

ANSWER KEY

UNITED STATES HISTORY

Preparing for the Advanced Placement Examination

(Revised Edition)

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1 / EXPLORATION, DISCOVERY, AND SETTLEMENT, 1492–1700

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 14–15*

1. C 2. A 3. B 4. D 5. E 6. C 7. C 8. E 9. C 10. B

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 18*

1. The unique combination of factors should be examined, including: (a) the desire to spread Christianity; (b) competition for foreign trade and the closing of land routes to Asia by the Ottoman Turks; (c) specifics on the technological developments of the Renaissance (printing press, compass, gunpowder, etc.).
2. The English colonies were allowed greater self-rule, ignored the native culture, and were often populated by persecuted religious groups and families seeking to establish permanent communities. Both the Spanish and French colonies were ruled closely by their kings, had varied relationships with the native peoples, and primarily sought wealth, not settlements.
3. Democratic characteristics are evident in the Mayflower Compact in Plymouth, the free men voting in Massachusetts, and the House of Burgesses in Virginia. At the same time, restrictions were placed on women, those without property, and indentured servants, while slavery grew and Native Americans were badly treated.
4. After a limited period of coexistence, the economic, political, and cultural mistreatment of Native Americans became the norm. The only notable exceptions to a legacy of subjugation can be found in the actions of some religious groups (Quakers) and the French.
5. The English had little or no respect for Native Americans and little desire to make religious converts. The French had a small colonial population and a strong desire to make religious converts. They became allied with many tribes and expanded the trade in furs.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 22*

1. Stannard is contradicted by the words of Columbus, who speaks of showing love to the natives and ordering his men “to take nothing from the people.”
2. The words of Spanish missionary Bartolomé de Las Casas clearly show the consistent mistreatment of Native Americans by both Spanish landowners and officials.
3. Like Columbus’ diary, the passage from Coronado contradicts Stannard’s thesis. Coronado states that he treated the natives fairly even when they tried to deceive him and harm his men.

2 / THE THIRTEEN COLONIES AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1607–1750

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 36–38*

1. A 2. E 3. C 4. D 5. D 6. E 7. B 8. C 9. B 10. C

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 38*

1. Distinctions should reflect the range of religious toleration among the colonies, including those with a degree of freedom: Pennsylvania, Maryland; intolerance toward those with different beliefs: Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay; and only a secondary interest in religion: Jamestown, the Carolinas.
2. For the colonies, the positive effects of mercantilism were protection from the French and Spanish, and development of shipbuilding and trading. Negative aspects included limits on manufacturing, low agricultural prices, and high prices for English goods. The major issue became the growing resentment against a far-off government in London attempting to regulate life in the colonies.
3. Expanding English control can be demonstrated by examining a number of actions: an increase in the number of royal colonies, including the Carolinas, New York, and Georgia; new regulations and enforcement, such as the Acts of Trade and Navigation; establishment of the Dominion of New England; and appointment of strong royal governors, including Sir Edmund Andros.
4. Similarities between William Penn and James Oglethorpe are shown in their idealistic motives and detailed plans for their respective colonies. An explanation is needed of the clear differences between Penn's success and the difficulties that led Oglethorpe to surrender Georgia to royal control.
5. A number of factors combined to bring about an increase in slavery at the end of the 17th century: reduced emigration from England; the need for unskilled labor to cultivate rice and indigo; search for a dependable plantation work-force to replace rebellious small farmers and indentured servants; adoption of laws to perpetuate slavery; and growing profitability of the triangular trade.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 41*

1. All three documents call for the colonies to join together to deal with the problem of providing for a common defense. Penn's plan calls for a congress of representatives to meet regularly to resolve differences between the colonies and with individuals who have fled a colony to avoid punishment for crimes or debt. The Albany Plan goes further in establishing a Grand Council to deal with "Indian" matters, new settlements, laws, and taxes.
2. Documents B and C provide plans for representative government. Penn's Plan of Union calls for the appointment of two deputies from each colony to meet once

every two years to resolve differences and support the union and safety of the colonies. The Albany Plan calls for the representatives of each colony's assembly to appoint members of a Grand Council which would make all necessary laws and decisions that would be just and equal.

3. The case demonstrating limited colonial support for a common government can begin with a review of the origins and unique nature of each colony. The fact that the short-lived New England Confederation is the only concrete effort supports this view. At the same time, the number of plans for union and their varying nature, together with the support they received, suggest widespread and growing interest in unity as the means of dealing with common problems.

3 / COLONIAL SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 54–55*

1. C 2. E 3. A 4. B 5. D 6. E 7. A 8. D 9. C 10. D

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 56*

1. Analysis should include references to population growth, immigration, the slave trade, and cultural, governmental, and religious developments.
2. Agriculture was the basis of the colonial economy. Conditions in New England favored small, subsistence farms; in the South, cash crops of tobacco, rice, and indigo were often raised on large plantations. Culturally, in New England the Congregational Church had tax-supported schools, while in the South parents educated their children and belonged to the Anglican Church.
3. Each uniquely contributed to a more democratic society: (a) the Great Awakening empowered the common people to make their own decisions independent of "higher" authority; (b) immigration created a diversity of culture that would gradually modify the dominant English views; (c) the Zenger case encouraged freedom of the press while ignoring English law.
4. It would be difficult to dispute this statement, for economic survival was the primary concern in the 18th century. Examples related to any of the listed cultural areas would reflect either the initial efforts or exceptions which stand out given the limited developments.
5. By 1775, African Americans made up 20 percent of the colonial population. Legal restrictions were placed on them in every colony. Some 90 percent of the African American population lived in the South, where agriculture, the major activity, ranged from subsistence farming to large plantations. Farther north, immigrants from Germany and Ireland strengthened the white majority. New England profited from shipbuilding, fishing, and trading (including slaves). Farming and small industries in the middle colonies made use of indentured servants.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, page 59

1. Mayhew recognized the right of the people to rise up against the abuses of a king, but he warned that extremists should not be allowed to misuse their liberty with “maliciousness” to damage government. Boucher countered Mayhew’s warning by reminding his listeners that liberty is not “a cloak of maliciousness” but rather a lawful right provided by the Lord so that men can disregard unlawful commands.
2. According to Locke, the laws of nature are the only force guiding men’s actions. Locke believed that a community or a society came into existence only when individuals entered into an agreement or a contract with one another; this was the only way that lawful government was formed.
3. In varying degrees, both Mayhew and Boucher questioned any unlimited use of power by the king claiming to be God’s chosen agent, and they defended the right of the people to reject those rulers who misused their authority. The speakers also remind the people not to abuse their liberty. Since religion had played a major role in the founding of many of the colonies, it naturally was used by both those questioning the power of the king and those defending him.

4 / IMPERIAL WARS AND COLONIAL PROTEST, 1754–1775

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 70–71

1. E 2. E 3. B 4. C 5. D 6. C 7. B 8. C 9. E 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 73

1. The basic facts of each of the three incidents or activities selected should be briefly described. Students should cite the continuing debate among the colonists and make distinctions based on the varying tactics and strategies: direct action against British control (Boston Tea Party, *Gaspee*); indirect activities (boycotts); and political efforts (Stamp Act Congress).
2. At the conclusion of the French and Indian War, the American colonists and the British government were dissatisfied with each other. Each side felt that it was primarily responsible for victory in the war, while the other had been an inept ally. The British, now the dominant power in North America, expected the Americans to pay the cost of their defense. The Americans, having helped to defeat the French, Spanish, and their Native American allies, were no longer threatened and saw a fundamental change in their relationship with Britain.
3. As one of the most radical and outspoken colonial leaders, Samuel Adams would have been in complete agreement with the view that the Coercive Acts and the Quebec Act threatened Americans. Lord North, the British prime minister, saw these laws as a necessary punishment and control in response to the violence of the Boston Tea Party.

4. The ideas of the Enlightenment, especially those of John Locke, shaped the thinking of a number of American leaders, including Franklin, Jefferson, and John Adams. A belief in a social contract and men's right to question an unjust government provided the rationale for challenging British rule.
5. The primary purpose of the Townshend Acts (taxes on tea, glass, and paper, and writs of assistance) was to provide revenue to Britain to cover the costs of administering its colonies, while the later Intolerable Acts (the Coercive Acts, closing the port of Boston and quartering troops, and the Quebec Act) were aimed at punishing the colonists for rebellious actions such as the Boston Tea Party.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, page 74

Students' knowledge can provide supporting evidence for the statements of colonial leaders such as Dickinson and Samuel Adams and activities such as the committees of correspondence. Students can challenge the statement by identifying other forces motivating opposition to Great Britain, including economic, religious, and social interests. Documents A, B, C, and D clearly support the statement, while other documents (E, F, and G) go further and question all British rule in the colonies. Document H raises the point whether colonists' claims for representation applied also to "people of colour."

**5 / THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND CONFEDERATION,
1775–1787**

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 89–90

1. E 2. A 3. C 4. C 5. D 6. A 7. A 8. A 9. D 10. C

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 91

1. The moderate Galloway Plan, like the earlier Albany Plan, proposed a union of the colonies within the British empire. The more radical American leaders demonstrated their influence when, after Bunker Hill in 1775, the Second Continental Congress issued a Declaration of the Causes and Necessity for Taking Up Arms that called for colonial troops to oppose British force. Neither document made any reference to independence from Britain.
2. Although both Loyalists to the king and Patriots for independence came from all regions and social classes, there are some generalizations that can be made. Loyalists were common in New York, New Jersey, and Georgia. They tended to be more conservative and wealthier than the Patriots and included most government officials and Anglican clergy. Patriots were a majority in New England and Virginia.

3. One can support the singular importance of Thomas Paine by showing the widespread popular influence of his *Common Sense*. In 1776 it provided a concise rationale for independence and galvanized public support. Alternatives can be found by showing the impact of Lexington and Concord (the first military action and bloodshed) or the Battle of Saratoga, which led to the needed alliance with France and was the turning point for independence.
4. The American Revolution could be called a civil war on two levels. The American colonists were split into opposing groups of Patriots and Loyalists, dividing families and engaging in brutal warfare. The colonists, many of whom had their origins in Britain and had once proudly been a part of its empire, now were fighting to separate themselves from it.
5. Under the Articles of Confederation, the government won the War for Independence, and it passed the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. This government was unable to pay its war debts or levy taxes, however, and it had no executive to enforce the laws.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 95*

1. Three distinct and contradictory views are articulated in these documents. Mansfield argues that Parliament had complete legislative power over the entire British Empire. Wilson recognizes the king's power while rejecting Parliament's. Bland asserts the colonists' right to govern themselves internally while federated with the British empire in foreign affairs.
2. An assessment that compromise was impossible would include a review of the escalating rhetoric (King George's speech) and violence between the colonists and British authorities. Efforts toward compromise (Bland and Wilson) were continued by the Second Continental Congress even after military action started at Lexington.

6 / THE CONSTITUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1787–1800

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 114–115*

1. A 2. B 3. E 4. C 5. B 6. D 7. B 8. C 9. D 10. D

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *pages 115–116*

1. The assessment will review two of the compromises: the presidency, with the electoral college and a four-year term; representation, with the Great Compromise and a bicameral legislature; slavery, with the three-fifths compromise and a ban on importation of slaves after 1808.

