

**AP<sup>®</sup> United States History**  
Document-Based Questions  
1973–1999

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## Preface

This publication is designed to help teachers and students understand and prepare for the Document-Based Question section of the AP U.S. History Exam. The publication includes all Document-Based Questions that appeared on the AP U.S. History Exam from 1973–1999. **These materials have been provided for historical purposes only and do not represent changes to the redesigned AP U.S. History course, which will take effect in the 2014–15 academic year.** To learn more about the redesigned AP U.S. History course and exam please visit the AP U.S. History Course Home Page on AP Central.

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Time—55 minutes

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents. You will have 55 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question. This exercise tests your ability to formulate an answer to the question by critically evaluating the evidence contained in the documents. Reference to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents should be made where relevant. Be sure, however, to write an essay which relates the documents to the question.

1. Relying on a critical evaluation of the accompanying documents, analyze the factors that probably influenced Congress to pass the Immigration Act of 1924.

**Document A**

Source: United States Bureau of Immigration, Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1924

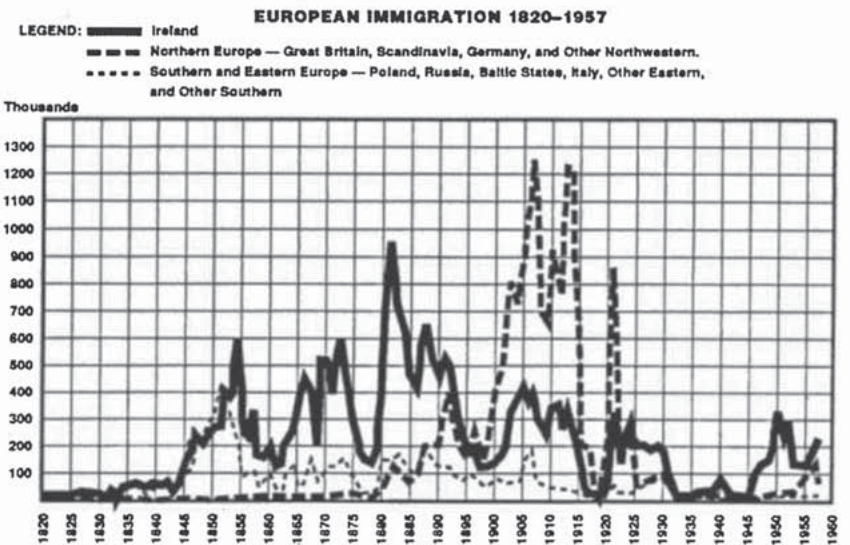
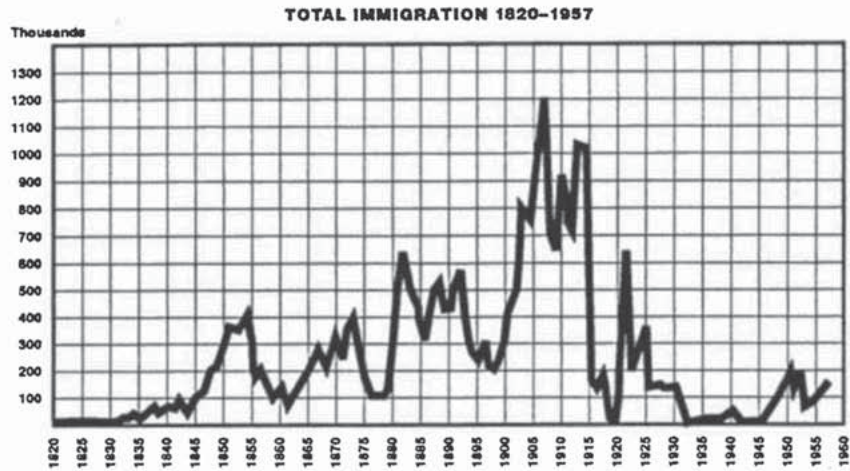
... The "Immigration act of 1924" . . . supplants the so-called quota limit act of May 19, 1921, [which] provided that the number of aliens of any nationality admissible to the United States in any fiscal year should be limited to 3 per cent of the number of persons of such nationality who were resident in the United States according to the census of 1910. . . . Under the act of 1924 the number of each nationality who may be admitted annually is limited to 2 per cent of the population of such nationality resident in the United States according to the census of 1890. . . .

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# 1973

## Document B

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957, 1960



## Document C

Source: Henry P. Fairchild, *Immigration*, 1913

Into this favored section of the earth's surface have been introduced ever increasing numbers of the lower classes of foreign nations. What has been their effect upon the prevailing standard of living? As a major premise, it will be granted that the standard of living of the working classes of the United States has been and still is superior to that of the nations which have furnished the bulk of the immigrants. Common observation and general testimony establish this beyond the need of proof. Particularly at the present time, if this were not so, very few of our immigrants would come, for, as we have seen, this is the great incentive which draws them. It is significant, however, that the bulk of immigration has been recruited from more and more backward races of Europe as the decades have succeeded each other. There is not now the relative advantage for the peasant of England, Germany, or Scandinavia that there was during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. As regards the new immigrants—those who have come during the last thirty years—the one great reason for their coming is that they believe that on the wage which they can receive in America they can establish a higher standard than the one to which they have been accustomed. And this wage for which they are willing to sell their labor is in general appreciably below that which the native American workman requires to support his standard. What does this mean? It means . . . that the American workman is continually underbid in the labor market by vast numbers of alien laborers. . . .

## Document D

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, 1960

Year or Period	National Income	Personal Income
1925 . . . .	78.2	75.0
1924 . . . .	75.2	73.2
1923 . . . .	74.3	71.5
1922 . . . .	63.1	62.0
1921 . . . .	64.0	62.1
1920 . . . .	79.1	73.4
1919 . . . .	70.2	65.0

[In billions of dollars.]



## Document E

Source: Permission to reprint by copyright owner. (From *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1919)



## Document F

Source: Reprinted by permission from *The Saturday Evening Post*. © 1920 by Curtis Publishing Company.

### SELF-PRESERVATION [an editorial]

Deportation and immigration are the two great questions before us. We have made a good start at the first, but it will be useless to continue deportations unless we are prepared to take equally drastic action on immigration. Those aliens who deplore our individualistic, capitalistic system are preparing to come over here by the hundred thousand to enjoy our benefits and if possible to join with their fellows already here to short-cut to fortune by confiscating our capital.

We must rid our minds of the notion that America is some kind of world institution for the care of nuts; that Americans have no rights that her guests are bound to respect; that her citizenship is open to anyone to accept or reject as his own whims and interests dictate; that men who cannot speak our language have a God-given right to tell us where to get off; that we can make a few passes over anyone regardless of race and presto! an American; or that we can keep on ceaselessly dividing with the whole world and have as much as we had before.

People talk of these immigrants from Russia, from Hungary, from the Balkans, as if all they need to become Americanized is to learn not to keep the coal in the bathtub and to be taught a little pushcart English. They see the negro problem; but they cannot grasp the Russian problem. They do not understand that many of these alien peoples are temperamentally and racially unfitted for easy assimilation; that they are living in an age two or three centuries behind ours. They are white, they can read a few lines, and they have a few dollars—so in they come. We need three generations to educate, to crossbreed with Western strains and to assimilate a large number of those that we have here now.

This matter of Americanization is only partly a question of education. Many second-generation Americans from Central and Eastern Europe, men with college degrees, are quite unassimilated to American ideals. Temperamentally and racially they are still Russian or Balkan or German. So further immigration must not only be rigidly limited in volume but we must analyze the possibilities and desirability of different races in a way that we have never done before. The matter of race, as well as the qualifications of individuals, must be given more attention.

Arguments for unrestricted immigration always go back to some petty selfish reason—never to the greatest good of the country. A woman wants a cook, a manufacturer wants cheap labor, a laborer wants his relatives to share in the big wages, a politician wants votes and aliens want to take over our property and our country. The rank and file of these unassimilated aliens still live mentally in the ghetto or as peasants on the great estates. . . .

## Document G

Source: The Congressional Record, 1924

Telegram from Mr. Morgan Keaton  
Department Adjutant of the  
American Legion of California

May 8, 1924

From: San Francisco

To: Honorable John E. Raker  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

The Legionnaires in California urge you be present when immigration bill comes up on floor . . . and want you to know that we are standing behind you 100 per cent in your fight to make this coast a white man's country. To defer effective date of ineligible alien exclusion until March 1925 is to provide open season for influx of Japanese.

## Document H

Source: The Congressional Record, 1924

Some organizations declaring in favor of the bill to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States:

1. Sons of the American Revolution
2. American Legion
3. American National Grange
4. American Defense Society
5. American Federation of Labor
6. Accepted Scottish Rite Masons
7. Daughters of the American Revolution
8. Native Sons of the Golden West
9. Patriotic Order of the Sons of America
10. Junior Order of United American Mechanics
11. Fraternal Order of Eagles



# 1973

## Document I

Source: Address by Senator Ellison D. Smith, South Carolina, April 9, 1924. Congressional Record

I think we now have sufficient population in our country for us to shut the door and to breed up a pure, unadulterated American citizenship. I recognize that there is a dangerous lack of distinction between people of a certain nationality and the breed of the dog. . . . It is the breed of the dog in which I am interested. I would like the members of the Senate to read that book just recently published by Madison Grant, The Passing of the Great Race. Thank God we have in America perhaps the largest percentage of any country in the world of pure unadulterated Anglo-Saxon stock; certainly the greatest of any nation in the Nordic breed. It is for the preservation of that splendid stock that has characterized us that I would make this not an asylum for the oppressed of all countries, but a country to assimilate and perfect that splendid type of manhood that has made America the foremost Nation in her progress and in her power, and yet the youngest of all the nations. I myself believe that the preservation of her institutions depends upon us now taking counsel with our condition and our experience during the last World War.

Without offense, but with regard to the salvation of our own, let us shut the door. . .

## Document J

Source: Hiram W. Evans, "The Klan's Fight for Americanism," *The North American Review*, March, 1926

". . . the Klan wishes to restore the Bible to the school, not only because it is part of the world's great heritage in literature and philosophy and has profoundly influenced all white civilization, but because it is the basis on which all Christian religions are built, and to which they must look for their authority. . . . Jews or Catholics are lavish with their caustic criticism of anything American. Nothing is immune; our great men, our historic struggles and sacrifices, our customs and personal traits, our "Puritan consciences"—all have been sacrificed without mercy. . . . we of the Klan admit that we are intolerant and narrow in a certain sense. . . . We are intolerant of everything that strikes at the foundations of our race, our country or our freedom of worship. We are narrowly opposed to the use of anything alien—race, loyalty to any foreign power or to any religion whatever—as a means to win political power. We are prejudiced against any attempt to use the privileges and opportunities which aliens hold only through our generosity as levers to force us to change our civilization, to wrest from us control of our own country, to exploit us for the benefit of any foreign power—religious or secular—and especially to use America as a tool or cat's paw for the advantage of any side in the hatreds and quarrels of the Old World. This is our intolerance; based on the sound instincts which have saved us many times from the follies of the intellectuals. We admit it. More and worse, we are proud of it. . . .

# 1973

## Document K

Source: The Congressional Record, 1924

On May 15, 1924, the following members of the House of Representatives voted “nay” on the bill to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States:

<u>Congressman</u>	<u>Home Post Office</u>
Aldrich, Richard	Warwick, Rhode Island
Bacharach, Isaac	Atlantic City, New Jersey
Beck, J.D.	Biroqua, Wisconsin
Berger, Victor	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Black, Loring	Brooklyn, New York
Bloom, Sol	New York, New York
Boylan, John	New York, New York
Buckley, James	Chicago, Illinois
Carew, John	New York, New York
Casey, John	Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania
Celler, Emanuel	Brooklyn, New York
Clancy, Robert	Detroit, Michigan
Cleary, William	Brooklyn, New York
Connery, William	Lynn, Massachusetts
Crosser, Robert	Cleveland, Ohio
Cullen, Thomas	Brooklyn, New York
Dickstein, Samuel	New York, New York
Eagen, John	Weehawken, New Jersey
Fenn, E. Hart	Weathersfield, Connecticut
Freeman, Richard	New London, Connecticut
Geran, Elmer	Matawan, New Jersey
Griffin, Anthony	New York, New York
Hill, John	Baltimore, Maryland
Jacobstein, Meyer	Rochester, New York
James, W. Frank	Hancock, Michigan
Kindred, John	Astoria, New York
Knutson, Harold	St. Cloud, Minnesota
Kunz, Stanley	Chicago, Illinois
LaGuardia, Fiorello	New York, New York
Lindsay, George	Brooklyn, New York
Logan, W. Turner	Charleston, South Carolina
Luce, Robert	Waltham, Massachusetts
McFadden, Louis	Canton, Pennsylvania
McLeod, Clarence	Detroit, Michigan
Magee, Walter	Syracuse, New York
Mead, James	Buffalo, New York
Merritt, Schuyler	Stamford, Connecticut
Minahan, Daniel	Orange, New Jersey
Mooney, Charles	Cleveland, Ohio
O’Connell, Jeremiah	Providence, Rhode Island
O’Connor, John	New York, New York
Oliver, Frank	Bronx, New York
O’Sullivan, Patrick	Derby, Connecticut
Perlman, Nathan	New York, New York
Prall, Anning	West New Brighton, New York

*(list continued on next page)*

# 1973

## Congressman

Quayle, John  
Sabath, Adolph  
Schafer, John  
Schneider, George  
Seger, George  
Sinclair, James  
Sweet, Thaddeus  
Tague, Peter  
Tilson, John  
Tinkham, George  
Underhill, Charles  
Vare, William  
Voigt, Edward  
Watres, Laurence  
Wefald, Knud  
Weller, Royal  
Young, George

## Home Post Office

Brooklyn, New York  
Chicago, Illinois  
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin  
Appleton, Wisconsin  
Passaic, New Jersey  
Kenmare, North Dakota  
Phoenix, New York  
Boston, Massachusetts  
New Haven, Connecticut  
Boston, Massachusetts  
Somerville, Massachusetts  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
Sheboygan, Wisconsin  
Scranton, Pennsylvania  
Hawley, Minnesota  
New York, New York  
Valley City, North Dakota

END OF 1973 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Time—55 minutes

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents. You will have 55 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. You are asked to do two related things in a unified essay: to formulate an answer derived from the evidence contained in the documents; and, where relevant to your answer, to assess the documents as historical sources. Reference to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents may be made where such information is relevant to your answer.

1. To what extent was President-elect Abraham Lincoln responsible for the defeat of the Crittenden proposal on the territorial expansion of slavery?

*[Historical setting: In December 1860, both houses of Congress referred the problems of the secession crisis to special committees. The House of Representatives established the Committee of Thirty-three on December 3. On December 18 the Senate created the more important Committee of Thirteen, which at the outset adopted a rule that no motion could be carried unless majorities of both the Republican members and the Democratic members of the Committee voted for it. The Committee of Thirteen then proceeded to consider formally six constitutional amendments proposed on that day by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky but released to the press at least a week earlier. The first of these amendments provided for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line (36°30') to the Pacific, with slavery prohibited in territories north of the line and protected south of it. Territories could enter the Union with or without slavery according to their constitutions. Historians agree that the unanimous vote of the Committee's Republican members to reject this amendment (See Document T) doomed the entire compromise.]*

**Document A**

Source: Republican party platform, May 16, 1860

“That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of powers on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends. . . .

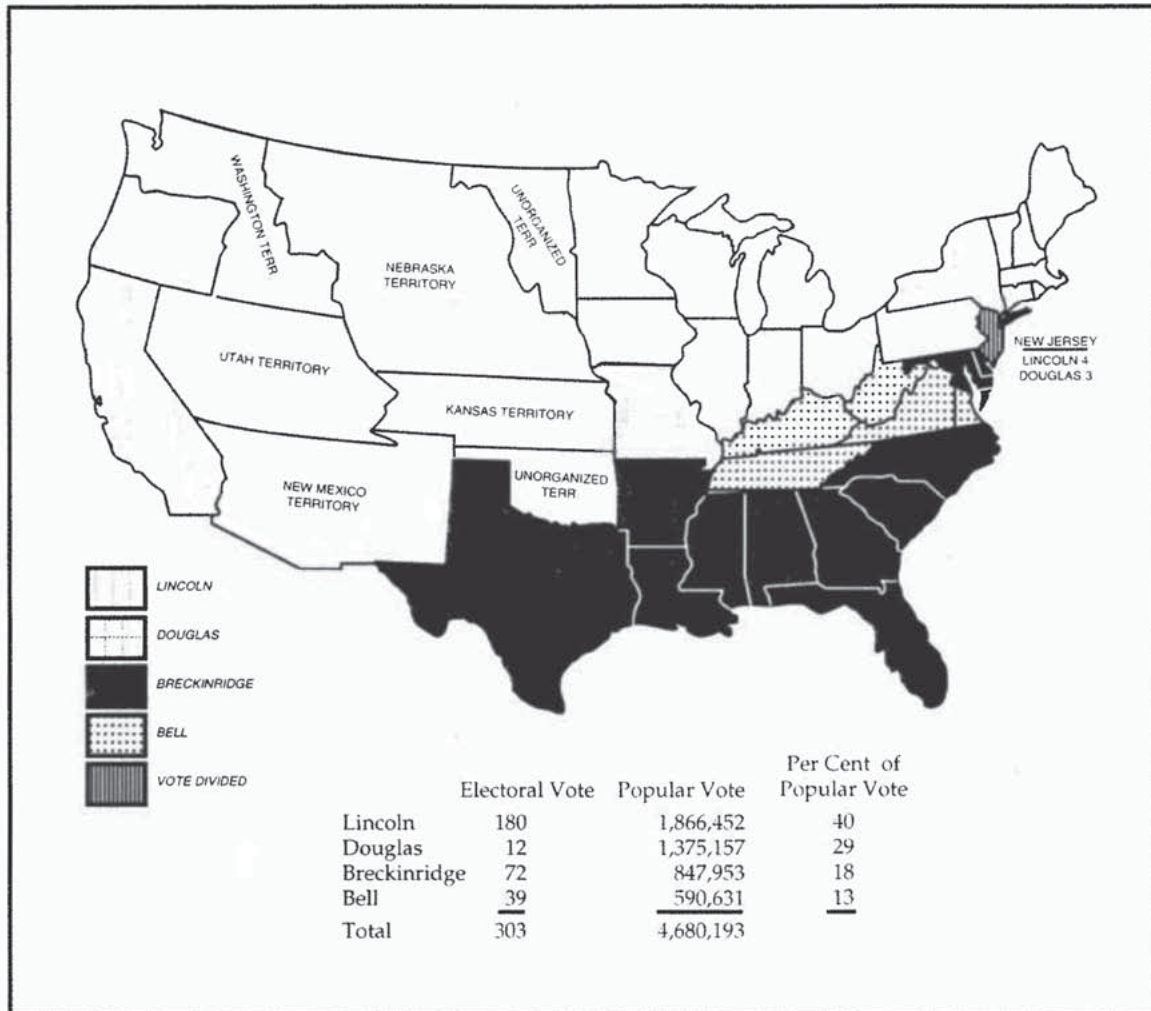
“That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom . . . and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States.”



# 1974

## Document B

### ELECTION OF 1860



## Document C

Source: Senator James R. Doolittle [R-Wisconsin and member of the Committee of Thirteen]; letter to the Senate, November 16, 1860

[Lincoln's election established] that slavery shall not be extended into territories by any means. . . . neither by act of Congress, by border ruffian invasion, by judicial decrees, nor by territorial slave codes."

## Document D

Source: Thurlow Weed [Albany, New York editor, Republican party political boss, and promoter of Senator William H. Seward's political fortunes]; editorial in the *Albany Evening Journal*, November 24, 1860

"And in regard to the other vexed question, viz: the right of going into the Territories with slaves, why not restore the Missouri Compromise Line? That secured to the South all Territory adapted by Soil and Climate to its 'peculiar institution.' "

## Document E

Source: Senator William H. Seward [R–New York, a member of the Committee of Thirteen, and a power among Republican senators despite his loss of his party's presidential nomination in 1860 to Abraham Lincoln]; letter to Thurlow Weed, December 2, 1860

"South Carolina is committed. . . . Georgia will debate. . . . Florida will participate. Mississippi and Alabama likely to follow. But by that time passion begins to give place to perplexity about whether it is best to conciliate Union or fight it. . . .

Nothing can be agreed on in advance, but silence for the present, which I have insisted must not be sullen, as last year, but respectful and fraternal. . . . If we can keep peace and quiet until the decree of South Carolina is pronounced, the temper will then be favorable, on both sides, to consideration."

## Document F

Source: New York *Herald*, dispatch of December 3, 1860

"It is reported that Senator Seward will take the earliest opportunity to introduce in the Senate a bill restoring the Missouri Compromise line, extending it to the Pacific . . ."

## Document G

Source: Senator Lyman Trumbull [R–Illinois]; letter to Abraham Lincoln, December 4, 1860

"A good feeling prevails among Republican senators—The impression with all, unless there be one exception is, that Republicans have no concessions to make or compromises to offer, and that it is impolitic even to discuss making them—The articles of Weed . . . so far as they discuss new compromises . . . find no sympathy with our body. [Former] Gov. Seward distinctly repudiates them—I was a little surprised that the House voted to raise a committee on the State of the Union. It seems to me for Republicans to take steps towards getting up committees or proposing new compromises is an admission that to conduct the government on the principles on which we carried the election would be wrong. . . ."

## Document H

Source: *New York Tribune*; dispatch of December 5, 1860

“Mr. Seward will make no speech immediately, and will submit no proposition. All rumors to the contrary are entirely unfounded. He is in no manner or form responsible for the various suggestions recently put forward in various newspapers, which have been supposed to reflect his views, and was not consulted concerning, or in any way privy to, their publication. His policy is to watch the development of events, and to direct them wisely at the proper time for peace and the preservation of the Union.”

## Document I

Source: Abraham Lincoln; letters to Senator William H. Seward, December 8, 1860 [received December 13]

“With your permission I shall at the proper time nominate you to the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of State for the United States. . . .

“It has been my purpose, from the day of the nomination at Chicago, to assign you, by your leave, this place in the administration. I have delayed so long to communicate that purpose in deference to what appeared to me a proper caution in this case.”

## Document J

Source: Abraham Lincoln; letter to Senator Lyman Trumbull, December 10, 1860

“Let there be no compromise on the question of extending slavery. If there be, all our labor is lost, and, ere long, must be done again. The dangerous ground—that into which some of our friends have a hankering to run—is Pop[ular] Sov[ereignty]. Have none of it. Stand firm. The tug has to come, and better now than at any time hereafter.”

## Document K

Source: Senator Jacob Collamer [R–Vermont and member of the Committee of Thirteen]; remark to Senator Thomas L. Clingman [D–North Carolina], c. December 10, 1860

“You must let us know your terms, for we do not want to part with you.”



## Document L

Source: Reading, Pennsylvania, *Berks and Schuylkill Journal*; editorial of December 15, 1860

“It is much to be regretted that in the present crisis of our national affairs, the disposition of events will be, to a great extent, in the hands of mere politicians; and that the sentiments of the masses will be scarcely known. The present unfortunate state of public feelings has, to a great extent, been created by ultra men on both sides, while we believe that the great body of the people, North and South, love the Union, and would deplore its dissolution as the greatest of earthly calamities, and a death blow to the cause of freedom throughout the world . . . In so large a party as the Republican, it cannot but be supposed that a great variety of sentiment exists. Voters must act with the party that comes nearest to their individual views in regard to the great questions of the day, and no party can, or should be held responsible for the opinions of the more ultra men, who belong to it, and who are always most solicitous to be heard. There are, no doubt, many who voted for Lincoln, who are entirely indifferent to the subject of Slavery, who have never given it any consideration, and have no particular views in regard to it, while, on the other hand, many genuine abolitionists may have voted the ticket,—though not the more rabid ones, for these refused to vote at all, and denounced Lincoln more bitterly than did any other of his opponents.

The great mass of the Republican party is to be found between these two extremes, and hold the conservative views so often expressed by Lincoln himself.”

## Document M

Source: Thurlow Weed; editorial in the *Evening Journal*, c. December 16, 1860

“With two or three exceptions the suggestions of the Evening Journal . . . have elicited from the Republican press in this and other states responses that there must be . . . no more compromises, no backing down . . . That our views encounter the ‘vigorous resistance’ of our political friends causes less of surprise than of regret . . . The prevalent sentiment . . . rejects all compromises.”

## Document N

Source: Senator James W. Grimes [R-Iowa and member of the Committee of Thirteen]; letter to his wife December 16, 1860

“[Secessionists] want to debauch the moral sentiment of the people of the North, by making them agree to the proposition that slavery is a benign constitutional system.”

## Document O

Source: Senator Benjamin F. Wade [R-Ohio and member of the Committee of Thirteen]; speech to the Senate, December 17, 1860

“I tell you frankly that we did lay down the principle in our platform, that we would prohibit, if we had the power, slavery from invading another inch of the free soil of this government. I stand to that principle today. . . . As to compromises, I supposed that we had agreed that the day of compromises was at an end.”



# 1974

## Document P

Source: Henry Adams; letter to his brother Charles F. Adams [sons of Charles F. Adams, Republican member of the Committee of Thirty-three], December 20, 1860

“Lincoln is all right. You can rely on that. He has exercised a strong influence through several sources on this committee [Committee of Thirty-three] and always right. . . .

## Document Q

Source: South Carolina Ordinance of Secession, December 20, 1860

“We the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, . . . that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved.”

## Document R

Source: Abraham Lincoln; letter to Senator Lyman Trumbull, December 21, 1860

“Thurlow Weed was with me nearly all day yesterday, and left last night with three short resolutions which I drew up, and which, or the substance of which, I think, would do much good if introduced and unanimously supported by our friends. They do not touch the territorial question. Mr. Weed goes to Washington with them. . . . I think it would be best for Mr. Seward to introduce them and Mr. Weed will let him know that I think so. Show this to Mr. Hamlin [Vice-President elect], but beyond him do not let my name be known in the matter.”

## Document S

Source: *New York Tribune*; public statement [authorized by Abraham Lincoln], December 22, 1860

“We are enabled to state in the most positive terms that Mr. Lincoln is utterly opposed to any concession or compromise that shall yield one iota of the position occupied by the Republican Party on the subject of slavery in the territories, and that he stands now, as he stood on May last, when he accepted the nomination for the Presidency, square upon the Chicago platform.”

# 1974

## Document T

Source: Journal of the Committee of Thirteen

Vote of the Committee of Thirteen on Senator Crittenden's Proposal on Territorial Expansion, December 22-24, 1860. [According to a rule of the Committee, no motion could be carried unless majorities of both the Republican members and the Democratic members of the Committee voted for it.]

<u>Senator</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Vote</u>
Jacob Collamer	Vermont	Republican	No
James R. Doolittle	Wisconsin	Republican	No
James W. Grimes	Iowa	Republican	No
William H. Seward	New York	Republican	No
Benjamin F. Wade	Ohio	Republican	No
William Bigler	Pennsylvania	Democrat	Yes
John J. Crittenden	Kentucky	Democrat	Yes
Jefferson Davis	Mississippi	Democrat	No
Stephen A. Douglas	Illinois	Democrat	Yes
Robert M. T. Hunter	Virginia	Democrat	Yes
Lazarus W. Powell	Kentucky	Democrat	Yes
Henry M. Rice	Missouri	Democrat	Yes
Robert A. Toombs	Georgia	Democrat	No

## Document U

Source: Senator William H. Seward; letter to his wife, December 24, 1860

"I am here at last. . . . I got three hours sleep after my arrival; and then got to the capitol on time to meet the Union Saving Committee of Thirteen. We came to no compromise; and we shall not. We shall, therefore, see the fuller development of the secession movement. . . ."

END OF 1974 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Time—55 minutes

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents. You will have 55 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived from the documents. You may refer to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents and assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.

1. Analyze the factors that influenced the Senate in ratifying the Treaty of Paris in 1899 and assess their relative significance. Your analysis and assessment should take into account the complexities and/or contradictions presented by the evidence.

*[Historical setting: With the end of hostilities in the Spanish-American War in August 1898, public debate in the United States focused on overseas expansion. In the November elections, the Republicans, regarded as the expansion party, won a plurality of the congressional seats. In early December public debate heightened with the publication of the Treaty of Paris which revealed President William McKinley's decision to take the entire Philippines from Spain. During December and January, supporters and opponents of ratification of the treaty mapped strategies and debated issues publicly and privately. Anti-expansionists in both parties generally opposed ratification. However, William Jennings Bryan, a leading anti-expansionist and nominee of the Democratic party for the presidency in 1896, wished to have the treaty ratified immediately, thus ending the war and detaching the Philippines from Spain, and then have the Filipinos granted independence by congressional resolution. On January 5, a day after formal debate began in the Senate, President McKinley directed United States military occupation and control of the entire Philippines. On February 4, just as Senate debate was concluding, Philippine nationalists under Emilio Aguinaldo initiated open hostilities against these United States forces. On February 6 the Senate narrowly ratified the Treaty of Paris by the required two-thirds margin, 57-27 (Document O). Although historians have described numerous factors shaping ratification, there is little agreement as to the relative significance of these factors.]*

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1975

Document A

Source: *Minneapolis Journal*; cartoon of week of November 13, 1898



THE EXPANSION POLICY.

G.O.P. (to Democratic Donkey)—“Better pitch in, old fellow, and get an expansion on yourself.”

Document B

Source: William Jennings Bryan; interview at Lincoln, Nebraska, *Public Opinion*, November 24, 1898

“The [congressional] election [cannot] be regarded as an endorsement of any definite foreign policy. Until a treaty of peace has been entered into and the terms made known, the people can not pass judgement upon it.”

## Document C

Source: William Jennings Bryan; interview at Savannah, Georgia, *The New York Times*, December 13, 1898

"Some think the fight should be made against the ratification of the treaty, but I would prefer another plan. If the treaty is rejected negotiations must be renewed and instead of settling the question according to our ideas we must settle it by diplomacy. . . . It will be easier, I think, to end the war at once by ratifying the treaty and then deal with the subject in our own way. The issue can be presented directly by a resolution of congress declaring the policy of the nation upon this subject."

## Document D

Source: Editorial comment after President William McKinley's proclamation regarding the annexation of the entire Philippines; *Public Opinion*, January 12, 1899

"President McKinley's influence in determining that the United States should annex Spanish territory gained in the war has led many anti-expansionist newspaper writers to call attention to the large power of our executive."

## Document E

Source: *Philadelphia Press*; cartoon of week of January 8, 1899



UNCLE SAM TO AGUINALDO.

# 1975

## Document F

Source: Senator George F. Hoar [R–Massachusetts, a leader in the Senate against ratification]; Senate speech, January 9, 1899

“When you raise the flag over the Philippine Islands as an emblem of dominion and acquisition you take it down from Independence Hall. . . . Over every clause, syllable, and letter of the Constitution the Declaration of Independence pours its blazing torchlight. . . . The power to conquer alien peoples and hold them in subjection is nowhere expressly granted.”

## Document G

Source: Senator Orville Platt [R–Connecticut, a leader in the Senate for ratification]; Senate speech, January 9, 1899

“Who would turn back the hand of time to meet the requirements of the doctrines of the senator of Massachusetts [Senator Hoar]? It is the spirit of the Declaration of Independence that gives it life. I am one of those who believe that we shall not ring the doom of this country when we shall place over our inhabitants of our conquered territory legislation which will confer upon them the blessings of happiness and prosperity.”

## Document H

Source: Andrew Carnegie, industrialist and anti-expansionist; letter sent from Washington, D.C., to Bryan, January 10, 1899

“Friends here who know tell me the treaty can be defeated with 2 or 3 votes to spare. Your advocacy of ratification has discouraged matters—several are now shaky against defeating it. I wish you were here to be satisfied that you have the power to defeat this treaty.”

## Document I

Source: Governor Theodore Roosevelt, expansionist; letter from Albany, New York, to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge [R–Massachusetts, a leader in the Senate for ratification]; January 12, 1899. Kipling’s poem, *The White Man’s Burden*, was published in *McClure’s Magazine* during the week of February 5, 1899.

“I send you an advance copy of a poem of Kipling which is rather poor poetry, but good sense from the expansion standpoint.

