



AP[®] United States History 2011 Scoring Guidelines Form B

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AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY

2011 SCORING GUIDELINES (Form B)

Question 1 — Document-Based Question

Explain the ways that participation in political campaigns and elections in the United States changed between 1815 and 1840, and analyze forces and events that led to these changes.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that explains the ways in which participation in political campaigns and elections in the United States changed between 1815 and 1840 AND analyzes the forces and events that led to these changes.
- Presents an effective analysis of both aspects of the question, although treatment may be somewhat uneven.
- Effectively uses a substantial number of documents to explain and analyze how participation in political campaigns and elections in the United States changed between 1815 and 1840.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant outside information from 1815 to 1840.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a partially developed thesis that explains the ways in which participation in political campaigns and elections in the United States changed between 1815 and 1840 AND analyzes the forces and events that led to these changes.
- Provides some analysis of the topic, but treatment of multiple parts may be uneven.
- Effectively uses some documents.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant outside information.
- 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 unfocused or limited thesis that explains the ways in which participation in political campaigns and elections in the United States changed between 1815 and 1840 and analyzes the forces and events that led to these changes or one that simply paraphrases the question.
- 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 lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May have major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

The 0–1 Essay

- Contains no thesis or a thesis that does not explain the ways in which participation in political campaigns and elections in the United States changed between 1815 and 1840 and does not analyze the forces and events that led to these changes.
- Exhibits inadequate or incorrect understanding of the question.
- Has little or no understanding of the documents or ignores them completely.
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized and/or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Summary of Documents

Doc.	Date	Type/Source	Name
A	None	Table	Voter Participation in Presidential Elections, 1812–1840
B	1821	James Kent	Excerpt from the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled for the Purpose of Amending the Constitution of the State of New York
C	1827	Martin Van Buren	Letter to Thomas Ritchie, editor of the <i>Richmond (Virginia) Enquirer</i>
D	1828	Democratic Party	Democratic Party ballot, New Hampshire
E	1829	George H. Evans	“The Working Men’s Declaration of Independence”
F	1832	Frances Trollope	<i>Domestic Manners of the Americans</i>
G	None	Graph	Number of Different Newspapers Published in the United States, 1775–1835
H	1837	David Crockett	<i>Colonel Crockett’s Exploits and Adventures in Texas</i>
I	1840	Almanac cover	Cover of the <i>Hard Cider and Log Cabin Almanac</i>

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Potential Outside Information

abolitionism	cult of self-improvement	King Caucus
Adams, John Quincy	daily newspapers	King Mob
Age of Jackson	debt imprisonment	King of the Wild Frontier
Age of the Common Man	<i>Democracy in America</i>	Liberty Party
<i>Albany Argus</i>	democratic leveling	licensed monopolies
Albany Regency	Democratic Party	Little Magician
American System	Democratic–Republican Party	Locofocos
Anti-Masonic Party	Distribution Act	<i>Log Cabin, The</i>
anti-Masonry	Dorr Rebellion	Log Cabin campaign
Austin, Moses	dueling	Lowell Mills
Austin, Stephen F.	editorials	<i>Lowell Offering</i>
Bank-note currency	effigies	lyceums
Bank of the United States	emblems	Madison, James
Bank War	Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Mann, Horace
barbecues	Equal Rights Party	manufactured textiles
Battle of Goliad	Era of Good Feelings	Marcy, William
Battle of San Jacinto	Evangelical Protestants	market revolution
Battle of the Alamo	factory slaves	Martineau, Harriet
Beecher, Lyman	Federalist Party	Masons
benevolent empire	Finney, Charles Grandison	mechanics' lien laws
Benton, Thomas Hart	fire-eaters	Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations
Biddle, Nicholas	First Amendment	mesmerism
Birney, James	floats	Mexican–American War
boom–bust business cycle	Force Bill	Mexican Cession
Bowie, James	freedom of the press	militia system
Bowie knife	freehold qualifications	Misión San Antonio de Valero
Bucktails	Freemasonry	Missouri Compromise
burned-over district	free public land	money page
Calhoun, John C.	gag rule	Monroe, James
campaign buttons	gossip	moral suasion
camp meetings	Greeley, Horace	Nashoba Commune
carpenters	hard money	National–Republican Party
Channing, William Ellery	Harrison, William Henry	New England Protective Union
chartered monopoly	Hero of New Orleans	newsboys
child labor	hickory poles	Noyes, John Humphrey
Clay, Henry	Houston, Sam	nullification
Clinton, DeWitt	human interest stories	Old Hero
closed shop	internal improvements	Old Hickory
coffin handbills	Jackson, Andrew	Old Kinderhook
<i>Commonwealth v. Hunt</i>	Jackson, Rachel	Old Republicans
congressional caucus	Jacksonian democracy	Oneida Community
Constitution of 1824	Jefferson, Thomas	Over-soul
cordwainers	Johnson, Richard M.	Panic of 1819
correspondents	“keep the ball rolling”	Panic of 1837
“corrupt bargain”	Kendall, Amos	
Crawford, William	King, Rufus	
crime	King Andrew I	

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

pantaloons	Second Great Awakening	temperance
party convention	second party system	10-hour day
penny press	secularism	Texas annexation
pet banks	self-made man	Texas revolution
phrenology	self-reliance	“Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too”
placards	Seminole Wars	tobacco chewing
Poe, Edgar Allen	sentimental novels	Tocqueville, Alexis de
Polk, James K.	Seward, William	torchlight parades
poll tax abolition	Shawnee	Tories
popular sovereignty	ship-fitters	transcendentalism
presidential vetoes	short hair	Travis, William
printers	<i>Society in America</i>	12th Amendment
property requirements	<i>South Carolina Exposition and</i>	Tyler, John
protective tariffs	<i>Protest</i>	tyranny of the majority
public schools	specie	universal free education
rallies	Specie Circular	utopianism
Randolph, John	spiritualism	Van Rensselaer, Stephen
“Remember the Alamo”	spoils system	“Van, Van’s a Used Up Man”
reporters	states’ rights	Virginia dynasty
Republican Party	strikes	Webster, Daniel
Republic of Texas	Sunday School Union	Weed, Thurlow
revivalism	tabloid journalism	Whig Party
Ritchie, Thomas	tailors	Whigs
Romantic movement	Tammany Hall	White, Hugh Lawson
rotation in office	Taney, Roger	Whitman, Walt
sabbatarianism	Tappan, Lewis	wildcat banking
Santa Anna, Antonio López	Tariff of Abominations	Wirt, William
de	Taylor, Zachary	Wright, Fanny
Scott, Winfield	technology	Wright, Silas
secession	<i>Tejanos</i>	

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document A

VOTER PARTICIPATION IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, 1812–1840

Year	Percent of Eligible Voter Participation	Percent of States Allowing Voters to Choose Presidential Electors
1812	Not known	44.4
1816	Not known	52.6
1820	Not known	62.5
1824	26.9	75.0
1828	57.6	91.7
1832	55.4	95.8
1836	57.8	95.8
1840	80.2	95.8

Document Information

- Between 1812 and 1840, the percentage of states allowing voters to choose presidential electors more than doubled, rising from 44.4 to 95.8 percent.
- The greatest period of increase occurred between 1812 and 1828; thereafter, the increase was minimal.
- Between 1824 and 1840, the percentage increase of eligible voters in United States presidential elections almost tripled, rising from 26.9 to 80.2 percent.
- The greatest increase occurred between 1824 and 1828, during which interval the percentage of eligible voters participating in United States presidential election more than doubled to 57.6 percent, a figure that leveled off until 1840.
- The second-greatest increase occurred between 1836 and 1840, when the percentage climbed from 57.8 to 80.2 percent.

Document Inferences

- The period between James Madison's reelection as president in 1812 and the election of William Henry Harrison in 1840 was a time of remarkable expansion of democratic participation in United States politics.
- In 1790, shortly after the American Revolution, only Vermont granted the vote to all free men; by 1840, all states but Rhode Island allowed all free men to vote.
- The notion of the Founding Fathers that only property owners had a stake in society that justified their having the ballot was now discredited.
- The United States probably had a higher percentage of men eligible to vote and a higher percentage of eligible men voting than any other country in the world, with the important caveats that women, American Indians, and black men could not vote.
- No longer was deference owed to elites, because the expanded electorate made their own decisions about how to vote.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

- This amazing development owed much to the logic of equality embedded in the American Revolution, the emergence of political parties, increasingly effective campaign strategies, polarizing social and economic issues, removal of voting impediments (e.g., property ownership and/or tax payments), relocation of polling areas to more convenient locations, and the rise of the popular press.

Potential Outside Information

abolitionism	Era of Good Feelings	Panic of 1837
Adams, John Quincy	Federalist Party	property requirements
Age of Jackson	freehold qualifications	protective tariffs
Age of the Common Man	internal improvements	Republican Party
American System	Jackson, Andrew	second party system
Anti-Masonic Party	King, Rufus	Specie Circular
Bank of the United States	King Andrew I	temperance
Bank War	King Caucus	Tories
Bucktails	Liberty Party	12th Amendment
Calhoun, John C.	Log Cabin campaign	Virginia dynasty
Clay, Henry	Madison, James	Webster, Daniel
Clinton, DeWitt	Missouri Compromise	Whig Party
Crawford, William	Monroe, James	Whigs
Democratic Party	National–Republican Party	White, Hugh Lawson
Democratic–Republican Party	nullification	wildcat banking
Distribution Act	Panic of 1819	Wirt, William

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document B

Source: James Kent, Excerpt from the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Assembled for the Purpose of Amending the Constitution of the State of New York, 1821.

That extreme democratic principle [universal suffrage] . . . has been regarded with terror by the wise men of every age because, in every European republic, ancient and modern, in which it has been tried, it has terminated disastrously and been productive of corruption, injustice, violence, and tyranny. . . .

The apprehended danger from the experiment of universal suffrage applied to the whole legislative department is no dream of the imagination. . . . The tendency of universal suffrage is to jeopardize the rights of property and the principles of liberty. There is a constant tendency . . . in the poor to covet and to share the plunder of the rich; in the debtor to relax or avoid the obligation of contracts; in the majority to tyrannize over the minority and trample down their rights; in the indolent and the profligate to cast the whole burdens of society upon the industrious and virtuous. . . . We are no longer to remain plain and simple republics of farmers. . . . We are fast becoming a great nation, with great commerce, manufactures, population, wealth, luxuries, and with the vices and miseries that they engender.

Document Information

- At the state convention to revise New York's constitution in 1821, James Kent warned that the United States had embarked on a perilous experiment involving democracy, namely, universal suffrage.
- Such an experiment, Kent maintained, would inevitably end badly, in line with all previous attempts at European democratization.
- Kent warned that universal suffrage would undercut fundamental liberties because the more numerous poor would logically vote to confiscate private property owned by the relatively few wealthy.
- Such pressure on the wealthy was likely to increase because the economy of the United States no longer depended on yeoman farmers but on commerce and manufacturing.
- This changing economic reality had moved the United States well along the path of national greatness but would inevitably result in a variety of serious social ills.

