REVIEW AND TEST QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE

1. The chapter introduction tells the story of the controversial whiskey tax of 1791 to make the point that:
   a. most Americans at this time did not think that the new government under the Constitution would last.
   b. there were underlying uncertainties about whether the new government could really unite such a diverse people.
   c. such displays of violence were the most acceptable manner of influencing public opinion in the new country.
   d. Federalists supported the Constitution, but Republicans opposed it.
   (pp. 228-229)

2. In the late 1700s, the American population was doubling nearly every 20 years, primarily because of:
   a. accelerating immigration, increasingly from Ireland.
   b. the longevity of women.
   c. the absorption of new peoples as new territories were acquired.
   d. an extremely high birth rate.
   (pp. 230-231)

3. Which of the following divisions between Americans helps explain how they felt about the Constitution and what party they were more likely to identify with?
   a. semi-subsistence farmers and those tied to a commercial economy
   b. mainstream religious groups and those professing dissenting faiths
   c. northern and southern states and territories
   d. eastern states and western territories
   (pp. 231-232)

4. Crèvecoeur celebrated an American society:
   a. of relative equality of wealth and status.
   b. that was materialistic in its values.
   c. that was rooted in practical religious faith.
   d. whose members were self-sufficient individualists.
   (pp. 231-232)

5. Characteristics of the commercial economy that differed from the semi-subsistence barter economy included all EXCEPT:
   a. availability of relatively cheap transportation.
   b. dominance of manufacturing over farming.
   c. inequality in the distribution of wealth.
   d. more materialistic and acquisitive values.
   (pp. 232-235)

6. Indian economies with which new Americans came into contact were primarily:
   a. based on hunting and gathering.
   b. based on semi-subsistence agriculture like whites.
   c. based on trade with distant Indian tribes.
   d. none of the above.
   (p. 232)
7. As the new government was launched, supporters of the Constitution recognized that ____________, but their hopeful loyalty rested on ____________.
   a. the document was flawed; the amending process
   b. they were engaged in a risky undertaking; the virtue and vigilance of the people
   c. they had created a masterpiece of political inventiveness; the strength of the state governments, not the untried federal structure
   d. historically republics failed; George Washington
      (pp. 235-236)

8. All of the following measures were passed in the first months of the First Congress in 1789 EXCEPT:
   a. organization of the executive departments of the federal government.
   b. organization of the judicial branch of the federal government.
   d. submission of a Bill of Rights to the states.
      (pp. 236-237)

9. Which of the following civil liberties was NOT spelled out in the Bill of Rights?
   a. rights of assembly and petition
   b. freedom of religion
   c. limits on states infringing upon individual rights
   d. limits on courts and legal authorities infringing upon individual rights
      (p. 237)

10. What would prove to be the crucial importance of the Bill of Rights in America’s future?
    a. It strengthened the power of the federal government.
    b. It defined the concept of personal liberty in the United States.
    c. It set critical limitations on personal liberty.
    d. It paved the way for the creation of state-supported churches in the United States.
       (pp. 237-238)

11. Several goals underlay Alexander Hamilton’s financial proposals, including all EXCEPT:
    a. stimulating the essentially virtuous nature of ordinary citizens who could take advantage of new economic opportunities.
    b. stimulating commerce and manufacturing through the power and positive actions of the national government.
    c. winning the loyalty of the wealthy to the national government.
    d. making the U.S. as a whole independent of European control by strengthening it economically.
       (pp. 237-239)

12. Hamilton proposed to define the national debt in a way that increased what the nation had to pay. What two pressing financial problems did this seek to solve?
    a. bartering and localism
    b. a trade deficit and a tax revolt
    c. no central bank and no budget management
    d. revenue and credit
       (pp. 237-239)

13. After organizing the government, the First Congress turned its attention to Alexander Hamilton’s economic proposals and enacted all of them EXCEPT:
    a. a tariff.
    b. a national bank.
    c. a provision that the judiciary should decide the constitutionality of regulating the economy.
    d. a procedure whereby the national government should pay off both its own debt and the combined debt of the States.
       (pp. 237-241)
14. Which of the following does NOT accurately complete this statement? The first political parties arose:
   a. despite the fundamental hostility to the idea of parties among political leaders.
   b. because of opposition to Hamilton’s programs.
   c. in an atmosphere where each party thought the other was out to subvert the republic.
   d. after John Adams became president.
   (pp. 239-241)

