

AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY

2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 3

Analyze the social, political, and economic forces of the 1840s and early 1850s that led to the emergence of the Republican Party.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that analyzes the social, political, and economic forces of the 1840s and early 1850s.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides strong analysis and effectively links the social, political, and economic forces of the 1840s and early 1850s to the emergence of the Republican Party; treatment of forces 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 social, political, and economic forces of the 1840s and early 1850s.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis and some linkage of the social, political, and economic forces of the 1840s and early 1850s to the emergence of the Republican Party; treatment of forces 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 social, political, and economic forces of the 1840s and early 1850s.
- Addresses the impact of only one or two forces in the emergence of the Republican Party, OR describes three types of forces 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.

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Question 3 Fact Sheet

Social Forces (Republicans opposed racial equality, Fugitive Slave Act/Blood Hound Bill.)

- American Antislavery Society/Frederick Douglass
- Abolition movement (William Lloyd Garrison, *The Liberator*)
- “Slave-power” conspiracy
- Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852)
- Hinton R. Helper’s *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857)
- Second Great Awakening
- Reformers focused on temperance, religion, education, and immigration joined with the Republicans.
- Cultural sectionalism
 - Divided churches North/South
 - Sectionalized literature
- Public schools vs. parochial schools (led to Know-Nothings)
- North had 6 percent illiteracy; South had 20 percent illiteracy among free population and 90 percent illiteracy among the slaves. Illiteracy was one of several differences between North and South that antislavery people pointed to as evidence of the backward, repressive, and evil nature of a slave society in a free-enterprise capitalist democracy.

Political Forces (Republicans formed in 1854 in response to the Kansas–Nebraska Act; opposed to the expansion of slavery; combined remnants of Whig, Free Soil, and Know-Nothing parties as well as disgruntled Democrats.)

- Manifest Destiny (Polk’s 1844 platform)
- “Gag rule”
- Liberty Party (1840)
- Free Soil Party/Martin Van Buren/James Birney
- “Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men”
- Mexican–American War (Mr. Polk’s War)
 - Lincoln Spot Resolution
 - Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago
 - Wilmot Proviso (defeated in the Senate)
 - Popular Sovereignty/Lewis Cass
- Compromise of 1850 (Clay, Calhoun, Webster)
 - Fugitive Slave Law
 - California (free) ended the balance in the Senate between free and slave states.
 - Popular sovereignty in Utah and New Mexico territories
 - Ended slave trade in D.C.
- Personal liberty laws
- Underground Railroad
- Gadsden Purchase (1853)
- Kansas–Nebraska Act (1854—Stephen Douglas)
 - Many northern Democrats despised Douglas’s compromise.
 - “Bleeding Kansas” (sacking of Lawrence)
 - John Brown/Pottawatomie massacre
 - Border ruffians
 - Lecompton and Topeka Constitutions
 - Brooks-Sumner Affair/“The Crime against Kansas”

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Question 3 Fact Sheet (continued)

- By 1854 northern Whigs could no longer claim a national party; divided by Kansas–Nebraska Act (Conscience Whigs; Cotton Whigs)
- Filibustering in Cuba and Nicaragua (1854 Ostend Manifesto)
- “Young America” movement
- “Know-Nothings” (American Party)
 - Connected to the temperance movement
 - “Slavery, rum, and Romanism”
 - Republican argument that the “slave-power conspiracy” was a greater threat to American liberty and equality than an alleged “popish plot” proved to be persuasive. Nativists did not have to abandon their ethnic and religious prejudices to become Republicans. Although Republican leaders generally avoided taking anti-immigrant positions, the party showed a clear commitment to the values of native-born evangelical Protestants.
- 1856—John C. Fremont ran for president; appeared on only four southern state ballots
- 1856 platform called for liberation of Kansas from the slave power and for congressional prohibition of slavery in all territories.
- Dred Scott decision (1857)

Political Parties Split and Realign

Whig Party—Ran its last presidential candidate in 1852. The candidate, General Winfield Scott, alienated many southern Whigs, and the party was so split it could not field a candidate in 1856.

