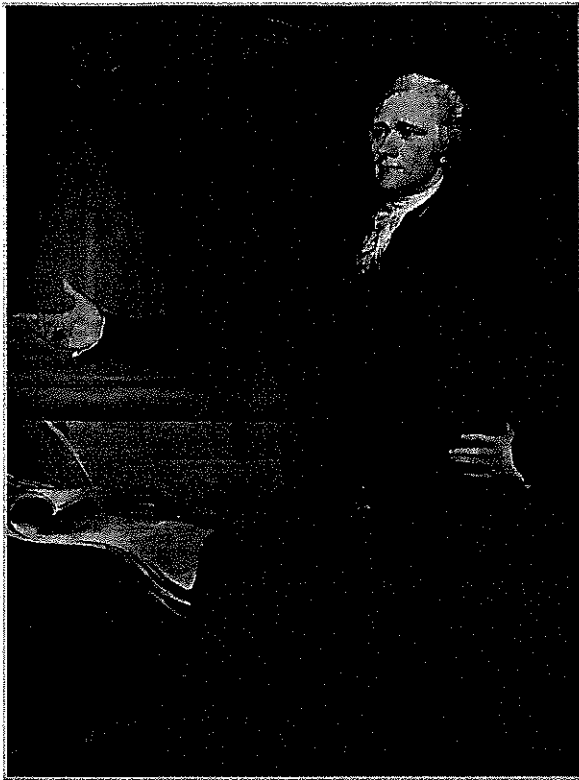
Supreme Court to have one Chief Justice and five Associate Justices.\* Washington named John Jay to serve as the first Chief Justice of the United States.

The Judiciary Act also set up a system of district courts and circuit courts across the nation. Decisions made in these lower courts could be appealed to the Supreme Court, the highest court in the land.

### Battling the National Debt

As Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton wanted to build a strong economy. He faced many major problems, however. Among the most pressing was the large national debt. The **national debt** is the total sum of money a government owes to others.

\* Today, the Supreme Court has eight Associate Justices.



## Biography Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton was born on the Caribbean island of Nevis in 1755. As a boy, he faced poverty, but he worked his way up in a local trading company. He later came to New York, served as an officer in the American Revolution, and became the first Secretary of the Treasury. This portrait was painted by John Trumbull, one of the most famous early American artists.

★ How did Alexander Hamilton help strengthen the new nation?

During the Revolution, both the national government and the individual states needed money to pay soldiers and buy supplies. They borrowed money from foreign countries and ordinary citizens.

Then, as now, governments borrowed money by issuing bonds. A **bond** is a certificate which promises to repay the money loaned plus interest on a certain date. For example, if a person pays \$100 for a bond, the government agrees to pay back \$100 plus interest in five or ten years.

By 1789, most southern states had paid off their debts from the Revolution. Other states and the federal government had not.

Hamilton insisted that all these debts be repaid. After all, he asked, who would lend money to the United States in the future if the country did not pay its old debts?

## Hamilton's Plan

Hamilton developed a two-part plan to repay both the national and state debts. First, he wanted to buy up all the bonds issued by the national and state governments before 1789. He planned to sell new bonds to pay off those old debts. When the economy improved, the government would be able to pay off the new bonds. Second, he wanted the national government to pay off debts owed by the states.

Many people, including bankers and investors, welcomed Hamilton's plan. Others attacked it.

## Madison leads the opposition

James Madison led the opposition to Hamilton's plan. Madison argued that the plan was unfair because it would reward speculators. A **speculator** is someone willing to invest in a risky venture in the hope of making a large profit.

During the Revolution, the government had paid soldiers and citizens who supplied goods with bonds. Many of these bondholders needed cash to survive. They sold their bonds to speculators. Speculators paid only 10 or 15 cents for bonds that had an original, or face, value of one dollar.

If the government repaid the bonds at face value, speculators stood to make great fortunes. Madison thought that speculators did not deserve to make such profits.

Hamilton disagreed. The United States had to repay its bonds in full, he said, in order to gain the trust and help of investors. The support of investors, he argued, was crucial for building the new nation's economy. After much debate, Hamilton convinced Congress to accept his plan of repaying the national debt.

As a southerner, James Madison also led the fight against the other part of Hamilton's plan. It called for the federal government to pay state debts. Many southern states had already paid their own debts in full. They



thought other states should do the same. As a result, southerners bitterly opposed Hamilton's proposal.

