

# AP<sup>®</sup> UNITED STATES HISTORY

## 2008 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 4

Following Reconstruction, many southern leaders promoted the idea of a “New South.” To what extent was this “New South” a reality by the time of the First World War? In your answer be sure to address TWO of the following.

Economic development  
Politics  
Race relations

#### The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that evaluates to what extent the idea of a “New South” was a reality with regard to TWO topics by the time of the First World War.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and specific relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis of the extent to which the idea of a “New South” was a reality regarding TWO topics; treatment of topics may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

#### The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a thesis that partially evaluates to what extent the idea of a “New South” was a reality with regard to TWO topics by the time of the First World War.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant, historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the extent to which the idea of a “New South” was a reality regarding TWO topics; treatment of topics may be substantially uneven.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

#### The 2–4 Essay

- Contains an undeveloped, confused, or unfocused thesis, or may simply restate the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- Addresses the extent to which the idea of a “New South” was a reality regarding only one topic, OR describes two topics in a general way.
- May contain major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

#### The 0–1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or paraphrases the question.
- Demonstrates an incompetent or inappropriate response.
- Has little or no understanding of the question.
- Contains substantial errors.
- Is poorly organized and/or written.

#### The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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### Question 4 Information List

#### Economic Development

- Southern economic development was difficult: few towns and cities, lack of capital, low rate of technological development, northern control of financial markets and patents. Other problems: high protective tariffs, demonetization of silver meant less capital for investment, lack of educated work force.
- Northern investment.
  - Investors received concessions from southern state legislatures (land, forest, mineral rights).
  - Railroad companies laid over 22,000 miles of new track, but by 1890 more than half of track laid was owned by northern railroad companies.
- Industrial development.
  - Henry Grady, editor, *Atlanta Constitution*.
  - Industry developed: coal mining in Appalachians, textiles in Carolinas and Georgia, furniture, cigarette manufacturing (James B. Duke, American Tobacco Co., 1890), iron and steel in Birmingham, Alabama (by 1900, largest pig-iron shipper in the United States).
  - Northern investors came to control some southern iron industry: Andrew Carnegie got railroads to charge higher freight rates through “Pittsburgh plus” pricing system that charged Birmingham steel an extra fee; New York bankers eventually controlled stock in southern iron firms; U.S. Steel bought out many Birmingham iron businesses.
  - Northern businessmen invested in lumber industry in Gulf states’ pine forests; production increased 500 percent.
  - Railroads connected the South to national markets but charged higher rates for transport of manufactured goods than raw materials moving from South to North.
  - White merchants and industrialists prospered.
- Cotton industry.
  - Southern merchants and landowners promoted vertical integration of cotton industry; number of cotton mills grew: 161 in 1880, to 400 in 1900.
  - “Move the mill to the cotton.”
  - Cotton manufacturing states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama; Augusta, Georgia, called the “Lowell of the South.”
  - Attracted northern investors (1880–1920), who owned major textile mills by 1920.
  - Mill towns in Piedmont (from Virginia, Carolinas, Alabama, and Georgia) were a mixture of industrial development and rural traditions; often controlled by mill owners who kept mill workers tied to the mill.
  - Textile workers were white and paid poorly; wages were 30–50 percent less than those for New England mill workers.
- Labor.
  - Wages in industries were low for blacks and whites; lowest paid workers were children (child labor in textile industry was particularly widespread in South).
  - Some opportunities for African Americans: railroads, construction (Atlanta), mines, iron and steel furnaces, tobacco factories (black women), but workplaces were rigidly segregated, or blacks had menial jobs; southern urban areas attracted black unskilled labor.
  - Cheap convict labor (often African Americans and often 90 percent of convict labor force) used in railroads, mines, lumber business; brutal mistreatment and no wages paid to convict workers.
  - African American women: domestic workers.

