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# AP US History Document Based Question #1

Directions: In the essay you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

Although the thirteen American colonies were founded at different times by people with different motives and with different forms of colonial charters and political organization, by the Revolution the 13 colonies had become remarkably similar. Assess the validity of this statement.

## Document A

The Charter of Virginia, 1609.

“James, by the Grace of God, King of England. . . . intending to deduce a Colony, and to make Habitation and Plantation of sundry our People in that Part of America commonly called Virginia. . . . And forasmuch as the good and prosperous Success of the said Plantation, cannot but chiefly depend next under the Blessing of God, and the Support of our Royal Authority. . . .

And further, of our special Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, we do, by these Presents, Give and Grant full Power and Authority to our said Council. . . . to nominate, make, constitute, ordain and confirm, by such Name or Names, Stile or Stiles, as to them shall seem good. . . . and establish all Manner of Orders, Laws, Directions, Instructions, Forms and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy, fit and necessary for and concerning the Government of the said Colony and Plantation. . . .

And forasmuch as it shall be necessary for all such our loving Subject as shall inhabit within the said Precincts of Virginia aforesaid, to determine to live together in the Fear and true Worship of Almighty God, Christian Peace and Civil Quietness. . . . have full and absolute Power and Authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule all such the Subjects of Us, our Heires, and Successors as shall from Time to Time adventure themselves in any Voyage thither, or that shall at any Time hereafter, inhabit in the Precincts and Territories of the said Colony as aforesaid, according to such Orders, Ordinances, Constitutions, Directions, and Instructions, as by our said Council as aforesaid, shall be established. . . .

And lastly, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Christian Religion, in which Respect we should be loath that any Person should be permitted to pass that we suspected to affect the Superstitions of the Church of Rome. In Witness whereof, We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 23d Day of May, in the seventh Year of our Reign of England. . . .” Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1863, with Illustrations and References by Howard W. Preston, G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1886, p. 14-21.

## Document B

Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter, 1629.

“. . . . And wee doe, of our further grace, certen knowledg and meere motion, give and graunt to the saide Governour and Company, and their successors, That it shall and maie be lawfull to and for the Governour of Deputie Governour and such of the Assistentes and Freemen of the said Company for the tyme being as shalbe assembled in any of their Generall Courtes aforesaide, or in any other Courtes to be specially summoned and assembled for that purpose, or the greater parte of them, (whereof the Governour or Deputie Governour and six of the Assistentes, to be alwaies seaven,) from tyme to tyme to make, ordeine, and establishe all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, lawes, and statutes, and ordinances, directions, and instructions not contrarie to the lawes of this our realme of England. . . .” The Founding of Massachusetts, ed. Edmund S. Morgan, p. 303-323.

## Document C

Mayflower Compact, 1620

“In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be

thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland, the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini, 1620.” Living Documents in American History (ed. John A. Scott, Vol. II, p. 588-589).

## Document D

The Charter of Maryland, 1632.

“And Forasmvch as Wee have hereby made, and ordained the aforesaid now Lord Baltimore: Know yee therefore moreover, that Wee, reposing especiall trust and confidence in the fidelitic, wisdom, Justice, and Provident circumspection of the said now Lord Baltimore, for Vs, Our Heires and Successors, doe grant free, full, and absolute power, by vertue of these Presents, to him and his heires, for the good and happy government of the said Province, to ordaine, make, enact, and under his and their seales to publish any Lawes whatsoever, appertaining either unto the publike State of the said Province, or unto the private utility of particular Persons, according unto their best directions, of and with the advise assent and approbation of the Free-men of the said Province, or the greater part of them, or of their delegates or deputies, whom for the enacting of the said lawes, when, and as often as neede shall require, We will that the said now Lord Baltimore, and his heires, shall assemble in such sort of the forme, as to him or them shall seeme best: And the same lawes duly to execute upon all people. . . .” Charter of Maryland, 1632 , Courtesy Maryland State Archives.

## Document E

Albany Plan of Union, 1754

“It is proposed that humble application be made for an act of Parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows.

1. That the said general government be administered by a President-General, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several Colonies met in their respective assemblies.
2. That within-months after the passing such act, the House of Representatives that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for that purpose convened, may and shall choose members for the Grand Council, in the following proportion, that is to say, Massachusetts Bay 7 New Hampshire 2 Connecticut 5 Rhode Island 2 New York 4 New Jersey 3 Pennsylvania 6 Maryland 4 Virginia 7 North Carolina 4 South Carolina 4-48.” Landmark Documents of American History, Vol. I, ed. by Henry Steele Commager, p. 43-45.

## Document F

Molasses Act, 1733.

“Whereas the welfare and prosperity of your Majesty's sugar colonies in America. . . . That from and after the twenty fifth day of December 1733, there shall be raised, levied, collected and paid, unto and for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, upon all rum or spirits of the produce or manufacture of any of the colonies or plantations in America, which at any time or times within or during the continuance of this act, shall be imported or brought into any of the colonies or plantations in America, the sum of nine pence, money of Great Britain, to be paid according to the proportion and value of five shillings and six pence the ounce in silver, for every gallon thereof, and after that rate for any greater or lesser quantity; and upon all molasses or syrups of such foreign produce or manufacture as aforesaid, which shall be imported or brought into any of the said colonies or plantations of or belonging to his Majesty.

. . . . And for the better raising, levying and collecting the said duties, that all and every the said duties hereby imposed, for and upon all such rum, spirits, molasses, syrups, sugar and paneles, of such foreign growth, produce or manufacture aforesaid, which shall be imported into any of the said colonies or plantations of or belonging to the crown of Great Britain as aforesaid, shall be paid down in ready money by the importer thereof, before the landing of the same respectively.” The Statutes At Large from the 2nd to the 9th Year of King George II, Vol. XVI, p. 374- 379.

## Document G

Navigation Act, 1651.

“Be it Enacted by this present Parliament, and the Authority thereof, That no Goods or Commodities whatsoever, of the Growth, Production or Manufacture of Asia, Africa or America, or of any part thereof; or of any Islands belonging to them, or any of them, shall be Imported or brought into this Commonwealth of England, or into Ireland, or any other Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories to this Commonwealth belonging, or in their Possession, in any other Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels whatsoever, but onely in such as do truly and without fraud belong onely to the People of this Commonwealth, or the Plantations thereof, as the Proprietors or right Owners thereof. . . .

And it is further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no sort of Cod, Ling, Herring, Pilchard, or any other kinde of Salted Fish whatsoever, which shall be caught and cured by the people of this Commonwealth, shall be from and after the First day of February, One thousand six hundred fifty three, exported from any place or places belonging to this Commonwealth, in any other Ship or Ships, Vessel or Vessels, save onely in such as do truly and properly appertain to the people of this Commonwealth, as Right Owners; and whereof the Master and Mariners are for the most part of them English, under the penalty and loss expressed in the said first Branch of this present Act; the said Forfeit to be recovered and employed as is there expressed. . . .” Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, Vol II, p. 559-562.

## Document H

First Navigation Act, 13 April, 1650.

“For preventing Injuries and Wrongs done to Merchants at Sea in their Persons, Ships or Goods, and prohibiting Mariners from serving Foreign Princes or States without License.

Whereas . . . divers French Ships, and others of Foreign Nations, have taken upon them de facto, to visit the said English Ships, and to make search what goods they carried. . . . Be it Enacted and Ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That the Council of State for the time being, established by Parliament, shall have full and absolute power, and are hereby authorized and enabled, not onely to hear and examine all Petitions and Complaints of this nature; and thereupon, and upon consideration of the circumstances of the case, and observations of such solemnities specified in the said former Act of the Five and twentieth of June, to grant and give Warrant for special and particular Letters of Mark to the parties injured and damnified in this kinde, in such sort and maner as they are enabled to grant in any other case by that said former Act; But also to grant and give Warrant for, and cause to be issued out under the Seal of the Court of Admiralty, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England, established by Parliament, special and particular Commissions to all or any such Merchants Ships, or other English Ships, as the said Council of State shall finde meet, to enable them and give them free License. . . .” Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660, Vol II, p. 379-382.

## Document I

Maryland Toleration Act, 1649.

“Be it therefore ordered and enacted by the Right Hoble Cecilius Lord Baron of Baltemore absolute Lord and Proprietary of this Province with the advise and consent of this Generall Assembly. That whatsoever pson or psons within this Province and the Islands thereunto belonging shall from henceforth blaspheme God, that is Curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to bee the sonne of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity the ffather sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three psons of the Trinity or the Vnity of the Godhead, or shall use or utter any reproachfull Speeches, words or language concerning the said Holy Trinity, or any of the said three psons thereof, shall be punished with death and confiscaton or forfeiture of all his or her lands and goods to the Lord Proprietary and his heires. . . . [but] noe person or psons whatsoever within this Province, or the Islands, Ports, Harbors, Creekes, or havens thereunto belonging professing to beleive in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth bee any waies troubled, Molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province or the Islands thereunto belonging nor any way compelled to the beleife or exercise of any other Religion against his or her consent.” Archives of Maryland, Maryland Historical Society, 1883, p. 244-247.

## Document J

Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776

“ . . . That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

That government is, or ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

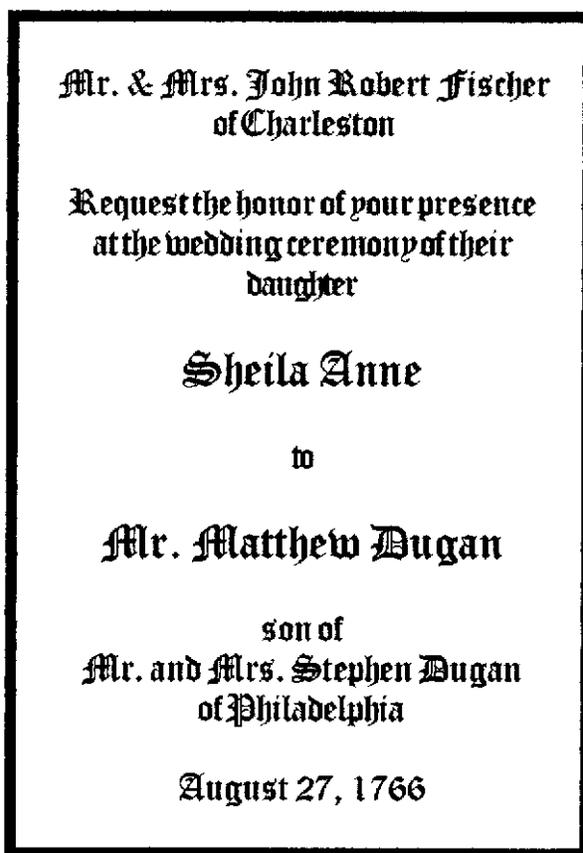
That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience. . . .” Documents of American History, Vol. I, ed. Henry Steele Commager, Milton Center, p. 103- 104

## Document K

Church Affiliation	Number	Chief Location
Congregationalists	575,000	New England
Anglicans	500,000	N.Y., South
Presbyterians	410,000	Frontier
German Churches	200,000	Penn.
Dutch Reformed	75,000	N.Y., N.J.
Quakers	40,000	Penna. N.J., Del
Baptists	25,000	R.I., Penna., N.J., Del.
Roman Catholics	25,000	Md., Penna.
Methodists	5,000	Scattered
Jews	2,000	N.Y., R. i.
Total Membership	1,857,000	
Total Population	2,493,000	
Percent of Church Members	74%	

Colonial Church affiliation, Thomas Bailey, *The American Pageant* 8th ed.

## Document L



Marriage Invitation, 18th Century.

## Document M

The Famous Charter Oak Affair

“[AFTER the charters of the New England provinces had been declared forfeited by the English courts in 1686, steps were taken to consolidate them into one province, with Sir Edmund Andros, former colonial Governor of New York, as Governor-General with large powers. He was to admit religious toleration, but could suppress all printing, name and change his council at will, and, with their consent, levy taxes and control the militia.

Connecticut was the first colony that refused to recognize his authority, and it was this defiance that brought about the charter oak episode of tradition. Later all the colonies under his jurisdiction revolted concurrently, and Andros was imprisoned in Boston in 1689. . . . The people of Boston, at the first news of the English Revolution, clapped Andros into custody. May 9, the old Connecticut authorities quietly resumed their functions, and called the assembly together for the following month. William and Mary were proclaimed with great favor. Not a word was said about the disappearance or reappearance of the charter; but the charter government was put into full effect again, as if Andros had never interrupted it. An address was sent to the king, asking that the charter be no further interfered with; but operations under it went on as before.” Alexander Johnston, Famous Charter Oak Affair, *America*, Vol.2, 237 -238.

## Document N

“ . . . this Writ of Assistance is . . . It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law book . . . In the first place, the writ is universal, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects"; so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the King's dominions. Everyone, with this writ, may be a tyrant. . . .

Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Customhouse officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry.” James Otis's Speech Opposing Writs of Assistance, 1761. *The Annals of America*, James Otis, p. 74-77.

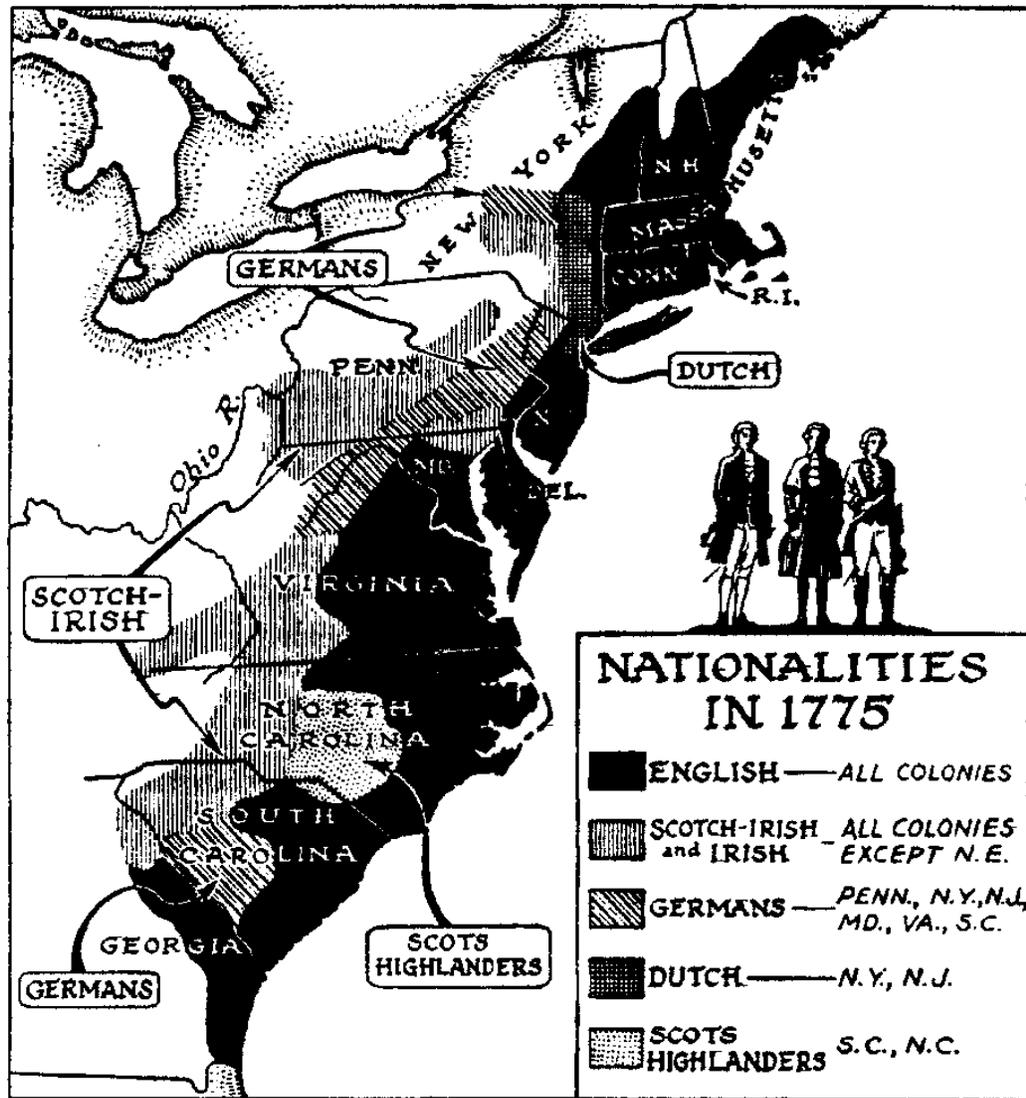
## Document O

### What Is An American?

“The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe. Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida. We are a people of cultivators, scattered over an immense territory, communicating with each other by means of good roads and navigable rivers, united by the silken bands of mild government, all respecting the laws, without dreading their power, because they are equitable. We are all animated with the spirit of an industry which is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself. . . . What attachment can a poor European emigrant have for a country where he had nothing? The knowledge of the language, the love of a few kindred as poor as himself, were the only cords that tied him: his country is now that which gives him land, bread, protection, and consequence. . . .

What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He becomes an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater. Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men. . . . Exclusive of those general characteristics, each province has its own, founded on the government, climate, mode of husbandry, customs, and peculiarity of circumstances. . . . Europeans submit insensibly to these great powers, and become, in the course of a few generations, not only Americans in general, but either Pennsylvanians, Virginians, or provincials under some other name.” J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782, E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1957.

## Document P



## AP US History Document Based Question #2

Directions: In the essay you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

**To what extent was the religious movement called The Great Awakening (1739-1745) the philosophical and intellectual cornerstone of the political thought that would justify the American Revolution?**

### Document A

“... this Writ of Assistance is .... It appears to me the worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law, that ever was found in an English law book ....

In the first place, the writ is universal, being directed "to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects"; so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the King's dominions. Everyone, with this writ, may be a tyrant....

Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle; and while he is quiet, he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Customhouse officers may enter our houses when they please; we are commanded to permit their entry. The Navigation Act we allowed to be binding upon us because we had consented to it by our own legislature.” James Otis's Speech Opposing Writs of Assistance, 1761. The Annals of America James Otis, p. 74-77.

### Document B

“I proceed now to the last thing that was proposed to be considered, relating to the success of Christ's redemption during this space, viz., what the state of things is now in the world with regard to the church of Christ, and the success of Christ's purchase.

[1] The power and influence of the Pope is much diminished. Although, since the former times of the Reformation, he has gained ground in extent of dominion; yet he has lost in degree of influence....

[2] There is far less persecution now than there was in the first times of the Reformation.... It is now in no measure as it was heretofore. There does not seem to be the same spirit of persecution prevailing.... The humor now is, to despise and laugh at all religion; and there seems to be a spirit of indifferency about it.

[3] There is a great increase of learning. In the dark times of Popery before the Reformation, learning was so far decayed, that the world seemed to be overrun with barbarous ignorance .... the increase of learning in itself is a thing to be rejoiced in, because it is a good.... And .... God in his providence has of late given the world the art of printing, and such a great increase of learning, to prepare for what he designs to accomplish for his church in the approaching days of its prosperity.

Reason shows that it is fit and requisite, that the intelligent and rational beings of the world should know something of God's scheme and design in his works. . . .” Source: Jonathan Edwards. A History of the Work of Redemption works edited by E. Hickman, 10th ed.. 2 vols., (London, 1865), vol. 1, pp.470-72,480-81, 492-93, 510-13.

### Document C

Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this His Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other His Majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this His Majesty's said Colony, all the liberties, privileges, franchises, and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the people of Great Britain. Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, or the easiest method of raising them, and must themselves be affected by every tax laid on the people, is the only security against a burthensome taxation, and the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, without which the ancient constitution cannot exist....

Resolved therefore, That the General Assembly of this Colony have the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this Colony, and

that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever other than the General Assembly aforesaid has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

Resolved, That His Majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them,.other than the laws of ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.

Resolved, That any person who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain that any person or persons other than the General Assembly of this Colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to His Majesty's Colony." Virginia Stamp Act Resolutions, 1765, Documents in American History, Vol. 1, ed. by Henry Steele Commager, Milton College, p. 55.

#### Document D

"My Dear Countrymen,

If the British parliament has a legal authority to issue an order, that we shall furnish a single article for the troops here, and to compel obedience to that order, they have the same right to issue an order for us to supply those troops with arms, cloaths, and every necessary; and to compel obedience to that order also; in short, to lay any burthens they please upon us. What is this but taxing us at a certain sum, and leaving to us only the manner of raising it; How is this mode more tolerable than the Stamp Act? Would that act have appeared more pleasing to Americans if being ordered thereby to raise the sum total of the taxes, the mighty privilege had been left to them, of saying how much should be paid for an instrument of writing on paper, and how much for another on parchment? An act of parliament, commanding us to do a certain thing, if it has any validity, is a tax upon us for the expense that accrues in complying with it; and for this reason, I believe, every colony on the continent, that chose to give a mark of their respect for Great Britain, in complying with the act relating to the troops, cautiously avoided the mention of that act, left their conduct should be attributed to its supposed obligation.... the assembly of New York either had, or had not, a right to refuse submission to that act, If they had, and I imagine no American will say they had not, then the parliament had no right to compel them to execute it. If they had not this right, they had no right to punish them for not executing it.... In fact, if the people of New York cannot be legally taxed but by their own representatives, they cannot be legally deprived of the privilege of legislation, only for insisting on that exclusive privilege of taxation." John Dickinson's Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer, 1767-1768, Early American Imprints, 1st Series # 10877, Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania, Boston, Edes & Gill, 1768.

#### Document E

"In 1739 arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers.... It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

Mr. Whitefield, in leaving us, went preaching all the way through the colonies to Georgia. But, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers and other insolvent debtors, many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who, being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated.

I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all." John Bigelow, ed., Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), pp. 251-255.

#### Document F

"The God that holds you over the pit of hell, much as one holds a spider or some loathsome insect over the fire, abhors you, and is dreadfully provoked. His wrath towards you bums like fire; he looks upon you as worthy of nothing else but to be cast into the fire. He is of purer eyes than to bear you in his sight; you are ten thousand times as abominable in his eyes as the most hateful, venomous serpent is in ours.

You have offended him infinitely more than ever a stubborn rebel did his prince, and yet it is nothing but his hand that holds you from falling into the fire every moment. It is to be ascribed to nothing else that you did not go to hell the last night; that you were suffered to awake again in this world, after you closed your eyes to sleep. And there is no other reason to be given why you have not dropped into hell since you arose in the morning, but that God's hand has held you up. There is no other reason to be given why you

have not gone to hell since you have sat here in the house of God provoking his pure eye by your sinful, wicked manner of attending his solemn worship. Yea, there is nothing else that is to be given as a reason why you do not this very moment drop down into hell.

O sinner! consider the fearful danger you are in! It is a great furnace of wrath, a wide and bottomless pit, full of the fire of wrath that you are held over in the hand of that God whose wrath is provoked and incensed as much against you as against many of the damned in hell. You hang by a slender thread, with the flames of Divine wrath flashing about it, and ready every moment to singe it and bum it asunder. . . ." Jonathan Edwards, *Works* (Andover, Mass.: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1842), vol. 2, pp. 10- 11.

### Document G

"I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe In the equality of man, and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavouring to make our fellow creatures happy.

But, lest it should be supposed that I believe in many other things in addition to these, I shall, in the progress of this work, declare the things I do not believe, and my reasons for not believing them. I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church that I know of. My own mind is my church.

All national institutions of churches, whether Jewish, Christian, or Turkish, appear to me no other than human inventions set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolize power and profit.

I do not mean by this declaration to condemn those who believe otherwise; they have the same right to their belief as I have to mine.... But the belief of a God is so weakened by being mixed with the strange fable of the Christian creed, and with the wild adventures related in the Bible, and the obscurity and obscene nonsense of the Testament, that the mind of man is bewildered as in a fog.... It [Christianity] is this that forms the otherwise mysterious connection of church and state; the church human, and the state tyrannic." Thomas Paine, "The Age of Reason," in Moncure D. Conway, ed., *Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1896), Vol.4, pp. 188-90.

### Document H

"When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes. And accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, begun at a distinguished period and pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government." *Living Documents in American History* (ed. John A. Scott, Vol. 1, p. 188-192).

## Document I

*To all my Subscribers and Benefactors who take my weekly Journall.*

*Gentlemen, Ladies and Others;*

**A**S you last week were Disappointed of my Journall, I think it Incumbent upon me, to publish my Apology which is this.

On the Lords Day, the Seventeenth of this Instant, I was Arrested, taken and Imprisoned in the common Goal of this City, by Virtue of a Warrant from the Governour, and the Honorable Francis Harrison, Esq; and others in Council, of which (God willing) yo'l have a Coppy, whereupon I was put under such Restraint that I had not the Liberty of Pen, Ink, or Paper, or to see, or speak with People, till upon my Complaint to the Honourable the Chief Justice, at my appearing before him upon my *Habias Corpus* on the *Wednesday* following, Who discountenanced that Proceeding, and therefore I have had since that Time, the Liberty of Speaking through the Hole of the Door, to my Wife and Servants by which I doubt not yo'l think me sufficiently Excused for not sending my last weeks Journall, and I hope for the future by the Liberty of Speaking to my Servants thro' the Hole of the Door of the Prison, to entertain you with my weekly Journal as formerly. *And am your obliged*  
*Humble Servant,*  
*J. Peter Zenger.*

*Mr. Zenger;*

AS the Liberty of esteemed and waivered by Englishmen, Paladium of all their Liberty of the Press, to see well defend your Papers, and per No. 2. 3. 10. 11. 24. & 34. and by Authors Observations Justices Charge of J. for as much as it may prefer Use, but of that such Matters concern the Liberty of be faithfully recorded to Posterity, therefore a Detail of such part concern the Liberty of this Colony, and be have you or my self Publication of a Lib my self to a plain I without any comment

On Tuesday the 13th The Supreme Court gave, when the Hon Lancelot, Esq; Chief the Grand Jury, which Charge was

Gentlemen, I shall reading a Paragraph same Book, & concern are arrived to that I

## Document J

"The Great Awakening.... was "the first major inter colonial crisis of the mind and spirit" in eighteenth century America. No previous occurrence in colonial history compared with it in scale or consequences. True, the flood tide of evangelical fervor soon subsided, but nothing could quite restore the old cultural landscape. The unitary ideal of the seventeenth century continued to be eroded in the post-Awakening years by further church separations. Moreover, as the Reverend William Shurtleff noted in 1745, the "dividing Spirit is not confined to those that are Friends" of the revival. Nor was it confined to the religious sphere. That "dividing Spirit" would be manifested everywhere after midcentury in the proliferation of religious and political factions." From Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cape of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (Oxford University Press, 1986). Copyright: 1986 by Patricia U. Bonomi. Reprinted by permission of Oxford University Press, Inc. Notes omitted.

Document K

"..... when we got to Middletown old meeting house, there was a great multitude, it was said to be 3 or 4,000 of people, assembled together. We dismounted and shook off our dust, and the ministers were then coming to the meeting house. I turned and looked towards the Great River and saw the ferry boats running swift backward and forward bringing over loads of people, and the oars rowed nimble and quick. Everything, men, horses, and boats seemed to be struggling for life. The land and banks over the river looked black with people and horses; all along the 12 miles I saw no man at work in his field, but all seemed to be gone. When I saw Mr. Whitefield come upon the scaffold, he looked almost angelical; a young, slim, slender youth, before some thousands of people with a bold undaunted countenance. And my hearing how God was with him everywhere as he came along, it solemnized my mind and put me into a trembling fear before he began to preach; for he looked as if he was dothed with authority from the Great God, and a sweet solemn solemnity sat upon his brow, and my hearing him preach gave me a heart wound. By God's blessing, my old foundation was broken up, and I saw that my righteousness would not save me." Nathan Cole, ms. cited in Leonard W. Labaree, "George Whitefield Comes to Middletown," *William and Mary Quarterly*, ser. 7 (1950): 5-9 1.

Document L

**This Indenture** MADE the *Thirteenth* Day of *May* in the Year of our Lord one thousand, seven hundred and *eighty four* BETWEEN *Alexr Beard of Broughsham in the County of Dorset in England* of the one Part, and *John Dickey of Gullybathey by Conrsent of his Executors* of the other Part, WITNESSETH, that the said *Alexr Beard* doth hereby covenant, promise and grant, to and with the said *John Dickey* Executors, Administrators and Assigns, from the Day of the Date hereof until the first and next Arrival at *Philadelphia* in America, and after for and during the Term of *Three* Years to serve in such Service and Employment as the said *John Dickey* or his Assigns shall there employ *him* according to the Custom of the Country in the like Kind. In Consideration whereof the said *John Dickey* doth hereby covenant and grant to and with the said *Alexr Beard* to pay for *his* Passage, and to find allow *him* Meat, Drink, Apparel and Lodging, with other Necessaries, during the said Term; and at the End of the said Term to pay unto *him* the usual Allowance, according to the Custom of the Country in the like Kind. IN WITNESS whereof the Parties above-mentioned to these Indentures have interchangeably put their Hands and Seals, the Day and Year first above written.

Signed, Sealed, and Delivered, in the Presence of

*John Dickey*  
*John Wiers*

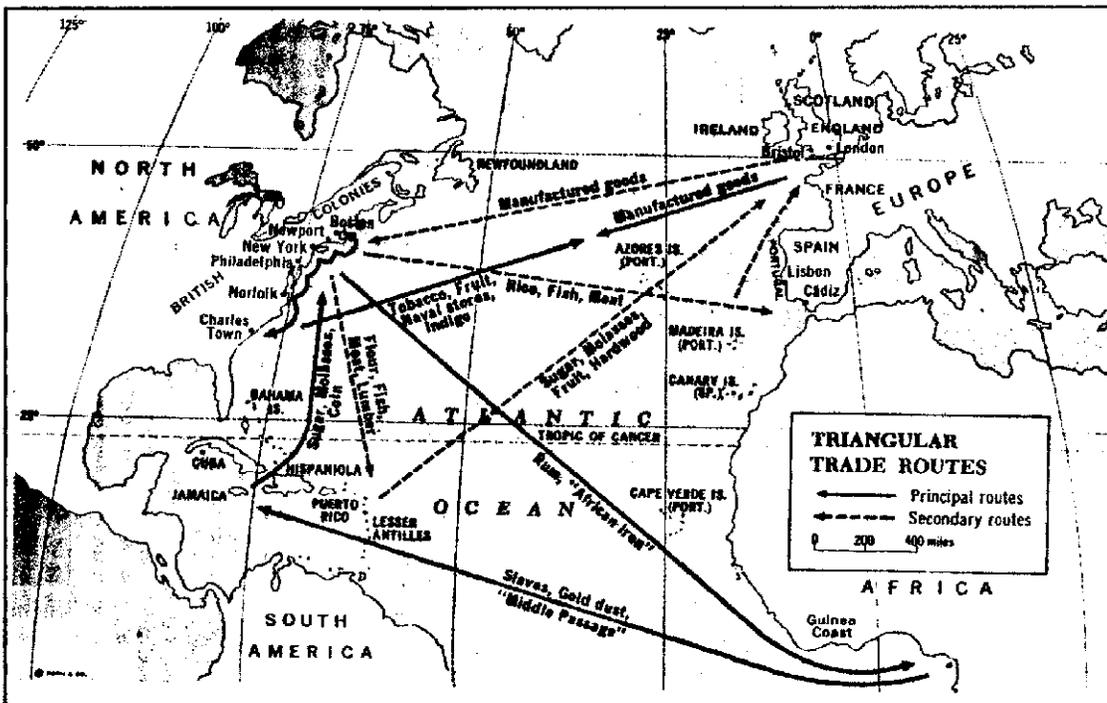
*Alexr Beard*  
*John Dickey*

## AP American History Document Based Question #3

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

"The demand for no taxation without representation was the primary force motivating the American revolutionary movement, and for many it became a symbol for democracy." Assess the validity of this statement.

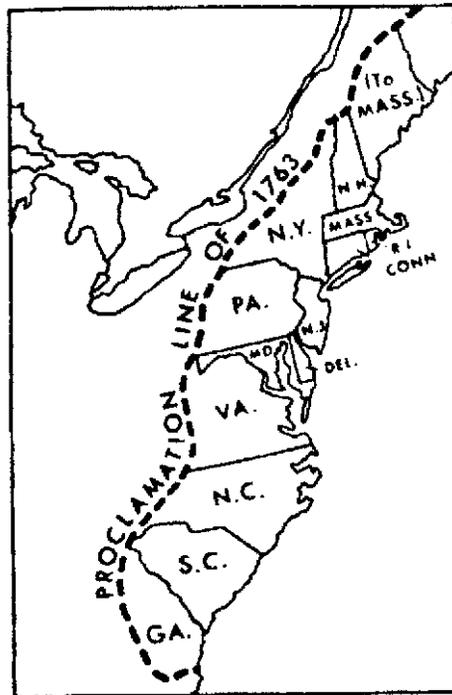
### Document A



### Document B

"Resolved, That a most humble and dutiful Address be presented to his Majesty, imploring his Royal Protection of his faithful Subjects, the People of this Colony, in the Enjoyment of all their natural and civil Rights, as Men, and as Descendants of Britons; which rights must be violated, if Laws respecting the internal Government, and Taxation of themselves, are imposed upon them by any other Power than that derived from their own Consent, by and with the Approbation of their Sovereign, or his Substitute." Resolution of the Virginia House of Burgesses. 1764.

**Document C**



Proclamation Line, 1763

**Document D**

“Section IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great-Britain

Section V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies, are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.” Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765

**Document E**

“A right to impose an internal tax on the colonies, without their consent for the single purpose of revenue, is denied, a right to regulate their trade without their consent is admitted Daniel Dulany, Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, 1765.

**Document F**

Colonial America / Road to Revolution 1763-1789

“ . . . and as it was soon found that this taxation could not be supported by reason and argument, it seemed necessary that one act of oppression should be enforced by another, and therefore, contrary to our just rights as possessing, or at least having a just title to possess, all the liberties and immunities of British subjects, a standing army was established among us in time of peace; and evidently for the purpose of effecting that which it was one principal design of the founders of the constitution to prevent (when they declared a standing army in a time of peace to be against law), namely, for the enforcement of obedience to acts which, upon fair examination, appeared to be unjust and unconstitutional.” Joseph Warren, “Oration Delivered at Boston,” March 5, 1772.

## Document G



## Document H

“To remind him [His Majesty] that our ancestors, before their emigration to America were the free inhabitants of the British dominions in Europe, and possessed a right, which nature has given to all men, of departing from the country in which chance, not choice has placed them; of going in quest of new habitations, and of there establishing new societies, under such laws and regulations as in them shall seem most likely to promote public happiness.” Thomas Jefferson, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, 1774.

## Document I

“They [Parliament] have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from legal trial. . . .” Second Continental Congress, *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms*, July 6, 1775.

**Document J**

“Small islands not capable of protecting themselves are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet; and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverse the common order of nature, it is evident that they belong to different systems. England to Europe: America to itself. . . .” Thomas Paine, Common Sense (1776).

**Document K**

“Petitioners farther sheweth that we apprehend ourselves to be Aggrieved, in that while we are not allowed the Privilege of freemen of the State having no vote or influence in the Election of those that Tax us yet many of our Color (as is well known) have cheerfully Entered the field of Battle in the defense of the Common Cause and that (as we conceive) against a similar Exertion of Power (in Regard to taxation). . . .” Petition of Seven Free Negroes to the Massachusetts Legislature in Protest of Taxation Without the Right to Vote, February 10, 1780. (Massachusetts Historical Society).

**Document L**



*Editorial Cartoon, Boston Gazette, 1774*

## Document M

George Grenville, former Prime Minister, and author of the Stamp Act, speaks forth on Repeal, January 14, 1766.

"I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is, it has been exercised, over those who are not, who were never represented. . . . When I proposed to tax America, I asked the House, if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might also say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America. Bounties have been extended to them. When I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the Act of Navigation, that palladium of the British commerce; and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. William Cobbett, The Parliamentary History of England (Hansard, London, 1813), XVI, 101-102.

## Document N

"A study of parliamentary reimbursement of colonial war expenses from 1756 to 1763 in its relation to public debts in America between the years 1763 and 1775 is most revealing. As to American public finance, all that space will here permit is to state that there is abundant evidence to indicate that, during the five year period preceding the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, had the inhabitants of any of the thirteen colonies, which therefore included those of Massachusetts Bay and Virginia, been taxed in one of these years at the average high per capita rate that the British people were taxed from 1760 to 1775, the proceeds of that one year's tax not only would have taken care of the ordinary expenditures of the colony in question for that year but also would have quite liquidated its war debt, so little of which remained in any of the colonies by 1770. Well may John Adams have admitted in 1780 what was equally true in 1770 "America is not used to great taxes, and the people there are not yet disciplined to such enormous taxation as in England." Lawrence Henry Gibson, *The American Revolution as an Aftermath of the Great War for the Empire 1754-1763*, Political Science Quarterly, LXV (March 1950).

## Document O

"Being a colony of Great Britain was no longer considered an asset in the eyes of many Americans by 1774, as it had been so judged by them to be in 1754, but rather an onerous liability. What? pray tell, had the debt ridden mother country to offer in 1774 to the now geographically secure, politically mature, prosperous, dynamic, and self-reliant offspring along the Atlantic seaboard, except the dubious opportunity of accepting new, as well as retaining old, burdens? And these burdens would have to be borne in order to lighten somewhat the great financial load that the taxpayers of Great Britain were forced to carry by reason of obligations the nation had assumed both in the course of the late war and at its termination. If many Americans thought they had a perfect right to profit personally by trading with the enemy in time of war, how much more deeply must they have resented in time of peace the serious efforts made by the home government to enforce the elaborate restrictions on commercial inter-course? Lawrence Henry Gibson, *The American Revolution as an Aftermath of the Great War for the Empire 1754-1763*, Political Science Quarterly, LXV (March 1950).

## Document P

"The push to the frontier weakened the bonds of loyalty to an already too-distant land. And the Stamp Act and Townshend Acts forced most articulate colonists to reduce the old conflict of English and American interests to the simplest possible terms. Since some Englishmen proposed to consign other Englishmen to perpetual inferiority, was it not simply a question of liberty or slavery? Clinton Rossiter, *The American Consensus*, Seedtime of the Republic, 1953.

**Document Q**

“The final stage of American argument is, of course, most plainly read in the Declaration of Independence, in which the dominion theory and natural law were skillfully woven together to justify the bold decision to dissolve an empire. Thanks to the dominion theory of 1774, the Americans could ignore Parliament almost completely and concentrate their fire on George III. Having already proved, that they were totally outside the jurisdiction of Parliament and were subjects of the King by free choice, they had only to prove to a candid world that the latter, not the former, had played the tyrant. And it was exactly here, at the moment when they renounced a covenanted monarch, that the whole theory of natural law proved its worth to a people who prided themselves on their political morality.” Clinton Rossiter, *The American Consensus, Seedtime of the Republic*, 1953.

## AP US History Document based Question #4

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

**Analyze the major concerns generated by the writing and ratification of the U.S. Constitution. Confine yourself to the period 1786-1792.**

---

### Document A

*Source: Federalist Papers #10, Madison*

Complaints are everywhere heard from our most considerate and virtuous citizens, equally the friends of public and private faith, and of public and personal liberty, that our governments are too unstable, that the public good is disregarded in the conflicts of rival parties, and that measures are too often decided, not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority. However anxiously we may wish that these complaints had no foundation, the evidence, of known facts will not permit us to deny that they are in some degree true.

---

### Document B

*Source: Federalist Papers #30, Hamilton*

IT HAS been already observed that the federal government ought to possess the power of providing for the support of the national forces; in which proposition was intended to be included the expense of raising troops, of building and equipping fleets, and all other expenses in any wise connected with military arrangements and operations. But these are not the only objects to which the jurisdiction of the Union, in respect to revenue, must necessarily be empowered to extend. It must embrace a provision for the support of the national civil list; for the payment of the national debts contracted, or that may be contracted; and, in general, for all those matters which will call for disbursements out of the national treasury. The conclusion is, that there must be interwoven, in the frame of the government, a general power of taxation, in one shape or another.

