

AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY
2008 SCORING GUIDELINES (Form B)

Question 2

Analyze the reasons for the Anti-Federalists' opposition to ratifying the Constitution.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis setting forth the Anti-Federalists' opposition to the ratification of the United States Constitution.
- Provides substantial, relevant information detailing the various arguments behind their opposition to ratification.
- Provides effective analysis of the principal grounds underlying their opposition to ratification.
- Is well organized and well written.
- May contain minor errors.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a thesis, which may be partially developed, setting forth the Anti-Federalists' opposition to the ratification of the United States Constitution.
- Provides some relevant information profiling the Anti-Federalists' various arguments against ratification.
- Analyzes to some degree the principal grounds underlying their opposition to ratification.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the essay.

The 2–4 Essay

- Presents a thesis that may be confused, simplistic, or undeveloped in terms of setting forth the Anti-Federalists' opposition to ratification of the United States Constitution; or presents no thesis.
- Includes little relevant information concerning the Anti-Federalists' arguments against ratification.
- Has little analysis of the principal grounds underlying their opposition to ratification.
- May be poorly organized and/or poorly written.
- May contain major errors.

The 0–1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or restates the question.
- Includes no relevant information concerning the Anti-Federalists' opposition to ratification of the Constitution.
- Contains no analysis of the grounds underlying their opposition to the ratification of the Constitution.
- Is poorly organized and/or poorly written.
- May contain numerous errors, both major and minor.

The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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Question 2 Information List

- Foremost were Anti-Federalists' concerns over the absence of any Bill of Rights and over states' rights.
- Anti-Federalists feared centralized power and the loss of state powers, states' rights, and autonomy to the federal government under the Constitution, which was to be the supreme law of the land. Many also feared creating too great a distance between the people and the government.
- Anti-Federalists believed that the government was a contract between equals and not a step toward strong central government, and that the heart of the revolution was the protection of liberties and state powers. Some saw the Constitution as a betrayal of those principles.
- Some Anti-Federalists expressed fear of a strong executive, the abuse of power (via the elastic clause), and cabals.
- Some Anti-Federalists expressed fear regarding the federal government's proposed power to levy taxes, regulate trade, and raise an army.
- Some Anti-Federalists were concerned about the protection of minority rights and majoritarian abuses.
- Some Anti-Federalists feared the judicial branch because of experiences preceding the Revolution.
- Some Anti-Federalists were concerned about big states dominating small states. Some Anti-Federalists felt that a large republican form of government, or a republic of republics, could not work.
- Some Anti-Federalists were concerned that members of Congress, representing so many persons in each district, would tend to be limited to wealthy persons, resulting in an oligarchy.
- Some Anti-Federalists maintained that the ratification procedure for the Constitution was illegal because the existing Articles of Confederation provided for unanimous votes for amendments—the Constitution was viewed as an amendment to the Articles. Some opposed the phrase "We the People" in favor of "We the States."
- Some Anti-Federalists were concerned about the size of Congress (65 representatives in the House and 26 in the Senate) and how few persons it would take to constitute a quorum and conduct national affairs.
- Some Anti-Federalists objected to the provision continuing the slave trade for 20 years or the failure to abolish it; others feared a further assault on slavery.
- Anti-Federalists felt there was not enough democracy in the Constitution and that elections would not be held often enough.

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Question 2 Information List (continued)

- Readers saw student misinterpretations regarding the power to tax, the power to intervene in state laws, the presence of a Bill of Rights under the Articles of Confederation (as opposed to under state constitutions), Anti-Federalists as probusiness (if anything, the Federalists were probusiness), social differences between Federalists and Anti-Federalists (there were no significant differences between the leadership of both groups), provisions for paying state debts (that only emerged later), and Federalists being pro-British (that was also later). Readers also saw misinterpretations regarding Republicans versus Federalists, Alexander Hamilton's economic plan, and Thomas Jefferson's conflict with Hamilton.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

2A
1 of 2

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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After the meetings in Mount Vernon and Annapolis, the founding fathers of America realized the need to ~~see~~ modify the Articles of Confederation for a completely new Constitution. Before the Constitution was ratified in 1789, the Anti-Federalists opposed it because it jeopardized states rights, individual rights, and the dream for an Agrarian Republic. ^{and Patrick Henry, and George Mason}

Thomas Jefferson led the Anti-Federalists to oppose the strong central government which would be created by the Constitution. After the American Revolution from 1776-1783, many Americans cherished their new-found freedoms and were very sensitive to their violations. The Articles of Confederation, formed in the 2nd Continental Congress, was intentionally made very weak to prevent the American republic from falling into a monarchical system. When Hamilton, Madison, and Jay tried to persuade ratification with "The Federalist Papers", the Anti-Federalists were deeply concerned with the vast powers ^{of the American Government} expressed in the Constitution. Anti-Federalists favored a weak central government and strong state gov, as shown in Thomas Jefferson's quote "the government that governs best governs least".

