

AP[®] United States History 2008 Scoring Guidelines

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Question 1—Document-Based Question

Analyze the ways in which the Vietnam War heightened social, political, and economic tensions in the United States. Focus your answer on the period 1964 to 1975.

The 8-9 Essay

- Contains a well-developed thesis that analyzes the ways in which the Vietnam War heightened social, political, and economic tensions in the United States between 1964 and 1975.
- Presents an effective analysis of the ways in which the Vietnam War heightened social, political, and economic tensions in the United States between 1964 and 1975.
 - o Contains analysis of social, political, and economic factors, though coverage may be imbalanced.
 - o Analysis of heightened tensions in a particular area may be implicit and/or embedded in analysis of the other two factors.
- Effectively uses a substantial number of documents.
- Supports thesis with substantial and relevant outside information.
- May contain minor errors.
- Is clearly organized and well written.

The 5-7 Essay

- Contains a thesis that addresses the ways in which the Vietnam War heightened social, political, and economic tensions in the United States between 1964 and 1975.
- Has limited analysis of the ways in which the Vietnam War heightened social, political, and economic tensions in the United States between 1964 and 1975.
 - o Discussion of social, political, and economic factors may be imbalanced.
 - o Discussion of heightened tensions in a particular area may be imbalanced or implicit.
- Effectively uses some documents.
- Supports thesis with some relevant outside information.
- May have errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Shows acceptable organization and writing; language errors do not interfere with the comprehension of the essay.

The 2-4 Essay

- Contains a limited or undeveloped thesis.
- 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 information that is inaccurate or irrelevant.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

The 0-1 Essay

- Contains no thesis or a thesis that does not address the question.
- Exhibits inadequate or incorrect understanding of the question.
- Has little or no understanding of the documents or ignores them completely.
- Has numerous errors.
- Is written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay

• Is blank or completely off task.

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences

Possible Outside Information: General List (alphabetical order)

Fulbright, J. William 17th parallel "Advisors" Generation gap Agent Orange Goldwater, Barry Agnew, Spiro "Grandma's nightshirt"

American Independent Party Guam Doctrine (Nixon Doctrine)

Arab oil embargo Haber, Al Assassinations—Martin Luther King, Jr.; Robert F. Haig, Alexander "Hardhats" Kennedy Berkeley Free Speech Movement—Mario Savio Hawks

Berrigan Brothers—Cantonsville 9 Hayden, Tom "Better dead than red" Head Start.

Black Panthers "Hearts and minds"

Black Power "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

"Blank check" Hippies Ho Chi Minh Blue collar workers Brown, H. Rap Ho Chi Minh trail Calley, William Hoffman, Abbie Cambodia (secret bombing, invasion) Humphrey, Hubert

Caputo, Philip, A Rumor of War Impoundment Carmichael, Stokely "In your guts you know he's nuts"

"In your heart you know he's right" Chicago Seven Christmas bombings Jackson State Civil Rights Act, 1964 Job Corps

Clay, Cassius (Muhammad Ali) Johnson, Lyndon B. Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP) Kennedy, John F.

Kent State University Containment Kissinger, Henry Counterculture "Credibility gap" "Law and order"

Democratic National Convention, 1968 "Light at the end of the tunnel"

Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) Malcolm X

"Make love, not war" Domino theory Doves McCarthy, Eugene Dow Chemical Company McGovern, George

Draft card burning McNamara, Robert Draft dodger Medicaid Medicare Draft lottery

Draftees Military-industrial complex Earth Day, 1970 Moratorium Day

Economic Opportunity Act My Lai Massacre

Ellsberg, Daniel Napalm

Equal Rights Amendment National Liberation Front National Organization for Women (NOW) Escalation

"Nattering nabobs of negativism" Fall of Saigon, 1975

Fonda, Jane ("Hanoi Jane") "Nervous Nellies"

Food stamps New Federalism Ford, Gerald

New Hampshire primary, 1968

New Left. Fragging

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

Newton, Huev

New York Times v. United States (1971)

Ngo Dinh Diem

Nixon Doctrine (Guam Doctrine)

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

(OPEC)

Operation Rolling Thunder Paris Accords, 1973 "Peace with honor"

Pentagon Papers Plumbers

"Police riot"

Political realignment (elections of 1964, 1968, 1972)

Protest songs—Pete Seeger; Bob Dylan; Phil Ochs; Tom Paxton; Peter, Paul, and Mary; Joan Baez;

Judy Collins; Neil Young

Relocation camps

Repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 1969

Revenue sharing Rubin, Jerry Rusk, Dean

Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC)

Seale, Bobby

Selective Service System Siege of Khe Sahn

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

Stagflation

"Strategic hamlets"

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)—Tom

Hayden, Al Haber

Tax surcharge "Teach-ins" Television war Tet Offensive

"The whole world is watching."

Truman Doctrine

Twenty-Sixth Amendment (18-year-old vote)

USS Maddox and Turner Joy

Viet Cong Vietnamization

Voting Rights Act, 1965 Wage and price controls

Wallace, George War on Poverty Watergate scandal

Weathermen/Weather Underground

Westmoreland, William Whip Inflation Now (WIN)

White backlash

Yippies

Possible Outside Information: By Subtopic

Social

Agent Orange

Berkeley Free Speech Movement—Mario Savio

Berrigan Brothers—Catonsville 9

"Better dead than red"

Black Power Black Panthers

Blue collar workers

Brown, H. Rap

Caputo, Philip, A Rumor of War

Calley, William Carmichael, Stokely

Clay, Cassius (Muhammad Ali)

Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP)

Counterculture Credibility gap

Doves

Draftees

Draft card burning Draft dodger

Draft lottery

Earth Day, 1970 Ellsberg, Daniel

Equal Rights Amendment

Escalation

Fall of Saigon, 1975

Fonda, Jane ("Hanoi Jane")

Fragging Generation gap

"Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?"

