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**HISTORY**

**9389/11**

Paper 1 Document Question

**October/November 2018**

**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****Garibaldi's contribution to Italian Unification**

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

**Source A**

Garibaldi has become intoxicated by success. He is planning the wildest schemes. As he is devoted to the King he will not help Mazzini or the republicans who have their role to play. He feels it is his duty to free Italy stage by stage before turning her over to the King. He wants dictatorial powers and the right to raise his own army. He hates the government of Piedmont and he treats it in a very bad way. He has a generous character but also a wild nature. He was hurt by the loss of Nice. I even think that his desire to overthrow our government is as strong as his desire to throw out the Austrians. Unless we prevent Garibaldi from conquering Naples it will have dire consequences.

*Cavour, writing to Nigra, his agent in Paris, July 1860.*

**Source B**

Garibaldi has great moral power. He commands enormous prestige in Italy and in Europe. You are mistaken when you say I stand as Europe's defence against him. Garibaldi has done Italians the greatest service a man can do. He has given them self-confidence. He has shown Europe that Italians can fight and die to reconquer a fatherland. It would still be highly desirable if a revolution in Naples came about without him, as that would reduce his influence. However, if he should liberate southern Italy we would have no choice but to go along with him. This might involve us in a war with Austria which could be a major problem. However, if our soldiers really wanted a fight they could beat the Austrians who I do not think now have the stomach for a fight.

*Cavour, writing to Nigra, his agent in Paris, August 1860.*

**Source C**

Today I got close to Garibaldi in the fighting. If there is real danger, he will always go to the front. He is simple in character but appears totally honest. To the populace of Naples he was a saint sent by God to deliver them. He has excellent political sense as well as real military skills. He is clever enough to respect religious beliefs. He is a dictator, but a sensible one. However, a much greater challenge awaits further North and without the power of Milan and the bayonets of France little will happen for Italy.

*From 'Garibaldi' by Marc Monnier, a Swiss journalist, 1861.*

**Source D**

The Neapolitan ships had left the harbour that morning, though they returned shortly after I gave the order to enter the harbour and land. The presence of two English warships in some degree influenced the determination of the Neapolitan commanders and gave us time to get our troops ashore. The noble English flag helped prevent bloodshed. The assertion, however, made by our enemies, that the English had directly influenced our landing, was inaccurate. The British ships made the Neapolitans hesitate to fire. This further foreign assistance was of some importance to our success, but not as important as our enemies maintain.

*From Garibaldi, 'Autobiography', published in 1889.*

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

- (a) To what extent do Sources A and B show that Cavour's views on Garibaldi changed? [15]
- (b) 'The influence of foreign powers determined the fortunes of Italian nationalism.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

## Section B: American Option

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

#### Jefferson Davis goes to War, 1861

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

#### Source A

Few men have led a life more filled with stirring or eventful incidents than Jefferson Davis. Personally, he is the last man who would be selected as a ‘fire-eater’. He is a prim, smooth-looking man with a precise manner, a stiff soldierly appearance and a reserve which at first is off-putting. However, he has a naturally friendly manner which endears him to all by whom he may be surrounded. As a speaker he is clear, forcible and argumentative; his voice is clear and firm. He is in every way fitted for the distinguished post as President of the Confederacy to which he has been called.

*From the ‘New York Herald’, 11 February 1861.*

#### Source B

The trip of President Davis from Mississippi to Montgomery was a continuous ovation. He made some twenty-five speeches on the route. Crowds of ladies and gentlemen and military parades with salutes of cannons cheered his arrival at various stations. Mr Davis returned his thanks and said he felt proud to receive the congratulations and hospitalities of the people of Alabama. He briefly reviewed the present position of the South and said, ‘The time for compromise has passed. We are now determined to maintain our position and we will make all who oppose us smell Southern gunpowder and feel Southern steel. If force is persisted in, we have no doubt of the result. We will maintain our rights and our government at all hazards. We ask nothing and want nothing. Our separation from the old Union is now complete. No compromises, no reconstruction can now be entertained.’

*From ‘The Daily Exchange’, Baltimore (Maryland), 18 February 1861.*

#### Source C

On my way to Montgomery, brief addresses were made at various places, at which there were temporary stoppages of the trains, in response to calls from the crowds assembled at such points. Some of these addresses were grossly misrepresented in sensational reports made by irresponsible persons. These were published in Northern newspapers, and were not considered worthy of correction under the pressure of the momentous duties then devolved upon me. These false reports, which represented me as invoking war and threatening devastation upon the North, have since been adopted by partisan writers as authentic history. It is sufficient answer to refer to my farewell address to the US Senate and my inaugural address in Montgomery. These two addresses, delivered at an interval of a month, during which no material change of circumstances had occurred, are sufficient to stamp them as utterly untrue.

