



UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE INTERNATIONAL EXAMINATIONS  
International General Certificate of Secondary Education

**HISTORY**

**0470/21**

Paper 2

**May/June 2013**

**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 a soft pencil for any diagrams, graphs or rough working.  
Do not use staples, paper clips, highlighters, glue or correction fluid.

This paper has two options.  
Choose **one** option, and answer **all** of the questions on that topic.

**Option A: 19th Century topic** [p2–p8]

**Option B: 20th Century topic** [p9–p14]

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 **14** printed pages and **2** blank pages.



**Option A: 19th Century topic****HOW FAR DID RECONSTRUCTION LEAD TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN THE LIVES OF BLACK AMERICANS?**

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

**Background Information**

One of the main debates about Reconstruction is about the effects it had on the ex-slaves. President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. This turned the Civil War into a war to end slavery. However, this did not guarantee black Americans a better life after the war ended. One attempt to improve their lives was the Freedmen's Bureau first set up by Lincoln in 1865. It provided former slaves with food, housing, education and employment. An attempt to renew it in 1866 was vetoed by President Johnson. However, in 1867 Congress put the former Confederacy under the rule of the US army to speed up Reconstruction. With the Compromise between Democrats and Republicans in 1877, Reconstruction came to an end and Conservative white Democrats regained control of much of the South.

Some historians have claimed that Reconstruction failed to improve the lives of black Americans, while others have argued that important progress was made. How far were the lives of black Americans improved by Reconstruction?

**SOURCE A**

Reconstruction was not radical enough, it was at best a half-finished revolution, and as a result black Americans lost out. One major criticism is that the freedmen came out of slavery with little or no land. Those who did manage to acquire property during or at the end of the war were usually quickly dispossessed. By the 1870s most blacks scraped a living as sharecroppers which was a new type of slavery. Permanently in debt, blacks had little economic independence. However, emancipating the slaves resulted in the greatest redistribution of income in American history. Despite efforts by whites to control ex-slaves through intimidation and violence, blacks had more control over their own futures and day-to-day lives than they had under slavery. The wealth of most freedmen improved and did so despite the poor economic conditions of the 1870s. With the end of slavery, blacks had mobility. Many moved to Southern cities and a black professional and business class slowly emerged.

However, Reconstruction failed to guarantee black Americans basic civil rights. By the first decade of the twentieth century segregation was a fact of Southern life. Every Southern state introduced segregation laws, usually known as 'Jim Crow' laws. By 1900 black Americans were effectively unable to vote. During Reconstruction black facilities were inferior to white. Blacks were more likely to be illiterate and in poor housing. Savage punishments were handed out to blacks who committed petty crime. Lynchings were a common aspect of Southern life.

*From a history book published in 1997.*

**SOURCE B**

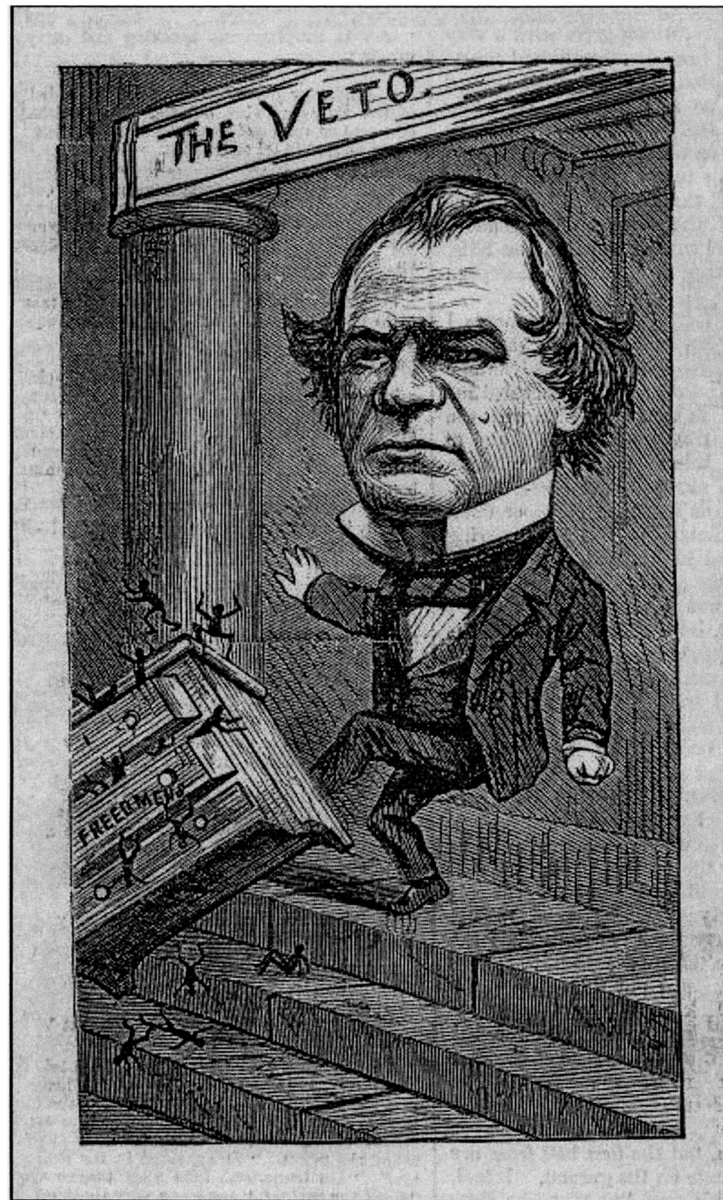
The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed by Congress in 1868 made blacks citizens of the USA and guaranteed equal protection of the law to all Americans. It did not make racial segregation illegal. It did not even tell states to allow blacks to vote. It gave blacks equal access to the law and forbade laws that applied only to blacks but not to whites. Most white Southerners objected to it.

