

AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY
2009 SCORING GUIDELINES (Form B)

Question 4

Explain the origins of TWO of the following third parties and evaluate their impact on United States politics and national policies.

The People's Party (Populists), 1892
The Progressive Party (Bull Moose Party), 1912
The States' Rights Party (Dixiecrats), 1948
The American Independent Party, 1968

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that explains the origins of two of the given third parties and evaluates their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Supports the thesis with substantial, relevant information that explains the origins of two third parties and their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Effectively analyzes the origins of two third parties and their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Is well organized and well written.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a thesis, which may be partially developed, that explains the origins of two of the given third parties and evaluates their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Provides some relevant information that explains the origins of two third parties and their impact on United States politics and national policies; coverage may be somewhat imbalanced.
- Analyzes to some extent the origins of two third parties and their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the essay.

The 2–4 Essay

- Presents a thesis that may be confused, simplistic, or undeveloped in terms of explaining the origins of two of the given third parties and evaluating their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Includes little relevant information concerning the origins of two third parties and their impact on United States politics and national policies; may treat only part of the question.
- Contains little analysis of the origins of two third parties and their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- May be poorly organized and/or poorly written.
- May contain major errors.

The 0–1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or restates the question.
- Includes no relevant information concerning the origins of two of the given third parties and evaluating their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Contains no analysis of the origins of two third parties and their impact on United States politics and national policies.
- Is poorly organized and/or poorly written.
- May contain numerous errors, both major and minor.

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Question 4 (continued)

The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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Question 4 Information List

People's Party (Populists), 1892

Origins

- Farmers established the Patrons of Husbandry (the Grange) in 1867 in response to abusive railroad rates and practices. Several states passed Granger laws in attempts at state regulation of railroads. These efforts were set back when the Supreme Court ruled (Wabash case) that states could not regulate interstate railroad traffic. The Interstate Commerce Commission was established in 1887, but it lacked enforcement power.
- Between 1870 and 1890 American grain production grew three times as fast as the United States population. Farmers were dependent on rising exports. European agriculture was strengthening at the same time. World market prices for cotton and wheat fell about 60 percent from 1870 to 1895. Farmers blamed banks, railroads, and the monetary system. Many farmers supported the Greenback Party, which favored the issuance of more United States Treasury notes (greenbacks).
- By 1890 farmers experiencing problems with credit and exploitative railroad rates had established the National Farmer's Alliance and Industrial Union. It had a comprehensive political agenda, including (a) a graduated income tax; (b) direct election of United States senators; (c) free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1; (d) effective government control and, if necessary, ownership of railroad, telegraph, and telephone companies; and (e) the establishment of "subtreasuries" for the storage of crops with government loans at 2 percent on those crops.
- Anticipating that Republicans and many Democrats would resist these demands, by 1892 many members of the alliance were ready to create and join a third party.
- The People's Party's first nominating convention took place in Omaha in July 1892.
- The People's Party platform called for unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1; creation of the subtreasury program for crop storage and farm loans; government ownership of railroad, telegraph, and telephone companies; a graduated income tax; direct election of senators; and laws to protect labor unions against prosecution for strikes and boycotts.

Impact

- The People's Party won 22 electoral votes but only 9 percent of the popular vote for president in 1892.
- The party made some gains because of the Panic of 1893.
- When Congress repealed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act in 1893, the Democratic Party was divided. A faction that took free silver as its major issue gained strength and was in position to take over the party in 1896. This opened the possibility of an alliance with the People's Party.
- After William Jennings Bryan gave his "Cross of Gold" speech at the 1896 Democratic Party convention, the Democrats made him their nominee for president and caused turmoil in the People's Party, which nominated Bryan as well. Republican William McKinley was elected president with 51.7 percent of the popular vote to 47.7 percent for Bryan. The Democrats had effectively stolen the Populists' thunder.
- The economy came out of depression in McKinley's first year in office, and new gold fields were discovered in Alaska. The silver issue lost its importance with voters as deflation ended and farmers saw gains. Although Bryan ran against McKinley again in 1900, the election results were even more in McKinley's favor.

