

MARK SCHEME for the May/June 2014 series

9697 HISTORY

9697/51

Paper 5 (Paper 5), maximum raw mark 100

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| 9697/51 THE HISTORY OF THE USA c1840–1968 : JUNE 2014 | | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|--|--|
| QUESTION 1 : How far do Sources A–E support the assertion that the South was fully behind South Carolina’s decision to secede from the Union? | | | | | |
| | SOURCE & CONTENT | ANALYSIS: LEVEL 2/3 | CROSS-REFERENCE | CONTEXT AND/OR PROVENANCE | EVALUATION: LEVEL 4/5 |
| A | A contemporary cartoon which shows five states following South Carolina over the cliff and a sixth state being a bit more cautious. | Only five states are fully behind South Carolina. Where are the others? Thus No . | The hesitant donkey of Georgia is shown to be more enthusiastic in E and more reluctant in B . Sources C and D provide little help either way. | Provenance is little help. Georgia was fifth state to secede, which undermines the cartoon. | Too misleading an account of Southern attitudes to be trusted. Thus Yes . |
| B | This explains how ‘popular sentiments in the cotton states clamoured to follow South Carolina’, even if politicians were more hesitant. | If the cotton states are equated with the South, then Yes . | Source E provides clear support for B while C argues the opposite way. Both A and D oppose B . | Provenance is little help. Strong support from Source E and, depending on analysis of B, from context. | This account seems reliable, being detailed, consistent with E and some of the evidence. Thus Yes . |
| C | A contemporary account which shows how political leaders had whipped up Southern public opinion to support secession | Both leaders in the South and the public, if more reluctantly, are in favour of secession. Thus Yes . | No source supports the ‘leaders leading the masses’ analysis of the South, though B and E are broadly supportive. Source D is a fundamental challenge. | Presumably a European fighting for the North is likely to be anti-South. Analysis lacks specific examples. Thus unreliable. | Hard to trust this explanation because no reliable evidence to support it. Thus No . |
| D | A memoir from the leading Northern general which argues that most in the South were against war in 1860–1 | This clearly argues that the majority were against war, even if a few self-interested individuals did support conflict. Thus No . | No source supports this analysis. Source C clearly challenges it. | War memoirs are notorious for their partiality, this one more so as Grant became a Republican president. Explanation by assertion. | Limited support for an unreliable sources from other sources or from context. Thus Yes . |

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| E | This account from a later biography of a Southern politician argues that the public in the South were keener on war than their leaders. | This account shows both leaders and the wider public in Georgia were in favour of war. Thus, for one state, the answer is Yes . | Sources A and B give a contrary analysis of Georgian attitudes in 1860–1. Sources C and D give qualified support. | Biographers identify with their subject. This extract does not paint Toombs in a favourable light. Thus more reliable than usual. | This detailed explanation is worth giving more credence than usual because it comes from a less partisan biography than usual. Thus Yes . |
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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 hypothesis that the South was fully behind South Carolina’s decision to secede from the Union, the evaluated evidence in support of the assertion is stronger than that against. One of the sources opposing the hypothesis is a cartoon, the other a military autobiography. On the other hand at least two of the sources for the assertion are evaluated to be more reliable, namely Sources B and E, even if the lack of a more detailed provenance raises some doubts about B.

Or (b): The evaluated evidence shows that, outside South Carolina, there was a great deal of debate within Southern states about the wisdom of secession. This is counter to the image of the South as dominated and led quickly into secession by the slavocracy. We know that four slave states did not join the South at all. Thus a more valid assertion might be ‘most of the South eventually fell in behind South Carolina’s decision to secede from the Union’.

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.

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2 Assess the consequences of the Californian gold rush of 1848–49 for the development of the USA in the 1850s.

Gold was discovered at Sutter’s Mill in January 1848. A few weeks later, before the discovery was widely known, the USA took California, plus other lands, from Mexico in the treaty of Guadeloupe Hildago. What was the USA to do with California, a lightly governed region to which the discovery of gold attracted many immigrants? [NB the first Americans arrived in the 1830s and 40s.]

