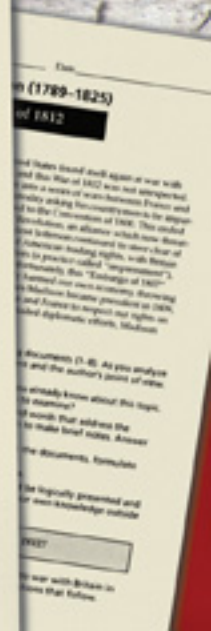
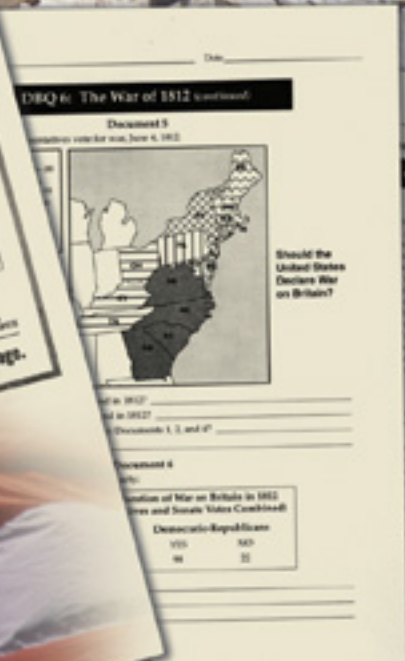
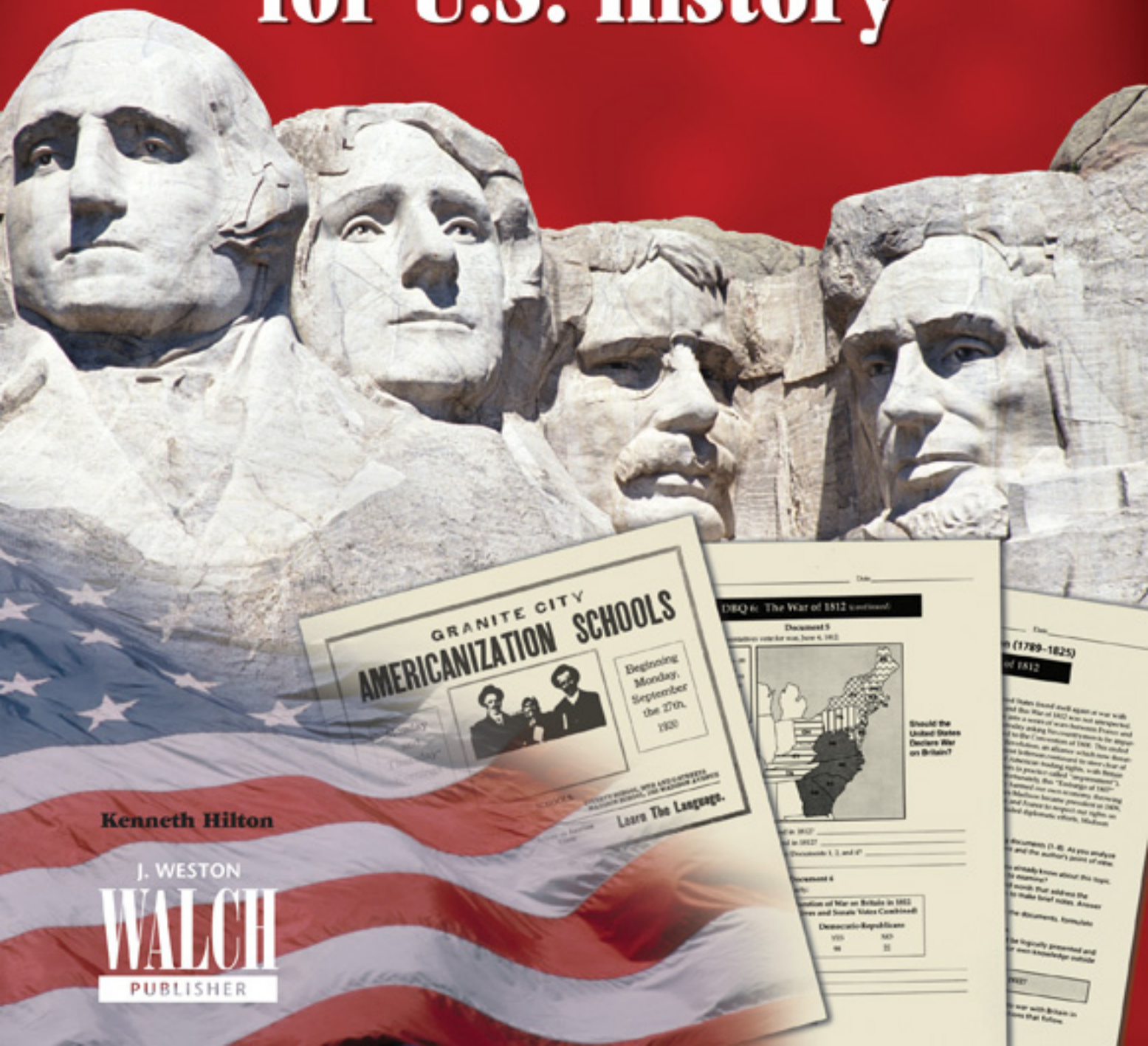


High School

Document-Based Assessment for U.S. History



Kenneth Hilton

J. WESTON

WALCH

PUBLISHER

Document-Based Assessment for U.S. History

SECOND EDITION

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Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank all of the publishers who granted permission to use the quotations and illustrations that help bring history to life in this book.

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ISBN 978-0-8251-5903-9

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J. Weston Walch, Publisher
10200 Jefferson Blvd. | Culver City, CA 90232
www.socialstudies.com/walch
Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS

<i>Introduction</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>What Is a Document-Based Question?</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>How to Use and Teach DBQs</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Getting Started: Guidelines for Students</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>How Are Answers Scored? A Scoring Rubric</i>	<i>vii</i>
 Document-Based Essay Questions	
DBQ 1: Clash of Cultures	1
DBQ 2: Economic Opportunities	6
DBQ 3: Causes of the Revolutionary War	10
DBQ 4: Ratifying the Constitution	15
DBQ 5: Growth of Political Parties	19
DBQ 6: The War of 1812	23
DBQ 7: Jacksonian Democracy	28
DBQ 8: Antebellum Reforms	33
DBQ 9: Slavery and Its Defenders	37
DBQ 10: What Caused Secession?	42
DBQ 11: The Industrial Boom	48
DBQ 12: The Nativist Response to Immigration	53
DBQ 13: The Farmers’ Revolt	58
DBQ 14: Progressivism	62
DBQ 15: The Debate Over American Imperialism	67
DBQ 16: A National Clash of Cultures in the 1920s	72
DBQ 17: How Has the United States Changed Since 1950?	77
DBQ 18: The Civil Rights Movement	82
DBQ 19: What Then Is the American?	90
DBQ 20: Public Schools and Their Purpose	95
DBQ 21: Church and State: A Separation . . . or Not?	100
DBQ 22: What Does the Future Hold for You?	105
 <i>Grading Key</i>	 110

INTRODUCTION

Increasingly, the use of document-based assessments in the social studies and in other subject areas has become commonplace. In New York State, document-based questions are required parts of state assessments taken by all students in grades 5, 8, 10, and 11. Savvy teachers in other states and in thousands of schools across the United States (and elsewhere) are embracing their use, too. These educators recognize the importance of having students learn to “struggle” with raw data to make up their own minds about important questions in history and in their own present-day world. “Struggling” with DBQs requires students to examine various and often contradictory information, combine it with their existing knowledge, and formulate an intellectually defensible written response to an important question. During the process, students must analyze the meaning of data and information and evaluate their significance. But then they must go further — next, to synthesize what they have learned into a forceful generalization, and finally, to write a logical and persuasive essay that is supported by relevant evidence. Few, if any, instructional tasks are as ambitious and intellectually challenging, and few are as personally creative.

The use of document-based assessments complements some of the best of contemporary educational reforms and traditional educational ideals. Document-based assessments provide students with richer, more authentic, performance-based assessments, replacing simple-minded, and single-dimensional “bubble in the answer” kinds of tests. Additionally, this type of assessment reinforces students’ literacy skills, requiring close reading, deep understanding, and clear, forceful written prose. It challenges students, raising standards of academic expectations, and providing them with rigorous and rewarding intellectual tasks. It helps students to escape the tyranny of the textbook and the misleading acceptance of “the correct answer.” Students come to recognize the malleability and fluidity of historical interpretation. Perhaps of greatest significance, use of document-based assessments affirms students and legitimizes their thinking, asking them to be historians and helping them find meaning in history.

This revision of the 1999 edition updates all data and information (especially economic and demographic) and also includes four totally new document-based assessments. The new items all deal with social history and all touch on topics and themes of special interest to young people, issues that have remained strangely contemporary and controversial.

What Is a Document-Based Question?

This book contains 22 document-based questions, or DBQs. Each is an essay question that addresses a significant theme or topic in U.S. history. You will find that many are open-ended, posing broad questions that invite debate and will lead different students to different interpretations. Following each key question are a variety of documents. Most are primary sources, offering “eye-witness” reports from people who actually lived during the time being discussed, or who actually took part in the events being examined. These primary sources can take various forms, including diaries, letters, speeches, newspaper or magazine accounts, testimony, and reports. Other materials considered primary sources are maps, pictures, graphs, and charts. If we were examining the reason why the Pilgrims came to Plymouth in 1620, for example, a good primary source might be *Of Plymouth Plantation*, the account of William Bradford, a leader of the Pilgrims. However, sometimes secondary sources are included as well. These are accounts reported by those who were not actually present during the event or time being described, but who have studied the primary sources and have reached conclusions based on this evidence. *The Founding of New England*, a book written in 1921 by the historian James Truslow Adams, would provide a good secondary source about the motives of the Pilgrims coming to America in 1620. As you might expect, secondary sources are typically not as authoritative as primary sources can be. Remember, even two eyewitnesses to the same event can disagree about just what happened, and they will often disagree about *why* it happened. Even primary sources can be flawed, biased, and invalid.

How to Use and Teach DBQs

The document-based questions in this book can be used by teachers in a variety of ways—as independent student assignments, classroom exercises, formal student assessments, group projects, or as preparation for classroom seminars and debates, to suggest only a few. They were designed to be used after students have studied a topic or unit, so that they bring to the task some foundational knowledge and understanding of the question.

You will find a number of aids for teaching and grading DBQs at the back of the book. The grading key includes brief summaries and discussions of the documents in each DBQ. You will also find two sample student essays with teacher-assigned grades and comments. The first twelve DBQs include short summary questions after each document. These are designed to help students learn to analyze and interpret documents and to focus their analysis on the question. The last ten DBQs do not contain questions for each document. It is assumed that

most students, after sufficient practice, will no longer need this extra help. Obviously, students' abilities differ. Teachers may want to stop using these questions earlier in the school year, or they may want to develop their own questions for the documents in the last ten DBQs as well.

How much time will it take for students to carefully complete each of these DBQs? If students have little or no previous experience with this method, you will have to “go slow” early in the year. You might, for instance, devote two or three class periods to the first few DBQs you do. And, you might have students do these first DBQs in small groups—or even as a whole-class activity. As the year progresses and students become more proficient, you can shorten the process. These questions were originally designed for use with eleventh-graders. However, with practice, and when used as assessments at the end of a unit's study, able students from the ninth grade and above should be able to try their hand at this approach. Most students should be able to complete one within a class period.

GETTING STARTED: GUIDELINES FOR STUDENTS

The 22 document-based questions (DBQs) in this book are designed to help you become a better historian and a better citizen. Examining real evidence about important questions in history, then weighing evidence against what you already know in order to reach an opinion, approximates what historians do. These skills are authentic to the historical process. However, of equal importance, they are authentic to the democratic process—to what responsible citizens do in examining civic issues, formulating positions, and taking stands on these positions. Writing answers to document-based questions will help you improve your thinking skills, learn to detect biases, weigh evidence, develop logical solutions, and express yourself in clear, thoughtful, and persuasive prose. Good luck!

How to Begin

1. First of all, carefully read the question. Be sure that you know what is being asked.
2. Ask yourself: How would I answer this question if I had no documents to examine? Presumably you've studied the topic in class, read about it in your textbook, and, perhaps, have learned more from supplemental readings. You're not beginning the process "cold." You know a lot about the topic already, and you've probably formulated some opinions. Don't discount this knowledge. As you read the documents, build upon this preexisting understanding.
3. Before you begin to examine the documents, take a few minutes to jot down what you already know about the topic and the question. Names, dates, events, and other items that pertain to the question and topic should be included.
4. Now, after reading the question again, carefully read each document. Underline things of special importance, and write brief notes in the margin. Ask yourself: How does this document help to answer the question? What is its basic point? What biases does it contain? How credible is it? How does it change or reinforce my beliefs about the topic and question?
5. Many of the document-based questions include brief questions after each document. These questions are designed to help you focus on the main idea of the document, and to help you analyze and interpret its meaning. Provide brief, but accurate, answers to these questions. They will help you when you write your essay answer.
6. At this point, formulate a thesis statement that directly answers the question. Take a stand and state a position—one that both your preexisting knowledge and the documents support.
7. Briefly outline your essay so that you prove your thesis with supportive evidence and information *both from the documents and from knowledge you already have*. Remember, this knowledge comes from your classwork, discussions, and reading beyond the documents.
8. Carefully write your essay. Cite supporting evidence from documents within your essay in a way that strengthens and validates your thesis. Allude to these documents and other evidence in well-written, fluid prose. For instance, do not say: "As Document 1 states . . ." Instead, say: "As President Kennedy said in his inaugural address . . ."

HOW ARE ANSWERS SCORED? A SCORING RUBRIC

Here is a scoring rubric that identifies the recommended criteria used in grading DBQ essay answers. You might want to try to grade some of your own answers, or answers written by classmates. And, you might ask your teacher to duplicate one or two of the best answers in your class so that everyone can see examples of good DBQ essays.

5	Strong thesis—responds directly to the question Uses documents completely and accurately; weighs the importance and validity of evidence Cites considerable relevant information from outside learning Displays a thorough understanding of the topic and related issues Well structured, well written; proper spelling, grammar, mechanics
4	Thesis stated—answers the question Uses documents correctly; recognizes that all evidence is not equally valid Cites some relevant information from outside learning Shows an understanding of the topic and related issues Clearly written and coherent; some minor errors in writing
3	Addresses the question but has weak structure and focus Uses most documents correctly—simplistic analysis; does not always weigh the importance and validity of evidence Includes little relevant information from outside learning Shows basic, though simplistic, understanding of the topic and related issues Weaker organization; some errors in writing detract from essay's meaning
2	Poor focus; fails to answer the question adequately Some documents used correctly; some only paraphrased or misunderstood; fails to recognize any difference in the validity of evidence Includes little information from outside learning—what is included is irrelevant. Shows little understanding of the topic and related issues Poorly organized; many errors in standard English
1	Fails to address the question; confusing and unfocused Fails to use documents correctly; simply paraphrased or misunderstood Includes no relevant information from beyond the documents Shows almost no understanding of the topic or related issues Disorganized; littered with errors in standard English
0	No thesis; no attempt to address the question Ignores or misuses the documents Includes no information from beyond the documents Shows no understanding of the topic or related issues Lacks any organization; little attempt made; blank paper

DBQ 1: CLASH OF CULTURES

Historical Context

Historians estimate that when Columbus first landed in the large Caribbean island of Hispaniola (today's Haiti and Dominican Republic) there were over one million natives living on that one island alone. Thirty years after the Spanish had arrived, the native population numbered fewer than 20,000. Only two percent of the original number of natives still remained. This experience was repeated again and again as European settlers and their descendents spread throughout North and South America. Native peoples were pushed aside, and their lands were confiscated. Their cultures were crushed. And most native people perished.

From our vantage point in the present, historical events sometimes seem almost inevitable. Because we know "how the story ends," we assume that the course of history was somehow determined, almost fated. But this is not true. Events and human decisions in the past shaped history just as the events and decisions of our time will affect our future.

Was the destruction of America's native cultures inevitable and unavoidable? Could the violence have been avoided? If other more broadminded people had been in charge, and different decisions had been made, could some type of mutual accommodation have been possible? Or, considering the time and situation, were tolerance, respect, and understanding simply out of the question?

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–8) in Part A. As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Was it inevitable and unavoidable that violence and dispossession were outcomes of the centuries-long confrontation of Native Americans with European settlers and their American descendents?

DBQ 1: CLASH OF CULTURES, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents will help you understand the nature and extent of the cultural conflicts between Native Americans and the European colonists. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

In 1493, upon returning from his first voyage to America, Christopher Columbus wrote a report to the Spanish government. This excerpt comes from that report.

This is a land to be desired . . . never to be relinquished. Here in a place most suitable and best for its proximity to the gold mines and for [transportation to Europe] . . . I took possession of a large town [from the natives]. I have made fortifications there, and I have left in it men, with arms and artillery and provisions for more than a year.

Why did Columbus seize this town? _____

How do you suppose the natives felt about the actions of Columbus and his men?

Document 2

During the century after Columbus' voyage, the Spanish government sent a number of military expeditions to America to explore the New World and conquer the natives. One of these was led by the conquistador Francisco Coronado, who in the 1540s led an army through the region that centuries later became the southwestern United States. What follows is a short excerpt from the orders he and other conquistadores were given.

You must explain to the natives . . . that there is only one God in heaven, and the emperor on earth to rule and govern it, whose subjects they must all become and whom they must serve.

With orders like this one, how do you suppose Coronado and his men treated the natives?

(continued)

DBQ 1: CLASH OF CULTURES, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

A century after the Spanish first colonized sections of the New World, the English and their descendents began to settle along the eastern seaboard of North America. As their settlements spread westward, conflicts with native peoples continued. Benjamin Franklin, who was a thoughtful observer of eighteenth-century American life, made this 1784 observation about the differences between the cultures of the Native Americans and colonial settlers.

Savages we call them, because their manners differ from ours, which we think [are perfect, and] they think the same of theirs Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they [think] slavish and [inferior]; and the learning, on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless.

What cultural differences between eighteenth-century Americans and native peoples did Franklin note in this statement?

Document 4

Tecumseh was a Shawnee leader during the early 1800s. He tried to stop the expansion of American settlement into the Great Lakes region by allying his followers with the British against the United States in the War of 1812. This is an excerpt from one of his speeches.

Where today are the Pequot? Where are the Narragansett, the Mohican, the Pokanoket and many other once powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice [greed] and oppression of the white man, as snow before a summer sun.

What, according to Tecumseh, was to blame for the destruction of Native American cultures?

(continued)

DBQ 1: CLASH OF CULTURES, *CONTINUED*

Document 5

Here is another excerpt from Tecumseh's speech.

... The land ... belongs to all. No tribe has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers ... Sell a country! Why not sell the air, the great sea, as well as the earth? Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children?

What traditional Native American belief about land and its ownership was Tecumseh explaining here?

How did this belief differ from the viewpoints of the European settlers and their American descendants?

Document 6

Red Jacket was a Seneca leader of the late 1700s and early 1800s. This excerpt comes from a speech he made to a group of missionaries in Buffalo, New York, in 1805.

... our [lands] were once large, and yours were very small; you have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets; you have got our country, but are not satisfied; [now] you want to force your religion upon us.

What actions of the American settlers was Red Jacket protesting in this speech?

Were these complaints justified? _____

(continued)

DBQ 1: CLASH OF CULTURES, *CONTINUED*

Document 7

In 1820, U.S. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun issued this directive about dealing with Native Americans.

[They] must be brought gradually under our authority and laws It is impossible, with their customs, that they should exist as independent communities in the midst of civilized society. They are not, in fact, an independent people, . . . nor ought they to be so considered. They should be taken under our guardianship; and our opinions, and not theirs, ought to prevail, in measures intended for their civilization and happiness.

How does this government directive describe relations between the American government and native peoples?

Document 8

U.S. Secretary of Interior Caleb Smith wrote this in a report in 1862.

The rapid progress of civilization upon this continent will not permit the lands which are required for cultivation to be surrendered to savage tribes for hunting Government has always demanded the removal of the Indians when their lands were required for agricultural purposes . . .

What, according to this statement by a U.S. government official, justifies the “removal of the Indians” from their lands?

**PART
B**

Was it inevitable and unavoidable that violence and dispossession were outcomes of the centuries-long confrontation of Native Americans with European settlers and their American descendents?

DBQ 2: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

Historical Context

By the mid-eighteenth century, the thirteen American colonies that were later to become the United States contained well over one million inhabitants. The vast number of Colonial Americans made their livings as farmers. But differing climates, geography, and social practices made for great variation in the nature of work in different regions and in the level of economic success enjoyed by different American colonists.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–6). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Americans often consider their country a “land of opportunity.” How much economic opportunity truly did exist in Colonial America, and what factors affected the colonists’ opportunities to succeed?

DBQ 2: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents deal with the types and extent of economic opportunities that existed in Colonial America. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

This is an excerpt from a popular college textbook explaining the causes of Bacon's Rebellion of 1676. *Colonial America* was written by Oscar T. Barck, Jr., and Hugh Talmadge Lefler and published by Macmillan Company (1967, p. 209).

... Bacon's Rebellion ... was the first instance in the colonies "in which the common people rose not only against the royal governor, but also the rule of the privileged class."

How does this document help to address the question of this DBQ? _____

Document 2

This excerpt is from *An Account of Pennsylvania* ... (1698) by Gabriel Thomas. Thomas was a Welsh Quaker who settled in Pennsylvania in the 1680s.

... poor people (both men and women) of all kinds, can here get three times the wages for their labor they can in England or Wales.

What factors might help explain why wage rates were so much higher in the American colonies than in England and Wales?

Document 3

This excerpt is from Gottlieb Mittelberger, a German schoolteacher who traveled to Pennsylvania in the early 1750s. (Reprinted by permission of Harvard University Press from *Journey to Pennsylvania* by Gottlieb Mittelberger, Oscar Handlin, ed.)

(continued)

DBQ 2: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES, *CONTINUED*

[Speaking of indentured servants] Many parents in order to pay their fares in this way . . . must barter and sell their children as if they were cattle. . . . No one in this country can run away from a master who has treated him harshly and get far. . . . Our Europeans who have been purchased must work hard all of the time. . . . Thus let him . . . who can do this by manual labor in his native country stay THERE rather than come to America.

Was America “a land of opportunity” for indentured servants? Explain.

Can both Documents 2 and 3 be valid, or do they contradict each other? _____

Document 4

These excerpts are from Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America* (1775). Burnaby was a young Englishman who traveled through the American colonies in the years just before the American Revolution.

The trade of this colony [Virginia] is large and extensive. Tobacco is the principal article of it. . . . Their manufactures are very inconsiderable. Boston . . . in New England, is one of the largest and most flourishing towns in North America . . . it is supposed to contain 3000 houses, and 18 or 20,000 inhabitants. . . . The buildings are in general good; the streets open and spacious . . . and the whole has much the air of some of our best country towns in England. The country round about it is exceedingly delightful.

What view does Burnaby give you of the level of economic opportunities in Colonial America? _____

Document 5

This excerpt is from Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America* (1778). Anburey was a British officer during the American Revolution who, as a prisoner of war, was marched from Boston to Charlottesville, Virginia. He published his observations of America after returning to England. (continued)

DBQ 2: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES, *CONTINUED*

[In Virginia] It is the poor Negroes who alone work hard, and I am sorry to say, fare hard. Incredible is the fatigue which the poor wretches undergo.

What *might* make you suspect an anti-American bias in Document 5? _____

Should we reject the validity of Anburey's statement? _____

Document 6

These excerpts are from St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Letters From An American Farmer* (1782). Michel-Guillaume St. Jean de Crèvecoeur was a Frenchman who lived in New York from 1764 until 1780. His *Letters* grew from his travels in New York and Pennsylvania.

What then is the American, this new man?
. . . He does not find, as in Europe, a crowded society, where every place is over-stocked. There is room for every body in America. . . .
The rich stay in Europe, it is only the middling and poor that emigrate.
Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labor.
Some few towns excepted, we are all tillers of the earth, from Nova Scotia to West Florida.

What view does Crèvecoeur give us of the extent and types of economic opportunities that existed in Colonial America? _____

Why were most American colonists "tillers of the earth"? _____

**PART
B**

Americans often pride themselves that theirs is a "land of opportunity." How much economic opportunity truly did exist in Colonial America, and what factors affected the colonists' opportunities to succeed?

DBQ 3: CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Historical Context

The year 1763 marked the end of the French and Indian War, the final defeat of the French and their Native American allies in America. For America's English colonists, this was a cause for great celebration and pride in their English identity. Expressions of English patriotism were widespread. But only twelve years later, these same American colonists found themselves locked in a bitter and violent conflict with the mother country that had so recently been the object of their proud respect. To this day, now over two hundred years later, the reasons behind this abrupt transition of England and its American colonies from allies to enemies are debated.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Were the American colonists justified in waging war and breaking away from Britain?

DBQ 3: CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents address the question of whether the American colonists were really justified in waging war against England. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

This excerpt is from “Considerations . . .,” a pamphlet written by Thomas Whately. Whately was an advisor to George Grenville, British Chancellor of the Exchequer (1763–1765) and the author of the Stamp Act. In this pamphlet, Whately explained why the British were justified in levying taxes on their American colonists.

We are not yet recovered from a War undertaken solely for their [the Americans'] Protection . . . a War undertaken for their defense only . . . they should contribute to the Preservation of the Advantages they have received. . . .

Why did Whately (and probably most other English officials) feel that the American colonists should be willing to pay higher taxes to Parliament?

Document 2

These excerpts are from *Letters From a Farmer in Pennsylvania* by John Dickinson. Dickinson was a Pennsylvania political leader who served in the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. Later in his career, he served in the Continental Congress, and later still, in the Constitutional Convention. In the following statement, Dickinson condemned some of the new taxes being imposed by Parliament.

There is another late act of parliament, which appears to me to be unconstitutional, and . . . destructive to the liberty of these colonies. . . . The parliament unquestionably possesses a legal authority to regulate the trade of Great Britain, and all her colonies. I have looked over every statute [law] relating to these colonies, from their first settlement to this time; and I find every one of them founded on this principle, till the Stamp Act administration. . . . All before, are calculated to regulate trade. . . . The raising of revenue . . . was never intended. . . . Never did the British parliament, [until the passage of the Stamp Act] think of imposing duties in America for the purpose of raising a revenue. [The Townshend Acts claim the authority] to impose duties on these colonies, not for the regulation of trade . . . but for the single purpose of levying money upon us.

(continued)

DBQ 3: CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, *CONTINUED*

According to Dickinson, what taxes was Parliament justified in imposing on the colonies? _____

Why did he object to the Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts? _____

Document 3

On March 5, 1770, a crowd of Boston boys and men surrounded a number of British soldiers and began taunting and cursing them while they pelted them with snowballs. Order quickly broke down, and the frightened soldiers fired into the crowd. When the shooting ended, several people were dead and more were wounded. This engraving by Paul Revere, a leader of the Boston Sons of Liberty, was sent throughout the Colonies in the following weeks to arouse anti-British feelings.



