



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/52**

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

**October/November 2013**

**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.

### THE DEMOCRATIC 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



*From left to right, the four presidential candidates are Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Douglas, John Breckinridge and John Bell. Lincoln and Douglas are contesting the Mid-West while Breckinridge carries the South and Bell tries to glue the North East together.*

*A cartoon from a US periodical, 1860.*

#### Source B

The Democratic party as a party based on principles is dead. It exists now only as a powerful faction. It has not one single principle common to its members, North and South. It has degenerated into a mere political organisation, variously united, to obtain power and place. On every issue deemed vital to the South, the Northern members, as a body, are against the South and agree substantially with the Black Republicans. The South herself has produced this result by her timidity. The Democratic party, as founded in 1798, is now overthrown by centralism and consolidation. Congress is omnipotent. That great sectional interest, the institution of slavery, is swept into a vortex of federal jurisdiction. The timid and faithless expedient of concession to encroachments, has wiped out all the limitations of the constitution. It has forced on the South the alternatives of rebuilding the Democratic party, of submitting to or resisting a government in the hands of a hostile section.

*From the 'Charleston Mercury', 16 April 1860.*

**Source C**

The truth is that the Democratic party has become so thoroughly demoralised, all the great principles which formerly gave it power and popularity have so completely disappeared, that its leading members have no faith in the future. The Democratic party has been in power for so long that it has degenerated into a faction. Mr. Buchanan has given the finishing touches to the degradation of the party and has made respectable persons ashamed to confess that they ever belonged to it.

These things aid the open split in the party, which has grown out of the arrogant pretensions of the extreme South, and paralyse the efforts of either section to enter with any spirit into the contest. The Douglas men know that Breckinridge cannot possibly be elected and the Breckinridge men do not believe that Douglas can carry even half a dozen states. They are all steadily settling down to the satisfactory conclusion that worse things might happen than the election of Lincoln.

*From the 'New York Times', 4 July 1860.*

**Source D**

From an early stage of the canvass, the Republicans could not help seeing that they had the potent aid of the good wishes for their success of at least a large proportion of the advocates of Breckinridge. The toasts drunk with most enthusiasm at the Fourth-of-July celebrations throughout South Carolina pointed to the probable election of Mr. Lincoln as the necessary prelude to movements on which the hearts of all Carolinians were set. Southern 'Fire-eaters' canvassed the Northern states on behalf of Breckinridge, very much to the satisfaction of the friends of Lincoln. The 'Fusion' arrangements, whereby it was hoped to defeat Lincoln, were not generally favoured by the Fire-eaters who visited the North. In no slave state did the supporters of Breckinridge unite in any Fusion movement whatsoever. It was a very open secret that the friends of Breckinridge in the slave states – next to the all but impossible success of their own candidates – preferred that of the Republicans.

*From a history of the civil war written by Horace Greeley, a prominent anti-slavery journalist, published in 1866.*

**Source E**

The Republican ticket received a majority of the popular vote, over the combined vote for opposition tickets, in sixteen free states and the same states had a majority of 17½ votes in the electoral college. In addition, the Republican party carried California and Oregon by pluralities. Missouri, of the slave states, and New Jersey, of the free states, alone cast their electoral votes for Douglas, the former by a very small plurality over Bell, the latter by a fusion with Bell and Breckinridge. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee cast their electoral votes for Bell. All the other slave states voted for Breckinridge and all the other free states for Lincoln.

It is thus placed beyond dispute that the rupture of the Democratic party in the campaign did not elect the Republican ticket nor in any manner disturb the pre-existing causes which led to the success of that ticket. In 1860, Lincoln gained the state of Pennsylvania and success, as Frémont lost the same state in 1856, insuring his defeat.

*From a biography of William Yancey, a leading Southern Democrat, published in 1892.*

Now answer the following question.

*Using Sources A–E, discuss the view that Lincoln was successful in the 1860 presidential election because of divisions within the Democratic party.*

**Section B**

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

- 2 How important was the doctrine of Manifest Destiny to the westward expansion of the USA in the period 1840 to 1890?
- 3 Compare and contrast the policies of Presidents Lincoln, Johnson and Grant towards the reconstruction of the South.
- 4 Assess the relative importance of the steel, oil and financial sectors to American economic growth in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- 5 How far had African Americans and other ethnic minorities achieved full civil rights by 1968?
- 6 Assess the impact of prohibition on US society in the period 1920–33.
- 7 Compare and contrast the role of the USA in peace-making at the end of the First and Second World Wars.
- 8 'The similarities between the 1950s and the 1960s were greater than the differences.' How valid is this assessment of US society?

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