The First Political Parties

American Diary

Although many Americans hailed George Washington as a great leader, the president did not escape criticism. One critic was Ben Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, a writer and publisher. Washington, Bache wrote, was "but a man, and certainly not a great man." Bache even criticized Washington's military leadership during the American Revolution, describing him as "ignorant of war both in theory and useful practice."

—from Remarks Occasioned by the Late Conduct of Mr. Washington
Opposing Views

Main Idea  By 1796, Americans began to take opposing sides on issues. Two political parties emerged from the debates.

History and You  When you disagree with someone, do you voice your opinion? Read to learn what happened when conflict occurred between the supporters of Hamilton and Jefferson.

President Washington's character and military record were admired by most Americans. However, harsh attacks on his policies and on his personality appeared from time to time in newspapers. One paper even called Washington "the scourge and the misfortune of his country."

Most attacks on Washington came from supporters of Thomas Jefferson. They were trying to discredit the policies of Washington and Hamilton by attacking the president. By 1796 Americans were beginning to divide into opposing groups and to form political parties.

At that time many Americans considered political parties harmful. Parties—or "factions," as they were called—were to be avoided as much as a strong central government. The nation's Founders did not even mention political parties when they wrote the Constitution.

Washington disapproved of political parties and warned that they would divide the nation. To others it seemed natural that people would disagree about issues. They also knew that people who hold similar views tend to band together.

In Washington's cabinet, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson often took opposing sides on issues. They disagreed on economic policy and foreign relations. Nor could they agree on the power of the federal government or on interpretations of the Constitution. Even Washington was partisan—favoring one side of an issue. Although he believed he stood above politics, Washington usually supported Hamilton's positions.

Political Parties Emerge

In Congress and in the nation at large, similar differences existed. By the mid-1790s two distinct political parties formed.

Primary Source  Political Cartoons

Jefferson Criticized
Newspapers that supported Washington and Hamilton ridiculed Thomas Jefferson in print and in cartoons. In this cartoon, Jefferson is throwing the U.S. Constitution into a fire.

Critical Thinking
Making Inferences  Cartoonists often use a symbol to stand for a larger idea. What does the eagle represent? What is the eagle trying to do?
Will Political Parties Harm the Nation?

In his Farewell Address, George Washington warned the nation that the development of political parties would lead to trouble. Thomas Jefferson believed that while the new parties had different opinions, they still had much in common.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

“The alternate domination of one faction [group] over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge . . . is itself a frightful despotism [tyranny]. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security . . . in the absolute power of an individual.”

THOMAS JEFFERSON

“Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle . . . We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists . . . Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government.”

The name Federalist was first used to describe someone who supported ratification of the Constitution. By the 1790s, the word meant the people who supported the policies of the Washington administration.

Generally, Federalists stood for a strong federal government. They admired Britain because of its stability and distrusted France because of the violent changes following the French Revolution. Federalist policies favored banking and shipping interests. Federalists received the strongest support in the Northeast, especially New England, and from wealthy plantation owners in the South.

Efforts to turn public opinion against Federalist policies began seriously in late 1791 when Philip Freneau (freh•NOH) began publishing the National Gazette. Jefferson, then secretary of state, helped the newspaper get started. Later he and Madison organized people who disagreed with Hamilton. They called their party the Republicans, or the Democratic-Republicans.

The Republicans wanted to limit the government’s power. They feared that a strong federal government would endanger people’s liberties. They supported the French and condemned what they regarded as the Washington administration’s pro-British policies. Republican policies appealed to small farmers and urban workers, especially in the Middle Atlantic states and the South.

Views of the Constitution

One difference between Federalists and Republicans was the basis of government power. In Hamilton’s view, the federal government had implied powers. These were powers that were not expressly forbidden in the Constitution.

Hamilton used the idea of implied powers to justify a national bank. He argued that the Constitution gave Congress the power to issue money and to regulate trade. A national bank would clearly help the government perform these responsibilities. Therefore, he reasoned, creating a bank was within the constitutional power of Congress.
Jefferson and Madison disagreed with Hamilton. They believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution. They accepted the idea of implied powers but in a much more limited sense than Hamilton did. Jefferson and Madison believed that implied powers are those powers that are "absolutely necessary" to carry out the expressed powers.

