Launching the Nation

California Standards

History–Social Science
8.1 Students understand the major events preceding the founding of the nation and relate their significance to the development of American constitutional democracy.
8.3 Students understand the foundation of the American political system and the ways in which citizens participate in it.
8.4 Students analyze the aspirations and ideals of the people of the new nation.
8.5 Students analyze U.S. foreign policy in the early republic.

English–Language Arts
Writing 2.4.a Write persuasive compositions that provide details, reasons, and examples.

FOCUS ON WRITING
A Nobel Nomination Every year a few people are nominated for a Nobel Prize for their work to improve the world. In this chapter you will read about four great Americans—Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Adams. Then you’ll choose one of these great leaders and write a Nobel Prize nomination for him.

1789
George Washington becomes the first president.

1789
The French Revolution begins.
In this chapter you will learn about the first presidency and how it affected the country. George Washington began many of the traditions of the president and of the nation. He is honored with statues and memorials across the country, including the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C.

1773
French revolutionaries behead King Louis XVI.

1794
The Whiskey Rebellion begins in Pennsylvania.

1795
Native American leaders sign the Treaty of Greenville.

1796
John Adams is elected president on December 7.

1799
George Washington dies at Mount Vernon, Virginia, on December 14.

1799
The Rosetta Stone is discovered in Egypt. Inscriptions on the stone make it possible for researchers to read Egyptian hieroglyphics.
Focus on Themes  This chapter, titled “Launching a Nation,” describes how the early leaders established this nation’s political and economic systems. You will read about Washington’s presidency, Hamilton’s plan for financial security for the nation, the establishment of two parties to elect the president, and Jefferson’s struggles with both Washington and Hamilton. Throughout the chapter, you will see that disagreement often defined these early days.

Inferences about History

Focus on Reading  What’s the difference between a good guess and a weak guess? A good guess is an educated guess. In other words, the guess is based on some knowledge or information. That’s what an inference is, an educated guess.

Making Inferences About What You Read  To make an inference, combine information from your reading with what you already know, and make an educated guess about what it all means. Once you have made several inferences, you may be able to draw a conclusion that ties them all together.

Question  What kind of person was Alexander Hamilton?

Inside the Text
- Hamilton ran a company when he was just a teenager.
- He had a career as a lawyer.
- He became the Secretary of the Treasury under Washington.

Outside the Text
- Running a company takes intelligence and cleverness.
- Becoming a lawyer takes dedication.
- Washington probably wanted someone clever and capable.

Inference  Alexander Hamilton was an intelligent, clever, and dedicated man.
You Try It!

Read the following passage and answer the questions that follow.

Economic Differences

Hamilton wanted new forms of economic growth. He wanted to promote manufacturing and business. He even suggested that the government award a prize to companies that made excellent products.

In addition, Hamilton wanted to pass higher tariffs. Known as protective tariffs, these taxes would raise the prices of foreign products. Hamilton hoped this would cause Americans to buy U.S. goods. As a result, American manufacturing would be protected from foreign competition.

Jefferson worried about depending too much on business and manufacturing. He believed that farmers were the most independent voters. . . . Jefferson wanted to help farmers by keeping the costs of the goods they bought low. Lower tariffs would help keep prices low.

After you read the passage, answer the following questions.

1. Which two questions can be answered directly from the text above and which one requires that you make an inference?
   a. Who wanted higher tariffs, Hamilton or Jefferson?
   b. Why do you think Hamilton and Jefferson had different views on the importance of manufacturing?
   c. Which man wanted to help the farmers?

2. To answer question b, it might help to know that Hamilton lived in New York City and Jefferson was from the more rural area of Virginia. Use that information and information in the passage to explain why one man valued manufacturing more than the other.
Washington Leads a New Nation

If YOU were there...
You are a seamstress in New York City in 1789. You’ve joined the excited crowd in the streets for inauguration day. Church bells are ringing, and people are cheering. Even though you were just a young child during the Revolution, Washington is your hero. Now you watch as he takes the oath of office. You are proud to see that he is wearing a suit of American-made cloth.

What would you think America’s future would be like under President Washington?

The First President

Americans believed in George Washington. They saw him as an honest leader and a hero of the Revolution. Many believed he should be the first U.S. president. Washington had been looking forward to retirement and a quiet life on his Virginia farm. When he hesitated at becoming a candidate for the presidency, his friends convinced him to run. Fellow politician Gouverneur Morris told him, “Should the idea prevail [win] that you would not accept the presidency, it should prove fatal . . . to the new government.” Morris concluded confidently, “Of all men, you are the best fitted to fill that office.”

In January 1789 each of the 11 states that had passed the Constitution sent electors to choose the first president. These delegates formed a group called the electoral college—a body of electors who represent each state’s vote in choosing the president. The electoral college selected Washington unanimously, and John Adams became his vice president.

Washington’s wife, First Lady Martha Washington, entertained guests and attended social events with her husband. She described the...
scene to her niece: “I have not had one half-hour to myself since the day of my arrival.” She ran the presidential household with style.

Other women, such as author Judith Sargent Murray, believed that women needed to play a greater role in the new nation than Martha Washington did. Murray, Abigail Adams, and others believed in Republican Motherhood, the idea that women played an important role in teaching their children to be good citizens.

Some promoters of Republican Motherhood did not expect women to participate in politics or business. Other people, however, hoped that Republican Motherhood would lead to greater opportunities for women. They hoped more women would receive an education. Only a few families were willing to provide much education for their daughters, and adult women rarely had the time or money to get an education later in life. Most women in the early republic faced long days managing their households and working hard inside or outside the home to support their families.

**Organizing the Government**

Hard work also lay ahead for members of the new government. The new federal government had to create policies and procedures that would determine the future of the country. As President Washington noted in a letter to James Madison, “The first of everything in our situation will serve to establish a precedent.” A **precedent** is an action or decision that later serves as an example.

