

The
**HISTORIAN'S
APPRENTICE**

Jefferson vs. Hamilton

Two Visions of a Nation

Sourcing
Contextualizing
Finding Bias
Corroborating
Interpreting

Students learn the historian's craft by
analyzing primary and secondary sources

MindSparks
CHALLENGING STUDENTS TO THINK HISTORICALLY

Jefferson vs. Hamilton

Two Visions of a Nation

by Jonathan Burack

Each unit in *The Historian's Apprentice* series deals with an important historical topic. It introduces students to a five-step set of practices designed to simulate the experience of being a historian and make explicit all key phases of the historian's craft.

The Historian's Apprentice: A Five-Step Process

1. Reflect on Your Prior Knowledge of the Topic

Students discuss what they already know and how their prior knowledge may shape or distort the way they view the topic.

2. Apply Habits of Historical Thinking to the Topic

Students build background knowledge on the basis of five habits of thinking that historians use in constructing accounts of the past.

3. Interpret the Relevant Primary Sources

Students apply a set of rules for interpreting sources and assessing their relevance and usefulness.

4. Assess the Interpretations of Other Historians

Students learn to read secondary sources actively, with the goal of deciding among competing interpretations based on evidence in the sources.

5. Interpret, Debate, and Write About the Topic Yourself

Students apply what they have learned by constructing evidence-based interpretations of their own in a variety of ways.



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Teacher Introduction

★ *Teaching the Historian's Craft*

The goal of *The Historian's Apprentice* units is to expose students in a manageable way to the complex processes by which historians practice their craft. By modeling what historians do, students will practice the full range of skills that make history the unique and uniquely valuable challenge that it is.

Modeling the historian's craft is not the same as being a historian—something few students will become. Therefore, a scaffolding is provided here to help students master historical content in a way that will be manageable and useful to them.

Historical thinking is not a simple matter of reciting one fact after another, or even of mastering a single, authoritative account. It is disciplined by evidence, and it is a quest for truth; yet, historians usually try to

clarify complex realities and make tentative judgments, not to draw final conclusions. In doing so, they wrestle with imperfect sets of evidence (the primary sources), detect multiple meanings embedded in those sources, and take into account varying interpretations by other historians. They also recognize how wide a divide separates the present from earlier times. Hence, they work hard to avoid present-mindedness and to achieve empathy with people who were vastly different from us.

In their actual practice, historians are masters of the cautious, qualified conclusion. Yet they engage, use their imaginations, and debate with vigor. It is this spirit and these habits of craft that *The Historian's Apprentice* seeks to instill in students.

★ *The Historian's Apprentice: Five-Steps in Four Parts*

The Historian's Apprentice is a five-step process. However, the materials presented here are organized into four parts. Part I deals with the first two of the five steps of the process. Each of the other three parts then deals with one step in the process. Here is a summary of the four parts into which the materials are organized:

Teacher Introduction. Includes suggested day-by-day sequences for using these materials, including options for using the PowerPoint presentations. One sequence is designed for younger students and supplies a page of vocabulary definitions.

Part 1. A student warm-up activity, an introductory essay, a handout detailing a set of habits of historical thinking, and two PowerPoint presentations (*Five Habits of Historical Thinking* and *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation*). Part 1 (including the PowerPoints) deals with *The Historian's Apprentice* Steps 1 and 2.

Part 2. A checklist for analyzing primary sources, several primary sources, and worksheets for analyzing them. Part 2 deals with *The Historian's Apprentice* Step 3.

Part 3. Two secondary source passages and two student activities analyzing those passages. Part 3 deals with *The Historian's Apprentice* Step 4.

Part 4. Two optional follow-up activities enabling students to write about and/or debate their own interpretations of the topic. Part 4 deals with *The Historian's Apprentice* Step 5.

★ Suggested Five-Day Sequence

Below is one possible way to use this *Historian's Apprentice* unit. Tasks are listed day by day in a sequence taking five class periods, with some homework and some optional follow-up activities.

PowerPoint Presentation: *Five Habits of Historical Thinking*. This presentation comes with each *Historian's Apprentice* unit. If you have used it before with other units, you need not do so again. If you decide to use it, incorporate it into the **Day 1** activities. In either case, give students the “Five Habits of Historical Thinking” handout for future reference. Those “five habits” are as follows:

- History Is Not the Past Itself
- The Detective Model: Problem, Evidence, Interpretation
- Time, Change, and Continuity
- Cause and Effect
- As They Saw It: Grasping Past Points of View

Warm-Up Activity. Homework assignment: Students do the *Warm-Up Activity*. This activity explores students’ memories and personal experiences shaping their understanding of the topic.

Day 1: Discuss the *Warm-Up Activity*, then either have students read or review the “Five Habits of Historical Thinking” handout, or use the *Five Habits* PowerPoint presentation.

Homework assignment: Students read the background essay “Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation.”

Day 2: Use the second PowerPoint presentation, *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation*, to provide an overview of the topic for this lesson. The presentation applies the Five Habits of Historical Thinking to this topic. Do the two activities embedded in the presentation.

Homework assignment: Students read the “Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist.” The checklist teaches a systematic way to handle sources:

- Sourcing
- Contextualizing
- Interpreting meanings
- Point of view
- Corroborating sources

Day 3: In class, students study some of the ten primary source documents and complete “Source Analysis” worksheets on them. They use their notes to discuss these sources. (Worksheet questions are all based on the concepts on the “Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist.”)

Day 4: In class, students complete the remaining “Source Analysis” worksheets and use their notes to discuss these sources. Take some time to briefly discuss the two secondary source passages students will analyze next.

Homework assignment: Student read these two secondary source passages.

Day 5: In class, students do the two “Secondary Sources” activities and discuss them. These activities ask them to analyze the two secondary source passages using four criteria:

- Clear focus on a problem or question
- Position or point of view
- Use of evidence or sources
- Awareness of alternative explanations

Follow-Up Activities (optional, at teacher’s discretion).

Do as preferred: the DBQ Essay Assignment and/or the Structured Debate.

★ Suggested Three-Day Sequence

If you have less time to devote to this lesson, here is a suggested shorter sequence. The sequence does not include the PowerPoint presentation *Five Habits of Historical Thinking*. This presentation is included with each *Historian's Apprentice* unit. If you have never used it with your class, you may want to do so before following this three-day sequence.

The three-day sequence leaves out a few activities from the five-day sequence. It also suggests that you use only six key primary sources. However, it still walks students through the steps of the *Historian's Apprentice* approach: clarifying background knowledge, analyzing primary sources, comparing secondary sources, and debating or writing about the topic.

Warm-Up Activity. Homework assignment: Ask students to read or review the “Five Habits of Historical Thinking” handout and read the background essay “Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation.”

Day 1: Use the PowerPoint presentation *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation*. It provides an overview of the topic for this lesson by applying the Five Habits of Historical Thinking to it. Do the two activities embedded in the presentation.

Homework assignment: Students read or review the “Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist.” The checklist teaches a systematic way to handle sources.

Day 2: In class, students study some of the ten primary source documents and complete “Source Analysis” worksheets on them. They then use their notes to discuss these sources. Documents 1, 3, 4, 8, and 10 are suggested.

You may wish to make your own choices of primary sources. Use your judgment in deciding how many of them your students can effectively analyze in a single class period.

Homework assignment: Student read the two secondary source passages.

Day 3: In class, students do the two “Secondary Sources” activities and discuss them. These activities ask them to analyze the two secondary source passages using four criteria.

Follow-Up Activities (optional, at teacher's discretion):

Do as preferred: the DBQ Essay Assignment and/or the Structured Debate.

★ *Suggestions for Use with Younger Students*

For younger students, parts of this lesson may prove challenging. If you feel your students need a somewhat more manageable path through the material, see the suggested sequence below.

