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 there was widespread support in Ireland for the 1916 Easter Rising?

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

EITHER

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

Do you agree with the view that the most important result of Fenian actions in the 1860s was that they advanced the cause of reform in Ireland?

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

OR

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

Do you agree with the view that the failure of the 1886 Home Rule Bill was due to ‘tactical mistakes’ made by Gladstone (Source 8, line 48)?

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

(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, in the years before the First World War, Indian people resented the influence of the Raj?

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 the civil disobedience campaigns in the period between the two world wars made India ungovernable?

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 it was primarily the events in India during the Second World War that brought about the British decision to leave India in 1947?

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 | ☐ |

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

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(b) continued
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 letter written by Father Albert, a Catholic priest, after Seán Heuston was executed on 8 May 1916. Father Albert was with Heuston when he died. Heuston was one of those who had taken part in the Easter Rising.)

Never before did I realise that men could fight so bravely, and die so beautifully and so fearlessly, as did the heroes of Easter Week. On the morning of Seán Heuston’s death, I would have given the world to have been in his place, he died in such a noble and sacred cause.

SOURCE 2
(From the Irish Times newspaper, 10 May 1916)

The Government sent Sir John Maxwell to Ireland to suppress a dangerous insurrection and lay a solid foundation for the re-establishment of order and law. Mr Asquith is taking the right – indeed, the only possible – course. The safety of the whole Kingdom and the peace of Ireland are at stake. The fact is that martial law has come as a blessing to us all. For the first time in many months Dublin and large areas in the provinces are enjoying real security of life and property. The country rejoices in the prospect of a complete and permanent restoration of law and order.

SOURCE 3
(From a speech made by John Dillon, an Irish Nationalist MP, 11 May 1916. He was speaking in the House of Commons.)

The great bulk of the population were not favourable to the rebels, they got no popular support whatsoever. What is happening is that thousands of people in Dublin, who ten days ago were bitterly opposed to the whole of the Sinn Féin movement, and to the rebellion, are now becoming infuriated with the Government on account of the executions. I am also informed that that feeling is spreading throughout the country to an almost dangerous degree.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (i)

SOURCE 4

The immediate effect of the Fenian outrages of 1867 to 1868 was to arouse a wave of anti-Irish fury; but, when this had subsided, public opinion was more ready than before to recognise that there must be something radically unhealthy in the political condition of Ireland, and to accept the view that the British government could not escape responsibility for finding and applying a remedy. It is an error to suppose that it was Fenianism that first turned Gladstone’s mind to Ireland; but it was Fenianism that disposed the British public to accept the remedial measures that he was shortly to put forward.

SOURCE 5
(From Martin Collier, Britain and Ireland 1867–1922, published 2008)

After the executions of Allen, Larkin and O’Brien in 1867 and their creation as the ‘Manchester Martyrs’, many in rural Ireland were now far more accepting of Fenian aims and tactics. There was a growing bond between Church and nationalism. The causes of Fenian nationalism and constitutional nationalism became blurred. Many constitutionalists were drawn to the Brotherhood and many Fenians became part of the Land and Home Rule campaigns.

SOURCE 6
(From a letter written by Karl Marx to his friend Friedrich Engels in December 1867. Marx was one of the founders of communism and was living in London at the time.)

The last exploit of the Fenians in Clerkenwell was a very stupid thing. The London masses, who have shown great sympathy for Ireland, will be made wild by it and be driven into the arms of the government party. One cannot expect the London working classes to allow themselves to be blown up in honour of the Fenians.
Sources for use with Question 1 (b) (ii)

SOURCE 7
(From Jeremy Smith, Britain and Ireland, From Home Rule to Independence, published 2000)

The development of a strong Catholic nationalism under Parnell was mirrored in a Protestant counter-movement. This was composed of Anglo-Irish landowners and Presbyterian tenant farmers and workers from Ulster. Such dissimilar groups had little to unify them except a common suspicion of Catholicism and fear of self-rule for Ireland, on the grounds that this would place political power in the hands of the Catholic majority. Such power would endanger their religious freedoms and threaten the existing basis of property ownership in Ireland.

SOURCE 8
(From B. H. Abbott, Gladstone and Disraeli, published 1972)

In 1885, Gladstone had wanted a non-party effort to solve the Irish question, so that the settlement would be British rather than Liberal or Conservative. He has been heavily criticised for not informing others of his intentions, but the whole point of his secrecy was to allow the Conservatives to act so as to avoid party conflict. Gladstone never achieved Home Rule for Ireland because of his tactical mistakes.