The First Congress created departments in the executive branch for different areas of national policy. Washington met with the department heads, or cabinet members, who advised him. For two of his most important cabinet positions, Washington chose carefully. He picked Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury and Thomas Jefferson as secretary of state. Henry Knox served as secretary of war, and Samuel Osgood was chosen as postmaster general. Hamilton was a gifted economic planner, and Jefferson had served as ambassador to France. Knox had helped Washington run the Continental Army, and Osgood had government experience.

**READING CHECK** **Analyzing** Why was Washington selected to be president?
Today we know that presidents have cabinet meetings with their top advisers. This practice started during Washington’s presidency and was common by 1792.

To set up the federal court system and the courts’ location, Congress passed the **Judiciary Act of 1789**. This act created three levels of federal courts and defined their powers and relationship to the state courts. It set up federal district courts and circuit courts of appeals. The president nominated candidates for federal judgeships. Those candidates then had to be approved or rejected by the Senate. Washington wrote about the importance of these duties:

“I have always been persuaded that the stability and success of the national government … would depend in a considerable degree on the interpretation and execution of its laws. In my opinion, therefore, it is important that the judiciary system should not only be independent in its operations, but as perfect as possible in its formation.”


The basic parts of the federal government were now in place. Leaders began to face the challenges of the new nation. Hard work lay ahead.

**READING CHECK** Finding Main Ideas

What two important precedents were established for the federal government?

**Americans’ Expectations of Government**

Most Americans had high expectations for their government. They wanted improved trade, free from too many restrictions. But they also expected the government to protect them and to keep the economy stable. However, the idea of belonging to one united nation was new to them.

In 1790 the United States was home to almost 4 million people. Most Americans lived in the countryside and worked on farms. Farmers wanted fair tax laws and the right to settle western lands. They did not want the government to interfere with their daily lives.

Other Americans worked in towns as craftspeople, laborers, or merchants. These people looked to the government to help their businesses. Most merchants wanted simpler trade laws established. Manufacturers wanted laws to protect them from foreign competitors.
LAUNCHING THE NATION

Most cities were small. Only New York City and Philadelphia had populations larger than 25,000. New York City was the first capital of the United States, and it represented the spirit of the new nation. Although badly damaged during the Revolution, the city had already begun to recover. Citizens got rid of many signs of British rule.

New York City had a bustling economy. International trade and business became more active. A French visitor to New York City noted the city's energy.

“Everything in the city is in motion; everywhere the shops resound [ring out] with the noise of workers . . . one sees vessels arriving from every part of the world.”

—A French visitor to New York, quoted in New York in the American Revolution by Wilbur Abbott

In 1792 some 24 stockbrokers signed an agreement under a buttonwood tree on Wall Street. This agreement was the foundation for what later became the New York Stock Exchange. It cemented Wall Street’s image as the economic hub of the United States.

By 1790 the city’s population had topped 33,000 and was growing rapidly. To many officials, this vibrant city reflected the potential future of the new nation. It was thus a fitting place for the capital.

READING CHECK

Analyzing Why was New York City chosen as the first capital of the United States?

SUMMARY AND PREVIEW Americans, led by President George Washington, set up their new government. In the next section you will read about Alexander Hamilton’s economic plan.

Section 1 Assessment

Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People HSS 8.1

1. a. Describe What role did the electoral college play in George Washington’s election to the presidency?
   b. Summarize What were some of Martha Washington’s duties as First Lady?

2. a. Describe What precedent did President Washington and Congress establish regarding the executive branch?
   b. Explain What was the purpose of the Judiciary Act of 1789?
   c. Evaluate What do you think was the most important element of the Judiciary Act of 1789? Why?

3. a. Recall What city served as the first capital of the United States? Why?
   b. Draw Conclusions What expectations did most Americans have of their government?

Critical Thinking

4. Generalizing Copy the graphic organizer below. Use it to identify the expectations that farmers and merchants had of the new U.S. government.

   Expectations of Government
   Farmers
   Merchants

5. Thinking about Washington’s Contributions In this section you learned some things about George Washington as president. Jot down one or two things you could use to support his nomination for a Nobel Prize.
You live on a plantation in North Carolina in the 1790s. You have just heard that the federal government plans to pay most of the northern states’ debts from the war. Now your neighbors are outraged about this idea. It means more taxes and tariffs! New York and Massachusetts are far away, they say. Why should North Carolina farmers have to pay northern debts?

Would you pay other states’ war debts? Why?

BUILDING BACKGROUND  Some of the new nation’s biggest problems were economic. The national and state governments had run up huge debts during the war. But the proposed solutions to these problems revealed differences in regional viewpoints. Southern planters and northern businesspeople had very different views of how the national economy should develop.

Settling the Debt

Alexander Hamilton seemed born with a head for economics. While still in his teens, he helped run a shipping company in his native British West Indies. Family friends then sent him to the American colonies for an education. Hamilton eventually married into a wealthy New York family and began practicing law. He served as Washington’s aide and as a delegate to four Continental Congresses.

National Debt

As secretary of the treasury, Hamilton’s biggest challenge was paying off the national debt—money owed by the United States—from the Revolutionary War. The United States owed about $11.7 million to foreign countries and about $40.4 million to U.S. citizens. During the war the government raised money with bonds. Bonds are certificates of debt that carry a promise to buy back the bonds at a higher price. But the government could not afford to keep this promise. Bondholders who needed money sold
their bonds for less than the original value to **speculators**, or people who buy items at **low prices in the hope that the value will rise** and they can sell the items for a profit.

Hamilton wanted to pay the foreign debt immediately and gradually repay the total value of all bonds. The second part of his plan caused disagreements because paying full value would allow speculators to make a profit. Hamilton thought this was fair. He said, “He [the speculator] paid what the commodity [bond] was worth . . . and took the risks.”

**Thomas Jefferson** disagreed. He thought the idea cheated bondholders who had sold their bonds at low prices. Jefferson wrote, “Immense sums were thus filched [stolen] from the poor and ignorant.” But more politicians agreed with Hamilton. In 1790 the government exchanged old bonds for new, more reliable ones that were guaranteed.

