

**MARK SCHEME for the October/November 2011 question paper  
for the guidance of teachers**

**9697 HISTORY**

**9697/51**

Paper 5, maximum raw mark 100

This mark scheme is published as an aid to teachers and candidates, to indicate the requirements of the examination. It shows the basis on which Examiners were instructed to award marks. It does not indicate the details of the discussions that took place at an Examiners' meeting before marking began, which would have considered the acceptability of alternative answers.

Mark schemes must be read in conjunction with the question papers and the report on the examination.

- Cambridge will not enter into discussions or correspondence in connection with these mark schemes.

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### GENERIC MARK BANDS FOR ESSAY QUESTIONS

Examiners will assess which Level of Response best reflects most of the answer. An answer will not be required to demonstrate all of the descriptions in a particular Level to qualify for a Mark Band.

<b>Band</b>	<b>Marks</b>	<b>Levels of Response</b>
1	21–25	The approach will be consistently analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. Essays will be fully relevant. The argument will be structured coherently and supported by very appropriate factual material and ideas. The writing will be accurate. At the lower end of the band, there may be some weaker sections but the overall quality will show that the candidate is in control of the argument. The best answers must be awarded 25 marks.
2	18–20	Essays will be focused clearly on the demands of the question but there will be some unevenness. The approach will be mostly analytical or explanatory rather than descriptive or narrative. The answer will be mostly relevant. Most of the argument will be structured coherently and supported by largely accurate factual material. The impression will be that a good solid answer has been provided.
3	16–17	Essays will reflect a clear understanding of the question and a fair attempt to provide an argument and factual knowledge to answer it. The approach will contain analysis or explanation but there may be some heavily descriptive or narrative passages. The answer will be largely relevant. Essays will achieve a genuine argument but may lack balance and depth in factual knowledge. Most of the answer will be structured satisfactorily but some parts may lack full coherence.
4	14–15	Essays will indicate attempts to argue relevantly although often implicitly. The approach will depend more on some heavily descriptive or narrative passages than on analysis or explanation, which may be limited to introductions and conclusions. Factual material, sometimes very full, will be used to impart information or describe events rather than to address directly the requirements of the question. The structure of the argument could be organised more effectively.
5	11–13	Essays will offer some appropriate elements but there will be little attempt generally to link factual material to the requirements of the question. The approach will lack analysis and the quality of the description or narrative, although sufficiently accurate and relevant to the topic if not the particular question, will not be linked effectively to the argument. The structure will show weaknesses and the treatment of topics within the answer will be unbalanced.
6	8–10	Essays will not be properly focused on the requirements of the question. There may be many unsupported assertions and commentaries that lack sufficient factual support. The argument may be of limited relevance to the topic and there may be confusion about the implications of the question.
7	0–7	Essays will be characterised by significant irrelevance or arguments that do not begin to make significant points. The answers may be largely fragmentary and incoherent. Marks at the bottom of this Band will be given very rarely because even the most wayward and fragmentary answers usually make at least a few valid points.

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### Section A

- 1 'The North was to blame for the growth of sectional antagonism between 1858 and 1861.'  
Using sources A–E, discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

	1	2	3	4	5
	SOURCE & CONTENT	ANALYSIS [L2–3]	CROSS-REFERENCE TO OTHER SOURCES	OTHER [e.g. Contextual knowledge]	EVALUATION [L4–5]
A	Extract from a speech by Northern Democrat as part of series of debates with Lincoln in 1858.	Douglas argues for popular sovereignty, in order to reduce sectional antagonism and maintain status quo. <b>No.</b>	<b>C</b> argued the need to maintain the status quo but the contrasting views of <b>B</b> and <b>D</b> show how difficult it will be to do so.	Douglas, a Northern Democrat, aiming to win an election is likely to trim his arguments to maximise his vote.	Not very reliable because of the context of the speech and other sources. More wishful thinking than analysis. <b>Neutral.</b>
B	Extract from an editorial in a Southern newspaper, 1860.	<i>Daily Crescent</i> argues strongly that North has provoked South in many ways. <b>Yes.</b>	The arguments of <b>B</b> are strongly supported by <b>D</b> and <b>E</b> but neither supported nor refuted by <b>A</b> and <b>C</b> .	Some of <b>B</b> 's assertions are supported by events, e.g. a reference to John Brown and Harper's Ferry, some are not, e.g. view of Lincoln.	<b>B</b> is a mixed source, both reliable and unreliable. On balance more unreliable because of its initial claims about the North. <b>No.</b>
C	Extract from a letter written by a Southern Congressman, 1860.	Stephens needful of settlement with North, fearing for the unity of the USA after a civil war. <b>No</b> to the North provoking sectional conflict.	Its desire for compromise and a middle ground is supported by <b>A</b> but not by <b>C</b> , <b>D</b> and <b>E</b> .	This hopeful view, made after the election of Lincoln, is not supported by response of Southern states to his election.	Not very reliable because it does not provide evidence for or against the assertion. <b>Neutral.</b>
D	Extract from a letter written by Lincoln's law partner, 1860.	Very strong statement by an abolitionist that freedom and slavery cannot coexist. Welcomes conflict. <b>Yes.</b>	<b>D</b> is supported by <b>E</b> and refuted by <b>B</b> . The other two sources are little help.	This extreme view was held by only a minority of Northerners but they were important in leading public opinion in the North and making the South more extreme as well.	The source provides evidence that the North was to blame for increasing tensions. <b>Yes.</b>

