



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

HISTORY

9697/53

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

October/November 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.

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



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

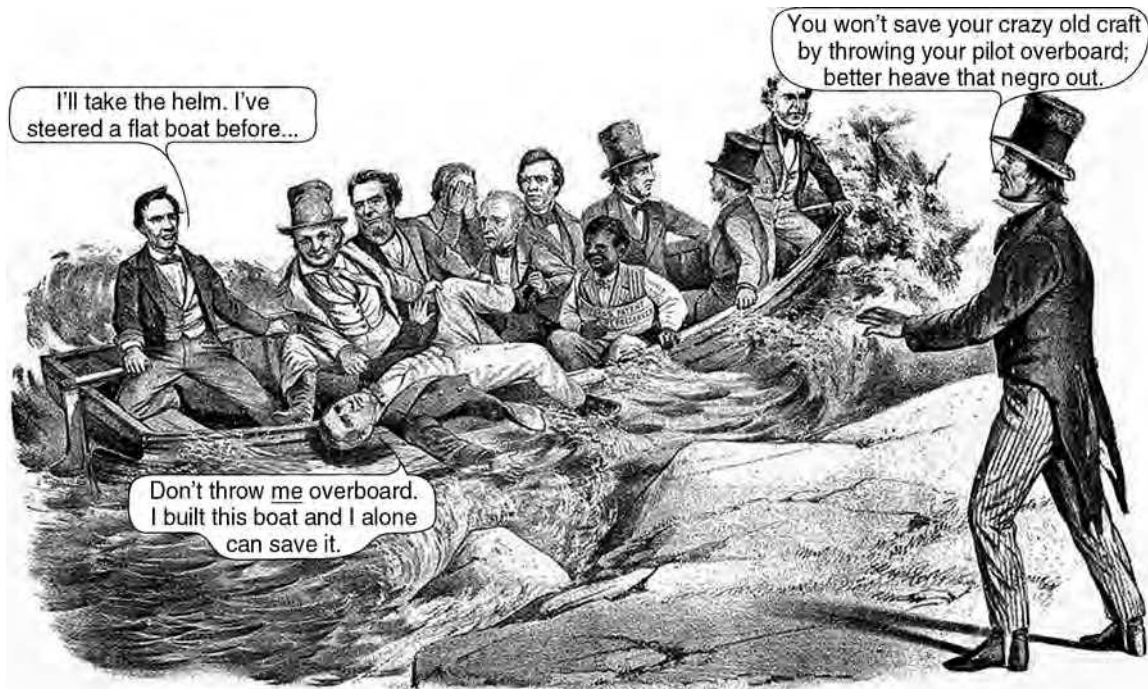
You **must** answer Question 1.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE 1860 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



**“THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT”.
OR THE REPUBLICAN BARGE IN DANGER**

The Republican barge is in stormy waters and close to the rocks. To save the party, three newspaper editors try to throw overboard William Seward, the leading abolitionist in the party, despite his protests. In the bow sits another newspaper editor warning of danger ahead. Another wonders whether the boat would survive if built in two sections. In the stern sits Abraham Lincoln. On the shore stands Brother Jonathan, representing the USA.

A cartoon from a US periodical, 1860.

Source B

The delegates of this state were instructed to cast their votes for William Seward. We were accustomed to look up to him as the intellectual head of the anti-slavery movement. We, the delegates from Wisconsin, voted for him to the last. When the motion was made to make Mr. Lincoln's nomination unanimous, we seconded it without any sacrifice of feeling and when it was carried we heartily joined in the general enthusiasm. I do not hesitate to say that if Governor Seward had not been in the field, Mr. Lincoln would, unless I mistake the temper of our people, in all probability have been the first choice of Wisconsin. Mr. Lincoln's nomination nailed the good old Republican banner to the mast as boldly and defiantly as ever.

From a speech by Carl Schurz at the Milwaukee Ratification meeting of the state Republican party, 30 May 1860.

Source C**THE WAR DRUMS ARE BEATING**

The war drums are beating,
 Prepare for the fight;
 The people are gathering
 In strength and in might.
 Fling out your broad banner
 Against the blue sky,
 With Lincoln and Hamlin
 We'll conquer or die.

The clarion is sounding
 From inland to shore,
 Your sword and your lances
 Must slumber no more;
 The slave-driving millions,
 See how they fly;
 With Lincoln and Hamlin
 We'll conquer or die.

March forth to the battle,
 All fearless and calm;
 The strength of your spirit
 Throw into your arm;
 With ballots for bullets,
 Let this be your cry,
 With Lincoln and Hamlin
 We'll conquer or die.

*Sung at a meeting in New York which ratified Lincoln as Republican presidential candidate,
 7 June 1860.*

Source D

My humble advice is that we re-establish the original policy of the nation and hold that slavery is and must be a purely local, temporary and exceptional institution, confined within slave states which already exist, while freedom is the general, normal and permanent condition of society under the authority of the constitution of the United States. I counsel this return because a statesman has been designated who possesses in an eminent and most satisfactory degree the virtues and qualifications necessary for the leader of so great and generous a movement. I feel well assured that Abraham Lincoln will not fail to re-inaugurate the ancient constitutional policy successfully because the Republican party, after ample experience, has at last acquired the courage and the constancy necessary to sustain him.

From a speech by William Seward, 4 September 1860.

Source E

We are of those who, at first, regretted that another candidate was not chosen at Chicago, but we confess we have ceased to regret it for the generosity of Mr. Seward since the result of the convention was known has been a greater ornament to him and a greater honour to his party than his election to the presidency would have been. We should have been pleased with Mr. Seward's nomination for he, more than any other man, combined in himself the moralist's repugnance to slavery as a fact, the thinker's resentment of it as a theory and the statesman's distrust of it as a policy. Mr. Lincoln's position is set out with sufficient precision in the platform adopted by the Chicago convention. Republicanism is not a conspiracy to obtain office under false pretences. It has a definite aim, an earnest purpose and the unflinching tenacity of profound conviction. It is not unanimous about the tariff, about states' rights, about many other questions of policy. What unites the Republicans is a common faith in the early principles and practice of the Republic, a common persuasion that slavery has been the natural foe of the former and the debaser of the latter, a common resolve to resist its encroachments everywhen and everywhere.

From an article in 'The Atlantic' magazine, October 1860.

Now answer the following question.

Using Sources A–E, discuss the assertion that in 1860 the Republican party was fully united behind Lincoln's candidacy for the presidency.

Section B

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

- 2 'More a consequence of westward expansion than a cause.' Discuss this view of the development of transcontinental railways in the second half of the nineteenth century.
- 3 Assess the causes and the consequences of Lincoln's publication of the Emancipation Proclamation.
- 4 How great was the conflict between big business and organised labour in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
- 5 How true is it to say that, in the first half of the twentieth century, the experience of African Americans in the South was completely different from that of African Americans living in the North?
- 6 Why did the Great Crash of 1929 lead to the Great Depression of the 1930s?
- 7 Compare and contrast how and why the USA entered the First World War with how and why it entered the Second World War.
- 8 Assess the consequences of two decades of economic growth from 1948 to 1968 for US society at that time.

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