Democratic Party—Remained a national party through 1856, but Buchanan’s actions as president made southern domination of the party so clear that many northern Democrats were alienated. Stephen Douglas, running as a Northern Democrat in 1860, won 29 percent of the popular vote; John Breckinridge, running as a Southern Democrat, won 18 percent.

Liberty Party—Antislavery party ran James G. Birney for president in 1844. He won 62,000 votes, largely from northern antislavery Whigs.

Free-Soil Party—Ran Martin Van Buren, former Democratic president, in 1848. Gained 10 percent of the popular vote, largely from Whigs but also from some northern Democrats.

American (Know-Nothing) Party—Nativist party made striking gains in 1854 congressional elections, attracting both northern and southern Whigs. In 1856 its presidential candidate, Millard Fillmore, won 21 percent of the popular vote.

Republican Party—Founded in 1854. Attracted many northern Whigs and northern Democrats. Presidential candidate John C. Fremont won 33 percent of the popular vote in 1856; in 1860 Abraham Lincoln won 40 percent and was elected in a four-way race.

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Question 3 Fact Sheet (continued)

Economic Forces (Republican economic ideology: favored free labor, slavery degraded labor, northern economy ensured freedom, independence for white working men, southern society was backward/stagnant, belief in self-made man, faith in social mobility, economic rights for ALL men
Republican economic platform: internal improvements (railroad construction), high tariffs, Homestead Act, end to internal slave trade, immigration restrictions.)

- Market Revolution
 - Southern dependence on “King Cotton”
 - Northern manufacturing and internal improvements
 - Immigration; urbanization
- Economic dislocation (depression of 1839–1843; Panic of 1857)
- California Gold Rush (1849)
- Most of the railroad construction bound the western and eastern states and reinforced the effect of slavery in creating a distinct “North” and “South.”
- Debate over transcontinental railroad (Gadsden Purchase; Kansas–Nebraska Act)
- Northern and western merchants and manufacturers drifted to the Republican Party because it promised to use a strong national government to promote commerce and internal improvements. Northern and western farmers liked the Republican Party’s commitment to cheap land (Homestead Act).
- Planters, in the minds of many northerners, also deliberately shunned entrepreneurship and hard work, which were qualities valued by Americans who embraced free labor and industrialization. Abraham Lincoln, an early member of the Republican Party, championed northern values of social mobility and a strong work ethic.
- Free soil would serve as a guarantee of free competition or the “right to rise.” But if slavery was permitted to expand, the rights of “free labor” would be denied. Some Republicans also pandered to racial prejudice: they presented their policy as a way to keep African Americans out of the territories, thus preserving the new lands for exclusive white occupancy.
 - Northern business hostility toward antislavery movement, seeing it as a threat to profitable trade with the South
- Walker Tariff, 1846: low tariff measure that delighted the South but angered the North

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~~THE Republican Party won the Election of 1860~~
~~the Republican~~

Most third parties in the United States are doomed to failure. The Know-Nothing Party, the Greenback Labor Party, and ~~today's Green Party~~ ^{the Anti-Masonic Party} all emerged over opposition to an idea or a group and quickly faded away. ~~One of the~~ Successful challenges to the two-party system are few and far between, with ~~except~~ one major exception: the Republican party. A weak third party in the 1840's & 1850's with what little strength it had concentrated among midwestern farmers, ~~by~~ the Republican Party managed to win both majorities in Congress and the Presidency in the Election of 1860. A combination of social, political, and economic forces ~~to~~ accounts for this incredible success.

The main social factor that led to the success of the Republicans was the question of slavery. Many Northern abolitionists wanted to free all the slaves, but not all of slavery's foes were so extreme. A majority of Northerners wanted to prevent slavery's expansion to new territory won in the Mexican American War — the Wilmot Proviso of the Treaty with Mexico, endorsed by all but one of the free state legislatures, was an attempt to do just that. Since the official platform of the Democrats was popular sovereignty, espoused by Stephen Douglas,

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The nascent Republicans were able to appeal to both the abolitionists ^(as the most anti-slavery party) and the free Soles, by endorsing halting the expansion of slavery in their platform.