**States’ Debts**
The states owed $25 million for Revolutionary War expenses. Hamilton wanted the federal government to pay for $21.5 million of this debt. Hamilton believed that this action would help the federal government. He thought that paying the states’ debts would help the national economy. Debtor states would not have to spend so much on repayment and would have money to develop business and trade. Increased business and trade would put more money back into the national economy.

The South, however, did not want to help the federal government pay the debts of other states. States such as Virginia and North Carolina did not have many war debts. They thought Hamilton’s idea was unfair. Patrick Henry said he did not believe that the Constitution gave Congress the power to pay state debts. Hamilton knew that he needed the help of southern representatives to get his plan approved.

**Moving the Capital**
Hamilton also knew that he had something to bargain with. Southern officials wanted to change the location of the nation’s capital. Many southerners thought that having the capital in New York gave the northern states too much influence over national policy. Hamilton, Jefferson, and James Madison, a congressman from Virginia,
met in June 1790. Hamilton promised to convince northerners in Congress to move the capital. Jefferson and Madison agreed to gather support in the South for Hamilton’s debt plan.

The compromise worked. The national capital was moved to Philadelphia in 1791 for 10 years. For the capital’s permanent location, Washington chose a place on the Potomac River that included part of both Maryland and Virginia. The land was made up of swamps and farms. This site would eventually become the city of Washington, D.C.

**Jefferson Opposes Hamilton**

Hamilton and Jefferson did not cooperate for long. Instead, they began to disagree about how to define the authority of the central government. Hamilton believed in a strong federal government. Jefferson wanted to protect the powers of the states. Their conflict reflected basic differences in their opinions about democracy. Hamilton had little faith in the average individual. He once said that “the people . . . seldom judge or determine [decide] right.”

**Differing Views**

Hamilton wanted a strong central government that balanced power between the “mass of the people” and wealthier citizens. He believed that his approach would protect everyone’s liberties while keeping the people from having too much power.

Jefferson disagreed strongly with Hamilton’s views of the average citizen’s ability to make decisions for the country. He admitted that “the people can not be all, and always, well informed.” However, Jefferson believed that it was the right of the people to rule the country.

**Economic Differences**

Hamilton and Jefferson also fought over how the country’s economy should grow. Hamilton wanted new forms of economic growth. He wanted to promote manufacturing, business, and the future industrialization of the nation. Hamilton even suggested that
the government award a prize to companies that made excellent products.

In addition, Hamilton wanted to pass higher tariffs. Known as protective tariffs, these taxes would raise the prices of foreign products. Hamilton hoped this would cause Americans to buy U.S. goods. As a result, American manufacturing would be protected from foreign competition.

Jefferson worried about depending too much on business and manufacturing. He believed that farmers were the most independent voters. They did not depend on other people’s work to make a living.

Jefferson wrote, “Our governments will remain virtuous [pure] for many centuries; as long as they are chiefly agricultural.” Jefferson wanted to help farmers by keeping the costs of the goods they bought low. Lower tariffs would help keep prices low.

**National Debate**

Hamilton’s and Jefferson’s differences became more and more public in early 1791. The two men had very different opinions about how the government should approach its economic problems.

**Hamilton’s Plan for a National Bank**

Hamilton wanted to start a national bank where the government could safely deposit its money. The bank would also make loans to the government and businesses to promote industrialization. Hamilton also thought that the United States should build a national mint, a place to make coins. Then the country could begin issuing its own money.

Hamilton knew that people who wanted to protect states’ rights might have a strong reaction to the idea of a national bank, so he suggested limiting it to a 20-year charter. After that time Congress could decide whether to extend the charter. Hamilton also asked each state to start its own bank so the national bank would not have a monopoly.
Jefferson Opposes the Bank
Both Jefferson and Madison believed that Hamilton’s plans for the economy gave too much power to the federal government. They also thought the U.S. Constitution did not give Congress the power to create a bank. But Hamilton quoted the elastic clause, which states that Congress can “make all laws which shall be necessary and proper” to govern the nation.

Hamilton declared that the clause allowed the government to create a national bank. Hamilton believed in loose construction of the Constitution. **Loose construction** means that the federal government can take reasonable actions that the Constitution does not specifically forbid.

Jefferson thought that the elastic clause should be used only in special cases. He wrote to President Washington, “The Constitution allows only the means which are ‘necessary,’ not those which are merely ‘convenient.’”

Jefferson believed in strict construction of the Constitution. People who favor **strict construction** think that the federal government should do only what the Constitution specifically says it can do.

President Washington and Congress agreed with Hamilton. They hoped a bank would offer stability for the U.S. economy. In February 1791 Congress enacted the charter for the **Bank of the United States**—the country’s first national bank. The bank played an important role in making the U.S. economy more stable.

**Reading Check**
Why did Congress and the president agree to create a national bank?

**Summary and Preview**
Washington and Hamilton developed plans for paying the national debt. In the next section you will read about the U.S. neutrality policy.

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**Section 2 Assessment**

**Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People**  
**HSS 8.3.4**

1. a. **Describe** What economic problems did the new government face?
   
   b. **Summarize** What compromise did Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison reach regarding repayment of state debts?

2. a. **Identify** What disagreement did Jefferson and Hamilton have over the central government?
   
   b. **Draw Conclusions** Hamilton was a New Yorker, while Jefferson was from Virginia. How do you think that affected their views on the economy?
   
   c. **Elaborate** Do you agree with Hamilton or Jefferson regarding the average citizen’s ability to make decisions for the country? Explain your answer.

3. a. **Recall** Why did Jefferson oppose the creation of the **Bank of the United States**?
   
   b. **Contrast** What is the difference between **loose construction** and **strict construction** of the Constitution?
   
   c. **Elaborate** Defend Alexander Hamilton’s stance in favor of the creation of a national bank.

