Practice Material for the AP U.S. History Examination
Document-Based Questions (DBQ)

PART ONE: Founding the New Nation, c. 33,000 B.C.E.–1783 C.E.

DBQ 1: The Transformation of Colonial Virginia, 1606–1700 ................................................. .A62
(Correlated to pages 27–32, 60–70)

DBQ 2: English-Indian Relations, 1600–1700 .......................................................... .A65
(Correlated to pages 27–40, 46–48, 62, 74)

(Correlated to pages 113–131)

PART TWO: Building the New Nation, 1776–1860

DBQ 4: Thomas Jefferson and Philosophical Consistency, 1790–1809 ......................... .A70
(Correlated to pages 181–218)

DBQ 5: The Changing Place of Women, 1815–1860 ..................................................... .A73
(Correlated to pages 293–295, 302–304, 307–321)

PART THREE: Testing the New Nation, 1820–1877

DBQ 6: Slavery and Sectional Attitudes, 1830–1860 ..................................................... .A76
(Correlated to pages 336–359, 396–398)

DBQ 7: Abraham Lincoln and the Struggle for Union and Emancipation, 1861–1865 ................................. .A79
(Correlated to pages 418–562)

PART FOUR: Forging an Industrial Society, 1865–1909

DBQ 8: The Role of Capitalists, 1875–1900 .............................................................. .A83
(Correlated to pages 512–525, 528–530)

DBQ 9: The Farmers’ Movement, 1870–1900 ............................................................. .A86
(Correlated to pages 507, 587–606)

PART FIVE: Struggling for Justice at Home and Abroad, 1901–1945

DBQ 10: Progressivism and Its Antecedents, 1880–1920 ......................................... .A89
(Correlated to pages 638–676)

DBQ 11: The United States as World Power, 1895–1920 ........................................ .A93
(Correlated to pages 608–635, 666–698)

(Correlated to pages 728–777)

PART SIX: Making Modern America, 1945 to the Present

DBQ 13: The Cold War, 1941–1953 ................................................................. .A100
(Correlated to pages 830–857)

(Correlated to pages 831–857, 860–914)

(Correlated to pages 942–955)

Free-Response Essay Questions ................................................................. A111
PART ONE: Founding the New Nation, c. 33,000 B.C.E.–1783 C.E.

DBQ 1
The Transformation of Colonial Virginia, 1606–1700

**Directions:** In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–H and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the settlers in England’s Virginia colony faced a number of hardships. Examine the challenges the Virginians faced and the ways in which their efforts changed the colony socially and economically over the century.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1606 to 1700 to compose your answer.

---

**Document A: Michael Drayton, “Ode to the Virginian Voyage,” 1606**

You brave heroic minds,
Worthy your country’s name,
That honour still pursue,
Go and subdue!
Whilst loit’ring hinds
Lurk here at home with shame.

Britons, you stay too long;
Quickly aboard bestow you,

And cheerfully at sea
Success you still entice
To get the pearl and gold,
And ours to hold
Virginia,
Earth’s only paradise!

Where nature hath in store
Fowl, venison, and fish,
And the fruitful’st soil,
Without your toil,
Three harvests more,
All greater than your wish.

And the ambitious vine
Crowns with his purple mass,
The cedar reaching high
To kiss the sky,
The cypress, pine,
And useful sassafras;

To whose the golden age
Still nature’s laws doth give;
No other cares that tend
But them to defend
From winter’s age,
That long there doth not live.

In kenning [appearance] of the shore,
Thanks to God first given,
O you, the happiest men,
Be frolic then!
Let cannons roar
Frighting the wide heaven.

And in regions far
Such heroes bring ye forth,
As those from whom we came;
And plant our name
Under that star
Not known unto our north.

---

**Document B**

Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases as swellings, burning fevers, and by wars, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreign country in such misery as we were in this new discovered Virginia.
Document C
Source: Early tobacco advertisement.

Document E
Source: Father Andrew White, blank contract for indentured servant, 1635.

This indenture made the __________ day of __________ in the __________ yeere of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles, &c. betweene __________ of the one party, and __________ on the other party, Witnesseth, that the said __________ doth hereby covenant promise, and grant, to and with the said __________ his Executors and Assignes, to serve him from the day of the date hereof, until his first and next arrivall . . . and after for and during the tearme of yeeres, __________ in such service and imployment, as he the said __________ or his assignes shall there imploy him, according to the custome of the Countrey in the like kind. In consideration whereof, the said __________ doth promise and grant, to and with the said __________ to pay for his passing, and to find him with Meat, Drinke, Apparell and Lodging, with other necessar- ies during the said terme; and at the end of the said terme, to give him one whole yeeres provision of Corne, and fifty acres of Land, according to the order of the country.

Document D: Richard Frethorne, letter to his father and mother, 20 March and 2 & 3 April 1623

LOVING AND KIND FATHER AND MOTHER:
This is to let you understand that [this] country . . . causeth much sickness, [including] the scurvy and [dysentery] and diverse other diseases, which maketh the body very poor and weak. And when we are sick there is nothing to comfort us[,] As for deer or venison I never saw any since I came into this land. There is indeed some fowl, but we are not allowed to go and get it, but must work hard both early and late for a mess of water gruel and a mouthful of bread and beef. A mouthful of bread . . . must serve for four men which is most pitiful . . . [P]eople cry out day and night—Oh! That they were in Eng- land[,] to be in England again . . . [W]e live in fear of the enemy every hour, yet we have had a combat with them . . . and we took two alive and made slaves of them . . . [W]e are in great danger; for our plantation [Martin’s Hundred] is very weak by rea- son of the death and sickness of our company [of men], and yet we are but 32 to fight against 3000 if they should come. And the [nearest] help that we have is ten mile of us, and when the rogues over- came this place [earlier] they slew 80 persons . . .
Document H: Virginia statues pertaining to slavery passed by the Virginia Assembly, 1639–1691

January 1639/40 - ALL persons except negroes to be provided with arms and ammunition . . . at pleasure of the Governor and Council.

December 1662 - Be it therefore enacted . . . , that all children borne in this country shall be held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother . . . .

September 1667 - It is enacted . . . that the conferring of baptism doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom . . . .

April 1691 - WHEREAS many times negroes, mulattoes, and other slaves unlawfully absent themselves from their masters and mistresses service, and lie hid and lurk in obscure places killing hoggs and committing other injuries to the inhabitants of this dominion, . . . Be it enacted . . . , that the sherrife [shall] apprehend such negroes, mulattoes, and other slaves, . . . and in case any negroes, mulattoes or other slaves or slaves . . . shall resist, runaway, or refuse to deliver and surrender him or themselves to any person or persons . . . , it shall . . . be lawful for such person and persons to kill and destroy such negroes, mulattoes, and other slave or slaves . . . .

Provided that where any negro or mulattoe slave or slaves shall be killed in pursuance of this act, the owner or owners of such negro or mulatto slave shall be paid for such negro or mulatto slave four thousand pounds of tobacco by the publique . . . .

Be it enacted . . . , whatsoever English or other white man or woman being free shall intermarry with a negro, mulatto, or Indian man or woman bond or free shall within three months after such marriage be banished and removed from this dominion forever . . . .

Document G


Question: What number of planters, servants, and slaves; and how many parishes are there in your plantation?

Answer: We suppose, and I am very sure we do not much miscount, that there is in Virginia above forty thousand persons, men, women, and children, and of which there are two thousand black slaves, six thousand Christian servants [indentured] for a short time. The rest are born in the country or have come in to settle and seat, in bettering their condition in a growing country.

Question: What number of English, Scots, or Irish have for these seven years last past come yearly to plant and inhabit within your government; as also what blacks or slaves have been brought in within the said time?

Answer: Yearly, we suppose there comes in, of servants, about fifteen hundred, of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish, and not above two or three ships of Negroes in seven years.
DBQ 2
English-Indian Relations, 1600–1700

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–H and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Discuss the nature of the relationship between the Indians and the English along the Atlantic seaboard in the years 1600 to 1700 and to what extent that relationship changed over the seventeenth century.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1600 to 1700 to compose your answer.

Document A

Be it enacted by this present Assembly that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian religion, each town, city, borough, and particularly plantation do obtain unto themselves, by just means, a certain number of the natives’ children to be educated by them in true religion and a civil course of life of which children the most towardly [promising] boys in wit and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature, so as to be fitted for the college intended for them; that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion.

Document B

On Friday morning (the fatal day) the 22nd of March [1622] as also in the evening, as in other days before, they came unarmed into our houses, without bows or arrows, or other weapons, with deer, turkeys, fish, furs, and other provisions to sell and truck with us for glass, beads, and other trifles; yea, in some places, sat down at breakfast with our people at their tables, whom immediately with their own tools and weapons, either laid down, or standing in their houses, they basely and barbarously murdered, not sparing either age or sex, man, woman, or child.