Money is, with propriety, considered as the vital principle of the body politic; as that which sustains its life and motion, and enables it to perform its most essential functions. A complete power, therefore, to procure a regular and adequate supply of it, as far as the resources of the community will permit, may be regarded as an indispensable ingredient in every constitution. From a deficiency in this particular, one of two evils must ensue; either the people must be subjected to continual plunder, as a substitute for a more eligible mode of supplying the public wants, or the government must sink into a fatal atrophy, and, in a short course of time, perish.

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### Document C

*Source: Federalist Papers #38, Madison*

A third does not object to the government over individuals, or to the extent proposed, but to the want of a bill of rights. A fourth concurs in the absolute necessity of a bill of rights, but contends that it ought to be declaratory, not of the personal rights of individuals, but of the rights reserved to the States in their political capacity. A fifth is of opinion that a bill of rights of any sort would be superfluous and misplaced, and that the plan would be unexceptionable but for the fatal power of regulating the times and places of election.

---

### Document D

*Source: John Jay, Letter to George Washington, June 27, 1786.*

To oppose popular prejudices, to censure the proceedings, and expose the improprieties of States, is an unpleasant task, but it must be done. Our affairs seem to lead to some crisis, some revolution—something that I

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

---

### Document E

*Source: Jefferson Writings, Letter to James Madison, Objections to the Constitution, December 20, 1787*

I will now add what I don not like. First the omission of a bill of rights providing clearly & without the aid of sophisms for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction against monopolies, the eternal & unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury in all matters of fact triable by the laws of the land & not by the law of nations . . . Let me add that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, & what no just government should refuse, or rest on inferences. The second feature I dislike, and greatly dislike, is the abandonment in every instance of the necessity of rotation in office, and most particularly in the case of the President. Experience concurs with reason in concluding that the first magistrate will always be re-elected if the Constitution permits it. He is then an officer for life. This once observed, it becomes of so much consequence to certain nations to have a friend or a foe at the head of our affairs that they will interfere with money & with arms . . . If once elected, and at a second or third election out voted by one or two votes, he will pretend false votes, foul play, hold possession of the reins of government, be supported by the States voting for him, especially if they are the central ones lying in a compact body themselves & separating their opponents.

---

### Document F

*Source: "Brutus" Letter IV, Nov. 29, 1787, Anti-federalist Papers*

The great art, therefore, in forming a good constitution, appears to be this, so to frame it, as that those to whom the power is committed shall be subject to the same feelings, and aim at the same objects as the people do, who transfer to them their authority. There is no possible way to effect this but by an equal, full and fair representation; this, therefore, is the great desideratum in politics. However fair an appearance any government may make, though it may possess a thousand plausible articles and be decorated with ever so many ornaments, yet if it is deficient in this essential principle of a full and just representation of the people, it will be only like a painted sepulcher -- For, without this it cannot be a free government, let the administration of it be good or ill, it still will be a government, not according to the will of the people, but according to the will of a few.

---

### Document G

*Source: "Brutus" Letter XVI April 10, 1788, "John DeWitt" Letter III Nov. 5, 1787, Anti-federalists Papers*

They uniformly exercise all the powers granted to them, and ninety-nine in a hundred are for grasping at more. It is this passionate thirst for power, which has produced different branches to exercise different departments and mutual checks upon those branches. The aristocratical hath ever been found to have the most influence, and the people in most countries have been articulately attentive in providing checks against it. Let us see if it is the case here. -- A President, a Senate, and a House of Representatives are proposed. The Judicial Department is at present out of the question, being separated excepting in impeachments. The Legislative is divided between the People who are the Democratical, and the Senate who are the Aristocratical part, and the Executive between the same Senate and the President who represents the Monarchical Branch. -- In the construction of this System, their interests are put in opposite scales. If they are exactly balanced, the Government will remain perfect; if there is a preponderancy, it will firmly prevail. When great and extraordinary powers are vested in any man, or body of men, which in their exercise, may operate to the oppression of the people, it is of high importance that powerful checks should be formed to prevent the abuse of it.

**Document H**

Source: *Bill of Rights, 1791*

**Amendment I**

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

**Amendment II**

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

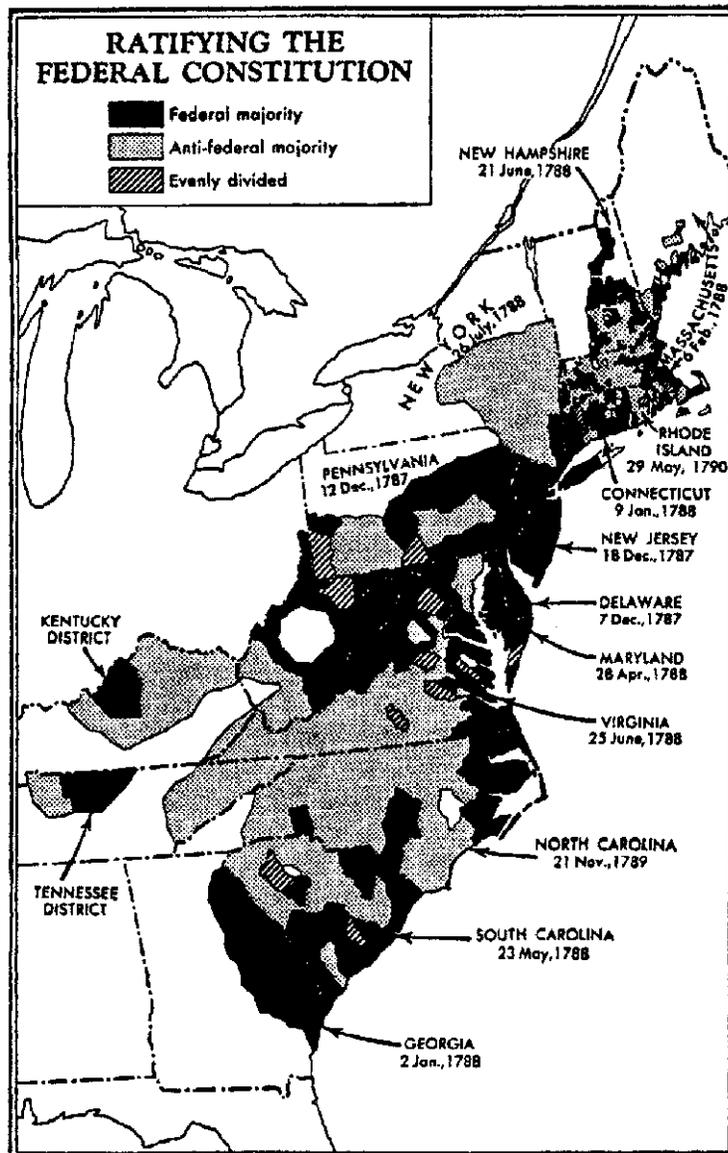
**Amendment III**

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

**Amendment X**

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

**Document I**



## Document J

Development of the Constitution 1789-1792

Source: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799.  
John C. Fitzpatrick, Editor.--vol. 29

Mount Vernon, September 24, 1787.

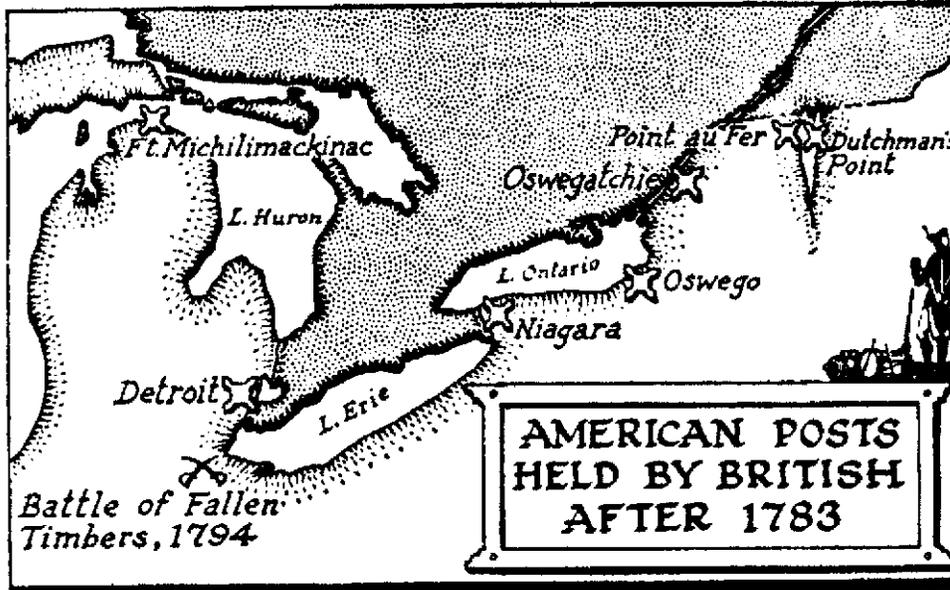
Dear Sir: In the first moment after my return I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the Constitution which the foederal Convention has submitted to the People of these States. I accompany it with no observations; your own Judgment will at once discover the good, and the exceptionable parts of it. and your experience of the difficulties, which have ever arisen when attempts have been made to reconcile such variety of Interests and local prejudices as pervade the several States will render explanation unnecessary. I wish the Constitution which is offered had been made more perfect, but I sincerely believe it is the best that could be obtained at this time; and, as a Constitutional door is opened for amendment hereafter, the adoption of it under the present circumstances of the Union is in my opinion desirable.

## AP US History Document Based Question # 5

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

“The foreign policy of the Adams administration, 1797-1801, was timid, ineffective and totally unprotective of American interests and honor.” Assess the validity of this statement.

### Document A



### Document B

“ALL of us having arrived at Paris on the evening of the 4th instant, on the next day we verbally, and unofficially, informed the Minister of Foreign Affairs therewith, and desired to know when he would be at leisure to receive one of our secretaries with the official notification. He appointed the next day at two o'clock, when Major Rutledge waited on him. . . .

In the evening . . . M. X. called on General Pinckney, and . . . replied that the Directory, . . . were exceedingly irritated at some passages of the President's speech, and desired that they should be softened; and that this step would be necessary previous to our reception. That, besides this, a sum of money was required for the pocket of the Directory and ministers, which would be at the disposal of M. Talleyrand; and that a loan would also be insisted on. M. X. said if we acceded to these measures, M. Talleyrand had no doubt that all our differences with France might be accommodated. . . .

We added, that all America deprecated a war with France; but that our present situation was more ruinous to us than a declared war could be; that at present our commerce was plundered unprotected; but that if war was declared, we should seek the means of protection. M. X. said, he hoped we should not form a connection with Britain; and we answered, that we hoped so too; that we had all been engaged in our Revolutionary war, and felt its injuries; that it had made the deepest impression on us; but that if France should attack us, we must seek the best means of self-defense. M. X. again returned to the subject of money: Said he, gentlemen, you do not speak to the point; it is money: it is expected that you will offer money. We said that we had spoken to that point very explicitly: we had given an answer. No, said he, you have not: what is your answer? We replied, it is no; no; not a sixpence. . . .” Elbridge Pinckney, *The X Y Z Correspondence, America*, Vol.4, Pg.205

## Document C

“Who should succeed the exalted "Father of His Country"? Alexander Hamilton was the best-known member of the Federalist party, now that Washington had bowed out. But his financial policies, some of which had fattened the speculators, had made him so unpopular that he could not hope to be elected president. The Federalists were forced to turn to Washington's vice president, the experienced but ungracious John Adams, a rugged chip off old Plymouth Rock. The Democratic-Republicans naturally rallied behind their master organizer and leader, Thomas Jefferson.” Thomas Bailey, The American Pageant, Chapter 10.

## Document D

“The Alien Law has been bitterly inveighed against as a direct attack upon our liberties, when in fact it affects only foreigners who are conspiring against us, and has no relation whatever to an American citizen. It gives authority to the First Magistrate [President] of the Union to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of our territory.

It is only necessary to ask whether, without such a power vested in some department, any government ever did, or ever can, long protect itself. The objects of this act are strangers merely, persons not adopted and naturalized--a description of men who have no lot nor interest with us, and who even manifest a disposition the most hostile to this country, while it affords them an asylum and protection. It is absurd to say that, in providing by law for their removal, the Constitution is violated. For he must be ignorant indeed who does not know that the Constitution was established for the protection and security of American citizens, and not of intriguing foreigners.

The Sedition Act has likewise been shamefully misrepresented as an attack upon the freedom of speech and of the press. But we find, on the contrary, that it prescribes a punishment only for those pests of society and disturbers of order and tranquility "who write, print, utter, or publish any false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President, with intent to defame, or bring them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against them the hatred of the good people of the United States; or to stir up sedition, or to abet the hostile designs of any foreign nation."

What honest man can justly be alarmed at such a law, or can wish unlimited permission to be given for the publication of malicious falsehoods, and with intentions the most base? They who complain of legal provisions for punishing intentional defamation and lies as bridling the liberty of speech and of the press, may, with equal propriety, complain against laws made for punishing assault and murder, as restraints upon the freedom of men's actions. Because we have the right to speak and publish our opinions, it does not necessarily follow that we may exercise it in uttering false and malicious slanders against our neighbor or our government, any more than we may under cover of freedom of action knock down the first man we meet, and exempt ourselves from punishment by pleading that we are free agents. We may indeed use our tongues, employ our pens, and carry our cudgels or our muskets whenever we please. But, at the same time, we must be accountable and punishable for making such "improper use of either as to injure others in their characters, their persons, or their property." C. W. Upham, Life of Timothy Pickering (1873), vol. 3, pp. 475-476.

## Document E

“. . . I will defend myself [re actions regarding France], as long as I have an eye to direct my hand, or a finger to hold my pen. They were the most disinterested and meritorious of my life. I reflect upon them with so much satisfaction, that I desire no other inscription over my gravestone then: Here lies John Adams, who upon himself took sole responsibility of the peace with France in the year 1800.” Letter from Adams to Lloyd, January 1815, Works of John Adams, X, 113.

## Document F

"[Resolved,] That this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the union of the states, to maintain which it pledges its powers; and that, for this end, it is their duty to watch over and oppose every infraction of those principles which constitute the only basis of that union, because a faithful observance of them can alone secure its existence and the public happiness.

That this Assembly does 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 [Constitution] constituting that 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 does 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, . . . so as to consolidate the states, by degrees, into one sovereignty, the obvious tendency and inevitable result of which would be to transform the present republican system of the United States into an absolute, or, at best, a mixed monarchy.

That the General Assembly does particularly protest against the palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution in the two late cases of the "Alien and Sedition Acts," passed at the last session of Congress; the first of which exercises a power nowhere delegated to the federal government, and which, by uniting legislative and judicial powers to those of executive, subverts the general principles of free government, as well as the particular organization and positive provisions of the federal Constitution; and the other of which acts exercises, in like manner, a power not delegated by the Constitution, but, on the contrary, expressly and positively forbidden by one of the amendments thereto--a power which, more than any other, ought to produce universal alarm, because it is leveled against the right of freely examining public characters and measures, and of free communication among the people thereon, which has ever been justly deemed the only effectual guardian of every other right.

That this state having, by its convention [of 1788] which ratified the federal Constitution, expressly declared that, among other essential rights, "the liberty of conscience and the press cannot be canceled, abridged, restrained, or modified by any authority of the United States," and, from its extreme anxiety to guard these rights from every possible attack of sophistry and ambition, having, with other states, recommended an amendment for that purpose, which amendment [the First] was, in due time, annexed to the Constitution, it would mark a reproachful inconsistency and criminal degeneracy if an indifference were now shown to the most palpable violation of one of the rights thus declared and secured, and to the establishment of a precedent which may be fatal to the other.

That the good people of the commonwealth having ever felt, and continuing to feel, the most sincere affection for their brethren of the other states, the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all, and the most scrupulous fidelity to that Constitution, which is the pledge of mutual friendship, and the instrument of mutual happiness, the General Assembly does solemnly appeal to the like dispositions in the other states, in confidence that they will concur with this commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid are unconstitutional, and that the necessary and proper measures will be taken by each for cooperating with this state in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. Jonathan Elliot, The Debates . . . on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1836), vol. 4, pp. 528-529.

## Document G

"Meanwhile French cruisers captured American vessels, and French courts confiscated their cargoes, and imprisoned their crews. Finally the commissioners were given to understand, if they would advance a little money for the special benefit of Talleyrand and his worthy friends, and also pledge the United States to make France a loan, that negotiations would be commenced in earnest. . . .

A large number of French exiles -- it was thought nearly thirty thousand -- were, at this time, in the country. Some of these acted as spies, at least so thought the government; some had tampered with the people of Kentucky to induce them to join in an expedition against Louisiana, then belonging to Spain, and some planned a similar expedition against Florida. Thus did they abuse the hospitality tendered them by endeavoring to create divisions among the people, and opposition to the policy of the government.

Under these circumstances Congress passed what was termed the "Alien Act," to continue in force two years, by which the President was authorized to order out of the country aliens, who, by their plots might endanger the interests of the government in case of war. The law was never enforced, but nevertheless a large number of these exiles left the country.

The administration of Adams, now drawing to its close, was in its policy like that of Washington. During these twelve years, there was much opposition, but that policy in the main has remained unchanged from that day to this. To be free from the turmoil of European politics was wisdom, but to carry it out required the calm determination of Washington, as well as the impulsive energy of Adams, "who was not the man to quail" when he thought duty called. William Jackman, History of the American Nation, Vol.3, Pg.6

## Document H

“When it was first perceived, in early times, that no middle course for America remained between unlimited submission to a foreign legislature and a total independence of its claims, men of reflection were less apprehensive of danger from the formidable power of fleets and armies they must determine to resist than from those contests and dissensions which would certainly arise concerning the forms of government to be instituted over the whole and over the parts of this extensive country. Relying, however, on the purity of their intentions, the justice of their cause, and the integrity and intelligence of the people, under an overruling Providence which had so signally protected this country from the first, the representatives of this nation, then consisting of little more than half its present number, not only broke to pieces the chains which were forging and the rod of iron that was lifted up, but frankly cut asunder the ties which had bound them, and launched into an ocean of uncertainty.

. . . The existence of such a government as ours for any length of time is a full proof of a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue throughout the whole body of the people. And what object or consideration more pleasing than this can be presented to the human mind? If national pride is ever justifiable or excusable it is when it springs, not from power or riches, grandeur or glory, but from conviction of national innocence, information, and benevolence.

In the midst of these pleasing ideas we should be unfaithful to ourselves if we should ever lose sight of the danger to our liberties if anything partial or extraneous should infect the purity of our free, fair, virtuous, and independent elections. If an election is to be determined by a majority of a single vote, and that can be procured by a party through artifice or corruption, the Government may be the choice of a party for its own ends, not of the nation for the national good. If that solitary suffrage can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the Government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. It may be foreign nations who govern us, and not we, the people, who govern ourselves; and candid men will acknowledge that in such cases choice would have little advantage to boast of over lot or chance. John Adams “Inaugural Address”, March 4, 1797 History of the American People, Vol.3, Pg.329.

## Document I

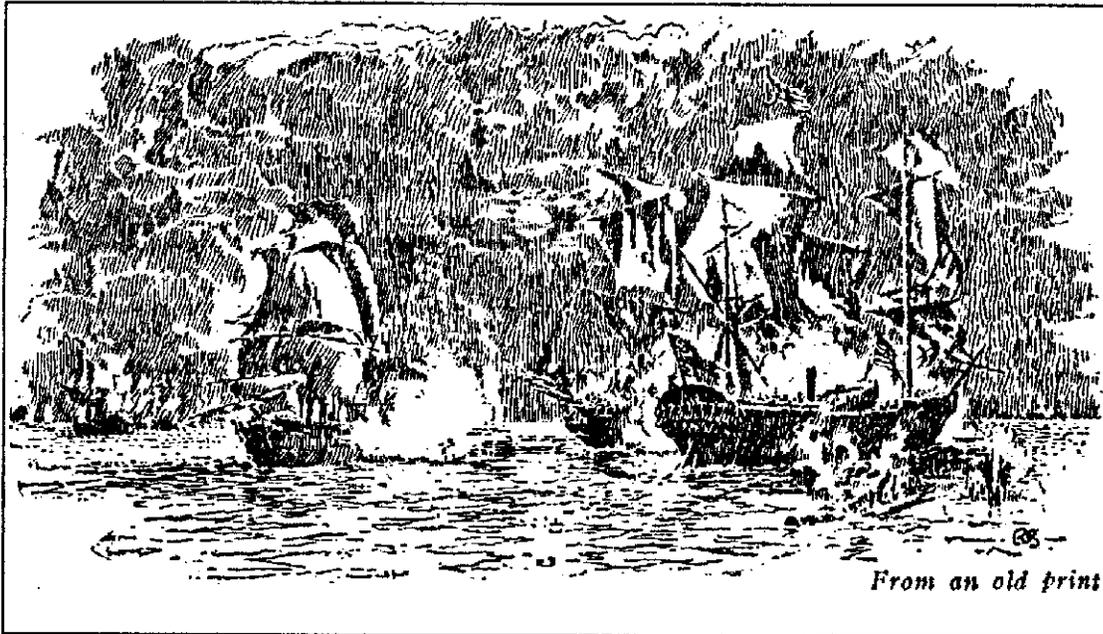
“The first Vice President became the second President of the United States. His opponent in the election, Thomas Jefferson, had won the second greatest number of electoral votes and therefore had been elected Vice President by the electoral college. Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth administered the oath of office in the Hall of the House of Representatives in Federal Hall before a joint session of Congress.

The twelfth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was proposed to the legislatures of the several States by the Eighth Congress, on the 12th of December, 1803, in lieu of the third paragraph of the first section of the third article; and was declared in a proclamation of the Secretary of State, dated the 25th of September, 1804, to have been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States. . . . lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate -The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted -The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice president, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.” Amendment 12, U S Constitution.

## Document J

“By the convention signed September, 30, 1800, France agreed to cancel the vexatious treaties if the United States would drop its bothersome financial claims. This meant that the United States would have to pay the claims to its own citizens arising out of the undeclared naval war with France. The troubled history of the French pact does much to explain why the American people developed so violent an allergy to overseas entanglements.” E. Wilson Lyon, “The Franco-American Convention of 1800,” Journal of Modern History, XII [1940] 329-333.

Document K



The scene above is old woodcut of a naval engagement between the USS *Wasp* and French warships in 1799. Avery Craven, The United States: Experiment in Democracy, 1942.

## AP US History Document Based Question #6

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

“To what extent was President Thomas Jefferson’s foreign policy the master or servant of events, 1801-1809?”

### Document A

British Order in Council, 1807, Documents in American History, Vol. I, ed. by Henry Steele Commager, Milton Center, p. 200

“His Majesty is thereupon pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that no vessel shall be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports shall belong to or be in the possession of France or her allies, or shall be so far under their control as that British vessels may not trade freely thereat; and the commanders of His Majesty's ships of war and privateers shall be, and are hereby, instructed to warn every neutral vessel coming from any such port, and destined to another such port, to discontinue her voyage, and not to proceed to any such port; and any vessel, after being so warned, or any vessel coming from any such port, after a reasonable time shall have been afforded for receiving information of this His Majesty's order, which shall be found proceeding to another such port, shall be captured and brought in, and together with her cargo shall be condemned as lawful prize....”

### Document B

Berlin Decree of 1806, Documents of American History, Vol. I, ed. Henry Steele Commager, Milton Center, p. 199.

“All commerce and correspondence with the British islands are prohibited. In consequence, letters or packets, addressed either to England, to an Englishman, or in the English language, shall not pass through the post-office and shall be seized.... All magazines, merchandise, or property whatsoever, belonging to a subject of England, shall be declared lawful prize....No vessel coming directly from England, or from the English colonies, or having been there since the publication of the present decree, shall be received into any port. Every vessel contravening the above clause, by means of a false declaration, shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo confiscated, as if they were English property.”

### Document C

Alexander Hamilton Lukewarmly Backs Jefferson (1803) "Hamilton on the Louisiana Purchase: A Newly Identified Editorial from the New York Evening Post," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, vol. 12 (1955), pp. 273-276, passim.

“At length the business of New Orleans has terminated favorably to this country. Instead of being obliged to rely any longer on the force of treaties for a place of deposit, the jurisdiction of the territory is now transferred to our hands, and in future the navigation of the Mississippi will be ours unmolested. This, it will be allowed, is an important acquisition; not, indeed, as territory, but as being essential to the peace and prosperity of our Western country, and as opening a free and valuable market to our commercial states.

This purchase has been made during the period of Mr. Jefferson's presidency, and will, doubtless, give éclat to his administration. Every man, however, possessed of the least candor and reflection will readily acknowledge that the acquisition has been solely owing to a fortuitous concurrence of unforeseen and unexpected circumstances, and not to any wise or vigorous measures on the part of the American government....”

**Document D**

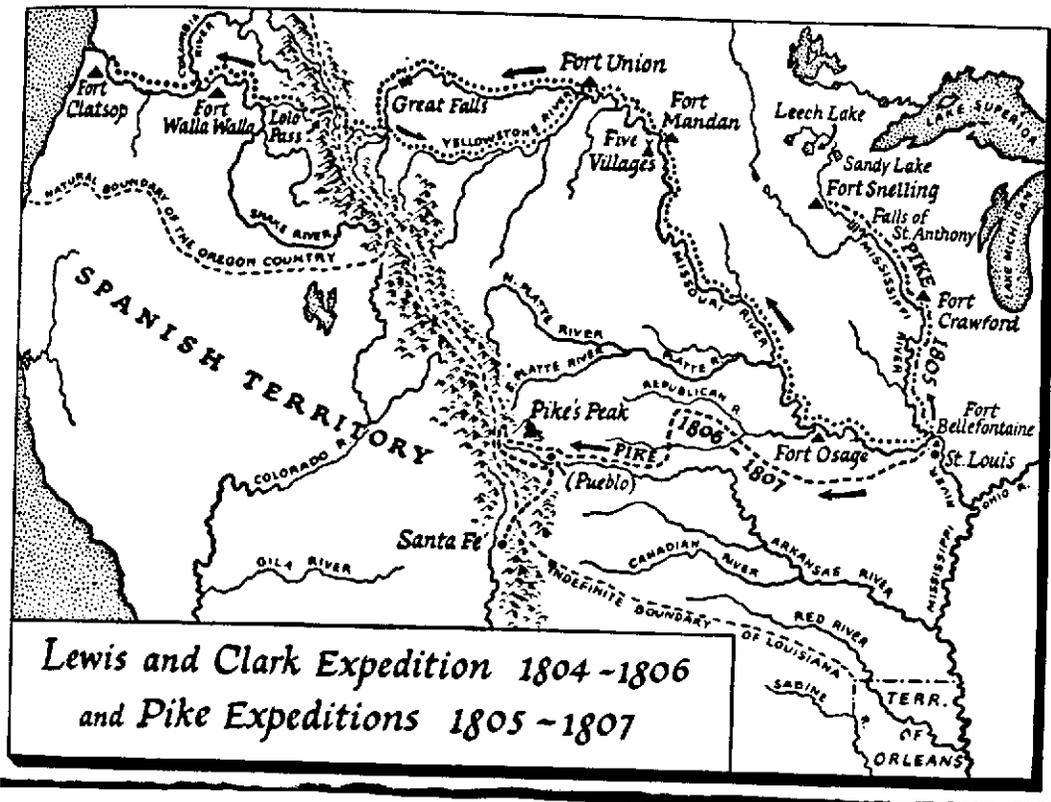
"A Federalist (Philip Barton Key) Attacks the Embargo (1808) Annals of Congress, 10th Congress, 1st session, vol. 2, cols. 2122-2123.

"But, Mr. Chairman, let us review this [embargo] law and its effects. In a commercial point of view, it has annihilated our trade. In an agricultural point of view, it has paralyzed industry. . . . Our most fertile lands are reduced to sterility, so far as it respects our surplus product. As a measure of political economics, it will drive (if continued) our seamen into foreign employ, and our fishermen to foreign sandbanks. In a financial point of view, it has dried up our revenue, and if continued will close the sales of Western lands, and the payment of installments of past sales. For unless produce can be sold, payments cannot be made. As a war measure, the embargo has not been advocated."

It remains then to consider its effects as a peace measure--a measure inducing peace. I grant, sir, that if the friends of the embargo had rightly calculated its effects--if it had brought the belligerents of Europe to a sense of justice and respect for our rights, through the weakness and dependence of their West India possessions--it would have been infinitely wise and desirable.... But, sir, the experience of near four months has not produced that effect...."

What man can be weak enough to suppose that a sense of justice can repress or regulate the conduct of Bonaparte? We need not resort to other nations for examples. Has he not in a manner as flagrant as flagitious, directly, openly, publicly violated and broken a solemn treaty [of 1800] entered into with us? Did he not stipulate that our property should pass free even to enemy ports, and has he not burnt our ships at sea under the most causeless pretexts?"

**Document E**



**Document F**

“An insinuation had fallen from the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy) that the late massacre of our brethren on the Wabash [at Tippecanoe] had been instigated by the British government. Has the President given any such information? Has the gentleman [Grundy] received any such, even informally, from any officer of this government? Is it so believed by the administration?.... Advantage had been taken of the spirit of the Indians, broken by the war, which ended in the Treaty of Greenville [1795].... Our people will not submit to be taxed for this war of conquest and dominion. The government of the United States was not calculated to wage offensive foreign war--it was instituted for the common defense and general welfare.... Agrarian cupidity, not maritime right, urges the war. Ever since the [pro-war] report of the Committee on Foreign Relations came into the House, we have heard but one word--like the whip-poor-will, but one eternal monotonous tone--Canada! Canada! Canada! Not a syllable about Halifax [Nova Scotia], which unquestionably should be our great object in a war for maritime security. It is to acquire a prepondering Northern influence that you are to launch into war. For purposes of maritime safety, the barren rocks of Bermuda were worth more to us than all the deserts [of Canada] through which [explorers] Hearne and McKenzie had pushed their adventurous researches.” Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, 1st session, vol. 1, cols. 445-446, 449-450, 533.

**Document G**

Thomas Jefferson, Second Inaugural Address, March 4, 1805

“In the transaction of your foreign affairs we have endeavored to cultivate the friendship of all nations, and especially of those with which we have the most important relations. We have done them justice on all occasions, favored where favor was lawful, and cherished mutual interests and intercourse on fair and equal terms. We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations as with individuals our interests soundly calculated will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties, and history bears witness to the fact that a just nation is trusted on its word when recourse is had to armaments and wars to bridle others.”

**Document H**

## AP US History Document Based Question #7

The War of 1812 was foisted upon an unwilling nation by a Congress controlled by a group of congressmen called the “War Hawks” whose main goal was the conquest of Canada. Assess the validity of this statement using the documents and your knowledge of U S History.

### Document A

The gifted Shawnee chief Tecumseh wrote these words to Governor William Henry Harrison to ask him to tear the treaty and to say to him: “. . . until lately there was no white man on this continent; that it then all belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit that made them, to keep it, to traverse it, to enjoy its productions. . . For it never was divided, but belongs to all for the use of each. That no part has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers; those who want all, and will not do with less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians, because they had it first. It is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. . .” C. M. Depew, ed., The Library of Oratory (New York: The Globe Publishing Company, 1902), vol. 4, pp. 363-364.

### Document B

“Sir, our vessels are now captured when destined to the ports of France, and condemned by the British Courts of Admiralty, without even the pretext of having on board contraband of war, enemies' property, or having in any other respect violated the laws of nations. These depredations on our lawful commerce, under whatever ostensible pretense committed, are not to be traced to any maxims or rules of public law, but to the maritime supremacy and pride of the British nation.

. . . Over and above these unjust pretensions of the British government, for many years past they have been in the practice of impressing our seamen from merchant vessels. This unjust and lawless invasion of personal liberty calls loudly for the interposition of this government. . . .

My mind is irresistibly drawn to the West. It cannot be believed, by any man who will reflect, that the savage tribes, uninfluenced by other powers, would think of making war on the United States. They understand too well their own weakness and our strength. How, then, sir, are we to account for their late conduct? In one way only: some powerful nation must have intrigued with them, and turned their peaceful dispositions towards us into hostilities. Great Britain alone has intercourse with those Northern tribes. I therefore infer that if British gold has not been employed, their baubles and trinkets, and the promise of support and a place of refuge, if necessary, have had their effect.” Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, 1st session, vol. 1, cols. 424-426 (December 9, 1811).

### Document C

“An insinuation had fallen from the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Grundy) that the late massacre of our brethren on the Wabash [at Tippecanoe] had been instigated by the British government. Has the President given any such information? Has the gentleman [Grundy] received any such, even informally, from any officer of this government? Is it so believed by the administration? . . Advantage had been taken of the spirit of the Indians, broken by the war which ended in the Treaty of Greenville [1795]. . . Our people will not submit to be taxed for this war of conquest and dominion. The government of the United States was not calculated to wage offensive foreign war--it was instituted for the common defense and general welfare . . . Agrarian cupidity, not maritime right, urges the war. Ever since the [pro-war] report of the Committee on Foreign Relations came into the House, we have heard but one word--like the whip-poor-will, but one eternal monotonous tone--Canada! Canada! Canada! Not a syllable about Halifax [Nova Scotia], which unquestionably should be our great object in a war for maritime security. It is to acquire a prepondering Northern influence that you are to launch into war. For purposes of maritime safety, the barren rocks of Bermuda were worth more to us than all the deserts [of Canada] through which [explorers] Hearne and McKenzie had pushed their adventurous researches.” Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, 1st session, vol. 1, cols. 445-446, 449-450, 533.

**Document D**

“ . . . It said that we are not prepared for war, and ought therefore not to declare it. This is an idle objection, which can have weight with the timid and pusillanimous only. The fact is otherwise. Our preparations are adequate to every essential object. Do we apprehend danger to ourselves? From what quarter will it assail us? From England, and by invasion? The idea is too absurd to merit a moment's consideration. Where are her troops? But lately she dreaded an invasion of her own dominions from her powerful and menacing neighbor [France]. That danger, it is true, has diminished, but it has not entirely and forever disappeared . . . The war in the [Spanish] Peninsula, which lingers, requires strong armies to support it. She [England] maintains an army in Sicily; another in India; and a strong force in Ireland, and along her own coast, and in the West Indies. Can anyone believe that, under such circumstances, the British government could be so infatuated, or rather mad, as to send troops here for the purpose of invasion? The experience and the fortune of our Revolution, when we were comparatively in an infant state, have doubtless taught her a useful lesson which cannot have been forgotten. Since that period, our population has increased threefold, whilst hers has remained almost stationary. The condition of the civilized world, too, has changed. Although Great Britain has nothing to fear as to her independence, and her military operations are extensive and distant, the contest [against Napoleon] is evidently maintained by her rather for safety than for conquest. Have we cause to dread an attack from her neighboring provinces [Canada]? That apprehension is still more groundless. Seven or eight millions of people have nothing to dread from 300,000. From the moment that war is declared, the British colonies will be put on the defensive, and soon after we get in motion must sink under the pressure.” *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), April 14, 1812.

**Document E**

“If our ills were of a nature that war would remedy, if war would compensate any of our losses or remove any of our complaints, there might be some alleviation of the suffering in the charm of the prospect. But how will war upon the land protect commerce upon the ocean? What balm has Canada for wounded honor? How are our mariners benefited by a war which exposes those who are free, without promising release to those who are impressed? But it is said that war is demanded by honor. Is national honor a principle which thirsts after vengeance, and is appeased only by blood? . . . If honor demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honor to sleep over the wrongs done us by France? On land, robberies, seizures, imprisonments, by French authority; at sea, pillage, sinkings, burnings, under French orders. These are notorious. Are they unfelt because they are French? . . . With full knowledge of the wrongs inflicted by the French, ought the government of this country to aid the French cause by engaging in war against the enemy of France? . . . It would be some relief to our anxiety if amends were likely to be made for the weakness and wildness of the project by the prudence of the preparation. But in no aspect of this anomalous affair can we trace the great and distinctive properties of wisdom. There is seen a headlong rushing into difficulties, with little calculation about the means, and little concern about the consequences. With a navy comparatively nominal, we are about to enter into the lists against the greatest marine [sea power] on the globe. With a commerce unprotected and spread over every ocean, we propose to make a profit by privateering, and for this endanger the wealth of which we are honest proprietors. An invasion is threatened of the colonies of a power which, without putting a new ship into commission, or taking another soldier into pay, can spread alarm or desolation along the extensive range of our seaboard . . . The undersigned cannot refrain from asking, what are the United States to gain by this war? Will the gratification of some privateersmen compensate the nation for that sweep of our legitimate commerce by the extended marine of our enemy which this desperate act invites? Will Canada compensate the Middle states for New York; or the Western states for New Orleans? Let us not be deceived. A war of invasion may invite a retort of invasion. When we visit the peaceable, and as to us innocent, colonies of Great Britain with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horrors? At a crisis of the world such as the present, and under impressions such as these, the undersigned could not consider the war, in which the United States have in secret been precipitated, as necessary, or required by any moral duty, or any political expediency.” *Annals of Congress*, 12th Congress, 1st session, vol. 2, cols. 2219-2221.

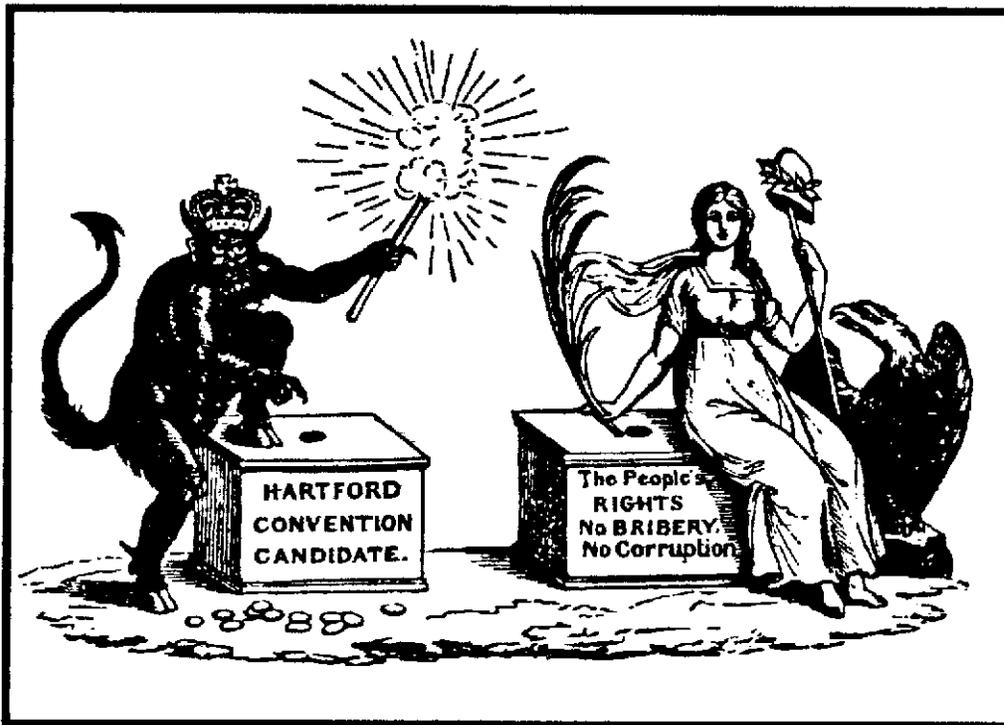
**Document F**      ***The American Snapping Turtle***

## Document G

“Citizens, if pecuniary redress is your object in going to war with England, the measure is perfect madness. You will lose millions when you will gain a cent. The expense will be enormous. It will ruin our country. Direct taxes must be resorted to. The people will have nothing to pay. We once had a revenue; that has been destroyed in the destruction of our commerce [by embargoes]. For several years past you have been deceived and abused by the false pretenses of a full treasury. That phantom of hope will soon vanish. You have lately seen fifteen millions of dollars wasted in the purchase of a province [Louisiana] we did not want, and never shall possess. And will you spend hundreds of millions in conquering a province which, were it made a present to us, would not be worth accepting? Our territories are already too large. The desire to annex Canada to the United States is as base an ambition as ever burned in the bosom of Alexander. What benefit will it ever be to the great body of the people, after their wealth is exhausted, and their best blood is shed in its reduction? . . . Canada, if annexed to the United States, will furnish offices to a set of hungry villains, grown quite too numerous for our present wide limits. And that is all the benefit we ever shall derive from it.

