

**CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS**  
GCE Advanced Subsidiary Level and GCE Advanced Level

## **MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2014 series**

### **9697 HISTORY**

**9697/53**

Paper 5, maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes should be read in conjunction with the question paper and the Principal Examiner Report for Teachers.

Cambridge will not enter into discussions about these mark schemes.

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Page 2	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

## GENERIC MARK BANDS FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

Examiners will assess which Level of Response best reflects most of the answer. An answer will not be required to demonstrate all of the descriptions in a particular Level to qualify for a Mark Band.

Band	Marks	Levels of Response
1	21–25	<i>The approach will be consistently analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by very appropriate factual material and ideas. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band, there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument.</i>
2	18–20	<i>Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that a good solid answer has been provided.</i>
3	16–17	<i>Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there may be some heavily descriptive or narrative passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance and depth in factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence.</i>
4	14–15	<i>Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly although often implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions and conclusions. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be organised more effectively.</i>
5	11–13	<i>Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the requirements of the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the particular question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced.</i>
6	8–10	<i>Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries that lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question.</i>
7	0–7	<i>Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or arguments that do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent.</i>

Page 3	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

## Section A

### L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO VALID USE OF SOURCES [1–5]

These answers will write about the topic and might use the sources. However, candidates will not use the sources as information/evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay-style answer to the question.

### L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [6–8]

These answers use the sources as information rather than as evidence, i.e. sources are used at face value only with no evaluation/interpretation in context.

### L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM SOURCES TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [9–13]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and to disprove it. However, sources are still used only at face value.

### L4 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [14–16]

These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context, i.e. not simply accepting them at their face value.

### L5 BY INTERPRETING/EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [17–21]

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

### L6 AS L5, PLUS EITHER (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE/SUPPORT IS BETTER/PREFERRED, OR (b) RECONCILES/EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED [22–25]

For (a) the argument must be that the evidence for agreeing/disagreeing is better/preferred. This must involve a comparative judgement, i.e. not just why some evidence is better, but also why other evidence is worse.

For (b) include all L5 answers which use the evidence to **modify** the hypothesis (rather than simply seeking to support/contradict) in order to improve it.

Page 4	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

1 How far do Sources A–E support the assertion that the North had every right to oppose the Fugitive Slave Act?

	SOURCE & CONTENT	ANALYSIS: LEVEL 2/3	CROSS-REFERENCE	CONTEXT AND/OR PROVENANCE	EVALUATION: LEVEL 4/5
A	A cartoon from 1851 illustrating the sectional conflict over the Fugitive Slave Act and how dependent the South is on Webster's support.	The flags show the cartoon opposes the Fugitive Slave law. It also accepts the act is unconstitutional. No constitutional right means <b>No</b> .	Webster is the author of Source <b>B</b> , Garrison the subject of Source <b>C</b> . Those sources confirm the gulf between the two, thus confirming the cartoon.	Published in the year after the Fugitive Slave Act became law, the cartoon shows that the passions its passage caused are as great as ever.	For a cartoon, Source A is surprisingly even handed, even if it exaggerates the importance of Webster. Thus <b>No</b> .
B	An 1850 speech by Daniel Webster denying the right of the North to oppose the Fugitive Slave Act.	Webster clearly argues that Northerners have no constitutional right to oppose the Fugitive Slave Act. Thus <b>No</b> .	Source <b>A</b> shows Webster to be crucial to the position of the slave owners against the Fugitive Slave Act. Source <b>C</b> supports his case, <b>D</b> and <b>E</b> oppose it.	Webster plays a leading role in achieving the 1850 Compromise, upsetting Northern Whigs in doing so.	Webster is too close to the South and its slave owners to be reliable. Breaking with his Massachusetts supporters, however, is brave. Thus <b>Yes</b> or <b>No</b> .
C	An 1851 speech by a cleric which argues that religious and constitutional arguments against the fugitive slave law have no validity.	Pastor Lord takes a strong line in favour of the Fugitive Slave Act, arguing it is legal and moral. Thus <b>No</b> .	Source <b>E</b> rejects <b>C</b> 's moral argument if not its constitutional one. Sources <b>A</b> and <b>B</b> support the legal argument of C. <b>D</b> 's narrative has no argument.	You might expect a Pastor to accept the 'higher law' argument against the Fugitive Slave Act. Pastor Lord rejects it. Where does Lord live, North or South?	The counter-intuitive stance taken by Lord gives the source a greater strength, even if we don't know enough about Lord. Thus <b>No</b> .
D	A report of an 1854 meeting at which Garrison burned copies of the Fugitive Slave law and the US constitution.	Garrison takes a very strong line against the Fugitive Slave act and its illegality. Thus <b>Yes</b> .	Garrison's extreme action is only broadly supported by <b>E</b> but not really by <b>A</b> and opposed by <b>B</b> and <b>C</b>	Garrison's story is published in Garrison's newspaper. How reliable is that? However, it is detailed, it can be checked and it does mention some opposition to Garrison.	There is little to explain why Garrison has acted as he did, which is crucial to the question. Thus a marginal as well as dubious source. Thus <b>No</b> .

