Question 1 — Document-Based Question

Analyze the international and domestic challenges the United States faced between 1968 and 1974, and evaluate how President Richard Nixon’s administration responded to them.

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that:
  - Analyzes the international and domestic challenges the United States faced between 1968 and 1974.
  - Evaluates the Nixon administration’s responses to those challenges.
- Presents an effective analysis of the:
  - Nixon administration’s responses to those challenges.
    - Treatment of international and domestic components may be somewhat uneven.
    - Treatment of some aspects of international and domestic components may be intermingled.
- Effectively uses a substantial number of documents.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant outside information.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay
- Contains a thesis that:
  - Addresses the international and domestic challenges the United States faced between 1968 and 1974.
  - Provides limited evaluation of the Nixon administration’s responses to those challenges.
  - May be only partially developed.
- Provides some analysis of the:
  - Nixon administration’s responses to those challenges.
    - Treatment of international and domestic components may be somewhat uneven.
    - Treatment of some aspects of international and domestic components may be intermingled.
- Effectively uses some documents.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant outside information.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or 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.
Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

The 0–1 Essay
- Contains no thesis or a thesis that does not address the question.
- Exhibits inadequate or incorrect understanding of the question.
- Has little or no understanding of the documents, or ignores them completely.
- Has numerous errors.
- Is organized and/or written so poorly that it inhibits understanding.

The — Essay
- Is completely off topic or blank.
Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Potential Domestic Topics for Examination

**American Indian Movement**
- occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Alcatraz, and Wounded Knee; Indian Self-Determination Act

**Antiwar movement**
- Moratorium Day, SDS, Weatherman, Kent State University

**Civil rights movement/white backlash**
- court-ordered busing, increased militancy, Black Panthers, Voting Rights Act extension, affirmative action

**Energy crisis**
- Arab oil embargo, OPEC, stagflation

**Environmental concerns**
- Environmental Protection Agency, Clean Air Act, Clean Water Act

**Gay liberation**
- Stonewall riot

**Hispanic-American protest**
- Chavez, grape boycott, agreement with grape producers

**Inflation/stagflation**
- wage and price controls, revenue sharing, impoundment, stagflation

**Judicial activism**
- rights-of-the-accused cases, law-and-order campaign, Warren Court, busing

**Presidential power**
- executive privilege/imperial presidency, tapes controversy, impoundment

**Scandals in government**
- Watergate; Pentagon Papers; use of FBI, CIA, IRS, “plumbers”

**Welfare reform**
- guaranteed annual income

**Women’s liberation**
- Equal Rights Amendment, inclusion of women in the administration

**Workplace safety**
- Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)

Potential Foreign Policy Topics for Examination

**Chile**
- undermining of Salvador Allende

**China**
- normalization of relations, Nixon’s visit, Sino-Soviet conflict

**India and Pakistan**
- subtle support for Pakistan
Middle East
  Yom Kippur War, OPEC, Arab oil embargo, shuttle diplomacy, U.S. support for shah of Iran

Philippines
  support for Ferdinand Marcos

South Africa
  support for white supremacist government

Soviet Union
  détente, SALT I, ABM treaty, Nixon’s visit to Moscow, Sino-Soviet conflict

War in Vietnam
  Vietnamization, bombing, Paris Peace Accords, Cambodia

Time Line of Events, 1968–1974

January 1968
  • Tet Offensive

March 1968
  • My Lai massacre occurs

November 1968
  • Nixon elected president

March 1969
  • Nixon orders secret bombings of Cambodia

May 1969
  • Nixon orders FBI wiretaps to track the sources of leaks revealing secret bombings of Cambodia
  • Nixon nominates Warren Burger as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court

June 1969
  • Stonewall riot

July 1969
  • Apollo 11 lands on the moon
  • Nixon Doctrine outlined

August 1969
  • Family Assistance Plan (FPA) proposes welfare reform (does not pass in Congress)

October 1969
  • “Moratorium” protests against the war in Vietnam

November 1969
  • Nixon outlines “Vietnamization” policy
  • Native Americans seize Alcatraz Island

April 1970
  • First Earth Day celebrated
  • Invasion of Cambodia

May 1970
  • Kent State University, Jackson State College

December 1970
  • Environmental Protection Agency established
  • Clean Air Act of 1970
February 1971
- Nixon begins secretly taping conversations in the Oval Office and in the Cabinet Room
March 1971
- William Calley convicted of the My Lai massacre
April 1971
- Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board, court-ordered busing
June 1971
- Nixon opens trade with China
- New York Times publishes the “Pentagon Papers”
- 26th Amendment ratified
August 1971
- U.S. taken off the gold standard
- Wage and price controls implemented
February 1972
- Nixon visits People’s Republic of China
March 1972
- Congress approves the Equal Rights Amendment
May 1972
- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) signed
June 1972
- Watergate burglars arrested
- “Smoking gun” conversation between Nixon and Haldeman
November 1972
- Nixon is reelected
December 1972
- Christmas bombings of North Vietnam
January 1973
- Roe v. Wade
- Paris Peace Accords signed
February 1973
- American Indian Movement (AIM) seizes the site of the Wounded Knee massacre
July 1973
- Alexander Butterfield testifies to the existence of the White House taping system
- Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox requests specific tapes
October 1973
- Arab–Israeli War (Yom Kippur War)
- Arab oil embargo begins
- Saturday night massacre
November 1973
- War Powers Act passed
- “I am not a crook” speech
December 1973–May 1974
- House Judiciary Committee holds televised hearings on impeachment
July 1974
- *U.S. v. Nixon* decided
- House Judiciary Committee approves three articles of impeachment

August 1974
- “Smoking gun” tape made public.
- Nixon announces his resignation (August 8)

