



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

HISTORY

9697/51

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

May/June 2011

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 WILMOT PROVISIO AND THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES

- 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

That as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico by the United States or by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of the said territory.

Congressman David Wilmot's amendment to an Appropriation Bill, August 1846.

Source B

The South asks for justice, simple justice, and less she ought not to take. She has no compromise to offer, but the Constitution, and no concession or surrender to make. How then can the Union be saved? There is but one way in which it can be; for the North to do justice by conceding to the South equal rights in the territory acquired from Mexico and to do her duty by causing the Fugitive Slave Laws to be faithfully complied with; to cease the agitation of the slave question and to provide for a Constitutional Amendment which will restore to the South that power she possessed of protecting herself before the balance between the sections was destroyed by this government. This will serve to protect the South and at the same time improve and strengthen the government instead of impairing and weakening it.

Senator John C Calhoun's last speech to the US Senate, 4 March 1850.

Source C

There is another aspect of the principle of the Compromise before us which deserves consideration. It assumes that slavery, if not the only institution in the slave States, is at least the ruling institution and that this characteristic is recognised by the Constitution. But slavery is only one of many institutions recognised by the Constitution; freedom is equally an institution there. But there is a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the land and devotes it to noble purposes. These territories acquired by us are part of the common heritage of mankind bestowed upon us by the Creator of the universe. We are his stewards and must so discharge our trust so as to secure in the highest attainable degree the happiness of the inhabitants of the territories. You say that you will not submit to the exclusion of slaves from the new territories. What will you gain by resistance? Liberty follows the sword, though she brings peace and benevolence. Can you propagate slavery by the sword? You insist that you cannot submit to the freedom with which slavery is discussed in the Free States. Will war – a war for slavery – arrest, or even moderate that discussion? No, that discussion will not cease; it is part of the eternal conflict between truth and error.

Senator W H Seward's speech to the US Senate, 11 March 1850.

Source D

1. Resolved: That the territories of the United States belong to the peoples of the several states of this Union as their common property. That the citizens of the states have equal rights to migrate with their property into these territories, and are equally entitled to the protection of the federal government in the enjoyment of that property.
2. Resolved: That Congress has no power to exclude from any territory of the United States any property lawfully held in the States of the Union and any Act passed to effect this result is a plain violation of the Constitution of the United States.
3. Resolved: That the slave holding States cannot and will not submit to any law passed by Congress restricting the above rights of masters to move with their property into the U.S. territories.

Resolutions of the Nashville Convention, 10 June 1850.

Source E

Neither an abolitionist nor a critic of Polk, Wilmot spoke for those Democrats who had supported the annexation of Texas on the assumption that Texas would be the last slave state. His intention was not to split his party upon sectional lines, but to hold Polk to the bargain of Texas for the slave holders, California and New Mexico for free labor. The Proviso had strong Northern support and was passed by the House twice, but was rejected by the Senate on both occasions. It raised unsettling constitutional issues. Calhoun and others argued that as slaves were property, slave holders could carry their property wherever they chose with full constitutional protection. It followed that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional. But Northerners cited both the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and the Constitution, which gave Congress the power 'to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States' as justifying Congressional legislation on slavery in the territories.

An American historian's analysis of the issues raised by the Wilmot Proviso.

Now answer the following question.

'The Wilmot Proviso provided the basis for a solution of the sectional issue.' 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 main factors involved in the taming of the 'Wild West' between 1840 and 1896.
- 3 Explain why in September 1864 Lincoln appeared to be facing defeat in the Presidential elections of that year.
- 4 Analyse the impact of immigration on American social and economic life in the period from 1865 to 1914.
- 5 Evaluate the effectiveness of the different tactics used by the various branches of the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s.
- 6 How far were the 1920s a period of prosperity and optimism in the United States?
- 7 Why, having entered the First World War, did the United States not join the League of Nations?
- 8 Why did a feminist movement emerge in America in the 1960s?

Copyright Acknowledgements:

Question 1 Source E © Boyer et al; *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*; Houghton Mifflin; 2005.

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

University of Cambridge International Examinations is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which is itself a department of the University of Cambridge.