Document Inferences

- In the United States, the industrial and market revolutions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries had created a middle class of merchants, shopkeepers, and craftsmen who demanded a greater voice in running government affairs, particularly as their own economic well-being was affected.
- At bottom, this demand for political participation meant exercising the franchise without restriction.
- Calls for universal suffrage frightened prominent New Yorkers, such as attorney James Kent, a Federalist in the New York state legislature, the first law professor at Columbia College, and the chief judge of the state supreme court.
- Kent evidently studied the democratic experiments in ancient Greece, revolutionary France, and the republics in Latin America, which had just broken free of Spanish control, and concluded these democracies had turned out badly.
- Despite Kent's fears, New York's state constitution implemented important democratic provisions.
- For example, the constitution removed property qualifications for white male voters over the age of 21, so that most adult white males could vote, provided they paid taxes or served in the militia.
- Most government offices were made elective, rather than appointive.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

- The Council of Appointment was abolished. In addition, the Council of Revision, which previously had the power to veto new legislation, was also dissolved, because the new constitution transferred the veto power to the elected governor, subject to be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the state legislature.
- Most states followed New York's example in expanding their electorates without violence. An important exception was Rhode Island, which endured the Dorr Rebellion in 1841.

Potential Outside Information

Bucktails
Clinton, DeWitt

Dorr Rebellion
King, Rufus

Van Rensselaer, Stephen

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document C

Source: Martin Van Buren, New York politician, to Thomas Ritchie, editor of the *Richmond (Virginia) Enquirer*, January 13, 1827.

I have long been satisfied that we can only . . . restore a better state of things, by combining Genl. Jackson's personal popularity with the portion of old party feeling yet remaining. . . .

Its effects would be highly salutary on your section of the union by the revival of old party distinctions. We must always have party distinctions and the old ones are the best. . . . Political combinations between the inhabitants of the different states are unavoidable and the most natural and beneficial to the country is that between the planters of the South and the plain Republicans of the North. The country has once flourished under a party thus constituted and may again. It would take longer than our lives (even if it were practicable) to create new party feelings to keep those masses together. If the old ones are suppressed, geographical divisions founded on local interests, or what is worse prejudices between free and slaveholding states will inevitably take their place. Party attachment in former times furnished a complete antidote for sectional prejudices by producing counteracting feelings.

Document Information

- In a letter to *Richmond Enquirer* editor Thomas Ritchie, New York politician Martin Van Buren maintained that the United States would be well served if old party distinctions could be resurrected.
- Van Buren thought that the best political combination would unite southern planters and “plain Republicans of the North.”
- Van Buren warned that the failure to revive this political coalition—which would be far easier than creating a new coalition from scratch—might exacerbate irresolvable tensions between free and slaveholding states.

Document Inferences

- For Martin Van Buren, political parties were not aristocratic associations or threats to the Republic, but desirable engines of the popular will.
- Van Buren was part of a group of shrewd politicians called the Albany Regency who controlled New York's state government in Albany between 1822 and 1838.
- This Albany Regency was one of America's first political machines, and it influenced the Democratic–Republican party, first as the Bucktails faction and, later, as the Hunkers faction among the Jacksonian Democrats.
- With the help of their newspaper, the *Albany Argus*, they controlled party nominating conventions and political patronage (spoils system) while in office, although they were also opponents of corruption.
- Van Buren's main interest was to elect Andrew Jackson, the Hero of New Orleans in the War of 1812, as president, an office denied him in 1824, despite the fact that Jackson had won a plurality of popular and electoral votes.
- Jacksonians blamed John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay for fashioning a “corrupt bargain” in the U.S. House of Representatives that gave Adams the presidency and Clay the position of secretary of state.
- By bridging the sectional divide, Van Buren thought he had found a winning electoral formula.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Potential Outside Information

Adams, John Quincy
Albany Argus
Albany Regency
American System
anti-Masonry
Bucktails
Clay, Henry
congressional caucus
“corrupt bargain”
Crawford, William

Democratic Party
Freemasonry
Jackson, Andrew
King Caucus
Little Magician
Marcy, William
Monroe, James
Old Hero
Old Hickory
Old Kinderhook

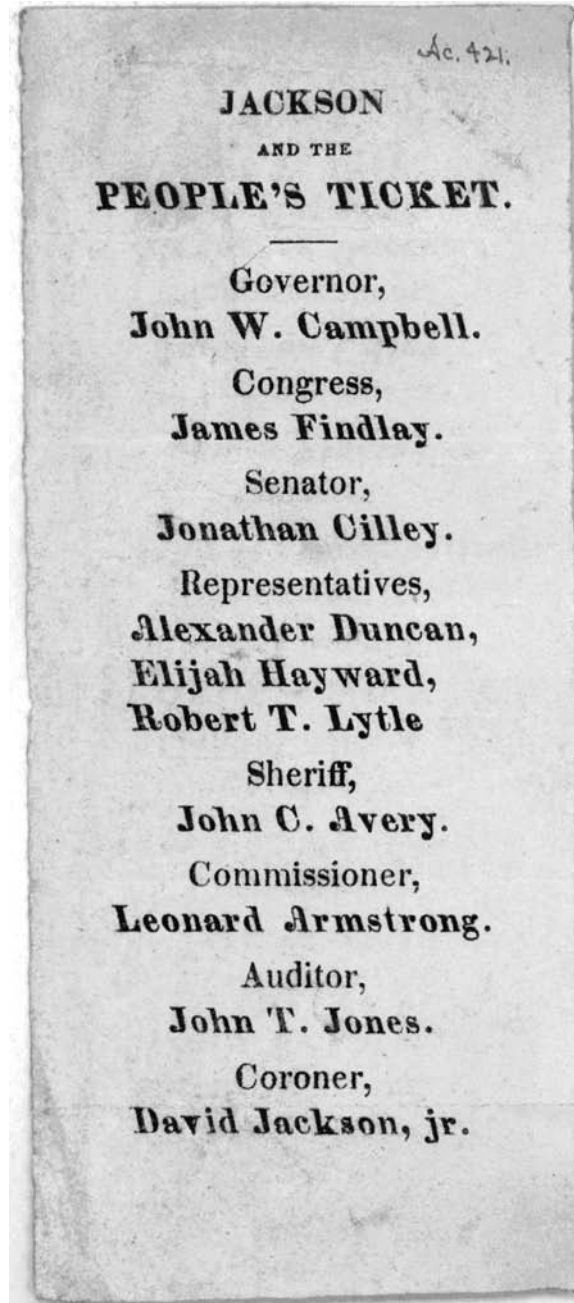
Old Republicans
self-made man
Seward, William
Tariff of Abominations
12th Amendment
Virginia dynasty
Weed, Thurlow
Wright, Silas

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document D

Source: Democratic Party ballot, New Hampshire, 1828.



Courtesy of Library of Congress

Document Information

- In 1828, the Democratic Party's ballot for New Hampshire was led by "Jackson and the People's Ticket."

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document Inferences

- Andrew Jackson was an enormously popular political figure, and state candidates from the governor to the coroner tied themselves to his coattails in the hope of winning their elections in 1828.
- As the first political campaign that captured national attention, one million Americans voted for the first time — twice as many as in 1824 — thanks in part to the democratization of the voting process and new approaches to arouse political interest, such as huge public rallies, lavish picnics, and mudslinging charges of gambling, bigamy, and pimping.
- It was a veritable revolution in United States electioneering, as political operatives such as Martin Van Buren, Amos Kendall, and Thomas Ritchie created a candidate of the people and appealed for popular support.
- This was also the first election in which the popular vote determined the outcome of the race.
- With Jackson as the Democratic standard-bearer for a new kind of politicking, the Democratic Party controlled the White House for all but eight of the next 32 years.

Potential Outside Information

Adams, John Quincy
Age of the Common Man
American System
Bank War
barbecues
Benton, Thomas Hart
Biddle, Nicholas
Calhoun, John C.
Clay, Henry
coffin handbills
“corrupt bargain”
Crawford, William
dueling
fire-eaters

Force Bill
gag rule
hard money
Hero of New Orleans
hickory poles
Jackson, Andrew
Jackson, Rachel
Jacksonian democracy
Kendall, Amos
King Mob
National–Republican Party
Nullification
party convention
pet banks

presidential vetoes
Randolph, John
Ritchie, Thomas
rotation in office
secession
Seminole Wars
South Carolina Exposition and Protest
Specie Circular
spoils system
states’ rights
Taney, Roger
torchlight parades
tyranny of the majority

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document E

Source: George H. Evans, a founder of the Working Man's Party, "The Working Men's Declaration of Independence," 1829.

We have trusted to the influence of the justice and good sense of our political leaders, to prevent the continuance of . . . abuses, which destroy the natural bands of equality so essential to the attainment of moral happiness, but they have been deaf to the voice of justice. . . .

Therefore, we, the working class of society, of the city of New York . . . do, in the spirit, and by the authority of that political liberty which has been promised to us equally with our fellow men, solemnly publish and declare . . . "that we are, & of right ought to be," entitled to equal means to obtain equal moral happiness, and social enjoyment, and that all lawful and constitutional measures ought to be adopted to the attainment of those objects. "And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other" our faithful aid to the end of our lives.

Document Information

- George H. Evans, a founder of the Working Man's Party, insists that the laboring classes of New York City have been betrayed by self-seeking politicians.
- Evans urges his fellow workers to declare forthrightly that they are equally entitled to a just and satisfying life and to use all lawful means to attain this better life.

Document Inferences

- The Working Man's Party invoked the revolutionary language of Richard Henry Lee in protesting labor injustices, including excessive hours, nonpayment of wages, imprisonment for debt, child labor, and dismissal for forming unions.
- Many other issues disturbed workers: lack of (or charges for) children's education, poll taxes, the wealthy's escape from militia service, and state-granted monopolies that protected businessmen.
- Labor parties faded quickly for several reasons, including the inexperience of labor politicians, which left the parties prey to manipulation by political professionals; the duplication of some causes by major parties; the vulnerability that charges of radicalism or dilettantism posed; and internal divisions into warring factions.
- Once workingmen's parties failed, workers usually joined the Jacksonian Democrats.

Potential Outside Information

bank-note currency
boom-bust business cycle
carpenters
chartered monopoly
child labor
closed shop
Commonwealth v. Hunt
cordwainers
debt imprisonment
Equal Rights Party
factory slaves
free public land

hard money
licensed monopolies
Locofocos
Lowell Mills
Lowell Offering
market revolution
Masons
mechanics' lien laws
Mechanics' Union of Trade
Associations
militia system
New Eng. Protective Union

poll tax abolition
popular sovereignty
printers
secularism
ship-fitters
specie
strikes
tailors
Tammany Hall
10-hour day
universal free education

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document F

Source: Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 1832.

When I first arrived in America Mr. John Quincy Adams was president, and it was impossible to doubt, even from the statement of his enemies, that he was every way calculated to do honor to the office. All I ever heard against him was, that “he was too much of a gentleman”; but a new candidate must be set up, and Mr. Adams was out-voted for no other reason, that I could learn, but because it was “best to change.” “Jackson for ever!” was, therefore, screamed from the mouths, both drunk and sober, till he was elected; but no sooner in his place, than the same ceaseless operation went on again, with “Clay for ever” for its war-whoop.