If you want to use the *Five Habits of Historical Thinking* PowerPoint presentation, this sequence takes four class periods. If you do not use this PowerPoint, you can combine **Day 1** and **Day 2** and keep the sequence to just three days. We suggest using six primary sources only. The ones listed for **Day 3** are less demanding in terms of vocabulary and conceptual complexity. For **Day 4**, we provide some simpler DBQs for the follow-up activities.

Vocabulary: A list of vocabulary terms in the sources and the introductory essay is provided on page 7 of this booklet. You may wish to hand this sheet out as a reading reference, you could make flashcards out of some of the terms, or you might ask each of several small groups to use the vocabulary sheet to explain terms found in one source to the rest of the class.

SUGGESTED FOUR-DAY SEQUENCE

Warm-Up Activity. Homework assignment: Students do the Warm-Up Activity. This activity explores students' memories and personal experiences shaping their understanding of the topic.

Day 1: Discuss the Warm-Up Activity. Show the *Five Habits of Historical Thinking* PowerPoint presentation (unless you have used it before and/or you do not think it is needed now). If you do not use this PowerPoint presentation, give students the "Five Habits of Historical Thinking" handout and discuss it with them.

Homework assignment: Ask students to read the background essay "Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation."

Day 2: Use the PowerPoint presentation *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation*. This introduces the topic for the lesson by applying the Five Habits of Historical Thinking to it. Do the two activities embedded in the presentation.

Homework assignment: Students read or review the "Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist." The checklist offers a systematic way to handle sources.

Day 3: Discuss the "Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist" and talk through one primary source document in order to illustrate the meaning of the concepts on the checklist. Next, have students complete "Source Analysis" worksheets after studying primary source documents 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, and 10.

Homework assignment: Students read the two secondary source passages.

Day 4: Students do *only* "Secondary Sources: Activity 2" and discuss it. This activity asks them to choose the two primary sources that best back up each secondary source passage.

Follow-Up Activities (optional, at teacher's discretion):

Do as preferred: the DBQ Essay Assignment and/or the Structured Debate.

Here are some alternative DBQs tailored to the six primary sources recommended here:

"Jefferson had great faith in the people, but Hamilton was more realistic about them." Explain why you do or do not agree with this statement.

Did Hamilton or Jefferson have the more accurate idea of how America would grow and change over time? Explain your answer.

Vocabulary: The Introductory Essay

- **agrarian:** Relating to a farming way of life
- **anarchy:** A chaotic condition in which all government or order is done away with
- **aristocratic:** Exclusive; having to do with an elite that inherits its rank and power
- **elite:** The group with greatest wealth, power, or social prestige or status
- **Enlightenment:** In this case, the 18th-century celebration of reason and tolerance in social life
- **mercantile:** Having to do with merchants and commercial activity
- **ratify:** Give something final approval
- **subsidy:** A grant or gift of money, often to aid some activity seen as desirable
- **tariff:** A fee or tax imposed on imports

Vocabulary: The Primary Sources

- **Anti-Federalist:** Name for those opposed to the strong government created by the Constitution
- **construction:** In this case, the interpretation made of a phrase or statement
- **depredations:** Attacks
- **“discharge a debt”:** To pay a debt off
- **executive:** Leader or branch of government that executes the laws and manages the government
- **expedients:** In this case, the means by which some goal can be accomplished
- **faction:** In this case, a small group united to seek some political goal or advantage
- **Federalist:** Name for those who favored the Constitution’s strong federal government
- **implicate:** Become involved with
- **posterity:** Future generations
- **prodigious:** Huge or enormous
- **requisite:** Required or necessary
- **reveries:** Daydreams or imagined ideal states
- **subversive:** Tending to overturn or destroy something, particularly a government
- **symmetry:** A harmonious and regular form between corresponding parts
- **The Federalist:** Essays by Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay in support of the Constitution
- **unequivocally:** Without any doubts; clearly and firmly
- **vehement:** Very forceful or determined.

Vocabulary: The Secondary Sources

- **“consolidating usurpations”:** Ruthless and unfair actions to centralize power
- **constitution:** A written or well-understood set of rules for running a government
- **deference:** Respectful submission to or regard for someone
- **dependency:** A condition of being obligated to or dependent on someone else
- **hegemony:** Predominant influence or authority
- **hierarchies:** Systems in which individuals or groups are ranked one above the other
- **implacable:** Unmovably determined
- **implicit:** Implied, rather than stated directly or explicitly
- **impracticable:** Not practical, unworkable
- **insurgency:** A rebellion or insurrection
- **“invidious appellations”:** Harsh or unfair names or labels
- **legitimacy:** The quality of appearing entitled, lawful, or proper
- **monarchical:** Having to do with monarchy, or rule by kings and queens
- **nullification:** In this case, declaring an act of government illegal and unenforceable
- **patronage:** In this case, government jobs or other favors an official can grant
- **“political leveling”:** Actions to equalize rights or conditions between different groups
- **purge:** Remove entirely
- **reactionary:** In this case, reacting against or opposing social and political change
- **“strict construction”:** A very restricted and literal interpretation of clauses in the Constitution
- **“thinly veiled”:** Just barely hidden

Part 1: Jefferson vs. Hamilton—Providing the Context

Note to the teacher: The next pages provide materials meant to help students develop a clear picture of who Jefferson and Hamilton were and why their views are an important historical topic. The materials also seek to teach students the Five Habits of Historical Thinking.

This section includes the following:

- **PowerPoint presentation: *The Five Habits of Historical Thinking***

This presentation illustrates five habits of thought or modes of analysis that guide historians as they construct their secondary accounts of a topic. These Five Habits are not about skills used in analyzing primary sources. (Those are dealt with more explicitly in a handout in the next section.) These Five Habits are meant to help students see history as a way of thinking, not as the memorizing of disparate facts and pre-digested conclusions. The PowerPoint uses several historical episodes as examples to illustrate the Five Habits. In two places, it pauses to ask students to do a simple activity applying one of the habits to some of their own life experiences.

If you have used this PowerPoint with other *Historian's Apprentice* units, you may not need to use it again here.

- **Handout: “The Five Habits of Historical Thinking”**

This handout supplements the PowerPoint presentation. It is meant as a reference for students to use as needed. If you have used other *Historian's Apprentice* units, your students may only need to review this handout quickly.

- **Warm-Up Activity**

A simple exercise designed to help you see what students know about Jefferson and Hamilton what confuses them, or what ideas they may have absorbed about these men from popular culture, friends and family, etc. The goal is to alert them to their need to gain a clearer idea of the past and be critical of what they think they already know. (Jefferson's photo is on the left, Hamilton's on the right; the words quoted in one question are from the Declaration of Independence, whose main author was Jefferson).

- **Introductory essay: “Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation”**

The essay provides enough basic background information on the topic to enable students to assess primary sources and conflicting secondary source interpretations. At the end of the essay, students get some points to keep in mind about the nature of the sources they will examine and the conflicting secondary source interpretations they will debate.

- **PowerPoint presentation: *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation***

This PowerPoint presentation reviews the topic for the lesson and shows how the Five Habits of Historical Thinking can be applied to a clearer understanding of it. At two points, the presentation calls for a pause and prompts students to discuss some aspects of their prior knowledge of the topic. The proposed sequences suggest using this PowerPoint presentation *after* assigning the introductory essay, but you may prefer to reverse this order.

Warm-Up Activity

What Do You Know About Jefferson and Hamilton?

This lesson deals with the differences between two of the nation's founders, Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. Whenever you start to learn something about a time in history, it helps to think first of what you already know about it, or think you know. You probably have impressions, or you may have read or heard things about it already. Some of what you know may be accurate. You need to be ready to alter your fixed ideas about this time as you learn more about it. This is what any historian would do. To do this, take some notes in response to the questions below these two photographs.



Which of these men is Jefferson and which is Hamilton? What else do you know about each of them?

Which of them is most closely associated with these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." What else do you know about these words and the document they come from?

Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation

The United States was born in a revolt against Great Britain (1775–1783). It united firmly under the U.S. Constitution, written in 1787 and ratified by 1788. The men who led the nation through these times are called the “Founding Fathers,” or just the “Founders.” They are often described as unique, likeminded, far-seeing, wise, and courageous leaders. In some ways, they were these things, yet this idealized view often leaves out their flaws and mistakes. It also leaves out much that makes them colorful and human. It suggests as well that they all had a shared vision of the nation’s future.

However, these men did not all agree. Moreover, their disagreements set the terms of debates that continue even now. The specifics have changed over time, yet these debates still echo today. Of no clash is this truer than that between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton.

Jefferson was the key author of the Declaration of Independence, with its soaring phrases about equality and rights, and its deep faith in individual liberty as the central principle of the young republic. Jefferson was a wealthy Virginia planter, a slaveowner who agonized about the evils of slavery but never acted on the issue. He was a gifted writer whose other talents ranged from architecture, art, science, and mathematics to literature and education. He was America’s greatest Enlightenment figure. He was a polished gentleman whose hilltop mansion Monticello gave him as wide a view of the Virginia foothills as his mind gave him of the world beyond those foothills.

As aristocratic as Jefferson was, however, his faith was in the ordinary farmers who made up 95% of America. These were the independent citizens whose virtue Jefferson thought could be counted on to keep America free. In his view, this agrarian spirit and way of life would spread the nation’s glorious civilization westward. It would keep America from adopting evils he saw as having corrupted Europe—terrible poverty, dangerous cities, and all-powerful governments in the hands of wealthy landed and merchant elites. To guard against such evils, Jefferson championed the rights of the states

in order to keep the new federal government in check. While he backed the Constitution and its federal system, he opposed any effort to expand its powers and use them to build the sort of powerful nation-state he feared.

This fear explains a good deal about his distrust of Alexander Hamilton. In a way, Hamilton was the typical American self-made man. An illegitimate child and an immigrant from the West Indies, he came to America as a boy. He rose rapidly, training as a lawyer, and marrying into the wealthy Schuyler family. As an aide-de-camp to George Washington at Valley Forge during the Revolution, he won Washington’s admiration. As the nation’s first president, Washington chose Hamilton for the important post of Secretary of the Treasury. He chose Jefferson as Secretary of State. It was within Washington’s administration in the 1790s that the two men came to know and dislike each other intensely.

Hamilton’s vision of America’s future differed starkly from Jefferson’s. Whereas Jefferson looked to the farms and the frontier, Hamilton looked to the urban mercantile interests of the seaports. Hamilton saw businesses, merchants, manufacturing, and a vast commercial diversity as the sure means by which the nation could grow and remain a strong, free republic. Hamilton saw a powerful, efficient central government, not state governments, as key to this future. He had no faith in the virtue of the people, believing that everyone acted in their own self-interest.

Since the government especially needed the support of the wealthy and powerful, it had to appeal to their self-interest first. This idea explains Hamilton’s program. He called for the federal government to assume all the debts from the Revolution, including those owed by the states. By agreeing to pay these debts off over time, at full value, and with interest, the federal government would give wealthy bondholders a permanent stake in the federal system. Through Hamilton’s proposed Bank of the United States, the government could get an easy way to manage this debt. The bank also expanded

the supply of reliable money that businesses needed to expand. Hamilton proposed tariffs and subsidies to encourage manufacturing growth as well.

Jefferson and Hamilton also differed on foreign policy. Jefferson supported the French Revolution. He opposed having standing armies at home. Both views reflected his faith in individual liberty and his mistrust of centralized power. Hamilton feared anarchy and wanted order and national strength. He favored a strong military. He also believed that, despite the past, Great Britain's commercial strength and its sea power would make it, not France, a natural ally for America in the future.

The two men also sparred over the Constitution. Hamilton favored a very broad interpretation of the clause that allowed Congress to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" for carrying out its specific powers. Jefferson viewed the term "necessary" literally, as limiting government only

to the bare minimum needed to carry out those powers. In this way, the two men set the terms of debates on constitutional interpretation that have raged ever since.

The clash between Jefferson and Hamilton laid the foundation for the first two main political parties, Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans versus the Federalists who backed Hamilton. Since then, America has normally had some kind of two-party division of its political life. The Founders themselves never expected or wanted parties, yet parties have served a purpose. At the heart of the nation's story is an ongoing struggle between those who stress governmental efficiency, order, and "energy" (as Hamilton put it), and those who stress limited government and individual liberty. It may be that the republic needs both tendencies to thrive. In any case, they took shape first in the battles between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton.

Points to Keep in Mind

Historians' Questions

Thomas Jefferson has been greatly admired, both by citizens in general and by historians. Many historians think highly of his philosophical defense of liberty, individual natural rights, freedom of speech and press, and religious toleration. He is often depicted as the great champion of democracy and the good sense of the people. On the other hand, his agrarian, states-rights vision of the nation is sometimes seen as backward-looking and unrealistic. In recent years, his mixed feelings about slavery and a possible romantic involvement with one of his slaves have also led to some harsh criticism.

Alexander Hamilton, too, has been dealt with in various ways by historians. As the nation grew into a mighty manufacturing giant, Hamilton's programs and his vision for America came to be more widely admired. Many historians have praised his support for a strong national government, a modern industrial system, and efficiency and expertise in guiding society. Others are more critical, seeing him as a genius, but one who promoted a militarized state controlled by powerful elites and who looked down on common people and democracy.

The Primary Source Evidence

For this lesson, you will study ten primary source documents on the various aspects of the conflicts between Jefferson and Hamilton as they developed in the late 1700s. The documents illustrate their clashing views on financial matters, the Constitution, foreign affairs, and partisan politics. Together, these sources will give you evidence to make up your own mind about these two vitally important founders of the nation. The sources will also help you make some informed judgments of your own about what two historians say about this same question.

Secondary Source Interpretations

After studying and discussing the primary sources, you will read two short passages from two historians. One writes about Jefferson; the other writes about Hamilton. The two historians do not necessarily disagree—each seeks to offer an interpretation of one of these two men. You will use your own background knowledge and your ideas about the primary sources as you think about and answer some questions about the views of these two historians.

Five Habits of Historical Thinking

History is not just a chronicle of one fact after another. It is a meaningful story, or an account of what happened and why. It is written to address questions or problems historians pose. This checklist describes key habits of thinking that historians adopt as they interpret primary sources and create their own accounts of the past.

History Is Not the Past Itself

When we learn history, we learn a story about the past, not the past itself. No matter how certain an account of the past seems, it is only one account, not the entire story. The “entire story” is gone. That is, the past itself no longer exists. Only some records of events remain, and they are never complete. Hence, it is important to see all judgments and conclusions about the past as tentative or uncertain. Avoid looking for hard-and-fast “lessons” from the past. The value of history is in a way the opposite of such a search for quick answers. That is, its value is in teaching us to live with uncertainty and see even our present as complex, unfinished, open-ended.

The Detective Model: Problem, Evidence, Interpretation

Historians can’t observe the past directly. They must use evidence, just as a detective tries to reconstruct a crime based on clues left behind. In the historian’s case, primary sources are the evidence—letters, official documents, maps, photos, newspaper articles, artifacts, and all other traces from past times. Like a detective, a historian defines a very specific problem to solve, one for which evidence does exist. Asking clear, meaningful questions is a key to writing good history. Evidence is always incomplete. It’s not always easy to separate fact from opinion in it, or to tell what is important from what is not. Historians try to do this, but they must stay cautious about their conclusions and open to other interpretations of the same evidence.

Time, Change, and Continuity

History is about the flow of events over time, yet it is not just one fact after another. It seeks to understand this flow of events as a pattern. In that pattern, some things change while others hold steady over time. You need to see history as a dynamic interplay of both change and continuity together. Only by doing this can you see how the past has evolved into the present—and why the present carries with it many traces or links to the past.