. . . . The conflict will be long and severe, resistance formidable, and the final result doubtful. A nation that can debar the conqueror of Europe [Napoleon] from the sea, and resist his armies in Spain, will not surrender its provinces without a struggle. Those who advocate a British war must be perfectly aware that the whole revenue arising from all British America for the ensuing century would not repay the expenses of that war.” New York Evening Post, April 21, 1812.

## Document H



## Document I

“The sentiment is hourly extending, and in these Northern states will soon be universal, that we are in a condition no better in relation to the South than that of a conquered people. We have been compelled, without the least necessity or occasion, to renounce our habits, occupations, means of happiness, and subsistence. We are plunged into a war without a sense of enmity, or a perception of sufficient provocation; and obliged to fight the battles of a cabal which, under the sickening affectation of republican equality, aims at trampling into the dust the weight, influence, and power of commerce and her dependencies.

We, whose soil was the hotbed and whose ships were the nursery of sailors, are insulted with the hypocrisy of a devotedness to sailors' rights, and the arrogance of pretended skill in maritime jurisprudence, by those whose country furnishes no navigation beyond the size of a ferry boat or an Indian canoe. We have no more interest in waging this sort of war, at this period and under these circumstances, at the command of Virginia, than Holland in accelerating her ruin by uniting her destiny to France. . . . The consequence of this state of things must then be either that the Southern states must drag the Northern states farther into the war, or we must drag them out of it; or the chain will break.” Major Benjamin Russell Columbian Sentinel (Boston), January 13, 1813.

**Document J**

“British cruisers have been in the continued practice of violating the American flag on the great highway of nations, and of seizing and carrying off persons sailing under it, not in the exercise of a belligerent right founded on the law of nations against an enemy, but of a municipal [internal] prerogative over British subjects. British jurisdiction is thus extended to neutral vessels. . . . The practice . . . is so far from affecting British subjects alone that, under the pretext of searching for these, thousands of American citizens, under the safeguard of public law and of their national flag, have been torn from their country and from everything dear to them; have been dragged on board ships of war of a foreign nation and exposed, under the severities of their discipline, to be exiled to the most distant and deadly climes, to risk their lives in the battles of their oppressors, and to be the melancholy instruments of taking away those of their own brethren. Against this crying enormity, which Great Britain would be so prompt to avenge if committed against herself, the United States have in vain exhausted remonstrances and expostulations. And that no proof might be wanting of their conciliatory dispositions, and no pretext left for a continuance of the practice, the British government was formally assured of the readiness of the United States to enter into arrangements such as could not be rejected if the recovery of British subjects were the real and the sole object. The communication passed without effect. . . . Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea, the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets, and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. . . .

. . . In reviewing the conduct of Great Britain toward the United States, our attention is necessarily drawn to the warfare just renewed by the savages on one of our extensive frontiers--a warfare which is known to spare neither age nor sex and to be distinguished by features peculiarly shocking to humanity. It is difficult to account for the activity and combinations which have for some time been developing themselves among tribes in constant intercourse with British traders and garrisons, without connecting their hostility with that influence, and without recollecting the authenticated examples of such interpositions heretofore furnished by the officers and agents of that government.” James Madison’s War Message to Congress, J. D. Richardson, ed., Messages and Papers of the Presidents (1896), vol. 1, pp. 500-504.

**Document K**

“But we are asked, are we willing to bend the neck to England; to submit to her outrages? No, sir; I answer that it will be time enough for us to tell gentlemen what we will do to vindicate the violation of our flag on the ocean when they shall have told us what they have done in resentment of the violation of the actual territory of the United States by Spain, the true territory of the United States--not your newfangled country over the Mississippi, but the good old United States--part of Georgia, of the old thirteen States, where citizens have been taken, not from our ships, but from our actual territory. . . . Gentlemen say, Will you not protect your violated rights? and I say, Why take to water, where you can neither fight nor swim? Look at France; see her vessels stealing from port to port on her own coast; and remember that she is the first military power of the earth, and as a naval people second only to England. Take away the British navy, and France to-morrow is the tyrant of the ocean. For my part I never will go to war but in self-defense. I have no desire for conquests--no ambition to possess Nova Scotia; I hold the liberties of this people at a higher rate. . . . Gentlemen may take notes if they please; but I will never, from any motives short of self-defense, enter upon war. I will never be instrumental to the ambitious schemes of Bonaparte, nor put into his hands what will enable him to wield the world; and on the very principle that I wished success to the French arms in 1793.” *Annals of Congress*, 12th Congress, 1st session, vol. 2, cols. 2219-2221.

**Document L**

“ I HAVE the honor to enclose you the result of my inquiries relating to the men mentioned in your letter of yesterday. . . . William Ware, pressed from on board the brig Neptune, Captain Crafts, by the British frigate *Melampus*, in the Bay of Biscay, and has served on board the said frigate fifteen months. William Ware is a native American; born on Pipe creek, Frederick county, State of Maryland, at Bruce's Mills, and served his time at said Mills; he also lived at Ellicott's mills, near Baltimore, and drove a wagon several years between Hagerstown and Baltimore; he also served eighteen months on board the United States' frigate Chesapeake, under the command of Commodore Morris and Captain James Barron; he is an Indian looking man. Daniel Martin was pressed at the same time and place; he is a native of Westport, in Massachusetts, about thirty miles to the eastward of Newport, Rhode Island; served his time out of New York with Captain Marrowby in the *Caledonian* . John Strachan, born on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Queen Anne's county, between Centreville and Queen's town; refers to Mr. John Price and ---- Pratt, Esq., on Kent island, who know his relations.” James Berkeley, *Chesapeake Outrage*, America, Vol.5, Pg.82.

**Document M**

New England opponents of the war, meeting at Hartford, Connecticut, late in 1814, demanded the following amendments to the Federal Constitution in their report:

1. "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states . . . according to their respective numbers of free persons. . .
2. "No new state shall be admitted into the Union by Congress . . . without the concurrence of two thirds of both houses."
3. "Congress shall not have power to lay any embargo . . . for more than sixty days."
4. "Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation...."
5. "Congress shall not make or declare war, or authorize acts of hostility against any foreign nation, without the concurrence of two thirds of both houses, except such acts of hostility be in defense of the territories of the United States when actually invaded."
6. "No person who shall hereafter be naturalized, shall be eligible as a member of the senate or house of representatives of the United States, nor capable of holding any civil office under the authority of the United States."
7. "The same person shall not be elected president of the United States a second time; nor shall the president be elected from the same state two terms in succession." The Hartford Convention, 1815.

**Document N**

"A WHOLE people is laboring under a most grievous oppression. All the business of the nation is deranged. All its active hopes are frustrated. All its industry stagnant. Its numerous products hastening to their market, are stopped in their course. A dam is thrown across the current, and every hour the strength and the tendency toward resistance is accumulating. The scene we are now witnessing is altogether unparalleled in history. . . . The embargo power, which now holds in its palsying grip all the hopes of this nation, is distinguished by two characteristics of material import, in deciding what control shall be left over it during our recess. I allude to its greatness and its novelty. Every class of men feels it. Every interest in the nation is affected by it. The merchant, the farmer, the planter, the mechanic, the laboring poor -- all are sinking under its weight. of a mighty nation are at once counteracted. All their property depreciated. All their external connections violated. Five millions of people are engaged. They can not go beyond the limits of that once free country; now they are not even permitted to thrust their own property through the grates. I am not now questioning its policy, its wisdom, or its practicability: I am merely stating the fact. . . . The controversies of conflicting neutral and belligerent rights continued through the whole of Mr. Jefferson's administration, during the latter part of which they were verging rapidly to war. Mr. Jefferson pursued his policy of peace till it brought the nation to the borders of internal war. In the eastern States the opposition to the war was marked and virulent. Every one who dared to speak in defense of the administration was denounced in the most unmeasured terms, and curses and anathemas were liberally hurled from the pulpit on the heads of all those who aided, directly or indirectly, in carrying on the war. In the middle and southern States, public opinion was divided, though a large majority approved the measures adopted by Congress. But in the West there was only one sentiment: love of country sparkled in every eye, and animated every heart. The importing merchants, the lawyers in the principal cities, some planters, and the clergy for the most part, were numbered in the ranks of the opposition; and the war found its most ardent and enthusiastic advocates among the farmers and the planters, the mechanics, the mariners." Josiah Quincy, *How Jefferson's Embargo Paralyzed Trade*, America, Vol.5, Pg.92 - Pg.93.

**Document O**

War Vote in House of Representatives 1812		
State	For War	Against War
New Hampshire	3	2
Vermont	3	1
Massachusetts	6	8
Rhode Island	0	2
Connecticut	0	7
New York	3	11
New Jersey	2	4
Delaware	0	1
Pennsylvania	16	2
Maryland	6	3
Virginia	14	5
North Carolina	6	3
South Carolina	8	0
Georgia	3	0
Ohio	1	0
Kentucky	5	0
Tennessee	3	0

## AP US History Document Based Question #8

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

What was the most important factor that led to the development of American industry after the War of 1812? Use the documents and your knowledge of U S History to answer the question.

### Document A

“The Congress shall have power to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.” Constitution, Article 1, Section 8.8.

### Document B

“The Erie Canal’s . . . impact on the entire American economy was enormously stimulating. In the pre-Civil War years state governments supplied about three-quarters of the total funds invested in canals, and roughly half of the capital used to construct the rail network. Local communities and counties were also extremely active in subsidizing transportation improvements. In some cases, like that of the Erie Canal, these developmental efforts were operated as well as financed by governments. It was more common, however, for new ventures to be launched with government funds raised by taxation or the sale of public securities, then placed under private control. Public policy reflected not only widespread confidence in private enterprise, but a determination that it needed spurring to carry out large-scale development projects.

Government actively promoted industrial growth in other ways; erecting tariffs to protect domestic manufacturers from foreign competition; creating new legal arrangements, like the corporation, to stimulate the release of economic energy; and building schools to produce a better educated labor force.”

Stephan Thernstrom, *A History of the American People*

### Document C

A New England Farm Family’s Reasons for Moving to a Mill Town, 1843

*“You will probely want to know the cause of our moveing here. One of them is the hard times to get a liveing off the farm for so large a famely. So we have devided our famely for the year. We have left Plummer and Luther to care for the farm with granmarm and Aunt Polly. The rest of us have moved to Nashville thinking the girls and Charles they would probely worke in the Mill. But we have had bad luck in giting them in. Only Jane has got in yet. Ann has the promis of going to the mill next week. Hannah is going to school We are in hopes to take a few borders but have not got any yet.”*

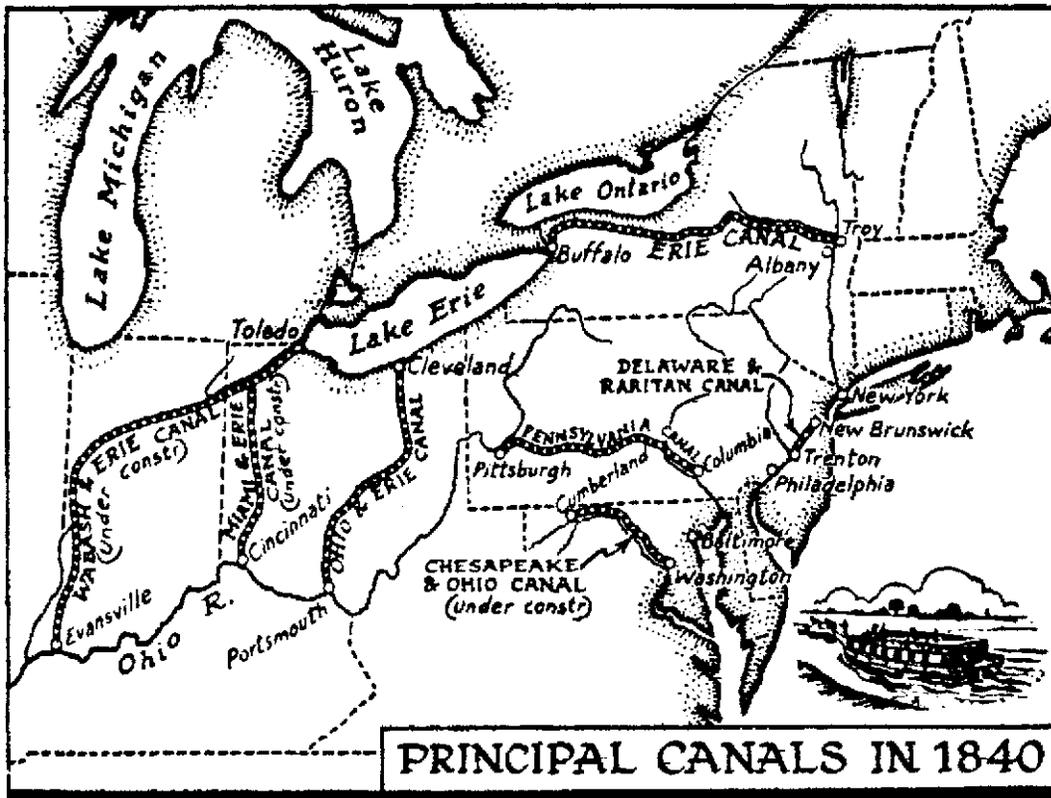
Letter by Jemima W. Sanborn to Richard and Ruth Bennett, Nashua, New Hampshire, May 14, 1843. Quoted in Gary Kulik, Roger Parks, and Theodore Z. Penn, eds. *The New England Mill Village, 1790-7860*.

## Document D

“The first postwar Congress, one of the most fruitful of the nineteenth century, took long strides toward Clay’s goal of an American System. By 1816 the Republican party numbered in its ranks a large cluster of interest groups, both urban and rural clamoring for protective duties on certain foreign goods entering the American market. Leading the protectionists were those who had invested in New England textile mills and Pennsylvania iron-smelters when the embargo and war had choked off European supplies. Seconding them were the hemp-growers of Kentucky, the wool-growers of Ohio and Vermont, and an assortment of Southerners and Westerners who hoped either to promote industry or to expand their domestic market behind a tariff wall.

The cries of the protectionists grew louder when British exporters, seeking to dispose of surpluses accumulated during the war and to drive competing American manufacturers out of business, flooded the American market with relatively low-priced goods. A member of Parliament suggested that British goods might even be sold at a loss for a time, in order “to stifle in the cradle, those rising manufactures in the United States, which war has forced into existence, contrary to the natural course of things. In the critical years immediately following the war, British competition forced many small, less efficient American manufacturers to close their doors. Protectionists claimed that the British were plotting to wreck the American economy and asserted that a higher tariff was essential for national economic survival. America’s “infant industries” were fragile things, they said, requiring the tender care of the federal government while they matured.” John M. Blum et al., *The National Experience*.

## Document E



Principal Canals in 1840. Note that the canals mainly facilitated east-west traffic, especially along the great Lake Erie artery. No comparable network of canals existed in the South—a disparity that helps to explain Northern superiority in the Civil War that came two decades later. Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant*.

**Document F**

“Eli Whitney, Samuel Slater, Oliver Evans, and others furnished the necessary technology for industry. In 1793, Eli Whitney developed a system of interchangeable parts which greatly accelerated the process of assembly. Samuel Slater, in 1790, brought the plans for a cotton mill by memory from England. Later, in 1804, Oliver Evans developed a high- pressure steam engine which was applied to mills and printing presses. Evans also experimented with techniques of mass production, which he employed in a flour mill.” Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant*.

**Document G**

Year	Population	% Increase over Preceding Census
1790	3929000	....
1800	5308000	35.1
1810	7239000	36.4
1820	9638000	33.1
1830	12866000	33.5
1840	17069000	32.7
1850	23191000	35.9
1860	31443000	35.6
1870	38558000	22.6

Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*.

**Document H**

“The federal judiciary also promoted business enterprise. In *Gibbons v. Ogden (1824)*, the Supreme Court overturned a New York state law that had given Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston a monopoly on the New York-New Jersey steamboat trade. Ogden, their successor, lost his monopoly when Chief Justice Marshall ruled that the trade fell under the sway of the commerce clause of the Constitution. Thus Congress, not New York, had the controlling power. Since the federal government issued such licenses on a nonexclusive basis, the decision ended monopolies on waterways throughout the nation. Within a year, 43 steamboats were plying Ogden’s route. In defining interstate commerce broadly, the Marshall Court expanded federal powers over the economy while limiting the ability of states to control economic activity within their borders. Its action was consistent with its earlier decision in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819)*, which protected the sanctity of contracts against interference by the states. “If business is to prosper,” Marshall wrote, “men must have assurance that contracts will be enforced.” Mary Beth Norton, et al., *A People and a Nation*.

**Document I**

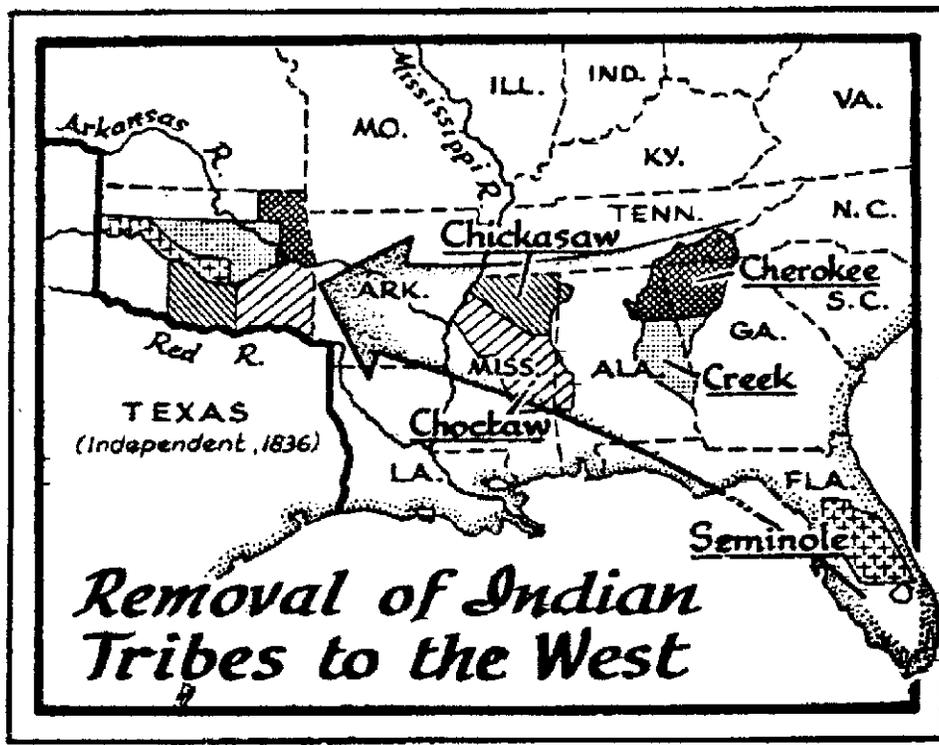
“Investment capital for the early factory system came from both the public and private sectors. Commercial capitalists who could not invest in commercial enterprises during the Embargo and War of 1812 found an opportunity to put their money into early factories in the United States. State governments, and, to a far lesser degree, the federal government, invested in canals, banks, railroads and manufacturing firms to promote the economy of an area.” John M. Blum et al., *The National Experience*.

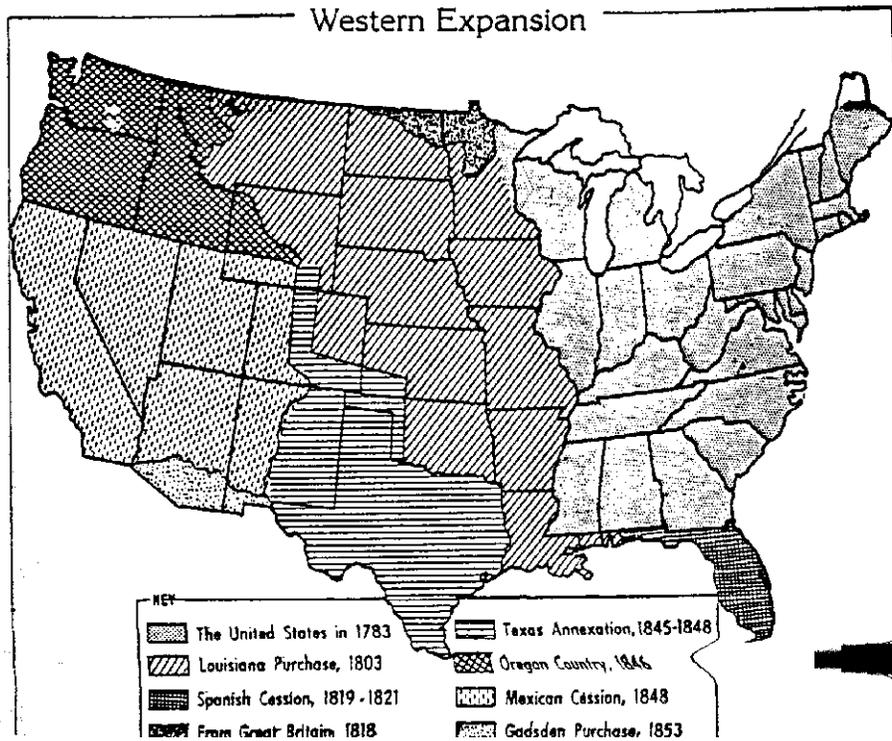
## Document J

“The Bank of the United States, which had not been rechartered in 1811, had closed its doors. Without a national bank it was doubly difficult for the nation to pay for the war. Instead of being able to borrow from one central bank, the government had to deal with many. Without any Bank of the United States, state banks (private banks chartered by the states) had multiplied rapidly, each issuing its own paper money. There was no one national currency. In the dark days of the war, after the British burned Washington, many holders of these state bank notes tried to convert them to gold and silver (specie) as the banks had promised, but, lacking specie, the banks refused. As a result, the value of the state bank notes declined. The bonds of the federal government sold below their face value, and the national debt soared.

To deal with these hard economic problems, the federal government decided to charter a bank similar to Hamilton’s bank of 1791, but with a larger capital. Again the government would hold one-fifth of the stock and would name one-fifth of the directors. Southern statesmen who had argued against the constitutionality of the old bank now suddenly changed their tune. They favored the second Bank of the United States. Madison, who had called Hamilton’s bank unconstitutional, signed the new bank bill on April 10, 1816.”  
Daniel Boorstin and Brooks M. Kelley, *A History of the United States*

## Document K





## AP US History Document Based Question #9

Directions: In the essay you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

**The Supreme Court established many of the most fundamental principles of American Constitutional law under the authority of Chief Justice John Marshall. Using the documents below and your knowledge of the court cases, define these basic principles.**

### Document A

“That the people have an original right to establish for their future government such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to the own happiness is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected. The exercise of this original right is a very great exertion; nor can it nor ought it to be frequently repeated. The principles, therefore, so established are deemed fundamental. And as the authority from which they proceed, is supreme, and can seldom act, they are designed to be permanent. This original and supreme will organize the government and assigns to different departments their respective powers. It may either stop here or establish certain limits not to be transcended by those departments. . . . The powers of the Legislature are defined and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken or forgotten, the Constitution is written. . . . The distinction between a government with limited and unlimited powers is abolished if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed,. . . . It is a proposition too plain to be contested that the Constitution controls any legislative act repugnant to it. . . .” *Marbury v. Madison*, 1803.

### Document B

“The legislature of a State cannot annul the judgments, nor determine the jurisdiction, of the courts of the United States. The Court of Appeals in prize causes, erected by the Continental Congress, had power to revise and correct the sentences of the State courts of admiralty. Although the claims of a State may be ultimately affected by the decision of a cause, yet, if the State be not necessarily a defendant, the courts of the United States are bound to exercise jurisdiction. If the legislatures of the several states may at will annul the judgments of the courts of the United States, and destroy rights acquired under those judgments, the Constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery, and the Nation is deprived of the means of enforcing its laws by the instrumentality of its own tribunals.” *United States v. Peters*, 1809.

### Document C

“The question whether a law is void for it's repugnancy to the Constitution is at all times a question of much delicacy, which ought seldom, if ever, to be decided in a doubtful case. The Court, when impelled by duty to render such a judgment, would be unworthy of its station could it be unmindful of the solemn obligations which that station imposes. But it is not on slight implication and vague conjecture that the legislature is to be pronounced to have transcended its powers, and its act to be considered void. The opposition between the Constitution and the law should be such that the judge feels a clear and strong conviction of their incompatibility with each other.” *Fletcher v. Peck*, 1810.

### Document D

“It has been said that the people had already surrendered all their powers to the State sovereignties, and had nothing more to give. But surely the question whether they may resume and modify the powers granted to the Government does not remain to be settled in this country. Much more might the legitimacy of the General Government be doubted had it been created by the States. The power delegated to the State sovereignties were to be exercised by themselves, not by a distinct and independent sovereignty created by themselves. To the formation of a league such as was the Confederation. the State sovereignties were certainly competent. But when, "in order to form a perfect union," it was deemed necessary to change this alliance into an effective Government, possessing great and sovereign powers and acting directly on the people, the necessity of referring it to the people; and of deriving its powers directly from them, was felt and acknowledged by all. The Government of the Union then (whatever may be the influence of this fact on the case) is, emphatically and truly, a Government of the people. In form and in substance, it emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are exercised directly on them, and for their benefit.” *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 1819.

**Document E**

“A corporation is an artificial being, invisible, intangible, and existing only in contemplation of law. Being the mere creature of law, it possesses only these properties which the charter of its creation confers upon it, expressly or as incidental to its very existence. These are such as are supposed best calculated to effect the object for which it was created. Among the most important are immortality, and, if the expression may be allowed, individuality; properties by which a perpetual succession of many persons are considered as the same, and may act as a single individual. They enable a corporation to manage its own affairs and to hold property without the perplexing intricacies, the hazardous and endless necessity of perpetual conveyances for the purpose of transmitting it from hand to hand. It is chiefly for the purpose of clothing bodies of men, in succession, with these qualities and capacities that corporations were invented and are in use.” *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 1819.

**Document F**

“From the fact, then, that a charter of incorporation has been granted, nothing can be inferred which changes the character of the institution or transfers to the government any new power over it. The charter of civil institutions does not grow out of their incorporation but out of the manner in which they are formed and the objects for which they are created. The right to change them is not found on their being incorporated but on their being the instruments of government, created for its purposes. The same institutions, created for the same objects though not incorporated, would be public institutions and, of course, be controllable by the legislature. The incorporating act neither gives nor prevents this control. Neither, in reason, can the incorporating act change the character of a private, eleemosynary institution. . . . it is a contract made on a valuable consideration. It is a contract for the security and disposition of property. It is a contract of the faith of which real and personal estate has been conveyed to the corporation. It is then a contract within the letter of the Constitution, and within its spirits also, unless the fact that the property is invested by the donors in trustees for the promotion of religion and education, for the benefit of persons who are perpetually changing, though the objects remain the same, shall create a particular exception, taking this case out of the prohibition contained in the Constitution.”. *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 1819.

**Document F**

“The acknowledged inability of the government, then, to sustain itself against the public will and, by force or otherwise, to control the whole nation is no sound argument in support of its constitutional inability to preserve itself against a section of the Nation acting in opposition in the general will. That the United States form, for many and for most important purposes, a single nation has not been denied. In war, we are one people. In making peace, we are one people. In all commercial regulations, we are one and the same people. In many other respects, the American people are one; and the government which is alone capable of controlling and managing their interests in all these respects is the government of the Union. It is their government, and, in that character, they have no other. America has chosen to be, in many respects and to many purposes, a nation; and for all these purposes her government is complete; to all these objects, it is competent. The people have declared that in the exercise of all powers given for these objects it is supreme. It can, then, in effecting these objects, legitimately control all individuals or governments within the American territory. The constitution and laws of a state, so far as they are repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, are absolutely void. These states are constituent parts of the United States; they are members of one great empire&mdash; for some purposes sovereign, for some purposes subordinate. *Cohens v. Virginia*, 1821.

**Document G**

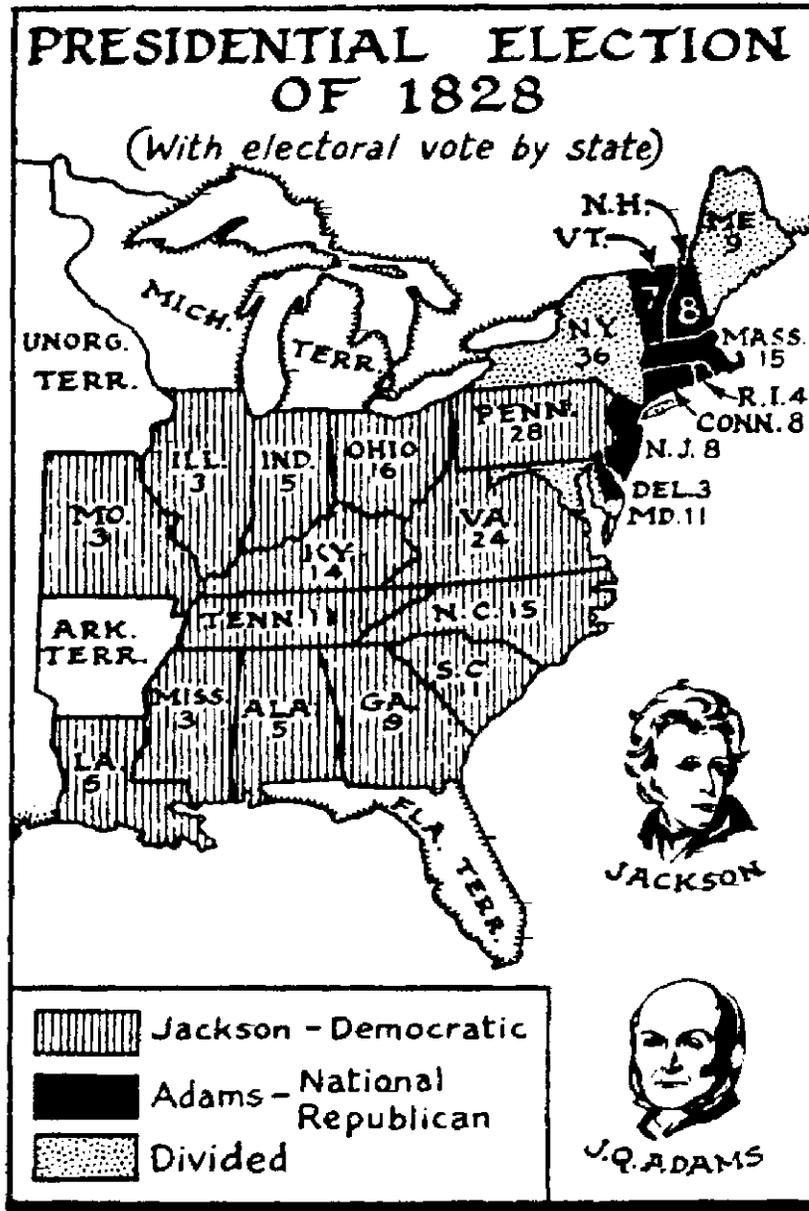
“The power of regulating commerce extends to the regulation of navigation. The power to regulate commerce extends to every species of commercial intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, and among the several States. It does not stop at the external boundary of a State. But it does not extend to a commerce which is completely internal. The power to regulate commerce is general, and has no limitations but such are prescribed in the Constitution itself. The power to regulate commerce, so far as it extends, is exclusively bested in Congress, and no part of it can be exercised by a State. A license under the acts of Congress for regulating the coating trade gives a permission to carry on that trade....The power of regulating commerce extends to navigation carried on by vessels exclusively employed in transporting passengers. The power of regulating commerce extends to vessels propelled by steam or fire as well as to those navigated by the instrumentality of wind and sails.” *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 22 U.S. 1 1824.

“A treaty is in the nature of a contract between two nations, not a legislative act. It does not generally effect, of itself, the object to be accomplished, especially so far as its operation is infra-territorial, but is carried into execution by the sovereign power of the respective parties to the instrument. In the United States, a different principle is established. Our Constitution declares a treaty to be the law of the land. It is consequently to be regarded in courts of justice as equivalent to an act of the legislature whenever it operates itself, without the aid of any legislative provision. But when the terms of the stipulation import a contract, when either of the parties engage to perform a particular act, the treaty addresses itself to the Political, not the Judicial Department, and the Legislature must execute the contract before it can become a rule for the Court.” *Foster & Elam v. Neilson*, 1829.

## AP History Document Based Question #10

Andrew Jackson was the seventh president of the United States. Certainly he saw himself as a hero, and many others saw him that way also. How do you see him and his impact on the United States? Use the documents and your knowledge of U S History to answer the question.

### Document A



### Document B

“The period 1824-1840 is the Age of Jackson. Perhaps no man in our history left so large an imprint on this country.” Arthur Meyer Schlesinger, *The Age of Jackson*, 1945.

**Document C**

“There are, perhaps, few men who can for any great length of time enjoy office and power without being more or less under the influence of feelings unfavorable to the faithful discharge of their public duties. Their integrity may be proof against improper considerations immediately addressed to themselves, but they are apt to acquire a habit of looking with indifference upon the public interests, and of tolerating conduct from which an unpracticed man would revolt. . . . Office is considered as a species of property, and government rather as a means of promoting individual interests than as an instrument created solely for the service of the people. Corruption in some, and in others a perversion of correct feelings and principles, divert government from its legitimate ends and make it an engine for the support of the few at the expense of the many.

The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance. And I cannot but believe that more is lost by the long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience. I submit, therefore, to your consideration whether the efficiency of the government would not be promoted, and official industry and integrity better secured, by a general extension of the law which limits appointments to four years.....In a country where offices are created solely for the benefit of the people, no one man has any more intrinsic right to official station than another.”

Andrew Jackson on rotation in office, 1829.

**Document D**

“To the House of Representatives: Gentlemen: I have maturely considered the bill proposing to authorize "a subscription of stock in the Maysville, Washington, Paris, and Lexington Turnpike Road Company," and now return the same to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, with my objections to its passage. . . . Under this view the question is to the manner in which the Federal Government can or ought to embark in the construction of roads and canals, and the extent to which it may impose burthens on the people for these purposes . . . .if it is expected that the people of this country, reckless of their constitutional obligations, will prefer their local interest to the principles of the Union, such expectations will in the end be disappointed; or if it be not so, then indeed has the world but little to hope from the example of free government. . . .expediency be made a rule of construction in interpreting the Constitution...This is the more necessary in order that they may be equitable among the several States, promote harmony between different sections of the Union and their representatives, preserve other parts of the Constitution from being undermined by the exercise of doubtful powers or the too great extension of those which are not so, and protect the whole subject against the deleterious influence of combinations to carry by concert measures which, considered by themselves, might meet but little countenance.”

Jackson’s Maysville Road Veto, May 27, 1830.

**Document E**

“For what would you exchange your share in the advantages and honor of the Union? For the dream of a separate independence, a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbors and a vile dependence on a foreign power. If your leaders could succeed in establishing a separation, what would be your situation? Are you united at home? Are you free from the apprehension of civil discord, with all its fearful consequences? . . . . But the dictates of a high duty oblige me solemnly to announce that you cannot succeed. The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion.

But be not deceived by names. Disunion by armed force is treason. Are you really ready to incur its guilt?..... The consequence must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow citizens here and to the friends of good government throughout the world.”

Andrew Jackson issued the above proclamation appealing to the Carolinians to forsake the treacherous paths of nullification and disunion. 1832

**Document F**

“. . . .The Bank is professedly established as an agent of the Executive Branch of the government, and its constitutionality is maintained on that ground. Neither upon the propriety of present action nor upon the provisions of this act was the Executive consulted. It has had no opportunity to say that it neither ends nor wants an agent clothed with such powers and favored by such exemptions. There is nothing in its legitimate functions which makes it necessary or proper. Whatever interest or influence, whether public or private, has given birth to this act, it cannot be found either in the wishes or necessities of the Executive Department, by which present action is deemed premature, and the powers conferred upon its agent not only unnecessary but dangerous to the government and country.

It is to be regretted that the rich and powerful too often bend the acts of government to their selfish purposes. Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy, and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law.

There are no necessary evils in government. Its evils exist only in its abuses. If it would confine itself to equal protection, and, as heaven does its rains, shower its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor, it would be an unqualified blessing. In the act before me there seems to be a wide and unnecessary departure from these just principles.

Nor is our government to be maintained or our Union preserved by invasions of the rights and powers of the several states. In thus attempting to make our General Government strong, we make it weak. Its true strength consists of leaving individuals and states as much as possible to themselves--in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence; not in its control, but in its protection; not in binding the states more closely to the center, but leaving each to move unobstructed in its proper orbit.

Experience should teach us wisdom. Most of the difficulties our government now encounters, and most of the dangers which impend over our Union, have sprung from an abandonment of the legitimate objects of government by our national legislation, and the adoption of such principles as are embodied in this act. Many of our rich men have not been content with equal protection and equal benefits, but have besought us to make them richer by act of Congress. By attempting to gratify their desires we have in the results of our legislation arrayed section against section, interest against interest, and man against man, in a fearful commotion which threatens to shake the foundations of our Union.”

Jackson Vetoes the Bank Recharter (1832)

**Document G**

“The condition and ulterior destiny of the Indian tribes within the limits of some of our states have become objects of much interest and importance. It has long been the policy of government to introduce among them the arts of civilization, in the hope of gradually reclaiming them from a wandering life. . . .Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them farther into the wilderness. By this means they have not only been kept in a wandering state, but been led to look upon us as unjust and indifferent to their fate. . . .

Our conduct toward these people is deeply interesting to our national character. Our ancestors found them the uncontrolled possessors of these vast regions. By persuasion and force they have been made to retire from river to river and from mountain to mountain, until some of the tribes have become extinct and others have left but remnants to preserve for awhile their once terrible names. Surrounded by the whites with their arts of civilization, which, by destroying the resources of the savage, doom him to weakness and decay, the fate of the Mohegan, the Narragansett, and the Delaware is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them if they remain within the limits of the states does not admit of a doubt. Humanity and national honor demand that every effort should be made to avert so great a calamity. . . .

As a means of effecting this end, I suggest for your consideration the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without [outside] the limits of any state or territory now formed, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it, each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use. There they may be secured in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes. . . .This emigration should be voluntary, for it would be as cruel as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers and seek a home in a distant land.” Jackson Endorses the Indian Removal (1829)

**Document H**

“The management of the public revenue -- that searching operation in all governments -- is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours, and it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my official solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy. This I shall aim at the more anxiously both because it will facilitate the extinguishment of the national debt, the unnecessary duration of which is incompatible with real independence, and because it will counteract that tendency to public and private profligacy which a profuse expenditure of money by the Government is but too apt to engender. Powerful auxiliaries to the attainment of this desirable end are to be found in the regulations provided by the wisdom of Congress for the specific appropriation of public money and the prompt accountability of public officers.”