Hoffman, Abbie

"In your guts you know he's nuts" "In your heart you know he's right"

Jackson State University Kent State University "Law and order"

"Light at the end of the tunnel"

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

Social (continued)

Malcolm X
Moratorium Day

My Lai Massacre

Napalm

National Organization for Women (NOW)

"Nattering nabobs of negativism"

"Nervous Nellies"

New Left Newton, Huey "Peace with honor" Pentagon Papers

Plumbers

"Police riot" Protest songs

Relocation camps

Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC)

Rubin, Jerry

"Make love, not war"

Seale, Bobby

Selective Service System

"Strategic hamlets"

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Students for a Democratic Society—Tom Hayden, Al

Haber

"Teach-ins"

Television war

Tet Offensive

"The whole world is watching."

Twenty-Sixth Amendment (18-year-old vote)

Watergate scandal

Weathermen/Weather Underground

White backlash Woodstock

Yippies

Political

17th parallel "Advisors" Agnew, Spiro

American Independent Party

Assassinations—Martin Luther King, Jr.; Robert F.

Kennedy "Blank check"

Cambodia (secret bombing, invasion)

Christmas bombings

Containment

Democratic National Convention, 1968

Demilitarized Zone (DMZ)

Domino theory
Fulbright, J. William
Goldwater, Barry
"Grandma's nightshirt"

Guam Doctrine (Nixon Doctrine)

Haig, Alexander Ho Chi Minh Ho Chi Minh trail Humphrey, Hubert Johnson, Lyndon Kennedy, John F.
Kissinger, Henry
McCarthy, Eugene
McGovern, George
McNamara, Robert
National Liberation Front
New Hampshire primary, 1968

Ngo Dinh Diem

Nixon Doctrine (Guam Doctrine)

O'Brien, Tim, The Things They Carried

Paris Accords, 1973

Political realignment (elections of 1964, 1968, 1972)

Rusk, Dean

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

Siege of Khe Sahn Truman Doctrine

USS Maddox and Turner Joy

Viet Cong Vietnamization Wallace, George Westmoreland, William

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

Economic

Arab oil embargo
Dow Chemical Company
Economic Opportunity Act
Food stamps
Impoundment
Medicare
Medicaid

Military–industrial complex New Federalism Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
(OPEC)
Revenue sharing
Stagflation
Tax surcharge
Wage and price controls
War on Poverty
Whip Inflation Now (WIN)

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT A

Source: Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 1964

Whereas the United States is assisting the peoples of southeast Asia to protect their freedom and has no territorial, military or political ambitions in that area, but desires only that these people should be left in peace to work out their destinies in their own way: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

Document Information:

- United States will assist in the protection of freedom in Southeast Asia.
- United States has no territorial, military, or political ambitions in that area.
- Congress authorizes that the commander-in-chief may take all measures to repel attacks on United States forces.

Document Inferences:

- Gulf of Tonkin Resolution led to an escalation of the Vietnam War.
- Vietnam War was fought using executive authority granted by Congress.
- Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was a "blank check" for the president.
- The accuracy of the information given to Congress about the Gulf of Tonkin incident was questionable.
- Frequently linked to Document I.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

17th parallel "Grandma's nightshirt"
"Advisors" Ho Chi Minh

"Blank check" "In your guts you know he's nuts"

Christmas bombings "In your heart you know he's right"

Containment Operation Rolling Thunder
Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) Political realignment, 1964
Domino theory Selective Service System
Escalation USS Maddox, Turner Joy

Goldwater, Barry Viet Cong

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT B

Source: Country Joe and the Fish, "I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die," 1965

Well, come on Wall Street, don't move slow,

Why man, this is war au-go-go.

There's plenty good money to be made

By supplying the Army with the tools of the trade,

Just hope and pray that if they drop the bomb,

They drop it on the Viet Cong.

And it's one, two, three,

What are we fighting for?

Don't ask me, I don't give a damn,

Next stop is Vietnam.

And it's five, six, seven,

Open up the pearly gates,

Well there ain't no time to wonder why

Whoopee! we're all gonna die.

Well, come on mothers throughout the land,

Pack your boys off to Vietnam.

Come on fathers, don't hesitate,

Send 'em off before it's too late.

Be the first one on your block

To have your boy come home in a box.

I Feel Like I'm Fixin' to Die Rag, words and music by Joe McDonald. Copyright ©1965 renewed 1993 by Alkatraz Corner Music Co. All rights reserved. Used by permission.

Document Information:

- Connects Wall Street with the war effort.
- Indicates that there was money to be made in pursuing the Vietnam War.
- Questions United States involvement in the Vietnam War.
- Indicates that those who go to Vietnam will die.

Document Inferences:

- Vietnam War opened up a generation gap.
- The military-industrial complex favored the Vietnam War.
- Vietnam War led to a growing protest song movement.
- There was growing dissatisfaction with the war.
- Tone is sarcastic.

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

Counterculture, hippies

Doves

Dow Chemical Company

Draftees

Fonda, Jane ("Hanoi Jane")

Generation gap

Hawks

"Make love, not war"

Military-industrial complex

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

New Left

Protest songs/singers (Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger, Joan

Baez, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, etc.)

Woodstock Yippies

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT C

Source: Martin Luther King, 1967

... it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them eight thousand miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem.

Document Information:

- African Americans were fighting for liberties in Vietnam that they lacked in the United States.
- The war devastated the hopes of the poor in the United States.
- African Americans died in Vietnam in extraordinary proportions relative to the general population.
- Young African American men had been crippled by society.

Document Inferences:

- Escalation of the Vietnam War undermined the Great Society programs.
- Escalation of the Vietnam War spurred on more aggressive civil rights protests.
- There was opposition toward the war from African American leadership.
- The cost of the Vietnam War was escalating and adversely affecting the poor.
- Often used with Document F.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

American Independent Party Black Panthers Carmichael, Stokely Civil Rights Act, 1964 Clay, Cassius (Muhammad Ali)

Medicaid Medicare Seale Bobby

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Tax surcharge

Voting Rights Act, 1965

Wallace, George War on Poverty White backlash

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT D

"Onward and Upward" (1967)



Bill Crawford © dist. by Newspaper Enterprise Association.