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E	Extract from a speech to Congress given by a Congressman from Massachusetts, 1861.	As a Northern Congressman speaking in 1861, Alley is clearly critical of the South. <b>No.</b>	This is supported by <b>D</b> and refuted by <b>B.</b>	By January 1861, during the interregnum, when the speech was made, the two sides were moving apart.	The source provides evidence that the South was to blame for the increasing tensions. <b>No.</b>
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**L1 WRITES ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS, NO VALID USE OF SOURCES [1–5]**

These answers will write about the growth of sectional antagonism between 1858 and 1861 and might use the sources. However, candidates will not use the sources as information / evidence to test the given hypothesis. If sources are used, it will be to support an essay-style answer to the question.

**L2 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM THE SOURCES TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [6–8]**

These answers use the sources as information rather than as evidence, i.e. sources are used at face value only with no evaluation / interpretation in context.

**L3 USES INFORMATION TAKEN FROM SOURCES TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [9–13]**

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves both attempting to confirm and to disprove it. However, sources are still used only at face value.

**L4 BY INTERPRETING / EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE OR SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [14–16]**

These answers are capable of using sources as evidence, i.e. demonstrating their utility in testing the hypothesis, by interpreting them in their historical context, i.e. not simply accepting them at their face value.

**L5 BY INTERPRETING AND EVALUATING SOURCES IN CONTEXT, FINDS EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE AND SUPPORT THE HYPOTHESIS [17–21]**

These answers know that testing the hypothesis involves attempting both to confirm and disconfirm the hypothesis, and are capable of using sources as evidence to do this (i.e. both confirmation and disconfirmation are done at this level).

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**L6 AS L5, PLUS EITHER (a) EXPLAINS WHY EVIDENCE TO CHALLENGE / SUPPORT IS BETTER / PREFERRED, OR (b) RECONCILES / EXPLAINS PROBLEMS IN THE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT NEITHER CHALLENGE NOR SUPPORT IS TO BE PREFERRED [22–25]**

**Either (a)** Although there is **evaluated** evidence both to support and challenge the claim that the North was to blame for the growth of sectional antagonism between 1858 and 1861 the evidence against that view is stronger than the case for. It's not just a case that two of the evaluated sources are against, two neutral and only one for. It's the fact that Source D, the one positive source, can be seen as arguing not that the North is to blame but the sectional system of US government, divided into free and slave states.

**Or (b)** If anything, the evaluated sources show that, though the North might be partly responsible, other factors are equally as important in explaining the growth of sectional antagonism in 1858–1861. The South should certainly bear some responsibility, as shown by the muddled arguments of Source B. In addition, the US system of government as established by the Founders was basically flawed, especially as new states joined the Union. A more valid assertion would be 'The North and the South were to blame for the growth of sectional antagonism between 1858 and 1861, as they grappled with the consequences of an unworkable system of government.'

**NB: The above descriptions, and especially columns 2–5, indicate possible approaches to analysing and evaluating the sources. Other approaches are valid, if supported by sound knowledge and understanding of the period and/or skills of source evaluation.**

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## 2 Explain why the crisis of 1850 occurred and how it was resolved.

The crisis of 1850 was caused by the Mexican Cession, the ceding by Mexico of large tracts of land through the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo following its defeat in the war of 1846-8. This cession caused a crisis within the USA because there were deep divisions over whether the new lands should be:

- **Territories or States**  
Territories were directly governed by the US federal government where States were not. The usual pattern had been that new lands became Territories first, States later.
- **Free or Slave**  
US federal government was delicately balanced between free and slave states. By 1848 there were 15 of each. Wherever possible, new states had been admitted in pairs, one free and one slave.  
In the Missouri Compromise of 1820 the US states had agreed that slavery should be restricted to lands below 36°30' latitude. This line divided the Mexican Cession lands, more being above the line. An additional complication was that in 1829 Mexico had abolished slavery.

