



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



**HISTORY**

**9697/53**

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.



**SECTION A: THE ROAD TO SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR, 1846–61**

You **must** answer Question 1.

**THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CIVIL WAR**

- 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**

You use slavery as a distraction to trick the unwary. What do you propose, gentlemen of the Free Soil party? Do you propose to better the condition of the slaves? Not at all! You say you are opposed to the expansion of slavery, but how are the slaves to benefit from this? It is not humanity which influences you; it is so that you may have an opportunity of cheating us of our property. You want to limit slavery so that you may have a majority in Congress and so convert the national government into an engine of Northern aggression. Then you will be able to grow in prosperity upon wealth unjustly taken from the South. You desire to weaken the power of the Southern states and why? Because you want by an unjust system of legislation to promote the industry of New England at the expense of the people of the South and their industry.

*Jefferson Davis, speech to the US Senate, 1857.*

**Source B**

Our country is a theatre which exhibits in full operation two radically different political systems: the one resting on the basis of servile labour, the other on the basis of voluntary labour of free men. Hitherto the two systems have existed in different States, but side by side within the Union. These antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer conflict, and collision results.

Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of fanatical agitators, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will sooner or later become either entirely a slave-holding nation or entirely a free-labour nation.

*William H. Seward, speech at Rochester, New York, 25 October 1858.*

**Source C**

You ask me what I think of the state of the country and in reply I would say that we must have a good fight. We cannot do without it. All the compromises in the world will not stop it; the matter might be delayed a few years, but eventually the spirit of slavery agitation would rise up with tenfold more fury than it does now. The irrepressible conflict will go on. We must have slavery everywhere or universal freedom, there can be no halfway. The South understands this; they know as we all know that we of the North, with a few disgraceful exceptions, are all abolitionists at heart, that our ultimate object is to exterminate the curse of slavery from this land. The North has got to test its strength with the South to see which is the master. We have no doubt of the result. Let us fight it out now!

*Letter from Congressman Edward Wade to his wife, 22 January 1861*

**Source D**

The contest which ended in the War was indeed a contest between opposing principles, not about the rights or wrongs of African slavery. These principles involved the very nature and organic structure of the government itself. They were a contest between the supporters of a strict Federal Government on the one side and a thoroughly National one on the other.

*Alexander H. Stephens (Vice-President of the Confederate States of America)  
in his memoirs, 1868.*

**Source E**

Behind the secession of the South was a long series of policy clashes between South and North. These were not over slavery as a moral institution; most northerners did not care enough about slavery to make sacrifices for it, certainly not war. It was not a clash of peoples, but of elites (most northern whites were not economically favoured, nor politically powerful, and most southern whites were poor farmers, not decision makers). The northern elite wanted economic expansion: free land, free labour, a free market, a free high protective tariff for manufacturers, a Bank of the United States. The slave interests opposed all of this; they wanted free trade and to conquer new territory for cotton fields. They saw Lincoln and the Republicans as making continuation of their pleasant and prosperous way of life impossible in the future.

*From a modern historian's account of the Civil War.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The sectional conflict which led to the Civil War was about the clash of competing economic interests.' Using Sources A–E, discuss how far the evidence supports this explanation of the causes of the Civil War.*

## SECTION B

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

- 2 How far was the displacement of the Native American nations and the destruction of their way of life a consequence of deliberate government policy in the period 1840–1896?
- 3 How far was the battle of Gettysburg the key turning point of the Civil War?
- 4 Which of the three 'Progressive' Presidents was the most successful in tackling American social and economic problems in the period 1901–1917?
- 5 Why did it take so long to secure effective implementation of African-American civil rights in the period 1895–1968?
- 6 Which groups benefited the most and which the least from FDR's New Deal policies in the period 1933–1941?
- 7 Why, in spite of its stated policy of neutrality, did the United States enter World War I?
- 8 How far is it correct to say there was a serious urban crisis in America in the 1960s?

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

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