In 1848, some 3000 Americans lived in the state, together with 9,000 Mexicans [and 150 000 Native Americans, always overlooked]. After the news of gold, people poured into California – almost 100 000 in 1849 alone. By 1860 the [Non-Indian] population had grown to 380 000, They included 35 000 Chinese and 33 000 Irish. Even in 1850, the population of California already outnumbered the population of Delaware or Florida.

The gold rush had two clear consequences – political and economic – and one more ephemeral – cultural.

- **Political**

The USA had taken a huge slice of land from Mexico. Was California to become a territory or a state? In 1848, President Polk and Congress wanted it to be a territory. The new President, Zachary Taylor, a no nonsense ex-soldier, initially kept quiet. Californians became irritated by inaction in Washington DC, especially as governing the gold miners became ever more difficult. In 1849, in an early example of popular sovereignty, they devised and approved a state constitution. That constitution banned slavery. Taylor, a slave owner himself, had by then also decided that California should become a free state. In 1850, California became the 31st state of the USA. This upset the delicate balance between free and slave states. Southern politicians objected strongly. Californian statehood became part of the Compromise of 1850, welcomed at the time but destabilising over the next decade. All can be traced back to the acquisition of a gold-obsessed California. One nineteenth century author, Alexander Buchner, a Frenchman, went so far as to claim that ‘it was the gold of California which gave the fatal blow to the institution of slavery in the United States’.

- **Economic**

The USA had a bimetallic coinage, gold and silver. The increased production of gold in large quantities – by how much is hard to say – also increased money supply. This caused prices to rise and more investment to be made, e.g. railroads. Thus economic growth was boosted. Thus the greater liquidity of US money supply helped the growth of agriculture, infrastructure and industry.

Also the gold rush saw immigrants rushing to California from the east and the East to establish boom towns and the need to improve infrastructure along the way.

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- **Cultural**

At a time when the concept of manifest destiny was in the air, the discovery of gold in California encouraged many to 'go west'. Thus the Californian gold rush reinforced American expansionism and encouraged the planning of transcontinental railroads. The group which suffered from all this change were the American Indians in California especially.

Economics is likely to receive less coverage than the other two, Note that assessment is required rather than just description.

3 How far and why did Lincoln's policy towards slavery change during the Civil War?

How far did Lincoln's policy change? He was always against slavery in principle. However, he was also a politician, focused on what was possible in practice. He probably hoped that slavery would slowly be abolished as individual states decided against it. He also seems to have supported the idea of colonisation, of sending slaves to a new state in Africa or central America, e.g. Liberia.

- **At the start of the war**, Lincoln's priority was saving the Union. If this required the continuation of slavery in the slave states, Lincoln was prepared to accept it. This he restated as late as August 1862, in a famous letter to Horace Greeley. His caution was all the greater because four slave states had joined the North.
- **In 1861–63**, Lincoln's priority became winning the war. Thus in 1862, as the North struggled to defeat the South, he became persuaded of the need to free some but not all slaves.

This resulted in the Emancipation Proclamation of 1st January 1863, preceded by a provisional proclamation the previous September. This Proclamation applied only to slaves in Southern states and thus was more of a symbol of change. However, it did much to undermine the South as it could no longer rely on the support of its slaves.

- **In 1863–64**, Lincoln accepted the need for emancipation across the USA but wanted it done gradually – by 1900 – with compensation to slave owners and state-based. He refused to support early attempts at a constitutional amendment, which meant immediate and uncompensated emancipation.
- **In 1864–65** Lincoln came to support the constitutional amendment, putting a lot of pressure on the lame duck House of Representatives to approve it in January 1865.

Why did his policy change? :

- **The needs of war**
With the war not going too well for the North in 1861–62, Lincoln had to adopt policies which undermined the South's war effort. The Emancipation Proclamation, issued under his authority as Commander-in-Chief, was a radical attempt to do so.