September 1974
- Nixon pardoned by Gerald Ford (September 8)
Potential Outside Information

affirmative action
Agent Orange
Agnew, Spiro
Alaskan oil pipeline
Alcatraz occupation, 1969
Allende, Salvador, overthrown in Chile
American Independent Party
American Indian Movement
Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
Apollo 11
Arab oil embargo, 1973
Armstrong, Neil
Articles of impeachment
Bernstein, Carl
Black Panther Party
block grants
Bork, Robert
Calley, William
Cambodia invasion, 1970
Chavez, Cesar
Christmas bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong, 1972
Clean Air Act, 1970
Clean Water Act, 1972
Columbia University (student takeover, 1968)
Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP)
Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
court-ordered busing
Cox, Archibald
credibility gap
Deep Throat
deindustrialization
Democratic National Convention, 1968
détente
devaluation of the dollar
domino theory
"doves"
draft lottery system
Earth Day, 1970
Eastern liberal establishment
eighteen-and-a-half-minute gap on Nixon tape
transcript
election of 1968
election of 1972
Ellsberg, Daniel
enemies list
energy czar
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 1970
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 1971
Ervin, Sam
executive privilege
"expletive deleted"
Family Assistance Plan (FAP), 1969
Felt, W. Mark
"fire in the streets"
Freedom of Information Act, 1974
gold standard, U.S. removed from, 1971
Gray, L. Patrick
Guam Doctrine
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution repealed, 1970
"hawks"
House Judiciary Committee
Humphrey, Hubert
Hunt, E. Howard
Huston Plan
"I am not a crook" speech (Nixon), 1973
"I am now a Keynesian" speech (Nixon), 1971
imperial presidency
impoundment
Indian Self-Determination Act, 1974
Jackson State College
Jaworski, Leon
Johnson, Lyndon
judicial activism
Kennedy, Robert, assassination of
Kent State University
King, Jr., Martin Luther, assassination of
Kissinger, Henry
law-and-order campaign
Le Duc Tho
Liddy, G. Gordon
“long hot summers”
Marcos, Ferdinand
McCarthy, Eugene
McCord, James
McGovern, George
Moratorium Day, 1969
My Lai massacre, 1968
napalm
National Environmental Protection Act, 1970
National Liberation Front
"nattering nabobs of negativism"
New Federalism
New York Times v. the United States, 1971
Newton, Huey
Nixon Doctrine
Nixonomics
Nixon pardoned by Ford, September 1974
Nixon’s vacation homes (San Clemente, Key Biscayne)
Nixon’s visit to China, 1972
Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), 1970
October War, 1973
OPEC
Operation Rolling Thunder
Oval Office taping system
paranoia
Paris Peace Accords, 1973
"peace is at hand"
"peace with honor"
Pentagon Papers, published 1971
People’s Park (Berkeley demonstrations, 1969)
People’s Republic of China
"Philadelphia plan" (affirmative action)
"ping-pong diplomacy"
"plumbers"
Realpolitik
Red China
revenue sharing
Richardson, Elliot
Roe v. Wade, 1973
Saturday night massacre
Seale, Bobby
secret plan to end the war
service strategy vs. income strategy
shah of Iran
shuttle diplomacy (Cairo, Tel Aviv, Damascus)
Sino-Soviet conflict
Sirica, John
"smoking gun"
"solid South"
Southern Strategy
space race
special prosecutor
spring mobilization (antiwar protests), 1968
stagflation
State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act, 1972
“stonewalling”
Stonewall Riot (gay liberation, 1969)
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), 1972
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
Swann v. Charlotte/Mecklenberg Board of Education
tape transcripts
“Tears in the snow” speech (Edmund Muskie)
Tet Offensive
“The whole world is watching” (Democratic National Convention, 1968)
Tinker v. Des Moines
triangulation (Chinese-Soviet-U.S. diplomacy)
26th Amendment, ratified 1971
“unpardonable pardon”
U.S. v. Richard Nixon
Viet Cong
Vietnamization
Voting Rights Act of 1965 extension
wage and price controls
Wallace, George
War Powers Act, 1973
Watergate scandal
Weatherman
“white backlash”
White House tapes controversy
Woodstock festival, 1969
Woodward, Bob
Wounded Knee seizure, 1973
Yom Kippur War

(Note: First names not contained in Document G may count minimally as outside information.)

Dean, John
Ehrlichman, John
Haldeman, H. R.
Krogh, Egil “Bud”
Magruder, Jeb Stuart
Mitchell, John
Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Sources of the Documents

Document A

Document B
President Richard Nixon’s letter to Ho Chi Minh, July 15, 1969.

Document C
Consumer price index for 1968–1975. The consumer price index is a measure of changes in the prices paid by urban consumers for goods and services.

Document D

Document E

Document F

Document G
A cartoon by Herblock [Herbert L. Block], October 24, 1973.

Document H

Document I
Question 2

Analyze the origins and development of slavery in Britain’s North American colonies in the period 1607 to 1776.