Another factor that led to Republican success at the ballot box was a political vacuum. The Democratic Party was dominated by the southern planter aristocracy and the political machines in the Northern industrial centers, while the Whig party, dying by the 1840s, was the party of wealthy Northern manufacturers and intellectuals. The growing political power of Western small farmers was left untapped, ready to become the political base of the emerging Republican Party.

Economic forces also helped the Republicans. Manufacturing in the North was growing at an incredible rate, drawing immigrants from Europe to fill the factories' labor needs. By promising a high tariff to protect industry, Republicans earned the support of both big business and labor. Also, the growth of industry led to a scarcity of land, and many people began asking the government for free homesteads from the vast public lands to the west. ~~By~~ The Republican Party promised a homestead act, carrying out another ~~new~~ group of voters who ~~would~~ would support them at the polls.

The Republican Party was able to appeal to many ~~of each~~ groups of voters due to a combination of political, social, and economic forces. This broad coalition,

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3A

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3/3

3/3

however, left out ~~only~~ one important group: the South. By failing to include the South, the Republican Party created a century of rock-solid Democratic control of Southern politics.

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

3B

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Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or (3)	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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1/3

The Republican Party formed as a one-issue sectional party dedicated to preventing the expansion of slavery. Its appearance was due to a number of factors. Economically, Republicans saw slavery as a threat to paid workers and farmers. Socially, many found it immoral. Politically, the Mexican-American War and Kansas-Nebraska Act sparked sectional tensions that led many to the Republicans.

While some Republicans were abolitionists, most did not care about blacks one way or the other. Instead, they were afraid that slavery would pose a threat to the independent farmer as well as the paid worker. This fear created a coalition of workers, Northwestern farmers, as well as businessmen who saw slavery as a threat to their economic survival. Furthermore, many Northwestern farmers saw slavery as contradictory to the ideal of Republicanism. Many were disgusted at how slave holders lived like European aristocracy, ~~with~~ with massive mansions and legions of servants. They feared that this American aristocracy would expand and eventually attempt to subjugate them as well.

Furthermore, a number of political issues created sectional tension that resulted in the

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

3B

2/3

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2/3

destruction of the Whig/Democrat party system. First, the Mexican-American war added new territory to the U.S. As most of this territory was below the Missouri Compromise line, it would be open to slavery. Northerners attempted to ban slavery in these territories with the Wilmot Proviso, ~~sp~~ creating hostile tensions between North and South. While the Compromise of 1850 quieted ~~down~~ the debate, tensions remained under the surface. They were brought to life again with the Kansas-Nebraska act, which proposed popular sovereignty in ~~the~~ Kansas and Nebraska, both of which were above the M.C. Compromise line. Northerners were outraged ~~and~~ ~~as~~ and many bolted the Whig and Democratic parties to form the Republican Party.

Moreover, the new fugitive slave act and the Dred Scott decision infuriated Northerners. The new law enabled slave-catchers to travel into Northern states and to force residents to help them catch slaves. The mere thought of being forced to assist in slave hunts infuriated white Northerners, sending many of them to the Republican party. The Dred-Scott Decision stated that the government could not ban slavery in territories. This confirmed many Northerner's worst fears about the slavery threat and

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

3B

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~~gave~~ helped reinforce the Republicans' ranks.

All in all, a number of social, political and economic forces led to the formation of the Republican Party. Northerners saw slavery as an economic threat and feared that Southerners were conspiring to expand it. Also, political issues such as the Kansas - Nebraska Act infuriated Northerners, causing ~~the~~ the decline of the 2-party system.

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

3C

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1/3

The 1840s + 1850s were a time of immense turmoil in the Antebellum Era. The ~~the~~ American idea of expansionism had become prominent, ~~the~~ Congress had become sectionalized into Northern + Southern Democrats, and ~~the~~ the organization of new territories ~~the~~ brought about conflict. ~~It was this con~~ This conflict gave rise to the Republican Party.