SOURCE 9
(From the diary of the Earl of Derby, 22 December 1885. Derby was a Liberal who, with the Marquess of Hartington, left the party in 1886 to become a Liberal Unionist.)

Hartington does not think that Gladstone has a definite scheme. Hartington is not disposed to give way to Parnell without a further struggle. He expects a worse state of disorder and outrage to follow on the refusal of Parnell’s demands than has yet been known in Ireland.
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 speech made by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a leading Indian nationalist, addressing the Indian National Congress in 1907)

1 This alien government has ruined the country. In the beginning, all of us were taken by surprise. We were almost dazed. We thought that everything that the rulers did was for our good and that this English government had descended from the clouds to save us from internal and external invasions. Now we have perceived one fact, that the whole of this administration, which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is carried on with our assistance. We are all in inferior service.

SOURCE 11
(From an anonymous leaflet that was circulating in Bengal in 1907)

Can these thieves really be our rulers? These thieves import a huge number of goods made in their country and sell them in our markets, stealing our wealth and taking life from our people. Can those who steal the harvest of our fields and doom us to hunger, fever and plague, really be our rulers? Can foreigners really be our rulers, foreigners who impose on us ever more taxes?

SOURCE 12
(From the official Report on the Rise of Prices in India, published 1914. It was the result of an enquiry chaired by an Indian, K. L. Datta, and related to the period 1892–1912.)

The standard of living among all classes of the population, especially among landholders, traders and peasants, has increased very considerably in recent years, and extravagance on occasions of marriage and other social ceremonies has seriously increased. The average villager lives in a better house and eats better food than did his father; brass and other metals have taken the place of coarse earthenware and the clothing of his family in quality and quantity has improved.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (i)

SOURCE 13
(From B. R. Nanda, Mahatma Gandhi, published 1958)

The successive civil disobedience movements furthered the cause of Indian nationalism in at least two ways. They lifted the spell of fear which had enveloped Indian masses for nearly a century and a half, and they wore down, however slowly, British resistance. In the face of persistent opposition from vocal sections of the population, the task of governing India became an impossible one.

SOURCE 14
(From a speech given by Gandhi at a students' meeting at Banaras, 27 November 1920)

Hinduism teaches non-cooperation. Some people think that we should take up the sword. But everyone is now convinced that we do not have the power of the sword. Non-cooperation is the only method which will either bring freedom or purge the regime of its evils.

SOURCE 15
(From Lawrence James, The Illustrated Rise and Fall of the British Empire, published 1999)

Even in the periods of intensive public protests in 1919 and 1930–34, Congress had never come close to toppling the Raj or even proving beyond doubt that India was ungovernable. There were no more Amritsars, but the authorities managed to keep the upper hand through mass arrests of leading party activists, including Gandhi, and disorders were kept in check by the police with army help. With a loyal police force, the backing of an army and a considerable degree of determination among its officials, the Raj was able to hang on without too much strain on its resources.
Sources for use with Question 2 (b) (ii)

**SOURCE 16**  
(From Rosemary Rees, *India, 1900–47*, published 2006)

The Second World War was in many ways a watershed. During the war, Congress had shown that it still had control and influence over millions of Indians and that these Indians had irrefutably demonstrated that the Raj no longer had the consent of its Congress-supporting Indian subjects and should go. The Muslim League had greatly strengthened its position, gaining an unspoken agreement from Britain that some sort of separateness for the Muslim community was possible, inevitable and even desirable.

**SOURCE 17**  
(From an interview given by Gandhi to Louis Fischer, an American journalist, in June 1942)

The cry of ‘Quit India’ has arisen from a realisation of the fact that, if India is to shoulder the burden of representing or fighting for the cause of mankind, she must have the glow of freedom now. Has a freezing man ever been warmed by the promise of the warmth of the sunshine coming at some future date? If the British wish to document their right to win the war and make the world better, they must purify themselves by surrendering power in India. I do not want Germany and Japan to win. But I am sure that Britain cannot win unless the Indian people become free. Britain is weaker and Britain is morally indefensible while she rules India.

**SOURCE 18**  
(From Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, published 2003)

Events in India during the Second World War revealed the weakness of the nationalist movement and the resilience of the Raj. The Viceroy announced India’s entry into the war without a word of consultation with the leaders of Congress. The ‘Quit India’ campaign launched in 1942 was snuffed out within six weeks by arresting Gandhi and the campaign’s other leaders and censoring the press.

Acknowledgements
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