How and why did the goals of United States foreign policy change from the end of the First World War (1918) to the end of the Korean War (1953)?

0–9 points

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses all parts of the question.
- Presents an effective analysis of how and why foreign policy changed; treatment of multiple parts may be somewhat uneven.
- Effectively uses a substantial number of documents.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant outside information.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay
- Contains a thesis that addresses the question; may be partially developed.
- Provides some analysis of how and why foreign policy changed, but treatment of multiple parts may be uneven.
- Effectively uses some documents.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant outside information.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
- Deals with the question in a general manner; simplistic, superficial treatment of the subject.
- Merely paraphrases, quotes, or briefly cites documents.
- Contains little outside information or facts with little or no application to the question.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized or written, or both

The 0–1 Essay
- Lacks a thesis or simply repeats the question.
- Demonstrates an irrelevant or inappropriate response.
- Shows little or no understanding of the documents, or ignores them completely.
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized or written so poorly (or both) that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay
- Is blank.
Overall changes 1918–1953: shift from isolationism/independent internationalism to interventionism and containment due to international events and developments, domestic economic conditions, executive/congressional actions and perceptions, public opinion

Post World War I:
- Wilson’s vision of U.S. internationalism vs. Lodge and isolationists (reservationists and irreconcilables)
- Disillusionment with World War I’s failure to achieve idealistic principles on which entry was based
- Anti-Bolshevism, Red Scare
- Defeat of Treaty of Versailles in United States Senate
- United States failure to join League of Nations or the World Court

1920–1932:
- Isolationism or independent internationalism (because of experience in World War I), “Return to normalcy” of the Gilded Age foreign policy concepts
- Attempts at arms reduction Washington Naval Conference (Five-Power Treaty)
- Four-Power Treaty (abrogates the Anglo-Japanese Treaty)
- Nine-Power Treaty (reaffirms the Open Door policy)
- Kellogg-Briand Pact
- Desire to collect war debts from Allies (Dawes Plan, Young Plan) and protect United States economy (high tariffs – Fordney-McCumber, Hawley-Smoot)
- Rise of fascism (Italy), Nazism (Germany), militarism (Japan)
- Japanese invasion of Manchuria prompted Stimson Doctrine—did little and Hoover forbade economic sanctions through cooperation with League

1933–1938:
- More internationalist approach by Franklin Roosevelt due to economic and political consideration, but constrained by the Great Depression, isolationist public sentiment, and Congress, 1933–1939
  - Recognition of Soviet Union
  - London Economic Conference
  - Nye Committee investigation (merchants of death)
  - America First Committee
  - Good Neighbor policy (Montevideo Conference)
  - Reciprocal trade agreements
- Increasing aggression by Italy, Japan, and Germany in Europe, Africa, and Asia
  - Congress wanted to maintain neutrality (Neutrality Acts 1935, 1936, 1937)
  - Quarantine speech
  - United States’ position of neutrality in Spanish Civil War
  - Japanese invasion of China prompted reaction from Roosevelt (quarantine speech), but the public thought the speech was too aggressive
  - Panay incident
Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

1939–1945:
- Government took more internationalist position in response to war in Europe (1939–1941) and naval engagements between United States and Germany in fall 1941
  - Neutrality Act 1939
  - Cash-and-carry
  - The Destroyer Deal
  - Lend-Lease
  - Atlantic Charter (four freedoms)
  - Pearl Harbor attack prompted declaration of war by United States
  - Get Hitler first
- World War II: defeat Axis; plan international cooperation for postwar world
  - Grand Alliance
  - Casablanca Conference (Churchill and Roosevelt)
  - Big Three conferences: Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam
  - Planning for United Nations, Dumbarton Oaks Conference, San Francisco Conference
  - Manhattan Project

1945–1953:
- Onset and expansion of Cold War
  - Soviet/communist control of Eastern Europe
  - Fear of Soviet/communist expansion into Western Europe
  - Arms race between United States and Soviet Union
  - Soviet detonation of atomic bomb
  - Chinese Revolution
- Containment policy (would also help build United States economy through increased defense spending)
  - Truman Doctrine
  - George Kennan
  - Marshall Plan
  - Berlin Airlift
  - NATO
  - NSC-68
  - Arms research and development (atomic and hydrogen bombs)
  - House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), McCarthyism
  - New Look foreign policy
- Invasion of South Korea by North Korea: prompts United Nation (UN) military intervention in the Korean War, 1950–1953
  - Stalemate at end
  - Revealed difficulty of Cold War victory
5-5-3 ratio
America First Committee
Arms Race
Article X
Atlantic Charter
Atom Bomb
Berlin Airlift
Big Three
Bretton Woods Agreement
Cash-and-carry
Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi)
Chinese Nationalists–Kuomintang (Guomindang)
Churchill, Winston
Cold War
Committee to Defend America by Aiding the
Allies
Containment
Coolidge, Calvin
Dawes Plan
Declaration of Neutrality
Destroyer for Bases Deal
Disarmament
Dumbarton Oaks Conference
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (“I will go to Korea.”)
Fall of China to Communism
Fordney-McCumber Tariff
Four-Power Treaty (abrogates Anglo-Japanese
Alliance)
Fourteen Points
Good Neighbor policy (Montevideo Conference)
Get Hitler First
Grand Alliance
Harding, Warren
Hawley-Smoot Tariff
Hoover, Herbert
House Committee on Un-American Activities
(HUAC)
Hughes, Charles Evan
Hydrogen bomb
Iron Curtain
Irreconcilables (William Borah, Hiram Johnson)
Isolationism
Kennan, George
Korean War
League of Nations
Lend-Lease
Lindbergh, Charles
London Economic Conference
Manchurian (Mukden) Incident
Manhattan Project
Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong)
Marshall Plan
McCarthyism
Merchants of Death
Montevideo Conference
Munich Agreement (“peace in our time”)
Nazi Party (Germany)
New Look
Nine-Power Treaty (reasserts principles of the Open
Door Policy in China)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
Nye Committee hearings
Palmer, A. Mitchell
Panay incident
Pearl Harbor attack
Point Four program
Potsdam Conference
Preparedness campaign
Quarantine speech
Recognition of USSR
Red Scare
Reservationists
Rosenberg trial
Return to normalcy
Russan Revolution
San Francisco Conference
Security Conference
Selective Traning and Service Act
Solemn referendum
Spanish Civil War
Stimson doctrine
Treaty of Versailles
Truman, Harry
Yalta Conference
Young plan
Washington Naval Conference
Wilson, Woodrow
World War II
Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

DOCUMENT LIST

Document A

Document B
Source: Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., speech to the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, August 12, 1919.

