

Madison were for the Constitution; but Jefferson and Henry were opposed. Not until the 25th of June did her convention declare for adoption, and then only by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine. It was now clear that the new government would be organized, and this fact was brought to bear as a powerful argument in favor of adoption by the convention at Poughkeepsie. The hope that New York city would be the seat of the Federal government also acted as a motive, and a motion to ratify was finally carried, July 27th, 1788. Only Rhode Island and North Carolina persisted in their refusal. But in the latter State a new convention was called, and on the 13th of November, 1789, the Constitution was formally adopted. As to Rhode Island, her pertinacity was in inverse ratio to her importance. At length Providence and Newport seceded from the commonwealth; the question of dividing the territory between Massachusetts and Connecticut was raised, and the refractory member at last yielded by adopting the Constitution, May 29th, 1790. Then, for the first time, the English-speaking race in the New World was united under a common government—strong enough for safety, liberal enough for freedom.

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and a resolution of Congress, the first Wednesday of January, 1789, was named as the time for the election of a chief magistrate. The people had but one voice as to the man who should be honored with that trust. Early in April the ballots of the electors were counted in the presence of Congress, and George Washington was unanimously chosen President and John Adams Vice-President of the United States. On the 14th of the month Washington received notification of his election, and departed for New York. His route thither was a constant triumph. Maryland welcomed him at Georgetown. Philadelphia by her executive council, the trustees of her university, and the officers of the Cincinnati, did him honor. How did the people of Trenton exult in the presence of the hero who twelve years before had fought their battle! There over the bridge of the Assanpink they built a triumphal arch, and girls in white ran before, singing and strewing the way with flowers. At Elizabethtown he was met by the principal officers of the government and welcomed to the capital where he was to become the first chief magistrate of a free and grateful people. With this auspicious event the period of revolution and confederation ends, and the era of nationality in the New Republic is ushered in. Long and glorious be the history of that Republic; bought with the blood of patriots, and consecrated in the sorrows of our fathers!

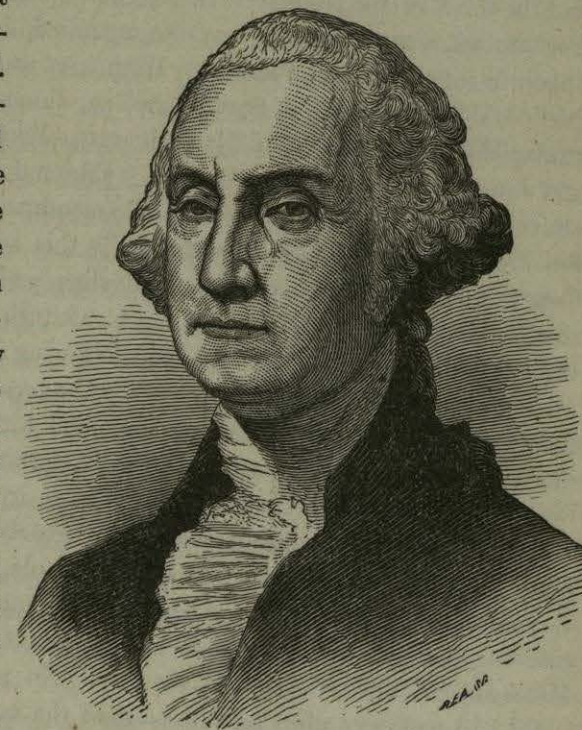
PART V. NATIONAL PERIOD.

A. D. 1789—1882.

CHAPTER XLVI.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION, 1789—1797.

ON the 30th of April, 1789, Washington was duly inaugurated first President of the United States. The new government was to have gone into operation on the 4th of March, but the event was considerably delayed. The inaugural ceremony was performed on the balcony of the old City Hall, on the present site of the Custom-House, in Wall street. Chancellor Livingston of New York administered the oath of office. The streets and house-tops were thronged with people; flags fluttered; cannon boomed from the Battery. As soon as the public ceremony was ended, Washington retired to the Senate chamber and delivered his inaugural address. The organization of the two houses of Congress had already been effected.



