National Qualifications 2019

2019 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 **always** 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								
Marking criteria		**0–9**	**10–12**	**13–14**	**15–17**	**18–19**	**20–22**	**23–25**
	STRUCTURE	No attempt to set out a structure for the essay. No relevant functional introduction.	An attempt to structure the essay, seen in at least one of the following • relevant functional introduction.	The structure displays a basic organisation but this may be loose. This would refer to • relevant functional introduction.	The structure is readily apparent with a competent presentation of the issues. This would include • relevant functional introduction *with main interpretations*.	Clearly structured, perceptive, presentation of issues. This would be included in • relevant introduction with main interpretations *prioritised which looks at the debate and a suggested line of argument*.	Well-defined structure displaying a very confident grasp of the demands of the question • relevant introduction with main interpretations *prioritised which looks at the debate and a clear line of argument*.	Structured so that the argument convincingly builds and develops throughout • relevant introduction with main interpretations *prioritised and clear direction of debate and a clear line of argument*.
		No conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.	• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.	• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue.	• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue, *bringing together the key issues*.	• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue *evaluating the key issues*.	• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue *based on synthesis and evaluation of key issues/points*.	• Conclusion which makes an overall judgement on the issue *based on direct synthesis and evaluation of key issues/points*.
	THOROUGHNESS/RELEVANCE OF INFORMATION AND APPROACH	No evidence of relevant knowledge of the issue.	• Treatment of the issue shows little relevant knowledge. • 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. The factual content links to the issue. • The approach reflects some analysis.	• Treatment of the issue shows an awareness of the width and depth of the knowledge required for a study of the issue. The factual content links to the issue. • The approach reflects some analysis and evaluation.	• Treatment of the issue is based on a fair quantity of research, demonstrating width and depth of knowledge. • Evidence is 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. • Evidence is 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. • Evidence is clearly linked to points of analysis or evaluation.

Mark ranges								
Marking criteria	ANALYSIS/EVALUATION/ LINE OF ARGUMENT	**0–9**	**10–12**	**13–14**	**15–17**	**18–19**	**20–22**	**23–25**
		No evidence of analysis. **OR** Analysis is not relevant to the question.	There is much narrative and description rather than analysis or evaluation.	There is an attempt to answer the evaluative aims of the question and analyse the issues involved. This is possibly not deep or sustained.	There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and the candidate tackles it with a fairly sustained analysis.	There is a firm grasp of the evaluative aims of the question and an assured and consistent control of the arguments and 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.	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.
			There is a weak sense of argument.	Arguments are generally clear and accurate but there may be confusions.	Arguments are clear and accurate, and comes to a suitable — largely summative — conclusions.	Arguments are clear and directed throughout the essay.	Fluent and insightful presentation of the issues and arguments. Clarity in direction of argument linking to evaluation.	
						The conclusions arise logically from the evidence and arguments in the main body, and attempts synthesis.	The conclusions give a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors.	The conclusions give a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgement of factors.

Mark ranges								
Marking criteria	HISTORICAL SOURCES/INTERPRETATIONS	**0–9**	**10–12**	**13–14**	**15–17**	**18–19**	**20–22**	**23–25**
		No discernible reference to historical works.	No discernible reference to historical works.	There is a basic 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 points 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 knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations and arguments which is consistent. 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. 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.

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.

Marking instructions for each question

Section 1 — Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Part A — Historical issues

Question 1

Social evidence that Northern Britain was changed
- Christianity was introduced that replaced native religions
- there are signs of literacy across the region
- Canmore excavation report in 1999 (NT 582 746) argues that discovery of a possible Roman seal box lid, may have a large impact on our understanding of the extent of literacy in native societies in contact with the Roman Empire
- the threat of Rome led to the amalgamation of disparate Iron Age tribes into a Pictish Confederacy (John Mann, 1974)
- fewer tribal names are recorded post Roman invasion compared to those documented in Ptolemy's *Geographica* — which testify to amalgamation
- Rome's presence and influence destabilised native power sources — access to Roman goods and the ability to emulate them became an important source of power and prestige
- archaeological evidence of prestige Roman artefacts such as jewellery and feasting goods found on native sites — melon heads at Newstead or glass bangles
- evidence of emulation of Roman artistic forms
- the infrastructure of Roman Scotland also had a long-term impact. The Roman road system guided communication routes into the medieval period and beyond
- Roman sites often saw later reuse for churches and castles.

Economic evidence that Northern Britain was changed
- trade, diplomacy and tribute flourished during the Roman occupation — it plugged Northern Britain into Mediterranean network
- hordes of silver coins, especially North of the Forth, such as at Birnie, Moray, suggests Rome 'bought peace' — either to pay off troublesome tribes or sweeten friendly tribes — bolstered native system of control
- 'the widespread distribution of Roman finds indicates its desirability to local societies across Scotland' (*Scotland, the Roman Presence*, p58)
- 40% of native sites from Southern Scotland revealed Roman finds — indicates Roman presence and influence.

Evidence that Northern Britain was not changed
- Harding (2004) argues that Roman involvement in Northern Britain was a 'succession of disruptions' and 'there is no significant legacy of literacy or artistic tradition, no legacy of urbanisation, monetary economy or diocesan administration, and only a limited legacy of Roman Christianity' (p301)
- conscious rejection of *romanitas* among the later Picts of the 7th/8th centuries, and this may reflect very different views of Rome than those of groups to the south
- Roman interlude was little more than a series of brief military interludes
- Hanson highlights the short time-scale of Rome's presence in the North — he points out that the total period of Roman occupation of any substantial part of Scotland was limited to some 40 years
- the Roman occupation never extended to even half of Scotland's land mass — all known forts are south of the Highland Boundary Fault
- what impact there was, was entirely military. Rome's presence based around camps, forts and fortlets.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
John Mann	Argues that impact of the Romans forced unity on the tribes in Scotland.
Dennis Harding	Argues that 'Any legacy was largely negative'.
J E Fraser	Rome was fundamental to the ethnogenesis of the Picts the adoption of the Roman name *picti* as an ethnic label helped define the difference between the Britons and the Picts.
Fraser Hunter and Martin Carruthers	Analyses current archaeological evidence putting forward a more nuanced social and economic perspective of Roman/tribal relations, especially the impact of Roman forts on the landscapes that they dominated militarily and as settlements which created and drew activity to them.

Question 2

Columba and conversion

- Columba has been remembered as a key figure in the destruction of paganism, as founder of important religious settlements and as focal point of devotional cults
- Bede writes that Columba gave Christianity to the Northern Picts, coming to the North as an Irish monk in AD563
- Columba's royal lineage ensured he had influence. When he arrived in Argyll he was granted land and hospitality by Pictish monarchy and had access to the ruling elite
- Columba founded a monastery on Iona, off Mull which became not only the base for his missionary work but for the evolving Celtic church
- Columba exerted influence over Scots in Dal Riata and Pictish communities in the Western Isles and adjacent mainland
- Columba acted as spiritual mentor to Kings of Argyll
- Columba's negotiation paved the way for the establishment of churches in Pictish territory though there was no mass evangelisation of the Picts
- a difficulty in weighing up the role of all of the saints is that of the hagiographical tradition. It is hard to take the *Vita Sancti Columbae* at face value. Same goes for the romanticised poem 'The Praise of Columb Cille'.

Ninian and conversion

- to Bede and his contemporaries in 8th century Northumbria, the Southern Picts were converted by Ninian of Whithorn
- Bede clearly struggling to write about Ninian, dates are loose even by his standards
- excavations from Whithorn suggest a Christian settlement existed from around AD500, developing into what became known as *Candida Casa*
- rich archaeological finds around Galloway *cf* Kirkmadrine and ornamental early Christian metalwork from Mote of Mark
- Ninian was bishop of Candida Casa from where he performed miracles and converted the southern Picts
- Ninian's legacy again is obscured by hagiography, the *Vita Niniani* is 'essentially a marketing brochure produced by, or on behalf of, the primary cult-centre of a long dead saint' (Clarkson, 2012). *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* is similarly challenging.

Patrick and conversion

- the earliest literary references for 'Scottish Christianity' are from the writings of St Patrick in the second half of the 5th century
- the two main sources are the *Confessio* and the *Ep ad Coroticus*
- Patrick was a Briton from a Christian family of wealth and status — having been captured by Irish pirates he nurtured a desire to bring the Irish into the Christian fold, escaping to Britain, training as a priest before returning to Ireland
- when Patrick's Irish community was raided by Britons he wrote to their Christian King, Coroticus in Dunbarton who may have been the first King to turn from paganism
- Clyde Britons were Christian by the time that Patrick was writing
- the relationship shows the close interaction between Christians in Ireland and southwest Scotland at the time.

Rome and conversion

- Romans practiced a polytheistic religion, embracing many cults, one of which was the exotic eastern cult of Christianity which was embraced by emperor Constantine the great in the early 300s and promoted as the official religion of the Empire
- archaeological evidence of widespread Christian burial. 'Dead Christians were thus being buried and commemorated in Galloway, Clydesdale, Lothian and Fife at the time when Patrick was appearing before Irish potentates.' (Fraser 2009 p90)
- Christian communities were in existence in Southern Scotland by the 5th century — early Galloway Christian monuments show Christianity prior to St Columba
- early 6th century monuments from Galloway record the presence of priests and talk in terms of 'initium et finis' (the Beginning and the End)
- in former Roman territories Christianity remained even after the Romans had withdrawn however further north, farther from those once Roman territories, the Christian influence was barely felt at all
- Patrick's *Ep ad Cor*. shows Christianity was widespread, at least at an elite level.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Tim Clarkson	Argues that Christianity was popularised via kings.
James Fraser	Puts the case that Christianisation came about from imperial and episcopal initiatives.
Alfred Smyth	Recognises that Columba alone was not responsible for the conversion of Picts in Northern Scotland.
Donald Meek	Suggests that evaluations of Columba are caught between 'faith and folklore' with his profile being subjected to rearrangement since earliest days.

Question 3

Their influence was mostly military

- Angles were Germanic invaders who came from the Danish-German border and conquered most of Roman Britannia
- Ida was the warlord who carved out the northern-most Anglian Kingdom, Bernicia
- a struggle with the Britons — based at Dumbarton on the River Clyde — dominated politics in the 6th and 7th centuries
- in AD603 the Angles defeated Aedan, Gaelic King of Dál Riata, at the battle of Degsastan
- in AD638 the Bernicians took Edinburgh from the Britons. The Annals of Tigernach record a siege of 'Etain'
- in a series of campaigns Oswiu (AD641–AD670) conquered Dumfriesshire, Galloway, Kyle and the Lothians. To the south he took the Angle Kingdom of Deira, that covered Yorkshire, and forged a new Kingdom — Northumbria
- the Picts and the Gaels recognised Oswui's overlordship
- Oswiu acted as an overlord, demanding the subordination of the Britons, Gaels and now the Picts. When he passed away, a new Northumbrian King was chosen — Ecgfrith, in AD664 — and he wasted no time in setting out to crush the Picts, slaughtering an entire colony near Grangemouth
- the Picts eventually defeated the Angles at Dun Nechtain in AD685
- 'The very next year [AD685], that same King [Egfrid], rashly leading his army to ravage the province of the Picts, much against the advice of his friends, and particularly of Cuthbert, of blessed memory, who had been lately ordained his bishop, the enemy made show as if they fled, and the King was drawn into the straits of inaccessible mountains, and slain with the greatest part of his forces, on the 20th of May, in the fortieth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign.' (Bede, HE, 4.26)
- 'The battle of Dún Nechtain was fought on Saturday, 20th May, and Egfrid son of Oswy, King of the Saxons, who had completed the 15th year of his reign, was slain therein with a great body of his soldiers' (Annals of Tigernach).

Their influence through royal patronage

- intermarriage between royal dynasties — King Beli (cAD627) may have married a lady of Northumbrian royal descent, 'son of the King of Dumbarton' was a very powerful King of the Picts, Brude son of Beli, who defeated Angles at Battle of Dunnichen = complex web of family alliances and power bases

Their influence through religion

- significant religious import. Oswiu presided over the Synod of Whitby — ruled that his Kingdom would calculate Easter and observe the monastic tonsure according to the customs of Rome, rather than the customs practised by Irish monks at Iona.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Max Adams	Argues that Oswui inadvertently caused the Viking raids with his demilitarisation of Northumbia.
James E Fraser	Argues that the Pictish defeat of the Northumbrians is the most important turning point in Scottish history.
S Foster	Argues that they are a typical post-Roman Kingdom.
T Clarkson	'warfare played a central role in the life of a Kingdom', King and aristocracy relied on warfare and obligations to secure and maintain power.

Question 4 How far can it be argued that the Vikings' impact on Northern Britain extended well beyond the Northern and Western Isles?

Question 4

Evidence which may support the view that the Vikings' impact extended well beyond the Northern and Western Isles.

The impact of Viking settlement

- the arrival of the Norse and the pattern of raids from c800 onwards, initially largely coastal
- the search for agricultural land and patterns of settlement, based on individual farms/settlements extending from the northern isles into Caithness (named from the Norse for Headland of Cat) Sutherland (the southern land) and as far south as the Moray Firth
- archeological evidence such as Viking graves (Balnakeil in Sutherland and a cemetery at Reay) is indicitive of settlement patterns
- the existence of hogback graves in southern and eastern Scotland implies Norse settlement from northern England where the hogback grave originated
- place names suggest a considerable Norse impact in areas of the northern mainland (Scrabster, Lybster) and to a lesser extent on the western coast of mainland Scotland (names incroporating *dalr*, or valley)
- some Norse settlers may have arrived from what is now the north of England, that is, place names around the Solway Firth (ending –by or –bie) suggests Norse settlers may have moved north from Cumbria.

The impact of Viking incursions on native communities

- Viking raiders attacked Iona in AD795, then again in AD802
- four years later, in AD806, the Vikings killed 68 monks
- by AD825 the monastery on Iona was virtually abandoned
- from AD830 Viking attacks on the mainland increased and raids were launched against centres of Gaelic power in Argyll, culminating in the destruction of Deal Riata
- the Ulster Chronicle claims that in AD839 a large Viking force penetrated there Tay and Earn valleys in the heart of the Pictish kingdom and slaughtered the Pictish king Eogann mac Oengusa and the vassal king of the Scots
- the defeat of AD839 effectively destroyed the Pictish kingdom and started a chain of events that led to Kenneth MacAlpin's domination
- in AD870–AD871 Olaf allegedly launched repeated attacks on the mainland, most notably the raid on Dunbarton, the citadel of the Strathclyde Britons, which he took after a four month siege
- subsequently a large haul of plunder was transported for ransom or the Dublin slave market
- Olaf's victories crippled the power of the Strathclyde Britons and established Viking domination of the Clyde estuary.

Evidence which may support the view that the Vikings' impact was clearly evident in the Northern and Western Isles

- Viking influence was great in Orkney and Shetland and parts of Caithness, culminating in the creation of the earldom of Orkney
- wealth of archeological evidence of settlement and probable intermarriage at excavated sites such as Jarlshof and Birsay
- Sagas and place names evidence reinforce the view that the Viking presence had a major impact on Orkney and Shetland
- the evidence provided by burial sites in the Northern Isles, often of wealthy individuals such as the boat grave found at Sanday

- Scandinavian place names in Orkney and Shetland almost obliterated indigenous place names
- plethora of grave evidence for Viking presence in the Western Isles (Kiloran Bay on Colonsay as well as graves on Islay and Oronsay)
- place name evidence for Viking presence in the Western Isles — on Lewis 99 out of 126 place names remain wholly Scandinavian, suggesting the Norse colonisation was very thorough
- archeological evidence of settlement in the Western Isles such as Udal (North Uist) and Drimore (South Uist)
- in the Western Isles the Celtic clan system was supplemented by settling Vikings, that is, MacLeod is Gaelic/Norse mixture from Viking Leod
- elsewhere evidence of settlement is fragmentary
- only very sparse Viking finds in mainland Argyll.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Anna Ritchie	Use the term 'The Viking fringe' to describe southern and eastern Scotland but acknowledges that although areas of southern and eastern Scotland were not intensively settled by Scandinavians, few areas can have escaped the effects of Viking activites — either raiding or trading.
Clare Downham	Suggests that Vikings played a significant part in the political history of Strathclyde, Galloway and Alba, as well as having a major impact on the Northern and Western Isles.
James Graham-Campbell and Colleen Batey	Argue that the Viking impact was greatest in the Northern Isles and along the western seaboard, with the replacement of native culture in places.
Alex Woolf	Emphasises the distruptive impact of the Viking incursions, especially on Pictland and the kingdom of Dal Riata.

Question 5

The role of Kenneth is key

- Kenneth allegedly battled the seven Pictish provincial Kings to eventually exploit a power vacuum and become King of Picts and Scots by AD843
- the 19th-century historian Charles Roger claimed a standing stone at Airthrey near Stirling marked the site of the AD843 battle, saying it was 'believed that it was reared to commemorate the total defeat of the Picts by the Scots, under Kenneth MacAlpin, and which led to the destruction of the Pictish Kingdom'. He added 'It is beyond doubt that the battle which finally overthrew the Picts was fought in this vicinity'
- 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
- Alba was forged following the defeat of the Picts, whereby Pictish identity declined and a new national state and identity grew or developed
- the perception that Kenneth MacAlpin conquered the Picts and created Alba arose in the centuries after his death, when the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* was compiled. The annalist wrote 'So Kinadius son of Alpinus, first of the Scots, ruled this Pictland prosperously for 16 years. Pictland was named after the Picts, whom, as we have said, Kinadius destroyed. Two years before he came to Pictland, he had received the Kingdom of Dál Riata'
- the House of Alpin ruled Pictland from the 840s through to 1034 with the death of Malcolm II and all these Kings traced their descent to Kenneth MacAlpin, forging the notion that Kenneth's accession to the throne was the pivotal point in the creation of Alba
- Kenneth MacAlpin established dynastic control cAD849 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
- Giraldus Cambrensis in *De instructione principus* recounts how a great banquet was held at Scone, and the Pictish King and his nobles were plied with drinks and became quite drunk. Once the Picts were drunk, the Scots allegedly pulled bolts from the benches, trapping the Picts in concealed earthen hollows under the benches, additionally, the traps were set with sharp blades, such that the falling Picts impaled themselves
- the Prophecy of St Berchan tells that '[MacAlpin] plunged them in the pitted earth, sown with deadly blades'). Trapped and unable to defend themselves, the surviving Picts were then murdered from above and their bodies, clothes and ornaments 'plundered'.

The process of gradual fusion

- since the *Chronicle of the Kings of Alba* was compiled much detail has evolved to bolster ideas of Kenneth's conquest but consensus now suggests that there was no conquest or annihilation — events such as the treason may be wholly fabricated
- modern historians would reject the myth of Kenneth conquering the Picts. Alex Woolf says 'it's about 1210, 1220 that that's first talked about. There's actually no hint at all that he was a Scot. If you look at contemporary sources there are four other Pictish Kings after him. So he's the fifth last of the Pictish Kings rather than the first Scottish King' (Ian Johnston, 'First King of the Scots? Actually he was a Pict,' *Scotsman*, 2 October 2004)
- amongst contemporary historians there is an emerging consensus, namely, that the Kingships of Gaels and Picts underwent a process of gradual fusion, starting with Kenneth, and rounded off in the reign of Constantine II
- 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.

The impact of the Vikings

- a permanent presence throughout his life and reign. They cause the Pictish capital to be moved from Dunadd to Forteviot
- the reign of Kenneth also saw increased Norse settlement
- Shetland, Orkney, Caithness, Sutherland, the Western Isles and the Isle of Man, and part of Ross were settled
- their appearance also weakened relationships with Ireland
- arguable that the presence of the Vikings sped up the union between the Picts and the Gaels.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Sally Foster	Suggests that Kenneth has been credited with the foundation of the nation of Alba because he was the founder of the first Scottish royal dynasty.
Fiona Watson	Favours the notion that the birth of Alba was a long drawn out development, borne out of long term contacts.
Alfred Smyth	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'.
John Bannerman	Argues that the idea of a union is a modern construct that had little to do with 9th century reality.

Section 1 — Northern Britain: From the Iron Age to 1034

Part B — Historical sources

Question 6

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)
The Celtic economy was based on agriculture.	Iron Age Scotland was predominantly agricultural.
Warriors defended their lands against any attempts to encroach on their territory.	As with all Celtic societies, there was a strong military element.
Skilled artists and craftsmen produced quality goods.	There was a high level of artistic expression.
But the tribes in Scotland did not use money relying instead on barter.	Celtic society was aware of monetary economy, but preferred to stick with the barter system.

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

- evidence from contemporary LPRIA societies in England, France and Germany suggest emphasis on military
- emergence of large semi-subterranean souterrains and 'four posters' (granary buildings) — indicative of intensification of arable production
- agricultural cycle underpinned ritual and religion — sacrificial deposits of animal bones with human cremations suggests intimate links between agriculture and religion
- although Cassius Dio wrote that northern tribes had, 'no cultivated land living by pastoral pursuits and by hunting', archaeological evidence refutes this and indicates agriculture was of utmost importance
- production of agricultural surplus was essential to support the existence of specialised craft-workers
- settlement seen to reveal instability — the purpose of forts, crannogs and brochs was seen as providing refuge, those in the immediate neighbourhood fled to these sites in times of danger.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Celts as warlike.	Celtic society was perceived as warlike by Roman authors.
Defensive capabilities of such sites were of secondary importance.	Warfare was of secondary importance in the construction of hillforts.
Prestige, status or even ritual and religion could all play a part.	Sites were constructed with religion, prestige and ritual in mind.
Landscapes formerly crowded with hillforts and enclosures appear to have been replaced by more open settlements and signs of increasingly stable conditions.	Late Pre-Roman Iron Age was, in fact, settled and thriving, with open settlements across the landscape.

