

CHAPTER 8

The Early Republic: Conflicts at Home and Abroad, 1789–1800

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After you have studied Chapter 8 in your textbook and worked through this study guide chapter, you should be able to:

1. Indicate the immediate problems and issues faced by the President and Congress in 1790, and explain how these problems and issues were resolved.
2. Discuss the role of the Supreme Court from 1789 to 1800, and explain the significance of its decisions in *Ware v. Hylton*, *Hylton v. U.S.*, and *Chisholm v. Georgia*.
3. Discuss Hamilton's economic program, the beliefs and assumptions it reflected, the opposition it aroused, and its fate in Congress.
4. Discuss the characteristics and the political, social, and economic beliefs of the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans, and explain the relationship between those beliefs and the approach of these political factions to:
 - a. Hamilton's economic program.
 - b. the Whiskey Rebellion.
 - c. the formation of Democratic-Republican societies.
 - d. the Alien and Sedition Acts.
 - e. the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions.
5. Examine the debate between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans about major foreign policy issues between 1789 and 1801, and discuss the domestic impact of this debate.
6. Examine the issues in the presidential election of 1796, and explain the election's outcome.
7. Examine the impact of United States government policies on the life, culture, and economies of eastern Indian nations between 1789 and 1800, and discuss the responses of the Indians to the pressures they experienced.
8. Examine the issues in the Presidential and Congressional elections of 1800 and explain their outcome.

THEMATIC GUIDE

In 1790, as Americans faced the task of putting their new government into operation, they optimistically expected a future of prosperity, expansion, national unity, and independence from Europe. In each of these areas, they experienced a measure of disappointment. Congress was able to handle the immediate problems facing the country, but as it tried to deal with the nation's financial problems, it faced the dilemma of defining the role of government in a republican society. Supporters of

“self-sacrificing” republicanism, such as John Adams, and of “economic” republicanism, such as Alexander Hamilton, although seemingly at odds, became allies because of their shared belief in a strong central government. Besides, both groups were nationalist in their outlook, believing that state interests and state power should be subordinated to national interests. George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and John Adams, who were Federalists, accepted this definition of the role of government.

An opposition to this nationalist republican philosophy emerged under the leadership of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. They took the view that the central government should have limited power, and they moved toward the democratic definition of republicanism. Believing that the elite could not speak for the masses, they opposed Hamilton’s economic program and expressed a strict-constructionist view of the Constitution. Hamilton and Washington, in turn, advocated a broad interpretation of the Constitution.

The disagreement between the two groups over domestic policy soon spread to foreign policy, provoking more tension. Each group became convinced that the other was out to destroy the republic. Acting on this belief, the Federalists enacted the Alien and Sedition Acts to silence the Democratic-Republicans. The Democratic-Republicans responded with an extreme states’ rights philosophy contained in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions. In the midst of this disunity, the Federalists split over the republic’s relations with France. This split and the reaction of the country to the Alien and Sedition Acts led to Democratic-Republican triumph in the election of 1800.

In the chapter’s penultimate, “The West in the New Nation”, we look at the war with the Miami Confederacy in the Northwest Territory and at the assumptions and goals embodied in the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1793. After dealing with the consequences of this act, we turn to a discussion of the causes and consequences of Gabriel’s Rebellion and look at the outcome of the elections of 1800.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE

After studying Chapter 8 of *A People and a Nation*, you should be able to identify *and* explain fully the historical significance of each item listed below.

