

HISTORY

9697/52

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

May/June 2014

3 hours

Additional Materials: Answer 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 an HB pencil for any rough working.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

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

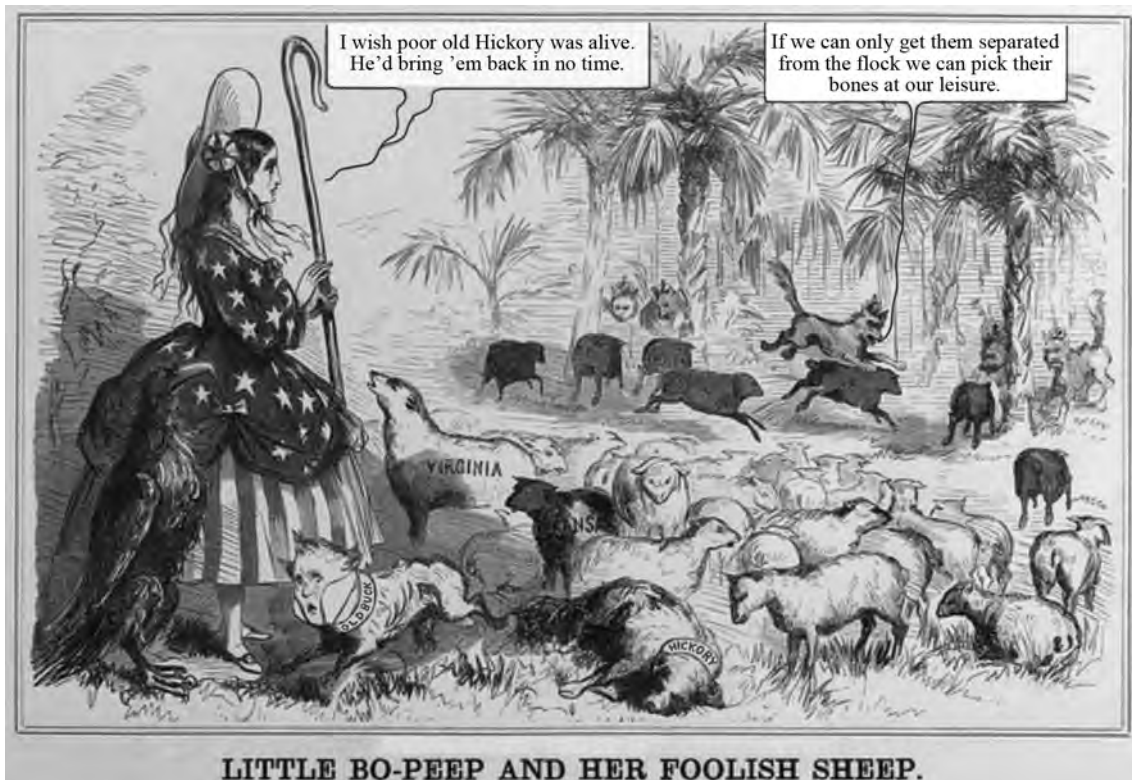
You **must** answer Question 1.

PRESIDENT BUCHANAN AND THE SECESSION OF SOUTH CAROLINA, 1860–61

- 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



A cartoon, 1861.

Seven black sheep have escaped from the main flock and head towards a grove of palmetto trees, which represent South Carolina. The wolves waiting among the trees represent the European great powers, which expect to 'pick the bones' of the new states. Bo-Peep is talking to Old Buck, the dog at her feet, who represents President Buchanan. Old Hickory is the dog lying alongside. Old Hickory was the nickname of President Jackson, who provided strong federal government in the 1830s.

Source B

It was evident that South Carolina no longer formed part of the Union. Only courage like that of President Jackson could have prevented this. But there was a middle path between civil war and such an instant recognition as Mr Buchanan thought advisable. As one charged with the duty of upholding the federal power, he might easily have used the authority in him to delay the movement, and give the Union and South Carolina time for reflection. But as things went, the action of South Carolina was predetermined. On 19 December the state seceded from the Union by a unanimous vote. State Conventions are due to meet in Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Georgia and Louisiana. Our correspondent believes that 'there will be a majority in each of them in favour of immediate and separate secession.' Hence in a few days more the United States of America will cease to exist.

'The Times', London, 9 January 1861.

Source C

We hope that some man of common sense may yet turn up in these cotton states with enough boldness to cure them of their madness – to prevent them, in short, from imitating South Carolina. To intelligent foreigners, the pompous declarations of these South Carolina politicians must appear supremely ridiculous. If we had a president of ordinary courage and ability, these ideas would soon be seen as ridiculous here as well or rather they would never have been spoken in the first place.

'The Liberator', a Northern journal, 18 January 1861.

Source D

Mr Buchanan never failed, upon all the suitable occasions, to warn his countrymen of the approaching danger and to advise them of the proper means to avoid it. Both before and after he became president he was an earnest advocate of compromise between the parties to save the Union but Congress disregarded his recommendations. Even after he had, in his messages, exposed the dangerous condition of public affairs and when it had become morally certain that all his efforts to avoid civil war would be frustrated by agencies far beyond his control, they persistently refused to pass any measures enabling him or his successor to execute the laws against armed resistance or to defend the country against approaching rebellion.

The anonymous preface to President Buchanan's account of his administration, 1866.

Source E

President Buchanan was in the last year of his administration. His freedom from sectional bitterness, his long life in public service and his peace-loving and conciliatory character were all guarantees against his precipitating a conflict between the federal government and any of the states. The feeble power he possessed in the closing months of his term in office to mould the policy of the future was painfully evident. Like all who had intelligently studied the history of the formation of the constitution, he held that federal government had no rightful power to coerce a state. With very few exceptions there were none in 1850 who claimed this right. In 1860 men had grown familiar with threats of driving the South into submission to any act that the government in the hands of a Northern majority might see fit to perform.

Jefferson Davis's account of the Civil War, 1881.

Now answer the following question:

How far do Sources A–E support the assertion that President Buchanan was to blame for the secession of the seven Southern states?

Section B

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

- 2 How far was the treatment of the Plains Indians in the second half of the nineteenth century a policy of deliberate extermination?
- 3 'Great military leaders do not make great political leaders.' How far does the career of Ulysses S Grant from 1861 to 1877 support this assertion?
- 4 Analyse the key factors which enabled the industrialisation of the US economy from 1865 to 1917.
- 5 How far did the position of African Americans change from 1919 to 1941?
- 6 'In the 1920s, the American people put their economic and social problems to one side and enjoyed themselves.' How far do you agree?
- 7 'His achievements outweighed his failures.' Discuss this view of Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy.
- 8 Account for the emergence of the women's liberation movement in the USA in the 1960s.

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