<b>Page 5</b>	<b>Mark Scheme</b>	<b>Syllabus</b>	<b>Paper</b>
	<b>GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014</b>	<b>9697</b>	<b>53</b>

E	Extract from a book by Greeley which argues that the North rejected the Fugitive Slave law because the law was against God's teachings.	Greeley argues that Northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave law is justified because the law is against God's will. Thus <b>Yes</b> .	Greeley is supported by <b>A</b> and <b>D</b> to some degree but not by Sources <b>B</b> and <b>C</b> .	Greeley is a leading abolitionist, which casts doubt on the reliability of his arguments. His book is written towards the end of the civil war which might make it one-sided.	There are too many question marks about the reliability of Greeley's comparison of North and South. Thus <b>No</b> .
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**Level 6: in addition to reaching Level 5, candidates can also EITHER (a) explain why one set of sources for or against the hypothesis is preferred to the other OR (b) use the evaluated sources to support an alternative hypothesis. Thus:**

**Either (a):** Although there is evaluated evidence to both challenge and support the assertion that the North had every right to oppose the Fugitive Slave Act, the evidence against the assertion is stronger. The sources which support the argument, Sources D and E, are shown on evaluation to be unreliable. Both are written by leading abolitionists, Source D trying to whip up support against the Act via his own newspaper, the other written at a time when the abolitionist cause was in the ascendant. The sources against the assertion, though sometimes equally partisan, are supported by both cross-referencing and contextual knowledge. They are more convincing.

**Or (b):** The evaluated evidence shows the strength of the arguments surrounding the Fugitive Slave Act. The law was passed in 1850 according to proper constitutional procedures and yet many in the North wanted to reject it. They turned to the 'higher law' argument to justify their arguments and actions, using God-made law to trump human law. Thus a more valid assertion might be 'the North thought it had some right in opposing the Fugitive Slave Act but the South had a constitutional right for its introduction across the USA'.

**NB The above summaries indicate possible approaches to analysing and evaluating the sources. Other approaches are valid, if supported by accurate knowledge, sound understanding as well as by the skills of source evaluation.**

Page 6	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

## Section B

### 2 Assess the impact of the coming of the railroads on the development of the West up to 1890.

Candidates are likely to be most familiar with the building of the transcontinental railroad between 1863 and 1869. This brought the West, both coastal and inland, much closer to the east and to Europe. From 1869 a coast-to-coast journey took about a week, with four changes of railroad on the way.

Better-prepared candidates will also know that another four cross-country lines were built by 1893, two in the North, one in the South and one from the Midwest to the South.

The West, from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean was virtually empty of people, apart from a declining number of American Indians and a few Mexican settlers. In 1850 less than 1.0% of US people lived in the West, totalling 178 000. By 1890 these figures were 5.0% and three million. American Indians were calculated to number 105 000 in 1890, 3% of the total living in the West.