### Hamilton's compromise

To win support for his plan, Hamilton suggested a compromise. He knew that many southerners wanted to move the nation's capital to the South. He offered to persuade his northern friends to vote for a capital in the South if southerners supported the repayment of state debts.

Madison and other southerners accepted this compromise. In July 1790, Congress passed bills taking over state debts and providing for a new capital city.

The capital would not be part of any state. Instead, it would be built on land along the Potomac River between Virginia and Maryland. Congress called this area the **District of Columbia**. It is known today as Washington, D.C. Congress hoped that the new capital would be ready by 1800. Meanwhile, the nation's capital was moved from New York to Philadelphia.

### Building Up the Economy

Hamilton's compromise with the South had resolved the problem of the national debt. Now he took steps to build up the new nation's economy.

#### A national bank

Hamilton called on Congress to set up a national bank. In 1791, Congress passed a bill creating the first **Bank of the United States**. The national government deposited the money it collected in taxes in the Bank. The Bank, in turn, issued paper money. The government used the paper money to make loans to farmers and businesses. By making loans to citizens, the Bank encouraged the growth of the economy.

The Bank also used the paper money to pay government bills. The new government had many expenses. It had to pay its employees, build the new capital, and keep up the army and navy.

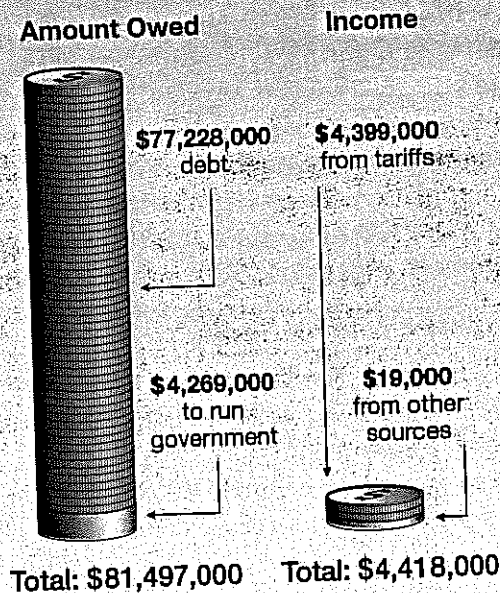
#### Protecting American Industry

Another part of Hamilton's economic program was designed to give American manu-

facturing a boost. He proposed that Congress pass a **tariff**, or tax, on all foreign goods brought into the country. Hamilton called for a very high tariff. He wanted to make imported goods more expensive to buy than goods made in the United States. Because such a tariff was meant to protect American industry from foreign competition, it was called a **protective tariff**.

In the North, where factories were growing, many people supported Hamilton's plan. Southern farmers, however, bought more imported goods than northerners did. They did not want a protective tariff that would make these goods more expensive.

### Money Problems of the New Nation, 1789-1791



Source: Historical Statistics of the United States

### Graph Skills

As Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton sought ways for the government to meet its expenses.

- 1. Comprehension** What was the government's total income between 1789 and 1791?
- 2. Critical Thinking** According to the graph, if the national debt was paid, would there be enough money to run the government? Explain.

Economics 





# A Policy of Neutrality



### Explore These Questions

- How did Americans react to the French Revolution?
- What policy did the United States adopt when war broke out in Europe?
- How did Washington's Farewell Address influence American foreign policy?

### Define

- foreign policy

### Identify

- French Revolution
- Neutrality Proclamation
- Jay's Treaty
- Farewell Address

### SETTING the Scene

Late in 1789, French ships arriving at American seaports brought startling news. On July 14, an angry mob in Paris, France, had destroyed the Bastille (bahs TEEL), a huge fort that was being used as a prison. The attack on the Bastille was one of several events that launched the **French Revolution**.

The French Revolution broke out a few years after Americans won independence. Like the Americans, the French fought for liberty and equality. As the French Revolution grew more violent, however, it ignited political quarrels that had been smoldering in the United States.

## Revolution in France

The French had many reasons to rebel against their king, Louis XVI. Peasants and the middle class paid heavy taxes, while nobles paid none. Reformers called for a constitution to limit the power of the king. They also wanted a guarantee of rights like that in the American Constitution.