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

Progressive Party (Bull Moose Party), 1912

Origins

- Progressives wanted to rid politics of corruption and tame the power of the “trusts.” They went after prostitution, gambling, drinking, and other vices. Progressives first appeared in city politics to oust crooked mayors and political machines. They went on to carry their message to state and national levels. They agreed on the need for an activist government to right what they perceived as wrongs.
- When Republican Theodore Roosevelt succeeded assassinated William McKinley in 1901, he quickly showed his progressive credentials. His Justice Department used the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to dissolve the Northern Securities Company and sided with coal miners in their strike.
- Roosevelt did not seek election in 1908 and passed the baton William Howard Taft. Taft upset progressives over his tariff policies and particularly during the Ballinger–Pinchot controversy. Roosevelt returned to politics in 1910. His followers did well in the 1910 congressional elections, and Roosevelt announced his candidacy for nomination for the 1912 presidential election. The conservative Republican old guard denied Roosevelt a convention victory, giving the nomination to Taft instead.
- The day after Taft’s nomination, Roosevelt and his supporters withdrew from the Republican Party and put together the new Progressive Party. It promptly nominated Roosevelt for president. With the Republicans split between Taft and Roosevelt, Democrat Woodrow Wilson won the 1912 election for president.

Impact

- The Progressive Party split the Republican vote between old guard conservatives who favored Taft and progressives who supported Roosevelt.
- Both Roosevelt and Wilson ran on reform platforms. The Progressive Party essentially handed Wilson and the Democrats the presidency.
- This guaranteed a continuation of progressive policies. The Progressive Party passed from the national scene. The Republican Party healed its wounds and was competitive again in the 1916 presidential election.

States’ Rights Party (Dixiecrats), 1948

Origins

- President Truman had established a civil rights committee that issued a report calling for a federal antilynching law, a civil rights division within the Justice Department, desegregation of the military, and antidiscrimination efforts in employment, housing, and public facilities.
- Truman supported these recommendations in his 1948 presidential campaign.
- In 1948 the Dixiecrats split from the Democratic Party behind the leadership of South Carolina’s segregationist congressman Strom Thurmond. Thurmond broke with the Democrats over Truman’s support for civil rights.

Impact

- Truman won the presidential election in 1948, and the States’ Rights Party carried four states.
- The election showed that the segregation/race issue was strong enough to cause lifelong southern Democrats (the solid South) to desert the party.
- Times were changing. In 1947 Jackie Robinson broke major league baseball’s color barrier.

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

- Truman went on to support several civil rights initiatives, including an executive order to begin the desegregation of the military, and he supported Franklin Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Commission in its efforts to end discrimination in federal hiring.

American Independent Party, 1968

Origins

- Governor George Wallace of Alabama was a well-known opponent of racial integration. In 1963 he had personally blocked Black students' attempts to register at the University of Alabama, causing President Kennedy to federalize the Alabama National Guard.
- In 1968 Wallace decided to seek national support as a third-party candidate and formed the American Independent Party. Wallace broke with the Democratic Party, as Thurmond had done, over the party's support of civil rights, particularly the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- In his campaign, Wallace spoke out against the counterculture and the anti-Vietnam War movement.

Impact

- In 1968 the American Independent Party picked up 46 electoral votes from five states in the deep South.
- The American Independent Party's electoral votes hurt the Democratic Party, and Republican Richard Nixon won the presidency.
- Nixon too spoke out against the counterculture and the anti-Vietnam War movement, but he was not an opponent of civil rights.
- An assassination attempt during the 1972 presidential campaign left Wallace crippled and unable to continue campaigning. Without its leader, the American Independent Party faded.
- Alienated conservative Democrats shifted their support to the Republican Party over the next several years, forming a particularly strong conservative base in the Republican Party.

Additional Relevant Information

Populists

People

Bellamy, Edward
Bryan, William Jennings
Cleveland, Grover
Debs, Eugene
Donnelly, Ignatius
Hanna, Mark

Lease, Mary Elizabeth
McKinley, William
Powderly, Terence
Watson, Tom
Weaver, James
Willard, Francis

Organizations

Coxey's Army
Knights of Labor
National Agricultural Wheel

Socialism
Southern Farmers' Alliance

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

Proposals/Legislation/Events

Bland-Allison
“Cross of Gold” Speech
Democrats
elections of 1892, 1896
Haymarket Riot
Homestead Strike
Looking Backward

National Banking Act
Omaha Convention
Omaha Platform
Panic of 1873
Pullman Strike
Sherman Silver Purchase Act
Woman’s Christian Temperance Union

Concepts

bi-metalism
conservation
direct election of senators
free coinage of silver
gold standard

income tax
regulatory state
subtreasury system
women’s suffrage

Progressives

People

Addams, Jane
Beveridge, Albert
Bryce, James
Croly, Herbert
Debs, Eugene
Dewey, John
Johnson, Hiram
Keller, Helen

Kelley, Florence
LaFollette, Robert
Munsey, Frank
Perkins, George
Pinchot, Gifford
Roosevelt, Theodore
Taft, William Howard
Wilson, Woodrow