The Civil War Amendments did bring certain freedoms to black Americans. Freedom meant the right to decide what to do with one's own time, from minute to minute and day to day. It meant freedom to move about. With freedom from slavery, most blacks had to work less hard. Another use that blacks made of freedom was to seek education. Very few slaves could read and write. The Freedmen's Bureau began to oversee schools in the South as soon as the war ended. Blacks responded eagerly to this opportunity for schooling.

While the United States army occupied the South, blacks voted and held office in all the states of the former Confederacy. Nothing made white Southerners more bitter and resentful than to be 'ruled' by the very people they had totally dominated for so long. However, after the Compromise of 1877 the white citizens of the North turned their backs on the blacks of the South. Gradually the Southern states broke their promises to treat blacks fairly.

*From a history book published in the USA, 1991.*

SOURCE C

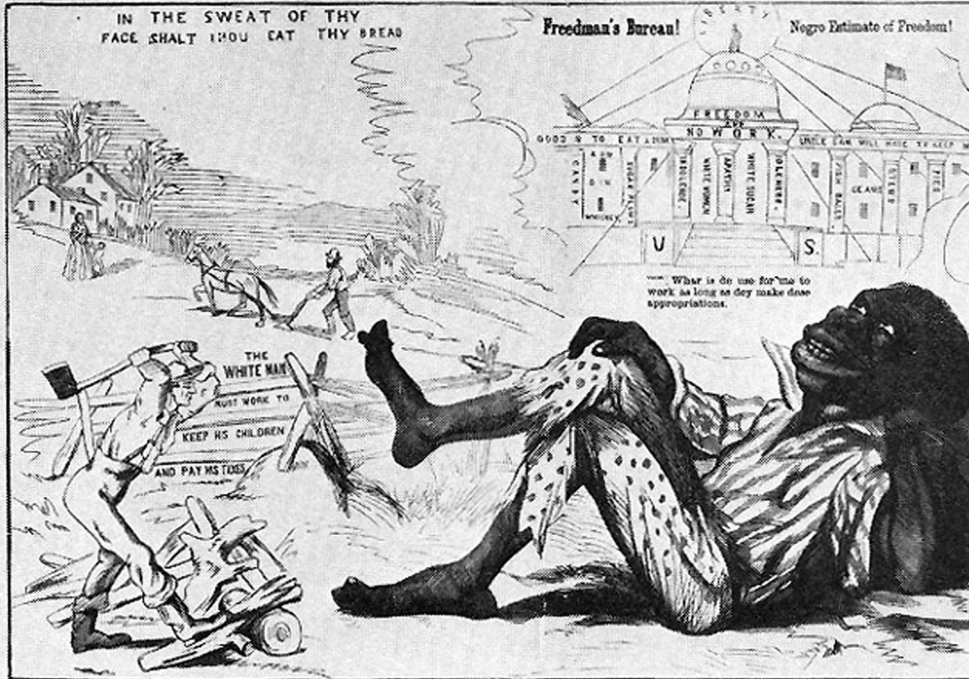


*A cartoon entitled 'Andrew Johnson Kicking Freedmen's Bureau', published in the USA in 1866.*