Document C
Source: The Washington Treaty, also known as the Five-Power Treaty, signed by the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy, 1922.

Document D
Source: Message from Secretary of State Henry Stimson to the Japanese government after its invasion of Manchuria, January 7, 1932.

Document E
Source: Senator Gerald P. Nye, speech before the “Keep America Out of War” meeting, New York City, May 27, 1935.

Document F
Source: President Franklin Roosevelt, speech, Chicago, October 5, 1937.

Document G

Document H
Source: United States Secretary of State George C. Marshall, commencement speech at Harvard University, June 5, 1947.

Document I

Document J
Source: General Douglas MacArthur, address to Congress, April 19, 1951.
Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document Analysis

Document A

**Document Information**
- Chart shows United States defense spending as a percent of GDP.
- Defense spending high during World War I, low and flat during most of 1920s and 1930s, high again during World War II, drops immediately after war but then begins to rise again during Cold War.

**Document Inferences**
- United States defense spending closely correlates with war and peace.
- High spending levels correlate with military conflicts.

**Possible Outside Information**
- America First Committee
- Charles Lindbergh
- Cold War
- Isolationism
- Korean War
- Nye Committee hearings ("Merchants of Death")
- World War II

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Document B

Source: Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., speech to the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, August 12, 1919.

Mr. President:

I have never had but one allegiance—I cannot divide it now. I have loved but one flag and I cannot share that devotion and give affection to the mongrel banner invented for a league. Internationalism, illustrated by the Bolshevik . . . is to me repulsive . . . The United States is the world’s best hope, but if you fetter her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. . . . No doubt many excellent and patriotic people see a coming fulfillment of noble ideals in the words “league for peace.” We all respect and share these aspirations and desires, but some of us see no hope, but rather defeat, for them in this murky covenant. For we, too, have our ideals, even if we differ from those who have tried to establish a monopoly of idealism.

Document Information

- Expresses opposition to international engagement by the United States.
- United States should not become entangled in European intrigues.
- American people desire peace.

Document Inferences

- Opposition to United States participation in the League of Nations, ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.
- Concern about maintaining United States sovereignty and autonomy in conducting foreign policy.
- Critique of Woodrow Wilson.
- Disillusionment of Americans with the failure of World War I to achieve idealistic goals.

Possible Outside Information

Article X
Fourteen Points
Hiram Johnson
Irreconcilables
League of Nations
Palmer, A. Mitchell
Reservationists
Woodrow Wilson
Russian Revolution
Solemn referendum
Treaty of Versailles
William Borah
Document C

Source: The Washington Treaty, also known as the Five-Power Treaty, signed by the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy, 1922.

The Contracting Powers agree to limit their respective naval armament as provided in the present Treaty. . . . [T]he Contracting Powers shall abandon their respective capital ship building programs, and no new capital ships shall be constructed or acquired by any of the Contracting Powers except replacement tonnage. . . . The total capital ship replacement tonnage of each of the Contracting Powers shall not exceed in standard displacement, for the United States 525,000 tons . . . for the British Empire 525,000 tons . . . for France 175,000 tons . . . for Italy 175,000 tons . . . for Japan 315,000 tons.

Document Information
- Establishes an agreement limiting building and tonnage of naval ships and armaments.

Document Inferences
- Effort to establish international agreements limiting warfare.
- Represents a nonenforceable treaty ("paper treaty").
- Designed to lessen the likelihood of naval confrontation with Japan.

Possible Outside Information

5:5:3
Charles Evans Hughes
Disarmament
Four-Power Treaty (abrogates Anglo-Japanese Alliance)
Nine-Power Treaty (reasserts the principles of the Open Door policy in China)
Warren Harding
Washington Naval Conference
Document D

Source: Message from Secretary of State Henry Stimson to the Japanese government after its invasion of Manchuria, January 7, 1932.

[In view of the present situation . . . , the American Government deems it to be its duty to notify both the Imperial Japanese Government and the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot admit the legality of any situation de facto nor does it intend to recognize any treaty or agreement entered into between those Governments . . . which may impair the treaty rights of the United States or its citizens in China, including those which relate to the sovereignty, the independence, or the territorial and administrative integrity of the Republic of China, or to the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the open door policy; and that it does not intend to recognize any situation, treaty or agreement which may be brought about by means contrary to the . . . obligations of the [Kellogg-Briand] Pact of Paris of August 27, 1928, to which Treaty . . . China and Japan, as well as the United States, are parties.

Document Information

- United States warns Japan regarding aggression toward China.
- United States will not recognize territorial gains made in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.
- United States will not recognize any treaties between China and Japan that violate the Open Door Policy.

Document Inferences

- United States attempts to restrict aggression while still not engaging in military conflict.
- Rise of militarism in Japan.
- United States defends its own citizens, sovereignty, and foreign policy interests.
- United States attempts to limit aggression outside of the League of Nations.
- United States fails to support League of Nations sanctions against Japan.

Possible Outside Information

Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi)
Chinese Nationalists (Kuomintang/Guomindang)
Herbert Hoover
Manchurian (Mukden) Incident, 1931
Panay Incident
Document E

Source: Senator Gerald P. Nye, speech before the “Keep America Out of War” meeting, New York City, May 27, 1935.

Let us know that it is sales and shipments of munitions and contraband, and the lure of the profits in them, that will get us into another war, and that when the proper time comes and we talk about national honor, let us know that simply means the right to go on making money out of a war . . . The experience of the last war includes the lesson that neutral rights are not a matter for national protection unless we are prepared to protect them by force . . . I believe . . . that the only hope of staying out of war is through our people recognizing and declaring as a matter of . . . national policy, that we will not ship munitions to aid combatants and that those of our citizens who ship other materials to belligerent nations must do so at their own risk and without any hope of protection from our Government. If our financiers and industrialists wish to speculate for war profits, let them be warned in advance that they are to be limited to speculation with their own capital and not with the lives of their countrymen and the fabric of their whole nation.

Document Information
- Warns that war industries encourage United States to join wars.
- Advocates avoiding participation in arms trade.

Document Inferences
- Represents escalation in isolationist sentiment.
- Blames financial and industrial interests for United States participation in World War I.
- Plays on public disillusionment from World War I.
- Shows concern about potential new wars abroad.