The 8–9 Essay
- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses both the origins and development of slavery in British North America from 1607 to 1776.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information from most of the time period 1607–1776.
- Provides effective analysis of the origins and development; treatment of origins and development may be somewhat uneven and/or overlapping.
- 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 both origins and development of British North American slavery.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information about the origins and development of slavery within the time period 1607–1776.
- Provides some analysis of the origins and development, but treatment of origins and development may be uneven and/or overlapping.
- 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 simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information from the time period 1607–1776, or lists facts about the origins and development of colonial slavery with little or no application to the question.
- May address only origins or development, 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.
Question 2 (continued)

Colonial Slavery, 1607–1688: Origins

- Mercantilism/Navigation Acts/cash crops
  - Tobacco (Virginia — John Rolfe)
  - Rice (South Carolina)
  - African knowledge of rice cultivation
  - Indigo (Carolinas — Eliza Pinckney)
  - Sugar (South Carolina)
    - British West Indies slavery (Barbados)
  - Cotton (small amounts)

- Indentured servitude
  - “Freedom dues”
  - Primogeniture
  - Headright system
  - Before 1620 many criminals and orphans were included
  - Running away widespread

- Indian slavery
- Spanish and Portuguese models
- Africans “seasoned” in the Caribbean
- Advantages of chattel slavery over indentured servitude
- Arrival of Africans at Jamestown, 1619
  - Ambiguous status
- Dutch import blacks into New Netherlands, 1626
- Massachusetts legalizes slavery, 1641
- Anthony Johnson
- English belief in racial superiority
- Bacon’s Rebellion, 1676
  - William Berkeley, governor
  - Nathaniel Bacon
- Anglo-Powhatan Wars over land

Colonial Slavery, 1607–1688: Development

- Growth of slavery was slow
- Three stages of Chesapeake slavery
  - 1619–1640: neither blacks nor Indians are slaves according to Virginia documents
  - 1640–1660: numbers of Indians and blacks treated as slaves
  - Post-1660: slavery regulated after 1660; 1660 in Maryland; 1670 in Virginia, defining slavery
    and passage of slave codes
- Bacon’s Rebellion, 1676: fewer indentured servants, more slaves
- Planters: greater control over slaves than indentured servants
  - Increasingly harsh conditions of work and life
- Atlantic slave trade — triangular slave trade
  - Harshness of the Middle Passage
- Profits from cash crops drive trade and slavery
- Cash crops: need for labor
- Rhode Island: slave trade
Question 2 (continued)

- Slave-community Christianity: some slaves are converted, but laws prevent emancipation of converted slaves
- Puritan trade with West Indies
- Royal African Company, 1672: monopoly on English slave trade

Colonial Slavery, 1688–1763: Origins
- Georgia
  - Oglethorpe bans slavery in 1733, relents in 1751
  - Rice

Colonial Slavery, 1688–1763: Development
- End of Royal African Company monopoly on slave trade, 1698
- New England merchants in the slave trade
- Regional differences
  - New York City: urban
  - Chesapeake: rural
  - Carolinas: rural; Charleston: urban
  - British West Indies: rural
- Characteristics of slavery
  - Newcomers from Africa (“new slavery”) are the largest immigrant group in the 18th century
  - Gang system (tobacco); task system (rice)
  - Slaves become a better investment than indentured servants
  - Gullah in South Carolina; infusion of African slaves
  - Chesapeake not as harsh; slaves more Creole
  - Northern slaves more culturally assimilated
  - Codes permit the master to have complete control of the slave
- Rise of planter elites like the Byrds and Carters
- Great Awakening: conversion of slaves, but does not challenge slavery
- Miscegenation
- 1705 Virginia Slave Code: master has complete control of slave; change from the 17th century
- Resistance
  - Runaway slaves
  - 1712, 1741 slave uprisings in New York City
  - Stono Rebellion, 1739
  - Quakers condemn slavery by 1750s
  - Fort Mose, Florida, and escaped slaves

Slavery in the Revolutionary Era, 1763–1776: Development
- Crispus Attucks
- Somerset case, 1772
- Massachusetts blacks petition the legislature, 1773
- Lord Dunmore’s proclamation, 1775
- Declaration of Independence, 1776
  - Condemns slave trade
  - Condemns Dunmore
Question 3

To what extent did political parties contribute to the development of national unity in the United States between 1790 and 1840?

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that addresses the extent to which political parties contributed to the development of national unity in the United States between 1790 and 1840.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information on the extent to which political parties contributed to the development of national unity in the United States between 1790 and 1840.
- Provides effective analysis of the extent to which political parties contributed to the development of national unity in the United States between 1790 and 1840; coverage of the time period may be somewhat uneven.
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the quality of the answer.
- Is well organized and well written.

The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a partially developed thesis that addresses the extent to which political parties contributed to the development of national unity in the United States between 1790 and 1840.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant historical information.
- Provides some analysis of the extent to which political parties contributed to the development of national unity between 1790 and 1840, but coverage of the time period 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 simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information, or lists facts about political parties and the period 1790–1840 with little or no application to the question.
- Provides limited or no analysis of the extent to which the political parties affected national unity; may address only part of the time period indicated in the question.
- 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.
Information List: 1790–1824

• Permanent political parties were not envisioned by the founders.
• The first and second party systems were national parties: compromise was necessary in order to function.

Federalists (Washington, who had Federalist leanings; Hamilton; Adams)

• Loose constructionists; strong central government; “contract theory” of government.
• Supporters were merchants, shippers, commercial farmers, and manufacturers in New England and along the Atlantic seaboard; identified more with Britain.
• Favored Hamilton’s financial plan, which benefited the wealthier groups and the propertied classes; prosperity would trickle down to the rest of the population.
  ◦ National Bank: necessary and proper clause; implied powers.
  ◦ Protective tariff.
  ◦ Assumption of state debts; paying off the foreign debt; funding the debt at par; holding a manageable national debt.
  ◦ Excise tax on whiskey, which led to the Whiskey Rebellion.


• Strict constructionists; supported strong state governments and the “compact theory” of government; favored the inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution.
• Supporters were small farmers in the South and West; appealed to the middle class and to the masses; favored an agrarian society and rule by an educated middle class; identified more with France.
• Did not support Hamilton’s financial plan.
• Favored reducing the size of the military.