2. Each of the following played a major role in the debate over ratification of the Constitution. The Anti-Federalists' fierce opposition was based on their fear of a strong central government, belief in states' rights, and desire for protection of individual rights. The *Federalist Papers* were written by Madison, Hamilton, and Jay in defense of the Constitution in response to opponents of ratification. Compromise with a Bill of Rights proved decisive in gaining a majority for ratification.
3. Both Jefferson and Hamilton had great respect for and loyalty to Washington; Hamilton also had a close personal relationship with Washington. Jefferson opposed Hamilton's plans for debt repayment, tariffs, and a national bank. Jefferson resigned from the cabinet over Washington and Hamilton's neutrality policy during the French Revolution, in which he supported the republican side.
4. A discussion should reflect the popular pressures for war and presidential resistance, with specifics including: Citizen Genêt's efforts to rally American public opinion in support of France against Washington's policy of neutrality; the unpopular Jay Treaty, which improved relations with Britain; the Proclamation of Neutrality, which went against popular opinion in order to avoid war; the XYZ Affair, with its attempts to extort bribes from America, caused a public outcry for war, which President Adams resisted.
5. Factors leading to the development of political parties included: a range of issues, with public opinion clearly divided beginning with ratification of the Constitution; a tradition, derived from Britain and the colonial legislatures, of forming voting factions; and strong, talented, and organized opposing leaders in Hamilton and Jefferson.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 120*

1. The documents are representative of the basic differences between Hamilton's support of a strong central government with implied powers and Jefferson's view of strong states' rights prevailing over a restricted federal government.
2. Banneker's words show the contradiction between Jefferson's efforts to end British tyranny, with his statement that "all men are created equal," and the denial of equality to Banneker's people through the continuation of slavery.
3. Arguments in support of the basic strength of the Constitution would show that it resolved differences such as those between Hamilton and Jefferson over the powers of the federal government, and others over slavery in the new republic. The flaws of the Constitution can be demonstrated by examining the violent actions that ultimately resolved the disputes over states' rights and slavery.

7 / THE AGE OF JEFFERSON, 1800–1816

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 134–135*

1. E 2. D 3. B 4. C 5. A 6. C 7. D 8. C 9. A 10. D

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *pages 135–136*

1. Jefferson's efforts to reduce partisanship can be shown by reviewing his foreign policy, which continued the neutrality program of Washington and Adams, and his domestic policy, which maintained Hamilton's debt-repayment plan and the national bank. A view contradicting Jefferson's statement would show his partisanship in appointing only Republicans to his cabinet and limiting the power of the central government by reducing federal jobs and the military, and by repealing the excise tax.
2. An assessment might include a review of the military efforts of Andrew Jackson and/or William Henry Harrison to force the Native Americans from their lands, and/or Tecumseh's attempt to lead Native American resistance. The Lewis and Clark expedition may be presented as a unique instance of improving relations between the national government and Native Americans.
3. After a description of any three of the listed factors and how they increased the pressure for war, there should also be an explanation of how each one was related to the various sections of the country and whether it ultimately did or did not influence the final decision by Congress and President Madison to declare war.
4. An analysis of Jefferson's belief in a strict interpretation of the Constitution and his rejection of the concept of implied powers should be made together with an evaluation of his rationale justifying the Louisiana Purchase as a proper use of presidential treaty powers for the good of the nation.
5. An analysis should focus on: foreign relations, with other nations respecting the U.S. for surviving a second war with Britain; industry, which developed in response to the British blockade; the growth of nationalistic feelings as Americans turned from Europe with its wars to opportunities in the West; Native Americans, who were abandoned by their British allies and forced to surrender large tracts of land.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 139*

1. Randolph saw the war hawks' greed in desiring to acquire Canada as their primary motivation for war with Britain.
2. Opinions may vary, but a strong case is made for the U.S. being unprepared for war in 1812. In debating whether preparedness should be a major factor in declaring war, reference may be made to how elected officials make decisions

based on their personal views and the public's wishes. Similar situations in U.S. history also can be examined.

3. Either position will include a review of all the major reasons for the war: free seas and trade, frontier problems, and the war hawks. Agreement with the statement would be based on one or more of the other stated reasons for the war. Madison's war message emphasizing British violation of U.S. rights would be the basis for disagreeing with the statement.

8 / NATIONALISM AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 157–159*

1. C 2. E 3. C 4. B 5. A 6. C 7. E 8. C 9. C 10. E

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 159*

1. An examination of President Monroe's nationalistic foreign policy, which maintained the peace, would include a review of the Rush-Bagot Agreement, improving relations with Canada; the Treaty of 1818, resolving differences with Britain; the purchase of Florida; and the setting forth of the Monroe Doctrine.
2. Industrialization in the early 1800s was the result of a combination of factors. An analysis of these factors would include the key aspects of any two of the following. Commercial farming utilized cheap land, easy credit, new machinery, and transportation innovations. The factory system, stimulated by the War of 1812 and using British technology, grew rapidly, with cotton-spinning mills in New England. Labor shortages were solved through the Lowell System of providing housing for the young farm girls who worked in the early mills, and later for large numbers of children and immigrants. The development of roads, canals, steamboats, and railroads created a transportation network for moving manufactured goods.
3. As settlers moved into the western territories, those from the North opposed slavery, while those from the South supported it. The delicate political balance of the nation was disturbed by the question of whether new states from the western territories would permit or prohibit slavery. Jefferson feared the controversy might lead to disunion.
4. Contributing to the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine were Spain's interest in its former South American colonies, Russia's expansion in Alaska, Britain's growing trade in Latin America, and U.S. interest in possible expansion in the Americas.
5. Industrialization caused real wages to grow while the income gap between rich and poor also increased. Women experienced great changes in family life and work roles. Many left the farms for the cities, where most working women were

single. Labor unions arose as a result of poor working conditions but had limited success because of the availability of cheap labor and unfavorable laws. Sectional differences between the industrial North and the agricultural South increased.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, page 163

Since both nationalism and sectionalism were growing during this period, assessments of the statement can vary. Nationalistic sentiments are clear in Documents A, B, C, and D, while Documents E, F, G, and H reflect sectionalist feelings.

9 / SECTIONALISM

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 178–179

1. D 2. E 3. A 4. D 5. D 6. E 7. E 8. A 9. C 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, pages 179–180

1. Discrimination was common, for many descendants of the original European colonists distrusted all people who were in any way different. African Americans, free or slave, in the North or the South, had limited rights. Native Americans were pushed farther away from the new settlements and towns as the U.S. expanded westward. The Irish faced religious discrimination, and there was bias against the Germans based on their language, but both were able to reduce discrimination as they became politically active. The western frontier also offered opportunities for increased personal and political freedom.
2. The Irish came to America poor, with few skills, and a religion—Catholicism—that many resented. They settled in the cities, did low-paying work, and became politically active. The Germans had some wealth, skills as farmers and craftspeople, and went west to build successful farms. Both the Germans and the Irish faced hostility from nativist Americans.
3. Prosperity was found in all sections of the 50-year-old nation as economic growth was rapid under a strong, democratic political system. This positive outlook can be challenged by an examination of the increasing sectional differences and the division over slavery.
4. The South was a tradition-bound, rural society with a rigid class system tied to agriculture. The North was more diverse, with an immigrant population, both rural and urban life, a growing middle class, and both agriculture and industry.
5. Strong evidence in support of a hierarchical system in the South is reflected in the plantation aristocracy, which dominated the region socially, economically, and politically.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 183*

1. As passionate opponents of slavery, both Child and Whittier would challenge Dew's defense of it. They would reject the efforts to say that the Bible recounts slavery as acceptable to many. Child goes beyond condemning slavery to call for an end to racial prejudice everywhere, including the North.
2. One can accept or refute the statement in varying degrees. There is evidence, including Document B, that racial prejudice was widespread, but one may also argue that opinions about slavery were often distinct from those about race. Document F shows some industry in the South, and it can also be shown that agriculture was important in the North. Still, the generalizations, as partially shown in Document A, can also be defended.
3. The strong views about slavery in Documents B, C, and D suggest differences that would support an inevitable breakup. Document A could be used either way.

10 / THE AGE OF JACKSON, 1824–1844

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 194–196*

1. C 2. D 3. B 4. A 5. B 6. C 7. D 8. A 9. E 10. B

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 196*

1. Students are asked to analyze the connections of specific changes, such as the popular election of the president, to the political process in the Jacksonian era. Changes in the political process may include election-campaign tactics aimed at the common man, the strengthening of political party organizations, the growing importance of patronage to political parties, and the shift of politics from the drawing rooms of the elite to party conventions.
2. Students should be able to analyze two elections that reflected the development of democratic politics in the United States. The election of 1828, for example, reflected the impact of the expansion of suffrage and the growing importance of the West as a region in elections. The “log cabin and hard cider” election of 1840 may be the best example of the growing importance of political parties, increased voter interest and participation, the importance of candidates' humble origins, changes in campaigning techniques, and popular issues.
3. A well-developed thesis would offer defined criteria for evaluating President Jackson's performance, such as his ability to handle crisis or conflict, as in the nullification crisis or the Peggy Eaton affair. Students might also consider Jackson's ability—or inability—to work with Congress and the courts (Indian removal), the quality of his advisers (kitchen cabinet), and his impact on the office of the presidency (as a symbol of the common man and in his use of the veto).

4. A strong essay should show awareness of both the accomplishments and limitations of the Jacksonian Democrats. While political democracy and economic opportunities were open to white males (e.g., voting and holding office, entrepreneurship, banking and credit issues, the early labor movement, the role of immigrants), other groups in the population, such as women, Native Americans, and slaves, either enjoyed few benefits from the movement, or could be seen as victims of the movement (e.g., the Indian removal policy, expansion of slavery).
5. Students should be able not only to identify the similarities between the Democratic-Republicans and the later Democrats and between the Federalists and the later Whigs, but also explain the changes over time and the differences between the major parties. The tables on pages 109 and 191 provide evidence for this question.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 201*

1. Tocqueville wrote that in America democracy produced more material benefits for the whole population, a greater sense of peace and contentment, more active participation in politics, and greater self-respect among the common people. But aristocratic societies produced higher quality results, both in government and culture. For Tocqueville, democracy produced quantity, but not quality.
2. Calhoun argued that the states had existed before the Union was created, and therefore had sovereign rights independent of the federal government. The states had created the Union and therefore could nullify the acts of the federal government that violated their rights. Later, in 1860, South Carolina would use the same constitutional argument to defend its secession from the Union.
3. Jackson attacked the Bank of the United States as a tool of the wealthy and of special interests (his political opponents). Jackson argued that the federal government should not be used to provide privileges for the wealthy few, but to protect and benefit all citizens equally.
4. Everett thought that Jackson should have upheld the treaties between the federal government and the Native American tribes against the states' actions. These states violated the legal status of the tribes, which had been guaranteed by federal law. On the issue of the rights of the Indian tribes, Jackson upheld the states' rights position against federal treaties and Supreme Court decisions.
5. In the nullification controversy with South Carolina, Jackson took a strong stand to uphold the supremacy of the federal government against the actions of one state. However, in the controversy about jurisdiction over Indian lands, he gave in to the southern states and popular opinion, which ultimately resulted in the removal of "civilized" tribes from their lands. In the debate over the Bank of the United States, Jackson was consistent with the Jeffersonian position, which questioned the constitutionality of a national bank. This position also suited the popular opinion of most of his southern and western supporters. One might conclude that Jackson was more consistent on the principle of majority rule than on constitutional issues.