Cause and Effect

Along with seeing patterns of change and continuity over time, historians seek to explain that change. In doing this, they know that no single factor causes change. Many factors interact. Unique, remarkable and creative individual actions and plans are one factor, but individual plans have unintended outcomes, and these shape events in unexpected ways. Moreover, individuals do not always act rationally or with full knowledge of what they are doing. Finally, geography, technology, economics, cultural traditions, and ideas all affect what groups and individuals do.

As They Saw It: Grasping Past Points of View

Above all, thinking like a historian means trying hard to see how people in the past thought and felt. This is not easy. As one historian put it, the past is “another country” in which people felt and thought differently, often very differently from the way we do now. Avoiding “present-mindedness” is therefore a key task for historians. Also, since the past includes various groups in conflict, historians must learn to empathize with many diverse cultures and subgroups to see how they differ and what they share in common.

Part 2: Analyzing the Primary Sources

Note to the teacher: The next pages provide the primary sources for this lesson. It is suggested that you give these to students after they read the background essay, review the “Five Habits of Historical Thinking” handout, and watch and discuss the PowerPoint presentation for the lesson.

This section includes the following:

- **Handout: *Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist***

Give copies of this handout to students and ask them to refer to it when analyzing any primary source.

- **Ten Primary Source Documents**

The Documents are as follows:

- Document 1. Account of Hamilton Speech to Constitutional Convention
- Document 2. Hamilton’s opinion of the “necessary and proper” clause
- Document 3. Part of Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia*
- Document 4. Part of Hamilton’s “Report on Manufactures”
- Document 5. Photo of Monticello
- Document 6. Illustration of Hamilton in court
- Document 7. Hamilton complaining about Jefferson to Edward Carrington
- Document 8. Hamilton letter to Lafayette on the French Revolution
- Document 9. Jefferson to William Short on the French Revolution
- Document 10. Jefferson to Elbridge Gerry on his political philosophy

- **Ten “Source Analysis” Worksheets for Analyzing the Primary Sources**

Each worksheet asks student to take notes on one source. The prompts along the side match the five categories in the “Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist.” Not every category is used in each worksheet, only those that seem most relevant to a full analysis of that source.

You may want students to analyze all of the sources. However, if time does not allow this, use those that seem most useful for your own instructional purposes.

Students can use the notes on the “Source Analysis” worksheets in discussions, as help in analyzing the two secondary sources in the next part of this lesson, and in follow-up debates, DBQs, and other activities.

Interpreting Primary Sources Checklist

Primary sources are the evidence historians use to reach conclusions and write their accounts of the past. Sources rarely have one obvious, easily grasped meaning. To interpret them fully, historians use several strategies. This checklist describes some of the most important of those strategies. Read the checklist through and use it to guide you whenever you need to analyze and interpret a primary source.

Sourcing

Think about a primary source's author or creator, how and why the primary source document was created, and where it appeared. Also think about the audience it was intended for and what its purpose was. You may not always find much information about these things. Yet whatever you can learn will help you better understand the source. In particular, it may suggest what the source's point of view or bias is, since the author's background and intended audience often shape his or her ideas and way of expressing them.

Contextualizing

"Context" refers to the time and place of which the primary source is a part. In history, facts do not exist separately from one another. They get their meaning from the way they fit into a broader pattern. The more you know about that broader pattern, or context, the more you will be able to understand about the source and its significance.

Interpreting Meanings

It is rare for a source's full meaning to be completely obvious. You must read a written source closely, pay attention to its language and tone, as well as to what it implies or merely hints at. With a visual source, all kinds of meaning may be suggested by the way it is designed, by such things as shading, camera angle, use of emotional symbols or scenes, etc. The more you pay attention to all the details, the more you can learn from a source.

Point of View

Every source is written or created by someone with a purpose, an intended audience, and a point of view or bias. Even a dry table of numbers was created for some reason, to stress some things and not others, to make a point of some sort. At times, you can tell a point of view simply by sourcing the document. Knowing an author was a Democrat or a Republican, for example, will alert you to a likely point of view. In the end, however, only a close reading of the text will make you aware of Point of View. Keep in mind, even a heavily biased source can still give you useful evidence of what some people in a past time thought. But you need to take the bias into account in judging how reliable the source's own claims really are.

Corroborating Sources

No one source tells the whole story. Moreover, no one source is completely reliable. To make reasonable judgments about an event in the past, you must compare sources to find points of agreement and disagreement. Even when there are big differences, both sources may be useful. However, the differences will also tell you something, and they may be important in helping you understand each source.

The Primary Sources for the Lesson

Document 1

Information on the source: Robert Yates, a New York delegate to the Constitutional Convention took notes on an address Alexander Hamilton made at the convention on June 18, 1787. This passage is from those notes. In it, Hamilton speaks about what was called the “Virginia Plan,” one of the key plans the convention discussed. Specifically he speaks about lengths of terms for members of the Senate. He praises the British executive (that is, the king). Hamilton did not favor monarchy; it was the king’s lifetime term in office that he saw as desirable. Yates was an Anti-Federalist who later spoke against the strong central government that the convention created.

All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and however and generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing, they seldom judge or determine right. Give therefore to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve

in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrolling disposition requires checks. The Senate of New York, although chosen for four years, we have been found to be inefficient. Will, on the Virginia plan, a continuance of seven years do it? It is admitted that you cannot have a good executive upon a democratic plan. See the excellency of the British executive [the king]. He is placed above temptation. He can have no distinct interests from the public welfare. Nothing short of such an executive can be efficient.

Document 2

Information on the source: In 1791, President Washington asked Jefferson his opinion on whether it was constitutional for the federal government to charter a Bank of the United States, as Hamilton wished. Jefferson said such a bank was unconstitutional. He referred to the part of the Constitution giving Congress the right “to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers.” He said a bank was not absolutely “necessary” to any of these powers and was therefore not constitutional. As this passage from Hamilton’s reply of February 23, 1791, shows, he strongly disagreed. Washington accepted Hamilton’s broader understanding of the “necessary and proper” clause.

It is essential to the being of the National government, that so erroneous a conception of the meaning of the word necessary, should be exploded.

It is certain, that neither the grammatical, nor popular sense of the term requires that construction. According to both, “necessary” often mean no more than

“needful,” “requisite,” “incidental,” “useful,” or “conducive to.” It is a common mode of expression to say, that it is “necessary” for a government or a person to do this or that thing, when nothing more is intended or understood, than that the interests of the government or person require, or will be promoted, by the doing of this or that thing.

Document 3

Information on the source: This passage is from Jefferson's 1781 Notes on the State of Virginia. In the passage Jefferson speaks of a "distaff," which is a staff holding yarn as it is used in spinning. His phrase "wanting in husbandry" means "needed in a farming community."

Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue... While we have land to labor then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a work-bench, or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons, smiths, are wanting in husbandry; but, for the general operations of manufacture, let our work-shops 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 spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor.

Document 4

Information on the source: These two passages are in different parts of the introduction to Hamilton's 1791 "Report on Manufactures." In this introduction, Hamilton lists several reasons why the federal government should encourage manufacturing. One is that it will expand the use of machinery. The first passage here is from that section of the report. The second passage is from a section claiming that manufacturing will increase opportunities for enterprise.

1.

The Cotton Mill, invented in England, within the last twenty years, is a signal illustration of the general proposition [that manufacturing promotes machinery better than agriculture does] . . . In consequence of it, all the different processes for spinning Cotton are performed by means of Machines, which are put in motion by water, and attended chiefly by women and Children . . . And it is an advantage of great moment that the operations of this mill continue with convenience during the night as well as through the day. The prodigious effect of such a Machine is easily conceived. To this invention is to be attributed essentially the immense progress, which has been so suddenly made in Great Britain, in the various fabrics of cotton.

2.