The Time of the First Party System (1790s–1817)

• Original election procedure in the Constitution provided that the top two vote-getting candidates would be president and vice president; later changed by the 12th Amendment (1804).
• Jay Treaty with Britain (1794).
• Pinckney Treaty with Spain (1795).
• Washington’s Farewell Address (1796).
• Election of 1796: Jefferson vs. Adams; Adams won.
• Alien and Sedition Acts (1798); Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798); expiration or repeal of acts by 1802.
• Election of 1800: Jefferson vs. Adams; Revolution of 1800 (“We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists”); peaceful transfer of power from the Federalist to the Democratic–Republican Party.
• Midnight judges (1801).
• Marbury v. Madison (1803) and other decisions of the Marshall Court.
• Louisiana Purchase (1803).
• Tertium Quid was the name given to various factions of the Democratic–Republican Party during the period 1804–1812; Quid was used pejoratively to describe cross-party coalitions of Federalists and moderate Democratic–Republicans united in opposition to Jefferson.
• Embargo Act (1807); Non-Intercourse Act (1809); Macon’s Bill #2 (1810).
War of 1812: support for the war was greatest in Democratic–Republican areas near the frontier, Canada, and Florida and was weakest in the Federalist maritime areas; “Mr. Madison’s War”; Clay, Calhoun, and Webster were war hawks.

Hartford Convention (1814); Federalist negative response to the War of 1812; led to the death of the Federalist Party.

Surge of nationalism following the War of 1812.

Second National Bank (1816).

Tariff of 1816: first protective tariff in U.S. history.

Henry Clay’s American System proposed.

“Era of Good Feelings” (1817–1824).

Tallmadge Amendment (1819).

Panic and depression of 1819.

Missouri Compromise (1820).

Foreign policy in the “Era of Good Feelings”; Monroe Doctrine (1823).

Reelection of Monroe (1820).

Favorite-son election of 1824: Clay, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Crawford.


Split of Democratic–Republicans into National Republicans (and later Whigs) and Democratic–Republicans (later Jacksonian Democrats → Democrats).

Election of 1828/Revolution of 1828: J. Q. Adams (National Republican) vs. A. Jackson (Jacksonian Democrat).

Indian Removal Act (1830).

Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831); Worcester v. Georgia (1832) (Indian removal).

Peggy Eaton.

Election of 1832: Jackson (Democrat) vs. Clay (National Republican), John Floyd (National Republican), and William Wirt (Anti-Masonic, the first third party).

Jackson’s veto of the bill to re-charter the Second Bank of the U.S. (1832); Nicholas Biddle, pet banks.

Election of 1836: Democrat Van Buren vs. four Whig candidates.

Liberty Party founded (1839); James G. Birney, candidate in the election of 1840; antislavery party.

Election of 1840: Election of William Henry Harrison, the first Whig president; first “modern” election with vigorous campaigning on both sides; common man moving front and center and dominating elections; beginning of a more dynamic two-party system.

Supported a stronger federal government; loose construction; Second National Bank.

Supported internal improvements (American System of Henry Clay).

Favored social reforms.

Favored the evolution of a market economy, business, and industry; supported by small businessmen, professionals, manufacturers, and some southern planters.
Question 3 (continued)

- Opposed to Jacksonian spoils system, executive power, “common man.”
- Opposed to Indian removal.
- Presidents: Harrison, Tyler (closet Democrat); prominent leaders: Henry Clay, Daniel Webster.
- Dissolved over sectional differences, particularly about slavery.

**Ideas of the Democrats (emerged from the Democratic–Republicans, Jacksonian Democrats)**

- Favored strict construction and states’ rights.
- Supported state banks and a tariff for revenue only.
- Favored western expansion.
- Opposed to internal improvements at federal expense and Clay’s American System.
- Not opposed to slavery or its extension.
- Supported Indian removal.
- Supported by Irish and German immigrants, poor farmers in the North and Midwest, small planters in the South, skilled and unskilled workers in cities and towns, the “common man.”
- Presidents: Jackson, Van Buren; prominent leaders: John C. Calhoun, James K. Polk (House Speaker), Thomas Hart Benton.

**Note:** The Know-Nothing and Free Soil parties are outside the time period and were generally not relevant to the essays.
Question 4

Compare and contrast the ways that many Americans expressed their opposition to immigrants in the 1840s–1850s with the ways that many Americans expressed their opposition to immigrants in the 1910s–1920s.

The 8–9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that compares and contrasts the ways that many Americans expressed their opposition to immigrants in the 1840s–1850s with the ways Americans expressed their opposition in the 1910s–1920s.
- Develops the thesis with substantial relevant and specific historical information related to the ways that many Americans expressed opposition to immigration in both the 1840s–1850s and the 1910s–1920s.
- Provides effective analysis of the ways Americans expressed their opposition in both periods; treatment of time periods 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 ways that many Americans expressed their opposition to immigrants in the 1840s–1850s with the ways Americans expressed their opposition in the 1910s–1920s.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant and specific historical information related to the ways that many Americans expressed opposition to immigration in both the 1840s–1850s and the 1910s–1920s.
- Provides some analysis of the ways Americans expressed their opposition in both periods; treatment of time periods may be substantially uneven.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay

- Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides minimal relevant information, or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- May partially address both time periods with limited or no analysis, or may address only one time period.
- 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.
Question 4 (continued)