This great **growth in Euro-Americans living in the West** was made possible only because of the growth of Western railroads from the 1860s and in two ways:

- **Improved Transport**  
Transcontinental railroads enabled people to cross from Atlantic to Pacific in a week or so. Travel by railroad was also easier than by the wagon trains which railroads replaced.
- **Marketing of the West in Europe**  
The railroad companies needed people to occupy the relatively empty spaces of the West in order to provide revenue income. Thus they tried to attract immigrants from Europe by using a range of publicity campaigns, e.g. the German Mennonite community in Russia.

At the same time the coming of the railroads **helped undermine American Indian tribes** by:

- **Encouraging the destruction of buffalo herds**  
The buffalo was a threat to railroad safety. The railroads also brought to the West visitors who wanted to indulge in some big-game hunting.
- **Linking the herders and farmers of the West to the markets of the East.**  
Cattle trails from Texas to Abilene, the Chisholm Trail, brought conflict with Indians in Kansas from 1867. This in turn caused Sherman to take a very hard line against the Indians.

The railroads also **helped the formation of national parks** in the Wild West. The Northern Pacific railroad supported the formation of these parks, presumably in part to provide another destination which might attract tourists.

The railroads helped bring about change in the West rather than be the sole cause of change. Thus other factors need considering as well for a full answer.

Page 7	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

### 3 Assess the causes and consequences of the impeachment of President Johnson in 1868.

NB Impeachment is the process, the trial and not its outcome. Many confuse the two. Impeachment is a [party] political trial.

- **Causes**

- **Background**

Johnson was a Southern Democrat, appointed Vice Presidential candidate by Lincoln in 1864 to appeal to voters in the four border states. The two men fought the 1864 election as **National Unionists** rather than as Republican and Democrat. In 1866 Johnson tried to maintain the National Unionist label. He was never a Republican.

- **Presidential Reconstruction 1865–66**

Johnson was keen to reintegrate Southern states into the USA as soon as possible. The moderate policies he followed angered the Radical Republicans of the North, who wanted to do more to help the ex-slaves of the South.

- **The 1866 Mid-Term Elections**

Unusually, Johnson involved himself directly in the campaign. His ‘swing around the circle’ almost certainly helped Republicans gain support. This led to **the 40th Congress 1867–69**. The Radical Republicans dominated both the House and the Senate, winning more than two-thirds of the seats in both. They were unwilling to compromise with Johnson.

- **The Tenure of Office Act 1867**

This act stated that the President could not remove an official whose initial appointment required the Senate’s approval without the Senate’s consent. In 1868 Johnson ignored the Act by dismissing Edwin Stanton, a Radical Republican, as War Secretary. Congress moved quickly to impeach the President

- **Consequences**

- **The President was acquitted**

The Senate failed to gain the two-thirds majority needed to return a guilty verdict by just one vote. Seven Republican Senators voted with the Democrats to acquit Johnson.

- **The conflict over Reconstruction continued**

Johnson continued to veto, on eight occasions, and Congress continued to override, on five occasions.

- **Johnson failed to be nominated as presidential candidate in 1868**

He tried to win the Democratic party nomination but failed, being too unpopular with Northern Democrats. Ulysses Grant won and Reconstruction continued.

The impeachment had a wider significance, which is not quite a consequence. It showed that impeachment was a political not a legal process and that gaining the necessary two-thirds majority for a conviction was very difficult. Thus it was avoided until 1998.

Page 8	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

#### 4 How significant was the Populist movement of the later nineteenth century?

The Populist movement can include both the **Populist party** of the 1890s and several predecessor movements such as the **Grange movement** from the late 1860s and the **Greenback Labour party** of 1874–89. The common thread between them was their opposition to elite power groups such as railroad companies and banks, which populists saw as too closely linked to the governing class and especially the dominant Republican party.

The Populist movement was a movement of ordinary men, especially farmers and labour union members who came together to defend their common interests. Its support came from the West and the South.