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

- sites were built to display power and/or ritual — roundhouse doors align to rising sun, brochs are hopeless for defence
- hillforts cannot be seen as testimony to the great role of warfare in society — the 'defences' are practically indefensible and built more with display in mind (Chesters' overlooked by larger hill)
- aerial photography reveals complex field systems, cord-rig, cultivation ridges — indicators of settled, sophisticated farming communities
- modern picture of Celtic society is of stability — undefended farms, wholescale land cultivation and stability
- Rome sought to highlight the role of warfare in Northern Britain in order to make their advance through the north seem epic and gallant.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- contrasting views on role of warfare — has been perceived as defining trait of Iron Age society but now considered to be of secondary importance, following prestige and subsistence
- Roman writers fuelled notions of a warlike society, for example, Dio stated that northern tribes had no cultivated lands, lived naked and fought barefoot
- 'Heroic', lordly practices of warfare, feasting and drinking were all important in Iron Age society — evidence by finds such as the Torrs Pony Cap from Kirkcudbrightshire
- warfare played a role in securing and maintaining the power of elite members of the social hierarchy
- imposing sites such as Mousa Broch, Eildon Hill North or even Oakbank Crannog have been, in recent years, interpreted as indicators of warfare and instability — reinforcing view of warfare as critical
- Armit supposes that warfare was of a small scale and was infused with symbolism and display
- trappings of warfare (chariots, swords and spears) may have been symbols of power rather than actual weapons of war — akin to the power of suggestion
- pre-battle preening, ritualised aggression and the threat of violence may have played as great a role as actual warfare in Late Pre-Roman Iron Age society
- defenses on sites such as Hownam Rings in the Borders and Broxmouth in East Lothian were in disrepair by the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age — society was essentially peaceful with little need of defenses
- the transition from palisaded sites with multi and univallate defenses, to enclosed and finally to unenclosed settlements suggests that warfare was at most, incidental.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Richard Oram	Suggests warfare was endemic.
Iron Age Scotland (ScARF Panel Report) 2012	Society changed over time, and a more subtle analysis is needed of relations with external forces.
D Harding	Emphasises that Iron Age communities were capable of managing an economic regime above bare subsistence level
Graham and Anna Ritchie	Maintain that farmers were socially prominent, hierarchically below an aristocratic class, controlling unfree farm labourers

Question 7

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

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Hadrian's Wall is a recognition of the Romans' abandonment of their intention to conquer Britain.	Wall marked the end of Roman attempts to expand the Empire in the North.
More interested in controlling the movement of people.	This emphasises that the Wall was used to control people.
Mobile army became fossilised on the frontiers and became an obstacle to movement.	The army was stationed in frontier zone and the Wall also hindered the Roman army from attacking.
Frontier defence was another matter and was the responsibility of the regiments based in the frontier zone.	The frontier wall was limited in effectively defending so needed the army to ensure control.

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

- Hadrian's Wall was the most heavily fortified border in the Empire — used for frontier defence with forts along the wall
- watchtowers were built to maintain observation
- 'Hadrian was the first to build a wall 80 miles long from sea to sea to separate the barbarians from the Romans' (SHA, *Vita Hadriani*, 11.2)
- 80 mile castles make the Wall permeable
- 18 robust forts situated in the vicinity of the curtain wall — making fighting troops in reasonable proximity to any point of the Wall
- made good use of natural defensive features such as the Whin Sill, a volcanic outcrop forming a line of north facing crags
- punctuating every stretch of the Wall between milecastles were two towers so that observation points were created every third of a mile. Constructed mainly from stone and in parts initially from turf, the Wall was six metres high in places and up to three metres deep
- all along the south face of the Wall, if there was no river or crag to provide additional defence, a deep ditch called the vallum was dug. In some areas the vallum was dug out of rock.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- wider reference to walls within Roman frontier defences to the north including northern mainland Europe
- Hadrian's successor Antonine built the Antonine Wall from AD142 between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde
- 40 years before the construction of Hadrian's Wall, the Romans had built the Gask Ridge, a series of defensive fortifications close to the Highland Line
- Luttwak states that the frontiers provided 'preclusivity' — total control of all movement into and out from the line
- frontiers acted as collection points for the import and export duties upon which the Empire's tax revenues depended
- gates acted as customs posts to allow trade and taxes to be collected
- frontiers meant that tribes could only enter the empire unarmed, under guard, and after paying a fee
- ever since Battle of Teutoburg Forest in AD9 and the revolt of Boudicca, the Romans in Western Europe remained cautious of local tribes
- support for Hadrian's Wall came from the tacit support of the tribes that were protected by it.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Charlotte Higgins	An instrument of movement control, policing contact between those who lived either side.
Alistair Moffat	How it impacted the local tribes. 'Only Roman reactions to the British actions survive in the historical record.' Moffat skilfully uses archaeological record and later Celtic sources to try and see the Wall from their point of view.
Nic Fields	The frontiers were to bring stability to the empire, to create a visible demonstration of imperial security.
Malcolm Todd	Hadrianic frontier completed Rome's system of military control by the end of Hadrian's reign.

Question 8

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. 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 contextual recall, including historians' views, that the candidate provides in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source D		**Possible comment on the provenance of the source**
Author	Unknown.	Clearly the work of a skilled carver, as the image is highly complex, and indicates knowledge of carving elsewhere. There appears to be an awareness of Northumbrian art forms.
Purpose	Intended to convey a complex message.	An explicit statement of Christianity (front face) and possible commemoration of a historical battle (rear face). The cross slab may have been erected as a focus for prayer or as a powerful statement of belief.
Timing	AD 800	Uncertainty about the exact date but the Christian imagery suggests a date around the end of the 8th century AD.

Point identified in Source D	**Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)**
Example of a Class 2 Pictish cross slab (symbol stone).	Class 2 stones combine Christian and Pictish symbols, as shown on both faces of this cross slab, showing a society in transition from Celtic religion to Christianity.
The front face of the stone show a Christian cross.	Clear evidence of the role of Christianity in Pictish society.
The rear face of the stone appears to show mounted warriors and foot soldiers, possibly commemorating a battle.	Warriors are shown suggesting the military values of Pictish society, or of the patron who had the slab erected.
Aberlemno is in Angus where many Pictish symbol stones are found.	Pictish symbol stones are usually found in the north east of Scotland but several are clustered together around Angus suggesting this was an area of significance in southern Pictish society.

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

- according to Bede, the Pictish king Nechtan introduced the Roman Church sometime in the early 8th century, replacing the Columban form of Christianity
- Nechtan's introduction of a reformed church may have been a way of consolidating and extending royal authority
- the imagery surrounding the cross is typically Pictish (fantastic animals) and can be seen as an assertion of Pictish cultural identity
- these zoomorphic designs are reminiscent of Northumbrian designs and those from the Book of Kells, indicative of the knowledge and skill of craftsmen that Pictish society was able to encourage

- the rear face of Aberlemno II depicts Pictish cavalry and infantry engaged in typical warrior pursuits. It also depicts specialist arms and equipment (mounted warrior — horse, bridle gear and sword)
- depicts two opposing forces (Picts and Angles of Northumbria) — figures on left are Pictish, similar hairstyles and clothes to other Pictish stones whilst helmeted figures on the right are Angles (helmets with nose-guards — like the Coppergate helmet from York). This suggests warrior pursuits were typical of Pictish society, where conflict with neighbouring kingdoms was frequent
- in the past historians have assumed this to be a depiction of scenes from Battle of Nechtansmere, AD685, between Picts and Northumbrians which they believed took place less than four miles from Aberlemno
- doubts have been cast on this interpretation as it is now thought that the battle was fought much further north
- could be a Pictish commemoration of a Pictish king, Oengus mac Fergusa?

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the evidence in the source

- cross slabs such as Aberlemno II may have been erected by either a secular or an ecclesiastical authority to convey complex messages about authority and belief
- warfare took place with full church support — provided divine legitimisation for Kings (relics of St Columba were carried into battle by the Scots)
- Aitchison argues that warfare was a common secular activity for Picts, reinforcing kingship and power
- excavations at Burghead revealed extensive fortification with ditches, ramparts and defensive walls suggesting the presence of a powerful ruler who could organise complex construction works; the bullheads found at Burghead suggest this was also an important pre-Christian religious site, associated with kingship
- Picts had '*comitatus*' — retinues of mounted 'professional' warriors, the social and military elite (evident on Sueno Stone, Forres)
- military and hunting scenes are reflected in other symbol stones as well as cauldrons, goblets, and swords, suggesting these were important in Pictish society
- hoard evidence, such as the St Ninian's Isle hoard (believed to be of Pictish origin) reveals sophisticated artefacts such as feasting bowls, jewellery and weapons indicating aristocratic wealth
- some very limited evidence from ogham inscriptions suggests that pre-Christian Picts may have used a written language
- Bede refers to matrilineal kingship, claiming that 'Picts gave preference to the female royal line' and the relationship between a number of 7th centuary Pictish, Northumbrian and British kings can be interpreted as evidence of this
- Adomnan's 'Law of Innocence', promulgated by the Synod of Birr (697), was accepted by the Pictish king suggesting an organised society in which royal authority was held to be responsible for law-giving
- recent excavations at Portmahomack have revealed an 8th century AD Pictish monastery producing vellum, glass and precious metals, suggesting a settled, skilled community; by the 9th century this monastery was producing weights and instruments used in North Sea trade.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Alfred P Smyth	Emphasises the existence of a warrior elite.
Anna Ritchie	Suggests that stones reflect diversity of Pictish cultural warrior values, Christian values.
Historic Environment Scotland: ***Aberlemno Churchyard cross slab: Statement of Significance***	Pictish society was organised and structured. Skilled sculptors must have been commissioned to create masterpieces such as Aberlemno II, most probably at the behest of the Pictish elite.
Sally Foster	Contends that the Picts were sea warriors, but they also traded along the east coast, particularly with Northumbria, but archeological evidence has been found coming from as far south as Kent.

Section 2 — Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249–1334

Part A — Historical issues

Question 9

Evidence that the Scottish political community acted collectively to maintain Scotland's peace and prosperity between 1286 and 1290.

Collective action

- the Scottish political community elected a council of 6 (or 7) to run the government, ensuring they reflected the different elements of Scottish political society
- this was a strong and united coalition able to work together to run the country and deal with day-to-day issues
- the composition of the Guardianship of 1286 can be seen as a prudent attempt to prevent factionalism from undermining the stability of the Kingdom
- it was made up of representatives of the Church, the Earls and the senior nobility and represented both Bruce and Comyn factions, whilst excluding the main candidates themselves — Robert Bruce and John Balliol — in case the Maid died
- the Guardians successfully neutralised the Bruce threat in 1286–1287, suggesting they were capable of maintaining law and order
- the Comyn-led government successfully negotiated to protect the independence and position of their country
- the Treaty of Birgham (1290) can be seen as a comprehensive attempt to safeguard the independence of the kingdom whilst accepting the stabilising effect of a royal marriage into the English royal family
- in the Treaty of Birgham, the Guardians negotiated safeguards including that the provision of justice would remain in Scotland under a representative appointed by the monarch, rather than having Scots travel to England to receive royal justice.
- the Treaty of Birgham's attempts to defend Scottish institutions grew from their experiences dealing with English aid during the minority of Alexander III
- the Guardians arrested the sheriff of Northumberland for interfering in Scottish affairs in 1290, maintaining their independence from external influence
- at the parliament in 1286, the Scots upheld their promises to Alexander III from 1284, showing their ability to maintain the peaceful positions established under their late King
- the Scots allowed the Bishops of Glasgow (Wishart) and St Andrews (Fraser) to lead the government during the uncertain months while they delayed decisions on the succession until it was clear whether Yolande would produce a living heir
- the Guardians successfully maintained the routine of royal administration, including raising rents and paying fees.

Evidence that the Scottish political community did not act collectively to maintain Scotland's peace and prosperity between 1286 and 1290.

Individual action

- the composition of the Guardianship in 1286 can be seen more as an attempt to further factional interest than to find a stable way to govern the Kingdom during the Maid's minority, as most of the Guardians were Comyns or related to the Comyns
- the Guardians could not work together to successfully prevent factionalism, such as the meeting between Bruce and James Steward at Turnberry in 1286
- by agreeing in the Treaty of Salisbury (1289) not to marry the Maid without taking the advice of Edward, the Guardians virtually gave the English king the right to pick their Queen's husband
- by agreeing in the Treaty of Salisbury (1289) that the Maid should be sent to England until Scotland was stable and at peace, the Guardians gave Edward physical control over their Queen rather than proving to the Norwegian king that they were already at peace
- the murder of one of the Guardians, the Earl of Fife, suggests that chronic factionalism was rife amongst the nobility and that the country was facing the breakdown of law and order
- the political community were unable to agree how to replace the Guardians who died across the Interregnum
- following the death of the Maid of Norway both the leading claimants to the throne (Robert Bruce and John Balliol) each made pleas to Edward on their own behalf, bypassing the Guardians
- when Bishop Fraser of St Andrews wrote to Edward I asking for his aid on the rumoured death of the Maid of Norway and recommending John Balliol as a future king, he did so without the knowledge or support of the remaining Guardians.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Peter Traquair	Takes the view that on everyday matters of government the political community worked together for the benefit of the country.
GWS Barrow	Takes the view that careful and astute decisions were taken to prevent the Kingdom descending into anarchy after the death of their King.
Richard Oram	Takes the view that the political community could not prevent violent clashes between the rival claimants to the Scottish throne.
David Santiuste	Takes the view that while the Guardians maintained a relatively effective administration, they found it increasingly difficult to remain impartial.

Question 10

Evidence that John was never more than a figurehead.

Situation in Scotland

- John was a younger son who was educated by the church. He was trained then employed as a cleric (civil servant) in Edward I's court. He was not trained to be a King
- John had little experience in Scotland before becoming King — he had been an English magnate who had paid homage to Edward for his lands in England
- John was unable to unify Scottish society and restore royal authority after the 6-year absence of an adult monarch
- the political community had grown accustomed to their increased role in government during the absence of a King. John failed in the impossible task of trying 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, undermining John's position
- it is doubtful how successful John's attempt to extend royal authority into the Western Isles was during his reign
- John was seen by many as inexperienced and a mere puppet of his more experienced Comyn relations. In particular, John failed to administer royal justice himself, and instead delegated this to others, particularly the Comyns
- John's inability to maintain his early attempts to stand up to Edward over the legal appeals annoyed and frustrated his political community
- John's initial agreement to undertake military service in France when Edward demanded it angered his political community
- John's perceived weakness as a ruler led to the creation of the Council of 12 to replace or at best support John in rebelling against Edward
- John never personally led his army against the invading forces of Edward I in 1296.

Relations with England

- 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, further undermining John's authority as King in Scotland and testing the limits of his 'overlordship' over Scotland
- 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
- Edward insisted John, along with his magnates, should provide military service for his war against France — treating the Scottish King like a mere magnate
- creating an alliance with France was an act of open rebellion and forced Edward to react, bringing his superior force to attack Scotland
- Edward came north to deal with a 'contumacious vassal' in 1296
- Edward was already travelling to Scotland to deal with John's failure to attend the muster for his French war when he heard about the alliance Scotland had negotiated with France, suggesting Anglo—Scottish relations had already deteriorated.

International relationships

- John failed to get vital military aid from France against Edward's invasion in 1296, despite having signed the Auld Alliance earlier the same year
- John failed to get papal support for the Scottish rebellion against Edward I or convince the pope to absolve the Scots of their promises given to Edward I under duress during the Great Cause.

Evidence that John did hold personal authority over his Kingdom.

Situation in Scotland

- John had been the last of the claimants to accept the overlordship of King Edward during the Great Cause
- John was able to withstand attempts by the Bruce family to refuse homage, quelling trouble and eventually forcing the youngest Robert Bruce to give homage to him as King
- John governed using the established systems of Scottish government, working with the politically-experienced nobility, particularly the Comyn family
- King John summoned at least 7 parliaments across his short reign, resurrecting royal government
- he extended royal authority by creating a new sheriffdom in the west of Scotland
- when starting their rebellion against Edward in 1295, John sought absolution from the Pope for all promises that had been made to Edward, which he claimed had been made under duress
- King John proved that he was ready to defend his Kingdom when he sent an embassy to the King of France to negotiate an alliance between the two countries. Within the Treaty the Scots agreed to help the French in any war against England while the French promised not to negotiate a truce or peace with the King of England without including the Scots
- the King and a broad cross-section of Scottish society, including burgesses, ratified the Treaty with France to validate the arrangement and began to prepare the country for a likely war against England.

Relations with England

- the English parliament at Westminster in September 1293 regarding the MacDuff case, John tried to defend his authority when he argued that Edward had no right to judge the Scottish legal case
- John tried to refuse to answer Edward in the English parliament without seeking the advice of his 'chief men'. When this was refused, John tried to use a proxy
- in May 1295, John failed to appear in England for the next stage of the MacDuff case
- in July 1295, the Scots refused to receive English envoys — the Earl of Warenne and Bishop Bek
- King John withdrew his homage in 1296, rejecting the basis of King Edward's claim of overlordship
- John decided to resist Edward I despite Edward's threat that English lands belonging to the rebels would be seized if John failed to appear at his next parliament
- by allying with England's enemy, John showed he was strong enough to disobey his overlord and risk war with England.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Michael Brown	Takes the view that Edward was determined to exercise his authority as King, forcing John to accept his subordinate position.
Caroline Bingham	Takes the view that Balliol was a weak and indecisive man who could not sustain his position in adversity.
Amanda Beam	Takes the view that Balliol had survived the worst of his problems by 1295 and might have survived if not for the Anglo-French war.
David Santiuste	Takes the view that the collapse of Scottish resistance in 1296 was more due to Balliol's weakness than Edward's abilities as a commander.

Question 11

Evidence which suggests that the Scottish nobles were acting in their own interests in resisting Edward I between 1298 and 1305.

Military

- Scottish nobles imprisoned after the battle at Dunbar accepted Edward's direct overlordship to avoid remaining in prison
- Edward insisted that the Scots provide written acceptance of his position in the Ragman's Roll, rather than rely on verbal promises. Having lost in the battles of 1296, the Scots had little choice but to concede
- Edward was able to make use of Scots who sided with him, such as Robert Bruce
- Edward would only deal with the Scots after 1304 once they brought in William Wallace, who he refused to pardon
- Wallace's grisly death of hanging, disembowelling, beheading and quartering was designed to deter others from future rebellions
- Scottish resistance remained quite small scale, suggesting people acted in their own interests rather than consistently fighting for their King and Kingdom as a united front.

Government

- Scottish nobles were unhappy at their exclusion from positions of power in their government after 1296, when they were replaced by Englishmen for positions including sheriffs and justices. Many joined the rebellion to regain these posts
- in the Western Isles, rebellions began as Edward's administration gave power to the MacDonald clan, alienating their local rivals, the MacDougall's who had previously controlled the area and rebelled
- the Scots were able to set up and operate their own alternative administrative system which could aid rebellions
- the Scottish Guardians remained divided, including the Peebles dispute between the Bruce and Comyn Guardians and the need to add Lamberton as a senior Guardian
- Robert Bruce resigned as Guardian and eventually joined the English in 1302
- the Scottish Church remained almost unaffected by the English administration as most existing Bishops and clergy retained their positions. They were in the best position to undermine English control and encourage rebellion to protect Scotland's ecclesiastical independence
- the Scots were unused to regular, high taxation — their Kings were expected to live within their means, except for extraordinary expenses like war
- in 1297, demands for taxation peaked along with demands for military service due to Edward's preparations for war against France. These included the compulsory seizure and sale of wool
- Scots expected good government in return for their taxation — a royal court, justice etc. The royal court was in London, depriving the Scots of patronage, and Englishmen who did not understand Scots law administered justice
- Edward secured propaganda from John Balliol, extracting an oath that he would not return to Scotland, depriving the Scots of their leader and resistance figurehead
- by 1303, both the papacy and the French had abandoned the Scots, leaving the political community isolated and facing an English King free of other conflicts to focus on the Scots. The Scots had to fend for themselves
- in the Ordinance of 1305, the Scots 'rebels' were treated leniently by Edward I, avoiding severe punishments that awaited the likes of Wallace by making deals with Edward
- Wallace was handed over to the English by a Scot
- the terms of the 1305 Ordinance suggest that the Comyns were prepared to negotiate terms favourable to their family at the expense of others, notably Robert Bruce
- the secret pact between Lamberton and Bruce highlights their willingness to abandon the Balliol cause to further their own interests
- when the majority of Scots capitulated to Edward in 1304 and negotiated the Ordinance of 1305, some held out, notably Wallace and William Oliphant.