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### Question 4 Information List (continued)

- Agriculture.
  - White planters prospered with reliance on cash crops.
  - Cotton and tobacco still dominated; hurt smaller farmers who could not withstand price changes in national and international markets; Louisiana cane sugar.
  - Rates of farm ownership were under 50 percent in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.
  - Poor blacks and whites: sharecropping, tenant farming (by 1900, 70 percent of farmers in South were tenants), crop-lien system (encouraged debt and tied farmers to land); all impoverished black and white farmers and offered little hope for economic improvement.
  - Some black farmers got land (coastal South Carolina and Georgia) but less so in Deep South.
  - South still dependent on North for capital and manufactured goods.
  - Southern share of national manufacturing was 10 percent in 1900, the same as it had been in 1860.
  - South still had less total cotton-mill output than the North in 1900.
  - 1900: southern per capita income was 60 percent of national average; average income in South was 40 percent of income in North.

### Politics

- Solid South emerged; Democratic white voting bloc.
- White Democrats controlled state governments: southern “home rule”/Redeemer governments/Bourbons.
  - Planters/merchants/businessmen who allied themselves with northern political conservatives and northern capitalists, but Bourbon politicians were not always unified.
  - Reduced taxes and cut public spending.
  - Decreased funding for public-school system for both races, but African Americans particularly hard hit.
  - Some funding for agricultural and mechanical colleges, teacher-training schools, and women’s colleges.
- Some blacks still voted and held office from 1877 to 1914 (e.g., North Carolina: blacks in state Senate and House, 1877-90), but they saw more and more restrictions enforced at local levels.
- Some biracial political coalitions at state level.
  - Virginia: black Republicans and anti-Redeemer Democrats formed Readjuster Movement (wanted to “readjust” state debt); governed Virginia from 1879 to 1883.
  - Tennessee, Arkansas.
- Southern Farmers’ Alliances: began in Texas (1870s); spread to other southern states; excluded blacks; 1889 Charles W. Macune merged regional organizations into the Farmers’ Alliance and Industrial Union or Southern Alliance; by 1890, Alliances in South had elected 4 governors and 47 U.S. representatives and senators and controlled eight state legislatures.
- Colored Farmers’ National Alliance: first in Arkansas and then spread to other southern states; 1889, three million members; saw common economic complaints with white farmers; tried to organize strike of cotton pickers in South Carolina, Arkansas, and Texas in 1891, but white landowners and local authorities intervened to stop it.
- Appeal of Populism (1892-96) to black and white farmers.
  - Tom Watson (Georgia), Leonidas Polk (North Carolina) appealed to farmers to unite regardless of race; “Pitchfork Ben” Tillman still used racist appeals (South Carolina).

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### Question 4 Information List (continued)

- North Carolina, 1894-98: coalition of white Populists and black Republicans got control of state legislature, but ended with a revolt by white Democrats who reestablished control (ended with a riot in Wilmington in 1898, killing “scores of blacks”).
- Southern Alliance split over issue of a third party, fearing Democratic Party in South would suffer.
- Conservative white Redeemer/“Bourbons” countered with racial appeals to poor whites.
- Populism defeated nationally in 1896 presidential election (William McKinley versus William Jennings Bryan).
- Watson became a rabid supporter of white supremacy.
- Disfranchisement of blacks, and some poor and illiterate whites, by state governments (1889–1908).
  - Poll taxes (Second Mississippi Plan, 1890).
  - Literacy tests; “understanding” tests of state constitutions.
  - Grandfather clauses: first passed in Louisiana in 1898; declared unconstitutional in *Guinn v. United States* (1915).
  - White Democratic primaries adopted by every southern state, 1896–1915.
  - 1900: Senate defeat of Lodge Bill (southern Democrats called it the “force bill”) that allowed “federal supervision of congressional elections to prevent disfranchisement, fraud or violence.”
  - *Williams v. Mississippi* (1898): upheld Mississippi’s institution of poll taxes and literacy tests.
  - *Giles v. Harris* (1903): Supreme Court refused to hear a lower court case involving a black man who sued the Alabama state legislature for including various requirements in the state constitution that were designed to keep blacks from voting.