Document C: Matthaeus Merian, An Indian Massacre of 1622, in de Bry’s America, 1628

Document D: The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes Concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts . . . , 1647

Nor shall any man within this Jurisdiction . . . amend, repair, or cause to be amended or repaired any gun . . . belonging to any Indian . . . Nor shall sell or give to any Indian . . . any such gun, . . . or any militarie weapons . . . upon [pain] of ten pounds fine, . . . and that the court of Assistants shall have power to increase the Fine; or to impose [corporal] punishment . . .

It is ordered . . . that in all places, the English . . . shall keep their cattle from destroying the Indians corn, in any ground where they have right to plant; and if any of their corn be destroyed for want of fencing, or herding; the town shall make satisfaction . . . Provided that the Indians shall make proof that the cattle of such a town, farm, or person did the damage.

And it is farther ordered and decreed by this Court; that no Indian shall at any time powaw, or performe outward worship to their false gods: or to the devil in any part of our Jurisdiction . . .
Document E

Not to look back further than the troubles that were between the Colony of New Plymouth and Philip, sachem [chietain] of Mount Hope in the year 1671, it may be remembered that . . . [he] was . . . the offending party; and that Plymouth had just cause to take up arms against him; and it was then agreed that he should pay that colony a certain sum of money, in part of their damage and charge by him occasioned; and he then not only renewed his ancient covenant of friendship with them; but made himself and his people absolute subjects to our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second. . . .

But sometime last winter the Governor of Plymouth was informed by Sassamon, a faithful Indian, that the said Philip was undoubtedly endeavoring to raise new troubles, and was endeavoring to engage all the sachems round about in a war against us. . . .

Document F: John Easton, deputy governor of Rhode Island, A Relation of the Indian War, 1675

Philip charged it to be dishonesty in us to put off the Hearing the just Complaints, therefore we consented to hear them. They said they had bine the first in doing Good to the English, and the English the first in doing Rong; said when the English first came, their King’s Father was as a great Man, and the English as a littell Child; he constrained other Indians from ronging the English, and gave them Corn and shewed them how to plant. . . . And another Greavance was, if 20 of their honest Indians testified that a Englishman had dun them Rong, it was as nothing; and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian or their King, when it pleased the English it was sufficient. . . . Another Grievance, the English Catell and Horses still increased; [and] they could not keep their Corn from being spoiled, they never being used to fence, and thought when the English bought Land of them they would have kept their Catell upon their owne Land. Another Grievance, the English were so eager to sell the Indians [liquor]. . . .

Document G

The people [became] jealous [of] Governor [Berkeley of Virginia] for the lucre of beaver and otter trade, etc., with the Indians, rather sought to protect the Indians than them, since after public proclamations prohibiting all trade with the Indians (they complain), he privately gave commission to some of his friends to truck with them, and that those persons furnished the Indians with powder, shot, etc., so that they were better provided than His Majesty’s subjects.

The peoples of Charles City County (near Merchants Hope) being [denied] a commission by the Governor, although he was truly informed . . . of several formidable bodies of Indians coming down on the heads of the James River within fifty or sixty miles of the English plantations . . . they begin to beat up drums for volunteers to go out against the Indians, and so continued sundry days drawing into arms, the magistrates being either so remiss or of the same faction that they suffered the disaster without contradiction or endeavoring to prevent so dangerous a beginning . . .


We patiently bore many Injuries from the French, from one Year to another, before we took up the Axe against them. . . . We assure you, that we are resolved never to drop the Axe, the French never shall see our Faces in Peace, we shall never be reconciled as long as one Frenchman is alive. We shall never make Peace, though our Nation should be ruined by it, and every one of us cut in Pieces. Our Brethren of the three Colonies may depend on this.

. . .

[W]e are resolved to look on your enemies as ours. . . . Brethren your War is our War, for we will live and dye with you. . . .
DBQ 3
The American Revolution, 1750–1776

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–I and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

To what extent was the conflict between Great Britain and her North American colonies economic in origin rather than rooted in political and social controversies and differences?

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1750 to 1776 to compose your answer.

Document A: James Otis, Speech on Writs of Assistance, 24 February 1761

[The] writ . . . being general, is illegal. It is a power that places the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer. . . . I admit that special writs of assistance, to search special places, may be granted to certain persons on oath; but I deny that the [general] writ . . . can be granted, for I beg leave to make some observations on the [general] writ itself. In the first place, the writ is universal . . . so that it is directed to every subject in the King’s dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant. . . . In the next place, it is perpetual. . . . A man is accountable to no person for his doings. . . . Writs in their nature are temporary things. When the purposes for which they are issued are answered, they exist no more; but these live forever; no one can be called to account. [R]eason and the constitution are both against this [general] writ.

Document B: Stamp Act Resolutions, 1765, issued by the Stamp Act Congress

II. That His majesty’s liege [loyal] subjects in these colonies are intitled [sic] to all of the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.

III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives.

IX. That the duties imposed by several late Acts of Parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burthensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late Acts of Parliament on the trade of these colonies will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

Document C: Charleston, South Carolina, Sons of Liberty, 1766

1. Christopher Gadsden, merchant
2. William Johnson, blacksmith
3. Joseph Veree, carpenter
7. George Flagg, painter and glazier [works on windows]
9. John Hall, coachmaker
11. Robert Jones, sadler
19. William Trusler, butcher
21. Alexander Alexander, schoolmaster
22. Edward Weyman, clerk of St. Philip’s Church, and glass grinder
Document D: Gottfried Achenwall, “The Pattern of Colonial Commerce,” interview with Benjamin Franklin, July 1766, in Gottingen, Germany

The colonies are generally restricted in all their foreign trade, and even more in their shipping in all sorts of ways. Nevertheless the continental colonies particularly maintain a considerable shipping trade of their own. . . . Many products, particularly those for shipbuilding and raw materials for manufactures: mast trees, ship timber, iron, copper, . . . cotton, indigo, tobacco, skins and furs, they may not export. These are reserved for the British realm, must be brought by British merchants, and carried by British ships and sailors. In areas where an English company has the exclusive trade, they may not trade, for example, with the East Indies. . . . Trade with the Spanish in America is a mere contraband trade. . . . But the colonist risks it because he can bring back specie, which is so rare in the colonies. . . . In general, no foreign nation is permitted to go to the colonies to buy products and carry them away, much less to send their own goods over; both export and import remain a privilege for British subjects or especially for inhabitants of England.

Document E: John Dickinson, Letters from an American Farmer, II, 1767–1768

Great-Britain has prohibited the manufacturing of iron and steel in these colonies, without any objection being made to her right of doing it. The like right she must have to prohibit any other manufacture among us. Thus she is possessed of an undisputed precedent on that point. . . .

Here then, my dear country men ROUSE yourselves, and behold the ruin hanging over your heads. If you ONCE admit, that Great-Britain may lay duties upon her exportations to us, for the purpose of levying money on us only, she then will have nothing to do, but to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture—and the tragedy of American liberty is finished. . . . If Great-Britain can order us to come to her for necessities we want, and can order us to pay what taxes she pleases before we take them away, or when we land them here, we are as abject slaves as France and Poland. . . .
[Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia,] has offered freedom to the servants and slaves of those he is pleased to term rebels, arming them against their masters, and destroying the peace and happiness of His Majesty’s good and faithful whose property is rendered insecure and whose lives are exposed to the dangers of a general insurrection.

Whereas Lord Dunmore, by his proclamation dated . . . the 7th day of November 1775, has offered freedom to such able-bodied slaves as are willing to join him and take up arms against the good people of this colony. . . . it is enacted that all Negro or other slaves conspiring to rebel or make insurrection shall suffer death and be excluded all benefit of clergy—we think it proper to declare that all slaves who have been, or shall be seduced by [Dunmore’s] proclamation . . . to desert their master’s service, and take up arms against the inhabitants of this colony shall be liable to . . . punishment. . . .
PART TWO: Building the New Nation, 1776–1860

DBQ 4
Thomas Jefferson and Philosophical Consistency, 1790–1809

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–I and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Although Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton fought bitterly over issues of constitutional interpretation in the 1790s, the policies of the Jeffersonian Republican presidents Jefferson and Madison in the years 1801–1817 often reflected the beliefs of the Federalist Hamilton. To what extent is this an accurate statement?

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1790 to 1809 to compose your answer.

I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid on this ground: That “all powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, or to the people,” [Xth amendment.] To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Congress, is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition.