WASHINGTON.

The new government was embarrassed with many difficulties. The opponents of the Constitution were not yet silenced, and from the beginning they caviled at the measures of the administration. By the treaty of 1783 the free navigation of the Mississippi had been guaranteed. Now the jealous Spaniards of New Orleans hindered the passage of American ships. The people of the West looked to the great river as the natural outlet of their commerce; they must be protected in their rights. On many parts of the frontier the malignant Red men were still at war with the settlers. As to financial credit, the United States had none. In the very beginning of his arduous duties Washington was prostrated with sickness, and the business of government was for many weeks delayed.

Not until September were the first important measures adopted. On the 10th of that month an act was passed by Congress instituting a department of foreign affairs, a treasury department and a department of war. As members of his cabinet Washington nominated Jefferson, Knox and Hamilton; the first as secretary of foreign affairs; the second, of war; and the third, of the treasury. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, a supreme court was also organized, John Jay receiving the appointment of first chief-justice. With him were joined as associate justices John Rutledge of South Carolina, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, William Cushing of Massachusetts, John Blair of Virginia, and James Iredell of North Carolina. Edmund Randolph was chosen attorney-general. Many constitutional amendments were now brought forward, and ten of them adopted. By this action on the part of Congress, the objections of North Carolina and Rhode Island were removed and both States ratified the Constitution, the former in November of 1789 and the latter in the following May.

On the 29th of September, 1789, Congress adjourned until the following January, and Washington availed himself of the opportunity thus offered to make a tour of the Eastern States. Accompanied by his secretaries, he set out in his carriage from New York on the 15th of October, and nine days afterward reached Boston. At every point on the route the affection of the people, and especially of the Revolutionary veterans, burst out in unbounded enthusiasm. On reaching Boston the President was welcomed by Governor John Hancock and the selectmen of the city. No pains were spared that could add to the comfort and pleasure of the new nation's chief magistrate. After remaining a week among the scenes associated with his first command of the American army, he proceeded to Portsmouth and thence returned with improved health and peace of mind by way of Hartford to New York.

In the first months of his administration Washington was much vexed about questions of ceremony and etiquette. How should he appear in public? How often? What kind of entertainment should he give? Who should be invited? What title should he bear? And in what manner be introduced? In these matters there was no precedent to guide him; for who had ever held such a station before? He must not, on the one hand, demean himself like a king, surrounded with peers and courtiers, nor, on the other hand, must he degrade his high office by such blunt democratical ceremonies as would render himself ridiculous and the Presidency contemptible. In his embarrassment Washington sought the advice of Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, and others in regard to a suitable etiquette and ceremonial for the Republican court. Adams in answer would have much ceremony; Jefferson, none at all. The latter said: "I hope that the terms Excellency, Honor, Worship, Esquire, and even Mr. shall shortly and forever disappear from among us." Hamilton's reply favored a moderate and simple formality; and this view was adopted by Washington as most consistent with the new frame of government. In the meantime Congress had declared that the chief magistrate should have no title other than that of his office; namely, President of the United States. So with ceremonies few and simple the order of affairs in the presidential office was established.

The national debt, however, was the greatest and most threatening question; but the genius of Hamilton triumphed over every difficulty. The indebtedness of the United States, including the revolutionary expenses of the several States, amounted to nearly eighty millions of dollars. Hamilton adopted a broad and honest policy. His plan, which was laid before Congress at the beginning of the second session, proposed that the debt of the United States due to American citizens, as well as the war debt of the individual States, should be assumed by the general government, *and that all should be fully paid*. By this measure the credit of the country was vastly improved, even before actual payment was begun. As a means of augmenting the revenues of the government a duty was laid on the tonnage of merchant-ships, with a discrimination in favor of American vessels; and customs were levied on all imported articles. Hamilton's financial schemes were violently opposed; but his policy prevailed, and the credit of the government was soon firmly established.