• • •

Take up the White Man’s burden—  
Send forth the best ye breed—  
Go, bind your sons in exile  
To serve your captives’ need;  
To wait in heavy harness  
On fluttered folk and wild—  
Your new-caught sullen peoples,  
Half devil and half child.”



# 1975

## Document J

Source: William Jennings Bryan writing to Andrew Carnegie from [Lincoln, Nebraska?], January 13, 1899

“I have tried to convince others but have not tried to control them. Your plan [to defeat the treaty in the Senate] is dangerous, my plan is safe. Our course is just and I have faith in the people. If the people are against us the minority of the Senate cannot save us. We ought not to succeed unless the people are with us.”

## Document K

Source: Senator John L. McLaurin [D–South Carolina, a leader in the Senate against ratification]; Senate speech, January 13, 1899

“Senator Platt most amply vindicated the South, perhaps unintentionally, but we thank him the more heartily for his complete announcement of the divine right of the Caucasian to govern the inferior races. When the question is brought home the white man is the same everywhere. The Senator, perhaps unconsciously, shows that he realized . . . he has to do what we did after reconstruction—pitch his tent outside the spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments of the Constitution.”

## Document L

Source: Senator Arthur P. Gorman [D–Maryland, a leader in the Senate against ratification]; to Arthur P. Dunn, Washington correspondent, week of January 29, 1899

“It’s an outrage the way Hanna and his friends are working this treaty through the Senate. If an honest vote could be taken I doubt whether there is a bare majority for the treaty; but all the railroad influence, which is being worked through Elkins, all the commercial interest which can be reached are bringing pressure on Senators in the most shameful manner.”

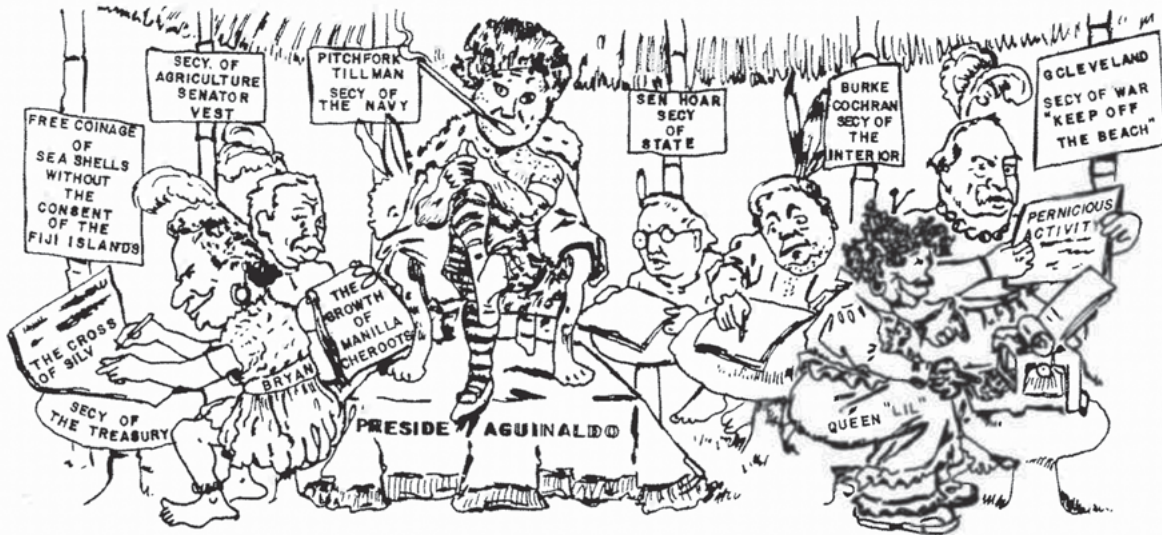
## Document M

Source: Charles G. Dawes, prominent Republican and friend of both William Jennings Bryan and President William McKinley; entry in his diary, February 5, 1899

“[A special edition of the Washington Post] announced an engagement with American troops at Manila — 25 Americans died and about 120 wounded. This caused considerable excitement and will have an effect upon the vote in the senate and upon the ratification of the treaty with Spain tomorrow.”

## Document N

Source: *Minneapolis Journal*; cartoon of week of February 5, 1899



A SUGGESTION FOR AGUINALDO'S CABINET.

## Document O

SENATE VOTE, BY PARTY, FOR AND AGAINST RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF PARIS  
FEBRUARY 6, 1899.

<u>For ratification—57 (total)</u>		<u>Against ratification—27 (total)</u>	
Republican . . . . .	38	Republican . . . . .	2
Democrat . . . . .	11	Democrat . . . . .	22
Silver . . . . .	4	Silver . . . . .	1
Populist . . . . .	3	Populist . . . . .	2
Independent . . . . .	1		

Among those voting in the affirmative were Senators Cushman K. Davis [R–Minnesota], Stephen F. Elkins [R–West Virginia], Marcus A. Hanna [R–Ohio], John P. Jones [S–Nevada], Richard R. Kenney [D–Delaware], Henry Cabot Lodge [R–Massachusetts], Samuel D. McEnery [D–Louisiana], John L. McLaurin [D–South Carolina], and Orville H. Platt [R–Connecticut].

Among those voting in the negative were Senators Arthur P. Gorman [D–Maryland], Henry Heitfeld [P–Idaho], George F. Hoar [R–Massachusetts], Benjamin R. Tillman [D–South Carolina], and George D. Vest [D–Missouri].



## Document P

Source: Governor Theodore Roosevelt; letter to Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, February 7, 1899

"I am more grateful than I can say; partly to the Senate, partly to providence, and partly to the Filipinos. They just pulled the treaty through for us."

## Document Q

Source: From the notes of Arthur P. Dunn; week of February 5, 1899

"McEnery [D-Louisiana] was promised the appointment of a United States Judge of his choice. McLaurin of South Carolina was won over by being allowed to name postmasters in that state. Kenney [D-Delaware] was squeezed by some sort of court proceeding in his state and had to vote for the treaty."

## Document R

Source: Senator Marcus A. Hanna [R-Ohio, a leader in the Senate for ratification]; letter to President William McKinley, February 7, 1899

"In securing the votes of McEnery and McLaurin yesterday I made myself your representative to the extent of a personal plea, so if either should call at the White House today don't fail to express your appreciation of their acts."

## Document S

Source: Senator Cushman K. Davis [R-Minnesota]; letter to President William McKinley, February 7, 1899

"When you see Senator Elkins have him tell you about the struggle. I do not believe we could have secured ratification without him."

## Document T

Source: Senator Arthur P. Gorman; letter to Andrew Carnegie, February 9, 1899

"The result only shows the power of the administration in controlling votes in the Senate. If the peculiar circumstances surrounding this case shall ever be generally known, it will be found that they excel anything which has heretofore occurred."

# 1975

## Document U

Source: Senator Henry Cabot Lodge; letter to Governor Theodore Roosevelt, February 9, 1899

"Many thanks for your letter of the 7th. Strange as it might appear, we did not save the treaty by the fight at Manilla. On Sat. we had . . . four doubtful men to work upon. One of them, Heitfeld [P-Idaho], went squarely over to the opposition on Sun. and was lost to us. The other three remained doubtful. We went into exec session on Mon. [February 6] at 2 o'clock. . . . At half past two, McLaurin came over. . . . At five minutes before three McEnery agreed to vote with us, and then Jones [S-Nevada] dropped in giving us an extra vote after the first roll call had been completed, and we knew that we had the treaty ratified. . . . It was the closest, hardest fight I have ever known, and probably we shall not see another in our time where there was so much at stake. . . . I saw the President nearly every day while it was going on. He was extremely anxious, but showed the greatest firmness and strength, and did everything he could do."

## Document V

Source: Senator George F. Hoar; letter to William Jennings Bryan, May 15, 1900

"I felt very sure of the defeat of the treaty with a good many votes to spare. In that condition I was told by a considerable number of influential Democrats, your political friends and supporters, . . . that you came to Washington, and, in spite of an earnest remonstrance from them, urged persons whom you could influence to vote for the treaty. . . . I cannot help thinking that next to President McKinley, you are the person in the country most responsible for the adoption of the treaty."

END OF 1975 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Time—60 minutes

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying Documents A-O. You will have 60 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived from the document. You may also refer to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents and assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.

1. Was American society, as evidenced by Wethersfield, Connecticut, becoming more “democratic” in the period from the 1750’s to the 1780’s? Discuss with reference to property distribution, social structure, politics, and religion.

Document A

APPROXIMATE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF  
WETHERSFIELD VILLAGE IN 1756 AND 1774

	<u>1756</u>	<u>1774</u>
Whites	1,120	1,727
Free Blacks	40	62
Slaves	40	35

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# 1976

## Document B

### APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF TAXABLE PROPERTY IN WETHERSFIELD VILLAGE IN 1756 AND 1773\*

Adult White Males Ranked in Deciles According to Value of Assessed Property		Average Tax Assessment of Property in Pounds Sterling (£)		Per Cent of Total Value of Assessed Property	
		<u>1756</u>	<u>1773</u>	<u>1756</u>	<u>1773</u>
Highest	10%	£127	£163	35.0	50.9
2nd	10%	71	65	19.5	20.4
3rd	10%	57	35	15.7	10.9
4th	10%	45	24	12.4	7.5
5th	10%	29	16	8.0	5.0
6th	10%	20	11	5.6	3.5
7th	10%	10	5	2.6	1.5
8th	10%	3	1	1.0	.2
9th	10%	1	0	.1	.0
Lowest	10%	0	0	.0	.0

\*Based on a representative sample of 100 adult white males.

## Document C

### DISTRIBUTION OF LAND HOLDINGS IN WETHERSFIELD VILLAGE IN 1756 AND 1773

Number of Acres in Holding	Per Cent of Total Land Holdings	
	<u>1756</u>	<u>1773</u>
1,000 or more	0	2
200-999	2	2
100-199	3	11
50-99	13	12
10-49	42	19
1-9	23	21
no land	17	33

# 1976

## Document D

### WEALTHIEST ADULT WHITE MALES IN WETHERSFIELD VILLAGE AND THEIR ASSESSMENTS IN 1756 AND 1774\*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Assessment in Pounds Sterling (£)</u>
1756	John Chester, Sr.	£320
	Thomas Belden	300
	Ebenezer Belden	290
	Josiah Grizwold	213
	Samuel Buck	188
1774	John Chester, Jr.	491
	Ebenezer Belden	323
	Josiah Buck	231
	Thomas Belden	217
	Silas Deane	208

\*Based on a representative sample of 100 adult white males.



# 1976

## Document E

The pictures below are modern photographs of Wethersfield Village houses built between 1750 and 1775. The name of the original owner and the original owner's tax assessment on his total property (1775) are indicated.



Joseph Webb, £178



Thomas Harris, £52



Charles Bulkley, £30



Titus Buck, £17

## Document F

Source: Silas Deane, Wethersfield merchant and a Connecticut delegate to the First Continental Congress, to Patrick Henry, a Virginia delegate to the First Continental Congress; written from Wethersfield, January 2, 1775.

“Reflecting on the conversations passed between us at Philadelphia, I am inclined to think that a number of inhabitants from this Colony (Connecticut) would venture on a settlement on the Ohio [River]. . . . [The Connecticut man’s] first principle is to possess a disencumbered freehold, be it ever so small, in preference to the largest under quit rents and landlords. . . . The lands given should be divided into lots of about two or three hundred acres to each family and not more, for a Connecticut farmer with two hundred and fifty or three hundred acres of good land, is a rich man, that is, as rich as he wishes to be, for this Colony is now so full of inhabitants that there is not more than twelve acres to a person. . . .

“I could procure a number [of settlers], sufficient for one town, who would incline to settle a little (or rather as many as possible), on the New England plan. . . . I will describe the method of settling and governing one of them, from which sample you will be acquainted with the whole. All lands in New England (except in New Hampshire) are absolutely in the disposal of the General Assembly. . . . The Assembly grants on the following conditions: seventy families settle within such and such a time, four or five years perhaps. They, being settled, shall support a minister or clergyman, of some of the protestant professions [i.e., denominations]. Dissenters [i.e., Congregationalists] to be preferred; also a school master. When they become more numerous and are desirous of it, they may send deputies to the general assembly, but when they do this and not before, they are liable to be taxed by the Assembly, for the support of the government. . . . All their domestic [concerns are] under their own regulation; they meet at least once in each year, and make choice of a number of the more steady of their number for selectment, as they are called. These are officers . . . conducting all the public affairs of the town, in which they are accountable to no one but to the inhabitants in full meeting . . . their power expires within the year, when new ones [are chosen], or they are rechosen they are in short a sort of censors on the manners of the people. They summon the people together as they judge proper. . . . Thus each town is in some degree a distinct republic with power even of passing what they call by-laws not repugnant to those of the Colony passed in General assembly, where all are united by a representation chosen by each annually (or twice each year as is the case with us in Connecticut).”

# 1976

## Document G

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT  
WHITE MALES BY POLITICAL STATUS IN  
WETHERSFIELD VILLAGE IN THE PERIODS  
1751-1756 AND 1771-1776

<u>Political Status</u>	<u>Per Cent of Adult White Males</u>	
	<u>1751-1756</u>	<u>1771-1776</u>
Able to meet freeman (voter) requirements	65	67
Taking freeman's oath (i.e., registering to vote)	40	62
Actually voting	30	53
Elected to all town offices (includes major offices such as Selectmen and militia officers and minor offices such as jurors and surveyors)	32	52

## Document H

DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR TOWN OFFICES  
AMONG ASSESSED ADULT WHITE MALES IN  
WETHERSFIELD VILLAGE IN THE PERIODS  
1751-1756 AND 1771-1776

<u>Adult White Males Ranked in Deciles According to Value of Assessed Property</u>		<u>Per Cent of Adult White Males Elected to Major Town Office</u>	
		<u>1751-1756</u>	<u>1771-1776</u>
Highest	10%	67	40
2nd	10%	15	37
3rd	10%	7	3
4th	10%	7	5
5th	10%	4	2
6th	10%	0	0
7th	10%	0	8
8th	10%	0	5
9th	10%	0	0
Lowest	10%	0	0



# 1976

## Document I

Source: Rev. Ebenezer Frothingham, letter sent from the Hartford jail to the Rev. James Lockwood, minister of the First Church of Christ, Wethersfield, April 25, 1745

Note: The following letter was written by the Rev. Ebenezer Frothingham, a so-called Separatist minister, who had been jailed under Connecticut law for preaching in Wethersfield without the consent of the Rev. James Lockwood, the minister of the officially established Congregational church in Wethersfield parish. Lockwood had initiated legal proceedings against Frothingham with the civil authorities.

"I [write] this by paper to Let you know this time perhaps you have a prejudice in your heart against me. . . [in] taking me from my Business that god in his providence Called me to. . . [Y]ou had no warrant from the word of god to do, nor no authority under heaven—as a Civil authority has no Right to meddle with Ecclesiastical affairs (if I had transgress'd it was to the Church [to which] Christ the great sheperd has Committed all the power. . . ) Let me Intreat & warn you not to touch them [Separatists] in matters of Religion to Carry them before [civil] authority for in so doing you touch the apple of Christ's Eye, and these Lives will be a swift witness against you. . .

## Document J

Source: Rev. James Lockwood, minister of the First Church of Christ, Wethersfield; an Election Sermon preached before the Connecticut General Assembly, May 9, 1754

"In a civil community there is a necessary subordination of persons; some are entrusted with authority and power to rule over others, and to manage and conduct the public affairs: whilst others are in places of inferiority and subjection: and the health and prosperity of the community very much depends on the faithful discharge of the duties incumbent on the various members of it, resulting from the stations they hold in, or relations they bear to the state. . . .

"As rulers are raised up by God, not for their own sakes, but for the people's; there is the highest reason they should be treated with respect, honour, and submission. For people to treat their persons or characters with rudeness and disrespect; to slight or vilify their laws or rashly censure their administrations; to cherish uneasy or mutinous dispositions, or give into seditious and riotous practices, is very inexcusable."

## Document K

Note: The following two laws were enacted by the Connecticut Assembly in 1770.

" . . . no person in this colony, professing the Christian protestant religion, who soberly and conscientiously dissent from the worship and ministry established by the laws of the colony and attend public worship by themselves shall incur any of the penalties . . . for not attending the worship and ministry so established on the Lord's day or on account of their meeting together by themselves on said day for the public workshop of God in a way agreeable to their consciences."

" . . . all ministers of the gospel that now are or hereafter shall be settled in this colony, during their continuance in the ministry, shall have all their estates . . . exempted out of the lists of polls [i.e., poll taxes] and rateable [i.e., assessable] estates."

## Document L

Source: Jared Ingersoll; account of "The Wethersfield Affair," *Connecticut Gazette*, September 27, 1765

Note: The following is an account by Jared Ingersoll, a prominent New Haven attorney, of his detention in Wethersfield by a crowd of men who hoped to subvert the Stamp Act by forcing him to resign his position as distributor of stamps for Connecticut.

"After some little Time, I dismounted and went into the House with the Persons who were called the Committee, the main Body continuing out doors. And here I ought not to omit mentioning that I was told repeatedly that they had no Intentions of hurting me or my Estate; but would use me like a Gentleman; this however I conclude they will understand was on condition I should comply with their demands. . . . This Committee behaved with Moderation and civility, and I thought seemed inclined to listen to certain Proposals which I made, but when the Body of the People came to hear them they rejected them, and nothing would do but I must resign [as distributor of stamps]. . . .

"The Commandant [of the Committee] told me with seeming Concern in his Countenance that he could not keep the People off from me any longer; and that if they once began, he could not promise me where they would end. I now thought it was Time to submit. . . . Upon this I looked out at a front Window, beckoning the People and told them, I had consented to comply with their desires; and only waited to have something drawn up for me to sign. . . . Outside when I had done, a person who stood near me, told me to [shout] Liberty and Property, with three Cheers, which I did, throwing up my Hat into the Air; this was followed by loud Huzzas, and then many of the People were pleased to take me by the hand and tell me I was restored to their former Friendship. I then went with two or three more to a neighbouring House [Joseph Webb's House] where we dined."

# 1976

## Document M

Source: Agreement of the Wethersfield Company of Volunteers under the command of Capt. John Chester, Jr., April 23, 1775, signed by all volunteers prior to their engagement in the Battle of Bunker Hill

“To all Christian people believing in, and relying on that God to whom our Enemies have at last forced us to appeal, Be it known. . . Driven to the last necessity and obliged to have recourse to arms, in defence of our Lives and our Liberties, and from the suddenness of the occasion deprived of that Legal Authority whose dictates we ever with pleasure obey, we find it necessary, for preventing disorders, irregularities and misunderstandings, in the course of our march and service, solemnly to agree to, and with each other, on the following Regulations and Orders, binding ourselves by all that is dear and sacred, carefully and constantly to observe and keep them. . . .

“So long as we continue in our present situation of a voluntary Independent Company, we engage to submit on all occasions to such decisions as shall be made and given by the majority of the officers we have chosen; and when any difference arises between man and man, it shall be laid before the officers aforesaid, and their decision shall be final. . . .

“Scorning all ignoble motives, and superior to the low and slavish practice of enforcing on men their duty by blows, it is agreed, that when private admonition for any offence, by any of our Body committed, will not reform, public [warning] shall be made, and if that should not have the desired effect, after proper pains taken, and the same repeated, such incorrigible person shall be turned out of the Company as totally and unworthy of serving in so great and glorious a cause, and be delivered over to suffer the contempt of his Countrymen. . . .

“In witness whereof, We have hereunto set our hands this 23 April, 1775.”

## Document N

Source: Rev. Samuel Peters, Anglican clergyman, from England who visited much of Connecticut; *History of Connecticut*, 1782

“A stranger in the colony, upon hearing the inhabitants talk of religion, liberty, and justice, would be induced to believe that the christian and civil virtues were their distinguishing characteristics; but he soon finds his mistake on fixing his abode among them. Their laws grind the poor, and their religion is to oppress the oppressed. The poll-tax is unjust and cruel. The poor man is compelled to pay [the poll tax], . . . work four days on the highways, serve in the militia four days, and pay three shillings for his hut without a window in it. The best house and richest man in the colony pays no more!

“The law is pretended to exempt episcopalians, anabaptists, quakers, and others, from paying rates to the Sober Dissenters [i.e., Congregationalists]; but, at the same time, gives the Sober Dissenters power to tax them for minister, school, and town-rates, by a general vote; and no law or court can put asunder what the town has joined together.—The law also exempts [all members of other Christian churches who attend their own church] from paying to Sober Dissenters. . . . But, hence, if a man is sick, and does not attend more than 26 Sabbaths in a year, he becomes legally a Sober Dissenter. . . .”



## Document O

Source: Timothy Dwight, prominent Connecticut poet and later President of Yale; "Greenfield Hill" (a poetic description of a typical Connecticut town), 1794

• • •

How bless'd the sight of such a numerous train [people]  
 In such small limits, tasting every good  
 Of competence, of independence, peace,  
 And liberty unmingled; every house  
 On its own ground, and every happy swain [young man]  
 Beholding no superior, but the laws,  
 And such as virtue, knowledge, useful life,  
 And zeal, exerted for the public good,  
 Have rais'd above the throng. For here, in truth,  
 Not in pretence, man is esteem'd as man.  
 Not here how rich, of what peculiar blood,  
 Or office high; but of what genuine worth,  
 What talents bright and useful, what good deeds,  
 What piety to God, what love to man,  
 The question is.

• • •

Beneath their eye,  
 And forming hand, in every hamlet, rose  
 The nurturing school; in every village, smil'd  
 The heav'n-inviting church, and every town  
 A world within itself, with order, peace,  
 And harmony, adjusted all its weal [well-being].

END OF 1976 DBQ DOCUMENTS



The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Time—60 minutes

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying Documents A-S. You will have 60 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived mainly from the documents. You may also refer to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents and may assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.

1. The debate over the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 revealed bitter controversies on a number of issues. Discuss the issues involved and explain why these controversies developed.

[Historical Setting: During June and July, 1798, Congress passed four bills, together known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. Granting the federal government extensive powers to deal with internal subversion, these acts did the following:

- (1) required a fourteen-year residency period for aliens prior to naturalization as a citizen
- (2) gave the President power to deport "all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States"
- (3) allowed the restraint and removal in time of war of resident adult aliens of the hostile nation
- (4) prohibited combination or conspiracy against the United States government and the publication of "scandalous and malicious" writings against the government or its officials, under penalty of fine or imprisonment

These Acts capped a decade of domestic turmoil and of international crisis, beginning with the outbreak of the French Revolution in the summer of 1789 and culminating in the notorious "XYZ Affair" of October, 1797. At that time, three American commissioners seeking a treaty of commerce and friendship with France received demands from "Monsieurs X, Y, and Z," three representatives of the "Directory" which ruled France. These demands were for a United States loan, a bribe, and an apology from President Adams for some anti-French remarks.

The Alien and Sedition Acts of the following year immediately became the subject of vigorous controversy. Historians, likewise, continue to debate the reasons for their passage and their significance for understanding American society in the 1790's.]

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## Document A

Source: George Washington, President of the United States, letter to John Adams, Vice-President (November 15, 1794)

“My opinion, with respect to [immigration] is, that except of useful mechanics and some particular descriptions of men or professions, there is no need of encouragement, while the policy or advantage of its taking place in a body (I mean the settling of them in a body) may be much questioned; for, by so doing, they retain the Language, habits and principles (good or bad) which they bring with them—Whereas by an intermixture with our people, they, or their descendants, get assimilated to our customs, measures and laws:—in a word, soon become one people.”

## Document B

Source: Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (published in Paris, 1785)

“The present desire of America is to produce rapid population by as great importations of foreigners as possible. But is this founded in good policy?”

“Every species of government has its specific principles. Ours perhaps are more peculiar than those of any other in the universe. It is a composition of the freest principles of the English constitution, with others derived from natural right and natural reason. To these nothing can be more opposed than the maxims of absolute monarchies. Yet from such we are to expect the greatest number of emigrants. They will bring with them the principles of the governments they leave, imbibed in their early youth; or, if able to throw them off, it will be in exchange for an unbounded licentiousness, passing, as is usual, from one extreme to another. It would be a miracle were they to stop precisely at the point of temperate liberty. These principles, with their language, they will transmit to their children. In proportion to their numbers, they will share with us the legislation. They will infuse into it their spirit, warp and bias its directions, and render it a heterogenous, incoherent, distracted mass.”

## Document C

Source: Thomas Jefferson, United States minister to France, letter to Francis Hopkinson of Pennsylvania (March 13, 1789)

“You say that I have been dished up to you as an antifederalist, and ask me if it be just. . . . I am not a Federalist, because I never submitted the whole system of my opinions to the creed of any party of men whatever in religion, in philosophy, in politics, or in anything else where I was capable of thinking for myself. Such an addiction is the last degradation of a free and moral agent. If I could not go to heaven but with a party, I would not go there at all. Therefore I protest to you I am not of the party of federalists. But I am much farther from that of the Antifederalists. I approved, from the first moment, of the great mass of what is in the new constitution. . . .”



## Document D

Source: Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, letter to Colonel Edward Carrington of Virginia (May 26, 1792)

"It was not till the last session [of Congress] that I became unequivocally convinced of the following truth: 'That Mr. Madison, cooperating with Mr. Jefferson [the secretary of state], 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 almost all the questions, great and small, which have arisen since the first session of Congress, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison have been found among those who are disposed to narrow the federal authority.

"In respect to foreign politics, the views of these gentlemen are, in my judgment, . . . unsound and dangerous. They have a womanish attachment to France and a womanish resentment against Great Britain. They would draw us into the closest embrace of the former, and involve us in all the consequences of her politics; and they would risk the peace of the country in their endeavors to keep us at the greatest possible distance from the latter. . . . Various circumstances prove to me that if these gentlemen were left to pursue their own course, there would be, in less than six months, an open war between the United States and Great Britain.

"A word on another point. I am told that serious apprehensions are disseminated in your state [Virginia] as to the existence of a monarchical party meditating the destruction of State and republican government. If it is possible that so absurd an idea can gain ground, it is necessary that it should be combated. I assure you, on my private faith and honor as a man, that there is not, in my judgment, a shadow of foundation for it. A very small number of men indeed may entertain theories less republican than Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, but I am persuaded there is not a man among them who would not regard as both criminal and visionary any attempt to subvert the republican system of the country."

## Document E

Source: Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state, letter to George Washington (September 9, 1792)

"That . . . [internal] dissensions have taken place is certain, and even among those who are nearest to you in the administration. To no one have they given deeper concern than myself. . . .

"That I have utterly, in my private conversations, disapproved of the system of the Secretary of the Treasury [i.e., Hamilton's economic program], I acknowledge and avow; and this was not merely a speculative difference. His system flowed from principles adverse to liberty, and was calculated to undermine and demolish the Republic, by creating an influence of his department over the members of the Legislature. I saw his influence actually produced, and its first fruits to be the establishment of the great outlines of his project by the votes of the very persons who, having swallowed his bait, were laying themselves out to profit by his plans. . . .

**Document F**

Source: Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Branch Giles, Democratic-Republican congressman from Virginia (December 31, 1795)

“Were parties here divided merely by a greediness for office, as in England, to take a part with either would be unworthy of a reasonable or moral man, but where the principle of difference is as substantial and as strongly pronounced as between the republicans and the Monocrats of our country, I hold it as honorable to take a firm and decided part, and as immoral to pursue a middle line, as between the parties of Honest men, and Rogues, into which every country is divided.”

**Document G**

Source: Thomas Jefferson, letter to Phillip Mazzei of Italy (April 24, 1796)

“The aspect of our politics has wonderfully changed since you left us. In place of that noble love of liberty, & republican government which carried us triumphantly thro’ the war, an Anglican monarchical, & aristocratical party has sprung up, whose avowed object is to draw over us the substance, as they have already done the forms, of the British government. The main body of our citizens, however, remain true to their republican principles; the whole landed interest is republican, and so is a great mass of talents. Against us are the Executive, the Judiciary, two out of three branches of the legislature, all the officers of the government, all who want to be officers, all timid men who prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty, British merchants & Americans trading on British [capital], speculators & holders in the banks & public funds, . . .”

**Document H**

Source: Alexander Hamilton, draft of George Washington’s Farewell Address, substantially incorporated in the final version (August, 1796)

“Besides the more serious causes which have been hinted at as endangering our Union, there is another less dangerous, but against which it is necessary to be on our guard; I mean the petulance of party differences of opinion.

“All obstructions to the execution of the laws—all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to counteract, control, or awe the regular action of the constituted authorities, are contrary to this fundamental principle [the duty of every individual to obey the established government], and of the most fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, and to put in the stead of the delegated will of the whole nation the will of a party, often a small minority of the whole community. . . . They are likely to produce, in the course of time and things, the most effectual engines by which artful, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and usurp the reins of government.”



Note: During the latter part of 1796, the French Directory, in power for more than a year, interfered with American shipping and refused to receive the American minister.

## Document I

Source: Alexander Hamilton, using the pseudonym "Americus," in *The Warning*, Parts II and VI (February 7 and March 27, 1797)

"The man who . . . shall be the apologist of France, and [who attacks] his own government, is not an American. The choice for him lies between being deemed a fool, a madman, or a traitor."

## Document J

Source: John Adams, President of the United States, address to special session of Congress (May 16, 1797)

"The Speech of the President [of the French Directory] . . . evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the Government; to persuade them that they have different affections, principles, and interests, from those of their fellow citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns; and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace. . . ."

## Document K

Source: Theodore Sedgwick, Federalist whip in the Senate, letter to an unidentified recipient (March 7, 1798)

"It [the publication of the dispatches from the American commissioners about the XYZ Affair] will afford a glorious opportunity to destroy faction."

## Document L

Source: Thomas Jefferson to James Madison (April 6, 1798)

"The most artful misrepresentations of the contents of these [XYZ Affair] papers were published yesterday, & produced such a shock on the republican mind, as has never been seen since our independence."

## Document M

Source: "Cinque-tetes [five heads], or the Paris Monster," an American cartoon representing the XYZ Affair (c. 1798)

This cartoon is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California



Note: The French words spoken in the middle of the cartoon mean "Money is required, much money."

Note: During early 1798, President John Adams denounced the French for their demands and refused to apologize for anti-French remarks he had made.

## Document N

Source: James Madison, letter to Thomas Jefferson (May 20, 1798)

"Every answer [President Adams] gives to his addressers [i.e., resolutions from around the country praising the conduct of the President in the XYZ Affair] unmask[s] more and more his principles & views. . . . He remarked to me 'that there was not a single principle the same in the American & French Revolutions'. . . . The abolition of Royalty was it seems not one of his Revolutionary principles. Whether he always made this profession is best known to those, who knew him in the year 1776."



## Document O

Source: Alexander Hamilton, letter to Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury (June 29, 1798)

“I have this moment seen a bill brought into the Senate entitled ‘A Bill to define more particularly the crime of Treason,’ etc. [i.e., the first draft of the Sedition Act]. There are provisions in this bill, which, according to a cursory view, appear to me highly exceptionable, and such as, more than any thing else, may endanger civil war. . . . I hope sincerely the thing may not be hurried through. Let us not establish a tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence. If we make no false step, we shall be essentially united, but if we push things to an extreme, we shall then give to faction body and solidity.”

## Document P

Source: Albert Gallatin, Democratic-Republican congressman from Pennsylvania, speech in the House of Representatives on the proposed Sedition Act (July 5, 1798)

“The only evidences brought by the supporters of this bill [i.e., the Sedition Act] consist of writings expressing an opinion that certain measures of government have been dictated by an unwise policy, or by improper motives, and that some of them are unconstitutional. This bill and its supporters suppose, in fact, that whoever dislikes the measures of administration and of a temporary majority in Congress, and shall, either by speaking or writing, express his disapprobation and his want of confidence in the men now in power, is seditious, is an enemy, not of administration but of the Constitution, and is liable to punishment. That principle . . . was subversive of the principles of the Constitution itself. If you put the press under any restraint in respect to the measures of members of government; if you thus deprive the people of the means of obtaining information of their conduct, you in fact render their right of electing nugatory; and this bill must be considered only as a weapon used by a party now in power in order to perpetuate their authority and preserve their present places.”