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- **The experience of war**
The behaviour of the 180000 ex-slaves recruited into Northern armies by 1863 made Lincoln realise that blacks could be as disciplined and as brave as whites. In his annual message to Congress in December 1863, Lincoln said 'So far as tested, it is difficult to say that they [ex-slaves in the Northern armies] are not as good soldiers as any'.
- **The needs of politics**
Lincoln came out in favour of the 13th constitutional amendment in 1864 because it helped him win the presidential election by defeating a more radical grouping behind Frémont.

4 How far was economic growth between 1865 and 1900 based on government assistance?

Some clarification is needed. 'Government' could be federal or state. 'Assistance' could be legal – passing laws – or financial – providing funds. It could be direct or indirect. It could also include fiscal, monetary and trade policies. Agriculture and industry were the obvious recipients, though the banking sector should not be forgotten.

Economic growth is best illustrated by the doubling of real GNP per capita between 1870 and 1910, from \$4500 to \$9000 [in 2009 dollars].

The late nineteenth century is often seen as the high water mark of laissez faire economics. The period was also one of Republican party dominance: for 40 of the 48 years between 1865 and 1913 it controlled the presidency and for 44 of those years it controlled the Senate. The Republicans believed in helping US companies by means of:

- **High Tariffs**
These were intended to protect US industry against European competition. Before the introduction of federal income tax in 1913, tariffs were the main source of federal income. On average, they were around 40–50% of the value of goods. Some argue that as the USA did relatively little trade, these high tariffs were not so important.
- **Internal Improvements [i.e. infrastructure projects]**
In the late nineteenth century, railways were the main infrastructure project, transcontinental railroads being the most important but not the only such scheme. The building of the first transcontinental railroad in the 1860s should be familiar; the Republican Congress provided huge financial incentives as well as large swathes of land. So much land was granted that later governments took large amounts back.

This support enabled railroads to ensure the development of a national market and to stimulate the expansion of the iron and steel industries.

- **National Bank and Sound Money**
It's hard to include this as assistance to industry or agriculture. However, the question of the money supply was a controversial issue in the later nineteenth century, as shown by arguments around bimetallism.

The US banking system was extremely fragmented, if less so than it had been before the civil war. It can be argued that this fragmentation hindered economic growth, as shown by the many banking crises of the period.

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However, government assistance was only one of several reasons for rapid economic growth. Others which might be mentioned include:

- **Mass Immigration**
The arrival of millions of unskilled workers from Europe and Asia provided cheap labour which helped industrialisation, e.g. Chinese workers on the Central Pacific railroad in 1860s. They also provided a market for basic goods and services.
- **Technological Innovation**
Various uses of electricity caused this period to be known as the Second Industrial Revolution.
- **'Robber Barons'**
Businessmen such as Rockefeller and Carnegie helped stimulate growth.

5 How important to the civil rights of African Americans was the contribution of the NAACP from its formation in 1909 until 1968?

The NAACP focused on use of judiciary and legislatures to advance African American civil rights. Its work over these six decades can be divided into three:

- **To c. 1935: Limited Impact**
Formed by W E B Du Bois and sympathetic whites who wanted to confront racism, the NAACP soon emerged as the leading organisation fighting for the rights of African Americans.

However, its impact was limited. Though membership grew, blacks both North and South provided limited support. It was a moderate group relying on conventional political and legal processes. Continual attempts to pass a federal anti-lynching law failed.

- **c. 1935–c. 1960: Growing Impact**
The Great Depression radicalised the NAACP, if not its methods. It decided to build a broader coalition of anti-racist groups such as churches and labour unions. It also focused its legal efforts on education rights, appointing Thurgood Marshall to lead this strategy. This eventually resulted in the landmark *Brown* judgement of 1954.

The Second World War also helped strengthen the NAACP as membership increased nine-fold to around 400 000. By then other groups were emerging, e.g. CORE in 1942, starting to advocate more radical methods, e.g. sit-ins.

The mid-50s was the time of the NAACP's greatest impact, the *Brown* judgement being followed in 1955 by the Montgomery bus boycott, started by Rosa Parks, an NAACP official. The NAACP was uneasy about supporting direct action, which resulted in the formation of SNCC in 1960. It also had a slightly uneasy relationship with the SCLC, formed in 1957, though they did co-operate.