To cherish and stimulate the activity of the human mind, by multiplying the objects of enterprise, is not among the least considerable of the expedients, by which the wealth of a nation may be promoted. Even things in themselves not positively advantageous, sometimes become so, by their tendency to provoke exertion. Every new scene, which is opened to the busy nature of man to rouse and exert itself, is the addition of a new energy to the general stock of effort.

The spirit of enterprise, useful and prolific as it is, must necessarily be contracted or expanded in proportion to the simplicity or variety of the occupations and productions, which are to be found in a Society. It must be less in a nation of mere cultivators, than in a nation of cultivators and merchants; less in a nation of cultivators and merchants, than in a nation of cultivators, artificers, and merchants.

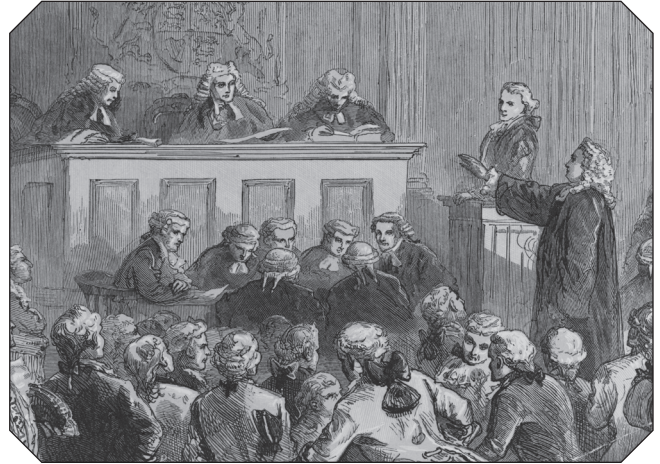
Document 5

Information on the source: This is a photo of Jefferson's estate, Monticello. Monticello is near Charlottesville, Virginia, at the top of an 850-foot peak. ("Monticello" is Italian for "little mountain.") Jefferson himself designed the home using a style derived from the work of 16th-century Italian architect Andrea Palladio. This "Palladian" style stressed the formal symmetry of the classical temples and other buildings of the ancient Greeks and Romans.



Document 6

Information on the source: After the Revolutionary War, Hamilton began a law practice in New York City. This illustration, created at a much later time, shows Alexander Hamilton addressing three judges with others looking on in courtroom.



Document 7

Information on the source: Edward Carrington was a friend of Hamilton's when they both served on Washington's staff during the Revolution. These two passages are from a letter Hamilton wrote to Carrington on May 26, 1792. In it, he explained his fears about Jefferson, as well as his anger at James Madison. Madison and Hamilton wrote most of the essays in *The Federalist*. However, by 1792, Madison was leading the opposition to Hamilton's plans in Congress.

It was not 'till the last session 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 . . .

In respect to our foreign politics the views of these gentlemen are in my judgment equally unsound & 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 & involve us in all the consequences of her politics, & they would risk the peace of the country in their endeavors to keep us at the greatest possible distance from the latter.

Document 8

Information on the source: Hamilton fought under the Marquis de Lafayette, the famous French general who aided the colonists during the American Revolution. Lafayette was in France when the French Revolution broke out in 1789. On October 6, 1789, Hamilton wrote to Lafayette expressing his fears about that upheaval. Lafayette supported the French Revolution, but when it turned more violent, he fled France in 1791 and was imprisoned by the Austrians. By the “refractoriness” of the nobles, Hamilton means their stubbornness. In calling some politicians “mere speculatists,” he seems to mean that they are concerned with ideas, not practical realities.

As a friend to mankind and to liberty I rejoice in the efforts which you are making to establish it [France's Revolution] while I fear much for the final success of the attempts, for the fate of those I esteem who are engaged in it, and for the danger. . . . If your affairs still go well, when this reaches you, you will ask why this foreboding of ill, when all the appearances have been so much in your favor. I will tell you; I dread disagreements among those who are now united . . . about the nature of your constitution; I dread the vehement character

of your people, whom I fear you may find it more easy to bring on, than to keep within Proper bounds, after you have put them in motion. I dread the interested refractoriness of your nobles, who cannot all be gratified and who may be unwilling to submit to the requisite sacrifices. And I dread the reveries of your Philosophic politicians who appear in the moment to have great influence and who being mere speculatists may aim at more refinement than suits either with human nature or the composition of your Nation.

Document 9

Information on the source: Jefferson supported the French Revolution even as it turned increasingly violent. This is part of a letter he wrote to William Short on January 3, 1793. Short, then in the Netherlands, had been Jefferson’s secretary in France. Later, Jefferson did have more doubts about the French Revolution than he shows here.

In the struggle which was necessary, many guilty persons fell without the forms of trial, and with them some innocent. These I deplore as much as anybody, and shall deplore some of them to the day of my death. But I deplore them as I should have done had they fallen in battle. It was necessary to use the arm of the people, a machine not quite so blind as balls and bombs, but blind to a certain degree . . . The liberty of the whole earth was depending on the issue of the contest, and was ever such a prize won with so little innocent blood? My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause, but rather than it should have failed, I would have seen half the earth desolated. Were there but an Adam and an Eve left in every country, and left free, it would be better than as it now is.

Document 10

Information on the source: As he prepared for the 1800 presidential election, Jefferson summed up his beliefs in a January 26, 1799, letter to Elbridge Gerry. Gerry was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. This is a passage from that letter.

I am for a government rigorously frugal and simple, applying all the possible savings of the public revenue to the discharge of the national debt; and not for a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to make partisans, & for increasing, by every device, the public debt, on the principle of it's being a public blessing. I am for relying, for internal defense, on our militia solely, till actual invasion, and for such a naval force only as may protect our coasts and harbors from such depredations as we have experienced; and not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment; nor for a navy, which, by its own expenses and the eternal wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens, & sink us under them. I am for free commerce with all nations; political connection with none; & little or no diplomatic establishment.

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 1

Notes on Alexander Hamilton's speech to the Constitutional Convention on June 18, 1787. The notes were taken by Robert Yates, a New York delegate to the convention who became an Anti-Federalist. In the speech, Hamilton speaks about lengths of terms for members of the Senate and praises the British executive.

Sourcing

Do you think this account can be taken as reliable as to what Hamilton actually said? Why or why not?

Contextualizing

Given what had happened in America in recent years, why might many in the Constitutional Convention have agreed with Hamilton's views of the people? What might have led them to disagree with him?

Interpreting Meanings

Hamilton uses words like "turbulent," "unsteady," and "uncontrolling" to describe the people. Does this mean he sees no role at all for them in governing?

What do you think Hamilton means in praising the British king because "he can have no distinct interests from the public welfare"?

Corroborating Sources

Do Hamilton's ideas here fit with the views he expresses in other sources for this lesson?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 2

Hamilton's February 23, 1791, reply to Washington, who asked him whether it was constitutional for the federal government to charter a Bank of the United States under the clause of the Constitution giving Congress the right "to make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the enumerated powers."

Contextualizing

What do you know about America's financial situation in the 1780s and '90s?
Why might this have made a bank useful in Hamilton's eyes?

Interpreting Meanings

What do you think the word "necessary" means in the Constitution's "necessary and proper" clause?

Point of View

Do you think Hamilton is giving a purely neutral legal opinion here, or do you think he prefers this view because of his broader vision for America?

Corroborating Sources

What other sources here help explain Jefferson's differences with Hamilton on this matter?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 3

A passage from Jefferson's 1781 *Notes on the State of Virginia*.

Contextualization

Given what you know about 18th-century colonial Virginia, why do you think someone like Jefferson would feel this way about life?

Interpreting Meanings

Why do you think Jefferson used Biblical-sounding phrases such as “chosen people of God” to describe the agrarian society he favored?

What do you think he means by the “manners and principles” of the workmen and manufacturing societies which he does not favor?

What metaphor does he use for Europe's cities, and why do you think he chose this metaphor?

