

TAKE-HOME TEST
60 POINTS

DIRECTIONS: In answer to the following question, you are to construct a coherent essay that integrates your analysis of Documents A through J **AND** your knowledge of the period in referenced in the questions. High scores may be earned **only** by answers that both rely upon key pieces of evidence contained in the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

Citation to documents is essential: use this form (Doc ____). **Your answer should be NO MORE than 4 pages, double spaced, times new roman, 12-point font, one inch margins all around**

QUESTION: How did the differences between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton define the Period between 1789 and 1800?

DOCUMENT A

Thomas Jefferson, "The Importance of Agriculture" from Notes on the State of Virginia (1784)

In this famous passage, Jefferson voices his confidence in yeomen farmers and his fear of the influence of industry.

The political economists of Europe have established it as a principle that every state should endeavor to manufacture for itself; and this principle, like many others, we transfer to America, without calculating the difference of circumstance which should often produce a difference of result.

In Europe the lands are either cultivated, or locked up against the cultivator. Manufacture must therefore be resorted to of necessity, not of choice, to support the surplus of their people. But we have an immensity of land courting the industry of the husbandman. Is it best then that all our citizens should be employed in its improvement, or that one half should be called off from that to exercise manufactures and handicraft arts for the other? Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if he ever had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue.... Dependence begets subservience and venality, suffocates the germ of virtue, and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition....

While we have land to labor then, led us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a workbench, or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons, smiths, are wanting in husbandry; but, for the general operations of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe. It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there than bring them to the provisions and materials, and with them their manners and principles. The loss by the transportation of commodities across the Atlantic will be made up in happiness and permanence of government. The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and the spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the hearts of its laws and constitution.

DOCUMENT B

Alexander Hamilton, "Report on the Subject of Manufactures" (1791)

In the following report to Congress, Alexander Hamilton, President Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, sets forth the advantages of a manufacturing system, and he forecasts the changes which later came with the growth of industry.

The expediency of encouraging manufactures in the United States... appears at this time to be generally admitted. The embarrassments which have obstructed the progress of our external trade, have led to serious reflections on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of our domestic commerce.... [Other nations regulations against our agricultural produce] beget an earnest desire that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home...

[Both the manufacturer and the farmer] furnishes a certain portion of produce of his labor to the other, and each destroys a corresponding portion of the produce of the labor of the other. In the meantime, the maintenance of two citizens, instead of one, is going on; the State has two members instead of one; and they, together, consume twice the value of what is produced from the land....

It may be inferred that manufacturing establishments not only occasion a positive augmentation of the produce and revenue of the society, but that they contribute essentially to rendering them greater than they could possibly be without those establishments....

[Increasing manufacturing encourages all of the following benefits]....

3. [Manufacturing institutions] afford occasional and extra employment to industrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote... [their leisure time] as a resource for multiplying their acquisitions or their enjoyments. The husbandman himself experiences a new source of profit and support from the increased industry of his wife and daughters, invited and stimulated by the demands of the neighboring manufactories.... Women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments....

4. [Many] would probably flock from Europe to the United States to pursue their own trades and professions....

5. There is, in the genius... of this country, a particular aptitude for mechanic improvements, it would operate as a forcible reason for giving opportunities to the exercise of that species of talent, by the propagation of manufactures. . . .

7. [This] is the principle means by which the establishment of manufactures contributes to an augmentation of produce or revenue of a country, and has an immediate and direct relation to the prosperity of agriculture. . . .

The foregoing considerations seem sufficient to establish, as general propositions, that it is the interest of nations to diversify the industrious pursuits of the individuals who compose them; that the establishment of manufactures is calculated not only to increase the general stock of useful and productive labor, but to improve the state of agriculture in particular, - certainly to advance the interests of those who are engaged in it....

DOCUMENT C

Thomas Jefferson "Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank of the United States" (1791)

There were only three banks in the entire country when Alexander Hamilton, in 1790, proposed the Bank of the United States to be modeled on the Bank of England. It would be a private institution under strict governmental supervision, and it would be useful to the United States Treasury in issuing notes, in safeguarding surplus tax money, and in facilitating numerous public financial transactions. President Washington questioned whether creating a bank was constitutional or whether it was an unconstitutional abuse of Congressional powers. Before signing the bank bill, Washington solicited the views of some of his cabinet members. The opinion of Jefferson, given below, elicited a rebuttal from Hamilton, which is the following document.

I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid on this ground-- that all powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states, or to the people. (10th Amendment). To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specifically drawn around the powers of Congress is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition.