11 / SOCIETY, CULTURE, AND REFORM, 1820–1860

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 213–215*

1. D 2. B 3. E 4. D 5. A 6. C 7. E 8. B 9. C 10. E

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 215*

1. Students need a thesis that identifies the ways religion played a role in the reform movements of the era, such as churches providing leadership (the leaders of the reform movements of the era were often either ministers or former clergymen), organization, values, and motivation (perfection, universal salvation, millennialism). The role of religion and churches was especially strong in the temperance, humanitarian, and antislavery movements, but also evident in communal experiments (the Shakers), and in education (the founding of numerous sectarian colleges).
2. A clear thesis evaluating the popularity and failure of the communal experiments can help students avoid creating a laundry list of factors. The optimism, perfectionism, and humanitarian ideals of the era, including early Socialist ideas (New Harmony and Fourier Phalanxes), were underlying sources of public interest. However, religious ideals were also behind communal movements, such as the Shaker and Amana communities. American individualism and ideas of freedom are often cited as underlying causes of the failure of communal experiments, along with the crisis in leadership and economic failure (command versus market economies).
3. Industrialization and the growth of factories demanded that the workforce be more disciplined and productive: sober (temperance), hardworking, and educated (free-school movement). The growth of an urban middle class encouraged the spread of middle-class values (education and temperance) and allowed middle-class women to pursue humanitarian reforms. Temperance and education were also seen as cures for poverty and crime in the growing towns and cities. Improvements in communications from 1820 to 1860 also facilitated conventions (temperance, antislavery, and the women's movement) and the formation of national associations.
4. Although the Transcendentalists and other writers of the era were highly individualistic, seemingly reflecting a key value of the era, many voiced concerns about the established churches and conformity (Emerson and Hawthorne), and the growth of a market economy and materialism (Brooks Farm experiment and Thoreau). Thoreau's essay "On Civil Disobedience" criticized not only the Mexican War, but also the expansion of slavery. In time, the antislavery movement came to overshadow the Transcendentalists' other concerns.
5. How the antislavery movement became more radical can be easily traced from the conservative American Colonization Society through the uncompromising William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass to the violence of Nat Turner

and John Brown. However, analysis of “why” will take a clear thesis that evaluates changing attitudes toward slavery, the role of evangelical religion, and economic and political differences between the South and the North.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 220*

1. Mann reasoned that free public schools were needed to create the educated citizenry that would preserve republican institutions. An educated population would also be more productive and of greater benefit to the economy. Mann also argued that just as the child had a natural right to food and shelter, the child had a natural right to education.
2. This selection from the Seneca Falls Declaration detailed the right to vote, the right to petition, and (especially of married women) the right to own property. The declaration also demanded that society open up schools, colleges, and “profitable” employment to women. Finally, it dealt with the issues of two standards of morality and promoting women’s self-respect.
3. Like Garrison and Douglass, Garnet was a radical abolitionist who demanded immediate emancipation, without compensation for the slave owners, because slavery was a gross evil. However, as this reading suggests, he was more outspoken on the use of violence as necessary to gain freedom, much like later violent abolitionists, such as John Brown.
4. Contrary to most of the antebellum reformers, who thought moral persuasion and individual enlightenment would bring about change, Brownson anticipated the Populist and Progressive reformers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, who demanded government action and legislation to address the problems in society. His solution to the problems of privilege, distribution of wealth, and workers’ rights was the radical proposal for government to abolish hereditary property.
5. Most antebellum reformers relied on moral persuasion to bring about change, at least in the early stages of the movements. However, by the 1850s, even popular and successful reforms, such as the temperance movement, turned to prohibition laws to achieve their aims. Reformers who demanded significant institutional changes, such as the abolition of slavery and granting of equal rights to women, made little progress before the Civil War. A case could be made that, at least in the northern states, the creation of new institutions such as public schools and asylums proved more successful than the reform of traditional ones.

12 / TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPANSION, 1830–1860

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 233–234*

1. D 2. B 3. D 4. C 5. A 6. A 7. C 8. A 9. C 10. D

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 235*

- 1.** This question emphasizes student knowledge and understanding of the negotiations and treaties in which the United States was involved during this era. Among the evidence to be considered are: U.S.-British negotiations resulting in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty; the history of claims and treaties with Spain, Russia, and Great Britain related to the West and the Oregon territories; debate over the annexation of Texas through the election of Polk; and negotiations with Mexico over California prior to the Mexican War.
- 2.** To answer this question, students need to explain manifest destiny and link the concept and movement to the historical evidence, as a causal factor. The origins of the westward movement, independence of Texas, Oregon issue, Mexican War, Ostend Manifesto, and Gadsden Purchase are key events that could be used to assess a thesis.
- 3.** This two-part question on causes and effects (results) should also challenge students to distinguish between immediate and underlying causes: violation of U.S. borders versus territorial expansion and slavery. There were also both immediate and long-term effects, including new territories, relations with Mexico, and the issue of slavery in the territories (the Wilmot Proviso, prelude to the Civil War).
- 4.** Students should be able to evaluate the impact of two factors on the geographical, economic, and social development of the West from 1820 to 1860 and the role of such events as the gold rush to California and overland migrations. In a strong essay, students' assessment of the impact of factors should show some awareness of the chronological development of the West and even the influence of Turner's frontier thesis.
- 5.** Some historians consider Jefferson the originator of U.S. expansionist policies, which gives rise to this question about the expansionism of Polk. Comparisons between Jefferson and Polk may include: goals, motives, role of negotiations, constitutional issues, role of military force, party politics, and attitude toward agriculture, economic development, and slavery.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, *page 235*

As in any DBQ essay, students need to have a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses the complexity of the question. Among the other causes that could be analyzed from the documents or outside knowledge include: party politics, national pride, attitudes of cultural superiority, international competition, the Oregon question, California's harbors, the continental railroad, industrial development, and trade. The slavery analysis should also consider issues of slave power, the Ostend Manifesto, the Walker expedition, and the economics of slavery.

13 / THE UNION IN PERIL, 1848–1861

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 255–257*

1. D 2. E 3. D 4. A 5. C 6. B 7. B 8. C 9. B 10. D

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 257*

1. Students should be able to identify the significant parts of what became known as the Compromise of 1850, and be able to analyze the impact of these compromises on the conflicts of the 1850s. The Fugitive Slave Law caused the most conflict in the North, while the South used violations of the law as evidence of northern disregard for the Constitution.
2. In developing and supporting their thesis, students need to explain the platform of the movement and the racial attitudes common among Free-Soil supporters in the North. The movement could be seen as a coalition united behind such slogans as “free soil, free labor, free men,” which appealed to many voters with the promise of free homesteads in the West, without any competition from slavery or a free black population. Origins of the movement in the Wilmot Proviso supported by northern Democrats would also give the analysis a historical setting.
3. The origins of the Republican party in the debate following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act need to be analyzed in an effective essay. Coalition building of northern Democrats, former Whigs, and supporters of the Know-Nothing movement helps to explain the party’s development into the majority one in the North. An analysis of the Republican platform, especially on slavery and economic development, would help explain its appeal to northern voters.
4. This question directs students to analyze the effects of two events as contributing to the Civil War. A well-developed thesis would connect these events to the student’s analysis of the main cause(s) of disunion, e.g., slavery and the constitutional crisis, while supporting one’s thesis with additional historical evidence, e.g., the casual relationship of the *Dred Scott* case, the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, and the election of 1860.
5. This question provides a more open-ended opportunity for students to assess the main cause of the Civil War. Among the interpretations of the causes of the Civil War besides the slavery issue that students might consider are states’ rights; disputes over the interpretation of the Constitution; economic issues, such as the tariff and internal improvements; cultural differences, extremism, and fanaticism on both sides. Of course, the issue of slavery has moral, legal, economic, and social dimensions which can be related to a series of events from the early 1800s.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTIONS, *page 260*

This DBQ provides documents related to the extremism and the emotional context of the differences that led to disunion and war. The statement to be assessed reflects

the point of view that compromise on the issues, including slavery, was possible, and that the abolitionists in the North and the “fire-eaters” in the South poisoned the political debate of the 1850s. In this context, Lincoln can be seen as promoting conflict, while Douglas is a symbol of compromise and peace. Of course, students may effectively argue that moral issues such as slavery could not be compromised, and that the conflict was inevitable.

14 / THE CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 282–283

1. D 2. E 3. B 4. D 5. C 6. A 7. D 8. A 9. B 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 284

1. Students’ thesis should address why the South lost the Civil War. Economic factors include agriculture, industry, banking, transportation, foreign trade or aid, and immigration. Political considerations include party leadership, party and governmental organization, public opinion, and nationalism versus states’ rights.
2. Students might find it useful to distinguish between goals and means in approaching this question. Lincoln often receives praise for his effort to preserve the Union and end slavery, while he is criticized for the abuse of presidential powers, including violation of the Constitution, especially the suspension of habeas corpus and the use of military courts. Mark Neely’s *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* is an excellent in-depth source for this question.
3. Students could approach this question by analyzing specific leaders (for example, contrasting McClellan and Grant) and by assessing overall tactics and strategies, such as limited and total war. Civil War generals, including Lee, are often criticized for using outmoded tactics that failed to take into account improved weapons and technology, which resulted in high numbers of casualties.
4. This question deals with the controversy whether political actions were responsible for the emancipation of slaves, or whether the actions taken by the slaves themselves forced the political decisions made by Congress and President Lincoln. Students need to be able to support their analysis with specific historical evidence, such as the Confiscation acts, Emancipation Proclamation, Thirteenth Amendment, and participation of African Americans in the Union armed forces.
5. Students may conclude that the centerpiece of their essay is the end of slavery and the extension of the benefits of freedom to millions of Americans. However, an effective essay should also deal with the implementation of the agenda of the Republican party to promote a modern industrial economy, including high protective tariffs, a transcontinental railroad, a national banking system, the Homestead Act, and the Morrill Land Grants for higher education.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, page 288

1. Lincoln argued that in 1776 the Founders created a single nation, not 13 independent sovereign states. Therefore, no state had legal authority to leave the Union on its own. Calhoun took the opposite position, declaring that the Declaration of Independence created 13 “free and independent states.” The states, having created the union, therefore had the right to nullify unconstitutional laws or even to secede. Both sides could find support in the history of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the U.S. Constitution to support their position, which is part of the reason why it took a civil war to settle the issue.
2. In these selections, Chesnut recorded the growing sense of defeat and despair among soldiers, civilians, and even the clergy. To the South, the end of slavery seemed to be an accepted fact by 1864, but defeat by northern forces and the death of the Confederacy was a harsh blow.
3. Document C provides evidence of the active role the slaves took in gaining their freedom. They often anticipated the arrival of the Union forces and made the first move to escape. In Document D, a white officer recounts the bravery and skills of black troops, which proved important to the ultimate success of the Union armies.
4. Students can easily identify the words “dedicate” and “dedicated,” but discussion of the significance of their use should encourage more in-depth interpretation of Lincoln’s speech. The dedication of a cemetery allowed Lincoln to remind the nation (his speech was well reported) of its origins in the Declaration of Independence and its dedication to the proposition that all men were created equal. Some could see that the “unfinished work” was to make the proposition a reality for the former slaves. Garry Wills’ *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America* is an excellent resource for this question.