After Guadalupe Hidalgo, three different approaches to solving the problem emerged, which only added to a sense of crisis:

- **Give the federal government the authority (to ban slavery)**  
Thus the **Wilmot Proviso 1846** and the **Free Soil party 1848**
- **Uphold the rights of slave owners to move their slaves into the new lands**  
Thus the **Calhoun Resolutions 1847** and the **Alabama Platform 1848**
- **Leave the decision to the people in the new Territories**  
via the concept of **popular sovereignty**, as proposed by Stephen Douglas, a Northern Democrat

There were many manoeuvrings before Congress agreed to the **Compromise of 1850**. It was a series of Acts by which:

- California joined the Union as a free state (the South had wanted the southern part to be slave)
- Texas gave up claims to lands from New Mexico
- New Mexico and Utah became Territories which would use popular sovereignty to decide on slave/free status (thus avoiding the Wilmot Proviso, to the South's relief)
- Fugitive Slave Act was strengthened (which the South wanted)
- Slave Trade (but not slavery) in Washington DC was banned (which the South didn't want)

The Compromise was seen as a temporary rather than permanent solution to the issue of slavery.

Candidates need to give equal weight to both parts of the question, focusing on 'why' for the first part and 'how' for the second.

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**3 'The Confederacy lost the Civil War because its political and military leadership was inferior.' Discuss this assertion.**

This hypothesis is one of a series of explanations for the outcome of the Civil War. Candidates need to explain the ways in which the leadership of the Confederacy can be seen as inferior, which requires some comparison with the Northern leadership. Thus:

- The Confederacy's President, Jefferson Davis, is seen as lacking leadership skills, especially in comparison to Lincoln. His relations with generals and government ministers were often strained –though he did get on better with the leading Confederate General, Robert E Lee. His desire to centralise the Confederacy's war effort ran into conflict with member states and their belief in state's rights. As the symbol of Confederacy, he failed to project himself as a national leader.
- Whether the Confederacy's military leadership was inferior is more disputable, certainly until Grant was appointed Unionist General in Chief in November 1863. In terms of battlefield tactics, the South generally did as well as the North in the early years. When it came to campaign strategy, the Confederacy's was inferior, as shown by the failure of their two offensive campaigns into the North, Antietam in 1862 and Gettysburg in 1863. Compare this with Grant's use of forces to take Vicksburg.

Other factors, however, also help explain why the Confederacy lost the civil war, including:

- The North's greater resources, especially demographic and industrial, not forgetting railways. The Confederacy had fewer men and an essentially agrarian economy, as well as few railways.
- The isolation of the Confederacy, which meant it lacked effective international support, especially from Britain and France.

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**4 To what extent is it true to say that Progressivism was simply Populism moved up into the middle classes?**

This question asks about the nature of support for Progressivism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Populism was essentially a movement of the small farmers of the South, West and rural Mid West protesting against the economic hardship they experienced in the 1880s. They disliked the predominance of (North) Eastern elites and especially big capitalists over the US economy and politics. Thus the Populist (or People's) Party was formed in 1892. The aims of its **Omaha Platform** included:

- Graduated income tax
- Limits on immigration
- Eight hour day
- Initiatives and Referendums (i.e. direct democracy)
- State ownership of railways companies and telephone companies
- Bimetallism (i.e. silver to be restored alongside gold, as was the case before 1873)

By 1896 the Democratic Party adopted some of its policies. Both parties nominated William Jennings Bryan as their candidate and the existence of the Populist Party at the national level was over.

**Progressivism** is a term applied to a broadly-based movement for reform of US politics and government which existed in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was a looser, more broadly-based movement which certainly attracted many middle class supporters from the (North) East. It took a more specific form in 1912 when the Progressive Party was formed by ex-president Theodore Roosevelt. The aims of its party platform included:

- Federal income tax
- Eight hour day
- Initiatives and Referendums
- Women's suffrage
- Relief for farmers

Thus there are some continuities and some additions to the reforms of the Populist Party twenty years before. The support for Progressivism was spread across regions and classes in ways which did not apply to Populism. It could be argued that whereas Populism was a movement of outsiders, Progressivism was led by insiders. It is around issues of membership (especially) and policies that arguments should revolve, the key word 'simply' providing a focal point for analysis. Reward generously those who show an awareness of the historiography surrounding the subject as well as the key details.



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**5 In what ways did the social and economic position of African-Americans change between 1901 and 1968?**

This requires candidates to focus on (a) a much longer period than the civil rights era, (b) social and economic change rather than political and (c) outcomes not methods. Key developments include:

- **The Great Migration c1910–c.1970**

Between five and six million blacks moved from the South to the North and West. By 1970 c53% of blacks lived in the South compared with 90% in 1900. This migration took place in two periods:

- **1910–30**

About 1.5m moved north to escape Jim Crow laws and to join growth of US industry. During the 1930s, this movement north was halted.

- **1940–70**

An estimated 4–5m moved north, encouraged by the industrial boom of the era.