The proposition to assume the debts of the States had been coupled with another to fix the seat of government. After much discussion it was

agreed to establish the capital for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterward at some suitable locality on the Potomac. The next important measure was the organization of the territory south-west of the Ohio. In the autumn of 1790 a war broke out with the Miami Indians. Fort Washington, on the present site of Cincinnati, had been established as the capital of the North-western Territory; and General St. Clair had received the appointment as governor. The Indians had fairly relinquished their rights to the surrounding country; but other tribes came forward with pretended claims, and went to war to recover their lost possessions. At the close of September, General Harmar, with fourteen hundred troops, set out from Fort Washington to chastise the hostile Miamis. After destroying several villages and wasting the country as far as the Maumee, he divided his army into detachments. Colonel Hardin, who commanded the Kentucky volunteers, was ambuscaded and his forces routed at a village eleven miles from Fort Wayne; and on the 21st of October the main division was defeated with great loss at the Maumee Ford. General Harmar was obliged to abandon the Indian country and retreat to Fort Washington.

In the beginning of 1791 an act was passed by Congress establishing THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. The measure originated with the secretary of the treasury, and was violently opposed by Jefferson and the anti-federal party. About the same time Vermont, which had been an independent territory since 1777, adopted the Constitution, and on the 18th of February was admitted into the Union as the fourteenth State. The claim of New York to the jurisdiction of the province had been purchased, two years previously, for thirty thousand dollars. The first census of the United States, completed for the year 1790, showed that the population of the country had increased to three million nine hundred and twenty-nine thousand souls.

After the defeat of Harmar the government adopted more vigorous measures for the repression of Indian hostilities. On the 6th of September, 1791, General St. Clair, with an army of two thousand men, set out from Fort Washington to break the power of the Miami confederacy. On the night of November 3d he reached a point nearly a hundred miles north of Fort Washington, and encamped on one of the upper tributaries of the Wabash, in what is now the south-west angle of Mercer county, Ohio. On the following morning at sunrise his camp was suddenly assailed by more than two thousand warriors, led by Little Turtle and several American renegades who had joined the Indians. After a terrible battle of three hours' duration, St. Clair was completely defeated with a loss of fully half his men. The fugitive militia retreated pre-

cipitately to Fort Washington, where they arrived four days after the battle. The news of the disaster spread gloom and sorrow throughout the land. When the tidings reached Philadelphia the government was for a while in consternation. For once the benignant spirit of Washington gave way to wrath. "Here," said he in a tempest of indignation,—“HERE, in this very room, I took leave of General St. Clair. I wished him success and honor. I said to him, 'You have careful instructions from the secretary of war, and I myself will add one word—*beware of a surprise*. You know how the Indians fight us. BEWARE OF A SURPRISE!' He went off with that, my last warning, ringing in his ears. And yet he has suffered that army to be cut to pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked by a surprise,—the very thing I guarded him against! How can he answer to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him,—the curse of widows and orphans!” Mr. Lear, the secretary, in whose presence this storm of wrath burst forth, sat speechless. Presently Washington grew silent. “What I have uttered must not go beyond this room,” said he in a manner of great seriousness. Another pause of several minutes ensued, and then he continued in a low and solemn tone: “I looked at the despatches hastily and did not note all the particulars. General St. Clair shall have justice. I will receive him without displeasure,—*he shall have full justice*.” Notwithstanding his exculpation by a committee of Congress, poor St. Clair, overwhelmed with censures and reproaches, resigned his command and was superseded by General Wayne, whom the people had named Mad Anthony.

The population of the Territory of Kentucky had now reached seventy-three thousand. Only seventeen years before, Daniel Boone, the hardy hunter of North Carolina, had settled with his companions at Boonesborough. Harrodsburg and Lexington were founded about the same time. During the Revolution the pioneers were constantly beset by the savages. After the expedition of General Clarke, in 1779, the frontier was more secure; and in the years following the treaty thousands of immigrants came annually. In the mean time, Virginia had relinquished her claim to the territory; and on the 1st of June, 1792, Kentucky was admitted into the Union. At the presidential election, held in the autumn of the same year, Washington was again unanimously chosen; as Vice-President, John Adams was also re-elected.