Andrew Jackson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1829

**Document I**

“But in order to maintain the Union unimpaired, it is absolutely necessary that the laws passed by the constituted authorities should be faithfully executed in every part of the country, and that every good citizen should at all times stand ready to put down, with the combined force of the nation, every attempt at unlawful resistance, under whatever pretext it may be made or whatever shape it may assume. Unconstitutional or oppressive laws may no doubt be passed by Congress, either from erroneous views or the want of due consideration; if they are within reach of judicial authority, the remedy is easy and peaceful, and if, from the character of the law, it is an abuse of power not within the control of the judiciary, then free discussion and calm appeals to reason and to the justice of the people will not fail to redress the wrong. But until the law shall be declared void by the courts or repealed by Congress, no individual or combination of individuals can be justified in forcibly resisting its execution. It is impossible that any government can continue to exist upon any other principles. It would cease to be a government, and be unworthy of the name, if it had not the power to enforce the execution for its own laws within its own sphere of action.”

Andrew Jackson, Jacksons' Farewell Address, 1837.

**Document J**

“Van Buren's four years overflowed with toil and trouble. A rebellion in Canada in 1837 stirred up ugly incidents along the northern frontier and threatened to trigger war with Britain. The president's attempt to play a neutral game led to the cry "Woe to Martin Van Buren!" The antislavery agitators in the North were in full cry and among other grievances were condemning the prospective annexation of Texas. Worst of all, Van Buren inherited the making of a searing depression from Jackson. Much of his energy had to be devoted to the purely negative task of battling the panic, and there were not enough rabbits in the "Little Magician's" tall silk hat. Hard times ordinarily blight the reputation of a president--and Van Buren was no exception.”

*The American Pageant*, Thomas Bailey

**Document K**

“The dispatch was delivered to General Jackson on the morning of the 7th of April. He instantly replied to it by taking possession of the fort! The Spanish flag was lowered, the Stars and Stripes floated from the flag-staff, and American troops took up their quarters within the fortress. The Governor made no resistance, and indeed could make none. When all was over, he sent to General Jackson a formal protest against his proceedings, to which the General briefly replied: "The occupancy of Fort St. Marks by my troops previous to your assenting to the measure became necessary from the difficulties thrown in the way of an amicable adjustment, notwithstanding my assurances that every arrangement should be made to your satisfaction, and expressing a wish that my movements against our common enemy should not be retarded by a tedious negotiation. I again repeat what has been reiterated to you through my aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Gadsden, that your personal rights and private property shall be respected, that your situation shall be made as comfortable as practicable while compelled to remain in Fort St. Marks, and that transports shall be furnished, as soon as they can be obtained to convey yourself, family, and command to Pensacola.”

Jackson in Florida, 1819

Document L



Rats leave the falling house



## AP US History Document Based Question #11

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

Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote of the Mexican War, "The United States will conquer Mexico, but it will be as the man who swallows the arsenic which brings him down in turn. Mexico will poison us." Assess the validity of Emerson's prophecy.

### Document A

"Charles Sumner on Texas (1847) Old South Leaflets (Boston, 1904), vol. 6, no. 132, pp. 2-4.

"The history of the annexation of Texas cannot be fully understood without reverting to the early settlement of that province by citizens of the United States. Mexico, on achieving her independence of the Spanish Crown, by a general ordinance worthy of imitation by all Christian nations, had decreed the abolition of human slavery within her dominions, embracing the province of Texas. . . . The idea was early promulgated that this extensive province ought to become a part of the United States. Its annexation was distinctly agitated in the Southern and Western states in 1829; and it was urged on the ground of the strength and extension it would give to the "Slave Power," and the fresh market it would open for the sale of slaves."

### Document B

James K. Polk on War with Mexico, J. D. Richardson, ed., Messages and Papers of the Presidents (1897), vol. 4, pp. 441-442.

"The cup of forbearance had been exhausted even before the recent information from the frontier of the [Rio Grande] Del Norte. But now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil. She has proclaimed that hostilities have commenced, and that the two nations are now at war.

As war exists, and, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself, we are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country."

### Document C

#### *"Liberty Follows"*



David Wilmot on Texas, Congressional Globe, 29th Congress, 2d session, Appendix, p. 315 (February 8, 1847).

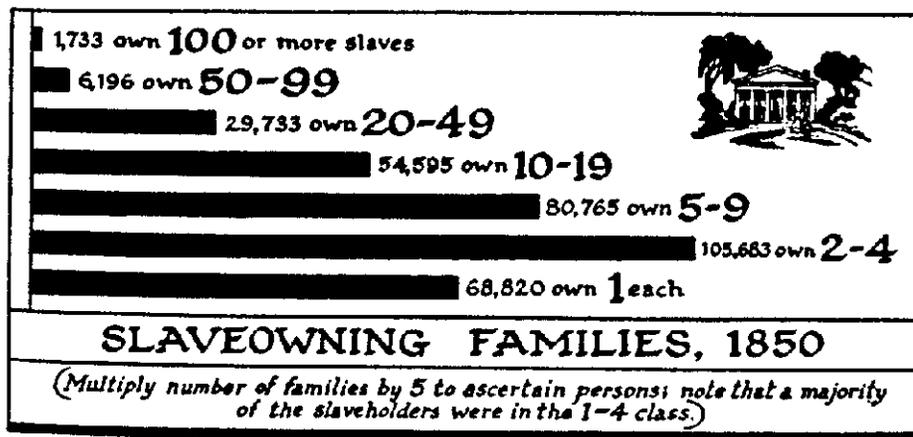
“But, sir, the issue now presented is not whether slavery shall exist unmolested where it now is, but whether it shall be carried to new and distant regions, now free, where the footprint of a slave cannot be found. This, sir, is the issue. Upon it I take my stand, and from it I cannot be frightened or driven by idle charges of abolitionism.

I ask not that slavery be abolished. I demand that this government preserve the integrity of free territory against the aggressions of slavery--against its wrongful usurpations. . . . We are fighting this war cheerfully, not reluctantly--cheerfully fighting this war for Texas; and yet we seek not to change the character of her institutions. Slavery is there; there let it remain. . . .

Now, sir, we are told that California is ours, that New Mexico is ours--won by the valor of our arms. They are free. Shall they remain free? Shall these fair provinces be the inheritance and homes of the white labor of freemen or the black labor of slaves? This, sir, is the issue--this the question. The North has the right, and her representatives here have the power. . . .

There is no question of abolition here, sir. Shall the South be permitted, by aggression, by invasion of the right, by subduing free territory and planting slavery upon it, to wrest these provinces from Northern freemen. . . .?”

**Document E**



**Document F**

"Stephen Douglas on Popular-Sovereignty Plea (1854), Congressional Globe, 33d Congress, 1st session (March 3, 1854), Appendix, p. 338.

“ . . . When the people of the North shall all be rallied under one banner, and the whole South marshaled under another banner, and each section excited to frenzy and madness by hostility to the institutions of the other, then the patriot may well tremble for the perpetuity of the Union. Withdraw the slavery question from the political arena, and remove it to the states and territories, each to decide for itself, such a catastrophe can never happen. Then you will never be able to tell, by any Senator's vote for or against any measure, from what state or section of the Union he comes.

Why, then, can we not withdraw this vexed question from politics? Why can we not adopt the [popular sovereignty] principle of this [Kansas-Nebraska] bill as a rule of action in all new territorial organizations? Why can we not deprive these agitators of their vocation, and render it impossible for Senators to come here upon bargains on the slavery question? I believe that the peace, the harmony, and perpetuity of the Union require us to go back to the doctrines of the Revolution, to the principles of the Constitution, to the principles of the Compromise of 1850, and leave the people, under the Constitution, to do as they may see proper in respect to their own internal affairs.

Mr. President, I have not brought this question forward as a Northern man or as a Southern man. I am unwilling to recognize such divisions and distinctions. I have brought it forward as an American Senator, representing a state which is true to this principle, and which has approved of my action in respect to the Nebraska bill. I have brought it forward not as an act of justice to the South more than to the North. I have presented it especially as an act of justice to the people of those territories, and of the states to be formed therefrom, now and in all time to come. . . . I say frankly that, in my opinion, this measure will be as popular at the North as at the South, when its provisions and principles shall have been fully developed and become well understood.”

## Document G

Sectionalism (1800-1860)

Senator Henry Clay's Compromise Speech, 1850, Courtesy University of Kentucky, Mary I. King Library. The Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Henry Clay, Vol III, ed. Calvin Colton, p. 302-345

“Mr. President, it is passion, passion—party, party, and intemperance—that is all I dread in the adjustment of the great questions which unhappily at this time divide our distracted country. Sir, at this moment we have in the legislative bodies of this Capitol and in the States, twenty old furnaces in full blast, emitting heat, and passion, and intemperance, and diffusing them throughout the whole extent of this broad land. Two months ago all was calm in comparison to the present moment. All now is uproar, confusion, and menace to the existence of the Union, and to the happiness and safety of this people. Sir, I implore senators, I entreat them, by all that they expect hereafter, and by all that is dear to them here below, to repress the ardor of these passions, to look to their country, to its interests, to listen to the voice of reason—not as it shall be attempted to be uttered by me, for I am not so presumptuous as to indulge the hope that any thing I may say will avert the effects which I have described, but to listen to their own reason, their own judgment, their own good sense, in determining upon what is best to be done for our country in the actual posture in which we find her. Sir, to this great object have my efforts been directed during the whole session.”

## Document H

Senator Daniel Webster's "Seventh of March" Speech, 1850, Dartmouth College Library, "Speech of the Hon. Daniel Webster upon the Subject of Slavery." p. 1-36  
Delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 7, 1850.

“Mr. President: I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American, and a member of the Senate of the United States. It is fortunate that there is a Senate of the United States,—a body not yet moved from its propriety, not lost to a just sense of its own dignity, and its own high responsibilities, and a body to which the country looks with confidence for wise, moderate, patriotic, and healing counsels. It is not to be denied that we live in the midst of strong agitations, and are surrounded by very considerable dangers to our institutions of government. The imprisoned winds are let loose. The East, the West, the North, and the stormy South, all combine to throw the whole ocean into commotion, and to toss its billows to the skies, and to disclose its profoundest depths. I do not affect to regard myself, Mr. President, as holding, or as fit to hold, the helm in this combat of the political elements; but I have a duty to perform, and I mean to perform it with fidelity,—not without a sense of surrounding dangers, but not without hope. I have a part to act, not for my own security or safety, for I am looking out for no fragment upon which to float away from the wreck, if wreck there must be, but for the good of the whole, and the preservation of the whole; and there is that which will keep me to my duty during this struggle, whether the sun and the stars shall appear, or shall not appear for many days. I speak today for the preservation of the Union. "Hear me for my cause.”

## Document I

South Carolina Ordinance of Secession, 1860, University of South Carolina, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, SC.

“An ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other states united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America":

We, the people of the State of South Carolina in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention on the twenty-third day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and the other States, under the name of the "United States of America" is hereby dissolved.”

Done at Charleston the twentieth day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1860.

## Document J

Crittenden Compromise of 1860, *The Political History of the United States of America During the Great Rebellion, 1860-65*, ed. Edward McPherson, p. 64-65

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled two-thirds of both Houses concurring).*

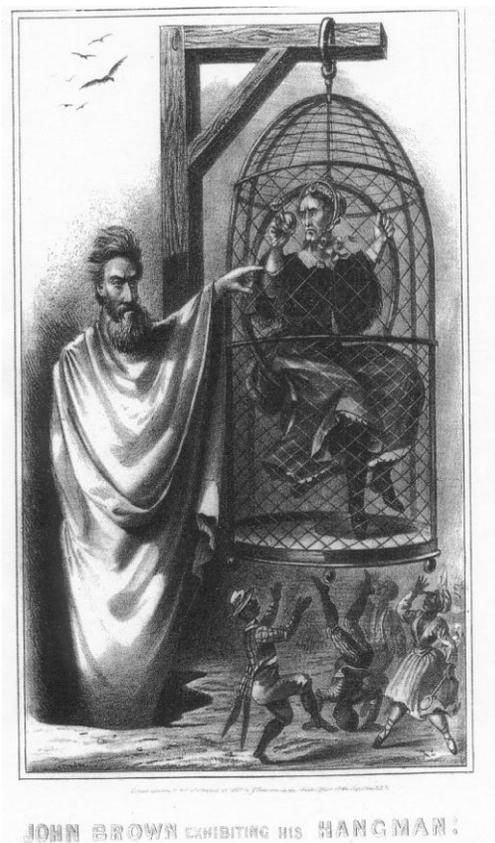
Article 1. In all the territory of the United States now held, or hereafter acquired, situate north of latitude 36 degree 30', slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is prohibited while such territory shall remain under territorial government. In all the territory south of said line of latitude, slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by Congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance.

Art. 2. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

Art. 3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland.

Art. 4. Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another . . .

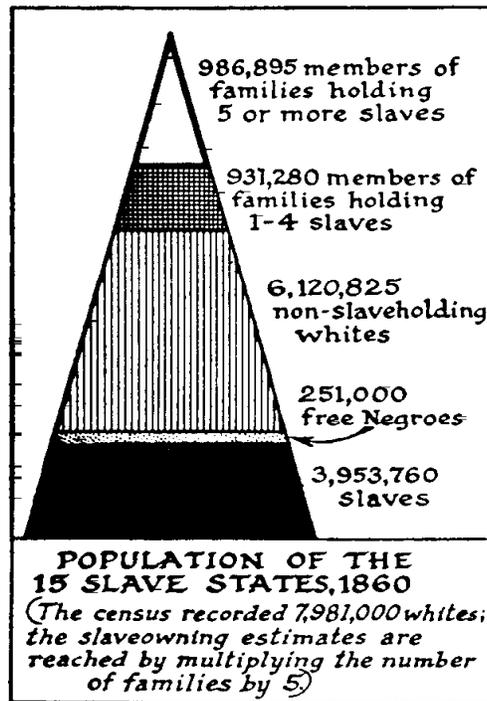
## Document K



## AP American History Document Based Question #12

The Abolitionist Movement did not speed the end of slavery, but simply made it impossible to end it without a destructive civil war? Assess the validity of this statement using the documents below and your knowledge of United States history 1800-1861.

### Document A



### Document B

"... and supposing that her husband would be as well pleased, she made no secret of what she was doing for me. Indeed, she exultingly told him of the aptness of her pupil, and of her intention to persevere in teaching me, as she felt her duty to do, at least to read the Bible. . . . Master Hugh was astounded beyond measure, and probably for the first time proceeded to unfold to his wife the true philosophy of the slave system, and the peculiar rules necessary in the nature of the case to be observed in the management of human chattels. Of course, he forbade her to give me any further instruction, telling her in the first place that to do so was unlawful, as it was also unsafe. "For," said he, "if you give a nigger an inch, he will take an all. Learning will spoil the best nigger in the world. If he learns to read the Bible, it will forever unfit him to be a slave. He should know nothing but the will of his master, and learn to obey it." Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (Hartford, Conn.: Park, 1882), pp. 94-97.

### Document C

Southern honor is satisfied *Richmond Register*, 1856



**Document D**

“During my recent tour. . . , every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free states than in the South. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birthplace of liberty. . . . Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence "that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights--among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. . . .” Daniel Webster, 1832.

**Document E**

“I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen--but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest--I will not equivocate--I will not excuse--I will not retreat a single inch--AND I WILL BE HEARD. . . . It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective and the precipitancy of my measures. The charge is not true. On this question my influence--humble as it is--is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years--not perniciously, but beneficially--not as a curse, but as a blessing. And posterity will bear testimony that I was right.” William Lloyd Garrison, The Liberator (Boston), 1831.

**Document F**

“A greater punishment could not be devised or inflicted upon the Southern slave at this day than to give him that liberty which God in his wisdom and mercy deprived him of. . . . Free them from control, and how soon does poverty and wretchedness overtake them! . . . I boldly and truly assert that you may travel Europe over--yea, you may visit the boasted freemen of America--aye, you may search the world over--before you find a laboring peasantry who are more happy, more contented, as a class of people, or who are better clothed and fed and better provided for in sickness, infirmity, and old age, or who enjoy more of the essential comforts of life, than these so-called miserable, oppressed, abused, starved slaves. . . . I doubt whether one single instance can be found among the slaves of the South where one has injured himself at long and excessive labor. Instead of a cruel and avaricious master being able to extort more than a very reasonable amount of labor from him, his efforts will certainly produce the contrary effect. This is a well-known fact, so much so indeed that an overseer of this character cannot get employment among masters, who know that over-driving a Negro, as well as a mule, is the poorest way to get work out of either of them. . . . Northern men are always the hardest masters, in the vain attempt they make to force the Negro to do even half as much as a hireling in New England is compelled to do, or lose his place and wages. . . . It is true that some men abuse and harshly treat their slaves. So do some men abuse their wives and children and apprentices and horses and cattle. . . .”

**Document G****Northern friends of Constitutional government**

**Document H**

“Then, sir, there are those abolition societies, of which I am unwilling to speak, but in regard to which I have very clear notions and opinions. I do not think them useful. I think their operations for the last twenty years have produced nothing good or valuable. At the same time, I know thousands of them are honest and good men; perfectly well-meaning men. They have excited feelings; they think they must do something for the cause of liberty. And in their sphere of action, they do not see what else they can do than to contribute to an abolition press, or an abolition society, or to pay an abolition lecturer. I cannot but see what mischiefs their interference with the South has produced. And is it not plain to every man? Let any gentleman who doubts of that recur to the debates in the Virginia House of Delegates in 1832, and he will see with what freedom a proposition made by Mr. Randolph for the gradual abolition of slavery was discussed in that body. Everyone spoke of slavery as he thought; very ignominious and disparaging names and epithets were applied to it. . . . At that time Virginia was not unwilling nor afraid to discuss this question, and to let that part of her population know as much of it as they could learn. That was in 1832. . . . These abolition societies commenced their course of action in 1835. It is said--I do not know how true it may be--that they sent incendiary publications into the slave states. Well, what was the result? The bonds of the slaves were bound more firmly than before; their rivets were more strongly fastened. . . . That is my judgment.” Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st session, Appendix, vol. 22, part 1, p. 275.

**Document I**

“Before proceeding, let me say that I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses North and South. Doubtless there are individuals, on both sides, who would not hold slaves under any circumstances, and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tiptop abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South and become most cruel slave-masters. When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me, I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. . . . What then? Free them all and keep them among us as underlings? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people would not. . . . We cannot then make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for their tardiness in this I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.” R. P. Basler, ed., The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), vol. 2, pp. 255-256.

**Document J**

“The abolitionists of this country have been charged with bringing on the war between the North and South, and in one sense this is true. Had there been no anti-slavery agitation at the North, there would have been no active anti-slavery anywhere to resist the demands of the Slave Power at the South, and where there is no resistance there can be no war. Slavery would then have been nationalized, and the whole country would then have been subjected to its power. Resistance to slavery and the extension of slavery invited and provoked secession and war to perpetuate and extend the slave system. . . . goaded to madness, the traffickers in the souls and bodies of men flew to arms, rent asunder the Union at the center, and filled the land with hostile armies and the ten thousand horrors of war. Out of this tempest, out of this whirlwind and earthquake of war, came the abolition of slavery, came the employment of colored troops, came colored citizens, came colored jurymen, came colored Congressmen, came colored schools in the South, and came the great amendments of our national Constitution.” The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass (Hartford, Conn.: Park, 1882), p. 607.

**Document K**

“Notwithstanding the fact that the white non-slaveholders of the South are in the majority as five to one, they have never yet had any part or lot in framing the laws under which they live. There is no legislation except for the benefit of slavery and slaveholders. As a general rule, poor white persons are regarded with less esteem and attention than Negroes, and though the condition of the latter is wretched beyond description, vast numbers of the former are infinitely worse off. . . . they are disfranchised and outlawed. To the illiterate poor whites--made poor and ignorant by the system of slavery--they hold out the idea that slavery is the very bulwark of our liberties, and the foundation of American independence! . . . It is expected that the stupid and sequacious [servile] masses, the white victims of slavery, will believe--and, as a general thing, they do believe--whatever the slaveholders tell them.” H. R. Helper, The Impending Crisis of the South (New York: A. C. Bundick, 1860), pp. 42-45.

**Document L**

“The Helperites come in and say that the riches of the South are neglected by the bad management of the South; that the accursed plague of slavery does it; and that, therefore, non-slaveholders at the South should rise in their majesty--peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must--take their arms, subdue the slaveholders, drive out the plague of slavery, take possession of the country, and dedicate it to free labor. . . . Can the South expect from such men the maintenance of the integrity of the Constitution? Our slave property is as much our property under the Constitution, and under the guarantees of this government, as any property held at the North. Whether it is sinful to hold slaves, whether slavery is a plague and a loss, and whether it will affect our future destiny, is our own business. We suffer for that, and not they. . . . Do gentlemen expect that they can distribute incendiary books, give incendiary advice, advise rebellion, advise non-intercourse in all the relations of life, spread such works broadcast over the country, and not be taken to task for it?” Congressional Globe, (December 8, 1859), p. 17.

**Document M**

“Antislavery sentiment was not unknown in the South, and in the 1820s antislavery societies were more numerous south of Mason and Dixon's line (originally the southern boundary of colonial Pennsylvania) than north of it. But after about 1830 the voice of white southern abolitionism was silenced. In a last gasp of southern questioning of slavery, the Virginia legislature debated and eventually defeated various emancipation proposals in 1831-1832. That debate marked a turning point. . . . Nat Turner's rebellion in 1831 sent a wave of hysteria sweeping over the snowy cotton fields, and planters in growing numbers slept with pistols by their pillows. Although Garrison had no demonstrable connection with the Turner conspiracy, *The Liberator* appeared at about the same time, and he was bitterly condemned as a terrorist and an inciter of murder. The state of Georgia offered \$5,000 for his arrest and conviction.” Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant.

**Document N**

“Proslavery whites responded by launching a massive defense of slavery as a positive good. In doing so they forgot their own section's previous doubts about the morality of the "peculiar institution." Slavery, they claimed, was supported by the authority of the Bible and the wisdom of Aristotle. It was good for the Africans, who were lifted from the barbarism of the jungle and clothed with the blessings of Christian civilization. Slavemasters did indeed encourage religion in the slave quarters. . . . White apologists also pointed out that master-slave relationships really resembled those of a family. On many plantations, especially those of the Old South of Virginia and Maryland, this argument had a certain plausibility. . . . Southern whites were quick to contrast the "happy" lot of their "servants" with that of the overworked northern wage slaves, including sweated women and stunted children. The blacks mostly toiled in the fresh air and sunlight, not in dark and stuffy factories. They did not have to worry about slack times or unemployment, as did the "hired hands" of the North. Provided with a jail-like form of Social Security, they were cared for in sickness and old age, unlike northern workers, who were set adrift when they had outlived their usefulness. . . . Regrettably, also, the controversy over free people endangered free speech in the entire country. Piles of petitions poured in upon Congress from the antislavery reformers; and in 1836 sensitive southerners drove through the House the so-called gag resolution. It required all such antislavery appeals to be tabled without debate. This attack on the right of petition aroused the sleeping lion in the aged ex-president, Representative John Quincy Adams, and he waged a successful eight-year fight for its repeal. . . . Southern whites likewise resented the flooding of their mails with incendiary abolitionist literature. In 1835 a mob in Charleston, South Carolina, looted the local post office and burned a pile of abolitionist propaganda. Capitulating to southern pressures, the Washington government in 1835 ordered southern postmasters to destroy abolitionist material and called on southern state officials to arrest federal postmasters who did not comply.” Richard Current, American History to 1876.

**Document O**

“Such is the crime which you are to judge. . . . a madness for slavery which would disregard the Constitution, the laws, and all the great examples of our history . . . There, sir, stands the criminal, all unmasked before you--heartless, grasping, and tyrannical. . . . The senator from South Carolina has read many books of chivalry, and believes himself a chivalrous knight with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, tho ugly to others, is always lovely to him; tho polluted in the sight of the world, is chaste in his sight--I mean the harlot, Slavery. For her, his tongue is always profuse in words. Let her be impeached in character, or any proposition made to shut her out from the extension of her wantonness, and no extravagance of manner or hardihood of assertion is then too great for this senator.” Charles Sumner, The Crime Against Kansas, Pg.167.

**Document P**

"And now," said Legree, "come here, you Tom. You see, I telled ye I didn't buy ye jest for the common work. I mean to promote ye, and make a driver of ye; and tonight ye may jest as well begin to get yer hand in. Now, ye jest take this yer gal and flog her; ye've seen enough on't [of it] to know how."

"I beg Mas'r's pardon," said Tom; "hopes Mas'r won't set me at that. It's what I an't used to--never did--and can't do, no way possible."

"Ye'll larn a pretty smart chance of things ye never did know, before I've done with ye!" said Legree, taking up a cowhide and striking Tom a heavy blow across the cheek, and following up the infliction by a shower of blows.

"There!" he said, as he stopped to rest; "now, will ye tell me ye can't do it?"

"Yes, Mas'r," said Tom, putting up his hand, to wipe the blood that trickled down his face. "I'm willin' to work, night and day, and work while there's life and breath in me. But this yer thing I can't feel it right to do; and, Mas'r, I never shall do it--never!"

"Well, here's a pious dog, at least, let down among us sinners!--a saint, a gentleman, and no less, to talk to us sinners about our sins! Powerful holy crittur, he must be! Here, you rascal, you make believe to be so pious--didn't you never hear, out of yer Bible, 'Servants, obey yer masters'? An't I yer master? Didn't I pay down twelve hundred dollars, cash, for all there is inside yer old cussed black shell? An't yer mine, now, body and soul?" he said, giving Tom a violent kick with his heavy boot; "tell me!"

"No! no! no! my soul an't yours, Mas'r! You haven't bought it--ye can't buy it! It's been bought and paid for by One that is able to keep it. No matter, no matter, you can't harm me!"

Harriet B. Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin (Boston: J. P. Jewett, 1852), chap.

## AP US History Document Based Question #13

“To what extent did the Compromise of 1850 actually fuel the rising sectional disputes and growing animosity between the North and South instead of accomplishing its goal of settling the increasingly heated arguments over the issue of slavery. Inevitably this would lead to dissolution of the Union.” Use your knowledge of the period and the following documents A-P.

### Document A

**CAUTION!!**

---

**COLORED PEOPLE  
OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,**

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

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

**KIDNAPPERS  
AND  
Slave Catchers,**

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

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

**APRIL 24, 1851.**

### Document B

“SIR, It will be recollected by all present, at the last session of Congress, an amendment was moved by me by which slavery should be excluded from any territory that might be subsequently be acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico. . . .But, sir, the issue now presented is not whether slavery shall exist unmolested where it now is, but whether it shall be carried to new and distant regions, now free, where the footprint of a slave cannot be found. I ask not that slavery be abolished. I demand that this Government preserve the integrity of free territory against the aggressions of slavery -- against its wrongful usurpations. . . .Shall these fair provinces be the inheritance and homes of the white labor of freemen or the black labor of slaves? . . . Shall the South be permitted, by aggression, by invasion of the right, by subduing free territory, and planting slavery upon it, to wrest these provinces from northern freemen, and turn them to the accomplishment of their own sectional purposes and schemes?” David Wilmot, Wilmot Defends His Proviso, Pg.83 - Pg.84.

**Document C**

“The slaveholding interest watched these proceedings with constantly increasing alarm. The territories taken from Mexico were eluding its grasp. Instead of adding to the strength of the South, they would increase the power of the free States. It was a terrible shock. The mere anticipation of it had brought forth suggestions of desperate remedies. The cry of disunion was raised with increasing frequency and violence. Many meant it only as a threat to frighten the North into concession. But there were not a few Southern men also who had regretfully arrived at the conclusion that the dissolution of the Union was necessary to the salvation of slavery. On the other hand, while every Southern legislature save one denounced the exclusion of slavery as a violation of Southern rights, every Northern legislature save one passed resolutions in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. . . .” Carl Schurz, *The Clay Compromise*, Great Epochs, Vol.7, Pg.97.

**Document D**

“In an attempt to preserve the Union, Henry Clay, early in 1850, proposed a series of measures intended to satisfy both North and South. After lengthy, heated debate most of Clay's program passed. The five acts making up the Compromise provided for the admission of California as a free state; organization of New Mexico and Utah as territories that could enter the union with or without slavery; the settlement of the Texas boundary claims with the federal government assuming \$10 million in debts contracted by the Republic of Texas; the prohibition of the slave trade--though not slavery--in the District of Columbia; and a more stringent Fugitive Slave Law.” Michael F. Holt , The Political Crisis of the 1850's (1983).

**Document E**

“SLAVERY did exist in the States before the adoption of this Constitution, and at that time. Let us, therefore, consider the state of sentiment, in regard to slavery, at the time this Constitution was adopted. A remarkable change has taken place since; but what did the wise and great men of all parts of the country think of slavery then? It will be found, that there was no diversity of opinion between the North and the South upon the subject of slavery. It will be found that both parts of the country held it equally an evil, a moral and political evil. It will not be found that, either at the North or at the South, there was much, tho there was some, invective against slavery as inhuman and cruel. . . . and therefore we find from all the eminent men of the time the clearest expression of their opinion that slavery is an evil.

There has been found at the North, among individuals and among legislators, a disinclination to perform fully their constitutional duties in regard to the return of persons bound to service who have escaped into the free States. In that respect, the South, in my judgment, is right, and the North is wrong. Every member of every Northern Legislature is bound by oath, like every other officer in the country, to support the Constitution of the United States; and the article of the Constitution which says to these States that they shall deliver up fugitives from service, is as binding in honor and conscience as any other article.

Mr. President, . . . I hear with distress and anguish the word "secession. Secession! Peaceable secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! Who is so foolish--I beg everybody's pardon--as to expect to see any such thing? . . . There can be no such thing as a peaceable secession. Peaceable secession is an utter impossibility. No, sir! No, sir! I will not state what might produce the disruption of the Union; but, sir, I see, as plainly as I see the sun in heaven, what the disruption itself must produce; i see that it must produce war, and such a war as I will not describe. . . . Why, what would be the result? Where is the line to be drawn? What States are to secede? What is to remain American? What am I to be? An American no longer? . . . What is to become of the public lands? How is any one of the thirty States to defend itself? . . . Never did there devolve on any generation of men higher trusts than now devolve upon us, for the preservation of this Constitution, and the harmony and peace of all who are destined to live under it. Let us make our generation one of the strongest and brightest links in that golden chain, which is destined, I fondly believe, to grapple the people of all the States to this Constitution for ages to come. Daniel Webster, *The Clay Compromise*, The World's Famous Orations, Vol.2, Pg.74.

**Document F**

“When the hour of actual conflict came, every patriot realized that a great magazine of strength for the Union was stored in the teachings of Mr. Webster. For thirty years preceding the Nullification troubles in South Carolina, the Government had been administered on the States'-rights theory, in which the power of the nation was subordinated, and its capacity to subdue the revolt of seceding States was dangerously weakened. His speech in reply to Hayne in 1830 was like an amendment to the Constitution. It corrected traditions, changed convictions, revolutionized conclusions. It gave to the friends of the Union the abundant logic which established the right and the power of the Government to preserve itself. A fame so lofty, a work so grand, can not be marred by one mistake, if mistake it be conceded. The thoughtful reconsideration of his severest critics must allow that Mr. Webster saw before him a divide duty, and that he chose the part which in his patriotic judgment was demanded by the supreme danger of the hour.” James G. Blaine, *Webster's Seventh of March Speech*, Great Epochs, Vol.7, Pg.108.

**Document G**

“ . . . How can the Union be saved? To this I answer, there is but one way by which it can be, and that is by adopting such measures as will satisfy the states belonging to the Southern section that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honor and their safety. There is, again, only one way by which this can be effected, and that is by removing the causes by which this belief [that the South cannot honorably and safely remain in the Union] has been produced. Do that and discontent will cease, harmony and kind feelings between the sections be restored, and every apprehension of danger to the Union removed. The question, then, is, By what can this be done? But, before I undertake to answer this question, I propose to show by what the Union cannot be saved.

It cannot, then, be saved by eulogies on the Union, however splendid or numerous. The cry of "Union, Union, the glorious Union!" can no more prevent disunion than the cry of "Health, health, glorious health!" on the part of the physician can save a patient lying dangerously ill. . . . It usually comes from our assailants. But we cannot believe them to be sincere; for, if they loved the Union, they would necessarily be devoted to the Constitution. It made the Union, and to destroy the Constitution would be to destroy the Union. But the only reliable and certain evidence of devotion to the Constitution is to abstain, on the one hand, from violating it, and to repel, on the other, all attempts to violate it. It is only by faithfully performing these high duties that the Constitution can be preserved, and with it the Union. . . . The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer but the Constitution; and no concession or surrender to make. She has already surrendered so much that she has little left to surrender. Such a settlement would go to the root of the evil, and remove all cause of discontent by satisfying the South she could remain honorably and safely in the Union, and thereby restore the harmony and fraternal feelings between the sections which existed anterior to the Missouri [Compromise] agitation [1820]. Nothing else can, with any certainty, finally and forever settle the questions at issue, terminate agitation, and save the Union. But can this be done? Yes, easily; not by the weaker party [the South], for it can of itself do nothing--not even protect itself--but by the stronger. The North has only to will it to accomplish it--to do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and to do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled--to cease the agitation of the slave question, and to provide for the insertion of a provision in the Constitution, by an amendment, which will restore to the South, in substance, the power she possessed of protecting herself, before the equilibrium between the sections was destroyed by the action of this government. But will the North agree to this? It is for her to answer the question. But, I will say, she cannot refuse if she has half the love of the Union which she professes to have, or without justly exposing herself to the charge that her love of power and aggrandizement is far greater than her love of the Union. At all events, the responsibility of saving the Union rests on the North, and not the South. The South cannot save it by any act of hers, and the North may save it without any sacrifice whatever, unless to do justice, and to perform her duties under the Constitution, should be regarded by her as a sacrifice. . . . Congressional Globe, 31st Congress, 1st session (March 4, 1850) pp. 453, 455.

**Document H**

Slave being taken to auction along the Potomac in the shadow of the capitol building.

**Document I**

“And be it further enacted, That the Circuit Courts of the United States shall from time to time enlarge the number of the commissioners, with a view to afford reasonable facilities to reclaim fugitives from labor, and to the prompt discharge of the duties imposed by this act. . . . shall grant certificates to such claimants, upon satisfactory proof being made, with authority to take and remove such fugitives from service or labor, under the restrictions herein contained, to the State or Territory from which such persons may have escaped or fled. . . . and all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required, as aforesaid, for that purpose; and said warrants shall run, and be executed by said officers, any where in the State within which they are issued. . . . And be it further enacted, That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory of the United States, ha: heretofore or shall hereafter escape into another State or Territory of the United States, the person or persons to whom such service labor may be due, or his, her, or their agent or attorney, duly authorized, by power of attorney, in writing, acknowledged and certified under the seal of some legal officer or court of the State or Territory in which the same may be executed, may pursue and reclaim such fugitive person, either by procuring a warrant from some one of the courts, judges, or commissioners aforesaid, of the proper circuit, district, or county, for the apprehension of such fugitive from service or labor, or by seizing and arresting such fugitive. . . .” Approved, September 18, 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, Harvard Classics (1910), Vol.43, Pg.330.

**Document J**

“THAT the time has come for the South to look to her interests, when considered in connection with the great political strife now existing between the two sections of this country, I think no true Southerner, who loves liberty and hates oppression, will attempt to deny. If there are any who think that the time has not yet arrived "when patience ceases to be a virtue," and when we, as a free people, should not cry out against the insults and impositions of the North, and declare our independence to the world, they must indeed have charitable and forgiving souls. Isn't it enough that the rights of the South, in the sovereign capacity of her several States, have been most persistently denied her for forty years? Have we not, as a section, been insulted and oppressed, not only at home, but in every Foreign Court in Christendom, by abolition fanatics, who should, as citizens of the same Government, regard us as brothers? The leaders and oracles of the most powerful party in the United States have denounced us as tyrants and unprincipled heathens, through the whole civilized world. They have preached it from their pulpits. They have declared it in the halls of Congress and in their newspapers. In their school-houses they have taught their children (who are to rule this Government in the next generation) to look upon the slaveholder as the especial disciple of the devil himself. They have published books and pamphlets in which the institution of slavery is held up to the world as a blot and a stain upon the escutcheon of America's honor as a nation. They have established Abolition Societies among them for the purpose of raising funds -- first to send troops to Kansas to cut the throats of all the slaveholders there, and now to send emissaries among us to incite our slaves to rebellion against the authority of their masters, and thereby endanger the lives of our people and the destruction of our property. . . . They have virtually repealed the Fugitive Slave Law, and declare their determination not to abide by the decision of the Supreme Court, guaranteeing to us the right to claim our property wherever found in the United States. And, in every conceivable way, the whole Northern people, as a mass, have shown a most implacable hostility to us and our most sacred rights; and this, too, without the slightest provocation on the part of the South. Never, in a single instance, has the South, in any shape or form, interfered with the North in her municipal regulations; but, on the contrary, has tamely submitted to paying tribute to the support of her manufactures, and the establishment of her commercial greatness; yet, like the "serpent warmed in the husbandman's bosom," she turns upon us and stings us to the heart. If Great Britain or any foreign power, had heaped upon us the long catalogue of insult and abuses that the North has, there is not a man in the whole South who would not have long since shouldered his musket, and, if necessary, spilt his heart's blood to have avenged them. All admit that an ultimate dissolution of the Union is inevitable, and we believe the crisis is not far off. Then let it come now; the better for the South that it should be today; she cannot afford to wait. With the North it is different. Every day adds to her sectional strength, and every day the balance of power becomes less proportionate between the two sections. In a few more years (unless this course is speedily adopted by us) there will not be an inch of territorial ground for the Southern emigrant to place his foot on. Our doom will be sealed; the decree shall have gone forth: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." But the territories are now the common property of the Government, and in a division of the Union, we should be entitled to our legitimate share in the division, over which, thenceforth, the South would have exclusive jurisdiction, to the exclusion of the meddling and power-loving North.” R. B. Rhett, Threats Of Secession, America, Vol.7, Pg.290.

**Document K**

"In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence, show that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument. . . a negro of the African race was regarded by them as an article of property, and held, and bought and sold as such, in every one of the thirteen colonies which united in the Declaration of Independence, and afterwards formed the Constitution of the United States. . . . The only two provisions which point to them and include them, treat them as property, and make it the duty of the government to protect it; no other power, in relation to this race, is to be found in the Constitution; and as it is a government of special, delegated, powers, no authority beyond these two provisions can be constitutionally exercised. The government of the United States had no right to interfere for any other purpose but that of protecting the rights of the owner, leaving it altogether with the several States to deal with this race, whether emancipated or not, as each State may think justice, humanity, and the interests and safety of society, require. . . . The act of Congress, upon which the plaintiff relies, declares that slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall be forever prohibited in all that part of the territory ceded by France, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and not included within the limits of Missouri. And the difficulty which meets us at the threshold of this part of the inquiry is, whether Congress was authorized to pass this law under any of the powers granted to it by the Constitution; for if the authority is not given by that instrument, it is the duty of this court to declare it void and inoperative, and incapable of conferring freedom upon any one who is held as a slave under the laws of any one of the States. The territory being a part of the United States, the government and the citizen both enter it under the authority of the Constitution, with their respective rights defined and marked out; and the Federal government can exercise no power over his person or property, beyond what that instrument confers, nor lawfully deny any right which it has reserved. . . . . if the Constitution recognizes the right of property of the master in a slave, and makes no distinction between that description of property and other property owned by a citizen, no tribunal, acting under the authority of the United States, whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial, has a right to draw such a distinction, or deny to it the benefit of the provisions and guarantees which have been provided for the protection of private property against the encroachments of the government. Upon these considerations, it is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory; *Dred Scott v Sanford* [19 Howard 393], 1857.

