History

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

General Marking Principles for Advanced Higher History

This information is provided to help you understand the general principles you must apply when marking candidate responses to questions in this paper. These principles must be read in conjunction with the Detailed Marking Instructions, which identify the key features required in candidate responses.

(a) Marks for each candidate response must <u>always</u> be assigned in line with these General Marking Principles and the Detailed Marking Instructions for this assessment.

(b) Marking should always be positive. This means that, for each candidate response, marks are accumulated for the demonstration of relevant skills, knowledge and understanding: they are not deducted from a maximum on the basis of errors or omissions.

(c) If a specific candidate response does not seem to be covered by either the principles or detailed Marking Instructions, and you are uncertain how to assess it, you must seek guidance from your Team Leader.

(d) Marking must be consistent. Never make a hasty judgement on a response based on length, quality of hand writing or a confused start.

(e) Use the full range of marks available for each question.

(f) The Detailed Marking Instructions give illustrative examples of points that would be relevant within a candidate response. They are neither an exhaustive list nor a model answer. Other relevant points and approaches should be credited.

(g) For credit to be given, points must relate to the question asked. However, where candidates give points of knowledge without specifying the context, these should be rewarded unless it is clear that they do not refer to the context of the question.

(h) For points of knowledge/understanding in any response, marks should be awarded for points that are:
   a. relevant to the issue in the question
   b. developed (by providing additional detail, exemplification, reasons or evidence)
   c. used to respond to the demands of the question (eg evaluate, analyse, etc)

Marking principles: 25-mark essay questions

To obtain more than 12 marks in a 25-mark essay question, there must be a reference (however minor) to historiography. If the candidate is unable to show that they have referred to or quoted from historians, or considered historical schools of thought, then they are not meeting the basic requirements of the marks scheme for a pass. Full guidance on the intention of each essay, and possible format and relevant content of candidates' answers, is given in the detailed Marking Instructions for each question.

The grid that follows describes how 25-mark questions will be assessed against the following four criteria:
   • structure
   • analysis/evaluation/line of argument
   • thoroughness/relevance of information and approach
   • historical sources/interpretations

The two key criteria which are used to help determine where an essay is placed within a mark range are analysis/evaluation/line of argument and thoroughness.

The descriptions on the grid provide guidance on the features of essays falling within mark ranges which approximately correspond with the grades D, C, B, A, A+ and A++, assuming an even level of performance across all questions in the paper, and in the coursework. Many essays will exhibit some but not all of the features listed; others will be stronger in one area than another. Features described in one column may well appear in a response which overall falls more within another column(s). 'Historical interpretations' is the only criteria that should be thought of as a hurdle. The others are not. Markers should reward what the candidate has tried to argue and not penalise what may have been omitted. Remember, a candidate's arguments and evidence may differ substantially from the marks scheme, but the candidate should still be given whatever credit they deserve.

The grid below guides markers in placing responses within an overall likely mark range, and indicates how to avoid individual marks against the four marking criteria.

The grid describes the typical or most likely qualities of responses. Individual candidate responses do not follow a set pattern and many responses may fall outside these descriptions, or be close to two or more descriptions. Where this is the case, markers will use their professional expertise in awarding marks appropriately.

25 mark question – mark ranges and individual marking criteria

		Mark ranges						
		0-9	10-12	13-14	15-17	18-19	20-22	23-25
Marking Criteria	Structure	• no relevant functional introduction • no separate sections which relate to relevant factors • no conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue	An attempt to structure the essay, seen in at least one of the following: • relevant functional introduction • separate sections which relate to relevant factors • conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue	The structure displays a basic organisation but this may be loose. This would refer to: • relevant functional introduction • separate sections which relate to relevant factors • conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue	The structure is readily apparent with a competent presentation of the issues. This would include each of: • relevant functional introduction • separate sections which relate to relevant factors • conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue	Clearly structured, perceptive, presentation of issues. This would include each of: • relevant functional introduction • separate sections which relate to relevant factors • conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue	Clearly structured, perceptive presentation of issues. Structured so that the argument clearly develops throughout the response. This would include each of: • relevant functional introduction • separate sections which relate to relevant factors • conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue	

		Mark range						
		0-9	**10-12**	**13-14**	**15-17**	**18-19**	**20-22**	**23-25**
Marking criteria	Analysis/evaluation/line of argument	No evidence of analysis *Or* Analysis is not relevant to the question	There is much narrative and description rather than analysis and evaluation There is a weak sense of argument	There is an attempt to answer the evaluative aims of the question and analyse the issues involved, although this is possibly not deep or sustained; the analysis includes relevant isolated factor Argument is generally clear and accurate but there may be confusions	There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and the candidate tackles it with a fairly sustained analysis Argument is clear and accurate, and comes to a suitable – largely summative - conclusion	There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and an assured and consistent control of the arguments and issues The conclusion arises logically from the evidence and arguments in the main body, and attempts synthesis	Fluent and insightful presentation of the issues There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and a very assured and consistent control of all the arguments and issues The conclusion gives a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors	Fluent and insightful presentation of the issues with a detailed and effective analysis and evaluation which advances the argument and considers various possible implications of the question, going beyond the most obvious ones The conclusion gives a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors

		Mark range						
		0-9	10-12	13-14	15-17	18-19	20-22	23-25
Marking criteria	Historical sources/interpretations	No discernible reference to historical works	No discernible reference to historical works	There is some awareness of historians' interpretations in relation to the issue

Historians may be used as illustrative points of knowledge | There is an awareness of historians' interpretations and arguments

Historians may be used as illustrative point of main lines of interpretation | There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations and arguments

There is some awareness of possible variations of these interpretations or connections between them | There is a sound and consistent knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations and arguments

There is some awareness of possible variations of these interpretations or connections between them; there may be an appreciation of the context which gives rise to these interpretations | There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations and arguments and an engagement with current historiography NB the term 'current historiography' refers to the prevailing present thinking on the issue, not necessarily recent works

Shows consistent awareness of possible variations of these interpretations and connections between them, including an appreciation of the context which gives rise to these interpretations. |

			Mark range					
			0-9	10-12	13-14	15-17	18-19	20-22	23-25
Marking criteria	Thoroughness/relevance of information and approach		No evidence of relevant knowledge of the issue	Treatment of the issue shows little relevant information Some elements of the factual content and approach relate only very loosely to the issue	Treatment of the issue shows sufficient knowledge which reflects a basic understanding of the issue	Treatment of the issue shows an awareness of the width and depth of the knowledge required for a study of the issue	Treatment of the issue is based on a fair quantity of research, demonstrating width and depth of knowledge Points of evidence are linked to points of analysis or evaluation	Treatment of the issue is based on wide research and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge Points of evidence are linked to points of analysis or evaluation	Treatment of the issue is clearly based on a wide range of serious reading and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge Points of evidence are linked to points of analysis or evaluation

Further general advice to markers – 25-mark question

All markers will mark positively and reward what is there in the response. However, there are criteria which, if not met, means the candidate will fail.

Factors which lead to an essay failing:

1. **Total misunderstanding of the title.** The question is set as a particular title, and therefore there is a particular issue to be addressed. A response where the candidate has missed completely the point of the question is almost certain to fail. Similarly, a candidate may seem to "turn" a question to fit a prepared response. While some aspects may be able to be credited, the marker must be convinced that the response adequately and actively addresses the question set for a pass to be awarded. In a question which contains an isolated factor, this factor must receive due attention. A response which ignores the isolated factor must fail.

2. **Extreme brevity.** A very short response of around 2-3 sides would have to be astonishingly well argued to score highly. It is very unlikely to have sufficient depth and breadth of argument to convince a marker it had covered enough of the mark-worthy criteria to pass.

3. **Lack of historiography.** Responses without recognition of different historical interpretations will not be awarded more than 12 marks. There is a fairly open definition of "historical interpretations" as the minimum expected pass standard. At Advanced Higher level there must be signs of the candidate's reading, and therefore some awareness that there are different views on an issue.

   If a candidate were to introduce a new paragraph with a phrase such as "Naturally, other historians have argued …" or "There is another school of thought on this matter …" that will suffice for meeting the C standard. If they (accurately) quote historians by name, or refer to particular schools of thought, or give quotes from historians and changing views over time, the essay will fall into the higher mark ranges, on this criteria.

Features which do NOT necessarily lead to an essay failing:

1. **Structure.** This may be poor and the candidate might seem to ramble. However, other insightful and relevant aspects may be explored in enough depth to persuade the marker that the candidate should be awarded a pass at some level. A sense of structure often "appears" during the essay so a candidate should not be penalised just because of a poor introduction.

2. **Accuracy.** Several minor inaccuracies, or a few fairly major ones, will not in themselves be sufficient for a response to fail. It may be that the marker becomes increasingly convinced that the candidate is not in full control of their evidence, and that may deter the awarding of high marks, but it does not automatically lead to a "fail".

3. **Relevance.** While relevance is important, it is not the sole criterion on which a response is judged. It is a question of degree; responses should be marked positively. A response with enough relevance to convince the marker of its overall virtue, despite the odd lapse or digression, could achieve a pass at the middle-mark range.

4. **Thoroughness.** The degree of detail is a major factor in determining marks. It is NOT a pass-fail factor. If a candidate omits what a marker thinks is a key factor, but comprehensively discusses a lot of other key factors, high marks can still be awarded.

   The candidate may seem to present an ill-balanced and distorted view of the width of relevant issues in the chosen title, but that selectivity is the candidate's privilege. The marker should mark the essay for what argument it does contain, and not for the degree to which it conforms to the marker's view.

Equally, in terms of depth of detail, many essays are a very good review, albeit sometimes superficial, of a lot of the issues that are relevant. Candidates who follow this approach, which may appear light on analysis or evidence, may still have done enough to merit a mid-range mark, or even slightly more.

5.   **Use of language.** Candidates' linguistic skills vary. Essays can often be clumsily expressed in fairly poor English, but still merit high reward. Equally, there can be fluent and stylish pieces that flatter to deceive when the marker gets beyond the language and studies the other criteria.

6.   **Conclusion.** This is an important aspect of the response. It pulls it together and shows how the candidate has marshalled their facts and arguments. A good conclusion is crucial in gaining marks for analysis and thoroughness, and a weak conclusion will hinder the chances of getting top marks. However, the lack of a conclusion will not in itself lead to an automatic "fail".

Marking the source-handling questions

The question paper now has three standardised stems on the source questions, as described below.

The "how fully" question (12 marks)
These questions require candidates to:
- establish the view of the source
- use wider contextual development to assess what a source reveals about a historical event/issue
- interpret points from the sources by bringing in their own knowledge to show how the source relates to the wider historical and/or historiographical context

Marks are allocated as follows:

Up to 3 marks:
- interpretation of points from the source

Up to 7 marks:
- wider contextual development which develops points from the source
- other points of view, including additional historians' interpretations beyond the two specifically allocated (see below)
- omissions
- other relevant information

Up to 2 marks:
- historical interpretations with reference to historians and their views

The candidate should establish the view of the source and interpret what the view is, with an opportunity to earn up to 3 marks by discriminatory thinking about which points of the source are relevant to the question. Candidates cannot be awarded marks for simply quoting points from the source. They must paraphrase or interpret them to be given credit.

The candidate can then earn the remaining marks by the quality and depth of the immediate and/or wider contextual development they give in their overall evaluation of the sources comprehensiveness. This should include the views of two relevant historians (2 marks are reserved for this). Where a candidate includes the views of additional historians, this should be credited within the marks for wider contextual development.

There is no mandatory provenance comment for this question, and therefore no allocation of marks for this.

The "evaluate the usefulness" question (12 marks)
These questions require candidates to:
- establish the view of the source
- evaluate the provenance of the source
- use wider contextual development to assess what a source reveals about a historical event/issue
- interpret points from the source by bringing in their own knowledge to show how the source relates to the wider historical and/or historiographical context

Marks are allocated as follows:

2-3 marks:
- comments on provenance

2-3 marks:
- comments on interpretation

(A maximum of 5 marks can be awarded for provenance and interpretation combined.)

Up to 5 marks:
- wider contextual development which develops points from the source
- other points of view, including additional historians' interpretations beyond the two specifically allocated (see below)
- omissions
- other relevant information

Up to 2 marks:
- historical interpretations with reference to historians and their views

The "two-source" question (16 marks)
These questions require candidates to:

- establish the view of each source
- use wider contextual development to assess what the sources reveal about different interpretations of a historical issue
- comment on how the viewpoints in the two sources relate to other possible interpretations

Marks are allocated as follows:

6 marks:
- comments on interpretations (3 marks per source)

Up to 8 marks:
- wider contextual development which develops points from the sources
- other points of view, including additional historians' interpretations beyond the two specifically allocated (see below)
- omissions
- other relevant information

Up to 2 marks:
- historical interpretations with reference to historians and their views

General marking advice

The following section applies to the central marking process and members of the marking team. It is included to provide transparency in the process by which scripts will be marked.

The detailed marking instructions are written to assist in illustrating a range of possible acceptable answers rather than listing every possible correct answer. The following notes are offered to support Markers in making judgements on candidates' evidence.
Markers are particularly asked to note the following points:

- marking must be positive
- markers should reward what the candidate has written, rather than penalise what the candidate has not
- the full range of marks is available to candidates: award full marks to a response which is as good as can reasonably be expected from a candidate at this stage
- markers must not write comments on scripts; they can put code letters in the margins (I, P, WCD, H, etc) to show how they have awarded marks
- markers should comment as fully as they can in the appropriate spaces on the EX Supplement of each candidate
- markers must be consistent: it is vital that a marker marks to the same standard throughout the diet

All markers will have their marking reviewed on an ongoing basis during the central marking diet. Markers will be reviewed via a process where selected seeded scripts will be pre-marked and placed in markers packs. Further scripts will be selected at random from each markers allocation and reviewed by the examining team.

This "marker check" process guarantees the standard of each marker. It also guarantees the equality of the marking standard across the 11 fields of study. It ensures that, for example, an A in *Renaissance* is the same value as an A in *Britain at War*. Until scripts/markers have been standardised, marks awarded should be regarded as provisional, and written in pencil on EX Supplements and/or scripts.
In all cases, personal and confidential feedback from the Principal Assessor and the examining team will be available to markers, and markers will be able to adjust their standard appropriately.

Markers should not mark papers from their own centre. If a packet contains scripts of a candidate known to the marker, or who is from a centre in which the marker has an interest (whether this has been previously declared or not), they should pass the packet to another marker.

Markers should open each envelope and:
- check the particulars in the grid of the mark sheet against those on the envelope label
- check that the candidates whose scripts are enclosed are those whose names are listed on the mark sheet

Detailed Marking Instruction for each question

SECTION 1 – Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 1   To what extent was military glory the main motive for the Roman incursions into Northern Britain from the 1st to the 3rd century AD?

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the extent to which military glory motivated Rome's attempts at occupation of Northern Britain. The candidate would be expected to discuss alternative explanations for intervention in the North. The candidate would be expected to reach a conclusion on the extent to which pursuit of glory impelled invasion.

Evidence suggesting military glory motivated invasions

Military Glory
- It was almost the responsibility of the emperor, the expectation, to establish the boundaries of the empire.
- Romans believed that their gods and goddesses had given them the right to conquer and rule.
- Since Caesar's invasion of Britain, 55BC, there was unfinished business in Britain - only partial conquest had been achieved.
- Both Emperor Augustus and Caligula had considered military invasion of the North as a way of securing imperial and military glory (both decided against it).
- For every invasion, there was always the chance of adding military prowess to one's list of personal accomplishments.
- There was considerable military glory to be had from conquering Caledonia, given its special geographical location, at the edge of the known world.
- The tribes of Caledonia were renowned as especially 'uncivilised' and there would be glory in taming even the most barbaric
- The Flavians sought glory, with Tacitus even recording that Agricola was ordered to push northwards to promote the "valour of our armies and the glory of the name of Rome" (Tacitus, *Agricola* 23.1)
- The conquest of Caledonia was perceived as the lasting triumph of the early Flavian dynasty (Vespasian and Titus) and thus did bring some glory.
- If Agricola had stopped, as planned, in his third campaigning season, he would have been able to claim that he had conquered all of Britain that was worthwhile territory (up to the Firth of Forth) – enabling the emperor to claim the glory of having conquered the desirable lands. However, there was glory in continuing the campaign as noted by Tacitus, when he states the campaign would have stopped, "if the honour of the Roman people had permitted it".
- Upon the succession of Domitian in 81AD, it was pragmatic for him to confirm Agricola as governor and to continue his conquest of the north in the hope of bringing him some glory, especially, as until such time he had played little part in the administration of the empire.
- Antoninus Pius, in 139, sought military glory to validate his position on the imperial throne.
- Severus sought military glory as a swan song as he approached the end of his reign.

Evidence suggesting other factors motivated invasions:

Consolidation/establish Pax Romano
- Agricola's brief from Vespasian would have been to consolidate conquests in Britain, Romanise for their own benefit, and unify and civilise the conquered, extend the frontiers of the empire.
- During Agricola's Flavian occupation, Tacitus refers to only one pitched battle, mentioning spoiling raids, tribes handing over hostages in return for protection, Tacitus states, "nowhere before in Britain had such transition been effected with so little interference from other tribesmen", suggesting the Flavian occupation was motivated by the desire to consolidate power.
- The Flavian occupation was accompanied by road building to ensure good lines of communication for ready control and to ease any future campaigns – consolidation rather than glory
- Militarily, it was sensible to complete and consolidate the conquest given that there was always the risk that hostile elements only a few miles further north could easily challenge Rome's power in the South
- It made tactical sense to subdue the whole country than to keep having to come to the aid of individual groupings, client kingdoms

Quell Unrest
- Each of the three major attempts at conquests was in the context of unrest in the North
- The Brigantes were often in state of revolt and needed to be controlled at the time of Agricola's occupation.
- Antoninus Pius was impelled to send fresh forces to the North in the face of unrest from the Novantae, Selgovae and Votadini, c.142.
- Severus sought a punitive campaign, reoccupying very few earlier Flavian and Antonine Forts, intending "visiting the wrath of Rome" on dissenters.
- Severus sought to quell unrest at home, prompted by his son's debauched existence – he wanted to be seen to be taming his unruly sons by exposing them to military conquest.
- Following the major invasions, from 211, Rome was motivated by necessity - the need to carry out punitive exercises.

Political Context
- Motives for the invasions relates to the world of Roman politics, the ebb and flow of armies related to the specific instructions of successive emperors.
- Vespasian sought to impose the will of Rome over the whole of Britain.
- The personal disposition of Antoninus Pius, who lacked military experience, fuelled the decision to abandon Hadrian's Wall and re-occupy southern Scotland in 139.
- Both Cassius Dio and Herodian, in their Histories, suggest Severus enjoyed campaigning and wished to take his sons from the flesh pots of Rome.
- Events elsewhere in the Empire impacted on motives in Northern Britain – Roman defeats on the Danube in the 80s led to withdrawal and abandonment of the Flavian conquests.
- The delay in building the Antonine Wall was due to events elsewhere – need for reinforcements to the Mauretanean War.
- The death of Severus at York in 211 led to the abandonment of conquests.
- Motives and nature of campaign hinged on broader concerns

Historians	Perspective on the issue
ScARF,eds F Hunter & M Carruthers	*Summary Roman Presence Report* – emphasise that Rome's motives in Scotland were tied to the political context & specific emperor's needs
D Breeze	*Roman Scotland* – maintains that the common aim in Northern Britain was to subdue the enemy and ensure that it sued for peace
G Maxwell	*A Gathering of Eagles* – reduces the argument to the view that the Romans immediate objective was consistent – to conquer and lay waste
A Kamm	*The Last Frontier* – emphasises that war was embedded in the Roman consciousness and as such was an integral part of society, motivating perpetual expansion

Question 2 "Pictish origins are shrouded in uncertainty". How valid is this view of the origins of the Picts?

Aim of the question The aim of this essay is for the candidate to examine arguments on the origins of the Picts. The title allows for the argument that Pictish origins are uncertain to be examined. The candidate could discuss the extent to which origins are not contentious or unclear. The essay should reach a conclusion as to the extent to which origins are unclear.

Evidence suggesting degree to Pictish origins are shrouded in uncertainty

- Not only are there origins uncertainty, the degree to which they differ from other inhabitants of Scotland is contentious.
- First mention of Picts in historical sources is by Eumenius in 297, he writes they were northern invaders of Roman Britain.
- The name, 'painted ones', was possibly a vernacular name given to them by Roman troops, thus early origins.
- Irish tradition indicates that the Picts were related to Cruithin, the ancient Irish who according to the Irish Annals undertook the first of four major invasions of Ireland, in the first part of the 1st millennium.
- Inhabitants of Ulster considered themselves Cruithin and this related to Picts.
- Cruithin may be the Irish Gaelic form of the Latin Priteni, the general name applied by the Romans to the people of the British Isles.
- Some sources derive the term Picts, from Priteni.
- The Pictish Chronicle, known from a 14th century chronicle but compiled in the reign of Kenneth II (971-95), names as the progenitor of the Picts Cruithne, who founded the nation with his seven sons, alluding to the seven clans or nations that the Pictish kingdom once comprised.
- According to Bede the Picts landed first in the north of Ireland. The Irish sent them on to Scotland, and because they had no women with them, gave them Irish wives.
- According to Bede, the Picts traced their descent through their mother rather than father, supporting the idea that the Picts were non-indo European.
- Bede calls them Scythians, by which he meant Scandinavians.
- Recent studies of ogham inscriptions suggest that they were Old Norse and were a common form of inscription in Scandinavia.
- Pictish language is unclear as is the extent to which it was distinct from Celtic Brythonic and Gaelic languages.
- Some academics argues that Cruithni is similar to the Baltic Latvian 'Krit', meaning chalk, white and this is the area of Pictish origin - the coast of the Baltic Sea.

Evidence suggesting degree to which Pictish origins are not uncertain

- Descendants of inhabitants of Scotland, long established prehistoric hunter-gatherers and farmers.
- Picts were indigenous – with similar social organisation and culture to Iron Age Celts – valuing kings, warriors and farmers.
- In 310 Caledonians were considered Pictish, "the woods and marshes of the Caledones and other Picts".
- Ammianius Marcellinus confirms the Caledonian-Pictish connection by telling us in 368 that the Picts were divided into two people (gentes), the Dicalydones and the Venteriones. The first of these population names clearly incorporates the word Caledonii.
- Picts simply absorb influences from different groups invading and settling in Scotland but are indigenous to Northern Britain.
- Whilst symbol stones are fairly unique there are few other unique aspects to Pictish culture, evidence suggests that they like their neighbours they were in origin, warrior tribes living in subsistence economies based on cattle rearing.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
P Dunbavin	*Picts and Ancient Britons: An exploration of Pictish Origins* - argues that the Picts were immigrants from the Baltic Coast, they were Finno Ugrian immigrants.
K Forsyth	*Language in Pictland* - maintains that the Picts "were as fully Celtic as their Irish and British neighbours"
S McHardy	*A New History of the Picts* – maintains that the Picts are the ancestor people of ancient and modern Scotland

Question 3	How far can it be argued that the Vikings' impact on Northern Britain was confined to the Northern and Western Isles?
Aim of the question	The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the impact of the Viking invasion, looking specifically at the extent to which the impact varied geographically. Candidates would be expected to examine the Viking impact on the Northern and Western Isles but also on the mainland. Candidates would be expected to reach a conclusion about the extent to which the Norse impact was exclusive to the Northern and Western Isles.

Evidence suggesting the significant impact of the Vikings in the Northern and Western Isles
- Greatest Viking influence was Orkney & Shetland, followed by Hebrides and western seaboard.
- Anticipate that Northern Isles were colonised from 8th century, with areas such as Orkney being wholly Scandinavian, culminating in the establishment of Earldom of Orkney.
- Orkney and Shetland are rich in archaeological remains of the Vikings.
- Saga evidence and place name evidence reinforces the view of a great Viking presence in Orkney and Shetland.
- Array of Viking evidence – farming settlements such as Skaill, Birsay, Pool, Jarlshof, burials such as Scar and Westness, artefacts such as Scandinavian bone pins and combs, weaving tablets.
- The Shetlands and Orkneys were Norse dependencies until 15th century.
- In Western Isles, anticipate colonisation from 8th century.
- Plethora of grave evidence for Viking presence in Western Isles – such as on Kiloran Bay on Colonsay as well as graves on Islay and Oronsay.
- Robust place name evidence for Viking presence in Western isles - on Lewis 99 out of 126 place names remain wholly Scandinavian.
- Evidence of Viking settlements across the Western Isles – such as Udal & Drimore on North Uist and South Uist respectively.
- In Western Isles, Celtic clan system supplemented by settling Vikings, MacLeod is Gaelic/Norse mixture from Viking Leod, MacAulay means son of Olaf, MacQueen, son of Sven.
- Vikings did not immediately bring their wives and thus much intermarriage with Celtic women in Western Isles.

Evidence suggesting a significant impact beyond the Northern and Western Isles
- Vikings settled extensively on the mainland, Caithness, Sutherland and Ross – as reflected in place name evidence, Caithness means "Headland of the Cat", Sutherland was "Sundrlund" meaning 'southern land'.
- From the 830s Viking attacks on the main increased in their intensity – settlement in the Hebrides provided bases from which raids were launched against centres of Gaelic power in Argyll (Dal Riata).
- In 839 a large Viking force, probably Norwegian penetrated the Tay and Earn valleys in the heart of the Pictish kingdom and slaughtered Eoganan, king of the Picts and his brother, the vassal king of the Scots and the cream of Pictish aristocracy, 'almost without number'.
- Vikings effectively destroyed Pictish leadership and the kingdom in eastern Scotland.
- Vikings started a chain of events that led to Gaelic warlord, Kenneth seizing Pictish kingship.
- In 870-71, Olaf allegedly launched repeated attacks on the mainland,

most notably his raid on Dumbarton, the citadel of the Strathclyde Britons, which he took after a 4-month siege.

- In 870-71, Olaf gained a large haul of plunder and captives, transported for ransom or for the Dublin slave market.
- Olaf's victory against the Britons established Scandinavian domination of the Clyde estuary and opened access to central Scotland. Settlement of the coastlands around the Firth of Clyde may have followed this victory.
- During the 9th century Vikings establish domination of the western maritime zone of Britain and cripple the power of Strathclyde.
- Vikings colonise Galloway through course of the late 9th and early 10th century, Norse settle this mainland area from their bases in the Hebrides – transporting a Norse-Gaelic culture into this area.
- By 900 Norwegian Vikings had established themselves along the coast around the Moray Firth – in these areas Scottish Celts intermarried with the Norse.

Evidence suggesting that there were areas of little Viking impact
- The Viking Fringe was in the far west of Scotland and eastern Scotland – Galloway was not settled to any marked extent by Scandinavians despite proximity to Norse Isle of Man and Cumbria.
- Linguistic, historical and archaeological evidence suggests limited impact in Galloway.
- There is no evidence of permanent Viking settlement on the east coast of Moray Firth and very limited place names evidence on the east coast.
- Some Norse names in the south will have Norse elements subdue to later movements northwards from Cumbria.
- Have some evidence for a limited concentration of Scandinavian occupation at the head of the Solway Firth

Historians	Perspective on the issue
A Ritchie	*Viking Scotland* – suggests that the impact was felt most keenly in the Northern and Western isles but the south and east of Scotland would still have felt the effects of Viking activities
J Graham Campbell & C Batey	*Vikings in Scotland* – emphasise the Viking impact was greatest in Northern Isles and western seaboard, with replacement of native culture in places
C Downhan	*Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland* – suggests that Vikings played a significant part in the political history of Alba, Strathclyde and Galloway, as well as impacting in the Northern and Western Isles

Question 4   **How valid is the view that Kenneth MacAlpin was responsible for the formation of the Kingdom of Alba by 849?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to analyse the role, which Kenneth MacAlpin played in the ninth century creation of the Kingdom of Alba. Candidates would be expected to evaluate Kenneth's role, especially considering alternative explanations for the Scots takeover of the Picts. The candidate could challenge the notion that there was a 'takeover'. Ultimately, a conclusion must be reached, judging the extent to which Kenneth achieved the takeover, leading to his creation of the Kingdom of Alba.

Evidence suggesting Kenneth MacAlpin was responsible for the takeover of Picts and establishment of a new kingdom
- The Chronicle of Huntingdon tells us that Kenneth in the 7th year of his reign attacked and overthrew the Picts when they had been crushed by Danish pirates.
- The Scottish Chronicle states, "Kenneth ... ruled Pictavia happily for 26 years ... Pictavia has its name from the Picts, whom Kenneth destroyed".
- Kenneth became king of Scots c.842, fought a series of campaigns in Pictland over ensuing years, ending in triumph and the elimination of all possible Pictish rivals by 849.
- Giraldus Cambrensis records that the Scots, led by Kenneth, brought together all the Pictish nobles, taking advantage of their excessive drunkenness and gluttony ... slaughtered them all – The Treachery of Scone would suggest that Kenneth spearheaded the elimination of Picts.
- Kenneth MacAlpin established dynastic control c.849AD as shown in the Sueno Stone, whereby the seven kings of Pictland are shown slain by one man, potentially Kenneth MacAlpin, supported by his army – erected by Kenneth to tell Picts that they were done for.
- Kenneth's military prowess was well renowned, for example, fighting the Picts seven times in one day.
- Kenneth's diplomacy won him the Pictish kingdom – he was pragmatic, maintaining an ambivalent relationship with the Norseman, even marrying a Norse woman as his second wife – this may have allowed him to avoid slaughter at the hands of the Vikings and to consolidate his own position in Pictland.

Evidence suggesting a long term closeness between Picts and Scots
- From 789 to 839, some 50 years, Scots held the kingship of Picts, as seen on the Dupplin Cross. Constantine, who is commemorated on the inscription on the Dupplin Cross is portrayed as King in Pictland, c.820 clearly, long term dynastic closeness, predating Kenneth.
- Evidently, Kenneth was not the first man to hold the kingship of both Picts and Scots – thus may not be seen as responsible for pioneering the takeover.
- Scots and Picts had long been acquaintances in peace and war – through intermarriage, trade and cultural exchange.
- Membership of the universal Christian church drew Scots and Picts together.
- Kenneth may be understood as the culminating figurehead of a long, slow process of Scottish infiltration into Pictland, which began with the Columban monks.

- Scots were taking over the Picts as early as 760's, from the time of Aed Find and his invasion of Fortrui in 768 – reveals long-term involvement.
- The Pictish area around Dunkeld was referred to as "New Ireland", Athfotla as early as 739 - Evidently Gaels were already well established in parts during the 8th century.
- By the ninth century, Gaelic place names appearing across Pictland (see Pit being combined with Gaelic personal names).
- Oengus II's dynasty was 'essentially Scottish', suggesting the Gaels had pushed into Pictland a generation before MacAlpin.

Evidence suggesting that the Vikings drew Picts and Scots together
- English Chronicles record that "Danish pirates ... with the greatest slaughter had destroyed the Picts who defended their land" referring to the Battle of Fortrui in 839.
- Picts weakened by loss of king and nobles, especially as Viking tradition was to continue to fight even after the defeated king was killed – major catastrophe for Picts – creates catalyst to unite Scots and Picts.
- Kenneth may have risen to power in the west after his father was killed fighting Vikings in Galloway – again Viking threat creates conditions to allow Kenneth to become King first of the Scots a then of Picts.
- Vikings created two important opportunities for Kenneth - weakened Pictish nobility and reduced the number of potential claimants for the Pictish throne.
- In face of Norse pressure, the Dalriadic nobility would have been increasingly attracted to the wealth and security offered in Pictland.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
A MacQuarrie	*Medieval Scotland* – emphasis is on the view that the Vikings had first weakened the Picts, allowing the kingdom to fall into the hands of Kenneth and his successors
F Watson	*Scotland: From Prehistory to Present* – argues against a Scots takeover, led by Kenneth MacAlpin, favouring the notion that the birth of Alba was a long drawn out development, borne out of long term contacts
E Sutherland	*In Search of the Picts* – argues that Kenneth was the strong man needed to take over joint rulership, following the catalyst provided by Viking invasions
A Symth	*Warlords and Holymen* – suggests that Kenneth's role has been exaggerated – smothered in mythological tradition, "the sustained success [of his dynasty] over many centuries gave added posthumous glory to Kenneth"

Question 5   **To what extent had Scotland's divided kingdoms become united by 1034?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the extent to which Scotland was united by 1034AD. Candidates could discuss the extent to which social, political and cultural divisions had diminished. The essay should reach a conclusion as to the extent to which divided kingdoms had united.

Spiritual Unity
- A spiritual unity across Scotland.
- Iona cemented as the burial site for Kings including Malcolm d.954 and Indulf d.962.
- Christianity had developed a sense of cohesion since post Roman period.
- Scotland was united by the cross but it was hampered by structural weaknesses, including itinerant bishops, it shared with the Irish Church.

Political and Social Unity
- There existed a well-established political and social system – kings with aristocratic earls and thanes, followed by freemen or small landowners.
- There remained a common tribal society with the basis of society being the small farmstead, inhabited by a kin group, surrounded by some land.
- Solid control over lands of Alba as well as control over the sub-kingdom of Strathclyde and the Clyde Valley.
- Increased control south across the Firth of Forth into rich farming lands.
- Alba and its boundaries had recognition from kings of the English to the south.
- Malcolm II (1005-1034) achieved political unity and upon his death was described as 'the honour of all the west of Europe', indicating the power of a single Scottish monarch.
- No claimant to the throne or rebel was bent on dismantling the Scottish kingdom as it had come to exist the mid-11th century.
- By 1034 a single dynasty, represented in Duncan claimed rule over all of Scotland.

Political divisions
- Political instability and aspects of heroic anarchy as a succession of kings fell under the hands of assassins, until Malcolm II.
- Clans still struggled for power and control of land from small plots to the entire kingdom.

Geographical & Economic Unity
- The only lands that remained to be brought under Scottish crown were the islands and parts of the Scottish mainland where the Norse still ruled.
- By the mid-11th century the province of Ross was falling under the influence of the kingdom of Alba.
- Scotland had something comparable to its modern boundaries
- Established economic system – Scotland was dependent on the soil – arable crops in the lowlands and grazing in the infertile Highlands.
- The lie of the land contributed to limited unity.
- Mountain and flood continued to separate clan from clan and

province from province so that Pict, Scot, Briton and Angle kept their separate individuality.
- The highlands and mountains of the north and west contrasted with the lowlands.
- Land communication would have been impaired by extensive areas of barren upland and long firths and sea lochs – almost easier to communicate with outsiders rather than fellow inhabitants.

Cultural unity
- The nation was a nation united by the sword but a nation whose people retained the distinctive character of their different forebears.
- The nation was a nation united by the sword but a nation whose people retained the distinctive character of their different forebears.
- A single unified state with a fixed culture based on Picto-Scottish origins.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
I Walker	*Lords of Alba* - talks of a period of consolidation and strengthening of control of the Kings of Alba
M Herbert	*Kingship and Identity in the 9th and 10th centuries*– refers to a united self-perception which shaped the future of the kingdom of Alba, as a distinct and united country
A Barrell	*Medieval Scotland* - takes the view that Scotland by 1034 was not divided, particularly evident in the enduring single line of rulers
A Grant	*The Construction of the Early Scottish State* - highlights that Scotland, as an essentially Celtic state stood in striking contrast to the political disunity found in Wales and Ireland

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 6   Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of Iron Age social organisation?

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	A Roman Greek historian	Compiled from a number of sources, after 22 years of research, covers some 1400 years of Roman history, from the origins to 229AD.
Purpose	To provide a Roman history, a History of Rome	To provide a Roman history for Romans, accepted as one of the more reliable Roman historians. Dio prided himself on research
Timing	c.229AD	Writing after the Severan occupation, when barbarians had proven challenging for Severus and his sons.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
There are among the Britons two very large tribes, the Caledonians and the Maeatae.	The source emphasises the tribal organisation of Iron age society.
Both tribes inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate marshy plans, and possess neither walls nor cities nor farms. Or.. They live in tents without clothes or shoes;	The source indicates that Iron Age society was uncivilised and primitive.
They live communal lives.. share their womenfolk and rear all their offspring in common.	The source suggests that Iron Age society was familial.
.. and they have a great liking for plunder. For this reason they choose their boldest men to be their leaders.	The source emphasises that Iron Age society valued warriors.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Other sources such as Ptolemy's map reveal the tribal nature of Iron Age society.
- Rome sought to emphasis the barbarity and lack of civility found North of the edge of Romanitas.
- Subsequent academics until the 1960's perpetuated the motion of nomadic wanderers, living virtual hunter gather existences.
- Their form of government is for the most part democratic,
- The liking for plunder may be evidenced in the circulation of prestige based items, such as sword scabbards or pennanular brooches.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- Social modelling traditionally consists of notion of 'Celtic hierarchies' shaping society
- Medieval sources create an Iron Age world of chiefs, warriors and druids
- Much emphasis on a society shaped by the presence of 'elites'- individuals who rely on display and conspicuous consumption to maintain their status in society, or wealthy subordinates who accumulate wealth by controlling the wider population
- Using sites to infer social organisation can be fraught with difficulty, brochs are simultaneously perceived to be elite residences and typical farms whilst hillforts are seen to be elite residences, hierarchical centres and/or communal gathering points
- Difficult to evidence more ephemeral aspects of social organisation – marriage, fosterage, inheritance, tenure
- Can be in no doubt that the evidence reveals degrees of social complexity and sophistication
- Alternative methods existed to indicate status, identity and power, for example the construction of a substantial enclosure around a group of relatively insubstantial houses
- Little evidence for large, centralised political groupings and so tribal groupings are more credible
- Changes in social organisation may have been prompted by climatic changes, incursions, land pressure – social organisation would have varied in time and space in the course of the Iron Age
- Settlements used to display social status as are prestige based items, varies in time and space

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
R Hingley	*Society in Scotland* - highlights regional variation and the complexity of Iron age social organisation
I Armit	*Celtic Scotland* - emphasising the multitude of ways in which Iron Age society was organised, stressing variation in time and space
I Ralston and I Armit	*The Iron Age in Scotland after the Ice Age* - suggest social organisation developed from tribal to some type of state organisation in the course of the Iron Age
D Harding	*The Iron Age in Northern Britain* - underlines the use of space and residences as expressions of power and social organisation

Question 7   How fully does Source B reveal the cultural and religious influences shaping the the kingdom of Dalriada?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Penannular brooch (or pseudo-penannular) incomplete ring brooch, for personal adornment.	The brooch reveals that the kingdom of Dalriada valued individuals in society, choosing to display status through prestige objects.
Cross on the brooch and decoration like that found in Christian manuscripts.	The source highlights that the kingdom of Dalriada was influenced by Christianity.
Seems to be made of precious metals, ornately decorated with infills of precious stones or amber.	The source reveals that the kingdom of Dalriada was culturally influenced by Celtic and Anglo-Saxon artistic traditions – interlace and zoomorphic elements.
Viking runes engraved onto the metal	The brooch has clearly been treasured for centuries. Some 200 years after it was made, its then owner added an inscription in Viking Runes.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- The brooch reflects the importance placed on expressions of status by those at the top of society – brooches may have marked out royal status, along with wearing a purple cloak.
- Christian influences were of utmost importance - Dalriada was plugged into a European Christian network, absorbing influences from the Celtic and European church.
- The church influenced the kingdom of Dalriada artistically; the detailed carvings bear close parallels with many of the beasts in the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
Religious and cultural influences
- The Hunterston brooch may have originated in Ireland but similar goods were produced in Dalriada – indicative of shared values with Irish
- Brooches were worn as a sign of a person's rank in society. Between the 6th-8th centuries brooches became larger and much more elaborate; perhaps showing that wealth was increasing among nobles or there were increasing social divisions
- The brooch was the creation of an extremely skilled jeweller, someone familiar with Anglo-Saxon, Irish and Irish-Scottish techniques of decorative metalwork – reveals interplay of native and foreign influences
- The brooch is typically Celtic in design but aspects of it, such as the eagle heads are an Anglo-Saxon element
- The brooch could have been a gift given by a ruler to someone of great importance, perhaps another ruler, to mark a special occasion, imbuing the owner with wealth and sophistication – reveals a traditional Celtic warrior culture
- The brooch may have made at Dunadd and certainly, similar moulds have been found there. As one of the most important royal sites of Dál Riata the site will have been visited by royal visitors, exiles, war bands and craftsmen from all over northern Britain and Ireland
- Bede tells us of several future Northumbrian kings who sought refuge among the Scots to escape dynastic assassination by their fellow countrymen. Such figures may explain some of the pieces of Anglo-Saxon origin at Dunadd – revealing broad sphere of cultural influences
- The brooch enables us to see that the kingdom of Dalriada culturally, valued status, both in goods and in residences
- The use of a brooch to convey status may have developed from the late Roman use of brooches as insignia of office – to assert legitimacy of early historic owners

- Dalriada was influenced by long distance trade, with surplus wealth spent on exotic luxuries and elaborately decorated personal jewellery – valued a prestige based economy
- Dalriada valued kingship and power as reflected in residences such as forts and duns – often associated with royalty
- Dalriada was part of a trading network, linked with France – a trail of sites which have the remains of continental pottery and glass vessels showing sailing routes reached up the Irish Sea to Argyll. Pottery was used to bring luxuries to Dalriada – purple and red dyes, herbs and spices, salt and wine
- The development of High Crosses reveals the spiritual influence of Christianity – the crosses may have been developed in Iona, spreading across Dalriada and Ireland
- The kingdom of Dalriada, being influenced by Christianity meant illuminated manuscripts, intricate sculpture and fine metal work in an insular style, reflecting the influence of Northumbrian and Pictish art
- Dalriada was exposed to extensive contacts; around 640 Abbot Segene of Iona received a letter from the pope elect in Rome whilst ships and visitors from France and Germany were a normal occurrence

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
E Campbell	*Saints and Sea-kings* - suggests that Dalriada held artistic and intellectual importance, culturally well connected
S Foster	*Picts, Gaels and Scots* - suggests that the kingdom of Dalriada was shaped by common Celtic cultural traits – power and religion, hunting, falconry, military might and status
A Smyth	*Warlords and Holymen* - underlines the interaction between the kingdom of Dalriada and the Picts, suggesting shared cultural and religious influences, a common Celtic inheritance shaping both
A Barrell	*Medieval Scotland* - suggests that the Dalriada achieved cultural domination from the middle of the ninth century onwards yet were threatened by Viking onslaught

Question 7   **How fully does Source B reveal the cultural and religious influences shaping the the kingdom of Dalriada?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'a (Viking) conversion powered by a single dominant secular power seems unlikely'	The source challenges the idea of a top down conversion, impelled by a singular ruler.
'Christianity was disseminated by men and women of local importance'	The source highlights that Christianity spread to Vikings not through a single secular leader but through more localised figures.
'Decisions would have been influenced by a range of factors: marriages, fosterings …'	The source underlines the plethora of localised arenas, which would bring Vikings into contact with Christianity.
'the impact of charismatic Christian professionals'	The source emphasises the fact that Christian missionaries and figures would have targeted Viking conversion.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- The conversion tradition suggests that that Earl Thorfinn prompted conversion c.995 of a significant Viking population.
- Local figures such as Earls would disseminate Christianity.
- The long-term process of Christianisation would have been a result of assimilation through intermarriage between the native population and Scandinavian rulers.
- There is evidence of elite Christian patrons converting Vikings to Christianity from before and during the 9th century, eg there existed an Orcadian bishop around 850.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The slow process of conversion began in the ninth century'	The source states that conversion was slow, a gradual process, taking place over a lengthy period of time
'Orkney were converted after the baptism of Earl Sigurd'	The source highlights the role of the conversion of elites and leaders in initiating mass conversion.
'Olaf subsequently encouraged the people of Shetland and Faeroe Islands to abandon paganism'	The source underlines the importance of the king, King Olaf, as a secular leader driving conversion rather than Christianisation
'Viking lordships were moving along the same path, under the guidance of Irish and Scottish missionaries	The source emphasises that Christian missionaries were converting Vikings on the Western Seaboard whilst other pressures to convert were being exerted in other parts of Scotland

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Dates for conversion span from early 9th century through to the more established late 10th century date, even then aspects of paganism prevail such as Sigurd's death under a raven banner.
- Earl Sigurd prompted accepted baptism of himself and all of his subjects following King Olaf's threat to have the island ravaged with 'fire and steel'
- The Orkneyinga Saga reveals that the Norse in the earldom of Orkney were forced to adopt Christianity in 995 by King Olaf Tryggvason
- The process of conversion was multi-faceted; Vikings exposed to monks, such as those from Iona, Christian images and artefacts – an additional force for conversion.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:

- Significant conversion in Scotland appears around the mid-10th century with 130 or so pagan Scandinavian graves dating to 850-950 and Scandinavian Christian sculpture appearing around 1000AD.
- Despite the traditional conversion date in the 10th century, there are indications of Christianity infiltrating the Western Isles, before that time. Place names suggest a measure of coexistence between Viking conquerors and Christian hermits, such as Hermit's Isle/ Pabbay or Papa
- Viking conversion would have encompassed a period of ideological overlap, we see contemporary Christian and pagan practices in places such as Orkney, evidenced in burial practices such as at Colonsay
- Christianity is a taught religion, pagan beliefs appear to be naturally acquired whereas Christianity is a 'religion of the book', it must be formally taught by specialists – in this context, authoritative enforcement of Christianity would be expected amongst the Vikings
- Given that the Hebrides were settled by Vikings at a comparatively early date and Iona survived initial Viking onslaught, it is likely to have disseminated Christianity among the Scandinavian colonists
- Missionaries would head straight to the Vikings' political centres, as they understood that political power was combined with control over the religious sphere, aiming at an initial Christianisation of the leading elites
- Viking conversion was owed much to the fact that not every Norse immigrant had a wife and that local Pictish girls became wives to the incomers, or nurses to their children, and that Christianity would stem from these wives and mothers

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
J Barrett	*Christian and Pagan Practice during the Conversion of Viking Age Orkney and Shetland* in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD300-1300* - suggests conversion was promoted by political factions, using the faith to express identity
A Redgate	*Religion, Politics and Society in Britain 800-1066* - suggests that Christian kings in Scotland took an interest in Viking conversion, by sharing saint's cults
L Abrahams	*Conversion and the Church in the Hebrides in the Viking Age* - stresses a distinction between conversion and 'Christianisation', arguing that conversion is redolent of specific events whilst Christianisation ensued from long-term assimilation
A Ritchie	*Viking Scotland* - emphasises the strength of the influence of that hand that rocked the cradle in the Norse absorption of Christianity

SECTION 2 – Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249-1334

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 9	**"King John failed as he lacked sufficient strength of character to stand up to Edward I."** **How valid is this view of King John's reign?**
Aim of the question	The candidate is required to make a balanced judgement about whether or not King John was a failure because of his own inability to defy Edward I. Candidates may examine other factors which could have contributed to the view that John was a failure as King of Scots.

