



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/53**

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

**October/November 2011**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**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.

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This document consists of **4** printed pages.



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

You **must** answer Question 1.

### THE BREAK UP OF THE UNION, 1860–1861

- 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

The question is, has the Constitution delegated to Congress power to coerce a State which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Union? If answered affirmatively it must be because the power has been conferred upon Congress to make war against a State. After serious reflection I have concluded that no such power has been delegated to Congress or to the Federal Government.

But if we possessed this power, would it be wise to use it? The object would be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effective means of destroying it but would end all hopes of peaceful reconstruction.

Our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of citizens in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish.

*President Buchanan's Annual Message to Congress, 3 December 1860.*

#### Source B

The Message, in our judgement, is an incendiary document, and will tend still further to inflame the sectional differences of the day. It backs up the most extravagant demands which have been made by the South, and promises the seceding States that the power of Federal Government shall not be used for their coercion. The entire North will be made doubly indignant by this flagrant dereliction of duty on the part of the Executive of the Nation, while the Disunionists of the South will be stimulated to fresh exertions in the work of ruin upon which they have embarked. The Country has to struggle through three months more of this disgraceful imbecility and disloyalty to the Constitution.

*Editorial in the New York Times, 5 December 1860.*

#### Source C

Does the election of Lincoln to the Presidency justify the Southern States in dissolving the Union?

The constitutional rights and guarantees claimed by the Southern States are briefly:

1. That the Constitution recognises the institution of slavery as it exists in the fifteen Southern States.
2. That the citizens of the South have the right to go with their slave property into the common territories of the Union, and are entitled to protection for both their persons and property from

3. That the owner of a slave is entitled to reclaim his property in any state into which he may escape, and that both the Federal and State Governments are bound by the Constitution to enforce this provision.

The antagonism between these recognised rights and the doctrines and principles of the Black Republican party is plain, direct and irreconcilable. One or the other must give way.

On the 4th day of March 1861 the Federal Government will pass into the hands of the Abolitionists. I entertain no doubt either of your right or your duty to secede from the Union.

*Howell Cobb's address to the people of Georgia, 6 December 1860.*

#### Source D

You are not content with the vast millions of tribute we pay you annually under the operation of our revenue law, our navigation laws, your fishing bounties, and by making your people our manufacturers, our merchants, our shippers. You are not satisfied with the vast tribute we pay you to build up your great cities, your railroads, your canals. You are not satisfied that we of the South are almost reduced to the condition of overseers for northern capitalists. You are not satisfied with all this; but you must wage a relentless crusade against our rights and institutions.

We do not intend that you shall reduce us to such a condition. But I can tell you what your folly and injustice compel us to do. It will compel us to be free from your domination, and more self-reliant than we have been. It will compel us to assert and maintain our separate independence.

*Texas Congressman John Reagan's speech to Congress, 15 January 1861.*

#### Source E

During the four months interval between Lincoln's election and his inauguration, a period in which Southern states seceded and the Confederacy was formed, the timid Buchanan was President. He had the same powers to defend the federal property and collect federal taxes as President Jackson possessed in 1832 but the President did nothing. Vacillating and obstinate in turn, yet lacking firmness when the situation demanded firmness, he threw away chance after chance. His annual message to Congress on 8 December was a missed opportunity. His evasiveness on secession was cruelly paraphrased by Seward 'it is the duty of the President to execute the laws, unless somebody opposes him, and that no state has the right to leave the Union unless it wants to.' Yet Buchanan confronted a situation which appeared to spell defeat no matter what course he pursued. An assertive, tough stance may only have precipitated war sooner and he did put off hostilities long enough to permit attempts at compromise to emerge. Also his moderate stance possibly discouraged the Upper South and Border States from seceding from the Union.

*From a modern historian's account of Buchanan's role in the secession crisis.*

Now answer the following question.

*'It is unfair to blame Buchanan for his handling of the secession crisis of 1860–1861.'* Using Sources A–E, discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

**Section B**

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

- 2 Assess the reasons for opposition in the United States to President Polk's aggressive expansionist policies.
- 3 'The explanation for the outcome of the Civil War lies in the weaknesses of the South rather than the strengths of the North.' Assess the validity of this view.
- 4 Account for the widespread unrest amongst American farmers in the latter part of the nineteenth century.
- 5 Why did African-Americans find it so difficult to secure their constitutional rights between 1900 and 1965?
- 6 To what extent did the achievements of the New Deal outweigh its shortcomings?
- 7 To what extent were President Roosevelt's policies towards Germany, Italy and Japan ineffective?
- 8 Account for the sustained economic boom in the United States between 1945 and 1968.

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Question 1 Source E

© S E Morrison, *The Growth of the American Republic*, Oxford, 1980.

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