Document Information:

- Foreign policy and the Great Society are at opposite ends of the rope.
- Foreign policy as a drag on the Great Society.
- Someone is trying to lift foreign policy with the Great Society.

Document Inferences:

- President Johnson's foreign policy is hurting the Great Society.
- The United States may not be able to support both the Vietnam War and the Great Society.
- President Johnson is happier with the Great Society than he is with his foreign policy.
- Often used with Document H.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

Credibility gap Medicaid
Economic Opportunity Act Medicare
Food stamps War on Poverty

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT E

Source: Robert F. Kennedy, 1968

For years we have been told that the measure of our success and progress in Vietnam was increasing security and control for the population. Now we have seen that none of the population is secure and no area is under such control. . . .

This has not happened because our men are not brave or effective, because they are. It is because we have not conceived our mission in this war. It is because we have misconceived the nature of the war. It is because we have sought to resolve by military might a conflict whose issue depends upon the will and conviction of the South Vietnamese people. It is like sending a lion to halt an epidemic of jungle rot.

Document Information:

- None of the Vietnamese population is secure.
- United States soldiers have been brave and effective.
- The United States misconceived its mission and the nature of the war.
- Success depends on the will and conviction of the South Vietnamese people.

Document Inferences:

- The United States population has been misled concerning the success and progress of the war.
- The Tet Offensive undermined public support for the war.
- The South Vietnamese people must take a greater role in fighting the war.
- United States military power cannot resolve the issue of the control of Vietnam.
- The Tet Offensive caused Johnson to withdraw from the 1968 presidential race.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

Agent Orange My Lai Massacre

American Independent Party Napalm

Calley, William National Liberation Front Chicago Seven New Hampshire primary

Credibility gap Nixon Doctrine (Guam Doctrine)

Democratic National Convention, 1968 "Police riot"

"Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" Political realignment, 1968

Hoffman, Abbie Rubin, Jerry
Humphrey, Hubert Rusk, Dean
Kennedy, Robert, assassination Tet Offensive

"Law and order" "The whole world is watching"

King, Martin Luther, assassination Viet Cong
McCarthy, Eugene Vietnamization
McNamara, Robert Wallace, George

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT F

Source: James Fallows, writing about his 1969 draft board experience

... Even as the last of the Cambridge contingent was throwing its urine and deliberately failing its color-blindness tests, buses from the next board began to arrive. These bore the boys from Chelsea, thick, dark-haired young men, the white proles [members of the working class] of Boston. Most of them were younger than us, since they had just left high school, and it had clearly never occurred to them that there might be a way around the draft. They walked through the examination lines like so many cattle off to slaughter. I tried to avoid noticing, but the results were inescapable. While perhaps four out of five of my friends from Harvard were being deferred, just the opposite was happening to the Chelsea boys.

Document Information:

- The Cambridge contingent threw urine and failed color-blindness tests.
- Boys from Chelsea were dark-haired and younger than the boys from Cambridge.
- Chelsea was a working-class neighborhood.
- Chelsea boys did not know there was a way around the draft.
- Fallows estimates that four out of five of his friends from Harvard were deferred whereas four out of five Chelsea boys were accepted.

Document Inferences:

- Cambridge students knew how to avoid the draft.
- Some college boys looked down on uneducated, working-class people while others felt guilty about their inability to avoid the draft.
- A disproportionate number of those who did not attend college got drafted.
- The draft heightened tensions between college and noncollege youth.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

Blue collar workers Draft card burning Draft dodger Draft lottery Draftees
Generation gap
Selective Service System
"Teach-ins"

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT G

Source: Richard Nixon, Address to the Nation, 1969

I know it may not be fashionable to speak of patriotism or national destiny these days. But I feel it is appropriate to do so on this occasion. . . .

Let historians not record that when America was the most powerful nation in the world we passed on the other side of the road and allowed the last hopes for peace and freedom of millions of people to be suffocated by the forces of totalitarianism. And so tonight to you, the great silent majority of my fellow Americans, I ask for your support. . . .

Let us be united for peace. Let us also be united against defeat. Because let us understand: North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States. Only Americans can do that.

Document Information:

- It is not fashionable to speak of patriotism.
- The United States is the most powerful nation in the world.
- Americans should fight for the freedom of people under totalitarianism.
- Americans should be united for peace and against defeat.
- Nixon appeals for Americans' support.
- Only Americans can humiliate the United States.

Document Inferences:

- Protests against the war were undermining the American cause.
- Protesters against the war were unpatriotic.
- The "silent majority" supported the war and Nixon.
- Defeat would humiliate the United States.
- Nixon was concerned about the erosion of support for the war effort.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

Agnew, Spiro

"Nattering nabobs of negativism"

Blue collar workers

"Nervous Nellies"

Doves Nixon Doctrine (Guam Doctrine)

Hawks "Peace with honor"

"Light at the end of the tunnel" Vietnamization

Moratorium Day Weathermen

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT H

Source: George McGovern, 1972

What I propose is that we spend all that is necessary for prudent national defense, and no more. I propose that we conserve our limited resources:

- By no longer underwriting the appalling waste of money and manpower that has become such a bad habit in our military establishment;
- By rejecting the purchase of weapons which are designed to fight the last war better, with almost no relevance to today's threat;
- By refusing to maintain extra military forces that can have no other purpose than to repeat our experience in Vietnam, a venture which nearly all of us now recognize as a monstrous national blunder;
- By repudiating the false world of old discredited myths, made up of blocs, puppets, and dominoes, facing instead the real world of today and the future with multiple ideologies and interests.

Document Information:

- The United States should spend what is necessary for prudent defense.
- The United States should conserve limited resources.
- The military should stop wasting money and manpower.
- The United States should refuse to maintain extra military forces.
- The Vietnam War is a national blunder.

