



# Cambridge International AS & A Level

**HISTORY**

**9489/11**

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.



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**

Provocative writings inciting violence against me and my family were published and remained unpunished. I therefore wished to leave Paris. Since I could not do this openly, I decided to leave by night. I had no intention of leaving the kingdom. I had no agreement to that end, either with foreign powers, my own relatives or any of the French subjects who have previously left the kingdom. The passport I carried was necessary for the journey. It was drawn up for a foreign country because they are not issued for the interior of the kingdom.

From the views which I gathered along my route, I realised the public supported the Constitution. As soon as I realised the general will I acted without hesitation, just as I have never hesitated to make a personal sacrifice for the good of my people. I shall happily forget all the troubles which I may have suffered, to assure the peace and happiness of the nation.

*From a statement by Louis XVI, made to a special committee of the National Constituent Assembly, after his failed Flight to Varennes, June 1791.*

**Source B**

The premier public servant abandons his post. He arms himself with a false passport. When writing to the foreign powers he says that his most dangerous enemies are those who spread doubts about the monarch's intentions. He leaves the French a declaration which, if not criminal, is at the least contrary to the principles of our liberty. He must be aware that his flight exposed the nation to the dangers of civil war.

And finally, of the claim that he wished only to go to Montmédy, I say this: if he wanted to content himself with making peaceful observations to the National Assembly about its decrees, in that case, it was useless to flee. If he wanted to support his claims with arms, in that case it was a conspiracy against liberty.

*From a speech made in the National Constituent Assembly by a republican clergyman, June 1791.*

## Source C



An anonymous cartoon of Louis XVI published in July 1791. Louis is shown as a two-faced king who takes an oath to the representatives of the Nation, 'I will support the Constitution', but at the same time says to the representatives of the royalist clergy, 'I will destroy the Constitution'.

## Source D

The condition of France is such that it may end up in total chaos. The solution is to end the partisan divisions and restore the authority of the government. There are only two ways to accomplish this: force or reconciliation. Force can only be used by foreign armies and this means resorting to war. Can a king contemplate all these misfortunes calmly and bring them down upon his people? One can never govern a people against its will. Right now the will of this nation is for the Rights of Man, senseless though they be. I believe then that I should join my will to the principles of the Constitution. I realise how difficult it will be to govern a large nation this way, I may say it will be impossible. But the obstacles that I would have put in the way [by refusing to accept the Constitution] would have brought about the war I sought to avoid. I prefer to proceed towards a better situation than that which would result from my refusal.

*From a secret letter written by Louis XVI to his brothers, 25 September 1791.*

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

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

How far do these sources agree about the King's Flight to Varennes? [15]

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

'Louis XVI supported the Constitution.' How far do these sources support this view? [25]

## 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



*A cartoon commenting on the impact of President Wilson's economic policies, published in a Washington newspaper, 1913.*

**Source B**

The Clayton Anti-Trust Act will make the small businessman as free to succeed as the big businessman. It will kill monopoly from the outset. Our purpose is to destroy monopoly and maintain real competition as the only way to ensure liberty for the businessman. We have shown no party-political bias or favour to labour unions. We have achieved a new peace in our economic affairs. The new freedom I promised has now been achieved. We have discovered the way to attain a lasting method of cooperation between democracy and capitalism. There is now an effective method of enforcing this law, which was always a major failing of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It is clear what is legal and what is not. Morgan and his fellow monopolists have surrendered unconditionally. I see this legislation, together with our work on currency, banking and tariffs, as a major step forward. These laws will ensure not only future prosperity for all Americans, but an end to such crises that caused so much harm to so many in 1893 and 1907.

*A letter from President Wilson to a member of the House of Representatives, October 1914.*

**Source C**

While there is much to praise in the Clayton Anti-Trust Act to further regulate trusts, it is not without its flaws. Effective enforcement is intended, but it is unlikely that this will be achieved. There is greater clarity about what is permitted and what is not. The president did not give in to the excessive demands of the labour unions which would have caused much harm to business. While Wilson was prepared to listen and talk to members of our party, he made unnecessary and potentially damaging concessions to pacify radicals and improve his party's electoral standing in major cities in the North. There is more scope for competition and some of the worst practices of the monopolistic holding companies are outlawed. However, together with the legislation of last year, many see this as another major attack on wealth. Investment is falling as a result. Share prices and farm prices are down and there is a growing level of unemployment in both our cities and on our farms.