Evidence which suggests that the Scottish nobles were acting in the dynastic interests of Scotland/Balliol in resisting Edward I between 1298 and 1305

Military

- Edward concentrated his fighting in south-west Scotland, around castles such as Caerlaverock, rather than key central positions such as Stirling Castle which were well defended
- areas where English garrisons were less concentrated had difficulties collecting levies or garrisoning castles
- Edward conducted three invasions of Scotland throughout 1300–1302, each escalating in scale but never fully engaging or defeating the Scots
- annual English problems with logistics and in finding money and men for near-mutinous garrisons made an outright English victory an impossibility
- as the Scots remained an ally of the French King Philip IV, who promised to include the Scots in any Anglo-French truce, Edward was limited in his ability to entirely defeat the Scots
- Edward was not always successful against the Scots across this period, for instance losing at Roslin in 1303.

Government

- although Edward consolidated his hold by appointing sheriffs and turning Berwick into the focus of his administration, this was only in the south-east of Scotland
- in the Ordinance of 1305, Edward made a more conciliatory government, where Scots retained influence over the running of their country and could protect their traditions etc, including Scots becoming justiciars and sheriffs
- throughout all of the changes in Guardianship, the Scots consistently acted in the name of King John Balliol
- John Balliol maintained some influence over the Scottish government, notably in establishing John de Soules as the sole Guardian.

Diplomacy

- Pope Boniface VIII remained supportive of the Scots, finally forcing Edward to show proof of his overlordship of Scotland and pressurising the English against outright destruction of the Scots
- on 27 June 1299, Pope Boniface VIII issued the bull, *Scimus fili*, declaring Edward's occupation of Scotland illegal
- Edward was forced to give in to international pressure and release John from captivity in London, first into papal custody and then into the hands of Philip IV.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Michael Brown	Takes the view that middle ranking Scots saw Edward as a direct threat to their security and so were prepared to take up arms.
Peter Traquair	Takes the view that Bruce, having sulked for two years, moved to support Edward from 1302 as a response to Balliol being released into papal custody.
GWS Barrow	Takes the view that the multiple guardianships proves how determined the Scots were to maintain the normal machinery of government.
Richard Oram	Takes the view that the Scots remained violently divided over the aims of their international diplomacy and their military campaigns.

Question 12

Evidence which suggests that Bannockburn did help Bruce settle the war against England.

Continued fighting

- Bruce's success at Bannockburn gave him the continued support of the army and society which enabled him to wage further successful campaigns against the English to capitalise on the 1314 victory and push for further English concessions, recognition of Scottish independence
- a monumental defeat of aristocratic heavy cavalry by infantry soldiers was on a par with that of the Flemish at Courtrai in 1302 and was a huge morale boost for the Scots
- King Robert was able to continue fighting the English in Ireland, delegating much of the leadership of this campaign to his sole surviving brother, Edward
- Robert and Edward Bruce fought together in Ireland to increase the pressure on England, leading to Edward being crowned High King of Ireland
- Robert resurrected the Irish campaign once again following the deposition of Edward II to further increase the pressure on the new English government under Isabella and Mortimer and force them to the negotiating table to acknowledge Scottish independence formally
- King Robert used his loyal lieutenants to increase the scale and extent of his raids into northern England until they began to resemble an invading force, to force the English King to recognise the power and authority of King Robert
- King Robert continued to split his attacks, leading the Scottish army himself against Berwick while his lieutenants continued fighting in northern England and Ireland.

Dealing with the English

- after Bannockburn, King Robert became a powerful influence in the north of England, extracting large sums of money and individual truces from local lords who felt abandoned by the English King in London, unable to defend them from Scottish attacks from the north
- victory at Bannockburn enabled King Robert to gradually remove remaining English control from his territory, initially from Stirling and Bothwell Castles and then from Berwick
- the English eventually lost all territorial control within Scotland from which they might have begun to reassert control
- Bruce gained huge resources in booty, armour and ransoms — vital for his administration and ill-equipped army
- Edward II's lack of concern with maintaining political and military control over Scotland was compounded by the fact that many senior English nobles also did not wish to continue the expensive and drawn out campaign in Scotland
- by the 1320s, Edward faced additional problems stemming from Bannockburn and his rule in England, with nobles like the earl of Lancaster prepared to rebel against the English King and support the Scottish King and increasing problems with France
- an Anglo-Scottish truce in 1315 led to an exchange of prisoners from Bannockburn, consolidating Bruce's position further and allowing him to regain his wife and heir, strengthening his succession
- after Bannockburn, King Robert had won the independence of Scotland and legitimacy of his Kingship, it was merely that the English King was not yet prepared to admit the fact.

Evidence which suggests that Bannockburn did not help Bruce settle the war against England.

Continued fighting

- Bannockburn remained only one battle in a very long war, neither ending Edward's claim to overlordship nor shifting the balance of power between England and Scotland
- failure to capture Edward II as he fled the field at Bannockburn was a serious blow to Scottish chances of forcing the English to capitulate over their independence
- success in the battle led to Bruce becoming overconfident and over extending himself and his resources, limiting his ability to successfully pressurise the English for a lasting resolution. In particular, opening the second-front in Ireland over-burdened Scottish resources and ultimately cost the King his last surviving brother and heir
- defeating the English at Bannockburn did not lead to the immediate expulsion of the English or English supporters from Scottish territory. John MacDougall of Lorne held the Isle of Man as a base for a pro-England campaign against the Scottish King in the Isles, having expelled Bruce's garrison. Berwick remained under English control until 1318
- raids into northern England ravaged wide areas but did not force the English to make peace. While Berwick eventually fell to the Scots in 1318, Carlisle withstood assault in 1315 and 1316
- Edward II was unable to counter Brucean raids after Bannockburn, but they did not force him to abandon his claim to Scottish overlordship. Edward was able to insist upon a series of truces (in 1318, 1319, 1321, 1323) to delay and extend the war rather than end it while also relieving tension on the English King.

Dealing with the English

- victory at Bannockburn did not immediately bring King Robert international support against the English. The papacy continued to attempt to interfere on behalf of the English, for example Pope John XXII tried to impose a two-year truce after his election in 1316 but faced opposition from both sides
- papal attempts at truces were ignored by the Scots as papal documents failed to address Robert as King. Papal recognition did not appear until the mid-1320s, a decade after the victory at Bannockburn
- 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
- it took 14 years after the Battle of Bannockburn for King Robert to gain the Treaty of Edinburgh-Northampton and formal recognition of Scottish independence from the English along with a culmination of the war. In that time, King Edward II was murdered, and King Robert was very ill.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Colm McNamee	Takes the view that after Bannockburn, England remained the stronger country by far and had no reason to give in to the Scots.
Michael Brown	Takes the view that Bannockburn did not end the war against England, it merely added to Robert's prestige without giving his family a secure title to the throne.
Peter Traquair	Takes the view that battles — however decisive — did not bring victory in Anglo-Scottish warfare and that Bannockburn led merely to stalemate England would not give up Scotland, but neither could they hope to win it.
GWS Barrow	Takes the view that at Bannockburn, Robert had won the independence of Scotland, though the English were not yet prepared to admit the fact.

Question 13

Evidence which suggests that the Declaration of Arbroath was the most important factor helping King Robert establish his government.

The Declaration of Arbroath (1320)

- 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
- the primary purpose of the Declaration of Arbroath appears to have been to persuade the Papacy to lift the excommunication on King Robert
- King Robert continually sought recognition of his position from the papacy and the French in attempts to secure his authority
- King Robert worked hard to undermine John Balliol in order to justify his own usurpation of the Kingship
- King Robert's declarations were issued in threes — from his nobility, his clergy and himself — to highlight and consolidate the extent of his support across all sectors of Scottish society
- the declarations were designed to give a sense of communal governing within Scotland as Robert ruled with his political community
- although these documents were supposedly from sectors of Scottish society, in reality they were royal propaganda, produced by the King's chancery with seals attached later, over a number of weeks rather than at a single meeting
- some historians think King Robert used the Declaration of Arbroath as a test of loyalty in whether his political community would sign it. However, the test did not prevent its signatories from rebelling within months
- the Declaration of Arbroath stated that if King Robert failed to maintain and defend the independence of his Kingdom, he like John Balliol would be replaced as King of Scots
- both the Kings of France and England had sent similar letters to the papacy, suggesting that King Robert was following a typical route of seeking justification for his actions, as well as recognition and support from the papacy for his government.

Evidence which suggests that other factors were more important in the establishment of a successful government by King Robert.

Parliaments, law and order

- King Robert was able to restore, strengthen and extend royal parliaments, re-establishing royal authority after the confusion of constant warfare
- over 50 of King Robert's acts linked his rule to that of Alexander III, establishing his royal continuity with Kings of old
- Robert pursued the full territorial interests of King Alexander, including his recovery of the Isle of Man in the 1320s, highlighting his strength and effectiveness as King
- King Robert utilised sheriffs as vital elements of local royal government and increased their landed resources to strengthen their power
- King Robert was able to effectively revive royal administration, including the roles of chamberlain, justiciar etc
- King Robert's government was dependent on the administrative support of the Chancery under Bernard de Linton
- Parliament held a greater role during Robert's reign than under previous monarchs, moving around the country to provide visible justice, including meetings at Cambuskenneth in 1314 and Scone in 1318
- King Robert was able to settle disputes amongst his nobility, such as the conflict between the Earl of Ross and Andrew Moray
- King Robert aimed to increase trade by issuing and renewing burgh Charters
- Robert was able to restore the Scottish economy, exporting goods like wool, hides and timber, and importing luxury goods as well as war materials from English North Sea ports as well as European centres
- the 1318 parliament at Scone confirmed systems of military service and reformed criminal law in Scotland

- Robert was forced to issue statutes against 'rumours' — this was probably aimed at those who continued to see him as a usurper of the Balliol throne and still threatened his reign
- King Robert was forced to hand out unprecedented amounts of land to his nobility in order to buy support from Scots who had previously opposed his rule
- redistributing land was not simply paying political debts — King Robert restructured his nobility, promoting men and women who were loyal and capable so that they had a vested interest in maintaining and securing the Bruce Kingship, regardless of its origins.

Soules conspiracy
- several signatures to the Declaration of Arbroath (1320) went on to organise or participate in the Soules Conspiracy within months — highlighting that the King remained a usurper to many of his subjects
- the Soules Conspiracy sought to kill King Robert and replace him with Edward Balliol or William de Soules
- in 1320, two lords (Earl Patrick of Dunbar and Murdoch Menteith) who had only just begun to support King Robert sided with the King over the rebels by informing King Robert of the Soules plot against him
- King Robert was able to increase his support by rewarding loyalty. For example, Menteith gained an earldom for his part in informing the King of the Soules plot
- however, the Soules Conspiracy (1320) was the only known attempt to overthrow King Robert after he had won the civil war in 1309
- King Robert dealt harshly with the leading Soules conspirators at his Black Parliament (1320) to secure his regime
- however, the King was able to display his leniency in his treatment of the remainder of the conspirators.

The Disinherited
- victory at Bannockburn proved the King's military genius to his country and gained him further support as their leader
- Bruce gave his opponents an ultimatum in 1313 — they had a year to come into his peace or face disinheritance. In 1314, after Bannockburn, he began exiling those who still believed he was a usurper King
- although many who were exiled were barons with substantial interests in England who had consistently served the English crown, they also included Scottish magnates such as David Earl of Atholl and John MacDougall, who retained significant support within Scotland
- those in exile were wholly dependent on the English crown, yet while they remained a focus for continuing dissatisfaction with Robert, no further battles would take place on Scottish soil during Robert's reign
- Robert was able to use the forfeited lands and titles to reward his long-term supporters as well as those who came into his peace more recently, giving these families further reasons to support the King against Balliol and the Disinherited, who would take their lands back.

The succession tailzies
- King Robert used parliaments to make several tailzies in order to secure his successor(s) and maintain the Bruce dynasty
- in 1315, Robert removed the succession from his daughter to ensure an adult, experienced male would take the throne — his brother Edward — as this would be more useful for the defence of the Kingdom during war
- some historians believe Robert also acted in 1315 to prevent a future rivalry between his son-in-law, Walter Stewart, and his brother, Edward Bruce, over the throne
- following Marjorie's death in 1316 and Edward Bruce's death in 1318, Robert was forced to create a second tailzie in 1318, settling the succession on his infant grandson, Robert Stewart
- the 1318 Act of Succession also made arrangements for a lengthy minority with the experienced Randolph named as Guardian, with Douglas lined up as a potential replacement
- a third tailzie was passed in 1326 to recognise the birth of King Robert's son, David, and arrange for his likely minority

- Robert was secure enough as King to be able to repeatedly alter his succession and gain the support of his political community for his decisions.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Roland Tanner	Takes the view that Robert only used the collective decision-making where it provided ruthless enforcement of his own wishes
Amanda Beam	Takes the view that the creation of the Disinherited at the parliament at Cambuskenneth was vital for Bruce in securing his royal authority
Michael Brown	Takes the view that Bannockburn enabled Bruce to enforce his claim to homage and he quickly demonstrated the price of treachery
Michael Penman	Takes the view that Bruce used parliaments like Ayr and tailzies to test men's loyalties to his regime.

Section 2 — Scotland: Independence and Kingship, 1249–1334

Part B — Historical sources

Question 14

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 contextual recall, including historians' views, that candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source A		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Icelandic historian Sturla Pór∂arson	Sturla was a chieftain and historian at the Norwegian court. He would have been present in Norway when they heard of Haakon's death and for negotiations with the Scots for the Treaty of Perth to settle the issue of the Western Isles and arrange the marriage alliance between Eric and Margaret. He had access to eye witness accounts and Norwegian written documents concerning Haakon's interactions with the Scots.
Purpose	Haakon's Saga the history of King Haakon of Norway	Written to document the life and reign of the late King immediately after his death, including his dealings with the Scots over the Isles.
Timing	1264–1265	Written in the immediate years after the death of King Haakon.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Destruction of peace there by the Earl of Ross and the Scots who, acting under King Alexander's orders, went to Skye and burned a town and some churches.	Haakon received specific information about how the Scottish King was using his nobles — particularly the Earl of Ross — to violently attack Norwegian territory in the Western Isles in the hope of securing possession of those territories for the Scottish crown.
They also said the Scottish King intended to place the Hebrides under his authority	The Scottish King's intention to expand his Kingdom to include the Norwegian territories to the west was made clear.
But John refused saying that he had sworn an oath to the Scottish King	In the Western Isles, Haakon expected his loyal nobles to support him against Alexander III. However, he found that some had switched allegiance to support the Scottish King in return for more rewards (gifts of land) than the Norwegian King had provided.
Alexander's Scottish army attacked constantly from a distance, few men fell but many were wounded.	The two sides fought in a brief skirmish at Largs when the Norwegian ships were blown ashore by a storm. Seeing this, the Scottish army attacked, although the battle never came to much.

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

- in 1263, the King was able to defend his country against the Norwegians using a 'common army' and creating new defences at ports throughout Scotland
- Alexander III controlled the situation over the Western Isles, ignoring attempts by King Henry III of England to mediate between the Scots and the Norwegians in 1262, instead negotiating with the Norwegians to create the Treaty of Perth (1266)
- gaining the Isles extended Alexander's power dramatically, shifting the balance of power between Scotland and England in the region
- Alexander was able to maintain a body of household knights and sergeants for defence, suggesting he had a similar status to the Kings of France or England, and was able to defend his Kingdom from threats
- Alexander paid to strengthen his castles, including the equipment and men to serve within them. New ships, crossbows and siege engines were also built
- Alexander was able to pay for his war against the Norwegians from crown revenues rather than raising a tax.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- the new sheriffdoms of Argyll was never really operative during King Alexander III's reign
- Alexander's control over the Western Isles remained largely nominal throughout his reign
- Alexander had little definitive authority of his own. Instead, he had to rely on his nobles, particularly the Comyns, Stewarts and Morays, to enforce his laws or defend the Kingdom
- Alexander delegated royal authority to his great lords around his Kingdom, diluting his authority still further. For example, he gave his earls the sheriffdoms of Ayr, Wigtown and Dumbarton
- Alexander bound the Scots to pay the Norwegians 4,000 marks in 1266 for The Treaty of Perth as well as 100 marks per year — a huge financial commitment which put tremendous strain on the Scottish economy
- Alexander was lucky that his war with Norway was short and his relations with England remained peaceful — ensuring the necessary stability for economic prosperity
- Alexander successfully ended the factionalism which dominated his minority once he took personal control over his Kingdoms
- Alexander recognised that his authority depended on establishing a working partnership with his political community which would benefit both sides. For the magnates this it brought stability, reward of office, influence and territory
- Alexander was able to successfully deal with disputes between his nobles, preventing issues escalating, for example, between John Comyn Lord of Badenoch and the Earl of Atholl in 1269
- Alexander governed through the effective use of a number of offices across the country, including three justiciars who dispensed justice in the name of the King, while locally, sheriffs collected royal revenues, mustered royal armies, and dispensed royal justice
- the new sheriffdom of Argyll was carved out of the vast sheriffdom of Perth
- between 1261 and 1264, the King and his nobles raised and led forces to defend and extend royal authority. For example, in 1261 and 1262, the Earls of Ross and Menteith led two separate armies to extract land and submissions from the Isles and the far west
- important noble families, like the Stewarts and the Comyns, held vital posts like sheriff or justiciar, backing royal authority throughout Scotland
- under Alexander III, Berwick became one of the most important ports on the North Sea, enabling the Scots to export goods such as wool and hides to Europe.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Alan Young	Takes the view that the nobility played a leading role in defending the Kingdom and extending royal authority alongside the King.
Nicholas Mayhew	Takes the view that Alexander won a greater trading prosperity, winning a greater share of European silver, stimulating economic life.
Michael Brown	Takes the view that the extension of royal authority was based on Alexander's personal control, rather than systematic change.
Edward Cowan	Takes the view that Alexander's preparations for war against the Norwegians were impressively thorough.

Question 15

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

Points in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
He had placed the Scots under considerable pressure during the hearings because an English fleet off Holy Island prevented supplies reaching Scottish ports.	Edward brought his navy to blockade Scottish ports to increase pressure on them to give in to his demands.
Troops were summoned from the north of England, mustering after the initial adjournment.	Edward brought his army to his meetings with the Scots at Norham, to intimidate the Guardians and the competitors.
Edward went to great trouble to obtain advice, summoning university representatives to Norham and consulting lawyers overseas.	Edward worked hard to ensure the decision in the Great Cause complied with all known legal arguments, although some felt this was merely delaying tactics to ensure he controlled Scotland, as consultations took a long time.
Balliol's case was the strongest, even if it has to be admitted that it suited Edward to have as King of Scotland a man who was a substantial landowner in the north of England, and who seemed likely to prove more subservient than Bruce.	Some believe that Edward I chose John Balliol to be the next King of Scotland as he was an English landowner and regular at the English court, and John was seen as easier to manipulate than Robert Bruce (the competitor) would be.

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

- Edward went over the heads of the Guardians when they claimed no one in Scotland had the authority to give him overlordship and gained recognition of his position from the claimants themselves
- Edward dismissed and then re-instated the Guardians to govern Scotland, but added an English Guardian to protect his interests in the Kingdom
- Edward allowed the Count of Holland to return to Holland to look for documentation to prove his claim to the Scottish throne, either as a delaying tactic or to ensure that every candidate was given adequate opportunity to present evidence in support of their position
- Edward broke other promises made to the Scots in 1290, for example seizing the Isle of Man
- Edward consulted experts such as the Paris lawyers, to ensure that his decision followed the rule of law, giving the Scots little chance to refuse to accept his decision.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- the Guardians at first refused to pay homage to Edward, or even to cross the border at Norham for fear that would be viewed as a concession of English overlordship
- the Guardians at first explicitly rejected Edward's claim of overlordship in 1291
- the Guardians allowed themselves to be dismissed and then reappointed by Edward in 1291 supporters of both Bruce and Comyn were keen not to jeopardise their claims
- the Guardians granted Sasine of royal castles in Scotland to Edward during the Great Cause
- Edward refused to follow the request of Bishop Fraser for an arbitration and instead ensured he presided over a lengthy judgement
- Edward increased the number of claimants to the Scottish throne from 2 to 13, to ensure a lengthy process, and to allow himself time to consolidate his control over Scotland
- 104 auditors were appointed to help Edward hear evidence and decide on the Great Cause, however, he only appointed 24 men. Bruce and Balliol each appointed 40 men, highlighting that Edward considered them the leading candidates for the Scottish throne

- Edward appointed Englishmen to work alongside the Scots at all levels of society throughout the Great Cause, to ensure the Scots became accustomed to English influence in the daily running of the Kingdom.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Michael Brown	Takes the view that the Scottish Guardians and claimants all looked to Edward to settle the conflict and help them avoid civil war.
Fiona Watson	Takes the view that Edward I deliberately used the Great Cause to provide a legal framework to take over the Scottish Kingdom.
Michael Prestwich	Takes the view that the Great Cause was a triumph for Edward I, pressurising the Scots to accept his control yet deciding on the succession within the rule of law.
Marc Morris	Takes the view that Edward was prepared to repeatedly change his approach in order to secure his authority over Scotland.

Question 16

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

Point in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
He displays interest in the strategic targets of Berwick, Newcastle and Carlisle, yet he declined to assault any of them.	Wallace showed poor leadership by failing to attack places like Berwick, Newcastle or Carlisle despite recognising their strategic importance in northern England.
His failure to take on Warenne or the men of Newcastle outside poorly-defended towns looks like lost opportunities.	Wallace failed to take the chance to attack Warenne, or Newcastle, despite the poor defences of the latter.
Wallace was apparently led to invade England by the spontaneous reaction of the Scottish people.	Wallace did not instigate the raids into northern England. Instead, he went to control the spontaneous reaction of the Scottish people following victory at Stirling Bridge.
His belated appearance in England gives an impression that Wallace entered England in order to supervise the raiding, or to ensure that it did not get out of hand.	Wallace was not in England as a leader of the army, he was policing his own men.