15 / RECONSTRUCTION, 1863–1877

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 303–305

1. E 2. A 3. C 4. C 5. D 6. E 7. B 8. D 9. B 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 305

1. Effective analysis of both goals and strategies should begin with a well-developed thesis. For example, while the strategies of both Presidents Lincoln and Johnson may seem similar (the 10 percent plan), their goals differed greatly. Some could argue the opposite: while the strategies of Lincoln and the Congress differed, their goals were similar, e.g., protection of the freedmen and women.

2. This question demands that students understand the division and sharing of powers between the federal and state governments, from their origins in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. For example, before the Fourteenth Amendment, the federal Bill of Rights protected American citizens only from actions of the federal government, not the states. Before the Fifteenth Amendment, the decision about who could vote was left up to the state governments. Of course, a full understanding of U.S. history is needed to see how these amendments would play out over the next century, especially in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.
3. Students' essays may explain the following political and social changes: new state constitutions, elimination of slavery, universal male suffrage, civil and property rights for blacks and women, and modernized penal codes. The economy was modernized by the building of roads, bridges, and railroads, while public schools, hospitals, and a variety of asylums were established to address some of the humanitarian needs of society.
4. The federal Grant administration (Crédit Mobilier, Whiskey Ring), the Reconstruction governments in the South (kickbacks and bribes, increased state debts), and urban governments (New York City's Tweed Ring) all had problems with corruption and scandals. A more detailed review of business corruption is found in the next chapter (watering stocks, price-fixing, monopolies).
5. An analysis of this question could take into account the long-term impact of civil rights laws and three constitutional amendments, the establishment of free public schools in the South, the founding of black churches and colleges, the development of the institution of sharecropping, and immigration to cities and areas outside the South. Analysis of southern reactions could include the rise of white-supremacist organizations and racial segregation and the loss of voting and property rights.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 309*

1. The report of Carl Schurz can be related to later resistance to the civil rights acts and constitutional amendments of congressional Reconstruction, including the growth of terrorist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. The legacy of the war and the rejection of the Republicans' Reconstruction programs was also evident in the development of "Solid South" voting for the Democratic party.
2. The Black Codes in this document reflect the desire of former slave owners for a stable and controllable workforce. Many commentators have concluded that the Black Codes set up another form of enslavement of African Americans.
3. Stevens, like many other Republicans, feared that when the former Confederates regained the right to vote and hold office that they would combine with northern Democrats (unfavorably characterized as "copperheads") and form a political majority in Congress that could undo the Republicans' Re-

construction legislation. Constitutional amendments cannot be easily overturned. (They need a two-thirds majority in Congress and ratification by three quarters of the states.)

4. Douglass was referring to the constitutional and legislative accomplishments of Reconstruction, such as the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. His hope was that Americans would someday live up to these constitutional guarantees, which by the 1880s were being ignored in many parts of the country.
5. All four documents provide evidence that the Reconstruction era from 1865 to 1877 failed to change the hearts and minds of those defeated in the Civil War. Documents C and D, however, provide arguments that Reconstruction so fundamentally changed the laws of the United States that in future generations Reconstruction would provide a legal foundation for the achievement of equal rights.

16 / THE LAST WEST AND THE NEW SOUTH, 1865–1900

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 325–327*

1. B 2. E 3. D 4. C 5. B 6. D 7. B 8. C 9. D 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 327*

1. In the 1830s eastern Native Americans were removed to open lands west of the Mississippi River, but starting in the 1850s the government attempted to limit Native Americans to specific areas (reservations), which resulted in a era of Indian wars lasting to 1890. The Dawes Act of 1887 marked another shift in policy, from reservation control to individual ownership of tribal lands, supporting the assimilation movement. The 1930s marked yet another shift in policy under the New Deal to the reestablishment of tribal lands, organization, and culture.
2. Analysis of the influence of two factors on the development of the last West could include the diversity of workers and settlers, effects on Native Americans, improvements in transportation, impact on the national economy of western resources and products, rise of towns and cities, and effects on government policies. The influence of the West on American character and culture could be related to the significance of the frontier in American history.
3. Analysis of federal government actions could include land grants to build the western railroads, the Homestead Act, policies regarding the Native Americans, gold and silver standards, and immigration policy. However, an analysis of the laissez-faire policies of post-Civil War-era governments should also be considered.

4. The role of trusts, costs of middlemen, railroad freight rates, high bank interest rates, the monetary policies of the government, and political corruption during the Gilded Age are among the key themes that could be used to support the first position. Farmers could be blamed for overproduction, settling on marginal lands, borrowing money for unwise expansion, and failing to take into account changes in the emerging global market for agricultural products.
5. The “new South” promoted economic diversity. It especially encouraged industrial and transportation improvements, tax reform, and a more open political climate. The case for traditional attitudes might be reflected in the dependence on a one-crop economy, sharecropping, racial segregation, and planter-class domination in politics.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, page 332

1. Red Cloud identified abuses by the U.S. Army, confinement on reservations, dishonest government agents, government deception in the treaty-making process, and government violation of treaties as causes of the suffering of Native Americans.
2. Among the farm problems identified in Document B are unfair railroad shipping rates, corruption of the political process by bribes, capture of the best lands by speculators and railroads, and high bank interest rates. Other causes of falling farm profits included overproduction by farmers, overexpansion on borrowed money, unwillingness to keep up with changes in technology and the marketplace, and bad weather and disease.
3. The Supreme Court argued that separation of the races was a “reasonable regulation” because it was within the “police power” of a state to promote public peace and good order based on the customs and traditions of its people. This “separate but equal” ruling took a narrow, legalistic interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment and ignored the social and economic consequences of segregation.
4. The dissenting opinion of Justice Harlan against the majority opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson* is most famous for the phrase, “Our Constitution is color-blind.” Harlan argued that using race as a criterion in restricting individual liberty violates the fundamental idea of personal liberties and constitutional rights.
5. The case for too much government could be supported by the reservation policy regarding Native Americans, special favors for industry and business, including land grants, high tariffs, and a tight-money policy that farmers opposed. However, in the late 19th century, western farmers began to look to the federal government for protection against railroads, trusts, and banks. The withdrawal of federal protection for blacks in the South after Reconstruction was a key cause of the growth of segregation laws.

17 / THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL AMERICA, 1865–1900

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 348–349*

1. D 2. B 3. E 4. C 5. A 6. C 7. B 8. D 9. E 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *pages 352–353*

1. The standard analysis is that the United States was in an exceptionally strong position in all factors needed for industrialization. Natural resources were abundant, such as iron ore deposits in Minnesota's Mesabi Range and oil fields in Pennsylvania. European and American capital was plentiful to complement the inventive genius of the age (Edison, Westinghouse, Bell). Low-wage industrial workers were available first from Western Europe, then from Eastern Europe; later, African Americans from the South took the new jobs. Evidence of innovative business management can be found both in organization practices (corporations, trusts, vertical integration) and in individual leadership (Carnegie, Rockefeller, Swift).
2. Students need to make some judgment about the positive effects of consolidation, such as increased efficiency (evident in the railroad industry) and benefits of mass production, as well as the negative implications of trusts and other forms of monopolies that controlled production, distribution, and prices. Analysis of specific sectors of the economy, such as railroads, steel, oil, retailing, and consumer products, could result in a wide variety of responses.
3. In general, the government followed a laissez-faire, probusiness policy, and regulation had little effect until the Progressive era. The federal government's role as a promoter of industrial development is evident in liberal land, timber, and mineral policies, which unlocked the rich resources of the country; a patent system that encouraged inventions; high tariffs that protected American industries; a generally open immigration policy that provided a surplus of workers; and a generally antiunion policy that helped keep down wages. An insightful answer will show awareness of the inconsistencies. For example, the government subsidized the railroads with land grants, later passed the Interstate Commerce Act to regulate them, yet supported the railroads in the Pullman strike.
4. Both the National Labor Union and the Knights of Labor attempted to organize all workers and had broad reform programs that included an eight-hour workday, equal rights for blacks and women, the end of child labor, abolition of trusts, and setting up of workers' cooperatives. The AF of L's more conservative approach focused on skilled workers and practical benefits, such as higher wages and better working conditions. A possible conclusion is that the conservative, pragmatic approach proved more successful in the American political environment.

5. Industrialization did help to expand the number of middle-class occupations (accounting, clerical work, sales), and the middle class to a great extent enjoyed the new factories' consumer products. A case could also be made that industrialization increased the options for working women, even though they were not paid as well as their male counterparts and their occupations usually lacked status (e.g., secretarial work). Assessment of industrialization's impact on wage earners, especially in factory jobs, is also mixed. Low wages promoted child labor, but, in the long run, industrialization improved the standard of living for many working-class families.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, page 353

A well-developed thesis that takes into account the complexity of the question is superior to simplistic condemnation of or praise for the industrial leaders as "robber barons" or "industrial statesmen." Documents A, D, and F most directly support the robber baron arguments, while Documents B, G, and H are more obvious arguments for the role of industrial statesmen. Documents C and E can be used to support or explain Social Darwinism and the laissez-faire policies of the era. Outside knowledge of the methods and effects of leading industrialists, financiers, and inventors, such as Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan, Vanderbilt, Pullman, and Hill, is critical to the support of an effective essay. A comprehensive essay would also reflect an understanding of the criticisms by intellectuals, politicians, and farm and labor leaders of the business leaders of the Gilded Age.

**18 / THE GROWTH OF CITIES AND AMERICAN CULTURE,
1865–1900**

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 373–374

1. B 2. D 3. B 4. A 5. C 6. A 7. C 8. E 9. A 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 375

1. The new immigrants often faced hard challenges in adjusting to the stress of urban life, industrial employment, and increasing prejudice against them from the native population (old immigrants), who had different ethnic backgrounds, religions, incomes, languages, educational levels, and political backgrounds. The fact that the new immigrants were often seen as tools of the political machines caused further prejudice among middle-class Americans.
2. The technological development of steel-framed skyscrapers allowed the growth of a business district in the central city. Improvements in transportation replaced the "walking city" with cities and suburbs more often segregated by wealth.

Immigration swelled the population of cities, reducing labor costs and fueling the growth of slums and ethnic neighborhoods. Political party machines cleverly used the votes of immigrants and the bribes of businessmen to create powerful and corrupt forces in urban life.

