# Launching the New Ship of State



1789 - 1800





# Troubled Times for US Government

- Americans distrusted authority and government
  - Had overthrown both the British and Articles of Confederation
- American finances were in bad shape
  - Little money coming in through taxes
  - Huge amount of public debt
  - Worthless paper money in circulation; metal money was scarce
- 18<sup>th</sup> century political theory considered republican government over a wide area impossible



### Growing Pains

- Population
  - Doubling every 25 years
  - 1790 4 million people lived in US
  - Cities growing, although most people (90%) lived in rural areas
  - Most people (95%) lived east of the Appalachian mountains



### Americans in 1790

Americans in 1790						
Population 1790: 3,929,000						
Northeast		<b>N</b> orthcentral		South		
Whites African Americans Urban Rural	1,901,000 67,000 160,000 1,807,000	Whites African Americans Urban Rural	50,000 1,000 0 51,000	Whites African Americans Urban Rural	1,271,000 690,000 42,000 1,919,000	
Free African Americans 58,000 African-American Slaves 700,000						



### Growing Pains

- Trans-Appalachian population
  - People who lived between west of the Appalachian mountains but east of the Mississippi River
  - Only 5% of the population
  - Concentrated in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio
    - First trans-Appalachian territories to become states (within 14 years)
  - These people were not very loyal to the US
    - Shipped agricultural products down Mississippi (the mouth was controlled by the Spanish)
    - They wre tempted by the Spanish (and British) promises of independence, if they broke with the US

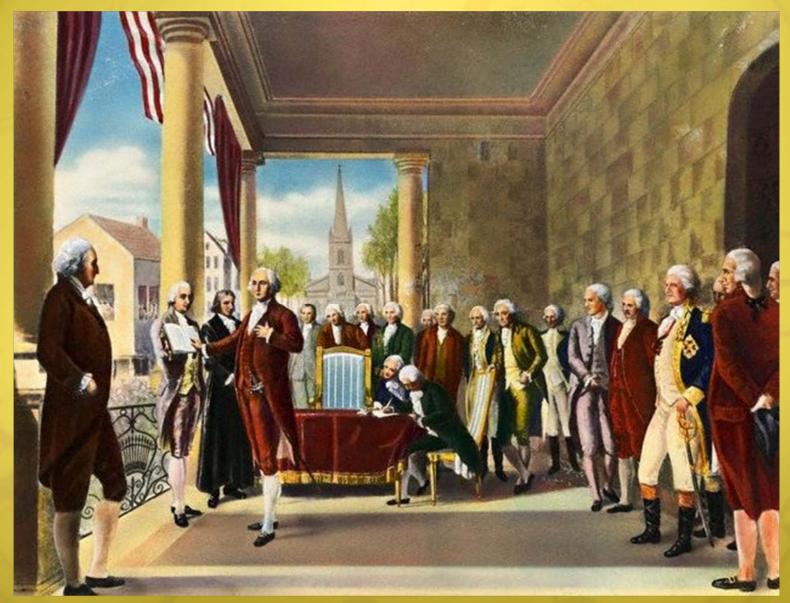


### Washington for President

- George Washington
  - Unanimously elected president by the electoral college - the only nominee ever to be elected unanimously
  - Preferred farming at Mount Vernon to being president - he was the only person elected who did not want to be president
  - April 30, 1789 took the oath of office in New York
     City (the temporary capital of the US at the time)



### Washington's Inauguration



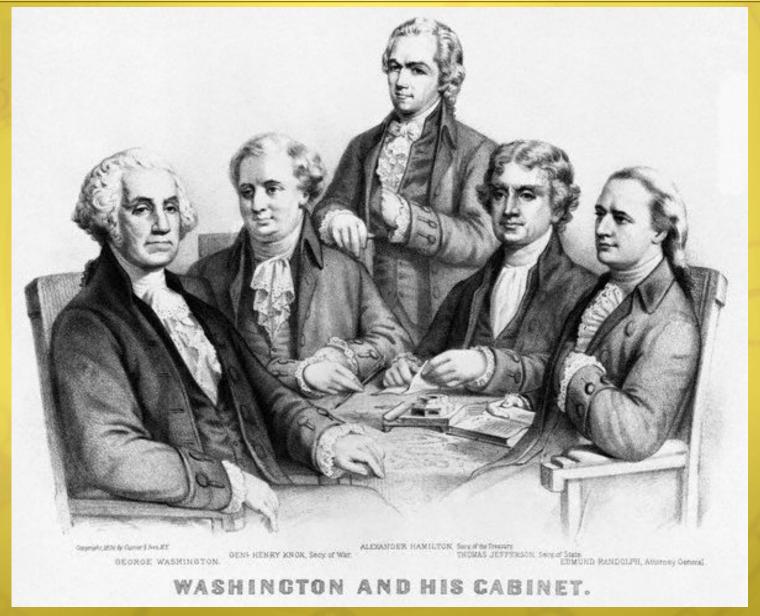


### Washington for President

- Washington's cabinet
  - Constitution only says president "may require" written opinions of the heads of executive branch departments
  - The cabinet evolved into a group that held meetings and discussed policy under Washington
  - Only 3 department heads were originally in the cabinet under Washington:
    - Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson
    - Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton
    - Secretary of War Henry Knox
    - The office of attorney general was added in 1789



### Washington and His Cabinet





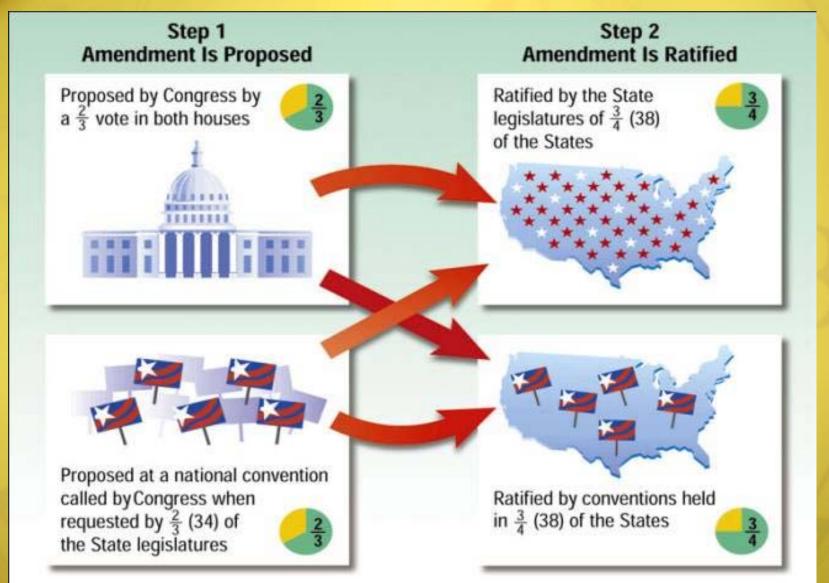
- Antifederalists had criticized the Constitution because it didn't have a bill of rights
- Some states had supported the Constitution with the understanding that a bill of rights would be included later



- Amendments to the Constitution could be proposed in 2 ways
  - A new constitutional convention could be requested by 2/3 of the states
  - Or by a 2/3 vote of both houses of Congress
- Madison chose to write amendments for the bill of rights and propose them through Congress
  - He did not want to open new a constitutional convention when the federalists had just barely won the last one