**Document L**

"Who got the better deal in the Compromise of 1850? The answer is clearly the North. California, as a free state, tipped the Senate balance permanently against the South. The territories of New Mexico and Utah were open to slavery on the basis of popular sovereignty. But the iron law of nature--the "highest law" of all--had loaded the dice in favor of free soil. The southerners urgently needed more slave territory to restore the "sacred balance." If they could not carve new states out of the recent conquests from Mexico, where else would they get them? In the Caribbean, was one answer.

Even the apparent gains of the South rang hollow. Disgruntled Texas was to be paid \$10 million toward discharging its indebtedness, but in the long run this was a modest sum. The immense area in dispute had been torn from the side of slaveholding Texas and was almost certain to be free. The South had halted the drive toward abolition in the District of Columbia, at least temporarily, by permitting the outlawing of the slave trade in the federal district. But even this move was an entering wedge toward complete emancipation in the nation's capital.

Most alarming of all, the drastic new Fugitive Slave Law of 1850--"the Bloodhound Bill"--stirred up a storm of opposition in the North. The fleeing slaves could not testify in their own behalf, and they were denied a jury trial. These harsh practices, some citizens feared, threatened to create dangerous precedents for white Americans. The federal commissioner who handled the case of a fugitive would receive five dollars if the runaway were freed and ten dollars if not--an arrangement that strongly resembled a bribe. Freedom-loving northerners who aided the slave to escape were liable to heavy fines and jail sentences. They might even be ordered to join the slave-catchers, and this possibility rubbed salt into old sores.

So savage was this "Man-Stealing Law" that it touched off an explosive chain reaction in the North. Many shocked moderates, hitherto passive, were driven into the swelling ranks of the antislaveryites. When a runaway slave from Virginia was captured in Boston in 1854, he had to be removed from the city under heavy federal guard through streets lined with sullen Yankees and shadowed by black-draped buildings festooned with flags flying upside down. One prominent Bostonian who witnessed this grim spectacle wrote that "We went to bed one night old-fashioned, conservative, Compromise Union Whigs and waked up stark mad Abolitionists."

The Underground Railroad stepped up its timetable, and infuriated northern mobs rescued slaves from their pursuers. Massachusetts, in a move toward nullification suggestive of South Carolina in 1832, made it a penal offense for any state official to enforce the new federal statute. Other states passed "personal liberty laws," which denied local jails to federal officials and otherwise hampered enforcement. The abolitionists rent the heavens with their protests against the man-stealing statute. A meeting presided over by William Lloyd Garrison in 1851 declared, "We execrate it, we spit upon it, we trample it under our feet."

Beyond question, the Fugitive Slave Law was an appalling blunder on the part of the South. No single irritant of the 1850s

was more persistently galling to both sides, and none did more to awaken in the North a spirit of antagonism against the South. The southerners in turn were embittered because the northerners would not in good faith execute the law--the one real and immediate southern "gain" from the Great Compromise. Slave-catchers, with some success, redoubled their efforts.

Should the shooting showdown have come in 1850? From the standpoint of the secessionists, yes; from the standpoint of the Unionists, no. Time was fighting for the North. With every passing decade this huge section was forging further ahead in population and wealth--in crops, factories, foundries, ships, and railroads.

Delay also added immensely to the moral strength of the North--to its will to fight for the Union. In 1850 countless thousands of northern moderates were unwilling to pin the South to the rest of the nation with bayonets. But the inflammatory events of the 1850s did much to bolster the Yankee will to resist secession, whatever the cost. This one feverish decade gave the North time to accumulate the physical and moral strength that provided the margin of victory. Thus the Compromise of 1850, from one point of view, won the Civil War for the Union." David Kennedy, *The American Pageant*, Chapter 20.

**Document M**

"Mr. Meade [of Virginia]--But, sir, if the organization of this House is to be followed by the passage of these bills--if these outrages are to be committed upon my people--I trust in God, sir, that my eyes have rested upon the last Speaker of the House of Representatives. . . .

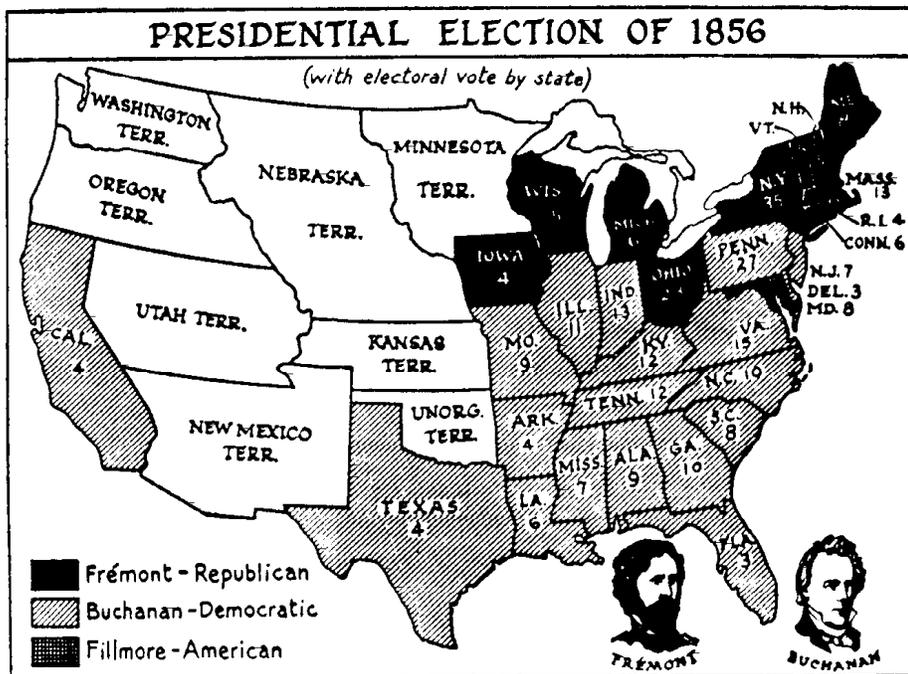
Mr. Toombs [of Georgia]--I do not, then, hesitate to avow before this House and the country, and in the presence of the living God, that if by your legislation you [Northerners] seek to drive us from the territories of California and New Mexico, purchased by the common blood and treasure of the whole people, and to abolish slavery in this District [of Columbia], thereby attempting to fix a national degradation upon half the states of this Confederacy, I am for disunion. And if my physical courage be equal to the maintenance of my convictions of right and duty, I will devote all I am and all I have on earth to its consummation.

From 1787 to this hour, the people of the South have asked nothing but justice--nothing but the maintenance of the principles and the spirit which controlled our fathers in the formation of the Constitution. Unless we are unworthy of our ancestors, we will never accept less as a condition of union. . . .

The Territories are the common property of the people of the United States, purchased by their common blood and treasure. You [the Congress] are their common agents. It is your duty, while they are in a territorial state, to remove all impediments to their free enjoyment by all sections and people of the Union, the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. . . .

Mr. Colcock [of South Carolina]-- . . . I here pledge myself that if any bill should be passed at this Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or incorporating the Wilmot Proviso in any form, I will introduce a resolution in this House declaring, in terms, that this Union ought to be dissolved. *Congressional Globe*, 31st Congress, 1st session, part 1, pp. 26, 28, 29.

**Document N**



**Document O**

“. . . When the people of the North shall all be rallied under one banner, and the whole South marshaled under another banner, and each section excited to frenzy and madness by hostility to the institutions of the other, then the patriot may well tremble for the perpetuity of the Union. Withdraw the slavery question from the political arena, and remove it to the states and territories, each to decide for itself, such a catastrophe can never happen. Then you will never be able to tell, by any Senator's vote for or against any measure, from what state or section of the Union he comes. Why, then, can we not withdraw this vexed question from politics? Why can we not adopt the [popular sovereignty] principle of this [Kansas-Nebraska] bill as a rule of action in all new territorial organizations? Why can we not deprive these agitators of their vocation, and render it impossible for Senators to come here upon bargains on the slavery question? I believe that the peace, the harmony, and perpetuity of the Union require us to go back to the doctrines of the Revolution, to the principles of the Constitution, to the principles of the Compromise of 1850, and leave the people, under the Constitution, to do as they may see proper in respect to their own internal affairs.

Mr. President, I have not brought this question forward as a Northern man or as a Southern man. I am unwilling to recognize such divisions and distinctions. I have brought it forward as an American Senator, representing a state which is true to this principle, and which has approved of my action in respect to the Nebraska bill. I have brought it forward not as an act of justice to the South more than to the North. I have presented it especially as an act of justice to the people of those territories, and of the states to be formed therefrom, now and in all time to come. I have nothing to say about Northern rights or Southern rights. I know of no such divisions or distinctions under the Constitution. The bill does equal and exact justice to the whole Union, and every part of it; it violates the rights of no state or territory, but places each on a perfect equality, and leaves the people thereof to the free enjoyment of all their rights under the Constitution. . . . I say frankly that, in my opinion, this measure will be as popular at the North as at the South, when its provisions and principles shall have been fully developed and become well understood.” Steven Douglas, Congressional Globe, 33d Congress, 1st session (March 3, 1854), Appendix, p. 338.

**Document P**

“Now, sir, who is responsible for this renewal of strife and controversy? Not we [free-soilers], for we have introduced no question of territorial slavery into Congress--not we who are denounced as agitators and factionists. No, sir; the quietists and the finalists have become agitators; they who told us that all agitation was quieted, and that the resolutions of the political conventions put a final period to the discussion of slavery. This will not escape the observation of the country. It is slavery that renews the strife. It is slavery that again wants room. It is slavery, with its insatiate demands for more slave territory and more slave states. And what does slavery ask for now? Why, sir, it demands that a time-honored and sacred compact [Missouri Compromise] shall be rescinded--a compact which has endured through a whole generation--a compact which has been universally regarded as inviolable, North and South--a compact the constitutionality of which few have doubted, and by which all have consented to abide. . . .

You may pass it here. You may send it to the other House. It may become law. But its effect will be to satisfy all thinking men that no compromises with slavery will endure, except so long as they serve the interests of slavery; and that there is no safe and honorable ground for non-slaveholders to stand upon, except that of restricting slavery within state limits, and excluding it absolutely from the whole sphere of federal jurisdiction. The old questions between political parties are at rest. No great question so thoroughly possesses the public mind as this of slavery. This discussion will hasten the inevitable reorganization of parties upon the new issues which our circumstances suggest. It will light up a fire in the country which may, perhaps, consume those who kindle it.

I cannot believe that the people of this country have so far lost sight of the maxims and principles of the Revolution, or are so insensible to the obligations which those maxims and principles impose, as to acquiesce in the violation of this compact. Sir, the Senator from Illinois [Douglas] tells us that he proposes a final settlement of all territorial questions in respect to slavery, by the application of the principle of popular sovereignty. What kind of popular sovereignty is that which allows one portion of the people to enslave another portion? Is that the doctrine of equal rights? Is that exact justice? Is that the teaching of enlightened, liberal, progressive democracy? No, sir; no! There can be no real democracy which does not fully maintain the rights of man, as man.” Congressional Globe, 33d Congress, 1854), Appendix, pp. 134.

## AP US History Document Based Question #14

It is clear that all the lives that were lost in the American Civil War to insure a “new birth of freedom” were in vain. By 1880, the South had defeated the weak Northern efforts in behalf of the freedmen, and had re-enslaved the Negro. Assess the validity of this statement using the documents and your knowledge of U S History.

### Document A

AMENDMENT XIII (1865.) Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

### Document B

AMENDMENT XIV (1868.) All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

### Document C

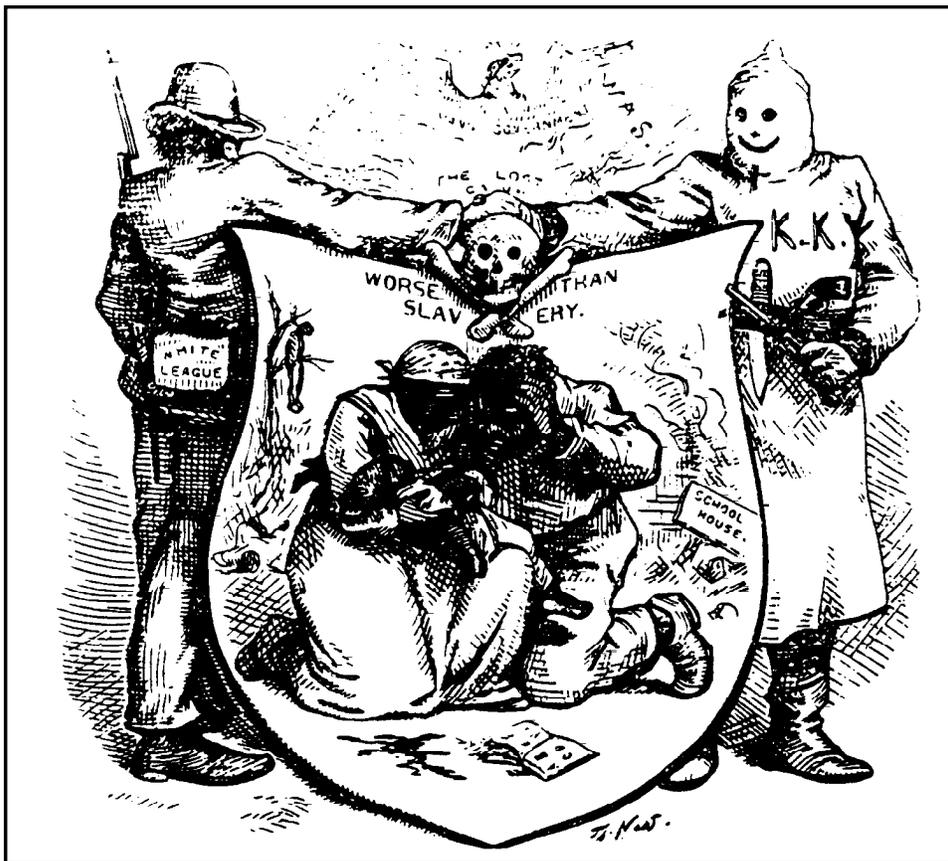
AMENDMENT XV (1870.)

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

### Document D

“It is a question of grave doubt whether the 15th Amendment was wise or expedient. The practical result has been that the wise provisions of the 14th Amendment have been modified by the Fifteenth Amendment. . . . If the principle of the 14th Amendment had remained in full force, Congress could have reduced the representation of any State, in the proportion which the number of the male inhabitants of such State, denied the right of suffrage, might bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age, in such State. This simple remedy, easily enforced by Congress, would have secured the right of all persons, without distinction of race or color, to vote at all elections. The reduction of the representation would have deterred every State from excluding the vote of any portion of the male population above twenty-one years of age. As the result of the Fifteenth Amendment, the political power of the States lately in rebellion has been increased. . . . Black legislatures abused their power, becoming instruments of carpetbag leaders and rings in robbing white property-holders. Only doctrinaires or the stupid could have expected that the whites would long submit. So soon as Federal bayonets were gone, fair means or foul were certain to remove the scepter from colored hands. Precisely this happened. Without the slightest formal change of constitution or of statute the Southern States one by one passed into the control of their white inhabitants.” John Sherman, Salmon Chase, and Benjamin Andrews, Why Reconstruction Failed, Great Epochs, Vol.9, Pg.191.

Document E



Thomas Nast, *Harpers's Weekly* , October 24, 1874

Document F



**Document G****Document H**

“Usually the mere existence of a "den" anywhere was sufficient to render docile every negro in the vicinity. If more was required, a half-dozen "ghouls" making their nocturnal rounds in their hideous masks and long white gowns, frightened all but the most hardy. Any who showed fight were whipt, maimed, or killed. . . .” Microsoft Encarta.

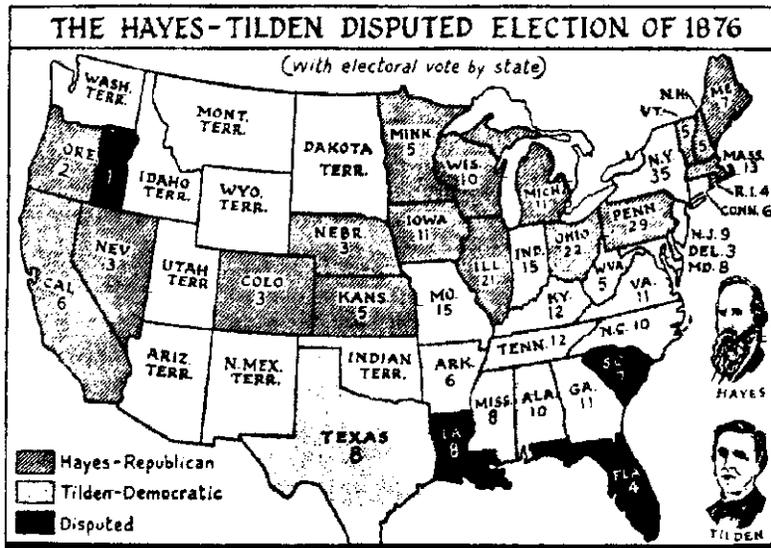
**Document I**

“The sweeping revolution of the entire labor system of a large portion of our country and the advance of 4,000,000 people from a condition of servitude to that of citizenship, upon an equal footing with their former masters, could not occur without presenting problems of the gravest moment, to be dealt with by the emancipated race, by their former masters, and by the General Government, the author of the act of emancipation. That it was a wise, just, and providential act, fraught with good for all concerned, is not generally conceded throughout the country. That a moral obligation rests upon the National Government to employ its constitutional power and influence to establish the rights of the people it has emancipated, and to protect them in the enjoyment of those rights when they are infringed or assailed, is also generally admitted. . . . I am sincerely anxious to use every legitimate influence in favor of honest and efficient local self-government. But at the basis of all prosperity, for that as well as for every other part of the country, lies the improvement of the intellectual and moral condition of the people. Universal suffrage should rest upon universal education. To this end, liberal and permanent provision should be made for the support of free schools by the State governments, and, if need be, supplemented by legitimate aid from national authority.” Rutherford B. Hayes, Inaugural Address, March 5, 1877.

**Document J**

“Lacking capital, and with little to offer but their labor, thousands of impoverished former slaves slipped into the status of sharecropper farmers, as did many landless whites. Luckless sharecroppers gradually sank into a morass of virtual peonage and remained there for generations. Formerly slaves to masters, countless blacks as well as poorer whites in effect became slaves to the soil and to their creditors. Yet the dethroned planter aristocracy resented even this pitiful concession to freedom. Sharecropping was the "wrong policy," said one planter. "It makes the laborer too independent; he becomes a partner, and has a right to be consulted.” Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant.

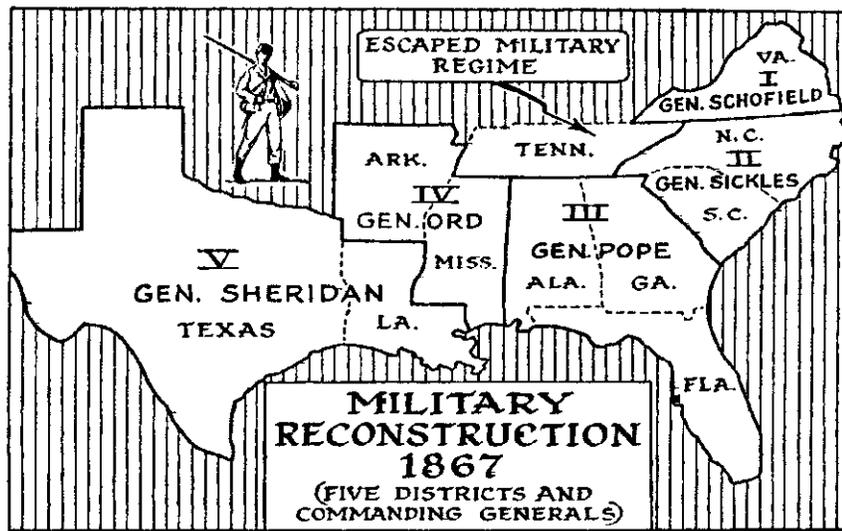
Document K



Document L

“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that all persons born in the United States and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens, of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted shall have the same right, in every state and territory in the United States, to make and enforce contracts; to sue; be parties, and give evidence; to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property; and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding. . . . And be it further enacted, that any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, shall subject, or cause to be subjected, any inhabitant of any state or territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to different punishment, pains, or penalties on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction, shall be punished by fine not exceeding \$1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court. . . .” The Civil Rights Act of 1866, Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant.

Document M



Document N



Cartoon by Thomas Nast, 1876

## AP US History Document Based Question #15

Analyze the extent to which western expansion affected the lives of Native Americans during the period 1860–90 and evaluate the role of the federal government in those effects.

### Document A

#### Santana, Chief of the Kiowas

Source: Santana, Chief of the Kiowas, 1867. *U.S. Bureau of Ethnography Annual Report*, 17th, 1895–96.

“A long time ago this land belonged to our fathers; but when I go up to the river I see camps of soldiers here on its bank. These soldiers cut down my timber; they kill my buffalo; and when I see that, my heart feels like bursting; I feel sorry.”

### Document B

#### S.G. Colley, U.S. Indian Agent, Report, Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War

Source: S.G. Colley, U.S. Indian Agent, *Report, Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, 1865.

“[F]rom the time that Major Wynkoop left this post to go out to rescue white prisoners until the arrival of Colonel Chivington here, which took place on the 28th of November last, no depredations of any kind had been committed by the Indians within two hundred miles of this post; that upon Colonel Chivington’s arrival herewith a large body of troops he was informed where these Indians were encamped. . . . [T]hat notwithstanding his knowledge of the facts as above set forth, he is informed that Colonel Chivington did, on the morning of the 29th of November last, surprise and attack said camp of friendly Indians and massacre a large number of them, (mostly women and children,) and did allow the troops of his command to mangle and mutilate them in the most horrible manner.

### Document C

#### Chief Luther Standing Bear, My People, the Sioux

Source: Chief Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929).

“It did not occur to me at the time that I was going away to learn the ways of the white man. My idea was that I was leaving the reservation and going to stay away long enough to do some brave deed, and then come home again alive. If I could just do that, then I knew my father would be so proud of me.”

### Document D

#### Letter to Professor Baird

Source: Smithsonian Institution: Division of Correspondence, June 7, 1886. 54468.

June 1st, 1886

Camp on Little Dry Creek, Montana

Professor S.F. Baird:

Dear Sir:

Mr. Hadley and I with a Cheyenne Indian, White Dog, have just returned to camp from a five days scout through the bad lands, during which we camped beside our horses whenever night overtook us,—and we got an old bull buffalo day before yesterday. There were only two buffalo in that land (!), and we got the largest and finest one.

Since seeing the buffalo on this native heath I am more than ever impressed with our wants in the way of good mountable skins of fine specimens, and still more of the imperative duty which devolves upon some institution to collect a store of skins to meet the demands of the future, when the bones of the last American bison shall lie bleaching on the prairie.

Wm G. Hornaday

**Document E**  
**The Homestead Act**

Source: United States. *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XII, 1862, pp.392-394 (12 Stat. 392)

May 20, 1862

AN ACT to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain. Be it enacted, That any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government or given aid and comfort to its enemies, shall, from and after the first of January, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, be entitled to enter one quarter-section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, upon which said person may have filed a pre-emption claim. . . . Provided, that any person owning or residing on land may, under the provision of the act, enter other land lying contiguous to his or her said land, which shall not, with the land already owned and occupied, exceed in the aggregate one hundred and sixty acres.

**Document F**  
**Powell Report**

Source: John Wesley Powell, *Report of Special Commissioners J.W. Powell and G. W. Ingalls on the Condition of the Ute Indians of Utah; the Paiutes of Utah*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874

“Third, The Indians should not be furnished with tents; as long as they have tents they move about with great facility, and are thus encouraged to continue their nomadic life. As fast as possible houses should be built for them. . . . A few, especially the older people, are prejudiced against such a course, and perhaps at first could not be induced to live in them. . . .

“Eighth, It is unnecessary to mention the power which schools would have over the rising generation of Indians. Next to teaching them to work, the most important thing is to teach them the English language.”

**Document G**  
**“Promise of the High Plains,” ca. 1880s in The Railroaders**

Credit: Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division (Call # Portfolio 20, Folder 16)

**HO! FOR**  
**COFFEYVILLE, KAN!**

---

**The General Starting and Outfitting Point into  
the Beautiful**

**Indian Territory,**

**Now opened for settlement by the Government. Parties who have returned report it the best country in the United States for Farming and Stock Raising, and well watered. The finest Timber West of the Great Wabash Valley. A Party will leave here the**

**21<sup>st</sup> DAY OF APRIL, 1879,**

Consisting of 20 Wagons, with Stock and Farming Implements. Fifty families and two Portable Saw Mills and one Grist Mill, are now ready to accompany the Colony headed by COL. C. C. CARPENTER, of Kansas City, Mo., leaving this point **MAY 15<sup>th</sup>**, and commencing at Coffeyville, Kansas, **MAY 21<sup>st</sup>**, where they will at once Organize and start for the beautiful country. Coffeyville, Kansas, being the central point, and the terminus of the Lawrence, Lawrence & Galena, Lawrence & Galena, and also the most desirable place to buy your freight for Stirling upon the new Lewis and Clark line to the Eastern States. Coffeyville has sent out a party to locate a good Route, in advance of the Immigration, which will be tomorrow, as there are

**OVER 1½,000,000 ACRES**

Now open for Settlement. Purchase through tickets to Coffeyville, via Kansas City.

**Call on or Address**  
**Ex-Gov. DAN L. WOODSON,**  
**Coffeyville, Kansas.**

---

In Parties accompanying our Colony, I would advise them to purchase their outfit at Coffeyville, Kansas. I have assembled Stock and Prices of Goods, such as Wagons, Pione, Lumber, Dry Goods, Groceries, and, in fact, everything that is needed by Parties Starting upon our Land, and that they can do cheap, as they can be bought in the East.

**RESPECTFULLY YOURS,**  
**Col. C. C. CARPENTER.**

P. S. Parties will have no trouble in getting teams at Coffeyville for hauling their goods into the Territory.

C. C. C.

**Document H**

**-Indian Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, upon his surrender to the U.S. government troops, September, 1877**

"I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed... He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are-perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me my chiefs. I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands, I will fight no more forever."

## AP US History Document Based Question #16

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

The rise of corporations transformed the United States in the late nineteenth century. Discuss the changes and determine if the transformations were for the better or for the worse.

Use the following documents and your knowledge of United States history from 1880 through the turn of the century to construct your essay.

### Document A

Source: Attorney for the defendants, Haymarket Riot prosecution, 1886.

“[The workers] assembled there, gentlemen, under the provision of our Constitution, to exercise the right of free speech, to discuss the eight-hour question, to discuss the situation of the workingmen. They assembled there incidentally to discuss what they deemed outrages at McCormick's (Harvester Company). No man expected that a bomb would be thrown; no man expected that anyone would be injured at the meeting; but while some of these defendants were there and while this meeting was in peaceful progress, the police, with a devilish design, as we expect to prove, came down that body with their revolvers in their hand and pockets, ready for immediate use, intending to destroy the life of every man that stood upon that market square.”

### Document B

Source: Andrew Carnegie, Wealth, 1889.

“There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes; but in this we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor—a reign of harmony—another ideal, differing, indeed, from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal state, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good; and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if it had been distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellow citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among them through the course of many years in trifling amounts.”

## Document C

Source: Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward- 2000-1887, 1888.

“That is just it,” said Dr. Leete; “the organization of labor and the strikes were an effect, merely, of the concentration of capital in greater masses than had ever been known before. Before this concentration began, while as yet commerce and industry were conducted by innumerable petty concerns with small capital, instead of small number of great concerns with vast capital, the individual workman was relatively important and independent in his relations to the employer. Moreover, when a little capital or a new idea was enough to start a man in business for himself, workingmen were constantly becoming employers and there was no hard and fast line between the two classes. Labor unions were needless then, and general strikes out of the question. But when the era of small concerns with small capital was succeeded by that of the great aggregations of capital, all this was changed. The individual laborer, who had been relatively important to the small employer, was reduced to insignificance and powerlessness over against the great corporation, while at the same time the way upward to the grade of employer was closed to him. Self-defense drove him to union with his fellows...”

“The records of the period show that the outcry against the concentration of capital was furious. Men believed it threatened society with a form of tyranny more abhorrent than it had ever endured. They believed that the great corporations were preparing for them the yoke of a baser servitude than had ever been imposed on the race, servitude not to men but to soulless machines incapable of any motive but insatiable greed... [To solve the problem] The industry and commerce of the country; ceasing to be conducted by a set of irresponsible corporations and syndicates of private persons at their caprice and for their profit, were entrusted to a single syndicate representing the people, to be conducted in the common interest for the common profit...”

## Document D

Source: Samuel Gompers, Letter on Labor in Industrial Society, 1894.

“You recognize that the industrial forces set in motion by steam and electricity have materially changed the structure of our civilization. You also admit that a "system has grown up where the accumulations of the individual have passed from his control into that of representative combinations and trusts, and that the tendency in this direction is on the increase. How, then, can you consistently criticize the workingmen for recognizing that as individuals they can have no influence in deciding what the wages, hours of toil and conditions of employment shall be?”

## Document E

Source: William Graham Sumner, The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over, 1894.

“The movement of the industrial organization ... has brought out a great demand for men capable of managing great enterprises. Such have been called 'captains of industry.' The analogy with military leaders suggested by this name is not misleading. The great leaders in the development of the industrial organization need those talents of executive and administrative skill, power to command, courage, and fortitude, which were formerly called for in military affairs and scarcely anywhere else. The industrial army is also as dependent on its captains as a military body is on its generals. One of the worst features of the existing system is that the employees have a constant risk in their employer. If he is not competent to manage the business with success, they suffer with him. Capital also is dependent on the skill of the captain of industry for the certainty and magnitude of its profits. Under these circumstances there has been a great demand for men having the requisite ability for this function. As the organization has advanced, with more impersonal bonds of coherence and wider scope of operations, the value of this functionary has rapidly increased. The possession of the requisite ability is a natural monopoly. Consequently, all the conditions have concurred to give to those who possessed this monopoly excessive and constantly advancing rates or remuneration.”

## Document F

Rise of Big Business (1875-1910)

Source: Journal of Social Science, Volume XXNM, November 1895.

“... The best place to . carry on any kind of business is where that business is already being done. For that reason we see different kinds of manufacturers grouping themselves together- textiles in one place, metals in another ... and so on. The reason of this is obvious. In a community where a certain kind of business is carried on, the whole population become, to a certain extent, experts...

We must remember, too, that cities ... have vastly improved within half a century. About fifty *years* ago neither New York nor Boston had public water, and very few of our cities had either water or gas, and horse railroads had not been thought of..

It would seem, then, (1) that for economic reasons a large part of the work of the world must be done in cities, and the people who do that work must live in cities. (2) That almost everything that is best in life can be better had in the city than elsewhere...

## Document G

Source: Upton Sinclair, The Jungle, 1906.

“Of course Jurgis had made his home a miniature fertilizer mill a minute after entering. The stuff was half an inch deep in his skin-his whole system was full of it, and it would have taken a week not merely of scrubbing, but of vigorous exercise, to get it out of him. As it was, he could be compared with nothing known to men, save the newest discovery of the savants, a substance which emits energy for an unlimited time, without being itself in the least diminished in power. He smelt so that he made all the food at the table taste and set the whole family to vomiting; for himself it was three days before he could keep anything on his stomach-he might wash his hands and use a knife and fork, but were not his mouth and throat filled with poison?

And still Jurgis stuck it out! In spite of splitting headaches he would stagger down to the plant and take up his stand once more and begin to shovel in the blinding clouds of dust. And so at the end of the week he was a fertilizer man for life-he was able to eat again, and though his head never stopped aching, it ceased to be so bad that he could not work.”

## Document H

Source: John E. Rockefeller, Random Reminiscences of Men and Events, 1909.

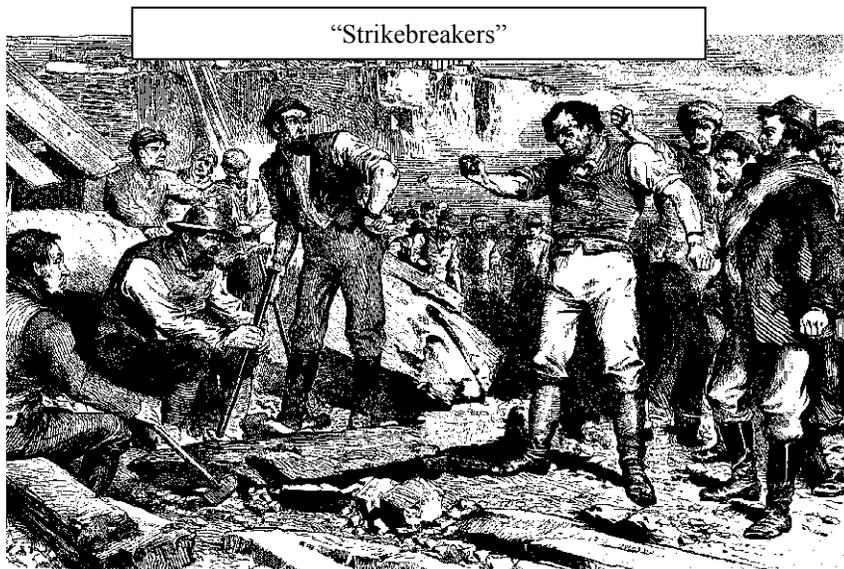
“I ascribe the success of the Standard Oil Company to its consistent policy of making the volume of its business large through the merit and cheapness of its products. It has spared no expense in utilizing the best superintendents and workmen and paid the best wages. It has not hesitated to sacrifice old machinery and old plants for new and better ones. It has placed its manufactories at the points where they could supply markets at the least expense. It has not only sought markets for its principal products but for all possible by-products, sparing no expense in introducing them to the public in every nook and corner of the world. It has not hesitated to invest millions of dollars in methods for cheapening the gathering and distribution of oil by pipelines, special cars, tank-steamers, and tank-wagons. It has erected tank stations at railroad centers in every part of the country to cheapen the storage and delivery of oil. It has had faith in American oil and has brought together vast sums of money for the purpose of making it what it is and for holding its market against the competition of Russia and all the countries which are producers of oil and competitors against American products.”

Document I



The Railroad

Document J



## AP US History Document Based Question #17

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

To what extent were the reform efforts of the Progressive Era aimed at maintaining the existing society and to what extent did they bring about radical changes?

### Document A

# GRANITE CITY AMERICANIZATION SCHOOLS

Monday  
and  
Thursday  
Evenings  
7:30 p. m.



These men were for ten hours, used to use language of their own and the other two were for ten hours, used to use their old mother. See the difference of the way they dress and look. America is a great country. In America everybody has a chance. Everybody who comes to America from the old country should to learn the American language and become an American citizen. If the people that come to America do not become American, this country will soon be like the old country.

Beginning  
Monday,  
September  
the 27th,  
1920

**SCHOOLS:**

**HIGH SCHOOL, 20TH AND D STREETS**  
LINCOLN PLACE, 817 PACIFIC AVENUE

**LIBERTY SCHOOL, 20TH AND O STREETS**  
**MADISON SCHOOL, 1228 MADISON AVENUE**

Keep America Great.
Become an American Citizen
Learn The Language.

Printed and Published by the Granite City, Mo. Chamber of Commerce, 1920

### Document B

"The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's sense of justice. We of the Progressive party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain the government of the people, by the people and for the people whose foundations they laid. . . .

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become the tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes. Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of statesmanship of the day." Progressive Party Platform, August 5, 1912.

Document C



Document D

"No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long believed in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which makes the Government a facile instrument in the hands of private interests; a banking and currency system perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which restricts labor, and exploits natural resources; a body of agriculture never served through science or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs." President Woodrow Wilson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1913.

Document E

"Sir, you have now been President of the United States for six months and what is the result? It is no exaggeration to say that every enemy of the Negro race is greatly encouraged; that every man who dreams of making the Negro race a group of menials and pariahs is alert and hopeful.

A dozen worthy Negro officials have been removed from office, and you have nominated but one black man for office, and he, such a contemptible cur, that his very nomination was an insult to every Negro in the land.

To this negative appearance of indifference has been added positive action on the part of your advisers, with or without your knowledge, which constitutes the gravest attack on the liberties of our people since emancipation. Public segregation of civil servants in government employ, necessarily involving personal insult and humiliation, has for the first time in history been made the policy of the United States government." W. E. B. Du Bois, an Open Letter to Woodrow Wilson, September 1913.

## Document F

"The recognition of shortcomings or inconveniences in government is not by itself sufficient to warrant a change of system. There should be also an effort to estimate and compare the shortcomings and inconveniences of the system to be substituted, for although they may be different they will certainly exist." Elihu Root, lecture "Experiments in Government," Princeton University, April 1913.

## Document G

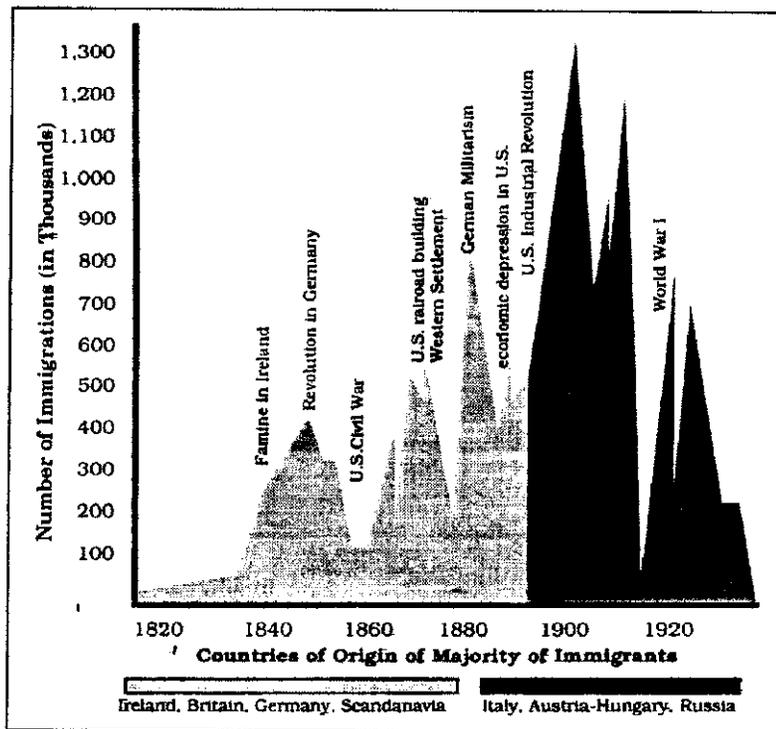
"When one starts to investigate conditions the result is appalling. We are supposed to be progressing, but a little study in comparisons seems to point the other way. For instance, it is a fact that although this country is in its infancy, and has gained in wealth more in fifty years than any other country has in 700 years still we have more poverty in comparison with any of those old countries.

I have always felt that no true state of civilization can ever be realized as long as we continue to have two classes of society. But that is a tremendous problem, and it will take a terrific amount of labor to remedy it. I think myself that we are bound to have a revolution here before these questions are straightened out. We were on the verge of it in the Colorado strike and the reason we did not have it then was not due to the good judgment of public officials, but to that of labor officials, who worked unceasingly to prevent it." Mother Jones, Miners' Magazine, April 1915.

## Document H

"The commission is hereby empowered and directed to prevent persons, partnerships, or corporations, except banks, and common carriers subject to the Acts to regulate commerce, from using unfair methods of competition in commerce. If upon such hearing the commission shall be of the opinion that the method of competition in question is prohibited by this Act, it shall make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts, and shall issue and cause to be served on such person, partnership, or corporation an order requiring such person, partnership, or corporation to cease and desist from using such methods of competition." Federal Trade Commission Act, September 1914.