### Race Relations

- Most advocates of the “New South” championed white supremacy.
- Social behavior was determined by race; whites expected deferential treatment by African Americans in public settings.
- By 1900, 20 percent of southern blacks were urban.
- Black urban communities saw growth of black middle class (teachers, physicians, lawyers, nurses; working in banks and insurance companies; businessmen in black community; National Association of Colored Women 1896: urban black middle-class women sought women’s rights and racial uplift; black teachers’ colleges; Negro Business Men’s Leagues, 1898).
  - 1890s: more resentment by whites of signs of black success, social influence, education; whites feared loss of control of politics, particularly as the first generation of educated blacks born after the Civil War were more aware of the lack of equality.
- Labor market segregated; blacks excluded from supervisory and white-collar jobs; more black women than white women were wage earners (often domestic servants).
- Most labor unions excluded blacks.
- Exodusters migrated to Kansas, 1879-80.
- *Civil Rights Cases* (1883): declared Civil Rights Act 1875 (prohibited segregation in places of public accommodation) unconstitutional.
- Jim Crow laws passed by southern states (1880s and 1890s).
- *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896): “separate but equal” doctrine (supported by some “New South” advocates).
- *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899): Supreme Court upheld separate schools for blacks and whites, even if the black schools were not comparable to those of whites.

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### Question 4 Information List (continued)

- Racial violence, 1880–1910.
  - Ku Klux Klan activity (despite federal government’s attempt to suppress the Klan through the Force Acts, 1870-71).
  - Race riots (Wilmington, North Carolina, 1898; New Orleans, 1900; Atlanta, 1906).
  - Lynching of blacks became more common, particularly in 1880s and 1890s, and in some cases, public spectacles (lynching of Sam Hose in Georgia in 1899); 1889–1909: over 1,700 African Americans were lynched in the South; lynching peaked during periods of falling cotton prices and the heightened competition between poor whites and poor blacks for jobs; peak in 1892 with appeals of Populists.
  - Ida B. Wells, prominent African American antilynching crusader: part owner of Memphis newspaper, *Free Speech and Headlight*; wrote *Southern Horrors*, 1892, and *A Red Record*, 1895.
- Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois.
  - Booker T. Washington (a southerner) favored self-help for African Americans; favored economic independence and vocational trades education; acquiesced to social inequality and segregation; speech at Atlanta Exposition, 1895: “Atlanta Compromise” meant accommodation for blacks in the South; headed Tuskegee Institute in 1881.
  - W. E. B. Du Bois (a northerner) countered Washington; *Souls of Black Folk*, 1903; wanted an immediate end to disfranchisement and legal segregation; favored higher education and political activism among African Americans.
- Public education for blacks in South was poor.
  - 1900: no public high schools for blacks in the South.
  - 1910: 8,000 of 970,000 high-school-age blacks in South enrolled in high schools.
  - 1916: Bureau of Education study—per capita spending in South (white children: \$10.32 per year; black children, \$2.89 per year).
- 1900: 90 percent of U.S. African American population lived in the South.
- 1880s-90s: Idea of the “Old South” and the “Lost Cause” gained popularity among southern whites, as did the idea of “happy slaves and the evils of Reconstruction” that legitimated segregation and denial of voting rights to African Americans (*Birth of a Nation*, 1915); exacerbated by southern state governments’ pension systems (often controlled by white patronage) for Confederate veterans.
- African Americans built their own culture, particularly around the church (provided community and political space, leadership roles for men, a vehicle for racial pride) and black social/fraternal organizations (Independent Order of Odd Fellows had 40,000 members in 1904; black women’s clubs).
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) founded 1909-10.
- Segregation of the races and white domination of all aspects of southern society.
- Great Migration of African Americans from South to northern industrial cities during World War I.

