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Cambridge Assessment International Education

Cambridge International AS & A Level

HISTORY **9489/13**

Paper 1 Document Question **October/November 2023**

1 hour 15 minutes

You must answer on the enclosed answer booklet.

You will need: Answer booklet (enclosed)

INSTRUCTIONS

- Answer **one** question from **one** section only.
  - Section A: European option
  - Section B: American option
  - Section C: International option
- Follow the instructions on the front cover of the answer booklet. If you need additional answer paper, ask the invigilator for a continuation booklet.

INFORMATION

- The total mark for this paper is 40.
- The number of marks for each question or part question is shown in brackets [ ].

This document has **8** pages. Any blank pages are indicated.

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Answer **one** question from **one** section only.

Section A: European option

France, 1774–1814

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

Source A

Although the King's power has appeared gravely weakened since 1789, it still has great influence and could increase that influence. The nobility and the constitutional monarchists are battling for the King's ear. The nobility has an apparent common cause with the throne. For a long time the King has invited them to give in, as he has, to the changes dictated by the national will. The constitutional monarchists support an order of things which forbids absolute power and where the extent of royal power is based upon principle, owing nothing to previous practices.

The Republicans can never hope to work harmoniously with the King: they want only to destroy his power. Mistrust of the King's intentions is one of the Republican's most deadly weapons. Republican ideas are collected greedily by the nobility. They repeat them to foreign powers to provoke the émigrés and stir up opposition to the King's official negotiations for peace.

From a memorandum to the Royal Council by Narbonne in February 1792. Narbonne was a supporter of constitutional monarchy and Minister of War.

Source B

France is in a state of crisis, the violence of which is reaching its height. This must be ended by a measure which should interest your Majesty as much as it concerns the whole nation.

The Declaration of Rights has become a political gospel and the Constitution a religion for which the people are ready to die. The nation has greeted the war, which offers an opportunity to guarantee these rights, with joy. However, émigrés and rebels have united and caused this anarchy to discredit the new regime.

Two important decrees have been passed. Both concern public stability and the safety of the State. Your veto of these decrees has created mistrust. If this continues, it will cause discontent. In the stirring of passions, those who oppose you will carry all before them.

I know the harsh language of truth is rarely welcomed at the throne. I know that because truth almost never makes itself heard there, revolutions become necessary.

From a letter by the Minister of the Interior, a member of the Girondins, to Louis XVI, 10 June 1792.

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Source C

We aim to end the anarchy in France, to end the attacks upon the throne and the altar, to restore to the King the security and the liberty of which he is now deprived, and to place him in a position to exercise once more the legitimate authority which belongs to him.

The city of Paris and all its inhabitants shall be required to submit at once to the King, to place that prince in full and complete liberty, and to assure to him the respect which the law of nature and of nations demands of subjects toward sovereigns. If the Tuileries Palace is entered by force or attacked, if the slightest violence is suffered by their Majesties, and if their safety and liberty are not immediately assured, we will inflict an unforgettable vengeance. We would deliver the city of Paris over to military execution and complete destruction and the rebels guilty of the said outrages to the punishment that they merit.

From the Brunswick Manifesto, 25 July 1792. Brunswick was a Prussian General and commander of the forces fighting against revolutionary France.

Source D



A contemporary painting of the attack on the Tuileries Palace, home to the royal family, 10 August 1792. The attack was carried out by citizens of one of the most radical sections of Paris.

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

(a) Read Sources **A** and **B**.

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence of attitudes towards the King. [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

'Foreign intervention was the most serious threat to France in 1792.' How far do these sources agree? [25]

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Section B: American option

The Gilded Age and Progressive Era, 1870s to 1920

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

Source A

This Government is faced with great danger, and that danger cannot be avoided by bringing in protection or free trade. That danger lies in the votes possessed by the males in the slums of the cities, and by ignorant foreign immigrants. These are the votes which political parties bid for to ensure political success. There is only one way to avoid the danger – take away the vote of the slums and immigrants and give it to educated women. They suffer most without it, and the vote will give them power to protect themselves. All who desire good government will benefit by granting the vote to women and cutting the vote of the slums. It will end the power of corrupt bosses in our cities.

From a speech made by a leading woman campaigner for female emancipation, 15 December 1894.

Source B

There was a public debate yesterday in New York between prominent women opponents and supporters of female emancipation. The opponents argued that their churches did not support the idea on religious grounds. They expressed the fear that enfranchising women of the lower classes would lead to greater corruption in politics. Women would be more likely to believe the promises of politicians. The supporters of emancipation argued passionately for the right to vote, emphasising the great improvements that had been gained in terms of reform in those States which allowed women the vote. There had been a great decline in corruption and increased spending on schools. They maintained that opposition came largely from the monopolists who dominated Congress seeking to maintain their economic supremacy. While the Republican Party remains largely under the control of those who oppose emancipation, it was mentioned that the Democratic Party is increasingly inclined to support it in order to increase its representation in Congress.

