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**HISTORY**

**9389/11**

Paper 1 Document Question

**May/June 2016**

**1 hour**

No Additional Materials are required.

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**READ THESE INSTRUCTIONS FIRST**

An answer booklet is provided inside this question paper. You should follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

This paper contains **three** sections:

Section A: European Option

Section B: American Option

Section C: International Option

Answer **both** parts of the question from **one** section only.

The marks are given in brackets [ ] at the end of each part question.

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This document consists of **7** printed pages, **1** blank page and **1** Insert.

**Section A: European Option****Liberalism and Nationalism in Italy and Germany, 1815–1871****Italy in 1848**

- 1 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

**Source A**

Every inch of ground won by Italians for Italy in 1848 and 1849 was won by Republicans and at the close of that year Italy would have been free from foreigners, would have been free, independent and united, had not monarchy stepped in and substituted the petty longings of dynastic ambition for the great national gain. The monarchs of Italy did not see themselves as Italians, let alone as liberators, and a great opportunity was lost when the enemies of Italian unity were distracted by their own internal problems.

*An English journalist in a letter to the New York Times in 1858.*

**Source B**

Some at the present time desire that I too, along with the other princes of Italy and their subjects, should engage in a war against the Austrians. I have thought it convenient to proclaim solemnly and openly that such a measure is alien from our counsels and I cannot support it in any way. Austria is a Catholic country. I also cannot refrain from repudiating the idea that the Pope might preside over the formation of some sort of new republic of the whole Italian people. Such a form of leadership would be wrong for a Pope. I urgently warn the Italian people to stay in close attachment to their respective sovereigns and ignore new and radical ideas.

*Edict of Pope Pius IX, April 1848.*

**Source C**

The republicans in Sicily mounted their coup in May and what were the consequences? His Sicilian Majesty recalled his force of around 20,000 men which he had sent against his will to fight in the plains of Venetia against the Austrians. He quickly seized on the coup in Sicily as a reason for summoning the troops home to preserve his own throne. He said he could not help other Italian powers in their struggle against the foreign oppressor. As for the many reactionaries and conservatives in Italy, they have put doubts in the mind of the Pope and have neglected no opportunity to neutralise the efforts of the Piedmontese ministers to prosecute the war vigorously and drive out the invaders and their brutal regime.

*Belgian ambassador in Rome in a report to Brussels, September 1848.*

**Source D**

When the other Italian rulers saw the war was just designed to increase the power of their rival, Piedmont, who might threaten their existence, they began deserting the cause. The King of Naples first set the example. He intrigued, corrupted, disarmed the citizens of Naples and recalled those of his troops who had gone to fight Austria. The Pope, like the Grand Duke of Tuscany, was capable only of secret and systematic opposition. What he feared most in the world was the reappearance of a large kingdom in northern Italy which might harm both the Church and destroy the temporal power of the Pope, bringing an end to the Papal States. The Pope seemed much more concerned on the whole with losing territory and status than with losing members of his Church. He viewed the revolutionaries as political and not as religious enemies.

*Carlo Pisacane, Italian patriot and socialist, writing in 1851.*

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and D on the attitude of the Pope towards the events of 1848 and 1849. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that Austria was the biggest obstacle to change in Italy? [25]

## Section B: American Option

### The Origins of the Civil War, 1846–1861

#### The Sack of Lawrence, Kansas, 1856

- 2 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

#### Source A

Gentlemen, Officers and Soldiers! This is the most glorious day of my life! This is the day I am a border ruffian! The US Marshal has just given you his orders and has kindly invited me to address you. Now boys, let your work be well done! Faint not as you approach the city of Lawrence but, remembering your mission, act with true Southern heroism. At the word, spring like your bloodhounds at home upon that damned accursed abolition hold. Yes, ruffians, draw your revolvers and Bowie knives and cool them in the heart's blood of all those damned dogs that dare defend that breathing hole of hell. Tear down their boasted Free State Hotel till it shall fall to the ground. Throw into the River Kansas their printing presses. Do the Sheriff's entire command! For today Mr Jones is not only Sheriff, but Deputy Marshal, so that whatever he commands will be right and under the administration of the US government.