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

Document B: Alexander Hamilton, Tully No. III, 28 August 1794

Government is frequently and aptly classed under two descriptions—a government of power, and a government of laws. The first is the definition of despotism; the last of liberty. But how can a government of laws exist when laws are disrespected and disobeyed? Government supposes control. It is that power by which individuals in society are kept from doing injury to each other, and are brought to cooperate to a common end. The instruments by which it must act are either the authority of the laws or force. If the first be destroyed, the last must be substituted, and where this becomes the ordinary instrument of government, there is an end to liberty!

Fellow Citizens: you are told that it will be intemperate to urge the execution of the laws which are resisted. What? Will it be indeed intemperate in your chief magistrate, sworn to uphold the Constitution, charged faithfully to execute the laws, and authorized to employ for that purpose force when the ordinary means fail—will it be intemperate in him to exert that force when the Constitution and the laws are opposed by force?
Document C: James Madison, “Virginia Resolutions,” 1798

That this Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the federal government, as resulting from the compact, to which the states are parties; as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting the compact; as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them.

That the General Assembly doth also express its deep regret, that a spirit has in sundry instances, been manifested by the federal government, to enlarge its powers by forced constructions of the constitutional charter which defines them.

Document D: Thomas Jefferson, Annual Message, 8 December 1801

When we consider that this government is charged with the external and mutual relations only of these states; that the states themselves have principal care of our persons, our property, and our reputation, constituting the great field of human concerns, we may well doubt whether our organization is not too complicated, too expensive; whether offices or officers have not been multiplied unnec-

Document E
Source: Four Barbary States of North Africa, c. 1805. (See text p. 211 for full-size map.)

Document I: John Calhoun, Jeffersonian Republican congressman from South Carolina, speech before Congress, 4 February 1817

[To] what can we direct our resources and attention more important than internal improvements? What can add more to the wealth, the strength, and the political prosperity of our country? . . . It was sufficient to observe that every branch of the national industry—agricultural, manufacturing and commercial—was greatly stimulated and rendered by [them] more productive. . . . Let it not be said that internal improvements may be wholly left to the enterprise of the states and individuals. . . . [Many] of the improvements contemplated . . . are on too great a scale for the resources of the states or individuals. . . . They required the resources and the general superintendence of [the national] government to effect and complete them. . . . [On] this subject of national power, what . . . can tend more powerfully to produce [national unity] than overcoming the effects of distance? . . . Such, then, being the obvious advantages of internal improvements, why . . . should . . . some members [have] constitutional objections[?] [I am] no advocate for refined arguments on the Constitution. The instrument was not intended as a thesis for the logician to exercise his ingenuity on. It ought to be construed with good, plain sense. . . .
DBQ 5

The Changing Place of Women, 1815–1860

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–I and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Evaluate how and why the antebellum market revolution and Second Great Awakening affected the evolution of women’s role in the family, workplace, and society in the years 1815–1860.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1815 to 1860 to compose your answer.

Document A
Source: Charles G. Finney, comments on a convert in New York, memoir, 1831.

A Christian woman persuaded [Mrs. M] to come see me. She had been a gay, worldly woman, and very fond of society. She afterward told me that when I first came there, she greatly regretted it, and feared there would be a revival; and a revival would greatly interfere with the pleasures and amusements that she had promised herself that winter. [But] after considerable conversation and prayer, her heart broke down and she settled into a joyous faith. . . . From that moment, she was out-spoken in her religious convictions, and zealous for the conversion of her friends.

Document B: “Selling a Mother from Her Child”
Source: Antislavery Almanac, 1840.

Document C: E. L. F. [possibly Eliza Lee Follen], “What Have Women to Do with Slavery: A Dialogue,” The Liberator, 1 November 1839

Mrs. A. Is it possible, my dear Harriet, that . . . you have actually joined the Anti-Slavery Society? . . . I thought your mother did not approve of your engaging in this matter.

Harriet. She did not, but then she wished me to act according to my own sense of right; she says I am of an age to decide for myself upon questions of right and wrong.

Mrs. A. I am sorry that my sister has been so weakly indulgent to you; I doubt not that in a short time I shall hear that she also has turned abolitionist, and . . . she will sign the petitions of Congress with other misguided women.

Harriet. I cannot help hoping that your fears may be realized. But . . . I thought you told me that you were convinced that slavery is sinful. . . .

Mrs. A. . . . I [am]; but I do not approve of the doings of the abolitionists . . . ; and most of all . . . I disapprove of women's meddling with such things. . . . It is evident, my dear, that men are appointed by Providence to make and administer the laws; it is a violation of the Divine Order when women interfere in politics. . . . [Slavery] is a political question—and . . . there is a great impropriety in women's meddling with the subject.

Harriet. I do not see why . . . women, with the strength and the enlightening power of truth on their side, may not do something to overthrow it.

“She has worked in a factory, is sufficient to damn to infamy the most worthy and virtuous girl.” [italics in original]

So says Mr. Orestes A. Brownson. . . . I assert that it is not true, . . . and he may now see what will probably appear to him quite as marvellous . . . , that a factory girl is not afraid to oppose herself to the Editor of the Boston Quarterly Review. True, he has upon his side fame, learning, and great talent; but I have what is better . . . and that is truth. . . .

And whom has Mr. Brownson slandered? [Thousands of] girls who generally come from quiet country homes, where their minds and manners have been formed under the eyes of the worthy sons of the Pilgrims, and their virtuous partners, and who return again to become the wives of the free intelligent yeomanry of New England and the mothers of quite a portion of our future republicans. . . .

[We] are collected [in the factories], namely, to get money, as much of it and as fast as we can; and it’s because our toil is so unremitting, that the wages of factory girls are higher than those of females engaged in most other occupations. It is these wages which . . . have drawn so many worthy, virtuous, intelligent, and well-educated girls to Lowell . . .; and strange would it be, if in money loving New England, one of the most lucrative female employments should be rejected because it is so toilsome, or because some people are prejudiced against it. Yankee girls have too much independence for that. . . .

There are among us all sorts of girls. . . . The Improvement Circles, the Lyceum and Institute, the social religious meetings, the Circulating and other libraries, can bear testimony that the little time they have is spent in a better manner. Our well filled churches and lecture halls and the high character of our clergymen and lecturers, will testify that the state of morals and intelligence is not low.

Document E
Source: Editorial from Godey’s Lady’s Book, magazine, 1845.

The mass of mankind are very ignorant and wicked. Wherefore is this? Because the mother, whom God constituted the first teacher of every human being, has been degraded by men from her high office; or, what is the same thing, been denied those privileges of education which only can enable her to discharge her duty to her children with discretion and effect. . . . If half the effort and expense had been directed to enlighten and improve the minds of females which have been lavished on the other sex, we should now have a very different state of society.

Document F
Source: Dorothea Dix to the Massachusetts legislature, report, 1843.

I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the present state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens! Chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience!

Document G: Sarony and Major, “The Happy Mother,” 1846
Document I
Source: Petition to the Massachusetts legislature, 1853.
We deem the extension to woman of all civil rights a measure of vital importance to the welfare and progress of the state. On every principle of natural justice, as well as by the nature of our institutions, she is as fully entitled as man to vote and to be eligible to office. . . . Ours is a government professedly resting on the consent of the governed. Woman is surely as competent to give that consent as man. Our Revolution claimed that taxation and representation should be coextensive. While the property and labor of women are subject to taxation, she is entitled to a voice in fixing the amount of taxes and the use of them, when collected, and is entitled to a voice in the laws that regulate punishments.
PART THREE: Testing the New Nation, 1820–1877

DBQ 6
Slavery and Sectional Attitudes, 1830–1860

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–I and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

In the years 1830–1860, many northern Americans came to see slavery as an evil, while many southerners defended the institution as a positive good. Why did the North and South come to such different views of slavery in the years prior to the Civil War?

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1830 to 1860 to compose your answer.

Document A
Source: Governor George McDuffie to the South Carolina legislature, 1835.

In all respects the comforts of our slaves are greatly superior to those of the English [factory] operatives, or the Irish and continental peasantry, to say nothing of the millions of paupers crowded together in those loathsome receptacles of starving humanity, the public poorhouses. . . . From this excess of labor, this actual want, and these distressing cares, our slaves are entirely exempted.

Document B

Supposing finally that the abolitionists should effect their purpose. What would be the result? The first and most obvious effect would be to put an end to the cultivation of our great Southern staple [cotton], . . . The cultivation of the great staple crops cannot be carried on in any portion of our country where there are not slaves.

Document C
Source: The American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1838, N. Southard, Editor.

In the Southern States, every colored person is presumed to be a slave, till proved to be free, and they are often victims of the law.

Source: Manning Marable and Leith Mullings, eds., Let Nobody Turn Us Around, 60.