Document Inferences:

- The United States was spending too much money on national defense.
- The United States military was inefficient.
- The United States needed to modernize its weapons systems.
- The United States military was too large.
- The domino theory, containment, and the Cold War are outdated concepts.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

Arab oil embargo

Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP)

Containment

Earth Day, 1970

Ellsberg, Daniel

Fall of Saigon, 1975

Impoundment

New Federalism

New York Times v. United States (1971)

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

(OPEC)

Pentagon Papers

Plumbers

Political realignment, 1972

Revenue sharing

Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)

Stagflation

Watergate scandal

Whip Inflation Now (WIN)

Question 1 Document Information and Inferences (continued)

DOCUMENT I

Source: The War Powers Act, 1973

SEC. 5(b) Within sixty calendar days after a report is submitted or is required to be submitted pursuant to section 4(a)(1), whichever is earlier, the President shall terminate any use of United States Armed Forces with respect to which such report was submitted (or required to be submitted), unless the Congress (1) has declared war or has enacted a specific authorization for such use of United States Armed Forces, (2) has extended by law such sixty-day period, or (3) is physically unable to meet as a result of an armed attack upon the United States.

Document Information:

• Within sixty days the president must terminate use of the United States Armed Forces unless Congress (1) has declared war or authorized their use, (2) has extended the sixty-day period, or (3) is unable to meet as a result of an armed attack.

Document Inferences:

- Congress disapproved the use of executive authority to fight a prolonged war.
- The president must inform Congress of the commitment of United States troops.
- The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was repealed.
- Congress is concerned with the overall growth of executive power.
- Often used with Document A.

Potential Outside Information Triggered by Document:

Fall of Saigon, 1975 Ford, Gerald Kissinger, Henry Paris Accords, 1973 Repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, 1969

Question 2

Early encounters between American Indians and European colonists led to a variety of relationships among the different cultures.

Analyze how the actions taken by BOTH American Indians and European colonists shaped those relationships in TWO of the following regions. Confine your answer to the 1600s.

New England Chesapeake Spanish Southwest New York and New France

The 8-9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses BOTH American Indian and European actions and a variety of relationships in TWO regions.
- Develops the thesis with substantial, relevant historical information on BOTH American Indians and Europeans.
- Provides effective analysis of how the actions of BOTH shaped or altered the relationships.
- Treatment of the two regions may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors.
- Is clearly organized and written.

The 5-7 Essay

- Contains a thesis that may be partially developed in addressing both actions and relationships.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant, historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the impact of the actions on the relationships.
- Discusses two regions, but one may be more developed than the other.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2-4 Essay

- May paraphrase the question or contain a confused or unfocused thesis.
- Provides few relevant facts, or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- Has little or no analysis of one or both regions.
- May contain only generalizations about the regions and/or relationships.
- May contain major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

The 0-1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or simply restates the question.
- Demonstrates an incompetent or inappropriate response.
- Has little or no understanding of the question.
- Contains substantial errors, both major and minor.
- Is poorly organized and/or written.

The — Essay

• Is completely off topic or blank.

Question 2 Fact Sheet

General

Black Legend Columbian Exchange Death from disease—smallpox First Thanksgiving Gold-seeking Europeans Landownership difference No common Indian language

Chesapeake

Berkeley, Bacon's Rebellion (1676) De la Warr, Irish tactics against Indians First and Second Powhatan Wars (1610-46) Headright system, land from Indians Initial help of Indians in Jamestown Powhatan Confederacy Rolfe, John and Pocahontas Smith, John Tobacco, land need Treaty of Middle Plantation (1677, 1680)

New England

Few conversions
Fish in soil—fertilizer
Hutchinson, Anne, killed by Indians
King Philip's War (1676), Indians as slaves
Miscegenation rare in New England
Pequot War (1637), Narragansetts
Pilgrims on old Indian village

Praying towns, John Eliot (translate Bible) Sassomen, John, spy, Algonquins Some tribes join against Philip Squanto, Massasoit Wampanoags, Metacom (Philip) Williams, Roger, buying land

Spanish Southwest

Conversion of natives
Division among Pueblo Indians
Encomienda, forced labor or slavery
Haciendas, feudal
Kachinas—divine ancestral spirit

Mestizo, creolization Missions Onate, Juan, Acoma Rebellion (1599) Pueblo revolt (1680), Pope

New York/New France

Captivity tale
Coureur de bois
Dutch, French difference
Five Nations
French mercantilism
Fur trade, Dutch, French

Intermarriage, Metis
Manhattan Island (1626)
Mystic River Massacre (1637)
New England Confederation (1643)
Standish, Miles

Question 2 Fact Sheet (continued)

Information Outside Time Period that Could be Used Properly as Introductory or Concluding Material or Incorrectly in Place of the Proper Information

Chief Joseph/Nez Perce

Conquistadors

Dawes Severalty Act

French and Indian War

Manifest Destiny

Mayans, Aztecs, Cortez

Pontiac's Rebellion

Proclamation of 1763

Hispaniola Vikings

Indian Removal Act Wounded Knee
Jackson/Trail of Tears

Wrong Information

African slaves in Spanish Southwest Rice and sugar in Virginia

Buffalo Spanish did not mistreat Indians

Indians always peaceful before Europeans

Question 3

Analyze the impact of the market revolution (1815–1860) on the economies of TWO of the following regions.

The Northeast The Midwest The South

The 8-9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that analyzes the impact of the market revolution (1815–1860) on the economies of TWO regions.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides strong analysis and effectively links the market revolution to TWO regions; treatment of regions 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 analyzes the impact of the market revolution (1815–1860) on the economies of TWO regions.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant, historical information.
- Provides some analysis and some linkage of the market revolution to TWO regions; treatment of regions may be substantially 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 may simply restate the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information with little or no application to the market revolution.
- Addresses the impact of the market revolution regarding only one region, OR describes two regions in a general way.
- May contain major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

The 0-1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or simply restates 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.

