Edexcel GCE
History
Advanced Subsidiary
Unit 2
Option D: The British Empire Challenged

Wednesday 22 May 2013 – Afternoon
Time: 1 hour 20 minutes

You must have:
Sources Insert (enclosed)

Instructions
• Use black ink or ball-point pen.
• Fill in the boxes at the top of this page with your name,
centre number and candidate number.
• Answer question part (a) and part (b) of the topic for which you have been
prepared. There is a choice of questions in part (b).
• Answer the questions in the spaces provided
  – there may be more space than you need.

Information
• The total mark for this paper is 60.
• The marks for each question are shown in brackets
  – use this as a guide as to how much time to spend on each question.
• Questions labelled with an asterisk (*) are ones where the quality of your
  written communication will be assessed
  – you should take particular care with your spelling, punctuation and grammar,
as well as the clarity of expression, on these questions.

Advice
• Read each question carefully before you start to answer it.
• Keep an eye on the time.
• Check your answers if you have time at the end.
Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

D1 – Britain and Ireland, 1867–1922

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.
Answer Question 1, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 1

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 1, 2 and 3.

How far do the sources suggest that the agitation of the Land League was the main reason for the passing of the 1881 Land Act?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 1, 2 and 3.

(20)

EITHER

*(b) (i)* Use Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that Gladstone’s decision to introduce Home Rule was motivated by a desire for political advantage?

Explain your answer, using Sources 4, 5 and 6 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b) (ii)* Use Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that the main reason for the outbreak of the Irish Civil War in 1922 was De Valera’s attitude to the Anglo-Irish Treaty?

Explain your answer, using Sources 7, 8 and 9 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 1 = 60 marks)
Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

D2 – Britain and the Nationalist Challenge in India, 1900–47

Study the relevant sources in the Sources Insert.
Answer Question 2, parts (a) and (b). There is a choice of questions in part (b).

You should start the answer to part (a) on page 4.
You should start the answer to part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) on page 9.

Question 2

Answer part (a) and then answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii).

(a) Study Sources 10, 11 and 12.

How far do the sources suggest that General Dyer’s actions at Amritsar were an appropriate response to the situation?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 10, 11 and 12.

(20)

EITHER

*(b) (i)* Use Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that in the years 1900–14 there was serious opposition to British control of India?

Explain your answer, using Sources 13, 14 and 15 and your own knowledge.

(40)

OR

*(b) (ii)* Use Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

Do you agree with the view that, in the years 1915–42, Gandhi was a major obstacle to the progress of India towards independence?

Explain your answer, using Sources 16, 17 and 18 and your own knowledge.

(40)

(Total for Question 2 = 60 marks)
Indicate which question you are answering by marking a cross in the box ☑. If you change your mind, put a line through the box ☒ and then indicate your new question with a cross ☑.

Chosen Question Number:

| Question 1 | ☐ | Question 2 | ☐ |

(a) ________________________________________________________________

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Answer EITHER part (b) (i) OR part (b) (ii) of your chosen question.

*(b) ........................................................................................................................................
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Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

D1 – Britain and Ireland, 1867–1922

Sources for use with Question 1 (a)

SOURCE 1
(From a speech made by Charles Stewart Parnell in Ireland to members of the Land League, 19 September 1880)

1 Depend upon it that the measure of the Land Bill of next session will be the measure of your activity and energy this winter. If the landlords continue to be stubborn and refuse all just concessions, we shall be obliged to tell the people of Ireland to strike against rent until this question has been settled. I would like to see where they would get police and soldiers enough to make five hundred thousand tenant farmers pay.

SOURCE 2
(From a speech made by Sir John Holder on the second reading of the Land Act in the House of Commons, 9 May 1881)

It is important at the outset to have an accurate appreciation of the designs which the Government intends to accomplish by passing this Bill. It is the aim of the Government to improve the condition of the very poor among the population in Ireland, and to drive from their doors the distress and misery which very often threatens and frequently overwhelms them. No doubt, great evils arise from the excessive poverty of the tenants in some districts in Ireland.