Possible Outside Information

- America First Committee
- Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies
- Charles Lindbergh
- Isolationism
- "Merchants of Death"
- Neutrality Acts
- Nye Committee hearings
Document F

Source: President Franklin Roosevelt, speech, Chicago, October 5, 1937.

The political situation in the world . . . has been growing progressively worse . . . The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago . . . through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties; . . . The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality. . . . There can be no stability or peace either within nations or between nations except under laws and moral standards adhered to by all. . . . It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

Document Information
- Roosevelt calls for increasing action by United States and other nations to resist military expansionism.
- Roosevelt calls for a quarantine against aggressor nations.

Document Inferences
- Reflects Roosevelt's commitment to internationalism and efforts to counter isolationist arguments and prepare the United States for war.
- Reflects concern about expansionism of Germany, Japan, and Italy.
- Speech prompted resistance among isolationists.
- Roosevelt favored economic sanctions against aggressor nations.

Possible Outside Information

America First Committee
Cash-and-carry
Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies
Declaration of Neutrality
Destroyer for Bases Deal
Lend-Lease
Munich Agreement ("peace in our time")
Nazi Party (Germany)
Preparedness campaign
Quarantine Speech
Selective Service Act
Document G


The President . . . said the question of a post war organization to preserve peace had not been fully explained . . . There would be a large organization comprised of some 35 members of the United Nations . . . The President continued that there would be set up an executive committee composed of the Soviet Union, the United States, United Kingdom and China, with two additional European states, one South American, one Near East, one Far Eastern country and one British Dominion . . . The President then turned to the third organization which he termed “The Four Policemen,” namely, the Soviet Union, United States, Great Britain, and China. This organization would have the power to deal immediately with any threat to the peace and any sudden emergency which requires this action . . . Marshal Stalin said that he did not think the small nations of Europe would like the organization composed of the Four Policemen . . . Marshal Stalin pointed out that the world organization suggested by the President, and in particular the Four Policemen, might also require the sending of American troops to Europe. The President pointed out that he had only envisaged the sending of American planes and ships to Europe, and that England and the Soviet Union would have to handle the land armies in the event of any future threat to the peace.

Document Information

- Discusses plans for United Nations to manage international affairs following World War II.
- Suggests that the “Four Policeman” handle threats to peace.
- Stalin questions European acceptance of the “Four Policeman.”

Document Inferences

- Prelude to creation of United Nations and Security Council.
- Stalin questions American influence and commitment to Europe after the war.

Possible Outside Information

- Bretton Woods Agreement
- Dumbarton Oaks Conference
- Good Neighbor policy (Montevideo Conference)
- Potsdam Conference
- San Francisco Conference
- Security Council
Document H

Source: United States Secretary of State George C. Marshall, commencement speech at Harvard University, June 5, 1947.

Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. . . . Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit . . . politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.

Document Information
- The proposal will provide aid to countries seeking economic recovery.
- The aid is to promote the development of free institutions.
- The United States will oppose any country that perpetuates human misery.

Document Inferences
- Marshall Plan aid offered in aftermath of World War II.
- Effort to restore international economies and promote capitalism in order to reduce the appeal of communism.
- Spurred on by communist gains in elections in France and Italy.

Possible Outside Information
- Berlin Airlift
- Containment
- Point Four Program
- George Kennan
- Harry Truman
- Iron Curtain
- Marshall Plan
- Truman Doctrine
- Winston Churchill
Document I


Our position as the center of power in the free world places a heavy responsibility upon the United States for leadership. We must organize and enlist the energies and resources of the free world in a positive program for peace which will frustrate the Kremlin design for world domination by creating a situation in the free world to which the Kremlin will be compelled to adjust. Without such a cooperative effort, led by the United States, we will have to make gradual withdrawals under pressure until we discover one day that we have sacrificed positions of vital interest. It is imperative that this trend be reversed by a much more rapid and concerted build-up of the actual strength of both the United States and the other nations of the free world . . . we must, by means of a rapid and sustained build-up of the political, economic, and military strength of the free world, and by means of an affirmative program intended to wrest the initiative from the Soviet Union, confront it with convincing evidence of the determination and ability of the free world to frustrate the Kremlin design of a world dominated by its will.

Document Information

- Argument that the United States, as leader of the free world, is responsible for resisting the expansion of the Soviet Union and its attempts at world domination.
- Calls for build-up of military strength of the free world.

Document Inferences

- Encourages an acceleration of the nuclear arms race.
- NSC 68 was a reaction to the Soviet detonation of its first atomic weapon and China falling to communism (failure of containment).
- The United States views the world in terms of a power struggle between free nations and communist bloc nations.

Possible Outside Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arms Race</th>
<th>Iron Curtain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atom bomb</td>
<td>Marshall Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Containment</td>
<td>McCarthyism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall of China to Communism</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Red Scare</td>
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<td>Rosenberg trials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydrogen bomb</td>
<td>Truman Doctrine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Document J

Source: General Douglas MacArthur, address to Congress, April 19, 1951.

While I was not consulted prior to the President’s decision to intervene in support of the Republic of Korea, that decision from a military standpoint, proved a sound one. . . . Our victory was complete, and our objectives within reach, when Red China intervened with numerically superior ground forces. This created a new war and an entirely new situation . . . which called for new decisions in the diplomatic sphere to permit the realistic adjustment of military strategy. Such decisions have not been forthcoming. . . . [T]he new situation did urgently demand a drastic revision of strategic planning if our political aim was to defeat this new enemy as we had defeated the old one. . . . War’s very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there can be no substitute for victory.

Document Information
- Supports United States and United Nations intervention in Korea.
- Critiques United States leadership for failing to change strategy after Chinese intervention in Korea.

Document Inferences
- Implied preference for military leadership over civilian leadership.
- View of Cold War as a direct military conflict rather than an indirect diplomatic one.
- Reflects willingness to use nuclear weapons against China.

Possible Outside Information
Dwight D. Eisenhower ("I will go to Korea.")
Harry Truman
Korean War
"New Look"
United Nations
Question 2

Choose TWO of the following and analyze their impact on colonial North American development between 1620 and 1776.

- Puritanism
- The Enlightenment
- The First Great Awakening

0–9 points

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses two topics and their impact on colonial North America development between 1620 and 1776.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information that focus on two topics and their impact on colonial North American development between 1620 and 1776.
- Provides effective analysis of two topics and their impact on colonial North American development between 1620 and 1776; treatment of multiple parts may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the answer.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay
- Contains a partially developed thesis that addresses two topics and their impact on colonial North America development between 1620 and 1776.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information that focus on two topics and their impact on colonial North American development between 1620 and 1776.
- Provides some analysis of two topics and their impact on colonial North American development between 1620 and 1776, but treatment of multiple parts may be uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information of two topics, addresses only one topic, or lists facts with little or no application to colonial North American development between 1620 and 1776.
- May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized or written, or both.