- **From c. 1960: Declining Influence?**
As CORE and SNCC led more direct action in the South, so NAACP, though still a leading presence in the civil rights movement – it was involved in organising the 1963 March on Washington – it became sidelined as the 1960s progressed.

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However, NAACP still had close links with federal politicians, including LBJ, and it is possible to argue that it played a major role introducing the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. After 1965 and the rise of Black Power, the influence of the NAACP over black communities, or at least young black radicals, was marginalised.

Candidates are likely to focus on the second period and the various court cases which the NAACP won. Better answers must include the other eras as well and provide some evidence of change and continuity.

6 Of the three Republican presidents of the 1920s, who would you assess as the most successful? Explain your answer.

The three presidents are Warren Harding (1921–23), Calvin Coolidge (1923–29) and Herbert Hoover (1929–33). Key points about each presidency include:

- **Warren Harding 1921–23**

In 1920 Harding won a comfortable victory against James Cox (and FDR as VP) as a reaction against the Progressive, more activist presidency of Woodrow Wilson. This was the first election in which women voted – though only one-third did so. Context is always relevant and in 1921 the US economy was in recession and recovering from the Red Scare of 1919–20. In 1920, Harding aimed a ‘return to normalcy’, arguing that ‘tranquillity at home is more important than peace abroad’.

Domestic tranquillity required ‘less government in business and more business in government’. Thus federal spending was reduced to offset cut in direct taxes and ensure a balanced budget. Tariffs were increased to their highest level in US history. Foreign policy was much less activist than before. Troops were withdrawn from central American states and the Washington Naval Treaties negotiated in order to break the connection between the arms race and outbreak of war.

Harding’s presidency is associated with scandals linked with the ‘Ohio gang’ of friends from his home state but most of these came to light after Harding’s death. Harding’s wife destroyed most of his papers following his unexpected death in August 1923.

- **Calvin Coolidge 1923–29**

Coolidge had fifteen months as an unelected President before the 1924 election, which he won quite comfortably against John W Davis. He chose not to run in 1928.

The context of Coolidge’s presidency was the economic boom which was underway by 1923 and the relative quiet international scene. A small government conservative, Silent Cal continued Harding’s policies of cutting government spending and federal income tax while refusing to provide much support for farmers.

Perhaps the most notable domestic reform was the 1924 Immigration Act, which tightened immigration controls, especially for those coming from south east Europe and Japan. He failed to pass an anti-lynching law. Overseas, the administration agreed to the Dawes Plan for war debts and the Kellogg Briand Pact to outlaw war.

Coolidge has gained a high reputation with conservatives, e.g. Ronald Reagan.

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- **Herbert Hoover 1929–33**

Hoover was one of only two US politicians who had never run for elected office before winning the presidency. He had gained a national reputation for administering food relief to Europe after the war and then as Coolidge's Secretary of Commerce.

The context of Hoover's presidency was the dramatic collapse of the economy just eight months into his presidency. The failure to halt the depression, the growth of Hoovervilles and the attack on the Bonus Army has damaged his historical reputation ever since. Republican values, however, did not allow large scale government intervention. The Hawley-Smoot tariff did much to harm relations with Europe. Hoover began to take more radical action in the second half of his presidency, as a result of which some see him as laying the foundations for FDR's New Deal.

7 Assess the causes and consequences of the war with Spain in 1898.

This short war, more against than Spanish empire than Spain itself, had relatively trivial causes and more significant consequences.

Causes

- **Developments in Cuba**

There was an on-going guerrilla war between an independence movement and the Spanish. In the 1890s, the Spanish authorities introduced concentration camps, in which women and children were incarcerated and died.

- **The US yellow press**

The new mass papers of Hearst and Pulitzer, nicknamed the yellow press, took a strident line against Spain and for American intervention.

- **The USS *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbour in February 1898**

The explosion which killed 266 US sailors was blamed on the Spanish authorities – even though it seems to have been an accident. The yellow press' slogan was 'Remember the Maine and to Hell with Spain'.