Publications

The American Commonwealth
The Jungle

The New Republic
The Promise of American Life

Organizations

American Socialist Party
Democratic Party
Industrial Workers of the World

Republican Party
Western Federation of Miners

Concepts

Bull Moose
child labor laws
constitutional amending
direct democracy (initiative, referendum, recall)
eight-hour workday

farm relief
immigration restriction
income tax
inheritance tax
insurgents

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

limited use of the injunction
monopoly
muckraking
New Nationalism
presidential primary
progressive education

Republican schism
social welfare legislation
trusts
universal health care
workers' compensation

States' Rights Party (Dixiecrats)

Personalities

Humphrey, Hubert
Robinson, Jackie
Thurmond, Strom

Truman, Harry
Wallace, Henry

Events/Publications/Concepts

Berlin Airlift
Cold War
Fair Deal
House Un-American Activities Committee
(HUAC)
Iron Curtain
Jim Crow
integration of the United States military
Marshall Plan

New Deal coalition
Progressive Party
segregation
Solid South
southern strategy
states' rights
Taft–Hartley Act
To Secure These Rights
Truman Doctrine

American Independent Party

People

Goldwater, Barry
Kennedy, Robert
LeMay, Curtis
McCarthy, Eugene
Nixon, Richard

Phillips, Kevin
Reagan, Ronald
Shearer, William
Wallace, George

Events/Organizations/Concepts

assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and
Robert F. Kennedy
Chicago convention
Civil Rights movement
Great Society
Integration
law and order
southern strategy

states' rights
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
tax revolt
Tet offensive
Vietnam War
Warren Court
wedge issues
Yippies

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Question 4 Information List (continued)

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

People's Party and Progressive Party

The People's Party and the Progressive Party emerged in reaction to what the economist Paul Krugman has termed “the long Gilded Age,” the period between the end of the Civil War and the advent of the Great Depression. Each party was a response to the inequities and social insecurities generated by unfettered industrial capitalism as well as the failure of the major parties to address those inequities and insecurities and point the way to a far more equitable society. Both Populists and Progressives anticipated the New Deal welfare state of the 1930s and began the political realignments that would be necessary for that welfare state to become a reality.

Despite sharing a common vocabulary of reform, Populists and Progressives were divided by time and geography and dramatically different goals. Beginning in the heartland, the Populists hoped to create a true, mass-based political movement that, like the Socialists, sought to fundamentally change the nature of United States society. The Progressives, by contrast advocated social-welfare legislation and an activist state in the hope that radical change would be avoided. The Bull Moose Party's “New Nationalism” aimed to save American capitalism by reforming it. Their differences aside, the People's Party and the Progressive Party sketched the contours of what would eventually become twentieth-century liberalism.

States' Rights Party and American Independent Party

If the Populists and the Bull Moosers foreshadowed the New Deal welfare state, the Dixiecrats and the followers of George Wallace prophesied its demise. The States' Rights Party of 1948 and the American Independent Party of 1968 pioneered the transition of the South from the Democratic to the Republican Party and helped birth the conservative movement that would eventually push the Republican Party to the far right.

Defying their traditional conservatism, southern states embraced much of the New Deal largely because of the federal dollars it pumped into the region. After World War II when the bread-and-butter economics of the New Deal expanded to include civil rights, the South bolted, joining with others to rein in the reach of the federal government and stifle any furthering of the liberal agenda. Southern bigots linked arms with groups such as the American Medical Association to defeat President Truman's health care proposals, fearing that a national health program would result in integrated hospitals and the end of Jim Crow. Despite its lack of electoral success in 1948, the States' Rights Party made the first crack in the New Deal coalition. The American Independent Party would make the second.

Forged in the crucible of the tumultuous 1960s, the American Independent Party used the momentum of Barry Goldwater's pro-states' rights presidential campaign and the backlash against the Great Society and the Warren Court to create a political appeal that would bind upper- and lower-class whites in opposition to government and pave the way for the conservative resurgence of the 1970s and 1980s.

Casting himself as a latter-day champion of the forgotten man, George Wallace fashioned a new political message. In place of the traditional populist campaigns that cast the rich and big business as social oppressors, Wallace instead attacked liberalism and the Democratic Party establishment. Insisting that the Democrats were using taxes to transfer wealth from hard-working Whites to undeserving Blacks, Wallace laid the groundwork for the antitax movement of the 1970s. By linking taxes with race, Wallace also paved the way for the “southern strategy” of Richard Nixon that would result in Republican control of the former Confederacy and the conservative movement that marked the remainder of the twentieth century.

