



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

HISTORY

9697/51

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

May/June 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.



Section A: The Road to Secession and Civil War.

You **must** answer Question 1.

SOUTHERN REACTIONS TO THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AS PRESIDENT

- 1 Read the sources and then answer the question.

Source A

The history of the Abolition or Black Republican Party of the North is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations all having in direct object the establishment of absolute tyranny over the slave-holding States. We have never aggressed upon the North. They have robbed us of our property. They have murdered our citizens who are endeavouring to reclaim their property by lawful means. They have defied the decisions 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 B

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 dissolved, if of necessity it must be, I see little prospect at present of good government afterwards. Revolutions are much easier started than controlled.

*Alexander Stephens' letter to an unknown correspondent, 25 November 1860.
(Stephens later became Vice-President of the Confederate States of America.)*

Source C

The abolition sentiment of the Northern States has steadily and rapidly increased in volume, and in the intensity of hostility to the rights of the Southern States as equal, independent and sovereign members of the Union; it has led to long, continued and increasing abuse and hatred of the Southern people; to ceaseless war upon their Constitutional rights; to an open and shameless thwarting of the laws of Congress intended to secure the return of fugitive slaves; it has prompted the armed invasion of Southern soil for the diabolical purpose of starting a ruthless war of the blacks against the whites throughout the Southern states; it has prompted large masses of Northern people openly to sympathise with these treacherous invaders and elevate the leader of a band of midnight assassins to the rank of a hero and a martyr. It has now finally organised a party confined to a hostile section which has the avowed purpose of turning our common government which should have power only for our protection, into an instrument of our destruction.

Therefore we declare that Georgia is a free, sovereign and independent state, which has the right to secede whenever she shall judge such a step necessary. In our opinion we should not submit to the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as President but should leave him to rule over those by whom he was elected.

Resolutions on Secession from Floyd County, Georgia, 19 January 1861.

Source D

I would say to the people of the South; hold fast to the Union. The Union is the instrument by which you will be able to obtain redress. Congress may err from errors of judgement, from passion, from party conflicts but these will not last. Our Constitution recognises all these sources of occasional and temporary wrongs and injustice but it provides a remedy in the frequent elections which the people make. Hold fast to the Union. There is safety, tried safety, known safety; and the Union is the best assurance you can have of eventually obtaining from your fellow citizens generous recompense for all the wrongs you have received and a generous remedy against future wrongs.

*Senator Crittenden's final plea for peace, 2 March 1861.
(Crittenden was from Kentucky, a border Slave State.)*

Source E

In the months after the establishment of the Confederate States of America, secessionists suffered stinging disappointment in the Upper Southern states of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas along with the border states of Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri which all rejected calls for secession. If there were to be a war between the states, these states would certainly be the battleground. It was clear that the secessionist movement started by South Carolina in December 1860 seemed to be falling apart by March 1861. The lack of Southern unity confirmed the view of Republicans that the secessionists were more bluster than substance. Seward described them as 'relatively few hotheads' and Lincoln believed that the loyal majority of Southerners would soon gain control from the fire-eating minority. This perception stiffened Republican resolve to resist any compromise. John Crittenden of Kentucky proposed a constitutional amendment which would have guaranteed the perpetual existence of slavery in the Southern States and another one to restore the Missouri Compromise line for remaining Territories and to allow slavery below it. But because of Lincoln's steadfast opposition to any possible extension of slavery this plan collapsed.

A modern historian's analysis of Lincoln's election as President of the United States.

Now answer the following question.

'Lincoln's election meant that armed conflict between North and South became unavoidable.' 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, and with what consequences, America's belief in Manifest Destiny proved so strong in the 1840s and 1850s.
- 3 'I claim not to have controlled events but confess plainly that events have controlled me.' Do you agree with Lincoln's assessment of his Presidency?
- 4 Assess the part played by technical inventions and innovations in the development of the US economy during the period 1865–1914.
- 5 Why was so little progress made in securing the civil rights of Native Americans in the period 1890–1968?
- 6 'The wasted years.' How fair is this judgement on the three Republican Presidents in the period 1921–33?
- 7 To what extent did the foreign policy of the United States from 1921 to 1940 follow consistent principles?
- 8 Account for the profound changes in the composition and location of the US population in the period from 1945 to 1968.

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