Information List: 1840s–1850s

- Arguments against immigration and immigrants:
  - Ethnic neighborhoods in cities viewed with suspicion; slums, poverty, crime, alcoholism, disease.
  - Immigrants were inherently inferior to “older-stock Americans.”
  - Workers argued that immigrants worked for lower wages, taking jobs from native-born labor force.
  - Whigs complained that immigrants voted Democratic and would corrupt the political process.
  - Taxpayers would have to pay for schools, hospitals, civic services.
- Much opposition to Irish immigrants: in Boston, “No Irish Need Apply” signs; cultural denigration of Irish immigrants: Irish caricatured as monkeys, drunk, “non-white” (Irish responded with insistence on their “whiteness”).
- Anti-Catholicism mixed with anti-immigrant sentiment.
  - Philadelphia, 1844 “Bible Riots” (aka: “Nannygoat Market Riots”): attacks on priests/nuns; Catholic churches burned and vandalized; fighting killed and wounded a number of people.
  - Riots between native-born and Irish workers on canal and railroad projects.
- Not as much opposition to German immigrants (mostly Protestant, had more skills and resources, settled in sparsely populated areas of the Midwest as family groups), although sometimes they were regarded with suspicion (particularly Catholic German immigrants); German immigrants were often more educated and had more financial resources than their American neighbors.
- Discrimination against Chinese and Mexicans in mining camps in the 1850s.
- California: various anti-Chinese laws and court rulings in the 1850s:
  - 1852, Foreign Miners License Tax: $4/month tax; primarily aimed at Chinese.
  - 1854, *People v. Hall* (CA Supreme Court): existing state law said blacks, mulattoes, and Indians could not testify against whites; the court ruled that the law was meant to apply to all non-whites; established that no Chinese immigrants or Chinese-Americans could testify against white citizens in court.
  - 1855 and 1858: laws passed to stop Chinese immigration to the state (laws found unconstitutional).
- Discrimination in 1840s–1850s against Hispanics (Tejanos) in Texas (particularly after annexation) and in California, as more Anglo settlers moved to both areas.
  - 1850, Foreign Miners’ Tax in CA: $20/month tax on California-born Mexican American laborers (although they had been granted citizenship by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo); repealed in 1851.
  - 1855: CA legislature outlawed bullfights and adopted an antivagrancy act aimed at Mexican American laborers.
Nativism in 1850s — violence against immigrants:
  ◦ 1854, New Orleans: vigilance committee vs. Catholics/immigrants, clashed in Jackson Square.
  ◦ 1854, Lawrence, MA: Irish neighborhood destroyed.
  ◦ 1855, Chicago Lager Beer Riots: mayor’s attempt to close saloons on Sunday met with protests by German, Irish, Swedish workingmen; National Guard, militia called out; martial law imposed.

Riots a factor in the creation of urban police forces and attempts to control the volunteer fire companies, which were often ethnic-oriented political gangs (i.e., primary reason behind the 1854 expansion of the city of Philadelphia from 2 to 129 sq. miles, to incorporate the immigrant suburbs of Kensington and Southwark to extend police jurisdiction to these immigrant areas).

1845 Philadelphia convention of nativists formed the Native American Party.

American Party (1850; popularly known as Know-Nothings; grew out of the 1849-50 Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner in NY):
  ◦ Grew to 1,500,000 by 1854.
  ◦ Attracted anti-immigrant Whigs, anti-Catholics.
  ◦ Membership restricted to native-born, white Protestants, who were sworn to secrecy.
  ◦ Accused immigrants of plotting with Catholics to overthrow U.S. democracy; disliked Catholic Church’s opposition to liberal European revolutions of 1848.
  ◦ Thought immigration was responsible for rising crime and rising rate of relief for the poor.
  ◦ Supported extension of period for naturalization from 5 to 21 years; ban on naturalized citizens’ holding of public office; use of Protestant Bible (King James version) in public schools; head tax to inhibit immigration; literacy test for voting; restriction on the sale of liquor.
  ◦ Popular in MA (1854, elected 11 congressmen, governor, all state officers, all state senators), PA, NY, DE; made gains in 1854 congressional elections (74 Know-Nothing congressmen); 1855: won MD, KY, TX, and won candidates in NY, CA, TN, VA, GA, AL, MS, LA.
  ◦ Western members of party did not oppose naturalized Protestants because of German voters.
  ◦ Split over antislavery into northern and southern wings in 1855; party declined by 1856.
  ◦ 1856: ran Millard Fillmore for president (polled 22 percent of popular vote; 8 electoral votes).

Information List: 1910s–1920s

- Some Progressives favored immigration restriction as a way to solve urban problems (poverty, overcrowding, social unrest, unemployment, drug use); temperance was partly an expression of the belief that immigrants’ use of liquor had to be “disciplined”; some Progressives saw Americanization as a way to break immigrants’ ethnic culture.
- Popularization of ideas of racial hierarchy: eugenics; Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 1916; army IQ tests administered during WWI seemed to suggest that blacks and new immigrants had inferior intelligence to native, white Protestants.
- Popular concepts of degrees of “whiteness” started to change into “absolute whiteness” and “absolute colored”; for example, the Irish were no longer a variation of “whiteness” but instead they were white; new thinking greatly simplified dividing the world’s peoples into desirable and undesirable groups.
- Dillingham Commission Report, 1911 (federal commission began in 1907): argued that newer immigrants were less assimilable than earlier immigrants.
Fear of immigrants during WWI:
- Anti-German, anti-Irish sentiment.
- Demand for “100 percent Americanism,” particularly by Committee on Public Information.
- Some states and towns burned German books, music, language instruction (16 states by end of the war).
- Popular renaming of German items, e.g., “liberty cabbage” for sauerkraut, “liberty steaks” for hamburgers.
- Vigilantism against German Americans and German aliens; many in the Midwest were particularly vulnerable.
  - Milwaukee: Loyalty League convinced school board to ban teaching of German, closed German theaters and music halls.
  - American Protective League: sought to purge radicals and reformers, wiretapped phones, intercepted private mail, burglarized union offices, broke up German-language newspapers, harassed immigrants.
- 1917 Trading with the Enemy Act: postmaster general authorized to suspend mailing privileges of foreign-language periodicals and newspapers deemed offensive to the government.
- 1918 Alien Act: deportation of any noncitizen who advocated revolution or anarchism.