Document Information

- Frances Trollope, a foreigner, observed that Americans drummed John Quincy Adams out of the presidency, even though he was well suited to the office.
- The key motivation for Adams’s defeat, Trollope observed, was that “change” was highly valued, politically speaking, and Adams was yesterday’s news.
- Andrew Jackson captured the presidency as a result of this mindset, but as soon as he entered the White House, the cries for his ouster arose.

Document Inferences

- The emerging nation of the United States fascinated, when it did not repel, European travelers who came to see this latest incarnation among nation-states.
- Three of the best-known travelers who wrote books that discussed their observations and insights were Alexis de Tocqueville, Harriet Martineau, and Frances Trollope.
- Trollope was an English writer whose travels in America in the late 1820s and residence in the frontier town of Cincinnati, Ohio, helped form her generally caustic opinion of Americans (especially men) as loud, inebriated, vulgar, and unsophisticated.
- Though she recognized some American virtues, Trollope’s witty and satirical book *Domestic Manners of the Americans* combines travelogue and social commentary, and it created a sensation on both sides of the Atlantic.
- Trollope was appalled by religious emotionalism at evangelical camp meetings and by gauche American practices such as eating foot-long watermelon slices in public, tossing pigtailed in flowerbeds, and vomiting at the theater.
- More profoundly, she criticized the obsession of Americans with making money and their ignoring the cruelty of slavery.
- Given Trollope’s low opinion of Americans, especially because she observed they had a predilection for whiskey, one can conclude that she disapproved of universal suffrage for white males.
- Although Frances Trollope criticized American society for its egalitarianism, she did not realize or appreciate that the United States, unlike England, allowed most groups to advance economically precisely because there were few social restraints.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

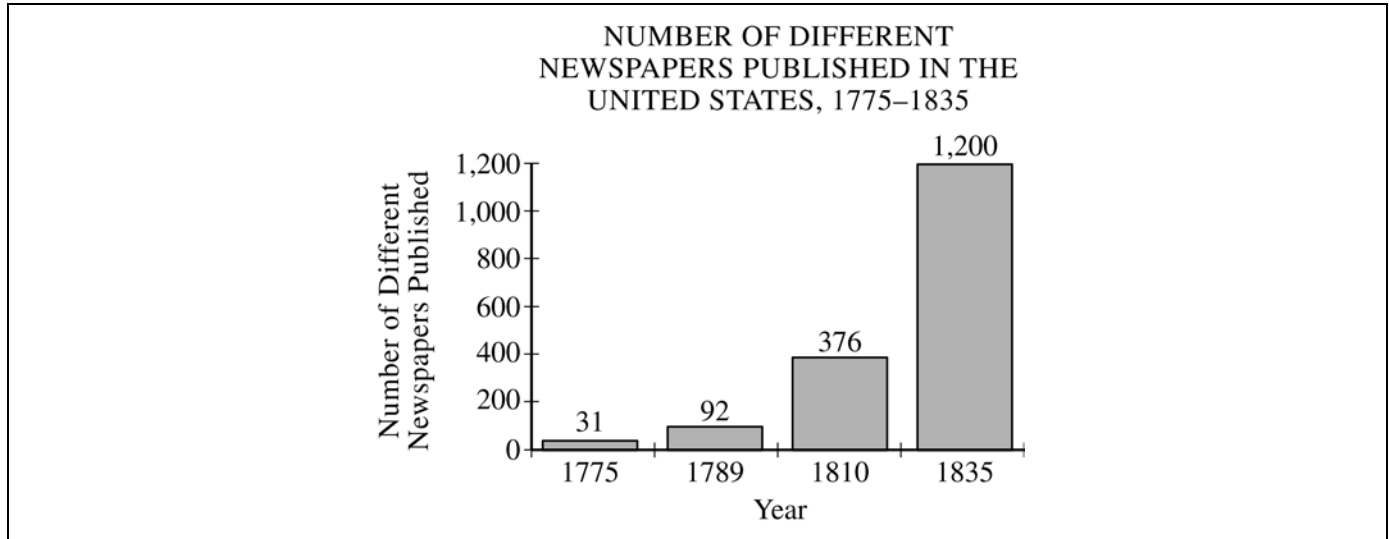
Potential Outside Information

Beecher, Lyman	mesmerism	spiritualism
benevolent empire	moral suasion	spoils system
burned-over district	Nashoba Commune	Sunday School Union
camp meetings	Noyes, John Humphrey	Tappan, Lewis
Channing, William Ellery	Oneida Community	technology
cult of self-improvement	Over-soul	temperance
<i>Democracy in America</i>	pantaloons	tobacco chewing
democratic leveling	phrenology	Tocqueville, Alexis de
Emerson, Ralph Waldo	Poe, Edgar Allen	transcendentalism
Finney, Charles Grandison	revivalism	utopianism
lyceums	Second Great Awakening	Whitman, Walt
Mann, Horace	self-reliance	Wright, Fanny
manufactured textiles	short hair	
Martineau, Harriet	<i>Society in America</i>	

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document G



Document Information

- The number of different newspapers in the United States increased from 31 in 1775 to 1,200 in 1835, with the number more than tripling between 1810 and 1835.

Document Inferences

- Although some elites associated newspapers with a degenerate subculture found in taverns and gambling dens, newspapers were the most widely distributed reading material of the early 19th century.
- With Americans having one of the highest literacy rates ever recorded, they were attracted to the new print culture that encouraged them to read, think, and vote according to their own desires.
- Increasingly, Americans found politics and ordinary events worth reading about, particularly after technological and journalistic innovations made newspapers ubiquitous, affordable, and readable.

Potential Outside Information

correspondents
crime
daily newspaper
editorials
First Amendment
freedom of the press

gossip
human interest stories
Jefferson, Thomas
money page
newsboys
penny press

public schools
reporters
Romantic movement
sentimental novels
tabloid journalism

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document H

Source: David Crockett, *Colonel Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas*, 1837.

When the day of election approaches, visit your constituents far and wide. Treat liberally, and drink freely, in order to rise in their estimation, though you fall in your own. True, you may be called a drunken dog by some of the clean-shirt and silk-stocking gentry, but the real roughnecks will style you a jovial fellow. Their votes are certain, and frequently count double.

Do all you can to appear to advantage in the eyes of the women. That's easily done. You have but to kiss and slabber their children, wipe their noses, and pat them on the head. This cannot fail to please their mothers, and you may rely on your business being done in that quarter.

Promise all that is asked, said I, and more if you can think of anything. Offer to build a bridge or a church, to divide a county, create a batch of new offices, make a turnpike, or anything they like. Promises cost nothing; therefore, deny nobody who has a vote or sufficient influence to obtain one.

Get up on all occasions, and sometimes on no occasion at all, and make long-winded speeches, though composed of nothing else than wind. Talk of your devotion to country, your modesty and disinterestedness, or any such fanciful subject. Rail against taxes of all kinds, officeholders, and bad harvest weather; and wind up with a flourish about the heroes who fought and bled for our liberties in the times that tried men's souls.

Document Information

- David Crockett gives practical advice on how to succeed in American politicking in the 1830s. He urges candidates for office to kiss babies, make extravagant promises, and deliver patriotic, but rhetorically empty, speeches.

Document Inferences

- In the new world of the second American party system, politicians understood that to win election to public office they had to appeal to the self-interests and prejudices of would-be voters.

Potential Outside Information

Austin, Moses
Austin, Stephen F.
Battle of Goliad
Battle of San Jacinto
Battle of the Alamo
Bowie, James
Bowie knife
Constitution of 1824

Houston, Sam
Jackson, Andrew
King of the Wild Frontier
Mexican–American War
Mexican Cession
Misión San Antonio de Valero
Polk, James K.
“Remember the Alamo”

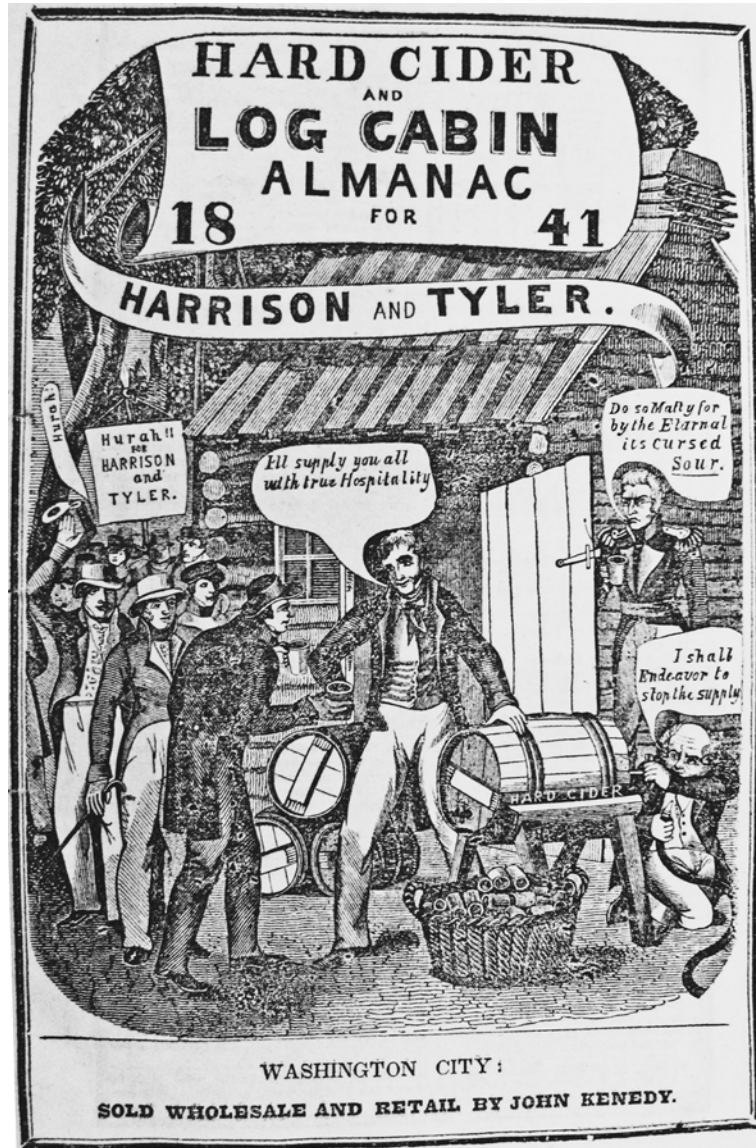
Republic of Texas
Santa Anna, Antonio López
de
Tejanos
Texas annexation
Texas revolution
Travis, William
Tyler, John

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document I

Source: Cover of the *Hard Cider and Log Cabin Almanac*, June 17, 1840.