## Document I



## Document J

AMENDMENT XVI (Ratified in 1913.)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

## Document K

AMENDMENT XVIII (Ratified in 1919.)

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

## Document L

AMENDMENT XIX (Ratified in 1920.)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

## Document M

AMENDMENT XVII (Ratified in 1913.)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

## Document N



## Document O

“ . . . We are face to face with new conceptions of the relation of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. . . . every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.”  
Theodore Roosevelt, Kansas, 1910.

## AP US History Document Based Question # 18

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

To what extent was the “New Manifest Destiny” of the 1890s a continuation of the “Old Manifest Destiny” of the 1840s?”

### Document A

Washington, December 2, 1845.

“In pursuance of the joint resolution of Congress "for annexing Texas to the United States," my predecessor, on the 3d day of March, 1845, elected to submit the first and second sections of that resolution to the Republic of Texas as an overture on the part of the United States for her admission as a State into our Union. This election I approved, and accordingly the charge d'affaires of the United States in Texas, under instructions of the 10th of March, 1845, presented these sections of the resolution for the acceptance of that Republic. The executive government, the Congress, and the people of Texas in convention have successively complied with all the terms and conditions of the joint resolution. A constitution for the government of the State of Texas, formed by a convention of deputies, is herewith laid before Congress.” Messages and Papers of the Presidents, James K. Polk, Vol. IV, p. 385-416.

### Document B

ARTICLE I.

“From the point on the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, where the boundary laid down in existing treaties and conventions between the United States and Great Britain terminates, the line of boundary between the territories of the United States and those of her Britannic Majesty shall be continued westward along the said forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean: *Provided, however,* That the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits, south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, remain free and open to both parties.” Oregon Boundary Treaty, 1846, United States Statutes At Large, 1846, p. 869-870.

### Document C

“Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government de facto as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those continents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can anyone believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition in any form with indifference. . . .” (December 2, 1823.) James Monroe, Monroe Doctrine, America, Vol.5, Pg.294 - Pg.295.

**Document D**

"Massachusetts Voices Condemnation (1847)"

"Resolved, That the present war with Mexico has its primary origin in the unconstitutional annexation to the United States of the foreign state of Texas while the same was still at war with Mexico; that it was unconstitutionally commenced by the order of the President, to General Taylor, to take military possession of territory in dispute between the United States and Mexico, and in the occupation of Mexico; and that it is now waged ingloriously--by a powerful nation against a weak neighbor--unnecessarily and without just cause, at immense cost of treasure and life, for the dismemberment of Mexico, and for the conquest of a portion of her territory, from which slavery has already been excluded, with the triple object of extending slavery, of strengthening the "Slave Power," and of obtaining the control of the Free States, under the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That such a war of conquest, so hateful in its objects, so wanton, unjust, and unconstitutional in its origin and character, must be regarded as a war against freedom, against humanity, against justice, against the Union, against the Constitution, and against the Free States; and that a regard for the true interests and the highest honor of the country, not less than the impulses of Christian duty, should arouse all good citizens to join in efforts to arrest this gigantic crime, by withholding supplies, or other voluntary contributions, for its further prosecution; by calling for the withdrawal of our army within the established limits of the United States; and in every just way aiding the country to retreat from the disgraceful position of aggression which it now occupies towards a weak, distracted neighbor and sister republic." "Resolves. Concerning the Mexican War, and the Institution of Slavery. Old South Leaflets (1904), vol. 6, no. 132, pp. 10-11, 30-31. The American Pageant, Document, Chapter 19.

**Document E**

**"Liberty Follows"**

## Document F

JOINT RESOLUTION To provide for annexing the Hawaiian

“Whereas the Government of the Republic of Hawaii having, in due form, signified its consent, in the manner provided by its constitution, to cede absolutely and without reserve to the United States of America all rights of sovereignty of whatsoever kind in and over the Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies, and also to cede and transfer to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, Government, or Crown lands, public buildings or edifices, ports, harbors, military equipment, and all other public property of every kind and description belonging to the Government of the Hawaiian Islands, together with every right and appurtenance thereunto appertaining: Therefore, Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That said cession is accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and that the said Hawaiian Islands and their dependencies be, and they are hereby, annexed as a part of the territory of the United States and are subject to the sovereign dominion thereof, and that all and singular the property and rights hereinbefore mentioned are vested in the United States of America.” Approved, July 7, 1898. Hawaiian Treaty of 1897, U.S. Statutes at Large, 55th Cong., Sess. II, Res. 55, p. 750-751.

## Document G

“Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. Why? It is not because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it. It is not simply by reason of its high character as a civilized state, nor because wisdom and justice and equity are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the United States. It is because, in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against any or all other powers.

All the advantages of this superiority are at once imperiled if the principle be admitted that European powers may convert American states into colonies or provinces of their own. The principle would be eagerly availed of, and every power doing so would immediately acquire a base of military operations against us.” Olney Doctrine, 1895. Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1895, Part I, p. 545-562. Department of State, Washington, July 20, 1895.

## Document H

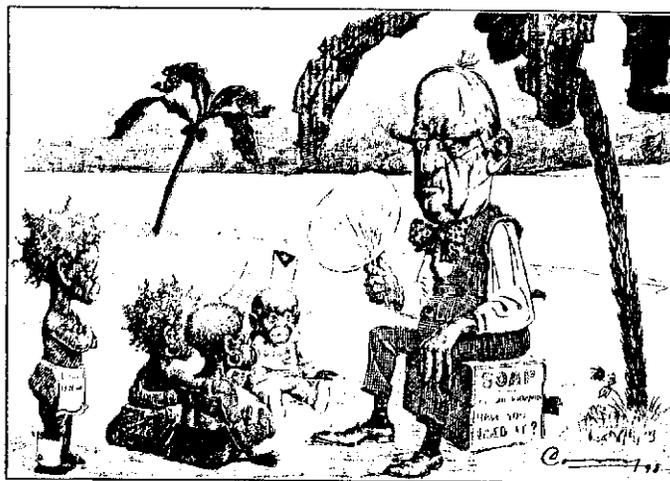
Executive Mansion, April 11, 1898.

“In view of these facts and of these considerations I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island I recommend that the distribution of food and supplies be continued and that an appropriation be made out of the public Treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.

The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.” President McKinley's War Message, 1898. A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897, Vol. X, ed. James D. Richardson, p. 139-150.

## Document I



From *Savunceto "Bee"*

America's growing family

## Document J

World Power (1890-1918)

### JOINT RESOLUTION

“First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said Island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the Island to its people.” Teller Resolution, 1898, United States Statutes at Large, Vol. 30, 55th Cong., Sess. II, p. 738-739.

Approved, April 20, 1898

## Document K

Department of State, Washington, September 6, 1899.

“Earnestly desirous to remove any cause of irritation and to insure at the same time to the commerce of all nations in China the undoubted benefits which should accrue from a formal recognition by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" that they shall enjoy perfect equality of treatment for their commerce and navigation within such "spheres," the Government of the United States would be pleased to see His German Majesty's Government give formal assurances and lend its cooperation in securing like assurances from the other interested powers that each within its respective spheres of whatever influence—

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.” Hay's Circular Letter of 1899, Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreement Between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909, Vol I, Part I, p. 246-247.

## Document L



## Document M

World Power (1890-1918)

"It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's . . . . The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken . . . . Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history - the final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled . . . . Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it - the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization . . . . will spread itself over the earth. If I read not amiss the powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America out upon the islands of the sea over upon Africa and beyond. And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the "survival of the fittest"? Source: Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis. New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1885.

## Document N

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

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

Three things are needful: First, protection of the chief harbors, by fortifications and coast-defense ships . . . . Secondly, naval force, the arm of offensive power, which alone enables a country to extend its influence outward. Thirdly, no foreign state should henceforth acquire a coaling position within three thousand miles of San Francisco . . . ." Source: Alfred T. Mahan. The Interest of America in Sea Power. Boston: Little, Brown, 1897.

## Document O

"Much as we abhor the war of "criminal aggression" in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home....Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the Republic is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for? liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions." Source: Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League, 1899.

## Document P

"The Philippines are ours forever . . . . And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable market. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work . . . . with gratitude . . . . and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world . . . .

Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean . . . . And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future . . . . The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic." Source: Senator Albert J. Beveridge. Speech to 56th Congress, Congressional Record 1900.

**Document Q**

"We are also of opinion that the power to acquire territory by treaty implies, not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants. . . . In all these cases there is an implied denial of the right of the inhabitants to American citizenship until Congress by further action shall signify its assent thereto . . . .

It is obvious that in the annexation of outlying and distant possessions grave questions will arise from differences of race, habits, laws and customs of the people, and from differences of soil, climate and production, which may require action on the part of Congress that would be quite unnecessary in the annexation of contiguous territory, inhabited only by people-of the same race, or by scattered bodies of native Indians." Source: Supreme Court Decision. *Downes v. Bidwell*, (one of the Insular Cases) 1901.

**Document R**

"It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere, save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. . . . Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. If every country washed by the Caribbean Sea would show the progress in stable and just civilization which, with the aid of the Platt amendment, Cuba has shown since our troops left the island, and which so many of the republics in both Americas are constantly and brilliantly showing, all question of interference by this Nation with their affairs would be at an end." Source: Theodore Roosevelt. Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1904.

**Document S**

**“Nobel Peace Prize”**

## AP US History Document Based Question #19

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

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

### Document A

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

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

In its last analysis the proposition is force to destroy force, conflict to prevent conflict, militarism to destroy militarism, war to prevent war. In its last analysis it must be that if it has any sanction behind its judgment at all. There is where the difficulty lies....” Source: William Borah, Speech in United States Senate, December 6, 1918.

### Document B

“Liberals all over the world have hoped that a war, which was so clearly the fruit of competition and imperialist and class-bound nationalism, would end in a peace which would moralize nationalism by releasing it from class bondage and exclusive ambitions. The Treaty of Versailles does not even try to satisfy these aspirations. Instead of expressing a great recuperative effort of the conscience of civilization, which for its own sins has sweated so much blood, it does much to intensify and nothing to heal the old and ugly dissensions.” Source: The New Republic, May 24, 1919.

### Document C

“When you read Article X, therefore, you will see that it is nothing but the inevitable, logical center of the whole system of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and I stand for it absolutely. If it should ever in any important respect be impaired, I would feel like asking the Secretary of War to get the boys who went across the water to fight, . . . and I would stand up before them and say, Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war against wars, and I did my best to fulfill the promise, but I am obliged to come to you in mortification and shame and say I have not been able to fulfill the promise. You are betrayed. You have fought for something that you did not get.” Source: Woodrow Wilson, Speech, September 5, 1919.

### Document D

“I take the liberty of urging upon you the desirability of accepting the reservations now passed....I have the belief that with the League once in motion it can within itself and from experience and public education develop such measures as will make it effective. I am impressed with the desperate necessity of early ratification.

The delays have already seriously imperiled the economic recuperation of Europe. In this we are vitally interested from every point of view. I believe that the Covenant will steadily lose ground in popular support if it is not put into constructive operation at once because the American public will not appreciate the saving values of the Covenant as distinguished from the wrongs imposed in the Treaty....” Source: Herbert Hoover to Woodrow Wilson, November 19, 1919.

**Document E**

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

.... The policy of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, of degrading the lives of millions of human beings, and of depriving a whole nation of happiness should be abhorrent and detestable, abhorrent and detestable, even if it were possible, even if it enriched ourselves, even if it did not sow the decay of the whole civilized life of Europe.” Source: John Maynard Keynes, Economic Consequences of the Peace, 1920.

**Document F**

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

[The founders of the Government] thought of America as the light of the world as created to lead the world in the assertion of the rights of peoples and the rights of free nations.... This light the opponents of the League would quench.” Source: Woodrow Wilson, "Appeal to the Country," October 3, 1920.

**Document G**

“Forty-one nations, including nearly every Negro and mulatto and colored government of the world, have met in Geneva and formed the assembly of the League of Nations. This is the most forward-looking event of the century. Because of the idiotic way in which the stubbornness of Woodrow Wilson and the political fortunes of the Republicans became involved, the United States was not represented. But despite its tumult and shouting this nation must join and join on the terms which the World lays down. The idea that we single-handed can dictate terms to the World or stay out of the World, is an idea born of the folly of fools.” Source: W. E. B. Du Bois, "The League of Nations," Crisis, March, 1921.

**Document H**

“The League of Nations afforded a wide difference of opinion in every group. The Woman's Peace Party held its annual meeting in Chicago in the spring of 1920 and found our Branches fairly divided upon the subject.... The difference of opinion was limited always as to the existing League and never for a moment did anyone doubt the need for continued effort to bring about an adequate international organization.” Source: Jane Addams, Peace and Bread in time of War, 1922.

**Document I**

*Nailed!*

**AMERICANISM**  
SAYS,  
KEEP THE  
**LEAGUE**  
OF  
**NATIONS**  
OUT OF  
**PARTY POLITICS**  
WRITE YOUR SENATORS  
TO  
**RATIFY NOW!**

**REPUBLICANS**  
AND  
**DEMOCRATS!**  
THE HONORS  
WILL BE EVEN  
IF YOUR SENATORS GET  
TOGETHER AND  
**RATIFY**  
THE PEACE  
**TREATY**  
WRITE SENATORS  
**NOW**

**DELAY DANGEROUS**  
**THE TREATY**  
MUST  
**BE RATIFIED**  
IMMEDIATELY  
DO YOUR PART  
REGARDLESS OF  
**YOUR PARTY**  
Still time—write your Senators  
TO  
**COMPROMISE ON**  
**RESERVATIONS!**

**DO NOT DISAPPOINT**  
**THE WORLD'S HOPE**  
AMERICA MUST  
**KEEP THE**  
**COVENANT**  
NO DRASTIC  
RESERVATIONS  
WRITE YOUR SENATORS:  
"America Must Join  
Whole-heartedly"

PRO-LEAGUE POSTERS

See page 573

### Interrupting the Ceremony



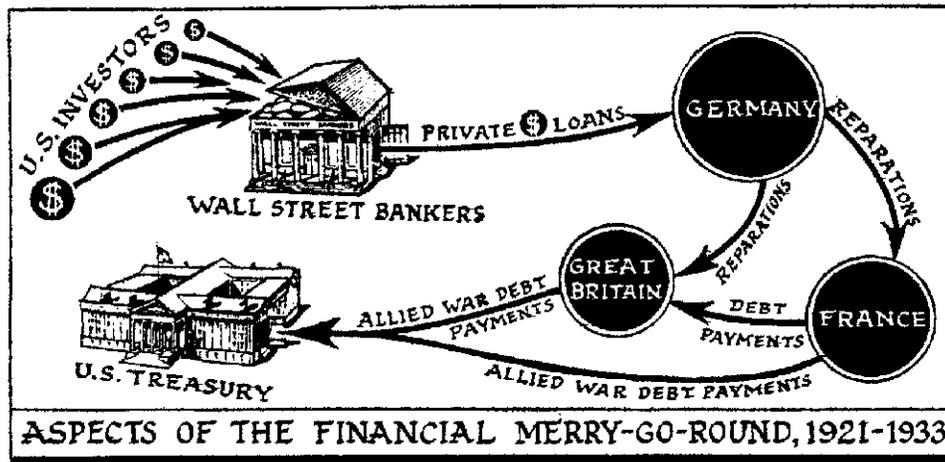
John T. McCutcheon. *The Tribune* (Chicago), 1918.

## US History Document Based Question #20

Directions: The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of documents A-K and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question.

“The economic policies of Harding and Coolidge and not the policies of Hoover resulted in the Great Depression.” Assess the validity of this statement.

### Document A



### Document B

“The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of noninvolvement in Old World affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny, and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment, in each instance, may determine

There is no short cut to the making of these ideals into glad realities. The world has witnessed again and again the futility and the mischief of ill-considered remedies for social and economic disorders. But we are mindful today as never before of the friction of modern industrialism, and we must learn its causes and reduce its evil consequences by sober and tested methods. Where genius has made for great possibilities, justice and happiness must be reflected in a greater common welfare.” Warren G. Harding, Inaugural Address, 1921.

### Document C

“Proposals have been repeatedly made over the last three years that the loans from our government to foreign countries during the war should in part or in whole be canceled, either for moral reasons or in the interest of economic stability. Less sweeping proposals have been made that the payments of interest and installments, as required by Congress, should be further postponed or moderated. . . .

These loans are often spoken of as debts to our government. They are, in fact, debts owing to our taxpayers. These loans were made at the urgent request of the borrowers and under their solemn assurance of repayment. The loans were individual to each nation. They have no relation to other nations or other debts [reparations]. The American taxpayer did not participate in reparations and acquired no territory or any other benefits under the treaty, as did our debtors.

There is no question as to the moral or contractual obligation. The repudiation of these loans would undermine the whole fabric of international good faith. I do not believe any public official, either of the United States or any other country, could or should approve their cancellation. Certainly I do not. . . .” Excerpts from Speeches and Writings of Herbert Hoover (Hoover-for-President Washington Committee, 1928), pp. 38-39.

Document D

“The larger purpose of our economic thought should be to establish more firmly stability and security of business and employment and thereby remove poverty still further from our borders. Our people have in recent years developed a new-found capacity for cooperation among themselves to affect high purposes in public welfare....

It appears to me that the more important further mandates from the recent election were the maintenance of the integrity of the Constitution; the vigorous enforcement of the laws; the continuance of economy in public expenditure; the continued regulation of business to prevent domination in the community; the denial of ownership or operation of business by the Government in competition with its citizens; the avoidance of policies which would involve us in the controversies of foreign nations; the more effective reorganization of the departments of the Federal Government; the expansion of public works; and the promotion of welfare activities affecting education and the home.” President Hoover’s Inaugural Address, March 4, 1929 Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, 1789-1965.

Document E



## Document F

“Among the nations of the earth today America stands for one idea: Business.... For in this facts lies the salvation of the world. Through business, properly conceived, managed and conducted, the human race is finally to be redeemed. How and why a man works foretells what he will do, think, have, give and be. And real salvation is in doing, thinking, having, Owning and being, not in sermonizing and theorizing....

What is the finest game? Business. The soundest science? Business. The truest art? Business. The fullest education? Business. The fairest opportunity? Business. The cleanest philanthropy Business. The sanest religion? Business....

The finest game is business. The rewards are for everybody, and all can win. There are no favorites-Providence always crowns the career of the man who is worthy.” From Edward Purinton, "Big Ideas from Big Business," *The Independent* 105 (16 April 1921): 395-96.

## Document G

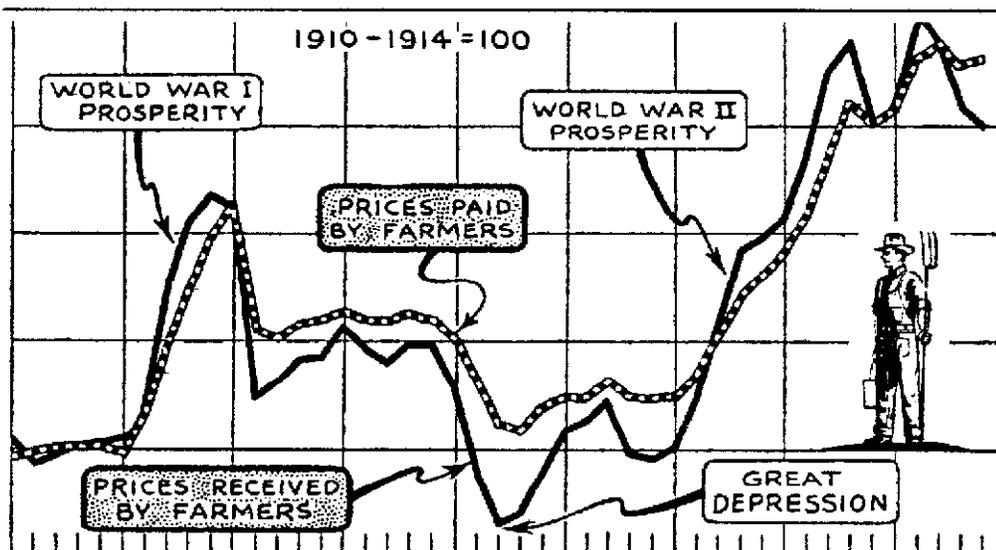
**“The great issue before the American people today is the control of government and industry by private monopoly. For a generation the people have struggled patiently, in the face of repeated betrayals by successive administrations, to free themselves from this intolerable power, which has been undermining representative government. Through control of government, monopoly has steadily extended its absolute dominion to every basic industry. In violation of law, monopoly has crushed competition, stifled private initiative and independent enterprise, and without fear of punishment now exacts extortionate profits upon every necessity of life consumed by the public....**

## Document H

**“Even apologists of industrialism admit that some economic evils follow in the wake of the machines. These are such as overproduction, unemployment, and a growing inequality in the distribution of wealth. But the remedies proposed by the apologists are always homeopathic. They expect the evils to disappear when we have bigger and better machines, and more of them. Their remedial programs, therefore, look forward to more industrialism....**

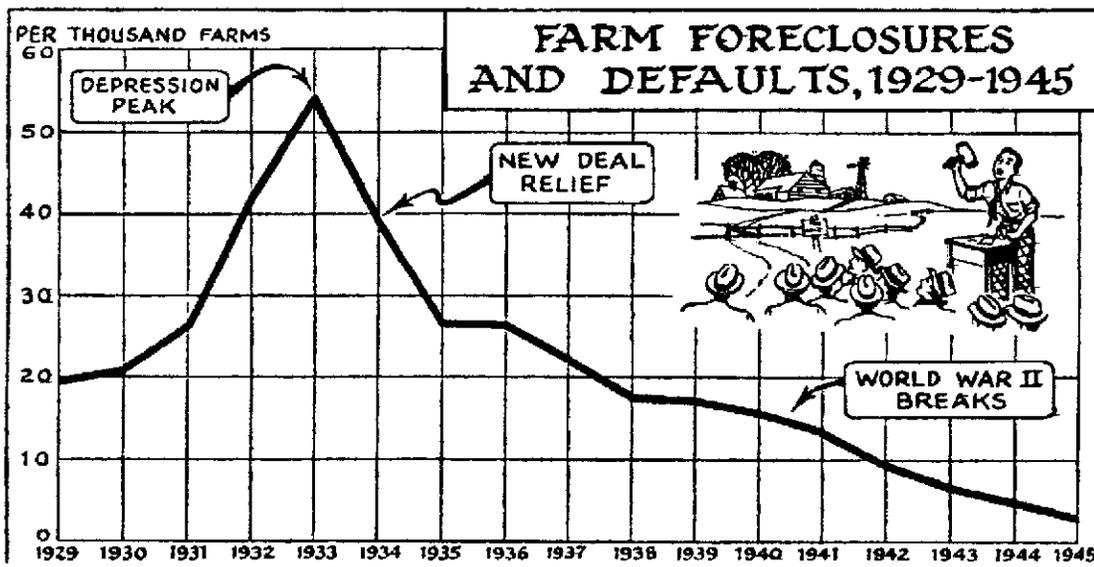
Turning to consumption, as the grand end which justifies the evil of modern labor, we find that we have been deceived. We have more time in which to consume, and many more products to be consumed. But the tempo of our labors communicates itself to our satisfactions, and these also become brutal and hurried. The constitution of the natural man probably does not permit him to shorten his labor-time and enlarge his consuming time indefinitely. He has to pay the penalty in satiety and aimlessness. The modern man has lost his sense of vocation.” From *I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition*, 1930.

## Document I





## Document L



## Document M

“The urgent question today is the prompt balancing of the Budget. When that is accomplished, I propose to support adequate measures for relief of distress and unemployment. In the meantime, it is essential that there should be an understanding of the character of the draft bill made public yesterday in the House of Representatives for this purpose. That draft bill supports some proposals we have already made in aid to unemployment, through the use of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to make loans for projects which have been in abeyance and which proposal makes no drain on the taxpayer. But in addition it proposes to expend about \$900,000,000 for Federal public works.

I believe the American people will grasp the economic fact that such action would require appropriations to be made to the Federal Departments, thus creating a deficit in the Budget that could only be met with more taxes and more Federal bond issues. That makes balancing of the Budget hopeless. The country also understands that an unbalanced budget means the loss of confidence of our own people and of other nations in the credit and stability of the Government, and that the consequences are national demoralization and the loss of ten times as many jobs as would be created by this program, even if it could be physically put into action... This is not unemployment relief. It is the most gigantic pork barrel ever proposed to the American Congress. It is an unexampled raid on the public Treasury.” Herbert Hoover, reported in *New York Times*, May 28, 1932 (Washington press conference of May 27, 1932).

## AP American History Document Based Question #21

Historians have generally described the 1920s and early 1930s as a period of isolationism. Assess the validity of this generalization using the documents and your knowledge of U S History.

### Document A



### Document B

“As if to show that refusal to join the League of Nations was not to be interpreted as a refusal to espouse peace, the U.S. made several overtures toward reducing world tensions, in addition to contributing its expertise in the resolutions of the various reparations crises and following a liberal international credit policy that helped keep the gerry-rigged structure of reparations and war debts from falling apart. The foremost achievement in which the U.S. took part was the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, by which Britain, the U.S. and Japan, respectively, set limits on themselves in the building of capital ships (battleships and the like) in the ratio of 5-5-3 ratio to all types of naval ships was abortive, however.”

Time Magazine, July 30, 1928.

### Document C

“Undeterred, U.S. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, through a lengthy correspondence with French Foreign Minister Aristide Briand, arrived in 1928 at the ultimate peace pact: a renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. More than 60 nations eventually signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. But it was so hedged about with reservations and exceptions, and so devoid of effective enforcement powers or sanctions, that although it could be said to have deterred war for eleven years, it hardly deterred aggression at all. [But].... the whole world knew him as the author of The Multilateral treaty to Renounce War as an Instrument of National Policy. He received, last week, the unanimous promises to sign his treaty of the following nations: Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Italy, Canada, Australia, Poland, New Zealand, India, Rumania, South Africa, Czechoslovakia, Irish Free State. Never before had so many nations bound themselves with the U.S. to take a momentous step. Secretary Kellogg explained: "There is nothing in the American draft of an anti-war treaty which restrict or impairs in any way the right of self-defense. That right is inherent in every sovereign State and is implicit in every treaty." Politically the Kellogg Treaty is an undoubted master stroke. Its existence will enable Candidate Hoover and other campaigning Republicans to point with pride to a resounding international achievement. Time Magazine, July 30, 1928.

## Document D

“The infant League of Nations was designed in part to bring about disarmament. But with the powerful United States not a cooperating member, a feverish naval race was clattering forward. Rich Uncle Sam, though still slightly behind Britain, could outstrip all others. The U.S. taxpayers balked, however, and a popular clamor forced Harding to summon a multipower conference at Washington for arms limitation. After prolonged wrangling, the conferees agreed that certain capital ships of the major powers--the United States, Britain, Japan, France, Italy--were to be scrapped and the remainder pegged at a tonnage ratio of 5-5-3-1.7-1.7. The sensitive Japanese were induced to accept an inferior ratio after receiving pledges from the United States and Britain not to fortify further their Far Eastern bases, including the Philippines and Guam. The surrender of potential (but expensive) naval supremacy by "Uncle Sap" aroused much criticism in the United States. The influential Hearst newspapers, traditionally anti-Japanese and anti-British, protested vehemently, as follows.

“In what ways does this selection reflect the mood of the age, as revealed in the preceding chapter? Great Britain and Japan are the ones who gain in this Conference, the ones who are going home satisfied. England, a naval empire, and Japan, a militaristic empire, have won all the points at the expense of the Republic of France, the Republic of China, the Republic of Russia, and the United States.... We have surrendered Guam and the fortifications of our island possessions, so that the American Navy would have no bases for naval operations in case war should ever be forced upon us. We have surrendered the naval supremacy that lay within our grasp, and which would always have protected us from any attack by overseas nations.... We have surrendered the adequate development of our merchant marine, and not even the battleships to be put out of commission by the decision of this Conference can be transformed into merchant vessels. The United States, the one first-class Power of the world, in wealth, in potential strength, in strategic position and condition, has been transformed into distinctly a second-class Power by the subordinate position it has voluntarily taken with regard to England and Japan. But worst of all is the fact that Japan, by the recognition formally accorded it in this Conference, has been made the dominant nation among the yellow nations of the world, the militaristic leader of a thousand million racial enemies of the white peoples. Not only the people of the United States but the peoples of Europe, the white race throughout the world, will pay dearly for this act of criminal folly in times to come. William Randolph Hearst, 1923. Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Randolph Hearst (1948), pp. 193-194.

## Document E

“The fundamental reason why these great international war debts cannot be regarded as ordinary debts is that they are dead. They do not represent capital invested in a living enterprise, which produces as it goes along the interest and the principal to repay the money which was loaned. An ordinary debt is productive for the debtor, but these international debts are like bills submitted to pay for the damage done on a wild party by one's grandfather. The payment seems to the debtor like a pure loss, and when it is paid by one nation to another it seems like tribute by the conquered to the conqueror. Money borrowed to build a railroad earns money to pay for itself. But money borrowed to fight a war produces nothing, and if it has to be paid it becomes a dead mortgage superimposed upon all the living credits of a nation. The United States has engaged itself to collect for the next two generations the sum of \$400,000,000 a year on a dead debt. Most of the veterans of the war will be gone. Their children born after the war, knowing no more of its reality than an American college boy knows of the Civil War, will be elderly men, their children in turn will be approaching middle age, and still the huge payments will go on. The last installments will be paid out of the earnings of the great-grandsons of the men who directed the war. Is it conceivable that for the rest of the century this thing will go on? Does anybody really think he lives in a world where such things are possible?.... Yet here we are deluding ourselves with the preposterous idea that from now until about 1984 people and governments are going to be bothered with carrying out what to them will be perfectly meaningless settlements.

Already Mr. Mellon and Mr. [Winston] Churchill can't quite remember what the money was spent for. The next generation certainly--our own if it is wise--will say in face of the endless bother and animosity that these settlements entail: Let the past be the past, let the dead bury the dead, let us forget, let us forgive, let us have peace.” Walter Lippman, New York World, July 29, 1926.

**Document F**



**Document G**

“War demolished the old-world balance of power, setting off an arms race between the nations left in control of the globe. Each craved naval superiority above all else: Britain, traditional ruler of the seas; Japan, new master of the Pacific; the United States, economic dynamo with far-flung business interests. With tensions escalating, these and lesser powers convened at the Washington Conference, which ended in 1922, having produced four major pacts designed to stabilize relations and slow the financially draining naval competition. Most important was the Naval Limitation Treaty, covering warships weighing more than 10,000 tons. Britain, the United States, Japan, and France also signed the Four Power Pact, promising to respect one another’s Pacific possessions and to resolve differences through diplomacy. Within a few years, however, the major powers were busily constructing ships in classes not restricted by the Naval Limitation Treaty. So in 1930, the London Naval Conference was convened, with much fanfare, to take another stab at disarmament. (King George V opened the proceedings with the first worldwide live radio address.) Britain, Japan, and the United States hammered out a weak agreement, but France and Italy refused to sign anything that would hold them to equality with each other. Our Times, Multimedia Encyclopedia of the Twentieth Century.

**Document H**

“The defeat of Germany and Ottoman Turkey in World War I meant that the vast and diverse colonies of those former empires were up for grabs. In 1920, the short-lived League of Nations carried out one of colonialism’s last gasps—and made one of its own few lasting marks on the modern world—when it carved up Ottoman holdings in the Middle East and awarded them to Britain and France as mandates. The mandate system—which gave the Allied powers administrative control of the territories (including those in Africa as well)—was devised by the League as a compromise that allowed the victors to gain “spoils of war” while technically upholding their wartime statements opposing territorial annexation. Our Times, Multimedia Encyclopedia of the Twentieth Century.

**Document I**

“France Invades the Ruhr Valley :The Beer Hall Putsch occurred as Germany began to recover from months of chaos. The trouble started the previous autumn, when Berlin suspended war-reparation payments. In January 1923, France retaliated by sending 100,000 troops into the industrial Ruhr Valley. German authorities urged Ruhr residents to resist the invasion peacefully. Responding to strikes, slowdowns, and sabotage, the French arrested industrialists and labor leaders; 150,000 inhabitants were expelled and some resisters killed. The burdens of the Ruhr occupation spurred the worst inflation yet: When it peaked, the German mark—worth a quarter of a dollar in 1914—was valued at 4.2 trillion to the dollar. The price of bread soared from 20,000 marks to five million in one day. People carried money in wheelbarrows. As the nation plunged into poverty, French-backed separatist groups in the Rhineland and Palatinate regions staged violent revolts. Although popular opposition prevented them from being successful, they added to Berlin’s woes. In Saxony and Thuringia, where leftist state governments allowed “red” militias to form, another uprising loomed. And in Bavaria, the rightist state regime was a constant headache. A despairing Chancellor Wilhelm Cuno quit in September. His successor, center-rightist Gustav Stresemann, ordered an end to resistance in the Ruhr, resumed reparation payments, and asked the Allies’ Reparations Commission to investigate Germany’s plight. He established a new, sounder currency. Then he declared martial law.”  
 Our Times, Multimedia Encyclopedia of the Twentieth Century.

**Document J**

The Neutrality Act establishes an arms embargo.

SECTION i. (a) Whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war between, or among, two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war. . . . to any belligerent state named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of such belligerent state . . . . (c) Whenever the President shall find that a state of civil strife exists in a foreign state and that such civil strife is of a magnitude. . . . that the export of arms. . . . ' to such foreign state would threaten or endanger the peace of the United States, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export. . . . arms, ammunition, or implements of war. . . . to such foreign state....

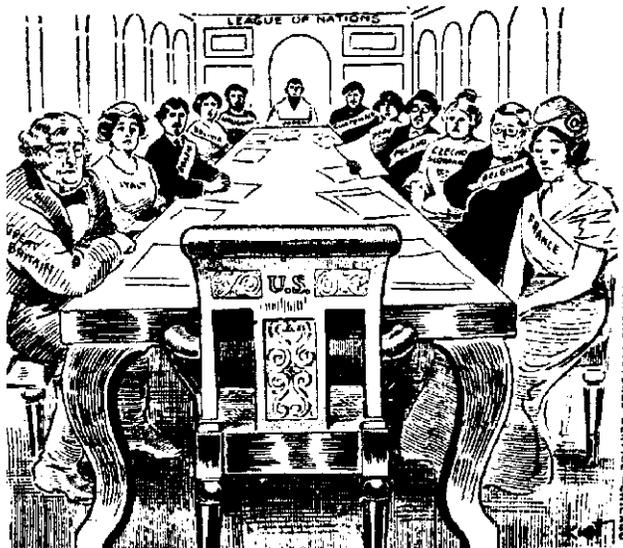
SECTION 2. (a) Whenever the President shall. . . . thereafter find that the placing of restrictions on the shipment of certain articles or materials in addition to arms.... is necessary to promote the security or preserve the peace of the United States.... he shall so proclaim ....

SECTION 3. (a) Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation under the authority of section i of this Act, it shall thereafter be unlawful for any person within the United States to purchase, sell, or exchange bonds, securities, or other obligations of the government of any belligerent state or of any state wherein civil strife exists....

SECTION 6. (a). . . . it shall thereafter be unlawful.... for any American vessel to carry any arms, ammunition, or implements of war to any belligerent state, or to any state wherein civil strife exists . . .

SECTION 9. Whenever the President shall have issued a proclamation.... it shall thereafter be unlawful for any citizen of the United States to travel on any vessel of the state or states named ....

**Document K**



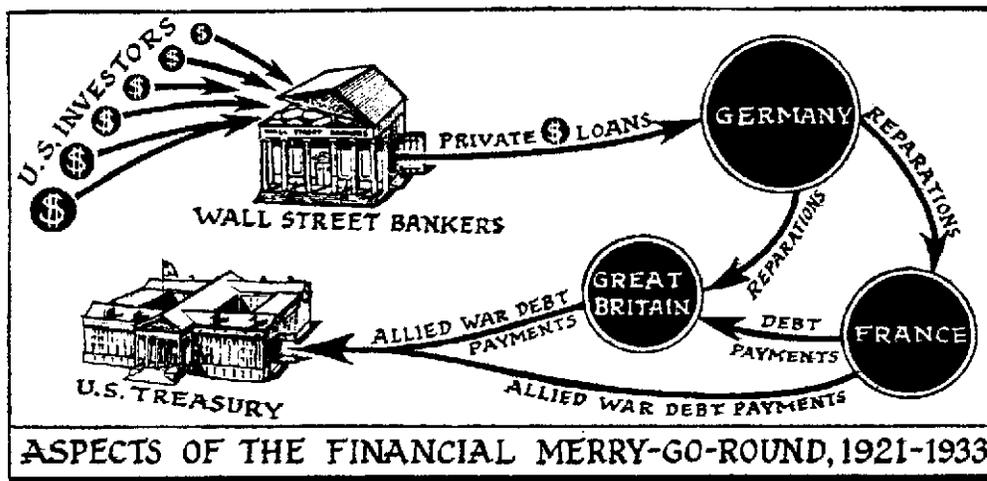
**Looking for Leadership**

**Document L**

"The United States cannot admit the legality nor does it intend to recognize" the legitimacy of any arrangement with Japan which impairs Chinese sovereignty and threatens the Open Door Policy", Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson announced January 7, 1931. Time Magazine.

Stimson, Henry Lewis, 1867–1950, American statesman, b. New York City. A graduate of Yale and of Harvard, As Secretary of State (1929–33) in President Hoover’s administration, Stimson was chairman of the American delegation to the London Naval Conference (1930–31) and of the delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932). After the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, he issued (1932) a declaration that the United States would not recognize any situation or treaty that might impair U.S. treaty rights or that was brought about by means contrary to the Kellogg-Briand Pact (i.e., by aggression); this policy came to be known as the Stimson Doctrine. In 1933, Stimson resumed law practice, but he retained his interest in international affairs, advocating a firm attitude toward the Axis Powers. When President Franklin Delano Roosevelt appointed him Secretary of War in 1940, Stimson was read out of the Republican party. Source: The People's Chronology is licensed from Henry Holt and Company, Inc. Copyright © 1992 by James Trager. All rights reserved.

**Document M**



## US History Document Based Question #22

Directions: The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of documents A-N and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question.

Recent historians have emphasized the continuity of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal with the past. How "new" was the New Deal?

### Document A

“ . . . We are face to face with new conceptions of the relation of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. . . . every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.” Theodore Roosevelt, speech in Kansas, 1910.

### Document B

“We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our businessmen and our producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better merchants and better traders than any in the world. The object of duties henceforth must be to promote effective competition. We must accomplish our purpose without reckless haste. We must build up our foreign trade. We more than ever need an outlet for our energies.” Wilson to Congress, 1913. D. F. Houston, Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1926), vol. 1, pp. 52-55.

### Document C

“The commission is hereby empowered and directed to prevent persons, partnerships, or corporations, except banks, and common carriers subject to the Acts to regulate commerce, from using unfair methods of competition in commerce. If upon such hearing the commission shall be of the opinion that the method of competition in question is prohibited by this Act, it shall make a report in writing in which it shall state its findings as to the facts, and shall issue and cause to be served on such person, partnership, or corporation an order requiring such person, partnership, or corporation to cease and desist from using such methods of competition.” Federal Trade Commission Act, September 1914.

### Document D

“Among the nations of the earth today America stands for one idea: Business... For in this facts lies the salvation of the world. Through business, properly conceived, managed and conducted, the human race is finally to be redeemed. How and why a man works foretells what he will do, think, have, give and be. And real salvation is in doing, thinking, having, Owning and being, not in sermonizing and theorizing....