### Amending the Constitution





- 1791 10 amendments passed 3/4 of the state legislatures and became law
  - Freedom of religion, speech, press
  - Right to bear arms
  - Right to trial by jury
  - Right to assemble and petition for redress of grievances
  - Prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment
  - Prohibition of arbitrary government seizure of private property



- 9<sup>th</sup> Amendment
  - Added to guard against the assumption that the list of rights were the only ones protected
  - Said this specification of certain rights did not "deny or disparage" other rights "retained by the people"



- 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment
  - Reserved all rights not explicitly delegated or prohibited by the Constitution "to the States respectively, or to the people"



opted in 1791	RIGHTS ADDRESSED	Amendment		
	Freedom of expression	<ol> <li>Freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition</li> </ol>		
	Personal security	<ul><li>2. Right to bear arms</li><li>3. No quartering of troops without consent</li><li>4. Protection against unreasonable searches and seizures</li></ul>		
	Fair treatment under law	<ul> <li>5. Right to presentation of indictment; guarantee against double jeopardy and self-incrimination; gua antee of due process of law and just compensation</li> <li>6. Right to speedy and public trial</li> <li>7. Right to jury trial in civil cases</li> <li>8. Guarantees against excessive bail, fines, and punishments</li> </ul>		
	Reserved rights and powers	<ol> <li>Powers reserved to the people</li> <li>Powers reserved to the states</li> </ol>		



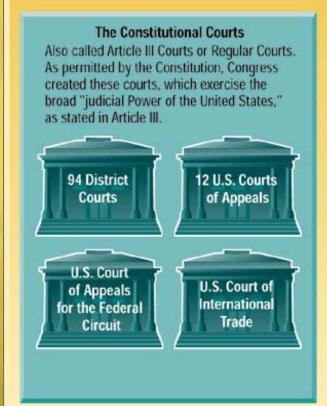
- Judiciary Act of 1789
  - Organized the Supreme Court with a chief justice and 5 associate justices (6 total)
  - Organized federal district and circuit courts
  - Established the office of attorney general



## The Federal Court System Today



#### The Inferior Courts



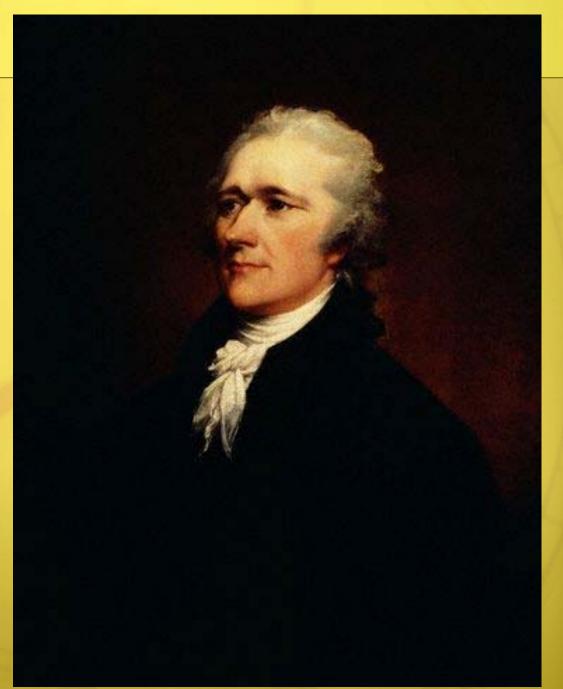




- Secretary of Treasury Alexander Hamilton
  - A genius, but not fully trusted by many because he openly favored aristocratic government
  - Interfered in others' departments, especially that of his bitter rival Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state



Alexander Hamilton



- Hamilton's financial goals for the US
  - Fix economic problems from the Articles of Confederation
  - Favor wealthy groups so that they would lend money and political support to the government
  - Prosperity would then trickle down from the upper to lower classes



- Hamilton's goal of strengthening the national credit
  - Believed the US government needed the confidence of the people (especially the wealthy)

- Pushed Congress to pay off entire national debt (\$54 million) at face value
  - Speculators had bought bonds up at low prices
  - Government bonds had depreciated to 10 15 cents because most people didn't believe the government would be able to pay them back

- Pushed for Congress to assume states' debts (\$21.5 million)
  - Justifiable since they had been incurred while fighting the Revolution
  - Hamilton primarily wanted to strengthen the US
    - States would be more supportive of the national government
    - Rich creditors would support the national government (to get their money paid back)

- State reaction to Hamilton's assumption plan
  - States with large debts (like Massachusetts) supported the plan
  - States with small debts (like Virginia) did not
- The District of Columbia
  - Virginia wanted this federal district (authorized in the Constitution, but it had not been decided where the district would be located yet) for commerce and prestige
  - In return, Virginia supported assumption, and it passed in 1790



### Washington, D.C.





#### Customs Duties and Excise

#### Taxes

- Because of assumption, the national debt was now \$75 million (\$813,226,930.14 in 2005 dollars)
  - If the US hadn't followed Hamilton's strong desire to strengthen the public credit it could have not paid \$13 million in back interest and not paid the state debts at all
- Hamilton's true objective for the national debt was to strengthen the US
  - The more creditors the government owed money to, the more people there would be with an interest in making sure the government worked



# Customs Duties and Excise Taxes

- Tariffs (taxes on imports) on foreign trade
  - Hamilton's plan to pay down the debt
  - Hamilton's and Congress's way of protecting weak
     American industry from foreign (especially British)
     competition
  - 1789 first tariff law of small 8% duty
  - Hamilton pushed for higher tariffs, but Congress (dominated by agricultural interests) only slightly increased tariff after 1789

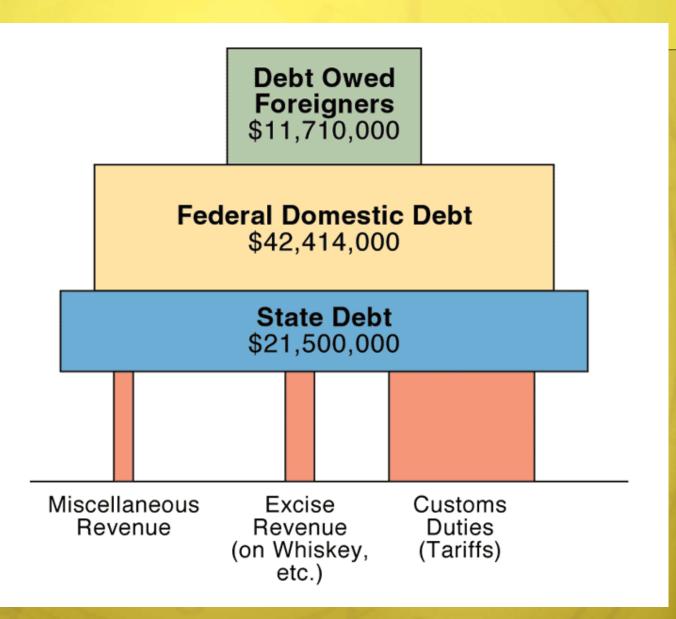


### Customs Duties and Excise Taxes

- Internal taxes (within the US) were an additional way to pay down the debt
  - 1791 Congress passed an excise tax on a few items
  - Excise an internal tax imposed on the production, sale, or consumption of a commodity or the use of a service within a country: excises on tobacco, liquor, and long-distance telephone calls
  - The highest was a 7 cents per gallon tax on whiskey, paid primarily by distillers (this hurt rural farmers the most because they shipped excess farm produce to the East by turning it into alcohol first)