3. A unifying theme could be that each person took a different approach to relieving and reducing the poverty of the late 19th century. Addams provided leadership for a variety of programs to help the poor, especially immigrants at the grass roots level, through settlement houses. George dealt with the problems of industrialization associated with the unequal distribution of wealth. Rauschenbush attempted to awaken a social conscience in the churches so that they would take up the cause of social justice.
4. Areas of contribution to be analyzed include: the contributions of Twain, Crane, London, and Dreiser in literature; the emphasis on realism and impressionism and the emergence of abstraction in painting; the development of the skyscraper and influence of Richardson, Sullivan, Wright, Burnham, and Olmsted in architecture and urban planning; and the growth of symphony orchestras, opera companies, marching bands, jazz and the blues in music.
5. The growth of big cities with large native and immigrant populations, along with shorter work schedules and more income to spend, can help explain the diversity and growth of mass entertainment and the popular press. Gender, race, and social class differences were also evident in leisure activities such as baseball, football, bicycling, horse racing, boxing, pool, golf, tennis, polo, and yachting. In this era of segregation, blacks were excluded not only from private clubs, but also from professional sports, such as baseball.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 379*

1. The development of the social sciences, among them sociology, in the last half of the 19th century provided reformers with the analytical tools and statistical data to support their efforts. Also, the concentration of poverty, crime, vice, and poor working conditions in cities and factories could no longer be easily dismissed as caused by the moral “defects” of individuals.
2. Ely argued that private and religious organizations by themselves were inadequate to the task of dealing with the problems of the cities. Late-19th-century reformers like Ely increasingly looked to government as the solution for the vast social and economic problems of the day. For the laissez-faire governments of the Gilded Age, this was a revolutionary idea.
3. In this selection, Jane Addams confronts the causes of the failure of immigrant children to do well in the public schools. In a surprisingly modern analysis, Addams identifies the teacher’s lack of understanding of the immigrants’ culture and language as a cause of the children’s academic failure. These children were often torn between the culture of the American schools and the culture of their parents.

4. Eliot promoted the elective system and more choice in higher education as a necessary response to the growing specialization in American society. The increasing complexity of technology, the economy, and the professions demanded “expert” training. The introduction of the elective system in education in many ways also marked the end of the earlier Jacksonian democratic ideal that anyone was equal to any job.
5. The era of post-Civil War industrialization promoted the growth of cities, immigration, a more complex market economy, and the explosion of technological advances. In many ways, these changes overwhelmed the political and cultural values of earlier generations. The authors of these late-19th-century selections were advocating ways in which government, education, and society needed to adjust to the consequences of industrialization.

19 / NATIONAL POLITICS IN THE GILDED AGE, 1877–1900

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 392–394*

1. C 2. D 3. A 4. E 5. E 6. D 7. B 8. D 9. B 10. E

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 395*

1. One approach to this question is to look at the long line of “forgettable presidents” from Rutherford B. Hayes through Chester A. Arthur. The combination of laissez-faire economics and party politics put government on the sidelines for much of the Gilded Age. The leaders of the era were industrialists, capitalists, and inventors like Carnegie, Rockefeller, Morgan, and Edison.
2. President Cleveland and Congress followed a conservative, hands-off approach to the Panic of 1893 by repealing the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 (which weakened the gold standard), borrowing \$65 million from banker J. P. Morgan to support the dollar and the gold standard, and using the courts to stop labor strikes. The federal government also ignored the demands of Coxey’s “army” for public works programs to create jobs.
3. Critical problems of the times—low farm prices, high interest rates, corruption in government, and consolidation of business into trusts—were largely ignored by the Democrats and Republicans. Both the Greenback and Populist parties tried to deal with the money-supply problem, which many farmers, creditors, and working people thought was at the bottom of their financial difficulties.
4. The Populist movement gained support because neither of the major parties in the early 1890s seemed able to address the economic and governmental concerns of farmers, workers, and consumers. The primary reason for the Populists’ decline was that their free-silver platform was taken over by Bryan and the

Democrats in 1896, and many of their other reforms, such as a graduated income tax and the direct election of senators, were adopted by Progressives in both parties.

5. The election of McKinley in 1896 marked the beginning of an era of Republican political dominance of the White House and Congress that lasted until the 1930s. The discovery of gold in Alaska produced moderate inflation, which promoted economic recovery and higher farm prices, thus ending much of the unrest in the country. Republicans became associated with economic prosperity and strong nationalism.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, page 395

The quote assumes that a more active approach was needed by government to address the issues of the Gilded Age. A sophisticated essay would show some awareness of the debate between laissez-faire and active regulatory government. All of the documents could be used to support arguments related to the failure of government on different levels during the Gilded Age. Documents A, B, and H explain some of the causes of government inaction. Document C deals with corruption in Congress, while Document D deals with bias in the courts. Documents E, F, and G provide evidence that government was involved in investigating and regulating the abuses that came with industrialization, but these efforts were often ineffective. The outside knowledge that would be helpful in addressing this question would include policies of the two major political parties, the role of patronage in politics, the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, the role of government in labor conflicts, the history and platforms of the Greenback and Populist parties, and knowledge of the major Supreme Court decisions of the era.

20 / FOREIGN POLICY, 1865–1914

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 417–418

1. E 2. D 3. D 4. A 5. D 6. A 7. C 8. B 9. B 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 419

1. Roosevelt and Mahan would agree that it was “splendid”; Bryan and Aguinaldo would disagree. Bryan was fundamentally opposed to war and to any imperialistic actions by the U.S. Roosevelt viewed the war as an opportunity both for his own political career and for the U.S. to expand its role as a world power. Mahan saw the war as justification for his call for a strong navy; the war also provided new overseas bases for the navy. Aguinaldo in the Philippines had fought with the Americans against Spain only to see his country still denied independence when the U.S. took control.

2. The influence of economic motives was widespread, as shown in the Roosevelt Corollary, the Open Door policy toward China, and Taft's dollar diplomacy. Mahan's writing and Theodore Roosevelt's policy went beyond simple economics to the role of the U.S. as a world power that was spreading its ideals.
3. Both Roosevelt and Wilson used the military to intervene in Latin America. While Wilson spoke of moral diplomacy and anticolonialism, he also recognized the need to protect the Panama Canal, as did Roosevelt. Wilson went even further than Roosevelt in using troops to maintain stability in Nicaragua, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico.
4. A combination of factors came together in the 1890s to bring the U.S. to declaring war on Spain. Yellow journalism, led by Hearst and Pulitzer, incited public opinion to demand U.S. intervention in Cuba. The sinking of the *Maine* was the final event that moved President McKinley to ask for a declaration of war. U.S. business interests felt that their investments in the Cuban sugar industry were threatened by Spanish misrule. Cuban revolutionaries had been trying for years to involve the U.S. in their fight to overthrow Spanish rule.
5. There are many ways to interpret the competitive relationship between the U.S. and Japan in the first part of the 20th century. An analysis should review events such as the Russo-Japanese War, the "Gentlemen's Agreement," the Great White Fleet, and the Root-Takahira Agreement.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, page 423

1. Strong's views in Document A are clearly both racist and nationalistic, as demonstrated in paragraph 2.
2. Henry Cabot Lodge's expansionism was largely completed by 1905 with the construction of the Panama Canal, and the acquisition of bases in Cuba, Hawaii, and throughout the Pacific.
3. There is a wide range of opinion about U.S. colonial policy. Some options that McKinley might have considered were support for the Filipinos and a precise timetable for Philippine independence, or an Open Door policy there.
4. Opinions will vary as to whether the four motives have equal weight, but the documents directly speak to all four having substantial influence on U.S. actions. Racism is evident in Document A and suggested in Document D; nationalism is reflected in Documents A and B; commercialism is supported in Document B; and humanitarianism is invoked for different reasons in Documents C and D.

21 / THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1901–1918

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 441–442*

- 1. C 2. E 3. A 4. B 5. D 6. B 7. C 8. B 9. E 10. D**

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 443*

1. Both saw the need for reforms to help the people. Roosevelt's New Nationalism called for more government regulation and social welfare programs, while Wilson's New Freedom meant limits on big business and big government.
2. The middle class provided both the leadership and votes for the Progressive movement. Muckrakers stimulated the Progressive era by publishing the facts about the widespread abuses in society. Pragmatism provided a philosophical basis for the ordering of society's morals, ideals, and knowledge. Presidential leadership provided by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson overcame entrenched conservative opposition.
3. Efforts to combat government corruption and political machines resulted in reforms, including the secret ballot, to stop voter intimidation; direct primaries, to reduce the power of political bosses; direct election of U.S. senators, to curb the influence of big business; and initiative, referendum, and recall, to allow the people to bypass legislative inaction.
4. Washington and Du Bois were leaders recognized for their dedication to improving conditions for African Americans, and both had achieved national renown. Washington, born a slave in the South, emphasized education and economic improvement as the way to a better life. Du Bois, a college-educated northerner, militantly demanded equal rights before anything else.
5. An analysis will show that Progressives made limited efforts to assist labor unions, African Americans, and women's suffrage. Progressive support for the working class is found in efforts to improve working conditions and urban life and to limit child labor.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 446*

1. Anthony recognized that with the ballot individuals have not only a direct voice in their government but also gain influence over elected officials. The male Progressives also emphasized the power of the vote to achieve reforms, including the direct primary and the direct election of U.S. senators, and initiative, referendum, and recall.
2. The pledge is based on the doctrine of social improvement, a basic Progressive belief, and repeats the Progressives' call for a living wage, an eight-hour day, courts of arbitration, and justice, not greed.

3. Big-business leaders and radical Socialists did not join in the Progressive movement. The efforts to end abuses were based on the active involvement of urban middle-class Protestant church leaders, feminists, African Americans, and unions.

22 / WORLD WAR I, 1914–1918

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 463–465

1. B 2. A 3. C 4. A 5. D 6. C 7. C 8. A 9. A 10. C

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 465

1. It should be pointed out that U.S. opposition to the war had been strong even though many, including Wilson, were sympathetic to the Allies. The statement is supported by the Germans' decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare in January 1917, and their actions in March 1917—sinking unarmed U.S. merchant ships, and sending the Zimmermann telegram.
2. Wilson's commitment to establishing a permanent peace after declaring war is reflected in actions that included an insistence on a "peace without victory," the announcement of his Fourteen Points, and his work on the Treaty of Versailles.
3. African Americans in large numbers migrated north to jobs in the war industry, and many served with distinction in the still segregated military services. Civil liberties were threatened by the Espionage and Sedition acts, which punished opposition to the war. Under the control of government boards, U.S. business boomed as it supplied both the U.S. and the Allies. Women entered the workforce in larger numbers, and their contributions to the war effort ensured passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving them the right to vote.
4. Wilson's refusal to compromise with the reservationists, and his strategy of winning public support through a personal tour that ended with his illness, may be considered reasons for defeat. Factors outside Wilson's influence—public disillusionment with foreign affairs and partisan politics—also contributed to defeat of the treaty.
5. The goal of foreign policy during both periods was to avoid entanglement in European wars, although large sectors of public opinion pressed for U.S. involvement. There are, however, significant differences. In the early 1800s, the U.S. was a new, unproven nation, with limited resources, struggling to remain independent of Europe. In 1914, the U.S. was a world power with major financial and trading interests in Europe.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, page 465

All of the documents relate to the reasons for the new policy of going to war. Documents C, E, G, and H support the position of going to war, while Documents A, D, and F present critical views. Judgments will vary whether the reasons are consistent with traditional values, so that opposition to the war can be defended as traditional, brave American independence (Document F), or attacked as the work of an enemy of America (Document G). Document B may be used either way.