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
(1 of 2)

Throughout the course of American history, smaller 'third parties' have elected candidates for presidency. Although none of these parties have ever won an election, they always leave their mark on ~~the~~ the political environment and on legal policies. The People's Populist Party of 1892 and the Bull-Moose party of 1912 were two such parties that ran and, in running, left a lasting effect on politics.

The Populist Party of 1892 was one of the first parties that ran solely on an economic issue. During the late 1800's, America was thrust into a time of economic ups and downs. Events such as the Panic of 1873 and the Billion Dollar Congress, plus high tariffs, speculation and a move from agriculture to industry left many farmers either impoverished or indebted. The main issue for debate about the cause of this poverty was the backing of the dollar in gold. The Republican and Democrat parties had different views on the backing of currency, and because of these changing policies, there was opportunity to make a lot of money by redeeming money in gold or silver. The Populist Party supported a free and unlimited coinage of silver, as this would create inflation to save the farmers from debt. This was their primary platform (although they also stood for labour rights) and they became very outspoken about it. As a result of their platform, they gained many supporters who were indebted farmers. They never actually won an election, but they raised the issue of what the currency was backed in, and this issue was later taken into account by the majority parties. Eventually, the issue was resolved by an economic crash where Cleveland had to buy gold for the treasuries from J.P. Morgan, a wealthy financier.

The Bull-Moose party was one of the first parties to run with a former president as their candidate. After Theodore Roosevelt had handed the presidency over to William H. Taft, he decided he disagreed with how Taft ran the country. Taft had been TR's prodigy initially, and had meant to continue the changes TR had implemented. Taft, however, went too far in TR's opinion, when he failed to distinguish between "good"

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 2)

and "bad" trusts. Claiming that Taft was doing a bad job, TR ran for election under the Bull-Moose Party. Taft's Republican Party and Roosevelt's Bull-Moose party were one of the first instances of how election turmoil can create unexpected results. While Taft and TR were seeking it out, Wilson, who ran for the Democrats, won the election. Similar to the party split that happened before Lincoln's election, the split in votes for the two pro-Republican candidates weakened both parties too much to get one of them sufficient votes. Wilson went on to become the leader of America through World War I (although Taft did run again in 1916, TR's supporters sided with Wilson as ~~his~~ policies were respected by TR). Thus, by creating confusion and splitting the vote, TR's Bull-Moose Party changed the political scene.

Neither the Populist or the Bull-Moose Party won an election, but they did have an impact on politics and policies. By raising and standing for an economic issue, the Populist Party ended up creating policies about the currency of America. By creating a split-off party, the Bull-Moose Party caused the Democrat Party to win the election for the first time in a while, which changed the political atmosphere of the early 1900s. Although both parties were considered minorities, the effects were major.

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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Rise of third parties began after the Jacksonian period. American Party, known as "Know-nothing Party," Free soil party, and Liberty party are some of the significant third parties throughout American history.

The People's Party of 1892 originated from the Granger movement. During the progressivism era, farmers were isolated from the social benefits. Currency Act of 1873 caused deflation, which damaged the debtors — mostly farmers. The Granger movement started in the southern farms. The movement later grew into the Populist party. The party claimed for free-silver coinage, adjustment of tariffs, and control over big cooperations. *Munn v. Illinois* called forth the Wobash Act, which established the Interstate Commerce Committee. Although the People's Party disappeared due to ~~with~~ loss ~~of~~ ⁱⁿ elections and lack of influence of ICC, it ~~had~~ ~~significant~~ ~~impact~~ influenced further movements and lead to parties such as the Socialist Party. _{↳ WAS}

The Progressive Party of 1912 began by Theodore Roosevelt. After finishing his second term, Teddy Roosevelt gave his regime to Taft from the same party — Republican. However, unlike T.R.'s ~~former~~ ~~own~~ expectations, Taft was far too conservative, and he did not carry out progressive ~~changes~~ ^{reforms} Roosevelt planned. In 1912's Republican nomination, Teddy Roosevelt lost to Taft. Therefore, he created his own Progressive Party — often called as the Bull Moose Party.

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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4B
(2 of 3)

Followers of Roosevelt split out from the Republican party and joined the Bull-Moose. In the presidential election, however, neither Roosevelt nor Taft won. Because the former majority, Republican, were split into Taft's and Roosevelt's, ~~it was no more a majority~~ ^{it ~~was~~ no longer a} majority. In the midst of the split, Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson won the popular vote. ~~Although Wilson~~ The Bull Moose party enabled Wilson to become the minority president. Wilson, as the president carried out progressive movements. Also, he differed from Roosevelt and Taft ~~that~~ in that he was rather an Internationalist than a Imperialist.