4. **Critical Thinking**

   4. **Contrasting** Copy the chart below. Use it to contrast the ideas of Hamilton and Jefferson on the topics listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hamilton</th>
<th>Jefferson</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bonds</td>
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<td>Democracy</td>
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<td>Tariffs</td>
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<td>National Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constitution</td>
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5. **Gathering Information about Hamilton and Jefferson** Both Hamilton and Jefferson were strong leaders who helped shape the government of the young United States. What could you say about either of them to support a nomination for a Nobel Prize?
Challenges for the New Nation

If YOU were there...

You are the captain of an American merchant ship in the 1790s. Your ship has just picked up cargo in the French West Indies. You are headed back to your home port of Philadelphia. Suddenly, a British warship pulls alongside your ship. Marines swarm aboard. They order you into the nearest harbor and seize your goods.

How would this incident affect your views of Great Britain?

Building Background As the new nation tried to get organized, it faced economic problems and internal divisions. Even more difficult challenges came from conflicts in Europe. The United States could not avoid being caught up in fighting between France and Great Britain.

Remaining Neutral

Tensions between France and Britain began to build after the French people rebelled against their king. On July 14, 1789, citizens of Paris attacked and captured the Bastille, a hated fortress and prison that stood as a mighty symbol of royal power.

The storming of the Bastille was one of the first acts of the French Revolution—a rebellion of French people against their king in 1789. The French people overthrew their king and created a republican government.

Key Terms and People

French Revolution, p. 205
Neutrality Proclamation, p. 206
privateers, p. 206
Jay's Treaty, p. 207
Pinckney's Treaty, p. 207
Little Turtle, p. 208
Battle of Fallen Timbers, p. 209
Treaty of Greenville, p. 209
Whiskey Rebellion, p. 209

HSS 8.3.5 Know the significance of domestic resistance movements and ways in which the central government responded to such movements (e.g., Shays's Rebellion, the Whiskey Rebellion).

8.4.2 Explain the policy significance of famous speeches (e.g., Washington's Farewell Address, Jefferson's 1801 Inaugural Address, John Q. Adams's Fourth of July 1821 Address).
Many French citizens had been inspired to take action by the American Revolution. Many Americans, in turn, supported the French Revolution. They thought that France was creating the same kind of democracy as the United States.

Some Americans worried about the French Revolution’s violent riots and attacks on traditional authority. Revolutionaries shocked many Americans by beheading King Louis XVI in January 1793 and Queen Marie-Antoinette later that year.

A few years after the French Revolution started, France and Great Britain went to war. Some Americans supported the French, while others backed the British. Some wanted to remain neutral.

### The Neutrality Proclamation

The debate divided Congress and Washington’s cabinet. Washington presented his opinion to Congress on April 22, 1793:

“The duty and interest of the United States require that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers.”

—George Washington, quoted in The Real George Washington by Parry et al.

This Neutrality Proclamation stated that the United States would not take sides with any European countries that were at war. Washington believed his plan was the safest for the long run, but not everyone agreed.

Some members of Congress criticized Washington’s ideas. James Madison believed that the president had gone beyond his authority. He questioned Washington’s right to issue the proclamation without the approval of Congress.

### The French Question

France’s new representative to the United States, Edmond Genet (zuh-NAY), asked American sailors to help France fight England by commanding privateers. Privateers were private ships hired by a country to attack its enemies. Washington told Genet that using American privateers violated U.S. neutrality. Jefferson wanted the French revolutionaries to succeed, but even he agreed that allowing France to use American privateers against England was a bad idea.

Jefferson was still upset by U.S. policy toward France. He believed that the United States should back France because France had supported the United States during the Revolutionary War. Hamilton, on the other hand, was pro-British. He hoped to strengthen trading ties with Britain—the most powerful trading nation in the world at the time. Jefferson thought that Hamilton had too much influence on the president’s foreign policy and that Hamilton consequently interfered with Jefferson’s role as secretary of state. Jefferson decided to resign from Washington’s cabinet in 1793.

### Time Line

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 1789</td>
<td>George Washington becomes president.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1793</td>
<td>President Washington issues the Neutrality Proclamation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 1789</td>
<td>French citizens storm the Bastille.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 1790</td>
<td>British-backed Little Turtle defeats U.S. forces under General Josiah Harmar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1794</td>
<td>Jay’s Treaty sparks protest throughout the United States.</td>
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Jay’s Treaty
There were other threats to U.S. neutrality. In late 1793 the British seized ships carrying food to the French West Indies. Hundreds of the ships were neutral American merchant ships. Also, British officers were helping Native Americans fight settlers.

Washington wanted to prevent another war with the British. He sent Chief Justice John Jay to London to work out a compromise. The British knew the United States lacked a strong navy and that U.S. businesses relied heavily on British trade. However, the British did not want to fight another war in America.

In November 1794 the two sides signed Jay’s Treaty. Jay’s Treaty settled the disputes that had arisen between the United States and Great Britain in the early 1790s. The British would pay damages on seized American ships and abandon their forts on the northwestern frontier. The United States agreed to pay debts it owed the British.

The treaty was unpopular and sparked violent protests. Citizens and congressional leaders thought the treaty hurt trade and did not punish Britain enough for some of its actions. Southerners were especially angry that the treaty did not ask Britain to repay them for slaves that Britain had set free during the Revolutionary War. Washington did not like the treaty but believed it was the most that could be done. At his urging the Senate approved the treaty.

Pinckney’s Treaty
American businesses faced problems as well. The Spanish disputed the border between the United States and Florida. Spain closed the port of New Orleans to U.S. trade in 1784. This hurt the American economy because all goods moving down the Mississippi to places in the East or overseas had to pass through New Orleans.

Washington asked Ambassador Thomas Pinckney to meet with Spanish officials to discuss the problem. He asked the Spaniards to reopen New Orleans to U.S. trade. Pinckney also asked for the right of deposit in New Orleans. This right would allow American boats to transfer goods in New Orleans without paying cargo fees.

Spanish minister Manuel de Godoy (goh-TOY) tried to delay reaching an agreement, hoping Pinckney would become desperate and sign a treaty that favored the Spanish. He was worried that the United States and Great Britain might join against Spain after signing Jay’s Treaty. Pinckney was patient, however, and his patience was rewarded.