Hamilton's
Financial
Structure
Supported
by
Revenues

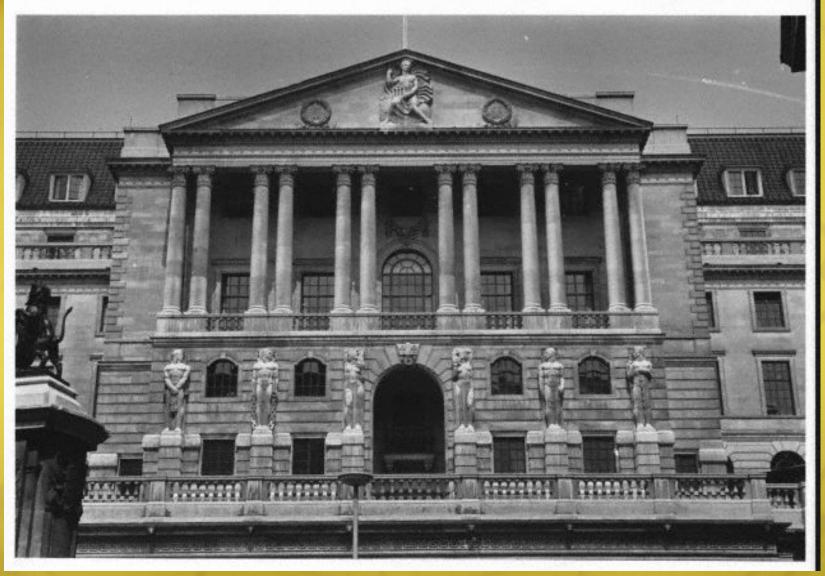


### Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a Bank

- Hamilton's bank
  - He admired Bank of England and proposed a powerful private institution similar to this bank, with the national government as majority stockholder
  - The government would deposit money from the federal treasury there
    - This money would stimulate the economy by remaining in circulation (available for loans and investment)
  - Would print paper money and provide a stable currency, backed by the government's deposits



### The Bank of England





### The Great Hall in the Bank of England

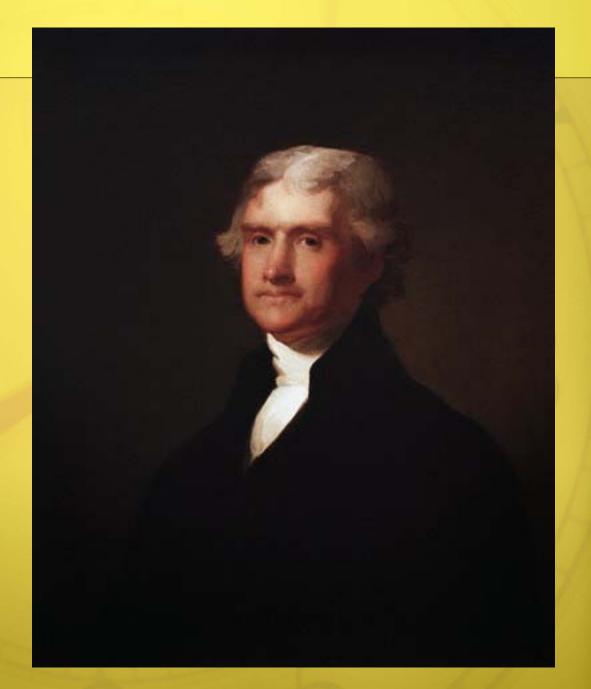


### Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a Bank

- Jefferson opposed the bank
  - Washington asked for Jefferson's written opinion
  - Jefferson held to a "strict" construction (interpretation) of the Constitution
  - There was no specific authorization for a bank in the Constitution
  - Powers that were not specifically granted to the national government (such as the formation of a bank) were reserved for the states (Amendment 10)
  - Therefore, states had power to authorize banks, not the national government



Thomas Jefferson





- Hamilton's reply to Jefferson was also requested by Washington
  - Hamilton held to a "loose" construction (interpretation) of the Constitution
  - Anything the Constitution did not forbid it permitted (Jefferson believed exactly the opposite)



### Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a

#### Bank

- Hamilton used the "necessary and proper" ("elastic") clause (from Article I)
  - "The Congress shall have power ... To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof."
    - from Article I, section 8
  - Government was explicitly authorized to collect taxes and regulate trade
  - A bank would help government carry out these powers
  - Therefore, the bank was implied ("implied powers") in other explicit powers



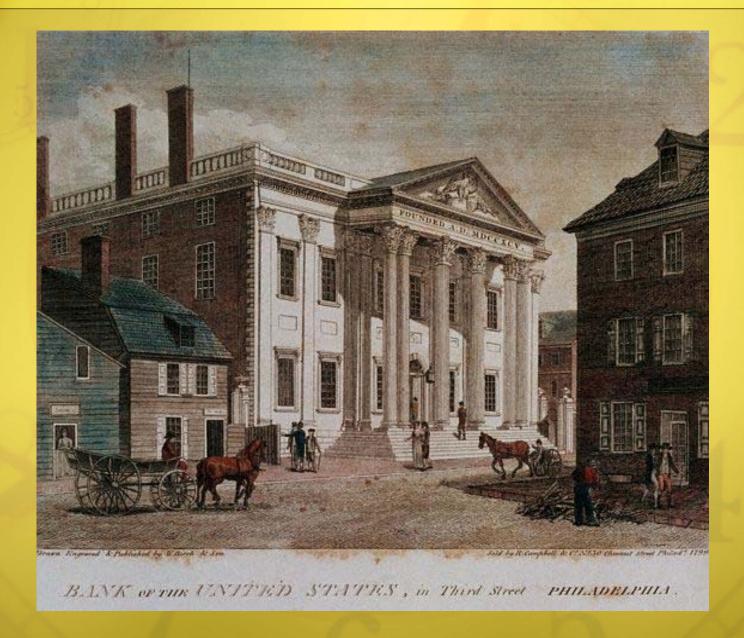
- The fight over the bank exposed differences between the North and South
  - The industrial and commercial North supported the bank
  - The agricultural South did not support the bank

### Hamilton Battles Jefferson for a Bank

- Hamilton's view prevailed; in 1791 the bank was created by Congress
  - Chartered for 20 years
  - Located at Philadelphia
  - Began with capital of \$10 million
  - 1/5 of the bank was owned by the federal government
  - Stock in the bank sold out quickly in a public sale



#### The Bank of the United States





### Mutinous Moonshiners in Pennsylvania

- Importance of whiskey to rural communities
  - Bad roads forced many farmers to convert grain to alcohol for easier and cheaper shipping to the east
  - Whiskey was even used as money in some parts of the frontier