How does the engraving tell a different story from the above description of the Boston Massacre?

Where do you suppose the term "massacre" came from that describes this event?

(continued)

DBQ 3: CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, *CONTINUED*

Document 4

In *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1777*, Cresswell, a young Englishman, kept an account of his travels through the American Colonies. The following excerpts are dated October 19, 1774 and tell of his visit to Alexandria, Virginia. (From *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774–1777*, edited by Samuel Thornely. New York: The Dial Press, Inc., 1924.)

Everything here is in the utmost confusion. Committees are appointed to inspect into the characters and conduct of every tradesman, to prevent them selling tea or buying British manufactures. Some of them have been tarred and feathered, others had their property burnt and destroyed by the populace. . . .

The King is openly cursed, and his authority set at defiance . . . everything is ripe for rebellion. The New Englanders by their canting, whining, insinuating tricks have persuaded the rest of the colonies that the government is going to make absolute slaves of them.

Who did Cresswell blame for the growing antagonism between the British and the American colonists? _____

Document 5

This excerpt is from “Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms,” issued by the Second Continental Congress on July 5, 1775. The war had broken out in April, when British forces had marched to Lexington and Concord, two villages just outside of Boston. This document, written largely by John Dickinson and Thomas Jefferson, was designed to explain and justify the fighting that had continued since April.

[The British declare] that parliament can “of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever.” What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? . . . We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated [British officials], or resistance by force. — The latter is our choice.

Why, according to this document, were the Americans justified in fighting the British?

(continued)

DBQ 3: CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, *CONTINUED*

Document 6

These excerpts are from Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*, published in January 1776. This popular pamphlet helped to convince many Americans that the conflict with England was beyond peaceful settlement and that independence was America's only course.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offenses of Great Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, COME, COME, WE SHALL BE FRIENDS AGAIN FOR ALL THIS. But . . . then tell me whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land?

. . . No man was a warmer wisher for a [peaceful settlement] than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April, 1775 [the battles at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts, occurred on this day], but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered [King of England] for ever.

Why was Paine unwilling to be reconciled with Britain? _____

Was Paine an objective and unbiased reporter? Explain. _____

Document 7

These excerpts are from "The Declaration of Independence," adopted by the Continental Congress of July 4, 1776.

The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations [unlawful seizures], all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms; Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

How does this document describe King George? _____

Was the Declaration an objective and unbiased statement of the American-British conflict? Explain. _____

**PART
B**

Were the American colonists justified in waging war and breaking away from Britain?

DBQ 4: RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION

Historical Context

Today, over 200 years after it was written and ratified, most Americans think of the U.S. Constitution as something almost sacred. We assume that this great document has always been honored and revered. This is not true. When it was written in 1787 and submitted to the states for ratification, it set off months of fierce and often bitter debate. There were, of course, many who welcomed it as a stronger and more effective national government that could successfully tie the thirteen states together into a common nation. But others were fearful of this proposed powerful new national government. Only a few years earlier, they had fought a war against a too powerful, distant central government. Why should they now erect a new distant central government that could threaten their liberties just as King George and Parliament had? The debate went on in towns and villages across the country for months. Some of the smaller states ratified the new Constitution quickly, but in most states, the debate continued. In February of 1788, the Massachusetts convention voted 187 to 168 to ratify the Constitution. In June, Virginia ratified, 89 to 79. New York followed almost immediately. Now, with the approval of eleven states, the new government was established. In April of 1789, George Washington was inaugurated president, even though two states still had not approved the Constitution. It took North Carolina until November 1789 and Rhode Island until May 1790 to join the new government.

- **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–6). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
 2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
 3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
 4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
 5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What were the major arguments used by each side (the supporters and the opponents) in the debates over the ratification of the U.S. Constitution?

DBQ 4: RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents address various arguments made in support of, or in opposition to, ratifying the U.S. Constitution. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

This excerpt is from a newspaper, *The Massachusetts Sentinel*, October 20, 1787.
(From *Voices of America: Readings in American History*, Thomas R. Frazier, ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985, p. 61.)

Let us look and behold the distresses which prevail in every part of our country . . . the complaints of our farmers . . . the complaints of every class of public creditors . . . the melancholy faces of our working people . . . our ships rotting in our harbors . . . the insults that are offered to the American name and character in every court of Europe. . . . View these things, fellow citizens, and then say that we do not require a new, a protecting, and efficient federal government if you can.

Why does the editor of this newspaper support ratifying the Constitution?

Document 2

This excerpt is from "Observations on the New Federal Constitution and on the Federal and State Conventions," by Mercy Otis Warren. It originally appeared as a newspaper article in the spring of 1788.

There is no security in the system [under the proposed new U.S. Constitution] either for the rights of conscience or the liberty of the press. . . . The executive and the legislat[ure] are so dangerously blended that they give just cause for alarm. . . . There is no provision for a rotation nor anything else to prevent a political office from remaining in the same hands for life.

Why did Mercy Otis Warren oppose ratifying the Constitution? _____

(continued)

DBQ 4: RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

These excerpts are from a letter written by George Washington to John Jay, dated August 1, 1786. In these lines, Washington is agreeing with Jay's criticism of the Articles of Confederation.

Your sentiments, that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis, accord with my own. . . . We have errors to correct. We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation . . .
. . . thirteen sovereign, independent, disunited States are in the habit of . . . refusing compliance with [our national Congress] at their option.
Would to God, that wise measures may be taken in time to avert the consequences we have but too much reason to apprehend. . . .

What did Washington mean by saying "we have errors to correct"? _____

What do you suppose he meant by saying "we have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation"? _____

Document 4

This excerpt is from a speech by Patrick Henry, a delegate to the Virginia State Constitutional Ratification Convention, given in June 1788. (From Jonathan Elliot, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1836.)

. . . Here is a resolution as radical as that which separated us from Great Britain. It is radical in this transition; our rights and privileges are endangered, and the sovereignty of the states will be relinquished. . . .
The rights of conscience, trial by jury, liberty of the press . . . are rendered insecure.

Why did Patrick Henry oppose the Constitution? _____

(continued)

DBQ 4: RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION, *CONTINUED*

Document 5

This excerpt is from a speech by Amos Singletree, member of the Massachusetts Constitutional Ratification Convention, given in January 1788. (From Jonathan Elliot, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1836.)

These lawyers and men of learning, and monied men, that talk so finely and gloss over matters so smoothly, to make us poor illiterate people swallow down the pill, expect to get into Congress themselves . . . and get all the power and all the money into their own hands, and then they will swallow all us little folks . . .

Why did Amos Singletree oppose the Constitution? _____

Document 6

This excerpt is from a resolution from the Massachusetts Constitutional Ratification Convention, February 1788. This Convention approved the Constitution with a vote of 187 to 168. (From Jonathan Elliot, ed., *The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1836.)

. . . it is the opinion of this Convention that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of the commonwealth [*the resolution goes on to recommend such amendments as*] . . . that all powers not expressly delegated by the . . . Constitution are reserved to the several states . . . that no person be tried for any crime . . . until he be first indicted by a grand jury . . .

What addition to the U.S. Constitution was suggested as a way to win the approval of many of its opponents? _____

**PART
B**

What were the major arguments used by each side (the supporters and the opponents) in the debates over the ratification of the U.S. Constitution?

DBQ 5: GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Historical Context

Today, most people associate the American political system with the ongoing conflict of political parties. Republican Party leaders and Democratic Party leaders carry on a seemingly nonstop debate as they compete for the support and votes of the American public. But in the early days of the American republic political parties did not exist, and our early leaders were generally glad of it. Most of them, including President Washington, feared that the existence of political parties would split the young country into warring groups, undermine our fragile national unity, and weaken public support for the new Constitution. Yet, though Washington and others tried to resist them, political parties nonetheless began to form, and they gradually developed into the party system of today.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What led to the rise of political parties in the 1790s?

DBQ 5: GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents deal with the rise of political parties during the 1790s. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

This excerpt is from a memo written by Thomas Jefferson in 1790, but published years later.

... Hamilton was not only a monarchist, but [in support] of a monarchy [based upon] corruption.

What did Jefferson think of Hamilton? _____

Document 2

These excerpts are from a letter written by Alexander Hamilton to a friend in 1792.

... Mr. Madison, co-operating with Mr. Jefferson, is at the head of a faction, decidedly hostile to me, and my administration; and actuated [motivated] by views ... subversive of the principles of good government, and dangerous to the Union. ... Mr. Jefferson ... [displays] his dislike of ... funding [the] debt. ... In respect to our foreign politics, the views of these gentlemen [Jefferson and his supporters] are ... unsound, and dangerous. They have a womanish attachment to France, and a womanish resentment against Great Britain.

Why did Hamilton distrust Madison, Jefferson, and their faction (party) and feel that they were dangerous to America's government?

(continued)

DBQ 5: GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

This excerpt is from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson in December of 1794.

The excise tax is an infernal [hellish] one . . . [the public's] detestation [hatred] of the excise tax is universal, and has now associated to it a detestation of the government. . . .

What did Jefferson think of Hamilton's excise tax? _____

Document 4

These excerpts are from "The Farewell Address," which President Washington released to the newspapers in September of 1796, six months before his retirement from the presidency. The primary purpose of this "farewell" was to announce his decision not to run for a third term as president. But Washington also saw it as an opportunity to provide some valuable advice to the American people.

Let me . . . warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful [evil] effects of the spirit of party. . . . It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment[s] [stirs up] . . . riot and insurrection [rebellion].

Why did Washington oppose political parties? _____

From your viewpoint, two centuries later, do you agree with Washington's warning?

Explain. _____

Document 5

This excerpt is from a letter from Vice President Thomas Jefferson to John Wise in 1798.

Two political Sects [parties] have arisen within the United States; the one . . . called Federalists, sometimes Aristocrats or monocrats & sometimes Tories . . . the [other] are . . . republicans, whigs . . .

(continued)

DBQ 5: GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES, *CONTINUED*

What did Jefferson think of Hamilton's political sect? _____

Document 6

This excerpt is from a statement by Federalist Congressman John Allen, of Connecticut, in support of the Sedition Act of 1798. (From *Annals of Congress*, Fifth Congress, Second Session, July 5, 1798.)

If ever there was a nation which required a law of this kind, it is this. . . . look at certain papers printed in this city and elsewhere [which print] the most shameless falsehoods against the representatives of the people. . . . The freedom of the press and opinions was never understood to give the right of publishing falsehoods and slanders, nor of exciting sedition, insurrection, and slaughter. . . .

How did Congressman Allen defend the Sedition Act? _____

How do you suppose Jefferson, Madison, and their supporters viewed this law?

Document 7

This excerpt is from *An Essay on the Liberty of the Press*, by George Hay (Philadelphia, 1799). Hay was a member of the Virginia State Legislature.

The freedom of the press . . . means the total exemption of the press from any kind of legislative control, and consequently the Sedition Bill . . . is an abridgement [reduction] of its liberty, and expressly forbidden by the constitution.

Do you suppose that Hay was a Federalist, or a supporter of Jefferson? What makes you believe this? _____

**PART
B**

What led to the rise of political parties in the 1790s?

DBQ 6: THE WAR OF 1812

Historical Context

In 1812, only 29 years after the American Revolution, the United States found itself again at war with Great Britain. The threat of war had been brewing for some time, and this War of 1812 was not unexpected. Since the 1790s, America's leaders had tried to avoid being drawn into a series of wars between France and Britain. In 1793, President Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality asking his countrymen to be impartial toward both Britain and France. In 1800, President Adams agreed to the Convention of 1800. This ended the alliance the United States had formed with France during the American Revolution, an alliance which now threatened to draw the United States into Europe's wars. Following Adams, President Jefferson continued to steer clear of war with France and Britain. However, when both countries violated U.S. trading rights, with Britain often stopping American ships, seizing cargoes, and kidnapping sailors (a practice called "impressment"), Jefferson called for a total embargo (or ban) on U.S. trading. Unfortunately, this "Embargo of 1807" failed to force the European powers to respect American rights, and severely harmed America's own economy, throwing thousands of merchants, shippers, and sailors out of work. When James Madison became president in 1809, he found himself facing the same problem: How could the United States force Britain and France to respect American rights on the high seas without being forced to war? Finally, after three years of failed diplomatic efforts, Madison asked Congress to declare war on Great Britain.

- **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–8). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
 2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
 3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
 4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
 5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What forces led Americans to declare war on Britain in 1812?

DBQ 6: THE WAR OF 1812, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents address the factors that led America into war with Britain in 1812. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

In November 1811, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. House of Representatives reported on the nation's growing conflict with France and Britain. In the following excerpt, the report explains U.S. complaints against Britain. (From *Annals of the Congress of the United States*, Twelfth Congress.)

To sum up, in a word, the great causes of complaint against Great Britain, your committee need only say, that the United States, as a sovereign and independent Power, claim the right to use the ocean, which is the common and acknowledged highway of nations, for the purposes of transporting, in their own vessels, the products of their own soil and the acquisitions of their own industry. . . . Great Britain, in defiance of this incontestable [clear and certain] right, captures every American vessel bound to, or returning from, a port where her commerce is not favored; enslaves our seamen, and in spite of our [complaints and protests], perseveres in these aggressions.

According to this congressional report, what was America's major complaint against Great Britain? _____

Document 2

This excerpt is from a speech made by Congressman John C. Calhoun, a Democratic-Republican member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina. Calhoun gave this address on December 12, 1811, six months before war was declared on Britain—but at this time, he clearly foresaw the threat of war. (From *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States, First to Eighteenth Congress*, Vol. 23.)

The question . . . is reduced to this single point—which shall we do, abandon or defend our own commercial and maritime rights, and the personal liberties of our citizens employed in exercising them? These rights are essentially attacked, and war is the only means of redress. . . . I know of one principle to make a nation great . . . and that is to protect every citizen in the lawful pursuit of his business. . . . Protection and patriotism are reciprocal . . . if [the British] persist in such daring insult and injury to [the United States], it will be bound in honor and interest to resist.

(continued)

Name _____

Date _____

DBQ 6: THE WAR OF 1812, *CONTINUED*

How does this statement by Congressman Calhoun support Document 1? _____

Document 3

This excerpt is from a speech by Congressman John Randolph of Virginia, given in the House of Representatives on December 16, 1811. (From *Annals of Congress*, Twelfth Congress.)

... if you go to war it will not be for the protection of ... maritime rights. Gentlemen from the North have been taken up to some high mountain and shown all the kingdoms of the earth; and Canada seems tempting in their sight. ... Agrarian cupidity [greed for farm land], not maritime right, urges the war.

What did Congressman Randolph believe was “really” behind the talk about war with England? _____

Document 4

These excerpts from President Madison’s Declaration of War were read to Congress on June 1, 1812.

We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence. ... We behold our vessels ... wrested [taken] from their lawful destinations ... in [to] British ports. ... We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain a state of war against the United States ...






According to this excerpt from President Madison’s Declaration of War, what seemed to be the primary reason for the War of 1812? _____

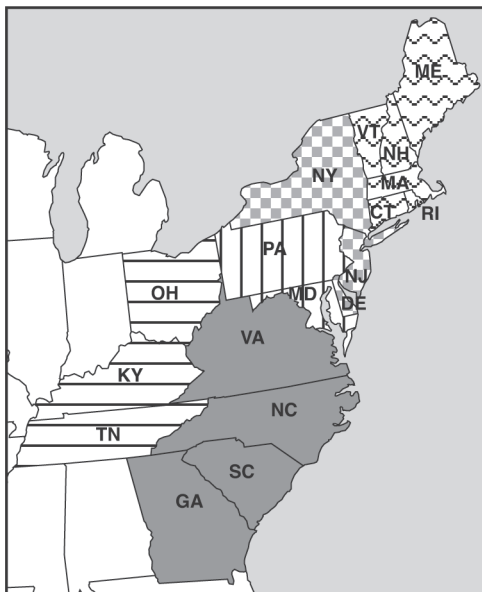
(continued)

DBQ 6: THE WAR OF 1812, *CONTINUED*

Document 5

The U.S. House of Representatives vote for war, June 4, 1812.

KEY	
	New England: yes—12; no—20
	Maritime & Commerical Mid-Atlantic States: yes—5; no—16
	Agricultural Mid-Atlantic States: yes—22; no—5
	The South: yes—31; no—3
	The Western Frontier: yes—9; no—0



Should the United States Declare War on Britain?

Which regions favored war with England in 1812? _____

Which regions opposed war with England in 1812? _____

How does Document 5 seem to contradict Documents 1, 2, and 4? _____

Document 6

The congressional vote for war, by political party:

Vote Approving the Declaration of War on Britain in 1812 (Both House of Representatives and Senate Votes Combined)			
Federalists		Democratic-Republicans	
YES	NO	YES	NO
0	40	98	22

Which party totally opposed the War of 1812? _____

Which party strongly favored the War of 1812? _____

To which party did President Madison belong? _____

(continued)

DBQ 6: THE WAR OF 1812, *CONTINUED*

Document 7

This is an excerpt from a letter written in July 1812 by Congressman Hugh Nelson of Virginia in which he explained why he voted for war. (from *The Republic in Peril: 1812*, by Roger Brown © 1964 Columbia University Press. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.)

... to demonstrate to the world ... that the people of these states were united, one and indivisible ... to show that our republican government was competent to assert its rights, to maintain the interests of the people, and to repel all foreign aggression ... My conduct as your representative has been regulated entirely by these great and important considerations.

What reasons did Congressman Nelson give for his support of war in 1812? _____

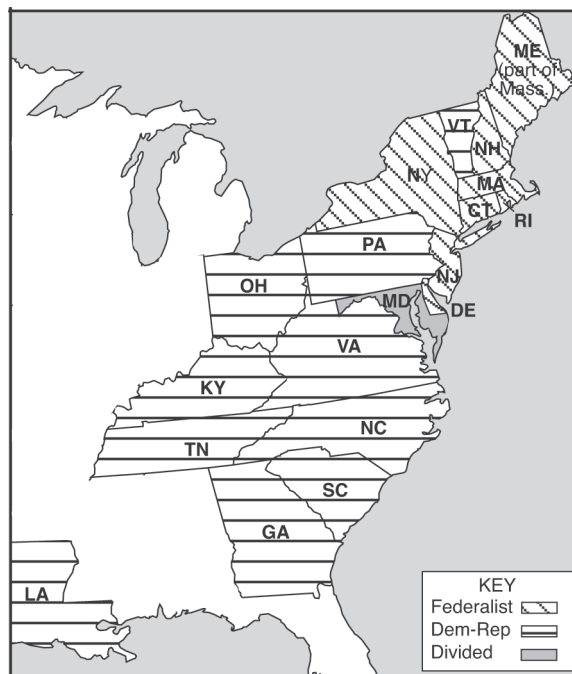
Document 8

In November of 1812, President Madison narrowly won reelection against the Federalist candidate DeWitt Clinton, the governor of New York State. The election occurred five months after the war with Britain began.

Which regions of our country supported the reelection of President Madison?

Which regions opposed his reelection?

The presidential election of 1812



PART B

What forces led Americans to declare war on Britain in 1812?

DBQ 7: JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Historical Context

A broad-based voting public is essential to any healthy democratic system. U.S. suffrage (the right to vote) has been expanded at different times in U.S. history. In colonial times, suffrage was limited to males, and then typically only to those men who were major landowners and taxpayers. But as years and centuries passed, suffrage was expanded. The most recent episode in this history of democracy's expansion occurred in the early 1970s, when the right to vote was extended to 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds.

A large increase in the numbers eligible to vote occurred during the 1820s and 1830s. At this time, most states extended suffrage to poor men—factory workers, artisans, laborers, and others who, typically, were not landowners or major taxpayers. This movement to empower the “common man” with the right to vote is sometimes referred to as “Jacksonian democracy.” This refers to Andrew Jackson, who championed this cause in his political career, and whose personal life symbolized the rise of the “common man.”

The effort to expand suffrage during the “Age of Jackson” was a fierce struggle between those who favored it and those who opposed what they saw as a dangerous expansion of democracy. In many ways, the arguments used by supporters and opponents of Jacksonian democracy were similar to those who debated later expansions of voting rights: to African American men in 1870, to women in 1920, and to 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds in 1971.

■ **Directions:** The following questions are based on the accompanying documents (1–6). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based questions. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the questions if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, examine each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What were the major arguments used, pro and con, in the debate over expanding suffrage during the Age of Jackson? Which arguments were most valid?

DBQ 7: JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents deal with the debate over Jacksonian democracy. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

In 1821, New York State held a convention to revise the state constitution. A committee recommended dropping the requirement that voters be property owners. This would allow all white male adults the right to vote. The following excerpt shows how Nathan Sanford, the chairman of the committee, supported the recommendation. (From *Reports of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1821, Assembled for the Purpose of Amending the Constitution of the State of New York*, Albany, New York, 1821.)

The question before us is the right of suffrage—who shall or who shall not have the right to vote. . . . To me the only qualifications [to vote] seem to be the virtue and morality of the people . . . those who contribute to the public support we consider as entitled to a share of the election of rulers. . . . Now, sir, this scheme will embrace almost the whole male population of the state. . . . This scheme has been proposed by a majority of the committee; they think it safe and beneficial, founded on just and moral principles.

How did Sanford defend the plan to expand the right of suffrage to the poor?

Document 2

James Kent, Chief Justice of New York State's highest court, opposed the 1821 proposal to drop property ownership requirements. Here are some of the points he made at the state convention in opposition to Sanford's proposal.

The tendency of universal suffrage is to jeopardize the rights of property and the principles of liberty. There is a constant . . . tendency in the poor to covet [desire] and to share the plunder of the rich; in the debtor, to relax or avoid the obligation of contracts; in the majority, to tyrannize over the minority and trample down their rights; in the indolent [lazy] and the profligate [depraved] to cast the whole burdens of society upon the industrious and the virtuous; **and there is a tendency in ambitious and wicked men to inflame these combustible materials.**

(continued)

DBQ 7: JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY, *CONTINUED*

Why did Kent oppose empowering the poor with the right to vote? _____

What do you suppose Kent meant by “tyrannize over the minority”? _____

What do you suppose he meant by the last line of the quotation? _____

Document 3

Alexis de Tocqueville, a French nobleman and social observer, visited the United States during the early 1830s. His perceptive observations were collected in a significant book titled *Democracy in America*.

On my arrival in the United States I was surprised to find so much distinguished talent among the subjects, and so little among the heads of the Government. It is a well-authenticated fact, that at the present day the most able men in the United States are very rarely placed at the head of affairs; and it must be acknowledged that such has been the result in proportion as democracy has outstepped all its former limits. The race of American statesmen has evidently dwindled most remarkably in the course of the last fifty years.

. . . democracy is not only deficient in that soundness of judgment which is necessary to select men really deserving of its confidence, but it has neither the desire nor the inclination to find them . . .

What criticism was Tocqueville making about the expansion of U.S. democracy?

Is his criticism valid? _____

Document 4

Frances Trollope was an Englishwoman who lived in the United States for several years during the 1820s. She returned to England and, in 1832, published *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, a very unflattering account of the United States, its people, and its culture. The following excerpt from this book describes the election of 1828.

(continued)

DBQ 7: JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY, *CONTINUED*

... this electioneering madness ... engrosses every conversation, it irritates every temper, it substitutes party spirit for personal esteem. When a candidate for any office starts, his party endow him with every virtue, and with all the talents. They are all ready to peck out the eyes of those who oppose him. When I first arrived in America Mr. John Quincy Adams was President, and it was impossible to doubt, even from the statement of his enemies, that he was every way calculated to do honour to the office. All I ever heard against him was, that "he was too much of a gentleman;" but a new candidate must be set up, and Mr. Adams was out-voted for no other reason, that I could learn, but because it was "best to change." "Jackson for ever!" was, therefore, screamed from the majority of mouths, both drunk and sober, till he was elected.

What, according to Mrs. Trollope, was wrong with U.S. democracy?

Document 5

George Bancroft was a prominent historian, teacher, and political leader; he served at different times as ambassador to Great Britain, ambassador to Germany, and Secretary of the Navy. The following excerpt comes from a speech he gave at Williams College in 1835.

... the best government rests on the people and not on the few, on persons and not on property, on the free development of public opinion and not on authority ...
Such is the political system which rests on reason, reflection, and the free expression of deliberate choice. There may be those who scoff at the suggestion that the decision of the whole is to be preferred to the judgment of the enlightened few. They say in their hearts that the masses are ignorant; that farmers know nothing of legislation ... but true political science does indeed venerate [respect] the masses. ... Individuals are corrupt [and] false, the masses are ingenuous [open] and sincere. ...
Thus the opinion which we respect is, indeed, not the opinion of one or of a few, but the sagacity [wisdom] of the many.

What argument did Bancroft make in support of expanding the right to vote to common people?

(continued)

DBQ 7: JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY, *CONTINUED*

Document 6

"The County Election" is a painting by George Caleb Bingham in 1851. The original painting hangs in the St. Louis Art Museum.

Judging by this painting, do you suppose that Bingham was a supporter or an opponent of Jacksonian Democracy? Support your viewpoint.



St. Louis Art Museum

**PART
B**

What were the major arguments used, pro and con, in the debate over expanding suffrage during the Age of Jackson? Which arguments were most valid?

DBQ 8: ANTEBELLUM REFORMS

Historical Context

No time in U.S. history has seen greater efforts to reform society than the four decades preceding the Civil War. During those years, a variety of social problems came under attack. Many thousands of Americans worked tirelessly to establish public schooling, reform the criminal justice system, improve care of the infirm and mentally ill, promote women's rights, and battle poverty and drunkenness. By the 1840s and 1850s, abolitionism, the attempt to end slavery, had become the greatest of these antebellum reform movements. (*Antebellum* literally means "before the war." In U.S. history, it marks the decades before the Civil War.) There was, it seemed, an almost frantic effort during the antebellum years to perfect America and its people, to right wrongs and eradicate evils. Mark Hopkins, the president of Williams College, confidently predicted that this huge effort to reform society would soon result in the destruction of "wars, and intemperance, and licentiousness, and fraud, and slavery, and all oppression through the transforming influence of Christianity."

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–6). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What forces or ideas motivated and inspired this effort to remake and reform American society during the antebellum years?

DBQ 8: ANTEBELLUM REFORMS, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents address some of the ideas proposed by reformers in the years before the Civil War. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

This excerpt is from a statement made by President-elect Andrew Jackson in 1828. (Quoted from *Freedom's Ferment*, by Alice Felt Tyler, University of Minnesota Press, 1944, p. 22.)