SLAVERY! How much misery is comprehended in that single word. What mind is there that does not shrink from its direful effects? Unless the image of God be obliterated from the soul, all men cherish the love of Liberty. . . . In every man’s mind the good seeds of liberty are planted, and he who brings his fellow down so low, as to make him contented with a condition of slavery, commits the highest crime against God and man. Brethren, your opponents aim to do this. They endeavor to make you as much like brutes as possible. . . .

TO SUCH DEGRADATION IT IS SINFUL IN THE EXTREME FOR YOU TO MAKE VOLUNTARY SUBMISSION. The divine commandments you are in duty bound to reference and obey. If you do not obey them, you will surely meet with the displeasure of the Almighty. . . . The forlorn condition in which you are placed does not destroy your moral obligation to God.

Document E: “Harvesting Cotton,” Currier and Ives print

Document F

Source: Abraham Lincoln, speech, Peoria, Illinois, October 1854.

Already the liberal party throughout the world express the apprehension “that the one retrograde institution in America is undermining the principles of progress and fatally violating the noblest political system the world ever saw.” This is not the taunt of enemies but the warning of friends. Is it quite safe to disregard it, to despise it? . . .

In our greedy chase to make profit of the Negro, let us beware lest we “cancel and tear in pieces” even the white man’s charter of freedom.

Document G: A Catechism for Slaves, 1854

Source: Belmonte, Speaking of America, vol. I, 272 (Frederick Douglass’s Paper, 2 June 1854, from The Southern Episcopalian [Charleston, South Carolina, April 1854]).

Q: Who gave you a master and mistress?
A: God gave them to me.

Q: Who says you must obey them?
A: God says I must.

Q: What book tells you these things?
A: The Bible.

Q: How does God do all his work?
A: He always does it right.

Q: Does God love to work?
A: Yes, God is always at work.

Q: Do the angels work?
A: Yes, they do what God tells them.

Q: What does God say about your work?
A: That they who will not work shall not eat.

Q: What makes you lazy?
A: My wicked heart.

Q: How do you know your heart is wicked?
A: I feel it every day.

Q: Who teaches you so many wicked things?
A: The Devil.

Q: Must you let the Devil teach you?
A: No, I must not.
African slavery has not only become one of the fixed domestic institutions of the Southern States, but forms an important element of their political power, and constitutes the most valuable species of their property, worth, according to recent estimates, not less than $4,000,000,000; forming, in fact, the basis upon which rests the prosperity and wealth of most of these States, and supplying the commerce of the world with its richest freights, and furnishing the manufactories of two continents with raw material, and their operatives with bread. It is upon this gigantic interest, this peculiar institution, that the Northern States and their people have been waging an unrelenting and fanatical war for the last quarter century.

[Abraham Lincoln] stands forth as the representative of the fanaticism of the North, which, . . . acknowledges allegiance to a higher law than the Constitution striking down the sovereignty and equality of the States, and resting its claims to popular favor upon one dogma—the equality of the races, white and black.

Therefore . . . the election of Mr. Lincoln cannot be regarded otherwise than a solemn declaration, on the part of a great majority of the Northern people, of hostility to the South . . .; nothing less than . . . [inaugurating] all the horrors of a Santo Domingo servile insurrection, consigning her citizens to assassinations and her wives and daughters to pollution and violation to gratify the lust of half-civilized Africans.
DBQ 7
Abraham Lincoln and the Struggle for Union and Emancipation, 1861–1865

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–L and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

In a letter to newspaperman Horace Greeley on August 22, 1862, Abraham Lincoln explained, “If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others, I would also do that.” A month later, however, Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, making the abolition of slavery, as well as the preservation of the Union, a war aim. Discuss the relationship between Lincoln's goals of preserving the Union and freeing the slaves.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1861 to 1865 to compose your answer.

Document A
Source: Abraham Lincoln to Congress, March 1862.

I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows: Resolved, that the United States ought to cooperate with any state which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such state pecuniary aid, to be used by such state, in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system. . . . The Federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure as one of the most efficient means of self preservation.

Document B
Source: Abraham Lincoln to a Committee of Religious Denominations of Chicago, 13 September 1862.

I will also concede that emancipation would help us in Europe, and convince them that we are incited by something more than ambition. . . . [U]nquestionably, it would weaken the rebels by drawing off their laborers, which is of great importance; but I am not so sure we could do much with the blacks. If we were to arm them, I fear that in a few weeks the arms would be in the hands of the rebels; and, indeed, thus far we have not had arms enough to equip our white troops.

Document C: Jefferson Davis to the Confederate Congress, 14 January 1863

We may well leave it to the instincts of that common humanity which a beneficent Creator has implanted in the breasts of our fellow-men of all countries to pass judgment on [the Emancipation Proclamation] by which several millions of human beings of an inferior race, peaceful and contented laborers in their sphere, are doomed to extermination, while at the same time they are encouraged to a general assassination of their masters. . . . Our own detestation of those who have attempted the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man is tempered by profound contempt for the impotent rage which it discloses. . . .

This proclamation is also an authentic statement by the Government of the United States of its inability to subjugate the South by force of arms, and as such must be accepted by neutral nations, which no longer find any justification in withholding our just claims to formal recognition.

[Albert Andrus]: The great question before the House now is, whether the President acted wisely, or whether he has the right, under the Constitution of the United States, to issue [the] proclamation of emancipation. . . . [T]here is no power given in the Constitution for the President or Congress to abolish a state institution. . . . But, Sir, there is a war power given to the commander-in-chief of the army and navy in extreme cases which would justify him in resorting to every means in his power for the salvation of our country.

I consider that the southern people have forfeited all rights and protection under the constitution. . . . When, Sir, I consider that those rebellious states, without good cause or provocation, have ruthlessly and wickedly undertaken to overthrow the best government that God ever gave to man . . . I am free to say that in my opinion the emancipation measure should have a fair trial.

[William Brand]: But, Sir, the lives and property, including slaves, of all true union men and women should be protected . . ., provided they will lay down their arms and return and become loyal subjects to the Government as it was, and the Constitution as it is.

Document F Source: Recruiting Poster for the 54th Massachusetts Regiment, 1863.
Document J
Source: Abraham Lincoln, Second Inaugural Address, March 1865.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Document H
Source: Thomas Buckner on anti-Negro rioting in Detroit, self-published pamphlet, 1863.

The present state of affairs in relation to the colored people is one of great perplexity, and it is not only so on account of the South but also in the North.

On the one hand, they are being mobbed, and everything that is sacred to a people to make a country or home dear are denied them in many of the large Northern cities. On the other hand, they are marching off to the call of the government as if they were sharing all the blessings of the most favored citizens!
Document K: Frederick Douglass, “Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln,” 14 April 1876, delivered at the Unveiling of the Freedmen's Monument in Memory of Abraham Lincoln, recounting Lincoln during the Civil War

[W]e are here to express, as best we may, by appropriate forms and ceremonies, our grateful sense of the vast, high, and preeminent services rendered to ourselves, to our race, to our country, and to the whole world by Abraham Lincoln. . . .

It must be admitted, truth compels me to admit, even here in the presence of the monument we have erected to his memory, Abraham Lincoln was not, in the fullest sense of the word, either our man or our model. . . .

He was preeminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men. He was ready and willing at any time during the first years of his administration to deny, postpone, and sacrifice the rights of humanity in the colored people to promote the welfare of the white people of this country. . . .

Our faith in him was often taxed and strained to the uttermost, but it never failed. . . .

[U]nder his wise and beneficent rule we saw ourselves gradually lifted from the depths of slavery to the heights of liberty and manhood. . . .

Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical, and determined. . . .

[B]ecause of his fidelity to union and liberty, he is doubly dear to us, and his memory will be precious forever.
PART FOUR: Forging an Industrial Society, 1865–1909

DBQ 8
The Role of Capitalists, 1875–1900

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–J and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Historians have often portrayed the capitalists who shaped post–Civil War industrial America as either admirable “captains of industry” or corrupt “robber barons.” Evaluate which of these is a more accurate characterization of these capitalists.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1875 to 1900 to compose your answer.

Document A
Source: Henry George, Progress and Poverty, 1879.

The wealthy class is becoming more wealthy; but the poorer class is becoming more dependent. The gulf between the employed and the employer is growing wider; social contrasts are becoming sharper; as liveried carriages appear; so do bare-footed children.

Document B

When we come to the New Industrial South, the change is marvelous. . . . Instead of a South devoted to agriculture . . . we find a South wide awake to business, excited and even astonished at the development of its own immense resources, . . . eagerly laying lines of communication, rapidly opening mines, building furnaces, foundries, and all sorts of shops for utilizing the native riches. . . .

