



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

**October/November 2012**

**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.

### ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST SLAVERY

- 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

Slavery is only one of many institutions recognised by the Constitution, freedom is equally an institution there. Slavery is only a temporary, accidental, partial and unusual one; freedom on the contrary is a perpetual, organic, universal one in harmony with the Constitution of the United States. There is another aspect in which the principle must be examined. There is a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the Territories. The Territories are part of the common heritage of mankind bestowed by the Creator of the universe and we are merely his stewards. You say you will not submit to the exclusion of slavery from the new Territories. What will you gain by resistance? Liberty follows the sword, though her sway is one of peace and benevolence. Can you propagate slavery by the sword? Free discussion of the slavery issue must and will go on as part of the eternal conflict between truth and error until you eventually terminate it by yielding to the progress of emancipation.

*Senator William H Seward, speech to US Senate, 11 March 1850.*

#### Source B

Fellow citizens, allow me to ask why am I here and am called to speak today? What have I or those that I represent to do with your national independence? What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer it is a day that reveals to us more than all other days of the year the great injustice and cruelty of which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham, your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless, your denunciation of tyrants sheer impudence, your shouts of liberty and equality sheer mockery. They are just a thin veil to cover up crimes that would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody than we the people of the United States at this very hour.

*Frederick Douglass (a former slave), Independence Day Address to the citizens of Rochester, New York, 4 July 1852.*

**Source C**

The prevailing idea entertained by Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers at the formation of the Constitution was that the enslavement of the African was a violation of the laws of nature and hence was wrong in principle. Our new Constitution is formed upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundation and cornerstone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man, that slavery and subordination to the superior race is his natural condition. Our Constitution is the first in the history of the world based upon this great truth. The negro by nature or Divine Providence is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. We know by experience it is best not only for the superior but also for the inferior race that it should be so. It is in conformity with the Creator's will, and it is not for us to inquire into the wisdom of his ordinances or to question them.

*Alexander H Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States of America, speech at Savannah, 21 March 1861.*

**Source D**

Since the forming of the Constitution, African slaves have increased in number from four hundred thousand to four million. In moral and social conditions they have been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent and civilized agricultural labourers, supplied not only with bodily comforts but with religious instruction. Under the supervision of the superior race hundreds of thousands of square miles of wilderness have been cultivated leading to a great increase in general prosperity. As a result, the production in the South of cotton, rice and tobacco for the development and continuation of which the labour of slaves was and is indispensable has increased vastly so that these now form three-quarters of the exports of the whole United States and have become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man.

*Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, speech to the Confederate Congress, 29 April 1861.*

**Source E**

The United States government was reluctant to interfere with the institution of slavery for practical reasons. Cotton was by far America's biggest export and the production of this depended on slavery to make it profitable. In 1790 one thousand tons of cotton were produced; by 1860 this had increased a thousand fold to one million tons. During the same period the slave population had grown from five hundred thousand to four million. Certain facts concerning the slave system need to be stated. First, though slavery was profitable, profit and property rights alone did not explain its survival. Secondly, the same free market that allowed slaves to be bought and sold like cattle, at the same time created powerful forces working to liberate them. Thirdly, to maintain and expand slavery the full force of government support was necessary. Without this combination of market forces and state repression slave revolts would have ultimately undermined the institution. In sum slavery combined the worst aspects of unfettered capitalism linked to uninhibited government power, all depending on the seriously flawed definition of a human being as property.

*A modern American historian's analysis of the justification for slavery.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The arguments put forward in defence of slavery were unreasonable, even by the standards of the time.' 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 significance of Turner's frontier thesis.
- 3 'The main weakness of Radical Reconstruction was that it was not radical enough.' How far do you agree?
- 4 'The measures taken to regulate large industrial combinations between 1865 and 1914 were completely ineffective.' Critically discuss this assertion.
- 5 How great were the advances made by African Americans as a result of the two world wars?
- 6 Analyse the reasons why Roosevelt's New Deal faced so much opposition in the period from 1933 to 1941.
- 7 Account for the United States' return to partial isolation in the period from 1921 to 1933.
- 8 How far did the role and status of women change between 1945 and 1968?

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