SOURCE 3
(From Michael Davitt, The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland, published 1904. Davitt had been a leading member of the Land League.)

The immediate necessity for Mr Gladstone’s Land Bill of 1881 was a condition of things in Ireland which bordered on near-rebellion. This was largely, if not entirely, the deliberately planned work of the Land League. It was the result of a kind of guerrilla social warfare which we had waged against a system of land laws which was known and felt to be intolerable in its effects upon the lives and labour of the tenants. It was a concession to the tenants to detach them from the League.
**Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)**

**SOURCE 4**  
(From Jeremy Smith, *Britain and Ireland: From Home Rule to Independence*, published 2000)

Political tactics played a part in Gladstone’s thinking on Home Rule. This was partly because of the numerical importance of Parnell’s 86 MPs to the survival of any Gladstone administration in the future. More cynically, one interpretation presents Gladstone as raising a new Liberal crusade around Home Rule for Ireland as a way to sideline Chamberlain, who by late 1885, was challenging Gladstone’s supremacy in the party. Home Rule enabled Gladstone to steer the party back to more traditional Liberal policies and, at the same time, reinforce his own position as leader.

**SOURCE 5**  
(From Thomas Hachey and Lawrence McCaffrey, *The Irish Experience since 1800*, published 1989)

There was more than a desire for political advantage involved in Gladstone’s conversion to Home Rule. He had supported emerging nationalism throughout the world and was on record as saying that British rule should encourage self-government. A post-1885 report that Ireland was on the brink of social disintegration was the final push in Gladstone’s journey to self-government.

**SOURCE 6**  
(From Gladstone’s speech to the House of Commons, introducing the First Home Rule Bill, 8 April 1886)

Law is discredited in Ireland because it comes to the people of that country with a foreign accent. These Coercion Bills of ours are stiffly resisted by the Members who represent Ireland in Parliament; coercion is morally worn out. Something must be done to restore to Ireland the first conditions of civil life – the fair rule of law, the liberty of every individual to exercise their legal rights and the confidence of the people in the law. Without these no country can be called, in the full sense of the word, a civilised country.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From a speech made by Éamon de Valera in the debate on the Anglo-Irish Treaty in the Irish Parliament, the Dáil, on 19 December 1921)

I am against this Treaty because it will not end the centuries of conflict between Great Britain and Ireland. We set out to bring about a reconciliation, and we have brought back a thing which will not even reconcile our own people, much less reconcile Britain and Ireland. That Treaty makes British authority our masters in Ireland. It leaves us a country going through a period of internal strife.

SOURCE 8

The Anglo-Irish Treaty had been expected to end the Irish troubles and so to reconcile even its sternest critics. Instead, the republicans objected. The IRA split, and a section of it rose in arms against the Free State. Conservative indignation became unmanageable when Sir Henry Wilson was killed by two members of the IRA on the doorstep of his London house. The British government were driven to threaten that their troops would be used in Dublin against the republicans unless the Free State acted. The Irish Civil War was thus begun on British orders.

SOURCE 9

The bond between the insurgents of 1916 and Sinn Féin was confirmed with the election of Éamon de Valera as President at the annual conference of 1917. This marriage involved the relegation of Griffiths’ constitutional views. Sinn Féin was now committed to the achievement of a republic. Yet despite new alliances, the fundamentals were largely unchanged. Sinn Féin was a loose coalition and it would be a mistake to see it as a broadly based, united effort.
Choose EITHER D1 (Question 1) OR D2 (Question 2) for which you have been prepared.

D2 – Britain and the Nationalist Challenge in India, 1900–47

Sources for use with Question 2 (a)

SOURCE 10
(From a letter sent by Viscount Chelmsford to Edwin Montagu, 19 May 1920. Chelmsford was the Viceroy and Montagu was the Secretary of State for India.)