In October 1795, Godoy agreed to Pinckney’s Treaty, which settled the border and trade disputes with Spain. Under the treaty Spain agreed to recognize the U.S. southern boundary as 31˚N latitude. Spain’s government also reopened the port at New Orleans.

August 1795  The Treaty of Greenville ends fighting in the Northwest Territory.

October 1795  Pinckney’s Treaty reopens the port of New Orleans.
General Wayne Takes Command

In 1792 President Washington gave command of the army in the West to General Anthony Wayne. Wayne’s task was to bring troops to the frontier to fight against the Indians. In 1793 General Wayne arrived in Ohio. Many of his men were ill from smallpox and influenza, so they were unable to fight well.

Wayne’s troops moved north and built Fort Greenville, where they remained during the winter. They built additional forts for protection and to have supplies at hand.

As the summer of 1794 neared, several Native American groups led by Little Turtle attacked a supply train near the fort. Wayne and his men responded. They attacked Native American towns and burned crops.

The British no longer aided the Native Americans after this defeat, and Little Turtle realized that they were outmatched. He urged his people to seek peace.

Conflict in the Northwest Territory

As the United States dealt with international conflicts, trouble was also brewing at home. Americans continued to settle the Northwest Territory despite Native Americans’ protests. Supplied by British traders with guns, Native Americans went to war. In 1790 a Native American alliance under the command of Miami chief Little Turtle defeated U.S. forces under General Josiah Harmar. Then in 1791, Native Americans defeated General Arthur St. Clair’s troops.

New Orleans to American ships and gave them the right of deposit. Because it opened the frontier to more expansion, Washington and most other Americans believed that Pinckney’s Treaty was a successful compromise.

**READING CHECK** Summarizing Why did President Washington want the United States to remain neutral?
The trail has been long and bloody; it has no end. The [whites] ... are many. They are like the leaves of the trees. When the frost comes they fall and are blown away. But when the sunshine comes again they come back more plentiful than ever before.”

— Little Turtle, quoted in The Ohio Frontier by Douglas Hurt

The End of Conflict

On August 20, 1794, Native Americans fought Wayne’s troops in the Battle of Fallen Timbers and were defeated. The battle was named for an area where many trees had been destroyed by a tornado. Wayne’s forces burned Indians’ villages and fields. The strength of Indian forces in the region was broken.

The frontier war soon ended. In August 1795, Native American leaders signed the Treaty of Greenville, which gave the United States claim to most Indian lands in the Northwest Territory. The treaty also guaranteed the safety of citizens there. In exchange, Native Americans received $20,000 worth of goods and an acknowledgment of their claim to the lands they still held.

READING CHECK  Finding Main Ideas What conflicts did the United States face in the late 1700s?

The Whiskey Rebellion

Other conflicts occurred on the frontier. Congress passed a tax on American-made whiskey in March 1791. The tax was part of Hamilton’s plan to raise money to help pay the federal debt. He was also testing the power of the federal government to control the states’ actions.

Reaction in the West

People in areas such as western Pennsylvania were bitter about the tax. They were already angry with the federal government, which they believed did not protect settlers from Native American attacks and did not allow settlers enough opportunities for trade. The farmers’ corn crops were often made into whiskey, which was easier to transport than the corn. Because cash was rare, whiskey became like money in their region. The farmers believed that the tax was aimed specifically at them.

Farmers who produced small amounts of whiskey for trade argued that they could not afford the tax. They believed they should be able to keep the money they had made from a product they created themselves. Protests in 1792 led President Washington to issue a proclamation saying that people had to obey the law.

Westerners also disliked the fact that cases about the law were to be tried in a district court. These courts were usually far away from the people they affected and were a great inconvenience to them.

Whiskey Rebellion Is Crushed

The complaints of western Pennsylvanians were at first expressed peacefully. But by 1794 fighting had broken out. In what became known as the Whiskey Rebellion, farmers lashed out against the tax on whiskey. Protesters refused to pay the tax. They even tarred and feathered tax collectors. Some called themselves the new Sons of Liberty.

Incidents of violence spread to other states. President Washington feared that the rebels threatened the federal government’s authority. He believed he needed to make people understand that the Constitution gave Congress the right to pass and enforce the tax.

Washington declared that he could “no longer remain a passive [inactive] spectator” in the event. He personally led the army in military action against the rebellion—the first and only time an American president has done so. The army of about 13,000 men approached western Pennsylvania in November 1794. By this time most of the rebels had fled. The Whiskey Rebellion ended without a battle.

READING CHECK  Supporting a Point of View
Defend the viewpoint of the Pennsylvania farmers who did not want to pay the whiskey tax.
While, then, every part of our country . . . feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass . . . greater strength, greater resource, proportionally greater security from external danger, [and] a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; . . .

I have already intimated\(^1\) to you the danger of [political] parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations\(^2\). Let me now take a more comprehensive\(^3\) view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful\(^4\) effects of the spirit of party, generally.

If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification\(^5\) of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment . . .

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion\(^6\) of knowledge . . . As the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened . . .

[Avoid] likewise the accumulation of debt, . . . not ungenerously throwing upon posterity\(^7\) the burden, which we ourselves ought to bear . . .

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate\(^8\) peace and harmony with all . . .

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is . . . to have with them as little political connection as possible.

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world . . . There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate\(^9\) upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred . . . from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation . . . to maintain inviolate\(^10\) the relations of peace and amity\(^11\) towards other nations.

\(^1\) intimated: told
\(^2\) discriminations: differences
\(^3\) comprehensive: complete
\(^4\) baneful: destructive
\(^5\) modification: change
\(^6\) diffusion: spreading
\(^7\) posterity: future generations
\(^8\) cultivate: seek
\(^9\) calculate: plan
\(^10\) inviolate: unchanging
\(^11\) amity: friendship
Washington Says Farewell

In 1796 Washington decided not to run for a third presidential term. He wrote that he was “tired of public life” and “devoutly [strongly] wished for retirement.” He also wanted to remind Americans that the people were the country’s true leaders.