### Americans support the revolution

At first, most Americans supported the French Revolution. Americans knew what it meant to struggle for liberty. Then, too, France had been the first ally of the United States in the war against Great Britain.

Many Americans wanted to rally behind the Marquis de Lafayette, a leading French reformer. They remembered that Lafayette had fought side by side with them in the American Revolution.

In the 1790s, however, the French Revolution entered a very violent stage. A radical group gained power. In 1793, they beheaded Louis XVI and his wife, Queen Marie Antoinette. During a "reign of terror," tens of thousands of French citizens were executed.

### Violence divides American opinion

The violence in France divided Americans. Some, like Thomas Jefferson, continued to support the French. He condemned the killings of the king and queen. Still, he felt that the French had the right to use violence to win freedom.

Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and others disagreed with Jefferson's view. They thought that the French Revolution was doomed to fail. One could no more create democracy through violence, claimed Adams, "than a snowball can exist in the streets of Philadelphia under a burning sun."

## Remaining Neutral

The French Revolution shocked rulers and nobles across Europe. They feared the spread of revolutionary ideas to their own





## Viewing HISTORY The French Revolution

At the start of the French Revolution, famine gripped Paris. Thousands of angry women (above) marched on the palace of the king shouting, "Bread! Bread!" The statue at right honored the army of ragged peasants that rose up against long years of injustice. ★ Why would the French expect Americans to support their revolution?



lands. Britain, Spain, Prussia, Austria, and the Netherlands sent armies to overpower the revolutionaries in France. Europe was soon plunged into a war that continued on and off for more than 20 years.

king was dead, he argued, the treaty was no longer valid. Jefferson, however, supported the French cause. He was suspicious of Hamilton, who wanted friendlier relations with Britain, the nation's old enemy.

### A difficult decision

Faced with the war in Europe, Washington had to form a foreign policy for the nation. Foreign policy refers to the actions and stands that a nation takes in relation to other nations. An old treaty, signed during the American Revolution, allowed French ships to use American ports. As the war in Europe continued, the French wanted to use American ports to supply their ships and launch attacks on British ships.

After much debate, Washington issued the **Neutrality Proclamation** in April 1793. In it, he stated that the United States would not support either side in the war. It also forbade Americans to aid either Britain or France in any way.

"It is the sincere wish of United America," said the President, "to have nothing to do with... the squabbles of European nations." How could the United States honor its treaty with France and still remain neutral?

Many viewed the Neutrality Proclamation as a defeat for Jefferson. Eventually, this and other conflicts with Hamilton caused Jefferson to leave the Cabinet.

### Divisions in the Cabinet

The issue of the treaty deepened divisions within Washington's Cabinet. Hamilton pointed out that the United States had signed the treaty with Louis XVI. Since the

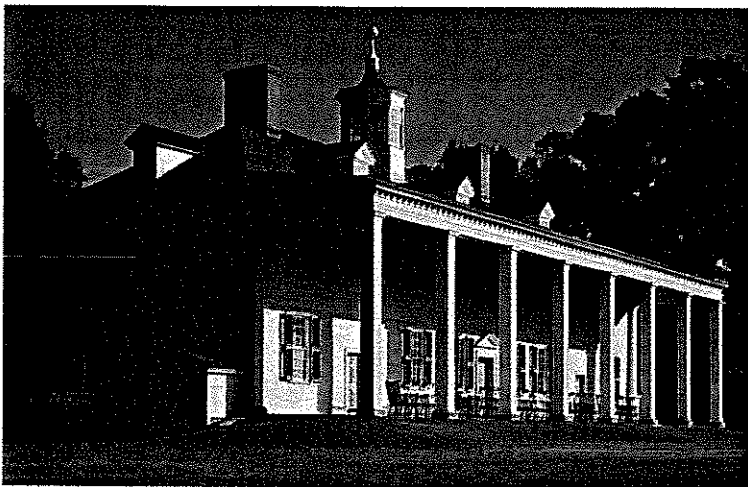
### An Unpopular Treaty

Declaring neutrality was easier than enforcing it. American merchants wanted to trade with both Britain and France. However, those warring nations ignored the rights of neutral ships. They seized American cargoes headed for each other's ports.

In 1793, the British captured more than 250 American ships trading in the French

West Indies. Americans clamored for war. Washington, however, knew that the United States was too weak to fight. He sent Chief Justice John Jay to Britain for talks.