Point of View

Was Jefferson biased unfairly against commerce, manufacturing, and the effects of these on workers and citizens? Why or why not?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 4

Two passages from different parts of the introduction to Hamilton's 1791 "Report on Manufactures." In it, Hamilton lists several reasons to encourage manufacturing, among which are that it will expand the use of machinery and that it will increase opportunities for enterprise.

Sourcing

These passages are from one of several major reports Hamilton wrote as Secretary of the Treasury in the early 1790s. How does this add to their significance as primary source documents?

Contextualizing

The early Industrial Revolution was under way in Great Britain by the late 1700s. How does this context help explain Hamilton's enthusiasm here?

Interpreting Meanings

What point is Hamilton making by stressing the use of children and women in England's cotton mills?

Hamilton sees a variety of manufacturing occupations as stimulating the human mind and the spirit of enterprise. What does he mean? Why do you think he sees this as due to a spread of manufacturing?

Point of View

What do you think Jefferson would say about these passages, and how might Hamilton reply to his criticisms?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 5

A photo of Jefferson's estate, Monticello. Jefferson himself designed the home according to the Palladian style derived from the work of 16th-century Italian architect Andrea Palladio.

Contextualizing

Given what you know about Jefferson, why do you think he wanted an estate at a high point overlooking the Virginia countryside?

Interpreting Meanings

What impression of Jefferson and his lifestyle do you get from this view of Monticello and its Palladian style of architecture?

Corroborating Sources

How does this choice of a home fit with the other views Jefferson expresses in the sources for this lesson?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 6

After the Revolutionary War, Hamilton began a law practice in New York City. This illustration, created at a much later time, shows Alexander Hamilton addressing three judges with others looking on in the courtroom.

Sourcing

This source from the late 1800s can't be trusted as a completely accurate view of Hamilton in this court. How valuable do you think it is as a primary source?

Interpreting Meanings

Wigs were often signs of a man's status as a gentleman. Doctors wore one kind, ministers had another, and judges and barristers (or lawyers) had their own styles. What do these distinctions of dress and wig style suggest about Hamilton's America and his place in it?

Corroborating Sources

In what ways, if any, does this source's view of Hamilton fit with his statements in other sources used in this lesson?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 7

These two passages are from a letter Hamilton wrote to Edward Carrington on May 26, 1792, explaining his fears about Jefferson as well as his anger at James Madison, who was leading the opposition to Hamilton's plans in Congress.

Sourcing

Given the audience for this letter, how reliable do you think it is as evidence of Hamilton's true feelings?

Contextualizing

What events in the 1790s might have led Hamilton to worry about the U.S. being drawn too close to France and turned to strongly against Great Britain?

Interpreting Meanings

Hamilton here opposes what he calls "faction." What do you think he means by this term?

Point of View

What words or phrases in this letter best illustrate how strong Hamilton's suspicions were about Jefferson and Madison?

Corroborating Sources

Do any of Jefferson's remarks in the sources for this lesson prove Hamilton was justified in his deep suspicions?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 8

Hamilton's fears about the French Revolution as he expressed them in a letter dated October 6, 1789, to the Marquis de Lafayette, the French general who had aided the colonists during the American Revolution. Lafayette was in Paris at the time.

Contextualizing

What do you know of events in France in 1789? What about the early stages of the French Revolution might have worried Hamilton most?

Interpreting Meanings

What do you think Hamilton means by "the vehement character" of the French People?

What do you think he means by the "reveries of your Philosophic politicians" who he says are mere "speculatists"?

Point of View

How does Hamilton's point of view here fit with the political ideas and values he expresses in some of the other sources for this lesson?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 9

Jefferson supported the French Revolution even as it turned increasingly violent. This is part of a letter he wrote to William Short on January 3, 1793. Short, then in the Netherlands, had been Jefferson's secretary in France.

Sourcing

Short was a Virginia friend whom Jefferson had long known and admired. Does this fact affect your understanding of this document in any way?

Contextualizing

The context for this letter is the time in France known as the "Reign of Terror." What do you know about it? How does this add to your understanding of this letter?

Interpreting Meanings

Jefferson explains the Revolution's violence against innocent people by saying, "It was necessary to use the arm of the people, a machine not quite so blind as balls and bombs, but blind to a certain degree." What view of the French masses does this suggest?

Point of View

On the surface, Jefferson makes a strong statement of support here for the French Revolution. From the entire passage, do you think he is as certain of his views as he says he is? Why or why not?

Source Analysis: Primary Source Document 10

As he prepared for the 1800 presidential election, Jefferson summed up his beliefs in a January 26, 1799, letter to Elbridge Gerry. Gerry was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Contextualizing

By the date of this letter, Jefferson was already running for election as president. Could this letter be seen as a campaign document?

Another context for this statement is Hamilton's program. How does Hamilton's program help you better understand Jefferson's concerns as he sums them up here?

Interpreting Meanings

What does Jefferson mean by saying that "a multiplication of officers and salaries" would be done "merely to make partisans"?

What does he fear when he says a standing army in peacetime "may overawe the public sentiment"?

Corroborating Sources

Does this summary of views help you understand some of Jefferson's comments in other sources here, such as ones on the French Revolution, or on the virtue of agrarian society?

Part 3: Analyzing the Secondary Sources

Note to the teacher: This next section includes passages from two secondary source accounts of Jefferson and Hamilton, along with two activities on these sources. We suggest you first discuss the brief comment “Analyzing Secondary Sources” just above the first of the two secondary sources. Discuss the four criteria the first activity asks students to use in analyzing each secondary source. These criteria focus students on the nature of historical accounts as 1) problem-centered; 2) based on evidence; 3) influenced by point of view and not purely neutral; and 4) tentative or aware of alternative explanations.

Specifically, this section includes the following:

- **Two secondary source passages**

Give copies of these passages to students to read, either in class or as homework. The two passages are from *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different*, by Gordon S. Wood (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), and *Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson: The Politics of Enlightenment and the American Founding*, Darren Staloff (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005).

- **Two student activities**

Activity 1

Students analyze the two passage taking notes on the following questions:

- How clearly does the account focus on a problem or question?
- Does it reveal a position or express a point of view?
- How well does it base its case on primary source evidence?
- How aware is it of alternative explanations or points of view?

Activity 2

In pairs, students select two of the primary sources for the lesson that best support each author’s claims in the secondary source passages. Students discuss their choices with the class.

The Secondary Sources for the Lesson

Analyzing Secondary Sources

Historians write secondary source accounts of the past after studying primary source documents like the ones you have studied on Hamilton and Jefferson. However, they normally select documents from among a great many others, and they stress some aspects of the story but not others. In doing this, historians are guided by the questions they ask about the topic. Their selection of sources and their focus are also influenced by their own aims, bias, or point of view. No account of the past is perfectly neutral. In reading a secondary source, you should pay to what it includes, what it leaves out, what conclusions it reaches, and how aware it is of alternative interpretations.

* * * *

Secondary Source 1

Information on the source: The passage in the box below is an excerpt from *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different*, by Gordon S. Wood (New York: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 130. Wood's view of Hamilton stresses his broad objective of creating a strong, stable government by finding ways to give the most powerful commercial and manufacturing elites a self-interested stake in maintaining that government.

Hamilton set out to do for America what early-eighteenth-century English governments had done in establishing Great Britain as the greatest power in the world. Hamilton greatly admired the English constitution, the English constitution as it was—unreformed. Jefferson recalled a dinner party in 1791 in which he, Hamilton and John Adams were present. In the course of the conversation, someone mentioned the English constitution, at which Adams observed, “Purge that constitution of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect government ever devised by the wit of man.” At that point, said Jefferson, “Hamilton paused and said, ‘Purge it of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, & it would become an impracticable government; as it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed.’” With such a startling statement, surely designed

to provoke both Adams and Jefferson, Hamilton was only echoing the realistic observations of David Hume. For Hume, the Crown's ministers use of money and patronage to influence members of Parliament, whether or not called “by the invidious appellations of corruption or dependence,” was simply a necessity if the Crown were to carry out its responsibilities for governing the realm.