- Identify each item in the space provided. Give an explanation or description of the item. Answer the questions *who*, *what*, *where*, and *when*.
- Explain the historical significance of each item in the space provided. Establish the historical context in which the item exists. Establish the item as the result of or as the cause of other factors existing in the society under study. Answer this question: *What were the political, social, economic, and/or cultural consequences of this item?*

1. the Bill of Rights

2. the Judiciary Act of 1789

3. *Chisholm v. Georgia*

4. George Washington

5. Alexander Hamilton

6. assumption of state debts

7. location of nation's capital

8. the Bank of the United States

9. strict constructionist vs. broad constructionist

10. the Whiskey Rebellion

11. Democratic-Republicans

12. Federalists

13. Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality

14. the doctrine of executive privilege

15. Washington's Farewell Address

16. the presidential election of 1796

17. President John Adams

18. the XYZ Affair

19. the Quasi-War with France

20. the Alien and Sedition Acts

21. Virginia and Kentucky resolutions

22. the election of 1800

23. the 12th Amendment

24. “midnight justices”

IDEAS AND DETAILS

Objective 1

1. Which of the following was an important provision of the Judiciary Act of 1789?
 - a. It placed limitations on the Supreme Court’s power to review the constitutionality of acts of Congress.
 - b. It allowed appeals from state courts to the federal court system when certain constitutional issues were raised.
 - c. It gave state courts the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional.
 - d. It allowed citizens of one state to sue another state in the federal courts.

Objective 2

2. If the Supreme Court declares a law unconstitutional, Congress may undo the court’s decision by
 - a. firing the justices responsible for the decision.
 - b. passing a law declaring the Court’s decision to be in error.
 - c. adopting and gaining ratification of a constitutional amendment.
 - d. persuading the president to issue an executive order contrary to the Court’s decision.

Objective 3

3. According to Alexander Hamilton, human beings are motivated primarily by
 - a. love of family.
 - b. self-interest.
 - c. a desire to be virtuous.
 - d. religious principles.

Objective 3

4. Hamilton proposed that the national government assume the debts of the states for which of the following reasons?
 - a. Assumption of state debts would help gain support for a national income tax by making the government's financial problems obvious.
 - b. Assumption of state debts would give holders of public securities a financial stake in the success of the national government.
 - c. Many of the states were on the verge of bankruptcy.
 - d. Assumption of state debts would enhance the power of the states.

Objective 3

5. James Madison opposed Hamilton's proposal concerning the assumption of state debts because
 - a. he believed it was unconstitutional.
 - b. the plan favored large states like Virginia.
 - c. he believed the proposal rewarded speculators.
 - d. it was not fair to merchants involved in interstate commerce.

Objective 4

6. In his reaction to the Whiskey Rebellion, Washington demonstrated
 - a. that the government would react with compassion and understanding to the plight of the disadvantaged.
 - b. the national government's ability to accept criticism.
 - c. that the national government would not allow violent resistance to the laws it enacted.
 - d. the need for a permanent standing army.

Objective 4

7. The Democratic societies
 - a. saw themselves as protectors of the people's liberties against tyranny.
 - b. supported the Jay Treaty.
 - c. warned against foreign alliances.
 - d. were subversive organizations.

Objective 5

8. Analysis of the vote to authorize funds for carrying out the provisions of the Jay Treaty shows that
 - a. merchants were opposed to the treaty.
 - b. southern planters supported the treaty.
 - c. Federalists and Democratic-Republicans could put aside their differences when national security was at stake.
 - d. the Federalist and Democratic-Republican factions were becoming cohesive voting blocs.

Objective 4

9. Which of the following is generally true of Democratic-Republicans in the 1790s?
 - a. They won support among non-English ethnic groups.
 - b. They believed that many enemies were threatening the nation.
 - c. They had serious doubts about the economic future of the United States.
 - d. They usually came from urban areas.

Objective 5

10. Congress increased military spending after ratification of the Jay Treaty because
- England's refusal to give up its posts in the Northwest increased the likelihood of war.
 - the treaty allowed the United States to increase its naval power in the Caribbean.
 - France was angered by the treaty and authorized seizure of American ships carrying British goods.
 - the treaty increased the likelihood of an Indian war by removing the Spanish from the western territories.

Objective 5

11. The XYZ affair
- led to undeclared war between the United States and France.
 - caused the United States to seek a military alliance with Great Britain.
 - was fabricated by President Adams for political reasons.
 - was an attempt by the French to negotiate in good faith with the United States.