The 0–1 Essay
- Lacks a thesis or simply repeats the question.
- Demonstrates an irrelevant or inappropriate response.
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized or written so poorly, or both, that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay
- Is blank.
Puritanism — a 17th-century trans-Atlantic strain of Calvinist Protestantism

- Established a tradition of religious and political dissent in British America that led ultimately to the American Revolution.
- Sponsored family migration and strictly enforced laws severely punishing deviations from marital sexuality. The result was stable and widespread patriarchal households with high fertility, towns, strong sense of community, and social stability.
- Stressed the importance of an educated clergy (Harvard) and a literate population aware of the Protestant deity’s rules and teachings. These preoccupations strengthened both the established Congregationalist church and educational institutions. New England pioneered widespread schooling in the colonies and later the states.
- Established strong tradition of local government through town meetings.
- Established a tradition of religious dissent (e.g., Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams).
- Winthrop’s “City Upon a Hill” established cultural notion of American exceptionalism, national character.
- Set precedents for trying to convert American Indians to Christianity (e.g., praying towns) and for conflicts with American Indians (e.g., Pequot War, King Philip’s War).
- Failure of the Puritan Revolution led the ministers to encourage their congregations to create a holy society in America.
- Anti-Catholic sentiment.
- John Calvin.
- Predestination.
- Persecution in England.
- Plymouth Plantation – 1620
  - Separatists, Pilgrims, Saints
  - New England Way
  - William Bradford
  - Mayflower Compact
  - Direct democracy, town meeting
  - Intolerance of others
  - Native tribes, Squanto, Samoset
  - Thanksgiving
  - The Elect
- Massachusetts Bay – 1630
  - John Winthrop, “Model of Christian Charity,” “City Upon a Hill”; feared common people, opposed the legal establishment of Congregationalism, New England Confederation
  - John Cotton, minister and theologian
  - Great Migration
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Question 2 (continued)

- Dissent through splinter groups
  - Roger Williams; Providence, Rhode Island; separation of church and state; religious toleration.
  - Anne Hutchinson; Portsmouth; antinomianism; challenged Puritan ministers' authority and on the role of sexes
  - Thomas Hooker; “Father of American Democracy”; Hartford, Fundamental Orders of Connecticut
  - John Davenport, New Haven; Fundamental Articles of New Haven
  - John Wheelwright, Exeter; disciple of Hutchinson
- Theocracy or not a theocracy? Church taxes and attendance required.
- Representative democracy.
- Conversion experience, the Elect, Visible Saints.
- Halfway Covenant.
- Old Deluder Satan Act; read the Bible; education for the common good.
- Native Americans
  - Epidemics
  - Praying towns, translation of Bible into Algonquian
  - Necessary to English survival and economic success; trade
  - Some Native Americans aligned with French
  - Tensions over resources, especially land
    - Pequot War, King Philip’s War (Wampanoags, Metacom /Metacomet)
- Mercantilism and triangular trade
  - Diverse economy, climate, geography, natural resources, maritime industry
  - Yankee ingenuity
  - Navigation Acts, salutary neglect
- Dominion of New England (established to bolster defense and Enforcement of Navigation Acts - taxed without consent); James II; Gov. Edmund Andros.
- Education; Harvard 1636; Massachusetts law of 1647.
- Salem witchcraft, Cotton Mather.
- Legacy of Puritan experience
  - Colonial New England’s resistance to British authority
  - Leads to colonial assemblies
  - Increased voting power
  - Work ethic spreads southward
  - Close knit families, longer life span, moderation in most things
  - Plymouth merges with Massachusetts Bay 1691 (Massachusetts new charter – votes to all males)

The Enlightenment – In America, a largely mid-18th-century intellectual movement whose proponents included Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Thomas Paine, and Benjamin Franklin
- Rejected as superstition an interventionist God in favor of one that set up an ordered and well designed natural world and then left it alone.
- Questioned Christian church doctrinal and Biblical explanations for natural phenomenon, stressing instead humans’ ability to become educated, understand nature, and improve their lives.
• Favored theories of intellectuals such as Isaac Newton and John Locke which did not require Biblical authority as justification, thereby fostering scientific experimentation (Benjamin Franklin) and nonmonarchical forms of government (republicanism).

• Established intellectual foundations for several sets of ideas (e.g., republicanism, natural rights, social contract, labor theory of value, religious tolerance, education) that shaped American Revolution, Declaration of Independence, later establishment of the United States Constitution.

• Every man should enjoy the natural rights of life, liberty, and property. Social contract seemed to justify opposition to Parliament.

• Prompted religious reaction against the Enlightenment.

• Scientific and intellectual discoveries in 17th century Europe, Scientific Revolution.
  - Copernicus and the heliocentric theory
  - Sir Isaac Newton – *Principia Mathematica*

• Science and reason, natural laws.
  - John Locke
    - Tabula rasa.
    - Man and society can change for the better.
    - Man can be changed through education.
    - Government gets power from the people.
    - Social compacts with government to preserve the natural rights.

• Often mixed with Puritanism.
  - Just as the social compact formed the basis of political society, the religious covenant among the lay members of the congregation made them — not the bishops of the Church of England or even ministers — the proper interpreters of religious truth.
  - Learn through observations.

• Undermine power of traditional authority.

• Focus on education, politics, and government.

• Deism: Religious belief that says God created the world and lets it run itself by natural law.

• Rationalism: Theological doctrine that human reason rather than divine revelation establishes religious truth.

• Liberalism: Political ideology that emphasizes the rights of citizens, representative government, and protection of private property.

• Enlightenment thinkers.
  - European
    - Francis Bacon
    - John Locke
    - David Hume
    - Jean-Jacques Rousseau
    - Baron de Montesquieu
  - Colonial
    - Benjamin Franklin
    - Thomas Jefferson
    - Thomas Paine
    - James Madison
    - John Bartram

• Cotton Mather and smallpox inoculation.

• Evolution of colonial legislatures.

• Bill of Rights in state constitutions.
The First Great Awakening – a string of trans-Atlantic reviver activities led by preachers such as George Whitefield (a follower of John Wesley known for revivals), Jonathan Edwards, and Gilbert Tennent in the first half of the 18th century.