The main stages in the development of the movement were:

- **1867 Formation of the Grange movement**  
Farmers suffered from the instability of the market, often ending up in debt to pay for investment in equipment and materials. The movement was widespread and fragmented. Maintaining unity was almost impossible in a sector as fragmented as agriculture.
- **1874–89 The Greenback Labour party**  
Following the ‘**crime of 1873**’, i.e. the demonetization of silver, came the depression of the 1870s, which farmers and workers blamed on the bankers’ move to the gold standard. The party wanted reflation rather than deflation. It had some electoral success in the 1870s but faded away in the 1880s.
- **1890–1900 The People’s Party**  
The People’s party gained much support following the **Panic of 1893** and a severe depression for the rest of the 1890s.

In the 1892 presidential election the party’s candidate won four states in the West. In 1896 it chose the Democratic party’s nominee, William Jennings Bryan, as its candidate. Bryan still did not win. The Democrats, however, adopted many Populist policies. The issue facing the Populists was whether to join the Democrats or become independent.

In 1900, the separatist Populists chose their own candidate, Wharton Barker, who gained no states.

Though the Populist movement faded away, some of its policies were taken up by the Progressive movement and implemented by the Republicans and Democrats in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

These developments give candidates plenty of scope when trying to assess the significance of the Populist movement. As a political organisation, it achieved relatively little success, especially when it came to winning elections. As a source of ideas and policies, however, it was much more significant. That significance came in its impact on the two main political parties. In the USA, that is the best that third parties can achieve.



Page 9	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

**5 'The battle for the civil rights of ethnic minorities had been won by the end of the 1960s.'  
How far do you agree with this view?**

The key phrase in the question is 'ethnic minorities'. Those who write solely about African Americans and overlook American Indians and Hispanics are not providing a full answer to the question. A second key phrase is 'civil rights'. What exactly does this term cover? The Shorter OED defines the term as 'the rights of each citizen (US especially of Blacks) to liberty, equality etc.', which raises more questions than it answers. They could be political, economic or social.

**Case for:**

- **Civil Rights Act 1964**

This outlawed discrimination against all racial minorities in terms of

- Voter Registration
- Segregation in education, employment and public facilities.

It also established the **Equal Opportunities Employment Commission** to enforce the law with regard to workplace discrimination.

- **Voting Rights Act 1965**

This introduced federal supervision of state-run elections. Section 5 of the Act gave federal government direct control of states with poor records of voter registration. They were all in the South.

- **Affirmative Action 1965**

LBJ issued Executive Order 11246 which aimed to give assistance in employment and education to ethnic minorities previously discriminated against.

- **Civil Rights Act 1968**

Also known as the Fair Housing Act, this aimed to ensure that ethnic minorities did not suffer discrimination in renting or buying houses.

**Case against:**

- **Continuing protest by ethnic minorities**

This took two forms:

- **More radical protests by African Americans**

This involved the emergence of **Black Power** groups which argued that the battle for civil rights could never be won given the existing power structures of the USA.

- **Protests by other ethnic minorities**

Two groups continued to demand their rights in the late 1960s.

- **American Indians**

In 1968 the **American Indian Movement** was established to gain greater rights.

- **Hispanics**

Hispanics, led by Cesar Chavez, agitated for greater equality. The Delano Grape Strike in California lasted from 1965 to 1970.

- **Limitations of civil rights legislation**

Passing laws in Congress was not the same as putting them into practice. Ethnic minorities faced challenges, both legal and political.

Page 10	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

**6 Compare and contrast the First New Deal and the Second New Deal in terms of their aims and impact.**

**First New Deal: 1933–34**

**Aims**

- **To achieve economic recovery**
  - By reforming the banking system via **Emergency Banking Act** and **Glass-Steagall Act**
  - By reforming Wall Street: **Securities and Exchange Commission 1934**
  - By reviving trade: **going off the Gold Standard**
- **To provide relief for the worst-off**
  - To farmers via **the Agricultural Adjustment Act**
  - To the unemployed via **the Public Works Administration**
- **To reform key financial institutions, especially banking and Wall Street (see above).**

**Impact**

- Economic recovery not really achieved
- Some relief provided for the worst off
- Key institutions were reformed
- **In addition**, most but not all Americans responded positively to FDR's energetic leadership.