## Document Q

Source: Edward Livingston, Democratic-Republican congressman from New York, speech in the House of Representatives on the proposed Alien Act (June 21, 1798)

“. . . by this act [i.e., the Alien Act] . . . the president alone is empowered to make the law, to fix in his mind what acts, what words, what thoughts or looks, shall constitute the crime contemplated by the bill, that is the crime of being ‘suspected to be dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. . . .’ The president, then, having made the law, the president having construed and applied it, the same president is by the bill authorized to execute his sentence, in case of disobedience, by imprisonment during his pleasure. This, then, comes completely within the definition of despotism — a union of legislative, executive, and judicial powers.”

# 1977

## Document R

Source: John Allen, Federalist congressman from Connecticut, speech in the House of Representatives on the proposed Sedition Act (July 5, 1798)

"I say, sir, a combination, a conspiracy against the Constitution, the government, the peace and safety of this country, is formed, and is in full operation. It embraces members of all classes; the representative of the people on this floor, the wild and visionary theorist in the bloody philosophy of the day, the learned and ignorant.

"The freedom of the press and opinions was never understood to give the right of publishing falsehoods and slanders, nor of exciting sedition, insurrection, and slaughter, with impunity. A man was always answerable for the malicious publication of falsehood; and what more does this bill require?"

## Document S

Source: D. M. Erskine, a young Englishman visiting the United States, letters to his father (December 9, 1798 and January 1, 1799)

". . . the intolerance is greater in this Country by much, upon the subject of Politics, than it is with us: they think nothing of wishing each other destroyed; each Party openly descanting upon the probability of its becoming a matter of necessity to extirpate the opponent one, the (Aristocrats [to destroy] the Democrats) and vice versa for so . . . are the parties divided & distinguished. . . ."

". . . Politics has so divided Men & so far do they carry it that it seldom happens that a person of one way of thinking visits any body in the opposite; they are ranked into Federalist & Anti-Federalist, which as I have before explained does not mean those for & against a Federal form of Government, but in fact ins & Outs, tho' it is not confessed. that is the truth I have no doubt."

END OF 1977 DBQ DOCUMENTS



The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Time—60 minutes

Directions: The following question is based on the accompanying Documents A-S. You will have 60 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived mainly from the documents. You may also refer to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents and may assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.

1. In the twentieth century prohibition spread by states' passing local option laws, which permitted a unit of local government, such as a county, to prohibit the sale or consumption of alcoholic beverages. After an intensive campaign by the Anti-Saloon League and other prohibitionist organizations and reform groups, national prohibition was achieved by the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution in 1919.

What accounts for the success of the prohibition movement in the United States during the era of progressive reform, 1900-1919? Consider the social composition of the prohibitionists, their motives, strategy and pressure-group tactics, and the relationship of prohibitionism to progressive reform.

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## Document A

Source: Carry A. Nation, *The Use and Need of the Life of Carry A. Nation* (1908)

"The first thing that struck me was the life-size picture of a naked woman, opposite the mirror. . . . It is very significant that the pictures of naked women are in saloons. Women are stripped of everything by them. Her husband is torn from her, she is robbed of her sons, her home, her food and her virtue, and then they strip her clothes off and hang her up bare in these dens of robbery and murder. Truly does a saloon make a woman bare of all things! The motive for doing this is to suggest vice, animating the animal in man and degrading the respect he should have for the sex to whom he owes his being, yes, his Savior also!"

## Document B

Source: Anti-Saloon League Poster (c. 1907)

## Defective Children Increased With ALCOHOLIZATION of FATHERS

Among the Defects were Epilepsy, Feeble-mindedness and St. Vitus Dance

219 Children of Occasional Drinkers



130 Children of Regular Moderate Drinkers



67 Children of Heavy Drinkers



53 Children of Drunkards



### Alcoholism and Defects of Brain and Nerves Go Hand in Hand

Regular "Moderate" Drinkers Drank daily less than the equivalent of 2 qts. of Beer. Heavy Drinkers more than this amount.

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## Document C

Source: Resolution adopted by the House of Delegates at the annual meeting of the American Medical Association (June 4-8, 1917)

"WHEREAS, We believe that the use of alcohol as a beverage is detrimental to the human economy, and

"WHEREAS, Its use in therapeutics, as a tonic or a stimulant or as a food has no scientific basis, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the American Medical Association opposes the use of alcohol as a beverage; and be it further

"Resolved, That the use of alcohol as a therapeutic agent should be discouraged."

## Document D

Source: Thomas D. West, a businessman, "Back with the Saloon as a Safety First Measure," *Survey* (December 20, 1913)

"There are three distinct conditions that demand special consideration, any one of which would justify refusing licenses to saloons seeking to be near industrial plants:

"First, saloons should be kept back from all industries that have work of a hazardous character. . . .

"Second, industries that are called upon to work men at night time especially should be free from the danger of quarreling, trouble, strikes and accidents due to the existence of near-by saloons.

"Third, all saloons should be refused licenses wherever girls and adult women who pass them must traverse lonely or squalid districts in their journeying to and from their homes."

## Document E

Source: *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, a leading business periodical (March 29, 1919)

"[It is a] singular component of reform that nothing is so important as the task in hand, whether it be the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, or the eight-hour day, or daylight saving, or the removal of signboards from vacant lots. . . . The moral of it all is . . . that we cannot preserve either our liberties, our institutions, or our peculiar form of government, if we are to let self-appointed guardians of the public weal seek the cover of general law for the purpose of obtaining their self-satisfying ends. This prohibition measure and mandate is but one of these ends. It is . . . a theory of the proper social life. In precisely the same manner theorists are seeking to control individual life in commerce."

## Document F

Source: Charles Stelzle, *A Son of the Bowery* (1926)

“It was in the saloon that the working men in those days held their christening parties, their weddings, their dances, their rehearsals for their singing societies, and all other social functions. . . . Undoubtedly the chief element of attraction was the saloon-keeper himself. . . . He was a social force in the community. His greeting was cordial, his appearance neat, and his acquaintance large. He had access to sources of information which were decidedly beneficial to the men who patronized his saloon. Often he secured work for both the working man and his children.”

## Document G

Source: Governor Ben W. Hooper of Tennessee, speech accepting renomination (1912)

“When I appeal to the people for a legislature free from saloon domination my appeal is not based alone upon grounds of temperance and morality. I want to say to the business men and taxpayers of this state that no valuable reform measure of any character can be secured at the hands of a legislature controlled by the whisky power. Why do I say this? Because the saloon lobby will always be found in alliance with every other corrupt and evil influence that infests the legislative halls. It cannot win alone. It wins in combination with other interests, political and financial, which have legislative axes to grind. It finances the combination and thus controls the component parts.”

## Document H

Source: Clarence Darrow, lawyer, speech on the topic: “Should the United States Continue the Policy of Prohibition as Defined in the Eighteenth Amendment?” (December 14, 1924) From *Verdicts Out of Court*, Arthur and Lila Weinberg (eds.) Chicago: Quadrangle Books, © 1963.

“Now, I don’t believe in encouraging prohibitionists. There isn’t anything that they would stop at. They would pass a law to make you go to church—as they have done. They did that in New England, and they picked out the church. They would send you to jail if you didn’t go to it. And then they passed a law against your sleeping in church—and that took all the pleasure out of religion.

“I say that nobody in their right senses would trust their individual liberty to the people who believe in that sort of legislation. . . .

“Now, suppose we admit, for the sake of the argument, that sixty per cent of the people of this country would vote dry. If sixty per cent of the people do not believe in something that the other forty per cent believe in, should they send the forty per cent to jail for what they do?

“The Anti-Saloon League . . . have an organization, and . . . if a man were ‘dry,’ even though he might be a thief, a crook, or the worst enemy the world ever had, every blooming fool fellow who belonged to that League would vote for him. If he were a statesman, a philosopher, a historian, a wise man, but took a drink, he would have to go. So they loaded up the Congress of the United States with nincompoops, with brainless people who would take their commands and sell their souls for votes—and they voted this country dry while these congressmen had liquor salted away in their cellars.”



# 1978

## Document I

Source: A Chicago minister, as quoted in *American Issue*, a pro-prohibition newspaper published in Milwaukee (June 26, 1903)

“Yes, deliverance will come, but it will be from the sober and august Anglo-Saxon south, unspoiled and unpoisoned by the wine-tinted, beer-sodden, whiskey-crazed, sabbath-desecrating, God-defying and anarchy-breeding and practicing minions from over the sea and from the vast and virile country-sides where the bible is not yet effete, nor Christ a myth.”

## Document J

### OCCUPATIONS OF PROHIBITIONIST LEADERS, 1890-1913, AND THEIR FATHERS

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Per Cent of Prohibitionist Leaders</u>	<u>Per Cent of Fathers</u>
Farmer	3.7	53.4
Clergyman	37.2	26.7
Businessman	17.2	9.2
Lawyer	15.9	3.1
Temperance or Social Worker	8.6	0.8
Journalist	5.0	1.5
Teacher	4.4	2.3
Lecturer	3.7	0.0
Physician	1.5	1.5
Clerk or Salesman	2.3	0.0
Skilled Laborer	0.5	1.5

Note: Statistics based on 616 male and female leaders of the Prohibition party and Anti-Saloon League, and 131 of their fathers. Statistics compiled by the historian Jack S. Blocker, Jr., and presented in his book, *Retreat from Reform*, © 1976. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, Greenwood Press, Inc.

## Document K

### RESIDENCE OF PROHIBITIONIST LEADERS COMPARED TO TOTAL UNITED STATES POPULATION, 1910

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Per Cent of Prohibitionist Leaders</u>	<u>Per Cent of Total United States Population</u>
Places of 100,000 and over	37.8	22.1
Places of 2,500-99,000	44.4	24.3
Places of under 2,500	17.9	53.7

Note: Statistics based on 487 male and female leaders of the Prohibition party and Anti-Saloon League. Statistics compiled by the historian Jack S. Blocker, Jr., and presented in his book, *Retreat from Reform*, © 1976. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, Greenwood Press, Inc.

## Document L

Source: John S. Gregory, "A Saloonless Nation by 1920," *The World's Work* (June, 1915)

"Here, then, in an age especially marked by religious doubt and materialism, we have a movement, already immensely successful, which represents pure religious exaltation. Every step it takes it regards as an act of Divine intervention.

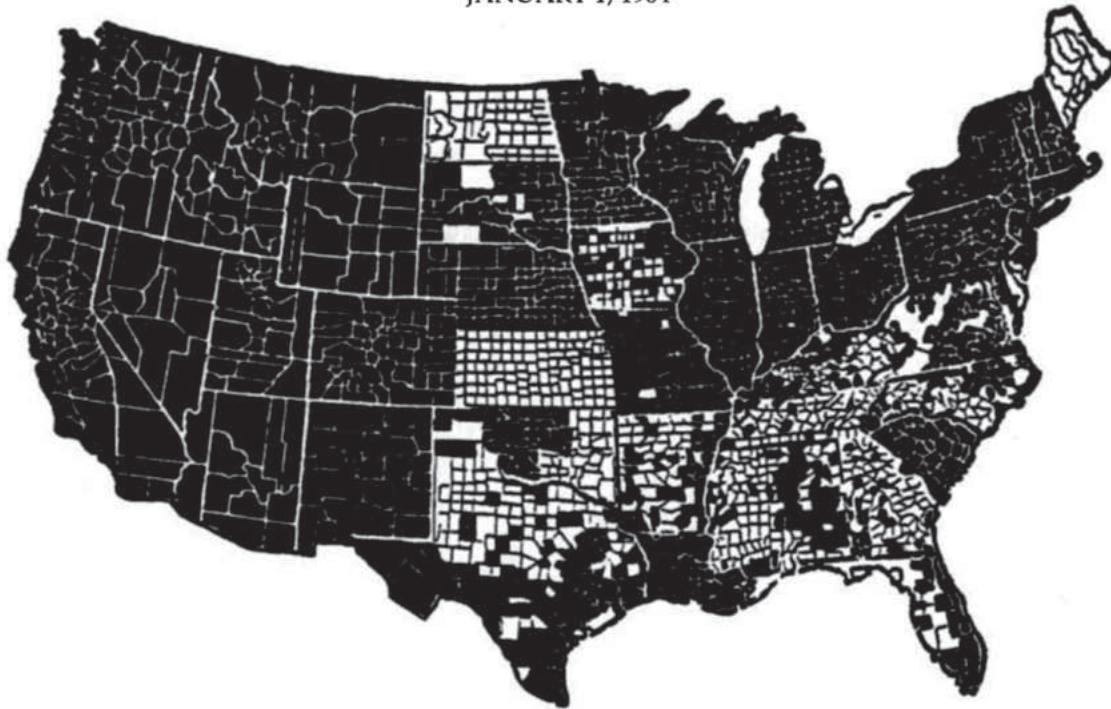
"But the national prohibition cause implies more than a Divine assault upon the Powers of Evil. It represents an attempt of the rural communities to regenerate the towns. Kansas is warring on the wickedness of New York; North Dakota and Oklahoma propose to purify Pennsylvania. The liquor problem in this country at the present moment is largely a city problem. . . .

"Two thirds of all the saloons in the United States are found in ten states—and these are the states that have the largest cities. In fact, a large centralized population is economically essential to the success of the liquor traffic."

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Document M

"WET" AND "DRY" COUNTY MAP OF THE UNITED STATES  
JANUARY 1, 1904



"WET" AND "DRY" MAP OF THE UNITED STATES  
MARCH 1, 1917



White — Prohibition [i.e., "Dry"] Areas  
Black — License [i.e., "Wet"] Areas

# 1978

## Document N

Source: William J. Cary, Republican congressman from Wisconsin, speech in the House of Representatives (February 8, 1913)

"The campaign in favor of this [prohibition] legislation has been a long and bitterly contested one. For over ten years every resource of a clever and persistent lobby has been used to influence the membership of this House in favor of this most iniquitous legislation. Salaried agents and organizers . . . have been instructing various churches, organizations, clubs and individuals in all kinds of methods of reaching their Congressmen and Senators, and seeking by petition, letter and frequently by open threat to influence members in favor of this sort of legislation."

## Document O

Source: F. P. Stockbridge, "The Church Militant against the Saloon," *The World's Work* (October, 1913)

"Whenever a polling list comes out, either for a primary or an election, the names for every ward are given to these 'Captains of Ten,' ten names to every captain. Within a day or two there is a report in the Anti-Saloon League headquarters on every voter in the city. . . . such details about every voter as to whether he has a telephone, has registered, and is a church member; his attitude on county local option and—the League regards this as important—what newspaper he reads.

"This is practical politics. This kind of minute information about the individual voters is the secret of the success of every successful political organization."

## Document P

Source: Richards, cartoonist, *Philadelphia North American* (April, 1914)



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## Document Q

Source: Rev. John Haynes Holmes, "Why Not into Other Fields?", *Survey* (September 23, 1911)

"Now, whatever we may think about prohibition as a public policy, we must all agree in paying tribute to the efficiency and courage of the churches in their conduct of this relentless fight. Our very admiration for them in this regard, however, only serves to stir up in our minds the insistent question as to why the churches limit their endeavors for social betterment to this one particular field. Why are they not equally united and enthusiastic and untiring in battling for the prohibition of child labor, the prevention of tuberculosis, the prohibition of the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week, the prohibition of tenement-house and sweat-shop abuses, the prohibition of prison abominations, the prohibition of international war, and so on indefinitely? Why, in short, must the churches restrict their political and social activities to such traditional evils as gambling, liquor selling, and prostitution, and remain indifferent to these other more recent but no less terrible forms of injustice and distress?"

## Document R

Source: Frederick Davenport, "The Persistence of the Pioneer Conscience," *The Outlook* (June 16, 1915)

"I saw in Minnesota a most unbiased and significant and bona fide letter from a brewer in Oregon. Oregon has just gone dry. The brewer in Oregon was writing to a large brewing corporation in Minnesota requesting them to buy his surplus hops. In the most straightforward and open manner he related the woes of the business in the West. . . . And these were the dangers against which he warned the brewers of Minnesota: woman suffrage, the initiative and referendum (by which the people start trouble themselves without intervention of the Legislature), . . . and, finally, the low character of the saloon-keepers who had been their selling agents!"

## Document S

Source: Gordon Brown, retired businessman of Montclair, New Jersey, reminiscence on Prohibition, quoted in John Kobler, *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (1973)

"Our attitude toward prohibition was fairly typical of the community we lived in. We were thoroughly sold by the Anti-Saloon League and the WCTU [Women's Christian Temperance Union]. We accepted the notion that liquor was bad for the economy, bad for the country in every way. We were no teetotalers, but we were willing to give up the small amounts of liquor we did enjoy for what we had been told was the common good. You might say we were motivated by a certain idealism."

END OF 1978 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Time—60 minutes

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying Documents A-Q. You will have 60 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived mainly from the documents. You may also refer to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents and may assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.

1. To what extent and for what reasons did the policies of the federal government from 1865 to 1900 violate the principles of laissez faire, which advocated minimal governmental intervention in the economy? Consider with specific reference to the following three areas of policy: railroad land grants, control of interstate commerce, and antitrust activities.

**Document A**

Source: Amasa Walker, an American economist, *The Science of Wealth: A Manual of Political Economy* (1866)

“Economically, it will ever remain true, that the government is best which governs least. The wants of a people are the sole proper, the sole possible, motives for production. Nothing can be substituted for them. Anything that seems to take their place is merely a debasement of them. The interests of producers, whether laborers or capitalists, secure, better than any other possible means, the gratification of such wants.”

**Document B**

Source: Daniel Knowlton, a New York City merchant, testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor (September 27, 1883)

“Let us inquire for a moment what are the proper functions of government, and how far, if at all, it may interfere with the natural laws governing commerce, manufactures, and agriculture. Legitimate functions of government I conceive to be to maintain domestic tranquillity, defend the people from invasion, and protect them when traveling . . . to which may be added a few other functions of kindred nature, leaving the individual enterprise untrammelled. For that purpose we maintain an Army, Navy, and civil courts. When these general functions are exceeded the result is generally injurious to the Government. It is better always to leave individual enterprise to do most that is to be done in the country.”

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# 1979

## Document C

Source: United States government data (1960)

### NATIONAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES AND DEBT: 1870-1900

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population (millions)</u>	<u>Nonmilitary Federal Government Expenditures* (millions)</u>	<u>Federal Government Debt* Outstanding (billions)</u>
1870	39.8	\$101	\$2.4
1880	50.1	120	2.1
1890	62.9	215	1.1
1900	76.0	290	1.3

\*Shown in "current dollars"; i.e., not adjusted for later inflation or deflation

## Document D

Source: United States government data (1968)

### TOTAL UNITED STATES LAND GRANTS TO RAILROADS

	<u>Acreage of Grants (in millions)</u>	<u>Per Cent of State Area Granted</u>
Alabama	2.7	8
Arizona	7.7	11
Arkansas	2.6	8
California	11.6	11
Colorado	3.8	6
Florida	2.2	6
Idaho	1.3	3
Illinois	2.6	7
Iowa	4.7	13
Kansas	8.2	16
Louisiana	1.4	4
Michigan	3.1	8
Minnesota	10.0	19
Mississippi	1.1	4
Missouri	2.3	5
Montana	14.7	16
Nebraska	7.3	15
Nevada	5.1	7
New Mexico	3.4	4
North Dakota	10.7	24
Oregon	3.7	6
Utah	2.2	4
Washington	9.6	22
Wisconsin	3.7	10
Wyoming	5.8	9
Total Acreage	131.5	Per Cent of Total Area of These 25 States 10

# 1979

## Document E

Source: Resolution adopted at a National Agricultural Congress of farmers' representatives in Indianapolis (May 28, 1873)

"WHEREAS, We recognize the railways of the country as an effectual means of developing its agricultural resources, and as having an interest, common and inseparable, with the country through which they pass; and,

"WHEREAS, We have in times past fostered and aided them by liberal charters and concessions, made by public and private parties, and still desire to encourage further development of the railway system; therefore,

"Resolved, That a fair degree of reciprocity would suggest that corporations having a common interest and public aid, should, in their turn, endeavor to subserve the interest of the country through which they pass, by charging fair rates of freights, and by the equitable and just treatment of all localities along their lines."

## Document F

Source: Congressional Record (1876 and 1878)

Note: Although land already granted by Congress continued to be earned by railroads entitled to the grants, as their lines were completed, and although state governments continued to make grants, the Congress terminated its policy of grants to railroads in the 1870's. The following resolution was passed by the Forty-fourth Congress in 1876 and adopted as well by the Forty-fifth in 1878.

"Resolved, that in the judgment of this House, in the present condition of the financial affairs of the Government, no subsidy in money, bonds, public lands, indorsement, or by pledges of the public credit, should be granted by Congress to associations or corporations engaged or proposed to engage in public or private enterprises; and that all appropriations from the public Treasury ought to be limited at this time to such amounts only as shall be imperatively demanded by the public service."



**Document G**

Source: J. K. Luttrell, Democratic congressman from California, speech in the House of Representatives (June 8, 1878)

"[At] the close of our great civil war, . . . unfortunately for the people and the Government, designing speculators gained control of the Congress of the United States, and the result was the granting or giving away to corporations and monopolies [millions of] acres of the public domain or lands of the people; territory greater in extent than Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa. . . .

"The people are groaning under the burdens of taxation heaped upon them by reckless and willful legislation upon the part of their Representatives, who have given to unscrupulous corporations lands, bonds and money, until these corporations count their lands not by acres, as our fathers did, but by square miles. . . ."

**Document H**

Source: Jay Gould, railroad financier and official, testimony before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor (September 5, 1883)

"The giving of these land grants to railroads has not been an unmixed evil. . . . [T]he railroads have gone to work and instituted a system of settlement on those lands. They have advertised them—and the Government never would have done that. They have gone and brought emigrants from the Eastern States and from foreign countries; and they have given the purchasers of their lands credit, and in many cases, in hard times, they have even furnished them a little capital. . . . So that though the Government seems to have given away enormous grants of land, yet if I as an individual had been the owner of that land, I would have been very glad to have done the same thing."

**Document I**

Source: Charles Francis Adams, Jr., railroad official and expert, *Railroads: Their Origin and Problems* (1878)

"As an innovating force the railroad has . . . developed one distinctive problem, and a problem which actively presses for solution. . . . [I]t has become apparent that the recognized laws of trade operate but imperfectly at best in regulating the use made of these modern thoroughfares by those who thus both own and monopolize them. Consequently the political governments of the various countries have been called upon in some way to make good through legislation the deficiencies thus revealed in the working of the natural laws. This is the Railroad Problem."

Note: Documents J and K pertain to the congressional debates of 1886-87 that resulted in enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act (1887). The act provided that:

- (1) all charges made by railways must be reasonable and just
- (2) pooling of traffic or revenues was unlawful
- (3) price discrimination between customers or localities was unlawful
- (4) long-haul, short-haul price discrimination was subject to the control of the Interstate Commerce Commission, a new administrative agency created by the act

### Document J

Source: United States Senate, Select Committee on Interstate Commerce, *Report* (January 18, 1886)

“[The United States has] the most efficient railway service and the lowest rates known in the world; but its recognized benefits have been attained at the cost of the most unwarranted discriminations, and its effect has been to build up the strong at the expense of the weak, to give the large dealer an advantage over the small trader, to make capital count for more than individual credit and enterprise, to concentrate business at great commercial centers, to necessitate combinations and aggregations of capital, to foster monopoly, to encourage the growth and expand the influence of corporate power, and to throw the control of the commerce of the country more and more into the hands of the few.

“ . . . [I]t is the deliberate judgment of the committee that upon no public question are the people so nearly unanimous as upon the proposition that Congress should undertake in some way the regulation of interstate commerce. Omitting those who speak for the railroad interests, there is practically no difference of opinion as to the necessity and importance of such action by Congress. . . . The committee has found among the leading representatives of the railroad interests an increasing readiness to accept the aid of Congress in working out the solution of the railroad problem which has obstinately baffled all their efforts, and not a few of the ablest railroad men of the country seem disposed to look to the intervention of Congress as promising to afford the best means of ultimately securing a more equitable and satisfactory adjustment of the relations of the transportation interests to the community than they themselves have been able to bring about.”

### Document K

Source: William C. Oates, Democratic congressman from Alabama, speech in the House of Representatives (January 20, 1887)

“This bill [the Interstate Commerce Act] is a long stride in the direction of paternal government, for by that theory this Government must protect and direct the business of all of the people of this country, and leave nothing to that independence and manhood which has distinguished Americans above the people of every other country on the face of the earth. . . .

“It [the government] should only interpose where necessary in order that great abuses may be prevented and justice administered among the people. The administration of justice between man and man, and the maintenance of good order, is all the business of Government. Further than that it should never, in my judgment, undertake to go. It should leave every man as much of his native freedom as is consistent with these two purposes of the Government.”

## Document L

Source: Interstate Commerce Commission, *First Annual Report* (1887)

"The act to regulate commerce was not passed to injure any interests, but to conserve and protect. It had for its object to regulate a vast business according to the requirements of justice. Its intervention was supposed to be called for by the existence of numerous evils, and the Commission was created to aid in bringing about great and salutary measures of improvement.

". . . In some particulars, as we understand has also been the case with similar statutes in some of the States, it has operated directly to increase railroad earnings, especially in the cutting off of free passes on interstate passenger traffic, and in putting an end to rebates, drawbacks, and special rates upon freight business.

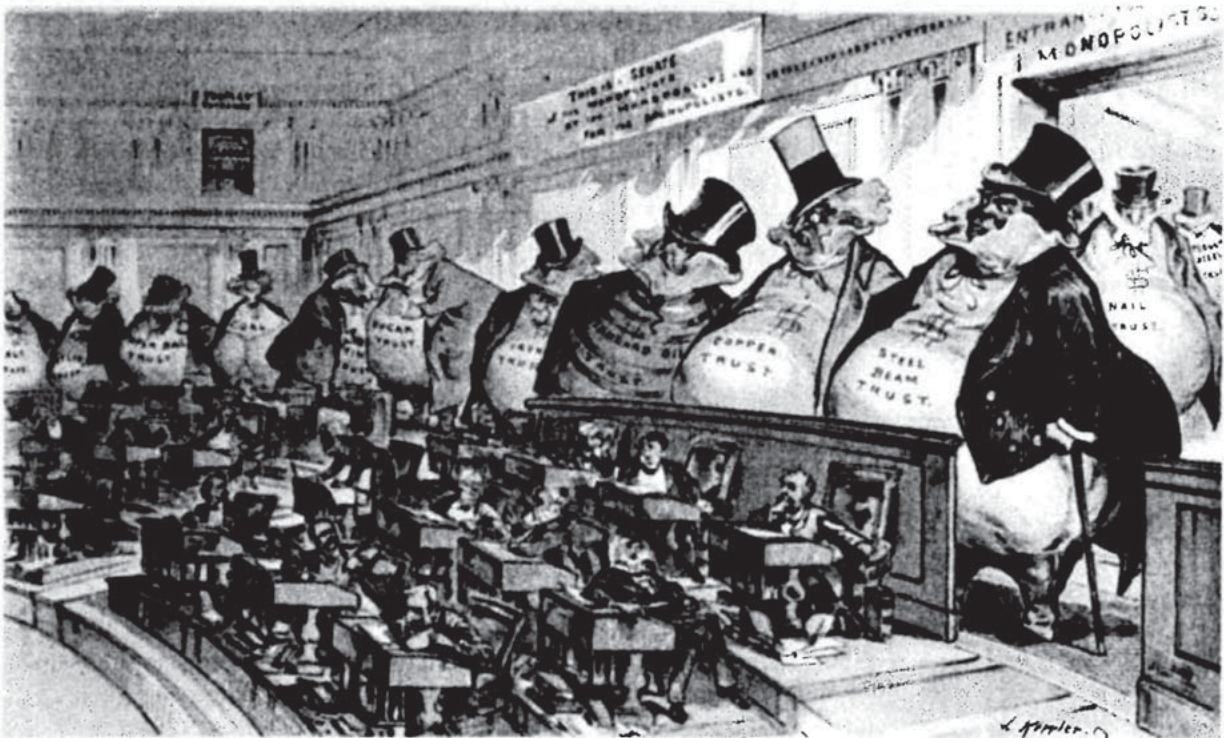
". . . The general results of the law have been in important ways favorable to both the roads and the public; while the comparatively few complaints that have been heard of its results are either made with imperfect knowledge of the facts, or spring from the remembrance of practices which the law was deliberately framed to put an end to."



Note: Documents M-Q pertain to the Sherman Antitrust Act, which was introduced in Congress by Senator John Sherman of Ohio. The principle of the act was stated in Section I: "Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States, or with foreign nations, is hereby declared to be illegal. . . ." The Attorney General was directed to institute proceedings in the federal circuit courts against violators, who were subject to fines and imprisonment. The act was passed in the Senate by a vote of 52 to 1 and in the House unanimously, becoming law in July, 1890.

### Document M

Source: Joseph Keppler, "Bosses of the Senate," *Puck* (1889)





## Document N

Source: John Sherman, senator from Ohio, speech in the Senate (March 21, 1890)

“It is said that this bill [the Sherman Antitrust Act] will interfere with lawful trade, with the customary business of life. I deny it. It aims only at unlawful combinations. It does not in the least affect combinations in aid of production where there is free and fair competition. It is the right of every man to work, labor, and produce in any lawful vocation and to transport his production on equal terms and conditions and under like circumstances. This is industrial liberty and lies at the foundation of the equality of all rights and privileges. . . .”

## Document O

Source: President Grover Cleveland, Second Inaugural Message (1893)

“The existence of immense aggregations of kindred enterprises and combinations of business interests formed for the purpose of limiting production and fixing prices is inconsistent with the fair field which ought to be open to every independent activity. Legitimate strife in business should not be superseded by an enforced concession to the demands of combinations that have the power to destroy. . . . To the extent that they [combinations] can be reached and restrained by Federal power the General Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions. . . .”

## Document P

Source: Chief Justice M. W. Fuller, speaking for the Supreme Court in the case of *United States v. E. C. Knight Company*, a sugar refining company (1895)

“. . . The argument [of the counsel for the United States government] is that . . . in the exercise of the power to regulate commerce [Congress] may suppress such [a manufacturing] monopoly directly and set aside the instruments which have created it. . . .

“[The Court rules, however, that] the power [to control the manufacture of a given thing involves in a certain sense the control of its disposition, but this is a secondary and not the primary sense. . . . Commerce succeeds to manufacture, and is not a part of it. The power to regulate commerce is the power to prescribe the rule by which commerce shall be governed, and is a power independent of the power to suppress monopoly.

“. . . It was in the light of well-settled principles that the [Sherman Antitrust] act of July 2, 1890 was framed. Congress did not attempt thereby to assert the power to deal with monopoly directly as such; or to limit and restrict the rights of corporations created by the States or the citizens of the States in the acquisition, control, or disposition of property. . . . [W]hat the law struck at was combinations, contracts, and conspiracies to monopolize trade and commerce among the several States or with foreign nations. . . .”