15. Opponents to Hamilton’s program raised a number of charges, including all EXCEPT:
   a. it violated the idea of a broad or loose construction of the Constitution.
   b. it clashed with the interests and values of the agrarian, semisubsistence regions.
   c. it threatened to lead to English-style monarchism and corruption.
   d. it threatened to create a class of monied aristocracy.
   (p. 239)

16. Federal Indian policy stressed:
   a. reserving small tracts of land for friendly tribes.
   b. purchasing land by treaties negotiated with individual tribes.
   c. letting the wave of settlers, protected by the Army, gradually push the tribes off their ancestral lands.
   d. exterminating the Indians by armed force.
   (pp. 241-242)

17. Which accomplishment in foreign policy during the Federalist period did most toward gaining access to the Mississippi River and New Orleans?
   a. the military campaigns of General Wayne
   b. Jay’s treaty with Britain
   c. Pinckney’s treaty with Spain
   d. the 1800 peace agreement with France
   (p. 242)

18. Which of the following contributed to the emergence of true popular political parties in the U.S.?
   a. Because of widespread property ownership, the nation had a broad suffrage.
   b. Politicians had to offer a program attractive to a broad voter public.
   c. Political parties became the means by which a large electorate made its feelings known.
   d. All of the above.
   e. None of the above.
   (pp. 243-246)

19. How did foreign policy issues accelerate the emergence of political parties in the U.S.?
   a. The French schemed to set up a friendly faction within the U.S. government.
   b. Divided over whether France represented republicanism or monarchy, the two sides came to suspect the worst intentions of the other and organized parties against each other.
   c. Pinckney’s Treaty so blatantly met the interests of the commercial areas against the interests of the semisubsistence sector that the leaders of agrarian America rallied around the treaty fight and founded a party.
   d. With both sides violating American neutral rights, the party that exploited American anger and fought for American rights was able to win the election of 1800.
   (pp. 243-244)

20. As war broke out in Europe, the Washington administration:
   a. used the war to foster closer economic ties with Britain.
   b. honored the Treaty of 1778 by supporting France.
   c. asserted the right to steer a path of neutrality.
   d. placed an embargo on all goods to Europe.
   (p. 244)
21. Jay’s Treaty:
   a. officially ended the alliance with France.
   b. removed restrictions on American trade with British colonies.
   c. was rejected by the Senate because it gave up too much to Spain.
   d. secured the evacuation of British troops from the Northwest.
   (p. 245)
22. Washington’s farewell address:
   a. warned against the dangers of a powerful military.
   b. warned against the dangers of parties and called for a restoration of unity in the national political system.
   c. supported the political ideology of Jefferson and Madison.
   d. called on Americans to assume the responsibilities for active world leadership.
   (pp. 246-247)
23. Jefferson’s Republican Party:
   a. appealed to workers in cities and others tied to the commercial economy.
   b. sought to overturn the federal system and restore a unitary central government.
   c. appealed to fears of commerce and urbanization.
   d. articulated a conceptual framework that understood both the party in power and the loyal opposition as legitimate
   (pp. 247-248)
24. The Federalist Party:
   a. wanted a weak government in order to promote economic individualism.
   b. opposed a republican form of government.
   c. wanted to aid subsistence farmers by printing paper money.
   d. wanted to use government power to promote commerce and industry.
   (pp. 247-248)
25. Charles Willson Peale’s museum was significant because:
   a. its displays of natural phenomena expressed republican ideals of order and harmony.
   b. its exhibits of Revolutionary War memorabilia offered witness to America’s battle for liberty.
   c. it persuaded European intellectuals that America had a legitimate culture.
   d. it exemplified the harsh and bitter political atmosphere of the 1790s.
   (p. 250)
26. In dealing with French insults and violations of American rights, President John Adams:
   a. conducted an undeclared naval war on the high seas.
   b. resisted calls for war.
   c. all of the above.
   d. none of the above.
   (pp. 248-249)
27. In the XYZ affair:
   a. England agreed to abandon the forts in the Northwest.
   b. French officials demanded a bribe to open negotiations with the United States.
   c. Adams broke with his party and sent a new peace commission to France.
   d. the United States agreed to end the Quasi-War.
   (pp. 248-249)
28. The Alien and Sedition acts were used primarily:
   a. to weaken the Republican party.
   b. to criticize the president.
   c. against immigrants and aliens.
   d. against French- and Spanish-sponsored intrigue.
   (pp. 249-252)
29. According to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, when the government exceeded its powers, who had the power to intervene?
   a. the states
   b. the Supreme Court
   c. the chief executive
   d. the people, in a national referendum
   (p. 252)