- Represented a reaction to more rationalistic approaches being adopted by the Enlightenment.
- Influenced Protestant church leaders in Britain and the British colonies.
- Criticized ministers as unfit, regardless of their degree of education, if they had not undergone a conversion experience and testified to God’s power.
- Favored techniques like open air camp ground meetings (emotionalism) in remote areas where no churches existed in order to convert more people.
- Resulted in the weakening of established churches and the splintering of Protestant denominations, making the erection of one established church in most Revolutionary era states impossible, and making the passage of the first Constitutional amendment on freedom of religion more likely.
- Cited as a source of the decline of social deference that helped prepare the American colonists for the American Revolution, fostered independent thinking.
- Fostered communication, interaction, and allegiances across colonial boundaries.
- Pietism, stressed the individual’s personal relationship with God.
- Increased religious activity.
- Protestantism in New England.
  - Anglicanism, Church of England
  - Congregationalism
  - Presbyterianism
  - Baptists (Roger Williams)
    - Challenged authority of ministers
  - Methodism, John and Charles Wesley
    - “New Lights”
      - Whitefield/Edwards
        - Ministers – conversion over education
        - Women spoke up
        - Undermined church authority
    - “Old Lights”
      - Chauncy
        - Educated ministers
      - Old order
      - Traditional
- Decline in piety threatened Puritan oligarchy, weakened the “Old Lights”
- Revivalism
  - “New Lights”
    - Whitefield/Edwards
      - Ministers – conversion over education
      - Women spoke up
      - Undermined church authority
  - “Old Lights”
    - Chauncy
      - Educated ministers
    - Old order
    - Traditional
- Emphasized potential to break away from constraints of the past and start anew with God, appeal to emotions.
- Change in, or perceptions of cracks in, the foundations of religious and social institutions.
- Democratizing effect by changing the way people viewed authority.
- Middle and Southern Colonies (Presbyterians, Dissenting Protestants, and New Light Baptists)
  - Challenged planter elite
  - All equal before God
  - Appeal to yeoman farmers and people in poverty
  - Heavy fines
  - Opposed gambling
Question 2 (continued)

- Spread Christianity to slaves.
- Spread from Europe to America.
- First national event; religious experience shared by all Americans.
- Particular appeal to women and younger sons.
- Princeton, Columbia, William and Mary College, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.
- “Stand up for God and Liberty”.

Impact on Colonial North American development 1620–1776 timeline

1620 – Plymouth (joint stock company) and Mayflower Compact
1630 – Massachusetts Bay colony
1634 – Maryland
1636 – Rhode Island and Connecticut
1638 – New Hampshire
1639 – Fundamental Orders of Connecticut
1649 – Maryland Act of Toleration
1663 – North Carolina and South Carolina (early Locke, Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina)
1664 – New York (eventual representative assembly after Glorious Revolution ends)
1664 – New Jersey
1676 – Bacon’s Rebellion
1681 – Penn helps found Pennsylvania, Quakers – simple, devoted, democratic minded
1682 – Delaware (by 1701 granted representative assembly)
1686 – Dominion of New England (Ends 1689)
1689 – End of Glorious Revolution/English Bill of Rights
1692 – Salem Witch Trials
1732 – Georgia founded
1750 – Colonial governments:
  Royal colonies (eight): Monarch selects governor and upper house, while the qualified colonists select the lower house.
  Proprietary Colonies (three): Proprietor selects governor, while colonists elect colonial assembly.
  Self-governing colonies (two): Colonists directly or indirectly, elected governor and members of both houses.
1754 – Albany Plan of Union
1754 – French and Indian War
1763 – French and Indian War ends, Proclamation of 1763, and salutary neglect ends
1764 – Sugar Act
1765 – Stamp Act / Stamp Act Congress
1766 – Declaratory Act
1767 – Townshend Duties
1770 – Boston Massacre
1773 – Tea Party
1774 – Intolerable Acts / Coercive Acts / First Continental Congress
1775 – Lexington and Concord / Second Continental Congress
1776 – Common Sense / Declaration of Independence
Colonial opposition took the following forms:
- Boycotting
- Smuggling
- Protests
- Sons and Daughters of Liberty/Committees of Correspondence
- Effigy
- Pamphlets/speeches
- Violence
Question 3

Compare and contrast the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s. Focus on TWO of the following.

Social reform
The role of the federal government in the economy
Westward expansion

0–9 points

The 8–9 Essay

• Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that compares and contrasts the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s focusing on two areas.
• Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information that compares and contrasts the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s focusing on two areas.
• Provides effective analysis that compares and contrasts the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s focusing on two areas; treatment of multiple parts may be somewhat uneven.
• May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the essay.
• Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay

• Contains a partially developed thesis that compares and contrasts the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s focusing on two areas.
• Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information that compares and contrasts the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s focusing on two areas.
• Provides some analysis that compares and contrasts the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s focusing on two areas; treatment of multiple parts may be uneven.
• May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
• Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay

• Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
• Provides minimal relevant information on two topics, addresses only one topic, or lists facts with little or no application to the Jacksonian Democratic Party and the Whig Party of the 1830s and 1840s.
• May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis.
• May have major errors.
• May be poorly organized or written, or both.
The 0–1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or simply repeats the question.
- Demonstrates an irrelevant or inappropriate response.
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized or written so poorly, or both, that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay

- Is blank.
Reform and ideas inspired by the Second Great Awakening were embraced by the Whigs more than the Democrats. These included temperance, prison reform, sabbatarianism, millennialism, utopianism, abolition, colonization, moral reform, reform of the pauper system, women’s rights (Seneca Falls Convention, 1848), the peace movement, reform of public education, and the elimination of all activities considered sinful.

Women’s roles in the antebellum reform movements were appreciated more by Whigs than by Democrats.

The Whig Party was divided over the issue of slavery (cotton Whigs, conscience Whigs); some Whigs embraced free soil ideas while other Whigs and most Democrats preferred slavery not be debated — the gag rule; Southern Democrats were largely proslavery while Northern Democrats held divergent views on this issue.

Democrats were more in favor of expansion of voting rights for unpropertied white males; supported the common man and yeoman farmers.