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

- Wallace gathered together an army, but this was predominantly made up of outlaws rather than trained soldiers
- once Wallace took sole control of the Scottish army, he led them to defeat at Falkirk and has been criticised for both his tactics and his inability to keep his cavalry on the field
- Guisborough's story where Wallace failed to control his men at Hexham
- discipline came second to pillaging.

Point in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The successes of Wallace brought the argumentative magnates of Scotland together.	Wallace's success was able to unite the otherwise divided and antagonistic nobles of Scotland.
At the so-called 'Forest Parliament', William Wallace was elected Guardian of Scotland.	Wallace was elected to the position of Guardian of Scotland, suggesting considerable support.
Unlike the earlier Guardians, he held office alone, the appointment demonstrated confidence in his military prowess and political capability.	Wallace was made Guardian in recognition of his military and political abilities.
One of the earls knighted Wallace, thus giving him the status that would enable him to deal with the greater nobility and foreign powers in the theoretical equality of the chivalric order.	Wallace was knighted by the Scottish nobility to ensure that he would have sufficient status to take on his new role successfully.

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

- Wallace governed in the name of King John Balliol, giving his decisions greater authority
- after Stirling Bridge and the subsequent death of Andrew Murray, the Scots did not try to replace Wallace as leader or insert a noble to rule with him — he had likely earned the right to lead through his actions across 1297
- there is no evidence that Scots were unwilling to follow the political decisions made by Wallace as Guardian, such as appointing Lamberton to the vacant see of St Andrews.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Wallace's tactic of raiding northern England was successful at gaining supplies for the Scottish cause
- whenever Wallace rose up, he did so under the command of a knight, for example, Richard of Lundie, William Douglas, knight and lord of Douglas and later Andrew Murray — natural leaders of Scottish resistance. Wallace only became the leader of the Scottish military and government after Murray died from wounds incurred at the Battle of Stirling Bridge
- Bishop Wishart thought so highly of Wallace that he provided support — financial and military — to the Wallace rebellion while prolonging negotiations with Edward I at Irvine as a distraction
- Wallace had proved his ruthlessness with the death of Cressingham whose skin was flayed and provided as souvenirs for the Scots
- Wallace's scorched earth tactic was almost successful. The English army in 1298 almost turned around to retreat until they heard that the Scots were at Falkirk
- building on Andrew Murray's tactic of removing the English systematically from Scotland north of Dundee, Wallace continued this by regaining the castles of Scotland until only Berwick and Roxburgh remained under English control
- 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, for example, appointing William Lamberton to the vacant see of St Andrews
- Wallace issued writs and charters in the name of King John, such as ones concerning the protection of churches
- Wallace mustered the army for a further defence of the Kingdom at Falkirk in 1298
- Wallace went on embassies to France and the Papacy, looking for aid and assistance for the Scottish cause against the English.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Edward Cowan	Takes the view that Wallace was a very able Guardian, governing the Kingdom for King John.
Alexander Grant	Takes the view that Wallace acted out his fury against those who let him down and took the law into his own hands alienating the nobility through his ignoble behaviour.
David Santiuste	Takes the view that Murray and Wallace formed a formidable partnership, but it was Murray who had the flair for unconventional warfare.
Michael Prestwich	Takes the view that under Wallace's inspirational leadership, the Scots won a quite extraordinary victory.

Section 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Part A — Historical issues

Question 17

The hubs for regional economic power
- commercial activity that existed between the Italian states
- international trade — Venice had controlled the trade routes east since the end of the crusades, but importance of other cities too
- links with neighbouring Mediterranean ports, North Africa and up to the Hanseatic league
- wool and wheat traded from France and Germany
- the links between successful commerce and economic prosperity
- the link between economic prosperity and the political dominance of certain cities
- the link between Venice's naval power and her growth as a sea and land-based power
- the importance of a range of factors which influenced prosperity in the Italian cities, such as, internal and external trade, the creation of the 'terra firma'
- the outmanoeuvring of rival cities (eg Siena by Florence or Genoa by Venice).

Specific industries

Banking
- banking and accountancy. Florence the centre of European finance. Developments such as accountancy, book keeping, joint stock companies, insurance, forex, and government debt
- merchants effectively took control of government, maintaining business friendly policies
- Florentine families such as the Medici created banks which became extremely wealthy and fuelled the economy of Florence and of other Italian cities. They also acted as bankers to the papacy and so their banking underpinned papal power.

Guilds
- woollen textile production in Florence, refined under the watchful eyes of the dominant trade guild, the *Arte della Lana*.

Maritime
- the Arsenale in Venice employed huge numbers of people and created ships which carried and protected the trade of the city. Venetian wealth was dependent upon its maritime domination.

Other factors to consider

Mercenaries
- mercenaries lent their military services to the highest bidder and built up great wealth from this. Many of these mercenaries subsequently became princes and spent their wealth on building magnificent palaces which became centres of economic activity in their own right
- John Hawkwood was the best known British condottieri — he worked for many of the Italian states from the Pisan-Florentine War, and Padua and Verona to the 1390–1392 war against Milan at the end of his life
- soldiers' pay was high, 1,900 florins a month in 1432, Micheletto Attendolo (Florence)
- 'those who possessed no state and were bred to arms from their infancy, were acquainted with no other art, and pursued war for emolument, or to confer honour upon themselves.' Machiavelli.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Peter Burke	Argues on the strength of banking
Lauro Martinez	Considers the importance of the links between commercial life and political power
Richard Goldthwaite	Highlights how commerce, industry, and art all worked together in Florence
Robert Hole	Focuses on the wealth of Florence and Venice but puts it into a broader context of the peninsula as a whole.

Question 18

Evidence of continuity

- much art was commissioned by the same families as in medieval times and for the same purposes, for instance as burial chapels or sites of memorialisation where masses and prayers for the dead could be provided. Contracts for the works often show similarities in terms of the quality of the materials, the time the work would take, and the final cost
- many works tell the same Biblical stories with the same characters as in previous centuries
- not all 15th-century art shows increased attention to spatial awareness or contains references to ancient buildings. For example, the Sienese painter Giovanni di Paolo (active 1420–1483) seems very dated by comparison with Masaccio's frescoes which had been painted decades earlier
- much iconography was consistent throughout the period
- the work of Giotto in the early 14th century (for example in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua) is characterised by naturalism, and is more reminiscent of 15th-century art than typical of its own time
- Duccio (Sienna, active late 13th and early 14th centuries) and Cimabuie (Florence, late 13th century) started to break away from the Byzantine style of painting, later, Giotto was influenced by the sculptures of Arnolfo di Cambio to produce much more lifelike figures, that is, in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua.

Evidence of innovation

- Masaccio's 'Trinity' fresco c1427 in Santa Maria Novella in Florence and the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine made striking and innovative use of perspective, assisted by his friend Filippo Brunelleschi
- Paolo Uccello (1397–1475) made dramatic use of space, applying mathematical principles to the correct portrayal of complicated objects, well-illustrated by his 'Battle of San Romano' c1445
- late medieval art is often referred to as gothic. This involved pointed arches, an emphasis on height, and a church design characterised by long naves crossed by short transepts. Renaissance architecture, beginning with Brunelleschi, was based on the rounded arch. His loggia outside the 'Ospitale degli Innocenti', 1419–1423, was in an architectural style entirely different from the gothic
- setting art in a classical background was a novelty in the 15th century
- Brunelleschi's dome harped back to classical Rome, to the Pantheon. There were no domes of this kind in late medieval art
- the rediscovery of Vitrivius' *De architectura*
- the sculptures of Donatello (1386–1466) are strikingly original. His 'David' is unique
- Donatello produced the first free-standing human figures since classical times
- both Alberti in '*Della Pittura*' and Brunelleschi wrote about perspective. It was a dramatic move away from the highly stylised art of the late medieval period
- perspective had been known in classical times, however, the skill had largely been lost before the 15th century
- Portraiture was an innovation of the 15th century, coming about partly through a new prominence for humanism and the belief in man's dignity and worth
- the first secular portraits date from Masaccio and Uccello in the 1420s and 1430s, followed by Fra Filippo Lippi in 1440s and 1450s.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Keith Christiansen	Takes the view that the 15th century was the first great age of portraiture in Europe. Portraiture began in Florence, moved to the courts, and came late to Venice.
RE Wolf and R Millen	Quattrocento style — in particular discussion of Ghiberti and Brunelleschi work for Pisano's doors.
Ornella Casazza	The innovation of Masaccio.
Evelyn Welch	Any story of art which focuses on the appearance and development of a single visual style, such as the reuse and adaptation of classical motifs and linear perspective, has limitations as well as advantages. It is told at the expense of works which do not fit into a neat pattern and ignores continuity in favour of change'.

Question 19

Geographical setting

- Venice lay in a position impregnable to either army or navy
- the city controlled a substantial maritime empire. A network of trade routes stretched through the Greek islands to Egypt and the Orient, to Constantinople and the Black Sea ports. Venetian ships brought grain and salt, fruit and cheap wine from the Mediterranean, as well as more exotic goods from the east — spices, and silk, cotton, drugs and jewels. From Venetian warehouses the goods were re-exported throughout Europe. The wealth of the empire, drawn from its geographical position, paid for much of the art
- Venetians admired Islamic culture and sought out Ottoman goods
- 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 classical symmetry in its earliest Renaissance buildings
- this 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
- the presence of water in Venice meant that artists preferred oil painting to frescos. The effect is strikingly different
- the new-found importance of terra firma in northern Italy is reflected in the pastoral themes in a surprising number of Venetian works. For a man-made set of islands, the attraction of meadows and mountains was strong.

Mythical and Byzantine heritage

- the art reflected this Byzantine influence and exoticism. Venice saw itself as the heir to Constantinople, unlike Florence which saw itself as the heir of Rome. Hence the large number of treasures in the city looted from Byzantium or beyond. Byzantine mosaics form part of the artistic tradition of Venice
- Statue of the Four Tetrarchs was fixed to a corner of the façade of St Mark's Basilica
- 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.

Other factors

- power was restricted to the patrician families, numbering about 150, who dominated the Great Council. This ruling group was closed to new groups, a situation known as the 'serrata'. To avoid the resentment and frustration caused by this closed system, the Venetian republic created a second rank of privilege — the Citizenry, who dominated the civil service. This meant that Venetian government was more broadly based than any other major Italian state. This is reflected in some of the public art of the city
- the art was often state art, designed to reinforce the authority of the state. The Judgment of Solomon on the corner of the new extension to San Marco in 1430 promotes the idea of the city as the seat of justice
- 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
- personal ostentation was discouraged within the patricians and citizenry, so as to avoid envy. A sense of engagement in a common enterprise was instilled in the population. This was reflected in the art
- the power of the Doge was strictly limited in theory. Art tends therefore to glorify the city rather than its head of state

- power was spread among a large number of people who had to be seen as equal under God. Hence, paintings of public ceremonies do not focus on key individuals, but on the beauty of the city in what is known as the 'eye witness' style
- 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
John Steer	Venetian painting grew out of Byzantine art, and its opulence and sensuousness clearly differentiate it from the more intellectual art of Florence
Peter Humphrey	'Byzantine art was only one ingredient in the melting pot of Venetian culture'
Elizabeth Horodowich	Power was distributed broadly, and this encouraged patricians to subordinate their individual interests to the interests of the republic — all reflected in the art.
Mary Hollingsworth	'it is difficult to overemphasise the importance of art as state propaganda in Venice'
Federico Zeri and Elizabeth Gardner	The development and art of individual artists.

Question 20

Evidence of equality

- Catherine of Siena corresponded with Pope Gregory XI, visited him at Avignon and was the first woman to have works published in the Tuscan dialect
- Alessandra Strozzi wrote numerous letters about marriage negotiations for her exiled son, flax shipments and taxes
- Laura Cereto supervised her brothers' education, attended lectures in mathematics and served as secretary to her magistrate father
- Silvia Sanvitale had herself painted as the central figure in a ceiling octagon with her husband, the Count of Scandino, and Virgil as lesser figures
- Properzia de Rossi was paid professional rates for her sculpture at the Church of San Petronio, the most important church in Bologna
- in the 15th century some people accepted that women could be educated. Educated women included Isotta Nogarola of Verona, Laura Cereta of Brescia (1420–1479), who studied philosophy at the University of Padua, Cecilia Gonzaga, Vittoria Colonna and Cassandra Fedele of Venice
- some men conceded that women had the faculty of reason and therefore were to be respected intellectually. Leonardo Bruni in 1424 granted women the natural ability for advanced humanist study. They should study the best ancient authors, both secular and sacred, and the discipline of grammar, moral philosophy, poetry and history
- some women acted as patrons of the arts. For example, Isabella d'Este.

Evidence of inequality

- Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* was much read — praising women for their achievements but it ridiculed their paganism and relentlessly accusing them of disobedience, deception, uncontrollable lust and worse
- women were expected on the whole to centre their lives on the home
- obedience to her husband was seen as the wife's most important duty
- amongst the few women who escaped from domesticity we might include courtesans. These were in effect the highest stratum of prostitutes. Such a role does not imply equality
- the role of women was constrained by childbirth and child rearing
- the Church preached that women were subordinate to men
- the phenomenon of the female humanist is strictly limited. Barely a dozen women could properly be identified as humanists, and some of these have left scant record, or none at all
- Leon Battista Alberti's *I libri della famiglia* presents an image of women having strictly limited abilities
- the extent to which there was equality may be related to which social class we are considering
- men dominated art. Men are seen as active and martial in Florentine art. Women are seen as beautiful and passive. Examples might include the battling soldiers in Paolo Uccello's 'Battle of San Romano', men dominate Gozzoli's 'Journey of the Magi', with angelic women for decoration. Biblical scenes tend to show more men than women, but this may be as much a reflection of the Bible stories as a reflection on the status of women in Florentine society. The most common female representation in Florentine art must be the Madonna. She is hugely important, whether more passive and beautiful, or in agony at the deposition from the cross.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Trans Mary Rogers and Paola Tinagli	Collects and explains primary sources.
Natalie Tomas	The role of women in public and private space.
Lauro Martines	Marriages were the means of enhancing family status and alliances, sometimes to the extent of increasing a family's control over a whole town or region.
Joan Kelly-Gadol	The role of education.
Margaret King	The Renaissance as a misogynist age and women were disempowered since their lives were reduced to the home.

Question 21

Popes were temporal

- 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 scandalised 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.

Popes were spiritual

- Churchmen might be assumed to be principally concerned to promote the power of the church
- 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 eroded the lands of St Peter
- a temporal approach was the best way to secure 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	Alexander VI was 'a prince and a dynasty, 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'.
JH Plumb	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.
Eamon Duffy	'Alexander VI (1492–1503) flaunted a young and nubile mistress in the Vatican, was widely believed to have made a habit of poisoning his cardinals so as to get his hands on their property, and he ruthlessly aggrandised his illegitimate sons and daughters at the Church's expense'.
Michael Mallett	Sees the need for cardinals to recognise 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.

Section 3 — Italy: The Renaissance in the 15th and Early 16th Centuries

Part B — Historical sources

Question 22

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

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Gaps which the ignorance of past ages has wilfully caused.	Awareness of how much had been lost.
I accord the first place to history.	There was a particular interest in the humanities.
Aristotle would not have them absorb.	Aristotle was one of the foremost and prized writers to be reborn.
Nature of man as a citizen, an active member of the state.	The idea that a citizen has to be a useful member of the state.

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
- Aristotle was regarded as one of the most significant writers to have been saved
- Poggio Bracciolini spent much time searching for lost manuscripts in the monasteries of Switzerland and Germany
- the recovery of Aristotle spanned about 100 years, from the middle 12th century into the 13th century
- humanists believed that an education 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 fine deeds.

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
- renaissance humanists on the whole, remained firm Christians. Their new faith in man ran alongside their faith in the Christian God
- humanists such as Leonardo Bruni saw in ancient history a host of fine examples of men leading noble lives of action, participating in civic life or defending the state by their words or their swords. He encouraged young Florentines to pursue the active life and serve the Republic, much as Cicero had served Rome. This application of humanism is often referred to as civic humanism
- the Greek scholars brought to the west an understanding of the philosophy of not only Aristotle but also Plato which affected the Renaissance by causing debates over man's place in the universe, the immortality of the soul, and the ability of man to improve himself through virtue. This was at the root of Renaissance Neo-Platonism as explained by Ficino and Pico della Mirandola
- 'Evolution of Renaissance humanism as a method of thinking. This new outlook underpinned so much of the world then and now.' Oscar Wilde
- renaissance readers understood that classical texts focused on human decisions, actions and creations, rather than unquestioningly following the rules set forth by the church
- '[renaissance humanism was an] ethical theory and practice that emphasised reason, scientific inquiry and human fulfilment in the natural world.' Susan Abernethy.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
John Hale	Writes that humanism concerned man, his nature and his achievements. He also said that 'unless our understanding of humanism retains the smell of the scholar's lamp it will mislead'. In other words, he sees humanists as being first and foremost scholars dedicated to scholarly pursuits, rather than radical thinkers. He goes on to argue that most humanist scholars saw their work as supplementing Christian beliefs, not undermining them.
Lauro Martines	Wrote that 'from 1440 to 1500 princes and the ruling classes enjoyed a kindred vision of the world, it came forth from their bold self-confidence and it imbued humanism with the passionate belief that men could truly imitate the achievements of antiquity and draw positive, applicable precepts from the lessons of history'
George Holmes	Argues that in spite of its origins in its enjoyment of the pagan classics, humanism did not come seriously into conflict with ecclesiastical authority. Popes, notably Nicholas V (1447–1455), happily patronised the translation of Thucydides and other Greek writers into Latin with as much equanimity as they planned the rebuilding of Rome to revive ancient glories. He writes of a 'friendly alliance of classics and Christianity'
Anthony Grafton	Identified three major changes in humanism in the second half of the 15th century. Firstly, humanistically educated princes and prelates assembled large collections of manuscripts so that classical works were more readily available. Secondly, the invention of the printing press meant that hundreds of copies of texts became available. Thirdly, and most important, the emphasis of scholarship moved away from grammar and rhetoric (which could easily be learned thanks to the philological efforts of the early humanists), instead they turned to detailed commentaries and textual criticism.

Question 23

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 contextual recall, including historians' views, that candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source B		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Florentine government	an official statement about the death of Lorenzo the Florentine government was under the control of the de Medicis and as such would produce favourable commentary
Purpose	obituary	the work is to celebrate Lorenzo's life and to explain to the Florentine people what had happened and why Lorenzo was significant
Timing	1492	as the piece is written just after Lorenzo's death it captures accurately how he was perceived at the time without retrospective editing

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Whereas he, the foremost man of all this city did, during his whole life, neglect no opportunity of increasing, adorning and raising this city.	Lorenzo played an important role in maintaining stability/happiness in Italy.
Secured public order by excellent laws.	He had authority and influence in joint affairs with a zeal for public good.
His presence brought a dangerous war to its end which regained the places lost in battle.	Survived the war that followed the Pazzi conspiracy.
In addition he took other territories belonging to the enemy.	He extended the lands of Florence after he had restored the republic.

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

- Lorenzo's court included artists such as Piero and Antonio del Pollaiuolo, Andrea del Verrocchio, Leonardo da Vinci, Botticelli, Domenico Ghirlandaio
- Michelangelo lived with Lorenzo and his family for five years
- Michelangelo started the Medici library
- in 1471, Lorenzo calculated that since 1434 his family had spent some 663,000 florins on prettifying the city
- though only an ordinary citizen, he in effect governed Florence. He was a 'pleasing tyrant', that is to say someone who enjoyed very considerable power over his city but acted in the interests of all, governing according to his counsels
- in the aftermath of the Pazzi conspiracy, Sixtus formed a military alliance with King Ferdinand I of Naples
- although he himself spent time in prison he ended the war
- Lorenzo changed the constitution, effectively ending the Republic.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- a long-standing experience in diplomacy sent Lorenzo on diplomatic missions when he was still a youth
- Lorenzo maintained good relations with Sultan Mehmed II of the Ottoman Empire, as the Florentine maritime trade with the Ottomans was a major source of wealth for the Medici
- the rule of the Medici faced opposition. The most famous example of this is the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478. They tried to murder Lorenzo and his brother Guiliano whilst they attended mass in the cathedral. They would then seize control of the government of the city. Lorenzo was injured but escaped. However, Guiliano was successfully murdered. The pope, Sixtus IV, had given his support to the Pazzi family, who were then the papal bankers. The Medici had thwarted papal ambitions in central Italy
- relations with the Papacy were often strained. Pope Sixtus IV was aware of the Pazzi Conspiracy but allowed the plot to proceed nonetheless without interfering, and, after the failed assassination of Lorenzo, also gave dispensation for crimes in the service of the church
- the people of Florence did not take advantage of the dislocations brought about by the conspiracy to unseat the Medici. The cry of the people was 'Palle!', a reference to the Medici coat of arms
- thanks to his close relations with the Papacy, Lorenzo was influential throughout Italy
- he was buried in San Lorenzo in an 'unmarked' tomb below Michelangelo's statue of the Madonna.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Miles Unger	Focus is on Lorenzo as a political manager.
FW Kent	Lorenzo's relationship with the arts.
Ralph Roeder	Suggests that the Pazzi Conspiracy strengthened the Medici. To prevent its recurrence, Lorenzo surrounded himself with armed guards and ruled in the very way which the Pazzi had denounced as tyrannous. After the conspiracy Lorenzo became 'the most masterful'.
Christopher Hibbert	Puts family and its power into political context.