Hamilton was nothing if not a hard-headed realist, and in the 1790s he set out to do what the successful eighteenth-century British ministers had done, in effect to “corrupt” the society for the sake of stable government. He sought to use monarchical-like government influence both to tie the leading commercial interests to the government and to create new hierarchies of interest and dependency that would substitute for what he believed was the lack of virtue in America.

The Secondary Sources for the Lesson

Secondary Source 2

Information on the Source: The passage in the box below is an excerpt from *Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson: The Politics of Enlightenment and the American Founding*, Darren Staloff (New York: Hill and Wang, 2005), pp. 310–311. Staloff describes Jefferson’s vision of an agrarian democracy and a government of strictly limited powers. He notes Jefferson’s hatred of tyranny and admiration for the French Revolution. However, Staloff also points out that Jefferson’s defense of the agrarian South and West against the commerical Northeast had a less positive side. Jefferson’s attacks on Northern elites meant he was also backing the power of the wealthy, slaveowning planters of his own Virginia and the other Southern states. This is Staloff’s point about what he calls Jefferson’s “Southern strategy.”

The agrarian character of American society [according to Jefferson] could be preserved only by devoting the nation’s energies to westward expansion. This in turn meant limiting urban commerce to the export of American agricultural goods, a course Jefferson avidly but unsuccessfully advocated as secretary of state. Participatory democracy at the grassroots level was assured by setting strict bounds to the power of the central government, as Jefferson did by arguing for “strict” construction of the Constitution during the debate over Hamilton’s proposed bank. To further check the “consolidating” usurpations of the Federalist regime, he championed states’ rights and nullification in his famous Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. Revolutionary activism took the form of solidarity with the cause of republican France and implacable hostility to reactionary and monarchical Great Britain . . .

Implicit within the struggle for Jeffersonian democracy was a thinly veiled “Southern” strategy. Republican newspapers in the North denounced the “aristocratic” pretensions and monarchical principles of Federalist elites and championed a spirit of political leveling against them. Once in power, Republicans denied those elites any access to federal office. In so doing, they destroyed the legitimacy of the North’s political ruling classes and the deference that had supported them. But as New England Federalist Fisher Ames ruefully noted, Jeffersonian democracy was exclusively for export north of the Potomac: within the Old Dominion [Virginia] this leveling spirit had no impact whatsoever . . . At a purely sectional level, Jeffersonian democracy brought Southern hegemony to the new nation by fomenting a political insurgency against the ruling elites of the North. It was a brilliant strategy.

The Secondary Sources: Activity 1

In this exercise, you read two short passages from much longer books about Jefferson and Hamilton. For each secondary source, take notes on the following four questions (you may want to underline phrases or sentences in the passages that you think back up your notes):

1. How clearly does this account focus on a problem or question. What do you think that problem or question is? Sum it up in your own words here.

Revolutionary Characters, Wood

Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Staloff

2. Does the secondary source take a position or express a point of view about either Jefferson or Hamilton? If so, briefly state that point of view or quote an example of it.

Revolutionary Characters, Wood

Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Staloff

3. How well does the secondary source seem to base its case on primary source evidence? Take notes about any specific examples, if you can identify them.

Revolutionary Characters, Wood

Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Staloff

4. Does the secondary source seem aware of alternative explanations or points of view about this topic? Underline points in the passage where you see this.

Revolutionary Characters, Wood

Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson, Staloff

In pairs, discuss your notes for this activity.

The Secondary Sources: Activity 2

This activity is based on the passages from *Revolutionary Characters*, by Gordon S. Wood, and *Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson*, by Darren Staloff. From the primary sources for this lesson, choose two that you think best support each author's point of view about either Jefferson or Hamilton. With the rest of the class, discuss the two secondary source passages and defend the choice of sources you have made.

1. From this lesson, choose two primary sources that best back up Wood's interpretation of Alexander Hamilton. List those sources here and briefly explain why you chose them.
2. From this lesson, choose two primary sources that best back up Staloff's interpretation of Thomas Jefferson. List those sources here and briefly explain why you chose them.
3. Does your textbook include a passage on the conflicting views of Hamilton and Jefferson? If so, with which of the two secondary sources (Woods or Staloff) does it seem to agree most? What one or two primary sources from this lesson would you add to this textbook passage to improve it?

Discuss your choices with the rest of the class.

Part 4: Follow-Up Options

Note to the teacher: At this point, students have completed the key tasks of *The Historian's Apprentice* program. They have examined their own prior understandings and acquired background knowledge on the topic. They have analyzed and debated a set of primary sources. They have considered secondary source accounts of the topic. This section includes two suggested follow-up activities. Neither of these is a required part of the lesson. They do not have to be undertaken right away. However, we do strongly recommend that you find some way to do what these options provide for. They give students a way to write or debate in order to express their ideas and arrive at their own interpretations of the topic.

Two suggested follow-up activities are included here:

- **Document-Based Questions**

Four Document-Based Questions are provided. Choose one and follow the guidelines provided for writing a typical DBQ essay.

- **A Structured Debate**

The aim of this debate format is not so much to teach students to win a debate, but to learn to listen and learn, as well as speak up and defend a position. The goal is a more interactive and more civil debating process.

Document-Based Questions

Document-Based Questions (DBQs) are essay questions you must answer by using your own background knowledge and a set of primary sources on that topic. Below are four DBQs on Jefferson and Hamilton. Use the sources for this lesson and everything you have learned from it to write a short essay answer to one of these questions.

Suggested DBQs

“It’s simple. Jefferson championed democracy and the common man; Hamilton defended the rich and powerful business interests.” Assess the validity of this statement (that is, explain why you do or do not agree with it).

Jefferson and Hamilton argued about both domestic issues and foreign policy. What was the connection between domestic and foreign issues in each man’s thinking? Why did the two men clash over both sorts of issues at once?

“Jefferson’s vision of an agrarian grassroots democracy was a romantic, backward-looking fantasy that was doomed never to be.” Assess the validity of this statement (that is, explain why you do or do not agree with it).

“Hamilton had some good ideas, but he really wanted an undemocratic, centralized, and militarized state. We should be glad he didn’t get it.” Assess the validity of this statement (that is, explain why you do or do not agree with it).

Suggested Guidelines for Writing a DBQ Essay

- **Planning and thinking through the essay**

Consider the question carefully. Think about how to answer it so as to address each part of it. Do not ignore any detail in the question. Pay attention to the question’s form (cause-and-effect, compare-and-contrast, assess the validity, etc.). This form will often give you clues as to how best to organize each part of your essay.

- **Thesis statement and introductory paragraph**

The thesis statement is a clear statement of what you hope to prove in your essay. It must address *all* parts of the DBQ, it must make a claim you can back up with the sources, and it should be specific enough to help you organize the rest of your essay.

- **Using evidence effectively**

Use the notes on your “Source Analysis” activity sheets to organize your thoughts about these primary sources. In citing a source, use it to support key points or illustrate major themes. Do not simply list a source in order to get it into the essay somehow. If any sources do *not* support your thesis, you should still try to use them. Your essay may be more convincing if you qualify your thesis so as to account for these other sources.

- **Linking ideas explicitly**

After your introduction, your internal paragraphs should make your argument in a logical or clear way. Each paragraph should be built around one key supporting idea and details that back up that idea. Use transition phrase such as “before,” “next,” “then,” or “on the one hand...but on the other hand,” to help readers follow the thread of your argument.

- **Wrapping it up**

Don’t add new details about sources in your final paragraph. State a conclusion that refers back to your thesis statement by showing how the evidence has backed it up. If possible, look for nice turns of phrase to end on a dramatic note.