Evidence that King John failed as he lacked sufficient personal strength to stand up to Edward I

John's inability to defy Edward
- Edward forced John to pay fealty once and homage for his kingdom twice, including homage and fealty each within the first months of his reign.
- Edward forced John to renounce the terms of the Treaty of Birgham which might have been used to protect Scottish independence.
- Edward encouraged Scots to bring legal appeals to English courts, undermining John's authority.
- Edward billed John for the costs of the Great Cause and inheritance fees once he was crowned king.
- Edward humiliated John over the legal appeals, particularly the MacDuff case which dragged on throughout John's reign.
- Edward refused to treat John like an equal and a king in his own right, for instance forcing John to speak at court directly rather than replying through a proxy.
- John's initial attempts to stand up to Edward over the legal appeals annoyed his overlord.
- Edward insisted John, along with his magnates, should provide military service for his war against France like magnates within his English kingdom.
- Edward came north to deal with a 'contumacious vassal' in 1296.

Evidence that King John failed for other reasons

Political Community
- John was unable to unify Scottish society and restore royal authority after the 8 year absence of an adult monarch, since the death of Alexander III.
- The political community had grown accustomed to their increased role in government during the absence of a king. John needed to reassert royal authority while retaining the support of his nobles.
- The two elder Robert Bruces refused to pay homage to John as king. Robert Bruce the younger only performed his duty after a significant delay.
- While John did attempt to extend royal authority into the Western Isles, it is doubtful how successful this was.
- John was seen a mere puppet of his Comyn relations who dominated government and had the political experience John lacked.
- John conspicuously failed to administer royal justice himself, instead delegating this to others, particularly members of the Comyn family.

Military

- Despite the failure of the Scots to attend Edward's muster for war against France in 1294, their preparations to defend their own kingdom against a likely English attack were limited and ineffective.
- The Scots attempted to raid northern England both before and after events at Berwick – both were unsuccessful.
- John never personally led his army against the invading forces of Edward I in 1296.
- The Scots lost a crucial battle at Dunbar and were forced to surrender Berwick to the English.
- Many of Scotland's nobility were captured at Dunbar, depriving their resistance of key military leaders.
- The Scots could not keep his important military supporters in the field, particularly the Comyns.
- John eventually capitulated to Edward, surrendering by letter and then in person in July 1296. John was forced to blame evil counsellors for his actions, renounce the Treaty with France and give his personal submission to Edward I.
- John was stripped of his title and vestments of kingship, becoming Toom Tabard, before being imprisoned and transported to the Tower of London.

The French Treaty

- Negotiating, or allowing his political community to negotiate the Alliance with France was an act of open rebellion against his overlord.
- Edward would have to react to the Alliance between Scotland and his French enemy.
- Edward was already travelling to Scotland to deal with John's failure to attend the muster. He may have suspected that the Scots were dealing with France, which would have encouraged Edward to act.
- John, or his political community, failed to get French military aid against Edward's invasion in 1296.

John's Lack of Experience

- John was a younger son who was probably trained for the church, not politics.
- John had little experience of Scotland and Scottish politics before becoming king – he had been an English magnate who had paid homage to Edward for his lands in England.
- John had little administrative experience; he possibly acted as a royal clerk in England for Edward I.
- Edward was godfather to John's son, Edward Balliol, and their close relationship would have led many to believe that John willingly took instruction from Edward.
- John's perceived weakness led to the creation of the Council of 12 – either to replace or support John in rebelling against Edward.
- John's inability to maintain his early attempts to stand up to Edward over the legal appeals annoyed and frustrated his political community.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Michael Penman	takes the view that the source of John's problem lay in the fact that he remained a regular magnate until middle age rather than being born and bred to kingship.
Michael Brown	takes the view that John's situation was different from previous kings – he was king through judgement of court rather than unquestioned right. He was both a vassal and a factional king.
Caroline Bingham	emphasises the fact that Robert Bruce would also have struggled to reassert Scottish independence against the interference of Edward I if he had been selected in 1292 rather than John Balliol.
Fiona Watson	takes the view that John's kingship was indistinguishable from his predecessors, but was overshadowed from the very beginning of his reign by English influence and interference.

Question 10   **To what extent did the origins of Scottish resistance in 1297 lie in the failings of Edward I's administration in Scotland?**

Aim of the question   The candidate is required make a balanced judgement about whether the Scots began their resistance in 1297 due to the failings of Edward I's administration in Scotland. Candidates may look at the impact of Edward's choice of lieutenants, taxation policy and/or other factors that may have caused the Scottish rebellions.

Evidence that the origins of Scottish resistance lie in the failings of Edward I's administration

Edward's lieutenants in Scotland
- The Earl of Warenne did not spend much time in Scotland, claiming the climate was bad for his health.
- Warenne offered the job of his lieutenant to Sir Brian FitzAlan of Bedale. He turned it down at least in part because the income provided was insufficient to maintain the men and equipment necessary to control the increasingly unsettled situation in Scotland.
- Hugh de Cressingham was an unpopular figure at the head of the administration in Scotland.
- Cressingham was used to the highly developed administrative in England – he found the Scottish system backward and amateurish.
- Cressingham instructed his officials to make a profit out of the English occupation of Scotland.
- Despite receiving examples of writs from the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, the new administration ignored Scottish procedures and replaced them with English practice.
- Many of the Englishmen brought in to run Scotland did not understand the local customs or dialect.
- The new regime lacked an effective judicial system due to the preference for English rather than Scottish practices.
- All three Scottish justices were Englishmen who likely had little or no knowledge of Scots law or legal system.
- Scottish sherriffdoms were increased to 30 with most new appointees being English.
- The new English administration increased the use of castles as power centres, to match the system used in England and France.

Taxation
- The Scots were unused to regular taxation – their kings were expected to live within their means, except for extraordinary expenses like war.
- The English rate of taxation imposed upon the Scots was very high.
- In 1297, demands for taxation increased along with demands for military service due to Edward's preparations for war against France. These included the compulsory seizure and sale of wool.
- The Scots expected good government in return for their taxation – a royal court, the provision of justice etc. However, the royal court was in London and Englishmen who did not understand Scots law administered justice

Evidence that the origins of Scottish resistance lie in other reasons

Edwards actions regarding the Scottish kingship
- King John was stripped of his kingship and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He was not replaced as king – instead Edward decided to rule Scotland himself directly from Westminster, London.
- Edward took the symbols of Scottish independence to London, including the Stone of Destiny, the Crown jewels, holy relics, the royal sceptre and Scottish royal records.
- Some Scottish nobles were imprisoned and others were exiled after the battle at Dunbar. They were forced to accept Edward's direct overlordship or remain in prison/exile.
- Edward insisted that the Scots provide written acceptance of his position as overlord in the Ragman's Roll, rather than rely on verbal promises of support.
- Edward replaced the existing chamberlain (treasurer in England), chancellor and justices in order to establish his own regime in Scotland.
- A new seal was created in 1296 to symbolise the end of John's kingship, directly highlighting the change in relationship with England.

Scottish political community
- Scottish nobles were unhappy at their exclusion from positions of power in their government.
- In the Western Isles, rebellions began when Edward's administration gave power to the MacDonald clan, alienating their local rivals the MacDougalls who had previously controlled the area.
- The Scots were able to set up and operate their own alternative administration which could aid rebellions.
- The Scottish Church remained almost unaffected by the English administration as most of the existing bishops and clergy retained their positions. They were determined to undermine English political control as it was in their interests to restore political independence and thus ensure ecclesiastical independence. As such, they encouraged rebellion from the pulpit.

Initial Rebellions
- When rebellions began, such as the MacRuaries invading Skye and Lewis in late April 1297, the English administration proved ineffective at quashing the uprisings.
- The focus of initial rebellions involving Wallace and Murray were all against the intensive English administration: the sheriff of Lanark, justiciar Ormesby, the burgess of Inverness and the castles in the north.
- The magnates' rebellions were caused not by anger over the English administration but by concerns that Edward I would expect Scottish magnates to provide military service for his war in France alongside his English lords. They insisted on a clause exempting them from such military duty in their peace settlement at Irvine.
- Edward either did not or would not believe that the Scots posed a significant enough threat to postpone his plans to travel abroad or deal with the Scottish rebellions personally.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Fiona Watson	takes the view that the failure of the English regime was due to the ineffectiveness of their administration in Scotland
GWS Barrow	takes the view that the occupying regime was too superficial and no more than a handful of leading Scots had resigned themselves to English occupation and overlordship
Michael Prestwich	takes the view that the high-handed policies of the English provoked rebellion and the end of the English administration in Scotland
Michael Penman	takes the view that the Scottish church provided a vital contribution to Scottish rebellion, quickening and coalescing activities against the English

Question 11   **To what extent was Robert Bruce's victory in the Scottish Civil War (1306-1309) due to the weakness of his opponents?**

Aim of the question   Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate the view that Robert Bruce's victory in the Scottish civil war was due to the weakness of his opponents. In so doing they might also consider the lack of unity among his opponents, the impact of the death of Edward I and the relative lack of interest of Edward II.

Evidence which suggests that Robert Bruce's victory in the Scottish civil war was due to the weakness of his opponents

Weakness of Bruce's Scottish opponents
- The Scots were weakened by the loss of a determined and established leader, John Comyn who was lord of the strategically vital lands in Lochaber and Badenoch.
- Bruce's opponents were spread across the country, allowing Bruce to attack them one at a time, eg the Comyn heartlands were in the north east, while the McDougall's were in the west.
- Bruce was able to move much more quickly between his opponents' lands to prevent them joining forces against him.
- Bruce's opponents were insecure about their followers and whether they could rely upon their neighbours to oppose Bruce.
- When Bruce destroyed castles, he deprived his enemies of important focal points of resistance.
- Robert's opponents did not stay loyal to their cause – as the king was successful, many decided to submit and support the new king, rather than continue to oppose.
- Robert was able to negotiate truces with some of his opponents such as a William earl of Ross.

Weakness of English control over Scotland
- Bruce was defeated at Methven and Dalry in 1306. He lost most of his soldiers and support across 1306 and spent the winter in the Isles. However, the English failed to follow up these victories.
- Edward I died in 1307, depriving the English of their strong leader and the driving force behind their occupation of Scotland.
- Edward II was much less committed to holding Scotland than his father had been.
- Edward II only campaigned briefly in Scotland following the death of his father before he quickly returned to England.
- English forces in Scotland, eg Valence, were outwitted by Bruce tactically and defeated in battle, loosening English control in Scotland.
- Valence was replaced with John of Brittany who was less interested in helping the Scots fight against Robert Bruce.

Evidence which suggests that Robert Bruce's victory in the Scottish civil war was due to other reasons

Bruce's military tactics
- Robert abandoned the conventions which his training as a knight had taught him and avoided pitched battles after his early defeats in 1306 – instead opting for guerrilla tactics.
- Bruce is often recognised as a military genius, adapting his tactics and methods before each campaign in order to utilise the setting and any weaknesses of his opponents to ensure victory.
- Robert used the landscape to his advantage, eg at Glen Trool.
- Robert attacked his enemies before they had the chance to fully organise themselves, eg Inverurie.
- Robert used his lieutenants eg Edward Bruce, James Douglas and, from 1309, Thomas Randolph to expand his control in areas while he fought elsewhere, eg James Douglas and Edward Bruce in the south-west.
- Robert captured and raised Scottish castles as he did not have sufficient men to hold them himself, then his enemies could not recapture and reoccupy them.
- Robert destroyed entire areas of Scotland to ensure that his enemies could not use them against him, eg herschip of Buchan (1308), Galloway (1309).

Support from the Church
- Duns Scotus may have legitimised the Bruce kingship.
- The Cambuskenneth Bond between Bruce and Bishop Lamberton in 1304 provided a good basis of support for Bruce from the church.
- Bishop Wishart of Glasgow gave Bruce absolution for his involvement in the murder of John Comyn.
- The Bishop of Glasgow provided assistance for Bruce's military campaigns.
- The Bishop of Moray preached support for Bruce from the pulpit, likening it to a crusade.
- The Bishop of Ross offered Bruce troops to help his cause if he came north to fight against the Comyn heartlands.

Support from the Scots
- Bruce's victories across 1307 and 1308 encouraged more Scots to join him or support a Bruce kingship.
- Bruce was able to exploit his Gaelic background as Earl of Carrick.
- Between September 1306 and January 1307, Robert Bruce and his brothers secured promises of men and ships from the Western Isles and Ulster.
- Bruce propaganda suggested he gained cult status, for instance rising from his sick bed to fight at Inverurie, which made the Scots feel he was too difficult to oppose.
- Former enemies made peace with Bruce out of fear of the consequences of rebellion and abandonment by the English, eg Earl of Ross.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
GWS Barrow	takes the view that the death of Edward I was vital as he had been crucial to limiting Bruce's rebellion in 1306 and dealing harshly with Bruce's supporters before his death in 1307
Michael Penman	takes the view that Bruce owed his victory to his own physical courage and inspiring tactics in combination with English weaknesses
Katie Stevenson	emphasises the importance of the death of Edward I in slackening the pressure from England to allow Bruce to focus on his Scottish opponents
Peter Traquair	takes the view that the ability of Bruce to use his victories to gain increasing support from the Scottish people was the most vital element in his eventual victory

Question 12   "The stubbornness of Edward II was the most important obstacle to lasting peace between Scotland and England between 1314 and 1322." How valid is this view?

Aim of the question   Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate the extent to which the stubbornness of Edward II helps to explain Robert the Bruce's failure to satisfactorily end the war against England. Candidates may balance this with other factors which help to explain Bruce's failure.

Evidence which helps to explain how far the stubbornness of Edward II led to Robert the Bruce's failure to end the war against England

Edward II's stubbornness
- Despite the loss at Bannockburn, Edward II refused to acknowledge the loss of English control in Scotland, or recognise Robert as King of Scots.
- A proposed peace in 1315 led to nothing more than the exchange of prisoners after Bannockburn.
- A short truce in 1316 merely allowed both sides time to prepare for the resumption of war.
- Pope John XXII tried to impose a two-year truce after his election in 1316 but faced opposition from both sides.
- English attempts to gain a peace in 1318 merely allowed Bruce to successfully besiege Berwick.
- Bruce kept refusing truces with England in 1317/18 as his priority was to retake Berwick. He could not accept a truce until this had been achieved.
- Papal attempts at truces were ignored by the Scots as papal letters failed to address Robert as king.
- The two-year truce signed in December 1319 embarrassed Edward but relieved the pressure on the English King as he could not maintain the war effort. Despite his weakened position, Edward still refused to allow Bruce anything more than a short truce.
- 1323 Bishopthorpe truce was to last for 13 years, even if that went beyond the lifespan of either monarch. It also organised the defence of the borders and protected shipping, vital for the Scots who needed economic assistance. However, it prevented the Scots building on their military ascendancy, or taking advantage of Edward II's mistakes.
- In 1323, Edward II said that he was willing to make a truce with "the people of Scotland" – he consistently refused to acknowledge Bruce as the leader, let alone King, of Scots.
- The War Party in England, led by Henry Beaumont (one of the Disinherited), were opposed to any truce or peace settlement with England. Beaumont fell out with Edward II in 1232 over the Bishopthorpe truce.

Evidence which suggests that other factors were more important obstacles to lasting peace between Scotland and England

Ireland
- Bruce set up a second front in Ireland to increase pressure on the English, draining their resources and cutting off their supply line.
- Bruce spread his own resources too thinly by attempting to fight in Ireland at the same time as raiding northern England.
- Ireland was an unwelcome distraction – both Robert and Randolph spent some time away from his kingdom fighting in Ireland, rather than focussing on attacking England directly.
- Bruce's sole surviving brother and heir, Edward, died in Ireland in 1318, forcing Robert to create a new tailzie for his infant grandson.
- The death of Robert's sole surviving brother increased insecurity in Scotland as it exposed the fragility of the Bruce dynasty, leaving only an infant as Robert's heir.
- Scottish efforts in Ireland had little effect on England.

Bannockburn
- Bruce's forces won at Bannockburn but failed to capture Edward II – his ransom would have brought an immediate end to the warfare and forced the English to negotiate surrender.
- Although this was a decisive victory for Bruce's domestic circumstances, in terms of the war against England, Bannockburn was merely one battle in an ongoing war and did little to influence the eventual outcome – English overlordship in Scotland was already nominal by 1314 and a peace treaty remained 14 years away.
- After Bannockburn, the war became a stalemate – Edward II would not give up his claim over Scotland, but could not hope to win it militarily. At the same time, the Scots were not strong enough to threaten English power centres.

Tactics against the English within Scotland
- Raising castles to eliminate their use by the English for garrisons, resources or local control did little to pressurise the English government to create a lasting peace.
- The English had lost control of Scottish castles in the past but had been able to regain them – this alone would not have led to a victory.

Raiding Northern England
- Raiding northern England brought Bruce money and resources, but had been going on since 1312; it was not sufficient to defeat the English.
- Attempts to pressurise Edward II through his actions in the north of England, such as the draft peace settlement of 1323 with the Earl of Carlisle, led to Edward II taking action in England, not to an overall victory for Robert.
- The Scots were too far from Edward's political and economic centres to be able to seriously threaten the English king.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Michael Penman	takes the view that the Scots were simply too far away from the English King's heartlands to form a serious threat to Edward II
GWS Barrow	emphasises the fact that throughout all of the negotiations across the 1320s, Edward II refused to concede points on the suzerainty of Scotland
Peter Traquair	takes the view that the most important reason for Bruce's failure was the fact that his battles, however decisive, did not bring him outright victory
Colm McNamee	emphasises the ingenuity and variety of Robert's tactics in the war, but acknowledges that he was unable to attack the English administration more directly – ravishing the north simply led to their abandonment of the area

Question 13   **How valid is the view that the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was fatally flawed in its attempts to ensure a lasting peace between Scotland and England by 1334?**

Aim of the question   Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate whether the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was fatally flawed in its attempts to ensure a lasting peace between Scotland and England. Candidates may examine different factors which suggest that the treaty was likely to fail and/or factors that imply that the treaty had a reasonable chance at success.

Evidence which suggests that the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was flawed in its attempts to ensure a lasting peace between Scotland and England

Terms of the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton
- Negotiations for the treaty progressed swiftly despite the complexity of the issues, ensuring that the subsequent resolutions were not entrenched in the politics of either side.
- The Scots failed to collect (and destroy) all English documents referring to the right of English kings to overlordship over their country to prevent their use in the future.
- The treaty did not include any provisions for the return to Scotland of the symbols of their independent kingship that had been removed by Edward I, such as the Stone of Destiny.
- Robert Bruce had insisted that the issue of the Disinherited was not negotiated as part of the treaty.

Unpopularity of settlement with Edward III
- The treaty came about due to regime change in England when Edward II was deposed – it did not reflect a shift in attitude within England regarding their claim to Scotland.
- Edward III had been made to renounce all English claims to overlordship over Scotland before the treaty was signed.
- Edward III was humiliated by the terms of the treaty, refusing to attend the wedding of his sister Joan to David Bruce to highlight his displeasure.
- In September 1330 Edward III overthrew the regime of Isabella and Mortimer, executing the latter and retiring his mother. He could then set about reversing the treaty if given the opportunity.
- The English referred to the treaty as the "shameful peace", highlighting their support for Edward III's plans to revoke it.
- The English parliament did not want the resumption of war against Scotland. Edward III had to overrule them.
- The English only acted to revoke the terms of the treaty after the third (and final) instalment of the £20,000 was paid by the Scots.

Edward Balliol and the Disinherited
- The Disinherited wanted their lands and titles in Scotland returned and would support anyone who would help them achieve their goal. These Anglo-Scottish nobles had been disinherited by Robert Bruce.
- Henry Beaumont emerged as the ringleader of the Disinherited.
- In 1331, Beaumont visited Edward Balliol in France and won his cooperation for a campaign in Scotland.
- Many in Scotland still saw the Bruce dynasty as usurpers and instead supported Edward Balliol, son of the late King John.
- Edward Balliol had been supported by the English since 1314 and was in England during periods of the 1320s, ready to lead a revolt in Scotland.

- Initially Edward III was only prepared to offer tacit support Edward Balliol, but after 1332 he provided open support with English troops and finances to ensure Balliol successfully invaded Scotland.
- In 1332, Edward Balliol was crowned King of Scots at Scone.
- Edward III helped Edward Balliol defeat the Scots at Halidon Hill, near Berwick, in July 1333.

Deaths of key Scottish figures
- Securing Scottish independence had relied heavily on the personality and skills of Robert Bruce. His death in 1329 was a huge blow.
- David Bruce was only 5 when his father died, ensuring the Scots faced a lengthy minority at a crucial time.
- The nobles Bruce had nominated to become the Guardians during the minority of his heir were his friends and supporters; they were all elderly and did not long survive.
- Bruce's circle died in quick succession: Lamberton (1328), Douglas (1330), Bernard Abbot of Arbroath (1331), Randolph (1332).
- By 1333 there was a large power vacuum in the Bruce party.
- The delay in crowning David suggests that there may have been significant doubts amongst the Scots as to whether they should fulfil their oath to the late king to support his son as their new king.
- The early years of David's minority were so unsettled that he and his wife Joan had to be sent to France for safety.
- The Treaty of Corbeil linked Scotland to international disputes through their alliance with France. This was detrimental to the Scottish position already weakened from conflicts with England, yet did not provide them with any real benefits of French support for their cause.

Evidence which suggests that the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton was not flawed in its attempts to ensure a lasting peace between Scotland and England

Strength of Bruce party in Scotland
- Some Scots remained united behind the idea of an independent kingdom and the Bruce succession remained their best hope for this.
- Immediately after Robert Bruce's death, the Scots received documents where the Pope granted Scottish kings the right to be anointed, elevating them to parity of status with English kings.
- Robert had prepared thoroughly for the prospect of a minority for his heir, including nominating Guardians.
- By successfully sending David and Joan to France, the Bruce party ensured their leader was able to return later to rally their cause.
- Should anything have happened to David Bruce, his nephew Robert Stewart had already been recognised as his heir and would have been able to continue the fight for independence.
- Randolph was able to maintain regular parliaments and council meetings across this period, such as the parliament at Perth in March 1330 and the council at Kinross in December 1330.
- David II was anointed and crowned at Scone on 24 November 1331.

The Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton and the resultant settlement
- The treaty's terms possibly planned to solve the problem of the Disinherited, as negotiated by Queen Isabella at the wedding of Joan and David. Percy, Wake and Beaumont were allegedly promised their lands back in Scotland and compensatory lands in England which would have removed them as a threat to lasting peace.
- The treaty established that English kings could no longer claim overlordship over Scotland, stating that all English documents supporting this right had to be presented to the Scots for their destruction.
- For every Disinherited lord there was a Bruce supporter who refused to give up the lands Robert Bruce had granted them in reward for their loyalty, especially Thomas Randolph.

Weakness of the Balliol/English position in Scotland
- In 1332, Edward III was unwilling or unable to offer open support for Edward Balliol's campaign in Scotland, undermining the threat both men posed to the Scots.
- Although Edward Balliol defeated the Scottish army at Dupplin Moor in 1332, the Scots were able to drive him out of the country by the end of the year.
- If Balliol had succeeded in conquering Scotland then he would have immediately faced a war against France, likely without significant English support, which the Scots would not have wanted or supported.
- Edward Balliol was seen by many Scots as a mere puppet of the English king, returning them to English overlordship and a loss of independence, which reduced his support.
- After the victory at Halidon Hill, Edward Balliol was restored to the Scottish throne, after which he gave homage to Edward III as his overlord and ceded Lothian to him.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Katie Stevenson	takes the view that the loss of Robert Bruce was a blow to domestic and international affairs for Scotland, as was their failure to negotiate the return of symbols of Scottish independent kingship as part of the 1328 treaty
Amanda Beam	takes the view that the existence of Edward Balliol and the Disinherited remained a huge problem at the end of Robert Bruce's reign, but they lacked consistent support from Edward III of England
Michael Penman	takes the view that the Bruce party faced a significant power vacuum early in the 1330s which limited the ability of the Scots to maintain and defend the 1328 settlement
Caroline Bingham	takes the view that the treaty and Scottish society was dominated and held together by Robert Bruce's strength of will, without which the Scottish cause floundered

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 14   How fully does Source A explain the approach taken by Edward I to increase his influence over Scotland between 1286 and 1292?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
the Treaty of Birgham … might have formed the basis of a closer union between the two kingdoms	The Treaty of Birgham-Northampton could have provided the basis for a practical, workable union between Scotland and England.
but even before the Maid's death it appears that Edward I had set his mind against a voluntary, gradual progress towards union and was contemplating following his own personal interests.	Edward I was already thinking about following his own agenda to control Scotland, possibly through force, even before the Maid died.
Only six months after her death he was fully committed to imposing his authority upon the Scots through more forceful means	Very quickly after the Maid's death, Edward was determined to gain control over Scotland, using forceful means if necessary.
The opportunity of a renewal of the reasonable friendship which had existed between England and Scotland in the days of King Alexander was decisively thrown away	Edward made a conscious choice to follow a different strategy regarding his relationship with the Scots

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Edward I was prepared to include safeguards for the independence of the Scottish kingdom in the Treaty of Birgham, such as the provision of justice to remain in Scotland under a representative appointed by the monarch, rather than expecting Scots to travel to England to receive royal justice.
- Edward I seized the Isle of Man from the Scots in 1290, before the Maid died.
- Edward brought a retinue with him to Norham to meet with the Scottish representatives at the start of the Great Cause. He also threatened to raise a crusading army, but use it against the Scots instead of the Saracens.
- Edward sought recognition of his overlordship from the Scottish Guardians and then the candidates to the Scottish throne. Once granted in the Award of Norham, he was happy to judge claimants for the throne of Scotland (in the Great Cause).

Points of recall which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- In the Treaty of Salisbury (1289), Edward worked hard to ensure that the Maid of Norway would be sent to England so that he could control her future and assert his influence over the Scots once he had physical possession of the Maid.
- Edward I sought papal dispensation to marry the Maid of Norway to his son, Edward Caernarvon, without seeking the approval of the Scottish Guardians for his actions.
- Edward insisted on being consulted in the future marriage plans of the Maid of Norway (in the Treaty of Salisbury), possibly to ensure his control over the Scots.
- Edward appointed Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham as his representative in Scotland for the young monarchs despite the fact that the Maid was still in Norway and had not yet married Edward's son.
- Edward told the Guardians that they had to follow Bek's instructions in governing Scotland.
- Edward insisted on judging the Great Cause, hearing even the most improbable claims to the Scottish throne, rather than adjudicating between Bruce and Balliol as the Scots had requested.

- Edward insisted that the Scottish Guardians resigned their positions and were re-appointed by him during the Great Cause, ensuring that they would be answerable to his authority.
- Edward was prepared to delay the Great Cause to allow the Count of Florence to return to the continent to look for documentation – prolonging his direct control over Scotland.
- Delays during the Great Cause ensured the Scots became used to living under English control.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Marc Morris	takes the view that the English king's intentions were far from friendly and that he aimed to reduce the Scots to his rule as he had subjected the Welsh
Michael Penman	takes the view that Edward I expertly exploited his relationship with the divided Scots to manipulate the Great Cause for his own ends and fatally compromise Scottish royal authority before John was even elected king
Michael Prestwich	takes the view that Edward was trying to control the country from the outset
Fiona Watson	takes the view that Edward's actions, such as seizing the Isle of Man while promising to uphold the integrity of the Scottish kingdom, highlights his willingness to subordinate the Scots to his will

Question 15 **Evaluate the usefulness of Source B as evidence of the effectiveness of William Wallace's leadership.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Walter of Guisborough	An English account written in Guisborough Priory, east of Middlesbrough. Although the priory was founded/ patronised by the Bruce family, Walter was often highly critical of the Scots. His account was compiled from documents collected during events in the wars. Large sections are likely based on the eyewitness accounts of Sir Marmaduke de Tweng and his son, John – veterans of the wars – who lived near the priory.
Purpose	Chronicle	A chronicle was a narrative history, written by religious men in monastic houses, to document the times and events they lived in. Often these reflected the views of their patrons or their geographic position within the country.
Timing	c.1305	A near-contemporary account, possibly written continuously across the period or in 1305. As such, it was contemporary to the creation of the 1305 Ordinance of Scotland and the plans made by Robert Bruce to usurp the throne of Scotland.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The Scots invaded and raided Northumberland.	Wallace led the Scots, raiding northern England.
they came to Carlisle … demanding in the name of Wallace that the city surrender. The citizens challenged him to 'conquer' it and made preparations which scared the Scots off.	Wallace unsuccessfully led his men in the attempt to conquer Carlisle.
The Scots came to Hexham Priory. They threatened the canons, demanding the priory's treasures but Wallace rescued them. Wallace went out to take off his arms and armour. The Scots round the altar then stole all the alter furnishings including the chalice.	Wallace's men threatened the canons of Hexham Priory and although Wallace saved the canons, he was unable to prevent his men from robbing the priory.
Wallace … saw what happened and ordered the sacrilegious men to be sought out and beheaded. But they were not found but rather searched for half-heartedly.	Wallace tried to discipline his men, but was unable to determine the culprits, let alone administer punishments.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source

- Wallace's tactic of raiding northern England was successful at gaining vital supplies for their war effort, as well as increasing the pressure on the English king.
- Wallace did not have sufficient strength to besiege a city, lacking the large weaponry or sufficient men required to do so.
- Wallace held his position as Guardian due to his ability to lead his army. However, his low status created problems amongst the nobility, for instance he was unable to keep the knights on the field at Falkirk.
- Wallace was able to muster his army before Falkirk and enforce the obligation to serve in the common army, suggesting that he had some authority over Scottish troops.

Points of recall which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- Building on Andrew Murray's tactic of removing the English systematically from Scotland, Wallace gradually regained the castles of Scotland, except Berwick and Roxburgh.
- Wallace's scorched earth tactic was nearly successful; the English army in 1298 almost turned around to retreat until they heard that the Scots were at Falkirk.
- Wallace was knighted by the Scottish political community and made sole Guardian following the death of Andrew Murray.
- Wallace governed in the name of King John Balliol, giving his decisions greater authority.
- Wallace tried to resurrect the war-damaged Scottish economy, writing to Lubeck and Hamburg to re-establish trade routes with the continent.
- Wallace maintained normal government, including appointing William Lamberton to the vacant see of St Andrews.
- Wallace issued writs and charters in the name of King John to continue government, such as the protection of churches.
- Wallace went on embassies to France and the Papacy, looking for aid and assistance for the Scottish cause against the English.
- Wallace's tactics at Falkirk in 1298 were weak; eg his schiltrons were static, the choice of position and battlefield poor. It has been suggested that it was the tactics of Murray which led the Scots to success at Stirling Bridge, and without his assistance Wallace and the Scots lost at Falkirk.
- Wallace fled the battle of Falkirk after Edward I's forces had destroyed much of the Scottish army.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
GWS Barrow	takes the view that the actions of Wallace were all to liberate the kingdom on behalf of the existing king, John Balliol
Fiona Watson	emphasises the fact that Wallace's Guardianship focussed around the desire to remove the English from Scotland and keep them out
Michael Penman	takes the view that Wallace supported the legitimate authority of the Crown in Scotland, issuing charters and letters in the name of the king and maintaining diplomatic ties against Edward I
Michael Brown	takes the view that Wallace was an effective Guardian, from appointing Lamberton to the Bishopric of St Andrews to enforcing the obligation to serve in the common army

Question 16 How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the means by which King Robert governed Scotland?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Bruce held a parliament at Scone which issued a number of laws for the order and defence of the kingdom	Bruce's 1318 parliament at Scone created new laws regarding the defence of royal authority.
the Bruce regime had rebuilt and expanded an able royal bureaucracy	Robert had to re-establish and consolidate the levels of royal government which had existed under previous Scottish kings.
the production of a second parliamentary act of succession which recognized the two-year-old Robert Stewart as heir to Scotland	Bruce sought recognition of his 2 year old grandson as his heir, should he fail to produce a son. This provided security for the royal government
Robert also felt it necessary to issue reactionary laws against the spreading of sedition and rumour against the king and his government	Bruce had to prevent the spread of rumours against his regime and the legitimacy of Robert as king. This prevented his subjects undermining Robert's government.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Bruce made clear what equipment men should have to go to war and how an army should be maintained as they pass through areas of the kingdom.
- Parliaments had become an increasingly regular element of Scottish politics since the reign of Alexander III. Bruce sought to resurrect this after the absence of a monarch since 1296.
- In 1318, Robert's last surviving brother Edward died in Ireland, forcing the second tailzie to establish a new succession of another male once Robert died.
- Many viewed Bruce as a murdering usurper who had replaced the lawful Balliol succession. As such, his reign was plagued by threats to his position as king.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
We know that Bruce used parliament very successfully/evidence of king and community working in tandem together	Bruce used parliament to get sections of his political community to declare public support for him.
important reforming legislation which placed Robert … as one of the founding fathers of Scots law	Bruce set out to reform Scots law through his parliamentary legislation.
There were successful forfeitures and an act of disinheritance which caused a fundamental resettlement of Scottish landholding after Bannockburn.	Bruce disinherited those who did not support him after Bannockburn, redistributing the confiscated land to his supporters.
the granting of a perpetual tax in the final years of the reign places Bruce in a unique late-medieval position – that of a successful tax-raiser with direct funding for life.	Bruce managed to get an annual tax to pay for his regime for the remainder of his life.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source

- In 1309, the Declaration of the Clergy was issued to the papacy from Robert's first parliament at St Andrews, declaring support from the church for Bruce as King of and independent Scotland.
- Robert passed a substantial body of laws, covering a wide range of issues including maintaining the rights and liberties of the church, that no one should interfere with a tracking dog, and rules covering fishing.
- Bruce had given his opponents a year to make peace with him before the Battle of Bannockburn, which enabled Bruce to create 'the Disinherited' at his Cambuskenneth Parliament in 1314.
- Royal finances had been decreasing across Robert's reign, making such a grant vital for the king to maintain his government and military campaigns pursuing Scottish independence.

Points of recall which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:

- In 1320, the Declaration of Arbroath was sent to the Papacy on behalf of the Scottish political community to express their support for Bruce as their king.
- Bruce used parliament to quash threatened rebellions and dispense justice, such as in the Black Parliament (1320) against members of the Soules Conspiracy.
- Bruce used two other parliaments to change the royal succession, first in 1315 to bypass his daughter Marjorie for his brother, Edward, and again in 1326 to set up the succession of his son David and prepare for a potential minority.
- Bruce sought to ensure his justice was dispensed across the country, including creating a new sheriffdom in Argyll.
- Bruce remained willing to welcome former opponents into his peace throughout his reign.
- Bruce petitioned the papacy to gain the right of unction and coronation of Scottish kings, securing the status of Scotland as an independent country on par with the status of other monarchs like England.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Michael Brown	takes the view that the success which Robert had in consolidating royal authority was largely down to his own abilities and was therefore unlikely to outlive him
Colm McNamee	takes the view that Robert was in a very strong position domestically by the 1320s
Katie Stevenson	takes the view that Robert transformed his Scottish nobility through the creation of the Disinherited and redistribution of land to his supporters in order to further his control over the kingdom
Alexander Grant	takes the view that Robert used international ties to increase his authority, from diplomacy with France and Norway to economic links with Flanders and north Germany

SECTION 3 – Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and early 16th Centuries

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 17	**"There was intense competition between the Florentine guilds."** **How important was competition between the guilds in promoting the arts in Florence in the early 15th century?**
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to show their understanding of the competition between the Florentine guilds and the role this competition played in the extraordinary artistic outpouring of the early 15th century. The candidate should focus on the importance of the guilds as patrons seeking to promote their own prestige as a factor. However, candidates should balance consideration of the guilds with other relevant factors which might include the wealth of Cosimo de' Medici and the genius of artists such as Donatello, Ghiberti, Brunelleschi and Masaccio.

Evidence suggesting the importance of competition between guilds
- The competition to design new doors for the Baptistry in 1401 was conducted by the Calimala, the wool cloth finishing guild. The guild enjoyed special responsibility for the embellishment of the baptistry of Florence cathedral.
- The rivalry between the guilds and their prestige lay behind the commission from the Arte della Calimala to Lorenzo Ghiberti for a statue of John the Baptist in the guilds niche on the outside wall of Orsanmichele. In 1425 the Arte della Lana commissioned Lorenzo Ghiberti to sculpt a figure of St Stephen for their niche. Similarly, Donatello was commissioned to produce figures of St Mark for the linen drapers guild and a statue of St George for the armourers' guild. Vasari describes the rivalry behind these commissions.
- the dome of the Duomo in Florence by Filippo Brunelleschi resulted from a commission in 1418 from the Arte della Lana, which had a special responsibility for the city's cathedral.
- The Arte della Setta was responsible for the Ospedale degli Innocenti, for which Brunelleschi was the architect.
- Some of the early Medici patronage may in fact have been sponsored by the Arte del Cambio, the Bankers' Guild.

Evidence suggesting that other factors helped promote the arts

The wealth of the Medici family as bankers
- Cosimo's donation to the monastery of San Marco seems to have been prompted by guilt over the sin of usury and the hope of buying remission of sins.
- Cosimo clearly enjoyed fine art. Donatello's "David" initially stood in the courtyard of the new Medici Palace where he could enjoy it.

Artistic genius
- The new generation of artists in Florence in the early fifteenth century seem to have been particularly talented. Masaccio expressed raw human emotion in a way that had not been seen since Giotto in the Brancacci Chapel. Brunelleschi's dome is a work of huge ambition and technical brilliance. Spanning the transept of the Duomo had defied earlier architects. Donatello produced the first life-size nude since antiquity and revived the Roman tradition of the equestrian statue.
- Ghiberti's was commissioned to produce a second pair of doors for another entrance to the Baptistery. Not only was he freed from having to compete for this task, but - in his own words - he was "permitted to execute it in whatever way I believed would result in the greatest

perfection".

- The discovery of the rules of perspective brought a new realism to Renaissance art. Brunelleschi's experiment showed his understanding. Alberti's "On Painting" defined the rules and Masaccio employed the devise to stunning effect in "The Trinity" in Santa Maria Novella.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Giorgio Vasari	believed that the artistic brilliance and innovation stemmed from competition between the artists themselves as well as between the guilds. They constantly sought to outdo one another and learned from each others' work.
Richard Stemp	takes the view that change came to the cities because they were governed by communes who lived in the city and took a pride in it, unlike absentee feudal lords. However, he also sees the changes in the first half of the fifteenth century as coming about because the wealthiest families - notably the Medici - had reasserted control of the politics of Florence and betrayed the spirit of rule by the popolo.
Michael Levey	believes that the early years of the fifteenth century were difficult, embattled years of warfare, and of severe political and financial stress for the Florentine republic. Some degree of civic patriotic magnificence and outward display had its value for morale and was a factor in the commissioning of public acts of artistic patronage.
Gene Brucker	writes that by the middle of the 15th century public subsidy of culture was declining, and the role of the private patron, and of culture exclusively for private needs, now assumed greater importance than before. He charts this trend in the Medicean patronage of the arts.

Question 18   **To what extent did religious influence in art decline in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Italy?**

Aim of the question   The aim of the question is for the candidates to show their understanding of the debate surrounding the extent to which religious art was replaced by or supplemented with secular art. Candidates should see some evidence of change from 1400 to 1530, but may argue that it was less a case of religious art being replaced as new secular subjects becoming permissible in art.

Evidence suggesting a decline in fifteenth and early sixteenth century religious art
- As the fifteenth century developed artists began to tackle additional themes. Portraiture developed, with medals and paintings showing individuals with remarkable realism. Though religious figures such as bishops or cardinals were painted, so too were women and high profile men, for example Federigo da Montefeltro and his wife. The sitter initially was usually shown in profile, as was the case with ancient coins. However, by mid-century the three-quarter position became more popular, for example Domenico Ghirlandaio's Old man with a child.
- Some apparently religious paintings were thinly disguised propaganda for key families. Benozzo Gozzoli's "Journey of the Magi" in the Medici Chapel is only superficially about the three wise men. It is really a presentation of the power and wealth of the Medici family and their friends.
- Ancient myths became a regular subject for Italian Renaissance art by the late fifteenth century. The Metamorphoses of Ovid became highly influential with its tales of transformations. Botticelli's Birth of Venus and Primavera took at least part of their inspiration form this source. The Villa Farnesina in Rome, then the home of the banker Agostino Chigi, features frescoes by Raphael of the Triumph of Galatea, and of Cupid and Psyche.
- By the sixteenth century nudity became more common in Italian art became increasingly common and left less to the imagination, for example Raphael's Venus of Urbino.
- Venetian art developed a new interest in architectural accuracy, with huge canvases by artists such as Carpaccio showing key moments in the history of the city or in the day-to-day life of the city. Religious ceremonies sometimes were going on in these paintings, but the real focus was on the beauty of the city and of its inhabitants.

Evidence suggesting that the influence in art had not declined
- In 1400 religion was unquestionably the most common subject of art. This could be major commissions in Florentine churches and monasteries or pictures of religious figures for private worship.
- There was a backlash against pagan art in Florence during the years when Savonarola held sway (1494-97). Famously, Botticelli placed some of his pagan work on the "bonfire of the vanities" and increased his religious output instead.
- The High Renaissance saw a burgeoning of art, both secular and divine. The quantity of art produced increased, notably in Rome, so we would be ill-advised to think in terms of a real decline in religious art.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Kenneth R. Bartlett	says that under Savonarola Botticelli and a large number of other Florentines exchanged the humanist principles and values of Laurentian Florence for the apocalyptic vision of the preacher. Leonardo Bruni's tomb in Santa Croce is purely classical and alludes to ancient sarcophagi. The frame uses a purely classical vocabulary.
A Richard Turner	writes that the effect on art of the profound turmoil in Florence following the death of Lorenzo is hard to gauge, but questions were raised about the relations of art and religion.
Geraldine A Johnson	writes that Renaissance artists sought to imitate nature and evoke the classical age. Competing with the prestige of antiquity and the reality of the natural world became a touchstone for some of the most self-consciously innovative art of the Renaissance.

Question 19   **To what extent can the distinctiveness of the art and architecture of Venice during the Italian Renaissance be explained by the unique setting of the city?**

Aim of the question   The aim of the question is for the candidate to demonstrate their awareness of the distinctive nature of Venetian art during the Renaissance and to evaluate the relative importance of the city's setting as a factor in the distinctiveness.

Evidence suggesting the importance of Venice's unique setting
- Despite being a man-made, urban environment, or perhaps because of this, a taste developed for pastoral settings in the art. Even traditional religious themes were recast in pastoral terms by Venetian artists. The safety and security of the city from attack allowed a rich artistic tradition to develop.
- A vast trading empire.
- Trading with Muslims.
- Venetians admired Islamic culture and sought out Ottoman goods.
- For example, the chromatic richness of the work of Giovanni Bellini.
- The effect of light on water. While frescos were the medium of choice for Florentine and Roman painters, Venetian artists quickly learned that frescos soon fell apart in the humid climate of the lagoon. For this reason, Venetian painters pioneered and established the practice of painting in oil on canvas.
- A rejection of symmetry in city planning and in art came from the irregular shape of the islands and the piece-meal founding of new islands. The facade of San Marco's is unapologetically asymmetrical. Its greatest contrast can be seen in Alberti's church facades of the later quattrocento: S. Andrea and S. Sebastiano in Mantua.

Mythical and Byzantine heritage
- The basilica of San Marco was modelled on the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. It had been built to house the relics of St Mark (taken from Alexandria in 828AD).
- San Marco's became a display case for spoils as well as a reliquary for spiritual treasures from the east.
- Unlike most of the great cities of Italy, the foundations of the city did not date from the classical period. Venetians claimed that the city had been founded by a band of noble Trojans after the fall of Troy. Thus the city could claim to be older and therefore superior to Rome.

A focus on public ceremony
- Many Venetian paintings are bustling with activity, crowded, almost chaotic, rich in circumstantial detail.
- Venice was a republic and although power was vested in the hands of a small elite group, all citizens expected to participate or at least to witness the major ceremonial events of the state. These might include the "promissione" of the new Doge as well as major religious celebrations. This is reflected in the art.
- The Scala dei Giganti, the great ceremonial staircase in the courtyard of the Doge's Palace, was designed as a monumental plinth for the Doge during the coronation ceremony. It framed and displayed him in spectacles of state.
- Social stratification in Venice had a significant impact on the patronage of art. Consensus was highly prized and personal ostentation discouraged, particularly within the patriciate and amongst the cittadini, so as to avoid envy and unbrotherly competition.

- While many painters in Florence emphasised the majesty, emotions and graceful gestures of a handful of figures in scenes of classical serenity, Venetian painters, in contrast, often employed an eyewitness style, packing in as many details as possible into a scene, generating panoramic, busy images, and emphasising the cosmopolitan dynamism of the city.
- Venetian art was employed in the service of political power, not so much in dynastic portraits of important individuals as in allegorical depictions used to exalt the Venetian state.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Patricia Fortini Brown	refers to the art of public life in Venice and argues that spectacles displayed and reinforced the social and political hierarchy, and provided a means for cohesion through participation in a group activity that transcended distinctions of caste, class and condition.
Deborah Howard	has demonstrated how a variety of Venetian architectural details, including the roof-top terraces and stone screens that adorn Venetian palaces, echo and emulate Eastern forms and designs.
John Ruskin	wrote in the nineteenth century that, the Venetians deserve a special note as the only European people who appear to have sympathized to the full with the great instinct of the Eastern race.
Elizabeth Horodowich	shows how Venetians were not nearly as fascinated by Ancient Greek and Roman art and literature as were their Florentine counterparts. One of the characteristics of the Renaissance in Venice was that classicism came comparatively late.