What is the finest game? Business. The soundest science? Business. The truest art? Business. The fullest education? Business. The fairest opportunity? Business. The cleanest philanthropy Business. The sanest religion? Business....

The finest game is business. The rewards are for everybody, and all can win. There are no favorites-Providence always crowns the career of the man who is worthy.” From Edward Purinton, "Big Ideas from Big Business," The Independent 105 (16 April 1921): 395-96.

## Document E



WASHINGTON STAR  
From the holdings at the FDR Library

## Document F

**“When the war closed, the most vital of all issues both in our own country and throughout the world was whether governments should continue their wartime ownership and operation of many instrumentalities of production and distribution. We were challenged with a peacetime choice between the American system of rugged individualism and a European philosophy of diametrically opposed doctrines — doctrines of paternalism and state socialism....**

There has been revived in this campaign, however, a series of proposals which, if adopted, would be a long step toward the abandonment of our American system and a surrender to the destructive operation of governmental conduct of commercial business.... our opponents propose that we must thrust government a long way into the businesses which give rise to these problems. In effect, they abandon the tenets of their own party and turn to state socialism as a solution for the difficulties presented by all three.”  
Herbert Hoover, Speech on the eve of the Election of 1932. The American Pageant, Document, Chapter 36.

## Document G

“The TVA has therefore appeared to be on the side of the angels in the controversy between it and the utilities. But the conservation programme of the TVA is only a masquerade. It has no functional connection with the power programme of the Authority, and the amount spent on it is only an insignificant portion of the Authority's total expenditures.... The American people, therefore, are paying more than half a billion dollars for eleven dams, chiefly designed to supply power to one area. But this power, as will shortly be demonstrated, is to be supplied to this area at less than cost. In other words, the TVA will operate annually at a deficit, and these annual deficits must, of course, be paid for out of the pockets of the taxpayers.

The sponsors of the TVA maintained at the beginning that this vast programme was not designed to create a competitive power system, but to set up a yardstick by which the rates of the private companies could be judged.” Quote from Hoover, The American Pageant, Document, Chapter 37

**Document H**

“Some of my friends tell me that they do not want the Government in business. With this I agree, but I wonder whether they realize the implications of the past. For while it has been American doctrine that the Government must not go into business in competition with private enterprises, still it has been traditional, particularly in Republican administrations, for business urgently to ask the Government to put at private disposal all kinds of Government assistance.

The same man who tells you that he does not want to see the Government interfere in business--and he means it, and has plenty of good reasons for saying so--is the first to go to Washington and ask the Government for a prohibitory tariff on his product.” Roosevelt's Public Papers, vol. 1, p. 748 (Commonwealth Club speech, San Francisco, September 23, 1932).

**Document I**

“A glance at the situation today only too clearly indicates that equality of opportunity, as we have known it, no longer exists. Our industrial plant is built; the problem just now is whether under existing conditions it is not overbuilt. Our last frontier has long since been reached, and there is practically no more free land. More than half of our people do not live on the farms or on lands, and cannot derive a living by cultivating their own property. There is no safety valve in the form of a Western prairie, to which those thrown out of work by the Eastern economic machines can go for a new start.\* We are not able to invite the immigration from Europe to share our endless plenty. We are now providing a drab living for our own people...

Recently a careful study was made of the concentration of business in the United States. It showed that our economic life was dominated by some six hundred odd corporations, who controlled two-thirds of American industry. Ten million small business men divided the other third. More striking still, it appeared that if the process of concentration goes on at the same rate, at the end of another century we shall have all American industry controlled by a dozen corporations, and run by perhaps a hundred men. Put plainly, we are steering a steady course toward economic oligarchy, if we are not there already.

Clearly, all this calls for a re-appraisal of values. A mere builder of more industrial plants, a creator of more railroad systems, an organizer of more corporations, is as likely to be a danger as a help. The day of the great promoter or the financial Titan, to whom we granted anything if only he would build, or develop, is over.

**Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to re-establish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of under consumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.”** Roosevelt's Public Papers, vol. 1, pp. 750-753 (speech of September 23, 1932).

**Document J**

So I sum up the history of the present Administration in four sentences:

**First, it encouraged speculation and overproduction, through its false economic policies. Second, it attempted to minimize the [1929 stock market] crash and misled the people as to its gravity. Third, it erroneously charged the cause to other Nations of the world. And finally, it refused to recognize and correct the evils at home which had brought it forth; it delayed relief; it forgot reform.”** Roosevelt's Public Papers, vol. 1, p. 677 (speech of August 20, 1932).

**Document K**

“The urgent question today is the prompt balancing of the Budget. When that is accomplished, I propose to support adequate measures for relief of distress and unemployment. In the meantime, it is essential that there should be an understanding of the character of the draft bill made public yesterday in the House of Representatives for this purpose. That draft bill supports some proposals we have already made in aid to unemployment, through the use of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, to make loans for projects which have been in abeyance and which proposal makes no drain on the taxpayer. But in addition it proposes to expend about \$900,000,000 for Federal public works.

I believe the American people will grasp the economic fact that such action would require appropriations to be made to the Federal Departments, thus creating a deficit in the Budget that could only be met with more taxes and more Federal bond issues. That makes balancing of the Budget hopeless. The country also understands that an unbalanced budget means the loss of confidence of our own people and of other nations in the credit and stability of the Government, and that the consequences are national demoralization and the loss of ten times as many jobs as would be created by this program, even if it could be physically put into action... This is not unemployment relief. It is the most gigantic pork barrel ever proposed to the American Congress. It is an unexampled raid on the public Treasury.” Herbert Hoover, reported in New York Times, May 28, 1932 (Washington press conference of May 27, 1932).

Document L

“The Social Security Act, 1935,

SEC. 202. (a) Every qualified individual shall be entitled to receive, with respect to the period beginning on the date he attains the age of sixty-five. . . . an old-age benefit (savable as nearly as practicable in equal monthly installments) . . . .

SEC. 301. For the purpose of assisting the States in the administration of their unemployment compensation laws, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936, the sum of \$4,000,000 and for each fiscal year thereafter the sum of \$49,000,000, to be used as hereinafter provided . . . .

SEC. 401. For the purpose of enabling each State to furnish financial assistance. . . . to needy dependent children, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year. . . . a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title. The sums made available under this section shall be used formaking payments to States which have submitted, and approved by the Board, State plans for aid to dependent children . . . .”

SEC. 1001. For the purpose of enabling each State to furnish financial assistance . . . . to needy individuals who are blind, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year. . . . a sum sufficient to carry out the purposes of this title. . . .”  
U.S. Statutes at Large, XLIX (1935), 620.

Document M



## AP US History Document Based Question #23

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

Compare and contrast the attitudes of Americans toward war in 1937-1941 with the attitudes of 1914-1917.

### Document A



**Document B**

*Declaration of Lima, 1938, Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949, ed. Charles I. Bevans, Vol. 3, p. 534-535*

The Governments of the American States Declare:

“That the peoples of America have achieved spiritual unity through the similarity of their republican institutions, their unshakeable will for peace, their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance, and through their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of the equal sovereignty of States and of individual liberty without religious or racial prejudices; .... Third. And in case the peace, security or territorial integrity of any American Republic is thus threatened by acts of any nature that may impair them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, coordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of the procedure of consultation, established by conventions in force and by declarations of the Inter-American Conferences, using the measures which in each case the circumstances may make advisable. It is understood that the Governments of the American Republics will act independently in their individual capacity, recognizing fully their juridical equality as sovereign states.”

**Document C**

President Franklin Roosevelt's "Quarantine the Aggressors" Address, 1937

“The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignoring’s of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy, international instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality.

Those who cherish their freedom and recognize and respect the equal rights of their neighbors to be free and live in peace, must work together for the triumph of law and moral principles in order that peace, justice and confidence may prevail throughout the world. There must be a return to a belief in the pledged word, in the value of a signed treaty. There must be recognition of the fact that national morality is as vital as private morality....

And mark this well! When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease....

Most important of all, the will for peace on the part of peace-loving nations must express itself to the end that nations that may be tempted to violate their agreements and the rights of others will desist from such a cause. There must be positive endeavors to preserve peace.” Neutrality Act of 1937, U.S. Statutes at Large (75th Cong., Sess. I, p. 121-128).

**Document D**

Neutrality Act, 1937

"Export of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War

'Section 1. (a) Whenever the President shall find that there exists a state of war between, or among, two or more foreign states, the President shall proclaim such fact, and it shall thereafter be unlawful to export, or attempt to export, or cause to be exported, arms, ammunition, or implements of war from any place in the United States to any belligerent state named in such proclamation, or to any neutral state for transshipment to, or for the use of, any such belligerent state. Neutrality Act of 1937. U.S. Statutes at Large (75th Cong., Sess. I, p. 121-128).

**Document E**

Mr. Con Says No:

“Outraged by Nazi barbarism and Japanese megalomania, we are already emotionally drifting, as in 1914-17, toward the same maelstrom. Since Munich, American anti-dictatorship sentiment is just as hot as anti-German sentiment in 1916. England is again casting sheep’s eyes at us-witness Churchill’s short-wave radio appeal to America, Eden’s recent visit, recent English muttering about maybe paying a little on the war debt. In the name of saving freedom our liberals are again deserting anti-military principles. In sum, we are already hard at what Charles A. Beard, most distinguished of American liberal historians, calls the ‘demonology’ of naively splitting the world into blacks and whites and letting our emotions warp us into betting everything on the side of the angels. They were queer angels in 1919-witness the peace treaties they drew up. Also, in 1931, when they ran out cynically on American efforts to get Japan to respect the Kellogg treaty outlawing war. Also when they permitted the rape of Ethiopia.” Source: “Pro and Con: Should We Act to Curb Aggressor Nations?” Readers Digest, 1939.

**Document F**

Mr. Pro Says Yes:

“Parallels with 1914-17 are miserably misleading here. Immature sympathies, Allied propaganda, interests with a financial stake in the Allied cause, had a lot to do with involving us then. Now the hard core of the matter is a natural horror at the bloody rape of China, the sadistic persecutions in Germany. There is no need for artificial propaganda against dictators. The brute facts of their behavior are an irresistible call to action.” Source: “Pro and Con: Should We Act to Curb Aggressor Nations?” Readers Digest, March, 1939.

**Document G**

German note to the United States, February, 1915

“Just as England has designated the area between Scotland and Norway as an area of war, so Germany now declares all the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the entire English Channel as an area of war, and thus will proceed against the shipping of the enemy.

For this purpose, beginning February, 1915, it will endeavor to destroy every enemy merchant ship that is found in this area of war without its always being possible to avert the peril that thus threatens persons and cargoes. Neutrals are therefore warned against further entrusting crews, passengers and wares to such ships.”

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. Supplement: The World War, 1915. Washington. Government Printing Office, 1928, 96.

**Document H**

“The Government of the United States expresses the confident hope and expectation that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany otherwise than by visit and search, though their vessels may be traversing the sea area delimited in the proclamation of the German Admiralty. The United States Government protests.”  
February 10, 1915. Foreign Relations Supplement: The World War, 1915, 99.

**Document I**

**U.S. Exports to Nations at War  
1914-1916**

Nation	1914	1915	1916	% increase
Great Britain	594271863	911794954	1526685102	257
France	159818924	369397170	628851988	393
Italy	74235012	184819688	269246105	364
Germany	344794276	28863354	288899	0.08

**Document J**

“It is important to reflect that if in this instance we allowed expediency to take the place of principle, the door would inevitably be opened to still further concessions. Once accept a single abatement of right, and many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece. What we are contending for in this matter is of the very essence the things that have made America a sovereign nation. She cannot yield them without conceding her own impotency as a nation, and making virtual surrender of her independent position among the nations of the world.” President Wilson to Senator Stone, February 24, 1916. *Foreign Relations Supplement: The World War, 1916, 178.*

**Document K**

The United States to Germany April 18, 1916.

“Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed along with vessels of belligerent ownership in constantly increasing numbers.

The Government of the United States has been very patient .... it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war .... If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.” *Foreign Relations Supplement: The World War, 1916, 233-34.*

**Document L**

“The present war is a continuation of the old struggle among western nations for the material benefits of the world. It is a struggle by the German people to gain territory and power. It is a struggle by the English and French to prevent another European nation from becoming strong enough to demand a share in influence and empire.

The last war demonstrated the fallacy of sending American soldiers to European battlefields. The victory we helped to win brought neither order nor justice in its wake, and these interminable wars continue unabated and with modern fury. We cannot impose a peace by force upon strong nations who do not themselves desire it, and the records of both sides show little indication of such a desire, except when it is to their own material advantage. Whether one reads a history of England, Germany, or France, the wish for conquest, when opportunity arose, has always overshadowed the wish for peace.” Source: Charles A. Lindbergh, “What Substitute for War?” *The Atlantic Monthly*, February, 1940.

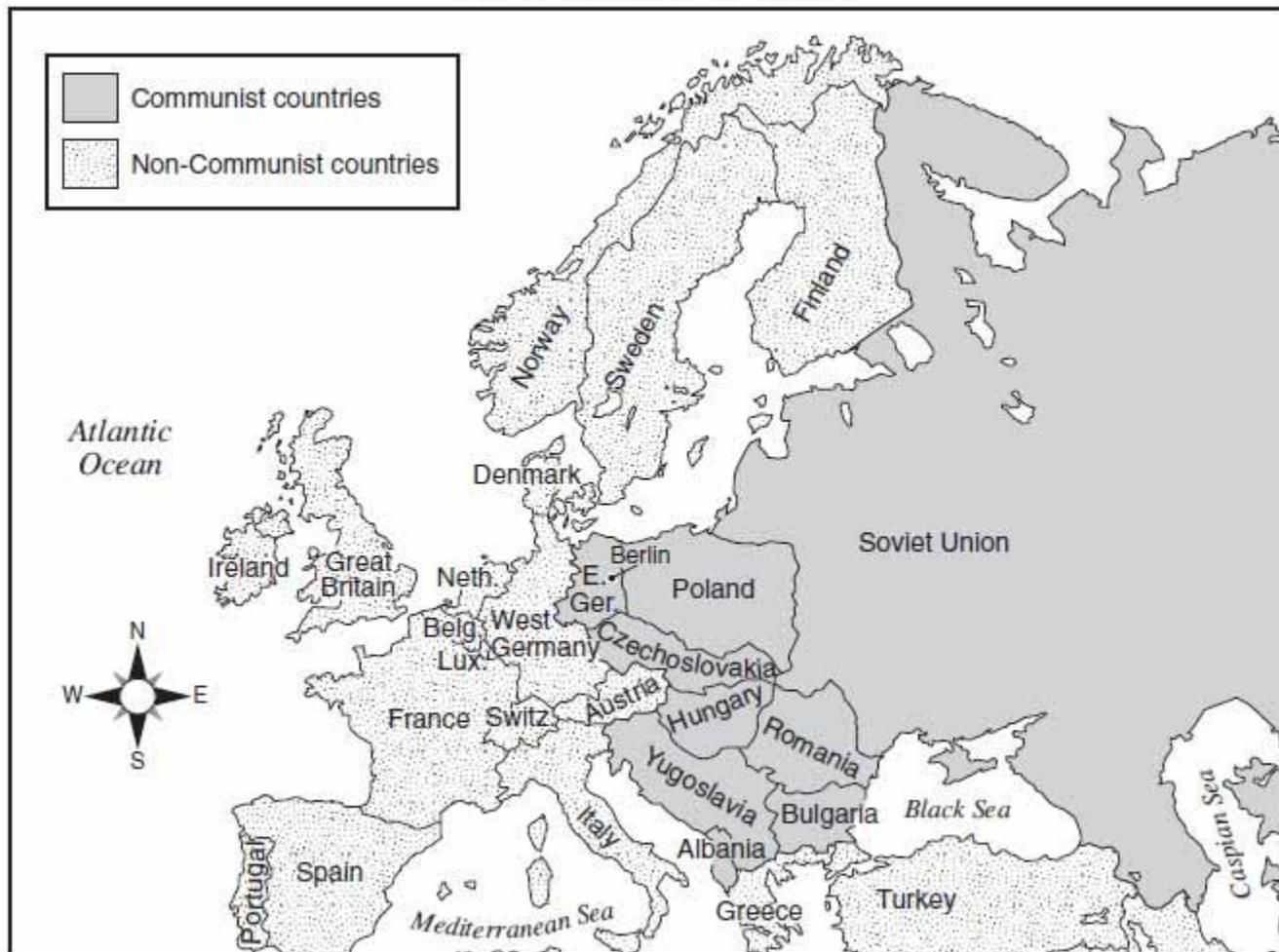
**Document M**

## AP US History Document Based Question #24

Discuss how the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union affected other nations and/or regions of the world.

### Document A

Europe After World War II



Source: Roger B. Beck et al., *World History: Patterns of Interaction*, McDougal Littell (adapted)

## Document B

This is Hungary calling! This is Hungary calling! The last free station. Forward to the United Nations. Early this morning Soviet troops launched a general attack on Hungary. We are requesting you to send us immediate aid in the form of parachute troops over the Transdanubian provinces [across the Danube River]. It is possible that our broadcasts will soon come to the same fate as the other Hungarian broadcasting stations . . . For the sake of God and freedom, help Hungary! . . .

— Free Radio Rakoczi

Civilized people of the world, listen and come to our aid. Not with declarations, but with force, with soldiers, with arms. Do not forget that there is no stopping the wild onslaught [attack] of Bolshevism. Your turn will also come, if we perish. Save our souls! Save our souls! . . .

— Free Radio Petofi

Source: Melvin J. Lasky, ed., *The Hungarian Revolution: The Story of the October Uprising as Recorded in Documents, Dispatches, Eye-Witness Accounts, and World-wide Reactions*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957 (adapted)

## Document C

This morning the forces of the reactionary conspiracy [anti-Soviet plot] against the Hungarian people were crushed. A new Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant [Communist] Government, headed by the Prime Minister Janos Kadar, has been formed. . . .

— Radio Moscow

Source: Melvin J. Lasky, ed., *The Hungarian Revolution: The Story of the October Uprising as Recorded in Documents, Dispatches, Eye-Witness Accounts, and World-wide Reactions*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1957

## Document D

Berlin, Germany After World War II



Source: Henry Brun et al., *Reviewing Global History and Geography*, AMSCO (adapted)

## Document E

. . . The preservation of peace forms the central aim of India's policy. It is in the pursuit of this policy that we have chosen the path of nonalignment [nonalignment] in any military or like pact or alliance. Nonalignment does not mean passivity of mind or action, lack of faith or conviction. It does not mean submission to what we consider evil. It is a positive and dynamic approach to such problems that confront us. We believe that each country has not only the right to freedom but also to decide its own policy and way of life. Only thus can true freedom flourish and a people grow according to their own genius. We believe, therefore, in nonaggression and noninterference by one country in the affairs of another and the growth of tolerance between them and the capacity for peaceful coexistence. We think that by the free exchange of ideas and trade and other contacts between nations each will learn from the other and truth will prevail. We therefore endeavor to maintain friendly relations with all countries, even though we may disagree with them in their policies or structure of government. We think that by this approach we can serve not only our country but also the larger causes of peace and good fellowship in the world. . . .

Source: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, speech in Washington, D.C., December 18, 1956

## Document F

Sook Nyul Choi was born in Pyongyang, Korea and immigrated to the United States during the 1950s. She integrates her autobiographical information into a work of historical fiction set in Korea between the end of World War II and 1950.

. . . Our freedom and happiness did not last long. In June 1950, war broke out. North Korean and Communist soldiers filled the streets of Seoul, and were soon joined by Chinese Communist troops. Russian tanks came barreling through. In the chaos, many more North Korean refugees made their way to Seoul. Theresa and the other nuns finally escaped, and made their way to our house. They told us that the Russians and Town Reds had found out about Kisa's and Aunt Tiger's other activities. They died as all "traitors" did. They were shot with machine guns, and then hanged in the town square to serve as a lesson to others. We never heard any further news about the sock girls, or about my friend Unhi. I still wonder if they are alive in the North.

Source: Sook Nyul Choi, *Year of Impossible Goodbyes*, Houghton Mifflin Company

## Document G

. . . Immediately after the revolution, the Sandinistas had the best organized and most experienced military force in the country. To replace the National Guard, the Sandinistas established a new national army, the Sandinista People's Army (Ejército Popular Sandinista—EPS), and a police force, the Sandinista Police (Policía Sandinista-PS). These two groups, contrary to the original Puntarenas Pact [agreement reached by Sandinista government when in exile] were controlled by the Sandinistas and trained by personnel from Cuba, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. Opposition to the overwhelming FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] influence in the security forces did not surface until 1980. Meanwhile, the EPS developed, with support from Cuba and the Soviet Union, into the largest and best equipped military force in Central America. Compulsory military service, introduced during 1983, brought the EPS forces to about 80,000 by the mid-1980s. . . .

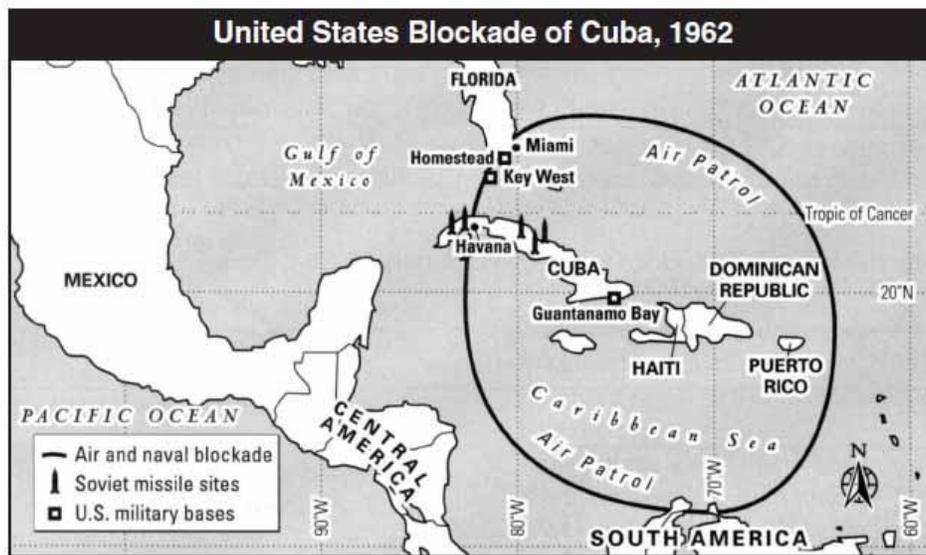
Source: Library of Congress, Federal Research Division (adapted)

## Document H



Source: Burton F. Beers, *World History: Patterns of Civilization*, Prentice Hall (adapted)

## Document I



Source: *World History: Patterns of Interaction*, McDougal Littell (adapted)

## AP US History Document Based Question #25

The following question requires you to use both the documents and outside information.

**To what extent did the decade of the 1950s deserve its reputation as an age of political, social and cultural conformity?**

### Document A

“We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. This disposition makes unnecessary any discussion whether such segregation also violates the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.” Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 1954.

### Document B

“I feel that this award was not made to me as a man, but to my work—a life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit, not for glory and least of all for profit, but to create out of the materials of the human spirit something which did not exist before. So this award is only mine in trust. It will not be difficult to find a dedication for the money part of it commensurate with the purpose and significance of its origin. But I would like to do the same with the acclaim too, by using this moment as a pinnacle from which I might be listened to by the young men and women already dedicated to the same anguish and travail, among whom is already that one who will some day stand here where I am standing.

Our tragedy today is a general and universal physical fear so long sustained by now that we can even bear it. There are no longer problems of the spirit. There is only the question: When will I be blown up? Because of this, the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the human heart in conflict with itself which alone can make good writing because only that is worth writing about, worth the agony and the sweat.” William Faulkner, Nobel Prize Speech, 1950. University of Virginia Library, Special Collections.

### Document C

“Resolved, That the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct as a Senator and affected the honor of the Senate and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy.... acted contrary to senatorial ethics and tended to bring the Senate into dishonor and disrepute, to obstruct, the constitutional processes of the Senate, and to impair its dignity; and such conduct is hereby condemned.” Senate Censure of Joseph McCarthy, 1954. Congressional Record, Vol. 100-Part 12, p. 16392.

### Document D

“How far have we come in man's long pilgrimage from darkness toward light? Are we nearing the light—a day of freedom and of peace for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us?....

Yet the promise of this life is imperiled by the very genius that has made it possible. Nations amass wealth. Labor sweats to create, and turns out devices to level not only mountains but also cities. Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet....

“We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both.

These basic precepts are not lofty abstractions, far removed from matters of daily living. They are laws of spiritual strength that generate and define our material strength. Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible, from the sanctity of our families and the wealth of our soil to the genius of our scientists.

And so each citizen plays an indispensable role. The productivity of our heads, our hands, and our hearts is the source of all the strength we can command, for both the enrichment of our lives and the winning of the peace.” President Eisenhower's First Inaugural Address, 1953. Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, 1789-1965.

## Document E

“To strengthen the national defense and to encourage and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs; and for other purposes. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act, divided into titles and sections according to the following table of contents, may be cited as the "National Defense Education Act of 1958".

Sec. 101. .... We must increase our efforts to identify and educate more of the talent of our Nation. This requires programs that will give assurance that no student of ability will be denied an opportunity for higher education because of financial need; will correct as rapidly as possible the existing imbalances in our educational programs which have led to an insufficient proportion of our population educated in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages and trained in technology.

The Congress reaffirms the principle and declares that the States and local communities have and must retain control over and primary responsibility for public education. The national interest requires, however, that the Federal Government give assistance to education for programs which are important to our defense. ... It is therefore the purpose of this Act to provide substantial assistance in various forms to individuals, and to States and their subdivisions, in order to insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States.” National Defense Education Act of 1958. U.S. Statutes at Large, Public Law 85-864, p. 1580-1605.

## Document F

“AN ACT To provide for the reporting and disclosure of certain financial transactions and administrative practices of labor organizations and employers, to prevent abuses in the administration of trusteeships by labor organizations, to provide standards with respect to the election of officers of labor organizations, and for other purposes....

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress finds that, in the public interest, it continues to be the responsibility of the Federal Government to protect employees' rights to organize, choose their own representatives, bargain collectively, and otherwise engage in concerted activities for their mutual aid or protection; that the relations between employers and labor organizations and the millions of workers they represent have a substantial impact on the commerce of the Nation; and that in order to accomplish to objective of a free flow of commerce it is essential that labor organizations, employers, and their officials adhere to the highest standards of responsibility and ethical conduct in administering the affairs of their organizations, particularly as they affect labor-management relations.” "Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959." Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959. U.S. Statutes at Large, Public Law 86-257, p. 579-546.

## Document G



“Caught him trespassin’ on private property”

## Document H

“All history can show no more portentous economic phenomenon than today's American market. It is colossal, soaking up half the world's steel and oil, and three-fourths of its cars and appliances. The whole world fears it and is baffled by it. Let U.S. industry slip 5 per cent, and waves of apprehension sweep through foreign chancelleries. Let U.S. consumer spending lag even half as much, and the most eminent economists anxiously read the omens. The whole world also marvels at and envies this market. It is enabling Americans to raise their standard of living every year while other countries have trouble in maintaining theirs. And of course the whole world wants to get in on it. For it still can punish the incompetent and inefficient, and still reward handsomely the skillful, efficient, and daring....

The most important change of the past few years, by all odds, is the rise of the great mass into a new moneyed middle class, a rapidly growing market that seems bound, sooner or later, to become the American market. It is like no other middle class in history, either abroad or at home.” From the editors of *Fortune*, "The Changing American Market" (Garden City, NY: Hanover House, 1955), pp. 13-18, 73-74, 249-250. (c) 1955 *Time*, Inc.

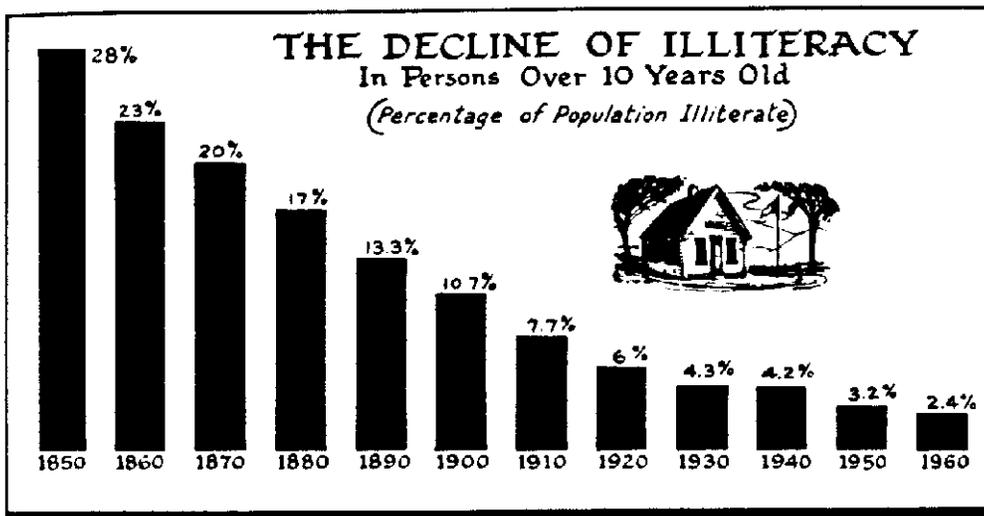
## Document I

“Your industry possesses the most powerful voice in America. It has an inescapable duty to make that voice ring with intelligence and with leadership.... It should be making ready for the kind of leadership that newspapers and magazines assumed years ago, to make our people aware of their world.... I invite you to sit down in front of your television set.... I can assure you that you will observe a vast wasteland.

You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western badmen, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence, and cartoons. And, endlessly, commercials, many screaming, cajoling, and offending....

If parents, teachers, and ministers conducted their responsibilities by following the ratings, children would have a steady diet of ice cream, school holidays, and no Sunday School. What about your responsibilities? Is there no room on television to teach, to inform, to uplift, to stretch, to enlarge the capacities of our children? Is there no room for programs deepening their understanding of children in other lands? Is there no room for a children's news show explaining something about the world to them at their level of understanding? Is there no room for reading the great literature of the past, teaching them the great traditions of freedom? There are some fine children's shows, but they are drowned out in the massive doses of cartoons, violence, and more violence. Must these be your trademarks? Search your consciences and see if you cannot offer more to your young beneficiaries whose future you guide so many hours each and every day....” Newton N. Minow, "Program Control: The Broadcasters are Public Trustees," *Vital Speeches of the Day* 27, no. 17 (June 15, 1961), pp. 533-535.

## Document J



**Document K**

Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes made of ticky tacky,  
 Little boxes on the hillside, little boxes all the same.  
 There's a green one and a pink one and a blue one and a yellow one,  
 And they're all made out of ticky tacky and they all look just the same.

SOURCE: Words and music by Malvina Reynolds, 1962 Schroder Music, renewed 1990 Nancy Schimmel. Used by permission, all rights reserved.

**Document L**

“The suburban housewife, she was the dream image of the young American women and the envy, it was said, of women all over the world. The American housewife, freed by science and laborsaving appliances from the drudgery, the dangers of childbirth and the illnesses of her grandmother. She was healthy, beautiful, educated, concerned only about her husband, her children, her home. She had found true feminine fulfillment. As a housewife and mother, she was respected as a full and equal partner to man in his world. She was free to choose automobiles, clothes, appliances, supermarkets; she had everything that women ever dreamed of. In the fifteen years after World War 11, this mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife.... Their only dream was to be perfect wives and mothers; their highest ambition to have five children and a beautiful house, their only fight to get and keep their husbands. They had no thought for the unfeminine problem.” Source: “The Problem That Has No Name”, 1963 Reprinted from The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan, by permission of W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. Copyright (1963) by Betty Friedan.

**Document M**

“This book is about the organization man. If the term is vague, it is because I can think of no other way to describe the people I am talking about. They are not the workers, nor are they the white-collar people in the usual, clerk sense of the word. These people only work for The Organization. The ones I am talking about belong to it as well. They are the ones of our middle class who have left home, spiritually as well as physically, to take the vows of organization life, and it is they who are the mind and soul of our great self-perpetuating institutions. Only a few are top managers or ever will be. In a system that makes such hazy terminology as "junior executive" psychologically necessary, they are of the staff as much as the line, and most are destined to live poised in a middle area that still awaits a satisfactory euphemism. But they are the dominant members of our society nonetheless. They have not joined together into a recognizable elite, our country does not stand still long enough for that, but it is from their ranks that are coming most of the first and second echelons of our leadership, and it is their values which will set the American temper.” Source: William Allen Whyte Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), p3.

**Document N**

“.... A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction. Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions.... This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in American experience. The total influence, economic, political, even spiritual, is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications....

## AP US History Document Based Question #26

Directions: The following question requires you to construct an essay that integrates your interpretation of the Documents and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. In the essay you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence.

**The 1920's and 1960's witnessed tremendous social upheaval, unrest and reevaluation of our goals. Compare and contrast the 1920s and 1960s in each of the following areas: (a) literature (b) respect for the law (c) social customs (d) foreign policy.**

### Document A

“The recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually, in itself proves the wisdom of the inherited policy of non-involvement in Old World affairs. Confident of our ability to work out our own destiny, and jealously guarding our right to do so, we seek no part in directing the destinies of the Old World. We do not mean to be entangled. We will accept no responsibility except as our own conscience and judgment, in each instance, may determine.... [but] a world supergovernment is contrary to everything we cherish and can have no sanction by our Republic. This is not selfishness, it is sanctity. It is not aloofness, it is security. It is not suspicion of others, it is patriotic adherence to the things which made us what we are....” President Harding's Inaugural Address, 1921. *Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, 1789-1965*.

### Document B

“There is only one way out. We have got to fight for the health and happiness of the Unborn Child. And to do that in a practical, tangible way, we have got to free women from enforced, enslaved maternity. There can be no hope for the future of civilization, no certainty of racial salvation, until every woman can decide for herself whether she will or will not become a mother and when and how many children she cares to bring into the world. That is the first step.” Margaret Sanger's "Children's Era" Speech, 1926. *American Voices, Significant Speeches in American History, 1640-1945*, p. 429-432.

### Document C



“First, Premier Ky, you must learn the principles of democracy...”

**Document D**

“America is shocked and saddened by the brutal slaying tonight of Dr. Martin Luther King. I ask every citizen to reject the blind violence that has struck Dr. King, who lived by nonviolence. I pray that his family can find comfort in the memory of all he tried to do for the land he loved so well.

I know that every American of good will joins me in mourning the death of this outstanding leader and in praying for peace and understanding throughout this land. We can achieve nothing by lawlessness and divisiveness among the American people. It is only by joining together and only by working together that we can continue to move toward equality and fulfillment for all of our people. I hope that all Americans tonight will search their hearts as they ponder this most tragic incident. President Lyndon B. Johnson's Remarks on the King Assassination, 1968. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, Book I (1968 9), p. 493.

**Document E**

“AN ACT: To prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Equal Pay Act of 1963."

No employer having employees subject to any provisions of this section shall discriminate, within any establishment in which such employees are employed, between employees on the basis of sex by paying wages to employees in such establishment at a rate less than the rate at which he pays wages to employees of the opposite sex in such establishment for equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions....”  
Approved June 10, 1963, 12:00pm. Equal Pay Act of 1963. U.S. Statutes at Large, Public Law 88-38, p. 56-57.

**Document F**

AMENDMENT 19

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, 1920. Triumph of the American Nation, p. 214.

**Document G**

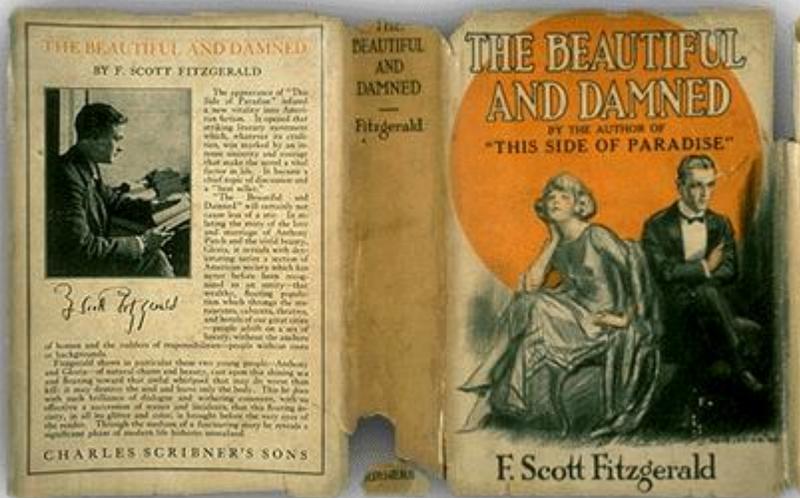
“The President of the German Reich, the President of the United States of America, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, His Majesty the King of Italy His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, the President of the Republic of Poland, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind; Persuaded that the time has come when a frank renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be made to the end that the peaceful and friendly relations now existing between their peoples may be perpetuated....” “Pact of Paris, 1928.” Treaties and Other International Agreement of U.S. 1776-1949, Compiled by Charles I. Bevans, p. 2343-2348.

Document H



Document I



## Document J

“The morals of America's young people engaged the worried attention of the religious press. Samuel Byrne, editor of the Pittsburgh *Observer* (Catholic) wrote:

There has been a change for the worse during the past year in feminine dress, dancing, manners, and general moral standards. The causes are the lack of an adequate sense of responsibility in the parents or guardians of girls, a decline in personal religion, a failure to realize the serious ethical consequences of immodesty in girls' dress, a dulling of moral susceptibilities, an inability to grasp the significance of the higher things in human life, and, last, but not least, the absence of sufficient courage and determination to resist the dictates of what is known as Fashion when these are opposed to decency.

The Southern Baptist *Review and Expositor* held similar views:

There is a great deal of frank talk among young people that in many cases smacks of boldness. One hears it said that the girls are actually tempting the boys more than the boys do the girls, by their dress and their conversation. Not all the boys and girls are bad but evil is more open and defiant of public opinion and restraint. The situation causes grave concern on the part of all who have the ideals at heart of purity and home life and the stability of our American civilization.” Source: Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, Vol. VI, [1940] p. 578-80.

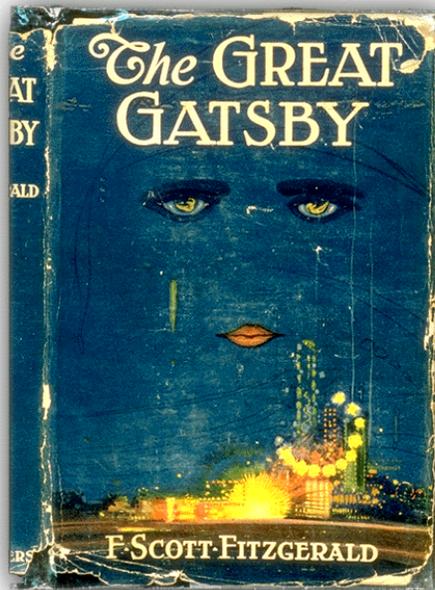
The Cold War (1945-1989)  
The 1960S (1960-1969)

## Document K

“That the War should give rise to books and plays was natural. What constituted a phenomenon was that the "war books" unanimously took one view of the war, the bitter view. All pictured war grimly, a horrible, destructive experience for those who lived through it; a loathsome, useless death for those who died. The figures whom literature about former wars had made to seem romantic, glamorous - Kipling's clashing young subalterns, Richard Harding Davis's gallant captains, even Rupert Brooke's eager young patriots - all these seemed a thousand years away from the stony disillusionment expressed in the novels and plays about the Great War.

This disillusionment, the unanimity of it, and the force with which it was expressed, gave to the war books as a group an importance unique in the literature of the time. The importance had no relation to the literary value of the books. The importance was not in the field of literature; it was in the world of national point-of- view. The war books at once expressed and helped to create the national thought about a national question; they had weight in determining the country's attitude....” Source: Mark Sullivan, *Our Times* Vol VI [1940] p.372-3.