I believe man can be elevated; man can become more and more endowed with divinity; and as he does he becomes more God-like in his character and capable of governing himself. Let us go on elevating our people, perfecting our institutions, until democracy shall reach such a point of perfection that we can acclaim with truth that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

According to this statement by Jackson, what was the ultimate purpose of “elevating our people, [and] perfecting our institutions”? _____

Why was this so important in the 1820s and 1830s? _____

Document 2

William Lloyd Garrison began publishing *The Liberator* in 1831, only two years before founding the U.S. Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison quickly became the most prominent and uncompromising abolitionist in America. The following excerpts come from the first issue of *The Liberator*, in which he publicly vowed to oppose slavery until slavery’s “chains are burst . . . SO HELP ME GOD!” He begins by explaining why he decided to establish his abolitionist newspaper in Boston.

I determined . . . 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 unalienable rights – among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,” I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement [right to vote] of the slave population.

What factors were primary motivations for Garrison in establishing *The Liberator* in Boston? _____

(continued)

DBQ 8: ANTEBELLUM REFORMS, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

Francis Grund was a German nobleman who traveled in the United States during the 1830s. Here he describes what he saw as the origin of the antebellum reform spirit.

Religion has been the basis of the most important American settlements; religion kept their little community together—religion assisted them in their revolutionary struggle; it was religion to which they appealed in defending their liberties. It is with the solemnities of religion that the declaration of independence is yet annually read to the people from the pulpit . . . and it is religion which assists them in all their national undertakings. The Americans look upon religion as a promoter of civil and political liberty.

What, according to Grund, was the inspiration behind Americans' "civil and political" reforms? _____

Document 4

The most prominent educational reformer of the antebellum years was Horace Mann of Massachusetts. From 1837 to 1848, Mann directed the Massachusetts Board of Education; in this role, he became a tireless promoter of public education. The following excerpt comes from his *Eighth Annual Report to the State Board of Education*, issued in 1844.

If we do not prepare children to become good citizens—if we do not develop their capacities, if we do not enrich their minds with knowledge, imbue their hearts with the love of truth and duty, and a reverence for all things sacred and holy, then our republic must go down to destruction, as others have gone before it.

According to Mann, what was the purpose for public schooling reforms? _____

How does this document compare with Document 1? _____

(continued)

DBQ 8: ANTEBELLUM REFORMS, *CONTINUED*

Document 5

Theodore Parker, a Massachusetts Unitarian minister, was a leading abolitionist. He was also active in a number of other antebellum reforms, including the peace movement. This is an excerpt from a sermon given in 1847 during America's war with Mexico.

War is an utter violation of Christianity. . . . If war be right, then Christianity is wrong, false, a lie. Every man who understands Christianity knows that war is wrong.

What, according to this document, inspired Parker's opposition to the Mexican War and his wider involvement in world peace efforts? _____

Document 6

The "Declaration of Sentiments" was issued by the women's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848. A number of abolitionists and women's rights advocates, including Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Frederick Douglass, met in the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls, a small upstate town. Their goal was to "discuss the social, civil, and religious condition and rights" of U.S. women. Here is an excerpt from the "Declaration of Sentiments," a statement of grievances.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government.

What ideas are suggested here as motives behind the women's rights movement of the antebellum period? _____

**PART
B**

What forces or ideas motivated and inspired this effort to remake and reform American society during the antebellum years?

DBQ 9: SLAVERY AND ITS DEFENDERS

Historical Context

During Andrew Jackson's presidency, U.S. slavery came under strong attack. For over three centuries, since the first arrival of Europeans, slavery had been practiced in the Western Hemisphere. But, by the 1830s, American ideals and realities increasingly contradicted and condemned slavery's continuation. Years earlier, back in 1776, Americans had justified their revolution against Britain with the Declaration of Independence, stating that "all men are created equal." This assertion was such an obvious challenge to the existence of slavery that even its defenders felt its sting. In the years following the Revolutionary War, slavery was abolished or restricted in much of the United States. In 1787, the Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery from the Northwest Territories. In 1807, Congress banned continuation of the African slave trade. And throughout the North, state governments ended slavery. By 1830, its practice was limited to only twelve Southern states. Increasingly, these twelve states felt themselves under attack as the anti-slavery movement gained support. Growing numbers of slavery's opponents turned their wrath on the Southern slave system, condemning it as violation of both democracy and Christianity.

Feeling themselves under attack, Southern defenders of slavery fought back, using a variety of arguments to justify slavery and its continuation. During the "antebellum" period—the decades before the Civil War—their defense of slavery became more impassioned and desperate.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–8). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-developed essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What were the major arguments employed during the antebellum years by Southern supporters of slavery to defend slavery and its continuation?

DBQ 9: SLAVERY AND ITS DEFENDERS, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents address various arguments made in support of slavery. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

In 1832, Thomas Dew was a professor at William and Mary College when he wrote this defense of slavery.

It is, in truth, the slave labor in Virginia which gives value to her soil and her [properties]; take away this, and you pull down the . . . whole system.

What, according to this statement by Thomas Dew, justified the existence of slavery in the South? _____

Document 2

This excerpt comes from a speech made in 1838 by John C. Calhoun. At that time, Calhoun was serving as U.S. Senator from South Carolina.

Experience [has] shown that the existing relation between [Southern whites and slaves] secured the peace and happiness of both. Each had improved . . . [slaves] so much so, that [they have] attained a degree of civilization never before attained by the black race in any age or country.

What, according to Calhoun, were the benefits of slavery? _____

Document 3

George Fitzhugh was a Virginia plantation owner, lawyer, and writer. In 1850, he wrote a book entitled *Slavery Justified, by a Southerner*. This brief excerpt comes from that book.

[Giving] men equality of rights, is but giving [permission] to the strong to oppress the weak. It [creates] the grossest inequalities of condition . . . The moral effect of free society is to banish Christian virtue . . . Liberty and equality are not only destructive to the morals, but to the happiness of society.

(continued)

DBQ 9: SLAVERY AND ITS DEFENDERS, *CONTINUED*

How was Fitzhugh responding to the abolitionist argument that slavery violated the belief in the equality of all men? _____

Document 4

J.D.B. DeBow was the editor of *DeBow's Review*, a popular Southern magazine published in New Orleans. He was a major defender of slavery. This excerpt comes from an essay he wrote in 1860. In it, DeBow explains why Southern non-slaveholders support the continuation of slavery.

The non-slaveholder of the South preserves the status of the white man, and is not regarded as an inferior or a dependent. He is not told that the Declaration of Independence, when it says that all men are born free and equal, refers to the negro equally with himself. . . . [Unlike] The poor white laborer [in] the North [who] is at the bottom of the social ladder . . . his brother here [in the South] has [risen] several steps and can look down upon those who are beneath him

How, according to this argument, did poor, non-slaveholding Southern whites benefit from the continued existence of slavery? _____

Document 5

Although himself a slaveholder, Thomas Jefferson was never a strong defender of slavery. He recognized the injustice and immorality of slavery, and several times during his long life, he publicly promoted its abolition. But Jefferson was ambivalent. He knew that slavery was wrong and understood how clearly it violated America's basic creeds. He hoped that future generations of Americans would end its practice. He just did not know a realistic way to end slavery. Indeed, even in his own will, he freed only five of his many slaves. When he was an old man, Jefferson became concerned by the 1819 Missouri crisis over slavery, frightened that the slavery issue would some day split the Union. The following brief excerpt from a letter Jefferson wrote in April of 1820 expressed his reluctant justification of slavery, by comparing the existence of slavery to "holding a wolf by the ears."

(continued)

DBQ 9: SLAVERY AND ITS DEFENDERS, *CONTINUED*

We have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go.

What did Jefferson mean by this statement? _____

Document 6

Reverend Thornton Stringfellow was a Baptist minister in Virginia and a strong defender of slavery. Here are excerpts from a paper he published in 1856.

... May it not be said ... that God decreed this institution [slavery] ...

... He expressly stipulates [in Genesis], that Abraham shall put the token of this covenant upon every servant born in his house, and upon every servant bought with his money ...

... Job himself was a great slaveholder ...

[Leviticus states]: "Thy bond-men and thy bond-maids which thou shalt have ..."

... [This is] from God himself; it authorizes that people ... purchase men and women as property. ...

... Jesus Christ recognized this institution [slavery] as one that was lawful among men ...

How did Reverend Stringfellow justify and defend Southern slavery?

(continued)

DBQ 9: SLAVERY AND ITS DEFENDERS, *CONTINUED*

Document 7

In 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney, writing the majority opinion in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, wrote this defense of slavery.

... the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed ... the Government ... is pledged to protect it in all future time ...

To what authority did Chief Justice Taney point in justifying the continued existence of Southern slavery? _____

Document 8

Dr. S.C. Cartwright was a physician at the University of Louisiana in 1857 when he wrote about slaves.

... natural history ... proves the existence of at least three distinct species of [humans]. ... the white species ... [is] a thinking and reflective being ... [the Negro is] a creature of feeling and imitation, almost void of reflective faculties, and consequently unable to provide for and take care of himself."

How did Cartwright justify the existence of slavery? _____

**PART
B**

What were the major arguments employed during the antebellum years by Southern supporters of slavery to defend slavery and its continuation?

DBQ 10: WHAT CAUSED SECESSION?

Historical Context

No event affected the United States and its people more significantly than the secession of eleven Southern states and the Civil War that followed. Four years of bloody warfare, over one-half million deaths, untold misery and destruction, and long-lasting racial and sectional hatreds resulted. Even today, almost one and a half centuries later, America is still marked – politically, economically, and socially – by these awful events.

Americans who witnessed the secession of the Southern states, and historians ever since, have argued over the causes. Why, after eighty-five years of unity and common nationhood, did the United States break apart? Were the differences between North and South so great that unity was no longer possible? Or was secession an accident, the result of mistakes, political misjudgments, and passions that overwhelmed reasonable compromise? What parts did slavery, the debate over its expansion into the territories, and the rancorous conflict of its supporters and opponents play in bringing on secession? How much blame can be placed on President Buchanan's indecisiveness? Or on Lincoln's refusal to accept the Crittenden Compromise? And what about the Kansas conflict, Dred Scott, John Brown, and other divisive factors? What were the causes? Who was to blame?

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What led the Southern states to secede from the Union in 1860 and 1861?

DBQ 10: WHAT CAUSED SECESSION? *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents deal with the secession of the Southern states in 1860 and 1861, providing explanations or clues why secession occurred. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

The following are excerpts from political party platforms during the 1860 presidential campaign. Both platforms were adopted during the summer months.

From the Republican Party platform:

... we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

From the (Southern) Democratic Party platform:

[Speaking of any territory of the United States] ... all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being ... impaired. ...

Over what issue did the Southern Democratic and the Northern Republican parties seem totally at odds? _____

Do you feel that either side was willing to compromise? _____

Document 2

This excerpt is from a speech given by Albert Gallatin Brown, a Mississippi politician, on September 26, 1860. (From Samuel P. McCutchen, "The Political Career of Albert Gallatin Brown," Doctoral Thesis, University of Chicago, 1930; quoted from Dorothy S. Arnof, *A Sense of the Past: Readings in American History*, Macmillan Publishing Company, 1973, p. 222.)

(continued)

DBQ 10: WHAT CAUSED SECESSION? *CONTINUED*

[The Northerners] hate us now, and they teach their children in their schools and churches to hate our children. . . . The John Brown raid, the burning of Texas, the stealthy tread of abolitionists among us, tell the tale. . . . The North is accumulating power, and it means to use that power to emancipate your slaves. When that is done, no pen can describe . . . the horrors that will overspread this country. . . . Disunion is a fearful thing, but emancipation is worse. Better leave the Union in the open face of day, than be lighted from it at midnight by the [arsonist's] torch.

Why did this Mississippi politician advocate secession? _____

How does this statement help to explain why so many non-slaveholding Southerners supported secession? _____

Document 3

This excerpt is from an editorial in the *Pittsburgh Press*, dated October 10, 1860. This newspaper endorsed Senator Stephen Douglas for president in the 1860 election.

. . . there is much, if not more, of the rampant spirit of disunion in the Black Republican ranks of the North, as there is in the South. . . . [These Republicans] claim the right to make a code of laws for the South, not only in the States, but in the Territories, which shall control or prohibit slavery. . . . If Lincoln were President . . . the Union would be endangered from that hour.

What do you think of this Pittsburgh newspaper's accusation that Lincoln and his Republican Party are the major threats to the disunion of the country?

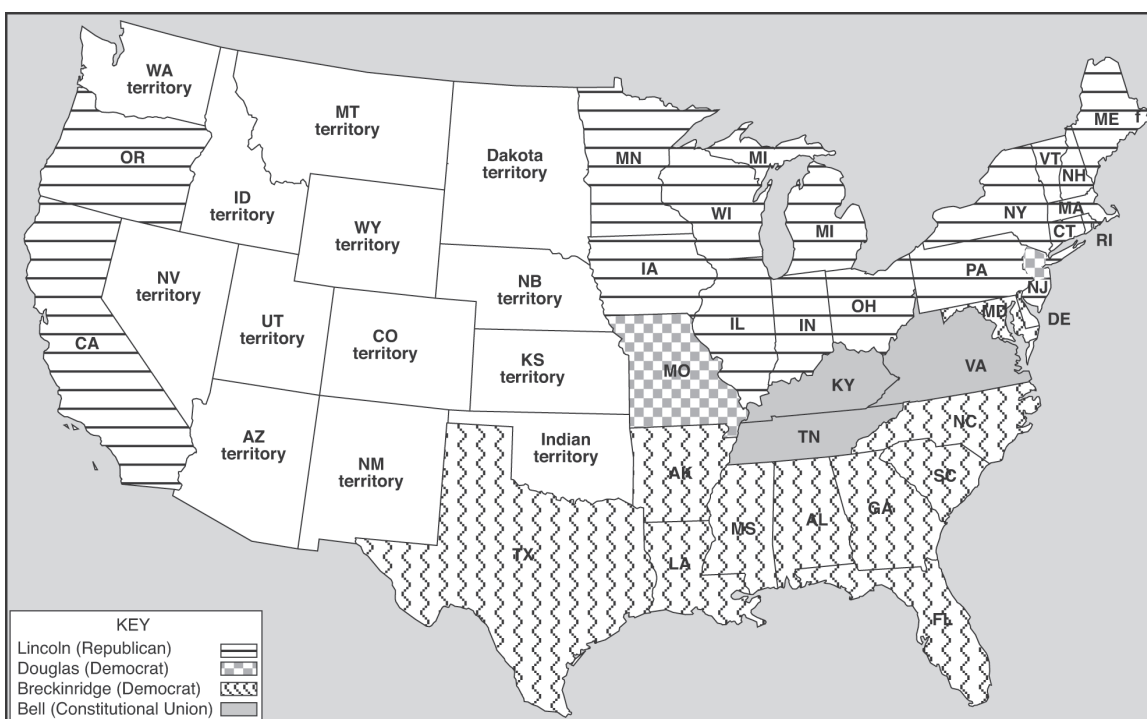
(continued)

DBQ 10: WHAT CAUSED SECESSION? *CONTINUED*

Document 4

The results of the 1860 presidential election:

Candidate	Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
Lincoln (Republican)	1,865,600	180
Douglas (Democrat)	1,382,700	12
Breckinridge (Democrat)	848,350	72
Bell (Constitutional Union)	592,900	39



From which region did most of Lincoln's support come? _____

How does Document 2 help to explain this regional voting? _____

(continued)

DBQ 10: WHAT CAUSED SECESSION? *CONTINUED***Document 5**

These are diary entries by George Templeton Strong, a prominent New York attorney. (Reprinted with the permission of Simon & Schuster from *The Diary of George Templeton Strong* by Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas. Copyright 1952 by Macmillan Publishing Company; copyright renewed © 1980 by Milton Halsey Thomas.)

November 7, 1860. Lincoln is elected. Hooray . . . The next ten days will be a critical time. If no Southern state commit itself to treason within a fortnight [two week period] or so, the urgent danger will be past.

November 10. . . . News from the South continues to be menacing and uncomfortable.

November 12. No material change in the complexion of Southern news. Unless writers of telegraph items lie loudly, secession is inevitable.

November 15. . . . We are generally reconciling ourselves to the prospect of secession by South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, . . . Florida, and perhaps Mississippi, too.

November 29. Thanksgiving Day . . . There's a bad prospect for both sections of the country. Southern ruffianism and brutality are very bad, but the selfishness, baseness, and corruption of the North are no good at all. Universal suffrage . . . [is] at the root of our troubles . . . [the] nucleus [of the crisis] was the abolition handful that . . . till about 1850, was among the more insignificant of our isms. Our feeling at the North till that time was not hostility to slavery, but indifference to it, and reluctance to discuss it. . . . But the clamor of the South about the admission of California ten years ago introduced the question of slavery. . . . That controversy taught us that the two systems could not co-exist in the same territory. It opened our eyes to the fact that there were two hostile elements in the country, and that if we allowed slaves to enter any territorial acquisition, our own free labor must be excluded from it. The question was unfortunate for our peace. But we might have forgotten it had not S. A. Douglas undertaken to get Southern votes by repealing the Missouri Compromise. That was the final blow.

What, according to George Templeton Strong, were the major factors that in the autumn of 1860 were about to split the nation? _____

(continued)

DBQ 10: WHAT CAUSED SECESSION? *CONTINUED***Document 6**

This excerpt is from the South Carolina ordinance of secession, unanimously approved by the State Legislature on December 20, 1860.

A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to Slavery. . . . he has declared that that "Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that Slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

What reason did the state of South Carolina give for seceding from the Union?

Document 7

This excerpt is from a letter that Jefferson Davis wrote to George Lunt on January 17, 1861. Davis, a U.S. Senator from Mississippi, was a leader of the Southern states-rights movement. In January 1861, he resigned his seat in the Senate, hoping that he might be chosen commander of the newly formed Confederate army. Instead, he was chosen President of the Confederate States of America, a position he held until the South's defeat in the Civil War. (Reprinted with the permission of Louisiana State University Press from *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, Vol. 7, edited by Haskell M. Monroe, Jr., and James T. McIntosh, © 1991.)

The Election was not the Cause [of secession] it was but the last feather which you know breaks the Camel's back. Sectional hostility manifested in hostile legislation by states and raids of organized bodies sustained by Contributions . . . of northern Society furnish to us sufficient cause. . . .

What did Jefferson Davis say caused the South to secede? _____

What did he mean by "raids of organized bodies"? _____

**PART
B**

What led the Southern states to secede from the Union in 1860 and 1861?

DBQ 11: THE INDUSTRIAL BOOM

Historical Context

In 1860, the United States was mainly a land of farms and small towns. Fewer than one in five Americans lived in urban areas. (Today the figure is four in five.) While England was rapidly industrializing, the pace of industrial growth was much slower in the United States.

A number of factors seem to have delayed industrialism in the United States. With land plentiful and cheap, and labor relatively scarce and costly, Americans generally found it more profitable to make their livings on farms rather than in factories. And with the western prairies filling up with settlers, it looked in 1860 as if Americans would remain largely a nation of farmers, while England and other European nations became industrial giants.

But only forty years later, the United States had become the greatest industrial nation in the world. Between 1860 and 1900, the U.S. production of coal increased from 10,000 short tons to 210,000 short tons, an increase of 2,000 percent! Production of steel ingots rose over 5,000 percent. By 1900, U.S. workers produced over twice as much steel each year as Germany did, and five times as much as England. The urban population in the United States during these years rose from 6 million to over 30 million. American workers, in huge numbers, were leaving the farms for the factories.

- **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
 2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
 3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
 4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
 5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What factors helped to promote America’s huge industrial growth during the period from 1860 to 1900?

DBQ 11: THE INDUSTRIAL BOOM, *CONTINUED***PART
A**

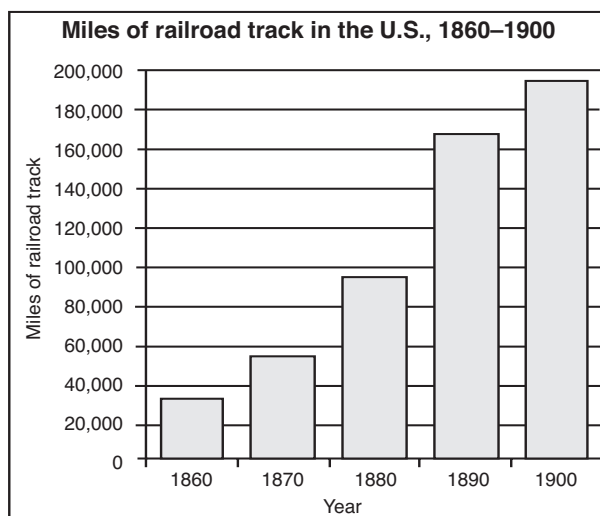
The following documents will help you understand the factors that encouraged the development of industry in the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

In the 1850s, the English government sent a committee of businessmen to the United States to study how American industrialists operated their factories. Here is a brief excerpt from the report written in 1854.

... everything that could be done to reduce labour in the movement of materials from one point to another was adopted. This includes mechanical arrangements for lifting material, etc. from one floor to another, carriages for conveying material on the same floor, and such like.

How would the system described above help to cut labor costs and make factory production more efficient? _____

Document 2

Summarize this information in one short sentence. _____

Explain how the growth of the railroad promoted industrialization. _____

(continued)

DBQ 11: THE INDUSTRIAL BOOM, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

The following are excerpts from the 1860 Republican Party platform.

... sound policy requires ... an adjustment of ... imposts [tariffs] ... to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country. ...

... we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the ... nation commercial prosperity and independence. ...

... the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of ... immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged [reduced] or impaired [harmed].

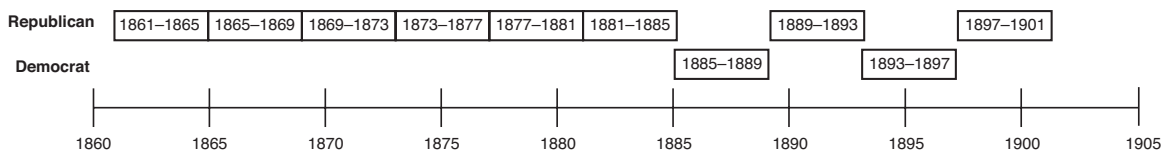
... appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements ... required for the accommodation and security of our ... commerce, are ... justified by the obligations of government. ...

... a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country ... the Federal government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction.

How did these planks (parts) of the Republican platform promote the industrial and commercial growth of the country? _____

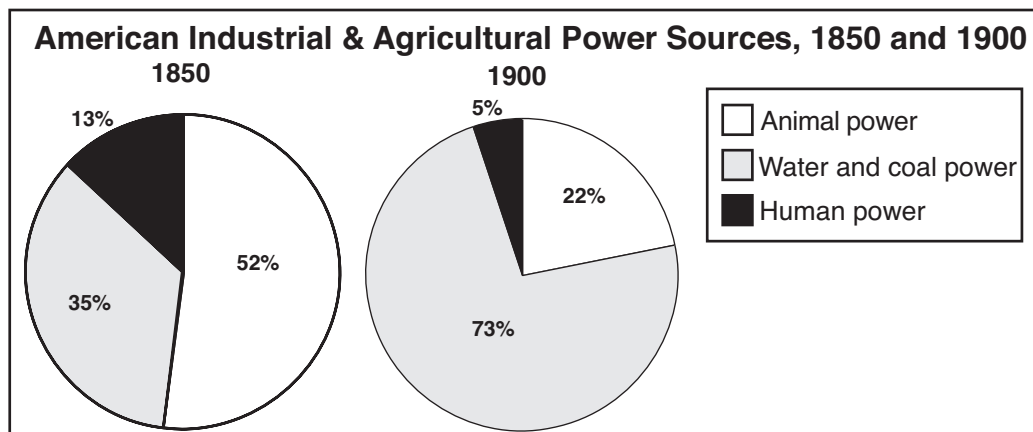
Document 4

Political party control of the presidency, 1860–1900

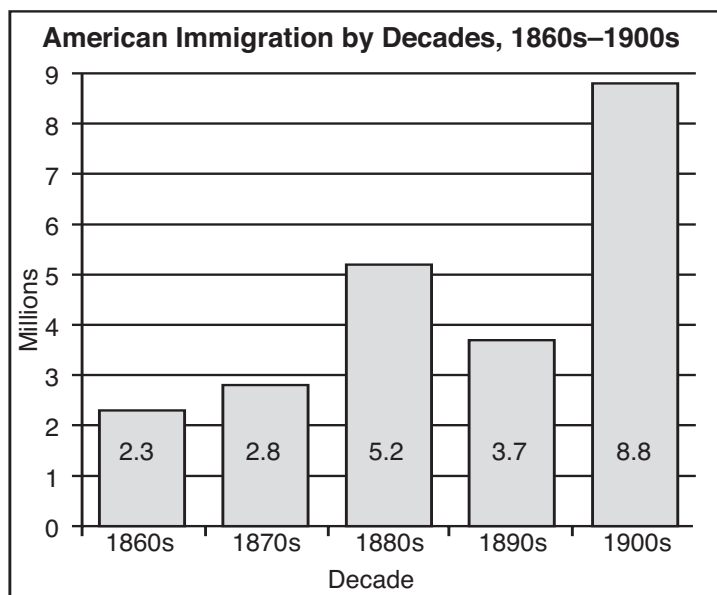


How do Documents 3 and 4 help explain why industry boomed in the late nineteenth century? _____

(continued)

DBQ 11: THE INDUSTRIAL BOOM, *CONTINUED***Document 5**

How do these charts help to answer the question on page 48? _____

Document 6

Look back to the historical context paragraphs that discuss those factors that slowed the development of industrialism. Document 6 illustrates how one of those factors was overcome. Explain.

(continued)

DBQ 11: THE INDUSTRIAL BOOM, *CONTINUED***Document 7**

Andrew Carnegie, one of America's greatest industrialists, was a poor thirteen-year-old Scottish immigrant when he arrived in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1848. By the 1860s, Carnegie was a wealthy and successful businessman. During the years after the Civil War, he built Carnegie Steel Company into the largest and most successful steel company in the world. The following document explains, in part, why Carnegie was so successful. (From E. S. Meade, "The Genesis of the United States Steel Corporation," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1901.)

In 1882 the Carnegie Steel Company . . . inaugurated a policy whose object was to control all the factors which contributed to the production of steel, from the ore and coal in the ground to the steel billet and the steel rail.

What process was being described here? _____

Which other big industries of the late nineteenth century went through this same process? _____

**PART
B**

What factors helped to promote America's huge industrial growth during the period from 1860 to 1900?

DBQ 12: THE NATIVIST RESPONSE TO IMMIGRATION

Historical Context

The Statue of Liberty stands on a small island in New York harbor. This statue is a symbol of America's historic role as a haven for immigrants from all over the world, "yearning to breathe free." In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the numbers of immigrants seeking a new life in the United States increased greatly. Between 1885 and 1915, almost 20 million immigrants looked up at the Statue as they arrived in America.