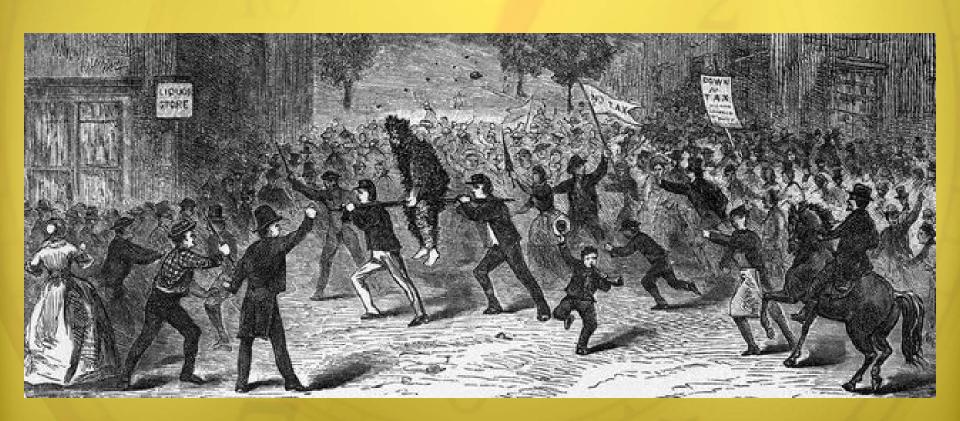


### Mutinous Moonshiners in Pennsylvania

- Hamilton's excise tax on whisky hurt rural farmers
  - Not a tax on a luxury but a burden on a necessity and a form of money
- 1794 Whiskey Rebellion
  - Distillers tarred and feathered revenue officers, stopping collections
  - Cried for "Liberty and No Excise"



# A Government Inspector Tarred and Feathered During the Whiskey Rebellion





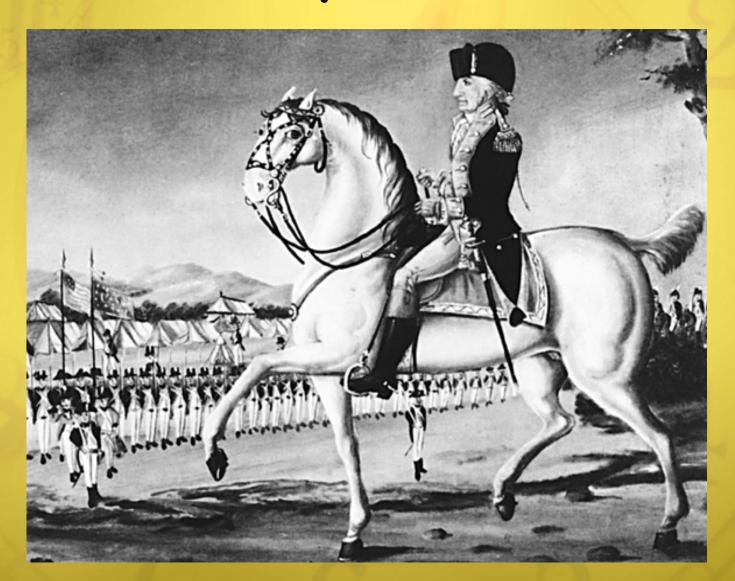
# Mutinous Moonshiners in Pennsylvania

- Washington brought militia from several states to stop the Whiskey Rebellion
  - Initially there was a question of whether men from other states would unite to fight another state
  - An army of 13,000 did march to Pennsylvania
  - The rebels dispersed when they heard troops were coming
  - 2 men were convicted for rebellion; Washington pardoned them
  - The incident increased the power of the national government, although some criticized Washington's brutality



#### Washington Reviews the Troops at the

#### Whiskey Rebellion, 1794





- Hamilton succeeded in giving more power to the central government, at the expense of the states
- Hamilton's successes led to divisions in public opinion between states' rights and federal power
  - Grew from a personal feud between Jefferson and Hamilton to a full-blown political rivalry



- Parties versus factions
  - Organized political partied did not exist during Washington's first term
  - Political divisions (Whigs and Tories, federalists and antifederalists) were factions, not parties
    - Groups who opposed each other and fought over specific issues
    - These groups disbanded after the issue had gone away



- Founders had not anticipated the existence of parties
  - Organized opposition to the democratic government seemed disloyal to them



- 1790s Jefferson and Madison began organizing against Hamilton
  - Worked against Hamilton's programs in Congress only
  - Did not anticipate the creation of a popular party
- The party system began to take form as opposition to Hamilton grew and newspapers brought ordinary citizens in



- The party system in US history
  - Competition for power between 2 parties was important for a sound democracy
  - The opposition party makes sure the other one doesn't go too far from the wishes of the people



- By 1793 political parties had formed
  - Democratic-Republicans (Jeffersonian)
  - Federalists (Hamiltonian)
- Foreign policy made differences between the parties even more pronounced



- In 1789 the French Revolution began
  - 26 years before Europe would finally be at peace
  - Left significant impact on the US and the rest of the Western world



- Early stages of the French Revolution
  - Peaceful attempt to limit the power of King Louis XVI
  - Americans supported this as an imitation of the American Revolution (except for a few ultraconservative Federalists)



- 1792 France declared war on Austria
  - Austria fought to return king to France and prevent democratic revolutionary ideas from spreading
  - Late in 1792, France defeated Austria
  - Americans celebrated Austria's defeat



- 1793 the French Revolution grew radical
  - King Louis XVI was beheaded
  - The Reign of Terror began (ending in 1794); 40,000 people were killed during this time



#### The Execution of Louis XVI





- American reaction to the radicalism of the French Revolution
  - Federalists turned against the Revolution immediately
  - Jeffersonians regretted the killing, but accepted the killing of some aristocrats in furtherance of human freedom



- The impact of the French Revolution
  - Britain was brought into the conflict (allied with Austria to fight France)
  - Eventually came to involve a conflict between the European powers for control of the Atlantic
  - This brought the US and the rest of the world into the conflict



- The alliance of 1778 between France and America was still in force
  - Was to last "forever" according to the treaty
  - Obligated the US to defend the French West Indies (where Britain was certain to attack)



- Democratic-Republicans wanted to honor the treaty
  - Sided with France over their recent enemy Britain
  - Argued that the US owed France its freedom



- Washington (backed by Hamilton) resisted supporting France
  - Believed the US had to avoid conflicts with Europe for 1 - 2 generations, so that American strength and numbers (through a high birth rate) could be built up
  - Believed that if the US entered European wars (to defend its rights on the Atlantic) it would possibly be defeated or significantly hurt



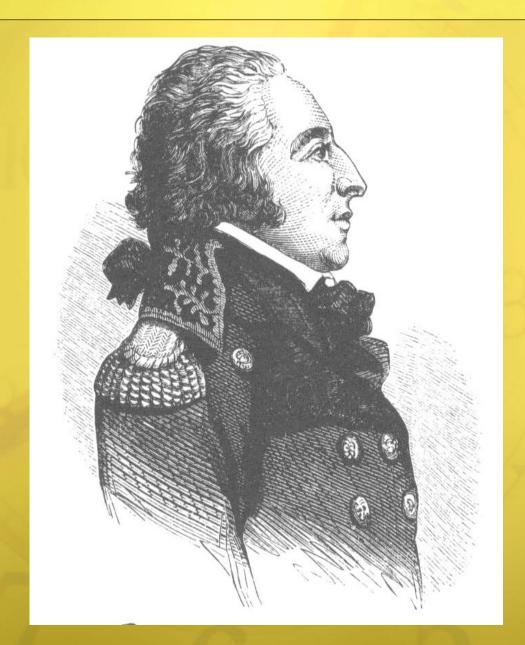
- Neutrality Proclamation of 1793
  - Issued right after the war started between Britain and France
  - Proclaimed the US government's strict neutrality
  - Warned American citizens to be neutral toward both sides
  - Influenced the spread of isolationist feelings among many Americans
  - Angered many Democratic-Republicans because it was seen as a betrayal of France and because it was announced by Washington without consulting Congress