- **President McKinley**

McKinley had no wish for war. He stalled as long as he could. However, he was under increasing pressure to defend US interests in Cuba, including considerable financial interests. Spain gave into US demands but it was not enough. Spain was first to declare war but only in response to US threats of war.

- **Theodore Roosevelt**

He was a bellicose junior minister in the navy department who prepared the US navy for war and was a pressure for war within the administration.

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Consequences

Much can be claimed for the consequences of the Spanish–American war. The following are perhaps those which can clearly be linked with the war.

- The US acquisition of the Philippines**
This large state in the western Pacific was annexed in 1898. McKinley agreed to the ‘least worst’ alternative, the other choices being independence or Japanese control. Filipinos revolted against American rule, it taking the USA three years to triumph.
- The US acquisition of Puerto Rico**
This small state occupied an important position in the eastern Caribbean, controlling access to the planned route of the Panama canal.
- US protectorate over Cuba**
Though a Congressional amendment, the **Teller Amendment** of 1898, prevented the USA from annexing Cuba, nevertheless the USA remained paramount over Cuba, via the **Platt Amendment**, 1901; as a result it gained the naval base at Guantanamo Bay.
- The annexation of Hawaii 1898**
Though not Spanish territory, Hawaii was taken under US control in 1898 because of its strategic importance in the Pacific, as illustrated by the war in the Philippines.
- Roosevelt Corollary 1904**
This modified the Monroe Doctrine to say that the USA could intervene in the affairs of Central America on behalf of European financial interests. It justified much US intervention until FDR’s Good Neighbour policy in 1934.
- The establishment of the Panama Canal Zone 1904**
The destruction of the USS *Maine* convinced the USA that it needed a quicker route between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Thus the USA established the Panama Canal Zone in order to build the Panama Canal and the USA became an imperial power, a fact which caused many Americans much unease. Also the war showed the growing importance of the Pacific Ocean to US interests.

8 How important was organised religion to American life from 1945 to 1968?

Organised religion means the churches, of which there were many in the USA. About 80% of Americans claimed to be Christian. Christianity could be divided into Protestant and Roman Catholic. Around two-thirds of Americans saw themselves as Protestant, around one-quarter RC. Judaism also had a significant membership.

The USA had no state faith. However, Protestantism was central to American life since the foundation of the USA. Only in 1960 was the first Catholic president elected, to much initial controversy. The absence of a state religion allowed the development of a range of organised religious groups, e.g. the Mormons.

The importance of churches can be measured by changes in their support or in their influence on public life, i.e. politics and government. Evidence of change can be found in opinion polls and the political prominence of religious groups. [The US census has no questions on religion.] However, opinion polls seem to have focused on religious questions only after 1968.

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Evidence may include:

- **The formation of the National Council of Churches [NCC] 1950**
This brought together some 37 Christian churches – though not Catholics and Southern Baptists, the two largest, and not evangelicals. Membership of this group seems to have peaked in the 1950s.
- **The growth of evangelicalism**
Billy Graham may be the best-known example of this growth. He began his mission in the late 1940s. Part of this growth was seen through the expansion of Christian radio and television stations in the mid-20th century. In the early 1940s, the NCC opposed evangelical churches from broadcasting on mainstream stations, a prohibition which was overcome in 1949.
- **The Cold War**
The 1950s saw the Cold War at its height, a bitter struggle against communism, as seen as an aggressive, atheist doctrine. Churches provided important support in the struggle against communism.

The addition of 'Under God' to the US pledge of allegiance in 1954 and the establishment of a new US motto 'In God we trust' in 1956 illustrates the importance of this factor.

Evidence for declining importance may include:

- **The decline of the NCC**
This resulted from the NCC's opposition to the Vietnam war.
- **The growth of other faiths**
The 1960s saw the growth of other faiths such as transcendental meditation as well as eastern religions, such as Buddhism.
- **The growth of secularism, especially among the young,**
The counter-culture of the 1960s challenged all aspects of conventional society, especially something as conservatively conformist as organised religion.