Question 24

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 interest in flattering self-images, at once direct and devious, became one of the leading pleasures of the day, nowhere more than at the courts where the wealth of painted and sculpted portraits was only the most obvious sign this interest.	There was a shift in the style of court art away as princes used art and public ceremonies to project an image of power and authority in their courts.
Painters at court spent much time executing portraits of princes, of the favourites of princes, and of their favourite pets mainly dogs and falcons, more rarely horses.	Princes used art and public ceremonies to project an image of power and authority in their courts.
The striking of commemorative medallions — those sharply incised profile portraits of princes and lesser worthies — began in the courts of the Este, Visconti, Gonzaga and others.	Este family of Ferrara, Visconti family in Milan and the Gonzaga family of Mantua were the first to strike medallions as a way of publicising their rule both within their lands, but also — portably — beyond their borders.
The flattering images to be found in the objects scattered around the court in tapestries, playing cards, decorated earthenware, embroidered silks, wedding chests and even a variety of sugar confection for special banquets.	Patrons themselves were conscious about how they looked. The propaganda of the Princely courts was used across all artistic media.

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

- courts had private chapels (often magnificent ones) where the princely family worshipped or celebrated mass
- dynastic continuity was very important to them. Some had come to power through deviousness rather than strict rules of succession and so were keen to create an artistic narrative which bolstered their legitimacy. The Sforza were keen to portray themselves as heirs to the Visconti in Milan. Federigo da Montefeltro ensured his ducal coronet could not be missed in his portraits
- princely courts became dedicated to the pursuit of magnificence. This was to be seen in the architecture, the ceremonies and the extravagance of the court
- courts were branded with the personal designs of the prince. The city of Rimini was ruled by Sigismondo Malatesta, who ordered his personal device (of the letters S and I) to appear throughout the city, including in the Tempio Malatestiano
- great artists of humble origins found work and encouragement in the princely courts of Italy. The court of Urbino offered patronage to Piero della Francesca, Rafael Sanzio and Bramante. Mantegna found a home in Mantua. Leonardo da Vinci worked for eighteen years in the court of Lodovico Il Moro of Milan.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
There were real advantages for the artist to working at court.	A secure and regular income was the ideal of many artists.
Against severe restrictions of freedom because the artist was expected to serve the Prince in whatever capacity was required of him.	They were prepared to sacrifice ideals for a bank balance.
A guaranteed salary was offered in return for the painter's services. which covered the living quarters and expenses of the painter and his family, and travel expenses. Artists were usually accommodated in the palace, although the most celebrated or long serving were given the gift of a house or the funds to buy one. Mantegna built his own palazzo in Mantua.	The payments were more than pin money — artists were looked after.
There were also clothing allowances so that the artist could dress in the manner befitting of a courtier.	The artist was no longer an outsider, he was a part of the court.

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

- artists in the pay of the princely courts were expected to produce work that appealed to the prince, for example portraits of his lovers (Leonardo for Ludovico il Moro of Milan)
- Mantegna is said to have been knighted by Lodovico Gonzaga for his work in Mantua
- the stability and success of the Mantenga were 'the result of a tripartite strategy employed by its ruling family, the Gonzaga, which integrated dynastic allegiance, diplomacy, and artistic patronage' Molly Bourne, 'The Art of Diplomacy, Mantua and the Gonzaga 1328–1630,' in *The Court Cities of Northern Italy*, ed. Charles Rosenberg (2010), p138
- Michelangelo was primarily a sculptor and secondarily a reluctant painter, forced to the task by the popes who would not take no for an answer. He painted the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel for Julius II and then painted 'The Last Judgement' on the wall behind the altar for Pope Paul III
- 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.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- many princes of Italy paid for the construction of magnificent palaces. The Gonzaga in Mantua, the Este in Ferrara, the Sforza in Milan made this a high priority
- Ludovico's strategy was to advance his court by breaking away from conventional gestures of chivalry
- see also the ducal court at Urbino reflected the personality of Federigo da Montefeltro. The Studiolo with its portraits of key ancient and Christian figures was inspired by the humanism of the duke
- some Princes were very interested in the new humanist ideas of the Renaissance. They took education very seriously and became avid collectors of ancient manuscripts. Federigo da Montefeltro had Livy's history of Rome read to him during meals. Ludovico il Moro supported Leonardo in Milan, during which time he drew his 'Vitruvian Man', seen by many people as the quintessential humanist work
- though aristocratic blood was important to securing the prince, many of the princes of the 15th century were not originally of aristocratic blood. Many (Gianfrancesco Gonzaga in the service of Venice for example) traced their wealth and influence to their careers as condottieri
- the Gonzaga family enhanced its prestige and impressed its high-ranking visitors with the frescoes in the official waiting room of the ducal palace, the Camera Picta, with its striking portraits of the family by Mantegna

- the court of Mantua during the latter half of the 15th century offered latitude in artistic expression and exploration, especially in comparison to the often analogous Church commissions that was the bread and butter for many artists
- the patronage of Ludovico transformed the exterior and interior of the city centre, as well as the provincial lodges of the Gonzaga territories
- 'the dialogue throughout the quattrocento between patron and artist exhibits a dual emergence as both sought to achieve a more developed sense of self, and consequently drove art out of its early modern stage and towards the accomplishments of the high Renaissance.' Susan West, 'The Renaissance Courts of Northern Italy', International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 3 (2012), p308.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Kenneth Clark	Clark asserts that Mantegna was the 'arbiter of taste' who produced designs for architecture, sculpture, goldsmith work, tapestry, embroidery, scenery for Latin plays and that he even superintended pageants.
Robert Hole	The ideal prince and his courtiers were talented men who combined the qualities of a soldier and a scholar. In reality, he argues, there were few such men.
Marco Folin	Competition between states was no longer merely waged with the weapons of war and diplomacy, but also with those of artistic and cultural pomp.
Alison Cole	Regional courts played a key role in the dissemination and development of the Renaissance ideas. Though their stature remained essentially provincial, Italian courts enhanced their international standing by bestowing lavish hospitality on visiting dignitaries and marrying into high-ranking foreign families.

Section 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815

Part A — Historical issues

Question 25

Evidence which may suggest the Treaty of Union was responsible for Scotland's economic growth during the 18th century

- the Terms of the Treaty were squarely focused upon economic revival — fifteen of the twenty-five articles of the Treaty of Union were concerned with economic issues
- effective cancellation of Scotland's public debt by payment of the Equivalent provided capital to underwrite investment in Scottish commerce
- Bank of Scotland's role as a depository for government revenues for taxation strengthened the Scottish banking system's ability to lend
- Union secured political stability and enhanced the military credibility of Scotland within a British state, both of which are particularly relevant within the context of economic expansion
- Article 4 provided free entry into the English market — creating the largest free trade area in Europe. A British common market within which there was an unrestricted flow of labour, capital and ideas — the latter being particularly relevant within the context of agrarian reform and proto-industrialisation
- access to English markets particularly beneficial to Scotland's two most valuable agricultural exports of oats and cattle, the profits from which part funded an acceleration in enclosure and associated rural improvements
- Union created the largest free trade area in Europe and granted access to Britain's north American colonies — a market of 2·1 million people by 1770
- 1730–1780 — sustained economic expansion in key industries of linen, tobacco and black cattle, all of which involved significant exporting to England or British colonies
- the Union of the economic life of Scotland and England made the I.R. of the late 18th century easier, for example the liaison of Watt and Bolton.

Industrial Development

- new industries emerged, and previously established sectors grew. Glasgow merchants began operating in the slave trade, whilst sugar houses, rum distilling and glass works responded favourably to the years immediately following Union, described by Whatley as 'localised buoyancy', in part due to the retention of pre-Union protection
- significant Irish markets were opened to Scottish merchants in 'enumerated' commodities including muscavado sugar and tobacco
- protection of vulnerable industries such as coal and salt
- the Union provided economically advantageous environment in which the Glasgow tobacco trade enjoyed spectacular growth — estimated that by 1730 Glaswegian tobacco lords were paying duty on over half their colonial imports
- Scottish exports were more likely to avoid interference during transit by pirate activity as Scottish vessels were protected by the Royal Navy.

Evidence which may suggest the Treaty of Union was not responsible for Scotland's economic growth during the 18th century

- significant sectors within the Scottish economy suffered two decades of economic stagnation following of Union
- free trade left often uncompetitive Scottish industries vulnerable to better quality, cheaper English imports
- difficulty of exporting manufactured goods to England. Linen, Scotland's most important manufactured export, sold poorly in London markets. It was also subject to British export taxes introduced in 1711 and 1715. The woolen, brewing, paper and candle making industries fared similarly poorly in the short term
- new and complex customs procedures were time consuming and cost heavy — contemporary complaints record the impact on Scottish commerce particularly given the typically small scale of many Scottish industries — contemporary merchants claimed the cost of navigations effectively doubled

- decline of the Scottish linen industry linked to the imposition of duties by the British parliament in 1711 and 1715, and its resultant inability to compete with Irish and Dutch imports
- failure of the Treaty to promote economic growth indicated by willingness of the British government to establish the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in 1727
- the natural resources of the central belt (coal, iron) allowed rapid growth in the latter stages of the eighteenth century.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
John R Young	Argues that what economic growth the Scottish economy did achieve was due to structural developments which pre-dated the 1707 Treaty of Union. 'The Treaty of Union, in this sense, constituted no clear cut economic watershed.'
Tom Devine	Accepts that the Union ensured the Scottish economy had to accept an increased tax burden but argues that this was from a very low bar, and that the monies raised were largely spent to the wider benefit of the country. 'Taxation hardly drained Scotland dry most of the additional revenue was still spent on civil and military expenditure in Scotland itself.'
Christopher Whatley	Accepts that although there remains a broad consensus that the short term economic impact of the Union was largely neutral, also notes that there were spectacular beneficiaries including the exporters of grain and cattle which were exempted from duties.
Robert Harris	Stresses the initial failure of the Treaty of Union to deliver economic prosperity in the short term.

Question 26

Evidence which may suggest the defeat of the Jacobite rising was due to the Hanoverian response.

Propaganda and subterfuge

- Charles' Catholicism was a propaganda gift for the Hanoverians who portrayed him as a foreigner from Italy, a papist tyrant menace who led a wild Highland mob
- the relationship between the regionalised and unreliable nature of support for the Jacobite cause within Britain and the sustained campaign of pamphlets and cartoons warning of The Young Pretender's threat
- Hanoverian spies were successful in infiltrating and influencing the most senior Jacobite officers with misinformation. Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of Charles's army persuaded the war council to retreat from Derby as he believed encirclement by three Hanoverian armies totalling 30,000 troops was imminent.

Naval blockade

- Charles' seven hundred professional French soldiers supplied by considerable munitions never landed, being forced to return to France after bombardment by HMS Lion. Further French assistance was negligible
- the rising was strangled throughout due to inadequate funding directly as a result of the effectiveness of the Royal navy's interceptions
- £15,000 of French gold carried by Prince Charles was intercepted immediately prior to Culloden, preventing the Jacobites from adequately feeding their troops. This fleet of Royal Navy ships also ensured Cumberland's troops remained well supplied
- resultantly Charles's army was underfed, unpaid and continually depleted by desertion.

Battles and tactics

- the Hanoverian response improved as battle-hardened troops returned from the continent. On the 6 February 6,000 soldiers landed in Leith from the continent
- the Hanoverian exchequer financed technical and numerical superiority at odds with the desperate finances of Charles's army. Cumberland's army of around 10,000 moved with a supply train carrying vast reserves of ammunition and food
- Hanoverian authorities mobilised to reclaim civic control of all territories as the Jacobite army moved south
- Cumberland's army compared favourably to their counterparts. Well-fed to the extent that its soldiers were routinely incentivised by alcohol, adequately billeted and regularly remunerated, they were also equipped with the current weaponry of the age
- the Hanoverian infantry spent six weeks in Aberdeen during a morale boosting period of intensive drilling to perfect specific tactics including infamously the diagonal bayonet drill and the artillery's use of grape shot
- events during the battle of Culloden contrast a modern, disciplined and well organised Hanoverian army with an exhausted and divided Jacobite force
- the Hanoverian force was supported by continental allies including experienced soldiers from Germany, Holland and Switzerland, most of whom were sent west to deal with a scattered Jacobite army.

Evidence which may suggest the defeat of the Jacobite rising was not due to the Hanoverian response.

Hanoverian incompetence

- the Hanoverian military was committed to the continent and unable to convincingly defend Britain. Prior to Cumberland's return, government troops were poorly trained and led
- the Black Watch, previously tasked with policing the Highlands, had been withdrawn from Scotland in 1743 to fight on the continent. A few garrisons patrolled the entire Highlands
- Royal Navy patrols tasked with preventing a French invasion were under strength, as ships were assigned to campaigns in North America. They failed to prevent Charles' landing in Eriskay and to prevent a steady if limited stream of French assistance. Claims of the extent of Royal Naval dominance are questioned by the capture of HMS *Hazard*
- though aware of Charles' landing, the government was confident in Cope's ability to prevail. However, his 2,500 troops were routed in twenty minutes at Prestonpans
- Hawley's defeat at Falkirk was largely self-inflicted. He underestimated the Jacobite army. His artillery never arrived at the battlefield, whilst his infantry failed to repel the Highland charge.

Charles's leadership and a lack of French support

- demonstrated poor judgement even before the campaign had begun. His 'fortress Scotland' policy was, according to Pittock, strategically inept
- Charles had almost no military experience or training. His uncompromising leadership resulted in the alienation of Lord George Murray and other officers
- incompetent officers such as O'Sullivan placed in critical roles
- he insisted on fighting at Culloden despite opposition from his senior officers
- the absence of the promised French invasion of England denied the Jacobites badly needed manpower and a second front to engage the Hanoverians.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Rosalind Mitchison	Confirms the ineffectiveness of the initial Hanoverian response. 'The' 45 arrived to find the government disunited. George II was in Hanover and only grudgingly returned. The Scottish allies of the government in London were conducting a cold war with each other. The country's defences were in the hands of a few untrained troops, commanded by aged generals'.
Tom Devine	Stresses the role of the Royal Navy in strangling the Jacobite's supply of finances and munitions which had a 'disastrous effect' on the rising.
John Prebble	Assigns responsibility for the failure of the rising to the Jacobite leadership which was 'hopeless and abortive'.
Murray Pittock	Asserts that the lack of French support was the key factor as it was 'the first occasion on which it became clear the Jacobites must lose'.

Question 27

Evidence which may suggest that the challenge to the Kirk's authority was due to the Patronage Act

- the authority of the re-established Presbyterian Kirk in 1690 by the Revolution Settlement was founded upon the rejection of any secular interference by the state or any monarch in perpetuity
- 'no Bishops, no King' rejected the notion of Episcopalianism as the doctrine of the nation's church on the basis that the crown's representatives did not have the right to govern the Kirk
- the Patronage Act of 1712 was also in breach of commitments made in the Treaty of Union, and specifically the Act of Security, which explicitly guaranteed the institutional independence of the Church of Scotland in 1707
- the Kirk's authority was based upon an independence of governance in accordance with a strict Calvinistic interpretation of Christianity, a governance not necessarily understood by English MP's nor Williamite monarchs in whose interests it was to achieve a degree of state control
- patronage as defined by the Patronage Act pertained to the selection of candidates to be parish ministers. The Act allowed for the crown, Universities, burghs and heritors to choose their preferred candidate. Though technically the elders could object and appeal to the Presbytery, convention dictated that the Kirk's courts were unlikely to support the objection
- fundamentally undermined the populist right of Presbyterian congregations to choose their own minister as indicated by notably strong opposition from a particularly vocal clergy
- the Kirk's Presbyterianism upheld discipline as a moral obligation which decreed the dividing line between the elect and the reprobate. The circumscribing of what was an established part of church governance by lay officials was in direct contravention to this moral code
- encouraged the advancement of more moderate ministers less inclined to adhere to puritanical Calvinism wed to principles of godly discipline. It was unlikely to be in the interests of the landowner to appoint dedicated puritans. Rather, successful candidates tended to be moderates likely to share the landowner's wider beliefs and aims
- medium term impact of the Patronage Act was to undermine the unity of the Kirk. From the 1730's onwards as patrons increasingly exercised their powers the Kirk suffered a series of schisms and splits between those willing to accept the principle of secular interference and those resolutely opposed to it. The Secession Church, founded in 1740, was established as a direct result of doctrinal dispute following this pattern
- the principle of secular patronage established by the Patronage Act laid the foundation for
- the 1732 General Assembly Act against the use of congregational elections.

Evidence which may suggest that the challenge to the Kirk's authority was not due to the Patronage Act

- dilution of the Kirk's authority pre-dated 1712. The Presbyterian Form of Process marked the start of a softening of Kirk discipline partly as a result of the state withdrawing their judicial support of crimes including lesser excommunication
- the Toleration Act (1712) lessened the authority of the Kirk to exercise church discipline by allowing the proliferation of religious dissent as the Episcopalian church's renewed ability to conduct its own services weakened the Kirk's court mechanism
- increased rural migration further undermined the testificat system which monitored the morality of parishioners and controlled their ability to migrate between parishes
- rapidly expanding towns and cities weakened church authority as accelerating urbanisation rendered the Kirk's judicial system impracticable
- initial stages of secularisation further undermined the Kirk's authority, and was reflected in the increased use of fines rather than other forms of publicly made punishment
- the landed classes were increasingly outside the authority of the church's judiciary, generally escaping through the payment of fines as contributions to the poor fund
- poor relief was increasingly not the sole responsibility of the Kirk as landowners shared the financial burden
- the increased mobility of the general populace was contributed to by an expansion in the numbers of enlisted men who were largely unaffected by the Kirk's authority as they did not reside in any one parish

- the authority of the Kirk was subject to its minsters willingness to use it. The Enlightenment's concepts of a more liberal, rational, polite church moved a new generation of preachers away from puritanical admonishment
- university trained clergy were subject to European influences and a modernised curriculum far removed from Calvinist doctrine.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Ian Donnachie	Underlines the long-term damage done to the Kirk's unity, and therefore authority, by the reinstating of lay patronage by the Act of Patronage. 'Dissatisfaction with the terms of this Act led to the First Secession'.
Christopher Whatley	Suggests that the decline in the authority of the Kirk should not be overstated and that the extent of social control exercised by the church remained considerable. 'There were limits to godliness, but even so the church did continue thereafter to have a powerful effect on cultural life'.
Tom Devine	Argues that the huge numbers who attended dissenting or Roman Catholic churches in the latter part of the 18th century suggests the early stages of secularisation were not responsible for the lessening of the Kirk's authority, but rather the proliferation of dissenting churches simply allowed the population to discard traditional church discipline which in turn undermined the Kirk's ability to control the population.
John Prebble	Confirms the impact of the Act of Patronage upon the fundamental principles of the Kirk's ability to preserve its authority and independence from secular intervention, noting that there was 'an outraged protest when the Parliament restored lay patronage to the Kirk, contrary to the Act of Security'.

Question 28

Evidence which may suggest that David Hume (1711−1776) deserves to be considered Scotland's significant contributor to the Enlightenment

- Hume was a prolific writer who had a considerable impact on the wider European Enlightenment through his great works which were of pivotal importance in the development of empiricism. Major figures of the European Enlightenment including Jean-Jacques Rousseau sought working relationships with Hume
- regarded by contemporaries as an outstanding intellectual, James Boswell hailed him as Britain's greatest writer. His influence on philosophical teaching spans from the 1740's to the current day
- the seminal *A Treatise of Human Nature (1740)* though not initially published to much acclaim is widely considered to be amongst the most outstanding work of any British philosopher
- *Essays — Moral and Political (1742)* was published to immediate success leading to the establishment of a school of Scottish philosophy based on developing and consolidating ideas of 'reason'
- although denied the position of Chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh University and the Chair of Logic at Glasgow University on the grounds of his atheism, Hume held various prominent positions including secretary to General Sinclair, Keeper of the Advocates Library and various ambassadorial posts
- Hume's credentials as a highly regarded historian.

Evidence which may not suggest that David Hume deserves to be considered Scotland's significant contributor to the Enlightenment

Adam Smith (1723−1790)

- Smith was a leading social scientist who pioneered the discipline of Political Economy through his masterpiece, *The Wealth of Nations (1776)*. This text championed capitalism, arguing market forces were a more efficient system of exchange than mercantilism. He also authored numerous other influential texts, including *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*
- educated at Glasgow and Oxford Universities he held various key positions associated with the Scottish Enlightenment including Chair of Logic, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Lord Rector all at Glasgow University
- co-founded the Select Society in partnership with David Hume to encourage intellectual debate and the dissemination of theories. From 1778 to his death in 1790 his residence in Edinburgh's New Town allowed him to maintain a key presence in intellectual life
- actively worked in partnership with leading European *philosophes* including Necker, Turgot and Quesnay.