# 1979

## Document Q

Source: United States government data (1960)

### MERGERS IN MANUFACTURING AND MINING: 1895-1900

<u>Year</u>	<u>Mergers</u>	<u>Authorized Capitalization or Gross Assets of Firms Involved in Mergers (millions)</u>
1895	43	\$ 41
1896	26	25
1897	69	120
1898	303	651
1899	1,208	2,263
1900	340	442

Source: Hans B. Thorelli, *Federal Antitrust Policy: The Origination of an American Tradition* (1955)

### FEDERAL PROSECUTIONS INSTITUTED UNDER THE SHERMAN ANTITRUST ACT, 1890-1901

<u>Presidential Administration</u>	<u>Months in Office</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
Benjamin Harrison	32	7
Grover Cleveland	48	8
William McKinley	54	3

END OF 1979 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested time—60 minutes)

Directions: The following question is based on the accompanying Documents A-Q. You will have 60 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

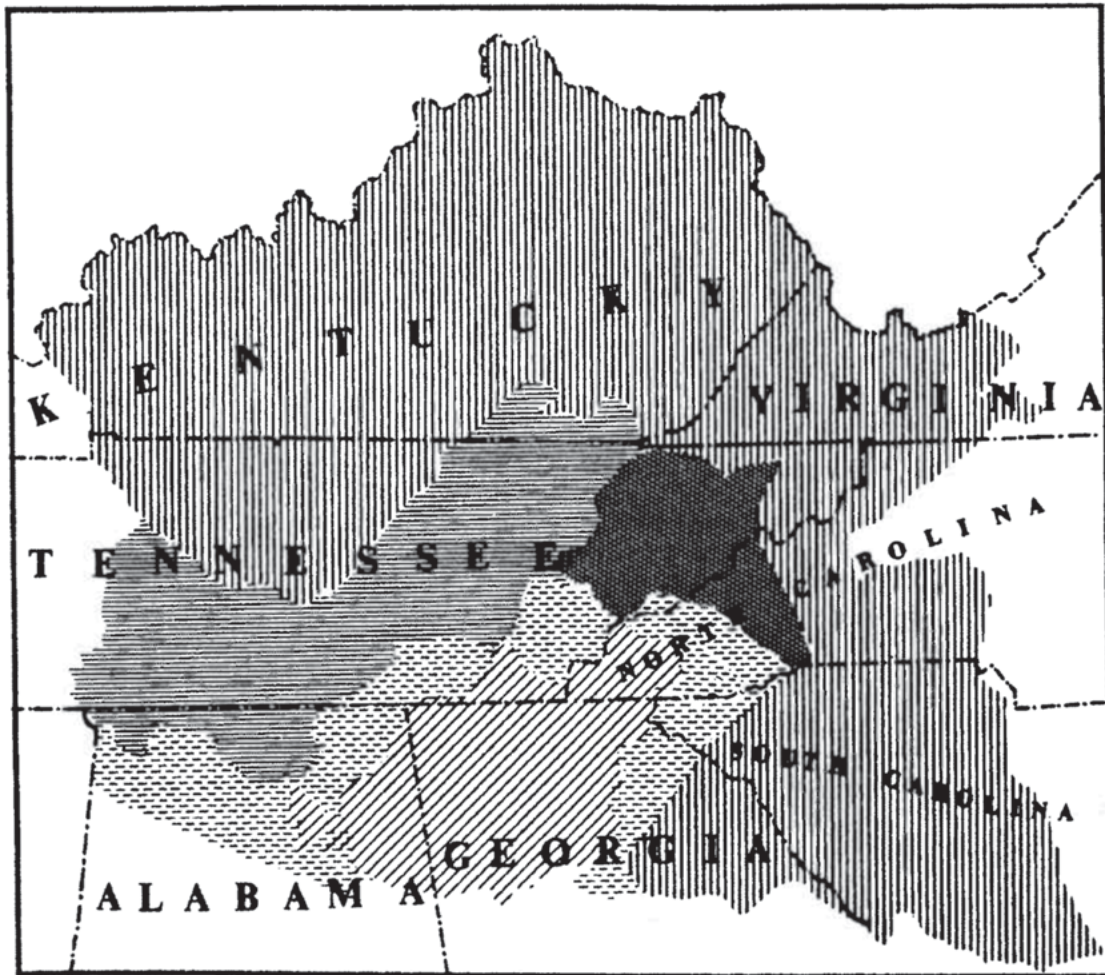
This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived mainly from the documents. You may also refer to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents and may assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.






1. "The decision of the Jackson administration to remove the Cherokee Indians to lands west of the Mississippi River in the 1830's was more a reformulation of the national policy that had been in effect since the 1790's than a change in that policy."

Assess the validity of this generalization with reference to the moral, political, constitutional, and practical concerns that shaped national Indian policy between 1789 and the mid-1830's.

Document A

TERRITORIAL CESSIONS MADE BY THE CHEROKEES  
WITHIN THEIR ORIGINAL TRIBAL LANDS



-  Colonial and Confederation treaties, 1721-1785.
-  Washington administration Treaty of Holston and supplements, 1791-1798.
-  Jefferson administration treaties, 1804-1806.
-  Monroe administration treaties, 1816-1819, including provision for the first Cherokee settlement west of the Mississippi River on the Arkansas River.
-  Jackson administration treaty of 1835 (New Echota Treaty).



## Document B

Source: Henry Knox, secretary of war, letter to President George Washington (June 15, 1789)

“In examining the question how the disturbances on the frontiers are to be quieted, two modes present themselves, by which the object might perhaps be effected; the first of which is by raising an army, and [destroying the resisting] tribes entirely, or 2ndly by forming treaties of peace with them, in which their rights and limits should be explicitly defined, and the treaties observed on the part of the United States with the most rigid justice, by punishing the whites, who should violate the same. In considering the first mode, an inquiry would arise, whether, under the existing circumstances of affairs, the United States have a clear right, consistently with the principles of justice and the laws of nature, to proceed to the destruction or expulsion of the savages. . . . The Indians being the prior occupants, possess the right of the soil. It cannot be taken from them unless by their free consent, or by the right of conquest in case of a just war. To disposses them on any other principle, would be a gross violation of the fundamental laws of nature, and of that distributive justice which is the glory of a nation. But if it should be decided, on an abstract view of the situation, to remove by force the . . . Indians from the territory they occupy, the finances of the United States would not at present admit of the operation.”

## Document C

Source: Treaty of Holston, Henry Knox, secretary of war, negotiator (July 2, 1791)

“That the Cherokee Nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry.”

**Document D**

Source: The Intercourse Act (March 30, 1802)

Be it . . . enacted, that if any such citizen or other person, shall go into any country which is allotted, or secured by treaty . . . to any of the Indian tribes south of the river Ohio, without a passport [that person] shall forfeit a sum not exceeding fifty dollars, or be imprisoned not exceeding three months."

**Document E**

Source: "Amicable Settlement of Limits with the state of Georgia," as accepted by the United States Congress and the Georgia state legislature (1802)

"[In exchange for Georgia's cession of claims to certain western lands] . . . the United States shall, at their own Expense, [obtain for] the Use of Georgia, as early as the same can be peaceably obtained on reasonable terms, the indian Title . . . to all the other Lands within the State of Georgia."

**Document F**

Source: President Thomas Jefferson, letter to Andrew Jackson, major general of the Tennessee militia (1803)

"The Indian Tribes . . . have for a considerable time been growing more and more uneasy at the constant diminution of the territory they occupy, although effected by their own voluntary sales, and the policy has long been gaining strength with them of refusing absolutely all further sale on any conditions. . . . In order peaceably to counteract this policy of theirs and to provide an extension of territory which the rapid increase of our numbers will call for [they should be led to an agricultural way of life, thus lessening their need for land]. In leading them thus to . . . civilization . . . I trust and believe we are acting for their greatest good."

## Document G

Source: Secretary of War William H. Crawford to military commanders (January 27, 1816)

"Intrusions upon the lands of the friendly Indian tribes, is not only a violation of the laws, but in direct opposition to the policy of the government towards its savage neighbors. Upon application of any Indian agent [who is a United States government official], stating that intrusions of this nature have been committed [by whites], the President requires, that they shall be equally removed, and their houses and improvements destroyed by military force. . . ."

## Document H

Source: General Andrew Jackson, treaty negotiator, to President James Monroe (March 4, 1817)

"I have long viewed treaties with the Indians an absurdity not to be reconciled to the principles of our Government. The Indians are the subjects of the United States, inhabiting its territory and acknowledging its sovereignty, then is it not absurd for the sovereign to negotiate by treaty with the subject. . . ."

Source: General Andrew Jackson to George Graham, secretary of war (July 8, 1817)

"I believe every native of the nation left to themselves, would freely make this election [to remove]. But they appear to be overawed by the council of some white men and half breeds, who have been and are fattening upon the annuities, the labours, and folly of the native Indian, and who believe, that their income would be destroyed by the removal of the Indians."

## Document I

Source: President James Monroe, First Annual Message to Congress (December 17, 1817)

["Because of these purchases of Indian land,] it is our duty to make new efforts for the preservation, improvement, and civilization of the native inhabitants. The hunter state can exist only in the vast uncultivated desert. It yields to the more dense and compact form and greater force of civilized population; and of right it ought to yield, for the earth was given to mankind to support the greatest number of which it is capable, and no tribe or people have a right to withhold from the wants of others more than is necessary for their own support and comfort."

Document J

Source: John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, letter to Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives (January 15, 1820)

"While many of the Indian tribes have acquired only the vices with which a savage people usually become tainted, by their intercourse with those who are civilized, others appear to be making gradual advances in industry and civilization. . . . The Cherokees exhibit a more favorable appearance than any other tribe of Indians. There are already established two flourishing schools among them. . . . Besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, the boys are taught agriculture and the ordinary mechanic arts; and the girls, sewing, knitting, and weaving. . . .

"Although partial advances may be made under the present system to civilize the Indians, I am of an opinion that, until there is a radical change in the system, any efforts which may be made must fall short of complete success. They must be brought gradually under our authority and laws, or they will insensibly waste away in vice and misery."

Document K

Source: Cherokee alphabet invented by the Cherokee Sequoyah (c. 1825)

CHEROKEE ALPHABET

D <sub>u</sub>	R <sub>r</sub>	T <sub>i</sub>	Ꭰ <sub>o</sub>	Ꭱ <sub>u</sub>	i <sub>r</sub>
S <sub>gu</sub> Ꭰ <sub>ka</sub>	F <sub>gc</sub>	Y <sub>gi</sub>	A <sub>gu</sub>	J <sub>gu</sub>	E <sub>gv</sub>
G <sub>nu</sub>	Ꭲ <sub>rr</sub>	Ꭳ <sub>ni</sub>	Ꭴ <sub>vo</sub>	Ꭵ <sub>nu</sub>	Ꭶ <sub>wv</sub>
Ꭷ <sub>va</sub>	Ꭸ <sub>in</sub>	Ꭹ <sub>yr</sub>	Ꭺ <sub>yo</sub>	Ꭻ <sub>yu</sub>	B <sub>yv</sub>

**Sounds represented by Vowels.**

<i>a</i> , as <i>a</i> in <i>father</i> , or short as <i>a</i> in <i>cat</i> . <i>e</i> , as <i>e</i> in <i>hall</i> , or short as <i>e</i> in <i>net</i> . <i>i</i> , as <i>i</i> in <i>pigeon</i> , or short as <i>i</i> in <i>pit</i> .	<i>u</i> , as <i>u</i> in <i>law</i> , or short as <i>u</i> in <i>put</i> . <i>o</i> , as <i>o</i> in <i>foot</i> , or short as <i>o</i> in <i>pot</i> . <i>o</i> , as <i>o</i> in <i>not</i> ; nasalized.
--	--

**Consonant Sounds**

*g* sounds as in English, but approaching to *k*; *d* sounds as in English, but approaching to *t*; *h*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *s*, *w*, *y*, as in English. Syllables beginning with *g*, except *S* have sometimes the prefix of *h*. *h*, *s*, *w*, *y* are sometimes omitted in the use of the syllables written with *h* except *S*; sometimes vary to *ll*.

Sequoyah 1825



## Document L

Source: From the collections of Georgia Historical Society

Note: This is a modern photograph of the Vann House, built in northern Georgia around 1804 by James Vann, a Cherokee leader of mixed blood. His estate consisted of 800 acres of cultivated land, 42 cabins, 6 barns, 5 smokehouses, a grist mill, a sawmill, a blacksmith shop, eight corn cribs, a shop and foundry, a trading post, a peach kiln, a still, 1,133 peach trees, 147 apple trees, and slaves.



**Document M**

Source: John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, to President James Monroe (March 29, 1824)

"It cannot be doubted that much of the difficulty of acquiring additional cessions from the Cherokee nation and other southern tribes, results from their growing civilization and knowledge, by which they have learned to place a higher value upon the lands than more rude and savage tribes."

**Document N**

Source: President James Monroe, "Plan for Removing the Several Indian Tribes West of the Mississippi River," communication to the Senate (January 27, 1825)

"... [I am] deeply impressed with the opinion that the removal of the Indian tribes from the lands which they now occupy ... is of very high importance to our Union, and may be accomplished on conditions and in a manner to promote the interest and happiness of those tribes. ... For the removal of the tribes within the limits of the State of Georgia, the motive has been peculiarly strong, arising from the compact with that State, whereby the United States are bound to extinguish the Indian title to the lands within it, whenever it may be done peaceably and on reasonable conditions."

**Document O**

Source: President Andrew Jackson, First Annual Message to Congress (December 8, 1829)

"It has long been the policy of Government to introduce among them the arts of civilization, in the hope of gradually reclaiming them from a wandering life. This policy has, however, been coupled with another wholly incompatible with its success. Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them farther into the wilderness. ... A portion, however, of the Southern tribes, having mingled much with the whites and made some progress in the arts of civilized life, have lately attempted to erect an independent government within the limits of Georgia and Alabama.

"Under these circumstances the question presented was whether the General Government had a right to sustain those people in their pretensions. ... Georgia became a member of the Confederacy which eventuated in our Federal Union as a sovereign State, always asserting her claim to certain limits, which, ... she has ever since continued to enjoy, except as they have been circumscribed by her own voluntary transfer of a portion of her territory to the United States in the articles of cession of 1802. ...

"Actuated by this view of the subject, I informed the Indians inhabiting parts of Georgia and Alabama that their attempt to establish an independent government would not be countenanced by the Executive of the United States, and advised them to emigrate beyond the Mississippi or submit to the laws of those States."

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## Document P

Source: Chief Justice John Marshall, majority opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)

“From the commencement of our government Congress has passed acts to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians; which treat them as nations, respect their rights, and manifest a firm purpose to afford that protection which treaties stipulate. All these acts . . . manifestly consider the several Indian nations as distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive, and having a right to all the lands within those boundaries, which is not only acknowledged, but guaranteed by the United States. . . . The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community . . . in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter but with the assent of the Cherokees themselves or in conformity with treaties and with the acts of Congress. . . .”

## Document Q

Source: President Andrew Jackson, letter to General John Coffee (April 7, 1832)

“The Cherokee delegation are still here, and it is now believed before they leave here will propose to treat with us for their entire removal. The decision of the supreme court has fell still born, and they find that it cannot coerce Georgia to yield to its mandate, and I believe their leader has expressed despair, and that it is better for them to treat and move. In this he is right, for if orders were issued tomorrow one regiment of militia could not be got to march to save them from destruction and this the opposition know, and if a colision was to take place between them and the Georgians, the arm of the government is not sufficiently strong to preserve them from destruction.”

END OF 1980 DBQ DOCUMENTS



The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested time—60 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying Documents A-R. You will have 60 minutes to read and analyze the documents and answer the question.

This question tests your ability to work with historical documents. Your answer should be derived mainly from the documents. You may also refer to historical facts and developments not mentioned in the documents and may assess the reliability of the documents as historical sources where relevant to your answer.

1. How and why did the lives and status of Northern middle-class women change between 1776 and 1876?

Document Group A-E: THE IMPACT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

**Document A**

Source: Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-1769), the work of an English jurist in the decades immediately following the Revolution.

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband. . . . For this reason, a man cannot grant any thing to his wife, or enter into covenant with her, for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence. . . .

If the wife be injured in her person or her property, she can bring no action for redress without her husband's concurrence, and in his name, as well as her own, neither can she be sued without making the husband a defendant. . . .

**Document B**

Source: Abigail Adams, letter to John Adams (March 31, 1776)

I long to hear that you have declared an independancy—and by the way in the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could. If perticular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any Laws in which we have no voice, or Representation.

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## Document C

Source: John Adams, letter to Abigail Adams (April 14, 1776)

As to your extraordinary Code of Laws, I cannot but laugh. We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where. That Children and Apprentices were disobedient—that schools and Colleges were grown turbulent—that Indians slighted their Guardians and Negroes grew insolent to their Master. But your Letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented.

Depend upon it, We know better than to repeal our Masculine systems. Altho they are in full Force, you know they are little more than Theory. We dare not exert our Power in its full Latitude. We are obliged to go fair, and softly, and in Practice you know We are the subjects.

## Document D

Source: Abigail Adams, letter to Mercy Otis Warren, a close friend and frequent correspondent with both John and Abigail Adams (April 27, 1776)

He [John Adams] is very sausy to me in return for a List of Female Grievances which I transmitted to him. I think I will get you to join me in a petition to Congress. I thought it was very probable our wise Statesmen would erect a New Government and form a new code of Laws. I ventured to speak a word in behalf of our Sex, who are rather hardly dealt with by the Laws of England which gives such unlimited power to the Husband to use his wife ill.

## Document E

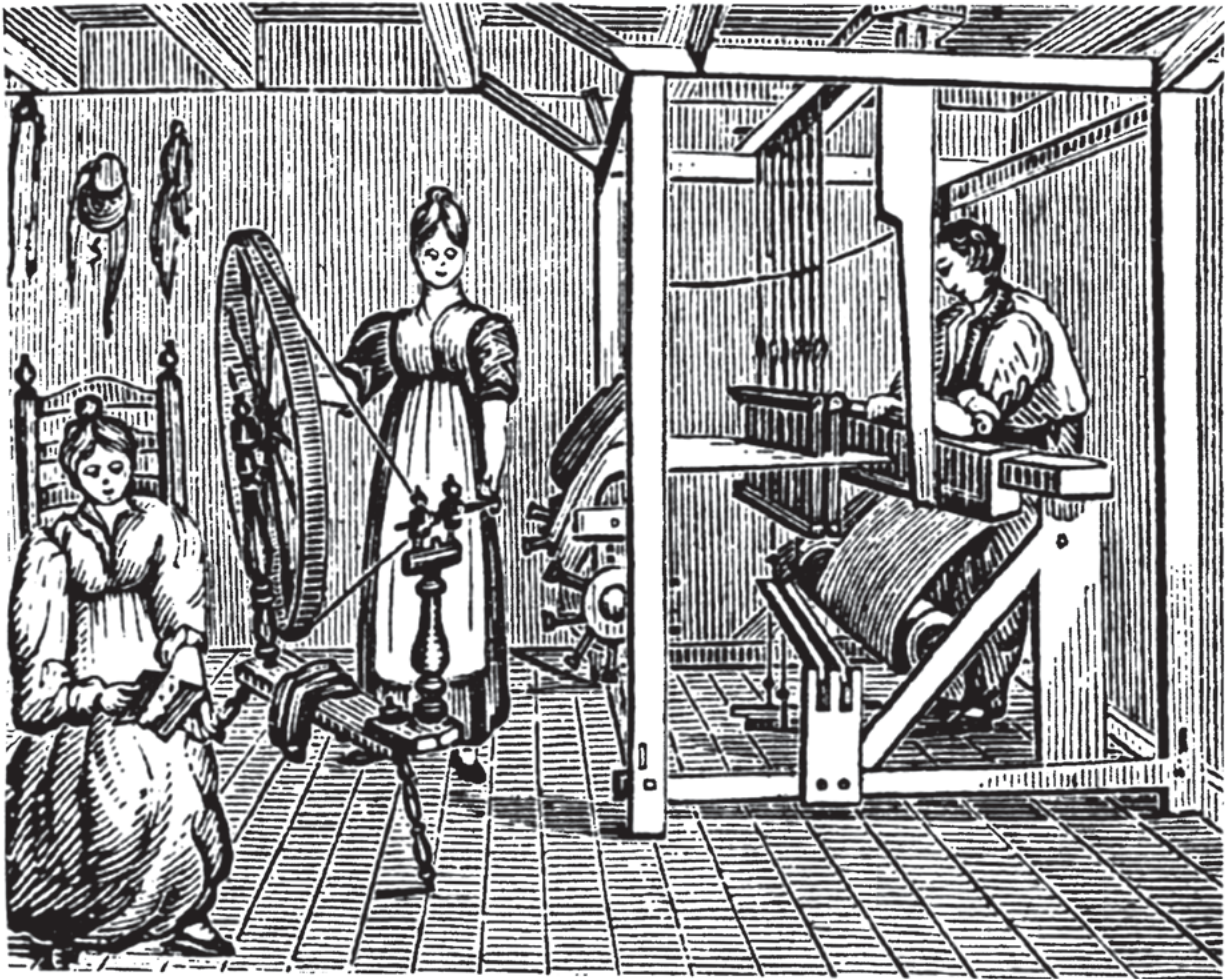
Source: Mercy Otis Warren, writing in the preface to volume one of her three-volume treatise, *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution* (1805)

It is true that there are certain appropriate duties assigned to each sex; and doubtless it is the more peculiar province of masculine strength, not only to repel the bold invader of the rights of his country and of mankind, but in the nervous style of manly eloquence to describe the blood-stained field, and relate the story of slaughtered armies.

Sensible of this, . . . [my] trembling heart has recoiled at the magnitude of undertaking [this history]; yet, recollecting that every domestic enjoyment depends on the unimpaired possession of civil and religious liberty, that a concern for the welfare of society ought equally to glow in every human breast, the work was not relinquished.

## Document Group F-H: THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

## Document F



Women carding and spinning in the home, while the man in the family weaves: a typical home scene during the period before the Industrial Revolution, circa 1790.

## Document G

SOME MAJOR NONAGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS IN  
WHICH WOMEN WERE EMPLOYED IN 1850  
(total free labor force 6,280,000)

	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>
Factory Work	990,000	210,000
Teaching	25,000	55,000
Domestic Service	20,000	330,000

## Document H

Source: Horace Bushnell, "The Age of Homespun," an address delivered in Litchfield, Connecticut (1851)

[In the age of homespun] a principle . . . [was] yet in vogue [namely,] that women are given by the Almighty, not so much to help their husbands spend a living, as to help them get one. . . . In these olden times, . . . the house was a factory on the farm, the farm a grower and producer for the house. There was no affectation of polite living, no languishing airs of delicacy and softness in doors. . . . Harnessed, all together, into the producing process, [were] young and old, male and female, from the boy that rode the plough-horse, to the grandmother knitting under her spectacles. . . .

This transition [from homespun to factory-made clothing] is already so far made that the very terms, "domestic manufacture" have quite lost their meaning; being applied to that which is neither domestic, as being made in the house, nor manufacture, as being made by the hands. . . . This transition . . . is a great one . . .—one that is to carry with it a complete revolution of domestic life and social manners.



## Document Group I-K: IDEALS OF FEMININITY

## Document I

Source: Mrs. Emma C. Embury, "Female Education," an article in the magazine *Ladies Companion* (1838)

The father, weary with the heat and burden of life's autumn, has forgotten the sympathies of life's joyous springtime. . . . The acquisition of wealth, the advancement of his children in worldly honor—these are his self-imposed tasks. . . . His wife forms the infant mind as yet untainted by contact with evil . . . like wax beneath the plastic hand of the mother.

## Document J

Source: *Godey's Lady's Book* (February, 1852)





## Document K

Source: *Ladies' Repository* (1845)

Where lieth woman's sphere?—Not there  
Where strife and fierce contentions are,  
Not in the wild and angry crowd,  
Mid threat'nings high and clamors loud;  
Nor in the halls of rude debate  
And legislation, is her seat.

What then is woman's sphere? The sweet  
And quiet precincts of her home;  
Home!—where the blest affections meet,  
Where strife and hatred may not come!  
Home!—sweetest word in mother-tongue,  
Long since in verse undying sung!

## Document Group L-N: EDUCATION AND WOMEN

## Document L

Source: Catherine E. Beecher, *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education* (1829)

Another defect in education has arisen from the fact, that teachers have depended too much upon authority, and too little upon the affections, in guiding the objects of their care. . . . For these and other reasons, it seems of great importance that the formation of the female character should be committed to the female hand. It will be long, if ever, before the female mind can boast of the accurate knowledge, the sound judgment, and ready discrimination which the other sex may claim. But if the mind is to be guided chiefly by means of the affections; if the regulation of the disposition, the manners, the social habits and the moral feelings, are to be regarded before the mere acquisition of knowledge, is not woman best fitted to accomplish these important objects[?]

## Document M

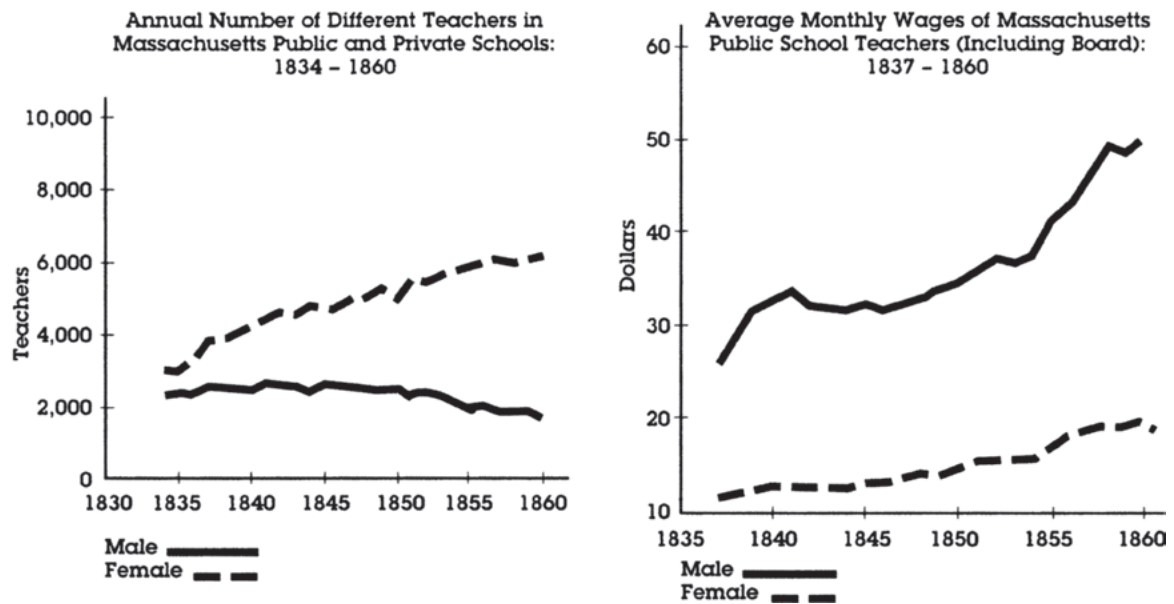
Source: Grace Greenwood, a popular author, in *Greenwood Leaves* (1853)

I am convinced there is an alarming conspiracy formed by fathers and guardians to patronize only such institutions of female learning as are calculated to keep damsels in subordination, in order to prevent them from fulfilling their natural, lofty, destiny—from aspiring to equal power and influence in Church and State.

## Document N

Source: Abstracts of Massachusetts School Returns (1835 – 1860)

### COMPOSITION AND WAGE RATES OF THE TEACHING STAFF IN MASSACHUSETTS



**Document Group O-R: THE FIRST WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT**

**Document O**

Source: "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions," Seneca Falls, New York (1848)

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . .

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. . . .

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

**Document P**

Source: Lucy Stone, Speech at National Woman's Rights Convention, Cincinnati (October, 1855)

I was disappointed when I came to seek a profession worthy an immortal being—every employment was closed to me, except those of the teacher, the seamstress, and the housekeeper. In education, in marriage, in religion, in everything, disappointment is the lot of woman. It shall be the business of my life to deepen this disappointment in every woman's heart until she bows down to it no longer. I wish that women, instead of being walking showcases, instead of begging of their fathers and brothers the latest and gayest new bonnet, would ask of them their rights.



# 1981

## Document Q

Source: Lucy Stone, letter to Antoinette Brown Blackwell (February 20, 1859)

. . . I wish I felt the old impulse and power to lecture, . . . but I am afraid and dare not trust Lucy Stone. . . . I went to hear [a] lecture on Joan d'Arc. It was very inspiring and for the hour I felt as though all things were possible to me. But when I came home and looked in [my daughter's] sleeping face and thought of the possible evil that might befall her if my guardian eye was turned away, I shrank like a snail into its shell and saw that for these years I can be only a mother.

## Document R

Source: Susan B. Anthony, arguing that women should be granted the vote under the provisions of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1873)

The married women and their legal status. What is servitude? "The condition of a slave." What is a slave? "A person who is robbed of the proceeds of his labor; a person who is subject to the will of another. . . ." There is an old saying that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet," and I submit the deprivation by law of the ownership of one's own person, wages, property, children, the denial of the right as an individual, to sue and be sued, and to testify in the courts, is a condition of servitude most bitter and absolute, though under the sacred name of marriage.

Does any lawyer doubt my statement of the legal status of married women? I will remind him of the fact that the old common law of England prevails in every State in this Union, except where the Legislature has enacted special laws annulling it. And I am ashamed that not one State has yet blotted from its statute books the old common law of marriage, by which Blackstone, summed up in the fewest words possible, is made to say: "Husband and wife are one, and that one is the husband."

END OF 1981 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to use Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question.

1. John Brown's raid on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, in October 1859, involved only a handful of abolitionists, freed no slaves, and was over in two days. Although many Northerners condemned the raid, by 1863 John Brown had become a hero and martyr in the North.

To what extent and in what ways do the views about John Brown expressed in the documents illustrate changing North-South relations between 1859 and 1863?

**Document A**

Source: Horace Greeley, editorial, *New York Tribune* (December 3, 1859)

"We are not those who say, 'If slavery is wrong, then John Brown was wholly right.' There are fit and unfit modes of combating a great evil; we think Brown at Harper's Ferry pursued the latter. . . . And, while we heartily wish every slave in the world would run away from his master tomorrow and never be retaken, we should not feel justified in entering a slave state to incite them to do so, even if we were sure to succeed in the enterprise. Of course, we regard Brown's raid as utterly mistaken and, in its direct consequences, pernicious.

"But his are the errors of a fanatic, not the crimes of a felon,"

**Document B**

Source: "The Last Days of John Brown." Henry David Thoreau (1859)

"Men have been hung in the South before for attempting to rescue slaves, and the North was not much stirred by it. Whence, then, this wonderful difference? We were not so sure of [the] devotion [of these men] to principle. We [Northerners] made a subtle distinction [in regard to John Brown], forgot human laws, and did homage to an idea. The North, I mean the living North, was suddenly all transcendental. It went behind the human law, it went behind the apparent failure, and recognized eternal justice and glory. Commonly, men live according to a formula, and are satisfied if the order of law is observed, but in this instance they, to some extent, returned to original perceptions, and there was a slight revival of old religion."

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## Document C

Source: Editorial, *Topeka Tribune* (November 19, 1859)

“There are two classes of men who apologize for ‘Old Brown.’ The one does so openly, boldly and without fear. These men, belonging to the Wendell Phillips school, call him patriot and christian. They class him with . . . a Washington and a Bolivar, bestowing upon him all the praise due to a hero and a philanthropist. The other class, beneath a veil so thin that a fool can see the device, calling themselves law and order men, lovers of peace—Republicans, forsooth—apologize for Brown by publishing in their papers every word they can catch in his praise. . . .

“These two classes are alike the friends and comforters of Brown, one by open praise, and the other in a tacit endorsement by telling what somebody else has said, making themselves more than Phillips, the instruments in building up a reputation of martyr for Brown and his confederates.”

## Document D

Source: Review of James Redpath’s *The Public Life of Captain John Brown*, as printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1860)

“. . . a [biography] of Brown was . . . greatly needed for . . . the mass of the Northern community, whose timidity had been startled at Brown’s rash attempt, whose sympathy had been more or less awakened by his bearing and his death, but who were and are in a painful state of perplexity, in the endeavor to reconcile their abhorrence, or at least their disapproval of his attack on Virginia, with their sense of the admirable nature of the qualities he displayed. . . . [But the tone of this biography] is . . . so violent, so extravagant, that it will offend all right-thinking men. . . .

“. . . This book is written in the spirit and style of an Abolition tract. In representing John Brown as little more than a mere hero of the Abolitionists, the author has done essential disservice . . . to the memory of a man who was as free from party-ties as he was from personal ambitions. . . .

“He was a man of a rare type. . . . He belonged to the same class with the Scottish Covenanters and the English Regicides . . . to the great company of those who have followed the footsteps of Gideon, and forgot that the armory of the Lord contained other weapons than the sword. He belonged to those who from time to time have adopted some cause . . . and have shrunk from no sacrifice which it required at their hands. . . .

“The lesson of manliness, uprightness, and courage, which his life teaches, is to be learned by us, not merely as lovers of liberty, not as opponents of slavery, but as men who need more manliness, more uprightness, more courage and simplicity in our common lives.”

## Document E

Source: Campaign speech by Abraham Lincoln, Hartford, Connecticut, as reported in the *Hartford Press* (March 4, 1860)

"The [Democrats] are given to 'bushwhacking.' After having their errors and mis-statements continually thrust in their faces, they pay no heed, but go on howling about Seward and the 'irrepressible conflict.' That is 'bushwhacking.' So with John Brown and Harpers Ferry. They charge it upon the Republican party and ignominiously fail in all attempts to substantiate the charge. Yet they go on with their bushwhacking, the pack in full cry after John Brown.