The People's Role

The differences between Federalists and Republicans, however, went deeper than disagreements about the Constitution. The parties also disagreed about the role of ordinary citizens in government.

Federalists supported representative government, in which elected officials ruled in the people's name. Too much democracy, Federalists claimed, was dangerous to liberty. Therefore, they did not believe that it was wise to let the public become too involved in politics.

Hamilton said:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

"The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right."

—from a speech at the Constitutional Convention

Public office, Federalists thought, should be held by honest and educated men of property who would protect the rights of all the nation's people. Ordinary people were too likely to be swayed by agitators.

In contrast, the Republicans feared a strong central government controlled by only a few people. They believed that democracy and liberty would be safe only if ordinary people participated fully in government. As Jefferson said in a letter:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

"I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence [what we depend on] for continued freedom."

—from The Papers of Thomas Jefferson

Alexander Hamilton

Leader of the Federalist Party

Hamilton believed that the federal government could act as needed to govern the country well, even if those powers were not stated in the Constitution. He used this argument to defend the creation of a national bank. Specifically, he concluded that:

"It is the manifest [obvious] design and scope of the Constitution to vest in Congress all the powers requisite [needed] to the effectual administration of the finances of the United States."

Thomas Jefferson

Leader of the Republican Party

Jefferson believed all powers not clearly given to the federal government in the Constitution should be left to the states. He fought against the broad federal powers used by the Washington administration, arguing: 

"[B]y a compact . . . [the states] constituted a General Government for special purposes,—delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving, each State to itself, the ... right to their own self-government."

CRITICAL Thinking

1. **Contrasting** How did Jefferson and Hamilton differ in their views on the constitutional powers of the federal government?

2. **Defending** With which view do you agree more? Why?
Washington tried to get his two advisers to work out their differences. Knowing that Jefferson was dissatisfied, Washington wrote to Jefferson:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

"I... ardently wish that some line could be marked out by which both of you could walk."

—from George Washington: Letters and Addresses

Nevertheless, Jefferson resigned as secretary of state and soon after Hamilton resigned as secretary of the treasury. The rival groups and their points of view moved further apart.

**The Election of 1796**

In the presidential election of 1796, candidates sought office for the first time as members of rival political parties. To prepare for the election, the Federalists and the Republicans held meetings called **caucuses**. At the caucuses, members of Congress and other leaders chose their parties' candidates for office.


In the end, Adams received 71 electoral votes, winning the election. Jefferson finished second with 68 votes. Under the provisions of the Constitution at that time, the person with the second-highest number of electoral votes became vice president. Jefferson, therefore, became the new vice president. The administration that took office on March 4, 1797, had a Federalist president and a Republican vice president.

**Reading Check**

**Explaining** How did members of opposing parties become president and vice president in the election of 1796?
President John Adams

Main Idea During his administration, President John Adams faced a dispute with France and the issue of states’ rights at home.

History and You Do you think you should be free to say or write anything you want about the government? Read to find out why the Federalists passed laws restricting freedom of speech.

John Adams spent most of his life in public service. One of Massachusetts’s most active patriots, he later became ambassador to France and to Great Britain and served two terms as vice president under Washington.

The XYZ Affair

When Adams became president, he inherited the dispute with France. The French regarded the 1794 Jay’s Treaty as an American attempt to help the British in their war with France. To punish the United States, the French seized American ships that carried cargo to Britain.

In the fall of 1797, Adams sent a delegation to Paris to try to resolve—the dispute. French foreign minister Charles de Talleyrand, however, refused to meet with the Americans. Instead, Talleyrand sent three agents who demanded a bribe and a loan for France from the Americans. “Not a sixpence,” the Americans replied and sent a report of the incident to the United States. Adams was furious. He referred to the three French agents as X, Y, and Z. Adams urged Congress to prepare for war. The incident became known as the XYZ affair.