Role of the federal government in economy

- Henry Clay’s American System (economic nationalism) vs. Jacksonian laissez faire.
- Whig support for industrialization vs. Democratic support for a largely agrarian republic; support of middle and upper class by Whigs vs. support for the common man and the white yeoman farmers by Democrats.
- Debate over the role of the federal government in internal improvements involving roads, canals, and railroads (Jackson’s veto of the Maysville Road Bill while supporting the extension of the National Road).
- Democratic support for labor — enactment of 10-hour workday in government offices and projects (Martin Van Buren); supported early labor unions.
- Protective tariffs (Whigs) vs. low tariffs (Democrats). Southern Whigs, unlike most Northern Whigs, opposed high tariffs; tariff revenue was one of the primary sources of federal revenue in this period; Tariff of 1832, conflict between Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun because of the tariff; Compromise Tariff of 1833 engineered by Henry Clay; Force Act; Walker Tariff of 1846 lowered tariff rates.
- Re-charter of the Bank of the United States vs. Jackson’s veto of the Re-charter Bill became the primary issue in the 1832 election featuring Democrat Andrew Jackson vs. Whig Henry Clay; Jackson’s dispute with Nicholas Biddle, President of the Second Bank of the United States; Whig Daniel Webster served as legal counsel for the Second Bank of the United States; pet banks supported by Democrats.
- Democrats favored the government using a vault or warehouse for its money whereas Whigs favored the Second Bank of the United States.
- Jackson’s 1836 Specie Circular turned an angry public against Democratic President Van Buren as he took office. Despite the panic and depression of 1837, Van Buren refused to revoke the Specie Circular or take other action to stimulate the economy.
- Van Buren’s Independent Treasury Act of 1840 (proposed in 1837 as the Divorce Bill) took money out of Jackson’s pet banks where it backed loans and placed it in government vaults where it had little economic impact.
Westward expansion

- Both parties favored American Indian removal in areas where their supporters wished to settle; “Tippecanoe and Tyler too” was a slogan of Whig candidates (Harrison/Tyler) in the Election of 1840; Harrison had fought against American Indians.
- Southern Democrats favored westward expansion, partly to expand cotton plantations and slavery into the west; Whigs concerned about the extension of slavery and slave power.
- Battles of the Alamo and San Jacinto (1836); Jackson and the Democrats favored independence for Texas but refused to annex Texas because of the slavery controversy.
- While Tyler was president, Congress annexed Texas, an action called for by Democrat Polk in his 1844 election campaign and eventually supported by his Whig opponent, Henry Clay.
- The Wilmot Proviso, though sponsored by Pennsylvania Democrat David Wilmot, was supported by Whigs.
- Democrats more in favor of Manifest Destiny; Whigs worried about losing representation in Congress as people from the North and East moved West and Southwest, although northerners in both parties supported the annexation of Oregon.
- Democratic support for westward expansion manifested in support for the Mexican-American War (“Mr. Polk’s War”).
- Some Whigs opposed the Mexican-American War (e.g., Abraham Lincoln, Henry Clay), a war that led to the sectional crises of the 1850s and the 1860s.
Question 4

To what extent were the goals of Reconstruction (1865–1877) regarding African Americans achieved by 1900?

0–9 points

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that assesses the extent to which the goals of Reconstruction regarding African Americans were achieved by 1900.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides an effective analysis of the extent to which the goals of Reconstruction regarding African Americans were achieved by 1900; treatment of achievement of goals and coverage of the entire time period may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the answer.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay
- Contains a partially developed thesis that assesses the extent to which the goals of Reconstruction regarding African Americans were achieved by 1900.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the extent to which the goals of Reconstruction regarding African Americans were achieved by 1900; treatment of achievement of goals and coverage of the entire time period may be uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
- Contains an undeveloped, confused, or unfocused thesis or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis; largely descriptive.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized or written, or both.

The 0–1 Essay
- Lacks a thesis or simply restates the question.
- Demonstrates an irrelevant or inappropriate response or, is off topic (0).
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized or written so poorly, or both, that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay
- Is blank.
Question 4 (continued)

Information List

Goals:
- Ensure citizenship and civil liberties for former slaves
- Ensure political enfranchisement
- Provide economic opportunities for former slaves
- Provide educational opportunities for former slaves
- Expectations of cultural change

Primary Reconstruction Laws and Constitutional Amendments

- Abraham Lincoln – Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction Ten Percent Plan.
- Radical Republicans – Wade-Davis Bill – half eligible voters, oath of allegiance; pocket veto.
  - Neither of the two plans supported black suffrage.
- Thirteenth Amendment (ratified 1865) – abolished slavery.
- Andrew Johnson – Presidential Reconstruction – pardon and amnesty with oath; required passage of Thirteenth Amendment.
- Freedmen’s Bureau (Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands) (1865) – agency to provide social, educational, and economic services, advice, and protection to former slaves and destitute white Southerners.
- Fourteenth Amendment (ratified 1866) – prohibited states from violating the rights of their citizens; “due process of law”; “equal protection of the law”.
- Reconstruction Act of 1867 (Congressional Reconstruction/Military Reconstruction Acts) – divided former Confederate states (with the exception of Tennessee) into five military districts; voters would elect conventions and prepare state constitutions, which were to include black suffrage; had to ratify Fourteenth Amendment.
- Fifteenth Amendment (ratified 1870) – forbade states and federal government to deny suffrage to any citizen on account of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude”.
- Enforcement Act of 1870 and Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871 (Force Acts/Ku Klux Klan Acts) – prohibited states from discriminating against voters on the basis of race; gave national government authority to prosecute crimes by individuals; president could use federal troops to protect civil rights.
- Civil Rights Act of 1875 – required “full and equal” access to jury service, transportation, and public accommodations — irrespective of race; declared unconstitutional in 1883.
- Compromise of 1877 (Hayes-Tilden election) – disputed electoral votes and therefore the presidency went to Hayes; Democrats’ concessions; ends military Reconstruction.
- Redeemer and Bourbon governments – former Southern white elites’ efforts to reclaim political dominance.
Goal: Ensure citizenship and civil liberties for former slaves

Extent of Achievement:
- Civil Rights Act of 1866 – voided the state Black Codes.
- Civil Rights Act of 1875 – outlawed private discrimination on public accommodations.
- Fourteenth Amendment.
- Second Freedmen’s Bureau (1866).
- New vagrancy laws (1870s) that were more severe than those passed in 1865.
- Race riots: Memphis (1866) and New Orleans (1866).
- Jim Crow laws.
- Convict-lease system.
- Lynching of African Americans by white mobs — especially high in 1890s.
  - Ida B. Wells, 1892, launches antilynching movement with her journalism.
- Slaughterhouse cases (1873) – the Fourteenth Amendment applies to United States citizenship, not states.
- United States v. Cruikshank (1876) and United States v. Reese (1876) – voting rights remained a state prerogative unless the state itself violated those rights.
- Civil Rights cases (1883) – the Supreme Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875 by ruling that the Fourteenth Amendment gave Congress the power to outlaw discrimination by states, not by private individuals.
- Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) – reaffirms the equal but separate rule.
- Afro-American League/Council (1890) – precursor of NAACP.
- International Migration Society (1894) – Bishop Henry McNeal Turner.