23 / A NEW ERA: THE 1920s

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 486–487

1. A 2. C 3. B 4. C 5. A 6. C 7. B 8. E 9. B 10. C

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 488

1. Social conflict is found in varying degrees in the 1920s. Religious fundamentalism (based on the Bible and creationism) clashed repeatedly with modernism and evolutionism, as seen in the Scopes trial; the Ku Klux Klan, with its stated prejudice against African Americans and immigrants, gained widespread support and political power; Prohibition, the outlawing of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, became a law that many felt justified in defying, for it divided the Democratic party as well as urban and rural voters; and nativism was aroused by postwar immigrants, who were viewed either as competitors for jobs or radical revolutionaries.
2. In support of the view that only a small minority of Americans benefited from the growth in the 1920s one can describe the problems of farmers and the fact that 40 percent of all families had incomes below the poverty line. To argue that prosperity was widespread, one can point to substantial increases in real income for the middle and working classes and the improved standard of living (electricity, indoor plumbing, central heating) for millions.
3. The Ku Klux Klan was revived in the 1920s because of increased immigration and concerns over declining moral values. Through its use of advertising and its support of political candidates, the Klan grew rapidly among the lower middle class in small cities and towns.
4. Both Wilson and Coolidge believed in limited government, but there the similarity ended. Wilson opposed big business, while Coolidge supported it. Unlike Coolidge, who was only concerned with cutting the federal budget, Wilson believed in active presidential leadership and government assistance for those in need.

5. An analysis will show unilateral U.S. actions: tariffs were generally increased to protect U.S. business interests, and war debts and reparations for the U.S. were dealt with through an independent policy, including the Dawes Plan, which demanded repayment from all, both allies (Britain and France) and enemy (Germany). Joint actions included the Kellogg-Briand Pact, an international agreement to end war; and the Washington Conference of the world's major naval powers, a joint effort to achieve disarmament.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, page 491

1. In the document written by the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Hiram Evans, the appeal of the Klan is cited in reference to three factors: racism, religious prejudice, and one's "American heritage" (nativism).
2. In this writing, James Weldon Johnson's approach is similar to Booker T. Washington's. Johnson points to the achievements of black people (in this instance, in the arts) as the means of shattering stereotypes and racial prejudice and demonstrating ability. W. E. B. Du Bois would disagree with this approach, as he believed that African Americans did not have to demonstrate any special ability or skills but rather had an innate, equal right to full citizenship and respect.
3. Ewing's plea for "no-fault" divorce laws would appear to coincide with Sanger's belief in women having control over their own fate. Ewing's view of providing greater ease and freedom to dissolve a marriage makes no distinction between the rights of men and women.
4. It would be difficult to show that these documents from the 1920s do not deal with some of the issues that are vital in the 21st century. Recognition should be made that the issues have matured. Racism still continues as a major question, though it may be more subtle. Sanger's call for women to have control has moved from birth control to abortion, and Ewing's concern for the pains of divorce is reflected today in concern over the family.

24 / THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL, 1929–1939

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 511–513

1. A 2. D 3. E 4. B 5. A 6. A 7. E 8. D 9. B 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 513

1. Both Hoover and Roosevelt changed their policies to increase government action as the depression continued and worsened. Hoover emphasized voluntary, private efforts for economic relief, and only at the end of his term initiated limited

government action—the Farm Board and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Roosevelt initially had no plan but quickly saw the need for massive government action and set up the 3 R’s: relief, recovery, and reform.

2. While recognizing that a combination of factors resulted in the Great Depression, judgments will vary as to their relative importance. Farm problems of overproduction, low prices, and high debt had existed since World War I. Income distribution had grown unevenly, with 5 percent of Americans receiving 33 percent of all income. World trade and finance had never completely recovered from World War I and were weakened by high U.S. tariffs and the American insistence on quick repayment of war loans and reparations. Government policy had been to place no controls on business; its high tariffs hurt farmers.
3. Conservative critics of the New Deal included most leading Republicans (Landon) and some Democrats (the former presidential candidates Al Smith and John W. Davis). Critics advocating extreme changes were led by Francis Townsend, Father Coughlin, and Huey Long.
4. The first New Deal dealt with recovery and restoring the economy, with legislation such as banking relief and the NRA. Reform efforts that aided labor and working people—the Wagner Act and the NLRB—came later, with Social Security, in the second New Deal. One might argue that aid for business and the economy also helped labor, and what helped labor also helped the economy.
5. Any of the numerous agencies and commissions can be assessed, with care taken to see if they actually addressed each of the 3 R’s: relief, recovery, and reform. It would also be useful to learn whether the agency or commission exists today.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 517*

1. Many popular stereotypes are treated in the readings: a wife’s deference to her husband (A, D); the double standard for men and women (B); working women (B, C); and a woman’s independence (all).
2. Eleanor Roosevelt and Nico Rodriguez both had to deal with perceptions of them based on who their husbands were. Readers should reflect on each woman’s independence, principles, and personal goal-setting.
3. Answers will vary from unequal opportunities, pay, and promotion, to harassment and lack of acceptance in the workplace.

25 / DIPLOMACY AND WORLD WAR II, 1929–1945

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 538–539*

1. C 2. A 3. C 4. B 5. C 6. D 7. C 8. D 9. A 10. B

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 540

1. A summary of U.S. foreign policy may divide the 1930s into two parts: (a) earlier years of isolation, appeasement, and neutrality; (b) later years of preparedness and confronting fascism. A critical evaluation may suggest that the U.S. should have pursued a more aggressive policy during the early years or more conciliation in the later years.
2. Assessments will vary from those of Roosevelt as an insightful defender of democracy to those of a politician reacting to public opinion. The *Panay* incident occurred in 1937. With Japan and China at war, a U.S. gunboat in China waters was sunk by Japan. The U.S., in an effort to reduce tensions and to quiet isolationists, accepted Japan's apology. A "cash-and-carry" approach to selling war materials satisfied isolationist pressure while it supported the democracies. Roosevelt's 1937 quarantine speech, in response to Japan's invasion of China, had a negative public reaction and caused him to drop the idea of the democracies acting together. The destroyer-for-bases deal in 1940 successfully aided Britain and circumvented isolationist opposition.
3. Initially, there was strong opposition to U.S. involvement in both world wars, and Wilson in 1916 and Roosevelt in 1940 were reelected after saying that they would avoid war. No single event brought the U.S. into World War I as Pearl Harbor did in World War II. There was much stronger organized opposition to World War II, and upon U.S. entry in the war there was none of the enthusiasm and optimism that had marked U.S. entry into World War I.
4. An analysis should refer both to the discrimination against and the patriotism of these groups. African Americans moved to new jobs in the North and West but faced discrimination and white resentment; deadly riots occurred in New York and Detroit. Over a million African American men served in the segregated armed forces. Japanese Americans served with distinction in the military (almost 20,000), but over 100,000 people on the West Coast were forced into internment camps because of racist fears. Mexican Americans worked in defense industries, and 300,000 served in the military. A special agreement allowing Mexican farmworkers into the U.S. led to white resentment and the "zoot suit" riots in Los Angeles. Women filled over 200,000 noncombat jobs in the military and 5 million defense jobs (although at lower pay than men).
5. The debate over the use of the atomic bomb is complex. Student answers should reflect an understanding of some of the basic circumstances: total war, the unknown nature of the bomb, difficulties and casualties of the war, Pearl Harbor, Truman's recent ascendancy to the presidency, racism, Japanese culture, and U.S.-Soviet relations.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, page 540

The documents refer to the major influences on foreign policy from 1937 to 1941: economics (B, E, G), national security (B, D, H), and democratic values (A, C, F). Utilization of the documents and additional historical evidence about the relative influence of the various factors that affected Franklin Roosevelt's foreign policy will bring diverse assessments.

26 / TRUMAN AND THE COLD WAR, 1945–1952

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 562–563

1. A 2. E 3. B 4. D 5. C 6. B 7. B 8. B 9. D 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 564

1. The Fair Deal was a continuation of the New Deal, but it broke new ground by proposing civil rights legislation and national health care insurance, which were not part of the original New Deal program. While at their best the New Deal programs were color-blind, the Truman administration was the first in the 20th century to try actively to attack the practices of racial segregation and discrimination.
2. All four of these factors caused conflict and increased suspicion between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviets felt threatened by America's possession of nuclear weapons ("nuclear blackmail"), and so did the U.S. after the Soviet rejection of the Baruch Plan, its development of nuclear weapons, and the nuclear arms race. The Berlin blockade was seen as another example of Communist aggression in Eastern Europe, while the Soviets reacted to the Marshall Plan and the NATO alliance as U.S. efforts to isolate them economically and militarily, and responded by forming the Warsaw Pact. These events helped set the stage for four decades of military confrontation in central Europe.
3. To answer this question, students need to consider the history of U.S.-Soviet relations before 1946, which could include the ideological differences between capitalism and communism, U.S. opposition to the Bolshevik Revolution and support of the White Army, refusal to recognize the Soviet government until 1933, conflicts among the allies in World War II (second front), postwar occupations (Eastern Europe, Iran, Korea), use of the atom bomb in 1945 ("nuclear blackmail," Baruch Plan) and the role of leaders (Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt, Truman).
4. Fearful of a Communist conspiracy to dominate the world, Truman and Congress pursued Communists (Loyalty Review Board, HUAC hearings, Hiss and Rosenberg cases) and restricted liberties of American Communists and radicals (McCarran Internal Security Act). The Cold War divided liberals and conserva-

tives on the issues of communism, military spending, freedom of speech, and loyalty. The rise of Senator Joseph McCarthy was seen by liberals as a threat to the civil liberties of Americans, while conservatives viewed McCarthy as a patriot. The United States' dominant economic position in the postwar world, together with increased spending on defense during the Truman administration, fueled both an economic boom and a larger, more powerful federal government.

5. The second Red Scare and McCarthy's popularity were fueled by the setbacks and fears of the postwar era on two fronts: (1) overseas—the fall of Eastern European countries to communism, the development of the atomic bomb by the Soviets, the fall of China to the Communists in 1948, and setbacks in the Korean war; (2) at home—fear of and hunt for Communists in government (especially the State Department), the media, and schools and universities; famous spy cases, such as Hiss and the Rosenbergs; media and politicians like Senator Joseph McCarthy, who capitalized on Americans' fears. An underestimation of Russian technology also led many Americans to believe that Soviet successes must be dependent on spies, traitors, and sympathizers within the United States.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 569*

1. Kennan viewed Russia as a historically insecure and hostile nation that was incapable of trusting the more advanced Western nations. He argued that the Communists had made Russia even more intolerant and aggressive than the czars had done. Kennan's telegram and later advice greatly influenced the Truman administration's development of the containment policy.
2. This speech marked the first official declaration of the containment policy against the Soviet Union, and therefore could be considered America's opening shot in the Cold War. In his speech, Truman committed the United States to using economic and financial aid to stop aggression against "the free peoples of the world." This statement would be interpreted by many as taking on the role of the world's policeman.
3. Parts of the speech attacked the Marshall Plan as an American capitalist plot to dominate the economies of Europe. However, the speech also reflected the fear that the United States would use economic aid as a weapon to isolate the Soviet Union by building up the strength of its traditional enemies, such as Germany. The Marshall Plan did result in the division of Europe into two blocs, but this happened largely because Russia would not allow its satellites to take part in the Marshall Plan.
4. Lippmann argued that the containment policy would undermine the Constitution by causing a shift of power from Congress to the Executive branch. To make containment work, Congress would have to give the president a "blank check" to stop aggression. Lippmann also questioned how a free economy could be used as a tool in foreign policy. His most telling criticism of the containment policy ("strategic monstrosity") may have been that the commitment to stop commu-

nism anytime, anywhere in the world was beyond the power of the United States and the patience of its people.