With the help of Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, Washington wrote his Farewell Address. In it he spoke about what he believed were the greatest dangers to the American republic. Among these were the dangers of foreign ties and political conflicts at home. Washington warned against forming permanent ties with other countries because choosing sides could draw the United States into war.

He also worried about growing political conflicts within the nation. Washington believed that disagreements between political groups weakened government. Political unity, he said, was a key to national success.

Washington left office warning the nation to work out its differences and protect its independence. Washington also warned against too much public debt. He thought the government should try not to borrow money. He wanted future generations to be protected from debt.

He concluded his speech by looking forward to his retirement and praising his country. “I anticipate . . . the sweet enjoyment . . . of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart.”

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**Section 3 Assessment**

**Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People**

1. a. **Describe** What did Washington’s Neutrality Proclamation state?
   b. **Compare and Contrast** In what ways were Jay’s Treaty and Pinckney’s Treaty similar and different?

2. a. **Identify** Who were the leaders of American Indian and U.S. forces in the conflict in the Northwest Territory?
   b. **Predict** What are some possible consequences of the Treaty of Greenville for American Indians in the Northwest Territory?

3. a. **Recall** Why did Congress tax American-made whiskey?
   b. **Explain** How did the tax lead to the Whiskey Rebellion?
   c. **Elaborate** Why do you think that President Washington personally led the army against westerners in the Whiskey Rebellion?

4. a. **Describe** What warnings did Washington give the nation in his Farewell Address?
   b. **Draw Conclusions** Why did Washington not run for a third term as president?

**Critical Thinking**

5. **Categorizing** Copy the graphic organizer below and use it to identify the causes and effects of conflict in the Northwest Territory.

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**FOCUS ON WRITING**

6. **Thinking about Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson** In this section you read about the activities of these three men during a difficult time for our country. What did you learn that you could add to a Nobel Prize nomination for any of these leaders?
John Adams’s Presidency

If YOU were there...
You are a newspaper editor in Virginia in 1798. You’ve joined Jefferson’s political party, which opposes the new president. In fact, your paper has printed many articles that criticize him, calling him greedy and foolish. You believe that’s your right in a free country. But now Congress has passed a law that makes it illegal to criticize the government. You could be arrested for your articles!

Would you stop criticizing the government? Why?

BUILDING BACKGROUND People within the new United States had differing viewpoints on many issues. Personal rivalries among political leaders also created divisions in the new nation. Trying to limit dissent in the country, the federal government passed several unpopular laws.

The Election of 1796
The election of 1796 began a new era in U.S. politics. For the first time, more than one candidate ran for president. Political parties, groups that help elect people and shape policies, had begun to form during Washington’s presidency. Despite Washington’s warnings about political parties, the rivalry between two parties dominated the 1796 election.

Alexander Hamilton helped found the Federalist Party, which wanted a strong federal government and supported industry and trade. The Federalists chose John Adams and Thomas Pinckney as candidates. Adams knew he was not well liked in the South or the West, but he hoped people would support him after they thought about his years of loyal public service.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison founded the Democratic-Republican Party. Its members, called Republicans, wanted to limit the federal government’s power. (This party is not related to today’s Republican Party.) They chose Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr as their candidates.
President Adams and the XYZ Affair

John Adams had the challenging task of following Washington as president. The people had adored Washington. Adams would have to work hard to win the people’s trust.

A New President

At first glance, John Adams did not appear well suited for the presidency. Although Adams had been a leading Patriot during the American Revolution and had later served as a foreign diplomat, he lacked Washington’s dignity, and most people saw him as a cold and distant person. Still, many people—even his opponents—respected Adams. They recognized his hard work, honesty, and intelligence.

Party differences were based partly on where and how people lived. Businesspeople in the cities tended to support the Federalists. Farmers in more isolated areas generally favored the Democratic-Republicans. Both sides attacked each other. Republicans called Adams a royalist—an insult to a man so involved in the Revolution. The Federalists accused the Republicans of favoring the French.

In the end, Adams defeated Jefferson. At the time, the person who came in second in a presidential election became vice president. So, after months of campaigning against one another, Adams and Jefferson took office together.

Finding Main Ideas

How did the election of 1796 change the nature of politics in the United States?
One of Adams’s first goals as president was to improve the relationship between the United States and France. You may remember that the French had once tried to hire American privateers to help them fight Great Britain, a practice Washington frowned upon. Adams sent U.S. diplomats to Paris to smooth over the conflict and to negotiate a treaty to protect U.S. shipping.

When the diplomats arrived in France, they learned that French foreign minister Talleyrand would not speak with them. Instead, they had a strange and secret visit from three French agents. Shockingly, the agents said that Talleyrand would discuss a treaty only in exchange for a $250,000 bribe. The French government also wanted a loan of $12 million. The amazed diplomats refused these demands.

In March 1798 President Adams told Congress that the peace-seeking mission had failed. He described the French terms, substituting the letters X, Y, and Z for the names of the French agents. Upon hearing the disgraceful news, Federalists in Congress called for war with France.

The XYZ affair, as the French demand for a bribe came to be called, outraged the American public. “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!” became the rallying cry of the American people.

Preparations for War
Fearing war, Adams asked Congress to expand the navy to a fleet of more than 30 ships. He thought war with France might be unavoidable. He also decided the United States should keep a peacetime army. Congress approved both measures.

Although Adams had asked Congress for military support, he did not want to go to war with France. He was worried about its cost. So he did not ask Congress to declare war. Instead, he tried to reopen peace talks with France.

Peace Efforts
Adams’s decision not to declare war stunned Federalists. Despite intense pressure from members of his own party, Adams refused to change his mind.

American and French ships, however, began fighting each other in the Caribbean. Adams sent a representative to France to engage in talks to try to end the fighting. The United States and France eventually signed a treaty. Adams then forced two members of his cabinet to resign for trying to block his peace efforts.