"The Democrats had just been whipped in [some state elections], and seized upon the unfortunate Harpers Ferry affair to influence other elections then pending."

## Document F

Source: Frederick Douglass, letter to a group of abolitionists (July 4, 1860)

"To have been acquainted with John Brown, shared his counsels, enjoyed his confidence, and sympathized with the great objects of his life and death, I esteem as among the highest privileges of my life. We do but honor to ourselves in doing honor to him, for it implies the possession of qualities akin to his."

## Document G

Source: Civil War song

The Old Song

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave;  
John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave;  
John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave;  
But his soul is marching on.

CHORUS:

Glory, glory Hallelujah!  
Glory, glory Hallelujah!  
Glory, glory Hallelujah!  
His soul is marching on.

He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord;  
He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord;  
He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord;  
But his soul is marching on.



Document H

Source: Imaginary rendering of John Brown meeting the slave mother on the way to the scaffold, Currier & Ives lithograph (1863)



END OF 1982 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to demonstrate a broad grasp of the documents and to support your assertions about the documents by citing key pieces of evidence from them. Be sure to use your knowledge of the period to develop your answer to the two parts of the question.

1. Documents A-H reveal some of the problems that many farmers in the late nineteenth century (1880-1900) saw as threats to their way of life. Using the documents and your knowledge of the period, (a) explain the reasons for agrarian discontent and (b) evaluate the validity of the farmers' complaints.

**Document A**

Source: The platform of the People's (Populist) party (1892)

The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and even touches the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized. . . . The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection. . . .

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt payable in legal-tender currency has been funded into gold bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

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**Document B**

Source: Acceptance speech of William McKinley, Canton, Ohio (August 26, 1896)

It is proposed by one wing of the Democratic party and its allies, the People's and Silver parties, to inaugurate action on the part of the United States at a ratio of 16 ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. . . .

We must not be misled by phrases, nor deluded by false theories. Free silver would not mean that silver dollars were to be freely had without cost or labor. . . . It would not make labor easier, the hours shorter, or the pay better. It would not make farming less laborious or more profitable. . . .

Debasement of the currency means destruction of values. No one suffers so much from cheap money as the farmers and laborers. They are the first to feel its bad effects and the last to recover from them. . . .

It is mere pretense to attribute the hard times to the fact that all our currency is on a gold basis. Good money never made times hard. . . .

**Document C**

Source: United States government data (1961)

UNITED STATES POPULATION AND MONEY IN CIRCULATION, 1865-1895

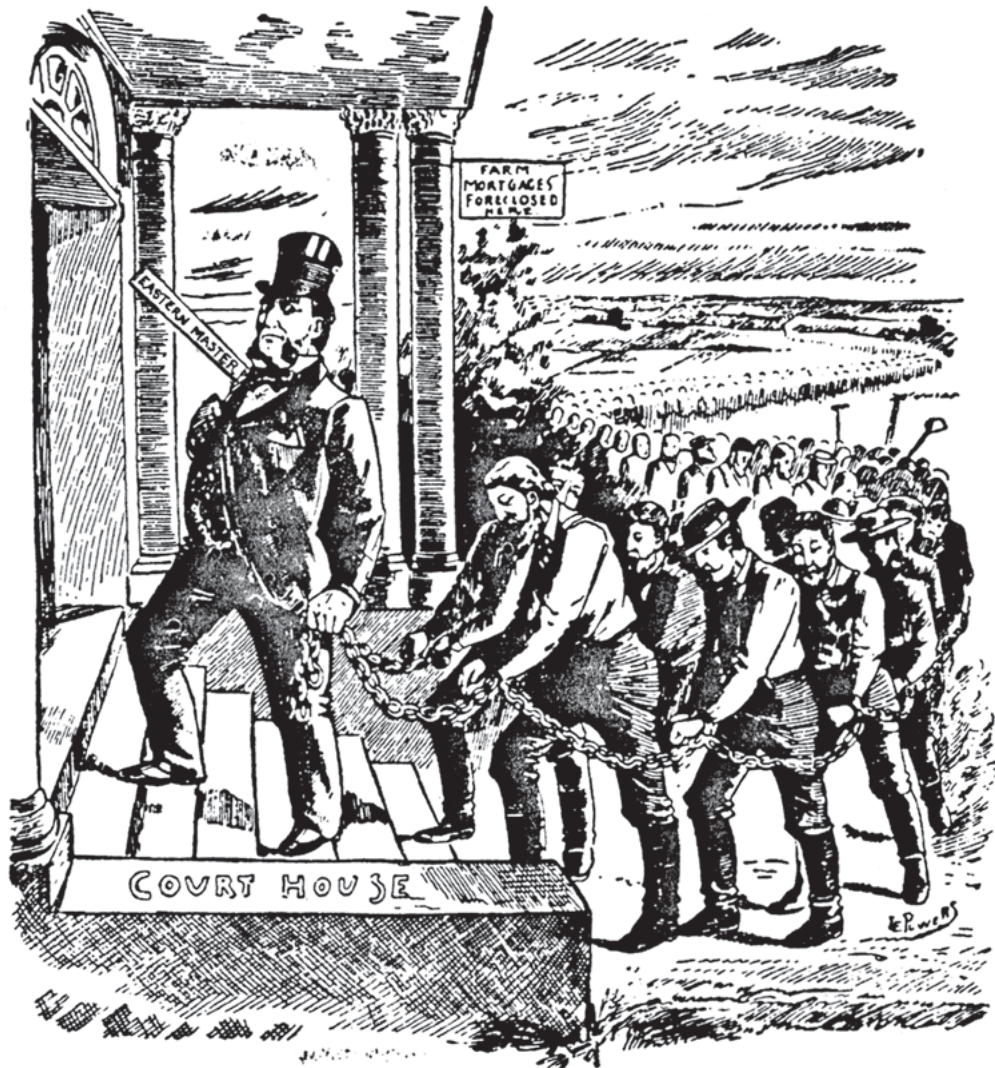
	<u>Population</u> (in thousands)	<u>Money in Circulation</u> (in thousands of dollars)
1865	35,701	1,083,541
1870	39,905	774,966
1875	45,073	833,789
1880	50,262	973,382
1885	56,658	1,292,569
1890	63,056	1,429,251
1895	69,580	1,601,968



1983

Document D

Source: *The Farmer's Voice*, a Chicago newspaper (late 1880's or early 1890's)



*Designed and Engraved expressly for "The Farmer's Voice."*

THE EASTERN MASTER AND HIS WESTERN SLAVES



**Document E**

Source: J. Laurence Laughlin, "Causes of Agricultural Unrest," *Atlantic Monthly* (November, 1896)

Of course, the farmer who has overtraded, or expanded his operation beyond his means, in a time of commercial depression is affected just as anyone else is in like conditions.

The simple fact that we produce more wheat than we consume, and that, consequently, the price of the whole crop is determined, not by the markets within this country, but by the world-markets, is sufficient to put wheat, as regards its price, in a different class from those articles whose markets are local. . . . And it need not be said that many wheat-growing farmers make little or no allowance for events beyond their limited range of local information. . . .

The sudden enlargement of the supply without any corresponding increase of demand produced that alarming fall in the price of wheat which has been made the farmer's excuse for thinking that silver is the magic panacea for all his ills. . . .

Feeling the coils of some mysterious power about them, the farmers, in all honesty, have attributed their misfortunes to the "constriction" in prices, caused, as they think, not by an increased production of wheat throughout the world, but by the "scarcity of gold."

**Document F**

Source: James B. Weaver, *A Call to Action: An Interpretation of the Great Uprising. Its Source and Causes* (1892)

It is clear that trusts are contrary to public policy and hence in conflict with the Common law. They are monopolies organized to destroy competition and restrain trade. . . . Once they secure control of a given line of business, they are master of the situation and can dictate to the two great classes with which they deal—the producer of the raw material and the consumer of the finished product. They limit the price of the raw material so as to impoverish the producer, drive him to a single market, reduce the price of every class of labor connected with the trade, throw out of employment large numbers of persons who had before been engaged in a meritorious calling and finally . . . they increase the price to the consumer. . . . The main weapons of the trust are threats, intimidation, bribery, fraud, wreck, and pillage.

## Document G

Source: Testimony of George W. Parker, vice-president of the Cairo Short Line Railroad, before the Senate Cullom Committee (1885)

Mr. Parker. There is a decided distinction between local and through business. They are influenced by different considerations. Different rules and practices apply to them. . . .

About 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  percent of the operating expenses of this road is continuous, regardless of whether the road is earning much or little, and it therefore requires a certain volume of business to meet these fixed expenses. In most cases, and especially in some seasons of the year, the local business of the road of itself is not of sufficient volume to make up paying trains, nor is it sufficient to make the earnings, over and above current expenses, sufficient to meet the fixed charges against the road. So that in order to run paying trains we generally, after we have built the road to accommodate the local territory, endeavor to get a connection for through business to be super-added to the local business. Then when we make up a train of ten or fifteen cars of local freight to go over our line from Saint Louis, we can attach fifteen or twenty cars more of strictly through business. We can take the latter at a very low rate rather than go without it. We are justified in doing so, as one does no prejudice to the other. . . .

The Chairman. Suppose you were to carry the freights that you gather along the line of your road for the same rate you carry through freight . . . what would be the consequence?

Mr. Parker. Bankruptcy, inevitably and speedily. . . .

## Document H

Source: Frank Norris, *The Octopus* (1901)

For a moment Dyke was confused. Then swiftly the matter became clear in his mind. The Railroad had raised the rate on hops from two cents to five.

All his calculations as to a profit on his little investment he had based on a freight rate of two cents a pound. He was under contract to deliver his crop. He could not draw back. The new rate ate up every cent of his gains. He stood there ruined.

"Why, what do you mean?" he burst out. "You promised me a rate of two cents and I went ahead with my business with that understanding. . . ."

"The rate is five cents," declared the clerk doggedly.

"Well that ruins me," shouted Dyke. "Do you understand? I won't make fifty cents. Make? Why, I will owe—I'll be—be—That ruins me, do you understand?"

The other raised a shoulder.

"We don't force you to ship. You can do as you like. The rate is five cents."

"Well—but—. . . . You told me—you promised me a two-cent rate."

. . . Dyke stared in blank astonishment. . . .

". . . Look here. What's your basis of applying freight rates, anyhow?" he suddenly vociferated with furious sarcasm. . . .

S. Behrman emphasized each word of his reply with a tap of one forefinger on the counter before him:

"All—the traffic—will—bear."

END OF 1983 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

1. President Franklin D. Roosevelt is commonly thought of as a liberal and President Herbert C. Hoover as a conservative. To what extent are these characterizations valid?

**Document A**

Source: Candidate Herbert Hoover, speech, New York, New York (October 22, 1928)

"It is a false liberalism that interprets itself into the government operation of commercial business. Every step of bureaucratizing of the business of our country poisons the very roots of liberalism—that is, political equality, free speech, free assembly, free press, and equality of opportunity. It is the road not to more liberty, but to less liberty. Liberalism should be found not striving to spread bureaucracy but striving to set bounds to it. . . .

"I do not wish to be misunderstood in this statement. I am defining a general policy. It does not mean that our government is to part with one iota of its national resources without complete protection to the public interest. . . .

"Nor do I wish to be misinterpreted as believing that the United States is free-for-all and devil take the hindmost. The very essence of equality of opportunity and of American individualism is that there shall be no domination by any group or combination in this republic, whether it be business or political. On the contrary, it demands economic justice as well as political and social justice. It is no system of laissez faire. . . .

"Years ago the Republican administration established the principle that such evils could be corrected by regulation. It developed methods by which abuses could be prevented while the full value of industrial progress could be retained for the public. It insisted upon the principle that when great public utilities were clothed with the security of partial monopoly, whether it be railways, power plants, telephones, or what not, then there must be the fullest and most complete control of rates, services, and finances by government or local agencies. It declared that these businesses must be conducted with glass pockets. . . ."

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## Document B

Source: President Herbert Hoover, second annual message to Congress (December 2, 1930)

“. . . Economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement. . . . The best contribution of government lies in encouragement of this voluntary cooperation in the community. The government—national, state, and local—can join with the community in such programs and do its part.

“As a contribution to the situation the federal government is engaged upon the greatest program of waterway, harbor, flood control, public building, highway, and airway improvement in all our history. This, together with loans to merchant shipbuilders, improvement of the navy and in military aviation, and other construction work of the government will exceed \$520,000,000 for this fiscal year. This compares with \$253,000,000 in the fiscal year 1928. The construction works already authorized and the continuation of policies in government aid will require a continual expenditure upwards of half a billion dollars annually.

“I favor still further temporary expansion of these activities in aid to unemployment during this winter. The Congress will, however, have presented to it numbers of projects, some of them under the guise of, rather than the reality of, their usefulness in the increase of employment during the depression. There are certain common-sense limitations upon any expansions of construction work. The government must not undertake works that are not of sound economic purpose and that have not been subject to searching technical investigation, and which have not been given adequate consideration by the Congress. The volume of construction work in the Government is already at the maximum limit warranted by financial prudence as a continuing policy.”

## Document C

Source: President Herbert Hoover, statement to the press (February 3, 1931)

"It is not an issue as to whether people shall go hungry or cold in the United States. It is solely a question of the best method by which hunger and cold shall be prevented. . . .

"And there is a practical problem in all this. The help being daily extended by neighbors, by local and national agencies, by municipalities, by industry and a great multitude of organizations throughout the country today is many times any appropriation yet proposed. The opening of the doors of the federal treasury is likely to stifle this giving and thus destroy far more resources than the proposed charity from the government. . . .

"To reinforce this work at the opening of Congress, I recommended large appropriations for loans to rehabilitate agriculture from the drought and provision of further large sums for public works and construction in the drought territory, which would give employment in further relief to the whole situation . . . to increase federal construction work from a rate of about \$275,000,000 a year prior to the depression to a rate now of over \$750,000,000 a year. . . .

"I have indeed spent much of my life in fighting hardship and starvation both abroad and in the Southern States. I do not feel that I should be charged with lack of human sympathy for those who suffer. . . .

"I am willing to pledge myself that if the time should ever come that the voluntary agencies of the country together with the local and state governments are unable to find resources with which to prevent hunger and suffering in my country, I will ask the aid of every resource of the federal government because I would no more see starvation amongst our countrymen than would any senator or congressman. I have faith in the American people that such a day will not come."

Document D

Source: J. N. ("Ding") Darling in the *Des Moines Register* (December 18, 1931)  
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Of course we are all keeping our heads and doing all we can to help.

## Document E

Source: Candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (October 19, 1932)

"For over two years our federal government has experienced unprecedented deficits, in spite of increased taxes. . . .

". . . you can never expect any important economy from this [Hoover] administration. It is committed to the idea that we ought to center control of everything in Washington as rapidly as possible—federal control. That was the idea that increased the cost of government by a billion dollars in four years. . . .

". . . I shall approach the problem of carrying out the plain precept of our party, which is to reduce the cost of current federal government operations by 25 percent. . . .

"In accordance with this fundamental policy it is necessary to eliminate from federal budget-making during this emergency all new items except such as relate to direct relief of unemployment. . . .

"I have sought to make two things clear: first that we can make savings by reorganization of existing departments, by eliminating functions, by abolishing many of those innumerable boards and those commissions . . . to total many hundreds and thousands of dollars a year.

"Second, I hope that it will not be necessary to increase the present scale of taxes. . . .

"The above two categorical statements are aimed at a definite balancing of the budget. At the same time, let me repeat from now to election day so that every man, woman, and child in the United States will know what I mean: if starvation and dire need on the part of any of our citizens make necessary the appropriation of additional funds which would keep the budget out of balance, I shall not hesitate to tell the American people the full truth and ask them to authorize the expenditure of that additional amount. . . ."



## Document F

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 2* (1975)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FINANCES, 1929-1941  
(in billions of dollars)

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Surplus or Deficit (-)</u>	<u>Total Public Debt</u>
1929	\$3.127	\$0.734	\$16.9
1930	3.320	0.738	16.2
1931	3.577	-0.462	16.8
1932	4.659	-2.735	19.5
1933	4.598	-2.602	22.5
1934	6.645	-3.630	27.1
1935	6.497	-2.791	28.7
1936	8.422	-4.425	33.8
1937	7.733	-2.777	36.4
1938	6.765	-1.177	37.2
1939	8.841	-3.862	40.4
1940	9.589	-2.710	43.0
1941	13.980	-4.778	44.0

## Document G

Source: President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech, Syracuse, New York (September 29, 1936)

"... Who is there in America who believes that we can run the risk of turning back our government to the old leadership which brought it to the brink of 1933? Out of the strains and stresses of these years we have come to see that the true conservative is the man who has a real concern for injustices and takes thought against the day of reckoning. The true conservative seeks to protect the system of private property and free enterprise by correcting such injustices and inequalities as arise from it. The most serious threat to our institutions comes from those who refuse to face the need for change. Liberalism becomes the protection for the far-sighted conservative.

"Never has a nation made greater strides in the safeguarding of democracy than we have made during the past three years. Wise and prudent men—intelligent conservatives—have long known that in a changing world worthy institutions can be conserved only by adjusting them to the changing time. In the words of the great essayist, 'The voice of great events is proclaiming to us. Reform if you would preserve.'

"I am that kind of conservative because I am that kind of liberal."

# 1984

## Document H

Source: President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech, Washington, D.C. (March 4, 1937)

"... We are celebrating the 1936 victory. That was not a final victory. It was a victory whereby our party won further opportunity to lead in the solution of the pressing problems that perplex our generation. Whether we shall celebrate in 1938, 1940, and in 1944, as we celebrate tonight, will deservedly depend upon whether the party continues on its course and solves those problems.

"And if I have aught to say it will continue on its course and it will solve those problems. . . .

"Here is one-third of a nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed—NOW!

"Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest—NOW!

"Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women laboring for long hours in factories for inadequate pay—NOW!

"Here are thousands upon thousands of children who should be at school, working in mines and mills—NOW!

"Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars—NOW!

"Here are spring floods threatening to roll again down our river valleys—NOW!

"Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again—NOW!

"If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us, if we would make democracy succeed, I say we must act—NOW!"

END OF 1984 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

1. “From 1781 to 1789 the Articles of Confederation provided the United States with an effective government.” Using the documents and your knowledge of the period, evaluate this statement.

**Document A**

Source: Letter from the Rhode Island Assembly to Congress (November 30, 1782)

“Sir: In obedience to the direction of the lower house of assembly of this State, I enclose their unanimous resolution [to reject] the recommendation of Congress, respecting an impost on imported goods, &c. and to state some of [their] principal reasons. . . .

“1st. Because it would be unequal in its operation, bearing hardest on the most commercial states, and so would press peculiarly hard upon this State, which draws its chief support from commerce:

“2dly. Because it proposes to introduce into this and the other states, officers unknown and unaccountable to them, and so is against the constitution of this State: and

“3dly. Because, by granting to Congress a power to collect moneys from the commerce of these states, indefinitely as to time and quantity, and for the expenditure of which they are not to be accountable to the states, they would become independent of their constituents; and so the proposed impost is repugnant to the liberty of the United States.”

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## Document B

Year	Estimated Market Value of United States Exports to Great Britain (in thousands)	Estimated United States Population (in thousands)
1770	\$3,248	2,148
1771	5,978	2,211
1772	5,078	2,275
1773	4,960	2,335
1774	4,842	2,400
1775	6,555	2,463
1784	4,429	3,236
1785	4,901	3,351
1786	4,134	3,461
1787	4,488	3,576
1788	4,901	3,688
1789	4,901	3,808
1790	4,905	3,929
1791	4,724	4,056
1792	4,311	4,194



## Document C

Source: Letter from Delegate Joseph Jones of Virginia to George Washington (February 27, 1783)

“One ground of discontent in the army, and on which they found the opinion that justice is not intended to be done to them, is the delay in complying with their requests [for bonus and back pay]. But with those acquainted with the deliberations of public bodies, and especially of so mixed a body as that of Congress, allowances will be made for slow determination. Every class of public creditors must know the inability of Congress to pay their demands, unless furnished with the means by the several States, and the exertions of that body have not been [lacking] heretofore to obtain the means. . . .”

## Document D

Source: John Jay’s Instructions to the United States Minister to Great Britain (March 7, 1785)

“You will in a respectful but firm manner insist that the United States be put, without further delay, into possession of all the posts and territories within their limits, which are now held by British garrisons. And you will take the earliest opportunity of transmitting the answer you may receive to this requisition. . . .

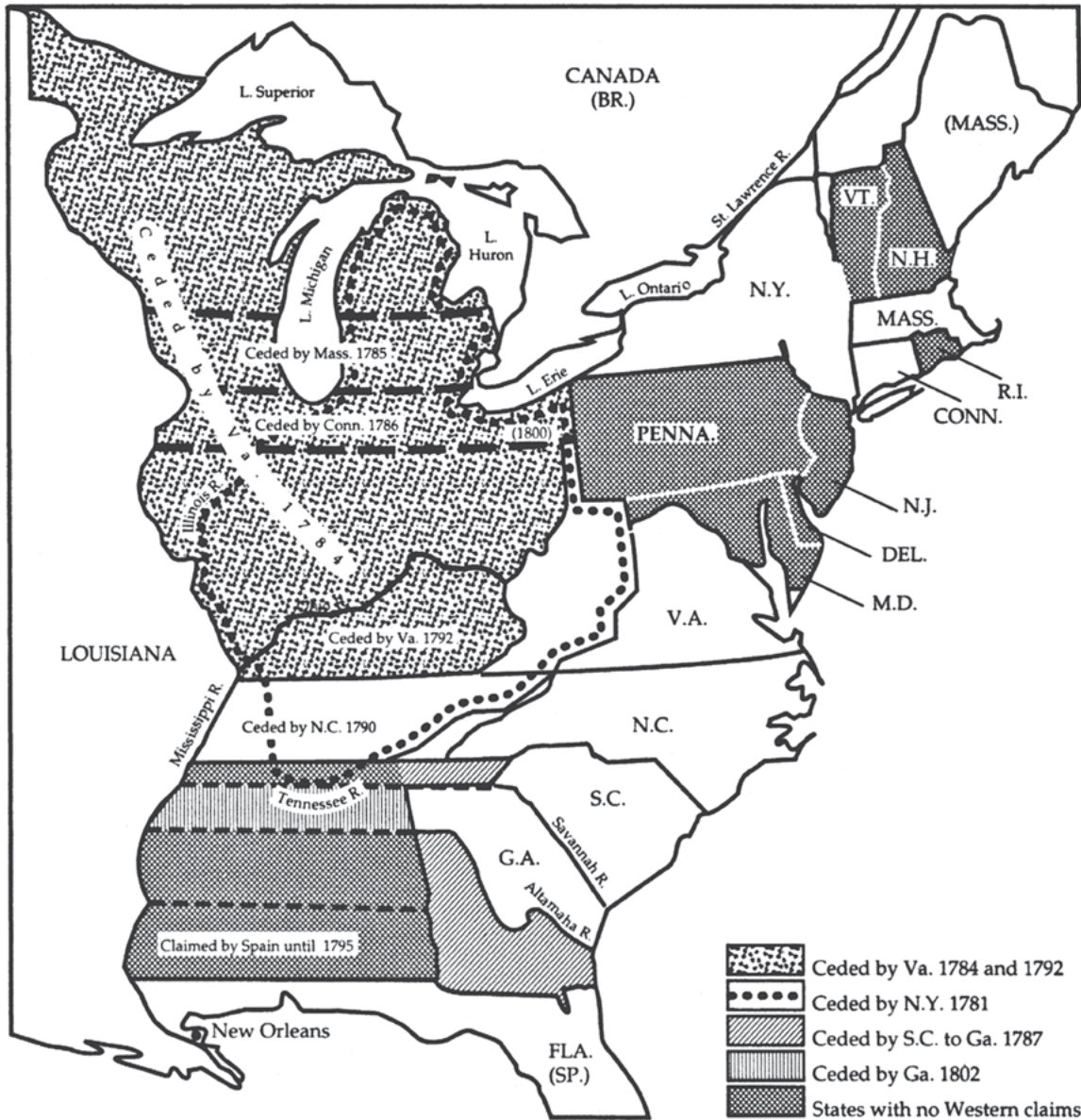
“You will represent to the British Ministry the strong and necessary tendency of their restrictions on our trade to incapacitate our merchants in a certain degree to make remittances to their’s. . . .

“You will represent in strong terms the losses which many of our and also of their merchants will sustain if the former be unseasonably and immoderately pressed for the payment of debts contracted before the war.”

## Document E

Source: John Blum, et. al., *The National Experience*, third edition

### WESTERN LANDS CEDED BY THE STATES, 1781-1802



## Document F

Source: John Jay's Speech to Congress on Negotiations with Spain's Minister Diego de Gardoqui (August 6, 1786)

"My attention is chiefly fixed on two obstacles which at present divide us, viz., the navigation of the Mississippi and the territorial limits between them and us.

"Mr. Gardoqui strongly insists on our relinquishing [our right to navigate the Mississippi]. It always has been, and continues to be, one of their maxims of policy to exclude all mankind from their American shores.

"I have often reminded him that the adjacent country was filling fast with people; and that the time must and would come when they would not submit to seeing a fine river flow before their doors without using it as a highway to the sea for the transportation of their productions; that it would therefore be wise to look forward to that event and take care not to sow in the treaty any seeds of future discord. He said that the time alluded to was far distant; and that treaties were not to provide for contingencies so remote and future. For his part he considered the rapid settlement of that country as injurious to the states, and that they would find it necessary to check it. Many fruitless arguments passed between us; and tho' he would admit that the only way to make treaties and friendship permanent was for neither party to leave the other any thing to complain of; yet he would still insist that the Mississippi must be shut against us. . . .

"Circumstanced as we are, I think it would be expedient to agree that the treaty should be limited to twenty-five or thirty years, and that one of the articles should stipulate that the United States would forbear to use the navigation of that river below their territories to the ocean. Thus the duration of the treaty and of the forbearance in question would be limited to the same period."

**Document G**

Source: Letter from John Jay to George Washington (June 27, 1786)

“. . . Our affairs seem to lead to some crisis, some revolution—something that I cannot foresee or conjecture. I am uneasy and apprehensive; more so than during the war. Then we had a fixed object, and though the means and time of obtaining it were often problematical, yet I did firmly believe we would ultimately succeed, because I was convinced that justice was with us. The case is now altered; we are going and doing wrong, and therefore I look forward to evils and calamities, but without being able to guess at the instrument, nature, or measure of them.

“That we shall again recover, and things again go well, I have no doubt. . . .

“What I most fear is, that the better kind of people, by which I mean the people who are orderly and industrious, who are content with their situations and not uneasy in their circumstances, will be led by the insecurity of property, the loss of confidence in their rulers, and the want of public faith and rectitude, to consider the charms of liberty as imaginary and delusive. A state of fluctuation and uncertainty must disgust and alarm such men, and prepare their minds for almost any change that may promise them quiet and security.”

**Document H**

Source: Report of Rawlin Lowndes' speech to the South Carolina House of Representatives, debating the adoption of the federal constitution (January 17, 1788)

Mr. Lowndes expatiated some time on the nature of compacts . . . and solemnly called on the house to consider whether it would not be better to add strength to the old Confederation, instead of hastily adopting another; asking whether a man could be looked on as wise, who, possessing a magnificent building, upon discovering a flaw, instead of repairing the injury, should pull it down, and build another. Indeed, he could not understand with what propriety the Convention proceeded to change the Confederation; for every person with whom he had conversed on this subject concurred in opinion that the sole object of appointing a convention was to inquire what alterations were necessary in the Confederation, in order that it might answer those salutary purposes for which it was originally intended. . . . Mr. Lowndes concluded a long speech with a glowing eulogy on the old Confederation. . . .

END OF 1985 DBQ DOCUMENTS



The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-I and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

1. The 1920's were a period of tension between new and changing attitudes on the one hand and traditional values and nostalgia on the other. What led to the tension between old and new AND in what ways was the tension manifested?

**Document A**

Source: Sinclair Lewis, *Babbitt*, 1922

Just as he was an Elk, a Booster, and a member of the Chamber of Commerce, just as the priests of the Presbyterian Church determined his every religious belief and the senators who controlled the Republican Party decided in little smoky rooms in Washington what he should think about disarmament, tariff, and Germany, so did the large national advertisers fix the surface of his life, fix what he believed to be his individuality. These standard advertised wares—toothpastes, socks, tires, cameras, instantaneous hot-water-heaters—were his symbols and proofs of excellence; at first the signs, then the substitutes, for joy and passion and wisdom.

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1986

Document B

Source: "The Bridge" by Joseph Stella, 1922; Collection of the Newark Museum.



## Document C

Source: *The World's Most Famous Trial: Tennessee Evolution Case, 1925*

Mr. Darrow: Do you claim that everything in the Bible should be literally interpreted?

Mr. Bryan: I believe everything in the Bible should be accepted as it is given there; some of the Bible is given illustratively. For instance: "Ye are the salt of the earth." I would not insist that man was actually salt, or that he had flesh of salt, but it is used in the sense of salt as saving God's people.

• • •

Mr. Darrow: But when you read that Jonah swallowed the whale—or that the whale swallowed Jonah—excuse me please—how do you literally interpret that? . . .

Mr. Bryan: One miracle is just as easy to believe as another. . . .

Mr. Darrow: Perfectly easy to believe that Jonah swallowed the whale? . . .

• • •

Mr. Bryan: Your honor. I think I can shorten this testimony. The only purpose Mr. Darrow has is to slur at the Bible, but I will answer his question. I will answer it all at once, and I have no objection in the world, I want the world to know that this man, who does not believe in God, is trying to use a court in Tennessee—

Mr. Darrow: I object to that.

Mr. Bryan: (Continuing) to slur at it, and while it will require time, I am willing to take it.

Mr. Darrow: I object to your statement. I am examining you on your fool ideas that no intelligent Christian on earth believes.

## Document D

Source: Hiram Wesley Evans, "The Klan's Fight for Americanism," *The North American Review*, March 1926

We are a movement of the plain people, very weak in the matter of culture, intellectual support, and trained leadership. We are demanding, and we expect to win, a return of power into the hands of the everyday, not highly cultured, not overly intellectualized, but entirely unspoiled and not de-Americanized, average citizen of the old stock. Our members and leaders are all of this class—the opposition of the intellectuals and liberals who held the leadership, betrayed Americanism, and from whom we expect to wrest control, is almost automatic.

This is undoubtedly a weakness. It lays us open to the charge of being "hicks" and "rubes" and "drivers of second-hand Fords." We admit it. Far worse, it makes it hard for us to state our case and advocate our crusade in the most effective way, for most of us lack skill in language.

• • •

The Klan, therefore, has now come to speak for the great mass of Americans of the old pioneer stock. We believe that it does fairly and faithfully represent them, and our proof lies in their support. To understand the Klan, then, it is necessary to understand the character and present mind of the mass of old-stock Americans. The mass, it must be remembered, as distinguished from the intellectually mongrelized "Liberals."

These are, in the first place, a blend of various people of the so-called Nordic race, the race which, with all its faults, has given the world almost the whole of modern civilization. The Klan does not try to represent any people but these.



## Document E

Source: Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *The Nation*, 1926

Jazz to me is one of the inherent expressions of Negro life in America: the eternal tom-tom beating in the Negro soul—the tom-tom of revolt against weariness in a white world, a world of subway trains, and work, work, work; the tom-tom of joy and laughter, and pain swallowed in a smile. Yet the Philadelphia clubwoman . . . turns up her nose at jazz and all its manifestations—likewise almost anything else distinctly racial. . . . She wants the artist to flatter her, to make the white world believe that all Negroes are as smug and as near white in soul as she wants to be. But, to my mind, it is the duty of the younger Negro artist . . . to change through the force of his art that old whispering "I want to be white," hidden in the aspirations of his people, to "Why should I want to be white? I am Negro—and beautiful."

## Document F

Source: Mary B. Mullett, "The Biggest Thing That Lindbergh Has Done," *The American Magazine*, October, 1927

When, because of what we believe him to be, we gave Lindbergh the greatest ovation in history, we convicted ourselves of having told a lie *about* ourselves. For we proved that the "things of good report" are the same today as they were nineteen hundred years ago.