In earlier times, immigrants had generally been welcomed. But by the late 1800s, with such huge numbers arriving, many Americans began to grow anxious. Many people began to wonder if the presence of so many foreigners might somehow weaken U.S. society. They worried that it would be impossible to assimilate (absorb) so many immigrants into American society. Few of the new immigrants could speak English. The fact that most of the immigrants were Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, or Jewish at a time when the vast majority of Americans were Protestant, was troubling for many.

People began to speak out against the nation's liberal immigration policies, arguing that the country needed laws that would limit immigration. Many people and groups discriminated against immigrants in various ways. And some groups began to openly express their hatred and fear of immigrants. The people who opposed immigration were called "nativists," and their anti-immigrant beliefs were referred to as "nativism."

- **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
 2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes. Answer the questions that follow each document.
 3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
 4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
 5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Why did American nativist groups oppose free, unrestricted immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

DBQ 12: THE NATIVIST RESPONSE
TO IMMIGRATION, *CONTINUED*

**PART
A**

The following documents are examples of the various nativist statements and arguments for more restrictive immigration laws. Examine each document carefully, and answer the question or questions that follow.

Document 1

This excerpt is from a resolution by the American Federation of Labor to Congress, "Some Reasons For Chinese Exclusion, Meat vs. Rice: American Manhood Against Asiatic Coolieism," (1902).

The Chinese, if permitted freely to enter this country, would create race antagonisms which would ultimately result in great public disturbance. The Caucasians will not tolerate the Mongolian. . . . But this is not alone a race, labor, and political question. It is one which involves our civilization. . . .

What nativist arguments are stated in this document? _____

Consider the source of the statement. What unstated concern do you suspect is the primary reason why this group opposed Chinese immigration?

Document 2

This excerpt is from *Our Country*, by Reverend Josiah Strong (1885).

. . . immigration not only furnishes the greater portion of our criminals, it is also seriously affecting the morals of the native population. It is disease and not health which is contagious. Most foreigners bring with them continental ideas of the Sabbath, and the result is sadly manifest in all our cities, where it is being transformed from a holy day into a holiday. But by far the most effective instrumentality for debauching [corrupting] popular morals is the liquor traffic, and this is chiefly carried on by foreigners. . . ."

What "diseases" did Strong blame on immigrants? _____

(continued)

DBQ 12: THE NATIVIST RESPONSE TO IMMIGRATION, *CONTINUED*


Document 3

Many towns, cities, and states sponsored night schools where recent immigrants could learn American customs and how to speak English.

GRANITE CITY

AMERICANIZATION SCHOOLS

Monday
and
Thursday
Evenings
7:30 p. m.



Underwood & Underwood

These two men are brothers, one is an American Citizen and the other has just come to this country with their old mother. See the difference in 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 ought to learn the American language and become an American citizen. If the people that come to America do not become Americans, this country will soon be like the old country.

Beginning
Monday,
September
the 27th,
1920

SCHOOLS:

**HIGH SCHOOL, 20TH AND D STREETS
LINCOLN PLACE, 917 PACIFIC AVENUE**

**LIBERTY SCHOOL, 20TH AND O STREETS
MADISON SCHOOL, 1322 MADISON AVENUE**

Keep America Great.

**Become an American
Citizen**

Learn The Language.

Press-Record Publishing Co. 1834 D St., Granite City, Ill.

According to this advertisement, why should immigrants learn the “American language”? _____

(continued)

DBQ 12: THE NATIVIST RESPONSE TO IMMIGRATION, *CONTINUED*

Document 4

Here is an excerpt from a popular book, *The Passing of the Great Race*, by Madison Grant, published in 1916 by Charles Scribner's Sons.

These new immigrants were no longer exclusively members of the Nordic race as were the earlier ones who came . . . the new immigrants [contain] a large . . . number of the weak, the broken and the mentally crippled of all races drawn from the lowest [levels] of the Mediterranean basin and the Balkans, together with hordes of the wretched, submerged populations of the Polish Ghettos. Our jails, insane asylums and almshouses are filled with this human flotsam [wreckage] and the whole tone of American life, social, moral, and political has been lowered and vulgarized by them.

According to Grant, how were the new immigrants (those who came to America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) different from earlier immigrant groups?

How did Grant see these newer immigrant groups endangering America? _____

Document 5

During the 1880s and 1890s, many Americans became alarmed over the number of strikes and riots involving labor unions and the many immigrant workers who were union members. This short excerpt comes from "The Age of Steel," a business magazine article that was published soon after the Haymarket Square riot of 1886.

. . . if the master race of this continent is subordinated to or overrun with the communistic and revolutionary races, it will be in grave danger of social disaster.

According to the author of this article, what was the greatest danger of unrestricted immigration to the United States? _____

(continued)

DBQ 12: THE NATIVIST RESPONSE TO IMMIGRATION, *CONTINUED*

Document 6

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts made this statement in 1891. The occasion was a debate in the U.S. Senate over a proposed Literacy Act that would restrict future American immigration to those who could read and write.

. . . the qualities of the American people . . . are moral far more than intellectual, and it is on the moral qualities of the English-speaking race that our history, our victories, and all our future rest. There is only one way in which you can lower those qualities or weaken those characteristics, and that is by breeding them out. If a lower race mixes with a higher in sufficient numbers, history teaches us that the lower race will prevail. The lower race will absorb the higher. . . .

[We] are exposed to but a single danger, and that is by changing the quality of our race and citizenship through the wholesale infusion of races whose traditions and inheritances, whose thoughts and whose beliefs are wholly alien to ours. . . . There lies the peril at the portals [gates] of our land; there is pressing in the tide of unrestricted immigration. The time has certainly come, if not to stop, at least to check, to sift, and to restrict those immigrants.

What, according to Senator Lodge, was the danger of unrestricted immigration?

Document 7

E. A. Ross was a prominent sociologist early in the twentieth century. This is an excerpt from a magazine article Ross wrote in 1914. (From "Immigrants in Politics," *Century Magazine*, 1914.)

In every American city with a large, foreign vote have appeared the boss, the machine, and the Tammany way [Tammany Hall was the corrupt city government of New York City]. Once the machine gets a grip on the situation, it broadens and intrenches its power by intimidation at the polls, ballot frauds, vote purchases, saloon influence, and the support of the vicious and criminal. But its tap-root is the simple-minded foreigner . . .

According to Ross, what was the influence of immigrants on American politics and government? _____

PART B

Why did American nativist groups oppose free, unrestricted immigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

DBQ 13: THE FARMERS' REVOLT

Historical Context

Farmers, farming, and country life have always held a special place in the hearts of Americans. Years ago, Thomas Jefferson expressed this when he said

*Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God,
if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made
His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue.*

Even today, poets, politicians, artists, movies, and advertisers romanticize the “simple joys and virtues” of country living. During our early history, and well into the nineteenth century, America remained largely a land of farms and small country towns. But in the late nineteenth century, farm life for many Americans became harsh and frustrating—far different from the happy myth. Farm income dropped as new farm lands were opened and new machines and methods increased crop yields. Those with smaller farms, poorer lands, or limited resources could not compete against larger, more mechanized farms. Farmers by the thousands went broke and fled to the cities.

For the farmers who failed, and for those who struggled and barely succeeded, these were difficult times. Working day after day, from dawn to dusk, and having little or nothing to show for their efforts; watching their wives work and worry themselves to early deaths; seeing their children abandon the farm for the cities—these were the personal agonies shared by thousands across America’s agricultural South and West.

The farm crisis came to a head in the 1890s with the organization of the Populist Party. This political party, made up mainly of Southern and Western farmers, hoped to wrest political control of the country from the Democratic and Republican parties and try to solve the problems plaguing rural America. In the presidential election of 1896, the Populists almost succeeded in winning the White House. But, in the end, they failed. Today, fewer than 3 percent of Americans live and work on farms.

- **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–6). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
 2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
 3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
 4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
 5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What caused the farmers’ plight in the late nineteenth century, and how did farmers propose to resolve these problems?

DBQ 13: THE FARMERS' REVOLT, *CONTINUED*

Document 1

These are excerpts from the 1892 Populist Party platform. In 1892, the Populist Party met in Omaha, Nebraska, where its leaders nominated James Weaver for president. Here are some important statements and demands from the platform.

We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads.

We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one.

We demand a graduated income tax.

Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people.

Document 2

Washington Gladden was a prominent clergyman in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who believed in applying Christian principles to the social problems of the day. This is an excerpt from an article Gladden wrote in 1890. (From "The Embattled Farmers," published in the *Forum*, November, 1890.)

The American farmer is steadily losing ground. His burdens are heavier every year and his gains are more meager; he is beginning to fear that he may be sinking into a servile condition. . . . The causes of this lamentable state of things are many . . . protective tariffs, trusts . . . speculation in farm products, over-greedy middlemen, and exorbitant transportation rates. . . . The enormous tribute [payment] which the farmers of the West are paying to the money-lenders of the East, is one source of their poverty. Scarcely a week passes that does not bring to me circulars from banking firms and investment agencies all over the West begging for money to be loaned on farms at eight or nine per cent. . . .

Document 3

Here is an excerpt from a magazine article, "Causes of Agricultural Unrest," written by James Laurence Laughlin and published in the *Atlantic Monthly* in November of 1896. Laughlin was a professor of economics at the University of Chicago as well as a prominent supporter of the gold standard and opponent of the Populists.

(continued)

DBQ 13: THE FARMERS' REVOLT, *CONTINUED*

The simple facts that we produce more wheat than we consume, and that, consequently, the price of the whole crop is determined, not by the markets within this country, but by the world-markets, are sufficient to put wheat, as regards its price, in a different class from those articles whose markets are local. Feeling the coils of some mysterious power about them, the farmers, in all honesty, have attributed their misfortunes to the "constriction" in prices, caused, as they think, not by an increased production of wheat throughout the world, but by the "scarcity of gold." . . . This explanation of low prices as caused by insufficient gold is so far-fetched that its general use seems inexplicable.

Document 4

The poet Vachel Lindsay was born in Springfield, Illinois, in 1879 and was raised and educated in the Midwest. This stanza comes from one of his poems entitled "BRYAN, BRYAN, BRYAN, BRYAN: The Campaign of Eighteen Ninety-six, as Viewed at the Time by a Sixteen Year Old, etc." (Reprinted with the permission of Simon & Schuster from *The Collected Works of Vachel Lindsay*, New York: Macmillan, 1925.)

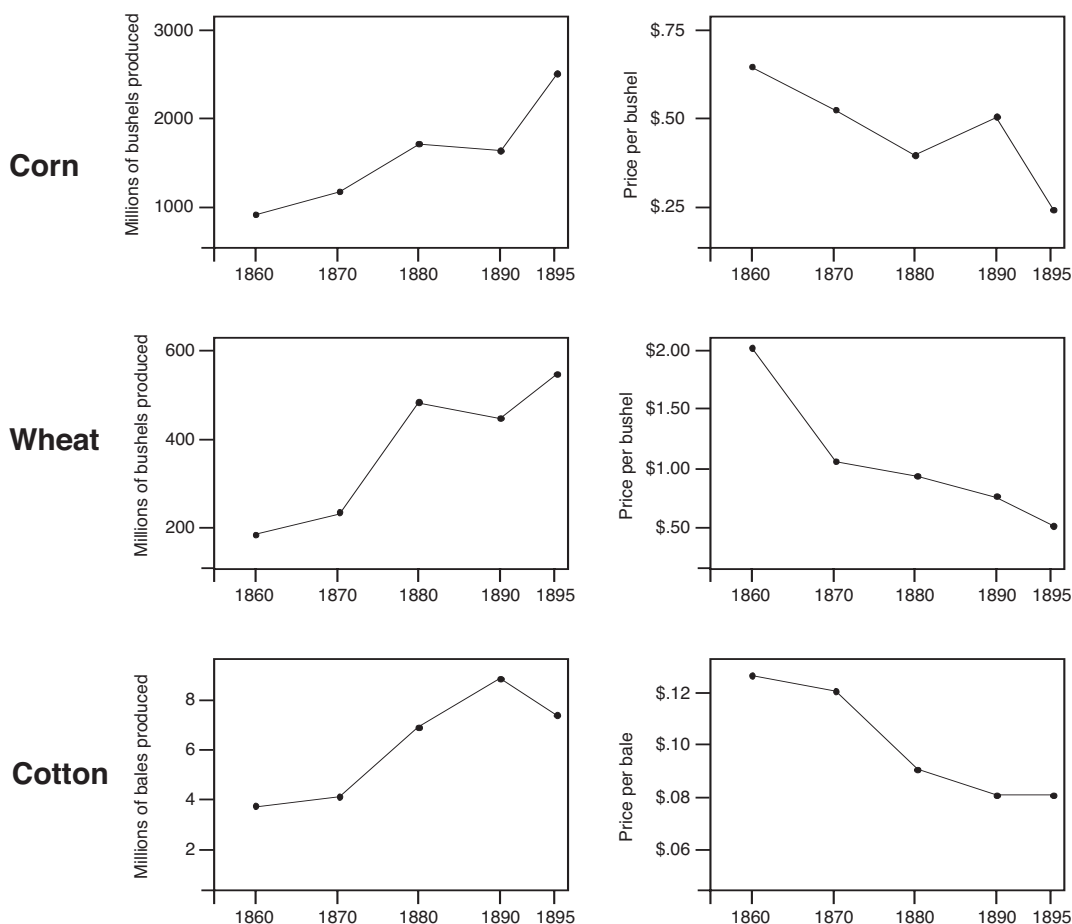
Election night at midnight:
Boy Bryan's defeat.
Defeat of western silver.
Defeat of the wheat.
Victory of letterfiles
And plutocrats in miles
With dollar signs upon their coats,
Diamond watchchains on their vests
And spats on their feet.
Victory of custodians.
Plymouth Rock,
And all that inbred landlord stock.
Victory of the neat.
Defeat of the aspen groves of Colorado valleys,
The blue bells of the Rockies,
And blue bonnets of old Texas,
By the Pittsburgh alleys.
Defeat of alfalfa and the Mariposa lily.
Defeat of the Pacific and the long Mississippi.
Defeat of the young by the old and silly.
Defeat of tornadoes by the poison vats supreme.
Defeat of my boyhood, defeat of my dream.

(continued)

DBQ 13: THE FARMERS' REVOLT, *CONTINUED*

Document 5

Production and Prices, 1860–1895



Document 6

Here is an excerpt from a letter written by a farmer to the editor of a Populist newspaper in Lincoln, Nebraska. (F. Houchin to the editor of *Wealth Makers*, May 1, 1895. Reprinted with the permission of Harvard University Press from *A Populist Response to Industrial America*, by Norman Pollack.)

We will get permanent relief only when the government owns the railroads and when we have government banks where we can get money at a small rate of interest.

DBQ 14: PROGRESSIVISM

Historical Context

For almost a century, historians have argued about progressivism: What were its defining characteristics? What was its meaning? What did progressivism accomplish? They can agree on some points: Yes, the progressive era was generally a period of social, political, and economic reforms; and yes, it lasted for only a few years, from about 1900 to 1917 (though some historians say it began earlier and some say it lasted longer). As to its characteristics, most historians would say that progressives were generally optimists, believing that social ills were curable. Most progressives were middle class and educated. Most were Protestant, and the sense of religious fervor and mission ran through their rhetoric and their work. Much (but certainly not all) of the progressives' focus was on urban America and its problems. And, progressivism's tone was distinctly moral, idealistic, and patriotic. But beyond these few general points, there is little agreement. Perhaps the only thing that *all* historians would agree upon is this: Progressivism is not easily understood, and it was certainly broader, more varied, and more complicated than it is often described in high school history books.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–9). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
3. Based upon your own knowledge of the topic and on the evidence found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: How would you define and describe the progressive reform movement?

DBQ 14: PROGRESSIVISM, *CONTINUED*

Document 1

Here is a brief excerpt from a speech given by U.S. Senator Elihu Root in 1913. Root had earlier served in President Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet as Secretary of War and Secretary of State. In 1912, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. In this section of his speech, Root is explaining why the progressive reform movement began.

The real difficulty appears to be that the new conditions [growing from] the . . . industrial development of the last half-century are continuously and progressively demanding the readjustment of the relations between [society] and the establishment of new legal rights and obligations not [understood or anticipated in America's early years] when . . . laws were passed or . . . limitations upon the powers of government were [placed] in our Constitution.

Document 2

This short excerpt comes from the first inaugural address of President Woodrow Wilson, given on March 4, 1913. Early in the speech, Wilson reminded Americans that industrialism had brought the nation great material wealth.

We see that in many things [our] life is very great. . . . But . . . evil has come with the good. . . . With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature. . . . We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not . . . stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human costs. . . . [Our] great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been [shown to] us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good. . . . With this vision we approach new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil . . . to purify and humanize every process of our common life. . . .

(continued)

DBQ 14: PROGRESSIVISM, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

In 1912, four years after retiring from the presidency, Theodore Roosevelt again ran for president. He ran, not as the Republican Party candidate, but as the candidate of a third party, the Progressive Party. This document is a short excerpt from the keynote address given by U.S. Senator Albert Beveridge at the 1912 Progressive Party convention in Chicago.

We stand for a nobler America. We stand for an undivided Nation. We stand for a broader liberty, a fuller justice. We stand for social brotherhood as against savage individualism. We stand for an intelligent cooperation instead of a reckless competition. We stand for mutual helpfulness instead of mutual hatred. We stand for equal rights, as a fact of life instead of a catchword of politics. We stand for the rule of the people as a practical truth instead of a meaningless pretense. We stand for a representative government that represents the people. We battle for the actual rights of man.

Document 4

John Spargo was a progressive muckraker and, like many other muckrakers, an active socialist. He focused much of his reform efforts on improving the lives of poor children. The following quotation comes from the introduction to a book he wrote in 1908; in it, he advocated government controls over the pasteurization and sale of milk in order to protect the health of babies and children. (From John Spargo, *The Common Sense of the Milk Question*, Macmillan, 1908.)

What I want to do is to place before the American public a calm and dispassionate statement of certain curable ills as a basis upon which to rest an earnest plea for action; to waken, if possible, all those dormant and neglected powers and impulses for good which need to be called into active cooperation in order that the evils may be remedied.

Document 5

Here is another brief quotation from John Spargo. This comes from a letter that he wrote to historian Louis Filler in 1938, in which he tried to explain the goals of socialist muckrakers like himself, Upton Sinclair, Robert Hunter, Rhetta Child Dorr, Lincoln Steffens, and many others during the progressive era, years earlier.

The things we were advocating were not advocated with a view to overturning the capitalist system. All that we wrote might as well have been written by an earnest Christian trying to apply Christian principles to a very definite and serious human problem.

(continued)

DBQ 14: PROGRESSIVISM, *CONTINUED*

Document 6

Here is an excerpt from a speech given by President Theodore Roosevelt to the National Conservation Congress in 1908.

. . . there must be the look ahead, there must be a realization of the fact that to waste, to destroy, our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed.

Document 7

This is a brief excerpt from *The Struggle for Self-Government*, a book written by Lincoln Steffens and published in 1906.

Too often we have found both [political] parties representing graft—big business graft. The people, especially in the West, are waking to a realization of this state of things, and . . . they are following leaders who see that the way to restore government representative of the common interests of the city or State is to restore to public opinion the control of the dominant party. . . . The people of Wisconsin . . . are law-abiding, conservative, and fair. . . . And they are to be trusted, for no matter how men may differ about Governor La Follette otherwise, his long, hard fight has developed citizenship in Wisconsin—honest, reasonable, intelligent citizenship.

Document 8

This is a list of some of the significant areas of reform during the progressive era.

Women's suffrage	World peace movements	Anti-Trust laws
Food and drug inspection	Child labor laws	Local fire codes
Milk pasteurization laws	Local building codes	Antiprostitution laws
Settlement houses	Prohibition	Professional licensing
Progressive income taxes	Social Gospel	Referendum and Initiative
Election of U.S. Senators	Election reforms	National and State parks
Clean government reforms	Conservation laws	School attendance laws
Federal Reserve Act	Labor laws	Civil Service reforms
Worker safety laws	Interstate commerce	Progressive education
	Tariff reforms	

(continued)

DBQ 14: PROGRESSIVISM, *CONTINUED*

Document 9

Here is an excerpt from the “Social Creed of the Methodist Episcopal Church,” a statement adopted in 1908.

The Methodist Episcopal Church stands:

For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life.

For the abolition of child labor.

For such regulation of the conditions of labor for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.

For a release from employment one day in seven.

For a living wage in every industry.

For the highest wage that each industry can afford and for the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised.

For the recognition of the Golden Rule and the mind of Christ as the supreme law of society and the sure remedy for all social ills.

DBQ 15: THE DEBATE OVER AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Historical Context

The closing decades of the nineteenth century saw a great scramble for empire as England, France, Germany, and other major industrial nations took control of areas of Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and other regions of the world. What prompted the rise of imperialism? Sometimes colonies provided industrial nations with raw materials for their factories or captive markets for their manufactured goods. Sometimes colonies were sought for military or strategic purposes, providing coaling stations for coal-fired, steam-driven naval vessels or offering geographic locations of critical importance. Sometimes colonies were obtained for national prestige. Many people at this time felt that great nations proved their greatness by conquering and controlling large empires. Countries bragged about their empires. Boasting of their immense empire, which literally spanned the entire world, the British gloated that “the sun never sets on Great Britain.”

During most of the nineteenth century, the United States ignored this scramble for overseas empires. Americans were busy conquering their own continent, spreading settlements across the broad prairies, the Great Plains, over the Rockies to the Pacific coast. An overseas empire attracted little interest until the very end of the nineteenth century. Then, in a matter of months, overseas colonies and the allure of national empire captured the interest of the American public.

America’s new interest in colonial empire grew largely from the 1898 Spanish-American War. Begun to help Cuba free itself from Spanish colonial rule, the war was, for Americans, something of a lark, quickly won with few casualties. But there was great irony in our victory. Begun to champion the cause of anticolonialism, the war ended with the United States in possession of its own colonial empire. Should the United States annex Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines, former Spanish colonies which now were ours? From the war’s end in August 1898 until the U.S. Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris in February 1899 annexing these regions, a nationwide debate raged: Should the United States, a nation born in a revolt against colonialism, now become a colonial nation itself? Should we, a people who profess to believe in democracy and self-rule, now become the imperial rulers of colonial peoples? And even after the debate was supposedly settled with the February 1899 Senate vote, heated discussion continued. This national argument over imperialism became even more passionate after the Filipinos took up arms against U.S. occupation, beginning two years of bloody jungle fighting with U.S. troops. And, as national debates often do, this domestic quarrel over imperialism became a major political issue, greatly influencing the presidential election of 1900.

(continued)

DBQ 15: THE DEBATE OVER AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, *CONTINUED*

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
3. Based upon your own knowledge of the topic and on the evidence found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Was imperialism a proper and legitimate policy for the United States to follow at the turn of the nineteenth century?

Document 1

More than a decade before the Spanish-American War, Reverend Josiah Strong, a prominent Protestant clergyman, wrote *Our Country*, a book that became both popular and influential. This passage, taken from Strong’s book, advocates imperialism as a policy of the United States.

It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race [Strong meant Americans of British and German descent] for an hour sure to come in the world’s future. . . . this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the representatives . . . of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization . . . will spread itself over the earth. . . . this powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond. And can any one doubt that the result of this competition of races will be the “survival of the fittest?”

(continued)

DBQ 15: THE DEBATE OVER AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, *CONTINUED*

Document 2

Another American proponent of imperialism was a top U.S. Navy officer, Alfred T. Mahan. Mahan's views were well known and popular with many. This excerpt comes from a book he wrote shortly before the Spanish-American War, titled *The Interest of America in Sea Power* (1897).

Americans must begin to 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.

Document 3

The initial decision whether or not to annex the Philippines was made by President McKinley. In the following excerpt, he explains why he recommended annexation to the U.S. Senate. He was speaking to a group of religious leaders when he made this statement.

I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance. . . . And one night late it came to me this way . . .

1. That we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable;
2. that we could not turn them over to France or Germany—our commercial rivals in the Orient—that would be bad business and discreditable;
3. that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government—and they would soon have anarchy and misrule there worse than Spain's was; and
4. that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died.

(continued)

**DBQ 15: THE DEBATE OVER AMERICAN
IMPERIALISM, *CONTINUED***

Document 4

U.S. Senator George F. Hoar represented Massachusetts in Congress from 1869 until his death in 1904, and was a major opponent of imperialism. The following excerpt comes from a speech Hoar made in January 1899, in opposition to the treaty annexing the Philippines.

. . . the question with which we now have to deal is whether Congress may conquer and may govern, without their consent and against their will, a foreign nation, a separate, distinct, and numerous people, a territory not hereafter to be populated by Americans. . . .

. . . under the Declaration of Independence you cannot govern a foreign territory, a foreign people, another people than your own . . . you cannot subjugate them and govern them against their will, because you think it is for their good, when they do not; because you think you are going to give them the blessings of liberty. You have no right at the cannon's mouth to impose on an unwilling people your Declaration of Independence and your Constitution and your notions of freedom and notions of what is good.

Document 5

Albert Beveridge, a Republican senator from Indiana, supported imperialism. How did he justify this policy in the following excerpt from a speech he made in the U.S. Senate in 1900?

The Philippines are ours forever. . . . We will not retreat. . . . We will not repudiate [renounce] our duty. . . . 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 . . . to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world. . . .
. . . the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. . . . The power that rules the Pacific . . . is the power that rules the world.

(continued)

DBQ 15: THE DEBATE OVER AMERICAN IMPERIALISM, *CONTINUED*

Document 6

Henry Cabot Lodge, a Republican senator from Massachusetts, also supported imperialism. How did Lodge defend imperialism in this statement from a Senate speech made in 1900?

. . . we are in the Philippines as righteously [honorably] as we are there rightly and legally.
. . . The taking of the Philippines does not violate the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but will spread them among a people who have never known liberty, and who in a few years will be as unwilling to leave the shelter of the American flag as those of any other territory we ever brought beneath its folds.

Document 7

The prospect of the United States becoming an imperialistic nation galvanized a strong opposition, and many opponents rallied around the newly created American Anti-Imperialist League. Here are some excerpts from the Anti-Imperialist League's platform which was adopted during the 1900 presidential campaign.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and tends toward militarism, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free. We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the subjugation of any people is "criminal aggression."
. . . We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that "no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent."