During Washington's second administration the country was greatly troubled in its relations with foreign governments. Europe was in an uproar. The French Revolution of 1789 was still running

its dreadful course. After three years of unparalleled excesses, the Jacobins of France had beheaded the king and abolished the monarchy. Citizen Genet was sent by the new French republic as minister to the United States. On his arrival at Charleston, and on his way to Philadelphia, he was greeted with unbounded enthusiasm. Taking advantage of his popularity, the ambassador began to abuse his authority, fitted out privateers to prey on the commerce of Great Britain, planned expeditions against Louisiana, and, although the President had already issued a proclamation of neutrality, demanded an alliance with the government. Washington and the cabinet firmly refused; and the audacious minister threatened to *appeal to the people*. In this outrageous conduct he was sustained and encouraged by the anti-Federal party, and for a while the government was endangered. But Washington stood unmoved, declared the course of the French minister an insult to the sovereignty of the United States, and demanded his recall. The republican authorities of France heeded the demand, and Genet was superseded by M. Fouchet.

The President was also much embarrassed by dissensions in his cabinet. From the beginning of his first official term the secretaries of state and the treasury had maintained towards each other an attitude of constant hostility. They had gradually become the heads of rival parties in the government. Hamilton's financial measures were attacked with vehement animosity by Jefferson; and the policy of the latter in his relations and duties as secretary of foreign affairs was the subject of much bitter criticism from the former's scathing pen. The breach between the rivals grew wider and wider. Washington's influence was barely sufficient to prevent the breaking up of his cabinet. So great were the abilities and so valuable the experience of the two secretaries that the services of neither could be spared without serious detriment to the government. Both officers were patriots, and both had insisted on Washington's reelection to the Presidency. After that event, however, Jefferson, in January of 1794, resigned his office and retired to private life at Monticello. A year later Hamilton also retired from the cabinet and was succeeded by Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut.

During the summer and autumn of 1794 the country was much disturbed by a difficulty in Western Pennsylvania known as the whisky insurrection. Hoping to improve the revenues of the government, Congress had, three years previously, imposed a tax on all ardent spirits distilled in the United States. While Genet was at Philadelphia, he and his partisans incited the people of the distilling regions to resist the tax-

collectors. The disaffected rose in arms. Washington issued two proclamations, warning the insurgents to disperse; but instead of obeying, they fired upon and captured the officers of the government. The President then ordered General Henry Lee to enter the rebellious district with a sufficient force to restore order and enforce the law. When the troops reached the scene of the disturbance, the rioters had already scattered. The insurrection was a political rather than a social outbreak: the anti-Federalists were in a majority in the distilling region, and the whisky-tax was a measure of the Federal party.

Meanwhile, General Wayne had broken the Miami confederacy. In the fall of 1793 he entered the Indian country with a force of three thousand men. Reaching the scene of St. Clair's defeat, he built a stockade named Fort Recovery, and then pressed on to the junction of the Au Glaize and the Maumee, in Williams county, Ohio. Here he built and garrisoned Fort Defiance. Descending the Maumee to the rapids, he sent proposals of peace to the Indians, who were in council but a few miles distant. Little Turtle, more wise than the other chiefs, would have made a treaty; but the majority were for battle. On the 20th of August Wayne marched against the savages, overtook them where the present town of Waynesfield stands, and routed them with terrible losses. The relentless general then compelled the humbled chieftains to purchase peace by ceding to the United States all the territory east of a line drawn from Fort Recovery to the mouth of the Great Miami River. This was the last service of General Wayne. Remaining for a while in the Indian country, he embarked on Lake Erie to return to Philadelphia. In December of 1796 he died on board the vessel, and was buried at Presque Isle.