Robert Burns (1759−1796)

- a literary colossus who arguably became an even more significant figure following his death Burns significance is both cultural and historical
- 1786 — Publication of the 'Kilmarnock Edition' of his poetry led to his elevation into Edinburgh's Enlightenment clique. Audiences and tributes were forthcoming from both landed aristocrats and the New Town's middle class elite
- themes of Burn's work resonated amongst diverse audiences widening his appeal. He was regarded as a patriotic nationalist having played an active role in the Royal Dumfries Volunteers following the outbreak of war with France
- his reputation as a political reformer in defence of the common man during an era defined by parliamentary corruption and political management has earned him significant influence as a major figure of Scottish popular culture associated with ideas of equality and democracy.

James Hutton (1726–1797)

- an influential writer — his most notable intellectual title was his *Theory of the Earth*, which was launched at meetings of his Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1785. This thesis which established the core concepts of what later became known as Geology was refined and published in two volumes in 1795 to significant scientific acclaim
- a graduate of Edinburgh and Leiden Universities Hutton also studied in Paris. In addition to qualifying as a medical doctor Hutton achieved notable success in the application and refinement of modern farming techniques on his own farms. A pragmatist, Hutton combined farming innovation such as drainage and quarrying with intellectual enquiry focused upon the earth's crust
- an influential member of Edinburgh's Enlightenment milieu Hutton debated and socialised with Adam Smith, Joseph Black, William Robertson, Lord Monboddo and James Watt. He was also a member of the Lunar Society of Birmingham through which he disseminated his geological theories.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
George Davie	Argues in favour of the achievements of David Hume, describing him as 'by far the most illustrious philosopher and historian of the age'.
David Allan	Writes in praise of Adam Smith's legacy, his 'unprecedented' achievements which culminated in the 'technical foundation of all future analyses of the modern economy'.
Murray Pittock	Reinforces the significance of Burns' contribution which 'created a powerful fusion between the folk and traditional culture of Scotland and the highest literary subject matter'.
Christopher Whatley	Confirms the importance of Lord Kames as 'patron and publicist of Enlightenment ideas a moral philosopher and prolific author the cream of the Scottish Enlightenment'.

Question 29

Evidence which may suggest that the Scottish school system benefitted the overwhelming majority during the 18th century

- during the 18th century Scottish schooling, supported by the Kirk, state and landowners, became notable in terms of availability and diversity. Scotland became comparatively well supplied with schools which could provide social mobility for children of modest means
- long established tradition celebrating the worth of educating the masses, as established by the First Book of Discipline and the enduring authority of the Kirk
- 1696 Parish Schools Act — established the principle of an elementary school in every parish paid for by heritors as enforced by the commission of supply which effectively guaranteed the support of the state
- parish schools were largely established across the lowlands by 1700. Particular areas of strength included East Lothian and Aberdeenshire. Fees were either paid for by the Kirk session or kept to an affordable minimum through funding from the local landowner ensuring access for the rural poor to an elementary education
- parish ministers and presbyteries monitored and inspected parish schools to ensure standards were maintained
- grammar or burgh schools were established in most towns. Overseen by both the Kirk and town council a classics-based education was delivered to boys in preparation for University
- charitable institutions such as the Merchant and Tolbooth schools in Edinburgh provided education for the urban poor
- adventure and Sunday schools also provided additional education, though the former was largely the preserve of a wealthier urban population able to pay its fees
- SSPCK improved literacy across the Highlands, by 1758 nearly 6,500 children were in daily attendance. Backed by the Presbyterian kirk it established more than 150 Highland schools by 1800
- SSPCK also established schools in the lowlands, including 'spinning schools' specifically for girls which focused on literacy and vocational skills
- modernisation of the curriculum as taught by newly established town Academies. Perth, and later Dumfries, Elgin and Dundee amongst many others delivered a contemporary suite of subjects including maths, navigation reflecting the increasingly commercialised needs of an emerging, professional middle class
- rapid expansion of rural private schools. For example, of the 6 schools operational in Blair Atholl in the 1750s, 3 were privately run fee paying establishments
- informal schooling through familial instruction, private tuition and 'dame' schools augmented a broad and diverse structure of schooling.

Evidence which may suggest that the Scottish school system did not benefit the overwhelming majority during the 18th century

- education was neither universal nor free. The urban middle classes may have benefitted disproportionately by accessing affordable educational opportunities through grammar and burgh schools
- parish schools struggled to cope with an expanding and increasingly migratory population. In addition, absenteeism amongst rural children was particularly pronounced during harvest and other labour-intensive times of the year
- literacy rates in rapidly expanding urban centres declined. Proto-industrialisation and the school systems inability to meet the resulting educational needs of an urbanised workforce reinforced a tendency for opportunities to be determined on social position rather than ability
- expansion of private tutoring amongst urban middle classes and the aristocracy suggests the various forms of school available did not meet all the educational needs of the elite
- the Highlands and Islands, which accounted for approximately 40% of the Scottish population for much of the 18th century, was only partly affected by the 1696 Parish schools act due to the enormous size of parishes and the strength of the Episcopalian and Catholic churches
- highland literacy lagged behind the Lowlands and was amongst the worst in Europe
- aims of education were limited — those that did benefit rarely progressed beyond basic literacy, numeracy and a limited exposure to the catechism
- SSPCK's aims were motivated by political and religious ideology as much as educational zeal. The suppression of Gaelic including explicit banning of the language within the classroom and resulted

in the degradation of Highland society and tradition. Gaelic was regarded as the 'roots of barbarity and ignorance'

- dearth of educational opportunities beyond an elementary level for girls — evidence from lowland criminal trials suggests male literacy rates in 1750 was around 65% as compared to a female rate of 20%.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
David Allan	Argues that urban areas were increasingly falling behind their rural counterparts in terms of literacy rates due to the inability of schools to adapt. 'Literacy in some urban areas was for the first time falling behind … implying a degree of institutional failure in 18th century education. Many in an expanding population did benefit, but most given the constraints of the system, did not'.
Tom Devine	Writes in praise of the impact of the parish school system. '…by the time of Statistical Account in the 1790's the network of parish schools seems to have been virtually complete. The development of the national system of parish schools established by law and under public control was a considerable achievement'.
Donald Withrington	Argues that school provision was significantly better in the Highlands and Northern Isles than has previously been assumed, claiming that over 84% of Highland parishes had established schools in the later 18th century.
Bruce Lenman	Questions the ability of the school system to make a demonstrable impact upon the Scottish population's literacy and numeracy. 'The overall result … is debateable. In reaction to exaggerated hype for Scottish education, students of literacy have denied any superiority over England or France'.

Section 4 — Scotland: From the Treaty of Union to the Enlightenment, 1707–1815

Part B — Historical sources

Question 30

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 candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source A		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Privy Council.	Decision making part of the Hanoverian government — senior members of Parliament.
Purpose	to disseminate Hanoverian policy.	Provides unequivocal instructions to Justices of the Peace regarding law enforcement. Although it gives the views of the government it could be interpreted as anti-Jacobite.
Timing	written in July 1714.	Provides a context of anti-Catholic legislation a year before the outbreak of the '15.

Point identified in the Source	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Catholics, Episcopalians and other non-jurors have too long wrongly complained of alleged injustices. In truth they are disloyal.	Catholics and Episcopalians were aggrieved by various instances of perceived unfair treatment by the Hanoverian state.
Their secret plotting to enlist soldiers to the Pretender's cause is their one objective to secure his unjust claim to the British throne.	Some Scots supported the Pretender.
Magistrates will be empowered to remove weapons from Catholics, Episcopalians and other non-jurors suspected of treachery and to place them under arrest.	Catholics, Episcopalians and other non-jurors were subject to indiscriminate mistreatment including the removal of arms, horses, and arbitrary arrest.
Should any of these persons refuse to swear allegiance to our rightful Queen as demanded by the Act for Taking the Oath of Allegiance they will be denied the right to own weapons other than a walking stick. Moreover, they will be declared a popish criminal and a convict.	Refusal to accede to terms of the Act of the Oath of Allegiance resulted in criminal conviction.

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

- legislation following James II's exile reversed the Declaration of Indulgence's attempts to ensure freedom of conscience to all non-jurors. The Act of Toleration (1689) specifically excluded Catholics
- the Stuarts' Catholic faith attracted support from the Catholic populace, though it also dissuaded others from doing so
- widespread dissatisfaction amongst Scots whom believed the Union had failed to deliver economic success in almost all areas aside from Glasgow.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- the Earl of Mar played a pivotal role in persuading, recruiting and coercing men to fight for the Jacobite cause
- Scottish supporters of the 1715 rising were defined by the diversity of their interests and motivations. Many were simply seeking personal advantage rather than being moved by religious or ideological devotion
- Scottish nobles were discontented by a lack of Hanoverian patronage, notably the Earls of Panmure and Southesk, who mobilised significant support in the lowlands
- long term Anti-English Sentiment — Darien, The Alien Act and William of Orange's wars with France contributed to hostility towards the Hanoverian state and support for the Jacobite cause
- success of Jacobite propaganda in convincing patriotic idealists amongst the populace that Stuart's cause was Scotland's cause.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
John Prebble	Rejects James Francis Stuart's Catholicism as an advantage which encouraged Scots to support the cause — he suggests it was in actuality an impediment.
Allan McInnes	Argues that support for the Jacobite cause consistently arose from Episcopalians supplemented by the small but committed Catholic minority.
Daniel Szechi	Maintains that both the Catholic and Episcopalian churches were critical in mobilising support for the Jacobite cause. Both churches acted as institutional engines producing generation upon generation of Jacobites.
Rosalind Mitchison	Reminds us that in addition to religious matters the impact of the Union, and particularly the lack of political positions available to the Scottish aristocracy were important factors in mobilising support for the '15.

Question 31

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

Point in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
In popularising clover and greatly extending liming the Improvers provided things qualitatively new and critical.	Specifically, clover and lime were important advances popularised by the Improvers.
There is no doubt that reclamation of bogs large and small ultimately provided many hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of acres for agriculture.	The Improvers' drainage schemes increased the amount of cultivatable land.
Attitudes were much more conservative — much of their efforts went into tasks of manufacturing soil with muck and turf.	Other activities supported by the Improvers were traditional or unsuccessful.
They could never have improved Scotland unless price movements had rewarded their efforts after 1760, and particularly after 1790, so the demand side was critical.	Improvements were made possible by increasing produce prices.

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

- clover and lime were two examples of improved soil management which resulted in improved fertility and widespread increases in crop yield. Though both were traditional techniques, the Improvers sought to disseminate more widely these and other practices such as manuring
- much of the husbandry the Improvers were responsible was as much evolutionary as revolutionary and not all was successful. Nonetheless they were responsible for introducing a host of new technologies which had a tangible impact upon yields, many of which were imported from England and Europe
- drainage and land reclamation represented notable areas of success for the improvers — most famously Lord Kames reclamation of Blair Drummond's peat bogs
- John Cockburn a famous example of an Improver who enjoyed both success and failure, in common with many other Improving landlords he suffered bankruptcy.

Point in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
1760s and 1770s that all over Scotland land owners set out to persuade their tenants to adopt more intensive land use.	Improvers encouraged their tenants to more intensively farm.
Introduction of leases.	Leases strengthened landlords' ability to incentivise tenants resulting in better husbandry and increased productivity.
New structure of farms which were larger.	Small scale land holding was replaced by larger, more efficient farms.
The freeing of Peasantry from services ensured that no longer would the tenantry of Lasswade be made available to carry coal.	Peasant were no longer obliged to undertake additional services at the whim of their landlords.

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

- though farms tended to increase in size, traditional infield-outfield systems and common grazing remained in widespread use
- the Improvers were defined by pragmatism. Much of their husbandry can be best described as the evolution of traditional, long established practice such as the manuring of fallow land or the incentivising of tenants through legal contracts
- some Improvers extended the up scaling of agricultural production to include model villages which included aspects of proto industrialisation
- Sir Archibald Grant at Monymusk successfully transformed a dilapidated estate by incentivising tenants with long leases in exchange for the completion of improvements.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- leases represented the formalisation of land ownership and leasing, not necessarily to the advantage of tenants as underlined by increased rates of evictions
- improvers were primarily associated with the dissemination and adoption of often paid for new technologies imported from England and Europe
- the impact of the Improvers was uneven. Prominent successes were spread across East Lothian, Perthshire and the south west, resulting in regional specialisations, such as grain in East Lothian and dairy in Galloway. Improvers are also associated with Clearance in the Highlands
- improvers activities were not confined to agricultural production, as confirmed by the establishment of industry and planned villages.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
John D Mackie	Underlines the uneven regional nature of the impact of the Improvers — 'it was in the Lothians and later in Aberdeenshire where agricultural improvement achieved its greatest eminence'.
Tom Devine	Confirms the significance of the Improvers impact upon Scottish agriculture which he argues was legitimised and strengthened by a uniformity of purpose backed by the intellectual vigour of The Enlightenment.
Ian Donnachie	Suggests that so significant was the role of the Improvers that they were instrumental in causing a Scottish agricultural revolution which began 'when enterprising landlords undertook estate improvement'.
Robert Dodgshon	Argues that some of the impact of the Improvers was more a continuation of an ongoing process of clearance across both the lowlands and highlands which began in the late 17th century.

Question 32

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

Points in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
A fantastic complex of patronage.	Dundas established an intricate system of influence based upon the ability to grant patronage.
Dundas's position in the East India Company allowed him to secure positions of employment for many Scots on an unprecedented scale.	His influence over the East India Company allowed him to secure positions of employment for many Scots.
He was also treasurer of the navy and after the outbreak of war with revolutionary France he came to be the dominant figure.	As treasurer of the navy he was also able to secure positions within the government.
Added general government patronage appropriate to the second most senior minister.	Being so high in the government gave him extra patronage.

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

- 'King Harry the 9th' had perfected his use of patronage to gain complete control over the Scottish electoral system — by 1790 he had control of 34 of a total of 45 constituencies
- his appointment as Commissioner of the Board of Control (1784) then President (1793) of the Dutch East India company gave him access to vast patronage opportunities for Scots to benefit from Asian trading opportunities
- acting as a conduit, he used his authority over the British navy to provide numerous positions of influence to Scots. Through this use of direct patronage on a governmental level Dundas sought to facilitate a more equitable distribution of opportunities presented by the Treaty of Union
- Dundas was expert in local networking. His influence was complete in almost all major burghs and towns. Town councils were key in selecting candidates for parliament.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- his position as keeper of the Signet was only one of a number of pivotal positions held by Dundas. He had been appointed Solicitor General in 1766 and Lord Advocate in 1775, both positions providing legal, political and administrative opportunities to expand his power of patronage
- management and the use of patronage predate Dundas. Accepted political conventions of the era, Dundas's predecessor the Earl of Islay frequently used these methods during the first half of the 18th century
- Dundas's methods of management were motivated in part to redress the Scotophobia which defined London and Whitehall in the 1760's
- Dundas's hegemony was not absolute. Members of his own family held seats in parliament in defiance of his influence.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Michael Fry	Challenges established historiography which defines Dundas's methods as authoritarian and corrupt. Fry argues that the aim was one of laudable good government achieved by accepted political conventions of the time.
David Allan	Argues that the key method Dundas used to maintain his control was specifically his ability to manage elections. 'His power rested on an awesome capacity to control Scottish elections through mutually advantageous deals'.
William Ferguson	Recognises Dundas's methods deal making ability as a political manager which delivered the unparalleled influence of a Scot upon British politics in the 18th century.
Gordon Donaldson	Maintains that central to Dundas's power was the 'perfected system' of his 'judicious use of patronage which delivered wide and decisive influence'.

Section 5 — USA: 'A House Divided', 1850–1865

Part A — Historical issues

Question 33

Disputes over slavery
- issue of slavery where it already existed and the implications of slavery expansion
- the issue of slavery was arguably at the heart of the sectional differences from the outset
- differing attitudes to abolitionism and abolitionist actions/propaganda
- differing views on Fugitive Slave Laws introduced in 1850
- Southerners increasingly believed in the idea that slavery could only be protected out with the Federal Union
- States' Rights versus Federal Government
- Northern perception of a 'slave-power' conspiracy
- Seward's doctrine of an 'irrepressible conflict'
- abolitionist activity and anti-slavery opinion
- the role of abolitionists exacerbating the fears in the South
- impact of John Brown's raid — struck a sensitive nerve in the Southern psyche.

The sectional differences, economic, cultural and ideological differences
- greater industrial development in North than the South
- greater railway mileage in North. The South tended to rely on its river network more than railways
- cotton comprised 50% of US exports
- South had 35% of US population but produced only 10% of manufactured output
- limited urbanisation in the South. By 1860, only 20 towns had more than 5,000 inhabitants. Charleston and Richmond only had a population of 40,000
- disputes over tariff legislation. Tariff of annoyance to the South as this impacted on the profits in the South. The Southerners feared a reactionary tariff would be imposed by the USA's trading partners, for example, Britain
- economic disagreements over funding of internal improvements
- majority of immigration to the North — very few immigrants in the South.

Failings of politicians and leading officials
- Zachary Taylor — prevented compromise during the 1850 crisis
- Franklin Pierce — reignited the dispute in 1852 with the Cuban Fiasco, Ostend Manifesto and the Gadsden Purchase. Theory of a 'slave power conspiracy' emerges in the North as a consequence
- Stephen Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854 led to the downfall of the Whigs, emergence of the Republican Party and 'Bleeding Kansas'
- James Buchanan's adoption of the fraudulent pro-slavery Lecompton constitution and inept leadership furthered the divide
- Lincoln accused of engineering a conflict in his handling of the crisis at Fort Sumter. Debates with Douglas in 1858 led to widespread fear in the South regarding Northern attitudes to slavery
- role of the Abolitionists and the fire-eaters.

Politics, constitution and the breakdown of the two-party national political system

- the emergence of the Republicans as a sectional political party
- splits within the Democratic Party
- Southern fears of her becoming a minority within the federal union
- Southern press hostile to all northern actions, for example, portrayal of Republicans as the party of the black, which would encourage social and racial chaos
- Lincoln portrayed as a direct threat to the social/economic status of the South, and this justified immediate secession if he were to be elected
- political disagreements over the future nature of the American republic
- Doctrine of States' Rights.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
James Ford Rhodes	Takes the view that slavery was the sole cause of the Civil War.
Charles and Mary Beard	Take the view that economic divergence between the North and the South led to tensions culminating in war.
Eric Foner	Takes the view that the ideology of the Republican Party was at odds with Southern values.
James Randall	Takes the view that secession and civil war was the consequence of a 'blundering generation'.

Question 34

Evidence that shows the North held an overwhelming advantage over the South at the outbreak of the Civil War

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 Northern strengths
- support of border slave states
- steady flow of blacks escaping the Confederacy and willingly joining the Union army.

Evidence that opposes that the North held an overwhelming advantage over the South at the outbreak of the Civil War

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.

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, for example, 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 prerequisite 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 operation 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

Evidence which suggests that the Battle of Antietam was a turning point in the Civil War

International/Foreign Diplomacy
- importance for foreign relations of Union with Europe/Britain. Union needed a decisive victory to 'convert us all' (Lord Cecil), Antietam did this
- importance for Confederate Foreign policy. Many Confederate supporters in the British Government such as Gladstone. Seven days' battles and Second Manassas pushing PM Palmerston towards intervention but Antietam defeat put the brakes on this
- *The Times* started to move away from pro-Confederacy stance after Antietam.

Politics
- stopped the Democrats gaining the House of Representatives in mid-term elections.

Emancipation Proclamation
- Antietam provided platform for legislation
- the battle allowed Lincoln to argue that the Union should be more vigorous in striking a blow toward the Confederacy which would provide an impetus for the Union to build on the change in military fortunes. The Emancipation Proclamation would strike at the heart of the rebellion
- the Emancipation Proclamation changed the nature of the conflict and focussed attitudes on slavery. Antietam provided this opportunity for Lincoln
- with victory at Antietam and the subsequent Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln was able to address the impending recruitment crisis within the union army.

Military
- Lincoln was able to replace McClellan as he failed to capitalise on his advantages
- Lee retreated to Virginia and did not gain Maryland volunteers in any number
- Confederacy failed to get a victory or demoralise the North sufficiently.

Evidence which suggests that the Battle of Antietam was not a turning point in the Civil War

International/Foreign Diplomacy
- Antietam was not a definitive influence on the European powers. Instead there were a series of events over the course of the war which made Britain and France cautious about getting involved in the war.

Politics
- despite the Republican election victory in the mid-term elections, there were significant concerns from Lincoln regarding his re-election as President in 1864.

Emancipation proclamation
- Lincoln had already decided upon a Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in July
- Seward advised caution, wait for victory or 'our last shriek, on the retreat'
- Antietam only affected the timing of the Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln had already decided to issue the Proclamation and would eventually have issued it regardless of the outcome at Antietam
- the Emancipation Proclamation created a host of new internal conflicts as many Union soldiers did not want to fight for or with blacks, for example, the draft riots.

Military

- Lee lost 10,000 men but McClellan lost 14,000 making it one of the bloodiest of the war
- although the battle is often seen as a Union victory, in reality it was more of a tactical draw
- Antietam did not strike a decisive blow against the South. Less than a year later Lee's army was in Pennsylvania and less than 2 years later Confederate troops were on the outskirts of Washington DC. Antietam was just one of many conflicts which would be won (and drawn) by both sides in the Eastern Theatre
- Confederate victories at Chancellorsville for example emphasised that the war was far from over.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
James McPherson	Takes the view that Antietam was unquestionably the most important battle in the Civil War in its impact on foreign relations and therefore was one of the key turning points of the Civil War.
Gary Gallagher	Takes the view that the Maryland campaign, complex in execution and impact, qualified as a pivotal event in the war.
Gienapp	Takes the view that McClellan fumbled his best chance to annihilate Lee, procrastination allowed Lincoln to replace McClellan.
Benjamin Quarles	Takes the view that the Emancipation Proclamation allowed blacks to enter the war at a time of real shortage which swung the war effort in favour of the Union.