**READING CHECK**

What did Americans mean when they said “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute”??
The Alien and Sedition Acts

Many Democratic-Republicans continued to sympathize with France. Federalists, angered by their stand, called them “democrats, mobocrats, and all other kinds of rats.”

In 1798, the Federalist-controlled Congress passed four laws known together as the Alien and Sedition Acts. These laws were said to protect the United States, but the Federalists intended them to crush opposition to war. The most controversial was the Sedition Act, which forbade anyone from publishing or voicing criticism of the federal government. In effect, this cancelled basic protections of freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

The two main Democratic-Republican leaders, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, viewed these acts as a misuse of the government’s power. Attacking the problem at the state level, they wrote resolutions passed by the Kentucky legislature in 1798 and in Virginia in 1799. Known as the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, these documents argued that the Alien and Sedition Acts were unconstitutional. They stated that the federal government could not pass these acts because they interfered with state government. Madison and Jefferson pressured Congress to repeal the Alien and Sedition Acts. Congress did not, although it allowed the acts to expire within a few years.

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions did not have the force of national law, but they supported the idea that states could challenge the federal government. This idea would grow to have a tremendous impact on American history later in the 1800s.

**Reading Check** Analyzing How did the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions support the rights of states?

**Summary and Preview** Political parties formed to reflect different viewpoints. In the next chapter you will read about Thomas Jefferson’s presidency.
Making Group Decisions

Define the Skill

Democracy is one of the most valued principles of American society. It is based on the idea that the members of society, or representatives they choose, make the decisions that affect society. Decision-making would be much more efficient if just one person decided what to do and how to do it. However, that method is not at all democratic.

Making decisions as a group is a complicated and difficult skill. However, it is an important one at all levels of society—from governing the nation to making group decisions at school, in the community, and with your friends. At every level, the skill is based on the ability of the group’s members to interact in effective and cooperative ways.

Learn the Skill

Think about the job the first Congress faced after the Constitution was ratified. The nation was still millions of dollars in debt from the Revolutionary War. Congress had to find a way to pay these debts as well as raise money to run the government.

Leaders like Jefferson and Hamilton had ideas about how to accomplish these goals. However, neither man could act alone. In a democracy the group—in this case Congress—must make the decisions and take the actions.

This task was complicated by the fact that Jefferson and Hamilton disagreed on what to do. Each man’s supporters in Congress pushed his point of view. Fortunately, its members were able to overcome their differences, compromise on goals and actions, and accept group decisions they might not have agreed with personally. Had they not possessed this ability and skill, the nation’s early years might have been even more difficult than they were.

Like that first Congress, being part of an effective group requires that you behave in certain ways.

1. **Be an active member.** Take part in setting the group’s goals and in making its decisions. Participate in planning and taking group action.

2. **Take a position.** State your views and work to persuade other members to accept them. However, also be open to negotiating and compromising to settle differences within the group.

3. **Be willing to take charge if leadership is needed.** But also be willing to follow the leadership of other members.

Practice the Skill

Suppose that you are a member of the first Congress. With a group of classmates, you must decide what and who should be taxed to raise the money the government needs. Remember that you are an elected official. If you do something to upset the people, you could lose your job. When your group has finished, answer the following questions.

1. Did your group have a plan for completing its task? Did it discuss what taxes to pass? Compared to other members, how much did you take part in those activities?

2. How well did your group work together? What role did you play in that? Was it a positive contribution or a negative one? Explain.

3. Was your group able to make a decision? If not, why? If so, was compromise involved? Do you support the decision? Explain why or why not.
Reviewing Vocabulary, Terms, and People

Complete each sentence by filling in the blank with the correct term or person.

1. The _______________ established the structure of the federal court system and its relationship to state courts.
2. Federalists angered many Republicans when they passed the ________________ to protect the United States from traitors.
3. As president, Washington was able to establish several ____________, or decisions that serve as examples for later action.
4. Farmers in western Pennsylvania protested taxes in the _____________.
5. The ________________ was created in order to strengthen the U.S. economy.

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (Pages 196–199) HSS 8.1

6. a. Recall What precedents did President Washington and Congress establish for the executive and judicial branches?
   b. Draw Conclusions Why did Americans select George Washington as their first president?
   c. Evaluate Do you think the newly established government met the expectations of its citizens? Why or why not?

SECTION 2 (Pages 200–204) HSS 8.3.4

7. a. Identify What changes did Alexander Hamilton make to the national economy?
   b. Contrast In what ways did Hamilton and Jefferson disagree on the economy?
   c. Evaluate Which of Hamilton’s economic plans do you think was the most important to the new nation? Why?
SECTION 3 (Pages 205–211)  HSS  8.3.5, 8.4.2  
8. a. Describe  What challenges did the nation face during Washington’s presidency?
   b. Make Inferences  Why did Washington believe that it was important for the United States to remain neutral in foreign conflicts?
   c. Evaluate  Rate the success of Washington’s presidency. Explain the reasons for your rating.

SECTION 4 (Pages 212–215)  HSS  8.3.4  
9. a. Describe  What role did political parties play in the election of 1796?
   b. Analyze  How did the Alien and Sedition Acts create division among some Americans?
   c. Predict  How might the political attacks between the Federalist and Democratic-Republican parties lead to problems in the future?

Reviewing Themes

10. Economics  What economic problems troubled the nation at the beginning of Washington’s presidency? How were they solved?
11. Politics  How did the creation of political parties change politics in the United States?

Using the Internet  go.hrw.com  KEYWORD SSS US6

12. Activity: Creating a Poster  In 1798 war with France seemed on the horizon. The Federalist-controlled Congress passed a law that made it a crime to criticize the government in print. In 1971 war raged in Vietnam and the president used a court order to stop publication of information critical of the government’s actions in Vietnam. What do these events have in common? Enter the activity keyword. Then research the Alien and Sedition Acts and the Pentagon Papers case during the Vietnam War. Create a poster to display your information and to illustrate the connection between a free press and a democratic society.

Reading Skills  
Understanding Assumptions by Inferring  Use the Reading Skills taught in this chapter to answer the question about the reading selection below.