Question 20	How valid is the view that war had a far-reaching impact on the Italian city states during the period 1400-1530?
Aim of the question	The aim of the question is to enable candidates to demonstrate their awareness of the debate over the impact of war on Italian city states. The focus may be on the economic, social, psychological or cultural impact of war.

Evidence supporting the view that there was a far-reaching impact
- This was especially the case from 1400 to 1454, and from 1494 onwards.
- There were important encounters despite the Peace of Lodi. Florence and Milan fought Venice, Naples and the papacy.
- There were local wars, for example the papacy and Naples against Lorenzo Il Magnifico following the partial failure of the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478.
- The size of armies increased during the period. This was in part because of the improved methods of fortification, both in town walls and in the field. Armies increased from 3000-5000 in 1300 to 15,000-20,000 in 1420.
- The high cost of full-paid professional soldiers led to increased use of cheaper rural subjects, both on an unpaid standby basis for local defence and on a token-paid basis for service with a field force.
- The invasion of Italy by King Charles VIII in 1494 was a disaster for the Italian states. Venice sat on the fence; Florence, mindful of its commercial interests, put up no resistance. Piero dei' Medici was punished by the Florentine citizens by his removal from power, opening the doors to Savonarola.
- In 1509 Venice paid for the services of 30,000 men.
- The discussion of military affairs involved discussion of the experience of antiquity. The prevalence of war increased the apparent relevance of classical texts such as Livy.
- The sack of Rome in 1527 had a checking effect on local cultural development which lasted for a decade.

Evidence supporting the view that there was not a far-reaching impact
- The Peace of Lodi of 1454 led to a binding mutual non-aggression pact for twenty-five years between the five major Italian powers, Venice, Milan, Florence, Naples and the papacy.
- The dependence on mercenaries enabled artists to get on with their work. Improved fortifications meant the devastation was in the main restricted to the countryside.
- The impact of the French invasion in 1494 was exaggerated by Guicciardini. He overstates the peace of Italy before the invasion in order to make the invasion seems more dramatic and decisive.
- Though Rome suffered in 1527, Venice and Florence both gained. They became alternative places of refuge for popular artists, writers or musicians.
- Battles were fought in the countryside and peasants were the chief sufferers from the campaigns.
- Sieges of great cities were few, and save for the case of Naples in 1527-28 and Florence 1529-30 short.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
JR Hale	says that war was endemic in Italy but the Peace of Lodi guidelines secured an unprecedented degree of peaceful co-existence in the peninsula until the beginning of the Wars of Italy in 1494.
Robert Hole	sees the significance of the invasion of Charles VIII in the damage it did to Italian self-confidence and self-belief.
Gene Brucker	claims that Florence's loss of Pisa came about because of the invasion of Charles VIII. It was a grave threat to the Florentine economy, which slumped as a consequence. He argues that the impact was also psychological. The Florentines did not recover their self-confidence. "Never again did they see themselves as masters of their own destiny."
Michael Mallett	claims that the wars of the first half of the fifteenth century consumed and destroyed economic resources on a significant scale. He adds though that they were far from continuous wars; they affected different parts of Italy spasmodically; they contributed to moving wealth around as much as destroying it; they were themselves indicative of the extent of economic resources available to the Italian states, and above all they served to strengthen the internal administrations which managed them and to create a sense of internal unity and even patriotism in the populations which participated in them.

Question 21   **To what extent do the popes of the High Renaissance deserve a reputation for worldliness?**

Aim of the question   The aim of the question is enable candidates to showing their knowledge and understanding of the issue of whether the popes of the High Renaissance exhibit more of the characteristics of Renaissance princes or whether they were primarily focused on promoting the church. Candidates will need to define what the terms princes and churchmen mean in this context.

Evidence supporting the view that they deserve a reputation for worldliness
- Princes were concerned with worldly wealth and dynastic advancement. This would be true of some Renaissance popes. Alexander VI 1492-1503 was notoriously unconcerned about the salvation of his soul. He advanced his own family in a ruthless a manner, including his own children. His daughter Lucrezia was used to advance the family fortunes in unhappy dynastic marriages.
- A piece of the papal states was carved off by Alexander to create a Borgia state for his son Cesare to rule as Duke of Romagna.
- Alexander scandalized contemporaries with his affair with the 20-year old Guilia Farnese after he had been elected pope.
- Princes were concerned with presenting a magnificent appearance. The building of a new basilica of St Peter's in Rome could be taken as a princely action. It involved new stratagems to draw money from either side, including the issuing of indulgences.
- These seemed distinctly unworthy of a churchman to Martin Luther.
- Many princes were mercenaries and their power was based on their military leadership. Julius II 1503-13 became interested in armies, even sending them against other Christian opponents. Julius demonstrated his warrior's prowess in re-establishing control over the Papal States.
- The commission he awarded to Michelangelo to build the pope's tomb in St Peter's seems like a vain, worldly and princely action, rather than one driven by religious zeal.

Evidence supporting the view that they do not deserve a reputation for worldliness
- Churchmen might be assumed to be principally concerned to promote the power of the church.
- The term implies religious conviction. It could be argued that the papacy during the High Renaissance needed to focus on worldly matters to rebuild its wealth and stand up to the Italian princes who had erodes the lands of St Peter.
- A worldly approach was therefore the best way of securing religious ends.
- The papacy had been in exile in Avignon until 1377 and had suffered schisms thereafter. To give it religious credibility, the popes of the High Renaissance needed to focus on worldly concerns, much like princes.
- Pope Adrian V (died 1523) does not fit into the mould of self-seeking popes. The Dutchman was of humble origins and was better known for his austerity and rectitude. His however was a brief pontificate.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Lauro Martines	sees Alexander VI as "a prince and a dynast, a superb diplomat, a manipulator of men, and a handsome charmer". He describes Alexander as corrupt in the unconcealed practices of simony and nepotism, no less than in sexual laxity, careerism".
J.H. Plumb	supports Martines' interpretation that popes of the High Renaissance had little choice but to become worldly princes. He sees an interdependence of the political and religious roles played by the papacy.
Michael Mallett	sees the need for cardinals to recognize the increasingly secular nature of the papacy itself, and also of the seriousness of the political situation of the time. They elected Alexander VI, a man more noted for his political acumen than for his saintliness.
Christine Shaw	says of Julius II that he lacked the spiritual qualities needed in a pope. She describes Julius as a plain-spoken, short-tempered, vigorous, impetuous, big-hearted man of action.

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 22 **How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the influence of Cosimo il Vecchio on the governing of Florence?**

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Senate bestowed the title of Father of His Country	Cosimo was highly respected by his peers
A most honourable man who lived not only for himself, but for the good of his country and his God	Cosimo showed great concern for the city of Florence
Great and exalted	Cosimo's reputation was higher than others
He was acute in reasoning as he was prudent and strong in governing	Cosimo was talented at philosophy

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Cosimo built power through inter-marriage with powerful families in order to gain key allies. His own marriage to Contessina linked the Medici to the Bardi family.
- Cosimo had dominated the councils of government through the force of his own personality and his willingness to open his coffers when the state was short of cash.
- After his death he was given the title "Pater Patriae", implying a paternalist rather than self-seeking control of the city. He rigged the taxation system to favour medici supporters.
- Cosimo employed Marsilio Ficino. He may have established under Ficino a Platonic Academy at Villa Careggi, where a community of scholars lived together. Cosimo paid Ficino to prepare a full and definitive translation into Latin of Plato's works. He founded a library at San Marco and bought many manuscripts of ancient works for it. He maintained agents abroad to search for manuscripts to fill his libraries. He also acted as patron of Argyropoulis.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
He thus became the founder of a dynasty that, covertly in the fifteenth century, directed the fortunes of Florence	Cosimo used family ties in exercising his power.
This Cosimo inherited from his banker father Giovanni	Cosimo established the family's power through his wealth
As a politician he had a vision that looked beyond Florentine Tuscany	Cosimo had an international vision
Cosimo also had respect for, and indeed dependence on, the qualities of pure intellect possessed by others	Cosimo was a shrewd patron

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source

- Often he used subtle influence rather than direct pressure. Despite being the leading citizen for thirty years, Cosimo only took office as head of state three times, for a total of six months.
- He built the imposing Medici Villa in Via Larga as a power base.
- Pope Pius II regarded Cosimo as the arbiter of peace and war, the regulator of law, not so much a citizen as master of Florence. Political councils were held at his house. The magistrates he nominated were elected. "He was prince in all but name and state."
- John Najemy says that the Medici were responsible for 63% of the total loaned to the Florentine state. Cosimo's wealth allowed him to build up a patronage network - he helped people directly with their debts, dowries and business dealings, helped in court cases and in mediation.
- Of 1200 letters written to Cosimo 70% were requests for favours.
- Cosimo controlled Florentine foreign policy. He encouraged and supported Francesco Sforza's takeover of the Duchy of Milan, despite the concerns of many Florentines.
- Cosimo enjoyed close ties with popes Eugenius IV, Nicholas V and Pius II.
- Cosimo helped to stage and finance the Council of Florence (1439), Pope Eugenius' attempt to reunite the Roman Church with the Greek Orthodox Church.
- He was also concerned about the sin of usury and was generous to the church as expiation for this.
- In Paolo Uccello's "Battle of San Romano", commissioned by Cosimo, the subject is the victory of Florence over Siena. This is patronage as propaganda.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:

- The source does not refer to Cosimo's manipulation of the constitution: the use of emergency balie and the Council of 100.
- Cosimo controlled the *accopiatori*, the committee which determined eligibility for office. In this way Cosimo could govern the republic behind the scenes. The traditional rotation of magistracies would continue to operate.
- Cosimo used his wealth to patronise the art and building, making Florence an increasingly beautiful city. He paid in part for the rebuilding of San Lorenzo and for Brunelleschi's dome.
- The transition to power of Cosimo's son Piero suggests that Cosimo's control was considerable and broadly accepted.
- Cosimo's rise to power had been fraught with difficulties and dangers. He had led a faction opposed to the oligrachy of patrician Rinaldo degli Albizzi (1370-1442). An unsuccessful was with Lucca (1429-33) had cost enormous amounts of money and had produced only humiliation. Fearing the growing popularity of Cosimo, the Albizzi oligarchy spread rumours that the Medici were in fact working with Florence's enemies. In 1433 they manipulated the signoria to exile Cosimo from Florence. However, during this exile the economy continued to worsen, provoking a popular reaction against the Albizzi. Albizzi and his fellow oligarchs were themselves exiled and Cosimo returned in triumph.
- Other leaders saw Cosimo as in effect prince of Florence. Pope Pius II for example urged Cosimo raise a force for his crusade and was unimpressed by Cosimo's claim to be just an ordinary citizen.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Dale Kent	describes Cosimo's rule as the most complete triumph of unofficial government in the private interest over constitutional government in the public interest. She also acknowledges the inclusive nature of the Medici oligarchy: "a single party embraced the state".
Anthony Molho	claims power belonged to Cosimo because he has created a political machine which made it possible to reward those who cooperated with him.
John Najemy	says Cosimo's patronage and influence were unprecedented in their scope. His connections abroad, and especially in Rome, made him seem more like a prince than a republican citizen.
John Hale	describes Medici control of Florence as a "quiet revolution". "In spite of the lip service still paid to the ideal of wide representation, the current had long been set in the direction of taut oligarchic control.

Question 23 How fully does Source C explain the interests of fifteenth-century Italian humanists?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Humanists were concerned with the study of classical Roman and Greek culture	Humanists were committed to studying the surviving works of classical Rome and Greece.
They had a particular interest in the humanities and the study of society	They were especially interested in what classical writers had written about history, literature and the nature of society
They taught public men the art of rhetoric	Humanists taught public speaking
They studied ancient urban history and identified civilisation with urbanism	They were particularly interested in the development of civic society and believed that the urban way of life represented the most civilised way in which men could live

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Humanists believed that an education that was grounded in the classics was an excellent preparation for contemporary politics and statesmanship. The ancient texts became a treasure trove of examples from history of fine men and great deeds.
- From Petrarch onwards, humanists focused on Latin and Greek texts, seeking to restore the purity of the original classical works by editing them, and removing medieval errors from transcriptions.
- Humanists derived their name from the *studia humanitatis* which included rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy, as well as Latin and Greek.
- Poggio Bracciolini spent much time searching for 'lost' manuscripts in the monasteries of Switzerland and Germany. Among his finds were previously unknown letters from Cicero to his friends.
- Ficino translated the works of Plato, and Plotinus into Latin, inspiring a new interest in Platonic ideas (Neo Platonism).

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- The arrival of the Greek Chrysoloras in Florence in 1397 to teach Greek stimulated interest in the work of Greek authors, including Plato. This affected the Renaissance because it caused debate over man's place in the universe, the immortality of the soul and the importance of virtue in improving men. This was at the root of neo-Platonism
- Coluccio Salutati, chancellor of Florence and himself a humanist, emphasised the virtues of the Florentine republic against the background of the struggle with Milan.
- Leonardo Bruni wrote a History of the People of Florence, often regarded as the first modern history, and the Panegyric to the City of Florence, in which he extolled republican virtues and the active participation of leading citizens in government. This was the beginnings of civic humanism.
- Alberti was influenced by the surviving works of antiquity which he had seen in Rome, and he praised the (reported) verisimilitude of classical paintings. He was also an admirer of the classical architect, Vitruvius, whose treatise helped form Alberti's ideas about architecture. He wrote 'A Man may do all things if he will'. This confidence in man, his nature and potential was a vital part of humanist belief, traceable to ancient Greek or Roman texts.
- Alberti also wrote about family life and the role of women in household management.
- Pico della Mirandolla's interest in Plato led him to write On the Dignity of Man, which emphasised man's perfectibility.
- Many humanists visited Rome and were fascinated by the archaeology
- Vittorino da Feltre was pre-eminent in humanist education. At the request of the Marquis of Mantua, he established a humanist school where humanist values were taught. It became known as the La Casa Gioiosa, "The House of Joy".

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
George Holmes	describes the humanist revolution in fifteenth century Florence as 'an intense enthusiasm for the ancient world and everything connected with it. The Florentine intelligentsia was capitivated by the dream of recreating the classical world as a superior civilisation'
John Jeffrey Martin	claims that humanism was not restricted to the study of classical texts but spilled over into (among other things) the study of art, archaeology, numismatics, chronology, engineering, medicine, philosophy and theology. As such, the interests of humanists would be hugely influential throughout the early modern period.
John Hale	famously wrote that "unless the word "humanism" retains the smell of the scholar's lamp it will mislead".
Hans Baron	argued that humanism was the product of the need in early fifteenth century Florence to inspire citizens to take up arms against the growing threat from the Duchy of Milan. A new kind of classicism was forged whose aim was to nurture and celebrate the traditions of Florentine republicanism inherited from the communal age. This is known as civic humanism.

Question 24 **Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the priorities of the Italian princes in their princely courts.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Federico da Montefeltro	• A leading Italian prince who built a magnificent palace in Urbino. • Federico prided himself on being a soldier-scholar and built up a fine library. • Other princes sought the advice of Federigo on painters and architects. Urbino became a training ground for many great artists.
Purpose	A letter of invitation	To persuade through flattery to accept the commission. This was unusual as normally artists were subject to patrons' whim.
Timing	Written in 1468	At the point of his career where he has made his money as a condottiere and is establishing himself as a renaissance prince

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
We judge worthy of honour and praise those men who are endowed with certain skills…..	Princes respected the ancient past
Architecture furthermore requires great knowledge and intellect and we appreciate and esteem it most highly.	Architects were held in high esteem in the princely courts
to make in our city of Urbino a beautiful residence worthy of the rank of our ancestors and our own stature	The stature of the prince and his ancestors was very important
to obey Master Luciano in all things and perform whatever they are ordered to do by him, as though by our own person.	To demonstrate the nature of the princely power

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
• Federigo showed great interest in the ancient past. He is said to have listened to ancient texts at mealtimes. His ducal palace was designed to reflect the classical orders of architecture, notably in its inner courtyard.
• Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote that "Though he had his architects about him, he always first realized the design and then explained the proportions and all else; indeed to hear him discourse on it, it would seem his chief talent lay in this art; so well he knew how to expound and carry out its principles".
• Alberti was a frequent visitor to Urbino. A richly-bound copy of his treatise (The Ten Books

on Architecture 1450) on architecture was in Federico's personal library.
- Baldassare Castiglione wrote that Federico, "at great cost, collected a large collection of the finest and rarest books, in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, all of which he adorned with gold and silver, believing that they were the crowning glory of his great palace". He had built up what was probably the finest library in Europe.
- 500 people lived in Federico's court. A fine building to express his magnificence.
- Piero della Francesca worked for Federico. His (or school of) Ideal City was housed in the Ducal Palace. There is little adornment beyond the classical inscriptions and the crisply carved Corinthian capitals.
- Federico was also a great patron of the churches of Urbino: he started the building of a new cathedral, a new facade for S. Domenico, a new convent of Sta Chiara, restored the church of San Donato and ordered the church of San Bernardino to be erected next to it. Religious observance took an important place among his preoccupations.
- Vespasiano da Bisticci wrote in his Poem to The Life of Federico da Montefeltro, "No other united as he did, in his own person, the soldier and the man of letters, or knew how to make intellect augment the force of battalions".
- Federico had his studiolo adorned with portraits of illustrious men. He had pictures in the studiolo of the four fathers of the church - Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory - as well as the Greek philosophers Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy and Boethius. Also the Greek geographer Ptolemy, and the lawgivers Cicero and Seneca, Moses and Solomon.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- Federico was not alone amongst the princes of Italy to pay for the construction of magnificent palaces. The Gonzaga in Mantua, the Este in Ferrara, the Sforza in Milan also made this a high priority.
- Many of the Italian princes were also condottiere. Federico famously collected 80,000 ducats as a retainer. Their private army was for hire throughout Italy.
- Whilst it is true that the princely courts looked to Florence for leadership in cultural matters (Leonardo coming to Milan from Florence), it is also the case that artists who began their careers in the courts went on to work in Florence or Rome. Raphael Sanzio would fit into this category or Piero della Francesca in Arezzo.
- Building up the stature of the family was a princely priority, not least since some princes had risen by nefarious means. Federico paid for portraits to project his magnificence and to show his son Guidobaldo at his side.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
June Osborne	writes that Federico embodied the virtues of the active and contemplative life which were the very stuff of the Renaissance.
Robert Hole	describes the ideal prince and his courtiers as talented men who combined the qualities of a soldier and a scholar. In reality, he argues, there were few such men. Federico da Montefeltro is always cited as an example because there are so few others who fit the bill. He is not typical but exceptional. Renaissance Man as soldier and scholar was an ideal which existed chiefly in the minds of writers and thinkers.
Richard Mackenny	describes Federico as "the illegitimate mercenary commander and possible fratricide for power (who) was the equal of Cosimo de' Medici as a patron of the arts and learning".
Alison Cole	writes that "the ideal of courtly recreation in all its diverse forms – intellectual, physical, theatrical, musical – lies at the very heart of Este patronage in the Duchy of Ferrara".

SECTION 4 – Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707-1815

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 25	**How important was the geographical position of Glasgow in explaining the rise of the Scottish tobacco trade during the eighteenth century?**
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the relative importance of causal factors which resulted in the rise of the Scottish tobacco trade. Candidates should analyse the methods of the tobacco lords both legal and illegal, the impact of the Treaty of Union and the geographic position of Glasgow in relation to America and European markets. Candidates should reach a balanced conclusion.

Evidence suggesting the geographical location of Glasgow was important
- Historians such as Whatley have argued that the position of Glasgow was advantageous to harness the prevailing trade winds enabling shorter, cheaper voyages in comparison to British and European rivals.
- Lowered freight costs created more competitive prices on a product which had arrived several days more quickly from the American colonies.
- A key period of expansion, 1739-40, during the War of Jenkin's Ear, was beneficial for Glasgow as the passage around the north of Ireland was significantly safer than more southern routes.
- Devine cautions against overstatement of Glasgow's geographical advantage given 90% of all tobacco was re-exported east to European markets

Evidence suggesting other factors were important

Tobacco Lord's Business Practices

Pre-Union Fraudulent Methods
- Illicit practices pre-dated the Union, smuggling and fraud was endemic from the very beginnings of the industry giving Glasgow a competitive advantage over English ports such as London and Whitehaven.
- This illegal competitive advantage enabled Glasgow firms to accumulate capital quicker than their rivals, thus allowing investment in infrastructure, diversification and innovation.

Post-Union Business Practice

- Efficient, legal business methods reduced costs through innovations in purchasing, marketing and shipping.
- Lobbying of burgh politics by the city's Merchant House ensured favourable local policy making resulting in the dredging of the Clyde and the improvement of harbouring facilities.
- Advances in naval architecture enabled vessels to navigate the shallow coastal waters of Chesapeake combined with an increased familiarity of trade routes by captains to reduce voyage time and freight cost.
- The store system allowed lower purchase prices and faster turnaround times, while increased ownership rather than chartering of ships reduced costs further.
- 1762 – First dry dock opened in Glasgow, enabling ships to be careened, resulting in quicker, cheaper repair and ultimately more ships being sea worthy at any one time.
- Improved port facilities allowed merchants to abandon satellite ports of Greenock and Port Glasgow by the 1750s as over 200 wharves and jetties were able to support ocean-going ships.
- Effective consolidation of relationships with Scots-American emigrants who were often pivotal figures in the plantation economies of Virginia and Maryland.

Factor 2: Impact of the Treaty of Union

- The Union provided a semi-legal framework for the illicit Glasgow tobacco trade to expand, creating an unofficial toleration zone for Glasgow merchants, as increasing levels of smuggling were ignored.
- Estimated that in the twenty years following the Treaty of Union Glaswegian companies paid duty on only a half to two thirds of their colonial imports.
- Thus, the Union allowed for a Hanoverian covert acquiescence, enabling Glasgow companies to send large quantities of tobacco to England duty free.
- The Union gave Glaswegian companies free access to colonial markets previously monopolised by the English.
- A gradual tightening of enforcement by British customs officials following protests from rival ports resulted in new legislation (1723 and 1751) and the reform of the customs authority resulted in a decline in fraudulent practice.
- Scottish ships now sailed under the protection of the Royal Navy's cruisers and 'strong convoys'.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
RH Campbell	notes the lag in the growth of the industry following the Treaty of Union, "legality helped...but alone it was not enough, and its benefits were certainly not immediate".
TM Devine	argues that while the Union was important in providing a context where growth of the tobacco trade was possible and smuggling played a role, it was business methods which were pivotal – "The Union did not cause growth in the Atlantic trades; it simply provided a context in which growth might or might not take place...the golden age of the tobacco trade was based on efficient business practice rather than clandestine smuggling".
C Whatley	acknowledges the colonial trade opportunities afforded by the Treaty of the Union, though ultimately stresses the illegal practices of the tobacco lords much of their success was based on their ability to evade on a massive scale and bend to their own advantage the customs regulations.
Price	stresses the vital role of the French market, arguing that the fortunes of the Glasgow merchants dramatically rise as the (French) United General Farms begin purchasing from them rather than English ports in 1730.

Question 26   **How far can it be argued that internal divisions were responsible for the defeat of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745-46?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse and assess the various factors which contributed to the failure of the 1745-46 Jacobite Rebellion. Candidates may consider the effectiveness of the leadership of the rebellion and its ability to overcome the factions within the Jacobite army, and the significance of internal divisions in determining the outcome of the rebellion against other contributory factors; arriving at a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest internal divisions were responsible for defeat
- Factionalism, rivalry and distrust were established traits of Jacobite politics hampering the unsuccessful campaigns of 1708, 1715 and 1719.
- At the outset of the 1745 rising clan chiefs resented the influence of the Irish who had little to lose in contrast to the chief's precarious position in the event of defeat.
- Charles Edward Stuart's selection of predominantly Irish senior officers, led by Sir Thomas Sheridan, exacerbated pre-existing tensions within the officer council. Increasing perception of an inner circle as the rebellion progressed.
- Pivotal positions given to favoured but incompetent officers with calamitous repercussions, such as O'Sullivan's inability to secure adequate provisions prior to Culloden which led to widespread desertion.
- The Prince's officer council was typically split between a majority who unquestioningly supported his decisions and a minority who frequently dissented.
- Charles's aloof manner exacerbated an increasingly factionalised officer core. Charles often refused to listen to all representations from any member of his officer council including those he was alleged to favour.
- A functioning officer council ceased to exist after Charles dissolved it following retreat from Derby. His adoption of a unilateral command led to poorly judged decisions such as the garrisoning of Carlisle. Drunk, erratic and ill-tempered; Charles's ability to lead the rebellion appeared to diminish after retreat from England.
- Ill-fated decisions, such as the selection of Culloden Moor, were made by Charles, ignoring opposition from senior officers led by Lord George Murray.
- Military successes of Prestonpans and Falkirk are generally credited to Lord George Murray, yet for nearly half the duration of the rising Charles barely spoke to him.
- Charles's assurances of French and English support which failed to materialise undermined his leadership, dividing his officers further.

Evidence which may suggest internal divisions were not responsible for defeat

Charles' leadership was better than many suggest
- Charismatic, good looking and inspirational, Charles was sufficiently influential to persuade individual clan chiefs with divergent interests to form a Highland army to rise despite obviously unlikely odds.
- Lord George Murray was not always ignored by Charles. The abortive night raid on Cumberland's camp prior to Culloden was Murray's plan, not the Prince's.
- Although at times alienated by Charles's autocratic leadership, Lord George Murray recorded on a number of occasions his unwavering support for the cause.
- Single minded and persuasive, it could be argued Charles was remarkably successful in leading a unique army which was not united by contemporary military conventions of discipline, remuneration and nation state. As such, Prestonpans, the occupation of Edinburgh and the decision to invade England can be seen as decisive outcomes achieved at least in part by a force which was remarkably united.

Response of the Hanoverian State
- Although initially incompetent the Hanoverian response became ultimately unconquerable as British troops returned from Europe.
- Tactics of the Government forces improved. Battle hardened troops, well supplied and equipped enjoyed technical and numerical superiority. Specifically, Cumberland's bayonet drill and the use of grape shot at Culloden.
- Hanoverian propaganda portrayed Charles as a popish Italian, reducing the chances of Jacobite recruitment across the lowlands and England.
- The Royal navy's blockade ensured what reluctant French aid there was became an irrelevance - French soldiers and munitions were forced to return to France after bombardment by HMS Lion. Further French assistance was negligible.

Lack of British and European Support
- Support within Scotland was uneven. Highland clans and the Episcopalian north east were split. Recruitment in the lowlands and particularly in Glasgow and the west was very limited.
- English Jacobites who actually took up arms were almost non-existent - only a few hundred men from Manchester saw active service.
- French assurances of support remained ambiguous throughout the campaign. Irrespective of whether Charles was ever promised military assistance from the continent, it never materialised, fundamentally lessening the chances of Jacobite success.
- The relevance of the impact of internal divisions upon the ultimate failure of the rebellion may become questionable when the Jacobite army never exceeded eight thousand men.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
M Pittock	critical of Charles Edward Stuart's leadership and tactics throughout. Specifically dismisses the 'fortress Scotland' policy favoured by Charles and some of his favoured senior officers as strategically inept.
Duffy	offers a revised case for the defence, whilst casting doubt on the effectiveness of Lord George Murray. Duffy states "I have to say that I found him (Prince Charles) to be an extraordinarily impressive character. The same process has...somewhat diminished the lustre of Lord George Murray".
TM Devine	maintains that the lack of support for the Jacobites was key. "Scottish backing during the rising was remarkably thin…it was this together with the virtual disappearance of support in England rather than force of arms in itself which ultimately ended the last hopes of restoration".

Question 27   **To what extent has the impact of the Improvers upon Scottish agriculture been exaggerated?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to assess the impact of the Improvers upon Scottish agriculture. The causation and regionalised nature of Scottish agricultural development is key to this question. Candidates should balance the impact of the improvers with the longer term changes which affected Scottish agriculture. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest the impact of the improvers upon Scottish agriculture   has been exaggerated

Long term Change
- Long term market forces acted as a powerful agent of change. Commercialisation of agriculture forced fundamental change as traditional practices gave way to modernised practices.
- Many innovations credited to the improvers often represented the continuation or dissemination of earlier patterns of change which pre-date the eighteenth century. Particularly the case in the more progressive areas of Lothian and Fife.
- Increased yields were already being achieved during the 17th century by liming, manuring and adapted crop rotations.
- The reduction in the number of multiple tenancies, increasing use of longer, written leases and the expansion of land under cultivation through drainage of marsh and the removal of peat all originated in the 17th century Moray Firth.
- Thus, Scottish agriculture was changing prior to the influence of the improvers primarily in response to commercialisation – eastern cereal growing areas such as Moray, North Eastern Fife and the Lothians had established export markets to Europe in addition to supplying domestic markets in England and the west of Scotland.
- Rural society, patterns of settlement and ownership of land remained relatively unchanged – the landed gentry remained pre-eminent, while the majority of the population were still employed in similar if not identical agricultural employment by 1800 as was the case a century earlier.
- Adoption of new methodologies relatively slow. Improving landowners remained in the minority until the 1770s as traditional practices remained widespread.
- Pronounced regional variations. Traditional techniques endured in large parts of rural Scotland particularly the south west and the Highlands. Large parts of western Highlands and the islands remained relatively unchanged until the gradual introduction of large scale sheep farming.

Evidence which may suggest the impact of the improvers upon Scottish agriculture   has not been exaggerated

Patterns of population growth
- The improvers were the magnates and farmers at the heart of the agricultural revolution which transformed agricultural production - Devine estimates that vegetable production doubled while animal production increased six-fold between 1750 and 1820.
- Publication of innovation through the establishment of the Honourable Society of the Improvers (1723); championed new English techniques and technologies such as sowing, drilling, crop and enclosure in addition to home grown innovation such as the use of Small's new plough.
- The impact of numerous individual improvers such as Lady Henrietta

Mordaunt's introduction of hay-making, foreign grasses and the English plough to Moray, Sir Archibald Grant's transformation of his lands at Monymusk and the drainage of marshland by the Earl of Stair.

- Some improvers such as Cockburn went bankrupt, leaving a legacy which included incomplete improvements and indebted estates.
- Physical transformation of the countryside due to tree and hedge planting, construction of new road and dykes and land reclamation.
- Destruction of traditional rural society – eviction of tenants unwilling to commit to improving leases. 'Levellers' rising in Galloway in 1724 required military intervention.
- Improving landlords practiced social selection by granting progressive tenants housing in model villages, including Grantown and Inveraray, fundamentally reconstructed rural society in some areas.
- Multiplier effect went beyond agriculture – for example Cockburn's model village of Ormiston included a brewery, distillery and bleachfield.
- The improvers reinforced regional specialisms, transforming areas towards specific types of agricultural produce. Lothian and Berwickshire became grain specialists whilst the Borders specialised in sheep farming.
- Transformation to a system of husbandry based upon capitalist landowners and landless agricultural workers by 1800.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
M Fry	argues that the actual impact of the improvers was limited until the 1780s, and moreover the sheer number of improving landlords should not be confused with the impact that they achieved. One of the ironies of that age is that although there were many improvers, there was comparatively little improvement – until economic circumstances made it profitable in the last two decades of the eighteenth century.
Buchan	champions the impact the improvers made in terms of their influence upon other landlords and the overall gains made in efficiencies and greater productivity. The greatest advance in the Scotland of the eighteenth century was in agriculture...everybody, but everybody was farming in this new style.
TM Devine	emphasises the pivotal role of the individual improvers as a collective force in the promotion of agricultural change. The landed class was at the heart of the process, not necessarily through routine personal involvement by at a more strategic level through the support they gave to their professional factors
Ross	early Improvements did little to alleviate problems of farming – serious food shortages...led to riots in towns.

Question 28	How far was popular unrest in Scotland in the 1790's the result of discontent arising from social and economic factors within Scotland?
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to consider the full range of factors linked to the causation of popular unrest across Scotland during the 1790's, including domestic factors such as high food prices, the impact of rapid agricultural change and long term political discontent in addition to the impact of the French Revolution. Candidates may also discuss the difference between movements which were reformist rather than revolutionary and the differing ways in which unrest manifested itself. Candidates should reach a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest that popular unrest across Scotland during the 1790's was the result of social and economic factors within Scotland.

- Emergence of a disenfranchised middle class responsible for much of Britain's successes in international trade, Enlightenment ideas and domestic industry created increasing frustration with the status quo in the late eighteenth century.
- Rapidly increasing food prices caused widespread hardship. 1792 Corn prices peaked at their highest level for a decade.
- The Year of the Sheep' - large scale protest in Ross-shire against the introduction of sheep ranching.

Evidence which may suggest that popular unrest across Scotland during the 1790's was the result of political factors within Scotland.

- 1782 national gathering of freeholders in Edinburgh demanded the abolition of 'faggot' votes.
- 1783 Advocates committee committed to burghal reform established in Edinburgh.
- 1783 Defeat and loss of American colonies created significant disillusionment with incompetent government.
- Richard Sheridan's parliamentary bill of burghal reform.
- Debateable link between reform societies inspired by the French Revolution and spontaneous rioting. Societies were committed to constitutionalism and on occasion assisted the authorities in restoring order. The Dundee Friends of the Constitution denounced two weeks of rioting as 'the most fatal enemy of Liberty".

Evidence which may suggest that popular unrest across Scotland during the 1790's was not the result of factors within Scotland.

- 1791 Publication of Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* popularised a scathing critique of the established political order. Inspired directly by the events of the French Revolution, Paine's text rejected land ownership as a franchise qualification, instead calling for universal suffrage and the provision of pensions and education for all. 200 000 copies were sold by 1794.
- Number of Scottish newspapers increased from eight in 1782 to twenty seven in 1790 – became increasingly politicised and openly critical of the British constitution following the French Revolution. Typical was *The Edinburgh Gazeteer*'s declaration in 1792 that "Every patriotic heart must rejoice at the brilliant success of the French in every quarter".
- June 1792 - 3 days of rioting coinciding with the King's birthday celebrations in Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen following parliamentary rejection of burgh reform bill.
- "Old Corruption", the established political order as embodied by Dundas became likened to the overthrown French monarchy.

- Establishment of Societies of the Friends for General Reform and the Scottish Association of the Friends of the People and associated burning of Dundas effigies and planting of Trees of Liberty.
- Draconian government reaction such as Muir's transportation suggests the government viewed violent and peaceful unrest as potentially revolutionary.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
C Whatley	suggests that the initial stimulus for much of the political activity was a lack of burgh reform and the corruption of political patronage rather than a direct stimulus from the French Revolution.
M Fry	notes the influence of economic and social factors which have been linked to the popular unrest of the 1790s. "Overt disaffection needed some specific spur…its appearance in Scotland coincided with bad harvests, a rising cost in living and generally tougher economic conditions." He also notes that rioting on the 4th June was an annual occurrence, rather than being unique to 1792.
TM Devine	identifies the French Revolution as a watershed, arguing that the preceding events of the 1780s were modest moves towards reform rather than radicalism. It seemed that a political movement feeding a latent middle-class discontent had effectively run out of steam. However, the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 changed everything…in 1790 the ideas of the revolution had a catalytic effect.
C Smout	confirms the importance of the French Revolution which caused Scottish society to become increasingly politicised by stating that the heightened activity of the Scottish radicals of the 1790s were inflamed by the principles of Tom Paine and the French Revolution.

Question 29   **How justified is the view that the Kirk's authority over Scottish society weakened between 1707 and 1815?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is for the candidate to analyse the nature and extent of authority that the Kirk exercised over Scottish society during the eighteenth century. An assessment of the extent of this authority may focus upon factors including religious adherence, divisions within the church and the control the Kirk had over education, justice and poor relief. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

Evidence which may suggest the Kirk's authority over Scottish society had weakened

Education
- Expansion of education was increasingly supplemented by subscription and charitable institutions outwith the Kirk's authority as the parish school system struggled to cope with a growing, urbanised population.
- Growth of burgh schools, grammars and academies. All were associated with progressive pedagogy, and in particular the teaching of a modernised curriculum increasingly disassociated with biblical tuition.
- Evolution of University teaching influenced by the teachings of Enlightenment figures such as **David Hume** and the dissemination of associated ideas considered 'unchristian' through pamphlets and newsletters.

Dissension and Secession
- Division within the Kirk - the ascendancy of the Moderate party.
- Fracturing of the Kirk by the formation of alternative denominations such as the Associate Presbytery, Associate Synod and General Associate Synod.
- Geographic limits of the Kirk's authority – North East was dominated by the Episcopalian church while remote areas of the Highlands and Islands were less easily subjected to the Kirk's authority.
- Toleration Act (1712) permitted the Episcopalian Church to hold its own services out with the authority of the Kirk.

Poor relief
- Not exclusively provided by the Kirk. Burgh councils donated foods in times of hardship whilst informal community charity tided the destitute through times of need.
- 'Civic humanism' – at times of great need landlords provided subsistence of fuel and food.
- Formal state provision not completely absent - 18th century Poor Law was funded by taxing landowners and their tenants.

Justice
- Landowners, army officers and those of no fixed address exempt from presbytery justice.
- Urbanisation and migration diluted the power of Kirk sessions.
- Increasing use of fines rather than physical punishments confirms the waning power of Kirk sessions to administer justice.
- The Kirk session was the lowest court in the land – more serious offences were referred to the civil authorities.

Evidence which may suggest the Kirk's authority over Scottish society had not weakened

Extent of dissent
- Majority of the Scottish population remained obedient - dissent was localised and sporadic.
- Remained the established church – relatively few Catholics, mostly inhabitants of the North West Highlands and Islands.
- Sabbath observance and church attendance dominated Scottish society

Kirk Discipline
- Church authority continued to be reinforced by the civil authorities.
- Those found guilty of moral indiscretions, often of a sexual nature, were harshly treated by kirk sessions which used humiliating punishments such as the stool of repentance.

Education
- The Kirk retained a powerful grip on schooling, providing community schooling through parish schools, free schooling for the poor and support for able but poor boys to enable them to progress to University.
- Presbyteries appointed school masters, the Book of Discipline remained an agreed point of reference for educational policy.
- Activities of the SSPCK which had established 176 schools in the Highlands by 1758.
- By the 1790's the Kirk's programme of establishing a school in each parish was nearly complete.

Poor Relief
- Responsibility of the minister and church elders to ensure a significant proportion of collections alleviated the suffering of the destitute, elderly and orphans.
- The Kirk funded the subsidising of food prices during periods of particularly fast price increases.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Ross	confirms the authority the Kirk retained over education, poor relief and justice however he also notes the changing role of the church in Scottish society. Increasingly, however the Kirk was becoming an observer of events and not an active participant.
C Smout	maintains that despite challenges to its authority the Kirk continued to be the most influential power in Scottish society which demanded a "deep respect and exercised a profound power".
Mackie	notes that the severe discipline of the Kirk was increasingly at odds with the views of a new generation of University philosophers and the emerging middle classes that they enjoyed considerable influence over.
D Withrington	argues that Kirk's provision of schooling in the Highlands and Islands was significantly greater than traditionally believed and that, taken together, the parish schools and activities of the SSPCK provided schooling for a significant proportion of the population.

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 30   **Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the extent of support for the 1715 Rebellion.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	The Earl of Mar	The Earl of Mar was the key to the 1715 Rebellion.
Purpose	Letter applying pressure to his vassal; a reminder of his obligations.	As an opportunistic politician who had lost favour with George I, Mar's motivation was largely self-interest. His letter was a warning to his vassal to maximise support for the rebellion.
Timing	September 1715	He organised the raising of the Jacobite standard on 9th September 1715 on his lands at the Braes of Mar in reaction to his treatment by the new king.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"the hundred men you sent to me tonight."	A small number of his own men turned up showing limited support
"All the Highland clans of Scotland are rising to fight"	The rising is unilaterally supported by the Highland clans.
"many of the lowland lords have also joined"	Significant lowland magnates have also committed their support and await Mar's Highland army
"men from my own lands are reluctant to fight"	Mar's tenants on his lands at Kildrummy are reluctant to commit themselves

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Significant Highland clans, most notably the Campbells, remained loyal to the crown during the '15.
- Support for Mar's rebellion was highly regionalised with comparatively fewer supporters being drawn from the lowlands than north of the Tay.
- Mar's tenants were at the bottom of a hierarchical martial society, and along with many others were effectively pressed into military service.
- Over 70% of Mar's 16000 strong army were clan levies, fighters compelled to support the cause by obligations of feudal military service.

Points of recall which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- The Episcopalian clans were remote from authority & easily mobilised, accounting for more than 75% of Mar's army. Though less in number, Catholic clans were similarly loyal during the '15.
- The 1715 rising was supported by great lowland families including the Earls of Panmure, Strathmore and Southesk.
- Mar's change of allegiance earned him the nickname 'Bobbing John', his motivation for his conversion to Jacobitism has been widely interpreted as personal ambition and political desperation. His rising was declared without the prior consent of James.
- Mar sought to exploit rising nationalism and discontent with the Union.
- Support for the 1715 rising was the largest of any of the Jacobite rebellions, and the only rising which featured a significant English rebellion.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Bruce Lenman	ascribes considerable importance to the role of Mar in personally mobilising support for the 1715 rebellion by using both his powers of landownership and his political influence.
Macquarrie	argues that the extent of support for the 1715 rising was fundamentally influenced by religion. "The influence of Episcopalianism took many forms, not least in delineating the Geographic boundaries of Jacobite support."
Chris Whatley	notes the impact of the Union upon support for the 1715 rising as Glasgow's tobacco based prosperity coincided with very few Jacobite supporters coming from the city.
Tom Devine	stresses the importance of traditional sources of authority and the power of opportunistic propaganda in influencing who rose and who did not. "Loyalty to the Stuarts had been originally founded on religious and dynastic principles...now the Jacobites could pose as champions of Scottish nationalism and defenders of Scottish liberty"

Question 31   **How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the impact of legislation following the 1745-1746 Rebellion?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"no man or boy...shall wear the clothes known commonly as highland dress"	Aside from government troops the Hanoverian authorities imposed a blanket ban on all forms of traditional Highland dress.
"Any person wearing these items...shall be immediately imprisoned"	Imprisonment of 6 months was a deliberately punitive punishment on a population reliant upon subsistence agriculture.
"Any person convicted of this offence for a second time will be transported"	Transportation to the Americas and indentured labour was second only to a death penalty as the harshest of sentences.
"hiding arms shall also be committing an offence against this act...will be treated as a second offence."	The disarming of the Highlanders was paramount to the Hanoverian aim of pacification, reflected in the treatment of this offence as a second offence.

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"the kingdom needed a soldier and an administrator, not a hangman. Albermarle was harsh"	The Earl of Albermarle was a severe man who harboured a personal dislike for Scotland
"the laws...were to destroy forever the clan system and the feudal power of its chiefs"	Updated, harsh legislation was designed to secure Hanoverian rule by eradicating the clan system
"legislation during and immediately after the rebellion to determine the nature of treason and the punishment it deserved"	A series of laws were passed to establish the nature of the acts of treason committed and punishments that offenders must face.
"Act to compel suspected persons... to lodge substantial bail"	An Act required the payment of bail to be set against the future conduct of suspected Jacobite sympathisers

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Clans loyal to the Hanoverian authorities were exempted from the enforcement of the Act of Proscription.
- The accompanying arbitrary destruction of farms, crops and livestock represented the confirmation of the legislation's objectives.
- 936 alleged Jacobites were sentenced to transportation. The vast majority were sent to indentured employment in the Americas.
- The act was vigorously enforced. Hanoverian troops arrested and intimidated Highlanders, often with little care to prove their Jacobite tendencies or otherwise.
- Albermarle was upholding the established position of hostile attitudes towards the region amongst the Hanoverian elite as demonstrated by the Duke of Cumberland.
- Earlier legislation, such as the Disarming Act (1716), Wade's road building and the patronage of families thought to be wavering in their support for the Jacobite cause was criticised as too lenient in the wake of the 1745 rebellion.

- 1746 Disarming Act (Act of Proscription) was both new legislation and an updating of the 1716 Act backed by significantly more punitive punishments.
- 1747 Heritable Jurisdictions (Scotland) Act removed the feudal authority the Clan Chieftains, fundamentally altering clan society.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:
- In reluctantly agreeing to succeed Cumberland Albermarle made clear his detestation of Scotland and determination to change it, describing it as a 'cursed country…nothing but fire and sword can cure their vicious ways of thinking'.
- Additional legislation specifically targeted known Jacobite sympathisers. For example, Acts of Attainder ensured suspected Jacobite chiefs and land owners forfeited their property and hereditary titles, and were thus unable to pass them on to their heirs.
- The support of the Jacobite cause by large parts of the Highlands gave rise to widespread suspicion of the region from the rest of Scotland and England which in turn gave considerable approval for the harshness of legislation which followed Culloden.
- Lowland attitudes towards the Highlanders and their clan society were generally negative throughout the eighteenth century. Often dismissed as 'the Irish', the legislation that followed the defeat of the Jacobites was supported by pro-Hanoverian lowland populace.
- 1752 Annexation Act was intended to bolster the Highland economy and alleviate endemic poverty. Whilst limited in impact, it may be interpreted as primarily remedial.
- Later government policy such as the establishment of the British Fisheries Society (1784) reflected economic as well as political objectives.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Mackillop	notes the apparent paradox in the aims of eighteenth century government policy towards the Highlands which initially sought to address military objectives and then later economic priorities, resulting in "the extreme irony of the British state first militarily persecuting then striving to retain Gaels".
MacInnes	argues that government policy which he describes as "systematic state terrorism" was ideologically motivated by a fundamental desire to destroy traditional Highland society in a policy tantamount to ethnic cleansing.
J Prebble	argues that the Dress Act was the single most effective piece of legislation the government passed in achieving its aim of pacifying the Highlands.
Speck	has argued that the authorities were motivated by the perceived ineffectiveness of legislation following the 1715 rebellion which allowed disaffection to linger in the Highlands.