The South is manufacturing a great variety of things needed in the house, on the farm, and in the shops, for home consumption, and already sends to the North and West several manufactured products. . . .

When I have been asked what impressed me the most in this hasty tour, I have always said that the most notable thing was that everybody was at work. . . . [E]very man, woman, and child was actively employed, and in most cases there were fewer idlers than in many Northern towns. . . .

It cannot be too strongly impressed upon the public mind that the South . . . is marching with the North in the same purpose of wealth by industry.

Document C
Source: Andrew Carnegie, Gospel of Wealth, 1889.

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: . . . to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bring to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do for themselves. . . .

Document D
Source: The Robber Barons of Today, 1889.
Document G

In the Senate inquiry of 1883, [on] education and labor, a weaver . . . said that he had worked seventeen years in England, and that conditions were much better than in America. The manufacturers there were not so desirous as they are here of working their men like horses or slaves. . . .

The manufacturers judge that the movement to [mechanize] has been advantageous to workmen . . . because the level of salaries has been raised, . . . because they purchase more with the same sum, and . . . because their task has become less onerous, the machine doing nearly everything which requires great strength. . . .

The laboring classes do not share this optimism. They reproach the machine with exhausting the physical powers of the laborer; . . . They reproach it with demanding such continued attention that it enervates, and of leaving no respite to the laborer, through the continuity of its movement. . . . They reproach the machine with degrading man by transforming him into a machine . . . [and] with diminishing the number of skilled workers, permitting . . . the substitution of unskilled workers and lowering the average level of wages.
Document I: John D. Rockefeller, testimony to the United States Industrial Commission, before the House of Representatives, 1899

I ascribe the success of the Standard [Oil Company] to its consistent policy to make the volume of business large through the merits and cheapness of its products. It has spared no expense in finding, securing, and utilizing the best and cheapest methods of manufacturing. It has sought for the best superintendents and workmen and paid the best wages. . . . It has not only sought markets for its principal products but for all possible byproducts. . . . It has not hesitated to invest millions of dollars in methods of cheapening the gathering and distribution of oil by pipelines, special cars, tank steamers, and tank wagons. . . .

It is too late to argue about advantages of industrial combinations. They are a necessity.

Their chief advantages are: (1) command of necessary capital; . . . (4) economy in the business; (5) improvements and economies which are derived from knowledge of many interested persons of wide experience; (6) power to give the public improved products at less prices and still make a profit for stockholders. . . .
The Farmers’ Movement, 1870–1900

Why did farmers express discontent during 1870–1900, and what impact did their new attitudes and actions have on national politics?

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1870 to 1900 to compose your answer.

Document A
Source: The Farmers’ Grievances, 1875. (See text p. 597 for full-size illustration.)

Again, but there was the old debt and the new interest to pay, and in this way the “mortgage system” has gotten a hold on everything that it seems impossible to shake off. Its evils have grown instead of decreasing, until it is safe to say that 5/6 of the colored farmers mortgage their crops every year. . . . [In] most every case mules, cows, wagons, plows and often all household furniture [are also] covered by the lien. . . .

Many of the colored farmers have almost given up hope. . . .

Document C
Source: Mary E. Lease, lawyer, speech, 1890.

The great common people of this country are slaves, and monopoly is the master. The West and South are bound and prostrate before the manufacturing East.

The parties lie to us and the political speakers mislead us. We were told two years ago to go to work and raise a big crop, that was all we needed. We went to work and plowed and planted; the rains fell, the sun shone, nature smiled, and we raised the big crop that they told us to; and what came of it? Eight-cent corn, ten-cent oats, two-cent beef, and no price at all for butter and eggs—that’s what came of it.

We want money, land, and transportation. We want the abolition of the national banks, and we want the power to make loans direct from the government. We want the accursed foreclosure system wiped out. Land equal to a tract thirty miles wide and ninety miles long has been foreclosed and bought in my loan companies of Kansas in a year.
Nothing has done more to injure the [western] region than these freight rates. The railroads have retarded its growth as much as they first hastened it. The rates are often four times as large as Eastern rates.

These freight rates have been especially burdensome to the farmers, who are far from their selling and buying markets.

Another fact which has incited the farmer against corporations is the bold and unblushing participation of the railways in politics. The railroads have secured an iron grip upon legislatures.

Closely connected are the money grievances. As the farmer could not make payments on his land he found that he could not sell his produce at a profit and that the rate of interest was rapidly rising.

Disaster always follows the exaction of such exorbitant rates of interest, and want or eviction quickly came. Like a lightning flash, the idea of political action ran through the alliances. A few farmers’ victories in county campaigns the previous year became a promise of broader conquest, and with one bound the Farmers’ Alliance went into politics all over the West.


Crop reports received by the Agricultural Department as made public today show the following results by States:

New Jersey—Excessive rains and cool nights were injurious to all crops; locusts very destructive; much corn and potatoes replanted.

South Carolina—Cotton shows slight improvement, but remains small; corn beginning to suffer from drought; ... forage drops generally are drying up, ... drought becoming serious.

Georgia—All crops at a standstill from drought; even corn begins to wither.

Alabama—Drought continues ... cotton and corn drying up in places.

Mississippi—Cool and dry; unfavorable for all crops; corn small ... cotton full of lice; potatoes not producing well.

Tennessee—Tobacco drying from drought.

Illinois—Drought beginning to injuriously affect crops.

Wisconsin—Rain needed; some damage by frost first of last week.

Minnesota—Drought continues and late-sown grain, grass, gardens, and small fruit suffering; clim and potato bug ravages increasing.

Nebraska—Local rains have greatly improved crops; corn prospects generally very good; small grain will be short; pastures recovering.

**Document I**


The complete rejection of Bryan’s tempting program, addressed to indolence, incapacity, and cupidity, shows that these qualities are less widely distributed in the United States than Bryan would have us believe. The hopelessly ignorant and savagely covetous waifs and strays of American civilization voted for Bryan, but the bulk of the solid sense, business, integrity, and social stability sided with McKinley. The nation is to be heartily congratulated.
PART FIVE: Struggling for Justice at Home and Abroad, 1901–1945

DBQ 10
Progressivism and Its Antecedents, 1880–1920

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–K and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

To what extent was the Progressive Movement (1900–1920) an extension of reformers’ ideas and programs of the late nineteenth century?

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1880 to 1920 to compose your answer.


In the three [sessions of the New York legislature] of which I have been a member, I have sat with bankers and bricklayers, with merchants and mechanics, with lawyers, . . . [and] saloon keepers. . . . Among my colleagues there were many very good men; there was a still more numerous class of men who were neither very good or very bad, but went one way or the other, according to the strength of the various conflicting influences acting around, behind, and upon them; and finally there were many very bad men. . . .

It is from [the] great cities that the worst legislators come. It is true that there are always among them a few cultivated and scholarly men who are well educated and who stand on a higher and broader intellectual and moral plane . . . , but the bulk are very low indeed. They are usually foreigners of little or no education, with exceedingly misty ideas as to morality, and possessed of an ignorance so profound [which] has at times [had] serious effects upon our laws. . . . [It is] so difficult to procure the passage of good laws or prevent the passage of bad ones. . . .

Document B: Preamble and Declaration of Principles of the Great and Growing Order of Workingmen, the Knights of Labor, 1886

The alarming development and aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling classes. It is imperative . . . that a check be placed on unjust accumulation, and the power for evil of aggregated wealth. . . .

We declare to the world that our aims are: . . .

2. To secure to the worker the full enjoyment of the wealth they create [and] sufficient leisure to develop their intellectual, moral, and social faculties. . . .

In order to secure these results we demand of the State: . . .

4. The public lands, the heritage of the people, be reserved for actual settlers, not another acre for railroads or speculators. . . .

6. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing, and the building industries, and indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries suffered through lack of necessary safeguards. . . .

11. The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines and factories. . . .

13. That a graduated income tax be levied. . . .

16. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited. . . .

And while making the foregoing demands upon the State and national government, we will endeavor to associate our own labors to:

20. To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work.

21. To shorten the hours of labor by a general refusal to work more than eight hours.

We have cities in which a few are wealthy, a few are in what may be called comfortable circumstances, vast numbers are propertyless, and thousands are in pauperism and crime. . . . [T]he inequalities that characterize our rich and poor [do not] represent the ideas that the founders of this republic saw when they wrote that “All men are created equal.” . . .

Political parties are a curse to every department of our municipal government; the prime purpose of their existence is to capture the offices and administer every function of government [only for] the interest of the party. . . .

[C]ities have [financed] humanizing and educating influences [such] as children’s playgrounds, free [bath houses], free music in the parks for people, and in some instances . . . free lectures and free concerts for the winter evenings. . . .