Jay worked out a treaty. It called for Britain to pay damages for American ships seized in 1793. At the same time, Americans had to pay debts to British merchants, owed from before the Revolution. Britain agreed to give up forts it still held in the Ohio Valley. However, the treaty did nothing to protect the rights of neutral American ships.



George Washington retired to Mount Vernon, his Virginia home, where he died in 1799.

**Jay's Treaty** sparked a storm of protest. Many Americans felt they were giving up more than Britain was. After a furious debate, the Senate finally approved the treaty in 1795. Washington accepted the treaty because he wanted to avoid war.

## Washington Retires

In 1796, George Washington published his **Farewell Address**. In it, he announced he would retire. He urged the United States to remain neutral in its relations with other countries:

“Observe good faith and justice toward all nations... Nothing is more essential than that permanent, [habitual hatred] against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded.”

Washington warned Americans to avoid becoming involved in European affairs. “’Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world,” said the retiring President. Such alliances, he felt, would pull the United States into war. That advice guided American foreign policy for many years.

## ★ Section 2 Review ★

### Recall

1. **Identify** (a) French Revolution, (b) Neutrality Proclamation, (c) Jay's Treaty, (d) Farewell Address.
2. **Define** foreign policy.

### Comprehension

3. How did the revolution in France divide Americans?
4. Describe two actions Washington took to avoid war.
5. What advice did Washington give in his Farewell Address?

### Critical Thinking and Writing

6. **Recognizing Points of View** Writing about the French Revolution, Thomas Jefferson said he was willing to see “half the earth devastated” in order to win the “liberty of the whole.” (a) Restate Jefferson's main idea in your own words. (b) What does this statement tell you about Jefferson's values?
7. **Analyzing Information** How did geographic location help the United States to “steer clear of permanent alliances” with European nations for many years?

★★



**Activity Giving an Introduction** President Washington has chosen to deliver his Farewell Address in your school auditorium. You have been asked to introduce him. Prepare a two-minute introduction naming what you consider to be Washington's greatest achievements.



# The Rise of Political Parties

## Explore These Questions

- How did political differences lead to the rise of two political parties?
- What role did newspapers play in politics?
- How did the election of 1796 increase political tensions?

## Define

- faction
- unconstitutional

## Identify

- Democratic Republicans
- Federalists

As You Read

### SETTING the Scene

When President Washington took office in 1789, the United States had no political parties.

In fact, most American leaders opposed the very idea of forming parties. "If I could not go to heaven but with a party," said Thomas Jefferson, "I would not go at all."

Still, deep divisions began to form in the Cabinet and Congress. Jefferson described the unpleasant mood:

“Men who have been [friends] all their lives cross streets to avoid meeting, and turn their heads another way, lest they should be obliged to touch their hats.”

By the time Washington left office in 1797, there were two parties competing for power.

## A Distrust of Political Parties

Americans had reason to distrust political parties. They had seen how **factions**, or opposing groups within parties, worked in Britain. British factions were made up of a few people who schemed to win favors from the government. Most were more interested in personal gain than in the public good.

Americans also saw political parties as a threat to national unity. They agreed with George Washington, who warned Americans that parties would lead to "jealousies and false alarms."

Despite the President's warning, parties grew up around two members of his Cabinet, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson.

The two men differed in background, looks, and personality as well as in politics. Born in the West Indies, Hamilton had worked his way up from poverty. He dressed in fine clothes and spoke forcefully. Energetic, brilliant, and restless, Hamilton enjoyed political debate.

Jefferson was tall and lanky. Although he was a wealthy Virginia planter, he dressed and spoke informally. One senator recalled:

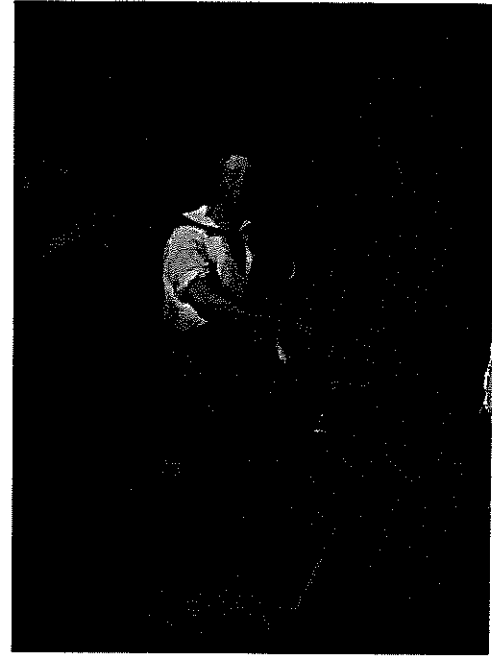
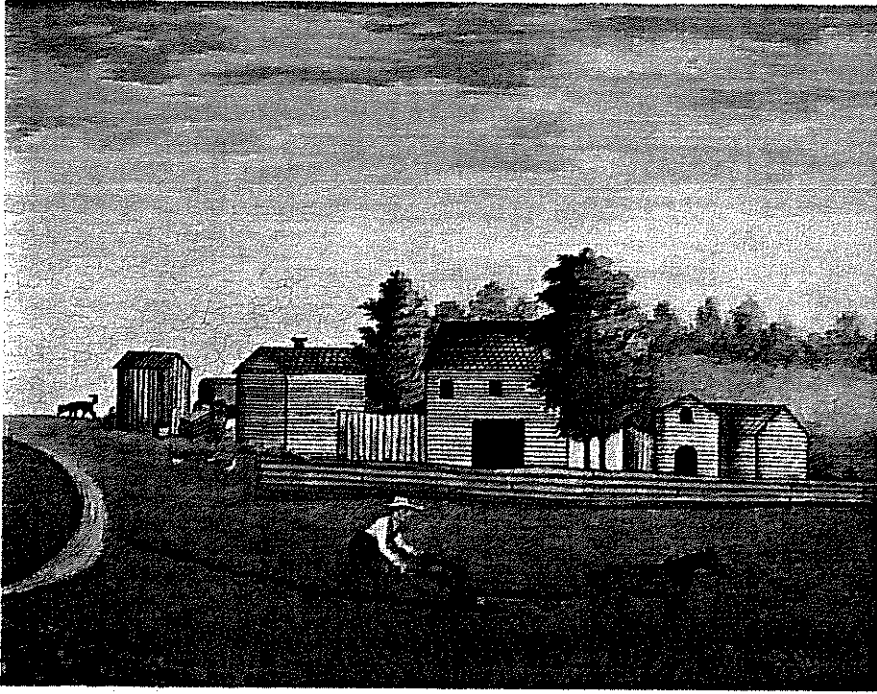
“His clothes seem too small for him. He sits in a lounging manner, on one hip commonly, and with one of his shoulders elevated much above the other. His face has a sunny aspect. His whole figure has a loose, shackling air. . . . He spoke almost without ceasing. [His conversation] was loose and rambling; and yet he scattered information wherever he went.”

## Differing Views

Alexander Hamilton did not agree with Thomas Jefferson on many issues. At the root of their quarrels were different views about what was best for the young United States.

### Manufacturing or farming

First, Hamilton and Jefferson disagreed about economic policy. Hamilton thought the United States should model itself on Britain. He felt the government should encourage



## Viewing HISTORY

### Two Views of the Nation

Federalists and Republicans disagreed. Should the new nation build its future mainly on agriculture or on manufacturing? The farmer, above, and the ironworker, right, represent these two viewpoints.

★ Which of these pictures represents Hamilton's view? Which picture represents Jefferson's view?

manufacturing and trade. He also favored the growth of cities and the merchant class who helped make cities prosperous.

Jefferson believed that farmers, rather than merchants, were the backbone of the new nation. "Cultivators of the earth," he wrote, "are the most valuable citizens." He feared that a manufacturing economy would corrupt the United States by concentrating power in the hands of a small group of wealthy Americans.

#### Federal or state governments

Hamilton and Jefferson disagreed about the power of the federal government. Hamilton wanted the federal government to have greater power than state governments. A strong federal government, he argued, could encourage the growth of commerce. It would also have the power needed to restrain unruly mobs, such as the protesters who led the Whiskey Rebellion.

In contrast, Jefferson hoped to make the government as small as possible. Then, citizens would have the freedom to act as they

pleased. Jefferson feared that a strong federal government might take over powers that the Constitution gave to the states.

