GCE AS/A LEVEL

2100U70-1

S23-2100U70-1

TUESDAY, 23 MAY 2023 – AFTERNOON

HISTORY – AS unit 2
DEPTH STUDY 7
The crisis of the American republic c.1840–1877
Part 1: Sectional differences and the road to civil war c.1840–1861

1 hour 45 minutes

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

A WJEC pink 16-page answer booklet.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Use black ink or black ball-point pen. Do not use gel pen or correction fluid.

Answer **both** questions.

Write your answers in the separate answer booklet provided, following the instructions on the front of the answer booklet.

Use both sides of the paper. Write only within the white areas of the booklet.

Write the question number in the two boxes in the left-hand margin at the start of each answer,

for example | **0** | **1** |.

Leave at least two line spaces between each answer.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

The number of marks is given in square brackets at the end of each question.

You are advised to spend approximately 50 minutes answering each question.

The sources and interpretations used in this examination paper may have been amended, adapted or abridged from the stated published work in order to make the wording more accessible.

The sources may include words that are no longer in common use and are now regarded as derogatory terminology. Their inclusion reflects the time and place of the original version of these sources.

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Answer **both** questions

0 1 Using your understanding of the historical context, assess the value of these three sources to an historian studying the impact of slavery on US politics between 1850 and 1857. [30]

Source A William H Seward, Senator for New York, in a speech to the US Senate (March 1850)

There is another aspect of the principle of compromise which deserves consideration. It assumes that slavery, if not the only institution in a slave State, is at least a ruling institution, and that this characteristic is recognised by the Constitution. But slavery is only one of many institutions there. Freedom is equally an institution there. Slavery is only a temporary, accidental, partial and incongruous [inappropriate] one. Freedom on the contrary, is a perpetual, organic, universal one, in harmony with the Constitution of the United States … But the principle of this compromise gives complete ascendancy in the slave states, and in the Constitution of the United States, to that subordinate [inferior], accidental, and incongruous institution.

Source B An article, commenting on the attack on Senator Charles Sumner in the Senate chamber, in the *New York Evening Post* (May 1856)

The excuse for this base assault is that Mr Sumner, on the Senate floor, in the course of debate had spoken disrespectfully of Mr Butler, a relative of Preston S Brooks. Has it come to this, that we must speak with bated breath in the presence of our Southern masters; that even their follies are too sacred a subject of ridicule; that we must not deny the consistency of their principles or the accuracy of their statements? If we venture to laugh at them, or question their logic, or dispute their facts, are we to be punished as they punish their slaves? Are we, too, slaves, slaves for life, a target for their brutal blows when we do not conduct ourselves to please them? The truth is that the pro-slavery Party, which rules in the Senate, looks upon violence as the proper instrument of its designs … violence has now found its way into the Senate chamber. Violence lies in wait on all navigable rivers and all the railways of Missouri, to obstruct those who pass from the free states to Kansas.

Source C Frederick Douglass, a former slave, in a speech at the celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the American Abolition Society (May 1857)

It may be quite true that the Constitution was designed to secure the blessings of liberty and justice to the people who made it, and to future generations, but it was never designed to do any such thing for the colored people of African descent. This is Judge Taney's argument … but it is not the argument of the Constitution. The Constitution imposes no such mean and satanic limitations upon its own operation. And, if the Constitution makes none, I beg to know what right has anybody, outside of the Constitution, in order to justify slavery, to impose such a meaning on the Constitution? The Constitution knows all human inhabitants of this country as "the people". It makes, as I have said before, no discrimination in favour of, or against, any class of people, but is fitted to protect and preserve the rights of all without reference to color, size, or any physical peculiarities.

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0 2 Historians have made different interpretations about **the causes of the US Civil War**. Analyse and evaluate the two interpretations and use your understanding of the historical debate to answer the following question:

How valid is the view that arguments over states' rights caused the US Civil War? [30]

Interpretation 1 Hugh Brogan, in this extract from his book *The Penguin History of the United States of America* (1999), provides an interpretation focusing on states' rights.

For the southern states, state government came first; the Union was a limited agreement, as the old anti-Federalists had taught, and the states retained their sovereignty, including the right to secede if they saw fit. Above all, the Union was one of consent: the essence of the Constitution and its checks and balances was that the majority should not be able to coerce a minority. States' rights had evolved as an argument arising from the necessity of protecting the peculiar institution of slavery.

Interpretation 2 Brian Holden Reid, in this extract from his textbook *The Origins of the American Civil War* (1996), provides an interpretation focusing on the South's refusal to accept the result of the 1860 presidential election.

The 1860 election confirmed the political authority of, and the electoral support for, the Republican Party in the North. It confirmed, in the most hard and fast manner possible, that the two sections of the US voted predominantly for different candidates on different issues. One of those sections now refused to accept that the majority vote as represented in the election of a Republican president was binding on the South. Such an attitude not only challenged the continuance of the democratic process in the US but also would represent a flagrant challenge to the authority of the central government.

END OF PAPER

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