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

4A

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

Many Southern leaders promoted the idea of a "New South" following Reconstruction. The South had been devastated by the Civil War both economically and politically. These leaders sought to rebuild the South. While their ~~effort~~ efforts improved the economic condition of the South some, politically the South was very racist. ~~While this was not~~ However, this political change was what the "Redeemers" were striving for, and so they were successful.

~~After~~ The Civil War and the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment ended slavery in the United States. This caused a huge problem for the South, who relied on slavery to fuel their economy. Thus the South had to diversify and find new means of making money in order to survive. Two major developments occurred. The first was a push to industrialize the South. This was moderately successful. By the First World War, the South had developed some manufacturing in areas such as <sup>the</sup> tobacco industry and the textile industry. ~~Although it grew, it grew much more slowly than the North, and so was only moderately successful.~~ Although it ~~did~~ grew, it grew much more slowly than the North, and so was only moderately successful. The second major development in the "New South" was the advent of small farms and the share-cropping system. ~~Small farms in the South~~ ~~to~~ This was not successful. ~~Small~~ <sup>low</sup> farmers ~~by~~ in the South by the First World War were among

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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4A  
2 of 3

poorest people in the United States. Through the sharecropping and crop-lien system, many farmers, especially blacks, were put out of business. The overall problems of Southern farmers, especially rural black farmers, are evidenced by the Great Migrations to the North that occurred during and after the First World War and during and after the Second World War. Thus, the South had some moderate success economically, but lagged far behind the rest of the country. The "New South" was mostly not a reality by the First World War.

The leaders of the "New South," the "Redeemers," achieved their political goal of ensuring white supremacy in government. The minor gains blacks had made during Reconstruction were completely erased. White supremacists did this through a variety of means. The first was restricting black voting through poll tests, literacy tests, and grandfather laws. The second way white supremacists gained power was through economic means. Through the share-cropping and crop-lien systems, landlords and shopkeepers were able to stop blacks from voting and being political leaders. The final method whites used was terror. Blacks who stood up against white supremacy were lynched and beaten by groups such as the KKK. This was all still the case

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

4A  
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Mandatory <b>1</b>	Part B — Circle one <b>2 or 3</b>	Part C — Circle one <b>4</b> or <b>5</b>
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*correct*

by the time of the First World War. Thus, the "New South" achieved its political goal of white supremacy.

The "New South" was ~~not~~ a reality economically but was a reality politically. Southern industry could not keep up with the rest of the country and farms remained extremely poor. The "Redeemers" did, however, achieve their goal of white supremacy in politics through voting restrictions, economic intimidation, and terror. This was all <sup>mostly</sup> achieved by ~~the time of the first~~ the turn of the century and continued until the time of the First World War.



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

4.8

Mandatory <b>1</b>	Part B — Circle one <b>2 or 3</b>	Part C — Circle one <b>4 or 5</b>
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1 of 2

In the aftermath of

~~Following~~ the civil war, the South experienced economic and social turmoil. Although under the plan of Reconstruction, intended to improve the South's situation, many Southern citizens disapproved and despised it. After Reconstruction ended, Southern leaders once again took control, promising a successful "New South." By World War I, the South ~~was~~ had succeeded in rebuilding its economy and revising its political potency. However, racial issues emerging from emancipation gained little ground.

The civil war enabled the South to become more independent from relying on the industrial north. Industrial and technological innovations helped the South rebuild its economy to its original state. Railroad implementations further supported the South's economic revival. However, the South still had its problems as well, since wealth <sup>and land</sup> was concentrated in the hands of few, and the majority remained poor.

Despite the South's economic improvement, racial differences continued to widen. Discrimination grew greatly following emancipation, as reflected in organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan<sup>who terrorized and intimidated Blacks.</sup> Southern leaders implemented policies such as the "Grandfather clause" and literacy tests to successfully prevent people of color from voting. Plantation and land owners also took advantage of propertyless Blacks,

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

4B

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

Chances slipping with them and eventually causing them to sink deeper in debt and remain in conditions similar to slavery. Many state governments also simply changed the word "slave" to "freedmen" in their constitutions, and in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court ruled that "separate but equal" facilities are constitutional. However, up to the First World War, civil rights activists helped ~~assist~~<sup>promote</sup> racial integration.