#### Strict or loose interpretation of the Constitution

These disagreements led the two leaders to clash over the Bank of the United States. Jefferson worried that a national bank would give too much power to the federal government and the wealthy investors who helped run it.

To oppose Hamilton's proposal, Jefferson argued that the law creating the bank was **unconstitutional**, that is, not permitted by the Constitution. Nowhere did the Constitution give Congress the power to create a Bank, he argued. Jefferson thought that any power not specifically given to the federal government belonged to the states.

Hamilton did not agree with Jefferson's strict interpretation of the Constitution. He preferred a looser interpretation. The Constitution gave Congress the power to make all laws "necessary and proper" to carry out

## Federalists vs. Republicans

FEDERALISTS	REPUBLICANS
① Led by Alexander Hamilton	① Led by Thomas Jefferson
② Wealthy and well educated should lead nation	② People should have political power
③ Strong central government	③ Strong state governments
④ Emphasis on manufacturing, shipping, and trade	④ Emphasis on agriculture
⑤ Loose interpretation of Constitution	⑤ Strict interpretation of the Constitution
⑥ Pro-British	⑥ Pro-French
⑦ Favored national bank	⑦ Opposed national bank
⑧ Favored protective tariff	⑧ Opposed protective tariff

### Graphic Organizer *Skills*

By the 1790s, there were two political parties in the United States—the Federalist party and the Republican party.

- 1. Comprehension** Describe two ways the Republicans and Federalists differed on economic issues.
- 2. Critical Thinking** “The average person is far too ignorant to make wise political decisions.” Do you think a Republican or a Federalist would be more likely to agree with this statement? Explain.



its duties. Hamilton argued that the Bank was necessary for the government to collect taxes and pay its bills.

### Britain or France

Finally, the two leaders clashed over foreign policy. Hamilton wanted to form close ties with Britain, an important trading partner. Jefferson favored France, the first ally of the United States and a nation struggling for its own liberty.

### Party Rivalry

At first, Hamilton and Jefferson clashed in private. However, when Congress began to pass many of Hamilton’s programs, Jefferson and James Madison decided to organize public support for their views.

Madison and Jefferson moved cautiously at first. In 1791, they went to New York, telling people that they were going to study

its wildlife. In fact, Jefferson was interested in nature and did travel far into upstate New York. Their main purpose, though, was to meet with important New York politicians like Governor George Clinton and Aaron Burr, a strong critic of Hamilton. Jefferson asked Clinton and Burr to help defeat Hamilton’s program by getting New Yorkers to vote for Jefferson supporters.

### Republicans and Federalists

Soon, leaders in other states began organizing to support either Hamilton or Jefferson. Jefferson’s supporters called themselves **Democratic Republicans**, often shortened to Republicans.\* Republicans included small farmers, craftworkers, and some wealthy planters.

\*Jefferson’s Republican party was not the same as today’s Republican party. In fact, his party later grew into the Democratic party.



Hamilton and his supporters were called **federalists** because they wanted a strong federal government. Federalists drew most of their support from merchants and manufacturers in cities such as Boston and New York. They also gained the backing of some southern planters.

**Newspapers take sides**

In the late 1700s, the number of American newspapers more than doubled. This growth met a demand for information. A visitor from Europe noted with surprise that so many Americans could read:

“The common people [in the United States] are on a footing, in point of literature with the middle ranks of Europe. They all read and write, and understand arithmetic; almost every little town now furnishes a circulating library.”

As party rivalry grew, newspapers took sides. In the *Gazette of the United States*, publisher John Fenno printed articles in favor of Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists. Philip Freneau (frih NOH), a friend of Thomas Jefferson, started a rival paper, the *National Gazette*. Freneau vigorously supported Republicans.

Newspapers had great influence on public opinion. In stinging language, they raged

against opponents. Often, articles mixed rumor and opinion with facts. Emotional attacks and counterattacks fanned the flames of party rivalry. Still, newspapers performed a needed service. They kept people informed and helped shape public opinion.

**Election of 1796**

Political parties played a major role in the election of George Washington's successor. In 1796, Republicans backed Thomas Jefferson for President and Aaron Burr for Vice President. Federalists supported John Adams for President and Thomas Pinckney for Vice President.

The election had an unexpected outcome, which created new tensions. Under the Constitution, the person with the most electoral votes became President. The person with the next highest total was made Vice President. John Adams, a Federalist, won office as President. The leader of the Republicans, Thomas Jefferson, came in second and became Vice President.