Objectives 4 and 5

12. The Alien and Sedition Acts were passed because
- foreign agents posed a serious threat to the security of the country.
 - the Federalists wanted to crush dissent and stop the growth of the Democratic-Republican Party.
 - there was a great deal of public support for restricting immigration.
 - the country had no effective naturalization laws.

Objective 4

13. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions supported the idea that
- federal law is superior to state law.
 - a state may secede from the Union.
 - states may resist federal laws by force of arms.
 - a state may declare an act of Congress unconstitutional.

Objective 5

14. President Adams's decision to reopen negotiations with France in 1800
- strengthened the alliance between the two countries.
 - caused the emergence of political parties in the United States.
 - probably caused Adams's defeat in the presidential election of the same year.
 - created unity within the Federalist Party.

Objective 8

15. Which of the following is true of the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1793?
- The act declared Indian tribes to be dissolved and divided tribal land among individual Indians.
 - The act forcibly removed eastern Indian tribes to reservations in the West, thus effectively destroying Indian culture.
 - By establishing free-trade agreements between Indian tribes and the U.S. government, the act extended to Native Americans the economic benefits of the newly emerging market economy.

- d. The act's attempt to teach new farming methods to Native Americans focused only on Indian men, thus ignoring the fact that women traditionally did the farming in eastern Indian societies.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Objective 4

1. Discuss the similarities and differences between the social, economic, and political philosophies of Federalists and Democratic-Republicans.

Objectives 3 and 4

2. Discuss the similarities and differences between the views of Federalists and Democratic-Republicans in relation to Hamilton's economic program.

Objective 5

3. Cite the provisions of the Jay Treaty, and explain the impact of this treaty on the emergence of political parties in the United States.

Objective 4

4. Discuss the causes of the Whiskey Rebellion, and explain Washington's response.

Objectives 4 and 5

5. Cite the provisions of the Alien and Sedition Acts, and explain the rationale behind their passage.

Objective 8

6. Discuss the forces between the 1780s and the 1810s that challenged the system of race relations that had evolved in the American colonies and the new American republic. In what way was Gabriel's Rebellion a manifestation of these forces?

ANSWERS

Multiple-Choice Questions

1.
 - b. Correct. In Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, Congress attempted to implement a broad interpretation of Article VI of the Constitution by allowing the right of appeal from state to federal courts.
 - a. No. The Judiciary Act of 1789 did not limit the Supreme Court’s power of judicial review.
 - c. No. The Judiciary Act of 1789 dealt with the federal court system, not with state courts or their powers. Within the confines of the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, the powers of state courts were established at the state level.
 - d. No. This right was established by the Supreme Court in 1793 in the case of *Chisholm v. Georgia* and was later overturned by the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution.
2.
 - c. Correct. If the Court declares a law to be unconstitutional, Congress may undo or overrule the Court’s decision by amending the Constitution itself. This, then, is Congress’s check on the Court’s power of judicial review.
 - a. No. Supreme Court justices are appointed for life and may be removed from office through the impeachment process for treason, bribery, or other “high crimes and misdemeanors.” Formal impeachment charges must be brought by the House; the trial based on those charges must take place in the Senate.
 - b. No. When the Court declares a law to be unconstitutional, its decision is based on the Court’s interpretation of the Constitution. Since the Court has the ultimate power of judicial review, such a decision may not be undone by a law declaring the Court’s decision—its interpretation of the Constitution—to be in error.
 - d. No. When the Court declares a law to be unconstitutional, neither Congress nor the president may simply undo the Court’s ruling by issuing a contrary decision, even in the form of an executive order. Under the Constitution, the Court has the ultimate power of judicial review.
3.
 - b. Correct. Hamilton believed that most human beings’ decisions and actions were motivated by self-interest. In fact, this belief influenced the economic program that Hamilton proposed for the new republic.
 - a. No. Hamilton did not believe that love of family was the force that motivated the actions and decisions of most human beings.
 - c. No. Hamilton did not believe that most human beings’ decisions and actions were motivated by a desire on their part to be virtuous.
 - d. No. Hamilton did not believe that religious beliefs were the primary motivating factor behind the actions and decisions of most human beings.
4.
 - b. Correct. In addition to his belief that assumption of state debts by the national government would help put the United States on a firm financial footing, Hamilton also believed such action would bind a particular group (holders of public securities) to the success of the national government.
 - a. No. Hamilton’s economic package included the proposal that the government raise revenue through protective tariffs, excise taxes, and the sale of bonds and public securities. His proposal concerning assumption of state debts was not an attempt to gain support for an income tax.