~~The South~~ The South did not completely succeed in becoming a "New South." While the economy improved, ~~and~~ the status of Blacks returned to much as they were previously. Instead of supporting and fostering a better relationship between races, the South promoted segregation.

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

4C  
1 of 2

Mandatory <b>1</b>	Part B — Circle one <b>2 or 3</b>	Part C — Circle one <b>(4) or 5</b>
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- Following the Civil War, was the Era of Reconstruction. During this time Radical Republicans sought Vengeance against the South. This caused the South to retaliate after Reconstruction had ended. They became the "New South". This "New South" was a reality by the time of WWI because of its drastic economic and changes in race relations, and economic development.

- The Racial Relations became horrible after reconstruction, in the South. The Whites were extremely racist, and forced the slaves to be segregated in everything. They kept the blacks from voting by establishing poll taxes. Many blacks fled from this by traveling North.

- The South's economy changed greatly after reconstruction. The heavily plantation style agriculture had to diminish with the emancipation of the slaves. The south began to develop more industry. This led to a rise in cities in the South. The almost fully rural agriculture of the south had become more urbanized. The South's entire economic development changed after Reconstruction.

- Due to these massive changes, many Southern leaders began to call the Region the "New South". The "New South" was a unified region on the issues of racial discrimination and economy. The South became almost fully democratic. ~~This is madness~~ The "New South" was complete.

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

40  
2 of 2

Mandatory <b>1</b>	Part B — Circle one <b>2 or 3</b>	Part C — Circle one <b>4</b> or 5
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- All of these changes had fully taken place before the First World War. The time after Reconstruction made the South the most racist and discriminatory it has ever been. The entire setup of the south had also changed. The "New South" was a reality by the time of WWI.

# AP<sup>®</sup> UNITED STATES HISTORY 2008 SCORING COMMENTARY

## Question 4

### Overview

The question tested students' knowledge of the extent to which southern leaders' idea of a "New South" was a reality by the time of the First World War. Students had to reference two of three possible topics (economic development, politics, or race relations) in their answer.

### Sample: 4A Score: 9

This essay presents a strong and clear argument about the aims and achievements of the leaders of the New South. It has a firm grasp of the question and effective organization. It presents the background against which the New South developed, the changes in the economy that war and defeat suggested would be needed, the ideas advanced to answer these needs, and changes actually effected. There is solid analysis and supporting evidence. The statement about "many farmers, especially blacks" indicates recognition that the crop-lien system was widespread and not always racially specific, even though it had racial consequences. The description of the ways "white supremacy" and racial disfranchisement were brought about by the leaders of the New South is accurate, and the conclusions about both aspects of the argument are effectively supported. There are minor errors (the Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery, not the Fourteenth, and it is not entirely clear what is meant by the statement that with the "crop-lien system, many farmers . . . were put out of business." Overall this is an excellent essay.

### Sample: 4B Score: 5

This essay contains a thesis that partially evaluates the extent to which the idea of the New South was a reality. It analyzes two topics: economy and race relations. The essay recognizes a few of the characteristics of the New South's economy, although there is misunderstanding of the Civil War's impact on the South's economy and an overstatement on the influence of industrial and technological developments in the South. Even though the essay misinterprets New South views of race, it analyzes race relations with some accurate evidence (grandfather clause, literacy tests, sharecropping leading to debt for "property-less Blacks," and *Plessy v. Ferguson*).

### Sample: 4C Score: 3

The essay contains an undeveloped thesis. Its discussion of two topics is vague and includes minimal historical information ("establishing poll taxes"; "develop[ing] more industry"). It contains major errors (The Whites . . . forced slaves to be segregated"; "fully rural agriculture of the south had become more urbanized").