- · Citizen Edmond Genêt
  - April 1793 as ambassador from France, arrived in Charleston, South Carolina
  - Received enthusiastically by many Democratic-Republicans in the South
  - Genêt mistakenly believed that most Americans did not support the Neutrality Proclamation
  - Worked to recruit Americans to invade Spanish Florida, Louisiana and British Canada
  - 1794 Washington demanded Genêt be replaced



#### Citizen Genêt





### Washington's Neutrality

#### Proclamation

- Neutrality Proclamation showed that alliances are always based on self-interest
  - 1778 both France and America gained from their alliance
  - 1793 only France would gain, so the alliance did not happen
  - The US didn't technically violate the 1778 alliance because France never called on the US for help (because after the Neutrality Proclamation, France knew the US would refuse)



- American neutrality favored France
  - The French West Indies needed food from the US
  - If the US had entered the war on the side of France, Britain would have blockaded American coast, cutting off supplies
  - No blockade meant the US could continue shipping to France's colonies



- Britain kept 7 forts on the northern border between the US and Canada, in US territory
  - Violation of 1783 Treaty of Paris
  - Was reluctant to give up the profitable fur trade
  - Wanted an Indian buffer between Canada and the US



### American Posts Held by the British After 1783





- Miami Confederacy 8 Indian nations allied with British
  - British provided Indians with guns and alcohol
  - Indians saw the Ohio River as US's northern boundary (and their southern boundary)
  - 1790 1791 US generals Harmar and St. Clair defeated by Indians



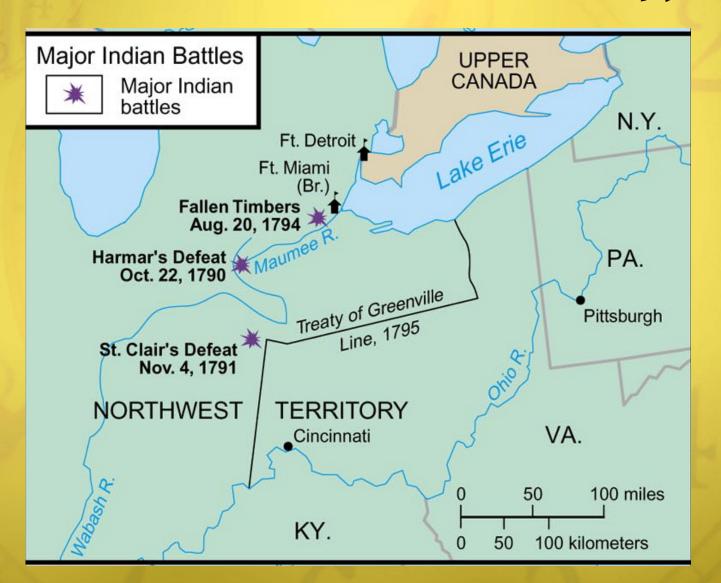
- 1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers
  - General "Mad Anthony" Wayne defeated the Miami Indians
  - The British refused to shelter the fleeing Indians (supposedly their allies) in the British forts



- August 1795 the Treaty of Greenville
  - Indians gave up huge tracts of land (in Indiana and Ohio)
  - Indians received \$20,000 and an annual payment of \$9,000
  - Indians could continue to hunt on the lands they had given up
  - Indians wrongly hoped the treaty put limits on white expansion



#### Conflicts with Indians on the Northwest Frontier in the 1790s



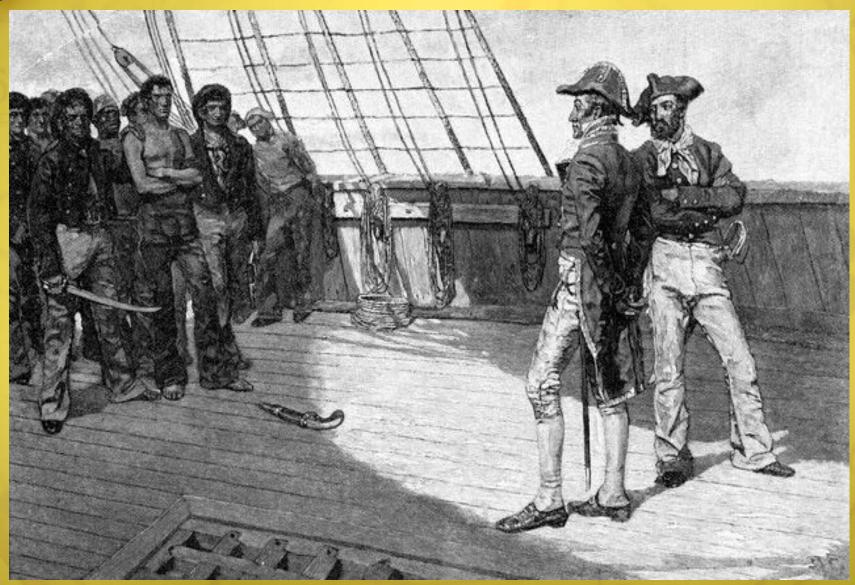


#### Embroilments with Britain

- British attacks on US shipping
  - Blockaded the French West Indies
  - Seized 300 US ships and impressed US seamen into service on British ships; other US sailors were imprisoned



## Impressment of US Sailors





#### Embroilments with Britain

- US reaction to British violations on the sea
  - Jeffersonians called for a war (or at least an embargo) against Britain
  - Federalists resisted Jeffersonian demands
    - Wanted the US to develop trade and industry; depended on Britain for this
    - Did not want a destructive war with most powerful country in the world

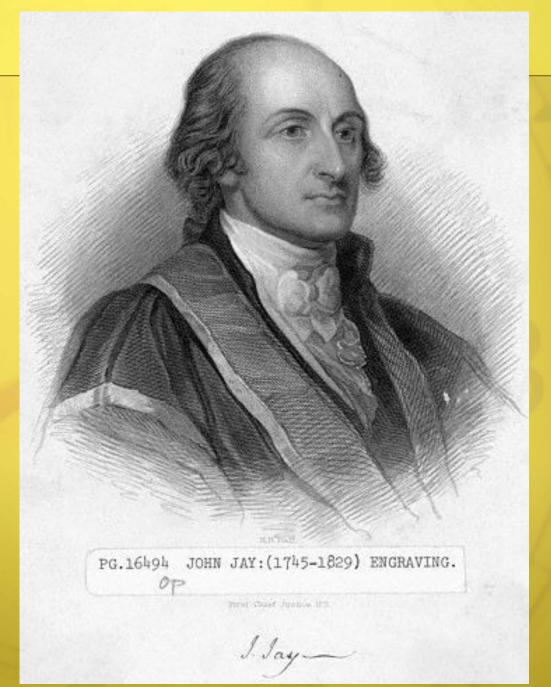


# Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

- 1794 Washington sent Chief Justice John Jay to London to negotiate a treaty in a last attempt to avoid war
  - Jeffersonians feared the pro-British Jay would sell out US interests
  - Jay's negotiations were sabotaged by Hamilton
    - He feared war with Britain, so he told the British details of Jay's negotiating strategy
    - As a result, Jay got few concessions from Britain