Scottish Rite Masonic Museum & Library, Van Gordon–Williams Library and Archives, Lexington, Massachusetts, Gift of Doris Hudson May, RARE AY 81. PF.H3

Document Information

- This campaign almanac promotes the 1840 candidacy of Harrison and Tyler by reminding readers of Harrison's humble lifestyle in living in a log cabin and showing Harrison's hospitality in offering hard cider to drink.
- The mass of Americans support the Harrison–Tyler ticket with shouted "Hurah"s and signs.
- At the same time, two unidentified men attack Harrison by criticizing the quality and quantity of the cider.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Document Inferences

- Political campaigns used almanacs, tracts, buttons, effigies, and rallies to publicize, if not romanticize, their candidates' record, especially the Whigs, who had nominated William Henry Harrison, a victorious general like Andrew Jackson, and John Tyler of Virginia.
- Harrison, an aristocrat, hit upon the idea of claiming to be a simple man with simple tastes — “a man of the people” — whereas his opponent, Democrat Martin Van Buren, was allegedly an aristocrat living in luxury at “the Palace.”
- Former president Andrew Jackson and former vice-president Van Buren are the men who think the source of Harrison's popularity is his keg of hard cider.
- Harrison said little about his principles or proposals yet still won an overwhelming victory in the 1840 presidential election.

Potential Outside Information

Anti-Masonic Party
Birney, James
campaign buttons
Clay, Henry
effigies
emblems
Evangelical Protestants
floats
Greeley, Horace

Harrison, William Henry
Johnson, Richard M.
“keep the ball rolling”
Liberty Party
Log Cabin, The
Panic of 1837
placards
rallies
sabbatarianism

Scott, Winfield
Shawnee
Taylor, Zachary
“Tippecanoe and Tyler, Too”
Tyler, John
“Van, Van's a Used Up Man”
Whig Party

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Time Line

1815	War of 1812 ends in a draw but stimulates national pride (discrediting the Federalists) and sparks economic growth.
1816	Second Bank of the United States is chartered; Tariff of 1816 passes; Auburn Prison is established; American Colonization Society organizes; James Monroe defeats Rufus King for president.
1817	James Madison vetoes Calhoun's Bonus Bill to fund roads and canals; Era of Good Feelings begins.
1818	Rush-Bagot Treaty is signed.
1819	Panic of 1819; <i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i> is decided.
1820	Missouri Compromise struck; National Road is funded; James Monroe receives all but one electoral vote in defeating John Quincy Adams for president.
1822	Denmark Vesey slave plot.
1823	Monroe Doctrine is enunciated.
1824	In <i>Gibbons v. Ogden</i> the Supreme Court strikes down a monopoly and establishes the authority of Congress to regulate commerce; Andrew Jackson has the most popular and electoral votes but does not win a majority of the electoral college.
1825	Erie Canal is completed; House of Representatives elects John Quincy Adams as president.
1826	American Society for the Promotion of Temperance organizes; disappearance of William Morgan touches off Anti-Masonic movement in New York.
1828	So-called Tariff of Abominations is passed; John C. Calhoun anonymously publishes <i>South Carolina Exposition and Protest</i> ; Andrew Jackson defeats John Quincy Adams for president.
1829	Abolitionist David Walker writes his <i>Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens</i> ; Eastern State Penitentiary opens.
1830	Andrew Jackson vetoes Maysville Road bill; Joseph Smith publishes <i>The Book of Mormon</i> ; railroad era begins with the Tom Thumb locomotive on the Baltimore & Ohio line.
1831	William Lloyd Garrison publishes <i>The Liberator</i> ; Nat Turner slave revolt; Anti-Masons hold the first national political convention.
1832	Jackson vetoes rechartering the Second Bank of the United States; Jackson defeats Henry Clay and William Wirt for president; South Carolina nullifies the Tariffs of 1828 and 1832, prompting a nullification crisis.
1833	Theodore Dwight Weld organizes the Lane Debates over slavery; the Compromise Tariff of 1833 is enacted, along with the Force Bill.
1834	Whig Party appears.
1835	Abolitionists flood the South with antislavery tracts; Tocqueville writes <i>Democracy in America</i> .
1836	Battle of the Alamo; Deposit Act passes, which closes the Second Bank of the United States; Andrew Jackson issues the Specie Circular; Jackson accepts the 10-hour day at the Philadelphia Navy Yard; U.S. House of Representatives adopts the gag rule, automatically tabling abolitionist petitions to Congress; Martin Van Buren defeats several Whig candidates for president; for the first and only time, the U.S. Senate decides a vice-presidential race, selecting Democratic candidate Richard Johnson of Kentucky.
1837	Panic of 1837 begins; editor Elijah Lovejoy killed; <i>Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge</i> encourages enterprises and technologies by favoring competition over monopoly; Harriet Martineau writes <i>Society in America</i> .
1838	Independent sub-Treasury system is introduced.
1840	Independent Treasury Act passes; Martin Van Buren extends the 10-hour workday limit to all government offices and projects; Liberty Party forms and runs William Birney for president; William Henry Harrison defeats Martin Van Buren for president.

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Question 2

Compare and contrast the British, French, and Spanish imperial goals in North America between 1580 and 1763.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that compares and contrasts the British, French, and Spanish imperial goals in North America between 1580 and 1763.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis that compares and contrasts the British, French, and Spanish imperial goals in North America between 1580 and 1763; treatment of multiple parts 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 partially developed thesis that compares and contrasts the British, French, and Spanish imperial goals in North America between 1580 and 1763.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant information.
- Provides some analysis of the imperial goals of the British, French, and Spanish in North America between 1580 and 1763; treatment may be 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 unfocused or limited thesis that compares and contrasts British, French, and Spanish imperial goals in North America between 1580 and 1763 or that simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May address the question in a general, simplistic, or superficial manner; may deal with the goals of only two nations.
- 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 numerous errors.
- Is organized and/or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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Question 2 (continued)

Information Sheet

British Imperial Goals in North America between 1580 and 1763

In 1580 Francis Drake completed his second circumnavigation of the globe. In 1584 Britain authorized privateers to act against its rivals. In 1585 Britain established a colony called Roanoke; this was unsuccessful. Other exploration and settlement had to be put on hold because of religious disputes between Catholics and Protestants following Henry VIII's break with the Catholic Church. With that dispute settled, and encouraged by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, England quickly caught up with its European rivals. Like the French, the English sailed to the New World in search of a short route to Asia. Other English motives included generating benefits for investors who underwrote joint-stock companies and settlement, finding raw materials for England's growing industrial economy, and mercantilism. Mercantilism involved accumulating wealth in the form of precious metals, establishing colonies, and maintaining a positive balance of trade between home country and colony.

Jamestown, founded in the colony of Virginia in 1607, was England's first permanent settlement. Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay Colony followed in 1620 and 1630. Six of England's original colonies were founded before 1640. Six others were established or came under English rule during the Restoration era, between 1660 and 1688. Georgia, the last, was settled in the 1730s.

By the late 1600s England's American colonies, as a consequence of years of salutary neglect, had developed their own unique cultures and economies while retaining much of their basically English character. Settlers came to the American colonies in the hope of improving their economic lot or to gain greater religious or political freedom. The English American colonies were not demographically homogenous. Wealthy colonists were politically more powerful, and their interests were not necessarily consistent with the interests of those less well off.

Just as Britain and France were rivals in Europe, they became rivals in North America. Continental wars between France and Britain (and usually Spain) spilled over into North America and were nearly constant from 1689 to 1763. As each nation's imperial goals came to include being the dominant power in North America, they fought for control of the continent. King William's War (War of the League of Augsburg), 1689–1697; Queen Anne's War (War of the Spanish Succession), 1702–1713; and the War of Jenkins's Ear, 1739–1748, which merged with King George's War (War of the Austrian Succession), 1744–1748 were all inconclusive.

The French and Indian War began in North America in 1754 and merged with Europe's Seven Years' War, thus lasting nine years (1754–1763). It was decisive and left France temporarily with no major territorial possessions in North America.

French Imperial Goals in North America between 1580 and 1763

Like the Spanish, the French goal was to explore as much land as possible in hope of finding mineral wealth, like gold, and a shortcut to Asia. In 1524 France sent Giovanni da Verrazano to search for a northwest passage to Asia. Between 1534 and 1543 Jacques Cartier made three voyages and sailed up the St. Lawrence River, searching for a rumored wealthy kingdom. Also like the Spanish, French missionaries tried to convert Native Americans to Roman Catholicism. France also established permanent settlements, as did the Spanish. Unlike the Spanish, the French settled in the less hospitable

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Question 2 (continued)

northern climate of New France (Quebec and Nova Scotia), and the French government provided little incentive for citizens to venture to the New World and settle in this cold area. As a result, the French had a lesser impact on native peoples than did the Spanish. Few French settlers came to North America, and New France remained sparsely populated.

The early French arrivals tended to be single men who stayed on the move (*coureurs du bois*). Not until 1608 did the French make serious inroads into acquiring lucrative assets in North America, such as beaver pelts, which were in high demand in Europe. This trade led to the colonization of Quebec City that same year.

In 1625 the French government strengthened its intent to spread Roman Catholicism by declaring that only Catholicism could be practiced in New France. After 1630 the Jesuits worked particularly hard to Christianize New France. Steps were also taken to ensure that New France would be permanent. French soldiers were sent to the territory, and several hundred young women were sent over in order to provide a supply of brides. Minister Colbert offered bonuses to couples who produced large families. In 1673 Father Marquette and a trader, Louis Joliet, traveled down the Mississippi River in search of a passage to the Pacific. They turned back when they became convinced that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. In 1682 René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle traveled down the Mississippi and claimed the entire Mississippi River Valley for France, calling it Louisiana. In 1718 the city of New Orleans was established.

The French expansion into the interior confined the British to territory east of the Appalachians. A turning point came for the French with the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. France, on the losing side, lost Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to Britain. France tried hard to strengthen its position in North America. The French erected their fortress at Louisbourg and built forts on Lake Champlain and on the Great Lakes. In 1745 Louisbourg fell to the British, largely owing to the efforts of British American colonists. The fortress was returned to France with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended King George's War (War of the Austrian Succession) in 1748. The small population of New France proved to be a handicap to French efforts to counter the growing British presence in North America during the early 1700s. By 1750 British settlers outnumbered the French 3 to 1. The Louisiana territory was ceded to Spain in 1763. When Britain triumphed in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), France temporarily had no major territorial possessions in North America: Britain controlled the continent east of the Mississippi, and Spain claimed the land west of the Mississippi.

Spanish Imperial Goals in North America between 1580 and 1763

For most of the sixteenth century Spain was the most important colonial power in the western hemisphere. Spain's initial goals were to explore the New World, find mineral wealth, and extract it for the benefit of Spain. Spain hung on to Columbus's goal of finding a passage to the Far East. Advanced weapons and a good deal of ruthlessness allowed the conquistadors to dominate the New World. The Spanish Armada made it difficult for other European nations to send competing expeditions. Initially, the Spanish gave little thought to colonizing and spent their time searching for precious metals. The Spanish found success in Central and South America and the West Indies, where they collected and exported as much of the local wealth as possible. After finding no cities of gold in the American West, Spain concluded that the gold and silver found in Mexico and Peru did not exist north of the Rio Grande.

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Question 2 (continued)

By 1580 Spain’s primary goal was to establish and defend a mercantilist policy that would reserve to Spain all the rewards the New World had to offer. The Spanish concentrated their efforts on extracting Mexican and Peruvian mineral wealth and shipping it back to Europe.