We are coming to understand that every public utility and necessity to the public welfare should be publicly owned, publicly operated, and publicly paid for. Among the properties that according to any scientific conception of the purpose of government should be so owned are waterworks, heating and lighting plants, street railways, telephones, . . . telegraphs, parks, playgrounds. . . .

---

Document C: Shooting craps in the hall of the Newsboys’ Lodging House

Source: Jacob Riss (1849–1914). Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

---

Document D: Henry Demarest Lloyd, Wealth Against Commonwealth, 1894

If our civilization is destroyed, . . . it will not be by [the] barbarians from below. Our barbarians come from above. Our great money-makers have sprung in one generation into seats of power kings do not know. The forces and the wealth are new, and have been the opportunity of new men. Without restraints of culture, experience, the pride, or even the inherited caution of class or rank, these men, intoxicated, think they are the wave instead of the float, and that they have created the business which has created them. . . . They claim a power without control, exercised through forms which make it secret, anonymous, and perpetual. The possibilities of its gratification have been widening before them without interruption since they began, and even at a thousand millions they will feel no satiation and will see no place to stop. They are gluttons of luxury and power, rough, unsocialized, believing that mankind must be kept terrorized. Powers of pity die out of them, because they work through agents and die in their agents, because what they do is not for themselves.
We urge an increase in public high school facilities in the South, where the Negro-Americans are almost wholly without such provisions.

We demand upright judges in courts, juries selected without discrimination on account of color.

Any discrimination based simply on race or color is barbarous, we care not how hallowed it be by custom, expediency or prejudice.

We protest against the “Jim Crow” car, since [it renders] us open to insults and discomfort and [cru-cifies] wantonly our manhood, womanhood and self-respect.

Of the above grievances we do not hesitate to . . . complain loudly and insistently. To ignore, overlook, or apologize for these wrongs is to prove ourselves unworthy of freedom. Persistent manly agitation is the way to liberty.

---


The members of the conference . . . congratulate the Negro-Americans on certain undoubted evidences of progress in the last decade particularly . . . the buying of property, the checking of crime, the uplift in home life, the advance in literature and art, and the demonstration of constructive and executive ability in the conduct of great religious, economic and educational institutions.

We believe in manhood suffrage. . . .

We believe also in protest against the curtailment of our civil [and political] rights. All American citizens have the right to equal treatment in places of public entertainment. . . .

We especially complain against the denial of equal opportunities to us in economic life; in the rural districts of the South this amounts to peonage and virtual slavery. . . .
There have been many publications during the first years which have been suppressed by the orders of Comstock. . . . one of the latest, and most flagrant . . . was in the suppression and confiscation of the monthly publication, “The Woman Rebel.” This was a working woman’s paper, the first of its kind ever issued in America. [It] claimed that one of the working woman’s greatest enslavements was her ignorance of the means to control the size of her family. The editor [Sanger] promised to defy the existing law. . . .

[The issues of The Woman Rebel were suppressed] and three indictments . . . covering twelve counts, were returned against me [Sanger], as the editor [by a federal grand jury]. All the indictments were returned and counts were made on all articles which discussed the idea of the Working Woman keeping down the number of her family.

Document I: 1912 Democratic Party Platform
The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgment of the right of the wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor, represented separately in the President’s cabinet. . . .

We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the Federal Constitution authorizing an income tax, and the amendment providing for the popular election of senators, and we call upon the people of all the States to rally to the support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high, and in many cases prohibitive, tariff duties, insisting that material reductions be speedily made upon the necessities of life. Articles entering into competition with trust-controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list.

Document J: “Comstockery in America”
Source: Margaret Sanger, July 1915, The Woman Rebel
[The Comstock laws] were passed [in 1873] and executed ostensibly to prevent the passage of obscene literature through the U.S. mails. . . .

Anthony Comstock [US Post Office Inspector and Secretary for the Society for the Suppression of Vice] then became the official guardian of American morality. . . .

Document K: Keating-Owen Child Labor Act of 1916
AN ACT To prevent interstate commerce in the products of child labor, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representaives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in interstate or foreign commerce, any article or commodity the product of any mine or quarry situated in the United States, [where] children under the age of sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work, or any article or commodity the product of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment, situated in the United States [where] children under the age of fourteen years have been employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of fourteen years and sixteen years have been employed or permitted to work more than eight hours in any day, or more than six days in any week, or after the hour of seven o’clock [pm], or before the hour of six o’clock [am].
DBQ 11
The United States as World Power, 1895–1920

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–I and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Which factor, self-interest or idealism, was more important in driving American foreign policy in the years 1895–1920?

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1895 to 1920 to compose your answer.

Document A

A new consciousness seems to have come upon us—the consciousness of strength—and with it a new appetite, the yearning to show our strength. . . . Ambition, interest, land hunger, pride, the mere joy of fighting, whatever it may be, we are animated by a new sensation. We are face to face with a strange destiny. The taste of Empire is in the mouth of the people even as the taste of blood is in the jungle. It means an Imperial policy, the Republic renascent, taking her place with the armed nations.

Document B
Source: Senator Albert J. Beveridge, speech, Indianapolis, 16 September 1898.

[T]oday we are raising more than we can consume. Today we are making more than we can use. Today our industrial society is congested; there are more workers than there is work; there is more capital than there is investment. . . . Therefore we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor. . . .

The commercial supremacy of the Republic means that this Nation is to be the sovereign factor in the peace of the world. For the conflicts of the future are to be conflicts of trade—struggles for markets—commercial wars for existence. . . . We cannot fly from our world duties; it is ours to execute the purpose of a fate that has driven us to be greater than our small intentions. We cannot retreat from any soil where Providence has unfurled our banner; it is ours to save that soil for liberty and civilization.

Document C

There is not a civilized nation which does not talk about its civilizing mission just as grandly as we do. . . . We assume that what we like and practice, and what we think better, must come as a welcome blessing to Spanish-Americans and Filipinos. This is grossly and obviously untrue. . . . They like their own ways, and if we appear amongst them as rulers, there will be social discord. . . . [The] reason why liberty, of which we Americans talk so much, is a good thing is that it means leaving people to live out their own lives in their own way, while we do the same.


Congress may extend or withhold the Constitution over the territory under its control. . . . [The cases decide] that the provinces ceded by Spain are not part of “the United States” as that phrase is used in the Constitution. . . . This much is agreed upon by a majority of the [Supreme] court. . . . The treaty-making power may bring foreign countries into the ownership and possession of the United States, but it can not incorporate them as part of the United States, because an act of this fundamental importance requires the assent, not only of the President and the Senate, but also of the House of Representatives. . . .

The most important indirect result . . . is that the [Puerto] Ricans and Filipinos do not become citizens of the United States under the Fourteenth Amendment, nor is Congress obliged to extend our . . . naturalization laws over these islands.
Document E
Source: American Missionary Grace Roberts Teaching in China, 1903. (See text p. 623 for full-size photograph.)

Document F
Source: President Theodore Roosevelt, annual message to Congress, December 6, 1904.

Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society, they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations.
Document H
Source: President Woodrow Wilson to Congress, 2 April 1917.

I officially laid before you [in February, 1917] the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that . . . it was [Germany's] purpose to put aside all restraints of law and humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain . . . or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany. . . .

It is a war against all nations. . . . Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion. . . .

It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war . . ., [but] the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Document I: “Can He Produce the Harmony?”
Analyzing the Causes and Effects of the Great Depression, 1919–1939

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–J and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Analyze the causes of the Great Depression and its effects on American society.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1919 to 1939 to compose your answer.

Document A


Source: Time Magazine, 4 November 1929.

Promptly at 10 a.m. on Thursday Oct. 24, sounded the gong of the New York Stock Exchange and 6,000 shares of Montgomery Ward changed hands at 83—its 1929 high having been 156.

For so many months so many people had saved money and borrowed money and borrowed on their borrowings to possess themselves of the little pieces of paper by virtue of which they became partners in U. S. Industry. Now they were trying to get rid of them even more frantically than they had tried to get them. Stocks bought without reference to their earnings were being sold without reference to their dividends. At around noon there came the no-bid menace. Even in a panic-market, someone must buy the “dumped” shares, but stocks were dropping from 2 to 10 points between sales—losing from 2 to 10 points before a buyer could be found for them. Sound stocks at shrunk prices—and nobody to buy them. It looked as if U. S. Industries’ little partners were in a fair way to bankrupt the firm.
Document D: Herbert Hoover, Statement on the Tariff Bill, 15 June 1930

I SHALL approve the tariff bill. This legislation has now been under almost continuous consideration by Congress for nearly 15 months. It was undertaken as the result of pledges given by the Republican Party at Kansas City. Its declarations embraced these obligations:

“The Republican Party believes that the home market built up under the protective policy belongs to the American farmer, and it pledges its support of legislation which will give this market to him to the full extent of his ability to supply it. . . .