The impact of the Populist party and the Bull Moose party are significant, respectively. Stemmed out from the Granger movement among Southern farmers, the Populist party stimulated the federal government's authority to ~~manage~~ regulate interstate commerce, although ineffective in that time. The populists also spurred series of currency Acts, resulting in printing of greenbacks as well as silver. On the other hand, the Bull Moose party ~~which~~ started from Teddy Roosevelt's split from the Republican party. The Bull Moose made it possible for minority Wilson to win the election and change the nation's imperialistic movements to international movements. Rather than using hard powers and "Big stick Diplomacy" suggested from T.R's Roosevelt Corollary or "Dollar Diplomacy" of Taft, Wilson attempted to cooperate →

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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4B
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with other nations. Reflecting Wilson's "fair deal" is his suggestion to form League of Nations after the WWI, and his announcements of indicating WWI as the "war to end all wars."

3

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 8
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4C
(1 of 2)

Many of ideals of third parties were assimilated into the two major political parties and remain in society today. The Populists have had one of the greatest impacts on the U.S. currency system. The Progressive Party has also had considerable influence on foreign policy during its own time and somewhat today. The Progressive Party is also responsible for much of America's political, social, and economic reform. Although the parties have not survived through history, their ideals still influence the United States.

One of the major motives behind the creation of the Populist Party is the coinage of silver. This party was primarily backed by those who faced poverty and also farmers. Farmers formed a majority because of the belief that the free coinage of silver would produce more currency and alleviate their debts. Labor also favored getting rid of the gold standard so that more specie could be circulated because of silver's abundance. This party has had a lasting impact on the currency of America and its banking methods. Banks no longer required federal notes to be backed by gold because of the introduction of silver coinage.

The Progressive Party is most likely the most influential third party to exist. Progressivism was formed and pushed by the overwhelming support for social reform. Theodore Roosevelt was the main political figure of the party, who introduced the "Bill Meuse" nicknames when he was shot and later confirmed that he was "as fit as a bull meuse." Roosevelt's term in office also brought about the U.S. "big stick" foreign policy. The U.S. still retains some of its principles today. Theodore's Progressive Party was also

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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4C
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responsible for much of the nation's political reform, including the concept of conservation. This led to the establishment of national parks. Social reform was also a highlight of Progressivism and through the efforts of the muckrakers. These writers informed the public of necessary changes that had to be made to the work environment and politics.

Many of the ideals of ~~these~~ third parties have been ~~inherited~~ inherited by the Republican and Democratic parties of today. These policies have become vital in U.S. politics despite the disappearance of these parties.

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Question 4

Sample: 4A

Score: 8

This essay has a clear and well-developed thesis that third parties have lasting influence, even when they lose elections. Some impressive information is included, such as Billion Dollar Congress and Grover Cleveland's gold purchase from J. P. Morgan. The essay is clear on the economic and agricultural origins of the People's Party; it also mentions the origins of the Progressive Party (Theodore Roosevelt–William Howard Taft split) and its implications for the 1912 election. There is a minor error with Taft running again in 1916. More significant, the lack of identification of party policies and the impact of elections kept this essay from being scored a 9.

Sample: 4B

Score: 5

This essay has a partially developed thesis that explains the origins of the Populist and Progressive parties, supplying evidence, both general and specific, to make its point (*Munn v. Illinois*, Currency Act, Theodore Roosevelt–William Howard Taft split). To some extent the essay also analyzes the impact of both parties on subsequent political and policy developments, albeit in less detail than it offers regarding party origins (e.g., Populists led to other parties, and the three-way contest that included the Progressive Party helped elect Woodrow Wilson, thereby enabling the enactment of a progressive agenda). The reference to Wilson's "fair Deal" is an error. Because the essay is acceptably organized, adequately written, and contains no major errors, it received a score of 5. It was not scored higher because of the paucity of analysis and the questionable nature of some assertions.

Sample: 4C

Score: 3

This essay has an acceptable thesis that indicates the value of third parties as a positive influence on major parties. The essay recognizes the agricultural origins of the People's Party and correctly identifies its great interest in the currency standard. But there is no discussion of political development or of elections or candidates. There is a major error suggesting that the Populists had lasting impact on policy because the nation abandoned the gold standard. With respect to the Progressive Party, the essay correctly identifies Theodore Roosevelt as its leading figure, but it does not analyze the origins of the party, its political role in the 1912 election, or its subsequent impact on national policies. There is inappropriate attribution of prior Progressive movement policies to the Progressive Party. The strengths of the thesis as a whole and the analysis of the Populists placed the essay in the middle of the 2–4 score category, while its errors and lack of more substantial accurate information kept it from being scored higher.