30. In its years in power, the Federalist party:
   a. promoted the geographic expansion of the U.S.
   b. promoted democracy by appealing to the people.
   c. made the Constitution work to achieve national power and stability.
   d. was responsible for the breakdown of national unity and the rise of special interests.
   (pp. 253-255)

IDENTIFICATION QUESTIONS
Students should be able to describe the following key terms, concepts, individuals, and places, and explain their significance:

**Terms and Concepts**
- funding and assumption: Tariff
- Bank of the United States: Jay’s Treaty
- implied powers: enumerated powers
- Pinckney’s Treaty: Washington’s Farewell Address
- Bill of Rights: Whiskey Rebellion
- Quasi-War: XYZ Affair
- Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions: Judiciary Act of 1789
- Washington’s proclamation of neutrality: Alien and Sedition Acts

**Individuals and Places**
- Alexander Hamilton: Thomas Jefferson
- John Jay: Citizen Genêt
- Benjamin Franklin: Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur
- John Adams: James Madison
- Aaron Burr

**ESSAY QUESTIONS (INTERPRETIVE)**
1). Compare and contrast the major Federalist stances on the most important issues of the time.
2). Give Washington and Adams letter grades (A,B, etc) assessment of their respective presidencies. Be sure to thoroughly justify your assessment based on domestic and foreign policy. (Also, make sure you thoroughly assess the Whiskey Rebellion).
3). Analyze sources of foreign policy crisis between the U.S. and -Great Britain
   -France
   -Native Americans
4). Based on YOUR politics, do you believe that Hamilton’s financial plan of funding and assumption would be disastrous or prosperous for the nation in 1790? Be sure to outline his plan, and then compare his plan to your present day beliefs had you lived in 1790.
AP QUESTION:
1). Analyze the contributions of TWO of the following in helping establish a stable government after the adoption of the Constitution.
- John Adams
- Thomas Jefferson
- George Washington

PRIMARY SOURCE: HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON ON THE EMERGENCE OF PARTIES*

In 1792, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson both reflected on the emergence of political parties during Washington’s first term. Writing to a close friend, Hamilton defended his policies and expressed his resentment of Jefferson’s and Madison’s opposition. Jefferson’s defense of his position, criticizing Hamilton’s program, was prompted by a letter from Washington deploving the conflict between his two advisers and urging greater moderation on both sides. The excerpt from Hamilton is first:

“It was not till the last session [of Congress] that I became unequivocally convinced of the following truth—
“That Mr. Madison, cooperating with Mr. Jefferson, is at the head of a faction decidedly hostile to me and my administration and actuated by views, in my judgment subversive of the principles of good government and dangerous to the union, peace and happiness of the Country.”

Mr. Jefferson...manifests his dislike of the funding system generally, calling in question the expediency of funding a debt at all....In the question concerning the Bank [of the United States] he not only delivered an opinion in writing against its constitutionality and expediency, but he did it in a style and manner which I felt as partaking of asperity and ill humor towards me....

In respect to foreign politics, the views of these gentlemen [Jefferson and Madison] are in my judgment equally unsound and dangerous. They have a womanish attachment to France and a womanish resentment against Great Britain. They would draw us into the closest embrace of the former and involve us in all the consequences of her politics, and they would risk the peace of the country in their endeavors to keep us at the greatest possible distance from the latter....The Neutral and Pacific Policy appear to me to mark the true path to the United States....