SOURCE D

# THE FREEDMAN'S BUREAU!

AN AGENCY TO KEEP THE **NEGRO** IN IDLENESS AT THE **EXPENSE** OF THE WHITE MAN.  
TWICE VETORED BY THE **PRESIDENT**, AND MADE A LAW BY **CONGRESS**.  
**SUPPORT CONGRESS & YOU SUPPORT THE NEGRO. SUSTAIN THE PRESIDENT & YOU PROTECT THE WHITE MAN**



For 1864 and 1865, the **FREEDMAN'S BUREAU** cost the Tax-payers of the Nation, at le **TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.** For 1866, **THE SHARE** of the Tax-payers of Pennsylvania will be about **ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS.** **GEAR!** is **FOR** the Freedman's Bureau. **CLYMER** is **OPPOSED** to it.

A Democrat election campaign poster from 1866.

SOURCE E

The President grew much excited and expressed the most bitter hatred of the measure in all its parts, declaring that it was nothing but anarchy and chaos, that the people of the South, poor, quiet, unoffending, harmless, were to be trodden under foot 'to protect blacks', that the states were already in the Union, that in no part of the country were life and property so safe as in the Southern states.

He is a pig-headed man, with only one idea – a bitter opposition to universal suffrage and a determination to restore the political power of the old Southern leaders, who, he emphasised, must in the nature of things rule the South.

*A description by Charles Nordhoff of his meeting with President Johnson about the planned Reconstruction Bill. It comes from a letter written by Nordhoff to a friend in February 1867. Nordhoff was the editor of a New York newspaper.*

SOURCE F



*A cartoon published in an American magazine in 1870. The caption says 'There is a negro school at Meherrin Station, on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, where the teachers receive scholars of all ages and both sexes. Mr Arvine, has an old cook, 71 years of age, who took it into her head, to learn to speak and write the English language correctly; so she entered the school, bringing her ten cents per day and regularly paying it over to the teachers.'*

**SOURCE G**

We have found that the free negro counts more than he did as a slave. We have planted the school on the hilltop and made it free to white and black. We have put business above politics. We have learned that the money from our cotton crop will make us rich when the supplies that make it are home-raised.

But what of the negro? No part of our Southern society shows a more prosperous labouring population than the negroes of the South. He shares our school fund, has the fullest protection of our laws and the friendship of our people. The relations of the Southern people with the negro are close and friendly. Ruffians have maltreated him, but the South, with the North, protests against injustice to this simple people. To liberty and the vote is as far as the law can carry the negro. The rest must be left to our conscience and common sense.

The Old South rested everything on slavery and agriculture. The New South presents a perfect democracy, a closely knit social system and a diversified industry.

*Henry Grady's speech entitled 'The New South', 1886. Grady was editor of a Southern newspaper and was speaking in New York.*

**SOURCE H**

This is an institution of humanity, mercy and patriotism. Its main objectives being: First, to protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenceless from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent and the brutal. Second, to protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and to protect the states and the people from all invasion from any source.

Questions to be asked of prospective members:

- Are you opposed to negro equality?
- Are you in favour of a white man's government in the country?
- Are you in favour of the re-enfranchisement and emancipation of the white men of the south, and the return to the Southern people of all their rights and property?

*From the Ku Klux Klan's 'Organisation and Principles', 1868.*

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

**1** Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

**2** Study Sources C and D.

How similar are these two sources? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**3** Study Source E.

How surprised are you by this source? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

**4** Study Source F.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

**5** Study Source G.

How useful is this source to a historian studying the results of Reconstruction? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

**6** Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that Reconstruction improved the lives of black Americans? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]



**Option B: 20th Century topic****DID THE BIG THREE GET WHAT THEY WANTED FROM THE PEACE SETTLEMENT?**

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

**Background Information**

The talks to settle the peace after the First World War began in January 1919. The negotiations were dominated by Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau of France, Prime Minister David Lloyd George from Britain and President Woodrow Wilson of the USA. They agreed on some of the things they wanted from the peace negotiations, but they also wanted different things.

Did any of them get what they wanted from the peace settlement?