From an article in the New York Tribune, October 1908.

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Source C

The two dominating influences in politics today are the trusts and the liquor interest. The government finds in them an endless source of revenue. They control millions of votes. There are few members of Congress who do not owe their election to their influence. They see the emancipated woman as a determined enemy. They see her as incorruptible. No dominant political party can see any advantage to the enfranchisement of women, so Congress will ignore it. Their opposition is primarily for political reasons. Neither Democrat nor Republican will make it an issue. The aristocracy observe the large families of the working classes and fear to give them any more political power. The churches are largely hostile for social rather than religious reasons. Justice and morality demand that women obtain the vote. We are educated and are responsible for the education and upbringing of our children and we have contributed much to creating the greatness that is America.

From an article by a leading campaigner for female emancipation titled 'Why women cannot vote in the United States', December 1912.

Source D

A vote is like a rifle, its usefulness depends on the character of the user. The mere possession of the vote will no more benefit men and women not sufficiently developed to use it than the possession of a rifle will turn an untrained youth into a good soldier. This is as true of women as it is of men. Universal suffrage in Haiti has not made the Haitians able to govern themselves better. Universal suffrage in Utah has not affected in any way the real problem of men taking several wives. I believe in suffrage for women in America as I think they are fit for it. I firmly believe more in the duty of fitting oneself to do well and wisely in the ballot rather than I do in any 'natural' right to the ballot. Women are as capable of preparing themselves for the vote as men.

From Theodore Roosevelt's autobiography published in 1913.

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

(a) Read Sources **B** and **C**.

Compare and contrast these sources as evidence about the reasons for opposing female emancipation. [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

How far do the sources support the view that the main argument in favour of female emancipation was that it would improve government in the United States? [25]

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Section C: International option

Empire and the emergence of world powers, 1870–1919

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

Source A

I must confess that as a true-born American who deeply loves this land of liberty, I am sickened by the cowardly policy of our country, which allows Britain to pull our nose, slap our face, and then licks the hand that strikes us. British ships patrol our waters, Britain forbids us to buy ships and to trade with neutral nations as we would like, Britain cuts the cables leading from our shores to a friendly nation, and Britain decides for our Secretary of State what news he may impart to us American citizens even though we employ and pay him.

From a speech by the President of the National German–American Alliance, November 1914.

Source B

With regards to the loss of life when the British passenger steamer *Lusitania* was sunk, the German government has already expressed its deep regret to the neutral governments concerned. The government of the United States proceeds on the assumption that the *Lusitania* is to be considered as an ordinary unarmed merchant vessel. On her last trip the *Lusitania* had troops and munitions on board, including no less than 5400 cases of ammunition destined for the destruction of brave German soldiers.

The German government acts in justifiable self-defence when it seeks to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition destined for the enemy. The British steamship company must have been aware of the dangers to which passengers on board the *Lusitania* were exposed. It deliberately tried to use the lives of American citizens as protection for the ammunition carried and broke American laws.

From the German government's official response to the US government on the sinking of the Lusitania, 28 May 1915.

Source C

The government of the United States' duty as a neutral nation was to see that the *Lusitania* was not armed and that, if in fact it was a naval vessel of Britain, it should not receive clearance as a merchant ship; and we performed that duty with scrupulous vigilance. We are able, therefore, to assure the Imperial German government that it has been misinformed. Whatever the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, chiefly carrying passengers, more than a thousand souls who had no part in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death.

Only a refusal to stop if ordered to do so could have given the commander of the submarine any justification for putting the lives of those on board the ship in danger.

From the second US protest to the German government over the sinking of the Lusitania, 9 June 1915.

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Source D

If, at the beginning of Germany's onslaught on civilisation – when Belgium was invaded, or, later, when the *Lusitania* was sunk – the President had given a sign or spoken a word, the whole American people would have denounced Germany and gone to war if necessary. But the President had silenced and suppressed the people by making the artificial quality of neutrality a positive virtue. He suppressed the natural feeling of Americans and even suppressed discussion as far as he could. This benefited people of German origin in the United States, and Bernstorff* took command, to a large degree, of American sentiment. He threatened and the President feared. It has been a regime of fear of Germany ever since – see the much greater respect of tone shown in notes to Germany than in notes to Britain. Thus, Bernstorff has grown more and more influential.

From a private memorandum by the US ambassador to Britain, 31 December, 1916.
**Bernstorff was the German ambassador to the United States from 1908 to 1917.*

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

(a) Read Sources **B** and **C**.

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the sinking of the Lusitania. [15]

(b) Read **all** of the sources.

How far do the sources support the view that the US maintained a position of neutrality up to 1917? [25]

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