Chief Justice John Jay





# Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

- The Jay Treaty
  - Britain promised to evacuate the 7 forts on US soil and promised to pay damages for seized American ships
  - Brittain did not promise anything about future ship seizures or impressments or about supplying arms to the Indians
  - Americans promised to repay debts owed to British merchants from before the Revolution

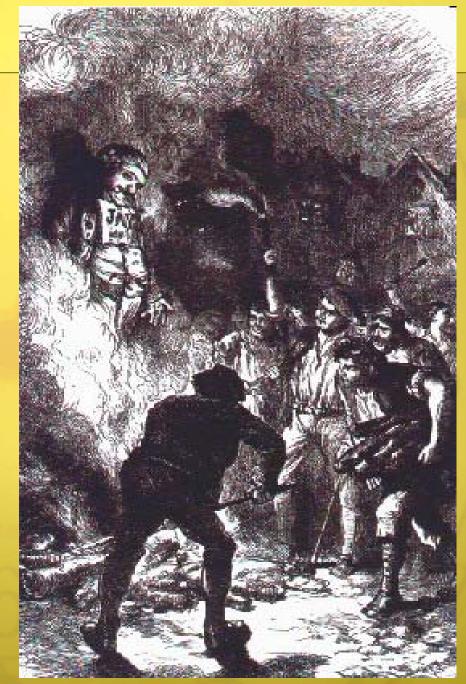


# Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

- The Jay Treaty enraged Democratic-Republicans
  - The treaty seemed to be a complete surrender to Britain
  - Hurt the South (who had to pay larger share of the debts) while the North was helped (by being repaid for their lost ships)
  - Jeffersonian mobs hanged, burned and guillotined in effigy (a crude figure or dummy representing a hated person or group) John Jay

11 12 1 2 3 4 7 6 5

Jay Burned in Effigy by Anti-British Americans



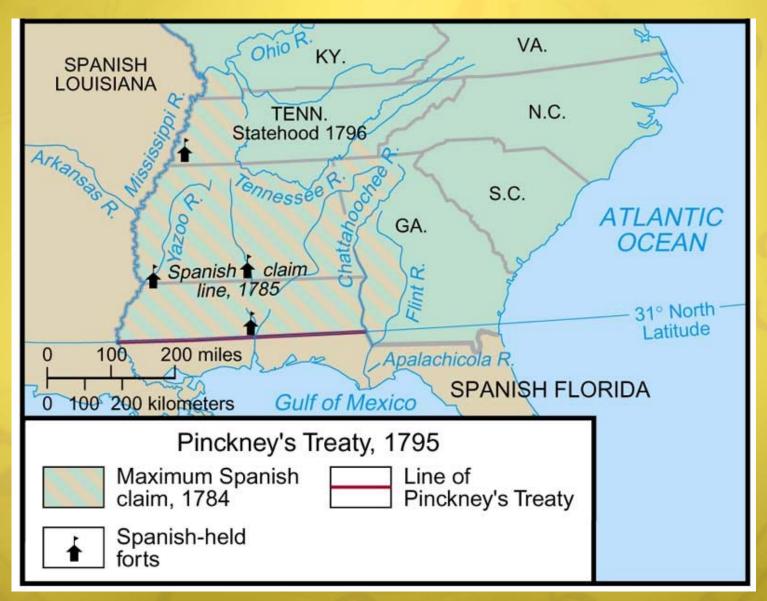


# Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

- Pinckney's Treaty of 1795
  - Spain quickly agreed to most US terms because of their fear of a closer Anglo-American alliance
  - The US was granted free navigation of the Mississippi and a large disputed area north of Florida



#### Pinckney's Treaty, 1795





# Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

- 1796 Washington chose to retire
  - The 2-term tradition for US presidents lasted until broken by Franklin Roosevelt in 1940
  - The 22<sup>nd</sup> Amendment (ratified in 1951) made 2 terms part of the Constitution



# Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

- Washington's farewell address
  - Published in newspapers, not delivered as a speech
  - Warned against "permanent alliances"
  - Did not oppose all alliances, but advised making them temporary
  - Did this advice (to a weak nation) apply to strong nation later?



# Jay's Treaty and Washington's Farewell

- President Washington's importance
  - Fiscal health and strength of the government established
  - Settlement to the West and sea trade was expanding
  - Most importantly, he had kept the US out of foreign wars



- The election of 1796
  - Federalists nominated Washington's vice president, John Adams
  - Hamilton was too unpopular with many people because of his financial policies (which seemed to favor the rich)
  - Democratic-Republicans nominated Jefferson



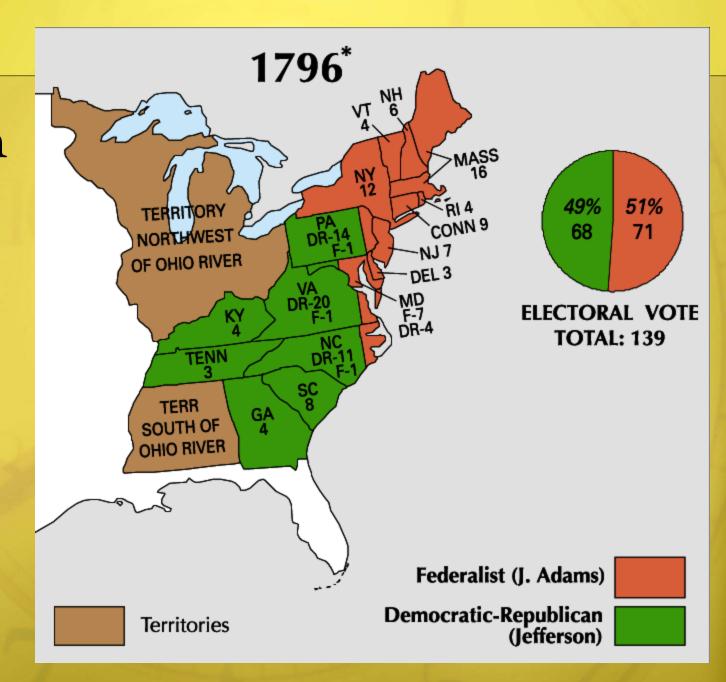
- The bitter campaign of 1796
  - Federalists and Democratic-Republicans bitterly attacked each other
  - The respect for Washington had put some restraints on partisan attacks before this
  - Issues focused heavily on personalities
  - Democratic-Republicans attacked Federalists for brutality during Whiskey Rebellion and Jay Treaty



- Results of the election of 1796
  - John Adams narrowly won the election (71 to 68 votes in the Electoral College)
  - Jefferson became Adams' vice president
    - Under the original system for electing the president, each elector had 2 votes in 1 election for both president and vice president; whoever got the most votes became president; the runner-up became vice president
    - This was changed by the 12th Amendment in 1804
    - Now there are 2 separate elections (1 for president, 1 for vice president)



