



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/51**

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

**May/June 2012**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer 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.

### CULTURAL DIVISIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, 1856–1861

- 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

Free society! We sicken at the name. It is merely a collection of greasy mechanics, tight-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists. All the Northern States, especially New England, are devoid of any society fitted for well bred gentlemen. The pervading class one meets with is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel and small farmers who do their own drudgery. Few are fit for association with a Southern gentleman's manservant.

*Muscogee Herald, Georgia, 10 September 1856.*

#### Source B

Alleged grievances over slavery were originally the causes for the separation of the cotton states, but it is now quite apparent that what the people of the seceding states really want is commercial independence. They dream that the centres of traffic can be changed from Northern to Southern ports. The merchants of New Orleans and Charleston want to replace New York and Boston by having a tariff system verging on free trade. If the Confederacy is allowed to carry out a policy of only nominal duty on imports, then the business of the chief Northern cities will be seriously injured.

*Boston Transcript, 18 March 1861.*

#### Source C

The state of society in the South, and their laws, exhibit a growing tendency to lapse into barbarism. There are few schools and the masses grow up in ignorance and vice. Men resort to violence and bloodshed rather than to calm discussion and courts of justice to settle disputes. All classes are impatient of restraint and indulge in reckless disregard for all institutions of society or religion which obstruct the free exercise of their passions. As a result the South has already sunk three centuries back towards the age of barbarism.

*Milwaukee Sentinel, 15 April 1861.*

**Source D**

The Southern rebellion has started with the contemptuous denial of the right of the majority to rule. Its boasted confederacy is a compact of violence, fraud and treachery levelled against a free government, and the only one that has the confidence, respect and admiration of mankind. Does anyone imagine that a league, long plotted in secret and prosecuted with prolonged treachery, is aiming only at independence? The unscrupulous character of its leaders, the bold and shameless suppression of all the rights of free men to the minority of their own citizens, and the abolition of free speech and free suffrage – all show that the real and ultimate aim is the total overthrow and annihilation of all republican liberty. It is no common strife of party, no collision of mere passing opinion or transitory interest that awaits the decision of our country. Without a Union that is *free*, our Republic ceases to be a Government, our freedom will be quickly supplanted by anarchy and despotism and all the cherished hopes of our country and mankind will be blasted.

*Chicago Journal, 17 April 1861.*

**Source E**

The whole mentality and flavor of southern life seemed opposed to that of the North. Instead of progress, the South represented decadence, instead of enterprise, laziness. To those with visions of a steadily-growing nation, slavery was an intolerable hindrance to national achievement. Seward saw most clearly the way in which slavery stood in the way of national greatness. 'Slavery,' he declared, was 'incompatible with all the elements of the security, welfare and greatness of nations.'

By 1860, the irrepressible conflict idea was firmly embedded in the Republican mind. 'I regret the facts,' Justin Morrill wrote in December 1860, 'but we must accept the truth that there is an "irrepressible conflict" between our systems of civilization.'

Whether or not the North and the South were in reality so different that the idea of an irrepressible conflict between opposing civilizations has historical validity is still an open question. There is no doubt, however, that a prominent strain in the ideology of the antebellum South stressed aristocratic values and the virtues of an ordered, hierarchical society. As for the Republicans, whatever their differences on specific political issues and strategies, they were more united in their devotion to the values of northern society and in their conviction of the superiority of the North's civilization to that of the South.

*A modern historian's view of the North-South divide.*

Now answer the following question.

*'Cultural differences were the key factor in the increasing hostility between North and South in the period 1856–61.' Using Sources A–E, discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.*

**Section B**

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

- 2 Why was it that, by 1846, the Oregon dispute was settled peacefully while the dispute with Mexico led to war?
- 3 'Having won the war, the North then proceeded to lose the peace.' How accurate is this verdict on Reconstruction?
- 4 How accurate is the description of the period 1900 to 1917 as 'The Age of Reform'?
- 5 'During the 1960s, President Lyndon Johnson was the most significant figure in securing civil rights for African Americans.' How valid is this assertion?
- 6 'A complete change of direction in economic and social policy.' How far do you agree with this assessment of the New Deal?
- 7 How justified is the criticism that United States' policy towards Russia at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences was too conciliatory?
- 8 Explain the causes and consequences of the great expansion of higher education in America from 1945 to 1968.

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*Copyright Acknowledgements:*

Question 1 Source E

© E Foner; *Free Soil, Free Labour, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War*; Oxford University Press USA; 1970

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