Question 36

The candidate might use such evidence as

Northern diplomatic skill
- Lincoln established a 'paper blockade' of the south, which established a long-term precedent during the civil war
- Trent Affair and Lincoln's diplomacy
- role of Charles Francis Adams — US Minister in London
- direct approach of William Seward, for example, May 1861 when Seward essentially threatened to break diplomatic relations with Britain in reaction to news of Confederate commissioners meeting with Lord John Russell
- Charles Francis 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
- effect of the Emancipation Proclamation and the impact of the final proclamation on European attitudes to the war.

Alternative arguments for foreign neutrality
- impact of the failure of Southern military strategy in the autumn of 1862 and summer of 1863
- calculations of European self-interest, particularly on the part of Britain, for example, national priority of defence of Canada
- the contradictory policies of Napoleon III — support for North as a bulwark to British dominance yet supportive of the Mexican adventure
- Britain's fear of losing valuable markets and investments in the North, for example, British dependency on Northern grain
- British public perception of the conflict was divided throughout the period, for example, Lancashire cotton workers supporting the North even though it was not in their interests
- fear that involvement in a war so far from home would be extremely costly, for example, Impact of the Crimean War shaped British attitudes
- the selling of goods to both sides by European powers
- cotton embargo on Europe and how this was perceived
- failure of Confederate representative James Mason and the 'Confederate Lobby' to persuade British involvement
- no vital British interest appeared at stake, therefore it was unlikely that they would become involved
- in defence of the Confederate representatives, it is difficult to argue what more they could have achieved.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Norman Arthur Graebner	Takes the view that Seward played a key role in preventing foreign recognition.
Philip Shaw Paludan	Takes the view that the Trent Affair scared both Britain and the North and both sought to retain dialogue in preference to war.
Emory Thomas	Takes the view 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. Confederacy hopes depended on success of its armies. Lack of success prevented European recognition, which was essential if Southern armies were to succeed. It was a vicious diplomatic circle.
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 37

Military successes contributing to Lincoln's success
- 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
- siege and 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.

Military difficulties limiting Lincoln's chances of success
- low level of success in Western and Eastern Theatre at start of the year, for example, 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, for example, Grant's Wilderness Campaign, May/June 1864 and Cold Harbour, June 1864
- casualty figures very high, 32,000 5–12 May 1864 — 'Butcher' Grant and apparent failure of Total War tactics
- enlistment difficulties and use of 'green' black troops.

Northern domestic issues in favour of Lincoln
- Lincoln had the support of the soldiers. The War Department allowed whole regiments to return home to vote. Most states allowed soldiers the opportunity to vote in the field. 78% of soldiers voted for Lincoln.

Northern domestic problems
- morale: popular press defeatist, longing for peace in song
- fear: Jubal Early had appeared on outskirts of Washington
- social: growing dissatisfaction with legal and press restrictions
- ethnic: attracted by opportunities more immigrants arrived in the North which fuelled further tension.

Political advantages for Lincoln
- 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'
- 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.

Political difficulties for Lincoln
- Lincoln: support for Grant, military failures and casualties meant very unpopular. Lincoln thought he might not gain the Republican nomination to stand in November Presidential election
- Fremont created his own party the Radical Democracy which threatened to split the Republican vote
- September 1864; election fitted in with Mobile victory, fall of Atlanta and Sheridan success
- reconstruction policy; radical Republicans and 10% plan/Wade-Davis.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
James McPherson	Takes the view that domestic gloom in May 1864 was changing to optimism and further suggests a greater chance of elections in November rather than August.
Hugh Tulloch	Takes the view that the Northern public appalled and demoralised by casualty figures.
Archer Jones	Takes the view that Grant's campaign was a 'political liability' for Lincoln.
Reid Mitchell	Takes the view that the failure to capture Atlanta would probably have led to Lincoln and pro-war party defeat.

Section 5 — USA: 'A House Divided', 1850–1865

Part B — Historical sources

Question 38

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 contextual recall, including historians' views, that candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source A		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Richmond Enquirer newspaper.	A Southern newspaper from Richmond, Virginia. The Richmond Enquirer was in a predominantly Democratic area.
Purpose	editorial.	A Southern newspaper editorial expressing their views on the recent Dred Scott case decision, clearly pro-slavery.
Timing	13th March 1857.	Supreme Court decision delivered on 6th March 1857 by Chief Justice Roger Taney judging that Congress did not have the authority to prohibit slavery in the territories, thus ruling the Missouri Compromise as unconstitutional. The decision inflamed growing tensions between the North and South over the issues of slavery and the balance of power between the states and federal government.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The abolitionists are completely taken aback and bewildered they are at a loss to understand this decision.	Abolitionists and Northerners as a whole were shocked, confused and taken aback by the Supreme Court decision.
They have been defeated in the field of their own choice foiled in an effort they have been making for years.	The Supreme Court decision effectively ended the abolitionist campaign to prevent the extension of slavery into the territories.
The decision in the Dred Scott case must be a finality, so far as the federal legislation on the institution of slavery is concerned.	The Southern states saw this decision as the end of the fight and their victory.
Yet the abolitionists will rally again with renewed determination. Reckless of wrong or right, regardless of the law of this nation, they will rush to end the extension of slavery or destroy the Constitution or the Union.	A further Southern response was their fear that the Abolitionists would refuse to accept the Supreme Court decision. Southerners feared a Northern reaction and potential Abolitionist attacks on the South.

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

- Northern claims two days before the Supreme Court's decision that Taney and Buchanan seen whispering between each other was proof of the conspiracy in federal government to ensure the spread of slavery
- Buchanan's inaugural speech two days before the decision called for calm on the slavery issue and for the nation to accept the Supreme Court decision was further evidence of the slave power at work
- the future of slavery was a critical issue in 1857 and its future in the territories even more paramount, for example, Kansas, Lecompton decision, fugitive slave law. Taney's decision intensified feelings surrounding the future of slavery in the territories
- Taney's court was dominated by pro-slave opinion — seven out of nine had been appointed by pro-slave Presidents and five came from slave holding families confirming the slave power conspiracy theory in the North
- Slave power conspiracy had gripped the North from Franklin Pierce's attempts to seize Cuba and Stephen Douglas' repeal of the Missouri Compromise to ensure the passage of the Kansas Nebraska Act. The decision ensured that the conspiracy would intensify in Northern minds.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Republican Party had formed in 1854 in reaction to the slave power conspiracy and to oppose the extension of slavery
- Southerners support the decision as it recognised their state rights
- the Democrats split into Northern and Southern factions in reaction to the decision
- the decision threw the notion of popular sovereignty into jeopardy
- Stephen Douglas' famous Freeport Doctrine in 1858 challenged the Supreme Court's decision. The decision was a key focal point in the Lincoln-Douglas debates
- Lincoln emphasised the dangers for the future in his 'House Divided' speech, June 1858
- Northern press launched a fierce attack on the Supreme Court
- Benjamin Robbins Curtis and John McLean, the Northern justices wrote a report justifying why they opposed Taney's decision
- despite the divisions created within the Democrats, they performed reasonably well in the elections of 1857.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Peter Parish	Takes the view that that Taney's 1857 decision had created a judicial minefield. It left popular sovereignty in ruins and created divisions within the Democratic Party.
Hugh Tulloch	Takes the view that the 1857 decision merely re-affirmed the view that slaves were mere property.
Don E Fehrenbacher	Takes the view that the decision was the result of error, inconsistency, and misrepresentation.
James McPherson	Takes the view that the decision did not remove issue of slavery in territories but made it a political issue with Republicans seeing Scott as a free man. Problems from interpretation of slave property not being excluded from territories and citizen rights.

Question 39

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

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Unlike so many union officers, Grant grasped the value of initiative in warfare and immediately shifted focus.	Grant was an intuitive soldier, identifying opportunities and taking advantage of them.
Grant was always aggressive in warfare and in seizing the opportunity to counterattack sealed the Union breakthrough of the Confederate lines.	Grant always tried to seize the offensive in battle which led to a breakthrough of the Confederate lines.
Grant's reply, wholly in character with his approach to warfare, captured the imagination of the northern public, 'No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted'.	Grant was aggressive in battle and was determined to achieve a victory.
The Northern public were appalled by the 13,000 Union casualties. Cries for Grant's removal radiated from all around the country.	Grant's strategy often brought about large casualties which concerned the Northern public.

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

- Grant grasped the opportunity in the western theatre and gradually took control of the Mississippi river which would be strategically vital to the outcome of the war. Grant was well known for his offensive strategy such as the siege of Corinth in 1862 or the siege of Petersburg in 1865
- Grant was nicknamed 'Unconditional Surrender Grant' as a result of the statement in the source
- Grant's command at Shiloh in 1862 exemplifies the large casualties under his command.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- early successes, for example, Vicksburg
- exploitation of manpower and resources of the Union
- strategy aimed at destroying the South's will to continue the war
- development of idea of total war
- refusal to retreat after reverses at Cold Harbour and The Wilderness
- respect for chain of command and Commander-in-Chief
- awareness of political implications of military events
- developed modern command structure
- greatness dependent on opposing generals.

However

- Shiloh, almost sunk the Union cause through sloppy defences
- 'Butcher' Grant, human cost of his tactics too high
- personal frailties, alleged drunkenness.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
James McPherson	Takes the view that the capture of Vicksburg was one of the most important strategic victories in the whole war.
Susan Mary Grant	Takes the view that Grant worked well with Lincoln as he recognised the need for the General-in-Chief to be subservient to Commander-in-Chief.
Hugh Tulloch	Takes the view that Grant demonstrated his leadership beyond the battlefield also by carefully sourcing additional resources to support his war effort.
T Harry Williams	Takes the view that Grant was a great battle captain but needed the support of Lincoln and Sherman for ultimate success.

Question 40

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)
But our ranks have been greatly thinned by casualties of battle and disease in the camp.	Confederacy have suffered significant losses on the battlefield and as a result of disease.
Losses in battle are rendered much heavier by reason of our being compelled to encounter the enemy with inferior numbers, the great increase of the enemy's forces.	Union forces were far superior in numbers to the Confederate forces.
Immobility of the army, owing to the condition of the horses and the scarcity of the forage and provisions.	Lee comments on the immobility of the Confederate army due to lack of food and supplies.
Our enemy is significantly better resourced for battle than we are at present.	The Confederate forces were struggling against an enemy with superior resources.

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

- 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
- 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.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Lincoln was an abler and a stronger man than Davis.	Lincoln was a superior leader to Davis. Lincoln's character and strength of mind were critical to Union victory in contrast to the character of Davis which may have hindered the Confederate war effort.
North developed at an early date an over-all plan of strategy to make enemy armies their objective and to move all Federal forces against the enemy line simultaneously.	Lincoln preferred an all-out attack on the South to achieve a convincing and direct victory that would end the war quickly. Lincoln worked consistently to achieve this end goal.
Eventually established a unified command system which would put this strategy into effect.	North established a unified command.
Narrow, defensive approach to the war was the worst strategy for the South.	The South's narrow and defensive campaign was a failing on their part.

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

- Lincoln's personal attributes have been praised — he demonstrated honesty, diligence, tenacity with an unassuming style
- Lincoln was articulate and effectively presented Union war aims through his eloquent speeches
- Lincoln was pragmatic and flexible throughout the war
- Lincoln established and effectively led a cabinet of politicians that had considerably more experience than him. Lincoln's man management skills were crucial in this respect
- Lincoln was a consummate politician, working diligently to maintain party unity throughout the war
- Lincoln's pragmatic approach was crucial in maintaining the war effort
- demonstrated great skill in 1861 in ensuring the loyalty of the Border States
- the political crisis of December 1862 demonstrates Lincoln's range of abilities
- the Emancipation Proclamation
- Lincoln did not avoid his responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief, improvising and stretching his powers beyond normal practice in order to give the Union an early advantage in the war
- Lincoln maintained two party politics during the war, thus encouraged opposition and political debate
- Lincoln allowed the 1864 election to be held in the interests of democratic politics, therefore submitted himself for re-election in the midst of a potential military and political crisis
- in contrast, Davis did not clearly define and express his war aims for the Confederacy, struggled to manage competing factions within the Confederate Government and was criticised by his own war department staff for his lack of knowledge and interference
- the Southern focus on the Virginian theatre which Davis supported was a narrow focus. Without a decisive victory, the North's numerical advantages would eventually prove superior.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Southern lack of will thesis
- 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
- 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!'
- 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.

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 CF Adams in London and WL Drayton in Paris ensured good US relations in Europe. Emancipation introduced a moral dimension which could not be ignored.
Richard Current	Takes the view that the idea of 'God and the strongest battalions' was the key explanation for Southern defeat.
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.
Frank Owsley	Takes the view that Southern defeat should be attributed to the issue of states' rights.

Section 6 — Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840–1920

Part A — Historical Issues

Question 41

Evidence to support the view that the Tokugawa Shogun depended on the Daimyo to maintain control

The Daimyo
- Daimyo were the lords in charge of 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 that were to do with the infrastructure
- the Daimyo were potentially capable of organising a rebellion against the Tokugawa regime, so control of this group was crucial
- Daimyo were classified into two groups, depending upon their previous loyalty to the Tokugawa — the Tozama and the Fudai
- the Tozama were carefully positioned in strategically and geographically less important Hans within Japan
- Daimyo had to seek permission to marry
- importance of Alternate Attendance.

Evidence which does not support the view that the Tokugawa Shogun depended on the Daimyo to maintain control

The remaining caste structure
- the whole system was a completely inflexible one, which condemned individuals to remain in the caste into which they were born
- the system stressed unquestioning loyalty from one caste to the one above, helping to maintain law and order
- one important group were the samurai, from which the Daimyo were drawn. This was the only caste allowed to bear arms 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 were expected to be unquestioningly 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-19th century, and were crucial in the administrative running of their domains and therefore the control of Japan
- under the samurai were the peasant caste who were tied to their 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
- caste structure was underpinned by Neo-Confucianism
- highly significant in helping the Tokugawa control the 75% of the land over which they had no direct control.

Religion and education

- both were exploited to maintain control
- the Tokugawa ban on Christianity also helped to maintain the importance of Shintoism
- Shintoism was heavily suppressed during the Tokugawa rule, as it was perceived as a threat to the position of the Shogun, who held the real power in Japan
- rather, Neo-Confucianism was promoted by the state as the most important religious belief in Japan
- Neo-Confucianism advocated filial piety, respect and loyalty and had originated from China
- Buddhism formally entered Japan by the 6th century through the influx of Chinese scholarship
- it provided rituals and practices for specific aspects of life and death
- Buddhist temples were used as a form of social control in that the population had to register there
- Samurai followed the moral code of Bushido, which was considered to be like a form of spiritual religion to them
- education was not aspirational, but rather reinforced their social positioning within the caste structure.

Sakoku — Policy of isolation

- enforced since the early Tokugawa times as an external form of social control
- prevented the incursion of missionaries, often so associated with colonisation
- in theory, the system also prevented the spread of western ideology, such as liberalism and democracy, which could threaten Tokugawa control
- however, the historical debate has recently challenged the extent to which Japan was isolated, arguably weakening the argument that this was a significant control mechanism
- however, the Tokugawa were firmly in control of all Asian and Western contact
- arguably, this policy was only successful if enforced by the Daimyo.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Elise Tipton	Contends that the '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'.
William Beasley	Highlights 'Alternate Attendance was fundamental to the maintenance of political authority'.
Janet Hunter	Believes 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'.
Christopher Goto-Jones	Argues 'one of the most powerful features of Tokugawa society was the establishment of the system of stratification that determined the status and functions of the vast majority of the population, as well as their relationship with the daimyo'.

Question 42

Evidence which supports the view that 1868 did mark a political turning point

- Shogun overthrown
- a centralised government established to replace the decentralised regime under the Tokugawa Bakufu
- country politically centralised with Hans being replaced by Prefectures answerable to a central regime
- Emperor restored as central authority figure within political system, all edicts issued in his name
- from 1885 major government decisions were taken by a Cabinet
- the façade of a democratic constitution was viewed important to secure western respect
- the 1889 Constitution — western influence — close to the German model of monarchy
- starting point was the Emperor — who had bestowed the constitution on the Japanese people
- he was the head of the government, possessing on paper a sweeping range of executive, legislative, administrative and military powers but position was ambiguous
- Bicameral parliament established — House of Peers — members of nobility and the imperial house — Diet — highly restrictive franchise — little more than 1% could vote
- many of the committees, including armed forces, operated independently of each other
- leaders of the armed forces had direct access to the emperor
- cabinets were appointed by the Emperor — not necessarily from the majority party of the Diet
- propaganda and education used to reinforce the new centralised regime — taught all children that national loyalty (as opposed to Han loyalty) and patriotism were supreme virtues
- political parties established for the first time.

Evidence which does not support the view that 1868 marked a political turning point

- power still retained in the hands of a few of the leading clans — authority of Tokugawa largely replaced by Choshu and Satsuma leadership
- aim was never to establish a democratic state — majority of the population remained politically disenfranchised
- the new political system served to reinforce the influence of the more traditional elements in Japan's ruling class
- Emperor arguably had no real power other than symbolic, but continued to be viewed as having divine descent
- franchise so limited — arguably little impact
- political opposition from new political parties not tolerated and suppressed
- Safety Preservation Law 1874 — banned any political opponents or critics from Tokyo for three years — clearly targeting any political opponents and highly undemocratic
- Peace Preservation Law of 1900 which suppressed speech and the press
- system continued to be underpinned by Neo-Confucianist moral code
- women banned from any political participation
- lives of many peasants largely unchanged poltically.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Kenneth Pyle	Argues that the most noteworthy change in the political system was the growth in the power and influence of the political parties.
Mikiso Hane	Contends that 'The Diet became an institution which provided the people with a voice in government'.
Ian Buruma	Argues 'Constitution was a vaguely worded document that put sovereignty entirely into imperial hands'. 'Japanese democracy was a sickly child from the beginning'.
Tim Megarry	Suggests that 'Effective political opposition by Liberals let alone any party that genuinely attempted to represent the interests of the masses, was banned for most of this period'.

Question 43

Evidence which supports the view that the changes in Japan's educational system after 1868 severed links with their cultural past

- initially education reform was influenced by the West
- there was an early 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
- a Ministry of Education was set up in 1871, which restructured primary, secondary and tertiary education along western lines
- co-educational schools established
- universities established, for example, Keio University in Tokyo
- influence of the Iwakura Mission — the delegation that became a fact finding mission to western countries including America, France, Britain and Germany
- the delegates on the Mission were particularly interested in observing schools and the educational policy of the US and the French centralised education system
- influence of Mori Arinori in shaping the reforms. He was Japan's first US ambassador and was heavily influenced by the education he saw there, which later helped shape educational reforms when he was recruited by Hirobumi to become the Minister for Education
- Arinori heavily promoted the English language
- between 1870 and 1890 school textbooks based on Confucian ethics were largely replaced by westernised texts
- Arinori was assassinated in 1889 because his reforms were perceived by some to be too western — and too much of a cultural break with the past
- elementary school enrolments increased from about 30% of the school aged population in the 1870s to more than 90% by 1900, increasing to 100% when fees abolished. Education was clearly no longer restricted to the samurai caste as had been the case prior to 1868.

Evidence which does not support the view that the changes in Japan's educational system after 1868 severed links with their cultural past

- growing concern that education was becoming too westernised by the 1890s, and was breaking too much culturally with the past, led to a backlash
- the earlier intensive preoccupation with Western, particularly American education ideals was rejected and a more authoritarian approach was imposed
- Imperial Rescript of Education — 30th October 1890 — and its role in directing schools to place more emphasis on traditional moral education, developing a sense of nationalism and loyalty to the emperor
- the basis of the Rescript was rooted in the historic bond between benevolent rulers and their loyal subjects — inculcating those very familiar Japanese values of loyalty and filial piety
- it was clearly rooted in Neo-Confucianist ideology — highlights a clear continuity with her cultural past
- after it was issued, the Rescript was distributed to all schools in the country, along with a portrait of the Emperor
- part of the Rescript stated 'always respect the constitution and observe laws, should emergency arise, offer yourself courageously to the State thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne'
- traditional Confucian and Shinto precepts were once more stressed, especially those relating to the hierarchical nature of human relations, respect for authority and commitment to the new state — clear parallels with the Tokugawa caste structure
- although Education was used as a vehicle to modernise Japan, especially with regards training an educated and pliable work force, it was still utilised to encourage a cultural link and identity associated with their past.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Charles Fahs	Argues that Japan's strong feeling of national identity was helpful in preventing blind acceptance of everything western. To its credit, Japan succeeded in maintaining many of its rich traditions.
Marius Jansen	Claims that the impact of the west provided the catalyst, but in its essence it included a reformation of older moral and political traditions of benevolence.
Ian Buruma	Believes '(the Meiji leaders) recognised the power of western ideas and wished to learn more, so Japan could one day compete with the best of them'.
Elise Tipton	Suggests 'The Imperial Rescript on Education exemplifies the nationalistic reaction to Westernisation that began in the late 1880s, a reaction against what was seen by many contemporary critics as indiscriminate borrowing'.

