



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 2009**

**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, 1846–1861**

You **must** answer Question 1.

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S VIEWS ON SLAVERY**

- 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**

Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man, this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land, until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal.

*Abraham Lincoln, speech in Chicago, 10 July 1858.*

**Source B**

I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been, in favour of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and the black races: that I am not, nor ever have been, in favour of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people.

Nevertheless, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favour of having the superior position assigned to the white race.

*Abraham Lincoln, speech in Charleston, 18 September 1858.*

**Source C**

To us it appears natural to think that slaves are human beings: *men*, not property: that some of the things stated about men in the Declaration of Independence apply to them as well as to us. I say, we think, most of us, that this Charter of Freedom applies to the slave as well as to ourselves, that the class of arguments put forward to batter down that idea, are also calculated to break down the very idea of free government even for white men, and to undermine the very foundations of free society. We think slavery a great moral wrong, and while we do not claim the right to touch it where it exists, we wish to treat it as a wrong in the Territories, where our votes will reach it. We think that a respect for ourselves, a regard for future generations, require that we put down this wrong where our votes will properly reach it. We think it an injury to free white men. In short, we think slavery a great moral, social and political evil, tolerable only because its actual existence makes it necessary to tolerate it, and that beyond that, it ought to be treated as a wrong.

Now these two ideas, the property idea that slavery is right, and the idea that it is wrong, come into collision, and actually produce that irrepressible conflict which Mr. Seward has been so roundly abused for mentioning. The two ideas conflict, and must conflict.

*Abraham Lincoln, speech in New Haven, Connecticut, 6 March 1860.*

**Source D**

Mr. Seward says the Republican Party is a party of one great idea, which fills and expands all generous souls; the idea of equality of all men before human tribunals, just as they are all equal before God. Two thousand years ago Greek philosophers declared that this idea distinguished freedom from barbarism. Let us question Mr. Lincoln about it.

Does Mr. Lincoln believe that the negro is his political and social equal or ought to be? – Not a bit of it!

Does Mr. Lincoln believe he should sit on juries? – Never!

Does Mr. Lincoln believe he should vote? – Certainly not!

Does Mr. Lincoln believe he should be considered a citizen? – Frankly no!

Does Mr. Lincoln think that when the Declaration of Independence said ‘all men are created equal’, it intended the political equality of blacks and whites? – No sir!

If the idea that fills all generous minds is equality, surely Lincoln’s mind is as yet empty.

Not an abolitionist, hardly an anti-slavery man, yet Lincoln comes to represent an anti-slavery idea.

*Wendell Phillips, a leading abolitionist, speech in Boston, 7 November 1860.*

**Source E**

Abraham Lincoln immortalized himself in American history by abolishing slavery, but he arrived at this distinction only after a long career of opposition to abolitionism. This seems paradoxical, for he had always actively disliked slavery, and he came into national prominence as a politician by strenuously opposing its extension into the Territories. But he was never an abolitionist, and the question that inevitably presents itself to the modern student is, ‘if he hated slavery so much, why did Lincoln not become an abolitionist?’

To answer that question, we can begin by examining Lincoln’s attitude toward slavery and what he proposed should be done about it. Though the historical record has always been clear, the Great Emancipator legend has had a distorting effect on our understanding of Lincoln’s position, confusing him with those who openly advocated the abolition of slavery. In fact, Lincoln was always aware that slavery, though morally wrong in his eyes, was sanctioned by law, and he frequently acknowledged that the rights of slave owners, both to retain their slaves and to have fugitive slaves returned, were clearly guaranteed in the Constitution. Before the outbreak of civil war, he advocated nothing that would directly challenge those rights. This position sharply distinguished him from abolitionists, all of whom viewed the returning of fugitive slaves as immoral, whatever the Constitution might dictate.

Lincoln, by contrast, never put his antipathy for slavery ahead of his allegiance to the Constitution. He admitted privately that he hated to see slaves ‘hunted down, and caught, and carried back’, but he classed himself in 1855 with ‘the great body of Northern people [who] crucify their feelings, in order to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union’. His public support for the Fugitive Slave Law moved the Boston abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, to label him ‘the Slave Hound of Illinois’. While the common goal of abolitionists was to put an end to slavery everywhere, Lincoln ran for President in 1860 on a platform that promised to leave slavery undisturbed in the states where it already existed.

*A modern historian’s assessment of Abraham Lincoln.*

Now answer the following question.

*‘Lincoln was an opponent of slavery.’ 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 consequences of the Mexican War for the United States.
- 3 Examine the view that Lincoln's contribution to the Union victory in the Civil War has been greatly exaggerated.
- 4 Account for the rise and fall of the People's Party (Populists).
- 5 'Although highly skilled in self-promotion and networking with politicians and the media, Martin Luther King's role in obtaining civil rights for African-Americans has been overstated.' Discuss this view.
- 6 'Flexibility was both his strength and his weakness.' How valid is this assessment of F. D. Roosevelt as President?
- 7 Why was it that both Congress and the American people rejected the Versailles peace settlement negotiated by President Wilson?
- 8 How true was it that the quality of life for Americans improved dramatically from 1945 to 1968?

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