DBQ 16: A NATIONAL CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE 1920s

Historical Context

The census of 1920 revealed some worrisome data. It showed that, for the first time in history, a majority of Americans lived in urban areas. This news was disturbing to many who still lived in rural settings, on farms, or in small towns. They became even more anxious as the decade saw an increase in the farm-to-factory migration that had begun in the early days of the industrial revolution. Rural Americans were concerned. They could understand the lure of the big city, with its bright lights, excitement, and comforts, but this only added to their distrust of cities and of city ways. The growth and prosperity of the cities, contrasted to the decline and despair of America's rural countryside, seemed to announce the passing of an era. Country folk feared that their future was being lost to the culture of the cities. Traditional rural values were being subverted by new, modern city values. America was being assaulted by jazz, materialism, immorality, and fast, brash city ways. Automobiles, radios, movies, advertising, consumer credit, and other new realities of modern life were spreading these dangerous ideas and destroying traditional American values. Traditional, small-town America was under attack by the sinful ways of modernity.

Rural America, feeling under siege, fought back in what became a culture war. The "battles" were fought in the newspapers, schools, churches, movies, music, radio shows, and political campaigns of the decade. And though the forces of urban growth proved largely unstoppable, and the ultimate triumph of modern values was predictable, even today, eighty years later, remnants of this clash of cultures, urban versus rural, modern versus traditional, continue to mark our lives and times.

- **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–6). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
 2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
 3. Based upon your own knowledge of the topic and on the evidence found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
 4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
 5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Describe the urban-rural culture wars of the 1920s and the issues over which they were fought.

DBQ 16: A NATIONAL CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE 1920s, *CONTINUED*

Document 1

The Ku Klux Klan was first born in the South during the years following the Civil War. At that time, the Klan fought against efforts to give newly-freed slaves full citizen status. Sixty years later, during the 1920s, the Klan rose again, attaining its largest membership ever—approaching five million. The Klan of the 1920s continued the racist anti-African American practices of the earlier Klan. It also expanded its hatred and opposition to Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and others who it believed were enemies of traditional Americanism. The following is an excerpt from an article by a Klan leader. (From H. W. Evans, “The Klan’s Fight for Americanism,” *North American Review*, March-April-May, 1926.)

We are a movement of the plain people. . . . We are demanding . . . a return of power into the hands of the everyday . . . average citizen of the old stock. Our members and leaders are all of this class. . . . This is undoubtedly a weakness. It lays us open to the charge of being “hicks” and “rubes” and “drivers of second hand Fords.”

Presently we began to find that we were dealing with strange ideas . . . [a] moral breakdown that has been going on for two decades. One by one all our traditional moral standards went by the boards, or were so disregarded that they ceased to be binding. The sacredness of our Sabbath, of our homes, of chastity, and finally even of our right to teach our own children in our own schools fundamental facts and truths were torn away from us.

We found our great cities and the control of much of our industry and commerce taken over by strangers, who stacked the cards of success and prosperity against us.

So the Nordic American today is a stranger in large parts of the land his fathers gave him.

(continued)

DBQ 16: A NATIONAL CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE 1920s, *CONTINUED*

Document 2

One of the most engaging histories of the 1920s is *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s* by Frederick Lewis Allen. The following excerpt from this book (p. 168) describes the 1925 case of John Scopes, a young biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, who was charged with violating the state law prohibiting the teaching of evolution. (Reprinted by permission of the publisher from *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s*, by Frederick L. Allen, © 1931 by Harper & Row.)

There was something to be said for the right of the people to decide what should be taught in their tax-supported schools, even if what they decided upon was ridiculous. . . . In the eyes of the public, the trial was a battle between Fundamentalism on the one hand and twentieth century skepticism (assisted by Modernism) on the other. . . .

It was a strange trial. Into the quiet town of Dayton flocked gaunt Tennessee farmers and their families in mule-drawn wagons and ramshackle Fords; quiet, godly people in overalls and gingham and black, ready to defend their faith against the “foreigners,” yet curious to know what this new-fangled evolutionary theory might be.

Document 3

Here is an excerpt from a letter written to the national Crime and Law Enforcement Commission in 1929 by an officer of the New England Club of Seattle, Washington. (This letter comes from the National Archives and is found in “The 1920’s: A Supplemental Teaching Unit” published by the National Archives and Social Issues Resources Series, Inc. [SIRS])

. . . much the greater part of the vicious forms of crime are committed by recent immigrants who have not yet learned the necessity for conforming to the statutes and restrictions of our government, and especially those who are subject to certain alien political church influences.

. . . the increase of crime is . . . from . . . the great increase of criminal opportunity afforded by the invention of the auto. . . . And in close connection . . . lie all of the evils of the liquor traffic and drinking. For the liquor evils, sporting business and professional men, fashionable society and a certain type of newspapers are almost wholly responsible.

(continued)

DBQ 16: A NATIONAL CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE 1920s, *CONTINUED*

Document 4

This excerpt comes from an article in a small town newspaper, the *Elizabethton, Tennessee Star*, April 18, 1925. (Found in the SIRS, National Archives 1920s unit.)

Edward J. Tobin, superintendent of Cook county schools and in that capacity supervisor over the schooling of 100,000 children, believes that “a young couple, a bottle of moonshine and an automobile are the most dangerous quartet that can be concocted for the destruction of human society.”

Document 5

This document comes from a letter written by “a mother” to George Wickersham in 1929. Wickersham, a prominent lawyer and former U.S. Attorney General, served as chairman of a committee appointed by President Hoover to investigate prohibition. (This letter, dated July 22, 1929, comes from the National Archives and is found in the SIRS 1920s unit.)

Please hear the plea of a heartbroken mother and send some reliable person to investigate the condition of an Italian joint, where children are sold rum for ten cents a drink. . . . I am alone trying to rear [my son] an honorable American but how can I when this foreigner . . . is allowed to ruin my boy.

(continued)

DBQ 16: A NATIONAL CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE 1920s, CONTINUED

Document 6

This cartoon was published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 23, 1924.

IF GRANDPAP COULD ONLY RETURN WITH SOME OF HIS DISCIPLINE

[Copyright: 1924: By The Chicago Tribune.]



DBQ 17: HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES CHANGED SINCE 1950?

Historical Context

The last half century has been a time of great and rapid social change for Americans. The United States emerged from World War II anxious about the growing threat from the Soviet Union. Americans were also anxious about the likelihood of an economic crisis and a return to the prewar depression. Millions of soldiers were demobilized and sent home, hoping to soon find work and eager to get on with their lives. The year 1946 saw more marriages occur than in any other year in history. And, with the aid of the GI Bill, most GI's found their way into colleges, trade schools, or jobs within a few months of returning home. The feared depression did not occur. In fact, most Americans enjoyed prosperity and economic opportunities like never before. Marriages, growing families, a housing boom in the suburbs, widespread ownership of autos and televisions, the advent of fast food restaurant chains – these and much more uniquely marked the decade just after the war. The trends and directions of the following fifty years were set. Postwar America launched the tremendous social changes that today, more than fifty years later, describe our lives and define our society.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–8). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

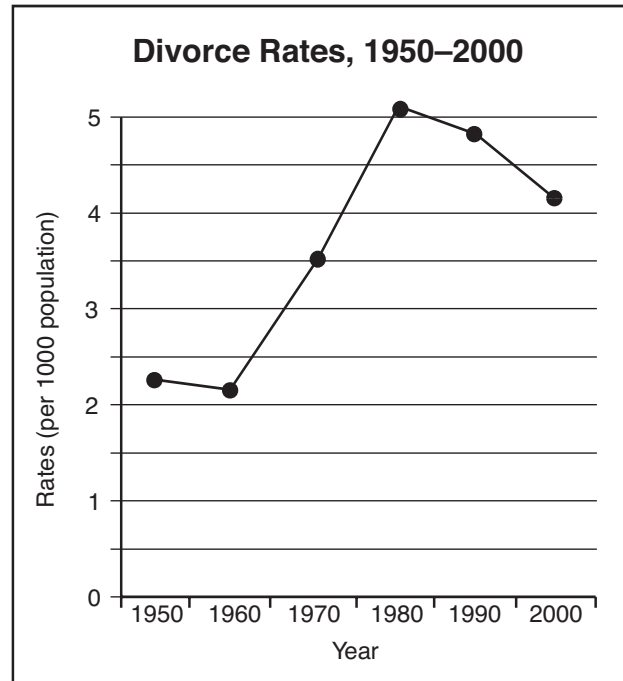
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
3. Based upon your own knowledge of the topic and on the evidence found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: How is American society today different from what our grandparents' generation knew in the years just after World War II?

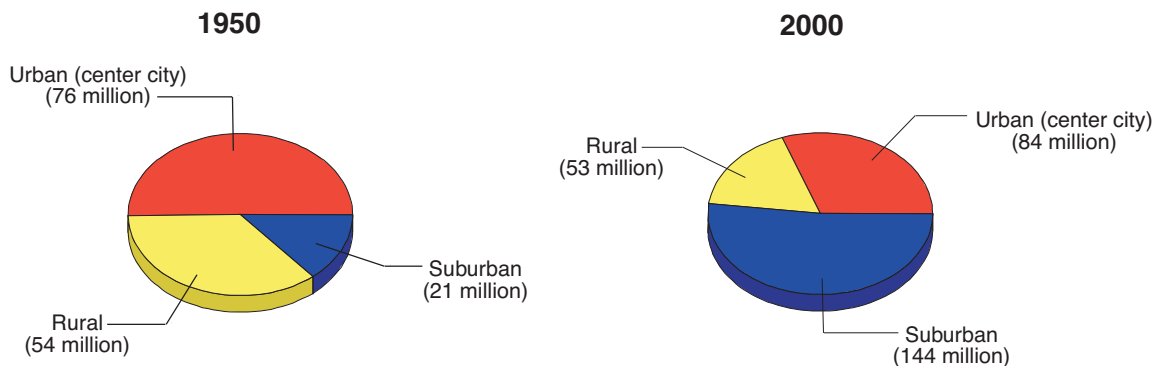
**DBQ 17: HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES
CHANGED SINCE 1950?** *CONTINUED*

Document 1

The following graph shows the divorce rates over the past several decades.

**Document 2**

The following charts show the urban, rural, and suburban population of the United States, 1950 and 2000.



(continued)

DBQ 17: HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES CHANGED SINCE 1950? *CONTINUED*

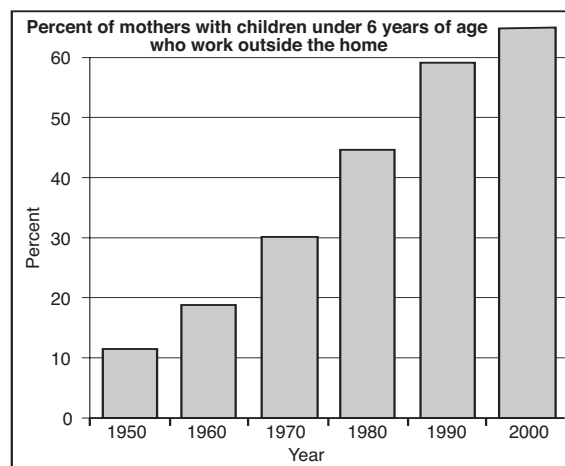
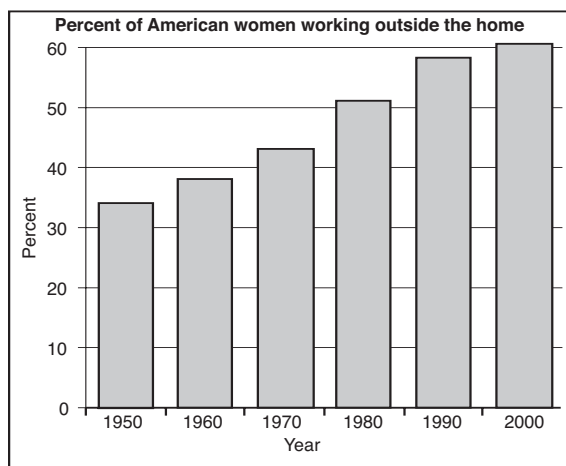
Document 3

Here is a memory of middle-class life in a Long Island suburb of New York City in the early 1950s, from Doris Kearns Goodwin's *Wait Till Next Year* (Simon & Schuster, 1997, pp. 66–68).

Our neighborhood life converged on a cluster of stores at the corner of our residential area: the drugstore and butcher shop; the soda shop, which sold papers, magazines, and comics; the delicatessen; and the combination barber shop and beauty parlor. The storekeepers were as much a part of my daily life as the families who lived on my street. When I entered the drugstore for a soda, or went into the delicatessen to buy some potato salad for my mother, the proprietors would greet me by name. . . . Since the families who operated these stores also owned them, their work was more than just a job; it was a way of life. The quality of the goods they sold was as much a [display] of their pride and self-respect as my father's lawn was to him. The personal services they provided were not motivated merely by a desire for good "customer relations" but by their felt relationship to the larger community which they served and looked upon as neighbors. For our mothers, these neighborhood stores supplied all the goods they needed in the course of an ordinary day, and provided a common meeting place where neighbors could talk, trade advice, and gossip as they relaxed over an ice-cream soda or a cup of coffee.

Document 4

The following graphs illustrate how the lives of women and mothers have changed over the past several decades.



(continued)

DBQ 17: HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES CHANGED SINCE 1950? *CONTINUED*

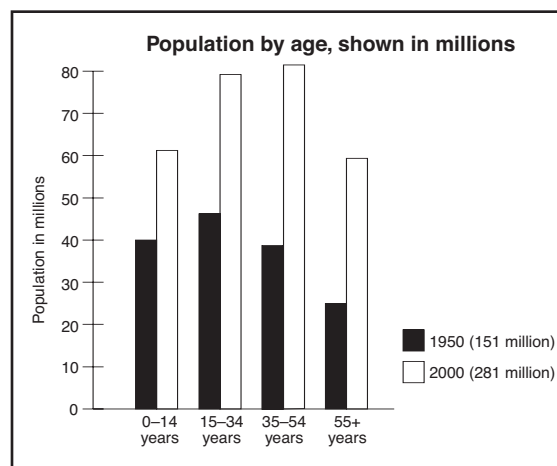
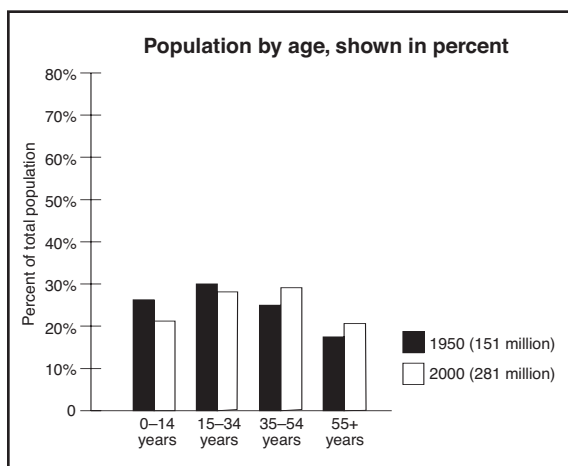
Document 5

Per capita personal income, 1940–2003		
	Current \$	Constant \$*
1940	\$ 570	\$ 7,650
1950	\$ 1,501	\$11,507
1960	\$ 2,219	\$13,609
1970	\$ 3,893	\$18,367
1980	\$ 9,910	\$22,237
1990	\$19,188	\$26,951
2000	\$29,469	\$31,525
2003	\$31,632	\$31,632

*Inflation is eliminated, and values are shown in 2003 dollars.

Document 6

Age distribution within the total population



**DBQ 17: HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES
CHANGED SINCE 1950?** *CONTINUED*

Document 7

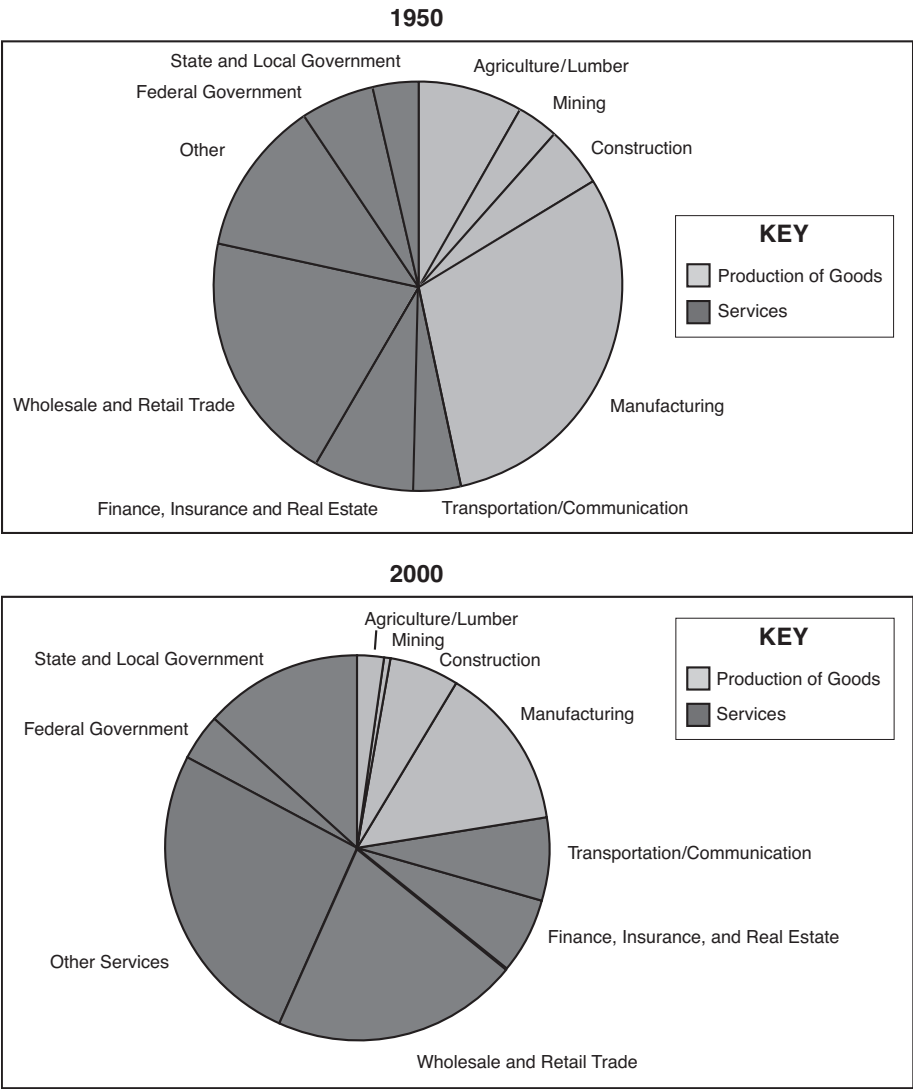
Number of youth arrested, 18 years old and younger, 1950 and 1995

1950	208,000
1995	2,085,000

Document 8

The American Economy and Employment, 1950 and 2000

Leading Sectors of the National Economy



DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Historical Context

The “first” Reconstruction, following the Civil War, failed in its efforts to secure full citizenship rights for the four million African Americans newly freed from slavery. The promises of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were never truly realized. Within only a few years, racism, economic coercion, violence, and social tradition forced most freedmen into a demeaning second-class citizenship. This was marked by sharecropping, racial segregation, and disfranchisement, enforced by Jim Crow state and local laws. As late as 1900, fully a generation after the Civil War, ninety percent of African Americans remained in the Jim Crow South, where most lived in dire poverty, denied even the most basic civil rights.

Because the “first” Reconstruction failed to bring full and equal citizenship to African Americans, a “second” Reconstruction was necessary. With its roots in the 1930s and 1940s, the Civil Rights movement flowered in the 1950s and 1960s and resulted in real and lasting progress for all Americans. This “second” Reconstruction had a number of origins. The New Deal and especially the efforts of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt gave hope to African Americans. So too did World War II and its aftermath. (The injustice and inhumanity of Hitler’s racist policies and, by implication, of our nation’s racial caste system, touched a raw nerve in those who professed a democratic creed.) The massive northern migration of African Americans, beginning in the 1920s and accelerating in the post-World War II years, made their plight into a national issue after being confined mainly to the South for centuries. Of course, many other people and events played major roles in the Civil Rights movement. For example:

- The political efforts of Presidents Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson
- Brave actions of individuals, such as Rosa Parks and James Meredith; of groups of young students staging “sit-ins” to force restaurants to serve them; and of freedom riders, forcing bus lines to abide by court orders ending racial segregation policies
- Supreme Court decisions, such as the famous *Brown v. Board of Education*, which found racial segregation of public schools to be in violation of the U.S. Constitution
- The impact of television that forced Americans to directly confront the realities of its racist practices on the nightly news
- The leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and other African American ministers who showed Americans the immorality of racial injustice

Dr. King, and many others involved in the Civil Rights movement, demonstrated the power of eloquence, the impact of the spoken word, the ability to touch the conscience of Americans, to convince people to change, to do what was right. Throughout America’s history the mastery and command of writing and speaking have been proved time after time. Thomas Paine’s pamphlets, Washington’s “Farewell Address,” Daniel Webster’s “Seventh of March” speech, William Jennings Bryan’s “Cross of Gold” speech, the works of the progressive muckrakers, Woodrow Wilson’s “Fourteen Points,” FDR’s “Four Freedoms,” Ronald Reagan’s expressions of confidence and faith in

(continued)

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, *CONTINUED*

America's future – these and hundreds of other examples of the power of language fill our history.

Language, written and spoken, provided the authority, power, and force of America's Second Reconstruction: the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The following documents are some prominent examples of the eloquence and inspiration of the Civil Rights movement.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–8). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author's point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
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4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: The rhetoric and prose of the Civil Rights movement aimed to convince white Americans to support the cause of equal rights for African Americans by abolishing segregation and Jim Crow laws. What themes did the champions of civil rights use in their appeal?

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, *CONTINUED*

Document 1

Throughout our history, foreign visitors have come to the United States to study. Many of them have written perceptive and important books about America's people, places, and values. In the 1940s, a Swedish sociologist named Gunnar Myrdal came here to study American race relations. His book, *An American Dilemma*, published in 1944, made a significant contribution to the Civil Rights movement. What theme or themes does he address in the following brief excerpt from that book? (Reprinted with the permission of HarperCollins Publishers from *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* by Gunnar Myrdal.)

The treatment of the Negro is America's greatest and most conspicuous scandal. It is tremendously publicized . . . for the colored people all over the world . . . this scandal is salt in their wounds.

. . . the bright side is that the conquering of color caste in America is America's own innermost desire. This nation early laid down as the moral basis for its existence the principles of equality and liberty. . . .

Document 2

The 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, was a turning point in American history, an immensely important episode in the story of the Civil Rights movement. Voting nine to zero, the justices ruled segregation of public schools to be in violation of the U.S. Constitution and ordered its end. As you read the following excerpts from the decision, examine the arguments it made against racial discrimination and segregation.

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.

. . . 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.

(continued)

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

In the late summer of 1957, a small group of African American children tried to enter the all-white Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. A federal court ordered local and state authorities to protect the rights of these students to integrate the school. Instead, the state governor ordered the Arkansas National Guard to block their entrance. Furthermore, he and other white officials worsened the situation by provoking a dangerously unstable mob of whites who threatened the safety of the African American children. On September 24, to restore law and order and to force the schools to comply with the court order, President Eisenhower took control of the Arkansas National Guard. He ordered it and U.S. marshals to protect the children and to ensure their right to attend the school. On that evening, President Eisenhower addressed the nation on radio and television. This is an excerpt from that speech.

At a time when we face grave situations abroad because of the hatred that Communism bears toward a system of government based on human rights, it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence . . . of our nation. We are portrayed [by the Communists] as a violator of those standards of conduct which the peoples of the world united to proclaim in the Charter of the United Nations. There they affirmed "faith in fundamental human rights" and "in the dignity and worth of the human person" and they did so "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

. . . And so, with deep confidence, I call upon the citizens of the state of Arkansas to assist in bringing to an immediate end all interference with the law and its processes. If resistance to the federal court orders ceases at once . . . Thus will be restored the image of America and of all its parts as one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

(continued)

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, *CONTINUED*

Document 4

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a young Baptist minister in an African American church in Montgomery, Alabama. He came to national prominence in 1955 as the leader of a boycott of the city-owned bus line in protest of its discrimination against African American riders. From this time on, until he was murdered in 1968, Dr. King remained the most prominent African American civil rights leader. King advocated nonviolent protest of unjust, racist laws, a doctrine growing from the teachings of Jesus Christ and the Indian independence leader Mohandas Gandhi. King's leadership of demonstrations and open defiance of racist laws led police to arrest him a number of times. While in the Birmingham, Alabama, jail in the spring of 1963, King wrote an eloquent defense of his belief in nonviolent resistance. This excerpt comes from that essay. (From "Letter from Birmingham Jail, April 16, 1963," from *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington, Harper & Row, 1986, pp. 289, 291–294.)

My dear Fellow Clergymen,

While confined here in the Birmingham city jail, I came across your recent statement calling our present activities "unwise and untimely." Seldom, if ever, do I pause to answer criticism of my work and ideas. . . . But since I feel that you are men of genuine good will and your criticisms are sincerely set forth, I would like to answer your statement. . . .

. . . You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. . . . The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: there are JUST and there are UNJUST laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that "An unjust law is no law at all."

. . . A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law of the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. . . . Any law that degrades human personality is unjust. All segregation statutes [laws] are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality . . .

. . . One who breaks an unjust law must do it OPENLY, LOVINGLY (not hatefully as the white mothers did in New Orleans when they were seen on television screaming, "nigger, nigger, nigger"), and with a willingness to accept the penalty.

(continued)

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, *CONTINUED*

Document 5

Freedom marches, freedom rides, sit-ins, and other episodes of the Civil Rights movement were usually accompanied by songs. Many of these songs dated back to slavery days, and many were adaptations of spiritual hymns. Here are excerpts from two of these songs.

WE SHALL OVERCOME

We shall overcome,
 we shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.
The Lord will see us through,
 the Lord will see us through,
The Lord will see us through today.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe.
We shall overcome some day.

KEEP YOUR EYES ON THE PRIZE

Paul and Silas, bound in jail,
Had no money for to go their bail.

Chorus:

Keep your eyes on the prize,
Hold on, hold on,
Hold on, hold on—
Keep your eyes on the prize
 Hold on, hold on.

Paul and Silas began to shout,
The jail door opened and they walked out
We're gonna ride for civil rights,
We're gonna ride, both black and white.
We've met jail and violence too,
But God's love has seen us through.

(continued)

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, *CONTINUED*

Document 6

In June of 1963, two African American students were refused admission to the University of Alabama. A federal court ruled that they should be allowed to enroll in the university. The state governor openly resisted the court order. President Kennedy sent U.S. marshals and troops to see that the law was enforced. This tense confrontation threatened to break out in violence, and to try to calm the situation, President Kennedy spoke to the nation on television. This excerpt comes from that speech.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents. This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution.

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home; but are we to say to the world, and much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race except with respect to Negroes?

Document 7

In August 1963, over 200,000 people met in Washington, D.C., to speak out for civil rights, and for political and economic opportunities for African Americans. That year marked the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. To commemorate this, a huge rally was held in front of the Lincoln Memorial. It was here that Dr. King made his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. Here are some excerpts from that speech.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal."