**Second New Deal: 1935–38**

**Aims**

- Much as before, if with more emphasis on reform. Thus **Wagner Act, Social Security Act and Works Progress Administration.**

**Impact**

- Economic recovery hit by Roosevelt Recession of 1937
- Reforms hit by Supreme Court judgements, hence court packing plan, a sign of failure
- FDR's position not really affected by series of setbacks as he builds the New Deal coalition within the Democratic party.

Page 11	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

7 ‘An imperial power in all but name.’ Discuss this view of America’s place in international affairs in the period from 1898 to 1917.

The dates cover the presidencies of McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson [in part]. Key events include:

**McKinley 1897–1901**

- **War with Spain 1898**  
The acquisition of Philippines, Puerto Rico and Guam and ‘independence’ for Cuba.
- **China**  
Support for Open Door policy, allowing increased trade.

**Roosevelt 1901–09**

- **Expansion of the US navy**  
TR made the navy the world’s third largest fleet and sent the Great White Fleet around the world in 1907–09. NB White was navy’s peacetime colours.
- **In Latin America**
  - **The Roosevelt Corollary**  
TR said USA would intervene in countries which defaulted on its debts, extending the Monroe Doctrine.
  - **The creation of Panama and the Panama Canal**  
TR supported Panama’s breakaway from Colombia, using the navy to do so. He then negotiated a treaty with Panama for the USA to have territory either side of the canal, which the USA funded, built and governed.
- In **Europe** he helped settle the **Russo-Japanese war**, for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, as well as bringing the **First Moroccan crisis** to a peaceful conclusion.
- With regard to **the Philippines**, TR moved to a policy of preparing the state for independence.

**Taft 1909–13**

- In **Latin America**, Taft advocated the policy of ‘**dollar diplomacy**’, using US loans to ensure economic and political stability.
- Taft’s main problem was **Mexico** and its revolution which started in 1910. He resisted pressure for full military intervention, preferring diplomacy to conflict.

**Wilson 1913–17 [NB March]**

- **War in Europe** dominated this presidency. Wilson kept the USA out of the war, despite pressure to join.
- In **Mexico** Wilson used military force briefly, occupying Vera Cruz in 1914 and sending a 7000 force in 1916–17, mainly to protect US interests or respond to threats against the US.

Page 12	Mark Scheme	Syllabus	Paper
	GCE AS/A LEVEL – May/June 2014	9697	53

8 'Almost everything changed; very little changed.' Which is the more valid view of US society in the 1950s and 1960s?

The focus is on US society, rather than its politics or its economy, even if it is often very hard to distinguish society from economy. Society can be disassembled by:

- **Class**

The main change was the **rise of a white collared middle class** as opposed to the blue collar working class. Though white collar employment expanded in the 1950s and 1960s, the manufacturing base of the USA remained as important as before. Only in the later 1960s was US industry undermined by the rise of German and Japanese manufacturing.

There was **upward social mobility**, helped by the booming economy and the expansion of college education, though exactly how much is hard to say.

- **Geography**

Two aspects here, local and regional:

- **Local**

i.e. the growth of the **suburbs**. With **Levittown** as a model, the mainly white and usually middle class families moved out of town into newly-built communities. Car ownership helped this movement.

- **Regional**

i.e. the growth of the **Sun Belt**. The phrase was coined in 1969 to cover states from Florida to California where, helped by air conditioning, defence industries were established and people went to retire.

This shift in population was complemented by the rise of the **Rust Belt** in the north east and mid west.

- **Age**

The **baby boomer** generation reached adolescence in the 1960s. The percentage of 15–25 year-olds grew from 20% to 30% between 1950 and 1970. Many went to college, where they developed tastes and views and lifestyles which differed greatly from their parents. Hence there was talk of a **generation gap**.

However, the majority of young people did not go to college and lived the revolution in lifestyles of the 1960s.

- **Ethnicity**

The educational opportunities of African Americans improved in these decades but not enough to make a big difference in their social position by 1968–70. More important was the general expansion of the economy and change in society, which gave some blacks access to middle class jobs.

- **Religion**

Some candidates might refer to a religious revival in these decades, as shown by the career of Billy Graham. The main trend here, however, is more the acceptance of faiths other than Protestant Christianity.