## Document L



## Document M

The Cold War (1945-1989)  
The 1960s (1960-1969)

March 4, 1929

My Countrymen:

“If we survey the situation of our Nation both at home and abroad, we find many satisfactions; we find some causes for concern. We have emerged from the losses of the Great War and the reconstruction following it with increased virility and strength....But all this majestic advance should not obscure the constant dangers from which self-government must be safeguarded.... The most malign of all these dangers today is disregard and disobedience of law. Crime is increasing. Confidence in rigid and speedy justice is decreasing.... It is only in part due to the additional burdens imposed upon our judicial system by the eighteenth amendment. The problem is much wider than that. Many influences had increasingly complicated and weakened our law enforcement organization long before the adoption of the eighteenth amendment. President Hoover's Inaugural Address, 1929. Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States, 1789-1965.

## Document N

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress:

“I speak tonight for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy. I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause. At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama. There, long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man, a man of God, was killed.

....[T]he cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people, have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great government of the greatest nation on earth. Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man.... There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans, not as Democrats or Republicans, we are met here as Americans to solve that problem.

To those who seek to avoid action by their national government in their own communities, who want to and who seek to maintain purely local control over elections, the answer is simple. Open your polling places to all your people.” Source: Lyndon B. Johnson on Voting Rights, 1965.

## Document O

“A modern democracy is a tyranny whose borders are undefined; one discovers how far one can go only by traveling in a straight line until one is stopped.

Because there is very little honor left in American life, there is a certain built-in tendency to destroy masculinity in American men.

The sickness of our times for me has been just this damn thing that everything has been getting smaller and smaller and less and less important, that the romantic spirit has dried up, that there is no shame today. We're all getting so mean and small and petty and ridiculous, and we all live under the threat of extermination. Quotations from Norman Mailer.

## Document P

“Let historians not record that when America was the most powerful nation in the world we passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism. And so tonight—to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans—I ask for your support. I pledged in my campaign for the Presidency to end the war in a way that we could win the peace. I have initiated a plan of action which will enable me to keep that pledge. The more support I can have from the American people, the sooner that pledge can be redeemed; for the more divided we are at home, the less likely the enemy is to negotiate at Paris.

Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.” Source: President Nixon's "Silent Majority" Speech, 1969. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Richard Nixon, 1969, p.901-909.

## AP US History Document Based Question #27

Directions: In the essay you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

**Analyze the events of 1968 that made this year a turning point in late 20c American social and political history.**

### Document A

“The Vietcong seized part of the U. S. Embassy in Saigon early Wednesday, Vietnam time. Snipers are in the buildings and on roof tops near the Embassy and are firing on American personnel inside the compound.

Twenty suicide commandos are reported to be holding the first floor of the Embassy. The attack on the Embassy and other key installations in Saigon, at Tan Son Nhut Air Base and Bien Hoa north of Saigon came as the climax of the enemy's biggest and most highly coordinated offensive of the war. There was no report on Allied casualties in Saigon, but they're believed to be high.

The attacks came as thousands of civilians were celebrating the Lunar New Year, and at times it was almost impossible to distinguish the explosion of mortar shells and small arms fire from those of the firecrackers the celebrants were setting off.” Source: The lead story on the Tet Offensive as broadcast by NBC anchorman Chet Huntley, January 31, 1968.

### Document B

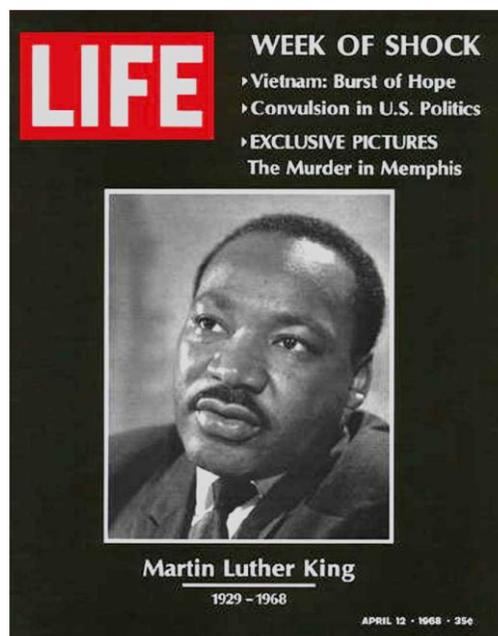
“...What we won when all of our people united just must not now be lost in suspicion, distrust, selfishness, and politics among any of our people. Believing this as I do, I have concluded that I should not permit the Presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. With America's sons in the fields far away, with America's future under challenge right here at home, with our hopes and the world's hopes for peace in the balance every day, I do not believe that I should devote an hour or a day of my time to any personal partisan causes or to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office--the Presidency of your country.

Accordingly, I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your President .But let men everywhere know, however, that a strong, a confident, and a vigilant America stands ready tonight to seek an honorable peace--and stands ready tonight to defend an honored cause--whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require.

Thank you for listening. Good night and God bless all of you.”

Source: President Johnson's speech to the nation, March 31, 1968.

### Document C



## Document D

The Cold War (1945-1989)  
The 1960S (1960-1969)

“...The future does not belong to those who are content with today, apathetic toward common problems and their fellow man alike, timid and fearful in the face of new ideas and bold projects. Rather it will belong to those who can blend vision, reason and courage in a personal commitment to the ideals and great enterprises of American Society.

Our future may lie beyond our vision, but it is not completely beyond our control. It is the shaping impulse of America that neither fate nor nature nor the irresistible tides of history, but the work of our own hands, matched to reason and principle that will determine our destiny. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we can live.

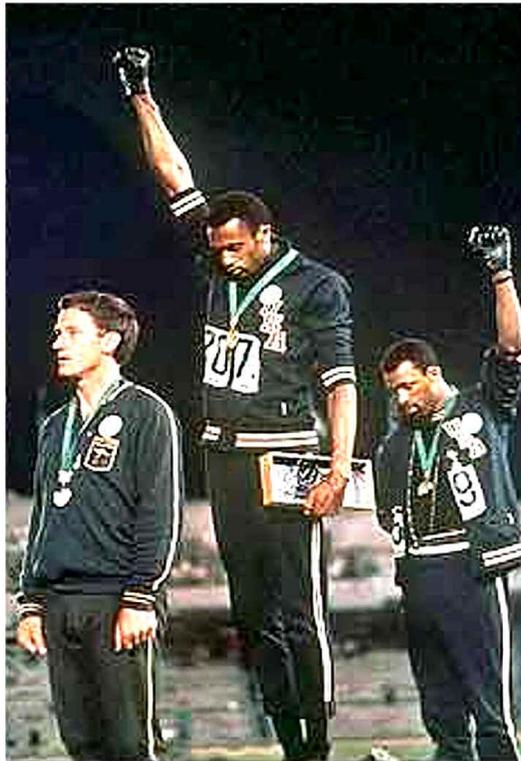
This is the way he lived. My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering, and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it.

Those of us who loved him and who take him to his rest today, pray that what he was to us and what he wished for others will some day come to pass for all the world.

As he said many times, in many parts of this nation, to those he touched and who sought to touch him:

"Some men see things as they are and say why. I dream things that never were and say why not." Source: Tribute to Senator Robert F. Kennedy by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City (June 8, 1968 ).

## Document E



Source: "Black Power" salute at the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City.

## Document F

“ This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal.... To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values. The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.... Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans. What white Americans have never fully understood--but what the Negro can never forget--is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it....

Our recommendations embrace three basic principles:

To mount programs on a scale equal to the dimension of the problems.

To aim these programs for high impact in the immediate future in order to close the gap between promise and performance.

To undertake new initiatives and experiments that can change the system of failure and frustration that now dominates the ghetto and weakens our society.

These programs will require unprecedented levels of funding and performance, but they neither probe deeper nor demand more than the problems which called them forth. There can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience....” Source: *Kerner Commission Report*, March 2, 1968.

## Document G

“The States concluding this Treaty, hereinafter referred to as the "Parties to the Treaty",

Considering the devastation that would be visited upon all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples,

Believing that the proliferation of nuclear weapons would seriously enhance the danger of nuclear war,

In conformity with resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly calling for the conclusion of an agreement on the prevention of wider dissemination of nuclear weapons,

Undertaking to cooperate in facilitating the application of International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards on peaceful nuclear activities,....

Have agreed as follows:

### Article I

Each nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices.

### Article II

Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

### Article III

1. Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification of the fulfillment of its obligations assumed under this Treaty with a view to preventing diversion of nuclear energy from peaceful uses to nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices....” Source: Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, July 1, 1968.

## Document H

“...A Constitutional Convention is being planned. A convention of visionary mind-benders who will for five long days and nights address themselves to the task of formulating the goals and means of the New Society.

It will be a blend of technologists and poets, of artists and community organizers, of anyone who has a vision. We will try to develop a Community of Consciousness.

....Workshops in a variety of subjects such as draft resistance, drugs, commune development, guerrilla theater and underground media will be set up. The workshops will be oriented around problem-solving while the Constitutional Convention works to developing the overall philosophical framework.

There will probably be a huge march across town to haunt the Democrats.

People coming to Chicago should begin preparations for five days of energy-exchange. Do not come prepared to sit and watch and be fed and cared for. It just won't happen that way. It is time to become a life-actor. The days of the audience died with the old America. If you don't have a thing to do, stay home, you'll only get in the way....” Source: Yippie leader, Abbie Hoffman, 1968.

## Document I



## Document J

“Mr. Chairman, delegates to this convention, my fellow Americans:...Tonight I again proudly accept that nomination for President of the United States. But I have news for you. This time there's a difference - this time we're going to win.... We're going to win because at a time that America cries out for the unity that this Administration has destroyed, the Republican party, after a spirited contest for its nomination for President and Vice President, stands united before the nation tonight....And a party that can unite itself will unite America.

....As we look at America, we see cities enveloped in smoke and flame. We hear sirens in the night. We see Americans dying on distant battlefields abroad. We see Americans hating each other; fighting each other; killing each other at home.

And as we see and hear these things, millions of Americans cry out in anguish:...

It is another voice, it is a quiet voice in the tumult of the shouting. It is the voice of the great majority of Americans, the forgotten Americans, the non-shouters, the non-demonstrators. They're not racists or sick; they're not guilty of the crime that plagues the land; they are black, they are white; they're native born and foreign born; they're young and they're old.

They work in American factories, they run American businesses. They serve in government; they provide most of the soldiers who die to keep it free. They give drive to the spirit of America. They give lift to the American dream. They give steel to the backbone of America. They're good people. They're decent people; they work and they save and they pay their taxes and they care....” Source: Richard Nixon's acceptance of the Republican Nomination for President (August 8, 1968).

## Document K

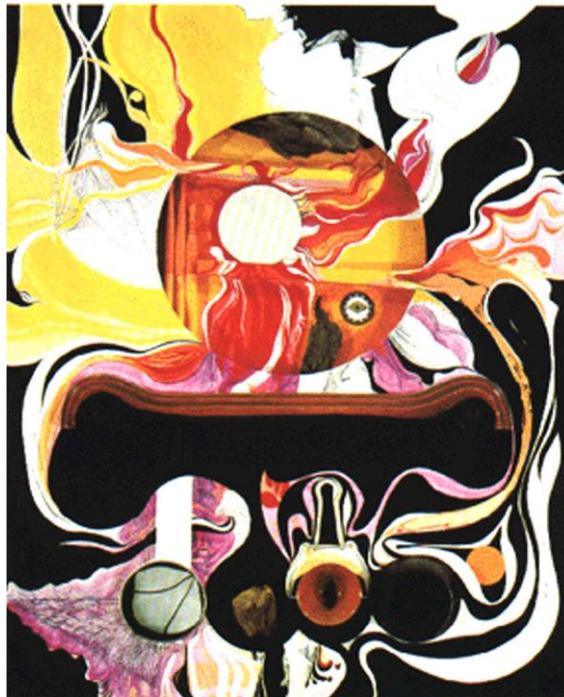
The Cold War (1945-1989)  
The 1960S (1960-1969)

### REVOLUTION

You say you want a revolution  
Well you know We all want to change the world  
You tell me that it's evolution  
Well you know We all want to change the world  
But when you talk about destruction  
Don't you know you can count me out  
Don't you know it's gonna be alright Alright  
Alright  
You say you got a real solution  
Well you know We'd all love to see the plan  
You ask me for a contribution  
Well you know We're doing what we can  
But when you want money for people with minds that hate  
All I can tell you is brother you have to wait  
Don't you know it's gonna be alright  
Alright. Alright  
You say you'll change the constitution  
Well you know We all want to change your head  
You tell me it's the institution  
Well you know You better free your mind instead  
But if you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao  
You ain't going to make it with anyone anyhow  
Don't you know know it's gonna be alright  
Alright. Alright.

Source: Hit pop song of 1968 by the *Beatles*; music and lyrics by John Lennon.

## Document L



Source: *Between Heaven and Hell* by Arlene Sklar-Wein painted after a hallucinogenic experience, 1968

## AP US History Document Based Question # 28

Directions: In the essay you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

**More than any other influence of the 20th Century, the decisions of the Warren Court [1953-69] had a revolutionary impact on American society. Assess the validity of this statement.**

### Document A

“In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the [Fourteenth] Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. . . .

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. . . .

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications, solely because of their race, generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . . Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of Negro children, and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system. . . .

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 492-495 (1954).

### Document B

“Between 1901 and 1916, Tennessee has experienced substantial growth and redistribution of her population. In 1901 the population was 2,020,616, of whom 487,380 were eligible to vote. The 1960 Federal Census reports the State's population at 3,567,089, of whom 2,092,891 are eligible to vote. The relative standings of the counties in terms of qualified voters have changed significantly. It is primarily the continued application of the 1901 Apportionment Act to this shifted and enlarged voting population which gives rise to the present controversy. . . .

With the plaintiffs' argument that the legislature of Tennessee is guilty of a clear violation of the state constitution and of the rights of the plaintiffs the Court entirely agrees. It also agrees that the evil is a serious one which should be corrected without further delay. . . .

The injury which appellants assert is that this classification disfavors the voters in the counties in which they reside, placing them in a position of constitutionally unjustifiable inequality vis-a-vis voters in irrationally favored counties. A citizen's right to a vote free of arbitrary impairment by state action has been judicially recognized as a right secured by the Constitution. . . .

We conclude that the complaint's allegations of a denial of equal protection present a justiciable constitutional cause of action upon which appellants are entitled to a trial and a decision. The right asserted is within the reach of judicial protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.” *Baker v. Carr*, 1962. 82 Supreme Court Reporter, p. 691-720, 369 U.S. 186.

## Document C

“The constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which have followed upon the actions of the Governor and Legislature. As this Court said some 41 years ago in a unanimous opinion in a case involving another aspect of racial segregation: ‘It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts.’ Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the federal Constitution. . . .

The controlling legal principles are plain. The command of the Fourteenth Amendment is that no “State” shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. . . . The constitutional provision, therefore, must mean that no agency of the State, or of the officers or agents by whom its powers are exerted, shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. That the responsibility of those who exercise power in a democratic government is not to reflect inflamed public feeling but to help form its understanding, is especially true when they are confronted with a problem like a racially discriminating public school system. This is the lesson to be drawn from the heartening experience in ending enforced racial segregation in the public schools in cities with a Negro population of large proportion. Compliance with decisions of this Court, as the constitutional organ of the supreme Law of the Land, has often, throughout our history, depended on active support by state and local authorities. It presupposes such support. To withhold it, and indeed to use political power to try to paralyze the supreme Law, precludes the maintenance of our federal system as we have known and cherished it for one hundred and seventy years.” *Cooper v. Aaron*, 1958, 78 *Supreme Court Reporter*, p. 1401-1414 , 358 U.S. 1.

## Document D

“We think by using its public school system to encourage recitation of the Regents' prayer, the State of New York has adopted a practice wholly inconsistent with the Establishment Clause. There can, of course, be no doubt that New York's program of daily classroom invocation of God's blessings as prescribed in the Regents' prayer is a religious activity. It is a solemn avowal of divine faith and supplication for the blessings of the Almighty. The nature of such prayer has always been religious, none of the respondents has denied this and the trial court expressly so found. . . .

Neither the fact that the prayer may be denominationally neutral nor the fact that its observance on the part of the students is voluntary can serve to free it from the limitations of the Establishment Clause, as it might from the Free Exercise Clause, of the First Amendment, both of which are operative against the States by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment. . . .

It was in large part to get completely away from this sort of systematic religious persecution that the Founders brought into being our Nation, our Constitution, and our Bill of Rights with its prohibition against any governmental establishment of religion. The New York laws officially prescribing the Regents' prayer are inconsistent both with the purposes of the Establishment Clause and with the Establishment itself.” *Engel v. Vitale*, 1962. 82 *Supreme Court Reporter*, p. 1261-1277. 370 U.S. 421.

## Document E



## Document F

“The Sixth Amendment provides, ‘In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense.’ We have construed this mean that in federal courts counsel must be provided for defendants unable to employ counsel unless the right is competently and intelligently waived. Betts argued that this right is extended to indigent defendants in state courts by the Fourteenth Amendment. . . .

Even the intelligent and educated layman has small and sometimes no skill in the science of law. If charged with crime, he is incapable, generally, of determining for himself whether the indictment is good or bad. He is unfamiliar with the rules of evidence. Left without the aid of counsel he may be put on trial without a proper charge, and convicted upon incompetent evidence, or evidence irrelevant to the issue or otherwise inadmissible. He lacks both the skill and knowledge adequately to prepare his defense, even though he have a perfect one. He requires the guiding hand of counsel at every step in the proceedings against him. Without it, though he be not guilty, he faces the danger of conviction because he does not know how to establish his innocence.” *Gideon v. Wainwright*, 1963. 83 *Supreme Court Reporter*, p. 792-801. 372 U.S. 335

## Document G



## Document H

“The critical question in this case is whether, under the circumstances, the refusal by the police to honor petitioner's request to consult with his lawyer during the course of an interrogation constitutes a denial of 'the Assistance of Counsel' in violation of the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution as 'made obligatory upon the States by the Fourteenth Amendment,' . . . and thereby renders inadmissible in a state criminal trial any incriminating statement elicited by the police during the interrogation. . . .

The right to counsel would indeed be hollow if it began at a period when few confessions were obtained. There is necessarily a direct relationship between the importance of a stage to the police in their quest for a confession and the criticalness of that stage to the accused in his need for legal advice. Our Constitution, unlike some others, strikes the balance in favor of the right of the accused to be advised by this lawyer of his privilege against self-incrimination. . . . We hold, therefore, that where, as here, the investigation is no longer a general inquiry into an unsolved crime but has begun to focus on a particular suspect, the suspect has been taken into police custody, the police carry out a process of interrogations that lends itself to eliciting incriminating statements, the suspect has requested and been denied an opportunity to consult with his lawyer, and the police have not effectively warned him of his absolute constitutional right to remain silent, the accused has been denied 'the Assistance of Counsel' in violation of the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution as "made obligatory upon the States by the Fourteenth Amendment,' . . . and that no statement elicited by the police during the interrogation may be used against him at a criminal trial.” *Escobedo v. Illinois*, 1964. 84 Supreme Court Reporter, p. 1758-1769. 378 U.S. 478.

## Document I

“Today, then, there can be no doubt that the Fifth Amendment privilege is available outside of criminal court proceedings and serves to protect persons in all settings in which their freedom of action is curtailed in any significant way from being compelled to incriminate themselves. We have concluded that without proper safeguards the process of in-custody interrogation of persons suspected or accused of crime contains inherently compelling pressures which work to undermine the individual's will to resist and to compel him to speak where he would not otherwise do so freely. In order to combat these pressures and to permit a full opportunity to exercise the privilege against self-incrimination, the accused must be adequately and effectively apprised of his rights and the exercise of those rights must be fully honored.

At the outset, if a person in custody is to be subjected to interrogation, he must first be informed in clear and unequivocal terms that he has the right to remain silent. . . . The warning of the right to remain silent must be accompanied by the explanation that anything said can and will be used against the individual in court. . . . Thus, the need for counsel to protect the Fifth Amendment privilege comprehends not merely a right to consult with counsel prior to questioning, but also to have counsel present during any questioning if the defendant so desires. . . . Accordingly we hold that an individual held for interrogation must be clearly informed that he has the right to consult with a lawyer and to have the lawyer with him during interrogation under the system for protecting the privilege we delineate today.” *Miranda v. Arizona*, 1966. 86 Supreme Court Reporter, p. 1602-1665. 384 U.S. 436.

## Document J

“If letters and private documents can thus be seized and held and used in evidence against a citizen accused of an offense, the protection of the Fourth Amendment declaring his right to be secure against such searches and seizures is of no value, and, so far as those thus placed are concerned, might as well be stricken from the Constitution. The efforts of the courts and their officials to bring the guilty to punishment, praiseworthy as they are, are not to be aided by the sacrifice of those great principles established by years of endeavor and suffering which have resulted in their embodiment in the fundamental law of the land. . . .

We hold that all evidence obtained by searches and seizures in violation of the Constitution is, by that same authority, inadmissible in a state court. . . . There are those who say, as did Justice Cardozo, that under our constitutional exclusionary doctrine "[t]he criminal is to go free because the constable has blundered. . . . In some cases this will undoubtedly be the result.” *Mapp v. Ohio*, 1961. 81 Supreme Court Reporter, p. 1684-1708. 367 U.S. 643.

Document K



\*

## AP US History Document Based Question #29

Directions: In the essay you should strive to support your assertions both by citing key pieces of evidence from the documents and by drawing on your knowledge of the period.

**The Korean War and the War in Viet Nam created a constitutional crisis in the area of presidential powers. Describe the crisis and discuss to what extent Congress has addressed the issue.**

### Document A

“In Korea, the government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th parallel. This they have not done, but, on the contrary, have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances, I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security.” Harry S. Truman: Memoirs: Years of Trial and Hope (1956), vol. 2, pp. 331-333.

### Document B

“Acting, therefore, in the defense of our own security and of the entire Western Hemisphere, . . . I have directed that the following initial steps be taken immediately:

First: To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation or port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back. This quarantine will be extended, if needed, to other types of cargo and carriers. We are not at this time, however, denying the necessities of life, as the Soviets attempted to do in their Berlin blockade of 1948.

Second: I have directed the continued and increased close [aerial] surveillance of Cuba and its military buildup. . . .

Third: It shall be the policy of this Nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States, requiring a full retaliatory response upon the Soviet Union.

Seventh and finally: I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this clandestine, reckless, and provocative threat to world peace and to stable relations between our two nations. I call upon him further to abandon this course of world domination, and to join in an historic effort to end the perilous arms race and to transform the history of man.” Public Papers of the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy: 1962 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1963), pp. 807-808 (October 22, 1962).

### Document C

“Cambodia . . . has sent out a call to the United States, to a number of other nations, for assistance. Because if this enemy effort succeeds, Cambodia would become a vast enemy staging area and a springboard for attacks on South Vietnam along 600 miles of frontier--a refuge where enemy troops could return from combat without fear of retaliation. North Vietnamese men and supplies could then be poured into that country, jeopardizing not only the lives of our own men but the people of South Vietnam as well. . . . [Our] choice is to go to the heart of the trouble. That means cleaning out major North Vietnamese and Vietcong occupied territories, these sanctuaries which serve as bases for attacks on both Cambodia and American and South Vietnamese forces in South Vietnam. Some of these, incidentally, are as close to Saigon as Baltimore is to Washington. . . .

This is not an invasion of Cambodia. The areas in which these attacks will be launched are completely occupied and controlled by North Vietnamese forces. Our purpose is not to occupy the areas. Once enemy forces are driven out of these sanctuaries and once their military supplies are destroyed, we will withdraw. . . .

We take this action not for the purpose of expanding the war into Cambodia but for the purpose of ending the war in Vietnam and winning the just peace we all desire. We have made and we will continue to make every possible effort to end this war through negotiation at the conference table rather than through more fighting on the battlefield. . . .

I promised to end this war. I shall keep that promise. I promised to win a just peace. I shall keep that promise. We shall avoid a wider war. But we are also determined to put an end to this war.” Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents 6 (1970): 597ff.

## Document D

“From the moment Operation Desert Storm commenced on January 16th until the time the guns fell silent at midnight 1 week ago, this nation has watched its sons and daughters with pride-watched over them with prayer. As Commander in Chief, I can report to you our armed forces fought with honor and valor. And as President, I can report to the Nation aggression is defeated. The war is over.

This is a victory for every country in the coalition, for the United Nations. A victory for unprecedented international cooperation and diplomacy, so well led by our Secretary of State, James Baker. It is a victory for the rule of law and for what is right. .

Tonight, I come to this House to speak about the world-the world after war. The recent challenge could not have been clearer. Saddam Hussein was the villain; Kuwait, the victim. To the aid of this small country came nations from North America and Europe, from Asia and South America, from Africa and the Arab world-all united against aggression. Our uncommon coalition must now work in common purpose: to forge a future that should never again be held hostage to the darker side of human nature.

Tonight in Iraq, Saddam walks amidst ruin. His war machine is crushed. His ability to threaten mass destruction is itself destroyed.” President Bush's Address on the End of the Persian Gulf War, 1991. Bush Presidential Materials Project, Station College, Tx.

## Document E

“To promote the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia.

Whereas naval units of the Communist regime in Vietnam, violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, have deliberately and repeatedly attacked United States naval vessels lawfully present in international waters, and have thereby created a serious threat to international peace; and

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression. . . .

Sec. 2. The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia. Consonant with the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations and in accordance with its obligations under the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, the United States is, therefore, prepared, as the President determines, to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom.

Sec. 3. This resolution shall expire when the President shall determine that the peace and security of the area is reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise, except that it may be terminated earlier by concurrent resolution of the Congress.” Approved August 10, 1964. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 1964 United States Statutes at Large, 1964, p. 384.

## Document F

“Grenada and a half dozen other Caribbean islands here were, until recently, British colonies. They're now independent states and members of the British Commonwealth. While they respect each other's independence, they also feel a kinship with each other and think of themselves as one people. . . .There were then about 1,000 of our citizens on Grenada, 800 of them students in St. George's University Medical School. Concerned that they'd be harmed or held as hostages, I ordered a flotilla of ships, then on its way to Lebanon with marines, part of our regular rotation program, to circle south on a course that would put them somewhere in the vicinity of Grenada in case there should be a need to evacuate our people.

. . . . These small, peaceful nations needed our help. Three of them don't have armies at all, and the others have very limited forces. The legitimacy of their request, plus my own concern for our citizens, dictated my decision. I believe our government has a responsibility to go to the aid of its citizens, if their right to life and liberty is threatened. The nightmare of our hostages in Iran must never be repeated. . . .

Sam Rayburn once said that freedom is not something a nation can work for once and win forever. He said it's like an insurance policy; its premiums must be kept up to date.” President Reagan's Address to the Nation on Events in Lebanon and Grenada, 1983. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, CA, p. 1517-1522.

## Document G

**FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID PROGRAMS: 1946-1973**  
[In millions of dollars. For years ending June 30]  
(Source: *Statistical Abstract*, 1974)

Year	Total Economic and Military Aid <sup>1</sup>	ECONOMIC AID			MILITARY AID		
		Total	Loans	Grants	Total	Loans	Grants
1946-1973, total	163,694	101,520	34,313	67,207	62,175	3,698	58,477
1946-1952	34,670	31,186	8,519	22,668	3,483	—	3,483
1953-1961	47,411	24,054	5,850	18,203	23,358	165	23,193
1962	7,157	4,489	2,128	2,341	2,688	151	2,537
1963	7,234	4,372	2,124	2,248	2,862	123	2,739
1964	5,253	4,076	2,036	2,040	1,177	75	1,102
1965	5,373	4,121	2,059	2,063	1,251	110	1,141
1966	7,074	4,784	2,238	2,546	2,290	317	1,973
1967	6,883	3,942	1,662	2,281	2,941	323	2,618
1968	6,920	4,103	1,835	2,267	2,817	263	2,554
1969	6,772	3,524	1,340	2,185	3,248	281	2,968
1970	6,547	3,676	1,389	2,288	2,971	70	2,901
1971	7,705	3,442	1,299	2,143	4,263	743	3,520
1972	8,538	3,941	1,639	2,301	4,597	550	4,047
1973	8,363	4,118	1,391	2,728	4,245	550	3,695

— Represents zero.  
<sup>1</sup> The figures for Economic Aid shown in this table represents total U.S. Economic Aid—not just the Aid under the Foreign Assistance Act.

## Document H

“Congressional opposition to the expansion of presidential war-making powers by Johnson and Nixon led to the War Powers Act in November 1973. Passed over Nixon's veto, it required the president to report to Congress within forty-eight hours after committing troops to a foreign conflict or "substantially" enlarging American combat units in a foreign country. Such a limited authorization would have to end within sixty days unless Congress extended it for thirty more days.

Compelling Nixon to end the bombing of Cambodia in August 1973 was but one manifestation of what came to be called the "New Isolationism." The draft had ended in January 1973, although it was retained on a standby basis. Future members of the armed forces were to be well-paid volunteers—a change that greatly eased tensions among youth. Insistent demands arose in Congress for reducing American armed forces abroad, especially because some 300,000 remained in Europe more than a quarter of a century after Hitler's downfall. The argument often heard was that the Western European countries, with more population than the Soviet Union, ought by now to be willing and able to provide for their own defense against the forces of communism. But President Nixon, fearful of a weakened hand in the high-stakes game of power politics, headed off all serious attempts at troop reduction.” Thomas Bailey, *The American Pageant*, Chapter 43.

## Document I

Truman Doctrine, 1947

“I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes. The world is not static, and the status quo is not sacred. But we cannot allow changes in the status quo in violation of the Charter of the United Nations by such methods as coercion, or by such subterfuges as political infiltration. In helping free and independent nations to maintain their freedom, the United States will be giving effect to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.” *Public Papers of the Presidents*, Harry S. Truman, 1945, p. 176-180.

Document J



Document K



## AP US History Document Based Question #30

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

**“The Presidency of James Carter was on the whole, a miserable failure. Assess the validity of this judgment.”**

### Document A

“Two Republican Administrations have both misused and mismanaged the powers of national government, obstructing the pursuit of economic and social opportunity, causing needless hardship and despair among millions of our fellow citizens.

Two Republican Administrations have betrayed the people's trust and have created suspicion and distrust of government through illegal and unconstitutional actions.

We acknowledge that no political party, nor any President or Vice President, possesses answers to all the problems that face us as a nation, but neither do we concede that every human problem is beyond our control. We recognize further that the present distrust of government cannot be transformed easily into confidence.” Democratic Party Platform, 1976. [Vertical File](#), "Democratic Convention 1976," Jimmy Carter Library, Atlanta, GA, p. 1-70.

### Document B



Courtesy Dick Wright, [Nashville Times Dispatch](#)

## Document C

“I think the major reason for a decrease in participation that we've experienced ever since 1960 has been the deep discouragement of the American people about the performance of public officials. When you've got 7 1/2, 8 million people out of work, when you've got three times as much inflation as you had during the last 8-year Democratic administration [Kennedy-Johnson], when you have the highest deficits in history, when you have it becoming increasingly difficult for a family to put a child through college or to own a home, there is a natural inclination to be turned off. Also, in the aftermath of Vietnam and Cambodia and Watergate and the CIA revelations, people have felt that they've been betrayed by public officials.” Ford-Carter Debate Number 3, 1976. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Gerald R. Ford, 1976, Vol. III, p. 2621- 2649.

## Document D

### Article II

“The permanent boundary between Egypt and Israel is the recognized international boundary between Egypt and the former mandated territory of Palestine, as shown on the map at Annex II, without prejudice to the issue of the status of the Gaza Strip. The Parties recognize this boundary as inviolable. Each will respect the territorial integrity of the other, including their territorial waters and airspace.

### Article III

The Parties will apply between them the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law governing relations among states in times of peace.” Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty, 1979. The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Jimmy Carter, 1979, Vol I, p. 495- 514.

## Document E

18 June 1979

“Article I. Each Party undertakes, in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty, to limit strategic offensive arms quantitatively and qualitatively, to exercise restraint in the development of new types of strategic offensive arms, and to adopt other measures provided for in this Treaty.” Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II), 1979. The Major International Treaties Since 1945, ed. J.A.S. Grenville and Bernard Wussesstein, p. 471-479.

## Document F



## Document G

The Cold War (1945-1989)  
The 1970s (1971-1979)

“It's clear that the true problems of our Nation are much deeper—deeper than gasoline lines of energy shortages, deeper even than inflation or recession. And I realize more than ever that as President I need your help....I know, of course, being President, that government actions and legislation can be very important. That's why I've worked hard to put my campaign promises into law—and I have to admit, with just mixed success. But after listening to the American people I have been reminded again that all the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America.... The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America.” President Carter's "Malaise" Speech, 1979. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Jimmy Carter, 1979, Vol. II, p. 1235- 1241.

## Document H

“In summary, it is evident that the Davis special admissions program involves the use of an explicit racial classification never before countenanced by this Court. It tells applicants who are not Negro, Asian, or Chicano that they are totally excluded from a specific percentage of the seats in an entering class. No matter how strong their qualifications, quantitative and extracurricular, including their own potential for contribution to educational diversity, they are never afforded the chance to compete with applicants from the preferred groups for the special admissions seats. At the same time, the preferred applicants have the opportunity to compete for every seat in the class.

The fatal flaw in petitioner's [UCal] preferential program is its disregard of individual rights as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S., at 22, 68 S.Ct., at 846. Such rights are not absolute. But when a State's distribution of benefits or imposition of burdens hinges on ancestry or the color of a person's skin, that individual is entitled to a demonstration that the challenged classification is necessary to promote a substantial state interest. Petitioner has failed to carry this burden. For this reason, that portion of the California court's judgment holding petitioner's special admissions program invalid under the Fourteenth Amendment must be affirmed.” University of California Regents v. Allan P. Bakke, 1978. 98 Supreme Court Reporter, p. 2733-2815. 438 U.S. 265, 57 L.Ed.2d 750.

## Document I

“Acknowledging the Republic of Panama's sovereignty over its territory, have decided to terminate the prior Treaties pertaining to the Panama Canal and to conclude a new Treaty to serve as the basis for a new relationship between them and, accordingly, have agreed upon the following:

The Republic of Panama shall participate increasingly in the management and protection and defense of the Canal, as provided in this Treaty....

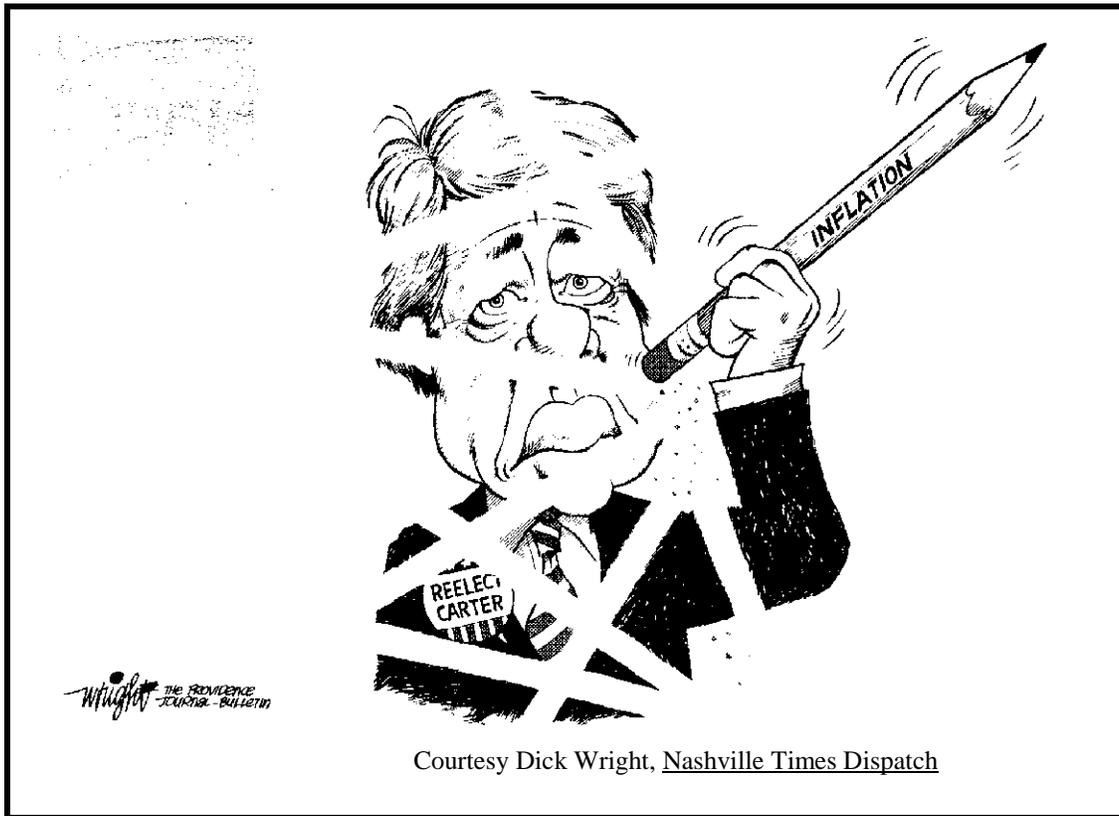
The entire territory of the Republic of Panama, including the areas the use of which the Republic of Panama makes available to the United States of America pursuant to this Treaty and related agreements, shall be under the flag of the Republic of Panama, and consequently such flag always shall occupy the position of honor.” Panama Canal Treaty of 1977. United States Treaties and Other International Agreements, Vol. 33, Part I, 1979-81, p. 47- 109.

## Document J

“Late yesterday, I canceled a carefully planned operation which was underway in Iran to position our rescue team for later withdrawal of American hostages, who have been held captive there since November 4. Equipment failure in the rescue helicopters made it necessary to end the mission....

Our rescue team knew and I knew that the operation was certain to be difficult and it was certain to be dangerous. We were all convinced that if and when the rescue operation had been commenced that it had an excellent chance of success. They were all volunteers; they were all highly trained. I met with their leaders before they went on this operation. They knew then what hopes of mine and of all Americans they carried with them.” President Carter's Iran Hostage Mission Address, 1980. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Jimmy Carter, 1980-81, Vol. I, p. 772- 773.

Document K



Document L

“Carter's record of achievement is not a bare cupboard. There is civil service reform, airline, trucking and financial institutions deregulation, the Panama Canal treaties, restored relations with China, the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, and a commendable energy program on the books. As a symbol of personal integrity and candor, he is undimmed. A majority of Americans probably would still endorse most of his ideas he set forth in his first euphoric weeks, ideas for tax reform, national health care and Government reorganization. For the most part, Carter's farm program was a wonder, expanding exports and raising prices and farm income. He has increased the military budget, put the new MX missile system in planning, leapfrogged a new manned bomber to develop the cruise missile and persuaded NATO to make significant increases in arms and readiness.

Yet Carter is today a political cripple both at home and abroad because the larger issues have swamped him. Inflation and interest rates have doubled in his time. The true anguish at home, as described by Patricia Harris, Secretary of Health and Human Services, is among members of the middle class, who are far from deprivation but find themselves losing ground economically. Their fear is directed at Carter. Overseas, Soviet influence massed and grew and almost everywhere shoved a clumsy and reluctant U.S. against the wall. “We feel,” says Raymond Aron, the distinguished French student of *Realpolitik*, “that American power is in decline. It is that simple and that unfortunate.” Hugh Sidey, “Assessing a Presidency.” Copyright 1980 [Time Inc.](#) All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission from Time (August 18, 1980): 10-15.