*From a speech by David Atchison, US Senator for Missouri 1844–55, 21 May 1856.*

#### Source B

As soon as General Atchison had concluded, the militia moved forward towards the town in solid column until near the hotel. Sheriff Jones had writs issued by the First District Court of the United States to destroy the Free State Hotel and the offices of the *Herald of Freedom* and *Free State*. The *Free State* office was first destroyed, the press being thrown into the river. The hotel was fired several times but put out by the bravery of some of the young men, who were not deterred by the threats of the mob. After the red flag of the South Carolinians had been hoisted upon the hotel, four cannons were pointed towards it. When the cannonading commenced, it was thought prudent for women and children to leave the town. Some ladies, sitting upon College Hill west of the town, during the cannonading, were fired upon.

*From 'Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life', by Sara T. L. Robinson, wife of the Free State 'governor' of Kansas, 1856.*

#### Source C

When the Sheriff's posse entered the city of Lawrence to enforce the laws, the town seemed deserted by the *brave* warriors who had been defending the place. They had left two days before, leaving their wives and children to the tender mercies of the 'heartless border ruffians'. If they are honest in their belief that the law and order citizens of the Territory are 'ruffians', does it not show *cowardice* in them to run off and leave their families entirely unprotected when a few hundred men, with the fortifications of Lawrence, could have kept at bay an army of thousands? After all Robinson's boasting, less than five hundred men took possession of the city without firing a gun. We have often denounced the paupers sent out from the brothels of the east as cowards, and the events of the past week go to show that we were right in our conjecture.

*From the 'Squatter Sovereign', 27 May 1856.*

**Source D**

The attack and burning of Lawrence brought a great change in popular feeling. 'We will stand it no longer,' was the substance of what I heard on every side from the free-state adherents. Before I left, it had become the universal conviction that a civil war had commenced. At the same moment came the news from Washington of the outrage committed in the Senate chamber upon the person of Mr Sumner. I well remember the effect this had upon many, who concluded that the rule of force and violence had been inaugurated even in the highest places of the land and was no longer restricted to the lawless inhabitants of the frontier.

*From 'The Englishman in Kansas' by Thomas Gladstone, 1857.*

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

- (a) To what extent do Sources B and C agree about the reaction of the people of Lawrence to the attack by the Border Ruffians? [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the assertion that 'a civil war had commenced' in Kansas in 1856? [25]

## Section C: International Option

## The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

## American Opinions Regarding the Proposed League of Nations, 1919

- 3 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

## Source A

The League has taken deep roots in the minds and hearts of the people. They are for a League, although they are sincerely anxious that the League finally formed shall not interfere with the constitution or the Monroe Doctrine, and that it shall not carry too strong a likelihood of American boys having to go fighting in Europe again. While Republican politicians are criticising the peace treaty and the League, the mass of the people are waiting for Wilson to return and suspending judgement in the meantime. Rocked into a false sense of security and success, the Republican leaders have repeatedly shot over the mark, and all those mistakes of theirs will have to be accounted for. I believe we shall witness a tremendous reaction against the Republican leaders within a couple of weeks.

*From a report to President Wilson's government on US public opinion regarding the proposed League of Nations, July 1919.*

## Source B



*US newspaper cartoon depicting President Wilson, September 1919.*

### Source C

The USA assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations, whether members of the League or not, or to employ its military forces under any article of the Treaty. Under the Constitution, Congress has the sole power to declare war or authorise the deployment of US military forces. The USA reserves the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction, and declares that all internal issues are solely within the jurisdiction of the USA and are not to be submitted in any way to arbitration by the League of Nations. If the USA shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the League of Nations, it reserves the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the League whenever the USA is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

*Reservations about the League of Nations adopted by the Republican-dominated US Senate, November 1919.*

### Source D

The effect of the reservations adopted by the US Senate would be to create the situation that the USA should be allowed to join the League upon a footing different to that upon which other countries join. This would inevitably give rise to the impression among other countries that there is to be one rule for the USA and one rule for the rest of the world. The US Senate accepts no obligation to preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity of other members of the League without the consent of Congress on each occasion. This would destroy the confidence of smaller states, which cannot trust the League unless they know that its members are pledged definitely to support them. And, if every nation is to be entitled to increase armaments beyond the agreed limitation whenever it considers itself threatened, the Covenant is not worth the paper it is written on. President Wilson says that the Senate's reservations cut the heart out of the Covenant and intends to refuse to accept them.

*British government memorandum, November 1919.*

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

- (a) Compare and contrast the attitudes towards the proposed League of Nations expressed by the US Senate (Source C) and the British government (Source D). [15]
- (b) 'In 1919 the American people did not support the proposed League of Nations.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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