We shouted ourselves hoarse. Not because a man had flown across the Atlantic! Not even because he was an American! But because he was as clean in character as he was strong and fine in body; because he put "ethics" above any desire for wealth; because he was as modest as he was courageous; and because—as we now know, beyond any shadow of doubt—*these are the things which we honor most* in life.

To have shown us this truth about ourselves is the biggest thing that Lindbergh has done.

## Document G

Source: "Women Smokers," *The New York Times*, February 29, 1928

Be it resolved, that the National W.C.T.U. [Women's Christian Temperance Union] encourages further scientific research into the effects of nicotine and urges all public and private school teachers and Sunday school workers, both by precept and example, to assist in an educational campaign to make these effects known with a view to instructing the youth as to the well-proven facts of science; and

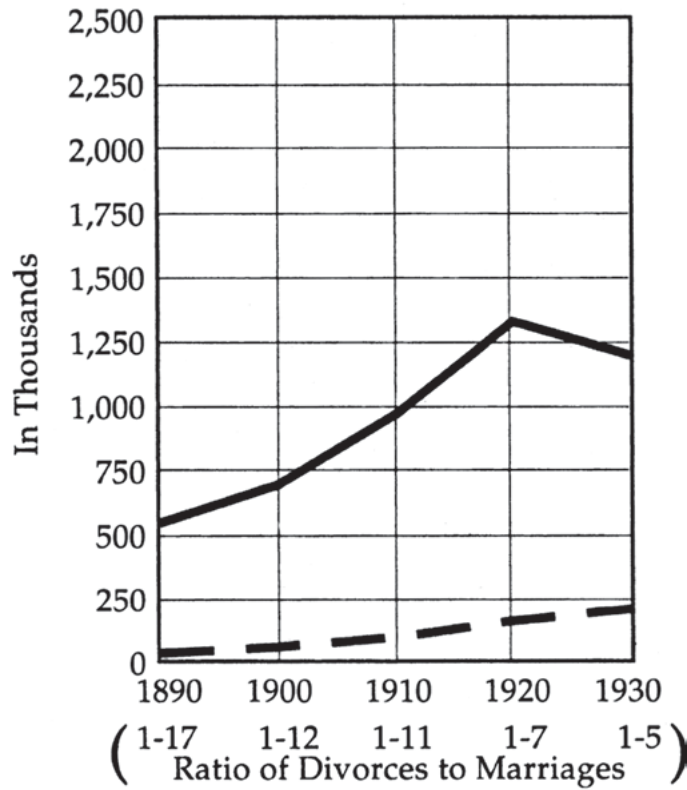
Be it further resolved, that the National W.C.T.U. brands as untrue the charge made by the Association Opposed to National Prohibition that we are engaged in a secret campaign for an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting tobacco. . . .

[Mrs. Ella A. Boole, President of the New York State organization says:]

"We are working on this question from a scientific standpoint and from an educational standpoint. After all, the duty of motherhood is still relegated to the women of the nation. Just as long as that is true we must protect the coming generation by teaching the present one the effects of the habit of smoking on the unborn. . . ."

Document H

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE, 1890-1930



Marriages ———  
 Divorces - - - -

## Document I

Source: Morrow Mayo, "Aimee Rises from the Sea," *The New Republic*, December 25, 1929

... Sister substituted the Gospel of Love for the Gospel of Fear. This doctrine was as strange in Southern California as it is elsewhere in Christendom. . . .

Sister substituted the cheerfulness of the play-room for the gloom of the morgue. She threw out the dirges and threats of Hell, replacing them with jazz hymns and promises of Glory. The gospel she created was and is an ideal bed-time story. It has a pretty color, a sweet taste, and is easy.

• • •

Mrs. McPherson describes the Holy City literally—the jewelled walls, pearly gates, golden streets, milk and honey. She says she is not sure—she is not *sure*, mind you—but she has a pretty good idea that Heaven will resemble a cross between Pasadena, California, and Washington, D.C. That will give an idea of what may be expected at Angelus Temple. The atmosphere bubbles over with love, joy, enthusiasm; the Temple is full of flowers, music, golden trumpets, red robes, angels, incense, nonsense and sex appeal. The service may be described as supernatural whoopee.

END OF 1986 DBQ DOCUMENTS



The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

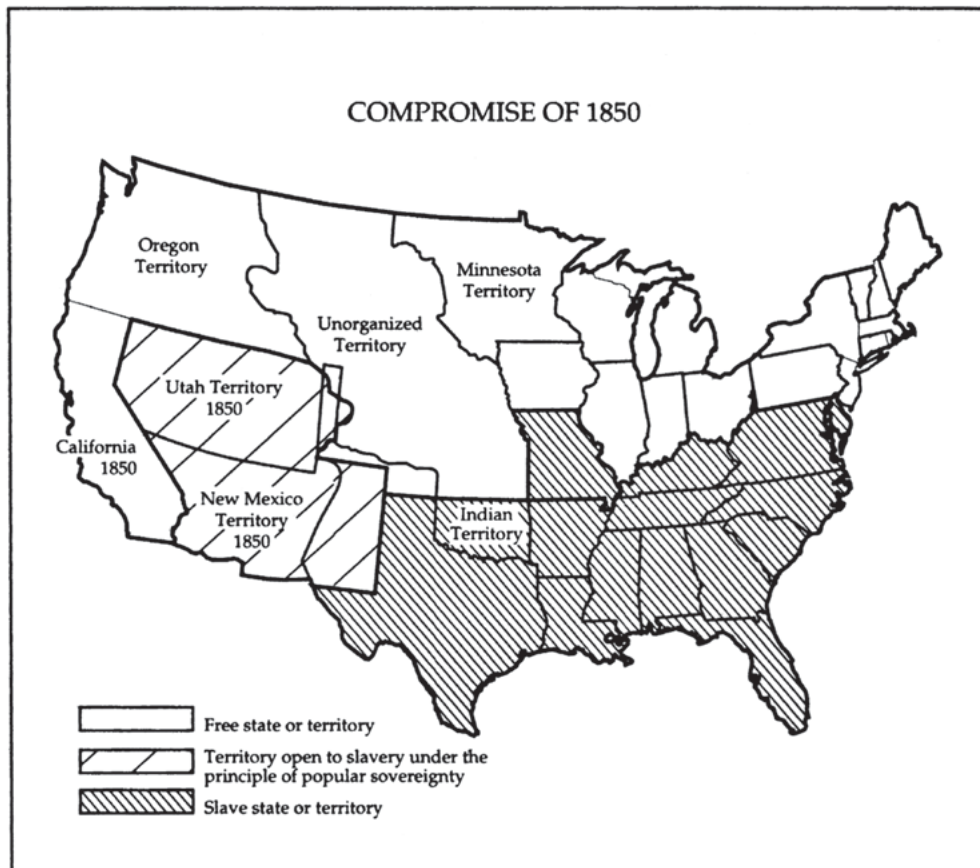
AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-I and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

1. "By the 1850's the Constitution, originally framed as an instrument of national unity, had become a source of sectional discord and tension and ultimately contributed to the failure of the union it had created."

Using the documents and your knowledge of the period 1850-1861, assess the validity of this statement.

Document A



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## Document B

Source: An Anonymous Georgian, "Plain Words for the North," *American Whig Review*, XII (December 1850)

"In a government where sectional interests and feelings may come into conflict, the sole security for permanence and peace is to be found in a Constitution whose provisions are inviolable. . . . Every State, before entering into that compact, stood in a position of independence. Ere yielding that independence, it was only proper that provision should be made to protect the interests of those which would inevitably be the weaker in that confederacy.

"[The framers of the Constitution] acted wisely, and embodied in the Constitution all that the South could ask. But two Constitutional provisions are necessary to secure Southern rights upon this important question,—*the recognition of slavery where the people choose it and the remedy for fugitive slaves*. . . . We hold that the Constitution of the Union does recognize slavery where it exists. . . .

"A large portion of our States have adopted and allow slavery. The entire country becomes possessed of new territory, to the acquisition of which these slave States contribute mainly. The South admits the right of this new territory to choose for itself whether slavery shall or shall not exist there. But the North insists, that while the territory was partly acquired by Southern men, is partly owned by Southern men, that they shall be excluded from its soil,—that they shall not carry their property into their own land—land which is theirs by the right of purchase. Thus it is rendered, if these views are carried out, simply impossible for any new State representing the Southern interest ever to come into the Union. The equilibrium which alone can preserve the Constitution is utterly destroyed. And to do this, flagrant violations of the plainest rules of right and wrong are committed. . . .

"The Union, without a living, vital Constitution, is but a vain and empty name. Nay, more, it is but a body powerless for good, strong for evil. Its destruction is inevitable unless the original guarantees are respected and maintained."

Source: Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

# CAUTION!!



## COLORED PEOPLE OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,

You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and  
advised, to avoid conversing with the  
Watchmen and Police Officers  
of Boston,

For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR &  
ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as

## KIDNAPPERS

AND

## Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in  
KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING  
SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY,  
and the *Welfare of the Fugitives* among you, *Shun*  
them in every possible manner, as so many *HOUNDS*  
on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for  
KIDNAPPERS, and have  
TOP EYE open.

APRIL 24, 1851.



## Document D

Source: Ralph Waldo Emerson, address on The Fugitive Slave Law (May 3, 1851)

“An immoral law makes it a man’s duty to break it, at every hazard. For virtue is the very self of every man. It is therefore a principle of law that an immoral contract is void, and that an immoral statute is void. . . . The [Fugitive Slave Law] is a statute which enacts the crime of kidnapping,—a crime on one footing with arson and murder. A man’s right to liberty is as inalienable as his right to life. . . .

“By the law of Congress March 2, 1807, it is piracy and murder, punishable with death, to enslave a man on the coast of Africa. By law of Congress September, 1850, it is a high crime and misdemeanor, punishable with fine and imprisonment, to resist the reenslaving a man on the coast of America. . . . What kind of legislation is this? What kind of Constitution which covers it? . . .

“I suppose the Union can be left to take care of itself. . . . But one thing appears certain to me, that, as soon as the Constitution ordains an immoral law, it ordains disunion. The law is suicidal, and cannot be obeyed. The Union is at an end as soon as an immoral law is enacted. And he who writes a crime into the statute-book digs under the foundations of the Capitol to plant there a powder-magazine, and lays a train.”

## Document E

Source: William Lloyd Garrison, “The United States Constitution” (1852)

“We charge . . . that [the Constitution] was formed at the expense of human liberty, by a profligate surrender of principle, and to this hour is cemented with human blood. . . .

“To the argument, that the words ‘slaves’ and ‘slavery’ are not to be found in the Constitution, and therefore that it was never intended to give any protection or countenance to the slave system, it is sufficient to reply, that though no such words are contained in the instrument, other words were used, intelligently and specifically, to meet the necessities of slavery. . . .

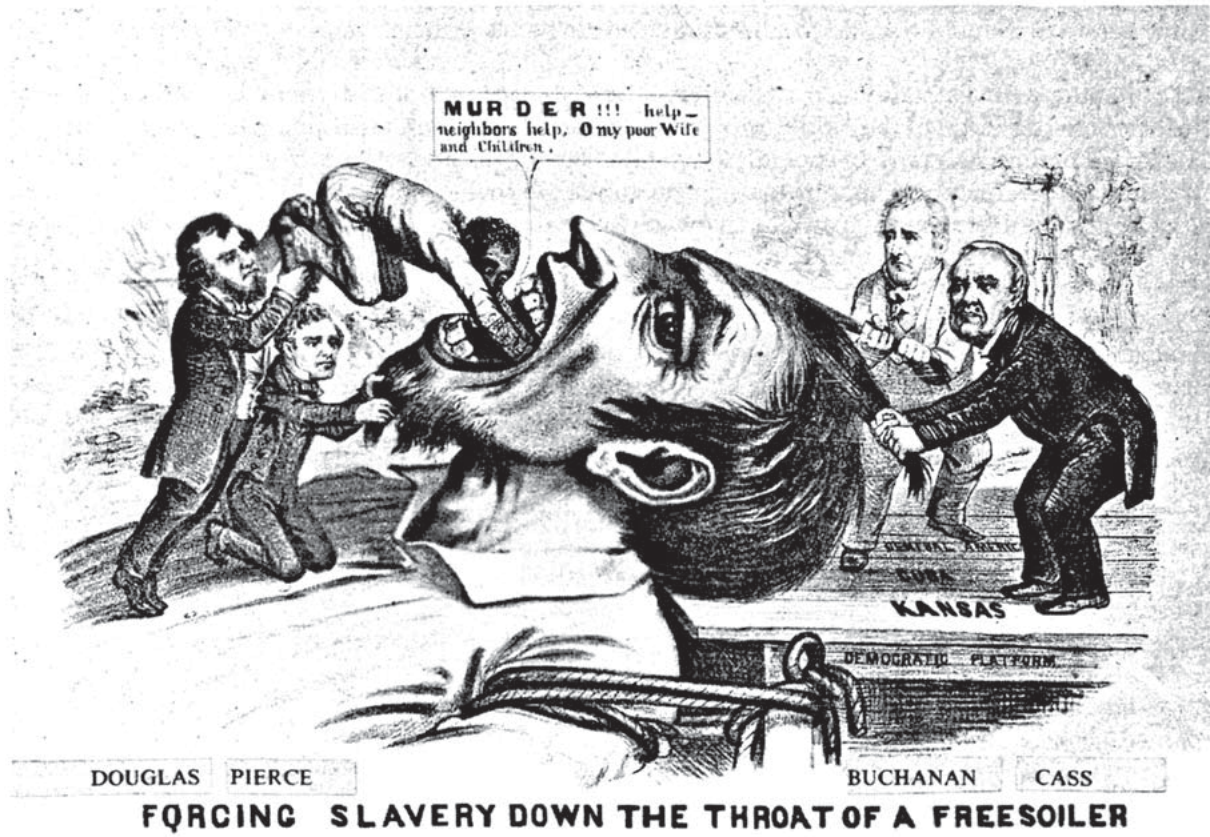
“Three millions of the American people are crushed under the American Union! They are held as slaves, trafficked as merchandise, registered as goods and chattels! The government gives them no protection—the government is their enemy, the government keeps them in chains! . . . The Union which grinds them to the dust rests upon us, and with them we will struggle to overthrow it! The Constitution which subjects them to hopeless bondage is one that we cannot swear to support. Our motto is, ‘No Union with Slaveholders.’ . . . We separate from them, . . . to clear our skirts of innocent blood, . . . and to hasten the downfall of slavery in America, and throughout the world!”



1987

Document F

Source: Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society



## Document G

Source: President James Buchanan, fourth annual message to Congress (December 3, 1860)

“. . . All for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. . . .

“The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the States of the North. Should it be refused, then the Constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been willfully violated by one portion of them in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the Government of the Union. . . .

“The question fairly stated is, Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and to make war against a State. After much serious reflection I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress. . . .

“Congress can contribute much to avert [Southern withdrawal from the Union] by proposing and recommending to the legislatures of the several States the remedy for existing evils which the Constitution has itself provided for its own preservation, . . . an ‘explanatory amendment’ of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. . . .

1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist.
2. The duty of protecting this right in all the common Territories. . . .
3. A like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave who has escaped from one State to another restored. . . .

“In any event, [such an explanatory amendment] ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation before any of these States shall separate themselves from the Union.”

## Document H

Source: President Jefferson Davis, message to the Confederate Congress (April 29, 1861)

“It was by the delegates chosen by the *several States* . . . that the Constitution of the United States was framed in 1787 and submitted to the *several States* for ratification. . . . [These] States endeavored in every possible form to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common government and nation, and . . . to impress on the Constitution its true character—that of a compact between independent States.

“. . . Amendments were added to the Constitution placing beyond any pretense of doubt the reservation by the States of all their sovereign rights and powers not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

“Strange, indeed, . . . [the Constitution has] proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the government thus formed was not a compact *between States*, but was in effect national government, set up *above and over the States*.”

## Document I

Source: President Abraham Lincoln, message to Congress (July 4, 1861)

“The [Secessionists] invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps, through all the incidents, to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is, that any state of the Union may, *consistently* with the national Constitution, and therefore *lawfully*, and *peacefully*, withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union, or of any other state. . . .

“This sophism derives much—perhaps the whole—of its currency, from the assumption, that there is some omnipotent, and sacred supremacy, pertaining to a *State*—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more, nor less power, than that reserved to them, in the Union, by the Constitution—no one of them ever having been a State *out of the Union*. The original ones passed into the Union even *before* they cast off their British colonial dependence; and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence. . . .

“Having never been States, either in substance, or in name, *outside of the Union*, whence this magical omnipotence of ‘State rights,’ asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself?”



The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

AMERICAN HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

1. The United States decision to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima was a diplomatic measure calculated to intimidate the Soviet Union in the post-Second-World-War era rather than a strictly military measure designed to force Japan's unconditional surrender.

Evaluate this statement using the documents and your knowledge of the military and diplomatic history of the years 1939 through 1947

**Document A**

Source: Memoirs of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson (1947)

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## Document B

Source: Memoirs of General H. H. Arnold, Commander of the American Army Air Force in the Second World War (1949)

The surrender of Japan was not entirely the result of the two atomic bombs. We had hit some 60 Japanese cities with our regular H. E. (High Explosive) and incendiary bombs and, as a result of our raids, about 241,000 people had been killed, 313,000 wounded, and about 2,333,000 homes destroyed. Our B-29's had destroyed most of the Japanese industries and, with the laying of mines, which prevented the arrival of incoming cargoes of critical items, had made it impossible for Japan to carry on a large-scale war. . . . Accordingly, it always appeared to us that, atomic bomb or no atomic bomb, the Japanese were already on the verge of collapse.

## Document C

Source: Dwight D. Eisenhower, recollections of a July 1945 meeting with President Harry S Truman (1948)

Another item on which I ventured to advise President Truman involved the Soviet's intention to enter the Japanese war. I told him that since reports indicated the imminence of Japan's collapse, I deprecated the Red Army's engaging in that war. I foresaw certain difficulties arising out of such participation and suggested that, at the very least, we ought not to put ourselves in the position of requesting or begging for Soviet aid. It was my personal opinion that no power on earth could keep the Red Army out of that war unless victory came before they could get in.

## Document D

Source: Agreements of the Yalta Conference (February 11, 1945)

Agreement Regarding Japan

The leaders of the three Great Powers—the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain—have agreed that in two or three months after Germany has surrendered and the war in Europe has terminated, the Soviet Union shall enter into the war against Japan on the side of the Allies on condition that:

1. The status quo in Outer Mongolia (The Mongolian People's Republic) shall be preserved;
2. The former rights of Russia violated by the treacherous attack of Japan in 1904 shall be restored, viz.:
  - (a) the southern part of Sakhalin as well as all the islands adjacent to it shall be returned to the Soviet Union,
  - (b) the commercial port of Dairen shall be internationalized, the preeminent interests of the Soviet Union in this port being safeguarded and the lease of Port Arthur as a naval base of the U.S.S.R. restored,
  - (c) the Chinese-Eastern Railroad and the South Manchurian Railroad which provides an outlet to Dairen shall be jointly operated by the establishment of a joint Soviet-Chinese Company, it being understood that the preeminent interest of the Soviet Union shall be safeguarded and that China shall retain full sovereignty in Manchuria. . . .

The Heads of the three Great Powers have agreed that these claims of the Soviet Union shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.

For its part the Soviet Union expresses its readiness to conclude with the National Government of China a pact of friendship and alliance between the U.S.S.R. and China in order to render assistance to China with its armed forces for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke.

Joseph V. Stalin  
Franklin D. Roosevelt  
Winston S. Churchill

**Document E**

Source: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's recollections of news received during the Potsdam Conference, July 1945 (1953)

On July 17 world-shaking news had arrived. . . .

The atomic bomb is a reality. . . . Here then was a speedy end to the Second World War, and perhaps to much else besides. . . . Up to this moment we had shaped our ideas towards an assault upon the homeland of Japan by terrific air bombing and by the invasion of very large armies. . . .

Now all this nightmare picture had vanished. In its place was the vision—fair and bright indeed it seemed—of the end of the whole war in one or two violent shocks. . . .

Moreover, we should not need the Russians. The end of the Japanese war no longer depended upon the pouring in of their armies for the final and perhaps protracted slaughter. We had no need to ask favours of them. A few days later I mentioned to Mr. Eden: "It is quite clear that the United States do not at the present time desire Russian participation in the war against Japan." The array of European problems could therefore be faced on their merits and according to the broad principles of the United Nations. We seemed suddenly to have become possessed of a merciful abridgment of the slaughter in the East and of a far happier prospect in Europe. I have no doubt that these thoughts were present in the minds of my American friends.

**Document F**

Source: Nuclear physicist Leo Szilard's recollection of a 1945 meeting between James Byrnes and a group of concerned atomic scientists (1949)

The question of whether the bomb should be used in the war against Japan came up for discussion. Mr. Byrnes did not argue that it was necessary to use the bomb against the cities of Japan in order to win the war. He knew at that time, as the rest of the Government knew, that Japan was essentially defeated and that we could win the war in another six months. At that time Mr. Byrnes was much concerned about the spreading of Russian influence in Europe. . . . Mr. Byrnes' concern about Russia I fully shared, but his view that our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe I was not able to share. Indeed I could hardly imagine any premise more false and disastrous upon which to base our policy, and I was dismayed when a few weeks later I learned that he was to be our Secretary of State.

## Document G

Source: Report of a Scientific Panel (composed of nuclear physicists A. H. Compton, Enrico Fermi, E. O. Lawrence and J. R. Oppenheimer) to the Secretary of War (June 16, 1945)

The opinions of our scientific colleagues on the initial use of these weapons are not unanimous: they range from the proposal of a purely technical demonstration to that of the military application best designed to induce surrender. Those who advocate a purely technical demonstration would wish to outlaw the use of atomic weapons, and have feared that if we use the weapons now our position in future negotiations will be prejudiced. Others emphasize the opportunity of saving American lives by immediate military use, and believe that such use will improve the international prospects, in that they are more concerned with the prevention of war than with the elimination of this special weapon.

## Document H

Source: Harry S Truman, radio address (August 1945)

I realize the tragic significance of the atomic bomb.

Its production and its use were not lightly undertaken by this Government. But we knew that our enemies were on the search for it. We know now how close they were to finding it. And we know the disaster which would come to this nation, and to all peaceful nations, to all civilizations, if they had found it first.

That is why we felt compelled to undertake the long and uncertain and costly labor of discovery and production.

We won the race of discovery against the Germans.

Having found the bomb, we have used it. We have used it against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned the pretense of obeying international laws of warfare. We have used it in order to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans.

We shall continue to use it until we completely destroy Japan's power to make war. Only a Japanese surrender will stop us.

END OF 1988 DBQ DOCUMENTS



The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

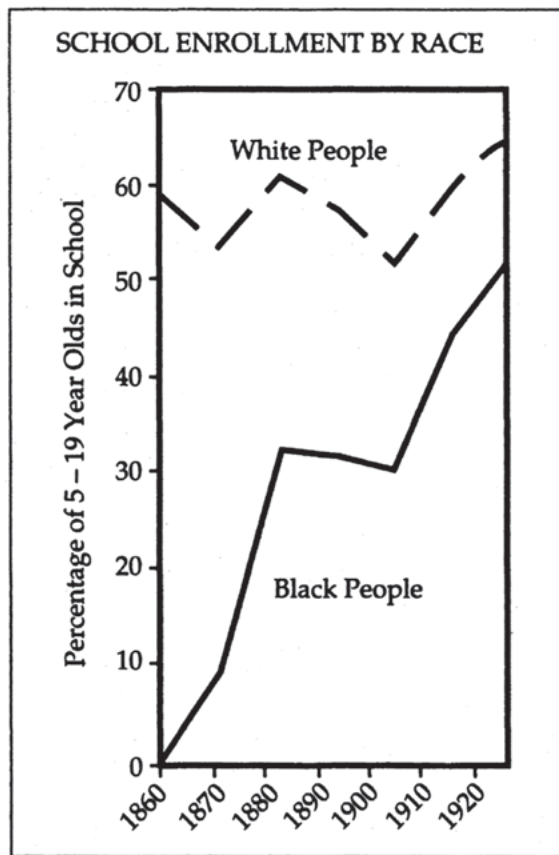
UNITED STATES HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-J and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In your essay, you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

- Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois offered different strategies for dealing with the problems of poverty and discrimination faced by Black Americans at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries.

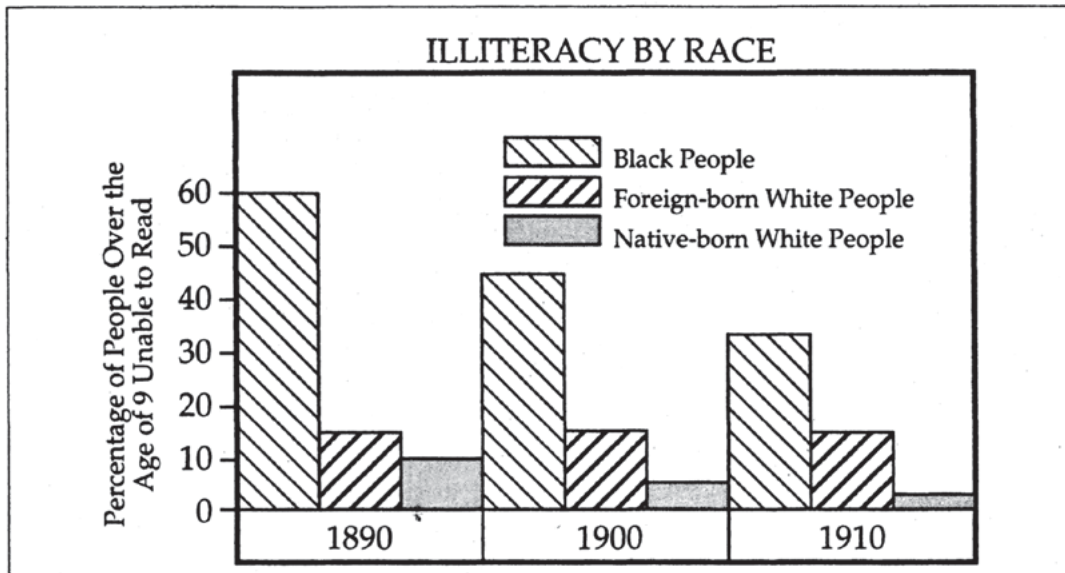
Using the documents and your knowledge of the period 1877-1915, assess the appropriateness of each of these strategies in the historical context in which each was developed.

Document A

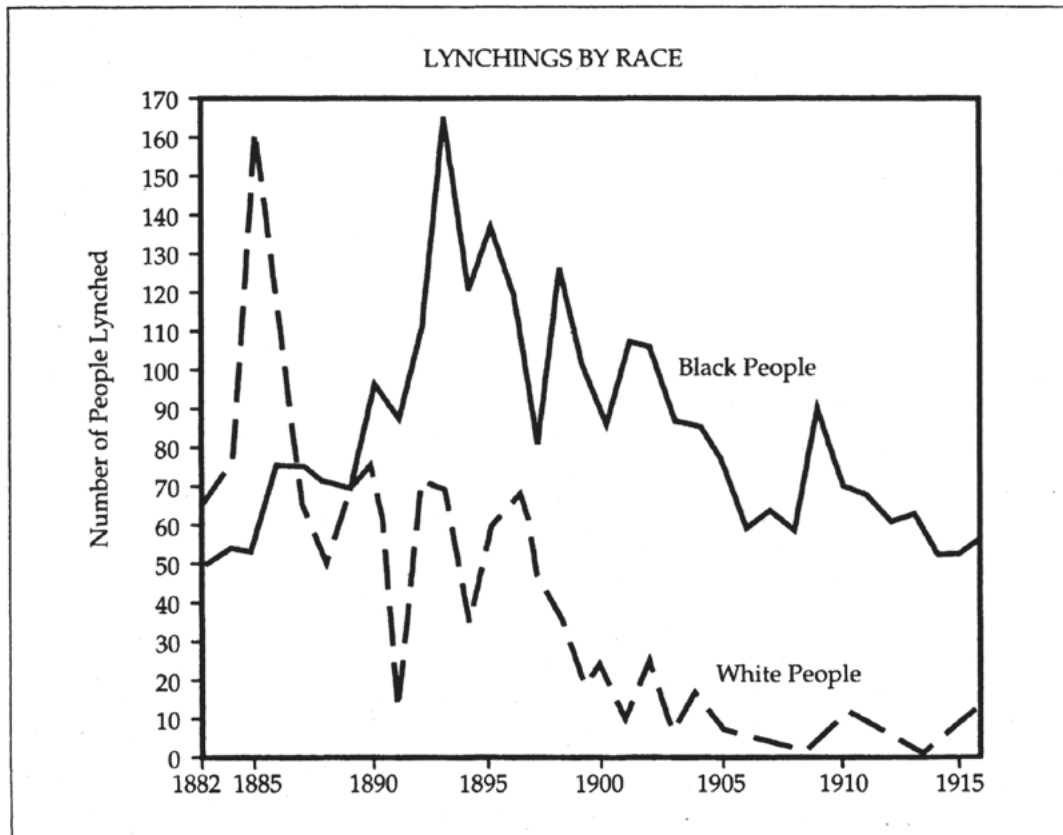


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Document B



Document C



## Document D

Source: Booker T. Washington, "Atlanta Compromise Address" (September 11, 1895)

"To those of the white race who look to the incoming of those of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South, were I permitted I would repeat what I say to my own race, 'Cast down your bucket where you are.' Cast it down among the eight millions of Negroes whose habits you know, whose fidelity and love you have tested in days when to have proved treacherous meant the ruin of your firesides. Cast down your bucket among these people who have, without strikes and labor wars, tilled your fields, cleared your forests, built your railroads and cities, and brought forth treasures from the bowels of the earth, and helped make possible this magnificent representation of the progress of the South. Casting down your bucket among my people, helping and encouraging them as you are doing on these grounds, and to education of head, hand, and heart, you will find that they will buy your surplus land, make blossom the waste places in your fields, and run your factories. While doing this, you can be sure in the future, as in the past, that you and your families will be surrounded by the most patient, faithful, law-abiding, and unresentful people that the world has seen. As we have proved our loyalty to you in the past, in nursing your children, watching by the sickbed of your mothers and fathers, and often following them with tear-dimmed eyes to their graves, so in the future, in our humble way, we shall stand by you with a devotion that no foreigner can approach, ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours, interlacing our industrial, commercial, civil, and religious life with yours in a way that shall make the interests of both races one. In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress. . . .

"The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized. It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercises of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."

## Document E

Source: W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903)

“Is it possible and probable that nine millions of men can make effective progress in economic lines if they are deprived of political rights, made a servile caste, and allowed only the most meagre chance for developing their exceptional men? If history and reason give any distinct answer to these questions it is an emphatic *No*. . . .

“Such men, [the thinking classes of American Negroes] feel in conscience bound to ask of this nation three things:

1. The right to vote
2. Civic equality
3. The education of youth according to ability

“They do not expect that the free right to vote, to enjoy civic rights, and to be educated, will come in a moment; they do not expect to see the bias and prejudices of years disappear at the blast of a trumpet; but they are absolutely certain that the way for a people to gain their reasonable rights is not by voluntarily throwing them away and insisting that they do not want them; that the way for a people to gain respect is not by continually belittling and ridiculing themselves; that, on the contrary, Negroes must insist continually, in season and out of season, that voting is necessary to modern manhood, that color discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys.”

## Document F

Source: W.E.B. Du Bois, “The Niagara Movement,” *Voice of the Negro II* (September 1905)

“There has been a determined effort in this country to stop the free expression of opinion among black men; money has been and is being distributed in considerable sums to influence the attitude of certain Negro papers; the principles of democratic government *are* losing ground, and caste distinctions are growing in all directions. Human brotherhood is spoken of today with a smile and a sneer; effort is being made to curtail the educational opportunities of the colored children; and while much is said about moneymaking, not enough is said about efficient, self-sacrificing toil of head and hand. Are not all these things worth striving for? *The Niagara Movement* proposes to gain these ends. . . . If we expect to gain our rights by nerveless acquiescence in wrong, then we expect to do what no other nation ever did. What must we do then? We must complain. Yes, plain, blunt complain, ceaseless agitation, unflinching exposure of dishonesty and wrong—this is the ancient, unerring way to liberty, and we must follow it.”



