



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
General Certificate of Education Advanced Subsidiary Level and Advanced Level

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HISTORY

9697/52

Paper 5 The History of the USA, c.1840–1968

October/November 2010

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.
Write your Centre number, candidate number and name on all the work you hand in.
Write in dark blue or black pen.
You may use a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

Section A

Answer **Question 1**.

Section B

Answer any **three** questions.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.
All questions in this paper carry equal marks.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.



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Section A: The Road to Secession and Civil War, 1846–61

You **must** answer Question 1.

SENATOR STEPHEN DOUGLAS AND THE KANSAS–NEBRASKA ACT, 1854

- 1 Read the Sources and then answer the question.

When answering **Question 1**, candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the interpretation and evaluation of the sources both individually and as a group.

Source A

To all Americans. Do not submit to become agents in extending legalized oppression and systematized injustice over a vast territory still exempt from the terrible evil of slavery.

Whatever apologies may be offered for the toleration of slavery in the States, none can be offered for its extension into Territories where it does not exist, and where that extension involves the repeal of ancient law and the violation of solemn agreements. All should protest, earnestly and emphatically, by correspondence, through the press, by memorials, by resolutions of public meetings and legislative bodies, and in whatever other mode may seem expedient, against this enormous crime.

For ourselves, we shall resist it by speech and vote, and with all the abilities which God has given us. Even if overcome in the impending struggle, we shall not submit. We shall go home to our constituents, erect anew the standard of freedom, and call on the people to come to the rescue of the country from the domination of slavery. We will not despair; for the cause of human freedom is the cause of God.

Appeal of the Independent Democrats, 19 January 1854.

Source B

Douglas favoured a central route for the transcontinental railroad and owned the Chicago site planned as its eastern terminus. Also the Democrats were looking for a good issue for the 1856 Presidential election. For these reasons Douglas introduced a Bill to organise the Great Plains. Earlier Bills had been defeated by Southern Senators, so this was made more attractive to them by incorporating the principle of popular sovereignty. At the insistence of Southern leaders he made clear his Bill would render the Missouri Compromise of 1820 'inoperative and void'. Also the amended Bill divided the region into two separate Territories: Kansas and Nebraska.

From a modern historian's account of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Source C

What a happy conception it was for Congress to apply this simple rule, that the will of the people shall govern, to the settlement of the question of domestic slavery in the Territories. Congress is neither to 'legislate slavery into any Territory nor to exclude it, but to leave the people there perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way subject only to the US Constitution'. Hence Congress prescribed that when Kansas be admitted as a State it shall be received into the Union with or without slavery, as its constitution shall prescribe at the time of admission.

The whole question being settled upon the principle of popular sovereignty, may we not then hope that the long agitation on this subject will end and that the sectional parties to which it has given birth will all speedily become extinct?

President Buchanan's Inaugural Address, 4 March 1857.

Source D

I hold to be a fundamental principle in all free governments that every people ought to have the right to form, adopt and ratify the constitution under which they are to live. If the people of Kansas want a slaveholding state, let them have it, and if they want a free state they have a right to it and it is not for the people of New York or Missouri to complain about their decision.

If the people of a Territory want slavery, they will encourage it by passing the necessary laws and police regulations. If they do not want it they will withhold that legislation and slavery will be as dead as if it was prohibited by the Constitution.

Senator Stephen Douglas, speech at Bloomington, Illinois, 16 July 1858.

Source E

Douglas's motives in introducing a bill which opened to slavery a region from which it had been excluded by the Missouri Compromise have been much debated. In his mind the concession to the South was nominal, as he was convinced that slavery would only exist where it paid and the soil and climate of Kansas and Nebraska were unsuited to the cultivation of plantation crops. He also genuinely believed that popular sovereignty was both the most democratic and effective way of dealing with the position of slavery in Territories. Once the people of each Territory were allowed to decide the matter for themselves by majority vote, the slavery question would cease to agitate the nation. Douglas's practical grasp of the problem of slavery extension was sound enough but he erred in failing to comprehend that for a growing number of Northerners slavery was not a practical problem but a moral one. His insensitivity to that fact proved fatal to his presidential hopes, the unity of his party and the Union.

From an historian's account of Douglas's 'popular sovereignty' solution to the slavery issue, 1997.

Now answer the following question.

'Douglas's policy of applying the principle of popular sovereignty to the Kansas-Nebraska issue was entirely reasonable.' Using Sources A-E discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

Section B

You must answer **three** questions from this section.

- 2 'An aggressive and unjust war.' To what extent is this a fair assessment of the Mexican War of 1846?
- 3 Compare Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis as war leaders.
- 4 'A conscious and successful effort by the more enlightened business groups to guide and control economic and social policies in their own long-term interests.' Is this a valid criticism of the Progressive movement in America in the period 1901–1917?
- 5 Evaluate Martin Luther King's contribution to the cause of civil rights in the United States in the period 1955–1968.
- 6 'There was no single New Deal but at least two different and distinct programmes.' How far do you agree with this assessment of FDR's policies?
- 7 'Walk softly and carry a big stick.' To what extent is this an accurate statement of Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policies as President 1901–1909?
- 8 Evaluate the impact of television on American social and political life in the period 1945–1968.

Copyright Acknowledgements:

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Question 1 © M A Jones; *The Limits of Liberty; 1697-1986*; Oxford University Press; 1989.

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