A Structured Debate

Small-group activity: Using a version of the Structured Academic Controversy model, debate alternate interpretations of this lesson's topic. The goal of this method is not so much to win a debate as to learn to collaborate in clarifying your interpretations to one another. In doing this, your goal should be to see that it is possible for reasonable people to hold differing views, even when finding the "one right answer" is not possible.

Use all their notes from previous activities in this lesson. Here are the rules for this debate:

1. Organize a team of four or six students. Choose a debate topic based on the lesson *Jefferson vs. Hamilton: Two Visions of a Nation*.

(You may wish to use one of the DBQs suggested for the Document-Based Questions activity for this lesson, or you may want to define the debate topic in a different way.)

2. Split your team into two sub-groups. Each sub-group should study the materials for this lesson and rehearse its case. One sub-group then present its case to the other. That other sub-group must repeat the case back to the first sub-group's satisfaction.
3. Next, the two sub-groups switch roles and repeat step 2
4. Your team either reaches a consensus which it explains to the entire class, or it explains where the key differences between the sub-groups lie

Answers to “Source Analysis” Activities

Source Analysis: Document 1

Sourcing: Some may question how reliable Robert Yates was, given his Anti-Federalist sympathies. This does not mean he was necessarily distorting Hamilton’s words, but corroborating the source could be important here.

Contextualizing: Shays’s Rebellion, a failure under the Articles of Confederation to raise taxes and regulate commerce, worried many, but others felt a stronger loyalty to their individual states.

Interpreting meanings: Answers could vary, but Hamilton does appear to accept a “democratic” lower representative body and only seems to want long terms for the upper body (the Senate) and the executive.

Hamilton seems to say the king has no purely personal interests that are separate from his interest in the entire nation.

Corroborating sources: Perhaps; especially see Documents 7 and 8.

Source Analysis: Document 2

Contextualizing: States were printing paper money that was not trusted and rapidly declined in value, more dependable money such as gold and silver tended to leave the country to pay for imports, etc.

Interpreting meanings: Answers should vary and should be discussed.

Point of view: Answers may vary. A case can be made for viewing this either way. Discuss further.

Corroborating sources: Perhaps, especially Document 10.

Source Analysis: Document 3

Contextualizing: Answers will vary but should stress the settled, stable, rural way of life—the orderly social system in which Jefferson enjoyed a privileged position. Some may call attention to slavery as a flaw Jefferson does not mention.

Interpreting meanings: Answers will vary. The language adds to the moral dimension of agrarian life Jefferson stresses.

By “manners and principles” he appears to mean the mobs and turbulence he refers to here as well. The metaphor equates “mobs” to “soars” on a body, again dramatizing the contrast Jefferson makes.

Point of view: Answers will vary and should be discussed.

Source Analysis: Document 4

Sourcing: The reports had a major impact on policy or on continuing discussions in the whole nation.

Contextualizing: Answers will vary, but should stress the newness and greater productivity of England’s developing factory system.

Interpreting meanings: His point is they will work for less, lowering product costs.

Answers to the second question will vary and should be discussed.

Point of View: Answers will vary. Perhaps a role-playing dialogue would help in discussing them.

Source Analysis: Document 5

Contextualizing: It fits with his hopeful view of America’s vast extent of farmland and wilderness, as well as with his views about the moral virtue of country living, etc.

Interpreting meanings: Answers will vary, but should focus on the elegance and comfort, as well as the classical style which appealed to Jefferson’s Enlightenment belief in reason, etc.

Corroborating sources: Answers will vary and should be discussed.

Source Analysis: Document 6

Sourcing: The source can't be taken as an eyewitness account. However, the styles and courtroom scene may suggest something of the social environment in which Hamilton lived and worked.

Interpreting meanings: The illustration suggests the kind of social order that still existed in Hamilton's America, with its emphasis on status and position in a social hierarchy.

Corroborating sources: Answers here will vary, but it could be seen as throwing light on Hamilton's faith in the educated elites of society.

Source Analysis: Document 7

Sourcing: Probably fairly reliable, as it is a private letter in which Hamilton expresses strong views.

Contextualizing: Revolutionary France was developing a very aggressive foreign policy, and war with Great Britain was looming.

Interpreting meanings: It meant any subgroup of leaders with its own goals within a government. Faction is not quite the same as political party, in that it could be any temporary grouping.

Point of view: "Subversive," "dangerous," "unsound," etc.

Corroborating sources: Answers will vary and should be discussed.

Source Analysis: Document 8

Contextualizing: The French Revolution was still guided by moderates at this point, but the storming of the Bastille, violence in the countryside, and other events already suggested the violence to come.

Interpreting meanings: He may mean simply the anger of France's poor, or he may be claiming to see a more deep-seated fanaticism in French culture itself.

By "reveries of your Philosophic politicians," he seems to mean they are ideologues, interested more in pure theory than in what works.

Point of view: Answers will vary, but this fits with Hamilton's distrust of the people as "turbulent."

Source Analysis: Document 9

Sourcing: It suggests Jefferson would be comfortable expressing his true feelings even though he disagrees with Short here.

Contextualizing: Many innocent people were being executed in Paris and throughout France, and a small group of men was ruling in a dictatorial manner.

Interpreting meanings: The phrase depicts the masses as angry and effective agents of rebellion against tyranny, but not very reliable or just.

Point of view: Jefferson could be seen as overstating his case yet showing its weaknesses at the same time—as when he says he "deplores" some deaths, yet would be willing to see "half the earth desolated" to save the French Revolution.

Source Analysis: Document 10

Contextualization: It might be, since Gerry was a supporter of Jefferson who might have used the letter to explain Jefferson's views to others.

Hamilton's program of ongoing debt, the growth of government, a strong standing army, etc., were the Federalist views Jefferson would be running against in his 1800 campaign against John Adams.

Interpreting meanings: That the number of government jobs might be increased so they could be given out as favors to party supporters so as to strengthen a party's hold over the government.

A standing army might intimidate the public into giving up its liberties.

Corroborating sources: Answers here will vary and should be discussed.

Evaluating Secondary Sources: Activity 1

These are not definitive answers to the questions. They are suggested points to look for in student responses.

1. How clearly does this account focus on a problem or question. What do you think that problem or question is? Sum it up in your own words here.

Wood focuses on Hamilton's admiration for Great Britain as a way to explain with some emphasis what exactly Hamilton believed would produce the strong, stable national government he wanted.

Staloff focuses clearly on Jefferson's love of agrarian democracy in such a way as to also describe the political implications he sees in this for the nation as a whole.

2. Does the secondary source take a position or express a point of view about either Jefferson or Hamilton? If so, briefly state that point of view or quote an example of it.

Wood seems to admire Hamilton's style and assertive nature. It is not clear that he admires Hamilton's love of strong government based on wealthy commercial interests. Wood is not that overt in expressing his own views, though some may detect respect for Hamilton, if not outright approval.

Staloff may admire Jefferson's commitment to grassroots democracy and his defense of freedom and individual rights. However, Staloff also sees a downside in the boost Jefferson's views gave to a states'-rights philosophy and to the South's slaveowning planter elites.

3. How well does the secondary source seem to base its case on primary source evidence? Take notes about any specific examples, if you can identify them.

Wood uses the record of a conversation between Hamilton, Jefferson, and John Adams to build his view of Hamilton's "hard-headed realism" about the way governments work.

Staloff does not refer directly to any primary source documents. His passage here is more of an analysis of the facts the author assumes the reader already knows.

Both authors do ground their general conclusions in these passages on summaries of specific facts that could be confirmed or checked against source material.

4. Does the author seem aware of alternative explanations or points of view about this topic? Underline points in the passage where you see this.

Wood does not in this passage seem to acknowledge other ways of interpreting Hamilton's programs and ideas.

Staloff does indirectly seem to acknowledge the positive take many others have had of Jefferson's agrarian democratic idealism. Staloff describes this, but then also undercuts it somewhat by showing how it had consequences that were not as democratic as one might expect.