Let freedom ring. . . .

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

(continued)

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, *CONTINUED*

Document 8

Though the Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, had promised African Americans the right to vote, Southern Jim Crow laws made it almost impossible for this right to be exercised. By the year 1900, authoritative estimates guessed that only a few hundred African-American men voted regularly in Southern elections. Even as late as 1964, fewer than one third of the eligible African-American voters in the South were registered to vote; in some rural counties, almost none dared even to try to register.

In the winter of 1965, President Lyndon Johnson asked Congress to pass a Voting Rights Act that would provide federal assistance and protection to ensure that African Americans would be allowed to register and vote. On the evening of March 15, 1965, he spoke to a joint session of Congress (and to the nation on television) to seek support for this act. These excerpts come from that speech.

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.

. . . Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of man was to flourish, it must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country in large measure is the history of expansion of that right to all of our people.

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right.

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes.

. . . our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath.

DBQ 19: WHAT THEN IS THE AMERICAN?

Historical Context

Over two centuries ago, Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, a French visitor to America, tried to answer this question. Every generation since has renewed and reasked the question. Who are we Americans? What do we and our country really stand for? Is there, as so many Americans have believed, a divine purpose for our country and its people? What, if any, are the values and beliefs that unite us and give definition to our nationality? As we begin the twenty-first century, we ask again: What then is the American?

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–9). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
3. Based upon your own knowledge of the topic and on the evidence found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: What values and beliefs unite Americans and define our nation and its purpose?

DBQ 19: WHAT THEN IS THE AMERICAN? *CONTINUED*

Document 1

One of the very first expressions of “American values” was made by the Puritan leader John Winthrop in 1630, just before he and his followers landed in Massachusetts. This is an excerpt from his speech.

Now the only way . . . to provide for our posterity is to follow the counsel of Micah: to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together in this work as one man . . . in brotherly affection. . . . We must . . . make others’ conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together; always having before our eyes our . . . community as members of the same body.

Document 2

Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur wrote his *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer* during the period of the American Revolution. The following are excerpts from his “letters.”

Here are no aristocratical families . . . no kings . . . no great refinements of luxury. The rich and the poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe.

. . . We are all animated with the spirit of an industry [hard work] which is . . . unrestrained, because each person works for himself.

. . . we are the most perfect society now existing in the world. Here man is free as he ought to be. . . .

. . . The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles. . . . This is an American.

Document 3

The Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, was unanimously approved by the Continental Congress on July 4, 1776. Every year Americans celebrate this document and this occasion as Independence Day.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

(continued)

DBQ 19: WHAT THEN IS THE AMERICAN? *CONTINUED*

Document 4

Ronald Reagan served as president from 1981 to 1989. The following is an excerpt from his State of the Union Address given in January of 1984.

The heart of America is strong, it's good, and true. . . . We're seeing rededication to bedrock values of faith, family, work, neighborhood, peace, and freedom – values that help bring us together as one people, from the youngest child to the most senior citizen. . . .

. . . America's best days, and democracy's best days, lie ahead. We are a powerful force for good. With faith and courage, we can perform great deeds and take freedom's next step. And we will. We will carry on the traditions of a good and worthy people who have brought light where there was darkness, warmth where there was cold, medicine where there was disease, food where there was hunger, and peace where there was bloodshed.

. . . Let us be sure that those who come after will say [that] . . . we finished the race, we kept them free, we kept the faith.

Document 5

American income data

Income of households by various characteristics (2003)	
Characteristic	Median household income
White	\$45,500
African American	\$29,700
Hispanic	\$33,000
Female head of household	\$29,300
Married couple	\$62,400

Document 6

Average Personal Income by Gender and Educational Attainment (2001)		
	Male	Female
Non-graduate of High School	\$26,200	\$19,100
High School Graduate	\$34,700	\$25,300
Associate Degree	\$42,800	\$32,200
Bachelor's Degree	\$55,900	\$41,000
Master's Degree	\$70,900	\$50,700
Professional Degree	\$100,000	\$61,700

(continued)

DBQ 19: WHAT THEN IS THE AMERICAN? *CONTINUED***Document 7****Crime in America, various data (2002 statistics)**

- Nationwide there were 16,204 murders; 80 percent of victims were shot.
- The murder rate in the United States is three times higher than in Canada and eight times higher than in Japan. The robbery rate in the United States is almost 100 times higher than in Japan.
- Over six million Americans were in jail or prison, on parole, or on probation.
- 90 percent of criminals are males under the age of 45.

Document 8**Money spent annually by Americans (2002)**

Books, magazines, and newspapers	\$ 33 billion
Movies	8 billion
CDs, records, music videos	72 billion
Guns and hunting	2.3 billion
Sporting goods	26 billion
Donations to charities	175 billion
Restaurants and bars	270 billion
Auto sales	645 billion
Gasoline for autos	200 billion

(continued)

DBQ 19: WHAT THEN IS THE AMERICAN? *CONTINUED*

Document 9

On the evening of July 15, 1979, President Jimmy Carter spoke to the nation on television about what he called a “crisis of confidence” in modern America. Here are excerpts from that speech.

. . . It is a crisis of confidence. . . . We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of unity of purpose for our Nation.

. . . Our people are losing . . . faith, not only in government itself but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy.

. . . In a nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close-knit communities and our faith in God, too many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns.

. . . there is a growing disrespect for government and for churches and for schools, the news media, and other institutions. This is not a message of happiness or reassurance, but it is the truth and it is a warning.

. . . We are at a turning point in our history. There are two paths to choose. One is the path . . . that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that road lies a mistaken idea of freedom, the right to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be one of constant conflict between narrow interests ending in chaos and immobility. It is a certain route to failure.

. . . the traditions of our past, all the lessons of our heritage, all the promises of our future point to another path, the path of common purpose and the restoration of American values. That path leads to true freedom for our Nation and ourselves.

DBQ 20: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR PURPOSE

Historical Context

Today more than forty-two million children attend public schools in the United States. To them, questioning the purpose of public schooling probably seems silly. It seems self-evident—to prepare them for college, for employment, and for successful adult lives. But an examination into America’s history reveals that the place and purpose of public schooling have changed significantly over the almost four centuries since the first Dame school was established in colonial Massachusetts.

It is good to remember that America has not always had schools as we know them now. In part, public schools grew in response to economic changes. Years ago, before industrialization, most children grew up to live the same kinds of lives that their parents had—typically as farmers and farm wives. In those days, schooling outside of the home seemed of little value. But as America changed, first from a land of farms to a land of factories, and later to a land of offices, international commerce, and computers, formal schooling took on greater importance. It also took on much different forms.

As public education developed, it became the focus of public debate. There were heated arguments over who should attend. Did girls need schooling as much as boys? Should boys and girls study the same subjects? Control over what children learned—the school’s curriculum—often was fiercely disputed. Should parents determine what their children learned? Or should educators make these decisions? Should government establish laws that required attendance of children? If so, which children should attend? And to what age should they attend? Should parents be allowed to keep their children home from public schools, or allow them to go to work instead of attending school? Should parents be permitted to send children to private or church-related schools, or should all children be required to attend public schools? In the past, these and many other debates have marked the history of public education. Debates over schools, their purposes, and their uses continue today.

As you read the following documents ask yourself: Over the history of America, how has public schooling evolved? How have the purposes of public education changed?

■ **Directions:** The following questions are based on the accompanying documents (1–7). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based questions. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the questions if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based questions. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes.

(continued)

DBQ 20: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR PURPOSE, *CONTINUED*

3. Based upon your own knowledge of the topic and on the evidence found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the questions.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: How have the purposes of, and justifications for, public education changed over the history of America? What, today, do you believe is the primary purpose of public schooling?

Document 1

The first law establishing public schooling was passed in Massachusetts colony in 1647. It came to be called the “Old Deluder Law.” This excerpt from the law explains why these early Puritan settlers wanted their children to learn to read and write.

It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures . . . therefore [it is] ordered that every township . . . forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children . . . to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents . . . of such children, or by the inhabitants in general

Document 2

In the last days of the Revolutionary War, Thomas Jefferson devoted much time to researching and writing a book on his native state of Virginia. Entitled *Notes on the State of Virginia*, it was a brilliant study of the history, natural science, political development, and contemporary society of the state. In this book, Jefferson outlined his plans for the education of all children at public expense. As you will see, Jefferson justified public education for very different reasons than you saw in Document 1.

Another object . . . is to diffuse knowledge more generally through the mass of the people.
. . . [Education is to render] the people . . . safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty . . .
. . . Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its [government power] only safe depositories. And to render . . . them safe, their minds must be improved.

(continued)

DBQ 20: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR PURPOSE, *CONTINUED*

Document 3

Horace Mann was born in Massachusetts in the late 1790s and died in 1859, on the eve of the Civil War. He spent much of his working life as a lawyer, but increasingly began to devote his life to public service, especially to improving public education. From 1837 to 1848, he served as chairman of the Massachusetts State Board of Education. Then, after serving in Congress for five years, he accepted the presidency of Oberlin College in Ohio. Mann's work greatly furthered public education in nineteenth-century America. In 1848, he presented to the Massachusetts State Legislature a major report on public education. This excerpt comes from that report. It identifies two purposes of public schooling, which many in mid-nineteenth century America supported.

. . . the true business of the schoolroom connects itself . . . with the great interests of society...

For the creation of wealth, then,—for the existence of a wealthy people and a wealthy nation,—intelligence [education] is the grand condition.

Moral education is a . . . necessity of social existence. The unrestrained passions of men are not only homicidal, but suicidal; and a community without a conscience would soon extinguish itself.

Document 4

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, tens of millions of immigrants came to America. Most were non-English speaking, and many were non-Christian. Americans worried about so many “strange and different” people coming to America. Would their differences and huge numbers overwhelm American society and threaten American values? The following document is an excerpt from an article by A. R. Dugmore in the November 1902 issue of *The World's Work*, a popular magazine of the time. The article was entitled “New Citizens for the Republic.” What purpose of public education was the author praising?

It is a large task that schools . . . are doing, taking the raw, low-class foreign [students] of many nationalities and molding them into self-supporting, self-respecting citizens of the republic.

. . . [In public schools] these boys and girls of foreign parentage catch readily the simple American ideas of independence and individual work and, with them, social progress.

(continued)

DBQ 20: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR PURPOSE, *CONTINUED*

Document 5

The effort to pass state compulsory education laws, requiring that students attend school, gained popular support in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But even as late as 1900, such laws existed in only thirty-two states, and many were weak, poorly enforced and largely ineffective. Consequently, the children of the poor often spent more time in factories than in schools. The evils of child labor became obvious during the Progressive reform era in the articles and books of muckrakers like John Spargo, Robert Hunter, and Jacob Riis. The public's outrage over their revelations that millions of young children were working sixty-hour weeks, often in dangerous jobs in factories and mines, helped to encourage passage of stronger compulsory education laws in the following years. (It should be noted, however, that often the employers, the children's parents, and the children themselves opposed and fought the passage of such laws.)

In the following brief excerpt from Jacob Riis' 1892 book *The Children of the Poor*, the author quotes from an 1889 report by the New York State Superintendent of Schools in which he complains about the weak and ineffective state compulsory education law.

It does not go far enough and . . . is barren of results . . . no system will be effect[ive] in bringing the unfortunate children of the streets into the schools which at least does not definitely fix the age within which children must attend the schools, which does not determine the period of the year within which all must be there . . . which does not punish people charged with the care of children for neglecting their education, and which does not provide the machinery and officials for [enforcing] the system.

Document 6

After the end of World War II, America began a diplomatic struggle with the Soviet Union which lasted four long decades. Known as the Cold War, this struggle was, in part, an ideological conflict that pitted democracy and capitalism against dictatorship and communism. Its competition took place in a variety of ways—in world sports at the Olympics, in propaganda broadcast around the world on radio and television, in economic competition, in foreign aid to poor nations in Africa and Asia that were emerging from colonial rule, and in military bravado and threats. The Soviet Union's launching of *Sputnik*, the first man-made Earth-orbiting satellite in 1957, was a shock to Americans and to the world, raising fears that Americans had fallen behind the Soviets in their scientific knowledge and technological know-how. Many began to anxiously wonder: "Was America's educational system falling behind?" One of these was Hyman Rickover, a U.S. Navy admiral, who is remembered as the "father of America's nuclear submarine force." During the 1950s and 1960s, Admiral Rickover's proposed educational reforms had wide public support. Here is what Admiral Rickover said in a televised interview with news reporter Edward R. Murrow. (From the foreword of *Education and Freedom* (New York: Dutton, 1959) by Hyman G. Rickover)

(continued)

DBQ 20: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR PURPOSE, *CONTINUED*

[Education] is even more important [to America] than atomic power in the navy, for if our people are not properly educated in . . . the terrific requirements of this rapidly spiraling scientific and industrial civilization, we are bound to go down. The Russians . . . have recognized this.

Document 7

Today, Americans are increasingly worried about international economic competition. U.S. stores are filled with electronics and other high-tech products that are made overseas. Almost half of U.S. cars and trucks are imported. (In 1950, virtually none were.) Huge manufacturing corporations that fifty years ago employed millions of Americans in hundreds of towns and cities across the country now can no longer compete with rival manufacturers in Asia, Latin America, and Europe. Millions of American jobs are being lost. America's economic future is uncertain.

In 2005, Thomas Friedman, a columnist for the *New York Times*, wrote a best-selling book entitled *The World Is Flat*, which heightened Americans' understanding of the urgent crises we are facing in world economic competition. In this excerpt, he quotes from a speech made by Congressman Vern Ehlers of Michigan in 2005. Congressman Ehlers is protesting recent government cuts in spending for the National Science Foundation that provides support to schools and colleges for math and science education. (*The World Is Flat*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005)

This decision shows dangerous disregard for our nation's future, and I am both concerned and astonished that we would make this decision at a time when other nations continue to surpass our students in math and science and consistently increase their funding of basic research. We cannot hope to fight jobs lost to international competition without a well-trained and educated workforce.

DBQ 21: CHURCH AND STATE: A SEPARATION . . . OR NOT?

Historical Context

We routinely refer to a “separation of church and state,” suggesting that religion and government are and should be separate and unassociated. But was this the goal of those who founded America and established its governmental framework? Is it true today? Should it be this way?

As with so many other critically important questions, the evidence supporting one side or the other of the argument is mixed and ambiguous. Admittedly, the First Amendment to the United States Constitution forbids government from making laws “respecting an establishment of religion. . . .” But while this seems to prohibit government from supporting religion, we are reminded that early state governments, one as late as the 1830s, had officially recognized state religions. In those states, all citizens (no matter what their religion) were taxed to support the cost of the official church. Many other examples of government entanglement with religion run through the nation’s history. Through the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, some states had official state school prayers that public school students recited every morning after saluting the flag. And even today, both houses of Congress and every state legislature begin their legislative sessions with public prayer. These governmental practices and the principle of separation of church and state clearly are in conflict.

Opinions about the proper relationship of religion and government differ today just as they did at the time of the nation’s founding. While many Americans hope to maintain the wall dividing religion and government, many others want to see greater involvement of religion in the nation’s political life.

What kind of relationship between religion and government did the nation’s founders want? What church-government relationship exists in America today? What relationship should exist?

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–8). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to

1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may also wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
3. Based on your own knowledge and on the information found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.

(continued)

DBQ 21: CHURCH AND STATE: A SEPARATION . . . OR NOT? *CONTINUED*

4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your own knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Considering the desires of the founders of America's governmental system and the realities of life today, what should be the proper relationship between religion and government?

Document 1

Soon after writing the Declaration of Independence in the early summer of 1776, Thomas Jefferson returned home to Virginia where he served in the Virginia state legislature, the House of Burgesses. At this time, Jefferson wrote and sponsored the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom that was passed into state law several years later in 1786. This law ended the Virginia's state support of an established church, the Anglican Church. The following is an excerpt from this law.

. . . no man shall be compelled to [attend] or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever . . . or shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief . . . all men shall be free to profess . . . and maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and . . . in no wise . . . affect their civil capacities.

Document 2

During the Civil War, Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg occurred almost at the same time, during the first week of July 1863. Soon after these important events, on July 15, President Lincoln issued a Proclamation of Thanksgiving. Here is an excerpt from the proclamation.

It has pleased Almighty God to . . . [grant] to the army and the navy of the United States victories on land and on the sea so [significant] as to furnish . . . confidence that the Union of these States will be maintained, their constitution preserved, and their peace and prosperity . . . restored . . . Now, therefore . . . I do set apart Thursday the 6th day of August . . . to be observed as a day for National Thanksgiving, Praise and Prayer, and invite the People of the United States to assemble in the customary places of worship . . . [and] render the homage due to the Divine Majesty, for the wonderful things he has done in the Nation's behalf, and invoke the influence of His Holy Spirit to subdue the anger, which has . . . sustained [this] needless and cruel rebellion . . .

(continued)

DBQ 21: CHURCH AND STATE: A SEPARATION . . . OR NOT? *CONTINUED*

Document 3

Every day, millions of Americans salute the flag, reciting aloud the Pledge of Allegiance. Children in public school classrooms across our country typically begin their days by reciting aloud this pledge to our flag and country. The pledge was first published in the *Youth's Companion* magazine in 1892. Until the 1950s, this is how it read.

I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

In 1954, by federal law, a two-word phrase was added to the pledge. These two words were “under God,” which were inserted between the words nation and indivisible.

Document 4

In past years, public school children in many states were asked to recite an official school prayer every day after reciting the Pledge of Allegiance. In New York State public schools, children recited the *New York State Regents Prayer*. This is how it reads.

Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence on Thee, and we ask Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country.

In 1962, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled this and other school or state-sponsored school prayers to be in violation of the Constitution’s First Amendment that forbids governments from making laws “respecting an establishment of religion . . .” Since then, officially sponsored prayers have been forbidden in public (government-operated) schools.

Document 5

You are looking at the back of a one dollar bill, issued by the government of the United States. Read the phrase printed above the word “ONE.”



(continued)

DBQ 21: CHURCH AND STATE: A SEPARATION . . .
OR NOT? *CONTINUED*

Document 6

Throughout the Colonial Period, almost all British colonists were Christians, mostly Protestants. While a few thousand Catholics lived in Maryland and a handful of Jews had settled in seacoast cities, even as late as 1800, Protestants made up almost all of the American population. But immigration from Ireland, beginning in the mid 1800s, and from central and Eastern Europe in the late 1800s and early 1900s brought large numbers of Catholics, Jews, and Eastern Orthodox immigrants to the United States. Several smaller waves of immigration from Asia during the mid 1800s and late 1900s brought many non-Christians. And, more recently, millions of South Asians and Middle Easterners have come to America, bringing with them their Islamic and Hindu religious faiths. The religious dominance held by Protestants in the early years of America has ended. Today, only about half of all Americans call themselves Protestants, and almost one in four Americans identify themselves as nonreligious or non-Christian. Here is a brief overview of the religious identification of the contemporary American.

Religious Identification of Americans *

Catholic	65 million
Protestants	150 million (Including such groups as Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Mormons, Congregationalists, various non-denominational groups and many, many other Protestant churches)
Non-Christian	15 million (Including such groups as Muslims, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, various Native American religions, Pagans, and Baha'i churches)
Non-Religious or Non-Affiliated	60 million

*There is no official count of the religious affiliation of Americans. These numbers are estimates based on a number of surveys and on population data.

Document 7

The Bible says that the Ten Commandments were revealed to Moses by God. One of those Commandments says: "Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy." Years ago, many state and local governments in America enforced laws requiring all citizens to observe this commandment. Offices, factories, schools, stores, theaters, restaurants, and bars were closed on Sunday. Personal activities were severely restricted by governments in an effort to keep Sunday "holy," as God commanded. Many people opposed these Sabbath laws. Some protested that, because they were not Christian, restrictions on Sunday activities should not apply to them. Others argued that these laws violated the separation of religion and government. Government, they argued, had no business trying to enforce any religious practices. Over the years, most of these laws have been abolished.

(continued)

DBQ 21: CHURCH AND STATE: A SEPARATION . . .
OR NOT? *CONTINUED*

But even today many people continue to support these laws protecting the Christian Sabbath. One of them is Pat Robertson, a prominent evangelist and the founder of the Christian Broadcasting Network. The following excerpt is from his book, *The New World Order*. (Used with permission from the publisher.)

Laws in America that mandated a day of rest from incessant commerce have been nullified as a violation of the separation of church and state. In modern America, shopping centers, malls, and stores of every description carry on their frantic pace seven days a week. [This is] an outright insult to God and His plan What idiocy our society has indulged in by refusing to acknowledge the wisdom of God.

Document 8

Many contemporary Evangelical Protestants argue that the separation of religion and government has contributed greatly to what they see as a decline of the American culture. Many books and studies have been written that support these claims. One is a new book from the Specialty Research Associates under the direction of researcher, David Barton. Entitled *America: To Pray or Not to Pray*, it cites a multitude of grim data to show how America has declined as a result of the end of government-sponsored prayers in public schools. He cites the following evidence for the decline of America since the early 1960s.

- A severe drop in SAT scores
- A drastic increase in sexual activity among teenagers
- A huge rise in the number of teenage pregnancies
- A frightening rise in the rate of teenage suicides
- Rapidly rising divorce rates
- Huge increases in America's crime rates, especially among teenagers

DBQ 22: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD FOR YOU?

Historical Context

In his Inaugural Address, President Ronald Reagan told Americans that “. . . we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams,” and called on Americans to “renew our faith and our hope” and to “dream heroic dreams.” Americans have been a confident and hopeful people. Today, most Americans continue to see a bright future for themselves and for their children. Typically, this is how it has been in the past, each generation living with better health and greater comforts than their parents. Perhaps this will be true in your future, too. Perhaps your generation will continue to “dream heroic dreams.”

Predicting the future, like forecasting the weather, is chancy at best. Looking into the near future can be reasonably accurate, but longer views into a distant future are much less clear. But Americans can, with some accuracy, draw on the past, identifying those patterns and trends likely to continue and point toward America’s destiny.

This document-based question asks you to look at your future by examining historic trends, drawing on your own knowledge of America’s past, and connecting it with your own dreams.

■ **Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying documents (1–8). As you analyze the documents, take into account both the source of each document and the author’s point of view. Be sure to

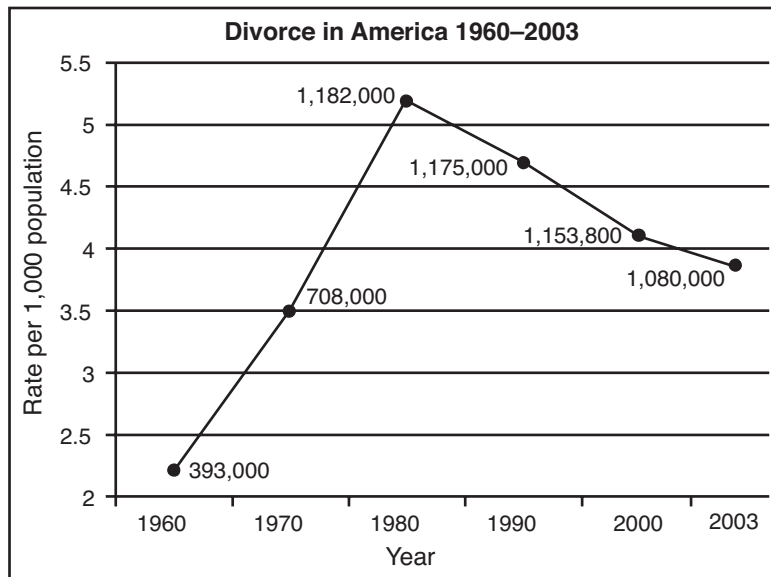
1. Carefully read the document-based question. Consider what you already know about this topic. How would you answer the question if you had no documents to examine?
2. Now, read each document carefully, underlining key phrases and words that address the document-based question. You may wish to use the margin to make brief notes.
3. Based upon your own knowledge of the topic and on the evidence found in the documents, formulate a thesis that directly answers the question.
4. Organize supportive and relevant information into a brief outline.
5. Write a well-organized essay proving your thesis. The essay should be logically presented and should include information both from the documents and from your knowledge outside of the documents.

Question: Look ahead twenty-five years into your future. What do you predict will be the economic and social challenges and realities that you and other Americans will be facing at that time?

DBQ 22: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD FOR YOU? *CONTINUED*

Document 1

Selected Marriage/Family Data and Trends



**Births to unmarried women, 1950–2000
(as a percentage of all American births)**

1950	4%
1960	5%
1970	11%
1980	18%
1990	28%
1995	32%
2000	33%

Document 2

Ethnic/racial population trends, 1950–2000					
Year	Percent White	Percent Hispanic*	Percent African American	Percent Native American	Percent Asian American
1950	89%	NA	10%	NA	NA
1960	88.5%	NA	10.5%	NA	NA
1970	87.5%	NA	11%	NA	NA
1980	86%	6.4%	12%	1%	2%
1990	84%	9%	12%	1%	3%
2000	80%	14%	13%	1%	4%

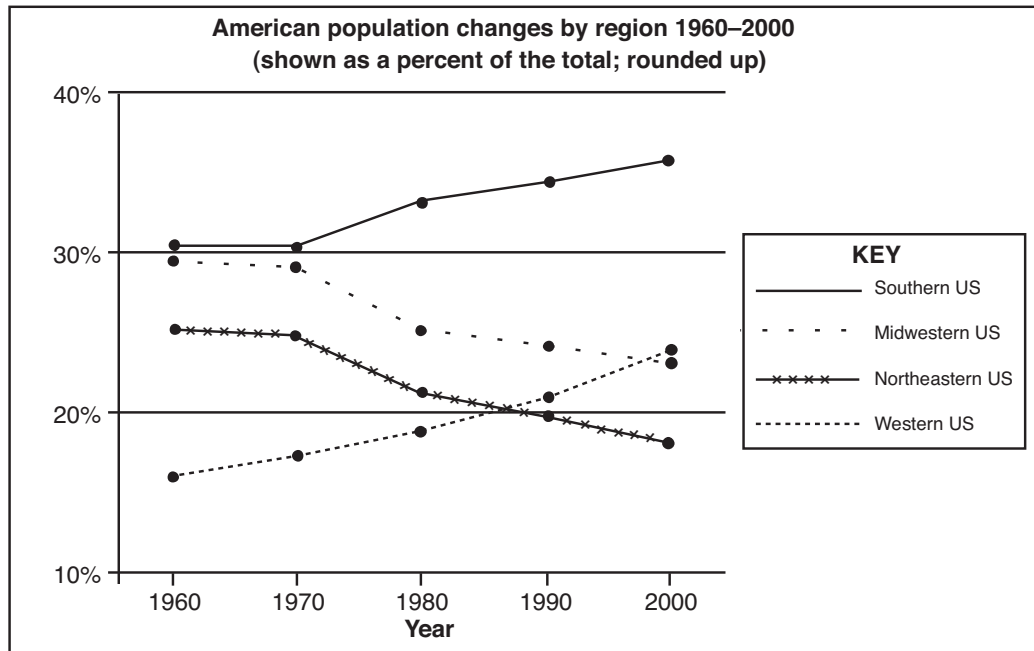
* Note that persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.