- c. No. Although some of the states felt the burden of their debts, it is incorrect to say that many were on the verge of bankruptcy.
- d. No. One of the aims of Hamilton's proposal that the national government assume the debts of the states was to concentrate economic power in the hands of the central government.
5. c. Correct. Madison recognized that Hamilton's plan rewarded speculators who had bought debt certificates at a fraction of their face value, and he argued that the original holders of the certificates should be the ones to benefit from Hamilton's assumption plan.
- a. No. Madison did not argue that the assumption of state debts by the national government was unconstitutional.
- b. No. Hamilton's plan did not have a favorable bias toward large states. However, the plan was more favorable to those states that had not paid their debts (such as Massachusetts) than to those that had (such as Virginia).
- d. No. Madison's argument against Hamilton's proposal was not based on the idea that it was unfair to merchants involved in interstate commerce.
6. c. Correct. By sending a force of over twelve thousand soldiers to quell the Whiskey Rebellion, Washington sent the message that the national government would not tolerate attempts to change national laws by violent means and that the national government would, when necessary, use power to enforce its laws.
- a. No. Washington's reaction to the Whiskey Rebellion does not demonstrate governmental concern for the disadvantaged.
- b. No. Washington believed that the Democratic-Republican societies were responsible for the Whiskey Rebellion. His reaction to the rebellion was an expression of his and the government's belief that an opposition group within a republic was subversive and a threat to the nation.
- d. No. The force used consisted of militia units from Pennsylvania and neighboring states. In the aftermath of the rebellion, Washington did not believe that a permanent standing army was necessary.
7. a. Correct. Members of the Democratic-Republican societies believed that the Washington administration's economic policy and foreign policy indicated its hostility toward liberty and equality. Consequently, the societies sought to protect the people's liberties.
- b. No. The opposite is true. The Democratic-Republican societies strongly opposed the Jay Treaty.
- c. No. The Democratic-Republican societies believed that the United States should honor its treaty of alliance with France.
- d. No. Washington and Hamilton saw the Democratic-Republican societies as subversive organizations intent on overthrowing the government. In reality, these societies were the first in a long series of organized groups expressing loyal opposition to governmental policies.
8. d. Correct. The fact that only seven of fifty-two Democratic-Republicans in the House voted in favor of the appropriations and only three of forty-seven Federalists voted against the funds indicates that partisanship was a force at work in American politics.
- a. No. Analysis of the vote reveals that supporters came mainly from the New England and middle states. Strong merchant interests in both of those areas indicate that merchants supported the treaty.
- b. No. Analysis of the vote reveals that opponents of the treaty came mainly from the South.