## Document G

Source: T. Thomas Fortune, a Black activist and newspaper editor, writing in the nationally circulated Black periodical, *Christian Recorder* (May 15, 1890)

"I have spent a week at Tuskegee, forty miles from Montgomery, investigating and studying the great work being done here, in the Tuskegee Normal [Teacher Training] and Industrial Institute, of which Mr. Booker T. Washington is the originator and projector. . . .

"Here we have under control a thousand acres of land; here we have 400 colored sons, drinking in knowledge from the faithful ministrations of twenty-eight colored teachers, male and female. A more interesting spectacle can no where else be seen and studied. . . . Splendid farm equipments, stock-raising, fruit culture, laundry work, practical housekeeping in all its branches, blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, carpentering, printing and building, shoe and harness making, masonry are all taught in their practical forms, while a splendid Normal school system is maintained to prepare school teachers for the great work before them. . . .

"No time is wasted on dead languages or superfluous studies of any kind. What is practical, what will best fit these young people for the work of life, that is taught, and that is aimed at. Nor is moral and religious culture neglected. . . . It is impossible to estimate the value of such a man as Booker T. Washington."

## Document H

Source: Ida Wells Barnett, a Black civil rights activist, feminist, and newspaper editor, "Booker T. Washington and His Critics" (1904)

"Industrial education for the Negro is Booker T. Washington's hobby. . . .

"That one of the most noted of their own race should join with the enemies to their highest progress in condemning the education they had received, has been to . . . [college educated Negroes] a bitter pill. . . .

"No human agency can tell how many black diamonds lie buried in the black belt of the South, and the opportunities for discovering them become rarer every day as the schools for thorough training become more cramped and no more are being established.

"Does this mean that the Negro objects to industrial education? By no means. It simply means that he knows by sad experience that industrial education will not stand him in place of political, civil and intellectual liberty, and he objects to being deprived of fundamental rights of American citizenship to the end that one school for industrial training shall flourish. To him it seems like selling a race's birthright for a mess of pottage."

## Document I

Source: Carter Woodson, a Black historian and educator, *The Mis-education of the Negro* (1933)

“Neither this inadequately supported [industrial education] school system nor the struggling higher institutions of a classical order established about the same time . . . connected the Negroes very closely with life as it was. These institutions were concerned rather with life as they hoped to make it. When the Negro found himself deprived of influence in politics, therefore, and at the same time unprepared to participate in the higher functions in the industrial development which this country began to undergo, it soon became evident to him that he was losing ground in the basic things of life. He was spending his time studying about the things which had been or might be, but he was learning little to help him to do better the tasks at hand.”

## Document J

Source: The Bettmann Archive



END OF 1989 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

UNITED STATES HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

1. Jacksonian Democrats viewed themselves as the guardians of the United States Constitution, political democracy, individual liberty, and equality of economic opportunity.

In light of the following documents and your knowledge of the 1820's and 1830's, to what extent do you agree with the Jacksonians' view of themselves?

**Document A**

Source: George Henry Evans, "The Working Men's Declaration of Independence" (December 1829)

"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; that to secure these rights" against the undue influence of other classes of society, prudence, as well as the claims of self defence, dictates the necessity of the organization of a party, who shall, by their representatives, prevent dangerous combinations to subvert these indefeasible and fundamental privileges. "All experience hath shown, that mankind" in general, and we as a class in particular, "are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves," by an opposition which the pride and self interest of unprincipled political aspirants, with more unprincipled zeal or religious bigotry, will wilfully misrepresent. "But when a long train of abuses and usurpations" take place, all invariably tending to the oppression and degradation of one class of society, and to the unnatural and iniquitous exaltation of another by political leaders, "it is their right, it is their duty," to use every constitutional means to reform the abuses of such a government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

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# 1990

## Document B

Source: Andrew Jackson's veto message (July 10, 1832)

I sincerely regret that in the act before me I can perceive none of those modifications of the bank charter which are necessary, in my opinion, to make it compatible with justice, with sound policy, or with the Constitution of our country. . . . The present Bank of the United States . . . enjoys an exclusive privilege of banking, . . . almost a monopoly of the foreign and domestic exchange.

It appears that more than a fourth part of the stock is held by foreigners and the residue is held by a few hundred of our own citizens, chiefly of the richest class.

Of the twenty-five directors of this bank five are chosen by the Government and twenty by the citizen stockholders. . . . It is easy to conceive that great evils to our country and its institutions might flow from such a concentration of power in the hands of a few men irresponsible to the people.

Is there no danger to our liberty and independence in a bank that in its nature has so little to bind it to our country?

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes.

## Document C

Source: Daniel Webster's reply to Jackson's veto message (July 11, 1832)

[This message] extends the grasp of executive pretension over every power of the government. . . . It appeals to every prejudice which may betray men into a mistaken view of their own interests, and to every passion which may lead them to disobey the impulses of their understanding. It urges all the specious topics of State rights and national encroachment against that which a great majority of the States have affirmed to be rightful and in which all of them have acquiesced. It sows, in an unsparing manner, the seeds of jealousy and ill-will against that government of which its author is the official head. It raises a cry that liberty is in danger, at the very moment when it puts forth claims to powers heretofore unknown and unheard of. It effects alarm for the public freedom, when nothing endangers that freedom so much as its own unparalleled pretences. This even, is not all. It manifestly seeks to inflame the poor against the rich; it wantonly attacks whole classes of the people, for the purpose of turning against them the prejudices and the resentments of the other classes. It is a state paper which finds no topic too exciting for its use, no passion too inflammable for its address and its solicitation.



## Document D

Source: Harriet Martineau, a British author, reporting on her 1834 visit to the United States in *Society in America* (New York, 1837)

I had been less than three weeks in the country and was in a state of something like awe at the prevalence of not only external competence but intellectual ability. The striking effect upon a stranger of witnessing, for the first time, the absence of poverty, of gross ignorance, of all servility, of all insolence of manner cannot be exaggerated in description. I had seen every man in the towns an independent citizen; every man in the country a landowner. I had seen that the villages had their newspapers, the factory girls their libraries. I had witnessed the controversies between candidates for office on some difficult subjects, of which the people were to be the judges.

With all these things in my mind, and with evidence of prosperity about me in the comfortable homesteads which every turn in the road and every reach of the lake brought into view, I was thrown into painful amazement by being told that the grand question of the time was “whether the people should be encouraged to govern themselves, or whether the wise should save them from themselves.”

## Document E

Source: Philip Hone, a New York City businessman and Whig politician, describing riots in eastern cities during the 1830's, in *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851* (New York, 1927)

Thursday, April 10.—Last day of the election; dreadful riots between the Irish and the Americans have again disturbed the public peace. I happened to be a witness of the disgraceful scene which commenced the warfare. . . . A band of Irishmen of the lowest class came out of Duane Street from the Sixth Ward poll, armed with clubs, and commenced a savage attack upon all. . . . There was much severe fighting and many persons were wounded and knocked down. . . . In a few minutes the mob returned with a strong reenforcement, and the fight was renewed with the most unrelenting barbarity.

Friday, August 22, 1834.—Riot in Philadelphia. The spirit of riot and insubordination to the laws which lately prevailed in New York has made its appearance in the orderly city of Philadelphia, and appears to have been produced by causes equally insignificant—hostility to the blacks and an indiscriminate persecution of all whose skins were darker than those of their enlightened fellow citizens. . . . Several houses were pulled down and their contents destroyed on Tuesday of last week; the police were attacked and several of the police officers badly wounded.

## Document F

Source: Acts and Resolutions of South Carolina (1835)

3. Resolved, That the legislature of South Carolina, having every confidence in the justice and friendship of the non-slaveholding states, . . . earnestly requests that the governments of these states will promptly and effectually suppress all those associations within their respective limits purporting to be abolition societies, and that they will make it highly penal to print, publish, and distribute newspapers, pamphlets, tracts and pictorial representations calculated and having an obvious tendency to excite the slaves of the southern states to insurrection and revolt.

7. Resolved, That the legislature of South Carolina regards with decided approbation the measures of security adopted by the Post Office Department of the United States in relation to the transmission of incendiary tracts. But if this highly essential and protective policy be counteracted by Congress, and the United States mail becomes a vehicle for the transmission of the mischievous documents, . . . [we] expect that the Chief Magistrate of our state will forthwith call the legislature together, that timely measures may be taken to prevent [such mail] traversing our territory.

## Document G

Source: Woolaroc Museum, Bartlesville, Oklahoma





## Document H

Source: Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's opinion in Supreme Court case

*Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge* (1837)

The interests of the great body of the people of the state, would, in this instance, be affected by the surrender of this great line of travel to a single corporation, with the right to exact toll, and exclude competition, for seventy years. While the rights of private property are sacredly guarded, we must not forget, that the community also have rights, and that the happiness and well-being of every citizen depends on their faithful preservation.

. . . The charter of 1785 to the proprietors of the Charles River bridge . . . confers on them the ordinary faculties of a corporation, for the purpose of building a bridge; and establishes certain rates of toll, which the company are authorized to take. . . . There is no exclusive privilege given to them over the waters of Charles River, above or below their bridge; no right to erect another bridge themselves, nor to prevent other persons from erecting one; no engagement from the state, that another should not be erected; and no undertaking not to sanction competition, nor to make improvements that may diminish the amount of its income.

END OF 1990 DBQ DOCUMENTS

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

UNITED STATES HISTORY  
SECTION II  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-I and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

1. It was the strength of the opposition forces, both liberal and conservative, rather than the ineptitude and stubbornness of President Wilson that led to the Senate defeat of the Treaty of Versailles.

Using the documents and your knowledge of the period 1917-1921, assess the validity of this statement.

**Document A**

Source: William Borah, Speech in United States Senate, December 6, 1918.

The first proposition connected with the proposed league is that of a tribunal to settle the matters of controversy which may arise between the different nations.

Will anyone advocate that those matters which are of vital importance to our people shall be submitted to a tribunal created other than by our own people and give it an international army subject to its direction and control to enforce its decrees? I doubt if anyone will advocate that. . . . If you do not do so, Mr. President, what will your league amount to? . . .

In its last analysis the proposition is force to destroy force, conflict to prevent conflict, militarism to destroy militarism, war to prevent war. In its last analysis it must be that if it has any sanction behind its judgment at all. There is where the difficulty lies. . . .

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**Document B**

Source: *The New Republic*, May 24, 1919.

Liberals all over the world have hoped that a war, which was so clearly the fruit of competition and imperialist and class-bound nationalism, would end in a peace which would moralize nationalism by releasing it from class bondage and exclusive ambitions. The Treaty of Versailles does not even try to satisfy these aspirations. Instead of expressing a great recuperative effort of the conscience of civilization, which for its own sins has sweated so much blood, it does much to intensify and nothing to heal the old and ugly dissensions.

**Document C**

Source: Woodrow Wilson, Speech, September 5, 1919.

When you read Article X, therefore, you will see that it is nothing but the inevitable, logical center of the whole system of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and I stand for it absolutely. If it should ever in any important respect be impaired, I would feel like asking the Secretary of War to get the boys who went across the water to fight, . . . and I would stand up before them and say, Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war against wars, and I did my best to fulfill the promise, but I am obliged to come to you in mortification and shame and say I have not been able to fulfill the promise. You are betrayed. You have fought for something that you did not get.

**Document D**

Source: Herbert Hoover to Woodrow Wilson, November 19, 1919.

I take the liberty of urging upon you the desirability of accepting the reservations now passed. . . .

I have the belief that with the League once in motion it can within itself and from experience and public education develop such measures as will make it effective. I am impressed with the desperate necessity of early ratification.

The delays have already seriously imperiled the economic recuperation of Europe. In this we are vitally interested from every point of view. I believe that the Covenant will steadily lose ground in popular support if it is not put into constructive operation at once because the American public will not appreciate the saving values of the Covenant as distinguished from the wrongs imposed in the Treaty. . . .

## Document E

Source: Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services.



## Document F

Source: John Maynard Keynes, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1920.

According to [the French] vision of the future, European history is to be a perpetual prize-fight, of which France has won this round, but of which this round is certainly not the last. . . . For Clemenceau made no pretense of considering himself bound by the Fourteen Points and left chiefly to others such concoctions as were necessary from time to time to save the scruples or the face of the President [Wilson].

. . . . The policy of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, of degrading the lives of millions of human beings, and of depriving a whole nation of happiness should be abhorrent and detestable,—abhorrent and detestable, even if it were possible, even if it enriched ourselves, even if it did not sow the decay of the whole civilized life of Europe.

# 1991

## Document G

Source: Woodrow Wilson, "Appeal to the Country," October 3, 1920.

This election is to be a genuine national referendum. . . .

The chief question that is put to you is, of course: Do you want your country's honor vindicated and the Treaty of Versailles ratified? Do you in particular approve of the League of Nations as organized and empowered in that treaty? And do you wish to see the United States play its responsible part in it? . . .

[The founders of the Government] thought of America as the light of the world as created to lead the world in the assertion of the rights of peoples and the rights of free nations. . . . This light the opponents of the League would quench.

## Document H

Source: W.E.B. Du Bois, "The League of Nations," *Crisis*, March, 1921.

Forty-one nations, including nearly every Negro and mulatto and colored government of the world, have met in Geneva and formed the assembly of the League of Nations. This is the most forward-looking event of the century. Because of the idiotic way in which the stubbornness of Woodrow Wilson and the political fortunes of the Republicans became involved, the United States was not represented. But despite its tumult and shouting this nation must join and join on the terms which the World lays down. The idea that we single-handed can dictate terms to the World or stay out of the World, is an idea born of the folly of fools.

## Document I

Source: Jane Addams, *Peace and Bread in time of War*, 1922.

The League of Nations afforded a wide difference of opinion in every group. The Woman's Peace Party held its annual meeting in Chicago in the spring of 1920 and found our Branches fairly divided upon the subject. . . . The difference of opinion was limited always as to the existing League and never for a moment did anyone doubt the need for continued effort to bring about an adequate international organization.

END OF 1991 DBQ DOCUMENTS



The College Board  
 Advanced Placement Examination  
 UNITED STATES HISTORY

Section II

Part A

(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)

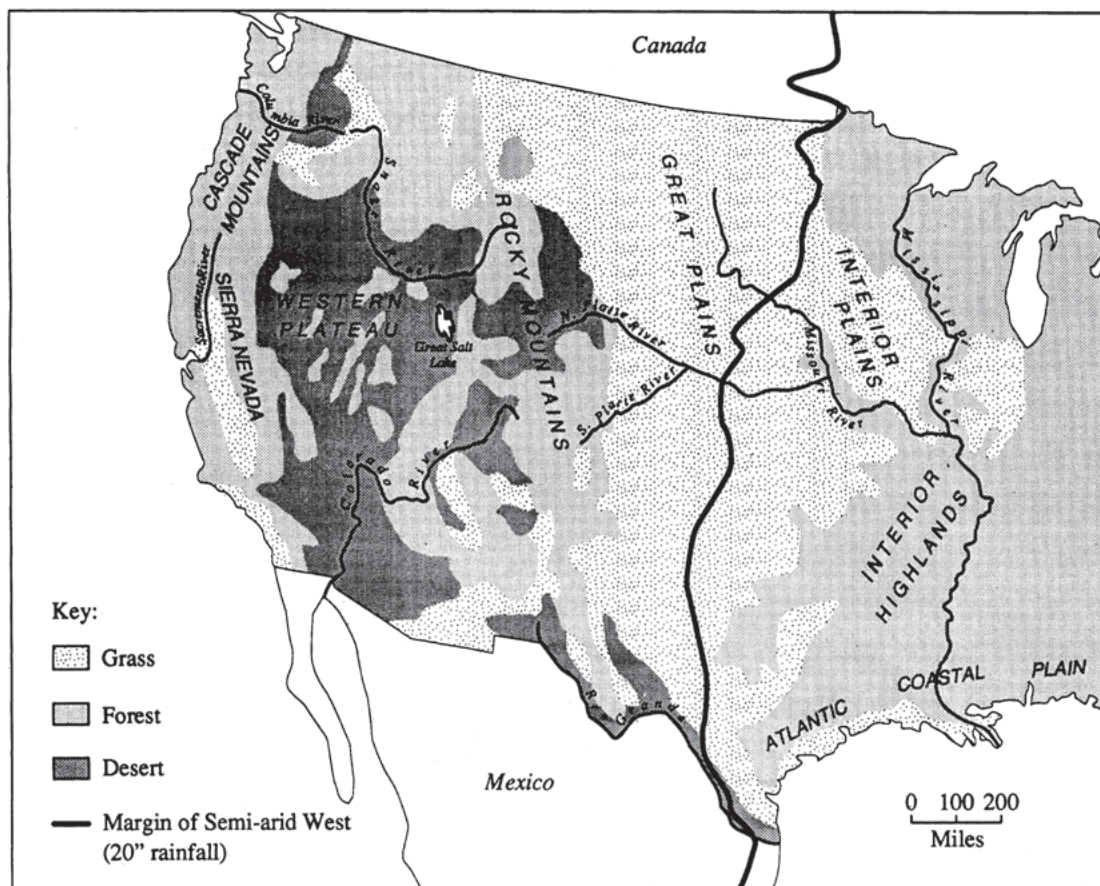
Percent of Section II score—50

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-I and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

- To what extent did the natural environment shape the development of the West beyond the Mississippi and the lives of those who lived and settled there? How important were other factors?

Use BOTH evidence from the documents AND your knowledge of the period from the 1840's through the 1890's to compose your answer.

Document A



**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 

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 Princeton, N.J. 08541



## Document B

Source: President James K. Polk's Message to Congress, December 2, 1845.

Oregon is a part of the North American continent, to which . . . the title of the United States is the best now in existence. The British proposition of compromise, which would make the Columbia [River] the line south of 49° . . . and would leave on the British side two-thirds of the whole Oregon Territory, including the free navigation of the Columbia and all the valuable harbors on the Pacific, can never for a moment be entertained by the United States without an abandonment of their just and clear territorial rights, their own self-respect, and the national honor.

## Document C

Source: L. R. Hafen, *Recollections of a Handcart Pioneer* (an account of the 1846-1847 trek to Salt Lake City).

The emigrants were entirely ignorant of the country and climate. . . . But Levi Savage used his common sense and his knowledge of the country. He declared positively that . . . we could not cross the mountains with a mixed company of aged people, women, and little children, so late in the season without much suffering, sickness, and death. He therefore advised going into winter quarters without delay; but he was rebuked by the other elders for want of faith. . . . Savage was accordingly defeated, as the majority were against him. . . .

Cold weather, scarcity of food, lassitude and fatigue from over-exertion, soon produced their effects. . . . We soon thought it unusual to leave a camp-ground without burying one or more persons.

Death was not long confined to the old and infirm, but the young and naturally strong were among its victims. . . . Weakness and debility were accompanied by dysentery. This we could not stop or even alleviate, no proper medicine being in the camp; and in almost every instance it carried off the parties attacked.

## Document D

Source: W.G.M. Samuel, West Side Main Plaza, San Antonio, Texas 1849



Witte Memorial Museum, San Antonio Museum Association,  
San Antonio, Texas.

**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 

## Document E

Source: *Diary of Lucy Henderson Deady* (ca.1850).

Three days after my little sister Lettie drank the laudanum [that mother had brought along as medicine] and died, we stopped for a few hours, and my sister Olivia was born. . . . We could not tarry a day, . . . we had to press on. . . . There was no road. . . . It was a very rough ride for my mother and her new born babe.

After a great hardship . . . we finally made our way through . . . to Oregon. . . . We had been eight months on the road instead of five, we were out of food, and our cattle were nearly worn out. . . . There were five of us children. . . . We lived on boiled wheat and boiled peas that winter.

## Document F

Source: Acts of the Wyoming Territorial Legislature, 1869 and 1870

AN ACT to confer to women all the rights of citizenship.

That every woman of the age of twenty-one years, residing in the territory, may, at every election to be holden under the laws thereof, cast her vote; and her rights to the elective franchise, and to hold office, shall be the same, under the election laws of the territory, as those of the electors.

AN ACT to protect married women in their separate property, and the enjoyment of their labor.

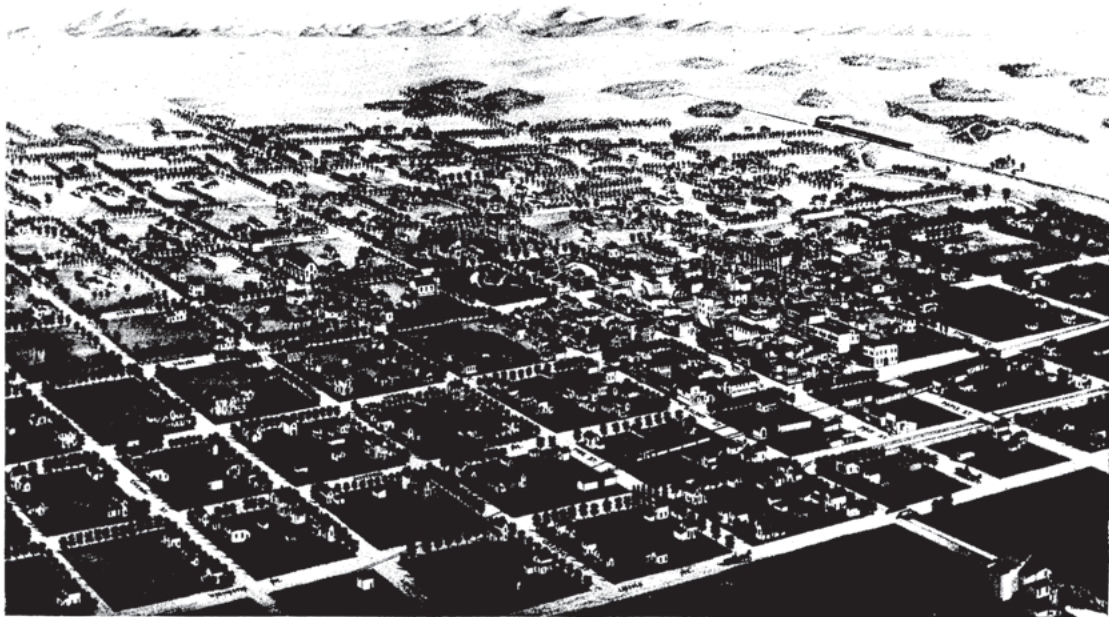
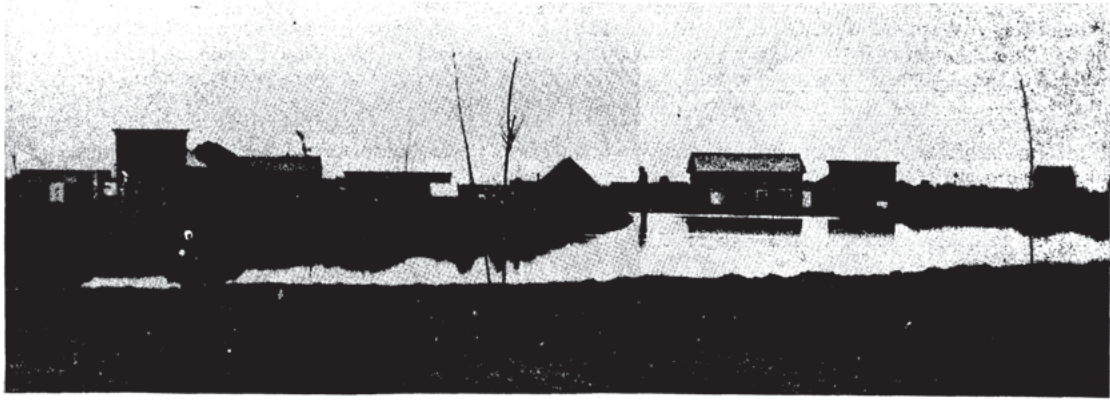
Section 1. That all the property, both real and personal, belonging to any married woman as her sole and separate property . . . shall, notwithstanding her marriage, be and remain . . . , her sole and separate property, under her sole control, and be held, owned, possessed and enjoyed by her, the same as though she were sole [single] and unmarried, and shall not be subject to the disposal, control or interference of her husband.

**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 

1992

Document G

Source: Greeley, Colorado in 1870 and 1882



City of Greeley Museum

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE 



## Document H

Source: Parra-Wa-Samen (Ten Bears) of the Yamparika Comanches (ca. 1872).

When I was at Washington the Great White Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours, and that no one should hinder us in living upon it. So, why do you ask us to leave the rivers, and the sun, and the wind, and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the sheep. The young men have heard talk of this, and it has made them sad and angry. Do not speak of it more. . . .

If the Texans had kept out of my country, there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live on is too small. The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that, we might have done the things you ask. But it is too late. The white man has the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die.

## Document I

Source: Andy Adams, *The Log of a Cowboy* (ca. 1882).

The first week after leaving San Antonio, our foreman scouted in quest of water a full day in advance of the herd. One evening he returned to us with the news that we were in for a dry drive, for after passing the next chain of lakes it was sixty miles to the next water, and reports regarding the water supply even after crossing this arid stretch were very conflicting.

'While I know every foot of this trail through here,' said the forman, 'There's several things that look scaly. There are only five herds ahead of us, and the first three went through the old route, but the last two, after passing Indian Lakes, for some reason or other turned and went westward. These last herds may be stock cattle, pushing out west to new ranges; but I don't like the outlook. It would take me two days to ride across and back, and by that time we could be two thirds of the way through. I've made this drive before without a drop of water on the way, and wouldn't dread it now, if there was any certainty of water at the other end. I reckon there's nothing to do but tackle her; but isn't this a hell of a country? I've ridden fifty miles to-day and never saw a soul.'

END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1.

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The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination  
UNITED STATES HISTORY  
Section II  
Part A  
(Suggested writing time—40 minutes)  
Percent of Section II score—50

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period. Some of the documents have been edited, and wording and punctuation have been modernized.

1. Although New England and the Chesapeake region were both settled largely by people of English origin, by 1700 the regions had evolved into two distinct societies. Why did this difference in development occur?  
Use the documents AND your knowledge of the colonial period up to 1700 to develop your answer.

**Document A**

Source: John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity* (Written on board the Arbella on the Atlantic Ocean, 1630)

God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, [that] in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity, other mean and in subjection. . . . [Yet] we must be knit together in this work as one man. We must entertain each other in brotherly affection, we must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience, and liberality. We must delight in each other, make others' conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, our community as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. . . . We must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, . . . shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us.

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Princeton, N.J. 08541

## Document B

Source: Ship's List of Emigrants Bound for New England

Weymouth, the 20th of March, 1635

1. Joseph Hull, of Somerset, a minister, aged 40 years
2. Agnes Hull, his wife, aged 25 years
3. Joan Hull, his daughter, aged 15 years
4. Joseph Hull, his son, aged 13 years
5. Tristram, his son, aged 11 years
6. Elizabeth Hull, his daughter, aged 7 years
7. Temperance, his daughter, aged 9 years
8. Grissel Hull, his daughter, aged 5 years
9. Dorothy Hull, his daughter, aged 3 years
10. Judith French, his servant, aged 20 years
11. John Wood, his servant, aged 20 years
12. Robert Dabyn, his servant, aged 28 years
13. Musachiell Bernard, of Batcombe, clothier in the county of Somerset, 24 years
14. Mary Bernard, his wife, aged 28 years
15. John Bernard, his son, aged 3 years
16. Nathaniel, his son, aged 1 year

- .....
21. Timothy Tabor, in Somerset of Batcombe, tailor, aged 35 years
  22. Jane Tabor, his wife, aged 35 years
  23. Jane Tabor, his daughter, aged 10 years
  24. Anne Tabor, his daughter, aged 8 years
  25. Sarah Tabor, his daughter, aged 5 years
  26. William Fever, his servant, aged 20 years
  27. John Whitmarke, aged 39 years
  28. Alice Whitmarke, his wife, aged 35 years
  29. James Whitmarke, his son, aged 5 years
  30. Jane, his daughter, aged 7 years
  31. Onseph Whitmarke, his son, aged 5 years
  32. Rich. Whitmarke, his son, aged 2 years

- .....
74. Robert Lovell, husbandman, aged 40 years
  75. Elizabeth Lovell, his wife, aged 35 years
  76. Zacheus Lovell, his son, aged 15 years
  77. Anne Lovell, his daughter, aged 16 years
  78. John Lovell, his son, aged 8 years
  79. Ellyn, his daughter, aged 1 year
  80. James, his son, aged 1 year
  81. Joseph Chickin, his servant, 16 years
  82. Alice Kinham, aged 22 years
  83. Angell Hollard, aged 21 years
  84. Katheryn, his wife, 22 years
  85. George Land, his servant, 22 years
  86. Sarah Land, his kinswoman, 18 years

- .....
103. John Hoble, husbandman, 13
  104. Robert Huste, husbandman, 40 . . .

John Porter, Deputy Clerk to Edward Thoroughgood

**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 

## Document C

Source: Ship's List of Emmigrants Bound for Virginia

Ultimo July, 1635

These underwritten names are to be transported to Virginia, embarked in the Merchant's Hope, Hugh Weston, Master, per examination by the minister of Gravesend touching their conformity to the Church discipline of England, and have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy:

Edward Towers	26	Allin King	19
Henry Woodman	22	Rowland Sadler	19
Richard Seems	26	Jo. Phillips	28
Vyncent Whatter	17	Daniel Endick	16
James Whithedd	14	Jo. Chalk	25
Jonas Watts	21	Jo. Vynall	20
Peter Loe	22	Edward Smith	20
Geo. Brocker	17	Jo. Rowledge	19
Henry Eeles	26	Wm. Westlie	40
Jo. Dennis	22	Jo. Smith	18
Tho. Swayne	23	Jo. Saunders	22
Charles Rinsden	27	Tho. Bartcherd	16
Jo. Exston	17	Tho. Dodderidge	19
Wm. Luck	14	Richard Williams	18
Jo. Thomas	19	Jo. Ballance	19
Jo. Archer	21	Wm. Baldin	21
Richard Williams	25	Wm. Pen	26
Francis Hutton	20	Jo. Gerie	24
Savill Gascoyne	29	Henry Baylie	18
Rich. Bulfell	29	Rich. Anderson	50
Rich. Jones	26	Robert Kelum	51
Tho. Wynes	30	Richard Fanshaw	22
Humphrey Williams	22	Tho. Bradford	40
Edward Roberts	20	Wm. Spencer	16
Martin Atkinson	32	Marmaduke Ella	22
Edward Atkinson	28		
Wm. Edwards	30	<i>Women</i>	
Nathan Braddock	31	Ann Swayne	22
Jeffrey Gurrish	23	Eliz. Cote	22
Henry Carrell	16	Ann Rice	23
Tho. Tyle	24	Kat. Wilson	23
Gamaliel White	24	Maudlin Lloyd	24
Richard Marks	19	Mabell Busher	14
Tho. Clever	16	Annis Hopkins	24
Jo. Kitchin	16	Ann Mason	24
Edmond Edwards	20	Bridget Crompe	18
Lewes Miles	19	Mary Hawkes	19
Jo. Kennedy	20	Ellin Hawkes	18
Sam Jackson	24		

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## Document D

Source: Articles of Agreement, Springfield, Massachusetts, 1636

We whose names are underwritten, being by God's providence engaged together to make a plantation . . . do mutually agree to certain articles and orders to be observed and kept by us and by our successors. . . .

1. We intend by God's grace, as soon as we can, with all convenient speed, to procure some Godly and faithful minister with whom we purpose to join in church covenant to walk in all the ways of Christ.
2. We intend that our town shall be composed of forty families, . . . rich and poor.
3. That every inhabitant shall have a convenient proportion for a house lot, as we shall see [fit] for everyone's quality and estate. . . .
5. That everyone shall have a share of the meadow or planting ground. . . .

## Document E

Source: Wage and Price Regulations in Connecticut, 1676

Whereas a great cry of oppression is heard among us, and that principally pointed at workmen and traders, which is hard to regulate without a standard for pay, it is therefore ordered that . . . [prices and wages] be duly set at each of our General Courts annually, . . . [A]ll breaches of this order to be punished proportionable to the value of the oppression. . . . This court . . . in the interim recommends [that] all tradesmen and laborers consider the religious end of their callings, which is that receiving such moderate profit as may enable them to serve God and their neighbors with their arts and trades comfortably, they do not enrich themselves suddenly and inordinately (by oppressing prices and wages to the impoverishing [of] their neighbors . . . live in the practice of that crying sin of oppression, but avoid it.