*From ‘The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, Volume 1’, by Jefferson Davis, 1881.*

**Source D**

At the end of the week we returned home and my husband began to make provisions for a long absence. Mr Davis was so careworn and unhappy that when we were alone it was piteous to see him. He never gave up hope of a peaceful reunion with the North until the first blood was spilled. He slept little and talked nearly all night. In one of these conversations I asked how the contending sections would be pacified. He said 'A guarantee of our equal rights would bring the whole country back together.' He spoke of a dual presidency but did not think that it was practical. He said 'In any case, I think our slave property will be lost eventually.' We both congratulated ourselves that he was to be in the field. I thought his genius was military but that, as a party manager, he would not succeed. He did not know the arts of the politician but he did know those of war.

*From 'Jefferson Davis: A Memoir' by his wife, 1890.*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and C as evidence about Davis's journey from Mississippi to Montgomery. [15]
- (b) How far do Sources A to D support the view that Jefferson Davis had the qualities needed to be a war leader? [25]

### Section C: International Option

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

#### Britain, the League of Nations and the Abyssinian Crisis, 1935

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

##### Source A

Some sections of the British press have suggested that Abyssinia should submit to Italy, not because the Italian blackmail is just, but because it would be so inconvenient for us if Abyssinia resisted. We might then be called on to do more than just talk in favour of the League! Italy is breaking at least three pledges in its aggression towards a fellow member of the League – the very thing that the League was created to prevent – but many of us do not find that it matters very much. Europe has at its disposal sanctions that Italy could not defy, provided we have the courage to use them. But, instead, the British press, with a few honourable exceptions, is concerned only about our own interests. If this is to be the way of the world, why make treaties at all? Let us have done with Covenants, since they no longer serve to deceive anybody. Let us have done with the League, since ‘collective security’ means simply the security of those strong enough to be secure. If the League cannot enforce one rule for the weak and the strong, sooner or later we are finished. And, if we flinch every time a test arises, we shall have deserved it.

*From a letter to a British newspaper by F L Lucas,  
an academic at King’s College, Cambridge, 25 July 1935.*

##### Source B

I write to inform you, very confidentially, of the government’s present position regarding the Abyssinian issue. Public opinion is greatly hardening against Italy. This is the opinion not so much of extremists or fanatics, but rather the general body of opinion, which regards the League as an instrument of collective security. The people are determined to stick with the League’s Covenant, yet are anxious to keep out of war. These points are self-contradictory, but at present the country believes that they can be reconciled. It is essential that we are seen to support the League in September. It must be the League, and not the British government, which is seen to declare sanctions against Italy impracticable. The blame should be placed on League members who will not play their full part or non-members whose absence would make the application of sanctions futile. Treat this letter as entirely between you and me.

*From a confidential letter by Samuel Hoare (British Foreign Secretary),  
to the British Ambassador in Paris, 24 August 1935.*

### Source C

In conformity with its obligations, the League stands, and my country stands with it, for the collective maintenance of the Covenant in its entirety, and particularly for collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression. The attitude of the British nation in the last few weeks has clearly demonstrated the fact that this is no variable and unreliable sentiment, but a principle of international conduct to which they and their government hold with firm, enduring and universal persistence. The British people have clung to their ideal of collective security and are not prepared to abandon it. Britain will be second to none in its intention to fulfil, within measure of its capacity, the obligations which the Covenant lays upon it. However, the lack of agreement within the League itself has created uncertainty.

*From a speech by Samuel Hoare (British Foreign Secretary) to the League of Nations Assembly in Geneva, 11 September 1935.*

### Source D

I am bored by this Italian-Abyssinian dispute, and really I fail to see why we should interfere. Though, of course, the League of Nations will stand or fall by it. Why should Britain fight Italy over Abyssinia, when most of our own far-flung Empire has been won by conquest?

Sam Hoare has made a terrific Geneva speech in which he backs up the League of Nations, and pledges Britain's word to uphold the Covenant provided the rest of the world does likewise.

*Extracts from the diary of Henry Channon, a British Member of Parliament, 1935.  
[Published in 1967]*

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

- (a) Compare and contrast Sources B and C as evidence of how far the British government remained committed to the Covenant of the League of Nations. [15]
- (b) 'In 1935, British public opinion was in favour of supporting the League of Nations in taking strong action against Italy.' How far do Sources A to D support this view? [25]

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