- c. No. Analysis of the vote indicates a factional split between Federalists, who generally supported the treaty, and Democratic-Republicans, who generally opposed the treaty. There is no indication that the two groups “put aside their differences.”
9. a. Correct. Democratic-Republicans tended to be more accepting of non-English ethnic groups than the Federalists and used democratic rhetoric to draw such groups to the Democratic-Republican faction. As a result, ethnic groups such as the Irish, Scots, and Germans tended to gravitate toward the Democratic-Republican faction.
- b. No. Democratic-Republicans tended to be more optimistic and less fearful of potential internal and external enemies than Federalists.
- c. No. Democratic-Republicans tended to be optimistic about the political and economic future of the United States.
- d. No. Since 90 percent of Americans in the 1790s lived in rural areas, it is a mistake to make an urban-rural distinction between Democratic-Republicans and Federalists.
10. c. Correct. France was angry and sought retaliation against the United States because the United States had abandoned the 1778 Treaty of Alliance with France and, through the Jay Treaty, had settled outstanding differences with the British.
- a. No. Britain abided by the provisions of the Jay Treaty and evacuated its forts in the Northwest.
- b. No. Such a provision was not part of the Jay Treaty.
- d. No. Removal of the Spanish from the western territories was not a provision of the Jay Treaty.
11. a. Correct. The XYZ Affair caused a further deterioration of relations between the United States and France and led to the Quasi-War in the Caribbean between French and American vessels. This was the first undeclared war in which the United States was involved.
- b. No. Although relations with Great Britain improved as relations with France deteriorated, the United States did not seek a military alliance with the British.
- c. No. Although Democratic-Republicans were convinced that President Adams was lying about the French response to the American commissioners sent to Paris to try to reach a settlement with France, Adams’s accuracy was revealed when he turned over to Congress the secret dispatches concerning the incident.
- d. No. The Directory government did not demonstrate through the XYZ Affair that it was willing to negotiate with the United States.
12. b. Correct. The Federalists believed that Democratic-Republicans were subversive foreign agents who had to be silenced. Therefore, the Federalist-controlled Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts to crush dissent and to destroy the Democratic-Republican Party.
- a. No. Although many Federalists believed that Democratic-Republicans were subversive foreign agents and a threat to the country, this perception was inaccurate.
- c. No. The text does not address the issue of public support for immigration restriction. Although the three “anti-alien” acts passed by Congress were clearly anti-immigrant, they did not actually “restrict” immigration.
- d. No. The United States naturalization law was on the books before the 1798 Naturalization Act was “effective” and required an immigrant to live in the United States for five years before being eligible for citizenship.

13. d. Correct. In their response to the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Democratic-Republicans advanced the extreme states' rights position that a state has the power of judicial review and may declare an act of Congress unconstitutional.
- a. No. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were the response of the Democratic-Republicans to the Alien and Sedition Acts and did not support the idea that federal law is superior to state law.
- b. No. In their response to the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Democratic-Republicans did not go so far as to support the idea of secession.
- c. No. Although the Democratic-Republicans opposed the Alien and Sedition Acts, they were loyal to the nation and did not support the idea that states could resist federal laws by armed force.
14. c. Correct. Although the public did not learn the results of the Franco-American negotiations until after the election, Adams's decision to reopen negotiations, and thus defy the Hamiltonian wing of the Federalist Party, so split the party that it cost Adams the election.
- a. No. In 1798, Congress formally abrogated the Treaty of 1778. Adams's decision in 1800 to reopen negotiations with France led to the Convention of 1800 by which France officially recognized the abrogation of the treaty, freeing the United States of its only permanent alliance.
- b. No. Political factions emerged as a result of disagreements over domestic and foreign policy and were clearly present by 1796, before Adams's decision to reopen negotiations with France.
- d. No. Adams's decision led to the Convention of 1800 and ended the Quasi-War with France. Far from creating unity within the Federalist Party, Adams's decision caused a serious rift within Federalist ranks.
15. d. Correct. The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1793 attempted to "civilize" eastern Indians by supplying them with livestock, agricultural implements, and agricultural instructors. However, by focusing on men, the act ignored that fact that Indian women traditionally did the farming in eastern Indian societies.
- a. No. The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1793 did not dissolve Indian tribes and did not divide tribal land among individual Indians.
- b. No. The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1793 did not forcibly remove eastern Indian tribes to reservations in the West.
- c. No. The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1793 did not establish free-trade agreements between Indian tribes and the U.S. government.