



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

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**HISTORY**

**9697/05**

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

**May/June 2007**

**3 hours**

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

If you have been given an Answer Booklet, follow the instructions on the front cover of the Booklet.  
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 diagrams, graphs or 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, 1846–61

You **must** answer Question 1.

### THE SOUTHERN STATES AND SECESSION

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

The dangers which so universally threatened a few months ago the peace and quiet of the country, including the very existence of the Union, have been avoided and turned aside.

A Northern majority threatened to execute the passage of that odious measure, the Wilmot Proviso. The Compromise reached at the last session of Congress on the slavery question was a fair, just and honourable settlement. It only now needs to be considered final, and then I will grant that the danger is entirely over. But unfortunately this settlement is not regarded in that light by a large portion of the people. In the North a clamour has been raised for the repeal of the fugitive slave law by the abolitionists. In the South the spirit of opposition is equally violent and determined. The open disunionists of South Carolina and the Southern Rights Party of Georgia consider the action of the Federal government as violating their rights and honour.

I offer my hand and my heart in the good cause of the Union.

*From US Congressman Howell Cobb's letter to Georgia Unionists, February 1851.*

#### Source B

The abolitionist sentiment of the Northern States has steadily increased in hostility to the rights of the Southern States as equal members of the Union. It has led to long continued abuse and hatred of the Southern people; to ceaseless war upon their plainest constitutional rights, to open flaunting of the constitutional provisions designed to secure the return of fugitive slaves, and of Congressional laws giving them effect. It has also promoted the armed invasion of Southern soil by stealth and prompted large masses of Northern people to sympathise with the treacherous invaders of our country. It has even elevated the leader of a band of midnight assassins and robbers to the ranks of a hero and martyr. Finally it has organised a hostile sectional party which has instigated a long series of insults, outrages and wrongs for the purpose of making the federal government an instrument of our destruction.

Therefore we do hereby declare:

1st That Georgia is a free, sovereign and independent State.

2nd That she came into the Union with other states, as a sovereignty and by virtue of that sovereignty, has the right to secede whenever she shall judge necessary.

3rd That she ought not to submit to the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as her President.

*Resolutions on Secession from Floyd County, Georgia, 1 December 1860.*

**Source C**

I am not without hopes that our rights may be maintained and our wrongs redressed in the Union. If this can be done it is my earnest wish. I think also that it is the wish of a majority of our people. When this Union is dissolved, if of necessity it must be, I see at present but little prospect of good government afterwards. Revolutions are much easier started than controlled.

*Letter to an unknown correspondent, 25 November 1860, by Alexander H Stephens. Stephens was a friend of Abraham Lincoln, and from February 1861, Vice President of the Confederate States of America.*

**Source D**

Does the election of Lincoln to the Presidency, in the usual and constitutional mode, justify the Southern States in dissolving the Union? The constitutional rights and guarantees claimed by the Southern States are briefly:

1. That the Constitution of the United States recognises the institution of slavery as it exists in the fifteen Southern States.
2. That the citizens of the South have the right to go with their slave property into the common territories of the Union, and are entitled to protection for both their persons and property from the Federal Government.
3. That by plain letter of the Constitution the owner of a slave is entitled to reclaim his property in any state into which the slave may escape, and that both the Federal and the State Governments are bound under the Constitution to the enforcement of this provision.

The antagonism between these recognised rights and the doctrines and principles of the Black Republican party is plain, and irreconcilable. The one or the other must give way.

On the 4th day of March 1861 the Federal Government will pass into the hands of the abolitionists. I entertain no doubt either of your right or duty to secede from the Union.

*From Howell Cobb's address to the People of Georgia, 6 December 1860. Four days later Cobb resigned as Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury, and later became President of the Confederate Congress.*

**Source E**

We, the people of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, that the ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the 23rd day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed and that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America is hereby dissolved.

*South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession, passed unanimously by a Convention called by the State Legislature, 17 December 1860.*

Now answer the following question.

*'The South seceded reluctantly.'* Using Sources A–E, discuss how far the evidence supports this assertion.

**SECTION B**

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

- 2 How far did the USA benefit economically from westward expansion after 1865?
- 3 Why did the South lose the Civil War?
- 4 Assess the impact of immigration on American social and economic life from 1865 to 1914.
- 5 Examine the changing role of African-Americans in the nation's economic, social, and political life from 1900 to 1968.
- 6 Consider the view that the New Deal was more significant politically than economically.
- 7 To what extent was American foreign policy 'isolationist' between 1920 and 1941?
- 8 Evaluate the impact of the mass media on America's political and social life from 1945 to 1968.

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