5. Readings A and B support the aggressive threat of a hostile Soviet Union. Document C pictures the Soviet Union as the innocent victim of aggressive American capitalism, but it also supports the analysis that the future of Europe was the real source of the conflict between the two powers. Most American historians agree that Soviet control of Eastern Europe was the main cause of the Cold War.

27 / THE EISENHOWER YEARS, 1952–1960

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 585–586

1. B 2. D 3. A 4. D 5. D 6. C 7. E 8. B 9. D 10. D

ESSAY QUESTIONS, page 587

1. Essays could consider such policies and factors as the liberation of captive peoples, massive retaliation, policy toward undeveloped, third world nations, use of covert action, armistice in Korea, aid to Vietnam, creation of SEATO, peaceful coexistence, the Hungarian revolt, and the Eisenhower Doctrine. A general conclusion has been that the Eisenhower administration was initially critical of the containment policy, but in practice continued it.
2. Students' essays should consider the following: the groundwork laid by the Truman administration; the role of NAACP lawyers in the civil right cases involving desegregation leading up to the *Brown* decision; the role of the Supreme Court in these cases; the courage of black parents and students at Little Rock Central High School; the use of federal troops by President Eisenhower to enforce desegregation; the actions of Rosa Parks, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the black citizens and church leaders of Montgomery in the bus boycott.
3. The Geneva summit reduced tensions after the death of Stalin, but Eisenhower's "open-skies" proposal led in the long run to the U-2 incident. The Soviets' launching of *Sputnik* produced recriminations at home, but also heated up the U.S.-Soviet arms race in missiles and nuclear warheads. The shooting down of the U.S.'s U-2 spy plane caused the Soviets to withdraw from a planned summit. This, along with Eisenhower's economic and political actions against Cuba, the Soviet's new ally, caused a new freeze in the Cold War by late 1960.
4. Many argued that conformity and complacency were encouraged by the Cold War, McCarthyism, corporate business values, suburban homogeneity, commercial television, advertising, and the era's prosperity. A spirit of rebellion or reform was found in rock-and-roll music, the work of Beat generation writers

such as Kerouac and Ginsberg, novelists such as Salinger and Heller, and the social criticism of academics such as Riesman and Galbraith.

5. In the 1950s, television seemed to dominate American life; how much it changed society can be debated. Politics, including national conventions and election campaigns, responded to the power of the new medium. Television changed the entertainment habits of Americans, but most critics believed that television largely missed its opportunity to educate and raise the cultural standards of the country.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, page 592

1. McCarthy used hard-hitting language, questionable statistics, crisis mentality, and unfounded accusations to strike fear into the hearts of Americans. He was popular with working- and middle-class Americans, because he often attacked the privileged and the wealthy as un-American. McCarthy seemed to confirm a belief of the times that the Russians were too backward to create advanced weapons, unless they had the help of traitors from within the United States.
2. Eisenhower's farewell address is best remembered for his use of the term "military-industrial complex," meaning the growing collaboration of the military, industry, and universities and the creation of a huge and powerful military establishment. Eisenhower was concerned that their influence might undermine the American political process. During the crisis of the Cold War, there was a danger of trading away liberties for security.
3. The Supreme Court decision in the *Brown* case was criticized for using "intangible" evidence—such as blacks' feelings of inferiority, and the racist attitudes of the white majority—to overturn the earlier *Plessey v. Ferguson* decision. This evidence was the result of the work of psychologists and sociologists, which was either unavailable or ignored before the *Sweatt v Painter* case.
4. This humorous attack on conformity in suburbia seems to target the schools, universities, business culture, and suburban developers as the causes of the blandness in American life. However, it also suggests that there were few complaints from the citizens who lived in the "little boxes." By the 1970s and 1980s many middle-class Americans would look back on the prosperous 1950s and early 1960s as America's golden age.
5. These documents could be used either to support the 1950s as an era of conformity and consensus or to characterize it as an era of conflict and change. The growth of suburbia, the demand for civil rights for black Americans, and the growing influence of the military all marked significant changes in American society from the prewar years. McCarthyism may have impacted on liberal politicians, writers, and intellectuals, but it had little effect on the development of the expanding consumer culture. Ultimately, television helped to expose McCarthy and ended his witchhunt.

28 / PROMISES AND TURMOIL: THE 1960s

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 612–614*

1. C 2. D 3. B 4. A 5. E 6. D 7. B 8. C 9. B 10. A

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 614*

1. President Johnson's Great Society legislation included Medicare, Medicaid, aid to elementary, secondary, and higher education, funding for public housing, liberalized immigration law, funding of the arts, and the creation of two new cabinet departments—Transportation, and Housing and Urban Development. The civil rights acts of 1964 and 1965 gave the federal government powers to end segregation in public facilities and schools, and to stop states' restrictions against black voters. The Warren Court, in a series of rulings, protected the rights of individuals in the criminal justice system, established the principle of "one man, one vote," and protected freedom of speech, expression, religion, and privacy.
2. The civil rights movement challenged decades of segregation and discrimination. The counterculture promoted a rebellious lifestyle of music, sex, and drugs. The women's movement promoted equality and greater opportunity for women in the workplace. The anti-Vietnam War movement changed traditional politics, especially in the Democratic party.
3. The civil rights movement of the 1960s, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., accomplished a great deal through legislation (the civil rights acts of 1964 and 1965) and through direct action (the integration of schools, transportation, and public facilities). While the movement opened doors for many black Americans, many others were left behind in poverty. Black radicals like Malcolm X rejected nonviolence. The Black Power movement promoted black economic power and advocated racial separation.
4. Each president escalated American involvement in Vietnam, but Eisenhower limited U.S. involvement to financial aid and military advisers. Kennedy increased the number of troops in Vietnam and became more involved in the politics of South Vietnam (including the overthrow of South Vietnam's leaders). However, it was Johnson who turned the conflict into an American war, when he sent more than 500,000 troops into Vietnam after the passage of Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964.
5. Radicalism and violence became part of the protest of students, blacks, women, and the antiwar movement. These confrontations in many cases forced change on an unwilling establishment (university regulations, segregation practices). However, the violence often had the opposite effect of pushing those who were open to a moderate reform agenda into more conservative attitudes. This was especially evident in the 1968 election.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, page 614

A well-developed thesis should take into account both parts of the question, political and military causes, and it should not assume that Johnson alone was responsible for the results of the war in Vietnam. Political failures may include issues related to the politics of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution (undeclared war), funding of the Great Society (guns versus butter), the credibility gap, the impact of television and the antiwar movement, and reactions of the American people. Military failures may include the limits placed on American armed forces; ineffective and repressive South Vietnam military governments; failure of government intelligence about the nature of the conflict; the advice, leadership, and preparation provided by the American military; and the strengths of the Communist opposition. The documents offer a variety of critiques of Johnson's policy, such as the escalation of the war and the failure to go all out to win. An effective essay needs to bring in outside knowledge of prior administrations, Johnson's leadership, the conduct of the war, and American society that provides the context for interpreting these documents.

29 / LIMITS OF A SUPERPOWER, 1969–1980

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, pages 635–636

1. C 2. D 3. B 4. A 5. E 6. C 7. E 8. B 9. A 10. C

ESSAY QUESTIONS, pages 637–638

1. Among the Nixon administration's greatest foreign policy accomplishments was the reduction of tensions with Communist China and the USSR (*détente*). A strong essay would analyze the consequences in some depth (later U.S. recognition of mainland China, the ABM and SALT treaties). Students may also consider the effectiveness of Nixon's policies for ending the war in Vietnam ("Vietnamization"), the successes and limitations of the Paris Accords of 1973, the role of U.S. in the Middle East "Yom Kippur" War, and the impact of Watergate on Nixon's foreign policy initiatives.
2. Watergate covered a host of abuses, including wiretapping, break-ins, theft of documents, use of government agencies to punish political enemies, and finally, what brought down President Nixon himself, an attempted illegal cover-up of these crimes. The Watergate scandal dominated Nixon's second term, in 1973 and 1974. Congress attacked the powers of the president by passing the War Powers Act and ultimately forced Nixon out of office. The Republicans suffered defeat in the next election, and many Americans lost faith in Washington politics and the federal government.
3. During the 1970s, the U.S. economy struggled with *stagnant* economic growth and high *inflation* (stagflation). Government spending, especially on the Vietnam

War, was a major cause of inflation, but the OPEC oil embargo in 1973 caused higher oil prices, more inflation, job losses (in the auto industry), and a serious trade imbalance. High interest rates also slowed investment and reduced economic growth. People, especially seniors on fixed incomes, suffered. However, congressional legislation to index Social Security payments to cost-of-living increases caused more federal budget problems. Students might also analyze Nixon's economic policies (wage and price freeze, surtax on imports, and end of the gold standard), and efforts by later presidents (Ford, with voluntary efforts, and Carter, with conservation of oil and increased coal production) to slow inflation and promote economic growth.

4. Both the failures of the Vietnam War and Watergate and congressional reactions (War Powers Act) contributed to a general decline of the influence and powers of the presidency during the 1970s. Ford, who was not elected to either the presidency or vice-presidency, also lost prestige early in his term for his pardon of Nixon, the fall of Cambodia and South Vietnam, and his ineffective efforts to fight inflation. Carter, while an honest and hard-working president, seemed weak in dealing with Iran, the Soviet Union, the Panama Canal Treaty, and inflation at home. However, his human rights stand and the Camp David Accords proved to have positive, long-term results. Carter's relations with the USSR anticipated the military buildup of the Reagan years, which is often credited with bringing down communism.
5. A fundamental change was the decline in prosperity of the middle class, because of inflation and the increased competition and loss of jobs from rising economic powers, like Japan and Germany. The nation's demographics at the same time were changing as the minority population grew, especially with increased immigration from Latin America and Asia. Illegal immigration became a source of conflict and a topic of congressional legislation. Native Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and gays joined blacks and women in demanding full equality and a society that respected cultural diversity. During the 1970s, many Americans also became concerned about the quality of the environment. These issues and conflicts were accompanied by many protest movements and counterprotests, which left many Americans feeling angry and society seemingly fragmented.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 641*

1. Nixon explained how he used the Soviet-Chinese split to negotiate more favorable settlements with both sides, such as the armistice in Vietnam and the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, and avoided big-power confrontation over the Middle East.
2. Steinem argued that increased job opportunities for women would ultimately help children, because fathers would take their parenting role more seriously. Like all social reformers, she could not predict the future; the breakdown of the

two-parent family would leave many children without fathers and would mean less attention from their working mothers.