1917 Immigration Act:
- Required literacy test (earlier attempts to pass literacy tests had been vetoed by Cleveland in 1896, by Taft in 1913, and by Wilson in 1915; in 1917 Wilson vetoed yet another such bill; this act was passed over his veto).
- Created an “Asiatic Barred Zone” (Japan and Korea left out of it, but prior limitations on laborers from China and Japan still applied).
- Mexicans exempted temporarily.

Some western states forbade Asian immigrants to own or lease land.
- CA 1913 Alien Land Act: “aliens not eligible for citizenship” could not purchase or lease land for longer than three years.
- CA 1920 Alien Land Act: no rentals of land by aliens ineligible for citizenship or by corporations with stock held by aliens ineligible for citizenship.


Increased immigration was blamed for post-WWI depression and unemployment; AFL proposed to halt immigration for two years; fear that immigrant workers raised unemployment and lowered wages.

Prohibition, 1920: drinking associated with Catholic immigrants, particularly urban ones; seen as a way to “discipline” new immigrant population; brewing industry connected to German immigrants.

Fear of “new immigrants” from southern and eastern Europe (associated with radicalism, genetic and cultural inferiority).

Campaign in early 1920s by CA congressmen and senators to ban Japanese “picture brides” from immigrating to the United States.

Trial of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, 1921, and execution, 1927: showed fear and association of immigrants with political radicalism.

Ku Klux Klan of 1920s.

“100 percent Americanism.”
White supremacy (slogan: “Native, White, Protestant Supremacy”):
- Became a force in Democratic Party politics, particularly in Midwest and small-town America.
- Systematic terror against blacks, Jews, Catholics, foreigners.
- Faded after Stephenson affair, Indiana, 1925.

1921 Immigration Act (Emergency Quota Act):
- Established overall maximum of 357,000 immigrants per year.
- Quotas based on national origins: 3 percent of each country’s nationals residing in U.S. in 1910.

1922 Married Women’s Act (Cable Act): "any woman citizen who married an alien ineligible for citizenship shall cease to be a citizen of the U.S."; women could not acquire citizenship by virtue of spouse’s status; rather, they had to apply on their own.

Ozawa v. U.S. (1922): Japanese immigrants were unassimilable aliens and racially ineligible for U.S. citizenship; Supreme Court ruled that the definition of “race” was not a scientific one but instead based on the “understanding of the common man”; therefore “white persons,” the phrase in the law, meant northern and western Europeans.

U.S. v. Thind (1923): Asian Indian immigrants were unassimilable aliens and racially ineligible for U.S. citizenship.

1924 Johnson–Reed Immigration Act (National Origins Act) — established National Origins Plan to begin in 1929:
- Cut maximum annual immigration to 164,000 and reduced European quotas to 2 percent of each nationality in U.S. in 1890, thereby discriminating against southern and eastern Europeans.
- Excluded “aliens ineligible for citizenship” (east and south Asia, Japan; Chinese were already excluded by laws of 1882, 1892).
- Filipinos, Mexicans, and Canadians (western hemisphere) were exempted from the 1924 act.
- Prevented Asian women from joining their husbands in the U.S.
- Allowed all other foreign-born wives and children of U.S. citizens to enter as non-quota immigrants.
- Divided balance of world into “five colored races” (black, mulatto, Chinese, Japanese, Indian).
- Created a new category: “illegal alien.”


U.S. Border Patrol established in 1925; made border crossing from Mexico more difficult (head taxes, visa fees, literacy tests, document checks).

1927 revised National Origins Act:
- Established new quotas to begin in 1929.
- Set annual limit of 150,000 immigrants; completely excluded Japanese.
- European quotas were decided in proportion to “national origins” (country of birth or descent) of continental U.S. inhabitants in 1920.
- Immigrants from western hemisphere (except “potential paupers” as defined by Labor Dept.) were excluded from quotas.
• Mexicans subjected to discrimination:
  ◦ In employment and residence patterns.
  ◦ Often confined to barrios.
  ◦ Legal restrictions in some states on employment, such as teaching, legal profession, public works projects.
  ◦ Agribusiness interests tried to keep borders open, using racial stereotyping as their weapon (only Mexicans could perform physically demanding work “owing to their crouching and bending habits”).
  ◦ School systems were segregated.
• 1929 Anti-Filipino riots in CA resulted in 1934 legislation to eliminate immigration from the Philippines.
African American leaders have responded to racial discrimination in the United States in a variety of ways. Compare and contrast the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s with the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.

The 8–9 Essay
• Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that examines the response of African American leaders to racial discrimination by comparing and contrasting the goals and the strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s with the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.
• Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information regarding the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s and the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.
• Provides effective analysis of the response of African American leaders to racial discrimination during the two time periods; treatment of the two time periods and/or the goals and strategies 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 goals and the strategies of African American leaders in the 1890s–1920s with the goals and strategies of African American leaders in the 1950s–1960s.
• Supports the thesis with some relevant and specific supporting information.
• Provides some analysis of the response of African American leaders to racial discrimination during both time periods; treatment of the two time periods and/or the goals and strategies may be uneven.
• May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the overall quality of the essay.
• Has acceptable organization and writing.

The 2–4 Essay
• Contains an unfocused or limited thesis, or simply paraphrases the question.
• Provides minimal relevant information, or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
• Provides simplistic analysis that may be generally descriptive, or may address the goals and objectives of only one time period.
• 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.
African American Leaders, 1890s–1920s

Frederick Douglass
- Published *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* in 1881, enlarged in 1892; died, 1895.