Question 3 Information List

The Market Revolution—General Impact

- Decline of subsistence agriculture
- The "transportation revolution": spreading networks of turnpikes, roads, canals, and railroads
 - o National or Cumberland Road (1811, completed in 1852)
 - o Erie Canal (1825, 364 miles—Albany to Buffalo)
- The steamboat: Robert Fulton
- Impact of the War of 1812
- Henry Clay's American System
 - o Second National Bank, 1817
 - o Tariff of 1816
 - o Internal improvements
- Emergence of new markets in land, labor, and produce
- "Mixed enterprise" financial system; New York Stock Exchange, 1817
- American system of manufacturing: low-cost, standardized mass production, built around interchangeable parts (Eli Whitney) produced by machines
- Increased economic instability: Panics of 1819, 1833, 1837, and 1857
- Rise of new working class: trade unions
- Conflicts *between* sections: capitalist forms of labor and market agriculture in North, slave-based order in South
- Conflicts *within* each section: entrepreneurs and wage earners, masters and slaves, planters and yeomen
- Second Bank of the United States
 - o "Bank War." 1832
 - o Specie Circular, 1836
- Inventions: (1800, 306 patents; 1860, 28,000 patents)
 - o Samuel F. B. Morse (telegraph, 1849)
 - o Elias Howe (sewing machine, 1846; perfected by Singer)
 - o John Deere (steel plow, 1837)
 - o Cyrus McCormick (mechanical mower-reaper, 1830s)
 - o By 1840s: high-pressure steam engine
- Population: 5.3 million in 1800 increases to more than 23 million in 1850; urban population quadruples from 1800 to 1840
- Immigration: 1840 to 1860, 4.2 million immigrants (mostly Irish 1845-46 [potato blight], 1.5 million); four out of five settled in the Northeast
- Women removed from production of goods, leading to "cult of domesticity"

Impact of the Market Revolution—the Northeast

- Eastern urban capitalists dramatically accelerated pace of economic change: growth of regional and interregional markets; expanded credit and financing resources; some order imposed on currency and banking; hastened erosion of old artisan handicraft system and rise of new manufacturing enterprises.
- Industrial growth, particularly rise of textile mills in New England
- Newly created wealth controlled by tiny proportion of population
- Decline of household production and apprenticeships
- Growing impersonality of economic relationships
- New classes of independent and dependent Americans (artisans and journeymen)
- Samuel Slater

Question 3 Information List (continued)

- Eli Whitney (interchangeable parts—guns, clocks)
- Putting-out system
- Boston Associates (founded 1813; by 1836 included eight companies with 6,000 workers)
 - o Francis Cabot Lowell
 - o Boston Manufacturing Company
 - o Lowell System
- Waltham system: "Lowell Girls"
- Lowell, Massachusetts: the United States' first large-scale planned manufacturing city (strikes in 1834 and 1836)
- National Trade Union
- Elias Howe (sewing machine)
- "Wage slaves"
- Spreading canal and railroad networks
- Erie Canal (completed 1825); Dewitt Clinton, "Clinton Ditch," "Canal Age"
- Increased German and Irish immigration (rise in nativism)
- New York is the nation's largest city

Impact of the Market Revolution—the Midwest

- Increase in westward migration
- Spreading canal and railroad networks linked to the Northeast
- Increase in cash-crop production
- New classes of independent and dependent Americans
- Commercialization of agriculture in the Midwest contributes to the growth of eastern manufacturing
- Pittsburgh first to develop a manufacturing sector to complement its exchange function
- Cincinnati "porkopolis" (third largest industrial center by 1840)
- Growth of Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, and Milwaukee (populations increase twenty-five-fold between 1830 and 1850)
- The National or Cumberland Road
- Baltimore and Ohio Railroad
- John Deere (steel plow)
- McCormick Reaper (patented in 1834; plant produced 80,000 reapers by 1860)

Impact of the Market Revolution—the South

- Lagged behind in industrialization and urbanization, although from 1840 to 1860 South's economy grew slightly faster than the North's economy
- Rise of Cotton Kingdom
- Eli Whitney (cotton gin)
- Corn was a large crop, but "King Cotton" was the largest cash crop (short staple cotton)
- New Cotton Kingdom (world cotton production grows from 9 percent in 1800 to 68 percent in 1850; in 1800, 73,000 bales; in 1850, 2 million bales)
- Westward expansion of plantation slavery; "Alabama Fever"
- Rise of southern yeomanry
- "Tariff of Abominations," 1828

Question 3 Information List (continued)

- Nullification Crisis, 1832-33
- Rise of New Orleans and Charleston
- Steamboats on the Mississippi

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.

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.
 - o Investors received concessions from southern state legislatures (land, forest, mineral rights).
 - o 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.
 - o Henry Grady, editor, Atlanta Constitution.
 - o 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).
 - o 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.
 - o Northern businessmen invested in lumber industry in Gulf states' pine forests; production increased 500 percent.
 - o Railroads connected the South to national markets but charged higher rates for transport of manufactured goods than raw materials moving from South to North.
 - o White merchants and industrialists prospered.
- Cotton industry.
 - o Southern merchants and landowners promoted vertical integration of cotton industry; number of cotton mills grew: 161 in 1880, to 400 in 1900.
 - o "Move the mill to the cotton."
 - O Cotton manufacturing states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama; Augusta, Georgia, called the "Lowell of the South."
 - o Attracted northern investors (1880–1920), who owned major textile mills by 1920.
 - o 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.
 - o Textile workers were white and paid poorly; wages were 30–50 percent less than those for New England mill workers.

Labor.

- o Wages in industries were low for blacks and whites; lowest paid workers were children (child labor in textile industry was particularly widespread in South).
- o 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.
- o 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.
- o African American women: domestic workers.