I am told serious apprehensions are disseminated in your state as to the existence of a Monarchical party meditating the destruction of State and Republican Government....I assure you, ... there is not in my judgment a shadow of foundation of it....As to my own political Creed, ... I am affectionately attached to the Republican theory. I desire above all things to see the equality of political rights exclusive of all hereditary distinction firmly established by a practical demonstration of its being consistent with the order and happiness of society....I acknowledge the most serious apprehensions that the Government of the United States will not be able to maintain itself against their [the states’] influence....Hence, a disposition on my part towards a liberal construction of the powers of the National Government....As to any combination to prostrate the State Governments I disavow and deny it....

On the whole, the only enemy which Republicanism has to fear in this Country is the spirit of faction and anarchy. If this will not permit the ends of Government to be attained under it—if it engenders disorders in the community, all regular and orderly minds will wish for a change, and the demagogues who have produced the disorder will make it for their own aggrandizement. This is the old Story.

From Alexander Hamilton to Edward Carrington, May 26, 1792

That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the treasury, I acknowledge and avow, and this was not merely a speculative difference. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty, and was calculated to undermine and demolish the republic, by creating an influence of his department over the members of the legislature. I saw this influence actually produced, and its first fruits to be the establishment of the great outlines of his project by the votes of the very persons who, having swallowed his bait...had nothing in view but to enrich themselves....

If what was actually doing begat uneasiness in those who wished for virtuous government, what was further proposed was not less threatening to the friends of the Constitution. For, in a Report on the subject of manufactures...it was expressly assumed that the general government has a right to exercise all powers

* From Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, September 9, 1791.
which may be for the general welfare....The object of these plans taken together is to draw all the powers of government into the hands of the general legislature, to establish means for corrupting a sufficient corps in that legislature to...preponderate...and to have that corps under the command of the Secretary of the Treasury for the purpose of subverting step by step the principles of the constitution, which he has so often declared to be a thing of nothing which must be changed.

No man is more ardently intent to see the public debt soon and sacredly paid off than I am. This exactly marks the difference between Colonel Hamilton's views and mine, that I would wish the debt paid tomorrow, he wishes it never to be paid, but always to be a thing where with to corrupt and manage the legislature....

Such views might have justified some thing more than mere expressions of dissent, beyond which, nevertheless, I never went. Has abstinence from the department committed to me been equally observed by him?...In the case of the two nations with which we have the most intimate connections, France and England, my system was to give some satisfactory distinctions to the former, of little cost to us, in return for the solid advantages yielded us by them; and to have met the English with some restrictions which might induce them to abate their severities against our commerce....Yet the Secretary of the treasury, by his cabals with members of the legislature, and by high-toned declamation on other occasions, has forced down his own system, which was exactly the reverse....

...My objection to the constitution was that it wanted a bill of rights...Colonel Hamilton's was that it wanted a king and house of lords. The sense of America has approved my objection and added the bill of rights, not the king and lords....He wishes the general government should have power to make laws binding the states in all cases whatsoever. Our country has thought otherwise: has he acquiesced?...

Questions

1. What reasons does Hamilton give for his differences with Jefferson? Does Jefferson list the same reasons in explaining their conflict?

2. What values and principles do Hamilton and Jefferson share in common? On what principles do they differ?

3. Why does Jefferson emphasize the issue of funding? What does this question mean to Jefferson? What is its meaning for Hamilton?

4. Do you think personal rivalry within the cabinet played a role in the estrangement of Hamilton and Jefferson? What elements of the letters’ rhetoric indicate the bitterness of their feelings? Why, then, do they emphasize fundamental questions of principle in their letters?

EXCERPT FROM WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

Friends and Citizens:

..............................

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed to weaken in your
minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rival ships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.
In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the General Government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. 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 and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.
There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another a habitual hatred or a habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding, with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils? Such an attachment of a small or weak towards a great and powerful nation dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots who may resist the intrigues of the favorite are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.
The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop. Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none; or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing (with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

QUESTIONS:
1). Washington warned the American People against two things in this written address?

2). Find an example in history where the United States did not follow Washington’s warning concerning foreign entanglements and large standing militaries.

3). List three events that Washington eludes to in this address.
4). What did Washington think about Political (Party)ies? Based on his assessment, do you think he is correct today?

5). Select your most prophetic Washington Quote-10 words or less.