Spain’s secondary goal became the creation of a mixed Indian and Spanish culture that would incorporate Spanish customs. The conquistadors enslaved the Native Americans on *encomiendas*. The *encomienda* system gave settlers authority over Native American labor and obliged the settlers to Christianize them. The Spanish sought to impose Spanish culture and religion on the indigenous peoples. When the conquistadors faded away, Spanish missionaries carried on, particularly in the North American Southwest. When other European countries showed interest in North America, Spain responded by establishing permanent settlements, first at St. Augustine (1565) and later at Santa Fe (1610).

Following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, Spain began a descent to second-rate world power. By the 1640s the economic benefits available to Spain from its presence in the New World began to decline. Spain’s imperial goal shifted to maintaining but not expanding its presence in North America.

Time Line and Background Information

1492	Christopher Columbus arrives, searching for a passage to India on behalf of Spain.
1492	Spain and Portugal, with influence from the pope, agree to the Treaty of Tordesillas, dividing the world between the two Catholic countries. All of the western hemisphere except Brazil was assigned to Spain. Other countries did not take this seriously, but Spain and Portugal had an advantage in terms of preparedness to explore North America.
1511	Spain begins planning to explore the North American mainland to the west.
1513	Ponce de Leon lands in and claims Florida.
1513	Vasco Núñez de Balboa crosses the Isthmus of Panama and discovers the Pacific Ocean. Initially, the Spanish ventured to North and South America in search of precious metals and thought little of colonization or permanent settlement.
1519	Hernán Cortés and his army land at Vera Cruz, Mexico, and march to Tenochtitlan, where the <i>conquistadores</i> easily plunder the Aztec riches. By 1521 diseases — primarily smallpox — had greatly weakened the Aztecs. To the south, Francisco Pizarro marched through the Inca Empire, captured the capital city, executed the Inca chief, and began exploiting Peru’s silver mines.
1540	Francisco Vásquez de Coronado and an army of 300 venture into the American Southwest from Mexico, attack Pueblo settlements, find no gold or silver, and conclude that the gold and silver found in Mexico and Peru does not exist elsewhere in the Americas.
1540s	Spain locates the silver mines at Potosi (Bolivia) that became a major source of Spain’s wealth for the next 100 years.
1565	St. Augustine (Florida) established.
1570	Jesuits establish a mission in what is today Virginia.
1573	King Philip II of Spain decrees it illegal to enslave American Indians or forcibly extract tribute from them.
1577–1580	Francis Drake plunders Spanish possessions along the Pacific coast and continues west to circumnavigate the world.
1585	An English expedition lands on Roanoke Island, but the colony established lasted only a short time.

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Question 2 (continued)

1587	Sir Walter Raleigh sends a second expedition to Roanoke Island. It includes women. This was to be a permanent settlement, but the colonists disappeared.
1604	Samuel Champlain establishes a French settlement in Acadia.
1607	The London group of the Virginia Company sends three ships to the Chesapeake Bay area and establishes the colony at Jamestown. Of 325 settlers who reached Jamestown before 1609, fewer than 100 were still alive in the spring of 1609.
1608	France colonizes Quebec City.
1609	First Powhatan War begins, lasting for five years.
1610	Spanish found Santa Fe, New Mexico.
1613	John Rolfe imports a new strain of tobacco, which soon becomes in great demand.
1619	Africans reach Virginia. Their status was ambiguous.
1620	The Pilgrims (separatists from the Church of England) arrive on the <i>Mayflower</i> and establish the Plymouth Colony.
1624	King of England declares the Virginia Company bankrupt, assumes direct control of Virginia, and makes Jamestown the first royal colony.
1630	Puritans, led by John Winthrop, arrive and establish the Massachusetts Bay Colony.
1632	Maryland Charter makes Lord Baltimore, a Catholic, proprietor of the Maryland Colony.
1636	Roger Williams flees Massachusetts and settles in what becomes Rhode Island.
1638	Anne Hutchinson is banished from Massachusetts.
1642–1651	English Civil War.
1649	Toleration Act grants freedom of religion to Christians in Maryland.
1649	Parliament beheads Charles I and proclaims a commonwealth, eventually headed by Oliver Cromwell.
1650	Parliament bans foreign ships from English colonies.
1651	Navigation Acts of 1651, aimed at Dutch competition, are passed by Parliament.
1660	Restoration of Charles II to the British throne.
1660	Navigation Acts of 1651 are extended to require that all colonial goods traded must be carried on English ships. Enumerated commodities, such as sugar and tobacco, were to be shipped from the colony of origin only to England or to another English colony.
1663	Louis XIV and his minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, take direct charge of the French colony. Agriculture was encouraged, and women were transported over to marry the men.
1663	Charter is granted to eight men for the Carolina Colony.
1664	James, duke of York, receives a charter for a colony that becomes New York.
1665	New Jersey is made a separate colony from New York.
1673	Plantation Duty Act requires captains of colonial ships to post bond in the colonies to ensure that they would deliver all enumerated commodities to England, or else pay on the spot the duties that would be owed in England. The act was designed to eliminate incentives to smuggle. It also established customs officials in all English colonies.
1675–1676	Metacom's War (also known as King Philip's War) begins in June 1675 and ends in 1676 with a decisive military victory for the British colonists.
1676	Bacon's Rebellion.
1680	Pope's Rebellion (also known as the Pueblo Revolt). A Pueblo Indian named Pope organizes the most successful Native American revolt in American history, temporarily gaining control of New Mexico from the Spanish.
1681	William Penn gains a charter for the colony of Pennsylvania.
1682	Réné-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle travels down to the mouth of the Mississippi River, claims the entire area for France, and names it Louisiana.

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Question 2 (continued)

1688	William III and Mary II are named joint sovereigns of Great Britain after James II flees to France in what is known as the Glorious Revolution.
1689–1697	King William’s War.
1690s	South Carolina plantation develops rice agriculture, possibly originating with African slaves. Rice quickly became the staple export and triggered a massive growth of slavery to provide labor for plantations.
1690–1691	Competition from France in the Gulf of Mexico prompts the Spanish to move into Texas and establish missions.
1691	Massachusetts’s new charter grants the king the right to appoint governors and merges Plymouth and Maine with Massachusetts.
1700	England possesses about 20 colonies in North America and the West Indies; colonial and Asian commerce accounts for 30–40 percent of England’s overseas trade; and London is the largest city in western Europe.
1700–1740	A massive influx of slaves lays the foundation for a society (the Old South) consisting of wealthy slaveholding planters, a much larger class of small planters, and thousands of slaves. By 1720 slaves made up 70 percent of South Carolina’s population, 40 percent of Virginia’s population, and almost 30 percent of Maryland’s population.
1701	Five Nations of the Iroquois negotiate a peace treaty with the French and the western American Indians in which they agree to remain neutral in any war between France and England. Encouraged by a new French fort at Detroit, American Indians begin to return to the fertile lands around Lake Erie and Lake Huron.
1702–1713	Queen Anne’s War. French and American Indians destroy Deerfield, Massachusetts. New England and the British capture Acadia and rename it Nova Scotia.
1716–1720	To counter French efforts to hold on to the Gulf of Mexico, Spain sends missionaries and soldiers into Texas, establishing a capital at Los Adaes.
1717–1721	French Company of the Indies ships thousand of settlers and slaves to Louisiana. In fewer than 10 years half had died or fled.
1718	French found New Orleans.
1739	Spanish governor of Florida offers liberty to any slave from the British colonies. This, rumors about Fort Mose (first community in Florida for free blacks), and religious and personal reasons combine to touch off the Stono Rebellion in South Carolina.
1739–1748	War of Jenkins’s Ear starts a new era of imperial war.
1742	Philip V of Spain sends 36 ships and more than 1,000 soldiers from Cuba with instructions to devastate Georgia and South Carolina and free the slaves. Georgians ambushed two patrols, and Spanish morale collapsed.
1744	France joins Spain in the war against Britain (now called King George’s War).
1745	French fortress, Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, falls to the British.
1748	Louisbourg is returned to the French with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1750	To protect English industries, Parliament passes the Iron Act, which prohibited the erection of certain types of iron mills.
1754	Confrontation between Virginia forces under George Washington and French forces near the forks of the Ohio River starts the French and Indian War.
1754	The Albany Congress is convened to meet with the Iroquois to encourage them not to side with France. Benjamin Franklin’s Albany Plan proposed a form of colonial unity, but every colony rejected it.
1756	Britain declares war on France, and the colonial contest merges into the Seven Years’ War. By 1758 it was clear that the British Empire finally had put together a military force capable of overwhelming New France.

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Question 2 (continued)

1762	Spain enters the war in an attempt to prevent a total British victory.
1763	The Peace of Paris ends the war. France surrendered to Britain all of North America east of the Mississippi, except for New Orleans. In exchange for Havana, Spain ceded Florida to Britain. To compensate its Spanish ally, France gave New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi to Spain.
1763	With a unity never seen before, American Indians attack in the West in a conflict known as Pontiac's War.
1763	The Paxton Boys murder a number of American Indians along the Pennsylvania frontier.
1764	Parliament passes the Sugar Act, the Quartering Act, and the Currency Act.
1765	Parliament passes the Stamp Act.
1769	San Diego is established by Spain.
1795	Pinckney's Treaty sets the border between the United States and Spanish Florida.
1819	In the Adams-Onís Treaty, the United States gains rights to all of Florida.

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Question 3

Analyze the ways in which the political, economic, and diplomatic crises of the 1780s shaped the provisions of the United States Constitution.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses the ways in which the political, economic, and diplomatic crises of the 1780s shaped the provisions of the United States Constitution.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis of the topic; treatment of multiple parts may be somewhat uneven, but this does not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a partially developed thesis that addresses the ways in which the political, economic, and diplomatic crises of the 1780s shaped the provisions of the United States Constitution.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the topic, but treatment of multiple parts may be 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 unfocused or limited thesis that addresses the ways in which the political, economic, and diplomatic crises of the 1780s shaped the provisions of the United States Constitution or that simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis.
- May have 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 numerous errors.
- Is organized and/or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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Question 3 (continued)

Information Sheet

The 1780s witnessed a string of political, economic, and foreign policy problems, earning it the name of the “critical period” in many U.S. history textbooks.

The American Revolution was followed by a severe economic depression in 1784 and 1785, forcing many states to impose charges on goods from other states to raise revenue. In addition, the national government was on the verge of bankruptcy, and a shortage of hard currency made it difficult to do business. Many of the nation’s fledgling industries were flooded by British imports. Economic problems were especially pronounced in the South, where planters lost about 60,000 slaves during the Revolution and suffered under the new British trade regulations that prohibited the southern states from selling many of their agricultural products in the British West Indies, previously one of the South’s leading markets.

In addition, Britain violated the Peace Treaty of Paris by refusing to evacuate its military posts because the states would not restore loyalist property that had been confiscated during the Revolution. At the same time, Spain failed to recognize U.S. claims to territory between the Ohio River and Florida and in 1784 closed the Mississippi River to U.S. trade.

Having not yet implemented the Constitution, the United States was operating under an inadequate framework of government that many leaders felt threatened its independence. By 1787 many of the nation’s leaders were especially concerned that the tyrannical majorities in state legislatures threatened fundamental freedoms, including freedom of religion and the rights of property holders.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 produced the most enduring written Constitution ever created. Though the United States existed prior to the ratification of the Constitution, it was a nation held together by the tenuous threads of the Articles of Confederation, a sometimes contentious, and often ineffectual national government. The men who were at Philadelphia that hot summer hammered out a document that was the result of dozens of compromises and shaped by the failures of the United States under the Articles as well as the failures of all well-known European governments of the time.