**SOURCE A**

As they left Paris in 1919 the three principal figures at the conference were not free of doubts. Clemenceau was under attack from powerful forces in France who accused him of having been outwitted by Lloyd George.

Lloyd George, in a private train racing across France, knew that he was heading into a storm of criticism for his failure to obtain the huge reparation payments from the Germans he had promised in the election campaign of the previous December. But Lloyd George had deeper concerns. He had come to fear that the treaty was too harsh and unworkable, that it perhaps condemned Europe to another gigantic war.

Wilson had first come to Paris with hope because the Conference represented the opportunity he had always dreamed of – to completely remake the world according to his liberal and democratic principles. But he had found the task so full of conflicting claims that he was forced to settle for a patchwork compromise. Hopefully, his League of Nations would resolve some of the problems left by the treaty. As he looked out of a train window he told his wife ‘Well, it is finished and, as no one is satisfied it makes me hope we have made a just peace.’

*From a history book published in 1968.*

**SOURCE B**

Clemenceau always thought he had got the best possible deal for France and he was right. He had got more from his allies than they had originally been prepared to give; he had kept the alliance with Britain and the United States alive; he had given France another measure of safety in the demilitarisation of the Rhineland.

Following the Treaty of Versailles, France felt more secure against German aggression, but there was a strong feeling that the treaty should have been harsher. France had wanted to take over part of the German navy and for the Rhineland to have become independent. Germany was still strong enough to seek revenge.

There were two different reactions in Britain. There was much popular support for the harshness of the treaty. Yet some people felt that the treaty would create problems in the future because it was too harsh. Some of the British delegates at Versailles had asked for last-minute changes to allow Germany to join the League of Nations, and reparations to be reconsidered. Clemenceau and Wilson had refused.

President Wilson was delighted that the League of Nations had been set up. By 1919, however, Wilson's views were less important. The American Senate would not agree to his policies and the USA never signed the treaty.

*From a history book published in 1997.*

**SOURCE C**



*A cartoon published in Britain in May 1919.*

**SOURCE D**

Justice is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German delegation asks for and says that Germany had been promised. Justice is what Germany shall have. But it must be justice for all. There must be justice for the dead and wounded and for those who have been orphaned and bereaved so that Europe might be freed from German despotism.

That is why the Allied powers have insisted as a central feature of the Treaty that Germany must undertake to make reparation to the very limits of its ability. Reparation for wrongs inflicted is of the essence of justice. That, too, is why Germany must submit for a few years to certain special disabilities and arrangements. Germany has ruined the industries, the mines and the machinery of neighbouring countries. It is only justice that reparation should be made.

*Clemenceau speaking at the peace conference in June 1919.*

**SOURCE E**

29 June 1919: I am leaving Paris, after eight fateful months, with conflicting emotions. Looking back at the conference there is much to approve and much to regret. How splendid it would have been had we followed a new and better direction! However, it is to be doubted whether this could have been done, even if those in authority had so ordered, for the people back home had to be reckoned with.

To those who are saying that the Treaty is bad and should never have been made and that it will involve Europe in enormous difficulties in its enforcement, I feel like admitting it. We have had to deal with a situation full of difficulties and one which could be met only by an unselfish spirit, which was almost wholly absent and which was too much to expect of men who came together at such a time and for such a purpose. And yet I wish we had taken the other road.

*An extract from the diary of Edward M. House. House was President Wilson's main advisor during the peace negotiations.*

SOURCE F



REAR VIEW.

*A cartoon published in an American magazine on 30 August 1919.  
The person doing the conducting is President Wilson.*

SOURCE G



A cartoon published in a British magazine on 10 December 1919.

SOURCE H

The Treaty of Versailles seeks to punish one of the greatest wrongs ever done in history, the wrong which Germany sought to do to the world and to civilisation, and there ought to be no weak purpose with regard to punishment. She attempted an intolerable thing, and she must be made to pay for the attempt.

President Wilson speaking in September 1919 during his speaking tour around the USA.

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

**1** Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

**2** Study Source C.

Why was this source published in May 1919? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

**3** Study Sources D and E.

Does Source D prove that Source E is wrong? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**4** Study Sources F and G.

How far would these two cartoonists have agreed with each other? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

**5** Study Source H.

Are you surprised by Source H? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

**6** Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the peacemakers got what they wanted from the peace settlement? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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