Alien and Sedition Acts

As public anger rose against France, Americans became more suspicious of aliens—immigrants living in the country who were not citizens. Many Europeans who came to the United States in the 1790s supported the ideals of the French Revolution.

The Alien and Sedition Acts

Naturalization Act

Required that aliens be residents for 14 years instead of 5 years before they became eligible for U.S. citizenship

Alien Acts

Allowed the president to imprison aliens and to send those he considered dangerous out of the country

Sedition Act

Made it a crime to speak, write, or publish “false, scandalous, and malicious” criticisms of the government

Why they were passed

The Federalist-controlled Congress wanted to:

• strengthen the federal government.
• silence Republican opposition.

Results

• Discouraged immigration and led some foreigners already in the country to leave
• Convicted 10 Republican newspaper editors who had criticized the Federalists in government

Reaction

• Opposition to Federalist party grows
• Led to movement to allow states to overturn federal laws
Some Americans questioned whether these aliens would remain loyal if the United States went to war with France.

Federalists responded with strict laws to protect the nation’s security. In 1798 they passed a group of measures known as the **Alien and Sedition Acts**. Sedition refers to activities aimed at weakening the established government. The Alien Act allowed the president to imprison aliens, or send those considered dangerous out of the country.

**Domestic and Foreign Affairs**

In response to the Alien and Sedition Acts, Republicans looked to the states to preserve people’s liberties by standing up to what they regarded as Federalist tyranny. Madison and Jefferson drafted documents of protest that the Virginia and Kentucky legislatures passed.

The **Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions** of 1798 and 1799 claimed that the Alien and Sedition Acts violated the Constitution. Therefore, they could not be put into action. The Kentucky Resolutions further suggested that states might **nullify**—legally overturn—federal laws considered unconstitutional.

The resolutions supported the **principle**, or basic idea, of **states’ rights**. This principle stated that the powers of the federal government should be limited to those clearly assigned to it by the Constitution. The states should have all other powers not expressly forbidden to them. The issue of states’ rights would remain an important issue.

To help themselves politically, the Federalists urged Adams to declare war on France. Adams, however, refused to rush to war. Instead, he appointed a new commission to seek peace with France.

In 1800 the French agreed to a treaty and stopped their attacks on American ships. The agreement with France was in the best interest of the United States. However, it hurt Adams’s chance for reelection. Rather than applauding the agreement, Hamilton and his supporters now opposed their own president. The Federalists were split. Republican prospects for capturing the presidency were now greatly improved. The road was clear for Thomas Jefferson in the election of 1800.

### Section 3 Review

**Vocabulary**

1. Write sentences to demonstrate your understanding of the following words. You may combine two or more words in a sentence: partisan, implied powers, caucus, resolve, alien, sedition, nullify, principle, states’ rights.

**Main Ideas**

2. **Discussing** How did the Federalists and the Republicans view the role of ordinary people in government?

3. **Explaining** Why did some Americans feel threatened by the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts?

4. **Comparing** How did Jefferson’s views about the Constitution’s implied powers differ from the views of Alexander Hamilton?

**Critical Thinking**

5. **Expository Writing** Write a paragraph explaining, in your own words, how Adams tried to avoid war with France.

6. **Making Connections** Use a diagram like the one below to summarize each event and explain how it influenced the next one.

7. **Answer the Essential Question**

How did the Federalist and Republican Parties form, and on what issues did they disagree?
Chapter 8

Visual Summary

Precedents Set by Washington Administration
- Separation of powers
- Strong and independent national court system
- Limits on government's powers (Bill of Rights)
- Use of force to maintain social order
- Neutrality in foreign affairs

Challenges Faced by Washington and Adams Administrations
- Management of the national debt
- Debate over national taxes and protective tariffs
- Conflicts with Europeans and Native Americans in the West
- Role of ordinary people in government
- Pressure to end neutrality in British-French wars
- States' rights versus the power of the federal government

Viewpoints Held by New Political Parties

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