Political Problems: 1780s

- The federal government had not been able to either fund the Revolutionary War or pay the war debt under the Articles of Confederation.
- The states — which had borrowed money from individual creditors to fund the war — were by the mid-1780s heavily taxing landowners (farmers in particular) to pay their debts.
- The states were demanding hard money, not paper. Impoverished farmers were unable to pay and feared loss of their land.
- This situation resulted in Shays’ Rebellion in Massachusetts, which some historians view as a major impetus to the replacement of the Articles of Confederation by the Constitution.
- Once the Constitution was ratified, control of funding and repayment of the debt passed to the federal government.

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Question 3 (continued)

Economic Problems: 1780s

- Depression of 1784: Severe economic downturn resulting from low production, an insufficient hard money supply, and few opportunities to export goods.
- The Depression of 1784 helped to convince the nation that the central government created by the Articles of Confederation was too weak and that a new, stronger federal government with the power to issue currency, create tariffs, and regulate commerce was essential to national prosperity.
- During the Revolutionary War, the government had used loan-office certificates and continental certificates to pay for supplies as well as to pay soldiers and officers. These non-interest-bearing notes quickly lost their value after the war. The holders of the certificates were for the most part farmers, small businessmen, and merchants, who all needed cash to operate their farms and businesses. Therefore, they had little recourse but to sell their certificates at rates of 10 or 20 cents on the dollar. By the mid-1780s the majority of these certificates were in the possession of a few wealthy speculators.

Diplomatic Problems: 1780s

- 1780: Russia proclaims “armed neutrality,” which helps the Patriot side in the Revolutionary War.
- 1780–1781: Russia and Austria propose peace terms; rejected by John Adams.
- 1781: Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson are named to assist Adams in peace negotiations; Congress insists on independence; all else is negotiable.
- 1782: The Netherlands recognizes United States independence and signs a treaty of commerce and friendship; Dutch bankers loan \$2 million for war supplies.
- 1783: Treaty of Paris ends the Revolutionary War; U.S. boundaries are confirmed as British North America on the north, the Mississippi River on the west, Florida on the south.
- 1783: U.S. signs a commercial treaty with Sweden.
- 1784: British allow trade with the United States but forbid some U.S. food exports to the West Indies; British exports to United States reach £3.7 million, while imports of U.S. goods to Britain are only £750,000; imbalance causes a shortage of gold in the United States.
- 1784: New York–based merchants open the China trade, followed by merchants in Salem, Boston, and Philadelphia.
- 1785: Adams is appointed first minister to Great Britain; Jefferson replaces Franklin as minister to France.
- 1789: Jay–Gardoqui Treaty with Spain gives Spain the exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi River for 30 years; not ratified because of western opposition.

Names and Terms

Annapolis Meeting, 1785–1786	Constitutional Convention, 1787	Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (no slavery)
Anti-Federalists	<i>Federalist Papers</i>	Old Northwest
Articles of Confederation, 1781–1788 (weaknesses: no power to tax, regulate commerce, or raise an army)	Federalists	Paterson, William
Bill of Rights (ratified 1791)	Great Compromise (Roger Sherman, Connecticut)	Pinckney, Charles
Constitution (strengths: can tax, regulate commerce, and raise an army)	Hamilton, Alexander	Shays’ Rebellion, 1785–1786
	Land Ordinance of 1785	Sherman, Roger
	Madison, James	slavery
	Newburgh Conspiracy, 1783	Treaty of Paris, 1783
	New Jersey Plan (William Paterson)	Virginia Plan (James Madison)

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Question 4

Compare and contrast the foreign policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that compares and contrasts the foreign policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.
- Develops the thesis with substantial, relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis of the foreign policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson; treatment may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a partially developed thesis that compares and contrasts the foreign policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the foreign policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, but treatment may be 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 unfocused or limited thesis or one that simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis.
- May have 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 numerous errors.
- Is organized and/or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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Question 4 (continued)

Information Sheet

The beginning of the twentieth century saw a new era in world politics. The cornerstone of what Henry Luce would later dub “The American Century” having been laid with the Spanish–American War in 1898, the United States stood ready to play a more active part in shaping world affairs. Although this shift in the nation’s approach to the conduct of diplomacy had begun before 1898, it was only in the early twentieth century that the nation’s policymakers assumed the new responsibility of helping orchestrate international affairs.

Between 1901 and 1920, the United States increasingly intervened in the affairs of other nations. The presidents during this period, Theodore Roosevelt, William Taft, and Woodrow Wilson, despite differences in background and temperament, held similar views regarding the redemptive nature of United States values and the nation’s obligation to further Western civilization. Each subscribed to the notion that political advancement and economic progress were two sides of the same coin, that democracy and republicanism were corollaries of free trade. All three championed policies that, in their estimation, furthered both.

If their opinions and actions were similar, their effect on long-term policymaking was not. The administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson bookend the Progressive Era. They established the key principles that would animate United States foreign policy for the remainder of the century and beyond.

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were both Progressives, and their domestic proclivities colored their approach to foreign affairs. Both men promoted federal intervention in the nation’s economy to free Americans from the subjugation of big business. This penchant for activism shaped their statecraft as well. Each man willingly deployed United States power to free the people of other nations from what he saw as despotism and enslavement.

They believed in the centrality of decisive leadership in foreign affairs. As a result, both were impatient with Congress’s role in dealings with other countries. Throughout their tenures, each man worked to minimize the legislature’s capacity to impact events. So, too, did they work to minimize the role of the State Department, marginalizing it by relying on friends and personal contacts rather than professional diplomats whenever possible. Among the consequences of this point of view was the establishment of precedents that would accelerate the evolution of the imperial presidency.

Despite their push to expand presidential prerogatives in the conduct of foreign affairs, both men understood that there were constraints regarding what they could do and limits on what they could achieve. Roosevelt and Wilson understood that the public’s enthusiasm for empire was past, and, with rare exceptions, neither added substantially to United States territory. Though each understood the public’s aversion to foreign entanglements, they differed in their willingness to test the boundaries of that dislike. And, even though an arrogance of power generally marked their undertakings in Latin America and the Caribbean basin, they appreciated the checks on the ability of the United States to influence developments in Asia and drew back from that region.

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson shared a desire to move the United States into the mainstream of world power but chose different means to do so. The more pragmatic of the two, Roosevelt was less ambitious than Wilson and, in many ways, the more successful. He saw the United States as a global adjudicator, whereas Wilson hoped to remake the world in the image of the United States.

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Question 4 (continued)

Each of these men can be seen as transformative leaders. But of the two, Woodrow Wilson towers over United States foreign policy. Wilson was certain of his and the nation's destiny. Sure that American values were both unique and universal, he thus believed no conflict existed between pushing the nation's ideals and furthering its self-interests. The fate of his grandest initiatives aside, the term "Wilsonian" is firmly ensconced in the lexicon of United States foreign policy. This term conjures notions of anti-imperialism, self-determination, and the obligation of nations to act in concert in order to ensure peace and spread democracy.

Notwithstanding their many accomplishments, these two presidents left a mixed legacy. In Latin America, their confidence in the providential nature of United States initiatives translated into a high-handedness that tarnished how the United States was, and still is, seen in the region. Although a degree of United States dominance in the region was an unavoidable reality, efforts to "Americanize" Latin America and to make it secure for United States investment created economic instability and retarded the development of representative government.

With respect to Europe, the First World War accelerated the transformation of the global role of the United States, and Woodrow Wilson deserves much of the credit. Yet President Wilson's hopes for "a peace without victory" collapsed when the 1919 Treaty of Versailles was rejected by the U.S. Senate. His vision for a peaceful future based on the Fourteen Points did not become reality.

Significant Events and Individuals Associated with the Foreign Policies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson

Events and Terms Associated with Theodore Roosevelt

Algeciras Conference (1906)	gentlemen's agreement (1907)	Rio de Janeiro Conference (1906)
American China Development Company	Great White Fleet (1907)	Roosevelt Corollary (1905)
annexation of Hawaii, Guam, Puerto Rico	Hay–Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903)	Root–Takahira Agreement (1908)
annexation of the Philippines	Hay–Pauncefote Treaty (1901)	Russo–Japanese War (1904–1905)
anti-imperialists	insular cases (1901–1903)	Second Hague Conference (1907)
arbitration treaties (Asia/Latin America)	Manchuria	Spanish–American War (1898)
Article 231 (1919)	Mexican Revolution (1910)	Taft–Katsura memo (1905)
big stick diplomacy	Monroe Doctrine (1823)	Treaty of Paris (1898)
Boxer Rebellion (1900)	Nicaraguan intervention (1911)	Treaty of Portsmouth (1905)
China	Nobel Peace Prize (Roosevelt, 1906)	Venezuelan crisis (1905)
China Consortium (1909)	Open Door Notes	
Cuba	Panama Canal (1904–1914)	
dollar diplomacy	Platt Amendment (1901)	

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Question 4 (continued)

Events and Terms Associated with Woodrow Wilson

Allies, the	Gore–McLemore Resolution (1915)	Pershing expedition (1916)
American Expeditionary Force (1917)	Haitian intervention (1911, 1916)	preparedness (1916)
Armistice (1918)	House–Grey memorandum (1916)	Provisional Government, Russia (1917)
Article X of the League of Nations Covenant	irreconcilables	Red Scare (1919–1920)
“association of nations” (1916)	Lansing–Ishi Agreement (1917)	Russian Revolution (1917)
Belleau Woods (1918)	League of Nations	Sarajevo (1914)
Black Hand	League to Enforce Peace (1916)	strong and weak reservationists
“blank check” (1914)	Liberty Leagues	submarine crisis (1915)
Bryan–Chamorro Treaty (1914)	<i>Lusitania</i> (1915)	Sussex Pledge (1916)
Central Powers	“make the world safe for democracy”	Tampico incident (1914)
Château-Thierry, battle of (1918)	Meuse–Argonne Offensive (1918)	Treaty of Versailles (1919)
Columbus, New Mexico, raid on (1916)	National Defense Act (1916)	Twenty-One Demands, made by Japan on China (1915)
Committee on Public Information (1917)	National Security League (1915)	Underwood–Simmons tariff (1913)
“community of power” (1917)	October Revolution (1917)	unlimited submarine warfare (1917)
Dominican intervention (1916)	pan-American mediation (1917)	Vera Cruz, occupation of (1914)
Espionage and Sedition Acts (1917)	“peace without victory” (1917)	Virgin Islands (1916)
Fourteen Points (1917)		“war to end all wars”
		Weimar Republic
		Zimmerman telegram (1917)

Individuals

Aguinaldo, Emilio	Knox, Philander	Twain, Mark (Samuel Clemens)
Beveridge, Albert	Lansing, Robert	Villa, Pancho
Bryan, William Jennings	Lenin, Vladimir	Von Sternberg, Speck
Bullitt, William C.	Lloyd George, David	Wilhelm II, emperor of Germany (Kaiser Wilhelm)
Bunau-Varilla, Philippe	Lodge, Henry Cabot	Zapata, Emiliano
Carranza, Venustiano	Madero, Francisco	
Clemenceau, Georges	McKinley, William	
Creel, George	Nicholas II, tsar of Russia	
Edward VII, king of England	Orlando, Vittorio	
Franz Ferdinand, archduke of Austria	Palmer, A. Mitchell	
Franz Joseph I, emperor of Austria	Pershing, John	
Harding, Warren	Porfirio Díaz, José de la Cruz	
Hay, John	Princip, Gavrillo	
House, Edward	Reed, John	
Huerta, Victoriano	Root, Elihu	
Hughes, Charles Evans	Spring-Rice, Cecil	
Kerensky, Alexander	Taft, William Howard	
	Trotsky, Leon	

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Question 5

Compare and contrast the women’s rights movement of the 1840s–1860s with the women’s rights movement of the 1960s–1980s.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that compares and contrasts the women’s rights movement of the 1840s–1860s with the women’s rights movement of the 1960s–1980s.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information.
- Provides effective analysis of both movements; treatment of multiple parts may be somewhat uneven but does not detract from the overall quality of the comparison and contrast.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a partially developed thesis that compares and contrasts the women’s rights movement of the 1840s–1860s with the women’s rights movement of the 1960s–1980s.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of both movements; treatment of multiple parts may be 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 unfocused or limited thesis that compares and contrasts the women’s rights movement of the 1840s–1860s with the women’s rights movement of the 1960s–1980s, or one that simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May address the question only partially, with limited or no analysis.
- May have 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 numerous errors.
- Is organized and/or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay

- Is completely off topic or blank.