Question 4 Information List (continued)

- Agriculture.
 - o White planters prospered with reliance on cash crops.
 - o Cotton and tobacco still dominated; hurt smaller farmers who could not withstand price changes in national and international markets; Louisiana cane sugar.
 - o Rates of farm ownership were under 50 percent in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.
 - o 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.
 - o South still dependent on North for capital and manufactured goods.
 - o Southern share of national manufacturing was 10 percent in 1900, the same as it had been in 1860.
 - o South still had less total cotton-mill output than the North in 1900.
 - o 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.
 - o Planters/merchants/businessmen who allied themselves with northern political conservatives and northern capitalists, but Bourbon politicians were not always unified.
 - o Reduced taxes and cut public spending.
 - o Decreased funding for public-school system for both races, but African Americans particularly hard hit.
 - o 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.
 - o Virginia: black Republicans and anti-Redeemer Democrats formed Readjuster Movement (wanted to "readjust" state debt); governed Virginia from 1879 to 1883.
 - o 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.
 - o Tom Watson (Georgia), Leonidas Polk (North Carolina) appealed to farmers to unite regardless of race; "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman still used racist appeals (South Carolina).

Question 4 Information List (continued)

- o 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").
- o Southern Alliance split over issue of a third party, fearing Democratic Party in South would suffer.
- o Conservative white Redeemer/"Bourbons" countered with racial appeals to poor whites.
- o Populism defeated nationally in 1896 presidential election (William McKinley versus William Jennings Bryan).
- o Watson became a rabid supporter of white supremacy.
- Disfranchisement of blacks, and some poor and illiterate whites, by state governments (1889–1908).
 - o Poll taxes (Second Mississippi Plan, 1890).
 - o Literacy tests; "understanding" tests of state constitutions.
 - o Grandfather clauses: first passed in Louisiana in 1898; declared unconstitutional in *Guinn v. United States* (1915).
 - o White Democratic primaries adopted by every southern state, 1896–1915.
 - o 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."
 - o Williams v. Mississippi (1898): upheld Mississippi's institution of poll taxes and literacy tests.
 - o *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).
 - o 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.

Question 4 Information List (continued)

- Racial violence, 1880-1910.
 - o Ku Klux Klan activity (despite federal government's attempt to suppress the Klan through the Force Acts, 1870-71).
 - o Race riots (Wilmington, North Carolina, 1898; New Orleans, 1900; Atlanta, 1906).
 - O 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.
 - o 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.
 - o 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.
 - o 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.
 - o 1900: no public high schools for blacks in the South.
 - o 1910: 8,000 of 970,000 high-school-age blacks in South enrolled in high schools.
 - o 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.

Question 5

Presidential elections between 1928 and 1948 revealed major shifts in political party loyalties. Analyze both the reasons for these changes and their consequences during this period.

The 8-9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that examines how the elections between 1928 and 1948
 revealed major shifts in political party loyalties including both the reasons for these changes and
 their consequences during this period.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information regarding both the reasons for and consequences of shifts in political party loyalties revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948.
- Provides effective analysis of the reasons for/consequences of major shifts in political party loyalties revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948; treatment of the elections, reasons for shifts, and consequences may be unbalanced.
 - o Discussion of all individual elections is not expected.
- 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, which may be partially developed, that addresses the reasons for and consequences of the major shifts in political party loyalties revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant supporting information.
- Provides some analysis of the reasons for/consequences of major shifts in political party loyalties revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948; treatment may be unbalanced.
 - o Discussion of all elections not required.
 - o Reasons for shifts and consequences of changes may be blurred.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay

- Contains a weak or unfocused thesis or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides few relevant facts; or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- Provides simplistic analysis that may be generally descriptive or addresses only one reason or consequence.
- May contain major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

The 0-1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or simply restates the question.
- Has little or no understanding of the question.
- Contains substantial factual errors.
- Is poorly organized and/or written.

The — Essay

• Is completely off topic or blank.

Question 5 Information List

Election of 1928

Basics

Republicans

- Candidates: President—Herbert Hoover (Iowa); Vice President—Charles Curtis (former Senate majority leader, from Kansas).
- Political platform: continue Coolidge prosperity, probusiness.
- Personal characteristics: midwestern (Iowa) roots appealed to rural voters, personally opposed
 Prohibition but endorsed it as a "noble social experiment," "dry" candidate, supporter of business, self-made man.

Democrats

- Candidates: President—Alfred Smith (New York); Vice President—Joseph Robinson.
- Political platform: weak, hard to challenge Republican prosperity, tried to charge Hoover's expansion of the Department of Commerce as socialism.
- Personal characteristics: New York City (negative connection among southern, midwestern, and rural voters), Catholic, opposed Prohibition ("wet" candidate), Tammany Hall connection.

Results

• Popular vote: Hoover 58 percent; Smith 41 percent.

Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Republicans: loss of working class; voters in 12 largest cities voted Democrat.
- Farmers switch loyalties: not part of prosperity due to post—World War II lessening of demand for farm products and lower exports; Coolidge's veto of farm bills connects Republican Party with unwillingness to aid farmers.
- Democrats: southern Democrats shifted to the Republicans; first break in Solid South. Why? Anti-Catholic, anti-urban, nativist/anti-immigrant sentiments, influence of the KKK.

- New coalition of urban workers and dissatisfied farmers will form; Democratic Party becomes the party of the urban working class.
- End of the "log cabin" campaign; rural background will be seen as a social disadvantage.

Question 5 Information List (continued)

Election of 1932

Basics

Republicans

- Candidates: President—Herbert Hoover (Iowa); Vice President—Charles Curtis (former Senate majority leader, from Kansas).
- Political platform: world depression was to blame for United States Great Depression; belief in "rugged individualism."
- Personal characteristics: attitude toward the Depression was denial, then appeared pessimistic
 and ineffectual; often considered stiff and robotic.

Democrats

- Candidates: President—Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), governor of New York; Vice President—John Nance Garner (Texas); served as President Woodrow Wilson's assistant secretary of the navy.
- Political platform: promises a "New Deal," "experimentation" to fight the Depression; blamed Republican spending and Hoover's inaction for problems; few specific plans were proposed; basic conservative view of the economy, no radical proposals.
- Personal characteristics: wealthy family background, governor of New York, physical limitations due to polio; campaign inspired feeling of optimism—radio broadcasts, "Roosevelt Special" train.