Question 32   **How fully does Source D explain the impact of eighteenth century educational reforms in Scotland?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
"in the 1790's the network of parish schools in the Lowlands seems to have been virtually complete."	By the end of the eighteenth century almost every parish in the lowlands had a school.
"The Highlands and Northern lsles were not educational deserts"	The Highlands and Northern Isles had comparable provision, and were better provided for than previously thought.
"(a) school in every parish…was not suited to urban areas."	The legal requirement of a school for every parish was not possible nor practical in urban areas.
"estimate…one third of the inhabitants of Edinburgh were illiterate"	Literacy levels in Edinburgh were relatively low in comparison to some rural areas by the mid-eighteenth century.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- 1696 statue required every Scottish parish must have a school, a process virtually complete by 1760 in the rural lowlands.
- Improvements in educational provision in the Highlands and the North East were largely due to the activities of the SSPCK.
- Urban areas experienced a contrasting pattern of development to that of rural areas, benefiting from burgh school reform – by 1750 few burghs did not have either a grammar or high school.
- Educational provision was subject to pronounced regional variations. Literacy rates fluctuated significantly between rural and urban areas.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- The Old Statistical Account provides compelling evidence of the progress made in the provision of education across Scotland which confirms Scotland's population was very largely literate by the 1790s.
- The SSPCK had established 176 schools in the Highlands by 1758, achieving significant expansion in the provision of education. By 1750 an estimated eighty percent of Highland parishes had a school.
- Tendency of wealthy Highlanders to board their children at private schools appears to question the quality of local schooling.
- The establishment of private and 'adventure schools' enhanced educational provision for those that could afford it.
- Evolving curriculum – demand generated by the professions and the business classes led to fundamental changes in subjects taught and the type of teachers employed.
- Success of town academies, including Stirling and Perth with direct links to commerce led to an expansion of the academy movement acting in itself as a powerful agent of change.
- Town councils underpinned the evolution of urban grammar schools which retained Latin as the language of instruction and prioritised progression to the University.
- University expansion and reform permeated down to schools, partly as a legacy of the Reformation's attempts to create an integrated system of education.
- Inadequate teachers' salaries affected the ability of rural schools to attract qualified teachers. As a result the width and depth of subjects taught varied significantly.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
D Withrington	argues that clear progress was made during the eighteenth century in fulfilling the three priorities of state and church educational policy during the eighteenth century, namely the provision of publicly funded schooling for all, free schooling for the poor and finally the meritocratic advance of the able poor.
Clive	maintains that educational reform in the eighteenth century enabled significant social mobility, as it "enabled many a poor father's boy to go on to one of the universities as well prepared as his socially superior classmates."
Herman	considers the impact that the Schools Act (1696) had, arguing directly against the source that in fact the educational provision in the Highlands remained significantly inferior to that available in the Lowlands.
C Smout	also questions the extent of educational provision in the Highlands, stating that less than ten percent of the Highland population was enrolled in school by the early nineteenth century and that approximately half of the Highland population remained illiterate by the end of the eighteenth century.

SECTION 5 – USA: "A House Divided", 1850-1865

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 33　　　　　**"The treatment of slaves in the ante-bellum South was an absolute evil" How valid is this view?**

Aim of the question　　The aim of the essay is to enable the candidate to make an assessment of the treatment of slaves in the ante-bellum South. The candidate may wish to draw on a range of aspects of slave conditions in the ante-bellum South. The candidates may draw on the historiographical debate to assess the treatment of slaves and the nature of slave conditions in the ante-bellum south.

Arguments against Slavery and in support of the view
- Slaves could be sold, punished, sexually exploited and even killed by their owners.
- Firm discipline was the norm. Disobedient slaves were flogged or branded.
- Slaves usually worked longer hours than free Americans.
- Slave families could be broken through sale. Up to 25% of slave family units broken by forced separation.
- By 1850s, few slaves were granted freedom.
- Lack of slave revolt shows the reality of situation. Impossible to organise; slaves not allowed to meet or to own weapons.
- Extremely limited potential for successful escape, therefore serve punishment to escapees.
- Slaves hated the situation. When given the opportunity during the civil war, most chose freedom.
- Slave diet was limited and fairly monotonous
- Slave housing was basic. Sources refer to the cabins being excessively hot in summer and cold in winter.

Arguments in defence of slavery and therefore against the view
- Slaves did not work harder than most 19th century free Americans. There was little work on Sunday, half days on Saturday and regular holidays.
- Use of carrot rather than stick to motivate slaves, eg hard working slaves received additional holidays, more food and clothing.
- Floggings were rare. Few brutal owners. Most whites were constrained by Christian morality and own standards of decency.
- A paternalistic relationship existed between slave and master.
- Slaves were reasonably well fed, housed and clothed.
- Evidence of health care for slaves.
- No major slave revolt, suggested that slave conditions were not particularly bad.
- Only a few hundred slaves tried to escape each year out of a population of approx. 4 million.
- Some slaves were granted their freedom on the death of their owner

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Ulrich Phillips	an apologist for slavery, takes the view that slavery protected Blacks from American savagery. Treatment of slaves was governed by high, gentlemanly code – a form of benign authoritarianism. Slaves were content with their lot. Relationship between slave and owner was marked by "gentleness, kind-hearted friendship and mutual loyalty."
Robert Fogel & Stanley Engerman	take the view that slave accommodation and standards of living were superior to that of free Americans living in New York in 1893. Slaves were controlled with minimal force; whippings have been exaggerated: only 0.7% of hands per year.
Kenneth Stampp	takes the view that cruelty was endemic in all slave-holding communities. Fear among slaves of being sold on by their master. Slave unhappiness as shown by acts of resistance and sabotage, but not open rebellion. The typical plantation was an area of persistent conflict between master and slave.
Stanley Elkins	takes the view that slaves were dependent on the mood of an authoritarian master.

Question 34	How valid is the view that the North held the most significant advantages at the outbreak of war in 1861?
Aim of the question	The aim of the essay is to enable the candidate to make an assessment of the different strengths that each side possessed at the start of the War; these may include military, economic, geographic and other strengths. The candidate would evaluate the relative importance of these strengths and come to a conclusion on how far it is justified to argue that the North possessed the balance of the advantages.

Evidence suggesting there were many Union Strengths

Military Strengths
- Superior manpower available.
- Naval supremacy.
- The Union's 'inland navy' allowed it to establish and maintain control in the major Western rivers, thus control the West.
- Most men in the US Army remained loyal to Union, as did two thirds of officer corps.

Economic Strengths
- Greater industrial capacity.
- North had twice as much railway track with well-trained engineers to maintain the track.
- North had superior agricultural strength – no issues with feeding, clothing and arming soldiers.

Other Strengths
- Support of Border slave states.
- Steady flow of blacks escaping the Confederacy and willingly joining the Union army.

Evidence suggesting there were many Confederate Strengths

Economic Strengths
- Belief in the supremacy of King Cotton – gain practical support from Europe
- Southern belief that her men were better soldiers than the Northerners would make, for example, farmers knowledgeable about weapons would make better soldiers than Northern industrial workers.

Military Strengths
- War of Independence showed that a determined small nation could defeat a much more powerful opponent
- No need for the South to invade North and capture Washington.

Geographic Strengths
- Size of Confederacy made it difficult to blockade and conquer.
- River systems in the East blocking northern route to Richmond.
- South's interior lines of communication allowed her, in theory, to concentrate its forces against dispersed Union armies.

Evidence suggesting there were challenges facing both sides at the outbreak of war

The problems both sides faced over mobilisation and organisation.

The problem of command in both North and South.

The issue of the inexperience of both armies and commanders eg Lincoln to McDowell: "You are green, it is true; but they are green; you are all green alike".

The need to re-organise after First Bull Run (Manassas) as a way of explaining why there was little further military operations during 1861.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
James McPherson	takes the view that the North's superior numbers, whilst a necessary pre-requisite for victory, did not guarantee it.
Susan Mary Grant	takes the view that the South's strategic advantage was that it simply had to hold onto its independence and vast landmass while the North was compelled to invade to force the South back into the Union..
Michael Adams	takes the view that Northerners believed in Southern martial superiority and this crippled Northern operations in the East.
Raimondo Luraghi	takes the view that the South responded rapidly to outbreak of war in terms of recruiting men and mobilising industry.

Question 35   **To what extent was European neutrality during the Civil War due to the effectiveness of Northern diplomacy?**

Aim of the question   The aim of the essay is to enable the candidate to assess the importance of Northern diplomacy as one of several reasons why the European powers remained neutral during the Civil War. The candidates could aim to consider the attitudes in Europe towards the conflict and Confederate diplomatic failings alongside Northern diplomacy in order to assess effectively the motives behind European neutrality.

Northern diplomacy
- Trent affair and Lincoln's diplomacy.
- Actions of key US representatives in their dealings with Britain.
- Effect of the Emancipation Proclamation and the impact of the final proclamation.
- Role of Charles Francis Adams – US Minister in London.
- Direct approach of William Seward e.g. May 1861.
- Adams and Lincoln's dealings over the „Laird Rams" in summer 1863.
- Lincoln's insistence that the conflict was a domestic rebellion whilst maintaining the blockade of the South.

Union military success
- Impact of the failure of Southern military strategy in the autumn of 1862 and summer of 1863.
- Sherman's march through Georgia and the capture of Atlanta in 1864 made Lincoln's re-election likely and ended any final consideration of foreign intervention.

Popular opinion in Europe
- British public opinion was divided over the conflict.
- French leaned towards intervention on the Confederate side, but were reluctant to move without British support.
- Much resentment towards Confederate attempt at „economic blackmail."

Self-interest of the European powers:
- European calculations of self-interest e.g. Britain's defence of Canada and France's involvement in Mexico under Napoleon III.
- Fear that involvement in a war so far from home would be extremely costly eg impact of the Crimean War shaped British attitudes.
- No vital British interest appeared at stake; therefore it was unlikely that they would become involved.

Economic factors
- Cotton embargo on Europe and how this was perceived.
- Britain's fear of losing valuable markets and investments in the North eg British dependency on Northern grain.

Failure of Southern diplomacy
- Failure of Confederate representative Manson to persuade British involvement.
- Difficult to argue what more Confederate representatives could have achieved.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Emory Thomas	takes the view that the Confederacy's hopes depended on the success of its armies. But the lack of success prevented European recognition which was essential if Southern armies were to succeed. It was a vicious diplomatic circle. However, he also argues that the role of C.F. Adams in London and W.L. Drayton in Paris ensured good US relations in Europe. Emancipation introduced a moral dimension which could not be ignored.
Phillip Shaw Paludan	takes the view that Seward waved the sword in 1861 as a diplomatic threat. Trent affair scared both Britain and the North and both sought to retain dialogue in preference to war
Thomas Boaz	believes that the South only needed to withhold cotton to force British/French intervention. US blockade declaration allowed Britain to declare its neutrality and trade with both sides.
Brian Holden Reid	takes the view that the South's belief in the power of King Cotton deluded her into believing foreign intervention would come. France would not act unilaterally. She would only follow Britain's lead. Britain desired to avoid confrontation and this explains why the conflict did not spread

Question 36

To what extent did Jefferson Davis prove himself as an effective leader of the Confederacy during the course of the Civil War?

Aim of the question

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess Davis's effectiveness in his leadership of the Confederacy during the American Civil War. The candidate should consider Davis's strengths and limitations with possible reference to his character, political decision-making and military decision-making in order to reach a balanced assessment of Jefferson Davis's wartime leadership of the Confederacy.

Evidence suggesting strong and effective Leadership

Political Leadership and decision making
- Davis established the Confederacy and put a decent political team in position from nothing in 1860
- He made difficult and bold decisions eg imposing martial law on areas threatened by Union invasion or higher taxation on land, cotton and slaves
- Dedication to the Southern cause and worked hard to establish a sense of Confederate nationalism
- The Confederacy did fight for four years under his leadership

Military Leadership and decision making
- Davis had a respected military and administrative background, proving himself as a Mexican war hero and in the US Senate as War Secretary
- Davis had a realistic view of the war's length
- He was poorly advised by many Confederate generals eg Lee could have advised Davis to change the Confederate capital
- Lee held Davis in high regard
- Davis gave key military commanders freedom and trust

Evidence suggesting weak and ineffective leadership

Personality, character and communication
- Davis had poor judgement and ability to appoint effectively, both politically and militarily
- He was well known for his indecision

Political Leadership and decision making
- Davis did not clearly define and express his war aims for the Confederacy
- Davis struggled to manage competing factions within the Confederate Government
- Davis was criticised by his own war department staff for his lack of knowledge and interference. Vice President Stephens called Davis 'My poor blind and deaf dog'
- Davis struggled to control state governors which cost him and the Confederate cause dearly eg Vance and Brown
- Davis struggled to establish good working relations with many of his political colleagues. His personality seems to have made him more enemies than friends. Constant feuds in his government undermined the Confederate war effort eg during the war he appointed four Secretaries of State and six Secretaries of War
- Disastrous Confederate economy
- Davis left foreign policy to others in his government. He failed to ensure a proactive diplomatic effort, rather expecting events during the Civil War to achieve his diplomatic aims. He also relied too heavily on the importance of cotton on achieving his diplomatic aims

Military Leadership and decision making
- Beauregard and Johnston both blamed Davis for military failure
- Davis did not deal effectively with the problems facing the Confederacy which resulted from the length of the war eg morale and food shortages

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
David Potter	takes the view that if the Union and the Confederacy had exchanged presidents with one another, the Confederacy might have won its independence
James Katcher	takes the view that Davis was narrow-minded, vindictive to imagined slights, not prepared to compromise
Gary Gallagher	takes the view that Davis did do well but lacked the support of capable subordinates
Frank Vandiver	takes the view that Davis had many failings but Davis did have "nerve"

Question 37	"The military campaigns of 1864 were critical to Lincoln's victory in that year's presidential election." How valid is this view?
Aim of the question:	The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the importance of the Union military campaigns in 1864 leading to Lincoln's re-election in the Presidential election of November 1864. The candidate should assess the military campaigns as one of several factors which led to Lincoln's victory in the election of 1864.

Union military success
- Siege & capture of Atlanta by Sherman and the capture of Mobile by Farragut reduced casualties or placed Union troops closer to success
- Capture of Atlanta was a significant morale boost to Northern morale and Lincoln's campaign.
- Military success eventually reduced problems on the home front
- Grant's perseverance resulted in a change of fortunes from June 1864 threatening Petersburg and Richmond forcing Lee and the Confederates into a defensive formation
- Success of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley

However…
- Union forces enjoyed limited success in Western and Eastern Theatre at start of the year, eg, Grant's Wilderness Campaign, Sigel in Shenandoah, Sherman at Kennesaw Mountain
- Army of the Potomac had mixed degree of success in early 1864 despite superior manpower e.g. Grant's Wilderness Campaign, May / June 1864 and Cold Harbour, June 1864
- Casualty figures very high, 32 000 5-12 May 1864 – "Butcher" Grant & apparent failure of Total War tactics
- Enlistment difficulties & use of "green" black troops

The failings of the Democrat Party in 1864
- Democrats chose McClellan as their candidate but could not agree on a platform for election being divided by peace and continuation of the war.
- Democrat campaign lacked serious political challenge, resorting to calling Lincoln a 'negro lover.'
- Copperheads continued to emphasise the themes that did little to persuade voters: The financial and human costs of the war, the suspension of habeas corpus, the presence of the draft, the fact that this had become a war of emancipation. Lincoln was a tyrant who had only contempt for the Constitution

The strengths of the Republican Party in 1864
- Lincoln did have the support of the Republican Party and the Republican voters on the whole. Chase and Fremont, the challengers for nomination failed to mount any serious challenge
- Renaming the Republican Party, the National Union or Union League enhanced the potential for re-election as it presented a united front.
- Republican radicals that were opposed to Lincoln's nomination began to actively supported Lincoln's re-election following McClellan's nomination as Democrat candidate.
- As Charles Sumner put it privately, 'Lincoln's election would be a disaster, but McClellan's damnation.'
- Thaddeus Stevens played an important role in quietly persuading Carl Schurz to repair the split in the Republican Party by swinging the Fremont Radicals to Lincoln's side.
- Grant made great efforts to make it easier for soldiers to vote in the election. This proved critical to Lincoln's victory as the soldiers voted overwhelmingly in favour of Lincoln's re-election.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Reid Mitchell	takes the view that the failure to capture Atlanta would probably have led to Lincoln and pro-war party defeat
James McPherson	takes the view that Northern domestic gloom in May 1864 was changing to optimism by September 1864 as a result Union military victories
Stephen Sears	takes the view that McClellan devoted most of his campaign efforts to the army vote however, no other segment of the electorate rejected his candidacy so strongly.
Hugh Tulloch	takes the view that the Northern public were appalled and demoralised by the high casualty figures

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 38   **Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the reasons for the tensions between North and South during the period 1850 to 1854.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Nashville Convention	Delegates from the southern states met in two sessions from 3 to 12 June and 11 to 18 November 1850. The failure of the South to rally behind the Nashville rhetoric revealed how effective the Compromise of 1850 had been in defusing, or at least deferring, the nation's sectional tensions
Purpose	Resolutions on behalf of the Southern Slave states in reaction to the 1850 crisis	To continue to express concern at the perceived Northern dominance of the Federal political institutions and to their concerns at Northern attempts to attack slavery
Timing	November 1850	The 1850 compromise which was made up of five separate bills, was passed in September 1850 following almost 9 months of debate and apparent stalemate following Henry Clay's original compromise bill submitted to Congress in January 1850. Stephen Douglas had broken up Clay's Omnibus Bill to ensure that the compromise could be accepted in five separate parts

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
A change in those relations must end in conflict, and the entire ruin of one or of both races.	Changes to slavery would affect both blacks and whites for the worse which the South thinks will be disastrous
This relation of master and slave was expressly recognised and guarded in the Constitution.	Removing slavery would remove legal protections
'If the non-slaveholding states disregard this guarantee and endanger our peace and existence by united and deliberate action, we have a right to secede.	Removal of slavery gives the southern states the right to leave the union.
To abolish slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia …. which is openly avowed to be, the total overthrow of the institution.	If you abolish slavery in DC then it will go in all other states too and can cause tension

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Perceived Northern attempts to prevent slavery in the new territories following the Mexican War.
- Fear that slavery would be abolished
- The three fifths clause of the constitution and the fugitive slave law offered protections to slave holders
- Vocal defenders of slavery such as John C. Calhoun emphasised these legal protections of slavery
- Balance of free and slave state representation in Congress was changing.
- The acquisition of California and New Mexico would tip the balance in favour of the North.
- The acceptance of California as a free state
- Northerners rejected the continuation of the trade / sale of slaves in DC
- Debate over fugitive slaves and claims that the Northern states were not adhering to the law of 1793 and actively attempted to prevent Southerners recapturing slaves.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- In the first convention, they met to express their collective concerns during the crisis of 1850. Only two southern states were not represented. On November 11, delegates from the Southern states reassembled in Nashville, Tennessee, to discuss the recent congressional acts regarding slavery. Assorted speakers advocated responses that ranged from sullen acquiescence to a commercial boycott to outright secession. Resolutions bristled with Southern defiance against Northern encroachments on the region's rights, institutions, and very way of life. Yet very few Southerners paid any attention to the convention.
- Acquisition of Texas and New Mexico and the debate over their future status brought tensions between North and South
- 63 ballots in the House of Representatives to elect a speaker in 1850
- President Taylor refused to make concessions to the South in early 1850 heightening tensions
- Henry Clay, 'the Great Compromiser' emerged to find a solution as a slave holder but with a dislike for the institution. His omnibus bill was presented to Congress in January 1850
- The Bill included the acceptance of California as a free state, Utah and New Mexico admitted with no reference to slave status, slave trading to end in DC and an enhanced Fugitive Slave Law. Texas would surrender land to new Mexico in exchange for $10 million debt to be settled by congress
- 7 months of debate and failure to reach a compromise
- Epic and fierce speeches on either side from Clay, Calhoun and Daniel Webster emphasised the divide in opinion
- In June1850, 9 out of 15 slave states met to formulate a Southern response. This emphasises the divide that existed within the Southern section. Secession did not appear popular despite the disagreements.
- President Taylor's death allowed for a fresh approach to compromise from Stephen Douglas. Taylor's stubbornness had added to the tensions and difficulties.
- Douglas' bill which was eventually successful. Allowed each side to vote on the individual terms that they supported rather than the bill as a whole. This failed to address the issues directly storing up trouble for the future
- The Fugitive Slave Law caused significant problems. For example; the Anthony Burns case in Boston 1854.
- 9 Northern states passed Personal Liberty Laws to counter the Fugitive Slave Law
- *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe was published selling 300,000 copies in 1852 in the USA alone. Lincoln stated in 1863 when he met Stowe: 'So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war.'
- 1852 Presidential elections; Democrats were divided over their candidate. Franklin Pierce

was eventually chosen over Lewis Cass. The main focus of their platform was to resist 'agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made.'

- The Whigs were critically divided with Winfield Scott elected as candidate on the 53rd ballot! But they were totally divided over their platform. This would be the final Presidential election for the Whigs and hailed the demise of the two party national political system.
- The Gadsden Purchase in 1853 aroused Northern suspicion about the Pacific Railroad across the South therefore favouring southern interests
- Pierce and the filibustering expedition to seize Cuba in 1853 and the resulting Ostend Manifesto again raised tensions. Northern questions Southern motives regarding the expansion of slavery.
- 1854 – Kansas-Nebraska Act further exacerbated tensions.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
David Potter	takes the view that the 1850 Compromise was more of an 'armistice' than a compromise.
Joel Silby	takes the view that moderate politicians worked to maintain party alliances, emphasizing issues that mitigated slavery as a political question. Moderates struggled to maintain the existing party system as an instrument of conflict resolution, but they did not relinquish sectional identification. Rather, they believed that sectional disputes could be resolved in the traditional manner using the existing cross-sectional parties. The election results suggested that the system was still able to absorb volatile national issues despite the tensions in this period.
Ludwell Johnson	takes the view that the 1850 compromise inflicted fatal "internal damage" to both national political parties. Sectional alliances had consistently overwhelmed partisan allegiances, and though party unity regained strength after the Compromise, both parties inherited "a heavy burden of personal enmity and suspicion."
Avery Craven	has argued that the congressional leaders addressed limited issues during the Compromise negotiations while deliberately overlooking the "principles" at stake. In fact, the Compromise changed little: "the conditions that had produced the crisis, and the interests and ideals that lay back of contending groups, were still there. Most of them had to do with …things that men will not compromise." Competing republican ideologies embraced and expressed many of the things that 'men would not compromise' in 1850. .

Question 39 **How fully does Source B explain the reasons why Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
dissension over dealing with slavery flared within the army	Divisions within the army caused concerns which pressured for action.
After considerable back and forth between the two officers, Butler in June 1862 referred the whole matter to Washington.	Army officers looked to Lincoln to deal with the problems
Radicals and abolitionists kept up demands for general emancipation.	Other pressure groups maintained their campaigns
moderate Republicans now expressed increasing impatience with the administration.	Lincoln's own supporters pushed him to act

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Divisions between Phelps and Butler regarding runaway slaves put pressure on Lincoln to make a decision to maintain the war effort.
- Concerns over alienating radicals within the Republican Party
- Lincoln expressed his concerns over the extension of and morality of slavery in 1858 debates with Douglas
- Lincoln had expressed a desire to address the slave issue at the start of the war but needed the support of the Border States such as Kentucky
- The Republican Party were committed to liberty as a whole but as a rainbow coalition of Northern ideals, Lincoln's key challenge was to appease all views within the party

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- Lincoln's personal view on slavery; opposed slavery but not regarded as an abolitionist
- Lincoln perceived as the "Great Emancipator"
- Lincoln adopted a pragmatic approach to slavery – aware that there were a range of views on slavery
- Slavery was a "moral evil" which opposed the Declaration of Independence
- Lincoln's administration was under constant pressure from Abolitionists to introduce emancipation
- The Proclamation allowed Lincoln to relax his stance on the recruitment of Blacks to the Union army
- The North had struggled in the first 2 years of the war as the Confederacy achieved significant military success
- Union victory at the Battle of Antietam allowed Lincoln to build on the success by focusing on an attack of the South
- Southern economy based on slavery – Emancipation would potentially weaken the South's ability to fight
- Transform Union war aims from "Union as it was" to "Union as it should be"
- Lincoln's concern regarding foreign attitudes to slavery
- Undermine Confederate attempts to win foreign recognition
- Added a moral element to the Civil War
- Emancipation Proclamation was of military necessity
- Finally end the divisive slave issue – crucial for post war peace, Lincoln believed
- Aimed to weaken the Confederacy's manpower if slaves fled to Union lines while swelling Union ranks with former slaves
- Forced into the Proclamation by the demands of war
- Role of black Americans in bringing about emancipation

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Hugh Tulloch	takes the view that Lincoln had been fighting for the Union but was forced to change his mind due to the exigencies of war. The Emancipation Proclamation was justified not only on the grounds of necessity but also because it was just
Rawley	takes the view that Lincoln was the Great Emancipator, but his beliefs/policy was frequently interrupted by the events of the war. Lincoln condemned slavery, wanted the slaves to have their liberty, but did not believe they could gain equality
Sewell	takes the view that Lincoln's decision was shaped by changing circumstances and his own sense of moral and constitutional propriety
Reid	takes the view that Emancipation would destroy the Southern war effort and this act was justified as an exercise of presidential war powers

Question 40   How much do Sources C and D reveal about the differing views on the reasons for Southern defeat by 1865?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Even if the Cause was lost from the beginning.	The Lost Cause thesis which promotes the belief that the South were never likely to defeat the North.
Suffered hunger, been without sufficient clothing, barefooted.	Insufficient resources on the Southern side
The smallpox is frightful. There is not a day that at least twenty men are taken out dead.	Disease and lack of medical care led to high casualty rate.
we lost it by any other way than by being outnumbered at least five if not ten to one	The South had significantly fewer men than the North

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
* The lack of will thesis follows a similar interpretation
* Industrial strength of the North was superior to the South
* Total war tactics of Grant and Sherman in 1864 which reduced the Confederate ability to fight
* Lack of industrial capability to cope with the issue of medical care
* God and the Mighty Battalions thesis

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The Southern soldiers reserved their democratic right to interpret orders broadly or simply disobey orders that they deemed unreasonable	Lack of military discipline within Confederate ranks
Privates both resented and envied the privileges that officers enjoyed.	Causing divisions within the army
Often the Confederate soldiers were in a position to put their officers in their places by petitioning for the resignation of unpopular commanders.	Officers often couldn't run the army properly because of the power of lower ranks to dismiss them
The Confederate privates relied on their democratic right to elect their own officers. The result of the elective system was further to demoralize Confederate discipline.	Lower ranks in the Confederate Army could elect their own officers and this caused a lack of discipline

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
* A degree of political campaigning for positions took up unnecessary time e.g., Beauregard versus Joe Johnston at Manassas.
* Officers were therefore selected on the basis of popularity rather than ability, expertise or experience.
* Refusal to carry heavy equipment on long hot marches
    * Lack of discipline marching in line: Lee reported to Davis that 'our great embarrassment is the reduction of our ranks by straggling which it seems impossible to prevent.'
    * Southern soldiers considered it their right to determine the length of their service. In the early days of the war, some confederate soldiers would return home

following a victory in battle believing that they had performed their role.
  o Conscription Act 1862 brought about significant desertion
- The democratic approach within the army was also found within government circles as Davis's government preserved the traditional civil rights of freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom from arbitrary arrest.
- This hindered Confederate morale with Lee commenting that the Confederacy had 'put all our worst generals to commanding our armies and all our best generals to editing newspapers!'

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:
- The Confederacy was simply overwhelmed by the superior size of the Union army
- Lee announced to his troops 'the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources' following the surrender to Grant
- Union blockades on land and sea meant that no further supplies would arrive
- Superiority of Union industrial base
- Development of idea of total war – campaigns of Grant and Sherman
- Increasing desertion from Confederate armies
- Collapse of Confederate morale
- Weaknesses within the Confederate government
- Issues of states' rights
- Failure of King Cotton diplomacy to win foreign recognition
- Leadership of Lincoln
- Strength of Northern political system to manage crises

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Richard Current	takes the view that the idea of 'God and the strongest battalions' was the key explanation for Southern defeat
Frank Owsley	takes the view that Southern defeat should be attributed to the issue of states' rights
T. Harry Williams	takes the view that Northern victory was the result of the superiority of Northern military leadership towards the end of the conflict
Peter Batty	takes the view that, although seldom spectacular, the black contribution was still notable and caused many Northern whites to revise their opinion of the blacks

SECTION 6 – Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840-1920

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 41	**How important was the caste structure as a control mechanism for the Tokugawa Government?**
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the significance of the caste structure to the Tokugawa as a control mechanism, especially in the 75% of the land they did not have direct control over. It would then be relevant to present other perspectives on the question of successful control mechanisms, such as the important role of the daimyo within the caste structure, education and the policy of isolation, drawing a reasoned conclusion as to the relative importance of the caste structure as a control mechanism.

Evidence suggesting the extent to which the Tokugawa depended upon the caste structure to control Japan

- The whole system was a completely inflexible one, which condemned individuals to caste within which they were born
- The system stressed unquestioning loyalty from one caste to the one above, helping to maintain law and order and control
- Most important group over which they had control was the Samurai. This was the only caste allowed to bear arms (sword) so careful control over them was imperative.
- They were forced to live in the castle towns separate from peasants, so they were easier to keep an eye on
- They expected to be unquestioning loyal to their lord, their Daimyo, and were expected to commit suicide if they were not
- The Samurai had become largely administrators by the mid-nineteenth century, and were crucial in administrative running of their domains and therefore the control of Japan
- Under the samurai were the peasant caste who were tied to the village community of which they were a part
- Near the bottom of the structure were the artisans and merchants, the money-handling castes within an economy that was based upon rice production and exchange
- The role the blurring of the caste structure played in the eventual collapse of Tokugawa rule, highlighting how significant this control mechanism was in dictating the place and function of all within Japanese society – even to the extent of where they lived
- Caste structure underpinned by Neo-Confucianism
- Significant in helping the Tokugawa control the 75% of the land over which they had no control

Evidence which suggests the caste structure alone was not the most significant control mechanism.

The Daimyo
- Daimyo were the lords in charge the individual domains (hans) in Japan
- Although they were a caste, they were responsible for enforcing the caste structure within their own domains so arguably more significant than the caste structure itself
- The Tokugawa were dependent upon the loyalty of those Daimyo who were in charge of the 75% of the land over which they had no control
- The Daimyo were ultimately responsible for law and order and tax collection within Japan
- The Daimyo were responsible for the public works schemes within their domain, especially those to do with the transport infrastructure eg building bridges etc
- The Daimyo were potentially capable of organising a rebellion against the Tokugawa regime, so control of this group was crucial
- Classification of the Daimyo into Tozama and Fudai
- Careful positioning of the Fudai in strategically and geographically less important Hans within Japan
- Daimyo had to seek permission to marry
- Alternate Attendance
- However, Daimyo's position enforced and consolidated by the caste structure – they would not have had the authority they did without the caste structure

Education
- Exploited to maintain control
- Not aspirational, but reinforced social positioning within the caste structure
- Bushido code help enforce the loyalty of the Samurai
- Temple schools also existed and populace forced to register at their local Buddhist temple as a means of administrative control
- Principles of Neo-Confucianism enforced through education with Tokugawa Japan – used to under pin the caste structure and loyalty to the Daimyo

Sakoku – Policy of Isolation
- Enforced since early Tokugawa times as an external form of social control
- Prevented the incursion of missionaries, often so associated with colonisation
- In theory, prevented the spread of western ideology, such as liberalism and democracy, which could threaten Tokugawa control
- However, historical debate has recently challenged the extent to which Japan was isolated, arguably weakening argument that this was a significant control mechanism
- But the Tokugawa were firmly in control of all Asian and Western contact

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Janet Hunter	contends that the Tokugawa confirmed their hold on power by a complex structure of physical, political and economic controls over several hundred local lords whose domains made up the rest of the country, the samurai class who constituted their followers and the populace who resided within their domains
Beasley	argues the system of alternate attendance was fundamental to the maintenance of political authority
Tipton	believes it (the Tokugawa) delegated administration of the rest of the country to the daimyo, who governed and obtained income from their domains more or less as they pleased as long as they did not display disloyalty to the shogunate
Benson and Matsumara	summarises education it is said has been the chief tool in shaping national identity.

Question 42   **How important was the role of the government in influencing the economic development of Japan after 1868?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the important role played by the government in the economic development of Japan. It would then be relevant to go on to discuss the other factors which aided economic development, such the Zaibatsu, the role of the West, the role of women and the economic foundations of the Tokugawa. The candidate will then reach a balanced conclusion regarding the role played by the government in Japan's economic advance

Evidence suggesting the importance of the role of the Government
- Government initiation of Iwakura Mission which turned into a fact-finding mission about western know-how, including industrial expertise
- Role of state in process and policies they implemented – built model factories such as Tomioka silk-reeling mill
- Careful control of Yatoi – dismissed once their knowledge disseminated
- Military reform and connection with industrial expansion
- Government had limited reliance on foreign loans. They took firm control over expenditure – partial funding of large scale private enterprises and support for Zaibatsu
- Their improvements in infrastructure

However – Government Intervention limited – did not extend to all spheres of industry

Evidence suggesting other factors were important in influencing economic development

Role of Zaibatsu
- Government favouritism resulted in the development of huge monopolistic concerns
- 1880s onwards Zaibatsu began to dominate manufacturing and commercial activities
- Most had their own bank
- Some concentrated on certain fields; others embraced a range of activities
- By the early 20th century control was becoming a problem
- These huge conglomerates were led by 4 giants – Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda
- Mitsubishi conglomerate controlled 25% of shipping and ship building, 15% of coal and metals, 16% of bank loans, 50% of flour milling, 59% of sheet glass, 35% of sugar and 15% of cotton textiles
- Developed networks of foreign contacts and gathered information in order to sell and purchase a wide variety of goods abroad
- They became influential in politics – so powerful that they could not be ignored

However – some of the most important commercial and industrial developments were private enterprise – not state sponsored.

Role of Westerners and international environment
- The effects of the Unequal Treaties in promoting industrial development – Japan's desire to be accepted as an equal
- Iwakura Mission
- The international environment led to Japan expanding and adopting new industrial technologies, which helped her catch up
- Cultural borrowing like shipbuilding, iron and steel mills, banking and commerce, textiles (positive impact of silkworm disease in Europe)

However -use of Yatoi heavily controlled by the government – potential link back to the isolated factor. Not utilised on a mass scale

Tokugawa foundations
- Highly developed agriculture with inter-regional trade
- Good communication infrastructure to build upon
- Japan had abundance of human labour who were well educated and loyal
- Growth of commercial activities around castle towns
- Edo with its population of 1 million stimulated commercial development
- Growing influence of merchants – blurring of caste divisions
- Movement away from rice based to money based economy already occurring
- Contact with the Dutch

However – these were only the foundations and needed to be built upon effectively through private and state sponsored initiatives.

Role of Women
- Freed up by the abolition of the caste structure, women became the dominant workforce within the textile industry
- Throughout this period, women consistently formed the majority of the workforce within Japanese factories
- Often paid a high price for this in terms of their working conditions and the physical and emotional impact
- Women were often sold into contracts with factories by their parents, and lived in dorms attached to the factories
- Small numbers of women went from textile workers and domestic service to become typists, telephone operators and store assistants
- Took until 1911 to limit their working day to twelve hours
- Women also continued to play a vital role in agriculture, which throughout the Meiji period still remained Japan's most important commercial activity. They were the dominant work force in the paddy fields

However – use of female labour largely concentrated in textile industry

Role of World War 1
- Gained a foothold in Asian market – merchant shipping doubled
- Ending of imports from the West forced development, especially in chemical industry
- Japan reversed balance of payments deficit during the war years

However – Industrial development underway long before the war broke out.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Macpherson	suggests that the role of the government was crucial
Hiromatso	takes the view that the foundations of Japan's modernisation were to a large extent laid during the years of peaceful isolation
Hane	highlights the importance of the textile industry – within which women formed the dominant workforce. The industry that developed rapidly from the early Meiji years and remained a key component of the economy was textile manufacture…by 1904 it had become the world's largest producer with a 31% share. He also argues that modernisation would depend heavily upon the adoption of western science, technology and industrialisation
Hane	argues that modernisation would depend heavily upon the adoption of western science, technology and industrialisation.

Question 43   The Meiji military and naval reforms had a significant impact on Japanese society'. How valid is this view?

Aim of the question: The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to evaluate the significance of the impact of naval and military reforms on the Japanese society. It would be appropriate to examine the political, economic and social impact of the military reforms.

The extent to which the military and naval reforms had a political impact on Japanese society
- Fukoku-Kyohei – 'rich country – strong army'.
- Military enjoyed greater success than political parties in acquiring both power and legitimacy.
- Culmination of domination in 1890 when the military enjoyed its own set of constitutional advantages when the emperor was put in supreme command of the army and navy.
- Constitution also states that those ministers responsible for the military had direct access to the throne under Emperor's supreme command.
- Each military service had complete control over its own internal affairs and over the conduct of wartime operations with no constitutional accountability to cabinet.
- Armed forces deemed to occupy a special place in Japanese society – for much of the Meiji period the army and navy as institutions had little political role – as institutionalised by Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors (1892)
- In contrast, military leaders wielded significant political influence as members of the ruling oligarchy

The extent to which the military and naval reforms had an economic impact on Japanese society.

- Industrialism was inextricably linked with military reform.
- Reform of public finances made it feasible to increase public spending on the armed forces – helped stimulate industrial development.
- Japan moved steadily to manufacturing her own rifles and artillery.
- One third of government revenue devoted to developing a modern army.
- Industrial impact of the reforms – long hours, low wages and working in bleak conditions.
- Land Tax paying for the reforms – farming families worked hard for long hours and little remuneration, which saw them benefitting little from the government's plans for the military and navy.

The extent to which the military and naval reforms had a social impact on Japanese society.

- Impact of the introduction of conscription- three year service for 20 year old men followed by four years subsequent service in the army reserve. Exemptions were highly limited. Impact upon many families.
- Impact of conscription upon Samurai, combined with abolition of caste structure, ended Samurai monopoly on warfare and undermined their warrior status.
- Conscription unpopular as it deprived families of their sons for labour.
- Conscription contributed to the development of a sense of nationalism as conscripts travelled the country for the first time.
- Impact upon women – military priorities meant that women were important as the bearers of sons who would fight in future wars.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Wall	contends that the importance attached to the armed forces is shown in the fact that in the 1870s the Japanese government invested as much in the navy and twice as much in the army, as in industrial enterprises as a whole.
Hunter	argues in the interests of both domestic unity and efficiency the new leadership decided to start afresh with the building of a conscript army.
Wasaw	believes the military enjoyed greater success than political parties in acquiring power and legitimacy.
Takao	summarises it should never be forgotten that domestic politics, military policy and foreign affairs were intertwined in the most intimate fashion.

Question 44	To what extent was the deterioration of relations with Russia the most significant impact of Japan's defeat of China?
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to consider the impact of Japan's defeat of China in 1895. The candidates will evaluate the many elements of the geo-political, economic and social impact of military success before drawing a conclusion as to which was most significant.

Tripartite Intervention and the growth of anti-Russian sentiment
- Russia was particularly concerned about the foothold on the Asian mainland which Japan had gained through their accession of the Liaodong Peninsula
- They joined together with Germany and France and used the threat of force to ensure that Japan was forced to hand back the peninsula and gained additional indemnity instead
- Comparative military weakness forced Japan to do this, but it left a profound sense of humiliation
- It contributed to a growing sense of anti-Russian sentiment, exacerbated when Russia took out a 35 year lease over part of the land Japan had been forced to hand back, which contributed to the war against Russia on 1904-5

However – deterioration in relations became more pronounced following the completion of the Trans-Siberian railway

Extension of control over Korea
- China abandoned its official interests in Japan
- Japan began to extend its interests over Korea
- By spring of 1895 there were 40 Japanese advisers in the Korean royal household, ministries, police and postal services
- Their power and influence grew steadily
- Beginning of journey towards full annexation in 1910

However – Japan's direct control over Korea still limited. They had largely removed Russian influence.

Territorial gains
- The Treaty was signed on 17 April and the terms of the Treaty included – Japanese possession of Formosa, Pescadores Islands and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria. The opening by China of 4 more treaty ports
- Payment of a sizeable indemnity

However, Japan was forced to hand back their most significant territorial gain on the mainland.

Emergence of Japan as leading Asian nation
- The defeat of China, following on from the Formosa incident, was clear evidence that the balance of power in Asia was shifting from China to Japan
- By end 1894 Japanese troops had driven Chinese troops from Korean soil. They were advancing through Manchuria, threatening Tianjin and Beijing
- By 1895 the Chinese navy had been virtually annihilated
- Japan agreed to the Chinese request for peace conference
- Japan was to formally replace China as the leading Asian nation through military defeat
- A separate treaty of Commerce and Navigation awarded Japan the most favoured nation treatment in China – all of which highlighted the extent to which Japan now dominated China

However, Japan was facing threats from the expanding Russian Empire. In addition, many humiliating aspects of the Unequal Treaties were still in place, including extra territoriality.

Growing military expansion
- The resultant humiliation from the Tripartite Intervention, combined with the additional indemnity, lead to a marked focus on further military expansion after 1895

However – the most important foundations for military expansion had been laid prior to the war in 1894-5.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Jansen	argues European interference (the Tripartite Intervention) came in to remind the Meiji state that there was more to do
Oh	suggests that that there were rewards. In addition to the staggering amounts of indemnity, Japan also won Taiwan and the Pescadores, but antagonism between Japan and Russia increased
Goto-Jones	contends that the Sino-Japanese War was a great success and extremely popular with the people of Japan, who had been becoming very dissatisfied with the expense and privilege of the military
Henshall	highlights this was the first major step in Japan's empire building in Asia, and the western powers took note

Question 45   'The social changes in Japan were heavily copied from the West'.
How valid is this view of the social changes that took place within
Japan between 1868 and 1912?

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to evaluate the significance of Western thought
and influence in shaping the social reforms during the Meiji period.

Abolition of the caste structure

Evidence copied from the west
- Declaration from Charter Oath – 'knowledge shall be sought throughout the world'
- Caste Structure formally abolished in 1871
- Idea to move towards a more western influenced class based society, which permitted social mobility
- Eliminated the distinctive Japanese Samurai caste

Evidence not copied from the West
- Neo Confucianist principles continued to be used to underpin loyalty and piety within society
- Permeations of Neo-Confucianism apparent in the village structures, families and the work place

Education reforms

Evidence copied from the West
- Initially education reform was influenced by the West
- Influence of missionary schools, which particularly influenced the early education of girls
- Western works of literature were translated into Japanese in the early Meiji period
- Ministry of Education set up in 1871, which restructured primary, secondary and tertiary education along western lines
- Influence of Iwakura Mission and especially the French system
- Mori Arinori, who was minister of Education from 1885 until his assassination in 1889 (because some believed his reforms were too western)

Evidence not copied from the West
- Concern that education was becoming too westernised by the 1890s
- Imperial Rescript of Education – 30th October 1890 – and its role in directing schools to place more emphasis on moral education, developing a sense of nationalism and loyalty to their emperor
- Key figures of Motodo Eifu, who played an important role in shaping the direction of Japanese education, Inoue Kowashi, who established a private academy
- Universities established – 1897 second university (after Tokyo) established at Kyoto
- Education was used as a vehicle to modernise Japan with a new ideal whilst still retaining an identity with her cultural past
- Education was a primary agent in the cultural revolution
- Improvements in education provision were also essential to create an educated workforce for Japan to embark upon their rapid process of modernisation and industrialisation

Religion
- Limited impact of Christianity

Other social changes

Evidence copied from the west
- Western solar calendar adapted in 1871
- Telegraphs started in 1869, postal service in 1871
- Western influenced newspapers from early 1870s
- Western dress became fashionable and compulsory for government officials in 1872
- Western style haircuts popular
- Beef eating became popular
- Western style dance halls
- Railways
- Influx of western writers eg Samuel Smiles

Evidence not copied from the west
- Backlash against overt westernisation from 1890s onwards
- Assassinations of key individuals accused of excessive westernisation eg Mori Arinori, Okubo Tosimichi

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Wood	argues western activity was to be critically evaluated and shaped to suit Japan
Fahs	highlights Japan's strong feeling of national identity was helpful in preventing blind acceptance of everything western. To its due Japan succeeded in maintaining many of her own rich traditions
Buruma	believes they recognised the power of western ideas and wished to learn more, so Japan could one day compete with the best of them
Jansen	summarises a modern consciousness was advancing steadily…The impact of the west provided the catalyst, but in its essence it included a reformulation of older earlier moral and political traditions of benevolence

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 46 How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations regarding the internal forces for change in late Tokugawa society?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'Despite the social restraints put upon the Japanese merchant class, they had increasing economic power'.	The merchants, which were in theory at the bottom of the caste structure, were assuming greater powers and economic influence within Japan.
'A money economy was gradually supplanting a rice economy'.	Rice which had been the main form of currency was being replaced by money.
'increase productivity of agriculture and manufacture which in turn stimulated the growth of trade centres'.	Farmers and artisans were producing more agricultural products which as a consequence was encouraging the growth of castle towns.
'Wealthier merchants were adopted into samurai families'.	The castes were becoming blurred as merchants were sometimes assuming Samurai privileges.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Daimyo were falling into debt to the merchants as they began to indulge in increasingly lavish lifestyles.
- This led to a blurring of the caste structure.
- Alternate Attendance swelled the population of Edo to over one million people, who needed to be supplied with commercial goods. Peasants in the vicinity to Edo began to diversify into producing goods such as textiles and Sake.