I must warn you, that even as the matter stands, I expect considerable agitation from the British community in India with regard to the condemnation of Dyer*. It is idle to talk to them of Dyer having exceeded what was needed, or of having been guilty of lack of humanity. The one thing they consider is the fact that, in their opinion, his action saved both them and theirs.

* General Dyer gave the order to open fire on the crowd at Amritsar.

SOURCE 11
(From a speech made in the House of Commons by Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for War, 8 July 1920)

Amritsar is an episode which appears to me to be without precedent or parallel. It is an extraordinary event, a monstrous event. I am told that it ‘saved India’. I do not believe it. British power in India stands on much stronger foundations. Our reign in India has never stood on the basis of physical force alone, and it would be fatal if we were to try to base ourselves only upon it. The British way of doing things has always meant and implied close and effectual co-operation with the people of the country.

SOURCE 12
(From Ethel Savi, Rulers of Men, published 1922. Savi was a British novelist who was brought up in India.)

They sacrificed a fine old soldier and killed British prestige in India for ever. Instantly agitation broke out afresh, encouraged by the weakness of the Government, and things have since gone from bad to worse. Disorder and violence continue unchecked so that natives imagine the Government dare not use force to repress outbreaks. General Dyer should have been supported if India were to be successfully ruled.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13
(From Percival Spear, A History of India, published 1965)

By 1900, the Indian middle class and the government were gradually moving apart. We should beware however of attaching too much weight to the Congress as a whole. Indian nationalism was still a movement rather than a force. It was still confined to the westernised middle class. Then, in 1905, Bengal was partitioned. The whole middle class, and, in Bengal, the people as well, had been deeply stirred.

SOURCE 14
(From Dane Kennedy, Britain and Empire 1880–1945, published 2002)

Conciliation marked the Liberal approach to India. Under the imperious viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the moderate Indian nationalist movement had grown more restive and violent, especially in reaction to Curzon's decision to partition Bengal along sectarian lines. When the Liberals came to power they sought to repair the damage this caused. They granted Indians greater participation in government with the Morley–Minto reforms in 1909, and they reversed the partition of Bengal in 1911. Their efforts eased tensions, thus advancing imperial aims.

SOURCE 15
(From an address by Gopal Krishna Gokhale to the Imperial Legislative Council about its proposals for reforms, 1 November 1907)

If it was expected by the Council that the publication of Lord Minto’s scheme would calm the discontent in the country in any degree, there was bound to be disappointment. The scheme is neither large nor generous and is in some respects not a scheme for reform at all. Disappointment has intensified the prevailing feeling of discontent. As though this was not enough, the language used in explaining the proposals is unnecessarily offensive to certain classes.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 16

Although Gandhi called off the non-cooperation campaign in 1922 amid mounting violence, the experience of the previous two years had transformed the Congress into a mass movement. It had a membership of nearly two million drawn not merely from the elite, but also from the lower reaches of society. Britain’s response to the demands made by Congress leaders was to make concessions to Indian nationalist opinion.

SOURCE 17
(From Alex von Tunzelman, *Indian Summer, The Secret History of the End of an Empire*, published 2007)

Probably the most surprising obstacle to Indian independence was the man who was widely supposed to be leading the campaign for it – Mohandas Gandhi. Gandhi’s need for spotless moral perfection hindered his party’s progress. There are ample grounds for thinking that a more earthly campaign led by a united Congress, perhaps under the joint leadership of Motilal Nehru and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, could have brought dominion status to India in the 1920s. Gandhi’s style of leadership was an inspiration to millions but, politically speaking, it was erratic. With Congress too, it created divisions.

SOURCE 18
(From a telegram sent by Leo Amery, the Secretary of State for India, to Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister, 24 May 1942)

Gandhi is detained for promoting an illegal mass-movement which he has not disavowed and thus gravely embarrassing India’s war effort at a critical time. It rests with Mr Gandhi to satisfy the Government of India that he can safely be allowed to participate in the public affairs of the country, and until he does so the punishment from which he suffers is of his own choice.

Acknowledgements
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