Another concern of the Anti-Federalists were individual rights of Americans. After the formation of the AOC, many states formed their own state legislatures that included a bill of rights. When asked for ratification of the Constitution in the 1780s many Anti-Federalists saw the flaw of the absence of the Bill of Rights. This caused the delay of Virginia's, the most populous state at the time, ratification of the Constitution.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one (2) or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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2A
202
2A
such as the freedom of speech and
to bear arms

After the Anti-Federalists were promised a "Bill of Rights" in the first ten amendments to the Constitution, the Anti-Federalists were reassured and accepted the Constitution.

The last concern of the Anti-Federalists concerning about the Constitution was its slight bias towards the New England states' industrial system. The strong central government proposed by the Constitution was liked by business and merchants, who saw a strong central government as a sign of stable currency. However, Anti-Federalists saw the strong central government as a threat to their dream of an Agrarian republic. This dream was expressed by Thomas Jefferson's presidency when he ~~de~~ allowed the Louisiana Purchase despite his "strict constructionist" beliefs.

All in all, the chief reasons for Anti-Federalists' opposition to the Constitution was the endangering of states rights, individual rights, and Agrarian republic by the strong central government proposed in the Constitution. After these concerns were reassured, the Constitution was ratified in 1789.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

2B
103

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one (2) or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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When the ineffectiveness of the Articles of Confederation became apparent to America's leaders, the need for a ~~new government~~ ^{stronger and effective} government rose. In response to this need, America's most influential leaders convened in 1787 to draft and ratify what would become the Constitution, a document that clearly outlined the creation of a stronger, centralized, national government. The creation of such a government ensured unity ~~and~~ ^{in the} U.S., but there were those who opposed the formation of such a government. The Anti-Federalists, as they were called, opposed the Constitution. In the eyes of the Anti-Federalists, the Constitution was a threat to the individual rights of citizens as well as a threat to state rights. With such a powerful government, the Anti-Federalists argued that America would once again be subject to a tyrannical regime. Thus, ~~the~~ the Anti-Federalist opposed the Constitution due to Anti-Federalist belief that the individual rights of citizens as well as the rights of states could be jeopardized with the creation of a strong national government.

The beliefs of the Anti-Federalists were largely shaped by America's experience under British subjugation. Under the rule of Great Britain, colonists were repeatedly subject to Parliament's laws such as the Stamp Act or the ~~tax~~ ^{Declaratory} Acts that violated their individual rights. Meanwhile,

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the colonies were being denied representation in British Parliament and Britain used this as a means of subjugating the colonies to laws it passed. The lack of representation and violation of individual rights under a tyrannical institution became the banner under which the colonists fought and defeated the British during the American Revolution. With its tyrannical threat deposed, the newly formed United States sought to never again allow such a strong government institution to violate the rights of citizens. Thus, when the Articles of Confederation were later drafted, its provisions intentionally made it such that power rested among individual states and not a strong, central government that could potentially ~~threaten~~ ^{threaten} individual and states rights. To Anti-Federalists, the Constitution represented such a threat. The Constitution called for a much more powerful national government, one that could levy taxes on citizens and organize a national ~~army~~ ^{army}. These powers were very similar to those of Parliament, which used such powers to abuse the colonies prior to the Revolution. As a result, the Constitution seemed to set the stage for a reincarnation of an oppressive regime the colonists had just overthrown. To Anti-Federalists, this was unacceptable. It was critical to Anti-Federalists that America not be subjugated to another centralized

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Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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institution ~~the rights of citizens~~ ^{that could abuse the} rights of American citizens; an institution the Constitution seemed to make possible.

Thus, Anti-Federalists opposed the Constitution due to their belief that the Constitution could jeopardize the rights of citizens as well as individual states.