Others

- Socialists, communists, and others.
- Political platform: country has serious problems that the two major parties cannot fix.

Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 57 percent; Hoover, 40 percent; others, 3 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 472; Hoover, 59.
- States: FDR, 42; Hoover, 6.

Issues

- The Great Depression: blamed Hoover ("Hoovervilles," "Hoover blankets," "Hoover flags," "Hoover cars"); soup lines and street-side apple stands became Depression symbols.
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC): new federal institution designed to help banks, railroads and other businesses; RFC left Hoover open to charges that he wanted to help businesses but not the jobless.
- Prohibition (Eighteenth Amendment).
- The Bonus Army: backlash against Hoover.
- Tariffs: Smoot–Hawley Tariff of 1930.

Question 5 Information List (continued)

Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Republicans: people voted as they were affected by the Depression. The six states carried by Hoover were all in the Northeast, a stronghold of business and banking.
- Democrats: carried all parts of the country including black voters, Catholics, farmers, immigrants, and urban workers.
- Reemergence of the Socialist Party is evidence of dissatisfaction and desperation among the voters.
- FDR demonstrated pragmatism and flexibility, endorsing traditional Democratic themes, such as balanced budgets and limited government spending, while also advocating increased government regulation and planning.
- Unequal distribution of wealth: the rich grew richer and the poor more impoverished.
- Support from progressives: FDR won considerable support from progressive Republicans because of his family name and also adopting many of their issues.
- Unemployment in industrial regions such as the Midwest persuaded many Republican voters to vote Democratic.

Consequences of Changes During This Period

- Democrats were labeled as "liberals," and Republicans labeled as "conservatives."
- Voters have expectations of presidential/government action in times of economic trouble.
- FDR's win transcended region—truly a national victory. Hoover's six states were all in the Northeast and New England (Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont).
- Marked the beginning of Democratic majorities (House in 1930 and Senate in 1932) in Congress, allowing FDR to win easy passage of New Deal legislation during his first term.
- Women, who had mostly voted Republican since passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, began to join the Democratic Party.
- Young voters supported FDR, and many of them stayed Democratic for the rest of their lives.
- FDR's administration encouraged pluralism (journalist Joseph Alsop said FDR "included the excluded"). Appointed Catholic judges and an unofficial "black cabinet" of high-ranking administration appointees who advocated for civil rights.

Election of 1936

Basics

Republicans

- Candidates: President—Alf Landon (Kansas); Vice President—Frank Knox.
- Political platform: condemned New Deal and demanded that federal relief programs be turned over to states (Landon admired the goals of New Deal but opposed methods). Democrats' waste, inefficiency, and antibusiness philosophy were impeding recovery; "Landon Slide."

Question 5 Information List (continued)

Democrats

- Candidates: President—Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York) renominated; Vice President—John Nance Garner (Texas) renominated.
- Political platform: praise and expansion of New Deal; Republicans portrayed as the party of economic disaster.

Others

- Union Party: William Lemke; coalition of supporters of Townsend, Coughlin, and Long.
- Political platform: party of the disenfranchised; country still has serious problems that the two major parties cannot fix.

Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 61 percent; Landon, 37 percent; others, 2.6 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 98 percent; Landon, 2 percent.

Issues

• Continued unemployment.

Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) endorsed Roosevelt for federal recovery programs that aided the poor (in spite of harm done to blacks by Agricultural Adjustment Act [AAA]). Ninety-five percent of black voters voted for FDR (from nearly 75 percent voting Republican in 1932).
- Northern cities continued move to Democratic Party in 1936, as Roosevelt worked to shift Democratic support "from acreage to population."
- Roosevelt's message molded somewhat by rhetorical challenges by Huey Long, Francis Townsend, and Charles Coughlin.

- NAACP endorsement marked fundamental and historic shift of African Americans from the party of Lincoln to the Democrats.
- Blacks became central element of Democratic coalition ever since, in spite of discriminatory elements of Social Security, Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and National Recovery Administration (NRA). Popular African American criticism of New Deal.
- Cities largely remained Democratic supporters through end of century.
- Roosevelt attempts to pack the Supreme Court—little interference from court after that.
- By the end of the 1930s, a New Deal coalition emerged that embraced farmers, older people, northern African Americans, urban poor, southern whites, and labor.

Question 5 Information List (continued)

Election of 1940

Basics

Republicans

- Candidates: President—Wendell Willkie; Vice President—Charles McNary. Willkie won only on sixth ballot at convention; former Democrat who broke with Democrats over Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA]).
- Political platform: condemned New Deal for "regimentation" and administrative inefficiency. Criticized Roosevelt administration for military unpreparedness. Platform also called for two constitutional amendments: equal rights for women and limit presidency to two terms.

Democrats

- Candidates: President—Franklin D. Roosevelt renominated; Vice President—Henry Wallace (contested primaries against own Vice President John Nance Garner and Postmaster General James Farley)
- Political platform: praise of New Deal successes; pledged to keep the United States out of World War II, although called for maintaining a strong military as deterrent against aggression. Internationalism clearly came to the forefront.

Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 55 percent; Willkie 45 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 85 percent; Willkie, 15 percent.

Issues

- Supreme Court packing scheme.
- Rise of fascism, appearement.
- World War II, Lend-Lease.

Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- New Deal programs that helped underprivileged, plus Eleanor Roosevelt's attention to racial injustices (e.g., Marion Anderson's 1937 Easter Sunday concert on the Washington Mall) further encouraged African Americans to support the Democratic Party.
- Ninety-seven percent of blacks voted for FDR, in spite of the fact that large parts of New Deal overlooked blacks.

- African Americans became solid element of the New Deal Democratic coalition—largely true until end of century.
- Weapons sales to Great Britain vastly increased employment, as the nation anticipated United States entry into the war.
- Democrats are labeled as "liberals" and Republicans labeled as "conservatives."
- Voters have expectations of presidential/government action in times of economic trouble.