3. The Watergate tapes provided the final proof for most Americans, including members of Congress involved in the impeachment process, that President Nixon was lying and had been involved in a cover-up of abuses and crimes. The ongoing reporting by television and the print media of the investigation (Senate hearings, trials of administration associates, Watergate tapes) also eroded the popularity of President Nixon from the first revelations in 1973 until he left office in August 1974. The cartoonist Herblock effectively captured Nixon's struggle to keep his office, while trying to cover up missing parts of the Watergate tapes. At the same time, the cartoonist used Nixon's famous statement "I am not a crook" to condemn him.
4. Carter blamed the malaise of the times on the loss of faith in democracy, materialism of the culture, despair about the future, loss of the Vietnam War, scandals of Watergate, high inflation, and isolation of government in Washington from average Americans.
5. This question challenges students to define terms and avoid the stereotyped thinking of liberal versus conservative. For example, Nixon had the credentials of a strong conservative anti-Communist, yet he made greater efforts to deal with the Soviet and Chinese Communists than more liberal presidents. Carter, the Democrat, often spoke of traditional values.

30 / THE CONSERVATIVE RESURGENCE, 1980–PRESENT

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 670–671*

1. B 2. A 3. D 4. C 5. B 6. A 7. E 8. C 9. E 10. D
11. D 12. B

ESSAY QUESTIONS, *page 672*

1. The shift of conservative whites in the southern states from the Democratic to the Republican party was a key to the resurgence and new strength of the Republicans. The conservative political resurgence can be dated back to the nomination of Barry Goldwater for president by the Republican party in 1964, Richard Nixon's "southern strategy," and Ronald Reagan's political success as governor of California. Issues that contributed to the conservative success included the taxpayers' revolt, government deficit spending, criticism of welfare programs, reaction to affirmative action, states' rights advocacy, the power of the gun lobby, religious fundamentalism, the abortion controversy, widespread drug use, and crime. These issues helped Ronald Reagan and George H. Bush to win the pres-

idency in the 1980s, the Republican party to gain control of Congress in the 1990s, and George W. Bush to win the presidency in 2000.

2. Reagan significantly increased defense spending, forcing the Soviet Union into a self-defeating escalation of the arms race. Gorbachev, recognizing the failures of the Soviet system, introduced political and economic reforms and sought to improve relations with the United States. Reagan responded to these efforts with the INF agreement. Bush and Gorbachev in START I, and Bush and Yeltsin in START II, agreed to dismantle most of the nuclear weapons of the Cold War. Yeltsin also contributed to the USSR's breakup and to the end of Communist party rule.
3. The Reagan administration's politics helped to break up the old Democratic New Deal coalition, creating a Republican majority of economic and social conservatives that would dominate the national politics of the 1980s and 1990s and result in more conservative Congresses and federal courts. Reagan's supply-side economic policies cut taxes, increased military spending, reduced federal regulation of business, weakened labor unions, and generally supported the needs of business, investors, and higher income groups. These actions resulted in both a greatly increased national debt and a long period of economic recovery in the 1990s.
4. Under George H. Bush, the 1991 Gulf War pushed back Iraq's capture of Kuwait but left Saddam Hussein in power to menace the area during the Clinton presidency. Progress to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was mixed, resulting at first in peace accords and partial Palestinian home rule, but in 2000 in increased terrorism and violence that stopped the peace process. In Europe the fall of Communist governments resulted not only in more political and economic freedom but also in ethnic turmoil, including civil wars in Chechnya and the former Yugoslavia. Intervention by NATO in Bosnia and Kosovo helped stop the Balkan civil wars from escalating into a larger conflict. In the Americas, United States presidents continued to intervene in other nations' affairs—Reagan in Nicaragua, Bush in Panama, and Clinton in Haiti—while the passage of NAFTA seemed to improve relations with Mexico and Canada.
5. Republicans attributed the prosperity of the 1990s and Clinton presidency to the Reagan-Bush economic policies of the 1980s, while Democrats argued that under Clinton moderate tax increases, welfare reform, and economic-stimulus programs created a balanced budget. However, technological innovations and cost-cutting by businesses resulted in increased productivity and profitability, and in this favorable economic climate many Americans found employment in new fields, enjoyed higher incomes, and shared in the record gains of the nation's stock market.
6. The obvious thesis is that the attacks of September 11 caused terrorism to become a focus of American foreign policy. An analysis of the chronology of events after the Cold War ended could support "how" terrorism became a central

concern for American policy with the attacks of September 11. However, the “why” of the question could include an analysis of the ways ethnic, religious, and cultural conflicts (e.g., Islamic fundamentalism versus modern secular cultures) replaced to some extent nation-state conflicts after the Cold War. As the lone superpower, the United States’ military power so overmatched that of other nations that terrorism or “asymmetric” warfare became an attractive alternative for groups hostile to the United States. The potential proliferation of weapons of mass destruction also caused a new set of problems for U.S. foreign policy.

ANALYZING THE DOCUMENTS, *page 676*

1. Reagan attacked the federal government as an elitist group that limited the freedom of Americans through excessive regulations and high taxes. He argued that smaller government and lower taxes would unleash the creative energies of the people. Reagan seemed closer to Calhoun than Lincoln in his argument that states created the federal government.
2. President Reagan’s “evil empire” speech was given in the context of his administration’s hugely expensive military buildup, which the Soviet Union was incapable of matching because of the failure of its economic system. Whether or not this was part of the containment policy is open to interpretation. The containment policy did assume that time was on the side of democratic governments and free-market economies; one could find echoes of this in Reagan’s speech. However, the evangelical tone of the speech, along with the military buildup, Strategic Defense Initiative program, and the “preemptive” attack on Communists in Grenada, might suggest alternative analysis.
3. The end of the bipolar conflict between the United States and the former Soviet Union created an opportunity to reestablish the original purpose of the United Nations to promote peace and the rule of law throughout the world. The invasion of Kuwait provided the UN’s first test in the post-Cold War era, and it successfully rolled back Iraq’s aggression. Ethnic conflicts and civil wars took the place of superpower confrontations in the “new world order.”
4. By the 1990s, aggressive downsizing by corporations and stagnant wages made unions and many workers hostile to opening up the United States to more competition. In this speech, Clinton argues that education and training are the keys to the competitiveness in the developing global markets. If Americans hope to enjoy a higher standard of living, they need higher levels of education and skills in a competitive, often low-wage world.
5. The fall of communism and the discrediting of socialist and regulated economies overseas came at the same time that free trade, deregulation, and less government triumphed at home. Democrats such as Clinton, who supported free trade, welfare reform, and a smaller, more efficient federal government, sounded more like Republicans, while others wondered if the party of Lincoln had become the party of Jefferson Davis.

6. While students can discover an obvious parallel between the cartoon and the statistical table, a causal relationship is less clear. Other factors besides Reagan's tax cuts and economic policies could have repressed lower incomes and increased upper incomes. For example, foreign competition reduced wages for many lower- and middle-income workers, compensation for corporate executives outpaced increases for workers, and the bull market of the 1990s largely benefited upper-income groups.

PRACTICE EXAMINATION

SECTION I

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS, *pages 677–688*

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1. A | 15. E | 29. D | 43. D | 57. C | 71. C |
| 2. A | 16. B | 30. E | 44. E | 58. E | 72. C |
| 3. D | 17. A | 31. B | 45. E | 59. D | 73. E |
| 4. B | 18. E | 32. A | 46. D | 60. D | 74. D |
| 5. E | 19. A | 33. E | 47. A | 61. D | 75. C |
| 6. B | 20. B | 34. C | 48. B | 62. B | 76. C |
| 7. C | 21. C | 35. D | 49. C | 63. D | 77. D |
| 8. B | 22. D | 36. B | 50. E | 64. A | 78. C |
| 9. C | 23. A | 37. E | 51. A | 65. C | 79. E |
| 10. D | 24. B | 38. A | 52. E | 66. D | 80. B |
| 11. E | 25. C | 39. C | 53. A | 67. B | |
| 12. B | 26. D | 40. A | 54. C | 68. A | |
| 13. B | 27. E | 41. B | 55. A | 69. B | |
| 14. C | 28. E | 42. A | 56. D | 70. A | |

SECTION II

PART A: DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION, *pages 688–692*

1. Interpretations of the Progressive era may range from viewing it as a conservative effort to maintain the existing society, an attempt at reforming the political system, or a radical movement for fundamental change. The documents support the range of views, with a conservative interpretation supported by Documents C and E, reform ideas expressed in Documents A, B, C, and G, and a more radical approach suggested in Documents D, F, and H.

PART B, page 693

2. An understanding of the influence of the ideas of Hamilton and Jefferson on Washington's presidency will examine the key issues that were dealt with, including debt repayment, a national bank, tariffs, and the French Revolution. Although Washington did not belong to a political party, he was influenced by others, especially by Alexander Hamilton, a Federalist and a conservative. The views of Jefferson, the Democratic-Republican and liberal, should also be examined. Some answers may also examine Washington's farewell address in terms of Hamilton's and Jefferson's influences.
3. Insulated from outside threats, the U.S. in the first half of the 19th century saw sectionalism overwhelm nationalistic beliefs in the young nation due to the growth of regional differences. (a) Economic developments saw the North industrialize and connect itself to the agricultural West with new canals and railroads, while the South developed a plantation agriculture that was connected to foreign markets. (b) Slavery had divided the nation from the beginning, but as the 19th century progressed new concerns arose: slavery was not "naturally" disappearing, the North would not leave the South alone with its slaves; new lands and states had to be either slave or free; and fugitive (runaway) slaves were creating problems. (c) Society saw increasing cultural differences develop during this period. The South had a rigid hierarchy with a planter aristocracy, a code of chivalry, limited education, and Methodist and Baptist churches supporting slavery. The North was more egalitarian and diverse, with a large immigrant population and a growing public school system. The frontier moved rapidly west as both native-born and immigrant worked hard at new opportunities.

PART C, page 693

4. Strong support for the assessment that the U.S. has a long history of not welcoming immigrants can be found in references to immigration quotas, the Know-Nothing party, and nativism as well as examples of systematic prejudice and discrimination imposed on those migrating from other lands. The contrary opinion, of welcoming immigrants, can be supported by the frontier theory, the Industrial Revolution, and the failure of Know-Nothings and Nativists. (a) The frontier theory was formulated by Frederick Jackson Turner to explain how the U.S. had prospered when there was a western frontier to provide opportunities for all. (b) Immigration quotas limiting the number of immigrants became effective in the 1920s after years of discussion and have been continually revised and debated since then. (c) The Industrial Revolution provided job opportunities for large numbers of unskilled, low-paid, immigrant workers, which in turn created resentment from labor unions and native-born workers. (d) Nativism, or a belief in the superiority of white, native-born Americans over immigrants, was a movement that first arose in the 1850s and disappeared with the Civil War, only to

reappear in the 1920s. Nativism seems to return whenever the native-born feel threatened by sudden increases in immigration.

5. It should be noted that the experiences following World War I had some influence on American thinking following World War II. Economically, the periods following the wars brought prosperity, with an increase in the standard of living and the appearance of domestic tranquility. In 1918, the unsettled peace and realities of war had disillusioned many Americans, who turned to isolationism. In 1945, the American people accepted a leadership role to protect the world and democracy from communism and the Soviet Union. The post-World War I League of Nations had become the United Nations, and was accepted by all nations in the atomic age.