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Question 5 (continued)

Information Sheet

Comparison

Some ways in which the two eras of the women's rights movement are comparable:

1. Civil rights foundation: For both movements the issue of civil rights for African Americans was one of the principal catalysts for moral reform and the rights of women. For the 19th-century movement it was abolitionism; for the later 20th century it was the civil rights movement. In both cases African American civil rights activism provided the gateway to increased consciousness and activism for women's rights.
2. Middle-class leadership and movement participation: For both movements the leadership and overall movement participation was a middle-class experience. In both cases poor women did not have the time or resources to participate, nor did they find their identity with the reform movement.
3. Successful in effecting change: Both movements were effective in arguing for and enlarging women's roles and in bringing about tangible change in United States society.

Contrast

Some ways in which the two eras of the women's rights movement differ from one another:

1. Citizenship and voting rights versus individual fulfillment: Proponents of the earlier movement anchored themselves in the argument of morality and citizenship. It was a positive association that women were equally moral as men and deserving of recognition as equal in civil matters, with focus on the franchise. Getting the vote was the focal point for citizenship. Because of the passage of the 19th Amendment, the later movement did not focus on the vote as a marker of equality as a citizen. Instead it emphasized equal opportunity in economic and social areas and individual freedom.
2. Domestic sphere: The ideas of the women's sphere, a culture of domesticity, and true womanhood are part of the middle-class foundation for women's activism. This was a positive element for the earlier movement. In contrast, by the late 20th century these elements were considered part of the problem and were criticized and rejected by many if not most in the movement. For the early movement the two spheres defined how women could be equal to men. For the later movement the two spheres were considered responsible for keeping women less than equal to men.
3. Reproductive rights: For the early movement, abortion was legal and widely used but then broadly banned by 1860. For the later movement, abortion was illegal and not so widely used but then legalized by the Supreme Court's 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade*. The earlier movement saw abortion change from a legal to an illegal practice. The later one saw abortion change from an illegal to a legal practice.

Women's Rights Movement: 1840–1860

Background

In early America, the working women of Lowell, Massachusetts, described themselves as “daughters of freemen,” thus edging toward defining a status for women as free and holders of natural rights.

In the early 19th century, owing to the widely present rule of coverture, married women were denied rights to own and manage property, to form contracts, to sue and be sued, and to exercise legal control over children. In addition, women were prohibited from voting or holding public office and denied access to higher education and the professions. Married women had no legal identity apart from their husbands. Divorced women could not gain custody of their children.

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Question 5 (continued)

However, by the 1840s a new conception of women was evolving. The revolutionary experience generated a form of national identity for women, that of the republican mother, which emphasized that women should provide cultural companionship and raise virtuous, responsible children with republican virtues, striving for education and independence of thought. The market revolution of the 1830s then added the doctrine of separate spheres. The reality of the new dynamic of work and trade was an increasing division between the working lives of men and women. In the separate spheres, as work moved away from home, men went out to work in the world, and women remained in their sphere at home. Here they became the civilizers and guardians of domestic culture and republican morality. Within the home women fulfilled what historians have called the “cult of domesticity” or the “cult of true womanhood.” These spheres and cultural identities became prominent in novels, magazines, paintings, and advice literature. An additional aspect of this change was an expanded definition of marriage from an obligation of society and economy to a cultural and nurturing experience of adults that defined positive roles for men and women within a home dedicated to moral, cultural, and educational endeavors. These characteristics were primarily limited to the emerging middle class — to women and families that were fortunate enough to accommodate two separate spheres of both a work life and a home life.

Activism

Early feminism first emerged within the abolitionist movement. In moral reform, women were men’s peers. The central act of moral suasion — personal conversion — was not limited to either gender. Addressing the domination and discrimination of slavery resulted in some women’s discovering a common purpose that drove them to make women’s rights a separate cause. Experience acquired in a range of reform activities provided invaluable skills for women to take up the cause of their own rights.

Actions and efforts raised consciousness of married women active in the reform movement. For middle-class women, who now had leisure time for reading, charitable activities, and socializing, a distinctly feminine subculture emphasizing “sisterhood” or “sorority” emerged.

Exercising their rights within their roles as moral peers of men, women engaged in a wide array of moral reform causes that extended beyond abolitionism to include such topics as prison reform, temperance, school reform, mental health reform, reform of women’s economic rights, and even suffrage.

Within the area of suffrage and electoral matters women found themselves quickly reduced to second-class status. In 1840 the refusal to seat female delegates from the United States at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London transformed the discontent of women into a self-conscious movement. Two of the excluded delegates were Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Over the following decade women reformers were active in speaking publicly, writing essays and scholarly works, organizing reform societies, and confronting legal and political bodies to bring moral reform and expand the rights of women. In 1833 *The Advocate of Moral Reform* appeared as the first female-edited, written, and typeset publication in the United States. Sarah Grimké produced *Letters on Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women* in 1837, and Margaret Fuller authored the essay “Woman in the Nineteenth Century” in 1845. The movement reached its high point with the famous Seneca Falls convention in 1848.

Organized by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony, nearly 300 men and women gathered at Seneca Falls, New York, over July 19 and 20. Elizabeth Cady Stanton drafted 11 resolutions and a Declaration of Sentiments, making the argument that women had a natural right to equality in all

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spheres. The ninth resolution made the radical assertion that it was the duty of women to secure the right to vote.

Other reformers of the era included Lydia Maria Child, a writer, abolitionist, and moral reformer; Maria Stewart, a charismatic black Boston preacher who denounced racial and gender prejudice; Sarah and Angelina Grimké, sisters from South Carolina who moved to Philadelphia to support abolitionism; and Dorothea Dix of Boston, who argued for prison reform and better treatment of the mentally ill.

Outcome and Effect

Women's moral reform efforts were effective and had an impact. In addition to the broad effect of the abolition movement, which undermined the rationale for slavery, reformers successfully addressed state legislatures, saw penitentiaries created and health-care reforms enacted, published papers and books, and saw the reform of married women's economic rights via such legislation as the New York Married Women's Property Act. Most significant, the efforts made in the 1840s–1860s laid the foundation for further efforts at reform in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Critics

Critics of the leading women reformers disparaged them for crossing outside the spheres and for taking up the roles of men. Clergy attacked the Grimké sisters for assuming masculine tones. Within the abolition movement, Arthur Tappan resigned as president of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1840 over the group's support for women's suffrage and feminism. Women's rights figured centrally in the 1840 split of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in which opponents rejected the role of women activists and were concerned that they could embarrass the abolition movement.

Catherine Beecher, who authored the *Treatise on Domestic Economy* in 1841, argued that women should accept the limits of the women's sphere of marriage and home and not be tempted to overstep those bounds.

Childbearing/abortion

Some moral reformers were concerned about sexual excesses. Sylvester Graham was a well-known temperance lecturer who warned of sexual tensions and excess and advocated diet and physical restraint to ameliorate them. Part of his diet was a cracker that would later become known as the Graham cracker.

The birth rate fell from 1800 to 1860. Accompanying this decline was the expansion of abortion. Surgical abortions were widely used after 1830. One of every four pregnancies was aborted from 1840 to 1860. This rising rate prompted the first bans on the practice. By 1860, 20 of the 33 states had outlawed abortion.

Women's Rights Movement: 1960–1980

Background

In the 1950s increasing numbers of women went to college and worked outside home but were not expected to pursue long-term careers. Instead they were expected to devote themselves to family and home. A double standard of sexual behavior prevailed. In her book *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan called the American home “a comfortable concentration camp.”

In 1960 an oral contraceptive — widely referred to as “the pill” — was approved for use. It had been introduced in 1957 as Enovid, a medication for menstrual disorders. However, despite the pill, by the

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Question 5 (continued)

1960s illegal abortions were common, and approximately 200 women a year died as result of the procedures.

Over the next 20 years the nature of the average family would change dramatically. In the 1950s more than 70 percent of American families with children had a father who worked and a mother who stayed home. By 1980 only 15 percent of families were configured that way.

Activism

Middle-class women in particular, influenced by the civil rights movement, begin to question their own second-class status. They initially did not challenge male sexism or careerism but wanted opportunities for women too. White, middle-class women in the political mainstream provided most of the national leadership and much of the constituency for the new feminism.

Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* identified "the problem that has no name" as the frustration of educated middle-class wives and mothers who had subordinated their own aspirations to the needs of men. Three issues initially predominated: equal treatment at school and work, an equal rights amendment, and abortion rights.

Equal Treatment

The Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 led to the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and President John F. Kennedy's banning of sex discrimination in federal employment. In 1964, in congressional debates over Title VII of 1964 Civil Rights Act, conservatives added an amendment to include gender, hoping it would kill the bill, but the amendment and full bill passed. Although future National Organization for Women (NOW) founders Aileen Hernandez and Richard Graham fought hard as members of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce Title VII's prohibition on sex discrimination, they were ultimately outnumbered 3–2, and the EEOC decided in September 1965 that sex segregation in job advertising was permissible. A month later, at a conference on Title VII and the EEOC, Dr. Pauli Murray — a law professor at Yale and a member of the President's Commission on the Status of Women — denounced the EEOC and its stance permitting segregated job advertising. Betty Friedan immediately contacted Dr. Murray, one of many historic link-ups that led to a reemergence of the feminist movement in the United States.

The National Organization for Women was founded in 1966. NOW membership grew from 300 in 1966 to 15,000 by 1970. NOW later sued the EEOC for not upholding Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and sued 1,300 corporations for gender discrimination.

At first NOW did not focus on issues inside the private sphere of the home. The shift to the view that, according to one slogan, "the personal is political" came from younger women who had been active in civil rights. One issue was labeling, and they adopted the title "Ms." as an equal title with "Mr.," which does not reveal one's marital status.