*A speech in the Senate by a Republican senator, October 1914.*

**Source D**

The Manufacturers' Association have just presented a petition to the president requesting that there is a complete halt to his anti-trust programme. They argue that the uncertainty in manufacturing that has already arisen as a result of the Democratic Party's legislation over tariffs and currency will only be worsened if the Clayton Anti-Trust Act is enforced.

The president is always sure that he is right, but when he argues that the present poor economic conditions are 'merely psychological', any businessman, well-informed financier or student of economic conditions will tell you that our troubles are caused by Washington. While the war in Europe is a factor in the current economic downturn, a much more profound cause is the determination showed by this administration that it knows what is best for business. It does not, and the medicine that it is determined to administer will worsen and not cure the situation.

*From an article in the 'New York Times', October 1914.*

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

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

Compare and contrast the views in these two sources as evidence about President Wilson.  
[15]

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

How far do these sources agree that anti-trust legislation would benefit the US economy?  
[25]

**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**

Boxers were stirring up trouble and soldiers were sent to suppress the rioting. The rioters did not disperse, the soldiers opened fire and killed over thirty rioters. Some of the local people were wounded by mistake. I informed the Throne and arrested the officer in charge. The Boxers were then met by the Christians, who opened fire and tried to capture them. The Boxers returned the attack and burned a missionary chapel. Later, on account of this affair, the Boxers again assembled. Two of the leading rioters were arrested. There are soldiers patrolling with strict orders to arrest rioters. The attacks on missionaries are numerous. When they are brought to my attention, immediate action is always taken. Whether by day or night every effort has been made.

I beg you not to listen to the one-sided statements of missionaries, but to instruct them to keep the Chinese Christian converts in order.

*From a telegram to the US ambassador in China from the governor of Shantung, Yu Hsien, December 1899.*

**Source B**

This afternoon I had an interview with Prince Qing and other ministers. They expressed much regret at the murder of the British missionaries. I pointed out that there was no indication that the Chinese Government intended to deal severely with the Boxer disturbances.

No attempt was made to defend the government, nor to deny what I had said. Prince Qing admitted that the government was reluctant to act as the anti-foreign character of the Boxers was popular. He stated that 6000 soldiers were being sent to protect the railway, but he doubted whether they would be authorised to fire on the Boxers, except in defence of government property; or if authorised that they would obey. It was clear that he wished me to understand that the situation was most serious, and that, owing to the influence of ignorant advisors with the Empress, they were powerless to remedy it.

*From a report to the British Foreign Office from its representative in Beijing, June 1900.*

**Source C**

The wicked, cruel Yu Hsien, hater of foreigners, was the newly appointed Governor of Shanxi. He had previously promoted the Boxer movement in Shantung and persuaded the Empress Dowager that the Boxers had supernatural powers and were true patriots.

He scattered proclamations stating that the foreign religions overthrew morality and inflamed men to do evil, so Heaven's armies had been sent to exterminate the foreign devils. The Boxers were faithful to their sovereign, loyal to their country and determined to wipe out the foreign religion. He also offered a reward of either titles or office or money to all who killed foreigners. When the highest official in the province supported the Boxers, what could inferior officials do? All who enlisted as Boxers were in high favour. It was a time of anarchy, when not only Christians were killed, but hundreds of others against whom individual Boxers had a grudge.

*From an account by a Chinese Christian who escaped from the Boxers, 1900.*

**Source D**

This disaster was caused by disputes between Boxers and Chinese Christian converts. Ignorant people claim we encouraged and protected bandits. They did not know that the court issued many decrees calling for the extermination of the Boxers and the protection of Christian converts.

Foreigners had been preaching Christianity in China for a long time. In dealing with disputes between the churches and local people, the local magistrates did not always act fairly. The Boxers took advantage to rebel, so we dispatched an army. But the army was undisciplined, harming the common people who followed the Boxer devils. Tens of thousands of rebels roamed the capital, burned and looted churches and attacked foreign embassies.

The reason why worse disasters were prevented was because the Imperial Court intervened with full force, even sending fruits and drinks to the foreigners. All you foreigners need to understand is that the Empress Dowager has a kind heart.

*From the Imperial Decree on events leading to the signing of the Boxer Protocol, ordered by the Empress Dowager Cixi, February 1901.*

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

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

Compare and contrast these two sources as evidence about the disorder during the Boxer Rebellion. [15]

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

How far do the sources support the view that the Chinese authorities sympathised with the Boxers? [25]