



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

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HISTORY

9697/51

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

October/November 2011

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST

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 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.



Section A: The Road to Secession and Civil War, 1846–1861

You **must** answer Question 1.

THE GROWTH OF SECTIONAL ANTAGONISM, 1858–1861

- 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

I assert that this government can exist as they made it, divided into free and slave States. Lincoln says that he looks forward to a time when slavery shall be abolished everywhere. I look forward to a time when each State shall be allowed to do as it pleases. If it chooses to keep slavery forever, it is not my business, but its own; if it chooses to abolish slavery, it is its own business, not mine. I care more for the great principles of self-government, the right of the people to rule, than I do for all the negroes in Christendom. I would not endanger the perpetuity of this Union for all the negroes that ever existed. Hence, I say, let us maintain this government on the principles that our Fathers made it, recognising the right of each State to keep slavery as long as its people determine, or to abolish it when they please.

Stephen Douglas, speaking at Alton, Illinois, 17 October 1858.

Source B

The history of the Abolition or Black Republican Party of the North is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having as their intention the establishment of absolute tyranny over the slave-holding States. We have never shown hostility towards the North. They have robbed us of our property. They have murdered our citizens who were endeavouring to reclaim their property by lawful means. They have set at nought the decrees of the Supreme Court. They have invaded our States and killed our citizens. They have declared their unalterable determination to exclude us altogether from the Territories. They have nullified the laws of Congress, and finally they have capped the mighty pyramid of unfraternal enormities by electing Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency, on a platform and by a system which indicates nothing but the subjugation of the South and the complete ruin of her social, political and industrial institutions.

New Orleans 'Daily Crescent', 13 November 1860.

Source C

I am not without hopes that our rights may be maintained and our wrongs be redressed in the Union. If this can be done it is my earnest wish. I think also that it is the wish of a majority of our people. When this Union is broken up, if of necessity it must be, I see at present but little prospect of good government afterwards. Revolutions are much easier started than controlled.

Letter from Alexander H Stephens, later Vice-President of the Confederacy, 25 November 1860.

Source D

Liberty and slavery, civilisation and barbarism, are absolute antagonisms. One or the other must perish on this continent. I am thoroughly convinced that two such civilisations as the North and the South cannot co-exist on the same soil and be equal in the Federal brotherhood. To expect otherwise would be to expect God to sleep with and tolerate 'hell'. I helped to make the Republican Party and if it forsakes its distinctive ideas, I can help to tear it down and help to erect a new party that shall never cower to any slave driver. Let this natural war begin; let this inevitable struggle proceed and go on until slavery is dead – dead – dead.

*Letter from William Herndon to Charles Sumner, 10 December 1860
(Herndon was Abraham Lincoln's former law partner).*

Source E

Had the South used her power prudently and acted wisely, she would have controlled the destinies of this government for generations to come. But they commenced constant aggression upon the rights of the people of the North, which forced the latter to rise and drive them from power. The South passed a fugitive slave bill which would have disgraced the worst despotisms of Europe. They repealed the Missouri Compromise, which they had forced upon the North, in order to force slavery upon an unwilling people. They invaded Kansas and plundered and murdered its citizens. Every new triumph of the South and every concession of the North has only whetted their appetite for still more and encouraged them to make greater claims and unreasonable demands until today they are threatening the government itself.

Congressman J B Alley of Massachusetts, speaking to Congress, 26 January 1861.

Now answer the following question.

'The North was to blame for the growth of sectional antagonism between 1858 and 1861.'
Using Sources A–E, discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

Section B

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

- 2 Explain why the crisis of 1850 occurred, and how it was resolved.
- 3 'The Confederacy lost the Civil War because its political and military leadership was inferior.' Discuss this assertion.
- 4 To what extent is it true to say that Progressivism was simply Populism moved up into the middle classes?
- 5 In what ways did the social and economic position of African-Americans change between 1901 and 1968?
- 6 'A triumph of image over substance.' Discuss this verdict on the first two Presidential terms of Franklin D Roosevelt.
- 7 'The United States' retreat into isolationism was more apparent than real in the period 1919 to 1941.' Critically examine the validity of this assertion.
- 8 To what extent was increasing national prosperity shared by all Americans between 1945 and 1968?