Booker T. Washington
- Born into slavery, educated at Hampton Institute (VA).
- Founder of Tuskegee Institute (1881).
- Eloquence on behalf of gradualism made him favored by whites who liked his acceptance of this concept.
- Wrote his autobiography, *Up from Slavery*, in 1900.
- Editor of the *New York Age*.
- Most popular African American figure among whites and blacks when he died in 1915.

W.E.B. Du Bois
- Educated at Fisk University and was the first black American to earn a doctorate in history from Harvard (1895).
- Professor at Atlanta University.
- Only African American of the five activists who formed the NAACP in 1910; NAACP officer and editor of *The Crisis* (NAACP journal).
- Researcher at the University of Pennsylvania.
- “Talented Tenth.”

Ida B. Wells-Barnett
- Teacher, journalist, and civil rights activist born in Mississippi in 1862.
- Member of the Niagara Movement.
- Suffragette who worked with Alice Paul as one of the first African American women in the largely white, middle-class women’s movement.
- Activism triggered by personal experience with the segregated Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad in 1884 and the lawsuit she brought against the railroad in her hometown of Memphis, TN.
- In 1889 became co-owner and operator of the newspaper *Free Speech and Headlight*.
- In 1892 condemned lynching after three friends were lynched. She left Memphis for Chicago when she became the target of white supremacists.

Marcus Garvey
- Jamaican.
- Founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914, which denounced the NAACP and “white” blacks who remained servants of racist whites.
- Promoted black pride and established the Black Star steamship line.
- Created the *Negro World* newspaper.
- At least 500,000 members of the UNIA by 1921, mostly uneducated urban residents who had recently migrated from rural areas.
- Convicted in 1923 for fraud regarding his steamship line and entered prison in 1925; pardoned by Calvin Coolidge in 1927 and deported; died in 1940 in London.

*Chicago Defender*
- Founded by Robert Abbott in 1905 and published in his landlady’s apartment until 1920.
- By 1914 was the leading African American newspaper in the nation, with two-thirds of its readership residing outside of the Chicago area.
T. Thomas Fortune
- Editor of the *New York Age*.
- Founder of the Afro-American League (1887).

Carter G. Woodson
- Founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (1915).
- Editor of the *Journal of Negro History*.

William Monroe Trotter
- Classmate of Du Bois at Harvard.
- Editor of the *Boston Guardian*.
- Militant critic of Washington’s accommodation to whites.

Harlem Renaissance
- African American writers concentrated mostly in upper Manhattan.
- Focused on social problems of all members of America’s underclass.
- Alain Locke, editor of *The New Negro*.
- Claude McKay was the first militant HR author (“If We Must Die”).
- Langston Hughes was among the most prolific.
- Zora Neale Hurston.

Goals of African American Leaders, 1890s–1920s

Booker T. Washington
- Self-improvement through education in agriculture and the trades.
- “Accommodationism” — gradual economic advancement.

Most Other Leaders
- Denounced Washington’s “accommodationism.”
- Promoted immediate guarantee of equality for African Americans after the Civil War.
- Equal economic opportunity for freed blacks.
- Unrestricted right to vote.
- Equality of economic opportunity.
- Higher education for the talented.
- Equal justice in the courts.
- End to trade union discrimination.

Garvey and Fortune
- Promoted the immediate and complete guarantee of equality for African Americans after the Civil War.
- Demanded full civil rights, better schools, fair wages; fought discrimination.
- Black pride and separatism, especially extolled all things black, particularly Africanism.
- Stressed economic independence as essential to black autonomy from white exploitation.
- Promoted race consciousness; condemned lynching and discrimination; called for equal treatment under the law.
Harlem Renaissance

- Demonstrated the richness and worthiness of the black racial heritage through literature, poetry, and art.
- *The New Negro* (1925): collection of black writings that led to interest by white publishers.
- Humanized the black citizen within the social compact.

Strategies of African American Leaders, 1890s–1920s

**Booker T. Washington**

- Atlanta Compromise (1895) outlined how economically useful African Americans and whites could coexist and prosper together under the “Gospel of Wealth” while denying interest in integration.
- Stressed that blacks must learn useful skills to prepare themselves for full citizenship.
- Encouraged blacks to stop fighting segregation and second-class citizenship.
- “Cast down your bucket where you are”: work for immediate self-improvement rather than long-term social change.
- Formed National Negro Business League in 1900 to organize African American economic leaders to support his goals.

**Most Other Leaders**

- Denounced Washington’s “accommodationism.”
- Supported racial solidarity and economic advancement but never supported the deference to whites that Washington counseled.
- Used black publications for muckraking and investigative journalism; *The Crisis, The Messenger, The Defender*.
- Advocated boycotting white-owned businesses to try to stem the increase in lynching.
- Created the Niagara Movement, which called for voting rights, equal educational opportunities, and an end to segregation; later allied the Niagara Movement with white progressives.
- Formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909:
  - Used lawsuits in federal courts to attempt the eradication of racial discrimination.
  - *Guinn v. U.S.* (1915): Supreme Court outlawed the grandfather clause (which included poll taxes and literacy requirements for voting) in an Oklahoma law.
  - *Buchanan v. Worley* (1917): struck down residential segregation in Louisville, KY.
  - Led anti-lynching campaign, including federal legislation.
  - Increased influence of the NAACP (more than 400 local associations by 1921).

**Garvey and Fortune**

- More militant.
- UNIA used mass rallies and parades, resulting in growth of the organization and black businesses during the 1920s.
- Garvey announced the Empire of Africa in 1921 to assure blacks they would have their own economic institutions and African nation state.
- Fortune advocated use of violence against violence.