“There are certain industries which cannot now successfully compete with foreign producers because of lower foreign wages and a lower cost of living abroad. . . .

The complaints from some foreign countries that these duties have been placed unduly high can be remedied, if justified, by proper application to the Tariff Commission. . . . It is urgent that the uncertainties in the business world which have been added to by the long-extended debate of the measure should be ended. They can be ended only by completion of this bill. Meritorious demands for further protection to agriculture and labor which have developed since the tariff of 1922 would not end if this bill fails of enactment. Agitation for legislative tariff revision would necessarily continue before the country. Nothing would contribute to retard business recovery more than this continued agitation.

Document E
Source: Daily Telegram by Will Rogers, 26 November 1930.

Some of the writers are having a little trouble scraping up a reason for Thanksgiving this year. Some think we ought to skip a year and put on a big one in ‘31.

The original idea of the day was to give thanks for a “bountiful harvest.” Well, the “bountiful harvest” is the very thing that’s the matter with us. Too much wheat, too much corn, too much cotton, too much beef, too much production of everything.

So we are going through a unique experience. We are the first nation to starve to death in a storehouse that’s overfilled with everything we want.

Document F: Unemployment statistics, 1929–1941

**Unemployment: 1929 to 1941**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of Labor Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The object of recovery is to increase the national output and put more men to work. In the economic system of the modern world, output is primarily produced for sale; and the volume of output depends on the amount of purchasing power, compared with the prime cost of production, which is expected to come in the market. Broadly speaking, therefore, an increase of output depends on the amount of purchasing power, compared with the prime cost of production, which is expected to come on the market. Broadly speaking, therefore, an increase of output cannot occur unless by the operation of one or other of three factors. Individuals must be induced to spend more out of their existing incomes; or the business world must be induced, either by increased confidence in the prospects or by a lower rate of interest, to create additional current incomes in the hands of their employees, which is what happens when either the working or the fixed capital of the country is being increased; or public authority must be called in aid to create additional current incomes through the
Now farming became industry. And it came about that owners no longer worked on their farms. They farmed on paper; and they forgot the land, the smell, the feel of it, and remembered only that they owned it, remembered only what they gained and lost by it. And some of the farms grew so large that one man could not even conceive of them any more, so large that it took batteries of bookkeepers to keep track of interest and gain and loss. And the owners not only did not work the farms any more, many of them had never seen the farms they owned. 

And the dispossessed, the migrants, flowed into California, two hundred and fifty thousand, and three hundred thousand. Behind them new tractors were going on the land and the tenants were being forced off. And new waves were on the way, new waves of the dispossessed and the homeless, hardened, intent, and dangerous.

And a homeless hungry man, driving the roads with his wife beside him and his thin children in the back seat, could look at the fallow fields which might produce food but not profit and that man could know how a fallow field is a sin and the unused land a crime against the thin children. And in the south he saw the golden oranges hanging on the trees, the little golden oranges on the dark green trees; and guards with shotguns patrolling the lines so a man might not pick an orange for a thin child, oranges to be dumped if the price was low.

He drove his old car to Hooverville for there was a Hooverville on the edge of every town.
PART SIX: Making Modern America, 1945 to the Present

DBQ 13
The Cold War, 1941–1953

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–I and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

From 1941 to 1945, the United States and the Soviet Union were allies in the fight to eliminate German Nazism and Japanese militarism. By 1953, however, they had become implacable enemies in the Cold War. Analyze the reasons why this had occurred.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1941 to 1953 to compose your answer.

**Document A: Joint Message of Assistance to the Soviet Union from President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, 15 August 1941**

*Source: Peace and War, United States Foreign Policy 1931–1941 (Washington, D.C.: Printing Office, 1943).*

We have taken the opportunity . . . to consult together as to how best our two countries can help your country in the splendid defense that you are making against the Nazi attack. We are at the moment cooperating to provide you with the very maximum of supplies that you most urgently need. Already many shiploads have left our shores and more will leave in the immediate future. . . .

The war goes on upon many fronts and before it is over there may be further fighting fronts that will be developed. Our resources though immense are limited, and it must become a question as to where and when those resources can best be used to further [to] the greatest extent our common effort. . . .

We realize fully how vitally important to the defeat of Hitlerism is the brave and steadfast resistance of the Soviet Union and we feel therefore that we must not in any circumstances fail to act quickly and immediately in this matter on planning the program for the future allocation of our joint resources.

**Document B: Joseph Stalin, memorandum to aides, 13 August 1942**

*Source: Memorandum in Russian from Joseph Stalin about opening a second front in Europe during World War II, with English translation of same, 13 August 1942 (W. Averell Harriman Papers) Library of Congress.*

I ascertained that the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill, considered the organization of a second front in Europe in 1942 to be impossible.

. . .

[T]he organization of a second front in Europe had as its object the withdrawal of [German] forces from the Eastern front to the West, and the creation in the West of a serious base of resistance to the German-Fascist forces and the affording of relief by this means to the situation of the Soviet forces on the Soviet-German front in 1942. . . .

It is easy to grasp that the refusal of the government of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill, considered the organization of a second front in Europe in 1942 to be impossible.

. . .

It appears to me and my colleagues that the most favorable conditions exist . . . for the creation of a second front in Europe [in 1942], inasmuch as almost all the forces of the [German] army, and the best forces . . . have been withdrawn to the Eastern front. . . . I was however unfortunately unsuccessful in convincing [Mr. Churchill], while Mr. [Averell] Harriman, the representative of the President of the U.S.A., fully supported [Churchill] in the negotiations held in Moscow.
Document E: Memorandum from William Leahy, Roosevelt’s Chief of Staff, to Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, 11 May 1945

The following message, sent by Prime Minister Churchill to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, is quoted for your information:

1. I consider the Polish deadlock can probably only be resolved at a conference between the three heads of governments. . . .

2. The Polish question may be easier to settle when set in relation to the now numerous outstanding questions of the utmost gravity which require urgent settlement with the Russians. . . . [T]he [sweeping] tide of Russian domination [over Eastern Europe is] an event which, if it occurred, would be one of the most melancholy in history. . . . Poland would be completely engulfed and buried deep in Russian occupied lands. . . . [T]he territories under Russian control would include the Baltic provinces, [much of] Germany, [all of] Czechoslovakia, a large part of Austria, the whole of Yugoslavia, Hungary, [Romania], Bulgaria until Greece in her present tottering condition is reached. . . . If the red section was deleted, the document would be shortened to 171 words. The position of Turkey and Constantinople will certainly come . . . into discussion.

4. It is just about time that these formidable issues were examined between the principal powers. . . . If they are not settled before the United States armies withdraw from Europe and the Western World folds up its war machines, there are no prospects of a satisfactory solution and very little of preventing a third world war. . . . I am against weakening our claim against Russia on behalf of Poland in any way.

Document D: Vera Micheles Dean, Our Russian Ally, “Does the U. S. Get Along with Russia?”

Many people in the United States have been critical of Communist propaganda abroad, of Russia’s policy toward religion, and of the anticapitalist features of Soviet economy. . . . Since 1941, when both the United States and Russia entered the war, our relations have been marked by increasing understanding and mutual desire to work together both in time of war and in the postwar period. . . .

The process of leveling off differences between Russia and the Western world will proceed [all] the more rapidly if Russia participates freely and equally in the life of the international community. It will be further helped if the Western world seeks to understand Russia and its policy in terms of Russia’s basic national interests. Participation in international agencies would afford the Russians an opportunity to share the experience of Western countries. Most Russians have been acquainted with the West only through Soviet publications, which until the German invasion sought to decry conditions in “bourgeois” countries.
The Iranian crisis of 1945–46 revolved around whether the Soviet Union would withdraw its troops from northern Iran as it had agreed to do [six months after the end of hostilities] in 1942 and 1943. In 1942 the Soviet Union and Great Britain had put troops into northern and southern Iran, respectively, to block a possible German move and to protect Iranian oil.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Government had been arming a separatist movement (the Tudeh Party) in Azerbaijan, and when it staged a revolt against the Shah in November 1945 they refused to allow his troops access to the province to suppress it. The crisis was on. . . . The date for troop withdrawal passed without action.

[The United States and Britain] sent a favorable response to [the Iranian prime minister’s] request for our strong support should the Soviet Union object to Iranian troops entering Azerbaijan. When the troops arrived they were wildly welcomed, and the separatist regime collapsed. . . .