- Samurai were sometimes selling their sword bearing privileges to merchants as a way of paying off debts.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'The Bakufu could not, however, eradicate unacceptable schools of thought'.	The Bakufu powers were limited and they could not control or limit the growth of schools of thought challenging their authority.
'One school of thought that began to sharpen criticism of the Bakufu was that of National Learning'.	A Nativist school of thought began to develop which began to question the Bakufu government.
'An influential proponent of National Learning was Hirata Atsutane'.	Key individuals were involved in the movement, such as Hirata Atsutane.
He was an ardent believer in Shinto and renounced Confucian and Buddhist influence on Japan'.	Greater emphasis was being placed upon Shintoism by many within this Nationalist school of thought.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- The decentralised nature of the Tokugawa regime meant that they found it very difficult to stamp their authority over the entire country when dissent began to emerge.
- The Nativist School of thought was initially encouraged by the Tokugawa, as an anti-Chinese movement. It then focused on indigenous culture and history, which led to a questioning of the power of the shogun.
- Hirata's nationalist writings had considerable impact on the *samurai* who supported the *Sonnō jōi* movement and who fought in the Boshin War to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate during the Meiji Restoration. Candidate could make reference to any leading figure in the Nativist movement.
- The Emperor was the apex of the Shinto religion, and the Revivalist Movement led to a desire to restore the Emperor as the focal point of politics within Japan.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:
- Alternate attendance led to the development of an infrastructure within Japan, which in turn stimulated internal commercial trade.
- Alliance between Choshu and Satsuma clans.
- Division between the Samurai and the discontent of the lower level samurai against the regime.
- Samurai had transformed from a military to a largely administrative caste, which caused discontent.
- There were also inherent weaknesses of the decentralised government, as illustrated by the failure of the Tempo Reforms.
- Increasing burden of taxation upon the peasants led to an insurgence in their discontent and incidents of riots.
- Tokugawa Bakufu were suffering from a sense of inertia in responding to these changes – and only had direct control over 25% of the land.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Hunter	suggests that the dynamic forces within society and in the economy eventually came into conflict with a national polity which sought to avoid change
Henshall	contends that the rise of the merchant class…ultimately helped undermine Tokugawa policy. Clearly, a class system that placed merchants at the bottom was losing touch with reality
Bolitho	takes the view that by the beginning of the nineteenth century, it had become plain to a great many Japanese that the Tokugawa system was no longer functioning properly, if indeed, it ever had
Jansen	contends 'all daimyo in the 1860s were conscious of the fragility of their hold on the saddles of power'.

Question 47 **How fully does Source C explain the developing relationship between Japan and the outside world in the 1850s?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Iwakura Tomomi	Leading Meiji statesmen who had witnessed the developing relationship between Japan and the outside world first hand.
Purpose	A letter of complaint	Laying out his critical views of Tokugawa government
Timing	1869	A year after Tokugawa had fallen and 14 years after the first treaty with US had been signed.

Point in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'three of four Great Senior Councillors concluded the treaties based on their fear of the foreign threat'.	Developing relationship was based upon fear of the threat posed by the west and possible colonisation.
'We must defend our imperial country's independence by revising the unfair trade treaties we recently concluded with Great Britain, France, Holland, America, and other countries'.	Developing relationship took the form of a series of Unequal treaties signed with Western powers, including American, Great Britain, France, Holland.
Currently foreign troops have landed in our ports	Developing relationship led to foreign soldiers landed in Japanese ports.
It can be said that this is our country's greatest shame	This developing relationship led brought great shame and humiliation upon Japan.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
* Perry arrived with a substantial proportion on the navy of the US when delivering his demand for Japan to open up some ports.
* Unequal aspects of the Unequal Treaties included extra-territoriality.
* Japan was also forced to open up several of her ports such as Yokohama.
* Japan classified westerners as barbarians so these treaties were very humiliating.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
* 1850s witnessed a radical change in relations with the West with the arrival Commodore Perry carrying a letter from President Fillmore.
* 1854 the Convention of Kanagawa was signed with the US.
* 1858 – Ansei Treaties signed with US, Britain, Russia, France, Dutch.
* 1858 – Harris Treaty (Treaty of Amity and Commerce) with the US.
* Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Britain
* During the Tokugawa regime Japan had attempted to implement a policy of Isolation, severely restricted contact with the west so the 1850s was witnessing a rapid change in relations.
* In the newly opened ports cities Japanese came into direct contact with westerners for the first time, and the cultural differences were evident.
* Economic impact of western goods coming into Japan.
* However, relations had been changing by the 1850s even before the arrival of Perry.
* By the 1850s the ban on western books had been lifted, except for the bible.
* There had always remained a historic relationship with China.
* By the 1850s there was a well-established heavily controlled Dutch settlement, confined to a man-made island in Nagasaki harbour.
* There was some trade with the Dutch and a dissemination of medical knowledge.
* Trade with Korea and Ryukyuan Islands.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Kornicki	contends that 'It is common place to assert that it was Commodore Perry who was responsible for opening Japan in 1853-4, but this is misleading…Japan was never completely closed, owing to the Dutch presence in Nagasaki and the active trade conducted by Japan with China and Korea '.
Buruma	suggests that 'Perry's assumption of Japanese ignorance (in 8153) could not have been further from the truth. At the time of his arrival in Edo bay, the Japanese knew more about America than the Americans knew about Japan'.
Duus	Contends that 'In their Confucian vision of society, all people could be divided into four classes – officials, peasants, artisans and merchants'.
Tipton	believes that 'recognition of the need for military reform also encouraged increased study and direct contact with the west'.

Question 48   **Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the consequences of the Russo-Japanese War 1904-5.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Emperors of Japan and Russia via their plenipotentiaries	Treaty mediated by US President – highlighting that one change towards Japan following the war was change in international perspective towards her.
Purpose	It is a treaty	To state the peace terms at the end of the war.
Timing	1905	Japan was on the brink of collapse, unknown to the ordinary Japanese

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'Russia acknowledges that Japan possesses in Korea paramount …interests'.	The end of the war saw Korea clearly coming within the sphere of interest of Japan.
'Japan and Russia mutually engage to evacuate Manchuria'.	Both Russian and Japanese troops agreed to leave the Chinese territory of Manchuria.
'Russia pledges to transfer the Russian leases of Port Arthur to Japan'.	Port Arthur, at the tip of the Liaotung Peninsula, passed from Russian to Japanese control.
'They also agreed to transfer to Japan the portion of the railway south of Changchun and all its branches there to Japan'.	Japan gained control of the Southern Manchuria Railway.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Korea viewed as 'dagger pointing to heart of Japan' – falling within Japanese sphere of influence viewed as crucial in securing the safety of Japan.
- The refusal of Russia to withdraw from Manchuria during the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion was the Japanese justification for initiating war.
- The Liaotung Peninsula was a huge source of contention between Japan and Russia, following the latter's instigation of the Tripartite Intervention.
- The completion of the Russian Trans-Siberian railway was a further source of tension between the two countries, as Japan became increasingly

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:

- Treaty highlights Japan's progress towards being recognised as a global power.
- Transfer of power from Russia to Japan in many areas
- There was a rebirth of patriotism and loyalty.
- Made other nations realise the power of nationalism – including the British following their experience in the Boer War and other nationalities who often were victims of imperialist powers – such as the Arabs.
- Defeat of Russia forced the rest of the world to take notice of Japan. American President especially impressed.
- They gained control of the Southern Manchuria Railroad rights and Korea recognised as their sphere of influence.
- Gained Liaotung Peninsula especially significant following the humiliation of the Tripartite Intervention 1874.
- Japanese victory did inspire many nationalist groups across the globe – especially those subjected to colonisation.
- Treaty of Portsmouth also fuelled growing discontent towards Russian Tsar.
- Gained further territories – southern half of Sakhalin.
- Source falls to mention the huge nationalist backlash against the Treaty of Portsmouth within Japan itself. Sept 1905 angry crowds rioted for 3 days in Tokyo against the Treaty of Portsmouth. Martial law was imposed upon the capital for a few days.
- The nation had been whipped up into such a sense of patriotism and nationalism, fuelled by government propaganda, that they felt the Treaty was not harsh enough upon Russia. There was an overwhelming sense of betrayal.
- The lack of indemnity was a particular bone of contention.
- Treaty paved the way for the full annexation of Korea in 1911.
- Victory and the Treaty undoubtedly contributed towards the overturning of the final vestige of the Unequal Treaties in 1911, and Japan's participation within the Paris Peace Conference.
- Defeat of Russia heightened Western fears of the emergence of an Asian or 'Oriental' imperialist power – the 'yellow peril'.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Totman	'Tokyo's accomplishments were impressive: more territorial gains, an internationally accepted hegemonial role in Korea, opportunity to develop southern Manchuria, and victory over an imperialist rival that placed beyond doubt Japan's status as a 'Great Power'.'
Benson & Matsumara	'Nonetheless, the failure to secure still better terms – and especially better financial compensation – in the Treaty of Portsmouth led to a great deal of domestic criticism, two days of unprecedented rioting in Tokyo, and the resignation of prime minister Katsura.'
Duus	'The Russo-Japanese war rather than the Sino-Japanese War marked the take-off point of Japanese imperialism.'
J.N. Westwood	'Victory in her first war with one of the European powers had the paradoxical effect not of reassuring Japan that she was now a major power…but instead of convincing her of her continuing vulnerability and the need to strengthen further her military capability.'

SECTION 7 – Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918-1939

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 49	**To what extent was it military defeat that brought about the German Revolution in 1918-1919?**
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to discuss the extent to which military defeat can be held responsible for the German Revolution in its various phases. Candidates could consider the importance of defeat as a cause of the German revolution against the importance of other factors.

Evidence supporting the view that Military defeat was the main reason for the revolution

Germany in difficulties from 1917
- By the autumn 1917 Germany faced serious economic and military difficulties. On the home front the effects of the British naval blockade were causing food shortages (the winter of 1917 was known as 'turnip winter') and there were shortages of military supplies too.
- General exhaustion on the Home Front and a growing sense of the futility of the war.
- The entry of the USA into the war against Germany meant that in the near future American troops would be arriving in large numbers to fight on the western front.

Failure of Ludendorff Offensive
- In order to win the war Ludendorff launched a new offensive in March 1918 but in spite of initially spectacular advances, by mid-July the offensive had lost its impetus. The Allies now returned to the offensive and by August the German generals realised that the war was lost. Ludendorff described Germany's defeat on the Somme on 8th August as 'the blackest day for the German army in the history of the war'
- The German armies began moving back to the German frontier. Morale among the troops and at home was disintegrating. Among the generals, there was a growing fear of revolution prompted in part by the fact that in April radicals in the SPD had formed a new party - the USPD - that opposed the war and in July the Reichstag had voted for peace.
- By September Germany's allies were requesting an armistice and with the breaching of the Hindenburg Line on September 28th 1918 Germany itself now faced the prospect of invasion. On 29th September the Reichstag called for a new government that would have its confidence.

Revolution: from Above… from Below…
- For these reasons Ludendorff persuaded the Kaiser to transform the Second Reich into a parliamentary monarchy by handing power over to a civilian government supported by the Reichstag and led by Max von Baden from 3rd October (the revolution 'from above').
- Baden's 'October Reforms' went a long way towards establishing a democracy, but by this time popular unrest in Germany and in her armed forces was spreading rapidly and becoming increasingly violent so Max von Baden handed power over to Ebert and the majority SPD (revolution 'from below').
- On 9th November the Kaiser was forced to abdicate and a republic was declared.
- Philipp Scheidemann, an SPD leader and Chancellor of Germany from February to July 1919, argued that Germany's military collapse was not the result of revolution but rather the revolution was the result of military collapse.

Evidence supporting the view that Popular discontent was the main reason for the German revolution

Ludendorff's actions
- Ludendorff and then Max von Baden did not want a revolution as such but rather wanted to stop one from happening.
- Although Ludendorff had handed power to Max von Baden he did this so the army would not be blamed for losing the war and because he thought that a civilian government would be better able to secure a lenient peace from the allies.
- Almost before the republic had even been created Ludendorff was claiming that the German army had been betrayed -'stabbed in the back' - by the civilian politicians, especially the socialists and Jews.

Popular discontent
- From late October the unrest across Germany proved to be a powerful stimulus towards the creation of a full-blown republic (the revolution 'from below').
- Naval mutinies at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven encouraged the creation of sailors, soldiers and workers councils (soviets) across the country and these soviets – which were SPD dominated rather than Bolshevik - now challenged the authority of the states' governments.
- In response to the unrest and the spread of soviets, Max von Baden resigned and handed power to Ebert.
- The Communist Spartacists were also pushing for radical change; they wanted to see the immediate formation of a soviet republic as had been created in Russia in 1917
- In January 1919 the Spartakist putsch; an attempt to push Ebert's more moderate socialist government towards the revolutionary left.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Detlev Peukert	The first phase of the revolution began 'at the end of September 1918 when Germany's leaders decided to face up to imminent defeat on the battlefield. But the origins of the revolution in fact 'go back much further' - to the disillusionment, dissatisfaction and anger caused by the authorities' failure to win the war and failure to ensure that during the war standards of living did not fall and the burdens of the war were shared equally
William Carr	By the end of October 1918 'a revolutionary situation existed in Germany.' Wartime privation and hardship had eroded the old

relationship between the Kaiser and his people. The shock of military defeat 'was the last straw.' Even so, it is only with the actions of the sailors at Wilhelmshaven from 30 October that the revolution can be said to have truly begun

Eberhard Kolb

The German Empire weathered the storm of war for as long as the majority of Germans were borne up by the belief in ultimate victory, but when this belief faded and military defeat was in sight the political and social tensions of the empire rapidly developed into an acute political crisis that ended in the collapse of the state, the coming of revolution and the founding of the Republic. It was the shock of defeat that created ever-increasing support for revolutionary groups from the population

Stephen Lee

There is a strong case for saying that the revolution from below was the real revolution: there was an undeniably popular momentum for more radical change that swept away the constitutional compromises made by the government of Max von Baden

Question 50

"German hatred of Versailles was misguided."

How valid is this view of the German reaction to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles?

Aim of the question

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on the German people and the reasons why Germans hated it. Candidates need to get to grips with the question of on what grounds were the Germans justified in hating it? Does an analysis of the sets of terms [eg territorial, military, reparations and 'war guilt'] when compared to their intentions, operation and impact, stand up to scrutiny as being too harsh, too humiliating, unjustified and so on? By looking at the different clauses from these different perspectives, candidates should come to a reasoned conclusion as to how far Germans were misguided in their hatred of the Treaty.

Evidence to support the view that Germans' hatred of Versailles was justifiable and understandable

Territorial
- There were strong objections to the territorial clauses of the treaty.
- Alsace-Lorraine was lost to France – a symbolic humiliation for Germans because these territories had been taken from France by Prussia/Germany in the Franco-Prussian War 1870-71.
- The creation of a Polish Corridor divided Germany and took away territory from her. It also left Germans trapped in what became Polish territory and therefore under a foreign government.
- Indeed, the splitting of Germany by the establishment of the Polish Corridor undid the work of unification that had been done in 1850-71.
- The Saar region was internationalised for 15 years – which meant it was effectively occupied by the allies.
- Germany lost all of her overseas colonies.

Military
- The military terms of the treaty were hated because to Germans they left the country vulnerable to attack and unable to defend herself.
- The army was reduced to 100 000 men, and conscription was banned.
- The navy was stripped of ships and was only allowed 12 small vessels.
- Germany was allowed no airforce at all and no submarines.
- The Rhineland was demilitarised to create a buffer zone between France and Germany and to allow France to invade Germany easily if the German government breeched the terms of the treaty. Traditional elites hated the military clauses.

War Guilt

- Clause 231 – the 'War Guilt' clause – was regarded by Germans as humiliating and dishonest. Germans believed that the causes of the war were international and that no one country was to blame or should be blamed.
- War guilt was also damaging for Germans psychologically because it meant that German troops, sailors and airmen had died in vain and were dishonoured.
- By accepting the Treaty – even though it had no choice but to do so – the newly elected democratic government was blamed for Germany's humiliation and war guilt, perhaps more than any aspect of the treaty, became a focus for right wing nationalist opposition to the republic and to democracy.
- Resentment of the treaty enabled conservatives and extreme nationalists such as the Nazis to argue that democracy was un-German and parliamentarianism weak and ineffectual and a foreign imposition.

Reparations

- Germany's economic crisis in 1923 was also blamed directly on the Treaty, especially the reparations clauses, and therefore on the republic and democracy.
- Reparations were viewed as little more than an attempt to destroy Germany.

Evidence to support the view that the Germans' hatred of Versailles was misguided.

Territorial

- Although Germany lost a significant amount of territory in the east and the west and her overseas colonies, the country was otherwise intact. In other words, by and large Germany retained her territorial integrity.
- Territories lost such as Alsace-Lorraine were important to Germany economically but not so important as to be able to prevent economic recovery.
- The territorial losses Germany suffered were nothing like the territorial confiscations imposed by Germany on Russia in the treaty of Brest-Litovsk of March 1918.
- In this treaty Russia lost territory in the west and south (including Ukraine) which amounted to 27% of Russia's farmland and meant, too, the loss of 62 million people, 26% of her railways and 74% of her iron ore and coal.

Military

- Although the German military machine was stripped back by Versailles, this meant that Germany could concentrate on building up a crack military elite.
- There was never any real prospect of Germany being invaded by France or by Russia in the short term, and indeed the chaos caused by the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 meant that the French were unlikely to do something similar again without the support of other European powers, especially Britain.
- After the war and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, middle and eastern Europe was a jumble of chaotic, politically weak states none of which presented any threat to Germany at all.

War Guilt

- War Guilt may have been experienced by Germans as humiliating and dishonourable and unjust, but there is little doubt that Germany's actions on the run up to 1914 were indeed the main cause of the war.
- Germany encouraged Austria to go to war with Serbia and Germany's failure to understand that Britain would defend Belgian neutrality. These were clear examples of culpability or at least ineptitude that brought about conflict.
- German aggression was also evident in her attempt, from 1908, to overtake Britain in the building of Dreadnoughts. This caused an arms race.
- War guilt was far less important as a principle to the Allies than it was to the Germans. For the Allies it was thought to be essential to have war guilt to be able to rationalise punishing for Germany in the form of, for example, reparations.

Reparations

- Although the final figure for reparations – 132,000 million marks – was a huge sum, it was a much less harsh fine than that imposed on France by Germany in 1871 (5 billion francs to be paid back in five years).
- Germany was supposed to pay about 7% of her annual income per annum but in fact never paid more than 3%.

Actions of German government

Candidates may discuss the view that the Weimar government, either unintentionally or not, gave support to the critics of the treaty by its own actions; thereby fuelling the 'misguidance' of the German people. Examples might include:-

- Scheidemann's rhetoric on not signing the treaty.. 'May the hand wither etc'
- Government support for victory marches by returning soldiers
- Dismissing Erzberger's plans for taxation to pay reparations

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
R J Evans	takes the view that Treaty of Versailles was greeted with incredulous horror by the majority of Germans. The sense of outrage and disbelief that swept through the upper and middle classes like a shockwave was almost universal and had a massive impact on many working class supporters of the moderate Social Democrats as well
Collier and Pedley	take the view that Versailles left Germany humiliated and scarred but it was also left potentially strong. The treaty left Germany as a united nation state with the potential to regain its status as an important world power. Germany was not weakened as much as Germans' imagined
Colin Storer	takes the view that Germans of all political persuasions saw Versailles as unreasonable and unacceptable. The terms of the treaty were considered by the population as a whole as not only unfair but also insulting: an affront to national honour

Stephen Lee	takes the view that Versailles was justified by the need to safeguard against the very real threat posed by Germany, to rebuild France and to give viability to the new democracies of Europe. But because the Allies excluded Germany from the peace negotiating process Germany came to see itself as a victim without actually being destroyed.
RM Watt	in *The Kings Depart*, while commenting that some treaty terms [like Article 231] were thoughtless in their phrasing, criticises the Weimar government for their constant attempts to play the victim and wriggle out of any punishment; looking to gain support for themselves by playing to the gallery of a German public opinion they had created.

Question 51	How far was the Weimar Republic between 1924 and 1929 strengthened as a result of Stresemann's foreign policy?
Aim of the question	The aim of this question is to enable candidates to discuss the degree to which Stresemann's foreign policy helped to stabilise and strengthen Germany 1924-29. Candidates could opt to examine different aspects of foreign policy in detail or they could opt to discuss the contribution made by foreign policy compared to the contribution made by domestic political and economic developments.

Evidence to support the view that Stresemann's foreign policy strengthened Germany:

The Dawes Plan,1924 and the Young Plan,1929
- The Dawes Plan made a vital contribution to German economic recovery by rescheduling reparations and organising a loan of 800 million marks.
- The Young Plan further eased the burden of reparations by reducing the total amount to be paid back.

The Locarno Pact, 1925
- The Locarno Pact allowed Germany to recover because it made France feel secure and therefore less likely to oppose German recovery.
- Stresemann also won advances on the evacuation of the Rhineland.
- By accepting the settlement of its western borders Germany was able to concentrate on revision in the east.

Entry to the League of Nations, 1926
- German entry to the League of Nations was a major step forward in strengthening Germany and restoring her to great power status. Stresemann insisted that if Germany were to be accepted into the League then she must have a permanent seat on the Council of the League and veto powers. That is exactly what he managed to negotiate.
- From within the League Stresemann was able to raise issues of German interests and had the prestige and the goodwill vital for securing resolutions to issues that affected German interests.
- Even before 1929 crash there were clear signs that Germany was in a vulnerable state. In particular the agricultural depression beginning in late 1927-early 1928 created a substantial minority of voters in the countryside who were embittered by the failure of the republic and expressed their bitterness by voting for the Nazis after 1929 – the 'farmers' revenge'.

The Treaty of Berlin, 1926
- The Treaty of Berlin also strengthened Germany because it helped to develop good relations between Germany and the USSR.
- The treaty also enabled Stresemann to put pressure of the Allies to improve their relations with Germany in order to stop Germany moving closer to the USSR.

Stresemann's foreign policy did not strengthen Germany:

The Dawes, 1924 and the Young Plan, 1929
- Dawes and Young did make reparations easier to deal with but the plans were loathed by nationalists who portrayed them as capitulation. Nationalists argued that Stresemann's policy of *erfullungspolitik* kept Germany weak and dominated by the Allies' agenda.
- Dawes Plan in particular made the German economy too dependent on American loans.
- The agreement to the Young Plan, despite its benefits, caused outrage on the nationalist right and provided powerful propaganda against the Republic

The Locarno Pact
- Nationalists in Germany also hated the Locarno Pact which, they argued provided yet more evidence of Stresemann's willingness to give in to the demands of Versailles and thus to bow to French *revanchism*.
- Locarno left France stronger than Germany and confirmed Germany's weakness symbolised by her acceptance of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

Entry to the League of Nations, 1926
- Nationalist argued that Germany should have nothing to do with the League of Nations, which they regarded as an Anglo-French club designed to benefit the interests of those two countries at the expense of everyone else. To nationalists, the League was nothing more than the enforcer of the Treaty of Versailles.
- It could be argued that entering the League, far from strengthening Germany actually weakened Germany because it boxed Germany in and meant that she could not act unilaterally in her own interests.

Treaty of Berlin, 1926
- The Treaty of Berlin did not strengthen Germany. In fact, it did the opposite because it aroused the suspicions of the Allies and pushed Germany closer to the USSR – a Communist regime that was hated by most of Germany's middle and upper classes.

Domestic political and economic developments were more important in strengthening German 1924-29 than Stresemann's foreign policies:

Political developments
- Democracy stabilised during the years 1924-29. The number of political assassinations fell and democratic parties regularly won the majority of the votes cast at Reichstag elections.
- The election of Hindenburg as president of the republic was widely supported by Germans of all political persuasions.
- There were no attempted coups during these years.

Economic developments

- Economic growth thou uneven and unsteady was nevertheless marked especially in the industrial sector.
- The prospects for economic growth made Germany a magnet for investment during these years.
- The volume of trade expanded and German goods were much sought after worldwide.
- The extension of welfare schemes and the investment in schools, housing, roads and electricity supplies improved the standard of living of working class Germans in particular.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Wolfgang Elz	takes the view that the middle years of the republic were the successful years in foreign policy as Germany was gradually re-accepted into the company of Great Powers and step by step moved towards full sovereignty (albeit not fast enough for Stresemann's critics).
Stephen Lee	takes the view that Germany's foreign policy successes in the 1930s were a consequence of Stresemann's policies strengthening Germany. So, for example, the cancellation of reparations in 1932 was a result of the fact that the Allies were impressed by Germany's rehabilitation and her importance as part of the international economic order.
Detlev Peukert	takes the view that Stresemann's approach to foreign policy was flawed because Germany lacked the power to insist on revision of Versailles and could not gain international support for territorial changes revisionism required.
Colin Storer	takes the view that Stresemann's foreign policy went some way towards strengthening Germany. Locarno dramatically improved Germany's international standing and made it much harder for the Allies to justify continuation of the occupation of the Rhineland. In addition, it improved the republic's financial position as it opened the way for more foreign investment and trade agreements with the USA, Britain and France.

Question 52   **To what extent did the status of women change as a result of Nazi policies between 1933 and 1939?**

Aim of the Question

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to examine the degree to which Nazi policies changed women's status and therefore, perhaps, the degree to which changes to women's status in the Weimar Republic were altered during the early period of the Nazi regime. Candidates might decide to look at Nazi policies on women in general or they might select two or three key policies and look at these in depth and detail. They might also to choose to consider women's status in the context of the Nazis' broader goal of creating a *Volksgemeinschaft*.

Candidate might use evidence such as:

Policies that attempted to change to the status of women in Germany, 1933-39:

Factor 1: Increasing the Birth Rate
- The Nazis aimed to increase 'pure' German births by offering financial incentives to women e.g. marriage loans and birth grants thereby reinforcing what were thought of as traditional values about women as mothers and child bearers.
- Nazi views of women were little different from those of the churches and received widespread support.
- Propaganda regularly focused on raising the status of mothers and housewives. For example, the introduction of the Mother's Cross badge scheme.
- Women who chose not to have children or could not have children were penalised. For example, childless couples had to pay higher taxes.
- Restrictions were imposed on contraception information.

Factor 2: Marriage
- Nazi policies also reinforced the traditional view of marriage and so sought to reverse the liberation of women that was associated with the Weimar Republic.
- Nazi policies aimed to increase 'suitable' marriages. For example, unemployed people could have a marriage loan of 600RM in 1933.
- In 1937 marriage loans were extended to women in work.
- The Nazi also demanded that women provide proof of their fitness to marry. The 1935 Marriage Law required a certificate of fitness to marry before a marriage licence was issued.
- The Oct 1935 *Blood Protection Law* forbade marriage between Aryan women and Jews, Black people or 'Gypsies'.
- In 1938 the *Marriage Law* extended the grounds for divorce.

Factor 3: Women and the Volksgemeinschaft
- Nazi policies also aimed to develop healthy Germans and women were expected to be involved in that development process.
- Many women therefore took part in the Nazi welfare organisation, the *NS Volkswohlschaft*.
- The Nazi government also oversaw a huge expansion of health offices in rural areas which encouraged improved sanitation, preventative medicine and 'genetic and racial' care.
- Nazi educational policies were also used to reinforce the traditional role of women.
- School education prepared women for their proper role as mothers and housewives.

- Opportunities for women to progress in education were restricted. For example, the enrolment of women at university was restricted to 10%.
- In Nazi youth groups too, girls and women were bombarded with messages about women's subordination to men and with activities that underscored that message and that also underscored the Nazi view of women as homemakers and helpmates of their husbands.
- The Nazis sought to get women out of the workplace and into the home. So, for example, in 1933 women in the top ranks of the German civil service and medicine were dismissed.
- In 1936 a ban was placed on women becoming judges or lawyers.
- No female Nazi members of the Reichstag were permitted.

Limitations on changes in women's status under the Nazis 1933-39:

Factor 1: Contradictions
- Nazi policies towards women suffered from many contradictions. This weakened the policies' impact.
- Propaganda encouraged the idea of the healthy Aryan family but many policies on women actually undermined family. For example, the demands of Hitler Youth organisations took children away from their families. The quest for a genetically pure race ended up encouraging divorce.

Factor 2: Women in Work
- Attempts to drive women back into the home were not successful. The number of women in all jobs *increased*, especially after 1936 when there was a labour shortage in key areas. For example, in industry and crafts women workers went up from 2.7 million in 1933 to 3.3 million in 1939; in trade and transport women workers went up from 1.9 million in 1933 to 2.1 million in 1939.
- All told, married women working outside the home went up from 4.2 million in 1933 to 6.2 million in 1939.

Factor 3: Popular Attitudes
- Changes in women's status are hard to measure. For many women the Nazis' emphasis on 'traditional family values' was popular and reassuring. These women accepted the Nazis' claims that women were 'equal but different'. For other women, perhaps especially those in younger age groups who had enjoyed the new freedoms of the Weimar Republic, the Nazis' outlook and policies on women were oppressive and diminished women's status by reinforcing the superiority of men.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Wolfgang Benz	argues that the Nazis reinforced the traditional view of a male dominated society. The image of women was shaped by the idealisation of a woman's role as mother and keeper of the house, educator of the children and wife under her husband's authority. Women were expected to procreate for the regime and the upbringing and education of girls was oriented towards the ideal of future motherhood. Higher schooling for girls was impeded and coeducation rejected outright. Until the war, when women were drawn on as a reserve labour force in large numbers and in violation of the Nazi ideology, the regime did everything it could to keep women out of the workplace.

Alexander De Grand	puts forward the view that the fascist position had always been that class distinctions were artificial and superficial but that biologically determined gender roles were immutable… The conservative and stabilising elements of Nazi ideology – to keep women in their place and maintain them as pillars of traditional hierarchical society – could not be reconciled with the political, social and racial ambitions of the regime
Ute Frevert	takes the view that in respect of attitudes and policies towards women, National Socialism was the most repressive and reactionary of all modern political movements. And yet it seems that the overtly anti-feminist polices of the regime after 1933 were at least partially successful in that they secured the approval, perhaps gratitude, of many German people, men and women alike; partially successful to in blocking and turning back the social and economic and educational pressures which had been conducive to gradual progress towards emancipation in the preceding decades.
Tim Kirk	suggests that in the Nazi regime the status of women was markedly diminished by, for example, marriage policies. These policies made women more dependent on marriage economically. The Marriage Law of 1938 made it possible for a man to divorce on the grounds of a woman's refusal to procreate or for using contraceptives illicitly. Women stood to lose further from such legislation, which enabled judges to free men of the obligation to pay maintenance. In practice, then, new marriage laws shifted the balance sharply in favour of men.
Lisa Pine	argues that from the beginning the Nazi regime used the family for its own ends. Marriage and childbirth became racial obligations rather than personal decisions, as the National Socialists systematically reduced the functions of the family to the single task of reproduction. They aimed to shatter the most intimate group, the family, and to place it as a breeding and rearing institution completely at the service of the totalitarian state. According to this view, then, the status of women was seriously diminished by Nazi policies.

Question 53	**"Through a new set of policies the Nazis secured Germany's economic recovery."** **How valid is this view of Germany's economic development between 1933 and 1939?**
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to discuss the role of Nazi economic policies in Germany's economic recovery following the Great Depression. Candidates could opt to weigh up the role of Nazi economic policies in bringing about economic recovery against other reasons for that recovery or they could consider in depth the impact of Nazi economic policies on the German economy.

Evidence to support the view that Nazi policies were responsible for Germany's economic recovery:

Hitler's Determination
- Hitler was determined and as a result of the Enabling Law he had more freedom to take decisive action than the Weimar governments had had under the 1919 constitution.
- The repression of trade unions helped to restore business confidence, as did the ending of reparations payments.
- The creation of DAF under Robert Ley

Schacht's Actions
- The appointment of Hjalmar Schacht as Economics Minister (the man who had reputedly saved Germany in the 1923 hyperinflation crisis). In his New Plan he embarked on a policy of deficit spending (whereby the government spends more than it receives in order to expand the economy).
- The new Nazi government increased public expenditure and investment in public works schemes (particularly in the construction of homes and motorways). Such works provided orders for many private companies who took on more workers.
- Use of MEFO bills

Industrial Recovery
- Profits in key industries increased, wages were kept low and the economy began to pick up.
- By the end of 1935 Germany had a trade surplus, unemployment had fallen and industrial production had increased by 49.5% since 1933.

Economic Planning
- When the Nazis came to power Germany was importing more than it was exporting and gold and currency reserves were running low. Schacht's New Plan helped to overcome the country's balance of payments problems that resulted from this.
- Incipient recovery was *sustained* in Germany through the 1930s, whereas it was not in other countries, eg the United States. It was also much stronger in Germany.
- The refusal of the Nazi government to curtail spending when recovery had begun in the mid-1930s, and its insistence instead on increased levels of spending, mostly on autarky and rearmament programmes, was probably a factor in Germany's sustained recovery from the Depression. Arms spending rose from 13% to 23% of GDP between 1933-39.
- From 1936 Goering's Four Year Plan controlled foreign exchange, labour, raw materials and prices and thereby created a managed economy. In this period, the drive for rearmament helped to ensure that recovery was sustained.

Nazi agricultural policies
- The blood and soil ideology provided focus for restoring agriculture
- Reich Entailed farm policy offered farm loans with low interest rates to help farmers recover
- There were fixed prices for some farm products
- There was an increased tax on some imports
- A 41% increase in farmers income

Evidence to support the view that Germany's economic recovery was the result not simply of Nazi policies

Continuities in the policies of the Nazi regime
- Under Schacht the new regime in fact continued the policies of its predecessors, Bruning and Schleicher, and these policies were already beginning to have an effect *before* Hitler came to power. Unemployment, for instance, had passed its peak *before* Hitler came to power.
- Hitler was lucky; cyclical recovery was already underway in 1932, in Germany and elsewhere, and this owed more to the 'laws' of economic development than it did to governmental policy.
- The ending of reparations had little economic effect although it may have had a psychological effect (on confidence).

German business
- German businessmen were much more willing to accept reflationary deficit financing from a right wing dictatorial government that would break the power of labour than from the democratic governments of the Weimar era.
- The Nazis did not have to face the kind of obstruction and public criticism that had characterised business relations in the Weimar Republic.

World Events
- Some degree of additional recovery from the Depression happened in 1936/7 in **all** industrialised countries, apparently regardless of the policies they pursued.
- American recovery in particular had a knock-on effect around the world including in Germany.
- The German economy gained from the Anschluss in 1938. Germany had a shortage of steel but gained iron ore mines in the Erzberg and 748 million RM in the Austrian National Bank's reserves, more than twice its own cash.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Richard Overy	Many of the Nazi economic policies had their roots in the Weimar period
Wolfgang Benz	The German economy recovered more quickly from the depression than the economies of other countries. But this was less because of Nazi policies and more because Nazi economic policies often built on the concepts and policies of the Weimar Republic. The Nazis also benefited from the international trend towards recovery.
Tim Kirk	Many of the policies associated with the Nazi economic recovery were products of the Weimar Republic, and not unusual in other countries. The Nazis had the good fortune to come to power at a time when the world economy was beginning to recover anyway, but took measures to promote and accelerate the recovery in Germany.
Roderick Stackelberg	The Nazis built in part on initiatives begun by Hitler's predecessor, Kurt von Schleicher, but they nevertheless undertook innovative measures to counter the effects of the Great Depression.
Adam Tooze	The evidence suggests that the German economy, like its American, British and Japanese counterparts, began its recovery in the summer of 1932. The economic impact of measures taken after January 1933, therefore, should not be exaggerated.

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 54   How fully does Source A explain the reasons for the political crisis of 1923?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for **identifying and interpreting** points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'When you offer the farmer… can you wonder he says, "Keep your millions… " '	Highlights the fact that the mark had become worthless and so farmers refused to sell their produce. This led farmers to question the effectiveness of the government.
'When the people… even though one may have millions of marks… '	Underlines the fact that even when people had paper currency amounting to many millions of marks, this currency was completely useless. The government was blamed for this
'… the delusory majority principle…'	Highlights the point that at this juncture the Nazis condemned democracy as misleading the people. There was a widespread view that the Weimar Constitution led to weak government
'… the decisive struggle rests between the swastika and the star of Russia.'	Indicates political division between left and right.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:
- The crisis of 1923, prompted by the invasion of the Ruhr by France and Belgium in January, triggered a hyperinflation crisis.
- The invasion of the Ruhr was met with passive resistance but the French and Belgians brought in their own workers and this caused violence in the Ruhr region.
- The economy of the region and of Germany was disrupted and the value of the mark plummeted as inflation galloped out of control.
- By midsummer 1923 with farmers hoarding food and not placing it on the market for sale; people in towns and cities across the country began to experience serious food shortages.
- The Ruhr crisis invoked national unity and solidarity of support for passive resistance.
- National unity was, however, severely tested by the rapidly escalating inflation crisis which acutely affected the overwhelming majority of Germans. This provided political capital for extremists such as Hitler.
- On 11 August, Chancellor Cuno's Grand Coalition collapsed when the SPD withdrew over his failure to curb inflation.
- Stresemann became Chancellor with SPD support.
- To balance the budget Stresemann had to stabilise the mark, meaning an end to passive resistance in the Ruhr. This infuriated nationalist extremists, especially in Bavaria. They planned to revolt.
- Bavaria's northern neighbours, Saxony and Thuringia, with far left governments, appeared to be heading for Communist insurrection.
- Communist inspired strikes across Germany in summer 1923.
- The *Reichswehr* remained loyal to Stresemann's government and there was bloody suppression of the socialists in Thuringia and Saxony
- In Bavaria, Hitler formed an alliance with General Ludendorff and attempted a *putsch* in Munich on 9 November
- The *putsch* was easily suppressed but Hitler was now a national figure.

Points from recall which provide wider and more critical contextualisation of the views source:

- Hitler was still a minor political phenomenon restricted to the regional rather than the national stage, and forced to seek allies for his attempt to launch a *coup d'etat*.
- The immediate political consequence of the inflation crisis was the strengthening rather than the weakening of parliamentary democracy as it propelled Stresemann centre stage as Chancellor heading a strong cabinet of party politicians.
- The long-term political result was to create a legacy, a 'folk memory'. When economic crisis of a qualitatively different nature returned in 1929, anti-republican sentiments revived, in particularly, among the *mittelstand* and government policy was hampered by a fear that government actions might precipitate another hyperinflation crisis.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
William Carr	takes the view that the political crisis in Germany in 1923 was the fault of the French. He argues that Poincare calculated that the occupation of the Ruhr would bring the Germans to their senses and makes them face up to their treaty obligations; if it did not, then France would stay indefinitely exploiting the Ruhr for its economic resources and by French presence there would prevent any resurgence of German military power.
Ruth Henig	takes the view that the political crisis of 1923 was caused by Germany's failure to meet reparations requirements in the form of coal deliveries and timber and telegraph poles was used to justify a military occupation of the Ruhr by France and Belgium. She argues that the French were happy to see their actions trigger an economic and therefore a political crisis because anything that weakened Germany was seen by them as a positive outcome.
Detlev Peukert	takes the view that the hyperinflation crisis, and the political crisis that sprang from it, was rooted in the failure of German governments since even before WWI to get control of inflation and indeed to pursue policies that created inflation thereby reducing the value of the mark. The Ruhr invasion was the tipping point that pushed the country into a currency catastrophe.
Colin Storer	takes the view that the political crisis of 1923 was the direct consequence of the complete collapse of the German currency during 1923 and that this currency crisis was itself the consequence of the fact that Germany policy had always vacillated between evasion and compliance with Allied demands for reparations. Hyperinflation added to the feeling among the more conservative sections of the population, of a world turned upside down, firstly by defeat, then by revolution, and now by economics.

Question 55 Evaluate the usefulness of Source B in explaining the increasing support for the Nazi Party between 1928 and 1932.

The candidate may be awarded up to **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect in the Source	Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author: by Josef Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda chief	This makes it useful because Goebbels masterminded the propaganda campaigns that contributed to the huge rise in support for the NSDAP between 1928 and 1932. Goebbels was at the heart of Nazi leadership and right at the centre of events at the time of the Nazi Party's dramatic rise.
Timing: This speech was delivered on 9th July 1932	This makes it very useful indeed because this is the month and year when the Nazis achieved the peak of their support in free elections. It was only 3 weeks before these 1932 Reichstag elections [on 31st July], in which the Nazis increased their vote from 18.3% to 37.4% of those who voted. They won 230 seats in the Reichstag, a dramatic increase on the 107 seats they had won at their previous highpoint, the Reichstag elections on 14th September 1930.
Purpose: an election campaign speech	Has some use in that the speech is designed to explain to voters why they should vote Nazi, but it is big on broad-brush ideas and visionary pronouncements but short of specific details of policies. This was the time when the Nazi party really were increasing their support and in this speech Goebbels is setting out a few of the messages which were helping gain votes; messages which resonated with the people and reflected reasons for their discontent with democracy and the Weimar republic.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'..the German economy is in ruins and the streets of our big cities are filled with an army of millions of unemployed..'	Support for the Nazis rose because of the poor economic situation leading to high unemployment.
'..To our shame and disgrace, large areas of German territory have been lost; our territory is divided by the bleeding wound of the Polish corridor.'	There was support for the Nazis because there was widespread agreement with the Nazi view that Germany had been shamed at the Treaty of Versailles by the loss of territory.
'…the red shining Swastika flag flies over people of all classes.' or 'We think no longer in terms of class. We are not workers or middle class.'	The German people supported the Nazi party because they seemed to transcend class differences which some of the other parties seemed so focussed on.
'… and religious confessions.' Or 'We are not first of all Protestants or Catholics.'	The German people supported the Nazi Party because they seemed to transcend religious differences which some other parties focussed on.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- In 1928 the Nazis got 2.8% of the vote so their July 1932 vote was remarkable.
- The presidential elections of 1932 underscored the fact that the Nazis vote was not a freak event but was rather building to a crescendo in 1932.
- The Nazi Party was highly effective as a campaigning organisation with powerful messages.
- The Nazis were also helped by the economic collapse of 1929-32. In this context their propaganda was effective and helped the Nazis increase their support.
- The economic crisis affected all classes of society so it is no surprise that all classes of
- society were willing to vote for the party they perceived as the only one strong enough
- to lead Germany out of the crisis.
- The Nazis had a highly centralised propaganda machine under the direction of Josef Goebbels who was himself a superb propagandist.
- Propaganda helped the Nazis increase their support in a number of ways.
- Propaganda mobilised those already inclined to support the Nazis more than it affected those who were committed politically to another party.
- Key individuals in local communities were targeted and won over, the idea being that these influential local people would then go out and spread the word.
- Nazi organisations – for youth, for women, for workers – were also used as vehicles for propaganda.
- The entire SA, for all their violence and thuggery, were also deployed in the propaganda campaigns. They projected an image of strength, order and youthful dynamism, and of tough anti-communism, and at the same time assisted at soup kitchens and other welfare projects run by the Nazis. Propaganda by deed.
- Propaganda was crucial in the projection of the image of Adolf Hitler as the "strong man" the country needed proved to be highly successful.
- Hitler's speeches were also propaganda and he used these effectively to target Germans' specific grievances and tailored his message to whichever audience he was addressing.
- Other Nazi speakers were effective too. They were always trained speakers (over 6 000 by 1933).
- Rallies, torchlight parades, leaflets and posters were also used to get the message out.

- The swastika banner was effective in giving the Nazis a clear, striking visual symbol that everyone recognised.
- Technology was used effectively to create the image of Hitler as the man of the hour especially during the 1932 presidential election campaign when Hitler was flown around by plane so that he could reach lots of places quickly but also to convey the idea of him as a messianic figure descending to earth from heaven.
- Role of and use of the press and media: relationship with Hugenberg and the DNVP.
- Hitler's leadership – as distinct from his propaganda image – was crucial. He provided charismatic leadership. He was indeed an excellent orator who was especially good at identifying his audiences' emotions and expectations, and aligning himself with them. His insistence on the *Fuhrerprinzip* meant that his authority could not be challenged.
- Nazi Party organisation was also important. The party was organised into a series of *Gaue* (Districts/regions) each headed up by a *Gauleiter*.
- The Nazis were helped by the fact that the Weimar Republic seemed to be completely incapable of keeping Germany free of economic and political crises.
- Division on the left – the inability of the KPD and the SPD to work together – ensured that the Nazis were never seriously opposed in the Reichstag even as their representation in it increased.

Points from recall which provide wider and more critical contextualisation of the views source:

- The growing and widespread appeal of the Nazis from 1928-32 can be demonstrated by considering the breakdown of their vote at elections as far as this can be done using the evidence available.
- What this evidence seems to show is that between 1928 and 1932 the Nazis won increasing support among the workers. Moreover, in the SA perhaps as many as half the men were working class even though the Nazis tended to have less working class voters in the big towns and cities than did the Socialists.
- The Nazis also won support in the countryside and especially in the Protestant north. Indeed, the Nazis' vote first stared to rise dramatically in the countryside because Weimar governments had failed to prevent an agricultural depression, which had begun well before the Great Depression. Historians often refer to the increasing vote for the Nazis in the countryside from 1928 as 'the farmers' revenge'.
- Furthermore, the Nazis drew support increasingly from among women. There were many reasons for this but one of the most important was that women felt Hitler was the man most likely to succeed in his promise to deliver Germany from economic disaster.
- The Nazis also won the support of the lower middle and middle classes. Indeed the evidence suggests that the petty bourgeoisie voted disproportionately for the Nazis.The Nazi Party did less well when it came up against pre-existing ideological andorganisational loyalties – in Social Democratic or Catholic strongholds, for example. But where political or religious loyalties were weak or were weakening as a consequence of the depression – in Protestant rural and middle class Germany, for example, the Nazis did very well indeed.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Conan Fischer	takes the view that the Nazis had broad support because their ideology appealed across German society. He argues that the Nazis managed to create a mobilising myth that had at its heart the vision of Hitler as the potential saviour of Germany and its people. The Nazis managed to construct a political allegory with which a broad section of the German population could empathise. They provided a myth that emphasised the sameness of all Germans at a time when a divided, fragmented society was looking for escape from crisis.
Ian Kershaw	takes the view that the winning of support of a third of the voting population between 1928 and 1932 was an extraordinary achievement of political mobilisation. After the remarkable triumph in the September election in 1930, the wave of new activists enabled further extensive mobilisation, with success feeding success … By 1932, 13 million voters were to a greater or lesser extent prepared to place their trust in Hitler… The mass base for the subsequent deification of Hitler had been laid.
Detlef Muhlberger	takes the view that it is clear the Nazis drew their members and votes from all segments of German society, though in unequal proportions. It was the ability of the Nazis to generate support from all social classes, which ultimately gave the Nazi movement its potency. There is general consensus among historians that the success of the Nazi Party did not just depend on its being a 'catch-all movement of protest' fuelled by the social and economic misery brought about by the World Depression, extremely important as that undoubtedly was. The Nazis also won support from all classes because of their proclaimed intention to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* that would overcome the old divisions of German society.
Noakes and Pridham	take the view that one key to the Nazis' success in acquiring mass support was awareness of the extent to which German society had disintegrated into its sectional components, a process accelerated by the depression. By developing separate departments to organise the various economic interests and social groups, they successfully combined the pose of effectively representing individual interests and of a party of integration creating a unified national community of which they claimed the Party was already a microcosm.