With the President and the Vice President from different parties, political tensions remained high. Future events would further increase the distrust between the two men. Meanwhile, John Adams took office in March 1797 as the second President of the United States.

★ **Section 3 Review** ★

**Recall**

1. **Identify** (a) Democratic Republicans, (b) Federalists.
2. **Define** (a) faction, (b) unconstitutional.

**Comprehension**

3. Describe two issues on which Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton disagreed.
4. How did newspapers contribute to the rivalry between political parties?

5. What role did parties play in the 1796 election?

**Critical Thinking and Writing**

6. **Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think political parties emerged even though most Americans opposed them?
7. **Ranking** Which of the disagreements between Jefferson and Hamilton do you think was the most serious? Explain.



**Activity Writing a Newspaper Headline** You are the publisher of either the *Gazette of the United States* or the *National Gazette*. Write three headlines about the election of 1796. Be sure your headlines express the point of view of your own newspaper.





# The Second President



## Explore These Questions

- Why did many Americans favor war with France?
- Why did the Federalist party split in two?
- Why did the Alien and Sedition acts outrage many Americans?

## Define

- Immigrant
- sedition
- nullify

## Identify

- XYZ Affair
- High Federalists
- Napoleon Bonaparte
- Alien and Sedition acts
- Kentucky and Virginia resolutions

## SETTING the Scene

Late in his life, John Adams looked back on his career with mixed feelings. He knew that leaders such as Washington and Jefferson were more widely admired than he was. Still, Adams wrote proudly of his life's work:

“I have done more labor, run through more and greater dangers, and made greater sacrifices than any man . . . living or dead, in the service of my country.”

At the same time, Adams found it hard to boast of his achievements. In the end, he concluded: “I am not, never was, and never shall be a great man.”

Although he was not a popular hero, like Washington, Adams was an honest and able leader. As President, he tried to act in the best interests of the nation, even when his actions hurt him politically.

## Conflict With France

No sooner did Adams take office than he faced a crisis with France. The French objected to Jay's Treaty because they felt that it favored Britain. In 1797, French ships began to seize American ships in the West Indies, as the British had done.

Once again, Americans called for war, this time against France. Adams tried to avoid war by sending diplomats to Paris to discuss the rights of neutral nations.

## The XYZ Affair

France's foreign minister, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, did not deal directly with the Americans. Instead, he sent three secret agents to offer the Americans a deal. Before Talleyrand would begin talks, the agents said, he wanted \$250,000 for himself, as well as a loan to France of \$10 million. “Not a sixpence!” replied one of the American diplomats angrily.

The diplomats informed Adams about the offer. Adams, in turn, told Congress. He did not reveal the names of the French agents, referring to them only as X, Y, and Z.

Many Americans were outraged when they heard about the **XYZ Affair** in 1798. They took up the slogan, “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!” They were willing to spend money to defend their country, but they refused to pay a bribe to another nation.

## Adams avoids war

Despite growing pressure, Adams refused to ask Congress to declare war on France. Still, he could not ignore French attacks on American ships. He moved to strengthen the navy. Shipyards built frigates—fast-sailing ships with many guns.

This show of strength helped convince Talleyrand to stop attacking American ships. He also promised Adams that if American ambassadors came to France, they would be treated with respect.

## Linking United States and the World

France

United States



### On the Brink of War

After the XYZ Affair, many Americans called for war with France. War fever led the nation to build up its navy. At left, a cartoon shows France as a five-headed monster asking for "Money, Money, Money." At right, Americans construct a new warship. ★ Why did the XYZ affair outrage Americans?

## The Federalist Party Splits

Many Federalists, led by Hamilton, criticized Adams's actions. They hoped a war would weaken the Republicans, supporters of France. War would also force the United States to build up its military. A stronger army and navy would increase federal power, a major Federalist goal.

Although John Adams was a Federalist, he would not give in to Hamilton. Their disagreement created a split in the Federalist party. Hamilton and his supporters were called **High Federalists**.

Over Hamilton's opposition, Adams again sent diplomats to France. When they arrived, they found an ambitious young army officer, **Napoleon Bonaparte**, in charge. Napoleon did not have time for a war with the United States. He signed an agreement to stop seizing American ships.