The incorporation of a bank, and the powers assumed by this bill, have not, in my opinion, been delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

It would reduce the whole instrument to a single phrase, that of instituting a Congress with power to do whatever would be for the good of the United States; and, as they would be the sole judges of the good or evil, it would be also a power to do whatever evil they please.

The second general phrase is "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers." But they can all be carried into execution without a bank. A bank therefore is not necessary, and consequently not authorized by this phrase.

It has been much urged that a bank will give great facility or convenience in the collection of taxes. Suppose this were true; yet the Constitution allows only the means which are "necessary," not those which are merely "convenient," for effecting the enumerated powers. If such a latitude of construction be allowed to this phrase as to give it any non-enumerated power, it [the latitude] will go to for every one; for there is not one [power] which ingenuity may not torture into a convenience, in some instance or another, to some one of so long a list of enumerated powers. It would swallow up all the delegated powers [of the states], and reduce the whole to one power, as before observed. Therefore it was that the Constitution restrained them to the necessary means, that is to say, to those means without which the grant of power would be nugatory [illusory]. . . Can it be thought that the Constitution intended that for a shade or two of convenience, more or less, Congress should be authorized to break down the most ancient and fundamental laws of the several States. . .

DOCUMENT D

Alexander Hamilton, "Opinion on the Constitutionality of the Bank of the United States" (1791)

Hamilton supported the bank and defended its constitutionality from Jefferson's attacks.

If the end be clearly comprehended within any of the specified powers, and if the measure have an obvious relation to that end, and is not forbidden by any provision of the Constitution, it may safely be deemed to come within the compass of national authority.

There is also this further criterion, which may materially assist the decision: Does the proposed measure abridge a pre-existing right of any state or of any individual? If it does not, there is a strong presumption in favor of its constitutionality...

... "Necessary" often means no more than needful, requisite, incidental, useful, or conducive to... [A] restrictive interpretation of the word "necessary" is also contrary to the sound maxim of construction, namely, that the powers contained in a constitution... ought to be construed liberally in advancement of the public good.

A hope is entertained that it has, by this time, been made to appear to the satisfaction of the President, that a bank has a natural relation to the power of collecting taxes--to that of regulating trade--doe that of providing for the common defense--and that, as the bill under consideration contemplates the government in the light of a joint proprietor of the stock of the bank, it brings the case within the provision of the clause of the Constitution which immediately respects [relates to] the property of the United States [Evidently Article IV, Sec. III, para. 2: "The Congress shall have the power to... make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States..."]

DOCUMENT E

George Washington to Thomas Jefferson, August 23, 1792

(Private)

Mount Vernon, August 23, 1792.

* * *

How unfortunate, and how much is it to be regretted then, that whilst we are encompassed on all sides with avowed enemies and insidious friends, that internal dissensions should be harrowing and tearing our vitals. The last, to me, is the most serious, the most alarming, and the most afflicting of the two. And without more charity for the opinions and acts of one another in Governmental matters, or some more infallible criterion by which the truth of speculative opinions, before they have undergone the test of experience, are to be forejudged than has yet fallen to the lot of fallibility, I believe it will be difficult, if not impracticable, to manage the Reins of Government or to keep the parts of it together: for if, instead of laying our shoulders to the machine after measures are decided on, one pulls this way and another that, before the utility of the thing is fairly tried, it must, inevitably, be torn asunder. And, in my opinion the fairest prospect of happiness and prosperity that ever was presented to man, will be lost, perhaps for ever!

My earnest wish, and my fondest hope therefore is, that instead of wounding suspicions, and irritable charges, there may be liberal allowances, mutual forbearances, and temporising yieldings on *all sides*. Under the exercise of these, matters will go on smoothly, and, if possible, more prosperously. Without them every thing must rub; the Wheels of Government will clog; our enemies will triumph, and by throwing their weight into the disaffected Scale, may accomplish the ruin of the goodly fabric we have been erecting.

I do not mean to apply these observations, or this advice to any particular person, or character. I have given them in the same general terms to other Officers of the Government; because the disagreements which have arisen from difference of opinions, and the Attacks wch. have been made upon almost all the measures of government, and most of its Executive Officers, have, for a long time past, filled me with painful sensations; and cannot fail I think, of producing unhappy consequences at home and abroad.

DOCUMENT F

Hamilton's views on the French Revolution Date Unknown

...The cause of France is compared with that of America during its late revolution. Would to heaven that the comparison were just. Would to heaven we could discern in the mirror of French affairs the same humanity, the same decorum, the same gravity, the same order, the same dignity, the same solemnity, which distinguished the cause of the American Revolution Clouds and darkness would not then rest upon the issue as they now do. I own I do not like the comparison.