Question 56 How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the limited extent of resistance in Nazi Germany, 1933-39?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for **identifying <u>and</u> interpreting** points from each source.

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'The number of those who consciously criticise the political objectives of the regime is quite small …'	Too few people wanted to criticise the regime so they could easily be dealt with by the regime. The number of those who wanted to criticise the regime was too small to threaten the regime. There is no mass movement of dissent or resistance.
'…quite apart from the fact that they cannot give expression to this criticism.'	A key reason for limited resistance this report identifies was the inability of those who wanted merely to criticise the regime to voice their views. The suggestion here is that expressions of opinion were so tightly controlled by the regime that it was impossible to express dissenting views without being arrested and/or punished harshly.
'You don't imagine I am a Nationalist Socialist!'	The report highlights the fact that one of the key reasons for the limited nature of resistance was the willingness of most ordinary Germans to make an accommodation with the regime. For most ordinary Germans this was a pragmatic decision based on a wish to avoid arrest and punishment.
'…the majority of people have two faces … for the authorities'	Emphasises the point that people wanted to survive first and foremost and if that meant being hypocritical, so be it. What this clearly shows is that most people were willing to put up with Nazi government and ideology so long as life continued with as little disruption as possible. People made conscious decisions to manage their situations with regard to the policies and ideology of the Nazis.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- The limited nature of resistance was indeed caused directly by the fact that the Nazis had at their disposal not only the entire police and security services but also that they were prepared to use the SS-Gestapo against their enemies ruthlessly so that people knew that resistance would be severely punished and therefore kept silent and did not criticise the regime.
- The concentration camps, for example, were never hidden from public view by the Nazis. On the contrary, the Nazis made every effort to make sure people understood that the concentration camps were being used to deal with anyone who opposed the regime and therefore, as the Nazis saw it, the German nation.
- The opposition of the regime was indeed unable to cooperate to resist not least because on the right they could not agree about what should happen once Hitler was removed. Many in the conservative opposition were not democrats and were not looking to restore democracy and this meant that there was little chance of their winning support from opponents of the regime who were socialist in outlook and attitude.

- SOPADE correctly noted the fact that the Socialists were ideologically as opposed to one another as they were to the Nazis. This was rooted in the suppression of the Spartacists by the SPD in 1919 and also in Stalin's instruction via the Comintern that Communist Parties across Europe must not cooperate with social democratic parties, which were to be described and treated as 'social fascists'.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'Hitler conveyed a sense of the strong leader who was in charge after the years of upheaval …'	Hitler seemed to provide firm government compared to the Weimar Republic which appealed to people.
'…won acclaim for tearing up the Treaty of Versailles …'	Hitler gained massive support for resisting Versailles, one of the most hated aspects of political, economic and social life in Germany especially in the years down to 1929. The Nazis consistently attacked Versailles and got rid of it as soon as they came to power.
'The new regime made no bones about using terror against its enemies. But coercion and terror did not rain down universally on the heads of the German people…'	Resistance was limited because of the success of coercion but also because people consented.
'The majority of people became devoted to Hitler they convinced themselves of his advantages…'	Most people viewed Hitler as a positive good for Germany and so did not resist. In particular, his economic and foreign policies really did make him genuinely popular. Thus, for example, the Anschluss was greeted without popular enthusiasm and Hitler was hailed as a hero and a brilliant German statesman.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Coercion was extremely important in creating an atmosphere in which resistance was perceived to be futile.
- However, the work of the SS-Gestapo was made a whole lot easier by the willingness of people to inform on one another. Indeed the number of Gestapo officers was relatively small so denunciations played a key role on helping the police and security services monitor what was going on.
- Consent was expressed not simply because of fear. The Nazis' economic policies were popular because they seemed to bring about recovery. People felt much better off especially in the period from 1933-1937.
- Nazi foreign policies were also highly effective in securing support for the regime and especially for Hitler. His popularity reached a peak following the annexation of Austria in March 1938.
- However, it is also the case that here was broad sympathy for many of the Nazis' other policies especially where these concerned nationalism and ethnicity. Although people did not like the idea of violence against Jews, for example, there was no vigorous opposition to policies that discriminated against the Jews

Points from recall which provide wider and more critical contextualisation of the views in the sources:

- During the period of the Nazi consolidation of power political opposition was crushed and trade unions destroyed.
- 28 February 1933: *Decree of the Reich President for the Protection of the Nation and the State,* used to repress the KPD. By the end of March 20 000 Communists were in prison and by summer 100 000 Communists, Social Democrats and trade unionists.
- 13 March 1933: Goebbels appointed Minister of Propaganda and Enlightenment. The Nazis now took complete control of the press, radio, cinema and all cultural output and were thereby able to prevent opposition views from being heard and to ensure the complete dominance of Nazi propaganda.
- 22 June 1933: SPD banned; other political parties dissolved themselves soon after. Trade unions were made illegal.
- 30 June 1933: 'Night of the Long Knives' destroyed internal opposition [from the SA] and won support from the army for Hitler.
- 14 July 1933: *Law Against the Formation of New Parties.* Germany became a one party state.
- The success of apparatus of the Nazi Police State from 1933-39. In search of enemies of the state the *Gestapo* was allowed to operate outside the law and take suspects into custody. Such victims were liable to be tortured and sent to concentration camps. The courts were also thoroughly Nazified and the establishment of the People's Court (April 1934) ensured that 'treasonable offences' were dealt with harshly.
- Nazi propaganda *did* have an impact in persuading people to support the regime but, more important, as unemployment fell and living standards improved so more people felt better off and were minded to support rather than oppose the regime.
- Many people also welcomed Hitler's promises to restore national prestige and his foreign policy successes 1933-39 seemed proof that Hitler was able to fulfil these promises.
- The question asks about the sources' views on the 'limited nature' of resistance. Candidates may argue that both sources are flawed since neither of them says anything about the extent of what resistance there was. Candidates can be given credit for references to the various forms of resistance, provided it is within the context of why it was limited. Examples might be:
    - o Those in the army who had doubts about the regime were torn between their consciences and their loyalty: each soldier had taken an oath of allegiance to the Fuhrer and this was taken very seriously.
    - o The Churches were deeply divided over, and confused about, what to do about the Nazi regime. Both the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches tended to look after their own interests and so came to terms with the regime (for example, the *Concordat* between the state and the Vatican [20 July 1933] ensured that opposition from the Roman Catholic Church was neutered).
    - o Political opposition by Communist and Social Democrat underground groups remained bitterly divided and completely unable to cooperate, there was lack of organisation, leadership and the ability to maintain secrecy.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Gerhard Paul	take the view that the National Socialist rulers could live with insubordination, superficial conformity and insidious criticism as long as the consensus in political fundamental principles appeared secure and dissatisfaction, nonconformity and partial opposition did not coalesce and organise effectively
Richard J Evans	takes the view that Nazi terror was nowhere more apparent than in the emerging power and fearsome reputation of the *Gestapo*. The *Gestapo* attained an almost mythical status' as all-seeing and all-knowing although the reality was rather different. Nevertheless, everything that happened in the Third Reich took place in a pervasive atmosphere of fear and terror, which never slackened. And the Nazis did not just use terrorism to coerce the people; they also went to unprecedented lengths in propaganda to gain the enthusiastic support of the people and to change people's hearts and minds
Ian Kershaw	Resistance and opposition to Hitler acted without the active mass support of the population. Large proportions of the population did not even passively support the resistance but rather, widely condemned it. Resistance from groups hostile to the regime never ceased, but resistance was fragmented, atomised and isolated from any possibility of mass support. In any case, opposition was crushed and neutralised through the unprecedented level of repression by the Nazi state
Nikolaus Wachsmann	Hitler's police apparatus commanded extensive weapons of repression. Fear of the *Gestapo* was widespread. The *Gestapo* drew extensively on support from outside its ranks. It used information and denunciations from paid informers, low ranking party activists, and state and municipal agencies, as well as from the general public. In addition, German judges did not need any prompting to crack down on the left opposition. In all, several tens of thousands of people had been sentenced for treason by 1939, usually for their connections with the Communist Party

SECTION 8 – South Africa: Race and Power, 1902-1984

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 57	How valid is the view that the formation of the state of South Africa in 1910 was driven by economic interests?
Aim of the question	This question invites the candidate to evaluate the importance of the demands of gold and diamond mining as well as agriculture in the decision to unite the two British and two Afrikaner territories to form South Africa in 1910. Candidates should show awareness of a range of factors which influenced the formation of the Union.

Evidence supporting the view of the importance of economic interests

Influence of economic interests (capitalism)
- Widely recognised that mining was the lifeblood of the Union.
- The importance of gold as a source of revenue.
- Major advantages to union that could accrue in spheres such as railways and customs.
- Botha and Smuts recognised the primacy of ensuring favourable conditions for mining and efficient agriculture.
- Post Boer War reconstruction administration had worked towards union in order to bolster the economy.
- Liberal Party desire to maintain economic advantage from mining to help fund social welfare reforms post 1906.
- Costs of Naval Race and increasing pre-war tension increased reliance on profit from the empire for the British government.
- Boers believed imperial connection would enhance economic progress.
- Milner needed Boer agriculture to provide food for urban areas (and to ensure economic stability through reconstructed agriculture).

Evidence supporting the view of the importance of other factors

Influence of the British Empire (imperialism)
- Cape Prime Minister Jameson advocated increased co-operation between white races as advocated by his mentor Cecil Rhodes.
- Liberal Party victory in 1906 saw greater willingness to give more power to the region, partly due to increased tension in Europe.
- Botha and Smuts supported Union in the belief it would weaken the influence of the British – by 1908 this seemed likely as Afrikaners had taken power in 3 colonies.
- Milner hoped that political union would prove attractive to all whites in South Africa.
- Contemporary views of Smuts (1907): "Two such peoples as the Boers and the British must either unite or they must exterminate each other".
- Victory in the Boer War was not decisive – Boers had to be promised internal self-government as soon as possible.

Influence of Afrikaner Nationalism (Nationalism)

- More radical Afrikaners believed Union would change nothing in terms of British control.
- Union would see the promotion and possible expansion of Afrikaner culture, such as Dutch being made an official language with English.
- Botha knew the Transvaal had been the most powerful of the 4 colonies and believed union was therefore in Afrikaner interests to dominate the dominion.
- Development of inclusive white sense of South African nationalism, predominantly male.
- Boers realised they would be a majority and would not lose out in ethnic politics.

The Native Question (Blacks)

- Some Liberal politicians in the UK saw union as beneficial to blacks: "One of the incidental advantages the Union will bring about is a native policy more enlightened than that which has been pursued" (Asquith).
- Residential segregation originated in towns dominated not by the mining industry but by merchant and commercial interests.
- Bambatha rebellion stressed the need for white unity.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Nigel Worden	argues that the British priority was political unity for the sake of economic growth.
John Omer-Cooper & Leonard Thomson	argues that it was the British who washed their hands of any moral obligation in South Africa. The Liberals hoped for the best. Origins of union lie in Milner's decision to appease the Boers in 1902.
Robert Ross	Political union was the recognition of the economic and social union which had already taken place. But to reduce the demand for union to economic calculations alone is to underestimate the feelings of South African nationalism which was beginning to develop.

Question 58   **To what extent did the South Africa Party (SAP) lose the 1924 election due to their alienation of poor whites?**

Aim of the question   This question invites the candidate to evaluate the extent to which the alienation of poor whites was the key factor which caused Smuts and the SAP lost the 1924 election. This may be done by considering the impact of a range of factors on the situation affecting poor whites and their attitudes towards the political situation; such as economic, social, military and political factors. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion.

Economic
- Post war recession.
- Afrikaners feel Smuts too pro mine owners – a capitalist tool.
- 1921 - merger of Unionist and SAP portrays image of capitalism as Smuts needed to maintain UP supporters.
- WW1 – Smuts aids the empire and reduces investment due to cost of war.
- Hertzog discusses redistribution of mining profits to workers/rural communities rather than to the British.
- 1913 and 1922 – strikes over low pay.
- Money provided to British navy reduces expenditure on social.

Social
- Influx of Afrikaners into towns/surrounded by rich English speakers and felt threat to their jobs by blacks.
- Increase in Trade Unions led to rise in Afrikaner nationalism.
- Afrikaners increasingly pro NP rather than SAP.
- Influx of black workers into cities increased fear of 'lack swamping'.
- NP emphasis on Afrikaner interests – rural focus.
- NP/Labour Pact attracts trade unionists and farmers.
- NP manifesto to promote South Africa's prosperity, focus on social issues and move away from the Empire.

Military
- Rand Revolt of 1922 saw Smuts put down workers with artillery leading Hertzog to describe him as "a man whose hands dripped with the blood of his own people".
- Force used against African tribes causes resentment amongst liberal politicians.
- Most damage arguably caused by Smuts' support for Empire in WW1 – some Afrikaners supported the Germans. Many of these poor whites had of course recently lost a war against the British.
- Rebellion by some troops when ordered to attack Germans in North Africa – 190 rebels killed, seen as Afrikaner heroes. Benefits NP due to Hertzog's appeal for them to receive pardon.

Political
- Smuts' contribution to the war internationally recognised but he is seen by poor whites to have neglected domestic concerns. Hertzog accuses Smuts of being 'out of touch'.
- 1922 Rand Revolt – loss of working class support.
- Unpopular connections of Smuts to the British.
- 1921 election – SAP/Unionist merger fails to satisfy Afrikaners/poor whites. Merger broadens party and increases factions.
- Different attitudes towards Smuts promotion of a 'single white nation' and one which develops in 'parallel streams' (Hertzog).

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
James Barber	argues that the SAP did nothing to help Afrikaners.
Merle Lipton	argues that "Hertzog outbid Botha and Smuts on issues such as the imperial connection".
S.B. Spies	argues that WW1 gave more weight of support to Hertzog as more Generals deserted Smuts in favour of Hertzog's proposition to 'defend South African borders only'.
Nigel Worden	describes the limitations of SAP legislation in alleviating hardships suffered by many poorer whites, both in industry and agriculture.

Question 59	"By the 1930s the ANC leadership was bitterly divided and split into warring cliques" How valid is this view of the reasons for the ineffectiveness of resistance to segregation before 1939?
Aim of the question	This question invites the candidate to evaluate the view that resistance before the Second World War was ineffective due to the disunity and lack of co-operation between organisations. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion.

Evidence supporting the view that there was disunity amongst resistance groups and this led to ineffective resistance
- Financial scandals and internal disputes which destroyed the ICU.
- Early ANC leadership disdainful of popular agitation so failed to link up with other resistance groups.
- The methods of the early ANC including deputations and petitions.
- Some leaders, including Dube, were reluctantly prepared to accept rural segregation as long as there was a just distribution of land.
- By the 1930s ANC membership probably did not exceed 1000. The more radical ICU was far more significant in the 1920s because they attempted to establish a mass movement, although this was not the view of the ANC.
- By the 1930s the ANC leadership was bitterly divided and split into warring cliques, not least due to Gumede's flirtation with the Communist Party which deeply divided the ANC.
- ANC radicals in the Cape mounted a campaign of civil disobedience to achieve the native republic, further exacerbating splits within the organisation.
- Opposition to Hertzog's Native Bills was led by the All African Convention, not the ANC, demonstrating lack of cohesion and competition over which would be dominant.
- Women played little part in the early ANC.
- The ANC's policy of working with those who had political power bound them more closely to the ruling class, alienating others.
- Failure to capitalise on rural resistance.

However
- ANC did co-operate in the late 1920s with the CPSA.

Evidence to support the view that other factors led to ineffective resistance

Pursuit of Economic routes
- Most believed that if they were economically successful then whites would give them political representation therefore limiting their methods.
- Most of the early leaders (Dube, Plaatje, Gumede, Seme) were mission educated and, as doctors, lawyers, ministers etc they were from the African middle class.
- Economic success would only be possible with good (and equal) education for blacks.

Pursuit of Equal Opportunity not political power

- Diversity of African resistance movements.
- Lack of agreement about aims and methods.
- Between the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s the ANC had lost its coherence following the collapse of the ICU.
- Black intellectuals maintained support for education and working within the existing system despite the impact of the Depression.
- Early ANC leaders aimed for equal opportunity, not political power, or African domination.
- They hoped improved understanding, and greater justice, would allow Africans to make a growing contribution to South African society.
- Failure of international deputations such as that at Versailles.
- Resistance at this time is described by Beinart as being localised in issue and often in action.
- Methods of early resistance organisations.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Peter Walshe	early leaders were hugely influenced by the 'Cape tradition' of relative liberalism. The ultimate goals were equal opportunity and equality before the law.
William Beinart	argues that regional organisations of the ANC tended to go their own way – Transvaal leaders were drawn into workers' issues; the Western Cape was influenced by Garveyism. Furthermore, the level of rural resistance was underestimated.
Dale McKinley	a Marxist historian, argues the ANC failed to establish grassroots organisations among the masses in South Africa, that they were preoccupied by their petty bourgeois interests such as obtaining a free market.
Nigel Worden	describes the limitations of the ICU due to leadership and regional struggles and an unwillingness to move focus away from the countryside until the late 1920s where it obtained most of its support. In general he attributes the ineffectiveness of early resistance as being that African protest lacked the link with political mobilisation.

Question 60   **To what extent was social control the most important impact of early apartheid legislation before 1959?**

Aim of the question   This question invites candidates to consider the effects that early apartheid legislation had on South Africa prior to the introduction of Separate Development and assess to what extent early legislation was driven by social control as opposed to other factors such as the demands of industry and agriculture. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion.

Evidence supporting the view that social control was the most important impact

- Influx control was officially central to government policy, although not rigorously implemented in the 1950s.
- Influx control legislation would restrict process of black urbanisation, which had grown rapidly in the 1940s and threatened to create an urban proletariat.
- 1952 Urban Areas Act, especially Section 10.
- 1946 blacks made up 79% of the population. By 1970 it was 89% resulting in an increased fear of '*die swart gevaar* '('black menace').
- Apartheid was a policy of self-preservation. White/Afrikaner fear that equality of the races would lead to the eventual disappearance of the white nation in South Africa.
- NP justified policy as not only being to safeguard the whites; it would also protect the Bantu by allowing them to develop as separate people.
- Details of relevant 1950s legislation, such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, Immorality Act, Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, Bantu Authorities Act.
- Resistance to apartheid grew in townships which developed after the Native Resettlement Act of 1954.

Evidence supporting the view that other factors had an important impact

Political Impact
- Establishment of SABRA (South African Bureau for Racial Affairs).
- Afrikaner beliefs of ethnic and racial exclusivity vital to evolution of apartheid.
- Views of Afrikaner academics such as Cronje, who advocated complete racial separation in *A Home for Posterity (1945)* in order to ensure long term survival of the Afrikaner people.
- Early legislation closely identified with Afrikaner intellectuals and ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church. Key individuals include Eiselen, Malan and Verwoerd.

Economic Impact

- Apartheid as a means of extending the benefits of the migrant labour system to manufacturing industry.
- Decentralisation of industry would enable manufacturers to exploit cheap labour from the reserves.
- Gradual relocation of industry to the fringes of the reserves – a policy pursued with greater vigour after 1959.
- Reserves no longer able to support bulk of Africans therefore other methods discussed such as tighter influx controls and decentralised industry.
- Commercial farmers would also be guaranteed a ready supply of labour from the reserves.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Deborah Posel	describes early apartheid as being pragmatic and cautious in terms of economic and social engineering. The impact of subsequent policies would be more unyielding. Early apartheid succeeds in preserving, indeed promoting, white supremacy.
Saul Dubow	Popular racism worked alongside bureaucratic and legal formulations to ensure supremacy of the white man.
Dan O'Meara	A Marxist historian interprets apartheid in terms of the changing economic needs of white South Africa.
Herman Giliomee	An Afrikaner historian describes apartheid as a "radical survival plan" with roots in the Dutch Reformed Church which held significant influence on political thinking.

Question 61   How important was the Cold War in influencing South African government policy between 1960 and 1984?

Aim of the question   This question invites candidates to consider how significant the context of the Cold War was in shaping the policy of the South African government between 1964 and 1984. Candidates should examine a range of factors when coming to a conclusion.

Evidence supporting the view of the importance of the Cold War in influencing government policy
- Influence of Cold War in limiting Western pressure on SA government - failure of arms embargoes related to Cold War.
- Continued support from West as South African seen as a bastion against Communism and the requirement to maintain trade of uranium for nuclear weapons.
- Large amounts of western capital – over $26 bn – were invested in South Africa.
- BUT – Labour government of 1970s and the USA veto sanctions and largely follow a pro South African policy allowing capital and investment in the country.
- Communist support from front-line states – the role of Mozambique and Angola.
- Successive South African governments worked hard to convince the West that only a stable, white minority government could resist communism getting a hold in South Africa.
- The USSR was supplying arms to resistance movements but her involvement may have been exaggerated as a result of Cold War paranoia.
- Between 1965 and 1980 British governments were preoccupied with Rhodesia. Even under Thatcher, Britain continued to oppose sanctions.
- Under Reagan, South Africa was seen as a key player in the struggle against the USSR. The US government sought 'constructive engagement' with the South African government.
- Only in the mid-1980s, during the latter stages of détente, did coverage of township violence and the brutality of security forces result in significant change from the West. The South African government fought hard to prevent Western disinvestment by starting to moderate the regime – Botha's 'adapt of die'.

Evidence supporting the view of the importance of other factors in influencing government policy

External threats to the South African Government
- Black majority rule in front line states meant SA faced 'total onslaught' from neighbouring African states.
- The impact of liberation movements elsewhere in southern Africa.
- Churches and Christian-based organisations significant in spreading awareness.
- Sporting issues like Basil D'Oliveira affair encouraged white sympathies.
- The role of the ANC in exile.
- MK organised raids from Mozambique in the early 1980s.
- Pressure from the United Nations including **1968** — General Assembly requested all States and organizations "to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organizations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid."

Internal threats to the South African Government

- Economic problems such as the falling price of gold, rising price of oil, the balance of payment crisis and rising inflation.
- Changes within the SA economy leading to demands for a more stable urbanised workforce.
- Rapid growth of the African urban population in squatter camps.
- Unrest in townships: Soweto.
- The growth of powerful Trade Unions.
- The impact of the Riekert and Wiehahn Commission reports.
- Hostility to the Black Local Authorities Act and Tri-Cameral Constitution (1984).
- The formation of the National Forum (NF) and the UDF in 1983.
- The split within the NP, leading to the formation of Treunicht's Conservative Party.
- Introduction of National Service.
- Black resistance increasingly dominated by the non-racialism of the ANC/SACP in the 1980s.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Tom Lodge	1970s – Disinvestment by west was 'critical leverage'. He describes the UN as having '*weak expression of concern about violence*' of Sharpeville but this did signify an advance in the UN's opposition to apartheid.
Adrian Guelke	provides a balanced evaluation, claiming that changes in the region of Southern Africa, and the end of the Portuguese empire in Africa, had weakened the position of the SA government.
Saul Dubow	The arrival of the Cold War on South Africa's 'doorstep' created 'the spectre of the country being surrounded by hostile states directed by Moscow'. This provided opportunities for South Africa's reformers to downplay apartheid as a system of racial rule by emphasizing the country's commitment to the defence of Western interests.
Merle Lipton	writing in 1985, argues that "The trend (among capitalists) is towards increasing opposition (to apartheid) and it has been accelerating". Capitalist interests in SA were already working to undermine apartheid by the late 1970s and early 1980s.

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 62   **Evaluate the usefulness of Source A in explaining the extent of the differences between Smuts and Hertzog before 1939.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Jan Smuts	Smuts as former SAP Prime Minister and subsequent Deputy to Hertzog's Prime Minister in a United Party Government in the 1930s.
Purpose	Address to the United Party	As new Prime Minister explaining Hertzog's resignation and subsequent reunification with Malan's National Party.
Timing	November 1939	Following outbreak of WW2 and narrow cabinet vote to enter the war on the side of the British. Hertzog resigned having advocated neutrality.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
General Hertzog talks about small incidents such as flags, anthems and oaths. Everything I did was designed to keep the United Party together. I smoothed those incidents over.	Smuts criticizes Hertzog's focus on Afrikaner culture including flags, anthems and oaths.
General Hertzog said I objected to the singing of "Die Stem". That is false	Contention between the men regarding which anthems should be sung at the opening of Parliament – "Die Stem" or "God save the King".
worst of all is that General Hertzog has given over his faithful followers into the hands of the Malanites	Hertzog's realignment with Malan and the National Party
in his old age he is busy destroying the great work which he did in the past six years	Smuts' view that Hertzog is undermining the previous work of the United Party in the 1930s.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualize the points in the source:
- Evidence of Hertzog's promotion of Afrikaner culture such as the 1926 Flag dispute. Evidence of opposing attitudes towards South Africa's relationship with Britain.
- Evidence of Smuts and Hertzog working together in the United Party to tackle the impact of the Great Depression on South Africa.
- Hertzog's subsequent resignation from the Party following entry to war with Britain ending previous co-operation.
- Hertzog re-joins the National Party in 1939 resulting in the Reunified National Party under the leadership of Malan whilst Smuts leads the United Party.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
Differences:

- 1929 election had been bitterly contested between Smuts and Hertzog, with Hertzog campaigning on the claim that white civilisation was endangered by the SAP, which made Fusion and union surprising.
- United Party operating with continuing ambiguity about the relationship with the Commonwealth.
- Pressure from many SAP and NP members led by Tielman Roos, for Smuts and Hertzog to put aside differences to deal with devaluation crisis.
- Both men had operated in coalitions before therefore used to compromise.
- Hertzog still viewed Smuts as 'the handy-man of the Empire'.
- Most historians see the creation of the UP as a 'tactical victory' for Smuts having been disadvantaged during Fusion by having to accept much of NP programme.
- Imperial concerns and the onset of World War Two exposed the differences over links to Empire again.

Similarities:

- NP/SAP coalition won overwhelming victory in May 1933 (75 NP seats, 61 SAP and 14 for other parties) resulting in the Fusion government.
- Hertzog and Smuts both favoured merger between NP and SAP.
- Both men had been in the government and party of Botha (SAP) after union until Hertzog left to establish the NP.
- United Party formed in Dec 1934 based on shared 'Programme of Principles' written by Hertzog including independence from Britain, equal language rights, 'civilised labour policy' native policy based on 'separate development'.
- Economic crisis of the Depression highlighted common ground between Smuts and Hertzog: both believed in white supremacy, creation of white nation based on both cultures.
- Hertzog no longer feared British domination after the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and the Statute of Westminster.
- Both pro white supremacy/white nation drawn from 2 cultures.
- Hertzog did not favour an exclusive form of nationalism espoused by Malan's GNP and was therefore more similar to Smuts.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
James Barber	claims the 1933/4 crisis underlined the common ground between Smuts and Hertzog. The main difference between Smuts and Hertzog appeared to be "of emphasis rather than direction, of means rather than ends".
Harold Wolpe	Radical historian; argued Hertzog had moved away from capitalist mine-owners to focus on workers. Smuts had been moving that way to prioritise cheap labour.
William Beinart	takes the view that, had it not been for war, the compromises hammered out by Smuts and Hertzog might have lasted. "Despite their rhetoric, Smuts and Hertzog had a good deal in common".
Revisionists	who see an economic explanation for segregation see considerable continuity between Smuts and Hertzog.

Question 63   How fully does Source B explain the challenges faced by the ANC in the 1950s?

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Carefully choose the opportunity and make sure that history would be on your side – deciding when to launch the armed struggle if this was deemed acceptable	The time for action needed to be carefully chosen to ensure they would be supported.
When you reach the People's Republic of China, you must tell them, ask them, that we want to start an armed struggle and get arms'	Walter Sisulu to approach the Chinese for support and arms
I was pulled up for this but I remained convinced that this was the correct strategy for us.	Mandela was reprimanded by the ANC leadership for announcing a move to militancy in Sophiatown
I was dismissed very cheaply, because the secretary of the Party – his argument was the time had not come for that.	The Party leadership deemed the campaign had not yet reached the need for violence.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- A number of the Youth League advocated a move to militancy as early as the start of the 1950s, even before the Defiance Campaign but this was not deemed by the majority to 'suit the mood'.
- Mandela had discussed the prospect of an armed struggle with Walter Sisulu as early as 1952 explaining that "the attacks of the wild beast cannot be averted with only bare hands".
- Mandela and others within the ANC believed they needed to act if they were to keep up with the popular mood and prevent things from getting out of hand.
- Banning of the PAC and ANC after Sharpeville forced the movements underground resulting in a change in tactics.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- Verwoerd's policy on race tightened up for many blacks in the workplace.
- ANC president, Luthuli, was committed to passive resistance.
- Mandela argued it was better to turn to violence with or without the ANC so it would be better to channel and control violent resistance.
- The non-violence of the ANC was stressed by the defendants at the Treason Trial.
- Increased white oppression due to Verwoerd's fear of black resistance becoming cohesive and concentrated against the white government.
- Evidence of armed resistance before 1960 in a number of rural uprisings.
- Frustration over limits of ANC/resistance success in the 1950s.
- Leaders were arguably brought closer by their experience in the Treason Trials thus facilitating greater co-operation thereafter.
- By 1960 levels of agitation had significantly increased against the government.
- Defiance Campaign had overcome apathy and aroused a spirit of militancy and determination.
- Pressure for violent action was coming from across much of the political spectrum.
- Rise of African nationalism and belief that there was no hope for a policy of peaceful agitation.
- the largely white radical student group, The African Resistance Movement, also espoused violence.

- Military emphasis in strategy briefly influenced by Che Guevara, who believed guerrilla activity by a small group could induce mass political mobilisation.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Rodney Davenport	suggests that the ANC was driven apart by leadership disputes and this contributed to the launch of the armed struggle.
Marxist historians	highlight the middle class values and failings of the ANC and criticise the resort to armed struggle arguing that the ANC should have been more committed to internal mass action.
James Barber	Failure of the Defiance Campaign demonstrated that there was no constitutional route to liberation.
Francis Meli	follows Mandela in arguing that that the original decision to establish MK was not organisational but was taken by individuals. When MK was established 'none of constituent organisations of the Congress Alliance had formally adopted the policy of armed struggle. Ultimately the ongoing dispute over tactics undermined the effectiveness of the ANC in the 1950s.

Question 64 **How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of the changing nature of resistance to apartheid between 1969 and 1984?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'the liberation movement remained at a low ebb and were about to weaken further'	The anti-apartheid movement had lost support and was losing more.
'negotiations with South Africa in preference to armed struggle. This message ran directly against the wishes of the ANC'	The ANC preferred violence over negotiations with the South African government
'no frontline state willing to act as host, MK fighters were relocated to the Soviet Union'	MK (and the ANC) was not able to base itself in neighbouring states and therefore had to operate from further afield.
'Without the USSR's support at this juncture, MK might have disintegrated'	Soviet support of MK was essential to insure the survival of the armed struggle.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- In early 1969 the ANC were struggling to resist apartheid and their contribution was arguably worsening.
- Division over tactics to resist apartheid continued as the ANC supported a militant campaign whereas some ANC members and other resistance organisations disagreed.
- The ANC was banned in South Africa at this point and it made it hard to operate.
- Activities of MK in contrast to those of anti-apartheid campaigners seeking more peaceful resolutions.
- Until the collapse of the Portuguese Empire in Angola and Mozambique, the ANC and MK struggled to operate in close proximity to South Africa as banned organisations.
- Soviet support included supply of weapons and ammunition as well as training facilities against the back drop of the Cold War.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'SASO . . . most politically significant black organisation in the country'	South African Students Organisation became the leading voice of opposition to apartheid within South Africa.
'African's plight, most importantly his need to cast off his complexes of dependence and deference towards whites'	Africans had an ingrained view of white superiority.
'Africans had to create for themselves a convincing new identity and new pride'	It was the responsibility of Africans to raise themselves up.
'to re-evaluate and reject white interpretations of the African past'	African history and tradition had been 'watered down' and neglected by white rule.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:

- Biko chaired the organisation and it was instrumental in promoting Black Consciousness.
- Biko argued that the African's struggle within South Africa necessitated both psychological liberation and then physical liberation.
- Biko helped establish Black Communities Programme in 1970, establishing self-help groups in black communities.
- The influence of Dubois and Garvey on the SA Black Consciousness movement.
- Possible influence of liberation writers such as Frantz Fanon (author of *The Wretched of the Earth)* on Biko.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:

- From the mid-1970s onwards there was a marked increase in black resistance to apartheid, including MK sabotage activities. ANC and PAC abandoned non-violence and founded militant resistance organisations: the ANC setting up Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK – Speak of the Nation) and the PAC creating POQO (We Alone).
- ANC in disarray and unable to operate within South Africa.
- Joe Slovo (Former Communist), member of High Command identified reasons for sabotage: moral responsibility for slide to civil war would remain with government; sabotage was a form of propaganda.
- Targets included electricity pylons, Post Offices, Bantu Administration Offices and railway stations.
- MK largely organised in townships.
- "The MK campaign had only limited impact" (Barber).
- Armed struggle in South Africa was unsuccessful until after 1976. After Soweto many students forced to flee and joined ANC/MK training camps in Tanzania, Angola and elsewhere.
- ANC and PAC headquarters set up abroad. Oliver Tambo given job of winning international support for the ANC.
- Only in late 1970s did ANC change emphasis from armed struggle to political activism.
- POQO aimed to lay the foundations for a general rising. POQO's tactics included the murder of police officers and informants. Murder of tribal chiefs who 'collaborated', random attacks on whites.
- Granite response of the state throughout the 1970s.
- Rise of Black Consciousness movement (BCM) led by Biko. He did not condone the violence of MK and POQO.
- Influence of BCM in protests and strikes of 60,000 in 1972-3.
- Connection between BCM and Soweto riots.
- Azanian People's Organisation formed 1978, bringing together BPC, BCP and SASO (all banned after Soweto).
- Spread of Black Consciousness ideas among ANC in exile as large number of activists joined ANC training camps.
- Despite BCM, black resistance was dominated by non-racialism of the ANC/SACP.
- By late 1970s ANC focusing on urban areas and building mass organisations.
- Liberation of Angola and Mozambique.
- Nothing particularly original about BCM/Biko's ideas: roots can be traced to at least the beginning of the twentieth century and earlier Africanist movements.
- Steve Biko was the acknowledged leader of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa.
- As a student at Natal Medical School he was initially involved with the NUSAS but later helped form SASO.
- 1972 – he became honorary president of the Black People's Convention.
- During 1974 Biko was placed under a banning order by the SA government but nevertheless his ideas remained hugely influential among black South Africans.
- Government response banning, detaining and imprisoning leaders including Biko for 'endangering the maintenance of law and order' suggests influence of Biko.
- The spread of black consciousness ideas among the ANC in exile as large numbers of activists joined ANC training camps.

- Impact of the death of Biko in police custody in 1977 and subsequent domestic and international reaction.
- Growing popularity of the homelands policy of the NP.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Saul Dubow	emphasises the influence of the BC movement and Biko's leadership on the Soweto uprising, while **Worden** describes BCM as 'an important part of the renewed conflicts' of the 1970s, while linking the heightened African resistance of the early 1980s to the economic recession which caused African living standards to fall.
Adrian Guelke	questions how far the influence of Biko's ideas and BCM actually extended beyond intellectuals and students. Identifies the increasing numbers of whites supporting resistance movements, particularly internationally as the Cold War intensified.
Baruch Hirson and Dale McKinley	Marxist historians downplay the importance of the BCM and Biko, claiming that they did not fundamentally threaten the immediate interests of the apartheid state because the movement failed to develop a coherent political strategy. Rather it was a growing class consciousness amongst workers that brought more cohesive action against the state.
William Beinart	argues the BCM extended the bounds of possibility and that anger and the symbols of resistance survived the death of Biko and the banning of the BC. There remained 'a strong belief amongst politicised black youths that 'the system' was so unjust it could not last. Argues that rural resistance was also escalating at this stage and should not be neglected.

SECTION 9 – Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914-1945

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 65	To what extent was the February Revolution caused by military problems?
Aim of the question	The aim is to allow the candidate to give an account and analysis of the events leading up to and causing the 1917 February Revolution. It invites the candidate to analyse and evaluate the range of factors which have been put forward as causing the Revolution; including the escalating military problems, social unrest and the political and economic breakdown of the regime. The candidate should come to a reasoned judgement on the issue

Evidence which supports the view that the February Revolution was caused by military problems

Military Factors
- The role of the Army joining the rioters from 25 February onwards – the failure of the Tsar to retain loyalty; soldiers deserting the Front.
- Loyal Cossacks were long dead and current Petrograd garrison had more in common with the protestors than the regime.
- Garrison was afraid of being sent to the Front.
- Actions of Petrograd garrison and several previously loyal regiments such as Volhinsky and Preobrazhensky.
- Impact on the Russian army from the outset to the crisis of 1916 highlighting withdrawal of support from Tsar by some top commanders; detail on the role of the generals.
- Impact of Tsar taking control from 1915 - the failure of the Tsar to retain loyalty, against longer term discontent. Soldiers deserting the Front.
- Revolution from below; soldiers, sailors, peasants and workers.
- Role of Bolsheviks undermining the army - "Comrade Cossack".

However
- The role of the Bolsheviks in undermining the army may have been overstated.
- The role of the sergeants in the rebellious regiment was more significant than that of other ranks.
- Continued support of commanders such as Kornilov.

Evidence which supports the view that the February Revolution was caused by other factors

Economic Factors
- Economic change and its impact – the economic situation, the demand for bread, the pressures of modernising Russia as seen at Putilov and elsewhere.
- Workers were aggrieved by deteriorating conditions in the factories and by food shortages … role of women textile workers.
- Rising inflation and price rises.
- Details on strikes and lockouts; closure of factories due to shortages of raw materials, actions of shop stewards committees, breakdown of rail supply system.
- Actions of government in area of taxation; vodka abolition.

Social Factors

- Increasing problems by 1917, the demand for bread, food and fuel shortages, queuing and inflation: the cold weather of early 1917: the immediate events of 25th February and events on International Women's Day as evidence of discontent.
- Breakdown of order in the countryside as agriculture disintegrated due to lack of men, fertilizers and draught animals; peasants taking land by force and killing landowners.
- Failure to support Tsarism might have seemed spontaneous and the revolution uncoordinated but quickly changed in a few days to a more politicised protest, showing the underlying problems.
- War weariness.
- The rising number of refugees flooding Petrograd, rise of typhus.

Political Factors

- February was evidence of the failure of autocracy – the nature of Tsarism by 1917 and actions of the Tsar, an evaluation of his strengths and weaknesses, including his role in the War, the effect of the Tsarina's rule and influence of Rasputin.
- An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, revolution from above: the role of the elites, the progressive bloc, Guchkov conspiring with Alexeyev, the alienated intelligentsia and the possible palace coup – Yusupov.
- The development of opposition parties as evidence of discontent; detail on the role, policies and actions of Mensheviks and SRs.
- Lenin and Trotsky – their writings and influence and noting that although the major leaders were abroad and no political party organised the revolution; political influence was part of the failure of many to support Tsarism.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Orlando Figes	argues that the Revolution was "born in the bread queues".
Peter Kenez	"there was not to be found anywhere in the country any groups of the population...which were ready to put up a fight for the old regime".
Leon Trotsky	"Nicholas II inherited from his ancestors not only a giant empire, but also a revolution".
Rex Wade	"The long awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations".

Question 66	How significant was the role of leadership in determining the outcome of the Civil War?
Aim of the question	This essay should be an evaluation of the role of leadership as a factor that led to Red victory in the Civil War; this should involve discussion of leadership of both Reds and Whites and the role of foreign and national minority leaders. This may include military and political leadership. The candidate should demonstrate a more detailed understanding of the range and importance of the different social, political and economic factors involved and the variety of influences on the outcome of the conflict.

Evidence which supports the view that the role of leadership was important in determining the outcome of the Civil War

Trotsky's leadership strengths for Reds
- The organisational skills of the Bolsheviks strong leadership, role of Trotsky, a sense of unity, and the skill of the Red Army.
- Tough discipline of Red Army – death penalty for desertion or cowardice.
- Propaganda, Red exploitation of White weaknesses (eg efficient use of propaganda, terror).
- Trotsky, Commissar of War, who formed the Red Army, used oratory, propaganda machine, the train, to invoke unity and organisation and centralised communications.
- His inspirational leadership, tough management of the army, attaching political commissars to each unit, introducing death penalty, military specialists, forming labour battalions and recruiting ex-Tsarist officers showed the decisive and strong leadership needed.
- Lenin's support of Trotsky against the likes of Stalin and Zinoviev, his leadership, although he was more risk-averse than Trotsky – eg in routing Petrograd of the Whites.

Weakness of white leaders
- At first Kornilov was inspiring, part of the Don Cossack army but killed, April 1918.
- At the beginning the Volunteer Army (3,000) was largely an officers' army, and much better organised – Denikin's defeat of the Red Army in the Don region.
- Inability of the Whites to forge a common purpose or military front against the Reds, the inadequacies of the White leaders policies and methods.
- Disunity between White leadership and soldiers – Denikin "I can do nothing with my army".
- Leaders never coordinated their attacks, in theory they had Reds surrounded.
- Often White leaders were at odds to the extent that it had an impact eg Alexeev and Kornilov had to communicate by messenger (even though offices next to each other).
- Denikin had no time for separatism and so lost support of Southern Volunteer Army, Ukraine and the Caucasus. This leader condoned the 'ethnic cleansing' practices of Cossacks and he helped landowners recover their estates, alienating the peasants.
- Yudenich was successful and did reach Petrograd by October 1919, but was then beaten by larger Bolshevik forces.
- Kolchak in the east was defeated because of internal fighting and apathy; SR power struggles weakened the army (Czechs); he had hundreds of SR activists killed which meant little control. SRs revolted and undermined his campaign.

- In Omsk there was indiscipline and corruption eg uniforms and munitions given by foreign interventionist governments sold on black market and "officers lived in brothels in a haze of cocaine and vodka".
- Denikin and Wrangel had initial successes but Trotsky's counter-attack forced retreat. Wrangel held out but evacuation by 1920.
- They were split geographically and politically, did not communicate or see value in propaganda, particularly Denikin.

Evidence which supports the view that other factors were important in determining the outcome of the Civil War

Geographical land held
- Initially Whites controlled more land, but it was a case of quantity not quality.
- Geographical advantages of Reds were marked as they had control of central Russian 'Sovdepia' including Moscow and Petrograd. Moving capital to Moscow.
- Access to raw materials to make armaments/heavily populated for conscription.
- Control of railway network making it easier to transport troops, armaments and propaganda tools.
- Allied intervention backfired and gradually dwindled resulting in patriotic support for the Bolsheviks who used it to gain patriotic support as defenders of mother Russia from foreign invaders.

Economic Resources
- Superior economic resources which led to Red victory.
- Whites had little access to raw materials to peruse war effort or build an economic base.
- War Communism, whereby the Bolsheviks requisitioned grain from the peasants, gave priority to the Red Army.
- Industrial plants were taken over by the government. The regime had at its disposal the entire national resources to carry on a war against its enemy.

Land policies
- Support of the Peasantry as Whites were not offering land.
- Peasants believed support for Whites would be return to Tsarism and landlords.
- Wrangle's Land degree came too late in 1920.
- Failure to get support from the peasantry on Land issue. Kolchak returned land to pre-revolution landlords.

Political

Role of non-White opposition to the Bolsheviks
- Whites lost the support of the nationalist groups by their pre-1917 policy on the borders which would deny autonomy to some.

Foreign Intervention
- Limited impact of foreign interventionists and their half-hearted attempts did little to aid the White cause. Here the Reds did not win, the Whites were losing.

Other Groups
- The motivation of the Greens and Makhno's Insurgent Army. G Swain described 'the unknown civil war' and notes that their influence and potential success is greater than previously thought.
- Difficulties at the front, with the Whites having problems maintaining a cohesive front-line force, given the variety of people involved – conscripts, workmen, peasants, colonists.
- Nationalities – White Great Russian nationalism caused problems, as did anti-Semitism, which was pandemic.
- Role of Czech Legion.

Bolsheviks
- Bolsheviks' cause was a patriotic one and they exploited whites using foreign intervention as an invasion of 'Mother Russia".
- "Peace, Bread & Land" had universal appeal was easily understood.
- Peasants already had land from Bolsheviks whereas white support might restore former landowners.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
R Service	cites 'Trotsky's brilliance'.
R Pipes	sees the objective factors (like the territory the Reds controlled) as the cause of victory, rather than leadership or motivation.
O Figes	suggests the crucial advantage the Reds had, which meant more men volunteered to be part of the fighting force, was the claim that they were defending 'the Revolution.'
B Lincoln	also highlights this in Wrangel's attempt in 1920 to offer land to the peasants as well.

Question 67	How far can it be argued that Stalin's policy of collectivisation was driven by ideology?
Aim of the question	Candidates would be expected to consider the reasons for introduction in question terms of intentions politically, economically and socially. To create sovkhozes and kolkhozes which would be the socialist solution for agriculture. It would make the country socialist, putting peasants in 'agrotowns'. It would increase production and unite the USSR. Candidates may find that there was an ideological justification for implementation, but that the practical imperative was possibly more of a motivating factor. In the short term it eliminated the peasant threat as an independent force and there was a regular supply of food to the towns. Therefore, candidates will debate the relative importance of ideological and practical considerations.

Ideological

Justification
- Peasants mostly thought of as petit bourgeois – kulaks influential leaders, therefore enemies; too often holding the country to ransom.
- Socialist solution not to have private holdings (NEP), but 'socialist agrotowns'.
- The administrative weakness in the countryside contradicts the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- Part of Stalin's 'Great Turn'
- Strengthening control of Central Party apparatus over provinces.
- Sorting out Party cliques at local level.
- Needed to prepare for potential war and to support industrial expansion.
- To compete with USA as a superpower, create a "soviet America".
- Initially popular with party as NEP would end; it was seen as ideologically unsound.
- Concept of the peasant collective was ideologically correct.