**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 



## Document F

Source: Captain John Smith, *History of Virginia*, 1624

When the [large ship] departed, . . . those of us that had money, spare clothes, credit to give bills of payment, gold rings, fur, or any such commodities, were ever welcome to [purchase supplies. The rest of us patiently obeyed our] vile commanders and [bought] our provisions at fifteen times the value, . . . yet did not repine but fasted, lest we should incur the censure of [being] factious and seditious persons. . . . Our ordinary [food] was but meal and water so that this . . . little relieved our wants, whereby with the extremity of the bitter cold frost . . . more than half of us died.

The worst [among us were the gold seekers who] with their golden promises made all men their slaves in hope of recompenses. There was no talk . . . but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold. . . . Smith, perceiving [we lived] from hand to mouth, caused the pinnace [small ship] to be provided with things fitting to get provision for the year following.

[Two councillors] Wingfield and Kendall, . . . strengthened themselves with the sailors and other confederates [and planned to go] aboard the pinnace to alter her course and to go for England.

Smith had the plot discovered to him. Much trouble he had to prevent it, till with store of saker and musket shot he forced them to stay or sink in the river; which action cost the life of Captain Kendall.

These brawls are so disgustful, as some will say, they were better forgotten.

## Document G

Source: Governor Berkeley and His Council on Their Inability to Defend Virginia Against a Dutch Attack, December 1673

We thought it our duty . . . to set forth in this our Declaration, the true state and condition of this country in general and our particular . . . disabilit[y] to . . . [engage in] war at the time of this invasion [by the Dutch]. . . . [We] therefore do most humbly beseech your majesty and your most honorable council to consider that Virginia is intersected by so many vast rivers as makes more miles to defend than we have men of trust to defend them. For by our nearest computation we leave at our backs as many servants (besides Negroes) as there are freemen to defend the shores and all our frontiers [against] the Indians. . . . [This] gives men fearful apprehensions of the danger they leave their estates and families in, while they are drawn from their houses to defend the borders. Also at least one third [of the freemen available for defense] are single freemen (whose labor will hardly maintain them) or men much in debt, . . . [whom] we may reasonably expect upon any small advantage the enemy may gain upon us, . . . [to defect] to them in hopes of bettering their condition by sharing the plunder of the country with them.

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## Document H

Source: Bacon's "Manifesto," justifying his rebellion against Virginia Governor Berkeley in 1676

We cannot in our hearts find one single spot of rebellion or treason or that we have in any manner aimed at subverting the settled government. . . . All people in all places where we have yet been can attest our civil, quiet, peaceable behavior far different from that of rebellion. . . . Let truth be bold and all the world know the real foundations of pretended guilt. . . . Let us trace . . . [the] men in authority and favor to whose hands the dispensation of the countr[y's] wealth has been committed. Let us observe the sudden rise of their estates . . . [compared] with the quality in which they first entered this country. Let us consider their sudden advancement. And let us also consider whether any public work for our safety and defense or for the advancement and propagation of trade, liberal arts or sciences is in any [way] adequate to our vast charge. Now let us compare these things together and see what sponges have sucked up the public treasure and whether it has not been privately contrived away by unworthy favorites and juggling parasites whose tottering fortunes have been repaired and supported at the public charge.

END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

SECTION II

Part A

(Suggested writing time—45 minutes)

Percent of Section II score—45

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period. Some of the documents have been edited, and wording and punctuation have been modernized.

1. To what extent was late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century United States expansionism a continuation of past United States expansionism and to what extent was it a departure?

Use the documents and your knowledge of United States history to 1914 to construct your answer.

**Document A**

Source: Thomas Nast. "The World's Plunderers." *Harper's Weekly*, 1885.



Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

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## Document B

Source: Josiah Strong. *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*. New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885.

It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future. . . . The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken. . . . Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history — *the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled*. . . . Then this race of unequalled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it — the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization . . . will spread itself over the earth. If I read not amiss, this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond. And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the “survival of the fittest”?

## Document C

Source: Alfred T. Mahan. *The Interest of America in Sea Power*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1897.

Is the United States . . . prepared to allow Germany to acquire the Dutch stronghold of Curacao, fronting the Atlantic outlet of both the proposed canals of Panama and Nicaragua? Is she prepared to acquiesce in any foreign power purchasing from Haiti a naval station on the Windward Passage, through which pass our steamer routes to the Isthmus? Would she acquiesce to a foreign protectorate over the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] that great central station of the Pacific?

Whether they will or no, Americans must now look outward. The growing production of the country demands it. An increasing volume of public sentiment demands it. The position of the United States, between the two Old Worlds and the two great oceans, makes the same claim, which will soon be strengthened by the creation of the new link joining the Atlantic and Pacific. The tendency will be maintained and increased by the growth of the European colonies in the Pacific, by the advancing civilization of Japan, and by the rapid peopling of our Pacific States. . . .

Three things are needful: First, protection of the chief harbors, by fortifications and coast-defense ships. . . . Secondly, naval force, the arm of offensive power, which alone enables a country to extend its influence outward. Thirdly, no foreign state should henceforth acquire a coaling position within three thousand miles of San Francisco. . . .

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## Document D

Source: Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League, 1899.

. . . Much as we abhor the war of “criminal aggression” in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home . . . .

Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the Republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions.

## Document E

Source: Senator Albert J. Beveridge. Speech to 56th Congress, *Congressional Record*. 1900.

The Philippines are ours forever. . . . And just beyond the Philippines are China’s illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work . . . with gratitude . . . and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world. . . .

Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. . . . And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. . . . The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic.

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## Document F

Source: Theodore Roosevelt. Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1904.

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere, save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States.

Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which, with the aid of the Platt amendment, Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end.



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Document G

Source: "American Diplomacy", 1900.



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## Document H

Source: Supreme Court Decision. *Downes v. Bidwell*, (one of the Insular Cases) 1901.

We are also of opinion that the power to acquire territory by treaty implies, not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants, and what their status shall be in what Chief Justice Marshall termed the “American empire.” . . . Indeed, it is doubtful if Congress would ever assent to the annexation of territory upon the condition that its inhabitants, however foreign they may be to our habits, traditions, and modes of life, shall become at once citizens of the United States. In all its treaties hitherto the treaty-making power has made special provisions for this subject. . . . In all these cases there is an implied denial of the right of the inhabitants to American citizenship until Congress by further action shall signify its assent thereto. . . .

It is obvious that in the annexation of outlying and distant possessions grave questions will arise from differences of race, habits, laws and customs of the people, and from differences of soil, climate and production, which may require action on the part of Congress that would be quite unnecessary in the annexation of contiguous territory, inhabited only by people of the same race, or by scattered bodies of native Indians.

END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1.



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The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

UNITED STATES HISTORY

SECTION II

Part A

(Suggested writing time—45 minutes)

Percent of Section II score—45

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

1. Analyze the changes that occurred during the 1960's in the goals, strategies, and support of the movement for African American civil rights.

Use the documents and your knowledge of the history of the 1960's to construct your response.

**Document A**

Source: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) statement of purpose, April 1960

We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from Judaic-Christian traditions seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supersedes systems of gross social immorality.

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Document B

Source: Martin Luther King, Jr., letter from the Birmingham jail, 1963

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**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 

Document C

Source: News photograph, Birmingham, Alabama, 1963



Charles Moore/Black Star

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## Document D

Source: President John F. Kennedy in a radio and television report to the American people June 11, 1963

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution.

The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. . . .

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body and, above all, in all of our daily lives. . . .

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law.

## Document E

Source: Stokely Carmichael in "What We Want," 1966

But our vision is not merely of a society in which all black men have enough to buy the good things of life. When we urge that black money go into black pockets, we mean the communal pocket. We want to see money go back into the community and used to benefit it. We want to see the cooperative concept applied in business and banking. We want to see black ghetto residents demand that an exploiting store keeper sell them, at minimal cost, a building or a shop that they will own and improve cooperatively; they can back their demand with a rent strike, or a boycott, and a community so unified behind them that no one else will move into the building or buy at the store. The society we seek to build among black people, then, is not a capitalist one. It is a society in which the spirit of community and humanistic love prevail.

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## Document F

Source: Statement by the minister of defense of the Black Panthers, May 2, 1967

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general and the black people in particular to take careful note of the racist California Legislature which is now considering legislation aimed at keeping the black people disarmed and powerless at the very same time that racist police agencies throughout the country are intensifying the terror, brutality, murder, and repression of black people.

Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned, demonstrated, and everything else to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods, and increased patrols have become familiar sights in black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of black people for relief from this increasing terror.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late.

## Document G

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF VOTING-AGE AFRICAN AMERICANS  
REGISTERED IN 1960 AND 1968

<u>State</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1968</u>
Alabama	13.7	56.7
Arkansas	37.3	67.5
Florida	38.9	62.1
Georgia	29.3	56.1
Louisiana	30.9	59.3
Mississippi	5.2	59.4
N. Carolina	38.1	55.3
S. Carolina	15.6	50.8
Tennessee	58.9	72.8
Texas	34.9	83.1
Virginia	22.8	58.4
<u>Total South</u>	29.1	62.0

**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 

## Document H

VOTING IN SELECTED STATES IN THE 1968 ELECTION  
(with voting totals for all states)

CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Democratic — Hubert H. Humphrey; Edmund Muskie

Republican — Richard M. Nixon; Spiro T. Agnew

American Independent Party — George C. Wallace; Curtis LeMay

(in thousands)

State	Dem.	Rep.	AIP	Electoral Vote		
				D	R	AIP
Alabama	197	147	691	--	--	10
Arkansas	188	191	241	--	--	6
California	3,244	3,468	487	--	40	--
Florida	677	887	624	--	14	--
Georgia	344	380	536	--	--	12
Illinois	2,040	2,175	391	--	26	--
Indiana	807	1,068	243	--	13	--
Kentucky	398	462	193	--	9	--
Louisiana	310	258	530	--	--	10
Maryland	538	518	179	10	--	--
Massachusetts	1,469	767	87	14	--	--
Michigan	1,593	1,371	332	21	--	--
Mississippi	151	89	415	--	--	7
Missouri	791	812	206	--	12	--
New Jersey	1,264	1,325	262	--	17	--
New York	3,378	3,008	359	43	--	--
North Carolina	464	627	496	--	12	1
Ohio	1,701	1,791	467	--	26	--
Oklahoma	302	450	192	--	8	--
Pennsylvania	2,259	2,090	379	29	--	--
South Carolina	197	254	215	--	8	--
Tennessee	351	473	425	--	11	--
Texas	1,267	1,228	584	25	--	--
Virginia	442	590	322	--	12	--
Wisconsin	749	810	128	--	12	--
Totals of all 50 states	31,275	31,785	9,906	191	301	46

END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

UNITED STATES HISTORY  
SECTION II

Part A

(Suggested writing time—45 minutes)

Percent of Section II score—45

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-I and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

1. In what ways and to what extent did constitutional and social developments between 1860 and 1877 amount to a revolution?

Use the documents and your knowledge of the period from 1860 to 1877 to answer the question.

**Document A**

Source: South Carolina Declaration of Causes of Secession, December 24, 1860.

By this [United States] Constitution, certain duties were imposed upon the several states, and the exercise of certain of their powers was restrained, which necessarily imperiled their continued existence as sovereign states. But, to remove all doubt, an amendment was added which declared that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states, respectively, or to the people. . . . Thus was established, by compact between the states, a government with defined objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant.

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## Document B

Source: Senator John Sherman (R-Ohio), speech in Congress on the new banking and currency systems, February 10, 1863.

The policy of this country ought to be to make everything national as far as possible; to nationalize our country, so that we shall love our country. If we are dependent on the United States for a currency and a medium of exchange, we shall have a broader and more generous nationality. The [lack] of such nationality, I believe, is one of the great evils of the times. . . . It has been that principle of states rights, that bad sentiment that has elevated state authority above national authority, that has been the main instrument by which our government is sought to be overthrown.

## Document C

Source: Petition from American citizens of African descent to the Union convention of Tennessee assembled in the capitol at Nashville, January 9, 1865.

If we are called on to do military duty against the rebel armies in the field, why should we be denied the privilege of voting against rebel citizens at the ballot-box? The latter is as necessary to save the Government as the former. . . . The Government has asked the colored man to fight for its preservation and gladly has he done it. It can afford to trust him with a vote as safely as it trusted him with a bayonet. . . . At present we can have only partial protection from the courts. . . . If this order of things continue, our people are destined to a malignant persecution at the hands of rebels and their former rebellious masters . . . because the courts will not receive negro testimony. . . . Is this the fruit of freedom, and the reward of our services in the field? . . .

There have been white traitors in multitudes in Tennessee, but where we ask, is the black traitor?

## Document D

Source: Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, Diary Entry, May 9, 1865.

The Federal government has no right and has not attempted to dictate on the matter of suffrage to any state, and I apprehend it will not conduce to any harmony to arrogate and exercise arbitrary power over the states which have been in rebellion. It was never intended by the founders of the Union that the Federal government should prescribe suffrage to the states. We shall get rid of slavery by constitutional means. But conferring on the black civil rights is another matter. I know not the authority.

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## Document E

Source: The Freedmen of Edisto Island Petition to the Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau and to the President for the Opportunity to Obtain Their Own Land, Edisto Island, S.C., October 1865.

General:

We want Homesteads; we were promised Homesteads by the government. If It does not carry out the promises Its agents made to us, . . . we are left In a more unpleasant condition than our former. We are at the mercy of those who are combined to prevent us from getting land enough to lay our Fathers bones upon. . . .

To the President of these United States:

Shall not we who Are freedman and have been always true to this Union have the same rights as are enjoyed by Others? . . . Are not our rights as A free people and good citizens of these United States To be considered before the rights of those who were Found in rebellion against this good and just Government (and now being conquered) come (as they Seem) with penitent hearts and beg forgiveness For past offenses and also ask if thier [sic] lands Cannot be restored to them. Are these rebellious Spirits to be reinstated in thier [sic] possessions And we who have been abused and oppressed For many long years not be allowed the Privilege of purchasing land But be subject To the will of these large Land owners? God forbid. . . .

Unless some provision is Made our future is sad to look upon. . . . We therefore look to you In this trying hour as A true friend of the poor and Neglected race, for protection and Equal Rights, with the privilege of purchasing A Homestead — A Homestead right here in the Heart of South Carolina.

**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 

## Document F

Source: Senator Lot Morrill (R-Maine), speech in Congress, February 1, 1866.

I admit that this species of legislation [Civil Rights Act of 1866] is absolutely revolutionary. But are we not in the midst of a revolution? Is the Senator from Kentucky utterly oblivious to the grand results of four years of war? Are we not in the midst of a civil and political revolution which has changed the fundamental principles of our government in some respects? . . . There was a civilization based on servitude. . . . Where is that? . . . Gone forever. . . . We have revolutionized this Constitution of ours to that extent and every substantial change in the fundamental constitution of a country is a revolution.

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Document G

Source: A. R. Waud, *The First Vote*, front cover of *Harper's Weekly*, November 16, 1867.



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## Document H

Source: *Nation*, March 23, 1871, referring to the Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871.

These are momentous changes to introduce into the administration system of any free country . . . because they not only increase the power of the central government, but they arm it with jurisdiction over a class of cases of which it has never hitherto had, and never pretended to have, any jurisdiction whatever. To impose the duty of protecting life and property on the Federal Government is . . . [a] distinct and well-marked . . . novelty.

**GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE** 



Document I

Source: Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, October 24, 1874.



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END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1

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The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

UNITED STATES HISTORY

SECTION II

Part A

(Suggested writing time—45 minutes)

Percent of Section II score — 45

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-J and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

1. To what extent did economic and political developments as well as assumptions about the nature of women affect the position of American women during the period 1890-1925 ?

Use the documents and your knowledge of the history of the years 1890-1925 to construct your response.

**Document A**

Source: Susan B. Anthony, "The Status of Women, Past, Present, and Future," *Arena*, May 1897.

The close of this 19th century finds every trade, vocation, and profession open to women, and every opportunity at their command for preparing themselves to follow these occupations.

A vast amount of the household drudgery that once monopolized the whole time and strength of the mother and daughters has been taken outside and turned over to machinery in vast establishments.

She who can make for herself a place of distinction in any line of work receives commendation instead of condemnation.

It is especially worthy of note that along with this general advancement of women has come a marked improvement in household methods. Woman's increased intelligence manifests itself in this department as conspicuously as in any other. Education, culture, mental discipline, business training develop far more capable mothers and housewives than were possible under the old regime.

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## Document B

Source: The Supreme Court decision in *Muller v. Oregon*, 1908.

That woman's physical structure and the performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence is obvious. This is especially true when the burdens of motherhood are upon her . . . and as healthy mothers are essential to vigorous offspring, the physical well-being of woman becomes an object of public interest and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race.

Still again history discloses the fact that woman has always been dependent upon man. Education was long denied her, and while now the doors of the school room are opened and her opportunities for acquiring knowledge are great, yet even with that and the consequent increase of capacity for business affairs it is still true that in the struggle for subsistence she is not an equal competitor with her brother.

There is that in her disposition and habits of life which will operate against a full assertion of those rights.

Differentiated by these matters from the other sex, she is properly placed in a class by herself, and legislation designed for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men and could not be sustained.



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## Document C

Source: Jane Addams, "Why Women Should Vote," *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1910.

This paper is an attempt to show that many women today are failing to discharge their duties to their own households properly simply because they do not perceive that as society grows more complicated it is necessary that woman shall extend her sense of responsibility to many things outside of her own home if she would continue to preserve the home in its entirety. . . .

To turn the administration of our civic affairs wholly over to men may mean that the American city will continue to push forward in its commercial and industrial development, and continue to lag behind in those things which make a city healthful and beautiful. . . . If women have in any sense been responsible for the gentler side of life which softens and blurs some of its harsher conditions, may they not have a duty to perform in our American cities?

. . . [I]f woman would fulfill her traditional responsibility to her own children; if she would educate and protect from danger factory children who must find their recreation on the street; if she would bring the cultural forces to bear upon our materialistic civilization; and if she would do it all with the dignity and directness fitting one who carries on her immemorial duties, then she must bring herself to the use of the ballot—that latest implement for self-government. May we not fairly say that American women need this implement in order to preserve the home?

## Document D

Source: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Are Women Human Beings?" *Harper's Weekly*, May 25, 1912.

Women will never cease to be females, but they will cease to be weak and ignorant and defenseless. They are becoming wiser, stronger, better able to protect themselves, one another, and their children. Courage, power, achievement are always respected.

As women grow, losing nothing that is essential to womanhood, but adding steadily the later qualities of humanness, they will win and hold a far larger, deeper reverence than that hitherto accorded them. As they so rise and broaden, filling their full place in the world as members of society, as well as their partial places as mothers of it, they will gradually rear a new race of men, men with minds large enough to see in human beings something besides males and females.

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Document E

Source: Clothing Factory, New York, 1915.



George Eastman House.

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Document F

Source: National American Woman Suffrage Association, "The Church Vote Disfranchised," *Headquarters News Letter*, October 25, 1916.



Library of Congress

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Document G

Source: Women workers in ship construction, Puget Sound, Washington, 1919.



National Archives

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## Document H

Source: Edward A. Ross, *The Social Trend*, 1922.

When with spinning, weaving, knitting, churning, pickling, curing and preserving, the home was a workshop, the wife was not “supported” by her husband. He knew the value of her contribution and took her seriously, even if he did belittle her opinions on politics and theology. But, with the industrial decay of the home, it is more and more often the case that the husband “supports” his wife.

How will the case appear in the eyes of the wife? As the woman of leisure realizes that everything she eats, wears, enjoys, and gives away comes out of her husband’s earnings, her rising impulse to assert herself as his equal is damped by consciousness of her abject economic dependence. She is tempted to pay for support with subservience, to mold her manner and her personality to his liking, to make up to him by her grace and charm for her exemption from work.

## Document I

Source: *Birth-Control Review*, November 1923.



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## Document J

Source: The Supreme Court decision in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 1923.

But the ancient inequality of the sexes, otherwise than physical, as suggested in the *Muller Case* has continued "with diminishing intensity." In view of the great—not to say revolutionary—changes which have taken place since that utterance, in the contractual, political, and civil status of women, culminating in the Nineteenth Amendment, it is not unreasonable to say that this inequality has now come almost, if not quite, to the vanishing point. In this aspect of the matter, while the physical differences must be recognized in appropriate cases, and legislation fixing hours or conditions of work may properly take them into account, we cannot accept the doctrine that women of mature age, *sui juris*, require or may be subjected to restrictions upon their liberty of contract which could not lawfully be imposed in the case of men under similar circumstances. To do so would be to ignore all the implications to be drawn from the present day trend of legislation, as well as that of common thought and usage, by which woman is accorded emancipation from the old doctrine that she must be given special protection or be subjected to special restraint in her contractual and civil relationships.

END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1

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The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination  
UNITED STATES HISTORY  
SECTION II  
Part A  
(Suggested writing time—45 minutes)  
Percent of Section II score — 45

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

1. With respect to the federal Constitution, the Jeffersonian Republicans are usually characterized as strict constructionists who were opposed to the broad constructionism of the Federalists. To what extent was this characterization of the two parties accurate during the presidencies of Jefferson and Madison?

In writing your answer, use the documents and your knowledge of the period 1801-1817.

### Document A

Source: Thomas Jefferson to Gideon Granger, a future member of Jefferson's cabinet, 13 August 1800

I believe [we] shall obtain . . . a majority in the legislature of the United States, attached to the preservation of the federal Constitution, according to its obvious principles and those on which it was known to be received; attached equally to the preservation to the states of those rights unquestionably remaining with them; . . . in short, a majority firm in all those principles which we have espoused, and the Federalists have opposed uniformly. . . . It [our country] can never be harmonious and solid while so respectable a portion of its citizens support principles which go directly to a change of the federal Constitution, to sink the state governments, consolidate them into one, and to monarchise that.

Our country is too large to have all its affairs directed by a single government. . . .

The true theory of our Constitution is surely the wisest and best that the states are independent as to everything within themselves, and united as to everything respecting foreign nations.

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## Document B

Source: Jefferson to Samuel Miller, a Presbyterian minister, 23 January 1808

I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or exercises. . . . Certainly no power to prescribe any religious exercise, or to assume authority in religious discipline, has been delegated to the general [federal] government. It must then rest with the states, as far as it can be in any human authority. . . .

I am aware that the practice of my predecessors [prescribing a day of fasting and prayer] may be quoted. . . . Be this as it may, everyone must act according to the dictates of his own reason, and mine tells me that civil powers alone have been given to the President of the U.S. and no authority to direct the religious exercises of his constituents.

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Document C

Source: Alexander Anderson cartoon, 1808



***OGRABME, or. The American Snapping-turtle.***

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## Document D

Source: Daniel Webster, Federalist from New Hampshire, in a speech on a conscription bill, to the House of Representatives, 9 December 1814

The [Madison] administration asserts the right to fill the ranks of the regular army by compulsion. . . . Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children, and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or the wickedness of the government may engage it? . . . Who will show me any constitutional injunction which makes it the duty of the American people to surrender everything valuable in life, and even life itself, . . . whenever the purposes of an ambitious and mischievous government may require it? . . .

If the secretary of war has proved the right of Congress to enact a law enforcing a draft of men out of the militia into the regular army, he will at any time be able to prove quite as clearly that Congress has power to create a dictator.

## Document E

Source: Report and Resolutions of the Hartford Convention, 4 January 1815

*Resolved*, That the following amendments of the constitution of the United States be recommended to the states represented as foresaid, to be proposed by them for adoption by the state legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient by a convention chosen by the people of each state. . . .

*Second*. No new state shall be admitted into the Union by Congress, in virtue of the power granted by the constitution, without the concurrence of two thirds of both houses.

*Third*. Congress shall not have the power to lay any embargo on the ships or vessels of the citizens of the United States, . . . for more than sixty days.

*Fourth*. Congress shall not have power, without concurrence of two thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation, or the dependencies thereof.



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**Document F**

Source: John Randolph, a Democratic Republican congressman from Virginia, in a speech to the House on the proposed tariff of 1816

[W]e have another proof that the present government have renounced the true republican principles of Jefferson's administration on which they raised themselves to power, and that they have taken up, in their stead, those of John Adams. . . . [T]heir principle now is old Federalism, vamped up into something bearing the superficial appearance of republicanism. . . . Sir, I am convinced that it would be impolitic, as well as unjust, to aggravate the burdens of the people for the purpose of favoring the manufacturers; for this government created and gave power to Congress to regulate commerce and equalize duties [tariffs] on the whole of the United States, and not to lay a duty [tariff] but with a steady eye to revenue. . . .

**Document G**

Source: Thomas Jefferson to Samuel Kercheval, 12 July 1816

Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the arc of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. . . . I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. . . . But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also and keep pace with the times.

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## Document H

Source: James Madison: Message to Congress vetoing an Internal Improvements Bill, March, 1817

[I have] considered the bill this day presented to me entitled “An act to set apart and pledge certain funds for internal improvements,” and which sets apart and pledges funds . . . for constructing roads and canals, and improving the navigation of water courses. . . . The power to regulate commerce among the several states cannot include a power to construct roads and canals. . . . I am not unaware of the great importance of roads and canals and the improved navigation of water courses, and that a power in the national legislature to provide for them might be exercised with signal advantage to the general prosperity. But seeing that such a power is not expressly given by the Constitution, and believing that it can not be deduced from any part of it without an inadmissible latitude of construction and a reliance on insufficient precedents; believing also that the permanent success of the Constitution depends on a definite partition of powers between the general [federal] and the state governments . . . I have no option but to withhold my signature from it . . .

END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1

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1999

The College Board  
Advanced Placement Examination

UNITED STATES HISTORY

PART A

(Suggested writing time – 45 minutes)

Percent of Section II score – 45

**Directions:** The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H **and** your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

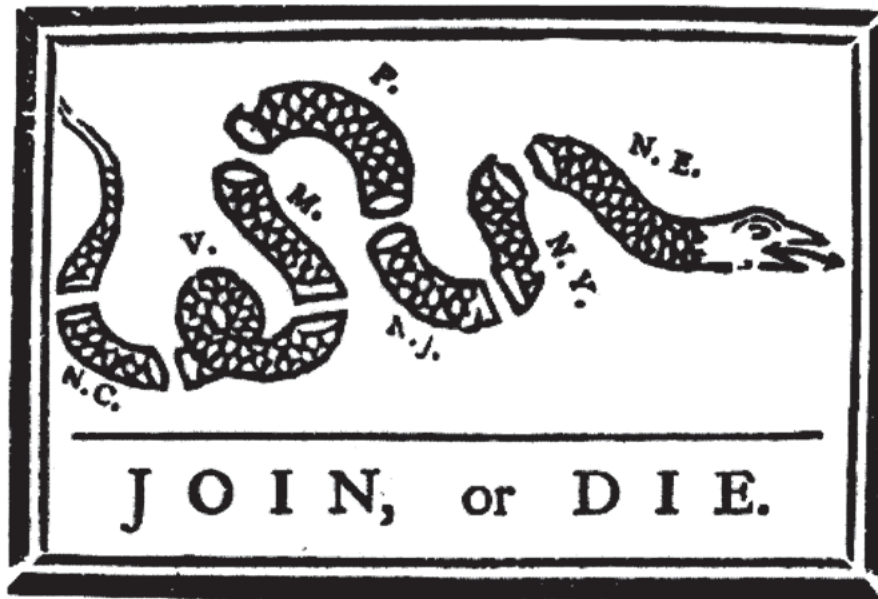
**Question 1**

To what extent had the colonists developed a sense of their identity and unity as Americans by the eve of the Revolution?

Use the documents and your knowledge of the period 1750 to 1776 to answer the question.

**Document A**

Source: Pennsylvania Gazette, 1754



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**Document B**

Source: Edmund Burke, "Notes for Speech in Parliament, 3 February 1766".

Govern America [?] as you govern an English town which happens not to be represented in Parliament [?] Are Gentlemen really serious when they propose this? Is there a single Trait of Resemblance between those few Towns, and a great and growing people spread over a vast quarter of the globe, separated from us by a mighty Ocean?

. . . The eternal Barriers of Nature forbid that the colonies should be blended or coalesce into the Mass . . . of this Kingdom. We have nothing therefore for it, but to let them carry across the ocean into the woods and deserts of America the images of the British constitution.

**Document C**

Source: Richard Henry Lee to Arthur Lee, 24 February, 1774.

The wicked violence of [the] Ministry is so clearly expressed, as to leave no doubt of their fatal determination to ruin both Countries unless a powerful and timely check is interposed by the Body of People. A very small corrupted Junto in New York excepted, all N. America is now most firmly united and as firmly resolved to defend their liberties *ad infinitum* against every power on Earth that may attempt to take them away. The most effectual measures are everywhere taking to secure a sacred observance of the Association — Manufactures go rapidly on and the means of repelling force by force are universally adopting.

**Document D**

Source: Mather Byles, Cotton Mather's grandson, to Nathaniel Emmons, Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, *The Famous Mather Byles: The Noted Boston Tory Preacher, Poet and Wit, 1707-1788*.

They call me a brainless Tory; but tell me, my young friend, which is better, to be ruled by one tyrant three thousand miles away, or by three thousand tyrants not a mile away. I tell you, my boy, there was just as much humbug in politics seventy years ago as there is today.

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**Document E**

Source: Declaration for the Causes of Taking up Arms, Continental Congress, 6 July 1775.

A Declaration by the Representative of the United Colonies of North America, now met in Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.

. . . the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen, rather than live [like] slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the Empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. . . We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states.

**Document F**

Source: *The Origin and Progress of the American Revolution to the year 1776*, a history by Peter Oliver of Massachusetts, 1781

We [saw] a Set of Men . . . under the Auspices of the english Government; & protected by it . . . for a long Series of Years . . . rising, by easy Gradations, to such a State of Prosperity & Happiness as was almost enviable, but we [saw] them also run mad with too much Happiness, & burst into an open Rebellion against that Parent, who protected them against the Ravages of their Enemies. . . . And why [was] the sudden Transition made, from Obedience to Rebellion, but to gratifye the Pride, Ambition & Resentment, of a few abandoned Demagogues, who were lost to all Sense of Shame & of Humanity? The generality of the People were not of this Stamp; but they were [weak], & unversed in the Arts of Deception.

## Document G

Source: Contributors of Donations for the Relief of Boston, 1774 and 1775, *Collections*, Massachusetts Historical Society

**Connecticut**

Windham	a small flock of sheep
Groton	40 bushels of grain
Farmington	300-400 bushels of Indian corn and rye
Glastonbury	"subscription for the relief of the poor"
Wethersfield	248 1/2 bushels of rye, 390 bushels of Indian corn
Hartford	1,400 bushels of grain
Middletown	600 bushels of grain
Middle Hampton	600 bushels of grain

**Massachusetts**

Wrentham	31 bushels of grain
Pepperall	40 bushels of grain
Charlemont	2 barrels of flour
Roxbury	258 sheep

**New Jersey**

Provincial Assembly	"Cash or articles of provision or other necessaries we can furnish"
Committees of Correspondence, several counties of New Jersey	"moneys from subscriptions or other benefactions"

**North Carolina**

Cape Fear	sloop with provisions
Wilmington	£2,000

**South Carolina**

shipload of rice

**Document H**

Source: Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, composed in the 1770's, published, 1781.

What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman. . . . He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced. . . . He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great *Alma Mater*. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. . . . This great metamorphosis has a double effect, it extinguishes all his European prejudices, he forgets that mechanism of subordination, that servility of disposition which poverty had taught him.

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**Appendix**

Versions of some of the images found in this publication can be found at the following links:

Page 4: 1973 Document Based Question, Document E

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Page 57: 1979 Document Based Question, Document M

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Page 82: 1982 Document Based Question, Document H

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Page 140: 1992 Document Based Question, Document D

<http://www.mysanantonio.com/life/article/Early-Texas-artists-have-new-home-at-Witte-3566874.php>

Page 142: 1992 Document Based Question, Document D

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Page 154: 1994 Document Based Question, Document G

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Page 157: 1995 Document Based Question, Document C

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Page 170: 1997 Document Based Question, Document E

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Page 172: 1997 Document Based Question, Document G

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