



Cambridge International Examinations
Cambridge Pre-U Certificate

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HISTORY

9769/57

Paper 5g Special Subject:

May/June 2014

The Origins and Causes of the American Civil War, c. 1820–1861

2 hours

Additional Materials: Answer Booklet/Paper

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 an HB pencil for any diagrams or graphs.

Do not use staples, paper clips, glue or correction fluid.

DO NOT WRITE IN ANY BARCODES.

Answer Question 1 and **one** other question.

You are reminded of the need for analysis and critical evaluation in your answers to questions. You should also show, where appropriate, an awareness of links and comparisons between different countries and different periods.

At the end of the examination, fasten all your work securely together.

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each question or part question.

This document consists of **4** printed pages.



Answer the following question.

Nominated topic: Disputes, compromises and tensions

- 1** Study all of the following documents and answer the questions which follow. In evaluating and commenting upon the documents, it is essential to set them alongside, and to make use of, your own contextual knowledge.

A *Henry Clay, a veteran Senator, sets down his proposals for reducing sectional tensions.*

- (1) The entry of California into the Union as a free state at the earliest possible date.
- (2) The organisation of New Mexico and Utah for statehood, leaving their legislatures free to decide on the future of slavery.
- (3) Texas to give up any parts of New Mexico unlawfully seized; the Federal Government to assume responsibility for the debts incurred by the Texan government before independence.
- (4) The slave-trade in the District of Columbia to be abolished.
- (5) A new, stricter fugitive slave law to be introduced, allowing the more rapid recovery of escaped slaves.

Resolutions put before the Senate, January 1850.

B *Senator John C. Calhoun, a champion of states' rights and slaveholding, suggests how the Union might be saved.*

I have, Senators, believed from the first that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion. The agitation has been permitted to proceed with almost no attempt to resist it, until it has reached a point when it can no longer be disguised or denied that the Union is in danger. How can the Union be saved? There is but one way by which it can be, and that is by adopting such measures as will satisfy the States belonging to the Southern section, that they can remain in the Union consistently with their honour and their safety. But can this be done? Yes, easily; not by the weaker party, for it can of itself do nothing – not even protect itself – but by the stronger. The North has only to will it to accomplish it – to do justice by conceding to the South an equal right in the acquired territory, and to do her duty by causing the stipulations relative to fugitive slaves to be faithfully fulfilled – to cease the agitation about the slave question.

Speech in the Senate, March 1850.

- C** *Congressman Howell Cobb, a leading politician from Georgia, sees much good in the Compromise of 1850 but also criticises its opponents on both sides of the sectional divide.*

The dangers which a few months ago threatened the peace of the country, including the very existence of the Union, have been avoided. The series of measures passed by Congress on the slavery question is a fair and honourable settlement of this alarming question. But unfortunately this settlement is not regarded as final by a large proportion of the people. In the North a clamour has been raised for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act by the abolitionists. In the South the spirit of opposition is equally violent and determined. Those in South Carolina who openly support the ending of the Union, and the Southern Rights party of Georgia, consider the settlement violates their rights and honour.

Letter to Georgia Unionists, 17 February 1851.

- D** *William H. Seward, a leading Republican, gives his view of the aims of the Southern slaveholding states.*

The United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labour nation. The slaveholding class have the ambition to extend slavery throughout the whole Union. They derive encouragement for this from the political successes they have already obtained. The plan of operation is this: by threats of disunion they will keep a majority in the Senate. Through that majority they will defeat the admission of free States to the Union and secure the admission of slave States. Under the protection of the judiciary, they will, on the principle of the Dred Scott case, carry slavery into all the territories of the United States. When the free States shall be sufficiently demoralised, they conclude that slavery will be accepted by those States themselves.

Speech in Rochester, New York State, 25 October 1858.

- E** *A modern historian comments on the rise of sectional tensions during the 1850s.*

To say that Republican politicians stirred up and exploited sectional grievances in order to build a winning party is a simple description of fact. It is not meant to imply that winning was their only objective or meant to be a value judgement about the sincerity or insincerity of their personal hatred of black slavery. The anti-slavery pedigree of Republican leaders, however, was in a sense irrelevant to the triumph of the Republican party. Much more important was the campaign they ran to obtain power: their skill in politicising the issues at hand in such a way as to convince Northern voters that control of the Federal government by an exclusive Northern party was necessary to resist slave power aggressions.

Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, published in 1978.

- (a)** How far are the views on slavery as expressed in Document B corroborated in Document D? [10]
- (b)** How convincing is the evidence provided by this set of documents for the view that relations broke down in the 1850s because grievances between North and South were too deep-seated?

In making your evaluation, you should refer to contextual knowledge as well as to all the documents in this set (A–E). [20]

Answer one of the following questions. *Where appropriate, your essay should make use of any relevant documents you have studied as well as contextual knowledge.*

- 2 To what extent did westward expansion divide the North and South in the period c. 1820–1850? [30]
- 3 How significantly did the party system change between 1828 and 1858? [30]
- 4 'The Dred Scott Case (1857) made conflict between South and North certain.' How far do you agree with this view of the period 1857–61? [30]

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Question 1 Document E © M. F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*; John Wiley & Sons, 1978.

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