Use of force
- Force, propaganda and terror was used.
- Liquidation of the kulak class, to make the middle peasants obey Stalin.
- 'Twenty Five Thousanders' rounded up families and deported some 10 million people (some estimate 20 million dead or deported).
- The extent of denunciations by neighbours reflects the success of the propaganda machine in inflaming class hatred.
- Armed resistance and riots: crops, tools and houses burned rather than hand them over.
- Women's protests were significant and effective in organisation and outcome.

Practical Reasons
- 1917–18 agrarian revolution seen as a step backwards economically.
- Many crops suited better to larger farms – small farms meant poor use of labour, unable to benefit from mechanisation. Too much consumed by the farm, not enough going to market.
- Larger units of land meant efficiency via mechanisation – tractors and machinery supplied through MTS.
- Fewer peasants needed to work land – releasing labour for industry.
- Easier for state to take grain for cities and export – controlled by Communist supporters.

- Grain procurement crisis 1928-9 – peasants were resisting government policies and not sending goods to market; bread and meat therefore rationed in the cities. Building a social and economic system to make USSR a great power.
- Would break peasant strangle-hold on the economy and provide grain and manpower for industrialisation.

Economic
- By end of February 1930 claimed 50% collectivisation but; Agriculture was a disaster: significant numbers of animals slaughtered, enterprising peasants had left the country, fled to city to seize opportunity of upward mobility.
- Those left were in no mood to begin work, and passive resistance was the order of the day – referred to this as second serfdom.
- Statistics in 1930s distorted to show alleged success.
- 'Dizzy with success' speech (2nd March 1930) meant pace slowed down and return to voluntary principle indicates limitations of policy.
- Life was the same for most, same wooden huts.
- Tractors were largely imaginary – 2,500 MTS in first three years, but this was a proletarian bastion in the countryside, staffed by workers and OGPU.
- Famine 1932–34 because high targets at time of huge drop in grain production due to collectivisation, OGPU were vicious. 1.73 million tons exported and 7 million died from a man-made famine.
- Estimated 70% peasants households collectivised by 1934 and 90% by 1936; 120 million people, 600,000 villages, 25 million holdings consolidated into 240,000 state-controlled collective farms.
- But peasants had private plots, condoned because of desperation for food. Best farmers were those most resistant to the policy and were therefore shot or deported thus affecting yields through loss of expertise.
- Furthermore, livestock production did not recover until post WWII.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
E Mawdsley	Stalinist Russia did face real external threats but this led to a 'continuation' of the industrial and military build-up that that already begun.
Cold War historians	may say a 'cause' was necessary; today it is more likely to say the 'cause' was economic modernisation itself and to that end it was effective... for them.
M. Lewin	creating a 'quicksand society' where the state was in control of everyone and all were 'equal'.
R Conquest	states that collectivisation was the weapon used to break peasant resistance.
S Cohen	states that the peasantry was seen as "a vast inert and yet somehow threatening mass of people, barring Russia's path to industrialisation, modernity, socialism: a kingdom of darkness that must be conquered before the Soviet Union could become the Promised Land".

Question 68	To what extent can the Purges be explained by Stalin's desire for 'absolute power'?
Aim of the question	Candidates would be expected to debate the motivation of Stalin and the Stalinist regime in contributing to, and escalating the Purges. Consideration of revisionist and totalitarian arguments should be discussed when assessing the contribution of Stalin and his desire for 'absolute power' as the motivating factor for the Purges. Other contributing political, social and economic factors should be assessed. There should also be an awareness of the main debates surrounding Stalin's role, the role of NKVD and external threats to the Soviet Union.

Evidence supporting the view of Stalin's desire for absolute power as a motivation for the Purges.

- Wanted to bring the Party under control.
- Felt threatened by opposition.
- Stalin wanted absolute power and control of all people at all levels.
- Terror prevented criticism of the leadership and therefore made Stalin more powerful.
- The "top down" view – Stalin intended to kill his opponents to increase his personal power.
- Use of high profile Show Trials such as Zinoviev and Kamenev and Bukharin.
- The assassination of Kirov and Stalin's use of this to instigate the Show Trials – purging Leningrad party – plotting terrorist attacks discovered – but extends to thousands more and unjustified, thus no-one felt safe as even the party was being purged.
- Debatable who was behind the Kirov murder – the murder provided a good excuse for the Purges – if the Party leadership (Stalin) was behind it, Purges came from above, if not, Party members destroying each other – leadership forced to cover-up inner destruction of the Party and carry out the Purges.
- The elimination of Party members who were not 'faithful' – Stalin worried about spies and traitors and the effect of denouncing was to allow old grudges to be settled and extend his control. This even included the Head of the NKVD, Yagoda.
- Stalin wanted to remove anyone who could form an alternative government.

Evidence supporting the view that there were other factors that were a motivation for the Purges.

Role of the Party & NKVD
- Stalin replaced Yagoda who was criticised for not finding enemies of the people quickly enough.
- Yezhov instigated period of terror called Yezhovshchina (known by Western historians as the Great Purge) – reached height in mid-1937 and lasted until 1938.
- Purges sustained the importance of the NKVD and they increased the scope of Purges.
- People looked for personal gain from Purges – denounced others.
- Caused by Lower Party (Local Level) – little control from top people denouncing others for their own advantage.
- Show Trials not from thin air: Trotsky formed "bloc" = threat.
- Wanted party to be always insecure so kept control – especially with the nomenklatura around the Central Committee: lieutenants not sure who Stalin would adopt as "his people".
- Central Party's lack of control over local party branches.

- Local Party often had conflicting interests with the Central Party, eg to find Kulaks, valuable men to community: local party bosses wanted to reach production targets.
- By 1939, less than 20% of the membership at the beginning of 1921 remained – but over 70% of 1939 members had been recruited since 1929.
- Encouraged lower levels of the party to criticise those higher up = rush of accusations which got out of control and developed a momentum of their own.
- Campaign encouraging people to criticise officials = to deflect criticism from government.
- People forced to look after their own interests, so difficult to unite with each other.
- In some ways responsible for the spread of terror to such an extent as people encouraged to denounce others.

Economic Factors
- Purges provided slave labour in and from the Gulags.
- External threats, reaction to the threat of war. Strong heavy industry base needed for arms industry.
- The pace of industrialisation had to quicken and more workers/prisoners needed.
- Mid-1930s, Five-Year Plans falling behind schedule – downturn in the Soviet economy after 1936 because of technical problems, Stalin's management of the economy, and a bad harvest that year.
- Purges used to blame "scapegoats" for economic failures.
- Poor economic progress + conditions were enemy sabotage and wrecking.
- Purges used to push an unwilling people to work even harder already suffering from impact of First Five-Year Plan.
- Tension between workers and managers because of Stakhanovite campaign of 1936 – centre wanted to encourage workers to produce more and to put pressure on managers by demanding tools + materials: if managers did not respond denounced by workers.

Other Reasons
- Stalin thought he was acting in the interests of the party.
- To prepare for war.
- Stalin had to save the revolution from external threats – war looming.
- No master plan - response to circumstances in Soviet Russia.
- The Army – Purging Tukhachevsky and army leadership due to fear of 5th column emerging, but he got rid of his best commanders.
- Religious persecution.
- Social instability caused by the economy – 'quicksand society' Moshe Lewin.
- Purges stabilised society – to maintain the institution of the NKVD, slave labour.
- Evidence of paranoia.
- The terror for all … reasons becoming so arbitrary – telling a joke against Stalin, being the fiend of someone arrested.
- Stalin's personality – vengeful and paranoid especially after suicide of his wife in 1932 – as he believed others around him would try to betray him.
- Stalin simply followed Lenin's lead from the Red Terror.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Alec Nove	states that the Purges were Stalin's decisions but that in over-zealous hands wanting to fulfil or over-fulfil numbers, the numbers arrested go up.
S Cohen	states that Stalin wanted to rid himself of the Bolshevik Party.
S Fitzpatrick	Argues that the Purges came from "below" – the Purges were the result of decisions made by the Communist leadership in reaction to a series of crises in the mid-1930s.
Robert Service	Stalin's personality determined the form the Great Purges took.

Question 69	**How valid is the view that women achieved equality in the Stalinist state?**
Aim of the question	Candidates may consider the impact of the soviet state on women and the subsequent changes this brought to their status and equality under both Lenin and Stalin. Candidates could compare specific developments and changes for women in Lenin's Russia from the Family Code of 1918 and the subsequent "Great Retreat" with the Family Code of 1936. Reference to role of women in society, family and employment and the extent of how those changes brought "equality" should be debated. Candidates may assess the extent to which these changes were undertaken and the subsequent short and long-term impact these change made upon women, family life, culture, education, politics, or religion.

Family and Women
- Assessing the success this brought to this 'new society' should be assessed alongside its impact on the family, impact of divorce on women, abortion.
- 1917 - New divorce laws granted for either party, but in reality this resulted in many women being abandoned. 70% of divorces were initiated by men in 1927 and only 7% by mutual consent.
- This had huge impact on women being left to care for family.
- 1919 - USSR had highest marriage rate, but highest divorce rate by 1920s.
- 1920 - Abortion allowed.
- Views of Lenin viewing traditional marriage as bourgeois and exploitation, thus canteens, crèches, laundries were supposed to be provided to socialise domestic services and free women, however this soon was at odds with the realities of soviet life, as the government was unwilling and unable to fund enough of these.

However
- balancing this with the upheavals, homelessness and crime by the mid-thirties saw a move to more rigid censures on society, called by some the 'Great Retreat' because it was a return to the values of pre-Communist days.
- Family remained a key institution despite being described as "bourgeois' and "patriarchal".
- the candidate might evaluate the Family Code of May 1936 which was a move to pro-family, pro-discipline and anti-abortion policies.
- Known as the 'Great Retreat' - abortion outlawed, divorce more difficult to obtain, child support payments were fixed and there were child support payments for women with six children or more.
- Results were divorces declined, but so did marriages, although birth rate increased.

Women and Employment
- During WW1, the percentage of women in urban workforce doubled and by 1917 it was at 47%.
- After civil war, many women lost jobs to returning men.
- Women still paid less than men.
- Employers reluctant to hire women due to time they may take off work for home responsibilities.
- With rising unemployment during NEP, women were forced into unskilled work and many ended up in criminal activity.
- By 1929, female workforce had fallen to 1913 levels.
- Women often worked an 8 hour day at work and then 5 hours of domestic tasks.
- Traditional family roles prevailed where men did nothing to help with domestic tasks.

Women & politics

- Women's participation in Communist party did not increase greatly - 1917 - women were 10% party membership, but this had only increased to 12.8% by 1928.
- Young, unmarried women were more likely to be activists and female membership of the Komsomol was much higher than party membership.
- In 1919, party set up a women's department, Zhenotdel, however in practice is focused on practical help for women in education and social services rather than making them defenders of the revolution and it was abolished in 1930 on the grounds it was no longer necessary.
- Alexandra Kollontai's more radical ideas about transforming women's role in society were not implemented.
- Women still victim of traditional Russian male chauvinism.
- There was a dislike within the party of anything that could be interpreted as separatist activity form the unity of class struggle.
- The interpretations of the extent of 'Stalinism' and the imposition of codes, rather than the acceptance and participation by the ordinary people, might be considered. The conflict of ideas and the shadow culture may be discussed.
- The political changes and the imposition of policy from the centre may be debated alongside the evidence of acceptance at local level.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Beryl Williams	notes that the traditional gender roles were maintained.
Beryl Williams	"It was a macho world for all the talk of equality…Men built socialism…the high-status proletarian was male, a metal worker or blacksmith."
Moshe Lewin	talks of a "quicksand society" created by the upheavals of collectivisation and industrialisation which caused social instability.
Sheila Fitzpatrick	"The old-style liberated woman, assertively independent and ideologically committed on issues like abortion, was no longer in favour: The new message was that family came first."

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 70 **Evaluate the usefulness of Source A as evidence of the problems facing the Provisional Government between February and October 1917.**

The candidate may be awarded a total of 5 marks for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. This may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidate provides in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of Source A in explaining the difficulties faced by the Provisional Government.

Aspect of Source A		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Central Committee of the Constitutional Democrats (Kadets).	Many of the members at the conference were either former or serving members of the Provisional Government Minutes of their state conference indicates growing social and political polarisation
Purpose	Minutes of a meeting	Discuss declining power of the Provisional Government and possible armed intervention from the military. Fears of mutiny and country collapsing as authorities have ignored questions and demands.
Timing	20th August 1917	Kerensky's power declining and just before the Kornilov Plot

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Country is collapsing as authorities have not responded to questions and demands.	There was a problem of weak government ignoring the people.
Army is collapsing and servile and mutinous instincts are appearing	The army are on the verge of turning against the government
Those who would like to help are late in appearing	Supporters were reluctant to come forward
The intelligentsia are incapable of governing	The leaders were ineffective

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- Reference to Kerensky's declining popularity after failed June Offensive.
- Problems of controlling armed forces due to Petrograd Soviet issuing Soviet Order No.1 in April.
- Kornilov plot would fail and backfire for Kerensky as he armed the Red Guard and indicated his weakness by showing he was unable to defend the Provisional Government.
- Kornilov Plot would make Kerensky's position untenable, he was loathed by the right for betraying Kornilov and distrusted by the left.

- Military shortages due to the War: Summer Offensive.
- Dual Power caused major difficulties due to the Provisional Government having power without authority and the Soviet having authority in the cities and towns.
- Kornilov coup and Kerensky's reaction; he had appointed him.
- Role of Kerensky's rule as he made tenuous alliances with both the Right and Left when he needed them to stay in power.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source
- Petrograd Soviet met in the Tauride Palace under same roof as the Duma.
- Soviet monitored the work of the Provisional Government so it did nothing to damage the interests of the working classes.
- Provisional Government was unelected and temporary until Constituent Assembly elections.
- Economic difficulties in getting grain to the cities.
- Lack of control in the country going with land seizures and violence.
- The 'peasant' army was disillusioned: failures at the front and Bolshevik supporting peace.
- April Thesis was influential in signifying a break with conventional Marxism, stating Russia was ready for revolution.
- Lenin's return was triumphant being met by massive crowds who now supported Bolshevik ideals and speeded up the demise of the Provisional Government.
- July Days were an attempted coup by the Bolsheviks however easily put down by Kornilov's soldiers.
- This was therefore a popular uprising and Kerensky disastrously underestimated the extent of support for the Bolsheviks. The coalition and status quo were no longer tolerated.
- That the Provisional Government's attitude to war was a negative factor "predatory imperialist war" which allowed Bolshevism to flourish.
- War heightened the struggle between the Soviets wanting an early peace and Milyukov's determination to fight on, leading to his resignation.
- After 'The April Crisis' the Mensheviks joined the government and popularity was gained amongst the rank and file. But there remained the desire for peace, as the fraternisation of Russian and German troops showed.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Martin McCauley	"It was a true caretaker government."
Michael Lynch	Provisional Government was "the old Duma in a new form." One of government's main failings: not elected so lacked legitimate authority, no claim on loyalty of Russian people, so judged entirely on how it dealt with problems.
Orlando Figes	notes that "amidst a social revolution centred the popular realisation of Soviet power".
Douglas Smith	as a revisionist sees the active role of the lower ranks in pushing forward the revolution and Fitzpatrick takes this further by suggesting that the workers, peasants and soldiers created the revolution.
Alexander Rabinovitch (Soviet)	all parties, except Bolsheviks, lost credibility due to association with Government and insistence in carrying on the war.

Question 71   **How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of the reasons why Stalin rather than Trotsky emerged victorious in the leadership struggle?**

The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from an individual source.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The "orgburo and secretariat made decisions"	Stalin controlled these. Stalin's position and subsequent control of his party base brought him great power.
• The staff of this latter body (Secretariat) increased • a bureaucratic colossus	The bureaucracy expanded
placing the General Secretary at the heart of the 'nomenklatura system'	Stalin was at the centre of the administrative appointment system
swarms of officials to a vast array of jobs and kept the party-state in being	The Party became bigger so Stalin's influence grew

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- His position of General Secretary and referred to him as "the grey-blur" or "Comrade Card-Index".
- Control of Party organisation and Party membership, the Orgburo and Secretariat.
- As administrator (Commissar for Nationalities).
- Willing to take on any post, seen as the 'jolly Georgian'.
- Patron – as General Secretary, Lenin Enrolment.
- The creator of the mass Party by 1925.

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
since 1924 a faction of seven has existed, consisting of all members of the politburo, except me	Trotsky felt he was being isolated against superior numbers
Kuybyshev, whose job is supposed to be chief custodian of the Party rules and party morals, but who in fact has been the first to break the rules and pervert them.	Claims that his position has been replaced by Kuybyshev and he is abusing his position to undermine Trotsky.
Its meetings have been used to devise ways of attacking me.	The meetings of the politburo were used to plot against Trotsky.
The Party did not know about this, and nor did I. It has been going on for a long time.	This has been going for a long time behind the backs of the Party.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source
- Trotsky was indeed ousted along with Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1927 after forming the united opposition when they realised Stalin was planning on defeating the left.
- Stalin's use of contenders eg Zinoviev (sidelining Comintern) and Kamenev, plus the roles of other key figures including Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky.
- Trotsky the intellectual who lacked any real power base and should highlight this for example by considering his action/inaction over the Georgian issue. Stalin concealed his goals and had the ability to out-manoeuvre his opponents.
- Factionalism and infighting; use of Ban on Factions to help Stalin keep opponents quiet.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source
- Trotsky's idea of 'Permanent Revolution' compared to 'Socialism in One Country'.
- Trotsky's background – Menshevik and Jewish.
- 'Permanent revolution' was losing its popularity to a generation who had been at war from 1914–21.
- Lenin's views revealed in his Testament which is hinted at in last lines of source.
- He befriended the Right and then the Left in a spirit of 'divide and conquer'.
- The contenders for power in the 1920s including Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev and Bukharin.
- The qualities and deficiencies of each both in terms of their practical and ideological appeal.
- Constituencies of support as well as the ideological differences.
- Manipulating situations to his own benefit (eg during the 'war scare' of 1927). 1924 November – Stalin's speech 'Leninism or Trotskyism' result – Trotsky seen as anti-Leninist.
- That he had luck on his side, examples of this (Sverdlov and Dzerzhinsky dying).
- Pedigree as a 'bandit' revolutionary, rather an émigré revolutionary as Trotsky was seen.
- Cult of the personality, immediately introduced by Stalin after Lenin's death and associating himself with this.
- His policies became 'Leninist'.
- Even Lenin was initially fooled about what Stalin was like and what he stood for, but realised too late to be able to change things.
- Lenin's illness and Stalin's position as General Secretary gave an opportunity to be exploited.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Isaac Deutscher	argues that Stalin always followed the majority viewpoint.
Chris Ward	"socialism in one country" appealed to most people.
Robert Conquest	Stalin simply outmaneuvered his colleagues.
Geoffry Hosking	"Comrade Card Index".
Martin McCauley	Stalin had luck on his side. Dzerzhinsky's death allowed him to infiltrate his supporters into the political police.
Richard Pipes	"Stalin was in an unrivalled position that assured his future career for some time before Lenin's death."

Question 72   How fully does Source D explain the reasons for Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War?

The candidate may be awarded up to a **maximum of 3 marks** for interpreting points from the source.

Point in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The Soviet war effort focused above all on the prosecution of war at the expense of everything else.	War effort was focused completely on the war at the expense of everything else which contributed to success.
Anyone who failed to work, or was guilty of neglect or incompetence, lost rations or could be sent to a camp, whose inmates laboured all over the Soviet area as forced workers.	Massive increase in production of weapons in contrast to previous years. Red Army of 4 million by 1941 was the biggest in the world, and by this time led by a professional General Staff.
Work meant survival, not only for the individual, who might otherwise face slow debilitation through hunger, but for the Soviet Union or Mother Russia.	Use of fear and intimidation to ensure everyone worked and was engaged in the war effort. Any deserters or 'disorganizers of the rear' severely dealt with. Shooting on the spot or families arrested. Role of the NKVD in 'encouraging' the troops.
A real enemy at last, in the shape of Germany, galvanised Soviet society	Harnessing of patriotism of Russian people to defend Mother Russia against common German enemy.

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- Employing a scorched earth policy, leaving nothing 'enemy...not left a single engine' and setting up the State Committee of Defence (GKO) "and entire state authority invested in it..."- mass evacuation of industry and people to the East.
- Use of Russian historical propaganda. Great figures from the past used as examples of courage etc.
- From the first, this is a patriotic war, his speech opens with reference to an attack on 'our Motherland'; national pride is being used rather than Marxism-Leninism as the inspiration for resistance. The slogan 'Proletarians of the world unite' is replaced by 'Death to the German occupier'.
- Stalin is shown as the great leader and generalissimo, able to rouse the nation, inspire the troops and to take advantage of offers of assistance from the Western powers.
- There was not a mass evacuation of industry and Stalin was seen to have helped Hitler in the two previous years. There was no evacuation of Leningrad and the resultant loss of life was immense.
- Use of propaganda as an effective weapon for mobilising resistance.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- The 'suddenness' of the attack is made up by Stalin. Recent publications suggest he was warned by up to 76 different sources and ignoring that resulted in millions of unnecessary casualties. He did have a nervous breakdown and when the Generals came to him he thought he was to be executed.
- Evidence of their fierce resistance under General Zhukov in September 1941 and by the end of November the Germans called off their advance on Moscow. Stalingrad showed there was a role for the political commissar.
- In the first days of the war, whole units surrendered *en masse*.
- Under his leadership there was still a pre-disposition for mass attacks and the Purges of the Army.
- 1937-38 were followed by extremely harsh discipline, where officers could shoot men who refused to obey orders.
- The weather played as significant a part – Winter 1941 was one of the harshest on record and the Germans were unprepared. The Germans were over-stretched in the Russian campaign.
- The partisan wars did take on a mass character but did provoke mass reprisals against the civilian population.
- The speeches were effective but in highlighting German racism. Many were fighting German racial policy rather than fighting for Stalin. The Germans might well have been welcomed as liberators (for two years Hitler had been portrayed as a friend) but they were worse than the Soviets – reference here could be made to treatment of peasants.
- Role of Stalin's relations with the Orthodox Church being put on a better footing.
- Stalin did not sign the Geneva Convention; the treatment of prisoners of war was horrific and the effect of the war as a whole on the Soviet people was traumatic.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Michael Lynch	After Barbarossa Stalin provided inspiring and resolute leadership which carried the USSR through four years of bitter attrition.
Richard Overy	notes the strengths and the weaknesses of the Soviet forces as reasons for the outcome. He also highlights the "uneasy symbiosis" of the "efforts of the people in defiance of the system they inhabited" and the role of the state and the leader.
Alex Medvedev	criticises the Generalissimo as being "short sighted and cruel, careless of losses".
Chris Ward	notes the economic, military and the political, but also points out the importance of the social factors – the people's war. He also notes Hitler's blunders.
Richard Sakwa	notes that Stalin "appeal(ed) to Russian pride rather than Marxism or Leninism as inspiration for resistance".
Peter Kenez	notes that Nazi policy gave the people no option, they were fighting against Nazism, not for Stalinist Russia.

SECTION 10 – Spain: The Civil War – Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923-1945

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 73	**To what extent did the Constitution of the new Republic in 1931 address the problems in Spain at the time?**
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine the constitution of the Republic in light of the problems facing Spain at that time. The candidate should look at how the constitution dealt with major issues such as the role of the church, the role of the army, the distribution of land and the regional questions. The candidate may also wish to explore the political arrangements in the constitution, including the electoral system.

The Army

Background
- The extent of the problem and its historical roots.
- The imperial role of the Army and its connection to the monarchy and the right.
- The 'Disaster' of 1898 and the army's inward focus afterwards.

Main issues
- Huge cost - 40% of budget.
- Questionable loyalty and need for 'Republicanisation' of officer corps.
- Powerful position in society. Army saw itself as a 'State within a State'.
- Senior Army officers had backed the pact of San Sebastian, helping to usher in a republic.

Constitution
- Article 6 renounced war as an instrument of national policy.
- The constitution did not reserve any special place in the Republic for the army and so paved the way for reforms according to the whim of government.
- The lack of mention in the constitution backs the claim that "no one now speaks for the army, nor does the army speak for itself".
- However, the constitution did not itself bring in radical changes for the army, these were done by the Government through statutes.

The Regional Question

Background
- There were regional movements in a number of areas, with Basque, Catalan and Galician regional parties dominant in their areas in 1931.
- The Pact of San Sebastian took place in the Basque country and included Catalan parties only when they received a guarantee of autonomy.
- Regional parties were split between left and right.

Constitution
- There is more in the constitution about the autonomy of regions than any other matter.
- Regional languages and culture are given protection and there is scope for largely autonomous areas throughout Spain.
- The constitution allowed for the Statute of autonomy later passed for Catalonia.
- However the constitution did not deal with all regions equally. The Basque country and Galicia were not given the same recognition as Catalonia.

Agrarian reform

Background
- Problems of Latifundias although aristocracy only owned (best) 6% of land.
- Half of Spain went to bed hungry.
- Lots of land not used productively.
- Leftists believed collectivisation held solution and would be unhappy with less.
- Middle-class Republicans believed in reform but baulked at potential sacrifices.

Constitution
- Article 44 provided for, among other things, "The utilities and farms affecting the common interest can be nationalised in cases where the social necessity so requires."
- This scared the right and the aristocracy. However, the constitution could not address the complexities involved in the agrarian problem. These were deal with, to a greater or lesser extent, by subsequent legislation.

The Church

Background
- Spain was a traditional Catholic country, with the church having a privileged position in society.
- The church controlled education.
- The church was in decline and fewer than 20% of the population attended mass regularly, in some parts of Spain, this under 5%.
- The church was associated with the *ancient regime* and to many was the antithesis of a modern, democratic republic.
- Throughout 1931 there were a series of church burnings that the government seemed indifferent to.

Constitution
- This was arguably the most radical of the changes brought about by the constitution.
- Article 3 stated that Spain has no official religion.
- Article 26 provided for the ending of financial support for the church, dissolution of the orders and contained provision for the nationalisation of their property.
- Article 27 further limited the scope of the church and ensured that Catholicism had no special place in Spain ahead of other religions.
- The church was not to educate the youth of the republic.
- However, the aim of the constitution was arguably secularisation of Spain, not a vindictive attack on the Catholic church, which was how the clerical reforms and the actions of some of those carrying them out were perceived.

Other measures

- The constitution provided for universal suffrage for men and women over 23, catapulting Spain from the middle of the 19th century to the forefront of European democracies.
- The electoral system was designed to ensure representation for a wide cross section of opinion while rewarding parties who could work co-operatively. Twenty-six parties had representatives in the Cortes.
- Protection of individuals under the law and freedom of speech, a free press and freedom of association.
- However, Maura resigned rather than serve under the constitution.
- Gil Robles used opposition to the anti-clerical constitution as a rallying point for the right.
- The electoral system rewarded left and right coalitions rather than genuine consensus.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Antony Beevor	"The Church was detested by the workers and labourers for preaching acceptance of poverty while amassing vast riches." The debate over Article 44 (as with Article 26)... Zamora nearly resigned. The centre and the right were deeply concerned about where such measures could lead
Hugh Thomas	"90 percent of those who were educated in religious schools did not confess or attend mass…" "Though (Catholic schools) favoured the status quo and the better off (they) were charitable and educational" "Nearly 20 Spanish provinces had an illiteracy rate of 50 per cent or over"
Raymond Carr	(Republicans placed) enormous emotional significance of the Church as a pillar of the *ancient regime*.
George Esenwein and Adrian Shubert	'Military men continued to dominate police posts' 'the Army was in the forefront of internal and civil disputes'

Question 74   'The victory of the Right in the elections of November 1933 was due to the disunity of the Left." How valid is this view of the 1933 election in Spain?

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine the view that the Right won the elections in 1933 because of the disunity among the parties of the Left. The candidate may also consider other reasons for this such as: the make-up of the Right coalition block, the rise of CEDA and the effects of the reforms of the Bienio Reformista. The candidate can then come to a balanced conclusion about the reasons for the victory of the Right in the 1933 Spanish elections.

Evidence to support the view that the victory of the Right in the 1933 elections was due to the disunity of the Left:

- The Socialists (PSOE) had decided not to ally themselves to the Republicans. The unity brought about by the pact of San Sebastian was dead and buried. The Republicans themselves were divided and the Socialists wished to distance themselves from them. The Socialists were generally moving to the left, especially in their rhetoric. The Republicans had achieved their original aim of getting rid of the King and establishing a democracy. The Socialists now wished to introduce more radical reform than the Republicans were likely to accept. The Socialists were also trying to mollify their own supporters and therefore had to be dealing with the Republicans who had failed to introduce reforms which were acceptable to many on the left.
- The previous coalition had snubbed the Radicals and they moved to side with the Right. The position of Lerroux in this was crucial. He felt snubbed personally and moved his Radical Republican Party to supporting the Right coalition, mainly in the hope of attaining a high position or indeed forming a Government. This was an important part of the electoral arithmetic.
- Both sides won approximately the same number of votes, with even a small majority of votes for the Left, but disunity meant the Left got 99 seats while the Right received 212 seats. This is a clear indication that it was in fact the splits in the Left that caused the defeat as the electorate actually supported the parties of the Left.
- Infighting within the PSOE with Caballero's faction pitted against Prieto's. The barely disguised enmity came to the fore, with Caballero becoming increasingly "bolshevised" and his wing of the party demanding revolution. Prieto seemed to be losing the argument in increasingly large sections of the party and parts of the trade union movement.
- The Anarchists called on voters to abstain. There had been a split in the anarchists between the syndicalists, including the *treintistas* and the FAI, including Durruti who wanted nothing to do with the state or bourgeois elections.
- The Left had disagreed over the Government's response to and responsibility for the events at Casas Viejas. Azaña had effectively been toppled by the response to the brutality at Casa Viejas and the anarchists in particular would never forgive him, regardless of whether he was personally responsible.

Evidence to support the view that the victory of the Right in the 1933 elections was due to factors other than the disunity of the Left:

- There were allegations of electoral fraud, especially in the South where *braceros* put their ballot papers into glass receptacles, under the watch of paid henchmen. The law enforcement authorities, particularly in the rural South were practically at the beck and call of the landowners. Many of the alleged malpractices were not investigated, regardless of how blatant they appeared.
- There was a much larger franchise including women. This election was the first which had a modern, democratic electorate. As with many other countries, those newly enfranchised, particularly women, did not necessarily those who had given them the vote.
- The unemployment rate in Spain was 12%, nearer 20% in the South. Although this was replicated throughout the Western world due to the depression, much of the anger of the people was directed against the incumbent Government.
- The Government of the Bienio Reformista had failed to deliver for many of its supporters, especially on land reform; at the same time it had alienated others through anti-clericalism and army reforms. Many of the reforms had fallen between two stools. The Right often read more into them than was actually there and this feeling of being under threat brought them together. At the same time many of the left felt that reforms did not go nearly far enough, especially the agrarian reforms and they were unwilling to support a coalition which included those they held most responsible.
- The right were far better organised, the Union de Derecha y Agrarios brought all parties together in an electoral pact. Lerroux presented himself and his Radical Republican Party as the moderate face of the Right coalition, giving some in the centre a reason to switch. This election saw the Right uniting around a common goal: defeating the Left.
- The rise of CEDA, largely as a result of a resistance to the measures taken against the church. The perception of persecution of the Church meant that there was another rallying point for traditionalists and the CEDA gave a political outlet for this, bringing some peasantry to the Right coalition who may not otherwise have voted for them.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Paul Preston	"The Left had committed a fatal tactical error". "The margin of victory in some places in the south was sufficiently narrow for electoral fraud to have made a difference".
Antony Beevor	"The Left was divided when it went into the elections".
Raymond Carr	"The Azana coalition of Socialists and Left republicans was in disintegration and disarray". "The elections came at the worst possible time: a sharp fall in agricultural prices and the worst year of the slump".
Harry Browne	"The Socialists' decision to withdraw from an electoral pact ... helped to produce a Centre-Right Cortes".

Question 75   **To what extent were the policies of the Bienio Negro an attempt to return Spain to pre-Republican times?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine the policies of the Bienio Negro and in particular the notion that they were designed to return Spain to pre-republican times. In doing so the candidate will examine whether the policies were aimed at reversing all of the policies introduced by the previous administration and also the extent to which there was an attempt to undermine democracy itself. The candidate can then come to a balanced conclusion about the extent to which the policies of the Bienio Negro were an attempt to return Spain to pre-Republican times.

Evidence to support the view that the policies of the Bienio Negro were designed to return Spain to pre-Republican times

- Lerrroux was not content only to halt land reform but his Government also cancelled the confiscation of land belonging to the Grandees. He also repealed the protection which had been given to agricultural workers meaning that they no longer enjoyed the same rights as industrial workers. Those who complained were supposedly told to "Eat the Republic".
- The dangerous rhetoric of Robles. The CEDA were determined to put themselves in Government and in October 1934 they were allowed three places in the cabinet. Many believed that this was a step which would undermine democracy and reform, returning Spain to an authoritarian state. Following the Asturias uprising, the CEDA demanded more representation and Robles was made Minister of war. To many it seemed as if anti-democratic forces were gaining ground in Spain.
- Reactions to FNTT strikes-banning on grounds of harvest being 'sacred', suspension of *El Obrera de la Tierra* and suspension of strike meetings.
- The brutal reaction to the Asturias Rising. The Army were effectively let loose on a largely civilian population, with justifications which were reminiscent of the Reconquista.
- Azaña, Companys and Caballero were imprisoned (with others) while some like Prieto were forced to flee.
- Following the backlash unleashed after the defeat of the Asturias uprising, the Government of Catalonia was disbanded and the Statute of autonomy suspended. The Right wanted to remove any decentralising measure and keep the integrity of Spain.
- Martial law was introduced following the Asturias uprising. This brought the country under the control of the Army and quasi-military forces, re-establishing the status of the army as the guardians of Spain.
- Another action taken in the aftermath of the failed uprising in the Asturias region was to abolish many left-wing councils on the pretext that they were fermenting revolution. Over a thousand municipal governments were unseated and replaced by unelected right-wing nominees. This was taken by some as an attempt to undermine democracy and return Spain to an authoritarian, centralised state.
- Replacement of personnel in key bodies meant workers' rights and protests were largely ignored.
- Re-establishing the domination of the Catholic Church. Virtually all of the special treatment that had previously been given to the Catholic Church and which were then removed by the previous Government, were restored.

- Robles' frequent attempts to increase the likelihood of his own advancement, destabilising the government further hoping to be asked to form a government himself.
- Robles did not back his own Minister, Giménez Fernández when he was being attacked by the ultra-right Deputies and as a result the reforms were eventually counter-productive, making life for the braceros' position even worse.

Evidence to refute the view that the policies of the Bienio Negro were designed to return Spain to pre-Republican times

- The Cortes was not disbanded and there was no right wing coup. The Governments of the Bienio Negro acted through the Cortes, not in spite of it. The President was allowed to make and dismiss Governments and leaders throughout this period and to call fresh elections for 1936.
- Although CEDA were the largest Party, they were not in Government at first and never in control. There was no moment when the levers of the state were handed over in the way that happened in Germany.
- Socialist Parties and Trade Unions not proscribed. Despite clear indications that the Socialist leadership, including the supposedly moderate Prieto, had been involved in armed insurrection, the Socialists were allowed to continue and many of the politicians who had been involved were dealt with surprisingly leniently.
- Government urged arbitration boards to quickly agree favourable contracts for workers. The government also strengthened legislation forcing landowners to hire local labour wages established high as Azaña era. Indeed when the CEDA had greater control they attempted to introduce a socially reforming agrarian policy which included the "Access to Ownership", allowing tenants the right to buy land they had farmed for twelve years. This and other reforms brought open hostility from landowners and some other right-wing Deputies.
- Declaration of Catalan State on announcement of CEDA delegates- undemocratic.
- Asturias rising inspired by legal democratic inclusion of elected members.
- Insurrectionary behaviour of CNT, UGT, FAI.
- Society polarised and arguably both sides were now 'catastrophists'. There was a widening of the gap between left and right with many on each side now talking of the need for armed struggle to secure their point of view.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Raymond Carr	"Robles had declared…that socialism must be defeated at all costs." "When it (the Asturias rising) was over the nation was morally divided between those who favoured repression and those who did not."
Stanley Payne:	"The stance and rhetoric of the CEDA were often provocative and threatening." "Some degree of electoral reform would have moderated electoral polarization."
Paul Preston	Increasing mimicking of Fascist tactics- "A crowd of 20,000 gathered and shouted ¡Jefe¡!Jefe!¡Jefe! and 'Our Leaders never make mistakes!'"
Hugh Thomas	Left also at fault - (After Right's victory) El Socialista regularly argued that the Republic was as bad as the monarchy had been. Largo "reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of preparing a proletarian rising."

Question 76	How far should the army be held responsible for the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936?
Aim of the question	The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine the responsibility of the army for the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War compared to other factors. Candidates may decide that the army were chiefly responsible, or emphasise the importance of other causes, such as the deteriorating political situation, the historic problems in Spanish society or the rhetoric of some of those on the left. The candidate could also argue that although the army was responsible for the attempted coup, the outbreak of the civil war was only possible because of the intervention of Germany and Spain, the inaction of Britain and/or the hesitation of the Republican government to arm the workers. The candidate can then come to a balanced conclusion about how far the army could be said to be solely responsible for the outbreak of the Civil War.

Evidence to support the view that the army were solely responsible for the outbreak of the Civil War

- There was a history of army interference in politics. There had been an attempted coup in 1932 and there had been the dictadura immediately before the Republic which began with a *pronunciamiento* in 1923. The army considered itself as the guardians of the *Patria* with a duty to "save" Spain.
- The Army Generals had been plotting a coup for some time and were looking for an excuse to strike. There were numerous attempts from within the army and outside it (particularly by the Falange) to get the army to rise against the new Government and previously.
- The Generals, including Franco, had been prepared to use force to keep the previous Government of Portela in power once the election results had become known in February 1936. The army was ready, according to the Generals, to do anything to prevent Communism in Spain.
- Mola had been designated as the General to coordinate the coup as early as March; while others such as General Varela, General Goded and General Fanjul had considered having a coup in late 1935 rather than allow elections to even take place.
- Plans had been made to coordinate action throughout Spain and Spanish Morocco, in order to take every place of major population or strategic importance. The plane which was to bring Franco to Morocco had set off from Britain on the 11th July.
- People were moved into position quickly. Franco was flown to North Africa from the Canary Islands and Sanjurjo prepared to fly from Portugal. Generals also moved those under them who they thought might resist the coup out of the way.
- The elections which had put the Government in place were democratic and fair, it was the army who refused to accept the will of the people. The elections represented the will of the Spanish people and although close in terms of votes, the electoral system gave a convincing majority to the centre-left, just as it had to the Centre right previously.
- Franco in particular had predicted that any coup might not bring about an immediate victory and that a prolonged conflict could result, based on his experience of working class resistance during the Asturias campaign of 1934.
- The murder of Sotelo was only an excuse, the date of the coup had already been set and people and equipment moved into place. To blame the outbreak of the war on this once incident is to ignore the weight of evidence that coup was pre-planned.

- Despite meeting the resistance of the people in many areas, the army continued with the attempted coup, even bringing in foreign forces to turn their stalled coup into a Civil War. The army can therefore be blamed for creating a civil war because they could not accept that the majority of the Spanish people and the police and civil forces had remained loyal. Rather than accept the failure of the coup, they created a civil war.

Evidence to refute the view that the army were solely responsible for the outbreak of the Civil War
- The aftermath of the elections showed an upsurge in political violence from the left and right. There was some justification for those who believed that democracy was not working as there was no peace. Many in the country believed that Spain was sliding in to political anarchy.
- Many argue that civil war was inevitable, the country had been heading that way throughout the 1930s. On the one hand the great problems facing Spain, such as the agrarian problem had not been solved by the Republic; on the other, there had been attacks on some of the "sacred" institutions of the Right, such as the Church. These attacks were physical, in terms of church burnings, as well as political, in the Constitution.
- Some on the left had argued that if they had lost the election there would need to be a revolution. The language of Largo Caballero in particular was increasingly confrontational and nihilistic. Many openly talked of a revolution regardless of the outcome of the elections.
- The Government ignored warnings of the plotting of the generals and could have prevented civil war, even Franco sent a note of warning in June, albeit cryptically written. The new Government seemed reluctant to take decisive action to prevent a coup and then to deal with it immediately.
- The refusal to arm the workers in the first few days of the coup meant that an opportunity to crush the army uprising and therefore present the Civil War was lost. Quiroga's hesitancy and refusal to accept the reality of the situation he faced is blamed by many for the coup not being snuffed out and therefore the civil war starting.
- The army Generals rebelled, but it was the inaction of Britain and the intervention of Germany and Spain which caused a civil war. Had the Republic been able to call on support from the other European democracies, a civil war could have been avoided.
- The coup stalled when the majority of the navy stayed loyal thanks to the junior officers and the Army of Africa was stranded in Morocco. Hitler said that Franco should erect a statue to the Junkers aircraft as this was what enabled him to win the war by transporting the Army of Africa to the Peninsula.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Paul Preston	"The elections meant that henceforth the right would be more concerned with destroying the Republic than taking it over. Military plotting began in earnest"
Antony Beevor	"The ultimate paradox of the liberal Republic... was that it did not dare defend itself from its own army by giving weapons to the workers who had elected it"

David Boyd Haycock   "The generals had never anticipated such fanatical resistance to their coup"

Edward Malefakis   "The Right intensified the polarisation of society...and contributed to the conditions that would eventually erupt in the Spanish Civil War."

Question 77   "Franco's victory was ultimately due to the superior forces at his disposal." How valid is the view of the Nationalists' triumph in the Spanish Civil War?

Aim of the question The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to consider the extent to which the victory of the Nationalists was due to the superior forces that Franco enjoyed or whether other factors, such as the lack of support for the Republic, the Non-intervention pact, Franco's tactics and disunity among the left were more of a reason. The candidate can then come to a balanced conclusion as to whether "superior forces" is an adequate explanation in explaining the victory of the Nationalists.

Evidence supporting the view that Franco's victory was ultimately due to the superior forces at his disposal:

- German aid was far superior to anything else in Spain in the latter part of the war. The Condor Legion eventually gave Franco total air superiority. This was displayed at Guernica and most of the successful battles for the Nationalists. The Germans provided an air force, artillery, technicians and ammunition among other support. Although there is some evidence that the Germans were happy to prolong the war, they were prepared to put enough support into Spain to ensure Franco's eventual success. They used Spain as a testing ground for their new air force and weaponry, meaning that the Nationalists had access to the most up to date equipment.
- Italian aid was not always as great technically, but was large in terms of troops. By February 1937 there were 50 000 Italian troops serving in the Nationalist army. The Italians also provided aircraft and tanks, among other supplies. The Italian navy also helped in the Mediterranean. It was said that Italy was effectively at war with the Spanish Republic. Especially after the Italian defeat at Guadalajara, Mussolini could not afford to suffer a Republican victory, so were prepared to give any amount of military support needed.
- Republicans were denied the means to obtain weapons, increasing the gulf between the two sides. Ammunition was often in short supply for the Republic, but not for the Nationalists. At the start of the war the sides were roughly evenly matched in terms of numbers, whereas, as the war went on, the Nationalists were able to reinforce and expand their military might greatly.
- Most of the experienced Generals in the Spanish army joined the rebellion, especially those who had spent the most time in the conflict in Spanish Morocco. This often showed on the battlefield when the Republican side could not always organise their supply lines to match their advances. Although there were exceptions, such as General Rojo, Nationalist Generals often proved better and more experienced in the field.
- Franco had at his disposal the Army of Africa. Consisting of experienced Spanish troops, Moroccan mercenaries and the Legionnaires, they were by far the best fighting – and most feared – soldiers in the Spanish Army. In the war in the South, in the first few months, the Army of Africa swept across vast areas of land, deliberately terrorising the defeated areas in order that Republican defenders further ahead were demoralised.

Evidence suggesting that Franco's victory was due to factors other than the superior forces at his disposal:

- Divisions within the left: Popular Front politicians had little in common. Similarly, many of the Republican combatants hated each other as much as the rebels. This exploded in May '37 and after this the Republic was close to a one party state. As the Communists gained more control, they tried to systematically "purify" the Republican side of non-communist elements.
- Franco's leadership, although criticised has also been interpreted as cleverly controlled to ensure total political control and ensure a sustainable victory. Franco also merit's acclaim for personal involvement in securing aid without conceding much.
- Although the Republic had key industrial areas, the Nationalists had more raw materials which proved to be increasingly important as the war went on. As they took more land their advantage increased.
- Non Intervention was a crucial element in determining the outcome of the war. In particular, Britain's role was central in effectively condemning the Republic to a slow death. Britain was aware that non-intervention was at best ineffective and at worst directly aided the nationalists.
- Franco was able to equip his army largely on credit so that his troops could get up to date and plentiful armaments. This was in sharp contrast to the Republican side which had difficulty getting supplies and had to pay for them. The Nationalists were well funded by rich supporters, including the ex-Royal family.
- As well as the Axis powers military assistance, The Texas Oil Company also supplied the Nationalists due to the political leanings of the company's owner.
- Franco enjoyed a tactical advantage because of the geographical position of Portugal, where Nationalist aircraft could refuel. The British stationed in Gibraltar also gave assistance to the Nationalists while denying this to the Republicans.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Paul Preston	"Western democracies betrayed Spain"
Gerald Brenan	"Foreign intervention was crucial"
Raymond Carr	"Axis fears of rebel defeat led to extra aid in November 1938. Republican government blamed lack of unity".
Antony Beevor	"(The Republican offensive on the Ebro) was beyond military stupidity, it was the mad delusion of propaganda". "German and Italian regimes were at least reassured that France, as well as Great Britain, would do nothing to hinder their intervention in Spain."

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 78 — How fully does Source A reveal the extent of support for republicanism in Spain in 1930?