** Because many people claim more than one race or ethnic group, total percentages listed will equal more than 100%.

(continued)

DBQ 22: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD FOR YOU? *CONTINUED*

Document 3



Document 4

U.S. population by selected age groups, 1960–2000				
Year	Ages 0–19 (in millions)	Percent of Total	Ages 45 and older (in millions)	Percent of Total
1960	69.2	38.4%	52.2	29.3%
1970	77.1	37.9%	61.8	30.4%
1980	72.5	32%	68.2	30.1%
1990	71.8	28.9%	77.3	31.1%
2000	80.5	28.6%	96.9	34.4%

(continued)

DBQ 22: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD FOR YOU? *CONTINUED*

Document 5

Selected Income Statistics

Average annual income by educational attainment, 1975–2000					
	1975	1985	2000	2000*	Real Increase (Decrease)
Non-graduate of High School	\$7,000	\$10,500	\$18,800	\$22,400	(–\$3,600)
High School Graduate	\$8,500	\$15,000	\$27,160	\$26,500	+ \$ 660
Some college/Associate degree	\$9,000	\$17,000	\$33,950	\$28,100	+ \$ 5,850
Bachelor's degree	\$12,000	\$25,500	\$51,000	\$37,500	+ \$13,500
Advanced degree	\$17,500	\$33,000	\$78,500	\$54,700	+ \$23,800
* Income needed to match 1975 income (accounting for inflation)					

Family incomes (2001)	
Married couple families	\$60,470
Single mother families	\$28,140
All families	\$43,000

Document 6

Employment by selected economic sectors, 1960–2003 (shown as a percent of total employment)			
	1960	1980	2003
Agriculture	4.5%	3.4%	2.4%
Mining	1.3%	1.1%	0.4%
Construction	5.4%	4.8%	6.0%
Manufacturing	31%	22%	14.8%
Transportation and public utilities	7.4%	5.7%	5%
Sales/trade	21%	23%	21%
Various services	14%	20%	26%
Government	15%	18%	26%

(continued)

**DBQ 22: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD
FOR YOU?** *CONTINUED*

Document 7

Medical costs, 1960–2000				
	Total \$	Percent of GNP	\$ per Household	\$ per Capita
1960	\$ 27 billion	5.3%	\$ 510	\$ 151
1970	\$ 74 billion	7.4%	\$ 1,170	\$ 365
1980	\$250 billion	9.2%	\$ 3,090	\$1,101
1990	\$675 billion	12.2%	\$ 7,250	\$2,711
2000	\$1,400 billion	15.4%	\$13,000	\$5,000

Document 8

President George W. Bush, State of the Union Address, January 28, 2003

“Our war against terror is a contest of will in which perseverance is power. In the ruins of two towers, at the western wall of the Pentagon, on a field in Pennsylvania, this nation made a pledge . . . we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men . . .

In two years, America has gone from a sense of invulnerability to an awareness of peril; from bitter division in small matters to calm unity in great causes. And we go forward with confidence, because this call of history has come to the right country.”

Grading Key

DBQ 1: CLASH OF CULTURES

Document 1

Columbus believed that the New World was valuable to Spain. Spain should take and retain control of Hispaniola (and other New World lands). No doubt, native peoples were outraged at the actions of the Spanish. Some students will note that the Spanish “arms and artillery” (and, by implication, Europe’s military and technological superiority) were causal factors in the oppression of Native peoples.

Document 2

These orders express a level of cultural arrogance and dominance that virtually all students will note. Spanish oppression of the natives was a natural outcome of such attitudes.

Document 3

Franklin’s observation is far more objective than those expressed in earlier documents. The values of the natives and of the European-American settlers are very different. Indeed, Franklin’s tone suggests that they are irreconcilably in conflict.

Document 4

Tecumseh blames the “avarice and oppression of the white man” for the destruction and dispossession of Native Americans.

Document 5

Native peoples believed that land belonged to all. It could not be bought and sold. It could not belong only to one person. This belief was in total opposition to the attitudes of European settlers and their American descendents who were hungry for land ownership.

Document 6

Here Red Jacket condemns Americans and earlier European settlers for taking the natives’ lands. Now Americans wanted to force their religion on the natives. Some students will note that forced conversion of the natives to Christianity was a motive of early Spanish colonization, as suggested in Document 2.

Document 7

Relations between native peoples and the U.S. Government (and its citizens) were hardly equal or respectful. To Calhoun (and most other Americans of this time), native peoples and their cultures were inferior. Native peoples should be “taken under our guardianship” and adopt our opinions and way of life. This would, Calhoun said, bring “civilization and happiness” to Native Americans.

Document 8

As late as the 1860s, forced removal of native peoples from their lands to benefit American farmers was accepted as justification for their dispossession. They were, after all, only “savage tribes” using the lands for hunting.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from

beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

variety of native peoples
European diseases
Powhatan
Aztecs
Native resources—corn, beans, squash, potatoes
Squanto
Incas
Roger Williams
Mayans
Cortez
human sacrifices
Pizarro
Iroquois
Champlain
French fur traders
John Smith
French Jesuit missionaries
Pocahontas

DBQ 2: ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

Document 1

Bacon’s Rebellion arose (at least in part) from resentment of the common folk against the royal governor and the powerful, privileged class. This suggests that, at least in Virginia, social injustices and inequities thwarted the opportunities of the common people.

Document 2

Higher wages may indicate that the colonial economy was growing and creating more jobs. Employers were competing for workers by offering higher pay.

Document 3

Indentured servants led terrible lives; they were treated badly and worked very hard, with few opportunities. Mittelberger advised European workers: Stay home! The two documents do not contradict each other. They distinguish between those who could afford to travel to the Colonies and those who could not.

Document 4

Burnaby reported that Boston was a prosperous and delightful city. In Virginia, the major product was tobacco; few manufactured goods were produced.

Document 5

The author was a British officer who was a prisoner of war during the Revolutionary War. He might be expected to be biased against his captors. Other sources, however, confirm what he reports here.

Document 6

Crèvecoeur said a number of pertinent things: The “room” in America was a source of opportunity; most Americans were among Europe’s poor and came here seeking opportunities; virtually all colonists were farmers; hard

work had its rewards. There were few towns and thus little business or manufacturing.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts and events that students could use in their essays from their outside learning.

- class structures of different colonial regions
- slavery
- land ownership
- triangular trade
- public education
- headright system
- farming—by regions
- New York Dutch patroons
- declining New England soil
- indentured servitude
- tidewater aristocracy
- primogeniture
- labor shortage
- social deference

DBQ 3: CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Document 1

Whately and Grenville (and others) felt that the American colonists should gladly pay higher taxes. After all, the huge debts had been incurred “solely” for America’s defense. The implication is that Americans who complained were selfish and ungrateful.

Document 2

Dickinson argued (in 1768) that the Colonies acknowledged and accepted Parliament’s right to “regulate the trade” of the entire British empire by imposing tariffs and other duties. But Parliament did not have the authority to levy taxes for “the purpose of raising a revenue.” To allow this was “destructive to the liberty of these colonies.”

Document 3

Revere’s engraving was a marvelous piece of anti-British propaganda, depicting the unfortunate event as a “massacre” of peaceful Bostonians by the vile and vicious British soldiers.

Document 4

This document expressed a British bias, condemning the New Englanders for their “canting, whining, insinuating tricks” that are designed to spread unfounded anti-British propaganda to Americans in other colonies. (Students may cite Document 3 as an example of such a “trick.”)

Document 5

This document was issued by the Continental Congress to justify the Colonies defending themselves against British “tyranny” (since the outbreak of fighting three months earlier at Lexington and Concord). Parliament’s claim that it had

authority over the Colonies “in all cases whatsoever” so threatened Americans’ liberties that we had to resist by force.

Document 6

Paine said you cannot be reconciled to someone who has attacked you (“carried fire and sword into your land.”). Paine’s bias is clear in his description of the King as “hardened, sullen-tempered.”

Document 7

This, America’s most sacred document from its war for independence, was designed to portray the British and King George in the very worst light, accusing Britain’s “repeated injuries” of growing from the “direct object” of establishing an “absolute Tyranny” over America.

Hopefully, students will recognize and discuss the biased, propagandistic nature of many of these documents.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

- French and Indian War
- Navigation Acts
- James Otis
- Townshend Acts
- Boston Tea Party
- Sam Adams
- Stamp Act
- Sons of Liberty
- virtual representation
- Tea Act
- coercive acts
- Lexington and Concord
- mercantilism
- Tories and Patriots
- Declaratory Act
- Committees of Correspondence
- First Continental Congress

SAMPLE STUDENT ESSAY AND SUGGESTED GRADING

When the French and Indian War had ended in 1763, Americans had visions of the British packing up their guns and going home. To their dismay, Britain did just the opposite; they actually sent in more troops to tighten the imperial control and raise money to help pay for war debts. Americans were shocked. After all, they had been used to the policy of salutary neglect for many years now. An outsider from the situation could see two sides to this story. Britain, the mother country was in need of money, and looked to their overseas colony—which had been directly aided in the war. Americans felt cheated and threatened by the sudden tightening of control and, as every child does who eventually breaks away from his or her parents, rebelled. In this sense, the colonists were justified in waging war and in breaking away from Britain.

In a pamphlet, *Considerations*, written by Thomas Whatley, Britain's view of taxation is clearly expressed. They feel that for all of the time, effort, and money that they spent helping the colonists in the French and Indian War, the colonists should be willing to help them out and be willing to pay higher taxes. The colonists, however, saw these new taxes (as Britain imposed: example, Sugar Act and Stamp Act) as taxes for revenue purposes only and as a threat to their rights as Englishmen. They were being taxed without representation in Parliament, and they were not being taxed for any reasons beneficial to their colonies.

Misunderstandings and frustrations grew even more when Benjamin Franklin made the mistake of saying that the Colonies were opposed only to "internal" taxes. This led Parliament to impose the Townshend Acts, which raised taxes on imported goods. This, of course, was not at all okay with the colonists. When the Stamp Act Congress was formed, it did not say – we will accept external taxes, but we will not accept any taxes for revenue purposes when we remain unrepresented in Parliament.

Tensions began mounting, and in 1770, the Boston Massacre occurred. At this point, the British had come to believe that the colonists were "whining and insinuating" (from the journal of N. Cresswell). Britain thought that the Colonies were reacting brashly and unthoughtfully. The colonists were merely fighting for their rights as Englishmen. When the Tea Act was passed allowing the British East India Company to sell tea cheaply in the Boston Port, rebellion broke loose. The famous Boston Tea Party was performed by the angry Sons of Liberty as they unloaded British tea in the harbor. Now England was absolutely furious, and quite frankly, the colonists were ready to rub it in their faces. When, on April, 1775 it was discovered that New England had been hiding war materials, fighting broke out at Lexington and Concord.

This was a turning point. It was now that people such as Thomas Paine could never turn back and forgive Britain. He writes in *Common Sense*, "I rejected the hard, sullen tempered king forever." It was not until a year later, when the Declaration of Independence was declared in 1776 that the war cry changed to a battle for independence.

In the previous decade, through a series of misunderstandings, Britain had imposed acts upon the colonists to tighten their power. Angered and frustrated, the colonists fought back in every way possible. Britain, unfortunately, reacted by only tightening their control even more. At this point, Americans had to ask themselves a question; they answered this question by declaring a war. They were stepping up initially to defend themselves against an imposing power, and rightfully so. They then took the next step – independence.

TEACHER COMMENTS

This is a good student essay, certainly a 4, possibly a weak 5. It was well written, stated and defended a firm thesis, used most documents accurately, included some relevant information from beyond the documents (the mention of Franklin's testimony to Parliament about the Stamp Act was especially impressive), and displayed a solid understanding of the topic

and related issues. The student did omit some pertinent information (the Intolerable Acts, for instance), some documents deserved more discussion (Revere's engraving and the propaganda of the Sons of Liberty, for instance), and the entire essay was lacking somewhat in its understanding and consideration of biases. Still, it's a good job, especially so for an eleventh-grader. The student devoted 15 minutes to part A and 45 minutes to part B (the essay).

DBQ 4: RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION

Document 1

This newspaper editorial advocated that the United States adopt a new federal constitution – one that could give us a stronger, more efficient federal government, one that would strengthen our international trade, help our farmers, maintain a sound currency, and protect the American name and character.

Document 2

Mercy Otis Warren opposed the new Constitution, fearing that it would threaten our "rights of conscience" and "liberty of the press" and create a dangerously powerful national government. She was alarmed at how the executive and legislature were "dangerously blended."

Document 3

Washington agreed with Jay that the Articles had "errors" that needed to be corrected. He complained that, as it was, the thirteen "disunited States" could never agree. He also suggested that human nature being what it was, America needed a stronger (that is, less democratic) national government.

Document 4

Patrick Henry strongly opposed the new U.S. Constitution. Just like Mercy Otis Warren, he feared that it would endanger our individual rights, and that it would force the states to abandon their "sovereignty."

Document 5

Amos Singletree opposed Massachusetts ratifying the new U.S. Constitution. He, like many poorer and less educated Americans, feared that the new Constitution would be used by the "lawyers and men of learning, and monied men" to "get all the power and all the money into their own hands."

Document 6

Though the Massachusetts Constitutional Ratification Convention approved the U.S. Constitution, it recommended the addition of "certain amendments" that would protect the rights of people and of the states. This recommendation (and similar ones made by other state ratification conventions) led to the later adoption of the Bill of Rights.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents – information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests

some of the concepts, people, and events that students might use in their essays from their outside learning.

- Articles of Confederation
- interstate commerce problems
- Alexander Hamilton
- Bill of Rights
- James Madison
- states rights
- Shays's Rebellion
- postwar depression
- foreign trade problems
- compromises
- Charles Beard's economic interpretation
- Rhode Island's currency inflation
- Federalists vs. Antifederalists
- Annapolis Convention
- Federalist Papers

SAMPLE STUDENT ESSAY AND SUGGESTED GRADING

The debate over ratification of the U.S. Constitution was an argument of democracy versus oppression, the little guy versus the big guy, the rights of individuals and states; and a reaction to the Critical Period. Each side, the Federalists and the Antifederalists, presented its case before the nation in hope of receiving its support. The shift in American attitudes, as a result of the crises of the Critical Period, perhaps determined the eventual acceptance of the Constitution. It was ratified from 1788 to 1790, but not without great effort from both sides.

By 1787, most people were not happy under the Articles of Confederation. The farmers were becoming debtors; revolts such as Shays's Rebellion occurred; inflation increased at astronomical levels; and the government could do little about it. The new document, the Constitution, awaited ratification. Some argued in favor of the change because the Articles were detrimental to everyone (Document 1). The Critical Period was more than many could handle. The state of mankind was on the honor system under the Articles, and it was failing miserably (Document 3). The Constitution was a reflexive action. Many felt its ratification necessary to maintain America and Americans. Conditions continued to totter until the complete ratification of the Constitution.

There were others who did not reject the Articles. They qualified their position against the Constitution in opposition to change. Some feared the Constitution was potentially oppressive and undemocratic. After all, the method of gaining federal office was hardly democratic (Document 2). The first presidents were picked by an electoral college whose votes were determined by state legislatures. U.S. Senators were also picked by state legislatures. And Federal judges were appointed, serving for life. Indeed, the people were right to consider this as a quasi-democracy. Others, indeed, feared transition from the Articles to the Constitution; basic human rights could be diminished (Document 4). Some who of the poor and less educated feared the potential power of their affluent nemeses. "Us poor illiterate people stand no chance against the Big guys—the bankers, owners, and merchants." (Document 5) Farmers especially feared life under a strong

central government, although they did not mind a strong state government. The Antifederalists emerged with an encompassing argument.

Alexander Hamilton, in reaction to this, rounded up his colleagues John Jay and James Madison to write the *Federalist Papers*. Their work, published under the pseudonym "Publius," helped to persuade New York to ratify the Constitution. They saw people's hesitation in regard to personal rights, and they promised to add a Bill of Rights. Modeled after Virginia's, the Bill not only preserved individual and states' rights, but it convinced some states to ratify the document in question (Document 6). Also, the Constitution had provisions for taxation and collection. The Antifederalists were leery of forced taxation, but the Federalists were eager to see the government empowered. Not on the honor system this time, individual financial accountability would give the U.S. government its much needed authority. The Federalists emerged as clear-cut supporters of the Constitution.

Both the Federalists and the Antifederalists attacked the issues that kept America down during the Critical Period. They considered personal and states' rights; the effects of a strong central government; and the principles and applications behind the Constitution itself. In the end, the Federalists prevailed but not without a strong fight from the Antifederalists.

TEACHER COMMENTS

This essay is a strong 3 or weak 4. The student stated a thesis, generally used documents correctly, cited some valuable information from beyond just the documents given, and demonstrated some understanding of the topic and its issues. The essay also was well written and organized. Nonetheless there are weaknesses. The student could have been clearer about the failures and weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation and the problems faced by the nation during the Critical Period. Some statements are vague and some allusions are obscure—for instance, the "honor system" comments in paragraphs two and four probably refer to Document 3 (Washington's point about human nature), but do so in a vague way suggesting a shallow understanding. Indeed, a tone of vagueness runs through the entire essay, suggesting a less than total grasp and mastery of the issues involved. Still, it is a pretty good job, especially for an eleventh-grader who wrote for only 45 minutes.

DBQ 5: GROWTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Document 1

Jefferson considered Hamilton and his supporters corrupt "monarchists."

Document 2

Hamilton believed that Jefferson, Madison, and their supporters were opposed to him (They were!), a threat to good government, and dangerous to the nation. He condemned them for their opposition to funding the national debt and for their support of France and opposition to Britain.

Document 3

Here Jefferson condemned another part of Hamilton's financial plan.

Document 4

Washington warned against the evil influence of political parties, believing that parties would stir up rebellions by pitting one group of Americans against another. Students may express different views about present-day political parties and their effects.

Document 5

Jefferson admitted that there existed two parties: his, made up of republicans, and the Federalists, a group of aristocrats, monarchists, and Tories.

Document 6

This Federalist Congressman supported the Sedition Act, suggesting that "freedom of speech" was being used by Jefferson's supporters to slander President Adams' administration. Jefferson, Madison, and their supporters would have viewed this law as dangerous censorship.

Document 7

Hay opposed the Sedition Bill, believing it to be a violation of "freedom of speech." Presumably, he was a Jeffersonian.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

- Bill of Rights
- funding the National Debt
- Neutrality Act
- Whiskey Rebellion
- Alien Act
- Hamilton's financial plan
- assuming states' debts
- Citizen Genet
- John Adams
- Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
- Bank of the United States
- French Revolution
- Jay's Treaty
- XYZ Affair

DBQ 6: THE WAR OF 1812

Document 1

The Congressional Committee reported that Britain was violating U.S. rights to use the ocean and capturing and enslaving U.S. sailors, in spite of repeated protests and complaints.

Document 2

Congressman Calhoun echoes Document 1. U.S. trading rights are being violated, and its citizens are being harmed by Britain.

Calhoun warned that unless Britain stopped these actions, the "honor and interest" of the United States would require us to "resist."

Document 3

Congressman John Randolph was an opponent of war. As this statement shows, he believed that the protection of "maritime rights" was an expedient stratagem and that the real motives of those crying for war were land greed and a desire to annex Canada.

Document 4

In his June 1812 Declaration of War, President Madison pointed to the "lawless violence" of Britain in capturing U.S. ships as the cause of the war.

Document 5

Most congressmen from New England and the maritime middle-Atlantic states were strong opponents of the war. The regions that most favored war were the agricultural Southern, Western, and mid-Atlantic states. This war vote is ironic and seems to contradict earlier documents. If this truly was a war to protect U.S. maritime rights, why didn't the maritime regions support the war?

Document 6

Federalist congressmen unanimously opposed the War of 1812; Democratic-Republican congressmen strongly supported the war. This was a very partisan (political) vote, with President Madison's own party supporting, and the Federalists opposing, the war.

Document 7

Congressman Hugh Nelson told of a number of reasons why he supported the war. In large part, he was moved by patriotic motives—to demonstrate that the United States was "one and indivisible" and the superiority of republican government. In part, he was moved by practical motives—to protect U.S. interests and to repel British aggression.

Document 8

The election of 1812, which occurred five months after the war had begun, found the maritime regions of America—New England, New York, and New Jersey—voting for the Federalist candidate. The West and South were united behind Madison and his party. This alignment confirms the pattern seen in Documents 5 and 6. Party politics seemed more important to the war than maritime interests.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could use in their essays from their outside learning.

- Embargo of 1807
- Orders in Council
- Tecumseh
- Henry Clay
- Hartford Convention

Jefferson
impressment
Non-Intercourse Act
War Hawks
Napoleon
the *Chesapeake* affair
Macon's Bill No. 2
old Republicans

workingmen's parties
the spoils system
Declaration of Independence
Antebellum Reform Era
the 1829 inauguration
Peggy Eaton affair
Jefferson's views on suffrage
demands for lenient bankruptcy laws
Madison's Federalist Paper #10
Democratic and Whig Parties
"King Andrew the First"
Jackson's bank veto
the Turner thesis
industrial social change
Nicholas Biddle
demagogue

DBQ 7: JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

Document 1

Sanford supported expanding suffrage to the common man, believing that the "virtue and morality of the people" was a better qualification for voting than wealth and property ownership. Furthermore, even common men contributed to the public support and thus were entitled to the vote.

Document 2

Kent feared giving the vote to common men; it would jeopardize property rights, lead to laws releasing debtors from their debts, and lead to the violation of the rights of minorities by tyrannical majorities. Further, it would encourage wicked politicians to inflame the fears and desires of ignorant voters.

Document 3

Tocqueville believed that the expansion of democracy had actually hurt U.S. politics, discouraging distinguished men from seeking office, and leading the masses to elect less able leaders.

Document 4

Even more than Tocqueville, Mrs. Trollope was repulsed by the coarse and cheap nature of U.S. democratic politics. Party spirit was of more importance than personal esteem, and truly fine statesmen like John Quincy Adams were voted out by the majority, "both drunk and sober." Students may note her snobbish anti-American biases.

Document 5

Bancroft believed that democracy was built on "reason, reflection, and the free expression of deliberate choice," and that political decisions were best made by the "masses" rather than by the "corrupt" and self-serving few.

Document 6

Bingham was a supporter of Jacksonian democracy and celebrated it in his painting. (Several other paintings by Bingham expressed his faith in political democracy. Students may want to see if the school librarian or art teacher can locate reproductions of these paintings.)

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could use in their essays from their outside learning.

It is significant to note that the question asked in this DBQ has two parts. The second part of the question asks: *Which arguments were most valid?* Good answers will include all kinds of evidence and supportive information, ranging from the Jacksonian era to the present. Grading student answers will require teachers to judge the appropriateness of examples cited, the persuasiveness of the positions argued, and the success with which students presented supportive evidence and data.

DBQ 8: ANTEBELLUM REFORMS

Document 1

Jackson was expressing a feeling characteristic of this time—that people could improve and perfect themselves. Personal and social improvement was necessary to a self-governing society. (The implication is that as voting rights expanded, it was important that the character and virtue of Americans improve.) That Jackson spoke of man's "God-like" character is significant. This was the time of the Second Great Awakening, and religious motivation for personal and social improvement was strong.

Document 2

Garrison saw slavery as a gross contradiction of U.S. democratic ideology, a contradiction of the Declaration of Independence, and a violation of the principles of the American Revolution, which had its beginning in Boston.

Document 3

Grund pointed out the significance of religion as a motive of "national undertakings" and a "promoter of civil and political liberty." This was an era of religious revival, and, without a doubt, evangelical Protestantism was a major inspiration for this era of reform.

Document 4

As Jackson noted in Document 1, the expansion of democracy during this period motivated efforts to improve the character of the U.S. public. Mann, the foremost promoter of public education during this era, saw schooling as the major way to "imbue" Americans "with the love of truth and duty," virtues necessary to the maintenance of democracy.

Document 5

Parker, like most New England reformers, hated the Mexican War and appealed to Christianity and the teachings of Jesus in order to discredit all wars. Like several other documents, this suggests the importance of the Second Great Awakening as a catalyst of this age of reforms.

Document 6

These early advocates of women's rights appealed to the Declaration of Independence and to democracy in general to support their belief in human equality. (It might be noted that Stanton, Mott, Douglass, and most other participants in this convention were strong abolitionists. Abolitionism itself was a catalyst of the women's rights movement.)

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could use in their essays from their outside learning.

Charles G. Finney
temperance
millennialism
communes
prison reform
Robert Owen
Second Great Awakening
transcendentalism
revivals
romanticism
Cult of True Womanhood
Utopian Socialism
Jacksonian democracy
perfectionism
The Burned Over District
the Beecher family
Uncle Tom's Cabin
nativism

DBQ 9: SLAVERY AND ITS DEFENDERS

Document 1

This document provides the economic justification for slavery. The value of the South's soil and property was dependent upon the continued existence of slavery.

Document 2

Calhoun argued that slavery benefited both whites and slaves, providing both groups peace and happiness, and bringing a "degree of civilization never before attained by the black race" to slaves.

Document 3

Fitzhugh freely admitted that slavery violated a belief in human equality. Social equality, to Fitzhugh, was an evil that resulted in oppression, immorality, and unhappiness.

Document 4

DeBow believed that the existence of slavery elevated the social status of poor Southern whites, who could "look down upon those [slaves] who" were beneath them.

Document 5

Jefferson, like many other Southerners, could not see any way to end slavery without threatening the safety and order of Southern society.

Document 6

Stringfellow argued that the Bible supported and justified slavery.

Document 7

Chief Justice Taney argued that the U.S. Constitution supported and justified slavery.

Document 8

Cartwright justified slavery by arguing that black slaves were racially inferior to whites and unable to "provide and care" for themselves.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

abolitionists
Missouri Compromise
Henry Clay
Frederick Douglass
Daniel Webster
Quakers
William Lloyd Garrison
Liberty Party
Free Soil Party
Uncle Tom's Cabin
Fugitive Slave Law
Compromise of 1850
Republican Party
Harriet Beecher Stowe
John Brown
secession
colonization
Nat Turner
Underground Railroad
Bleeding Kansas
Abraham Lincoln

DBQ 10: WHAT CAUSED SECESSION?

Document 1

The Southern Democrats and the Northern Republicans held totally opposite beliefs about slavery in the Western territories. The Republicans refused to allow slavery to exist in these

territories; the Southern Democrats demanded that slavery be protected wherever it existed. Neither side would compromise.

Document 2

Brown said that the Republicans meant to end slavery and that emancipation would bring ruin and horrors to everyone in the South, slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike. According to his speech, the Northerners hated the South and were determined to use their growing national power to dominate the South and emancipate its slaves. He advocated that the South secede.