Party differences were based partly on where and how people lived. Businesspeople in the cities tended to support the Federalists. Farmers in more isolated areas generally favored the Democratic-Republicans.  (p. 213)

13. Which of the following statements can be inferred from the selection?
   a. Farmers wanted a large federal government.
   b. Urban Americans were usually Republicans.
   c. Merchants supported John Adams.
   d. People in the cities had different concerns than did the rural population.

Social Studies Skills  
Making Group Decisions  Use the Social Studies Skills taught in this chapter to answer the questions below.

Get together with a group of three or four students and discuss the Alien and Sedition Acts. Answer the following questions individually and as a group.

14. Do you think that limits were needed on Americans’ speeches and printed articles at the time?
15. What other ideas might Congress have considered to solve the problem of disagreement?

FOCUS ON WRITING

16. Writing a Nobel Nomination  Now that you’ve chosen your nominee for the Nobel Prize, you can start to write your nomination. Begin with a sentence that identifies the person you are nominating. Then give at least three reasons for your nomination. Each reason should include a specific achievement or contribution of this person. End your nomination with a sentence that sums up your reasons for nominating this person for the Nobel Prize. Be persuasive. You need to convince the Nobel Prize committee that this person deserves the prize more than anyone else in the world!
DIRECTIONS: Read each question and write the letter of the best response.

1. Increase the federal government’s power so it can provide strong leadership.
   - Allow the federal government to pay the states’ Revolutionary War debts.
   - Encourage the growth of American manufacturing and business.
   - Create a national bank that could make loans to the government and to business.

Which early leader would have been most opposed to such ideas?
   A. John Adams
   B. Alexander Hamilton
   C. Thomas Jefferson
   D. George Washington

2. In the 1790s, most Americans
   A. lived in the countryside and worked on family farms.
   B. lived in small towns and worked as laborers or craftspeople.
   C. lived in cities and worked as laborers, craftspeople, or merchants.
   D. lived west of the Appalachian Mountains or wanted to move West.

3. In his Farewell Address in 1796, President Washington advised Americans of
   A. the nation’s need for a national bank.
   B. his fear of a British invasion to end American independence.
   C. his wish that the office of president be given more power.
   D. the dangers of ties with foreign nations.

4. President Washington demonstrated the government’s power under the new Constitution to enforce federal law in the way he handled the
   A. Whiskey Rebellion.
   C. XYZ affair.
   D. Judiciary Act of 1789.

5. The two-party system that exists in American politics today first arose during the election of which president?
   A. George Washington
   B. John Adams
   C. Thomas Jefferson
   D. James Madison

Connecting with Past Learning

6. The war between Great Britain and France that raged during the presidencies of Washington and Adams was one of many conflicts between those two nations. Earlier wars between them included
   A. the War of the Roses.
   B. the Glorious Revolution.
   C. the Hundred Years’ War.
   D. the Crusades.

7. In Grade 7 you learned about Martin Luther’s protest of the way in which the Catholic Church raised money. Which event in the United States was also a protest against methods of raising money?
   A. the XYZ affair
   B. Washington’s Farewell Address
   C. the Judiciary Act of 1789
   D. the Whiskey Rebellion
**Assignment**
Write a paper explaining how the federal system balances power among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government.

**Explaining a Political Process**

How do you register to vote? What is the difference between a civil court and a federal court? When we want to know about a process or system of our government, we often turn to written explanations.

1. **Prewrite**

**Considering Purpose and Audience**
In this assignment, you will be writing for an audience of middle school students. You’ll need to
- identify questions they might have about the process or system
- identify factors or details that might confuse them

As you plan your paper, keep your audience in mind.

**Collecting and Organizing the Information**
The big idea, or thesis, of your explanation will be that the federal system balances the power among the three branches of government. To collect information about each branch and its powers, you can use a chart like the one on the left. Be sure to note the relationships among the parts. Also, note the important characteristics of each part. When you have completed the chart, you will have the basic organization of your paper.

2. **Write**
You can use this framework to help you write your first draft.

**A Writer’s Framework**

**Introduction**
- State the big idea of your paper.
- Explain briefly why this topic is important to the reader.

**Body**
- Identify the important characteristics of each part of the process or system.
- Explain any relationships between or among the parts.
- Define terms your readers might not know.
- Where appropriate, include graphics to illustrate your explanation.

**Conclusion**
- Restate your big idea in different words.
- Summarize your main points.
3. Evaluate and Revise

Evaluating
Clear, straightforward language is important when explaining how things work. Use the following questions to discover ways to improve your paper.

Evaluation Questions for an Explanation of a Process or System

- Does your big-idea statement accurately reflect your explanation of the process or system?
- Do you discuss each part of the process or system in logical order?
- Do you include details and information to explain each part of the process or system?
- If you used bulleted or numbered lists, are the items parallel—that is, do they have the same grammatical forms or structures?
- Does your conclusion restate your big idea and explain the importance of your topic?

Revising
Sometimes a complex explanation sounds even more complex when you try to explain it in a paragraph. In those cases, a bulleted list of facts or examples may make it easier for your readers to understand the information you are presenting. As you revise your paper, consider whether you have any information you should put in a bulleted list.

4. Proofread and Publish

Proofreading
If you use special formatting in your paper, it is important to make sure that it is consistent. Here are some things to check:
- If you have used boldface or italic type, have you always used it in the same way—for important information, for a heading, for a technical term?
- If you have used a list of items, have you consistently used numbers or bullets?

Publishing
Since you are writing this paper for students, you might find a student in the sixth or seventh grade to read it. Find out whether your explanation seems clear and interesting.

5. Practice and Apply

Use the steps and strategies outlined in this workshop to write your explanation of a process or system.

TIP Using Bulleted Lists
The items in a bulleted list should be in the same grammatical forms or structures.

Not the same:
Duties of the legislative branch include
- interpret laws
- overseeing lower courts

The same:
Duties of the legislative branch include
- interpreting laws
- overseeing lower courts

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