



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

**HISTORY**

**9697/52**

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

**May/June 2013**

**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 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 KANSAS-NEBRASKA QUESTION, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE 1856 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

- 1 Read the Sources and then answer the question.

When answering **Question 1**, candidates are advised to pay particular attention to the evaluation of the Sources, both individually and as a group.

#### Source A



A cartoon c. 1856.

*The Border Ruffians.* The four main figures, from left to right, are William Marcy, US Secretary of State 1853–57; James Buchanan, US presidential candidate 1856 and Democratic President 1857–61; Lewis Cass, US Democratic Senator 1856 and Stephen Douglas, US Democratic Senator 1847–61.

#### Source B

Resolved: that while the Constitution of the United States was established by the people in order to 'form a more perfect union', the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them.

Spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them by whose authority, sustained by the military power of the government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced.

Resolved: that all these things have been done with the knowledge of the present national administration and we formally charge that administration, the President, supporters and accessories for this high crime against the Constitution. It is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages to a sure and suitable punishment thereafter.

*From the Platform of the first Republican Party convention, held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 22–23 February 1856.*

### Source C

Resolved: that we desire the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue. We repudiate all sectional parties concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the States and incite treason and armed resistance in the Territories and whose avowed purpose, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion. The Democratic Party recognizes and adopts the principles contained in the laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only safe and sound solution of the 'slavery' question: NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE OR TERRITORY.

Resolved: that we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with other States.

*From the Platform of the Democratic Party convention, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, 2–6 June 1856.*

### Source D

It is indeed a very remarkable fact that all the great men of the country have supported us in the recent presidential contest. The open heresy against all the constitutional traditions of our national history professed by the African-Republicans, their disloyalty to their country, left them nothing, at best, but fifth-rate men. Every name honourably connected to our legislation or marked or distinguished in commercial and professional circles is found among the list of Mr. Buchanan's ardent and energetic supporters. To the small fry of unknown men, who had neither their name, fame nor honesty to lose by association with the outrages and excesses of sectionalism and fanaticism, has been left the entire disgrace of Black Republican notoriety. It will be seen also that by comparing the votes cast for the different candidates that the body of conservative men in the North is quite as great as in the South. Amongst this Northern conservative body the sentiment undoubtedly is that ample and complete justice, according to the plain letter of the Constitution, should be done to all parts of the Union.

*From 'The Verdict of the People of the United States', Democratic Review, December 1856.*

### Source E

The dissolution of the Whig party, commenced by the imposition of the Southern platform on its National Convention of 1852, was completed by the eager participation of most of its Southern members of Congress in the repudiation of the Missouri Compromise by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Those, of whatever party in the past, who emphatically condemned that repudiation, were first known simply as 'anti-Nebraskans' but gradually assumed the designation of 'Republicans'. As such, they carried most of the Free State elections of 1854 but were decidedly less successful in 1855.

The presidential contest of 1856 was energetically fought up to the October elections, wherein the states of Pennsylvania and Indiana were carried by the Democrats, rendering the election of Buchanan a moral certainty. Despite that certainty, the Republicans carried New York by a plurality of 80,000 and with the six New England states and Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, this gave Col. Frémont 114 electoral college votes. Mr. Buchanan carried Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, California with all the slave states but Maryland, which voted alone for Mr. Fillmore. In aggregate Mr. Buchanan received 1,838,169 votes, Col. Frémont 1,341,264, Mr. Fillmore 874,534, so that Mr. Buchanan lacked 377,629 votes of a majority over both his competitors. Of the electoral college, however, he had 174 votes – a clear majority of 60.

*From a history of the Civil War, written by Horace Greeley, a prominent anti-slavery journalist, published 1866.*

*'The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 did more harm than good to the Democratic party.' How far do Sources A–E support this assertion?*

**Section B**

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

- 2** Which was the more important factor in ensuring westward expansion: federal government support or technological innovation?
- 3** Why did it take the North so long to defeat the South in the Civil War?
- 4** How successful were the reforms of the Progressive era?
- 5** Why did the campaign for the civil rights of African Americans make so little progress before the 1950s?
- 6** How effective was opposition to the New Deal?
- 7** Compare and contrast the attitude of the USA towards the establishment of the League of Nations after the First World War and the establishment of the United Nations Organisation towards the end of the Second World War.
- 8** 'In the period 1950 to 1968, the USA underwent profound social change.' How far do you agree?