Harlem Renaissance

- Spurred racial pride, courage, and consciousness through literature, poetry, and art.
African American Leaders, 1950s–1960s

**Nonviolent Movement Leaders: Supported Integration**

**Thurgood Marshall**
- Chief counsel for NAACP (1940).
- Judge in U.S. Court of Appeals (1961), solicitor general (1965).
- Chief counsel for the NAACP; argued before the Supreme Court and won the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (1954).
- First African American Supreme Court Justice (1967).

**Martin Luther King Jr.**
- Baptist minister and prominent leader of the civil rights movement — noted for using nonviolent methods, following the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.
- Rose to prominence in Montgomery bus boycott (1955).
- Helped found and lead the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) (1957).
- Led marches for blacks’ right to vote, desegregation, labor rights, and other basic civil rights.
- Led 1963 March on Washington; "I Have a Dream" speech.
- Assassinated (1968).

**Ralph Abernathy**
- Minister, close associate of Martin Luther King Jr. (MLK), and member of SCLC.
- Helped to organize the Montgomery bus boycott.
- Succeeded King as head of the SCLC and took on King’s plan for a Poor People's March that was to unite blacks and whites in support of fundamental changes in American society and economic structure.

**James Farmer**
- Leader of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).
- Instrumental in organizing “freedom rides.”

**Jesse Jackson**
- Close associate of MLK.
- Participated in Selma marches (1965).
- Served as executive director (1966-71) of Operation Breadbasket, a program of SCLC.
- Present at MLK’s assassination.

**A. Philip Randolph**
- Untiring civil rights fighter.
- Socialist and founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids (1925).
- Vice president of the AFL-CIO (1955).
- Cofounder of the A. Philip Randolph Institute (1964) to serve and promote cooperation between labor and the black community; editor of *Opportunity Magazine*.

**Ella Baker**
- Cofounder of the SCLC and served as its first director (1957).
- Helped to organize the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to give young blacks a more organized voice in the civil rights movement (1960).
John R. Lewis
- Member of SNCC and became its chairman in 1963.
- Organized sit-ins and took part in the 1961 “freedom rides.”
- Led marchers across the Pettus Bridge in Selma, AL, on “Bloody Sunday” (1965).

Medgar Evers
- Mississippi NAACP field secretary shot and killed in 1963 by a white supremacist.

James Meredith
- The first black student to successfully enroll at the University of Mississippi (1962).
- Led the March Against Fear in 1966 to protest voter registration intimidation.

Militant Movement Leaders: Supported Segregation

Malcolm X
- Spokesman for Nation of Islam.
- Advocate of achieving civil rights “by any means necessary.”
- Suspended by Elijah Muhammad in 1963 after a speech in which Malcolm suggested that President Kennedy’s assassination was a matter of the “chickens coming home to roost.”
- Left Nation of Islam (1963), converted to orthodox Islam (1964), and believed that there could be brotherhood between blacks and whites.
- Founded Organization of Afro-American Unity (1964); its tone was still that of militant black nationalism but no longer of separation.
- Assassinated (1965).

Bobby Seale and Huey Newton
- Together founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense:
  - Founded in 1966 in Oakland, CA.
  - Militant group that engaged in high-profile, violent confrontations with police.
  - Sought to rid African American neighborhoods of police.
  - Dress code: black leather jackets, berets, slacks, and light blue shirts; afro hairstyles.
  - Raised fist used as a symbol of solidarity; seen at 1968 Olympics.
  - Used slogan “Power to the People.”
  - Called on all blacks to arm themselves for the liberation struggle.
  - Originally espoused violent revolution to achieve black liberation, but in 1971 the Panthers embraced a nonviolent strategy and shifted their focus to offering community services to African Americans.
- Believed in violent confrontations to attain goals of justice and equality for blacks.
- Newton killed a policeman (1967); convicted of voluntary manslaughter — after appeal and mistrials, Newton was cleared in 1971.
- Seale was one of the “Chicago Eight” charged and convicted of conspiracy to violently disrupt the Democratic National convention of 1968 (conviction later overturned).

Stokeley Carmichael
- Participant in “freedom rides.”
- Head of SNCC (1966); began to urge African American communities to confront the KKK armed and ready for battle.
- Rejected more moderate leaders and set off a storm of controversy by calling for “Black Power.”
Question 5 (continued)

*Vehicles of Change: Their Actions Stimulated Change*

**Greensboro Four**

**Rosa Parks**
- Refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white person.
- Her arrest initiated the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, making Parks an inspiration to the civil rights movement.

**Little Rock Nine**
- First black teenagers to attend all-white Central High School in Little Rock, AK (1957).
- Challenged segregation in the Deep South and won.

**Goals of African American Leaders, 1950s–1960s**
- End Jim Crow; desegregate schools, buses, lunch counters, etc.
- Equal access and opportunity in education, housing, jobs.
- Equal representation under the law.
- Enforcement of 14th and 15th Amendments.
- Protection of voting rights.
- Economic and social equality; freedom, respect, and dignity.
- Protection from violence by the white community, especially law officials.
- Pan-African identity.
- Panthers’ “10-Point Program.”

**Strategies of African American Leaders, 1950s–1960s**
- Acts of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience (MLK, Abernathy, SCLC, SNCC).
- Civil resistance.
- Organization of activists and supporters.
- Avoiding the “Communist” label.
- Mass action/mobilization.
- Voter registration drives.
- Direct action, primarily through sit-ins, boycotts, marches.
- “Freedom rides.”
- Calls for “Black Power.”
- Militancy and armed responses (Panthers).