Goal: Ensure political enfranchisement

Extent of Achievement:
- African Americans served as delegates to state constitutional conventions and held state and federal offices during Reconstruction:
  - 1869–1901: 20 African Americans served in the House of Representatives, two in the Senate, more than 200 in southern state legislatures as well as various state offices.
  - Hiram R. Revels – United States senator from Mississippi, elected 1870 to fill Jefferson Davis’s former seat; Blanche K. Bruce – elected 1874 became Mississippi’s second African American Fourteenth Amendment senator.
- Fourteenth Amendment
  - Former slaves had been counted as three-fifths of a person, now counted as a full vote, which lead to 12 more seats in Congress and electoral votes.
  - Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony campaigned against the Fourteenth Amendment.
- Fifteenth Amendment
  - Stanton and Anthony wanted the word “sex” added to the Fifteenth Amendment.
- While African Americans were the largest southern constituency in the Republican Party (African Americans in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana were the majority of eligible voters), the percentage of African American officeholders was always far lower than the percentage of African Americans in the population.
  - African Americans held a majority in the lower house of the South Carolina legislature in 1868.
  - Reconstruction Republican legislation – infrastructure improvements.
Question 4 (continued)

- Carpetbaggers and scalawags – seen by Southerners as traitors to southern autonomy.
- Union League – organization to encourage and support African American votes.
- Most southern white people regained suffrage by 1872; intimidation and violence was used in states where there was not a white majority.
  - Secret societies (Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the White Camellia).
  - Paramilitary organizations (Red Shirts, White Leagues) policed elections.
  - Planters refused to rent land to Republican African Americans, storekeepers refused to extend credit; employers refused to give work.
  - Bulkdozing – African Americans threatened with job loss or eviction if they voted Republican.
- Manipulation of the electoral machinery.
  - State laws to disenfranchise African American males: poll tax (property qualification), literacy or understanding test, limited use of grandfather clause.
    - *Williams v. Mississippi* (1898) – the Supreme Court allowed poll taxes and literacy tests to stand; by 1908, every southern state had adopted such measures.
      - By the late 1890s, the African American vote had decreased significantly
- Purported scientific theories (Social Darwinism) claimed natural superiority of white people over African Americans.
  - Influenced the liberal Republican Party — a divide which cut support for continued Reconstruction efforts.
- Solid South by 1900 – white led Democratic Party rule.

Goal: **Provide economic opportunities for former slaves**

**Extent of Achievement:**
- 40 acres and a mule.
- Freedmen’s Bureau (1865) settled thousands of African American families on land; by the end of 1865, owners were returning and demanding their property; most confiscated land returned (Johnson’s amnesty plan).
- Black land ownership rates rose to as high as 20 percent in some states by 1900.
- Southern Homestead Act (1866) – public lands available to African Americans and loyal white people in five southern states.
- Exodusters – Benjamin Singleton purchased property in Kansas to establish separate black towns.
  - Many emancipated African Americans moved out of the South, many to Kansas, some further west and others to the North.
- Urban African American population increased sharply.
  - African Americans occupied the most marginal positions as janitors, servants, porters, and laborers.
- African American middle class – urban-based, professional, business-oriented, and serving a primarily African American clientele.
  - Most southern cities boasted active African American business districts by the 1890s.
  - Fraternal and self-help groups (Colored Masons, Colored Odd Fellows) had membership rates that exceeded those in the white community.
- Other employment opportunities: railroads, turpentine and lumber camps, mining, cowboys, dock workers.
  - White people excluded African Americans from trades; African Americans joined the Knights of Labor.
  - Exclusion from industrial jobs results in deskilling.
Question 4 (continued)

- African American agricultural laborers.
  - Wage farmers, gang-labor system
  - Tenant farmers, sharecroppers – led to debt peonage
  - Crop-lien system – cycle of debt and poverty
- Panic of 1873 caused crop prices to plunge and industrial workers faced layoffs and pay reductions.
- 1888 Colored Farmers’ Alliance - loosely affiliated with Southern Farmers’ Alliance, which did not accept African American members.
- Populist Party ambivalent about African Americans; African Americans suspicious of motives.
- Greenback Labor Party – protested fading of Reconstruction, opposed convict labor, urged every man’s vote be protected.
- Knights of Labor — Terence Powderly — open membership, irrespective of race, gender, or field of employment; African Americans were one-third of the Knight’s membership in the South.
- New South – Industrialization of the South.
- Republican Party shifts toward emphasis on industrialization by the late 1800s.

Goal: Provide educational opportunities for former slaves

Extent of Achievement:
- Freedmen’s Bureau established schools; many teachers were African American.
  - Literacy rates increased
- Reconstruction governments began building a comprehensive public school system.
  - Louisiana and South Carolina opened integrated public schools.
  - By the 1880s black school attendance rose significantly.
  - By 1876 more than half of all white and about 40 percent of all African American children were attending schools in the South (though most racially segregated).
- Black academies offering advanced education grew into a network of black colleges and universities.
  - Between 1865 and 1867 northern philanthropists founded Howard, Atlanta, Fisk, Morehouse, and other black institutions of higher learning.
- After the end of Reconstruction, Redeemer and Bourbon governments eliminated or reduced support for public schools.
- Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute (1881)
  - Atlanta Compromise (1895) – African Americans should forgo agitation for political rights and focus on self-improvement and preparation for equality.
- W. E. B. DuBois – Pan-African Conference in London (1900) “the problem of the Twentieth Century” would be “the problem of the color line”.
  - The Souls of Black Folk (1903) and NAACP (1910)
Goal: *Expectations of Cultural Change*