In the 1840s, James K. Polk became president of the United States. His campaign cry, "54'40" or Fight" was a cry for American expansion westward, ~~the~~ Americans had already been moving west + into Indian, Mexican, + British territory, but ~~they~~ they wanted American support. ~~Early on, Texas was~~ Tyler annexed Texas during his ~~time~~ time as a lame-duck president. Upon taking office, Polk negotiated the Oregon Treaty w/ Britain, giving the U.S. a large piece of the ~~contested~~ contested Oregon territory. Shortly after, a war was provoked with Mexico. The Mexican-American War was called Mr. Polk's War by ~~the~~ anti-expansionist Whig politicians. All the acquired new territory led to a new issue in Congress: whether or not to allow slavery in the new territories. The Whig party soon fell apart because ~~the~~

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Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or <u>3</u>	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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the contesting ideologies that ~~the~~ joined the party against Andrew Jackson could no longer work together.

Meanwhile, the issue of what to do about the new territories ~~the~~ divided congress into ~~the~~ two groups, neither wanting to upset the balance of free vs. slave states in ~~the~~ Congress, + both knowing that some action had to be taken. ~~the~~

The California gold Rush of 1849 swelled CA's population, + it applied for state hood, ~~Stephen Douglas~~ ~~Northerners~~ favored the adding extra pressure to the situation.

~~the~~ ~~the~~ The Free-soil party, a short-lived third party, was founded on the idea that slavery shouldn't be extended to the new land because it ~~the~~ favored ~~the~~ the buildup of large plantations, something many westward-bound farmers had hoped to escape. Southern states were the minority in the House of Representatives, + so called for more slave states to be created.

~~The Republican party was~~ ~~Steph~~ Many Northern politicians favored the Wilmot Proviso, which would have outlawed slavery in ~~the~~ any territory gained from Mexico. ~~the~~ This idea would not pass, but a compromise was made. Stephen Douglas, with the help of Henry Clay, passed the

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

3C

3/3

Mandatory 1	Part B — Circle one 2 or (3)	Part C — Circle one 4 or 5
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3/3

Compromise of 1850, Stephen passed it in parts, & very few senators voted for all the parts together. ~~The Compromise called for, among other things, popular sovereignty in. A later compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska~~ The compromise called for, among other things, popular sovereignty to determine ~~the~~ some territories' stance on slavery. This voided the long-standing Missouri Compromise, ~~and opened a~~ ~~led to even~~ ~~led to many other~~ ~~problems.~~ adding even more problems.

~~one of the two strongly opposing sides~~

One of the two strongly opposing sides formed the Republican Party. The Republican party was against the expansion of slavery, thus attracting former Free-Soilers. ~~The~~ The Republicans also favored a protective tariff, to bolster northern industry. ~~The sectionalism~~

The sectionalism borne from the issues of slavery, industry & expansionism led to the creation of the Republican Party.

AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY

2009 SCORING COMMENTARY

Question 3

Overview

This straightforward, multicausation question is anchored in significant decades of United States history. It tested students' understanding of interlocking forces (social, political, and economic) during the 1840s and early 1850s. Students were expected to analyze the fracturing of the political party system in the antebellum era and the subsequent development of a new political party, the Republicans.

Sample: 3A

Score: 9

This conceptual essay addresses the division among slavery's foes, the political vacuum created by the death of the Whig Party, and the economic conditions leading to growing calls for free land in the West. It contains a strong, clear thesis and effectively addresses all three forces leading to the emergence of the Republican Party. It contains sophisticated analysis and substantial historical information (Know-Nothings, Mexican-American War, Wilmot Proviso, Free Soil, Whigs) that covers the entire time frame of the question.

Sample: 3B

Score: 6

This essay offers strong information on political developments in antebellum America and takes a different approach to tracing concurrent social and economic forces. It shows change over time fairly well: the formation of a northern coalition, the bolt of Whigs and Democrats to the Republicans, and the Dred Scott decision reinforcing the party's ranks. It also displays a nice touch in addressing the slave power issue. The limited amount of specific information concerning social and economic forces kept this essay in the middle of the 5–7 score category.

Sample: 3C

Score: 4

This essay has several pieces of relevant information on all three forces (Polk, Gold Rush, Free Soil Party, Compromise of 1850) but does not link them to the emergence of the Republican Party. Although not clear in the beginning, the thesis does appear in the last paragraph.