Like Washington, Adams kept the nation out of war. His success, however, cost him the support of many Federalists.

## Alien and Sedition Acts

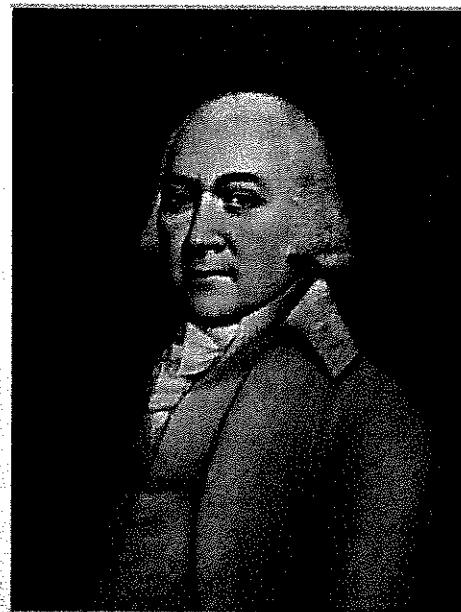
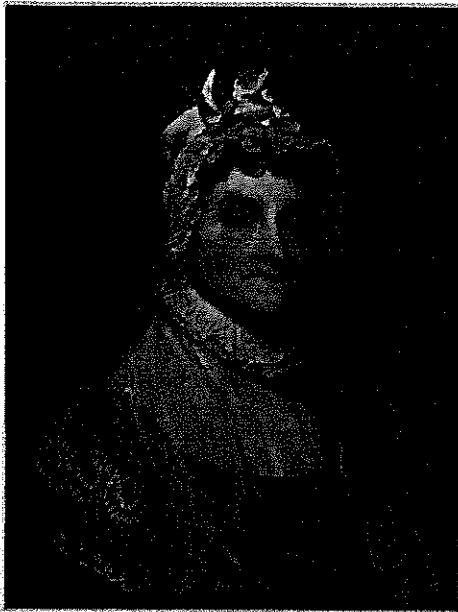
During the crisis with France, Federalists pushed several laws through Congress. Passed in 1798, the laws were known as the **Alien and Sedition acts**.

The Alien Act allowed the President to expel any alien, or foreigner, thought to be dangerous to the country. Another law made it harder for immigrants to become citizens. An **immigrant** is a person who enters another country in order to settle there. Before, white immigrants could become citizens after living in the United States for 5 years. Under the new law, immigrants had to wait 14 years. This law was meant to keep new settlers, who often supported the Republicans, from voting.

Republican anger grew when Congress passed the Sedition Act. **Sedition** means stirring up rebellion against a government. Under this law, citizens could be fined or jailed if they criticized the government or its officials.



▲  
Locket given  
by John to  
Abigail Adams



## Biography John and Abigail Adams

Throughout 54 years of marriage, John Adams valued the advice and support of his wife, Abigail. A brilliant woman and fine writer, Abigail Adams supported greater rights for women. They were the first President and First Lady to live in the White House. Their son, John Quincy Adams, also became President. ★ Why would it have been hard for Abigail Adams to pursue her own political career?

Republicans protested that the Sedition Act violated the Constitution. After all, they argued, the First Amendment protected freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Jefferson warned that the new laws threatened American liberties:

“If this goes down, we shall immediately see attempted another act of Congress, declaring that the President shall continue in office during life, and after that other laws giving both the President and the Congress life terms in office.”

Under the Sedition Act, several Republican newspaper editors, and even members of Congress, were fined and jailed for expressing their opinions.

### The Rights of States

Outraged, Jefferson urged the states to take strong action against the Alien and Sedition acts. He argued that the states had

the right to **nullify**, or cancel, a law passed by the federal government. In this way, states could resist the power of the federal government.

With the help of Jefferson and Madison, Kentucky and Virginia passed resolutions in 1798 and 1799. The **Kentucky and Virginia resolutions** claimed that each state “has an equal right to judge for itself” whether a law is constitutional. If a state decides a law is unconstitutional, said the resolutions, it has the power to nullify that law within its borders.



### Connections With Arts

The picture of Abigail Adams, above, is by Gilbert Stuart, one of the greatest American portrait painters. In fact, you may have a Gilbert Stuart painting in your pocket right now. His portrait of George Washington appears on the one dollar bill.