The conduct of Great Britain toward the United States became as arrogant as that of France was impudent. In November of 1793 George III. issued secret instructions to British privateers to seize all neutral vessels that might be found trading in the French West Indies. The United States had no notification of this high-handed measure; and American commerce to the value of many millions of dollars was swept from the sea by a process differing in nothing from highway robbery. But for the temperate spirit of the government the country would have been at once plunged into war. Prudence prevailed over passion; and in May of 1794 Chief-Justice Jay was sent as envoy extraordinary to demand redress of the British government. Contrary to expectation, his mission was successful; and in the following November an honorable treaty was concluded. The terms of settlement, however, were exceedingly distasteful to the partisans of France in America, and they

determined to prevent its ratification. Every argument and motive which ingenuity or prejudice could supply was eagerly paraded before the people to excite their discontent. Public meetings were held and excited orators harangued the multitudes. In New York a copy of the treaty was burned before the governor's mansion. In Philadelphia there was a similar proceeding; and the whole country was in an uproar. Washington, however, believing the treaty to be just in its main provisions, and earnestly desiring that war might be avoided, favored ratification. The majority in the Senate remained unmoved, and finally in the latter part of June, 1795, the terms of settlement were duly ratified, and signed by the President. It was specified in the treaty that Great Britain should make ample reparation for the injuries done by her privateers, and surrender to the United States certain Western posts which until now had been held by English garrisons. Thus was the threatened war averted.

In October of 1795 the boundary between the United States and Louisiana was settled by a treaty with Spain. The latter country at the same time guaranteed to the Americans the free navigation of the Mississippi. Less honorable was the treaty made with the kingdom of Algiers. For a long time Algerine pirates had infested the Mediterranean, preying upon the commerce of civilized nations; and those nations, in order to purchase exemption from such ravages, had adopted the ruinous policy of paying the dey of Algiers an annual tribute. In consideration of the tribute the dey agreed that his pirate ships should confine themselves to the Mediterranean, and should not attack the vessels of such nations as made the payment. Now, however, with the purpose of injuring France, Great Britain winked at an agreement with the dey by which the Algerine sea-robbers were turned loose on the Atlantic. By their depredations American commerce suffered greatly; and the government of the United States was obliged to purchase safety by paying the shameful tribute.

In the summer of 1796, Tennessee, the third new State, was organized and admitted into the Union. Six years previously North Carolina had surrendered her claims to the territory, which at that time contained a population of thirty-five thousand; and within five years the number was more than doubled. The first inhabitants of Tennessee were of that hardy race of pioneers to whom the perils of the wilderness are as nothing provided the wilderness is free. By the addition of the two States south-west of the Ohio more than eighty-three thousand square miles of territory were brought under the dominion of civilization.

Nothing in history is more surprising than the ascendancy which

Washington, unto the end of his official career, continued to exercise over the minds of his countrymen. In the House of Representatives, during the last two sessions, there had been a clear majority against him and his policy; and yet the House continued its support of his measures. Even the provisions necessary to carry into effect the hated treaty with Great Britain were made by that body, though the vote was close. So powerful were the President's views in determining the actions of the people that Jefferson, writing to Monroe at Paris, said: "Congress has adjourned. You will see by their proceedings the truth of what I always told you, namely, that one man outweighs them all in influence over the people, who support his judgment against their own and that of their representatives. Republicanism resigns the vessel to its pilot."

Washington was solicited to become a candidate for a third election to the presidency; but he would not. His resolution had already been made to end his public career. With the Father of his Country the evening of life drew on, and rest was necessary. Accordingly, in September of 1796, he issued to the people of the United States his Farewell Address—a document crowded with precepts of political wisdom, prudent counsels, and chastened patriotism.* As soon as the President's determination was made known the political parties marshaled their forces and put forward their champions, John Adams appearing as the candidate of the Federal, and Thomas Jefferson of the anti-Federal party. Antagonism to the Constitution, which had thus far been the chief question between the parties, now gave place to another issue—whether it was the true policy of the United States to enter into intimate relations with the republic of France. The anti-Federalists said, *Yes!* that all republics have a common end, and that Great Britain was the enemy of them all. The Federalists said, *No!* that the American republic must mark out an independent course among the nations, and avoid all foreign alliances. On that issue Mr. Adams was elected, but Mr. Jefferson, having the next highest number of votes, became Vice-President; for according to the old provision of the Constitution, the person who stood second on the list was declared the second officer in the government.

* See Appendix G.