Younger feminists in 1967 and 1968 agreed with NOW's challenge to discrimination in the public sphere, but they focused even more on the personal politics of women's daily lives, on issues such as parenting, child care, housework, and abortion. Radical feminists Ti-Grace Atkinson and Susan Brownmiller attacked the family and home and denounced sexual intercourse with men as male domination.

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Question 5 (continued)

A variety of different trends emerged among feminists. Liberal feminists tended to focus on public issues and to work within the system. More radical elements of the women's liberation movement emphasized the notion that "sisterhood is powerful." These radical feminists blamed capitalism and men for discrimination against women. They rejected collaboration with men, insisting that women were superior and should create their own institutions. In 1968 militant feminists adopted "consciousness raising" as a recruitment device and a means of transforming women's perceptions of themselves and society. They saw sharing personal problems as a first step toward defining social problems and achieving political solutions.

ERA

In 1972 Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and sent it to states for ratification. The ERA declares, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex." Ultimately 35 states ratified the ERA, but it fell three short of the needed 38 (three-quarters of the total). The same year Phyllis Schlafly organized a campaign called "Stop the ERA." This effort, and that of her later group, the Eagle Forum, succeeded in changing the debate about ERA from the goal of giving women equality to concerns about taking away their protections. Efforts to ratify the ERA continued until June 1982 when the window for ratification ran out without the necessary state support.

Abortion

The case known as *Roe v. Wade* involved a Texas law outlawing abortions. The litigants argued that individuals' "personal privacy zone" includes reproductive rights. The case was heard twice by the United States Supreme Court, once on December 13, 1971, then again on October 10, 1972. The Court rendered a 7–2 decision on January 22, 1973, which made a woman's right to choose an abortion legal. Despite many subsequent challenges by the "Right to Life" movement, the Supreme Court continued to support the basic right.

The public is divided over support for abortion rights. The issue partly involved the use of federal tax money. In 1978 Congress passed the Hyde Amendment, which prohibited the use of Medicaid funds for abortions, except when the life of the mother was at risk.

Overall Outcome and Effect

At the level of cities and states, the women's rights movement contributed to domestic violence reforms, homes for battered women, and improved treatment for rape victims. The movement also had a significant educational impact. Feminist bookstores and publishing companies, such as the Feminist Press, reached out to readers. By the early 1970s college activists were demanding women's studies programs and women's centers. Between 1970 and 1975 as many as 150 women's studies programs were established. By 1980 nearly 30,000 women's studies courses were being offered. In the 1970s no-fault divorce laws began in California. Day-care centers become commonplace. By 1983 women constituted half of the paid workforce, and during the decade of the 1980s the majority of the new jobs created were filled by women.

By 1970 women earned 41 percent of all BA degrees, compared with only 25 percent in 1950. Women working outside of home jumped from 20 million in 1960 to 60 million by 1990. Between 1970 and 2000 women's share of law degrees shot up from 5 percent to nearly 50 percent, and the proportion of medical degrees awarded to women increased from less than 10 percent to more than 35 percent. By 1980, 30 percent of participants in intercollegiate sports were women, compared with 15 percent a decade earlier.

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Question 5 (continued)

By the 1990s women held more than 10 percent of the seats in Congress and more than 20 percent of all state executive offices and state legislative seats. After 1992 there were a record 53 women in Congress. In 1981 President Reagan appointed Jeane Kirkpatrick as U.S. Representative to the United Nations and named Sandra Day O'Connor to the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1993 President Clinton appointed Janet Reno to be attorney general, and in 1997 Clinton named Madeleine Albright as secretary of state.

Reaction and Rejection

Many conservative organizations blamed the philosophy behind the ERA for destroying American values and the family. In 1970 Vice President Spiro Agnew asserted, “Three things have been difficult to tame. The ocean, fools, and women. We may soon be able to tame the ocean, but fools and women may take a little longer.” In 1982 Connie Marshner, a Republican activist, declared, “Feminists praise self-centeredness and call it liberation.” Some women experienced the path of Dorothy Burlage, a conservative southern Baptist woman at the University of Texas who was influenced by “liberal Christian existentialism.” Between 1962 and 1970 she first joined the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and then the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) but then became disillusioned and quit.

The 1980s have come to be defined by many as the “postfeminist” era. One of the indicators of the conservative resurgence in the 1980s was its capture of the Republican Party’s position on women’s rights. For the first time in its history, the Republican Party took an explicitly antifeminist tone, opposing both the Equal Rights Amendment and a woman’s right to abortion.

CHRONOLOGY: Women’s Rights Movement, 1840–1860s

1792	Mary Wollstonecraft publishes <i>A Vindication of the Rights of Woman</i> .
1833–1834	Presbyterian Female Moral Reform Society formed in New York to counter prostitution.
1833	Publication of <i>The Advocate of Moral Reform</i> , the first major female-produced newspaper.
1836	Dorothea Dix visits England, meets British reformers.
1837	Mount Holyoke Female Seminary is founded in Massachusetts by Mary Lyon. It educated women to become teachers.
1837	Angelina Grimké becomes the first woman to address the Massachusetts Legislature.
1837	Catharine Beecher in <i>Essay on Slavery and Abolitionism</i> attacks female abolitionists for violating the bounds of “rectitude and propriety” and for unwomanly “ambition.”
1837	Sarah Grimké publishes <i>Letters on Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Women</i> . Claims men and women are created equal.
1839–1844	Margaret Fuller organizes “Conversations,” seminars for women on Transcendentalism.
1840	American Anti-Slavery Society splits, in part of over women holding office in the organization. Under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison, the Society supported women. The splitters formed the rival American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society under Lewis Tappan.
1840	World Anti-Slavery Convention takes place in London. Elizabeth Cady Stanton attends.
1840	American Female Moral Reform Society founded.
1841	Dorothea Dix teaches Sunday school classes in East Cambridge jail near Boston. Investigated treatment of the mentally ill over 18 months. Presented findings to the Massachusetts Legislature.
1841	Catherine Beecher publishes <i>Treatise on Domestic Economy</i> , a standard housekeeping guide and description of the moral role of women.

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Question 5 (continued)

1841	Abolitionist Lydia Maria Child becomes editor of the <i>National Anti-Slavery Standard</i> , the weekly New York newspaper of the American Anti-Slavery Society.
1843	Dorothea Dix presents her “Memorial to the Massachusetts Legislature,” leading to the creation of a state asylum for the insane.
1843	Sojourner Truth (originally named Isabella Baumfree), a former slave in New York, publishes <i>The Narrative of Sojourner Truth</i> .
1845	Margaret Fuller publishes <i>Woman in the Nineteenth Century</i> .
1848	New York passes the first Married Women’s Property Act, granting women more rights to property after marriage.
1848	Women’s rights convention held at Seneca Falls, New York, July 19 and 20. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Susan B. Anthony attend. Issued pathbreaking manifesto called the Declaration of Sentiments. It included 11 resolutions, calling for equal opportunities in education and work, equality before the law, the right to appear on public platforms, and the right to vote.
1849–1853	Amelia J. Bloomer publishes newspaper <i>The Lily</i> . Did not invent bloomers.
1851	Elizabeth Smith Miller (also known as Libby Miller), a temperance activist, popularizes a new outfit called bloomers.
1859	Harriet Wilson publishes <i>Our Nig, or Sketches from the Life of a Free Black, in a Two-Story White House, North</i> .
1860	New York Married Women’s Property Act allows a married woman to carry on any trade or business and perform any labor or services on her sole and separate account and keep earnings as her own. This was not the first such law but the most comprehensive to date.

CHRONOLOGY: Women’s Rights Movement, 1960–1980

1960	The pill becomes available as a contraceptive.
1961–1963	Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, initially chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt.
1963	Congress passes the Equal Pay Act proposed by the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. It was signed into law by President John F. Kennedy.
1963	Kennedy issues an executive order banning sex discrimination in federal employment.
1963	Betty Friedan publishes <i>The Feminine Mystique</i> .
1964	Phyllis Schlafly publishes <i>A Choice, Not an Echo</i> .
1964	Civil Rights Act is passed, including Title VII, prohibiting discrimination in hiring and compensation on the basis of sex. EEOC did little to enforce this.
1965	Mary King and Casey Hayden raise women’s issues in SNCC, but the issues are rejected by most male activists.
1965	In <i>Griswold v. Connecticut</i> , the Supreme Court allows Planned Parenthood to distribute birth control devices, citing a constitutional right of privacy.
1966	Friedan and others found the National Organization for Women (NOW).
1967	NOW persuades President Lyndon Johnson to include women in affirmative action.
1967	Kathrine Switzer becomes the first woman to run in the Boston Marathon, against rules, under the name K. V. Switzer. Race officials tried to eject her.
1968	Radical women protest the Miss America pageant in New Jersey and crown a sheep Miss America. Organized by activist Robin Morgan.
1969	Princeton, Yale, and other colleges end all-male admissions.
1970	Shulamith Firestone publishes <i>The Dialectic of Sex</i> .
1970	NOW organizes the Women’s Strike for Peace and Equality on the 50th anniversary of the 19th Amendment (August 26).

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Question 5 (continued)

1971	Helen Reddy releases the song "I Am Woman."
1971	<i>Our Bodies, Ourselves</i> is published.
1972	Title IX of the Higher Education Act is passed by Congress, requiring schools to give equal opportunities to women in admission, athletics, and other areas.
1972	ERA is passed by Congress, declaring, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex." Thirty-five states ratify it.
1972	"Stop ERA" is organized.
1972	Gloria Steinem publishes the feminist magazine <i>Ms</i> .
1972	Women are allowed to run in the Boston Marathon.
1972	Eagle Forum is founded by Phyllis Schlafly to oppose ERA and the women's movement.
1973	National Black Feminist Organization is founded.
1973	In <i>Roe v. Wade</i> the Supreme Court rules a Texas antiabortion law unconstitutional, as it violates the right to privacy provisions of the 9th and 14th Amendments. This decision voids existing restrictions on abortion.
1973	Marabel Morgan publishes <i>The Total Woman</i> , opposing feminism.
1973	9to5, an advocacy group for women workers, is founded.
1974	Congress outlaws sex discrimination in the granting of loans.
1974	Coalition of Labor Union Women is founded.
1975	Child Support Enforcement and Paternity Establishment Program is enacted by Congress.
1976	United States opens military academies to women.
1978	Hyde Amendment is passed, preventing use of federal funds for abortions.
1979	Court in <i>Bellotti v. Vaird</i> allows states to require minors to get parental consent for abortions.
1981	Reagan appoints Sandra Day O'Connor to be the first woman on the Supreme Court.
1981	Reagan appoints Jeane Kirkpatrick to be U.S. representative to the United Nations.
1982	Time runs out for states to ratify the ERA, and the amendment fails.
1983	In <i>City of Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health</i> and <i>Planned Parenthood v. Ashcroft</i> , the Supreme Court upholds abortion rights.
1984	Retirement Equity Act strengthens women's claims to their husbands' pensions.
1984	Child Support Enforcement amendments are enacted by the federal government.
1992	In <i>Planned Parenthood v. Casey</i> the Supreme Court upholds abortion rights.