Though blacks were confined to inner city ghettos, there were fewer obstacles to social and economic advance, leading to the emergence of a black middle class.

- **The Second World War and after**

The First World War brought only limited change in the position of black troops, even if the first (segregated) black combat divisions did fight in France. The Second World War had a greater impact, in part because black leaders such as A Phillip Randolph organised a March on Washington in 1941 which pressurised FDR into ordering the desegregation of the US defence industry. In 1948 Harry Truman ordered the desegregation of the US armed forces and gradually in the 1950s the US armed forces became integrated.

- **African American self help**

There were two main ways in which African Americans helped change their social and economic position:

- **Education**

In the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Booker T Washington argued the gradualist case for education of blacks as a way of achieving economic and social progress. Black colleges had also been formed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus gradually a black middle class began to emerge.

- **Politics and Law**

In 1910 the NAACP was formed to fight for the equal rights of blacks, mainly by using the law and the constitution. In the interwar years it fought to ban lynching. In the postwar years it helped ensure equality of education, a social right, e.g. *Brown vs. the Board of Education, Topeka* 1954.

The various efforts of the Civil Rights movement and Black Power groups in the 1950s and 1960s helped improve the social and economic position of blacks.

By the late 1960s, the social and economic position had changed considerably compared with 1901. To gain higher marks candidates must cover the whole period. Those who concentrate on the more familiar Civil Rights era are answering the question in part only.

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**6 'A triumph of image over substance.' Discuss this verdict on the first two Presidential terms of Franklin D Roosevelt.**

This means that the generally positive image of the New Deal is misleading, that its achievements were not as great as its defenders claim, both at the time and since the 1930s. Note that the question does not refer specifically to the New Deal or to domestic policies and so foreign policy analysis is also relevant.

Arguments **for** the assertion include negative arguments such as:

- The failure of the New Deal to end the economic depression of the 1930s.
- The incoherence of many New Deal reforms.

As well as more positive arguments such as:

- The image of leadership created by FDR helped restore people's faith in US government and economy, especially by his use of the new medium of radio, e.g. Fireside Chats.
- The image of 100 Days at the start of the presidency which requires a series of actions, even if sometimes ineffective.

Arguments **against** the assertion are:

- Many of the New Deal reforms were substantial reforms to economic and social policy, e.g. the Glass-Steagall Act, the 1935 Social Security Act.
- The increased role of both the federal government in general and the Presidency in particular marked a substantial change in the workings of US federal government.
- The reforms did make a substantial difference to the lives of many, if not all Americans.

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**7 'The United States' retreat into isolationism was more apparent than real in the period 1919 to 1941.' Critically examine the validity of this assertion.**

Key events which should form part of sound answers to this question include:

- The decision not to join the League of Nations 1920
- The Washington Naval Conference 1922
- Increased tariffs 1922 and 1930
- The Kellogg-Briand Pact 1928
- The Dawes Plan (1924) and the Young Plan (1929)
- Withdrawal from the London Economic Conference 1933
- Neutrality Acts 1935, 1936 and 1937
- FDR quarantine speech 1937
- Neutrality Act 1939
- Lend-Lease Act 1941

The context of US foreign policy needs considering, especially the contrast between the relatively peaceful 1920s and the more aggressive policies of dictatorships in the 1930s.

Candidates can argue either way so long as they support their arguments with detailed examples taken from the period.

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**8 To what extent was increasing national prosperity shared by all Americans between 1945 and 1968?**

Answering this question requires bringing together information from a variety of sources.

- **Firstly, increasing national prosperity**

In these 23 years America experienced an unprecedented period of continuous economic growth. Its GNP rose by 30% in the 1950s and another 40% in the 1960s. Unemployment rose above 6% only once in this period, 1958, when it reached 6.8%. The usual figure ranged from 3% to 5%. [The current level is 9.0%] In 1958 the economist J K Galbraith published e.g. *'The Affluent Society'*.

- **Secondly, sharing this increase in national wealth**

Some redistribution was achieved by federal income tax rates which remained heavily progressive following the Second World War. The highest tax rate, levied on incomes over \$200,000, remained at 94% from 1944 to 1964, when it was reduced to 77% on incomes over \$400,000. [The current rate is 35% on incomes over \$379,000]

However, in 1964 Michael Harrington published e.g. *'The Other America'* which argued that 25% of Americans lived in poverty. In the same year LBJ declared a 'war on poverty'. Statisticians used the poverty line to show that 20% of Americans still lived in poverty. Furthermore, certain social groups were especially disadvantaged: more than 50% of blacks and almost 50% of single parent families headed by women [i.e. the vast majority] lived in poverty, as did one-third of the over-65s.

These statistics help explain why in the 1960s blacks and women demanded more government help. In 1963 Congress passed an Equal Pay Act. By 1968 the poverty percentage had fallen to 12%. [The current level is 15%]