The candidate may be awarded up to 3 marks for correctly interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant views
Even former monarchist politicians, such as Niceto Alcalá Zamora and Miguel Maura, publicly came out in favour of a republic.	People who supported the king switched their support showing support from the old regime.
Indalecio Prieto...with the support of the executive committees of the socialist PSOE and UGT union, joined the conspiracy.	Trade unionists came over showing support from the left wing.
Catalan republicans joined the San Sebastian pact	Support from regionalists widened the support base of the republican movement
This republican movement strengthened with the support of military officers	The extent of support for the movement was further widened by the military leaders lending their support.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- Politicians of the old guard felt let down and frustrated by the King's handling of the Dictadura.
- There had been some collusion between sections of the socialists and Primo.
- Regionalists, left and right, recognised that their best hope of autonomy lay in the hands of a democratic republic.
- The army saw themselves as the protectors of Spain.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- The Alianza Republicana created by Azana, Lerroux and others paved the way for the Pact and for change.
- In 1930, the King was realising he was losing his grip on power and became increasingly desperate in the face of opposition.
- The replacement of Primo de Rivera with Berenguer seemed a desperate measure which backfired as it annoyed many army officers and Sanjurjo.
- The UGT called a general strike in December which showed more backing for the republican movement.
- Zamora became the head of a republican committee which effectively became a government in waiting.
- The republicans eventually enjoyed very widespread support, with only the aristocracy and the Church effectively opposing them.
- The Catalan bourgeoisie were antagonised by an offensive against their regionalist aspirations.
- Northern industrialists were enraged by the collapse of the peseta in 1928.
- Primo's fellow landowners were made to introduce arbitration committees to settle disputes, losing him their support.

Historians	Perspectives on the issue:
Raymond Carr	"The conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy The ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes...to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too".
Ronald Fraser	"A state within a state, (the Army) came to see itself as the incarnation of national will".
Antony Beevor	"When, in 1930, the socialists began to oppose the Monarchy and the dictatorship, membership began to rise rapidly".
Paul Preston	"By 1930, there was hardly a section of Spanish society the King had not offended" "Berenguer was undermined by Republican plots, working class agitation and military sedition"

Question79   **How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing interpretations of British attitudes towards the Spanish Civil War?**

The candidate may be awarded up to a maximum of 3 marks for interpreting points from an individual source.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
It was decided not to interfere in a civil, commercial transaction	Britain was not going to prevent private companies helping the Nationalists
all current production was probably required for Britain's own use. It would not prevent Spanish Government arms purchases from Britain either but all current production was probably required for Britain's own use.	Britain was not going to sell arms to the Republic
The Committee concluded that no new defence commitments should be entered into	Britain would on no account be using its armed forces in Spain
nothing should be done to alienate Italy.	Britain did not want to upset Italy

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- The Mediterranean was of great strategic importance to Britain and the only real threat to that came from Italy.
- Many private companies had a lot invested in Spain and they were fearful of a Communist government.
- While Britain was rearming it would not sell weapons, at least not to Spain.
- Britain's policy was for foreign troops to stay out of Spain, but it was not prepared to use troops to reinforce this.
- Britain was trying to woo Italy away from Germany.

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The Labour Party would not support it, they were told that the Labour leaders "will think of the Catholic vote and the pacifists	The Labour Party had a large Catholic following and many who were opposed to all wars
The right-wing press were continuing to present the Spanish situation as... another Soviet Union in the making.	Most of the British press were right wing and ran scare stories about the communist dangers in Spain
for the general public it's just a lot of bloody dagoes killing each other	For many in the public, Spain was too far away and not directly relevant
if there is somewhere where Fascists and Bolsheviks can kill each other off, so much the better."	It seemed to be in the British interest for others to expend troops while Britain watched on

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source

- The Labour Party initially supported the non-Intervention committee, but throughout the conflict there was a distance between the leadership and the rank and file over Spain.
- Many British newspapers were flirting with fascism and saw communist bogeymen everywhere. They inflated the influence of the Communists in the Spanish Government at the outbreak of the Civil war.
- British public opinion in general was against Britain getting involved militarily in anything not directly related to Britain.
- Britain felt beleaguered as countries moved left and right. Britain's main concern was to avoid war spreading outside of Spain.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources:

- Amongst British Conservatives, anti-communist feeling was rife. Unwilling to come in on the side of the 'Reds'. Many by reasons of 'class and education' were sympathetic to Franco.
- Sensitive area for UK due to Straits of Gibraltar. Frightened of backing 'loser'.
- Fear of World War, enhanced by Guernica: 'The bomber will always get through.'
- Lack of military preparedness as illustrated by fears of Chiefs of Staff.
- Attitude to Spain in keeping with general policy of Appeasement. Chamberlain continually believed Hitler's promises and therefore believed he could 'contain' conflict.
- Later in the war there was a need to 'buy time' to rearm.
- British public more sympathetic towards Spain than other areas but still not willing to risk war as can be seen by hugely positive reaction to Munich.
- Many Spanish republicans believed that Great Britain would act as champion of the underdog, but they underestimated the deep prejudice of certain governing circles.
- The British were constrained by their considerable commercial interests in Spain, including mines, sherry, textiles, olive oil and cork.
- The business community sided with the Nationalists as they believed that the Anarchists and others may collectivise their interests.
- Sir Henry Chilton, British ambassador to Spain in 1936 was vehemently anti-Bolshevik who sent reports back of Red atrocities.
- Even outspoken anti-appeaser, Winston Churchill wrote, in August 1936 that "It is of the utmost importance that France and Britain should act together to in observing the strictest neutrality."

Historians	Perspectives on the issue:
Michael Alpert	"Britain was an insular society for whom abroad was very far away. (At the Labour Conference) the block vote system ensured that the motion against Non-Intervention was defeated by 3,029,000 to 51,000 votes. Non-intervention was based on the wider aims of GB and France ie an alliance with Italy and appeasement of Hitler".
Enrique Moradiellos	"UK wished Franco to win and did not wish to upset the Axis powers."
Filipe Ribero de Meneses	"It was cynical detachment."
Paul Preston	"Both sides denied aid though the Republic had a legal right. a quiet glee that they may turn Hitler and Mussolini against the European Left. Inclined by their considerable commercial interests to be...anything but sympathetic to the Republic"

Question 80   **Evaluate the usefulness of Source D as evidence of the effects of Franco's victory on Spanish society.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	General Franco	Successful some months earlier and now clearly the Leader of Spain.
Purpose	End of year message	He is trying to justify his policies and the repression he has instigated.
Timing	December 1939	The end of the year in which he took over Spain. The first New Year in four years that Spain is not at war, though the rest of Europe is.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
we throw off whatever and whoever would like to deflect us from marching toward fulfilment of our movement	Spain is going to be a "one-Party" state with no opposition allowed
the redemption of services through work, with repentance and penance	"Sinners" being allowed to repent and atone for their sins.
Anyone who thinks otherwise is guilty of irresponsibility or treason	Opposition to Franco is treason
the painful duty of punishment.	Although the war has been finished for nine months, those who backed the Republic would be sought out and punished

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- On 13 September 1936, all opposition parties and Trade Unions were officially outlawed.
- There was little opportunity for repentance, this was a fiction, but around 100 000 prisoners were put into forced labour battalions.
- The new regime rewrote history by stating that the Army had legitimately seized power in July 1936 and anyone fighting against the Nationalists after this was guilty of treason.
- The search for, imprisonment and execution of former Republicans continued for years.
- Despite the rhetoric of national and social unity, every effort was made to maintain the division between the victors and the vanquished.
- The threat of imprisonment forced millions to accept starvation wages. The exploitation of the defeated was justified in terms of needing to atone for their sins.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- Franco's troops behaved like an occupying army rather than one in its own country. The deliberate terror which had marked the aftermath of conquering Republican held areas during the civil war continued unabated in the wake of the Nationalist victory. The desire of Franco during the war to smash the Republican forces, not merely to defeat them, was carried into the post-war period.
- On 8th August, Franco had issued the law of head of state, which gave him the right to make laws. The consolidation of power in his own person which had started during the war was to become even more entrenched in peacetime. The new statute gave Franco the same powers as previously enjoyed only by medieval kings.
- Franco had consolidated his position earlier that year by isolating possible opponents. Political enemies from inside the Nationalist camp were dealt with as they had been in the three years earlier. No dissention was allowed and the hopes of many on the Nationalist side for a return of the Monarchy were quickly dashed.
- The Bishop of Vic called for "a scalpel to drain the pus from Spain's entrails". For the most part, the Catholic Church was supportive of Franco with the notable exception of Cardinal Segura, many even justifying the deaths of prisoners.
- 190 prisons were set up which held up to half a million prisoners. They were divided into those who were "recoverable" and those who were not. Those who were not were shot.
- A law passed in April called for revenge against everything that had happened in the Red Zone during the war. This was carried out with zeal and led to extreme hardship for the
- Children were taken forcibly from left supporting parents and given to others to teach them to love the Francoist regime.
- The years following the war saw starvation sweep across Spain in an unprecedented way. This was directly due to Franco's disastrous handling of the economy and his attempts to create a fascist style autarky. The new British ambassador, Hoare was appalled at the state of Madrid in 1940, with food shortages and deprivation widespread.

Historians	Perspectives on the issue:
Antony Beevor	"The post war years would have been desperate, whatever government was in power". "Franco expected the priesthood to act as another arm of the state."
Paul Preston	"Every effort was made to maintain the division between the victors and the vanquished."
Ramond Carr	"Franco's aim was 'to destroy the nineteenth century'; that is, parliamentary liberalism."
Sheelagh Ellwood	"Plurality and diversity were replaced in every sphere …acts of individual cruelty, however brutal, were easily surpassed by the collective cruelty of the Dictatorship."

SECTION 11 – Britain: At War and Peace, 1938-1951

Part A – Historical Issues

Question 81   **"Britain was a divided nation but these divisions have been exaggerated." How valid is this view of Britain in 1939?**

Aim of the question   The aim of this question is for the candidate to consider the various areas where it has been claimed that there were major divisions in British society. These areas may include, economic and social differences, exemplified by employment, education, living standards [inc diets, housing and life expectancy], health care and social mobility. After consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments for division in areas such as these, the candidate should come to a reasoned conclusion concerning the scale of division in Britain on the eve of war.

Unemployment
- Candidate may provide examples of national and/or local unemployment statistics
- Heavy industry in the north of England, Wales and Scotland was adversely affected because of the global economic downturn of the 1930s. Industries such as coal, iron and steel, textiles and shipbuilding were affected due to fall in demand both at home and overseas. Moreover, the ancillary services for these industries were affected by their decline.
- The effect of unemployment upon the pre-war economy. With high unemployment the Treasury was faced with the situation where tax revenue was reduced
- The social implications of large scale unemployment. High unemployment caused stagnation in social mobility; it allowed many to descend into poverty. Especially those workers who were on teetering around the breadline
- Government spending on welfare was reduced which reduced disposable income which in turn restricted demand which added to unemployment

Political response to unemployment
- A critique of any political pressure which highlighted the effects of unemployment eg Jarrow Hunger March to London
- High unemployment gave rise to political unrest. Riots and demonstrations by the unemployed were not uncommon in the industrialised heartland of Britain. This was at a time when neighbouring countries such as Germany and Italy were mobilising their unemployed to complete government funded projects to improve their infrastructure, a path we didn't follow in Britain
- However the UK avoided the social and political upheaval often seen in other countries. Extremist parties made little headway in the UK unlike other European countries most notably Germany and Italy. If the recession had been deeper, the political situation may have been very different.

However Increased employment opportunities for many
- Certain sectors of the British economy were thriving. Light engineering, plastics, chemicals and electrical engineering, motor vehicle and the aircraft industry
- Within the Depressed areas those individuals employed outwith the heavy industries fared well
- The banking sector including Building Societies grew providing employment and mortgages etc
- White collar employment increased
- Growth of national chain stores eg Woolworths and Boots the Chemist, which not only provided employment but also demonstrated that many people had more disposable income
- The National Government introduced the Special Areas Act to attract light industries to distressed areas
- Local councils built 500,000 council houses, which pumped money into the economy
- From 1937 onwards increased armaments production created employment
- Many workers were forced to move home to find employment eg unemployed workers from Wales moved to Oxford to work in the car industry.
- In general British agriculture did well in the 1930s

Economic factors which stimulated the economy
- Interest rates were low which encouraged borrowing
- Britain left the gold standard which reduced the cost of British exports and contributed to a fall in prices

Poor Living Standards for many
- The falling standard of living for many resulted in a poor diet for millions and subsequent decline in the population's health
- At this time the Britain's housing stock was mainly owned by private landlords, not council housing. This housing was occupied in the main by the working class. Housing conditions were often poor, rents were high and overcrowding was common. These conditions had effect on the overall health of the population.
- Rents were frequently not met and harsh choices were made about the quantity, and quality of food bought.
- Government slum clearance plans to provide better housing for the working classes were shelved due to poor economic conditions
- Unequal access to education. Although education was supposed to reflect a meritocratic philosophy, the reality was that intelligent children from the working class still found it difficult to access an academic education because there was still an element of payment needed.
- The stifling effect of the class system in the 1930's

However Rising levels of prosperity for many

- There was a growth in leisure activities which indicates higher disposable income for some.
- The 1930s was a golden age for advertising and cinema. The popularity of professional sport especially football, and a thriving fashion industry aimed at the middle classes were all apparent during this time and many people had more money in their pocket to spend on luxuries rather than necessities.
- Other popular leisure activities such cinema (pictures) and dance halls
- Sales of ice-cream and confectionary increased during the 1930s
- By 1939 about 27% of the population owned their own house
- During the 1930s, for most people with a job, living standards rose significantly
- More than half of all households had a radio by 1939
- Prices fell in the Depression, which meant more money for luxuries for those in employment
- Hire-purchase allowed people to get luxuries 'on the never-never'
- Family sizes fell
- Improvements at work such as reduction in working hours, holidays with pay
- Seaside holidays for many
- Three million new houses were built in the 1930s
- There was a 1200 per cent increase in homes with electricity
- Huge increase in car ownership but it was still not the norm
- Vacuum cleaners and washing machines became more widespread
- A better diet and improved health for many. Free school milk was introduced after 1934

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Tony Mason	is critical of the unequal distribution of wealth in Britain at this time despite Britain's position as one of the richest countries in the world.
John Stevenson	however, points out that the interwar years were marked by substantial economic growth.
Charles Loch Mowatt	argued that Britain at this time was a divided nation. Mowatt argued that a national class consciousness emerged in the thirties brought about through literature and the threat from fascism in Spain.
Martin Pugh	is critical of the National Government arguing that they could have done more to ease the plight of the unemployed. "The timidity of the ministers was not due to the absence of alternative economic theories but to a failure of political will."

Question 82	"The saviour of his country." How valid is this view of Churchill's wartime leadership?
Aim of the question	The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to evaluate the debate between historians about the importance of Churchill's leadership during the Second World War. This well-known quote by A.J.P. Taylor is clearly very biased towards Churchill. However the question cannot be answered sufficiently with just a narrative of Churchill's actions as Prime Minister between 1940 and 1945. The candidate should not only consider the plaudits Churchill's wartime leadership has received over the years but also due attention should be paid to the criticisms which have been levelled against his leadership. Candidates should reach a balanced conclusion concerning Churchill's wartime leadership.

Evidence to support the view that Claim that Churchill's leadership was outstanding

Churchill's personality/leadership
- Churchill had been a consistent opponent of appeasement and had recognised the threat which Hitler posed to the peace of Europe, making him the only credible prime minister after Chamberlain was forced to resign
- He was a great orator with a charismatic personality. His inspiring speeches boosted the morale of the country
- He visited bombed areas and was visibly moved by the scale of destruction he witnessed. Churchill's empathy was well received by the British public
- He led Britain to victory over Nazi Germany in 1945, an outcome which seemed very unlikely when he became Prime Minister in May 1940
- Churchill provided strong and decisive leadership skills at a time of national crisis; leading Britain when she was fighting Nazi Germany alone (June 1940 to June 1941). He had a single-minded pursuit of victory at all costs and he embodied the British spirit of resistance in the face of formidable odds.
- Churchill made it clear that he had no intention of negotiating with Hitler in May/June 1940 despite the advice of other senior politicians. This galvanised the whole country

Churchill's military decisions
- Churchill had an experienced military background with a firm grasp of military matters and was therefore eminently suitable to the post of Minister of Defence in addition to his position of Prime Minister
- His determination to win the war was demonstrated when he took the extremely difficult decision to attack the French navy at Oran/Mers El-Kebir, Algeria in July 1940 (Task force led by H.M.S. Hood). This action was said to have impressed Roosevelt as it demonstrated Churchill's and Britain's determination to continue the fight against Nazi Germany.

Churchill's political decisions

- Churchill was a skilled diplomat who improved Britain's chances of success such as securing Lend Lease from the USA
- Churchill's ability to persuade Roosevelt that the defeat of Germany was the first priority of the Allies after Pearl Harbour
- Britain borrowed huge sums of money from the USA $4.3 billion (£2.2 billion) were borrowed at two per cent interest rate for, a triumph for Churchill who had exerted considerable diplomatic pressure in his efforts to win the loan from the Americans.
- He made friendships and alliances with countries that were decidedly more powerful than Britain; USA (more natural) and the USSR (overcoming his anti-communism).
- It was Churchill's skill as a negotiator and diplomat which bound together the vital alliance of Britain, USA and USSR and forged victory in the war.
- Churchill was a powerful force in resolving the internal conflicts between the military and the politicians in the running of the war

Churchill and the Home Front

- He established and led an effective coalition government for five years. His War Cabinet included important Labour politicians most notably Clement Attlee and Ernie Bevin.

Evidence to contradict the claim that Churchill was an unqualified success as a war leader

Churchill's personality/leadership

- Churchill had an excessive ego and believed in his own manifest destiny
- He was impulsive, so much so he had to be reined in by his closest advisors such as Sir Alan Brooke
- Churchill was often brusque. He had a poor relationship with De Gaulle, leader of the Free French
- He was so single-minded and stubborn it prevented him seeing the big picture of the war

Churchill's military decisions

- Churchill's military strategy was often suspect for instance in Norway, Greece and Italy. Arguably Churchill's decision to defend Greece helped to delay victory in North Africa by two years.
- Churchill's reluctance to open a Second Front infuriated Stalin who accused Britain of being cowardly
- That far from being a reckless adventurer, Churchill may even have been overly cautious in his approach to military matters to preserve lives and prevent significant disasters.
- In Singapore 130,000 Allied troops became prisoners of war. This defeat at the hands of the Japanese was the largest surrender in British military history.
- Churchill was ultimately responsible for the actions of Bomber Command which laid waste many of Germany's cities even when it was clear that the Allies were close to victory, eg the controversial bombing of Dresden in February 1945 which caused huge loss of civilian life.
- Argument that Churchill made a serious military mistake in advocating the bombing of Germany before giving resources to Coastal Command to defeat the U boats
- Churchill dismissed senior military officers if they did not agree with his military strategies. Possibly prolonging the war?

Churchill's political decisions
- Churchill's insistence on the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers at the Casablanca Conference prolonged the war claimed his critics.
- He has been accused of having sold Britain out to the Americans
- He has been accused of being responsible for the decline of the British Empire
- As a result of Britain's debt and colonial decline her influence on the world political stage diminished. Churchill has been blamed by some for this state of affairs.
- His diminishing influence in the end-of-war conferences in which Stalin and Roosevelt dominated
- Churchill was party, with Stalin, to the so called "Naughty Document" (name given by Churchill) which decided the fate of several East European countries

Churchill and the Home Front
- Churchill's energies were fully focused on winning the war. He had little desire to organise the Home Front, which he left to Labour coalition ministers. This neglect was a serious political error which consequently helped the Labour Party to win the 1945 General Election and to seize the initiative on the reconstruction debate and set the agenda for reform.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Sir Martin Gilbert	Churchill's official biographer. Has researched Churchill's actions from the huge amount of the primary source materials and written numerous books on Churchill. Pro Churchill.
John Charmley	is a severe critic of Churchill. He believes that in winning the war Churchill betrayed his core values of British independence, Empire, and his anti-socialism. He also argues that this betrayal was further shown when Churchill made Britain subservient to America; and that Halifax would have made a better Prime Minister.
Richard Lamb	is generally in support of Churchill. He does not attack Churchill's integrity but prefers to be critical about his strategic awareness. Lamb is not alone in his evaluation of Churchill's naivety in military matters.
Stephen Roskill	criticises Churchill's use of the Air force to primarily bomb Germany rather than support the Navy during the Battle of the Atlantic.

Question 83   **How important was the breaking of the Enigma Code in the eventual Allied victory in the Battle of the Atlantic?**

Aim of the question

The Battle of the Atlantic lasted from 1939 to 1945 and if it had been lost to the U-boats, it would have seriously threatened Britain's ability to continue with the war. Churchill stated, "...the only thing that ever really frightened me during the war was the U-boat peril." The candidate is expected to analyse and explain the importance of the breaking of the Enigma Code in their consideration of the various factors which ultimately led to the defeat of Germany's U-boats. Candidates may consider other factors such as Allied technological developments, naval strategies and tactical developments which led to the defeat of the wolf packs; before coming to a conclusion about the importance of the breaking of the Enigma Code.

Evidence supporting the view of the importance of breaking the Enigma Code and Ultra
- The capture of the enigma code machine in March 1941 was a vital breakthrough in intelligence and the resulting 'Ultra' intelligence gave the British a priceless advantage. Code-breakers at Bletchley Park worked throughout the war to keep their information current. With advance notice of where the U-boats were operating, the British were able to divert convoys away from where the wolf packs were operating.
- Top mathematicians and general problem-solvers were recruited to work at Bletchley Park and a bank of early computers was built to work out the Enigma's vast number of settings.
- The Germans were convinced that Enigma output could not be broken, so they used the machine for all sorts of communications on the battlefield, at sea, in the sky and, also within its secret services.
- The British described any intelligence gained from Enigma as 'Ultra', and considered it top secret.
- Only a select few commanders were made aware of the full significance of Ultra, and used it sparingly to prevent the Germans realising their ciphers had been broken.

Evidence supporting the view of the importance of other factors

Technological developments
- The use of High Frequency Direction Finding equipment (Huff-Duff) on escort ships further improved U-boat detection on the convoys.
- Improved radio communication from ship-to-ship and ship-to-shore helped significantly in avoiding lurking U-boats.
- ASV (air to surface radar) radar helped detect surfaced U-boats at a far greater distance and aircraft could be directed towards them speedily.
- The deployment of VLR aircraft in the shape of Liberators with centimetric radar helped to close the mid-Atlantic air gap and helped immensely in the detection of U-boats.
- The development of the 'hedgehog' multiple mortar system, fired from the front of escort vessels instead of the rear as depth charges were, was a big improvement in U-boat destruction.
- Depth–charge was an improvement on the earlier anti-submarine bomb

Allied navies
- In 1939 the Admiralty believed that U-boats could be defeated by a combination of asdic and convoys. This faith proved to be misplaced.
- Corvettes, small warships of less than 1000 tons, were added to the convoys to help plug the gaps in the Royal Navy's escort capability. Although these ships were slow and not very well armed they did have considerable success against the U-boats.
- Allied occupation of Iceland gave Britain valuable Atlantic bases.
- Convoy system was improved throughout the war.
- The Royal Navy received 50 old US warships in exchange for US access to British bases (Destroyers for Bases Agreement).
- The Royal Canadian Navy grew enormously and played a crucial role in convoy protection.
- The US Navy took over convoy protection in the western Atlantic from 1942 and their naval strength eventually wore down the U-boats in this theatre.

The role played by RAF Coastal Command
- After limited initial success against the U-boats from 1942 onwards Coastal Command proved to be very successful against U-boats.
- Bomber Harris was finally persuaded to release more long-range aircraft (Liberators) for the purpose of attacking U-boats, instead of bombing U-boat pens and production facilities as he favoured.
- By January 1943 Coastal Command had effective Long Range and Very Long Range aircraft including, Catalinas, Halifaxes, Liberators, Sunderlands and Wellingtons.
- Destruction of U-boat bases by Bomber Command.
- The role of long-range aircraft such as the American 'Catalina' flying boat was also crucial for the battle in the mid-Atlantic.
- VLR aircraft forced U-boats to patrol in the mid-Atlantic which was further from their bases.
- Sunderland Flying Boats equipped with search lights. Leigh light (powerful searchlight) was developed for Coastal Command.
- Increased use of aircraft carriers provided convoys with air cover in the vulnerable mid-Atlantic Gap.
- By the end of the war in Europe, air power had sunk more U-boats than surface vessels.

Political decisions
- The foundation of victory over the U-boats was laid at the Casablanca Conference, January 1943, when Churchill and Roosevelt decided that the defeat of the U-boats was the Allies' top priority.

Other Factors
- German errors. Initially the Germans put their efforts into building large surface vessels with the intention of challenging the Royal Navy
- Hitler overruled Admiral Karl Donitz and transferred U-boats to the Mediterranean in 1941. Arguably the U-boats should have been concentrated in the Atlantic to maximise their effect.

The End of the Campaign
- During the Battle of the Atlantic the Merchant Navy lost 30,000 men and approximately 3,000 ships.
- U-boat losses increased dramatically throughout the war - 86 in 1942, 243 in 1943 and 249 in 1944.
- Germans lost a total of 783 U-boats and 28,000 sailors.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Richard Overy	is reluctant to pinpoint any one factor over the other as a specific reason for victory but commends highly the energy, drive and invention of Admiral Horton as being significant.
Professor David Syrett:	stresses the huge importance of intelligence in winning the battle and in particular, the cracking of the Enigma code.
Canadian historian **Jim Lotz**	praises the enormous contribution of the Canadian Navy to ultimate victory.
John Keegan	stresses the importance of the revamped convoy system as an integral part of the success against the U-boats.

Question 84	**How effective were Britain's civil defence measures in protecting the country during the Second World War?**
Aim of the Question	The question requires the candidate to analyse and evaluate of the effectiveness of the range of civil defence measures put in place by the government. The candidate may explain the role of a number of initiatives including, the government's attempts to control the civilian population, their successes and failures to protect the population from air attack and their plans to defend the British population in the face of impending invasion. They should come to a conclusion on the extent to which these measures were effective.

Evidence of effectiveness in controlling the population
- The Emergency Powers Act. An attempt to have centralised control over the lives of citizens including where they worked, what they ate and wore and what they read, watched and heard in the media.
- Censorship and Propaganda. This was used by government to shield the population from the stark reality of war. Used to protect, as well as to keep morale high. These controls gave government some command over the perception of the war in the general population. It allowed the illusion of a "united" experience of war which was important in a society that was entrenched in class division prior to the war.
- The treatment of foreigners in Britain. The candidate may give an explanation of how the British population was protected from the influence of people deemed by the government as alien. Restrictions were put in place. The "undesirable" were interned in camps such as the camp on the Isle of Man or even deported to Canada. These people were of Italian, German and Austrian extraction.
- There were also internees whose politics were deemed to be subversive.

However
- Crime rates increased – black economy and profiteering.
- The government covered up inefficiencies in controlling ration books.
- To some it is contended that they were unnecessarily cruel with little sense of security as a result.

Evidence of effectiveness in coping with Air Attacks

the Blackout
- The blackout and its consequences. Candidates may give an evaluation of blackout procedures and their effectiveness in protecting the civilian population.
- Blackouts were generally unpopular and the ARP wardens who enforced them were routinely disliked.
- Civilians who contravened the blackouts were fined.
- In general the power of the ARP warden was considered by the general public as excessive.
- The blackout resulted in hundreds of fatalities caused by road accidents.
- Criminals used the cover of the blackout for their nefarious purposes.

Sheltering from air raids
- Provision of gas masks by Chamberlain's Government.
- Civilian casualties. There may be a statistical analysis of the casualties in relation to the air raid provision and link to the effectiveness of government initiatives in civil defence.
- This includes the impact of the Blitz not only in London but in Coventry and also Clydebank (August 1940 to May 1941).
- An evaluation of the success of the shelter provision. The effectiveness of Anderson and Morrison shelters may be given. Included in this evaluation there may be a consideration of their distribution, affordability and effectiveness.
- London Underground Stations (the Tube) as shelters and the government's actions concerning them.
- Government actions to deal with a potential attack using chemical or biological weapons. The consequences of advanced German weaponry such as the V1 and V2 rockets, (1944 and 1945) and the ability of the government to counter their threat.

However
- Class difference in shelter provision and access and access to shelters.

Evacuation
- Whilst it is recognised that the experience of evacuation is a factor in this question, candidates who use this issue as their only example of civil defence measures will not be credited highly.
- An analysis of the positive or negative impact of evacuation as an evaluation of its success as a civil defence measure.

Evidence of effectiveness in defending Britain
- The Role of Civilian Services. Candidates may offer an evaluation of the effectiveness and sacrifice of the fire service. It was one of the services that were vital in keeping the country's infrastructure intact during the many air attacks that Britain endured during the war.
- Candidates may also analyse the effectiveness of the police in protecting the civilian population and the effectiveness of the medical services and its structure at this time.
- An explanation of the effectiveness of the Home Guard and the plans put in place to provide protection in the event of invasion by Axis forces. Home Guard comprised men between the ages of 17 and 65. They acted as sentries, removed road signs and also checked that people were carrying their Identity Cards.
- Anthony Eden established the Home Guard and changed its name to Local Defence Volunteers and by August 1940 had a membership of 1.5 million men.
- There might also be recognition given to the effectiveness of the Observer Corps and the Anti-aircraft defences in preventing increased casualties in densely populated areas.

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Stuart Hylton & **Nick Tiratsoo**	Neither historian gives much credit to the government for adequately defending the public against bombing. There is real disagreement amongst historians as to the degree to which the civil defence wing of the military was effective.
Charles **Loch Mowatt &** **Michael Howard**	disagree about the effectiveness of the civil defence measures.
Andrew Roberts	maintains shelter provision was as effective as it could have been under the pressures of war.
Angus Calder, **Clive Ponting**	much more critical of the lack of deep shelters (particularly in the East End of London).

Question 85	**To what extent was the Labour Party's defeat in the 1951 General Election due to widespread voter disenchantment with the Labour Governments' policies of austerity?**
Aim of the question	The candidate should discuss the various factors, including Labour's unpopular policy of austerity, which contributed to Churchill's Conservative Party winning the 1951 General Election. To many observers the election result may appear to be surprising given that Attlee's Governments had introduced the welfare state which was proving to be very popular. However in defence of the Labour Party, it should be remembered that they actually polled more votes than the Conservatives did in 1951 and more votes than they had in their landslide victory of 1945 demonstrating that the Labour Party still had a great deal of support in the country. The candidate should come to a conclusion on the relative importance of the various factors which they have provided.

Austerity/Rationing

- Increased rationing and seemingly petty bureaucracy all of which seemed to cause disaffection especially in the middle class vote
- Import controls limited the quantity and range of consumer goods available
- Clothes rationing remained until 1949
- Rationing of most basic foodstuffs and petrol continued until 1950
- Bread was rationed between 1946 and 1948
- The government tried to encourage consumption of whale meat and snoek (an unknown inedible fish). This did not prove popular.
- The black market flourished
- Queues and shortages were common
- The British Housewives League pressure group. Had 100,000 members and campaigned against rationing and shortages.
- Continuing economic difficulties eg devaluation of the £

Possible political errors committed by the Labour Governments

The Korean War and Rearmament

- The chaos in the economy caused by Attlee's decision to participate in the Korean War and the subsequent rise in defence expenditure which resulted in cuts in welfare spending.
- Many members of the Labour Party were unhappy with Britain's involvement in the Korean War which led to a split in the party

Labour Party issues

- The apparent disagreement within the Labour Party about its future direction, namely whether to consolidate existing reforms or to push ahead with a more radical reforming agenda. The right/left dispute over these expenditure cuts and the resignation of Nye Bevan, Harold Wilson and Freeman as a result.
- Consolidationists v Fundamentalists. Morrison and Gaitskell v Bevan.
- The loss of Labour heavyweights such as Ernie Bevin who died in April 1951 and Stafford Cripps who resigned due to ill-health in October 1950

Conservative Party revival

- The revival in the fortunes of the Conservative Party through organisational restructuring by Lord Woolton and policy changes by Rab Butler and Maudling.
- Massive membership-drive which saw party membership rise to over a million
- Huge fund-raising campaign to raise £1million
- Attraction of large donations from big business scared of further Labour nationalisation.
- The development of the so called post-war settlement as a result of this ideological sea-change by the Conservatives

The timing of the election

- With Labour's majority down to 5 after the 1950 election King George VI persuaded Attlee to hold an election In October 1951 as the king was going overseas for several months and he wanted to end political uncertainty
- The economic indicators were not good for Labour and many of the Cabinet felt holding off till spring 1952 was a better idea
- The Labour Governments were still reeling from the resignation of Bevan, Wilson and Freeman
- All the opinion polls should have convinced Attlee to wait until 1952.

The First Past the Post system

- Boundary changes. The 1948 Parliamentary Reform Act changed many constituency boundaries to reflect recent population movement. This severely disadvantaged Labour as many previous supporters now found themselves living in safe Tory seats.
- Postal voting was introduced for the first time and experts estimate that the Tories benefitted by a ratio of 10:1
- Labour's vote held up well in their traditional heartlands but fell in the marginal seats of the south-east
- The Liberals failed to field any more than 109 candidates compared to 475 in 1950. The vast majority of ex-Liberal voters voted Conservative

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Paul Adelman	stresses the unpopularity of austerity for voters defecting to the Tories.
Kevin Jefferys and Peter Hennessey	believe that changes within the Conservative Party enhanced their electability and also emphasise the damage done to the Labour Party by policy drift.
Kenneth Morgan	argues that the years of austerity and overbearing state control had taken their toll on the electorate.
Alan Sked and Chris Cook	The real problem was the wider disaffection of middle opinion (not necessarily middle-class opinion) against a program of consolidation which was at best drab and puritanical, and at worst illiberal and restrictive of choice.

PART B – Historical Sources

Question 86   **How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of Chamberlain's resignation in May 1940?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for identifying and interpreting points from the source.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
that there was something grievously wrong with the conduct of war.	The war was going badly for Britain and this led to widespread criticism of Chamberlain's leadership.
the dismal failure of the Norwegian campaign	The Norway Campaign had been a disaster with Norway now under German occupation
it is still more surprising to find how feeble was the support of the Government except numerically	Although Chamberlain's Government had a large majority in Parliament there was little confidence or enthusiasm for his Government.
Chamberlain himself recognized that this was so	Chamberlain understood that his Government lacked support in the country.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- Details of the disastrous Norway Campaign.
- Chamberlain was criticised not only in the Commons but by senior members of the armed forces especially after the Norway Campaign. For some this illustrated his inability to plan, equip and execute a basic military strategy.
- This lack of ability is seen as a metaphor not only for his leadership so far but also for his inability to sustain coherent leadership for the duration of the war.
- Subsequent parliamentary debate which forced Chamberlain to resign.
- Chamberlain's huge parliamentary majority after the Munich Agreement of September 1938 was drastically reduced at the end of the debate.
- Conservative MP Leo Amery quoted Cromwell whilst urging Chamberlain to resign, "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go."
- Chamberlain reluctantly accepted that he had no option but to resign in favour of either Halifax or Churchill.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
A further major criticism of Chamberlain concerned his handling of the wartime economy	Chamberlain was criticised for his lacklustre handling of the economy
There was particular disappointment at Chamberlain's refusal to create a new post in the war cabinet with overall responsibility for coordinating the war	Contemporaries believed that Chamberlain should have created a ministerial post for organising the war effort
Labour made detailed and often effective attacks	Labour attacks in Parliament on Chamberlain and his government were having an effect
Almost a million workers remained unemployed by spring 1940, yet many factories were working well below full capacity	Factories were not producing sufficient war materials at a time when there were many unemployed in the country

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- Chamberlain's government was ideologically opposed to extensive state intervention in the economy and Chamberlain had a poor relationship with the Trade union movement.
- Throughout the 1930s industrial relations were poor between Chamberlain (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer) and the Trades Union movement due to the austere government policies and the unemployment of the hungry thirties. When Chamberlain needed the unions cooperation to fulfil his economic targets they refused to work with the man that presented their members with so much misery in the past.
- The transition from a peacetime economy to wartime economy was slow and uncoordinated.
- Chamberlain's general lack of drive was continually criticised by not just the Labour Party.
- This reflected badly on Chamberlain's organisational skills at a time of national emergency, when full employment was essential.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

- Chamberlain has been criticised for not sufficiently preparing the armed forces for war
- Details on the readiness of the different branches of the armed forces to fight
- Chamberlain was criticised for his policy of appeasement as it gave Germany and her allies the time to rearm and prepare for war whilst at this time Britain was struggling to do so itself.
- Sudetenland was conceded after the Munich agreement of September 1938, and no defence was made of Czechoslovakia, a possible valuable ally, in March 1939.
- With the onset of war imminent Chamberlain tried but was unsuccessful in gaining meaningful alliances to fight a successful war in Europe
- The USA confirmed their isolationist policy towards possible conflict in Europe
- Chamberlain's distrust of the Soviet Union prevented any meaningful friendship in the East
- Once Germany violated the ultimatum over Poland there was a two day silence from the government which led Chamberlain's opponents to believe that he was preparing for another negotiation with Germany.
- This delay reduced Chamberlain's credibility even with his own party
- Changing attitudes of many members of the Conservative Party towards Chamberlain by May 1940
- Long standing Labour Party criticisms of Chamberlain and their refusal to serve under Chamberlain in a coalition government. Attlee famously stated about Chamberlain that "he treated us like dirt."
- Comment on Chamberlain's unsuitability to lead Britain during the war

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Angus Calder	suggests that it was not Chamberlain alone who contributed to difficulties faced by Britain but that his optimism, which now seems so feckless was shared by other leaders of both major parties.
Robert MacKay	contends that absolute readiness for war is probably an unattainable ideal for any country, not least because of the uncertainty about the exact circumstances in which a future war might take place.
AJP Taylor	concludes that the policy of appeasement was both logical and realistic although it was not well executed.
Paul Adelman	argues that 'the transition from a peacetime economy was slow and uncoordinated' under Chamberlain's leadership.

Question 87   **Evaluate the usefulness of Source C as evidence of the success of the Allied bombing campaign against Germany during the Second World War.**

Candidates may be awarded **a total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source AND for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. These marks may be split 3/2 or 2/3.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views that the candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of the Source		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Sir Arthur Harris	Head of Bomber Command from February 1942 to end of the war.
Purpose	Autobiography	To justify the reasons behind the Allied bombing of the German city of Dresden in 1945. To protect his reputation, arguing that he was given his orders from above. However, the source is likely to be biased as it was written by Harris and justifies the use of area bombing even as the war was nearing an end.
Timing	1947	Written only two years after the end of the conflict with some time for personal reflection but events still very recent. Harris did not accept that the Allied bombing campaign was misguided or it was a poor use of scant resources

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
bombing in two sections in order to get the night fighters dispersed and grounded before the second attack,	Bomber Command's tactics were successful as the German fighters were on the ground when the second wave of bombers struck
was almost as overwhelming in its effect as the Battle of Hamburg though the area of devastation - 1600 acres - was considerably less;	The attack on Dresden was almost as successful a raid for Bomber Command than Hamburg was though the destruction was extensive it was less than Hamburg suffered
the effect on German morale, not only in Dresden but in far distant parts of the country, was extremely serious.	the bombing of Dresden had a major impact on all Germans and not just those directly affected in Dresden
I know that the destruction of so large and splendid a city…	Dresden was a large and impressive city which was utterly destroyed.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source:
- Dresden was poorly defended and would have fallen to the Red Army without much resistance.
- Dresden was full of refugees fleeing the advancing Red Army.
- Destruction of Dresden was a possible warning to the Germans not to prolong the war.
- The war in Europe was almost over; the Red Army was only 50 miles from Berlin.
- Dresden held little military significance.
- Estimates of the dead vary from 35,000 to almost 150,000, many in the firestorm created by the bombing.
- Many of the survivors of RAF bombing were killed by the US Air Force as they tried to leave the city.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
- Many targeted towns and cities had little in the way of military or strategic value and arguably bombing them was an act of terror
- Many targets were chosen because they were in Bomber Command's range and were "good" targets, would burn easily
- View that area (carpet) bombing was ineffective and random
- Retaliation in kind was a morale booster for the British public
- Area bombing diverted vital German resources away from the Eastern Front hence relieving the pressure on the Russians
- Germany was forced to cut back on its production of bomber aircraft and produce more fighter aircraft instead to defend herself. These German fighters could have been used on the Eastern Front
- Over two million Germans had to be deployed to man air defences or carry out structural repairs thus weakening her fighting and productive capacity
- It drained the battle fronts of scarce German resources and undermined the morale and reliability of the German workforce
- 57,000 RAF personnel died in combat during the war
- Many Allied lives may have been saved by sustaining the bombing campaign
- Role of USAAF in daylight bombing
- Candidates may evaluate the effectiveness of specific bombing raids by mentioning eg Lyons Gestapo Headquarters, Dambusters, Schweinfurt and the effectiveness of the thousand bomber raids, Cologne, Hamburg and the Battle of Berlin

However
- Argument that its cost in human and material resources far outweighed any strategic value gained
- View that the resources used by the Allies could have been deployed more effectively in other theatres of war which may have hastened the end of the war.
- Arguably Area bombing did not harm German civilian morale, had the opposite effect, Germans encouraged to fight on
- RAF suffered high casualties especially during the Battle of Berlin
- Boys and older men manned guns not front line troops
- There was an increase in German war production until the end of 1944
- The success of the USAAF in destroying much of Germany's oil supplies crippled the German war effort. Tanks and planes were produced but had no fuel to power them

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Max Hastings	"the cost of the bomber offensive in life, treasure and moral superiority over the enemy tragically outstripped the results that it achieved"
Detlef Siebert German historian and **Martin Kitchen**	are equally sceptical about the effectiveness of area bombing on German war production.
Richard Overy	is convinced that area bombing was a valid and effective strategy and that it hastened the end of the war through paving the way for an effective Allied invasion of Normandy.

Question 88   **How fully does Source D explain how successful the post war Labour Governments (1945-1951) were in creating a "New Jerusalem"?**

The candidate may be awarded up to **a maximum of 3 marks** for identifying and interpreting points from an individual source.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
the state should control at least the 'basic' industries	They believed that the government should be in charge of the most significant industries to manage the economy for the common good
create a prosperous economy with full employment, and nationalisation was presented as a means to this end.	They aimed to have everyone in a job to create a strong economy for everyone's benefit
control of the Bank of England would spread government influence throughout the banking system.	If the government controlled the Bank of England, this would then control the other banks to make a fairer system
Coal nationalisation was scarcely more controversial. Everyone recognised that only thorough changes could possibly revive this ailing industry	Public ownership of the coal industry was needed to help it modernize and keep it alive

Points of recall which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- By 1949, 20% of the British economy was in public ownership.
- Bank of England (1946) Cable and Wireless (1946) Coal (1946) Civil Aviation (1946) Electricity Inland Transport (1947) Iron and Steel (1949).
- The Labour Government paid a total of around £2,700 million in compensation for its whole nationalisation programme.
- There was little opposition to coal and the railways being nationalised as both industries were unprofitable but the Conservatives were opposed to the iron and steel industry being nationalised as it was making a reasonable profit at this time.
- Labour introduced boards to run these industries. The boards were given the necessary freedom to operate outside of government 'interference' and they were only indirectly answerable to Parliament.
- Many workers believed that there was no difference between public ownership under Labour and private ownership under the Conservatives.
- Arguably nationalisation was not a great "vote winner" with the British public.
- In 1950 there was a debate within the Labour Party over the future of further nationalisation.
- Unemployment was extremely low at 2.5% in 1946. Hugh Dalton, Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that full employment was "the greatest revolution brought about by the Labour Government."

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:
Candidates may discuss exactly what might have been the public's expectations of this New Jerusalem/Golden Age which further included the welfare state, a retreat from Empire, increasing power for trade unions and changes in the nature of everyday social life in Britain.

Want
- An examination of the principles and workings of the welfare state as a system of universal and comprehensive services, and the degree to which this found acceptance with the public
- Universality meant an end to the hated Means Test
- The benefit system was based on flat-rated insurance payments was hardly socialist in nature. Some even saw it as a stealth tax on the least well off.
- However the principle of universal benefits might aid the well-off who didn't require them

Squalor
- Council housing given higher priority than private housing by Bevan
- Provision of quality, affordable council housing, and the disappointment felt at Labour's record on this issue by 1951

Disease
- Bevan built a badly needed NHS system from scratch, despite the formidable opposition of the BMA. The development of the NHS and an evaluation of its worth as a policy of equality.
- The NHS did not eliminate private medicine nor discourage its usage in NHS hospitals

Ignorance
- The extension of educational provision
- School leaving age was raised to 15
- However little was done to promote education equality through the Butler Act, which set up socially divisive systems through selection and allowed private schools to flourish

Assessment of the Labour Government's welfare reforms
- Critics most high profile of whom is Correlli Barnett argue the Labour welfare reforms created a culture of welfare dependency and low educational standards, thus creating a "nanny state" and that it was folly pursuing New Jerusalem welfare policies which were expensive in place of economic regeneration.
- Labour ministers, it has been argued, may have introduced long-overdue social reforms, but they failed to redistribute wealth or to break down rigid class barriers; 1 per cent of the population, for example, still owned 50 per cent of all private capital. Little was done to promote educational equality.
- But when judged against a range of contemporary yardsticks - the performance of previous governments, the aims of Labour compared with the Conservative Party, and the economic circumstances inherited in 1945 - Attlee's record emerges in a far more positive light.

- Candidates may offer additional recall on other features of the 'New Jerusalem':
  Retreat from Empire, Increasing power of trade unions, Changes in everyday social life

Historians	Perspective on the issue:
Jim Tomlinson and Steven Fielding	Critics from the left criticise the lack of genuine socialism in its policies, criticise Labour's nationalisation plans for not incorporating workers' representatives on boards of management and failing to pursue redistributive taxation policies.
David Vincent	claimed that nationalisation did not give the workers more say in the running of these industries.
Kenneth Morgan	argues that Labour's achievements may not have changed society as much as they would have liked, but their achievements "acted as a platform for successive governments to effect much change."

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]