# Election of 1796



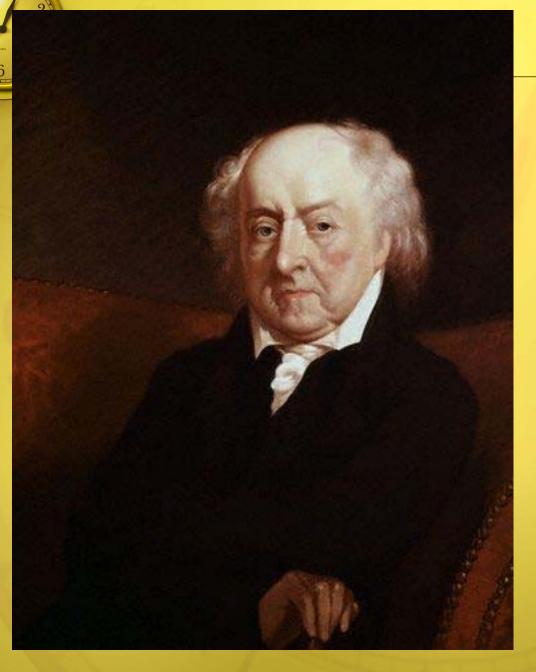
#### The Framers' Plan for the Electoral College

- Each State would have as many presidential electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress.
- 2 These electors would be chosen in each State in a manner the State legislature directed.
- The electors, meeting in their own States, would each cast two votes—each for a different person for President.
- These electoral votes from the States would be opened and counted before a joint session of Congress.
- The person receiving the largest number of electoral votes, provided that total was a majority of all the electors, would become President.
- The person with the second highest number of electoral votes would become Vice President.
- If a tie occurred, or if no one received the votes of a majority of the electors, the President would be chosen by the House of Representatives, voting by States.
- If a tie occurred for the second spot, the Vice President would be chosen by the Senate.

# The Framers' Plan for the Electoral College



- John Adams' personality
  - Fat (called "His Rotundity") and short (5'7")
  - Stern and stubborn intellectual aristocrat
  - Not well-liked by most Americans



## John Adams



- Adams' problems on entering the presidency
  - He could not hope to measure up to Washington
  - Hamilton (who hated Adams) headed the High Federalists (a faction in the Federalist Party strongly opposed to Adams)
    - He even plotted with members of Adams' cabinet against him
  - He inherited a violent fight with France that might lead to war



- The French were angered by Jay Treaty
  - Saw the treaty as a first step to a US-British alliance and as a violation of the Franco-American Treaty of 1778
- French retaliation
  - Began seizing US merchant ships (300 by mid-1797)
  - Refused to receive a US diplomat and even threatened him with arrest

## 7 6 5

- The XYZ Affair
  - Adams wanted to avoid war, following Washington's lead
  - 1797 Adams sent 3 men to reach an agreement with France; these men hoped to meet with Charles de Talleyrand, the French foreign minister
  - Instead, they were met by 3 go-betweens (called X, Y, and Z), who demanded a loan of \$12 million and a bribe of \$250,000 to talk to Talleyrand (bribes were standard procedure in Europe)
  - American negotiators refused the terms and left Europe; they were hailed as heroes in the US upon their return

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#### The XYZ Affair

Here an innocent young America is being robbed by Frenchmen while John Bull (Britain) looks on amused across the English Channel





- US reaction to the XYZ Affair
  - War hysteria swept the US (even to Adams)
  - "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."
  - Politically beneficial for the pro-British Federalists
  - Most Jeffersonians (except for the most committed)
     also condemned the French



- War preparations in the US
  - In spite of some opposition in Congress by Democratic-Rebublicans
  - The Navy Department was created and the small navy was expanded
  - The US Marine Corps was reestablished
    - Originally created in 1775, but disbanded
  - A new army of 10,000 men authorized



- 1798 1800 an undeclared naval war between France and the US
  - Principally conducted in the West Indies
  - The US navy captured 80 French ships, although several hundred US ships were captured by the French
  - A slight push might have brought the US and France to full-scale war

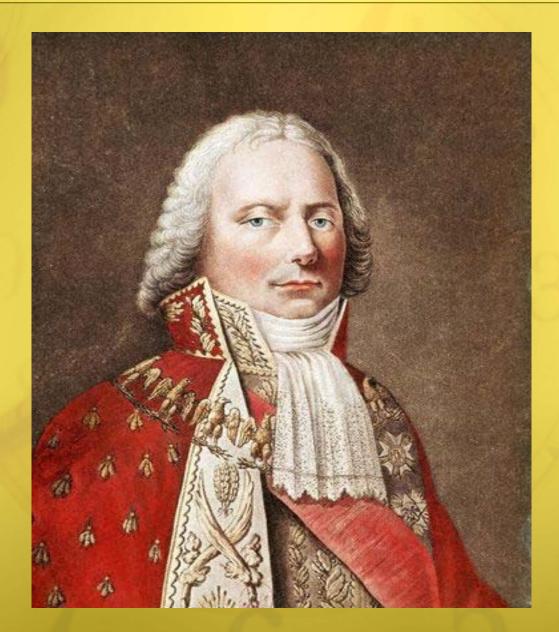


#### Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party

- France did not want war with the US
  - Already fighting a war against powerful Britain and Austria
  - Britain was brought closer to the US during this time than again for many years (a relationship France wanted to put an end to)
  - Talleyrand made it known that he would accept a new US diplomat



## Charles de Talleyrand





#### Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party

#### · Adams' decision

- Full war, with the US capturing Florida and Louisiana, would bring power and popularity to himself and the Federalist party
- In spite of this, he knew the US was not ready for full war with a European power
- In early 1799 he submitted name of new minister to France to Senate
- Hamilton and the High Federalists were enraged; Jeffersonians and most reasonable Federalists supported Adams



#### Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party

- US's 3 ambassadors received by France
  - Napoleon had just taken power of dictator
    - Wanted to stop fighting with America and concentrate on Europe (and possibly form empire in Louisiana)
  - Convention of 1800
    - France agreed to annul the Franco-American Treaty of 1778
    - US agreed to pay damages to American shippers (caused by French attacks)



## Napoleon Bonaparte





## Adams Puts Patriotism Above Party

- Importance of Adams' dealings with France
  - Avoided war with France
  - Prepared the way for the Louisiana Purchase (1803), which was extremely important to the future of the US
  - In spite of this, Adams was unappreciated by many Americans at the time



#### The Federalist Witch Hunt

- 1798 Alien and Sedition Acts rammed through Congress
  - Federalists used their increased popularity (during the anti-French – and therefore anti-Jeffersonian period)
  - Supposedly done to protect the US during a war with France; in reality designed to weaken the Republicans



#### The Federalist Witch Hunt

- Naturalization Act
  - Most European immigrants were poor and supported the Democratic-Republicans (the party for the less prosperous, and more democratic)
  - Raised residence requirement for aliens (non-citizens) to become citizens from 5 to 14 years



#### The Federalist Witch Hunt

- Alien Enemies Act
  - President could deport or imprison any foreigners during time of war (without proof or guilt)
- Alien Friends Act
  - President could deport any foreigners whose activities he considered dangerous (without proof or guilt) during time of peace
- Never enforced, but both Alien Acts gave president arbitrary and excessive power



## The Federalist Witch Hunt

#### Sedition Act

- Sedition conduct or language inciting rebellion against the authority of a state
- Anyone who impeded the policies of the government or falsely damaged the reputation of public officials (including the president) was subject to a fine or imprisonment
- Many were indicted and 10 people were brought to trial under this law
- All 10 were convicted by packed juries and pro-Federalist judges