Document 3

This Pittsburgh editor, a supporter of Senator Douglas, argued that Lincoln's election would cause the South to secede because the South could not accept Lincoln's refusal to allow slavery into the Western territories. Note that this is printed only one month before the election.

Document 4

This shows the sectional voting in the presidential election of 1860. Lincoln won only about 40 percent of the popular vote, though a clear majority of the electoral vote. But his support came completely from the North and from the West Coast. Some students may speculate that the Democrats would have won if the party had not split. The regional voting shows the South's mistrust of the North as illustrated in Document 2.

Document 5

George Templeton Strong pointed to a number of factors responsible for Southern secession: universal suffrage, abolitionism, the 1850 California statehood crisis (that raised the issue of slavery in the West), and Senator Douglas' repeal of the Missouri Compromise (the Kansas-Nebraska Act). These made obvious the "two hostile elements" that could not coexist in the same country.

Document 6

The South Carolina ordinance of secession stated that the election of Lincoln had united the Northern states against slavery.

Document 7

Jefferson Davis said that the election of Lincoln was only that "last feather" that broke the camel's back. Sectional hostility, the raids of "organized bodies" (suggesting John Brown's raid), and hostile legislation by Northern states were the real causes.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

Fugitive Slave Act
Compromise of 1850
popular sovereignty
Dred Scott decision
1860 election
Crittendon Compromise
Uncle Tom's Cabin

Stephen Douglas
bleeding Kansas
Lincoln-Douglas debates
split of the Democratic party
abolition
Kansas-Nebraska Act
Charles Sumner
Freeport Doctrine
the Tariff Crisis of 1832

DBQ 11: THE INDUSTRIAL BOOM

Document 1

This document describes an early American mill with its conveyer belts and other mechanized systems for moving materials. Americans were the first to effectively use interchangeable parts and assembly line production.

Document 2

Between 1860 and 1900, railroad mileage grew from 30,000 miles to almost 200,000 miles, linking all parts of the nation with a system of rapid and inexpensive transportation and communication. Raw materials, agricultural products, and finished goods could now be easily moved, feeding the growth of industry and commerce.

Document 3

The Republican Party's support of higher tariffs, a national banking system, government aid to build railroads and to improve rivers and harbors, and a liberal immigration policy, all promoted the growth of industry and commerce. This was a "pro-business" platform.

Document 4

Republican Party dominance of the national government during the late nineteenth century helped to encourage pro-business policies, spurring industrial growth.

Document 5

Increasingly, water power and coal were powering America's farms and factories. Certainly these power sources were far superior to animal and human muscle power.

Document 6

A major obstacle to America's industrial growth was the high cost of labor. But with the surge of immigration in the late nineteenth century, this obstacle was largely overcome.

Document 7

Carnegie's steel company was only one of many huge corporate monopolies established in the late nineteenth century. Rockefeller monopolized petroleum production; McCormick monopolized farm machinery; Swift and Armour monopolized meat packing; J. P. Morgan created a banking monopoly; Vanderbilt created a railroad conglomerate; and huge trusts developed in many other parts of the nation's economy.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from

beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

- factors of production
- farm mechanization
- Eli Whitney
- anti-trust laws
- advantages of incorporation
- labor unionization
- natural resources
- Civil War spending
- the Lowell system
- communications
- Social Darwinism
- imperialism
- Protestant work ethic
- public education
- textile mills
- canal system
- Fourteenth Amendment
- exploited labor

DBQ 12: THE NATIVIST RESPONSE TO IMMIGRATION

Document 1

The American Federation of Labor wanted to stop the immigration of Chinese workers who, by working for low wages, pulled down the wage rates for all workers. But this statement also reveals the deep racism that was behind this demand.

Document 2

Reverend Strong condemned immigrants for all kinds of sins and threats to American society: corruption, disease, crime, debauching public morals, promoting the liquor trade, and defiling the Sabbath.

Document 3

This advertisement for an “Americanization School” reveals public fears about immigration and the need to quickly try to “Americanize” the foreigners and have them learn the “American” language.

Document 4

This ugly racist statement was widely believed—that immigration was a threat to the purity of the American “Nordic” race and the supremacy of the American civilization.

Document 5

This writer, like many other nativists, blamed the labor and social unrest of the 1880s and 1890s on the radical and dangerous ideas of the “communistic and revolutionary” immigrant “races.”

Document 6

Senator Lodge was expressing the fears of many Americans at this time: Unrestricted immigration was corrupting America,

its society, its democratic political system, and its moral values. Immigration must be severely restricted.

Document 7

E. A. Ross was expressing a widely held belief that immigration was subverting America’s politics and governmental system.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

- Ku Klux Klan
- labor violence
- urban bosses
- imperialism
- strike breaking
- Ellis Island
- Jim Crow Laws
- parochial schools
- contributions of immigrants
- anti-Semitism
- Chinese Exclusion Act
- American Protective Association
- “new” immigration
- patterns of assimilation
- Social Darwinism
- tenement life
- settlement houses
- Boss Tweed

DBQ 13: THE FARMERS’ REVOLT

Document 1

The Populists wanted the protection from exorbitant railroad rates that government ownership would provide. They also sought a graduated income tax, one that would tax the wealthy at a higher rate. And, believing that monetary inflation would raise farm prices, they sought “free silver.”

Document 2

According to Washington Gladden, the farmers’ plight grew from a high protective tariff that made manufactured goods expensive, the existence of business trusts that could exploit consumers, greedy middlemen, exorbitant railroad rates, and bank interest rates.

Document 3

Laughlin believed that the farmers’ problems were a result of overproduction of farm produce and the fact that, because American farmers were now a part of a world market, production changes anywhere in the world would have a large impact on the prices American farmers received for their crops. The farmers’ complaint about a “scarcity of gold” was simply

incorrect. The fact that “we produce more wheat than we consume” drove prices down.

Document 4

The beauty of this stanza is its contrast of the victors—“plutocrats . . . with dollar signs upon their coats,” “landlord stock,” and “the neat” with those who went down to defeat with Bryan, the “defeat of western silver, defeat of the wheat . . . defeat of my boyhood, defeat of my dream.” Obviously this romanticized verse is hardly objective, but it does explain how many farmers saw the 1896 election results.

Document 5

These graphs suggest that Laughlin (Document 3) was correct; higher production led to lower prices. Thus, individual farmers were in a quandary; the harder they worked, the more they grew, and the less they earned. This frustration helps explain both the farmers’ anger and why they seemed so open to “conspiracy theories” about the causes of their crisis.

Document 6

This letter simply reiterates earlier documents. Many Populists felt that the only way to escape the exorbitant rail rates and bank interest rates was to have the government own the banks and railroads and operate them in the public interest.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

William Jennings Bryan
Free Silver
Greenback Party
Farmers’ Alliance
Grange
1890s Depression
Gold Standard
Monopolies
Sherman Anti-Trust Act
Granger Laws
Homestead Act
John Deere
Mary Elizabeth Lease
Interstate Commerce Act

DBQ 14: PROGRESSIVISM

Document 1

Senator Root believed that the progressive reform movement was an attempt to readjust society, its laws and social relations, to address the needs created by industrial and urban development.

Document 2

President Wilson, in his Inaugural Address, said much the same thing stated in Document 1. Modern industrialism brought America greatness and riches, but also evil, waste,

human costs, and government corruption. It was, Wilson believed, the duty of progressives to “cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil . . . to purify and humanize every process of our common life. . . .”

Document 3

Senator Beveridge stated a number of key characteristics of progressivism—social justice, equal rights, a clean government responsive to the “people,” and humane controls on “savage individualism” and business.

Document 4

Spargo described the general belief of the muckrakers—that exposing social ills to the American public would awaken “impulses for good” that would be united into demands that these “evils may be remedied.”

Document 5

Many muckrakers and progressive leaders were socialists, but most were motivated as much (or more) by Christian principles as by Marxism.

Document 6

Conservation was a major part of the progressive reform effort. As with other parts of progressivism, it grew from needs created by unrestrained and unplanned industrial growth.

Document 7

Government reform at the local, state, and national levels was central to the progressive movement. In this document, muckraker Lincoln Steffens (best known as author of *The Shame of the Cities*) praised the people of Wisconsin for supporting Governor Robert La Follette who was a champion of clean government.

Document 8

This list shows that progressivism was broadly defined, including comprehensive efforts aimed at reforming all aspects of American life. It was not just a movement for government reform.

Document 9

As this document shows, churches and organized religion were active in the reform efforts of the progressive era—attempting to apply the Golden Rule and the teachings of Jesus Christ to modern life.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning. (Note that Document 8 lists many of the various components of progressivism.)

Jane Addams and Hull House
Niagara movement and NAACP
new freedom
Northern Securities Case
bossism
Eugene Debs

Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*
 Jacob Riis
 Federal Reserve System
 social control
 Gifford Pinchot
 Christian socialism
 TR's trust busting
 New Nationalism
 Hepburn Act
 new immigrants
 J. P. Morgan
 social gospel

DBQ 15: THE DEBATE OVER AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

Document 1

The late nineteenth century was a time when racism, as expressed in Social Darwinism, was widely believed. In this selection from *Our Country*, this racist tone is obvious. Strong believed that American Anglo-Saxons were destined to rule the world, spreading their political and religious tenets to all others. This, he believed, was part of nature's and God's design.

Document 2

Alfred Mahan was urging Americans to "look outward," to take our own colonial empire. The demands of modern trade, our geographic position in the world, and public sentiment "demanded" this.

Document 3

President McKinley was expressing what many Americans felt. This was a time of arrogant nationalism, when many Americans truly did feel that "lesser peoples" would benefit from American rule. It was, he felt, our duty. He suggested another reason—that if we did not take the Philippines, someone else (France? Germany?) would. Many Americans found this a persuasive argument. (Students may want to look more closely at McKinley's desire to "Christianize" the Filipino people. What religion were most Filipinos at this time?)

Document 4

Senator Hoar felt that imperial control of other peoples was a gross violation of the democratic principles upon which America was established. And, as this statement shows, he did not share the ethnocentric and arrogant nationalism that McKinley expressed in Document 3.

Document 5

Senator Beveridge's nationalistic rhetoric was widely applauded. It was, he felt, our duty to God, to posterity, to civilization, to the "mission of our race" to annex the Philippines and to bring it the benefit of our rule. As Mahan did, Beveridge also noted the commercial and strategic benefits that colonial empire would bring.

Document 6

Senator Lodge was another strong supporter of imperial empire. Here he tried to refute the argument that Senator Hoar

used in Document 4. Annexation of the Philippines, he argued, was not a violation of the Declaration of Independence, but an expansion of these democratic principles.

Document 7

The Anti-Imperialist League tried to discredit imperialism by pointing to its violation of democratic principles and by associating those principles with Washington and Lincoln. Note also how the prose borrows directly from the Declaration of Independence.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

Hawaii
 Monroe Doctrine
 Teller Amendment
 yellow press
 Panama
 Social Darwinism
 Venezuelan crises
 Aguinaldo
 Open Door Policy
 Dollar Diplomacy
 Theodore Roosevelt
 Platt Amendment
 the *Maine*
 William Jennings Bryan
 the Turner thesis

DBQ 16: A NATIONAL CLASH OF CULTURES IN THE 1920S

Document 1

The KKK of the 1920s tried to defend traditional, rural values against the modern, "strange" ideas coming from urban America. This statement suggested that immigrants were to blame for many of these dangerous ideas. A tone of bitterness and class anger ran through this KKK message. The economic hard times of their members' rural lives was blamed on those "strangers" in the cities who "stacked the cards of success and prosperity against us."

Document 2

The Scopes "Monkey Trial" of 1925 was a significant episode in the urban-rural arguments of the 1920s. It pitted the "modernists," who accepted evolutionary theory, against the "traditionalists," who went so far as to legally ban the teaching of evolution from public schools—requiring instead that biology teachers teach the Christian Biblical creation story. Just as in Document 1, the traditionalists accuse the modernists of being "foreign" or un-American.

Document 3

This letter strongly expresses rural prejudices of the 1920s, blaming immigrants, automobiles, the media, liquor, “fashionable society,” and “alien political church influences” (suggesting the Roman Catholic Church) for the crime wave of the 1920s.

Document 4

To some extent, then, as now, the “culture battle” was generational. The young were more likely to embrace values and practices that traditionalists feared would destroy “human society.”

Document 5

This distraught mother feared that her efforts to raise her son to be an “honorable American” were being corrupted by a “foreigner” and by “rum.”

Document 6

Just as in Document 4, this cartoonist saw some of the traditionalist-versus-modernist argument as generational. The “toys” of the modern, younger generation represented many of the values that the traditionalists condemned.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning.

- flappers
- lost youth
- normalcy
- prohibition
- Harding
- Hoover
- Lindbergh
- Sacco and Vanzetti
- speakeasies
- H. L. Mencken
- immigration restriction
- Billy Sunday
- Coolidge
- Al Smith
- Harding scandals
- Robert La Follette
- fads
- Red scare
- William Jennings Bryan
- Clarence Darrow
- 1928 presidential election
- McNary-Haugen Bill
- Nineteenth Amendment
- assembly line production

DBQ 17: HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES CHANGED SINCE 1950?

Document 1

The divorce rate more than doubled between 1960 and 1980, but since then has dropped significantly. (In part, this drop resulted from an even greater decline in the marriage rate.)

Document 2

Today most Americans live in suburbia, while in 1950 only one in every seven did. Few Americans today live in small towns or in urban neighborhoods. Some students will compare this document to the description in Document 3.

Document 3

The personal sense of community that Doris Kearns Goodwin remembered from her youth is very different from what most Americans know today. Some students will contrast this description with their lives—huge supermarkets, malls, chain restaurants, impersonal relationships, and so forth. Especially good answers will note the decline of “downtowns” as neighborhood stores, restaurants, and theaters closed—unable to compete with the national chains, suburban malls, and multiscreen movie theaters. Some may also note the decline in the work ethic and pride in service, contrasted with Goodwin’s memory of the early 1950s.

Document 4

Women, and even mothers of young children, are much more likely to be working outside the home today than they were in mid-century. Some students will note that this means that children are much more likely today to be raised by strangers and in institutions.

Document 5

The average American standard of living is much higher today than at mid-century.

Document 6

These charts clearly show the “aging of America” as the postwar babies grow into middle and old age. Today there are more than twice as many older Americans than there were 50 years ago.

Document 7

Students will note this statistic! Some will explain it away (incorrectly) by arguing that there were many more youth in 1995 than in 1950. Good answers will relate this sign of social alienation to the other factors noted—working mothers, decline of personal neighborhoods, and so forth. Some will see this (correctly) simply as an index of rising national crime.

Document 8

The U.S. economy has changed radically over the past fifty years. Industrial manufacturing has declined greatly. Services clearly dominate today’s economy, and increasingly Americans have moved from an economy that “makes things” to one that “sells and services things,” from a society of farms and factories to one of malls. (Some students and teachers may find the governmental statistics of special interest, defying the commonly held belief that the federal government has grown too large in recent history. Actually, as a percentage of the

workforce, federal government employment is less than half of what it was in 1950, while state and local government payrolls have risen by more than 500%.)

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could use in their essays from their outside learning.

- post-war baby boom
- impact of automobiles
- homogenization of life
- women's rights
- McDonald's and fast food
- Civil Rights movement
- foreign trade competition
- suburbanization
- decline of extended families
- William Levitt
- birth control
- teen employment
- computers
- materialism
- television
- decline of neighborhoods
- interstate highways
- day-care centers
- mass advertising
- environmental movement
- affluence

DBQ 18: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Document 1

Myrdal described the "treatment of the Negro" as America's greatest scandal. At a time when the "colored people" of the world were seeking independence and nationhood, America's race issue was hurting its reputation in the world. Myrdal called on Americans to live up to the moral principles of equality and liberty.

Document 2

While Myrdal appealed to moral principles, the Supreme Court decision appealed to Constitutional principles—specifically the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws."

Document 3

President Eisenhower appealed to Cold War concerns, saying that the Communist nations would condemn the United States for violating the basic beliefs of democracy and the "faith in fundamental human rights" which all United Nations members proclaimed in the UN Charter. He was appealing to American patriotism, asking that Americans "restore the image of America" in the world.

Document 4

Dr. King, as a clergyman, was appealing to moral principles, and justified his advocacy of nonviolent civil disobedience by describing Jim Crow laws as "unjust" and immoral laws, which contradicted the "moral law" and "the law of God." Teachers may want to emphasize with students the importance of traditional Christian principles to the entire Civil Rights movement. Many of the major leaders of the movement, such as Dr. King, were clergymen.

Document 5

These songs also emphasized the significance of African American religious beliefs to the Civil Rights effort.

Document 6

President Kennedy appealed to patriotism, to democratic American principles, to Christian morality (the Scriptures), and Constitutional rights.

Document 7

Dr. King appealed to American democratic principles, quoting the Declaration of Independence. He also alluded to religious principles, the equality of all of "God's children."

Document 8

President Johnson appealed to Americans' sense of fair play and to the democratic principles upon which the nation was built. The right to vote was, he argued, the most basic of democratic values. He tried to touch the conscience of the members of Congress, reminding them of their oath to God to support the Constitution, which guarantees all Americans the right to vote.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

Teachers (and students) will find that this DBQ exercise is largely self-contained. Because the DBQ asks students to analyze the prose and rhetoric of the Civil Rights movement, few answers will go much beyond the documents included here. This is especially true if the exercise is used as an in-class assignment.

Nonetheless, it is expected that students will include "contextual" information in their essays. They may, for instance, mention the following:

- grandfather clauses
- white citizens councils
- Plessy v. Ferguson*
- George Wallace
- literacy tests
- 1964 election
- Executive Order 8802
- Medgar Evers
- A. Philip Randolph
- desegregation of Armed Forces
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Malcolm X

DBQ 19: WHAT THEN IS THE AMERICAN?

Document 1

Winthrop called on his followers to create a society that would be just, merciful, and humble before God, one in which individuals would focus on the needs and concerns of their neighbors and community.

Document 2

Crèvecoeur celebrated America's freedom, a land where no man had to bow before kings or nobles. Because "each person works for himself," America is "animated" with a spirit of hard work.

Document 3

Jefferson believed that the core values of America could be summed up in these "unalienable rights—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Document 4

Reagan expressed confidence that the essential values of America—"faith, family, work, neighborhood, peace, and freedom"—were strong and vital, that America's and democracy's best days were yet to come.

Document 5

Students will reach various conclusions from these data. Some will bemoan the "inequality" of these incomes, seeing in this a betrayal of America's egalitarian principles.

Document 6

No doubt, students will be impressed with the economic value of education. Just as in Document 5, some will see economic injustice in these data, while others will see a confirmation of the value of hard work and merit. Many will note the large difference between the earnings of men and women and will speculate about the causes.

Document 7

Again, students will find different "truths" in these data. (Be ready to challenge knee-jerk expressions of prejudices.) Most students will see in these data signs of societal pathology—America's disposition toward violence and lawlessness. Some will use these data to question the validity of "American" principles, such as peace, justice, opportunity, and law.

Document 8

It is interesting to see how students use these data. As with the two preceding documents, different students will see different things. But, many will see confirmation of Carter's fears as stated in Document 9—validation of a growing selfishness, materialism, personal indulgence. Some may perceive an apparent American anti-intellectualism.

Document 9

Some students will use this as their primary evidence, sharing Carter's fears that self-indulgence, consumption, self-interest, and a desire to "grasp for ourselves some advantage over others," increasingly define Americans and their dominant values. But as authoritative as a president might be, students need to cite hard data and provide evidence to buttress their opinions.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. This document-based question invites students to state and defend a personal opinion, drawing on their full year of formal study of U.S. history, on contemporary national issues and concerns, and on their own personal life experiences. Perhaps more than any other DBQ in this book, this question is designed to elicit the widest variety of viewpoints from the students in the class. In grading student essays, assess the strength of their thesis, the authority of their evidence, and the persuasiveness of their arguments. Good answers will incorporate most of the documents, but also include much additional data and documentation.

DBQ 20: PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR PURPOSE

Document 1

The early Massachusetts settlers created schools so that children could read and learn from the Bible. By doing this, they could better protect themselves from Satan.

Document 2

Republican government required an educated public. Thus, Jefferson believed that public schools were necessary to maintain representative government.

Document 3

Like Jefferson, Mann believed that public education was necessary for the maintenance of democratic society. Schooling would provide the masses both with moral education and with the opportunity to improve themselves and the nation economically.

Document 4

During this time of massive immigration, many Americans saw the assimilation of the immigrations into American culture as an important purpose of public education.

Document 5

Riis and many other reformers of the Progressive era favored the passage of compulsory education laws requiring the attendance of children and teenagers in public schools. Thus, public schools would protect children and society from the horrors of child labor.

Document 6

Rickover wanted public schools to adopt rigorous science and math curricula so that America could regain (or retain) technological superiority over the Soviet Union. Thus, public schools were to help America "win" the Cold War against communism.

Document 7

Friedman, in quoting Ehler's speech, expresses fear that the poor quality of science and math education is hurting America. But while Rickover wanted public schooling to further America's position in the Cold War's ideological battle with

communism, Friedman wants public education to further America's economic competitive position in the world.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

This DBQ, more than most, invites students' personal opinions. And because of their intimate relationship with public schools, few students will be reticent in expressing those opinions. Still, their answers must demonstrate an understanding of the changing purposes of public schools through the history of America. Good answers will generalize that public schools are expected by society to address social issues and threats of their own times. As the nature of these issues changes, so, too, do the purposes of schooling. Other good answers will emphasize that schooling, in all times, serves to benefit both the individual student and the larger society as a whole.

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study and from more informal learning. The following list suggests some of the things from beyond just the documents that students could use in their essays.

- home schooling
- parochial schooling
- Americanization
- ability grouping
- gifted education
- The Baby Boom
- teachers' colleges
- progressive education
- John Dewey
- Title I
- special education
- Back to Basics
- The GI Bill
- No Child Left Behind law
- McGuffey Readers
- racial segregation
- school prayer

DBQ 21: CHURCH AND STATE: A SEPARATION . . . OR NOT

Document 1

Jefferson supported creating a wall separating government and religion. In the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, he clearly stated his opposition to having any religious requirement for holding government office and his support for personal freedom of religion.

Document 2

Many students will see a violation of the principle of separation of church and state in Lincoln's call for a day of prayer. Some will, no doubt, mention that contemporary presidents have continued to occasionally call for national days of prayer.

Document 3

It will be interesting to see how students use this document. Some will argue that the inclusion of the phrase "under God" is a violation of the separation of church and state, equating it to the New York Public School prayer in Document 4. Others may see it simply as a minor (and acceptable) acknowledgement of America's religious heritage. And it is likely that some will strongly endorse it, arguing that America is a religious nation that should publicly seek God's blessing.

Document 4

This document should elicit strong responses from students. Many come from families who support requiring prayer in public schools. Others will see it as the Supreme Court did, as a violation of the Constitution's First Amendment.

Document 5

This document should also elicit debate. Is placing this phrase on American currency an endorsement of religion by government?

Document 6

The existence of religious diversity in contemporary America presents an obstacle to those who want to see greater association of religion and government. But many students live in culturally homogenous communities—even today. They might argue that, in their communities, expressions of dominant religious faith by government should be allowed.

Document 7

Some students will know Pat Robertson and endorse this advocacy of greater unity of church and state. Others will point to the First Amendment and to Document 6 in their opposition to Robertson's position.

Document 8

Many supporters of stronger church-state relations will seize on this document for evidence to support their positions. This will be a good place to teach students about the difference between correlation and causation.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

The documents provide students with only fragments of evidence. Answers should include relevant information from beyond just the documents—information that students have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts, people, and events that students could include in their essays from their outside learning. (More than most other DBQs in this book, this one will elicit from students strong positions buttressed by personal beliefs and from things learned at home, in church, and from popular culture. While holding students to objective standards of evidence, teachers should not challenge their religious faith or family beliefs.)

- evolution versus creationism
- Thomas Paine
- school calendar holidays
- Great Awakenings
- majority rule
- Christmas carols and trees in public schools
- immigration (pro and con)
- church tax exemptions

Puritans
Supreme Court
blue laws
individual rights
faith-based initiatives
abortion (pro and con)
Scopes trial
tyranny of the majority

DBQ 22: WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD FOR YOU?

Document 1

Students, just as do other historians, will see different things in these data. Pessimists may decry the demise of the American family and project continued demise into the future. Optimists may point to the apparent decline in the divorce rate in recent years and project better times ahead for family stability.

Document 2

It seems pretty certain that twenty-five years from now America will be an increasingly diverse and multiethnic society.

Document 3

It is likely that America's historic migration to the West and to the Southern "sunbelt" will continue. Some students will predict an acceleration of this trend with the huge increase in the number of older, retired Americans.

Document 4

American society will clearly be "older" twenty-five years from now as the postwar "baby boomers" become senior citizens. Some students will note that this may presage a crisis of Social Security and private retirement plans and may result in oppressive medical costs for future Americans. Some may foresee a future generational conflict over taxes, rationed medical care, and the like.

Document 5

These data should tell students that their future affluence depends largely on their level of education. Advanced education will be a prerequisite for personal wealth, and those with only a high school diploma or less will likely be unable to live a middle-class lifestyle. The second set of data should be an endorsement of family stability for most students.

Document 6

Students should see in these data that relatively few of them will find secure employment in manufacturing (some students may explain how American industrial jobs are being lost to countries with lower labor costs). Services (including professions), sales, and government may soon employ three out of every four workers.

Document 7

Clearly, medical costs will soon be a crushing burden for Americans if costs continue to climb at the rate seen in this chart.

Document 8

Some students will echo President Bush's confidence about America's "war on terrorism." But many students will express other sentiments, among them, fear, anger, shame, anxiety, uncertainty. This document should not be used to support or oppose America's war in Iraq or to discuss the causes or results of September 11, 2001. It should be used within the context of the question.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION BEYOND THE DOCUMENTS

Many students will devote most of their essays to predicting how Americans twenty-five years from now will wrestle with the challenges of escalating medical costs, an aging population, racial/ethnic changes, and the possible social cleavages that could result from growing income inequity.

This DBQ exercise invites students to "connect their own dreams" to the data. Consequently, teachers can expect to read much more "opinion" than in most DBQ essays. Still, students must use pertinent data from these documents plus relevant information from beyond the documents—information that they have learned from their classroom study. The following list suggests some of the concepts and events that students could use in their essays from their outside learning.

9/11/01
causes of "family trends"
crime statistics
environmental pollution
factors encouraging ethnic diversity
feminism
global warming
growing college costs
immigration policies
Medicare and Medicaid
NAFTA and free trade
oil and gasoline prices
pension crises
post-war baby boom
Social Security and retirement crisis
Sunbelt migration
technological revolution