**Extent of Achievement:**
- Only a few Radical Republicans advocated racial equality (Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens).
- Black churches – African Methodist Episcopal (Henry McNeal Turner) and Negro Baptist. Churches – relief, funds for schools, supported Republican policies.
  - Burial societies, Masonic lodges, temperance groups, trade unions, drama clubs all originated in churches.
- Women’s Convention of the National Baptist Church (1900) – promoted and funded night schools, health clinics, kindergartens, day care centers, outreach programs for men and women in prison.
- National Association of Colored Women (1896) – women’s clubs focused on community support; worked with WCTU and YWCA.
- Social groups often organized Emancipation Proclamation celebrations on January 1; Juneteenth Celebrations; antagonized white people and divided African American and white communities.
- African Americans left plantations in search of family members; marriage ceremonies; former slaves choosing surnames.
- Old expressions of humility dropped (tipping hat, stepping aside, feigning happiness, addressing white people with title of deference).
- Legalized marriage led to a temporary decrease in women field workers 1870; proportion of families with two parents became similar for African Americans and white people.
- Ragtime music; Scott Joplin first published in 1895.
- Fisk University Jubilee Singers (1871).
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Question 5

Explain the social, economic, and foreign policy goals of New Right conservatives from the 1960s to the 1980s and assess the degree to which the Reagan administration succeeded in implementing these goals in the 1980s.

0–9 points

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses all parts of the question.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis of the topic; treatment of multiple parts may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the answer.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay
- Contains a partially developed thesis that addresses the question.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the topic, but treatment of multiple parts may be uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information, or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis, or is largely descriptive.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized or written, or both.

The 0–1 Essay
- Lacks a thesis or simply repeats the question.
- Demonstrates an irrelevant or inappropriate response, or is off topic (0).
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized or written so poorly, or both, that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay
- Is blank.
I. Ideological Big Picture

Social
- Opposition to desegregation
- Traditional values

Economics
- Pro-market

Foreign policy
- Strident anticommunism
- Eliminate, not just contain, communism
- Build a more powerful military
- Take a harder line against communists abroad

II. Reagan Successes Big Picture

- Reagan Revolution
- Reagan Coalition
- Reagan Democrats

Social Goals
- Less active government in domestic affairs
- Antifeminist; opposed to Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); anti-abortion; anti-gay rights
- Anticommunism at home
- Opposed enforcement of civil rights: affirmative action as “reverse discrimination,” anti-busing, George Wallace campaign
- Supported school prayer; opposed sex education (popular issues for women in grassroots conservatism)
- Condemned looser moral standards of 1960s
- Promoted law and order
- Young Americans for Freedom; Sharon Statement (free market, personal freedom; limited government)
- Barry Goldwater; Phyllis Schlafly, *A Choice Not an Echo* (1964), Stop ERA
- Silent majority
- Southern Strategy
- White backlash against black militancy
- Richard Viguerie and Paul Weyrich direct-mail fundraising
- National Conservative Political Action Committee founded (Viguerie)
- American Enterprise Institute; Heritage Foundation (Joseph Coors)
- Neoconservatives
- Evangelical Activism
  - Resistance to *Roe v. Wade*
  - James Dobson, Focus on the Family; Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority; Pat Robertson, Christian Coalition, 700 Club (Christian Broadcasting Network); Ralph Reed
- *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, quota system unconstitutional (1978)
Implementation

- Promised to “take government off the backs of the people”
- Opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act
- War on Drugs, campaign to Just Say No to drugs
- Limited attention to and funding for AIDS research
- Defeat of ERA (1982)
- Conservative Supreme Court appointments (Scalia, Rehnquist) Court issues: “textualism,” “original intent”
- Sun Belt population shift and increased conservatism
- “Government is not the solution to our problems, government is the problem;” tax relief, deregulation, smaller government, end of busing, quotas in hiring

Economics

Goals

- Laissez-faire economics: government should not interfere in the marketplace
- Trickle-down economics (Andrew Mellon as inspiration): Reaganomics, supply-side, Laffer curve
  - Lower taxes on individuals and corporations
  - Deregulation of industries (e.g., airline industry, savings and loans)
- Opposition to social welfare
- Lower taxes on individuals and corporations
  - California’s 1978 Proposition 13
- Relaxed environmental protective measures
- Neoliberal economics (chronologically accurate descriptor of economic policy characterized by capitalism, globalism, and free-market policy)

Implementation

- Deregulation of industry, banking, etc.
- Nonenforcement of environmental legislation (cutting of Environmental Protection Agency’s budget)
- Budget Reconciliation Act, 1981 (reduction on federal social spending — cut funds for food stamps, job training, aid to students, limitations on Medicare and Medicaid payments)
- Tax cuts for wealthy and corporations
- Weakened organized labor
- PATCO strike; 11,000 fired
- Class stratification, emergence of an underclass
- Victory over inflation
- Secretary of the Interior James Watts opened public lands to development
- Allowed automobile industry to relax implementation of new safety standards
- Unemployment dropped; Gross Domestic Product increased
- Stock market grew (crashed in 1987, but recovered)
- Savings and loan crisis
- Increased national debt (tripled under Ronald Reagan)
Question 5 (continued)

- Decline of manufacturing
- Deindustrialization
- Laffer Curve
- Reagan’s 1984 campaign: “Are you better off than you were four years ago?”

Foreign Policy

Goals

- Free market opposition to communism.
  - Goldwater Campaign (1964)
  - Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*
  - William F. Buckley, *National Review*
  - Young Americans for Freedom; Sharon Statement (1960)
  - John Birch Society
  - Heritage Foundation, Joseph Coors (1973)
  - American Enterprise Institute (1962)
  - National Conservative Political Action Committee (1975)
- Religious conservatives opposed what they termed “godless communism”.
  - *Newsweek* labeled 1976 “The Year of the Evangelical”.
  - Televangelism
    - Jerry Falwell; Pat Robertson; Jim and Tammy Bakker
- Hard Hat Rally (aka ‘Riot’), a pro-war demonstration, New York City, 1970.

Implementation

- “Evil Empire”
- Accelerated arms build-up
- Star Wars and Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)
- Presided over Cold War thaw in relationship with Soviet Union
  - Mikhail Gorbachev; glasnost (openness); perestroika (restructuring)
- Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan
- Reagan Doctrine
- Reagan speech at Berlin Wall
- Iran-Contra
  - Sandinistas
  - United States creation of contras as an anti-Sandinista force
  - National Security Council and Central Intelligence Agency covert aid for Contras
- Interventionism
  - Marines to Lebanon and barracks bombing; El Salvador; Grenada invasion; bombing of Tripoli, Libya; Nicaragua
- Post-Reagan:
  - Soviet retreat from Afghanistan; Poland’s election; fall of Berlin Wall; dissolution of communism in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union