...There was a time when all men in this country entertained the same favorable vies of the French Revolution. At the present time, they all still unite in the wish that the troubles of France may terminate in the establishment of a free and good government; and dispassionate, wee-informed men must equally unite in the doubt whether this be likely to take place under the auspices of those who now govern... that country. But agreeing in these two points, there is a great and serious diversity of opinion as to the real merits and probable issue of the French Revolution.

DOCUMENT G

The Alien and Sedition Acts, 1798

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall write, print, utter, or shall cause of procure to be written, printed, uttered or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering of r publishing And false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or the bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the constitution of the United

States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

DOCUMENT H
The Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99
(Jefferson)

The representatives of the good people of this commonwealth [of Kentucky], in General Assembly convened, have maturely considered the answers of sundry states in the Union, to [the ongoing debate and discussion of]... certain unconstitutional laws of Congress, commonly called the Alien and Sedition Laws, would be faithless, indeed, to themselves and to those they represent, were they silently to acquiesce in the principles and doctrines attempted to be maintained.... Our opinions of these alarming measures of the general government, together with our reasons for those opinions, were detailed with decency, and with temper and submitted to the discussion and judgment of our fellow-citizens throughout the Union.... Faithful to the true principles of the federal Union, unconscious of any designs to disturb the harmony of that Union, and anxious only to escape the fangs of despotism, the good people of this commonwealth are regardless of censure or calumny. Lest, however, the silence of this commonwealth should be construed into an acquiescence in the doctrines and principles advanced... therefore,

Resolved, That this commonwealth considers the federal Union, upon the terms and for the purposes specified in... [the Constitution], conducive to the liberty and happiness of the several states: That it does now unequivocally declare its attachment to the Union, and to that compact... and will be among the last to seek its dissolution: That if those who administer the general government be permitted to transgress the limits fixed by that compact [the Constitution], by a total disregard to the special delegations of power therein contained, an annihilation of the state governments... will be the inevitable consequence: [That the construction of the Constitution argued for by many] state legislatures, that the general government is the exclusive judge of the extent of the powers delegated to it, stop not short of despotism - since the discretion of those who administer the government, and not the Constitution, would be the measure of their powers: That the several states who formed that instrument [the Constitution] being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of the infraction; and, That a nullification of those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts done under the color of that instrument is the rightful remedy: That this commonwealth does, under the most deliberate reconsideration, declare, that the said Alien and Sedition Laws are, in their opinion, palpable violations of the said Constitution.... although this commonwealth, as a party to the federal compact, will bow to the laws of the Union, yet, it does at the same time declare, that it will not now, or ever hereafter, cease to oppose in a constitutional manner, every attempt at what quarter soever offered, to violate that compact.... This commonwealth does now enter against [the Alien and Sedition Acts] in solemn PROTEST.

DOCUMENT I

New Hampshire's Responses to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1799)

Every State from Maryland north replied to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, rejecting the constitutional principles set forth by Jefferson and Madison. The following is a brief excerpt of the response of the legislatures of New Hampshire.

New Hampshire Resolution on the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (June 1799):

The legislature of New Hampshire unequivocally expresses a firm resolution to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States... against every aggression, either foreign or domestic....

The state legislatures are not the proper tribunals to determine the constitutionality of the laws of the general government... the duty of such decision is properly and exclusively confided in the judicial department.

If the legislature of New Hampshire, for mere speculative purposes were to express an opinion on the... Alien and Sedition Bills, that opinion would unreservedly be that those acts are constitutional.

DOCUMENT J

Thomas Jefferson, "First Inaugural Address" (1801)

Some historians call the election of 1800, the Revolution of 1800. It marked the first transfer of power from one political party - the elitist Federalists led by John Adams - to another - the more democratic Democratic-Republicans (referred to as the Republicans) led by Thomas Jefferson . Jefferson delivered the following address upon being sworn in the nation's third president.

[The results of the election of 1800] now decided by the voice of the nation, announced according to the rules of the Constitution, all will, of course arrange themselves under the will of the law, and unite in common efforts for the common good. All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possesses their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression. Let us, then, fellow citizens, unite with one heart and one mind. Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things. And let us reflect that, having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions.... Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. I know, indeed, that some honest men fear that a republican government cannot be strong, that this Government is not strong enough; but would

the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm on the theoretic and visionary fear that this Government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? I trust not. I believe this, on the contrary, the strongest Government on earth. I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern. . .

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