## The Federalist Witch Hunt

- The Supreme Court (dominated by Federalists) refused to declare the Sedition Act unconstitutional
- Federalists wrote the law to expire in 1801 (so it couldn't be used against them if the lost the 1800 election)
- The Sedition Act probably drove many to the Democratic-Republican party (after 1800)
- However, many others supported the Alien and Sedition Acts, especially during the 1798 – 1800 "Quasi War" with France
  - 1798 1799 congressional elections Federalists won a strong victory over Democratic-Republicans



- Jefferson feared that the Federalists could become a 1-party dictatorship
  - Restriction on free speech might lead to the end of other constitutional rights
  - Jefferson and Madison wrote resolutions adopted by the legislatures in Kentucky and Virginia opposing the Alien and Sedition Acts
    - Jefferson's resolution was more radical than Madison's s
  - No other state adopted the resolutions



- Jefferson and Madison stressed the "compact" theory of the US government
  - 13 sovereign states had made a compact (contract) when they formed the federal government
  - The federal government was seen as a creation of the states
  - The states therefore were the final judges of whether the federal government had broken the contract
- Jefferson charged that the federal government had exceeded its authority with the Alien and Sedition Acts
  - "nullification" (refusal to accept these laws) was the "rightful remedy"



- The Federalists strongly opposed the resolutions
- Federalist arguments against the resolutions
  - The people not the states had made the original compact
  - The Supreme Court not the states had the right to nullify unconstitutional laws passed by Congress
    - This position was adopted by the Supreme Court in 1803 (Marbury v. Madison)



- Long-standing impact of the resolutions
  - This extreme states' rights view of the Union had a longer lasting impact than authors had intended
  - Used by South to support nullification and eventually secession
  - Jefferson and Madison had not intended to break up the union, just stop Federalist abuses of power



• Sharp divisions between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans provided a stark choice for voters in the election of 1800



- Federalists' background
  - Generally federalists (those who had supported the Constitution)
  - Led by Hamilton
  - Primarily from the northeastern Atlantic seaboard and merchants, manufacturers, shippers



- Federalists and government
  - Wanted a strong central government, able to crush democratic excesses (like Shays' Rebellion), protect the rich, and promote foreign trade
  - Advocated rule by the "best people"
    - "Those who own the country ought to govern it."
      - John Jay
    - Feared democracy and rule by commoners



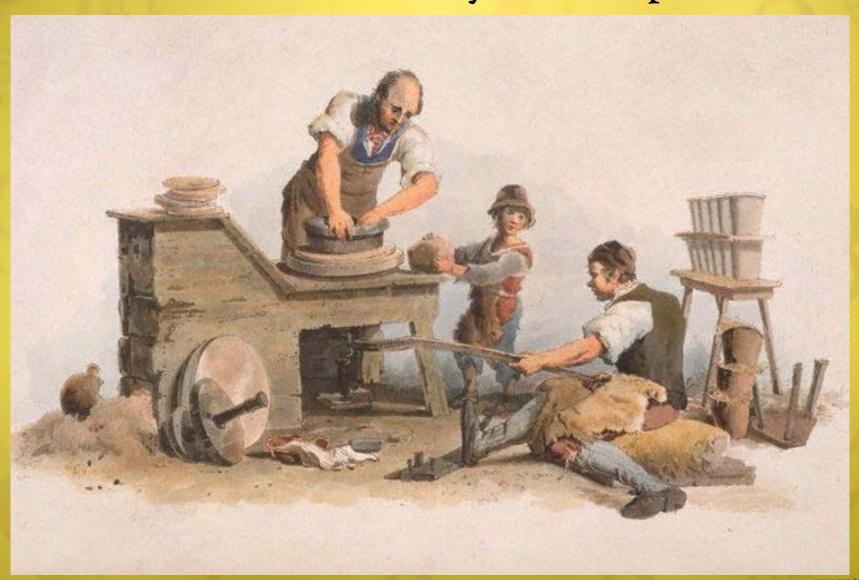
- Federalists and foreign policy
  - Hamilton believed in strong government to expand US commerce and trade
  - Foreign trade (especially with Britain) was very important



- Democratic-Republicans' (Republicans) background
  - Generally anti-federalists (those who had not supported the Constitution)
  - Led by Jefferson
  - Primarily small farmers, middle class, underprivileged, laborers, artisans, and small shopkeepers



### An Artisan, Such as the One Pictured Here, Would Likely be a Republican





- Jefferson himself was a bundle of contradictions
  - Virginian aristocrat and slave owner who lived in a mansion - he should have been a Federalist
  - Master political organizer through his ability to appeal to the underclass (who primarily supported the Democratic-Republicans)



## Monticello, Jefferson's Virginia Mansion





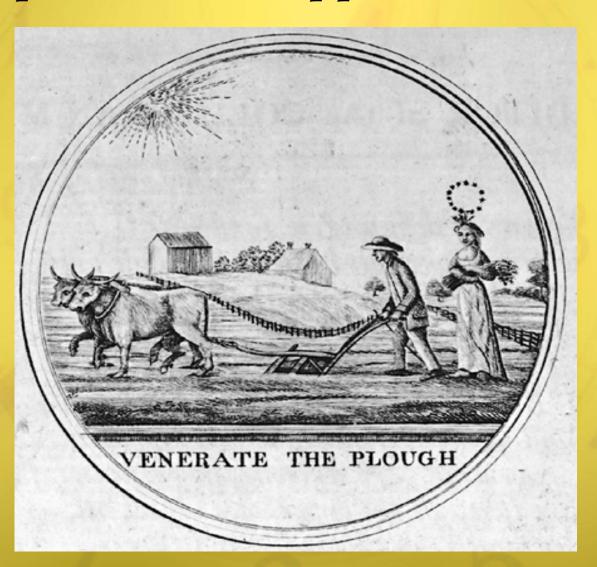
- Democratic-Republicans and government
  - Wanted a weak central government (the best government was one that governed least)
  - Most power should stay with the states, not the federal government because the people, closer to state governments, could prevent tyranny
  - Central authority should be kept to a minimum through a strict interpretation of Constitution
  - National debt should be paid off



- Democratic-Republicans and the class system
  - Believed in no special privileges for groups (especially manufacturers)
  - Agriculture was the most important branch of the economy



# A Cartoon Showing the Republican's Support for Farmers





- Democratic-Republicans and democracy
  - Voting only for white males literate enough to inform themselves and vote intelligently
  - Universal education important for voters and would lead to universal (male) suffrage
  - For his time, Jefferson was very open-minded because of his faith in the properly educated masses and their collective wisdom



- · Democratic-Republicans and land
  - Jefferson feared property-less dependants would be politically manipulated by landowners
  - In this way he reconciled slavery with his more democratic feelings
    - Slavery allowed white southern yeomen (a small farmer who cultivates his own land) to be independent
    - Whites would not have to work for large landowners on plantations because slaves would do this work



- Democratic-Republicans and foreign policy
  - Generally pro-French; favored the liberal democracy of the French Revolution (before it turned violent) over the conservative British government
  - Favored increasing democracy in US, especially in the frontier beyond the Appalachians



- 1790s conflicts between the 2 parties opened the question of whether the US would survive
- In the election of 1800 there was a danger that the US would be destroyed by conflict