Question 5 Information List (continued)

Election of 1944

Basics

Republicans

- Candidates: President—Thomas E. Dewey, governor of New York, former prosecutor; Vice President—John Bricker, senator from Ohio.
- Personal characteristics: an internationalist and moderate progressive. Dewey endorsed most
 wartime policies at home and abroad and supported continuation of most New Deal programs such
 as Social Security, farm subsidies, and regulation of the banking industry; astute politician; Bricker
 personally disliked Dewey.

Democrats

- Candidates: President—FDR nominated for fourth term; Vice President—Harry S. Truman, senator from Missouri,
- Political platform: war needed consistency in leadership; FDR respected as war president, revered
 by liberals (minorities, working class, farmers, and urban ethnics) for his New Deal programs.
 Increasingly despised by conservatives for turning the nation toward socialism with the New Deal,
 and for state management of key economic institutions to mobilize the nation for the war.
 Conservative Democrats remained loyal to the party thanks to the addition of Truman to the ticket.

Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 53 percent; Dewey, 46 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 81 percent; Dewey, 19 percent.

Issues

People tired of war, rationing, economic controls.

Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Republican conservatives played on concerns about length of war/sacrifices, but they were still tainted by Hoover's Depression-era failures.
- Democratic victory resulted from FDR's continued personal popularity, unwillingness to shift leaders as the Allies neared victory, and southern Democrats' fears that Republican electoral victory would cost them control of congressional committees.

- FDR died on April 12, 1945. Truman becomes president. He was a moderate Democrat who had minimal knowledge of wartime policy and FDR's postwar diplomatic policy (no awareness of the Manhattan Project or most other key United States policies and initiatives).
- Truman was more confrontational than FDR with Stalin at Potsdam.
- Angered progressive Democrats for canceling price controls but continuing wage controls.
- Lacked the personal touch necessary to rally the Democrats in Congress.

Question 5 Information List (continued)

Election of 1948

Basics

Republicans

- Candidates: President—Thomas E. Dewey (New York); Vice President—Estes Kefauver.
- Political platform: campaign of slogans: "To Err Is Truman," "Had Enough?" "Confusion, corruption, and communism."
- Personal characteristics: Dewey looked like "the little man on the wedding cake." Dewey confident of a victory; speeches were bland; among platitudes he uttered: "Unless labor is free, none of us are free"; "You know that your future is still ahead of you"; "Our rivers are full of fish."

Democrats

- Candidates: President—Harry Truman; Vice President—Alben Barkley.
- Political platform: hold the course. Democratic slogans: "Give 'em hell, Harry." During September and October, Truman traveled more than 22,000 miles on a "whistle-stop" train tour.
- Personal characteristics: Truman was compared to FDR. Republicans portrayed Truman as struggling in a job that was too large for him. Truman came across as a feisty and bold underdog, battling great odds to keep his job. He also appeared to be the champion of the common person.

Others

- Progressive: Henry Wallace, former vice president, former commerce secretary; Wallace accused of being a communist because he supported arms control with and a softer line toward the Soviet Union
- States Rights Party (Dixiecrats): J. Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina; focused on states' rights as a way to avoid the race card.

Results

- Popular vote: Truman, 49.5 percent; Dewey, 45.1 percent; Thurmond, 2.4 percent; others, 3 percent.
- Electoral vote: Truman, 303; Dewey, 189; Thurmond, 39.
- States: Truman, 28; Dewey, 16; Thurmond, 4 (South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana).

Issues

- Communism and the Cold War: Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, Loyalty Review Board, Berlin Airlift.
- Economic problems: continued high taxes, double-digit inflation, shortages of critical goods (meat, cars, and appliances), and unemployment for returning veterans.
- Civil rights: desegregation of the armed forces; resulted in two splinter parties, Dixiecrats and Progressives, that caught Truman between the conservative South and Democratic liberals, respectively (the right and left wings of the Democratic Party).
- All polls and pundits called the election for Dewey. Newsweek predicted a Dewey "landslide."
 During this election the *Chicago Tribune* famously printed the erroneous headline, "Dewey Defeats Truman."

Question 5 Information List (continued)

Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Economic problems: continued high taxes, double-digit inflation, shortages of critical goods (meat, cars, and appliances), and unemployment for returning veterans. Voters also blamed Truman for high taxes ("High Tax Harry").
- In 1946 strikes paralyzed country as workers demanded higher wages. Truman seized key industries, including meatpacking, coal, oil, and railroads. Anger over the work stoppages led to Republican victories in the 1946 midterms.
- The Fair Deal: Truman supported liberal legislation (despite the conservative direction of the Eightieth Congress) such as a higher minimum wage, repeal of the antilabor Taft–Hartley Act, and more public housing. Republican Congress' antilabor legislation like Taft–Hartley Act made organized labor realize that it preferred a Democrat in the White House.
- Truman's campaign recognized the importance of black voters and courted them.
- The New Deal coalition came through for Truman: labor, older people, urban residents, underprivileged people, farmers, Catholics, and northern African Americans voted for Truman, allowing the president to prevail even without full support from the Solid South.

Consequences of Changes During This Period

- Democratic Congress enacted some of Truman's domestic initiatives, such as raising the minimum wage and providing more public housing (Housing Act of 1949), but Congress rejected most Fair Deal programs.
- During the Korean War, Truman desegregated the armed forces.
- Truman continued containment policies, which won bipartisan support. He sent United States ground troops to Korea beginning in 1950.
- Dewey's defeat caused a temporary shift within the Republican Party favoring conservatives, which allowed Joe McCarthy and other senators to gain more power, stirred anticommunist concerns, and helped further fuel the Red Scare during the early 1950s.
- Truman's support of civil rights marked the Democratic Party's change toward advocating African
 American causes and attracting black voters, thus moving away from conservative white
 southerners who began to break from the party, leaving a new Democratic coalition of northern
 liberals, urbanites, blacks, and organized labor.

Notes

- Balance not required, nor is discussion of all of the elections between 1928 and 1944.
- Reasons for shifts and consequences of changes may be blurred.