With the crisis over, [the American] Ambassador . . . cabled on December 17, 1946, that in the Iranian view the quick collapse of the Tudeh Party was due to the conviction of everyone—the Russians, the Iranians, and the Azerbaijanis—that the United States was not bluffing but solidly supporting Iranian sovereignty. . . .
Our task consists of using the two-to-three years at our disposal in order to create a modern and powerful military force. . . . You in the People’s Democracies must, within two to three years, create modern and powerful armies that must be combat-ready by the end of the three-year period.

Why is this necessary? This is necessary in view of the imperialists’ way of thinking: they are in the habit of attacking unarmed or weakly armed countries in order to liquidate them, but they keep away from well armed countries.
DBQ 14
Conformity and Turbulence, 1950–1970

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–J and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in this question.

Historians tend to portray the 1950s as a decade of prosperity, conformity, and consensus, and the 1960s as a decade of turbulence, protest, and disillusionment. Do you agree or disagree with this view? In answering this question, address to what extent these two decades differed from each other politically and socially.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1950 to 1970 to compose your answer.

Document A
Source: Moving to the Suburbs, 1954.

Document B
Source: Senator McCarthy Extinguishes the Torch of Liberty, mid-1950s.
Document C

All history can show no more portentous economic phenomenon than today’s American market. . . . It is enabling Americans to raise their standard of living every year while other countries have trouble maintaining theirs. . . .

The most important change of the past few years . . . is the rise of the great mass into a new moneyed middle class. . . . It is like no other middle class in history. . . . [They] buy the same things—the same staples, the same appliances, the same cars, the same furniture, and much the same recreation. . . . The marketer who designs for his product to appeal to the whole group has hit the new mass market. . . .

[On] the whole people seem more inclined to spend than they ever have been. . . . [The] nation is, or is pretty close to being depression-proof [due to consumer spending]. . . .

Document D
Source: Elvis Presley, mid-1950s. (See text p. 864 for full-size photograph.)

Charles Trainor/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

Document E
Source: Integration at Little Rock, 1957.

Will Counts, The Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, Inc., courtesy Vivian Counts and Indiana University Archives

Document F: John F. Kennedy, Address to the Economic Club of New York, 14 December 1962

In the last two years we have made significant strides. Our gross national product has risen eleven percent, while inflation has been arrested. Employment has been increased by one-point-three million jobs. Profits, personal income, living standards—all are setting new records. Most of the economic indicators for this quarter are up and the prospects are for further expansion in the next quarter. But we must look beyond the next quarter, or the last quarter, or even the last two years. For we can and must do better, much better than we’ve been doing for the last five-and-a-half years.

This economy is capable of producing, without strain, 30 to 40 billion [dollars] more than we are producing today. Business earnings could be seven to eight billion higher than they are today. Utilization of existing plant and equipment could be much higher—and, if it were, investment would rise. We need not accept an unemployment rate of five percent or more, such as we have had for 60 out of the last 61 months. There is no need for us to be satisfied with a rate of growth that keeps good men out of work and good capacity out of use.
Document I
Source: President Lyndon Johnson, speech at Johns Hopkins University, 7 April 1965.

Why are we in South Viet-Nam?

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. . . [We] have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam defend its independence. . . .

To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong.

We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe from Berlin to Thailand are people whose well-being rests in part on the belief they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America’s word.

Document J

Document G

Revolution is bloody, revolution is hostile, revolution knows no compromise, revolution overturns and destroys everything that gets in its way. And you, sitting around here like a knot on the wall, saying, “I’m going to love these folks no matter how much they hate me.” . . . Whoever heard of a revolution where they lock arms . . . singing “We shall overcome”? You don’t do that in a revolution. You don’t do any singing, you’re too busy swinging.

Document H

The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—“Is this all?”
DBQ 15

Directions: In this DBQ, you must compose an essay that uses both your interpretation of Documents A–J and your own outside knowledge of the period mentioned in the question.

Evaluate the effectiveness of the Reagan administration’s responses to the domestic and international challenges of the 1980s.

Use these documents and your knowledge of the period from 1980 to 1989 to compose your answer.

Document A: Ronald Reagan’s Neshoba County Fair Speech, 3 August 1980

I know, people have been telling me that Jimmy Carter has been doing his best. And that’s our problem. The President lately has been saying that I am irresponsible. And you know, I’ll admit to that if he’ll confess he’s responsible. We’ve had the New Deal, and then Harry Truman gave us the Fair Deal, and now we have a misdeal. . . . We know that an administration for three and a half years, that told us when they took office that it was going to reduce inflation to less than four percent and reduce unemployment to less than four percent, has betrayed the people with an inflation rate that they hope that they might get back down to 10 percent after it having reached 18 at the beginning of the year. . . . But probably the worst thing is what had been done to this county on the international scene. This once proud country, this country that all the world turned to and looked to as the shelter, as the safety and as the anchor to windward. Today, our friends don’t know whether they can trust us, and certainly our enemies have no respect for us. . . . I believe in state’s rights; I believe in people doing as much as they can for themselves at the community level and at the private level. And I believe that we’ve distorted the balance of our government today by giving powers that were never intended in the constitution to that federal establishment.


For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children’s future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals. . . .

In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we’ve been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable, with no one group singled out to pay a higher price. . . .

And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Unemployment Rate</th>
<th>National Debt</th>
<th>% Increase National Debt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>994,300,000,000</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>1,136,800,000,000</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>1,371,200,000,000</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>1,564,100,000,000</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>1,817,000,000,000</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>2,120,100,000,000</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>2,345,600,000,000</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>2,600,800,000,000</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Document D: “The Education of David Stockman”

While ideology would guide Stockman in his new job, he would be confronted with a large and tangible political problem: how to resolve the threesided dilemma created by Ronald Reagan’s contradictory campaign promises. In private, Stockman agreed that his former congressional mentor, John Anderson, running as an independent candidate for President in 1980, had asked the right question: How is it possible to raise defense spending, cut income taxes, and balance the budget, all at the same time? . . .

But Stockman was confident, even cocky, that he and some of his fellow conservatives had the answer. It was a theory of economics—the supply-side theory—that promised an end to the twin aggravations of the 1970s: high inflation and stagnant growth in America’s productivity. . . . “The whole thing is premised on faith,” Stockman explained. “On a belief about how the world works.”


. . . But if history teaches anything, it teaches that simple-minded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. It means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom. So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military and moral inferiority. . . . So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the temptation of pride—the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an evil empire, to simply call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between right and wrong and good and evil. . . . I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written.

Document F: Star Wars political cartoon by Steve Greenberg
Document G: Senator Edward Kennedy, "Robert Bork’s America"
Source: Congressional Record, 23 June 1987.

Robert Bork’s America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters, rogue police could break down citizens’ doors in midnight raids, schoolchildren could not be taught about evolution, writers and artists would be censored at the whim of government, and the doors of the federal courts would be shut on the fingers of millions of citizens for whom the judiciary is often the only protector of the individual rights that are the heart of our democracy. America is a better and freer nation than Robert Bork thinks. Yet in the current delicate balance of the Supreme Court, his rigid ideology will tip the scales of justice against the kind of country America is and ought to be. The damage that President Reagan will do through this nomination, if it is not rejected by the Senate, could live on far beyond the end of his presidential term. President Reagan is still our President. But he should not be able to reach out from the muck of Iranigate, reach into the muck of Watergate, and impose his reactionary vision of the Constitution on the Supreme Court and on the next generation of Americans. No justice would be better than this injustice.

Document H: “If Papa Won’t Preach It, Young Ron Reagan Will, with a TV Pitch Promoting Safe Sex”

The young man talking into the TV camera has a message his parents might not want to hear. “The U.S. government is not moving fast enough to stop the spread of AIDS,” he says. “If you don’t think enough is being done, write to your congressman—or to someone higher up.” Suddenly, the war against AIDS has an unlikely but famous foot soldier: Ron Jr. . . . As Ron sees it, his father is getting bad counsel from “people who just think about image and votes.” At his request, the script for the public-service announcement was changed slightly from its original form—“write your congressman, or my father”—to deflect the focus from the President. Instead, Ron Jr. points the finger at some of the President’s supporters. He is particularly annoyed with Secretary of Education William Bennett, who advocates restricting AIDS education in the schools.

Document I

President Reagan and his staff made mistakes in the Iran-contra affair. It is important at the outset, however, to note that the President himself has already taken the hard step of acknowledging his mistakes and reacting precisely to correct what went wrong . . . . The bottom line, however, is that the mistakes of the Iran-contra affair were just that—mistakes in judgment, and nothing more . . . . President Reagan has been praised by his supporters as a “communicator” and criticized by his opponents as an ideologue. The mistakes of the Iran-Contra Affair, ironically, came from a lack of communication and an inadequate appreciation of the importance of ideas.

Document J: "Evolution of Reagan" by Joe Majeski