America's experience during ~~the~~ British subjugation showed Anti-Federalists the threat of a strong centralized institution. With its ability to pass laws, taxes, or raise an army, such an institution could easily violate the rights of citizens as well as the rights of states, in ~~the~~ similar fashion to the British Parliament which used its powers to abuse the colonists. Thus, Anti-Federalists opposed ~~the~~ ^{the} Constitution ~~due~~ to their belief that a strong, centralized institution could jeopardize the rights of individual citizens and states

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one ② or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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2C
1 of 2

The Anti-Federalists were in support for the Articles of Confederation and not the Constitution. Anti-Federalists were those who wanted to protect the states or rather colonies' sovereignty over the federal government. They argued in opposition to ratifying the Constitution ~~because~~ for various reasons including small states would lose political influence, each states' governments would lose power and each individual would not be as involved if it was ruled by a federal government.

One of the main reasons the Anti-Federalists did not want to ratify the Constitution was because the states would lose power. The Anti-Federalists wanted a strong state government and for it to have the most power was so it could satisfy their people's needs. During ~~the~~ ~~the~~ the period of the crisis in ~~the~~ ~~the~~ 1780's some states were based on industry while others were based on agriculture. Some were wealthier and more prosperous than other states. The Anti-Federalists believed that it was unfair if everyone would have to be governed under a strong central government. ~~Some~~ The Anti-Federalists wanted power to stay in the states. Therefore they supported the Articles of Confederation which gave the states the most power and influence.

Many of those who opposed the ratification of the Constitution also came from small states. They believed that if the Constitution was ratified, they would not be represented equally as the larger states. The Constitution gave representation as a ratio to the state's population, the articles of confederation gave all

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or 3	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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2 of 2
20

the state, an equal number of representatives which the number was set at two.

In response to the opposition of ratifying the Constitution, the ~~new~~ Federalists proposed the New Jersey Plan which favored the small states to get the anti-Federalists' support in ratifying the Constitution. However the anti-Federalists was not totally in agreement with the Plan. Those large states also opposed the plan who had their own plan or known as the Virginia Plan. Out of these two plans, the Connecticut Compromise was proposed by Henry Clay. Clay was known as the "Great Compromiser." Although the great compromise was proposed some Anti-Federalists still opposed the Constitution.

The Anti-Federalists believed that the government will not satisfy all of the people unless each state had their own authority and power. The Articles of Confederation best pleased their wants. Small states argued for states sovereignty and argued that it would allow them to be equally represented. They also argued for a Bill of Rights that guaranteed them their freedom and rights. Ultimately the Constitution would be ratified in ~~1787~~ 1788 with New Hampshire being the ninth state to ratify the Constitution. However, Rhode Island a small state favoring power in the states did not support the ratification and failed to ratify the Constitution. With all the efforts of the Anti-Federalists, they at the end were defeated and the Constitution of the United States was signed.

AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY
2008 SCORING COMMENTARY (Form B)

Question 2

Sample: 2A

Score: 9

This essay has a well-developed thesis with three Anti-Federalist reasons for opposing ratification: “it jeopardized states [*sic*] rights, individual rights, and the dream for an Agrarian Republic.” It contains ample relevant information with effective analysis of Anti-Federalist grounds for opposing ratification. The essay is especially effective in its analysis of the Constitution’s “slight bias towards the New England states’ industrial system,” with it being “liked by business and merchants” because the latter saw it as a “sign of stable currency” and opposed by Anti-Federalists “as a threat to their dream of an Agrarian republic.” The essay is well organized and well written. Its substantial relevant information and effective analysis elevate it to the highest category.

Sample: 2B

Score: 6

This essay has a clear thesis with some relevant information included in its analysis. However, it is repetitive in linking both Anti-Federalist fears of “a strong, central government that could potentially threaten individual rights and states [*sic*] rights” to earlier experiences with the British monarchy. For example, they viewed power to “levy taxes on citizens and organize a national army” as reminiscent of Parliament’s abuse of such power and feared the Constitution would jeopardize the rights of individuals and states. The essay is reasonably well written and organized, but its repetitiveness and lack of detail hold it back from a higher score in the 5–7 category.

Sample: 2C

Score: 4

This essay has a thesis delineating three Anti-Federalist issues: loss of state power, small states being at a disadvantage, and individual citizens not being readily involved in the central government. There is adequate relevant information to support the analysis over loss of state power. The discussion of small states losing influence is more descriptive than analytical. In presenting individuals as less involved in the government under the Constitution, the essay gets bogged down and confused: the large state/small state debate and reference to Henry Clay are significant errors. There is only a brief mention of the Bill of Rights. The writing is acceptable, but the organization is strained. There is too much description (rather than analysis) and confusion to lift this to the 5–7 score category.