Question 44

Evidence supporting the view that the Zaibatsu played a prominent part in Japanese economic development from 1868

Zaibatsu

- government favouritism resulted in the development of huge monopolistic concerns
- these were the heart of economic and industrial activity within Japan
- they were large family controlled vertical monopolies consisting of a holding company on the top, with a wholly owned banking subsidiary providing finance, and several industrial off shoots, often dominating specific sectors of a certain market
- they were able to benefit from economies of scale — and provide their own finance, raw materials and transportation which certainly helped contribute to speed and scale of Japan's industrial development after 1868
- 1880s onwards the Zaibatsu began to dominate manufacturing and commercial activities. Most had their own bank
- by the early 20th century control was becoming a problem
- these huge conglomerates were led by four giants — Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda
- Mitsubishi conglomerates 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 — stimulating growth in all these areas
- they 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 they could not be ignored.

Evidence opposing the view that the Zaibatsu played a prominent part in Japanese economic development from 1868 — role and support of Government more important

- but the development of these powerful and successful Zaibatsu was dependent upon support from the government
- Japan's development was a unique partnership between public and private partnership
- there was selective and closely controlled use of western know-how — use of Yatoi
- in 1872 the government established a western-style silk mill in Tomioka to disseminate modern industrial techniques to stimulate development
- the government built the necessary infrastructure
- 1882 — Bank of Japan was established by the government as the country's central bank along British lines
- creation of a new National currency — the Yen
- education reforms created an educated and pliable workforce
- their desire for military success and a national standing army further stimulated industrial development
- the government negotiated foreign loans.

Foundations lain during the Tokugawa period

- move from a rice to a monetary based economy had begun during this period
- the peasantry had already begun to diversify into producing craft items — especially those living close to the Castle Towns
- development of a 'cottage based' textile and silk industry
- high rates of literacy
- development of a merchant class
- system of alternate attendance had help support the development of an effective infrastructure across the whole country.

World War I

- Japan supplied belligerent allies with munitions and other goods in short supply
- Japan gained a foothold in the export market and merchant shipping doubled
- assumed control over British trading links in area
- assumed control over German mandates in the area
- the ending of imports from the west also forced industrial development within Japan.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
WJ Macpherson	Argues 'In the private sector the more spectacular changes were promoted by the Zaibatsu group which had the size to achieve economies of scale'.
Edwin Reischauer	Contends that 'The great wealth and broad base of the Zaibatsu enabled them to finance promising new fields in the economy and thus increase their share in its fast-growing industrial sector'.
Janet Hunter	Suggests 'Part of Japan's strength has lain in her responsiveness to a changing economic environment and the adaptability of her industrial structure'.
Elise Tipton	Argues 'The importance of government enterprises for Japanese industrial development remains questionable, since most failed to be profitable until they were taken over by private entrepreneurs in the 1880s, but economic historians agree on the importance of the government's investments in infrastructure such as railways'.

Question 45

Factors which may suggest that Japan's position did alter as a result of defeated China

Emergence of Japan as the 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 the end of 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 merged as leading Asian naval power
- China was the nation that made the request for a peace conference — evidence of the shifting balance of power
- Japan formally replaced 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 and her shifting global position.

Territorial gains
- treaty that ended the war awarded Japan both overseas territory and an indemnity — further evidence of a shifting global position
- the terms included possession of Formosa, Pescadores Islands and initially the Liaodong Peninsula
- four more treaty points in China were opened to Japan
- payment of a sizable indemnity
- the resultant humiliation from the Tripartite Intervention, combined with the additional indemnity, led to a marked focus on further military expansion after 1895 which helped to shift international perspectives towards Japan.

Extension of control over Korea
- China abandoned its official interests in Japan
- Japan began to extend its interest over Korea
- by the spring of 1895 there were 40 Japanese advisers in the Korean royal household, ministries, police and postal services
- their power and influence grew steadily — a clear sign of their growing influence as a global power. It was the beginning of the journey to full annexation in 1910
- victory over China arguably helped contribute to the overturning of certain aspects of the Unequal Treaties, such as Extra-Territoriality by the turn of the 19th century
- in addition, victory helped contribute to Britain's changing perspectives to Japan, contributing to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902.

Factors which may suggest that Japan's position did not alter as a result of defeated China
- Tripartite Intervention evidence that Japan was still not viewed as a global power — although the fact Russia felt that it had to intervene can be viewed as evidence of their growing influence, which was viewed as a threat
- Russia was particularly concerned about the Japanese foothold on the Asian mainland which Japan had gained through their accession of the Liaodung Peninsula
- Russia joined 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
- in addition, Japan's direct control over Korea was still limited. They had removed Chinese influence — which has largely simply replaced by Russian influence
- Russia then proceeded to take out a 25-year lease over the land Japan had been forced to hand back.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Kenneth Henshall	Contends that 'This was the first step in Japan's empire building in Asia, and the western powers took note'.
Marius Jansen	Highlights that during this period 'European interference (the Tripartite Intervention) came to remind the Meiji state that there was more to do'.
Bonnie B Oh	Suggests 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'.
Richard Storry	Argues 'in spite of the humiliation suffered by the Triple Intervention, Japan's status after the war with China was vastly improved'.

Section 6 — Japan: The Modernisation of a Nation, 1840–1920

Part B — Historical sources

Question 46

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 contextual recall, including historians' views, that candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source A		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Oshio Heihachiro.	Samurai work closely with a Han Leader, which would give him a particularly profound insight into the political changes, but also social and economic changes. He would have been involved with taxation collection.
Purpose	Highlight his concerns in late Tokugawa society.	This was an educated, informed member of society who was a harsh critic of the regime — as shown by his attempt to overthrow the regime.
Timing	1840	28 years before the Tokugawa collapsed but when control mechanisms were already starting to fail. Written just before the Tempo Reforms were introduced by the Tokugawa regime in an attempt to deal with these changes.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Those officials who are entrusted with important political affairs openly give and receive bribes.	Critical of the Tokugawa leaders — members of the Bakufu, Daimyo and Samurai — who were open to bribes.
They levy an excessive amount of rice from common people and farmers in their own domains and the resulting excessive rise in the price of rice today does not deter the commissioner in Osaka and his officials from engaging in their arbitrary handling of policies.	Daimyo increasing taxation upon peasants leading to an excessive rise in the price of rice, having a negative impact upon the 'common' people whilst officials incompetent.
The merchants in Osaka have over the years made profitable loans to the Daimyo and seized a large sum of gold, silver and stipend rice in interest and are now treated and appointed to positions comparable to elders in the households of the Daimyo.	Increased power and wealth of merchants was a factor causing change because of the impact it had upon the caste structure.
They see poor and beggars starve to death, but do not lift a finger to help them.	There was obvious and profound poverty — and those experiencing this received no help.

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

- Samurai had largely transformed from a military to an administrative caste, which caused discontent. Samurai and Daimyo were deviating away from the Bushido code of behaviour which should have dictated their behaviour
- Daimyo were falling into debt to the merchants (who should have been at the lower end of the caste structure) as they began to indulge in their increasingly lavish lifestyle — leading to a blurring of the caste structure — one of the main forms of social control for the Tokugawa
- a socio-economic division emerged between upper and lower level samurai causing discontent. The former sometimes had to sell their unique sword bearing privileges to survive — often to merchants
- key individuals, such as Shozan, were questioning the role and authority of the Tokugawa. Key individuals and writers were becoming increasing critical of the Tokugawa regime, rooted in the Shintoist Revivalist movement, who went on to form the Sonno Joi movement after Perry's arrival, who had an instrumental role in contributing to the downfall of the Tokugawa.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- the merchants, who were in theory at the bottom of the caste structure, were assuming greater influence within Japan
- the caste structure was also being undermined by the move towards a monetary, as opposed to rice based, currency
- farmers and artisans were producing more agricultural products in response to growth of castle towns — stimulated growth and trade
- alternate attendance had led to the development of an infrastructure within Japan, which in turn further stimulated internal commercial trade, contributing to the blurring of the caste structure
- the decentralised nature of the Tokugawa regime meant that they found it very difficult to stamp their authority over the whole country when dissent began to emerge
- a Nativist school of thought, initially encouraged by the Tokugawa as an anti-Chinese movement, leading to a refocus on the Shinto Religion. This in turn began to argue that the Shogun had usurped power from the Emperor
- failure of the Tempo Reforms further highlighted the administrative paralysis of the Tokugawa regime — and led to the strengthening of clans that would later challenge their authority
- lavish lifestyles of those at the upper end of the caste structure led to an increasing burden of taxation upon the peasants. This led to an insurgence in their discontent and the incidence of localised riots
- series of bad harvests led to riots and discontent amongst peasants.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Kenneth Henshall	Contends that 'There were changes to the actual social order brought about by socio-economic developments. These saw the emergence of a powerful merchant class, and the general weakening of the now redundant Samurai, who became bureaucrats in practise but also ironically became idealised'.
Janet Hunter	Suggests that 'the dynamic forces within society and the economy eventually came into conflict with a national polity that sought to avoid change'.
Harold Bolitho	Argues that 'In the country the authority of the Shogun and Daimyo alike was successfully flouted'.
Marius Jansen	Believes that 'all Daimyo in the 1860s were conscious of the fragility of their hold on the saddles of power'.

Question 47

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

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
In Japan in immediate Post-Restoration days many men continued to look to French officers and tactics for guidance. Despite the French defeat at the hands of Prussia, the Meiji government regarded French theory and structure of military as pre-eminent.	French military and theory adopted by the new Meiji Regime when implementing their military reforms.
Moreover, substantial moves in the direction of French guidance had begun in late Tokugawa, and it was logical for the regime to order, as it did in 1870, all domains to follow the French model for their land forces.	There was a legacy of French influence within military reforms, which the new Meiji authority continued to build upon.
Land forces turned to the German models in the 1880s. This was largely under the leadership of Yamagata's principal disciple Katsura Taro who was also responsible for the invitation of the German military theorist Klemens Wilhelmina Jakob Meckel to come to Japan.	From the 1880s, military reform of the artillery was heavily influenced by the highly successful Prussian army — with key German individuals being approached for advice.
For the Navy the model had always been British, and it continued to be so.	The Japanese Navy was heavily influenced by the British model because of their perceived naval success. The similarities of both countries being relatively small islands needing to protect themselves also led to Britain being leaned on as a model for Naval development.

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

- Iwakura Mission crucial as a fact finding mission — key focus upon collecting military knowledge
- reliance on French military knowledge gradually shifted to German military knowledge following their defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war
- French military visitations to Japan in 1872–1880
- Meiji officials hired German military advisers — (including Major Jacob Meckel) to assist in the training of Japanese General Staff
- promising Naval officers were sent to England to study and often served 10 years on British ships
- the bulk of the early Navy was ordered from British shipyards
- Naval expansion plan from 1882 heavily influenced by the British model
- army consisted of infantry, cavalry, field artillery, engineers' corps — influenced by the Prussian/German structure.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- all leading members of the Meiji government came from a warrior background — follows that perpetuating the legacy of the Samurai would be a priority, although not within the confines of the caste structure
- abolition of Samurai caste crucial to allow a national Army to be created — discontent towards this reform evident in Takamori's rebellion
- new regime very aware that military weakness had been one of the key reasons for Western incursion
- Yamagata Aritomo instrumental in engineering army reforms
- one third of government revenue was spent upon the military reforms
- reforms aimed to create a centralised military force answerable to the central figure of the Emperor as opposed to decentralised Samurai warriors answered to their Daimyo
- 1871 saw the creation of a new Imperial Guard — local Daimyo ordered to disband their private armies and turn over their weapons to the new government
- the creation of a body of soldiers loyal to the new government as opposed to the state was a crucial aspect of the military reform
- universal conscription was first enforced in 1873 — ended the Samurai monopoly on warfare and led to peasant conscripts
- conscription consisted of three-year service for 20-year-old men followed by four years' subsequent service in the army reserve with exemption being very limited — huge impact on all families
- completed reorganisation and expansion of the armed forces from 1882 to 1884
- schools of artillery and engineering trained officers in the technology of modern warfare were established
- closely linked with industrial expansion
- closely linked with the development of an infrastructure to transport conscripted troops around Japan
- the Emperor was put in supreme command of the armed forces
- increased indemnity following the tripartite intervention led to a renewed spending on Japanese military and naval reform following this humiliation
- A consequence of defeat of Russia was the Japanese military and naval reform became more expansionist in their outlook.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Janet Hunter	Contends that 'In the interests of both domestic unity and efficiency the new leadership decided to start afresh with the building of a conscript army'.
Herbert Norman	Highlights the 'The first stage of industrialisation in Japan was inextricably interwoven with the military problem'.
Ian Buruma	Argues 'National unity was armed unity. National education was military education. The Samurai virtues were now applied nationally. Loyalty and obedience to the Emperor, who was paraded around in military uniform, was the highest form of patriotism'.
Rebecca Wall	States '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'.

Question 48

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)
Japan seemed to have joined the ranks of the great powers and had acquired impressive overseas possessions.	Victory certainly contributed to a change in external perspectives towards Japan and its status as a global power.
Nonetheless beset by a keen sense of insecurity and vulnerability, a sense of fragility of its position.	Internally views were more mixed and despite victory there was a sense of a lack of confidence about their position.
Created a pervasive sense of uneasiness. The Meiji novelist Natsume Soseki, despairing of the pace at which his country was driving itself, prophesied 'nervous collapse'.	Novelists began to expound their feelings of uneasiness and the internal impact it was having upon Japanese society.
Shift to a less assertive international position, a 'little Japanism,' that would abstain from continental expansion and would lay stress instead on improving living standards at home by developing trade and industry.	Growing concerns about growing militarism was at the expense of living standards at home and a movement grew calling for the government to focus more developing trade and industry at home.

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

- events surrounding the Treaty of Portsmouth radically altered attitudes to war since the Japanese public had been fed stories of success for 18 months
- some members of the public felt an overwhelming sense of betrayal by their leaders due to the extravagant expectations of the Japanese public
- 100,000 casualties during the conflict altered popular perception of war
- infant Socialist Party (although its existence was illegal) and its members and sympathisers opposed war.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
This decisive victory put Japan in a position of strength.	The defeat strengthened Japan's international position.
The ensuing Portsmouth Treaty of September 1905 restored China's sovereignty in Manchuria.	Russian influence in Manchuria was removed and Chinese sovereignty restored.
Japan's interest in Korea was also recognised when she was given the Russian lease on the Liaotung Peninsula and much of the Russian-built South Manchurian Railway.	Japan received a foothold on the mainland by receiving the hugely significant Liaotung Peninsula and her interest in Korea recognised.
Japan had incurred huge expenses in the war, having to borrow heavily from Britain and the United States and wanted compensation from Russia.	One huge consequence was international debt to fund the war.

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

- the defeat of Russia forced the rest of the world to take notice of Japan. The American President was especially impressed
- they gained control of the Southern Manchurian Railroad rights and Korea was recognized as their sphere of influence
- the gaining of the Liaotung Peninsula was especially significant following the humiliation of the Tripartite Intervention in 1895 — this had been a key source of anti-Russian sentiment
- huge political backlash against the Treaty of Portsmouth within Japan at the lack of indemnity. Sept 1905 angry crowds rioted for three days in Tokyo against the Treaty. Martial Law had to imposed
- the nation had been whipped up into such a sense of patriotism and nationalism, fuelled by government propaganda, that they felt the Treaty had not been harsh enough upon Russia. There was an overwhelming sense of betrayal.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- further territorial gains included the southern half of Sakhalin
- victory paved the way for the full annexation of Korean in 1911
- victory contributed towards overturning the final vestige of the Unequal Treaties in 1911, and Japan's participation within the Paris Peace Conference
- the Japanese victory made other nations realise the power of nationalism — including the British following their experience in the Boer War and other nationalities who were often the victim of imperialist powers — such as Arab
- another consequence of Japanese victory was growing discontent towards the Russian Tsar within Russia
- the war heightened political awareness
- Russia's defeat upset the balance of power in Europe and made Germany more confident in taking on the Entente powers
- series of bilateral treaties signed between Japan and Tsarist Russia after the war
- Taft–Katsura agreement of 1905 giving licence to Japan to increase influence in Korea.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Conrad Totman	Takes the view that '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"'.
John Benson and Takao Matsumara	Believe that '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'.
Peter Duus	Argues that 'The Russo-Japanese War rather than the Sino-Japanese War marked the take-off point of Japanese Imperialism'.
JN Westwood	Highlights that 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

Evidence to support the view that military defeat caused revolutionary events in 1918–1919
- 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
- the Spring Offensive, after initial success, collapsed quickly
- Germany's troops and resources were exhausted leading to opposition to the war
- sailors mutinied at Wilhelmshaven on 29 October/Kiel on 3 November.

Military breakdown
- 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 8 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 the Hindenburg Line was breached on 28 September 1918. Germany itself now faced the prospect of invasion. On 29 September the Reichstag called for a new government that would have its confidence.

Evidence that there were revolutionary events from above
- Ludendorff persuaded the Kaiser to transform the Second Reich into a parliamentary monarchy
- the Kaiser handed power over to a civilian government supported by the Reichstag and led by Max von Baden from 3rd October
- SPD deputy Gustav Noske arrived in Kiel and was welcomed enthusiastically, but he had orders from the new government and the SPD leadership to bring the uprising under control. He had himself elected chairman of the soldiers' council and reinstated peace and order
- on 9th November the Kaiser was forced to abdicate and a republic was declared.

Evidence that there were revolutionary events from below
- 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
- Philipp Scheidemann, an SPD leader and Chancellor of Germany from February to June 1919, argued that Germany's military collapse was not the result of revolution but rather the revolution was the result of military collapse
- on 7 November in Munich, a 'Workers' and Soldiers' Council' forced Ludwig III to abdicate
- on 9 November Karl Liebknecht declared a socialist republic in Berlin
- 4 January 1919 saw the outbreak of the Spartacist Revolt.

Evidence to support the view that revolutionary events stemmed from popular discontent

- Max von Baden's October Reforms had changed Germany from a military dictatorship into a parliamentary monarchy
- on 9 November Baden forced the Kaiser to abdicate, a republic was declared and power was handed to Ebert and the SPD
- Ebert set up a provisional government — the Council of People's Commissars — made up of three men from the SPD and three from the USPD
- Hugo Preuss had been appointed to draft a constitution as early as November 1918 by the provisional government (The Council of People's Commissars). The Constitution was generally well accepted by the German people
- on 15 November industrialists and trade unionists agreed to create a Central Working Association which established the principle of workers' rights, trade union negotiating rights with binding arbitration on disputes and an eight-hour day. However, the structure of the economy remained unchanged. Capitalism was left intact
- the judiciary and the civil service remained unreformed
- in December 1918 the National Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Councils voted to support Ebert's preference for elections to a constituent assembly thereby endorsing his moderate position
- the army still retained its independence. Indeed, Ebert used his powers to make a pact with General Groener (10th November) ensuring that both maintained the continuity of the traditional interests
- the bureaucratic organs of the former empire continued largely untouched
- the constitution was accepted by the vast majority in the National Assembly (262 votes to 75).

Evidence to support the view that the situation was verging on revolution in 1918–1919

- for most of 1918 most Germans still believed that Germany would win the war, defeat was a surprise/shock
- returning soldiers provided evidence of the war situation/reasons for defeat
- the October reforms were not enough to stop popular unrest as expressed in mutinies at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven, strikes, riots and the setting up of soviets across the country
- some 50,000 soldiers supported Kurt Eisner's attempted revolution in Munich in November 1918
- Ebert's moderate position was challenged by Spartacists (and other radical socialists) who argued that he was stopping the revolutionary impetus which defeat had set in motion
- in December 1918 the USPD left the government because they felt the revolution was stalling under Ebert's leadership
- in January 1919 the German Communists attempted to initiate a Bolshevik style revolution, but this uprising was crushed by the SPD government using the army and the Freikorps. The government's action permanently alienated the Communists from the SPD
- in April 1919 Max Levein declared the establishment of a Bavarian Soviet Republic.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Stephen Lee	Argues that Germany had all the ingredients necessary for revolution yet there was a surprising degree of continuity within Germany's transition from Empire to Republic.
JW Hiden	Believes that there was widespread support for elections and a rejection of revolution.
A Nicholls	Contends that revolution did not happen by accident — some Independents and the militant elements of the USPD recognised their demands as revolutionary.
Detlev Peukert	Highlights that in Prussia and Bavaria, particularly in the cities of Berlin and Munich, revolution was in the air and on the streets.

Question 50

Evidence to support the view that Stresemann in his foreign policy was genuinely following a policy of fulfilment

- *Erfullungspolitik* still meant accepting the humiliating 'Diktat' of the Allies, which Stresemann did in the interests of maintaining European peace
- he did not pursue revision of reparations vigorously enough to satisfy the Right and indeed by pursuing a policy of fulfilment at all he ensured that opposition to the Republic continued unabated and that Versailles was a major focus of that opposition, but he accepted this as the price of maintaining European peace
- Locarno did not allow Germany to revise the eastern borders
- recognition of Germany's great power status with a permanent seat on the League of Nations Council had less to do with Stresemann's supposedly covert nationalism and more to do with the fact that he understood that the international system could not work effectively without Germany's involvement
- Germany still could not rearm and was still not allowed to change the demilitarisation terms of Versailles and Stresemann did not press for these to be permitted
- Stresemann did not try to ensure that Germany would have the military power to insist on revision of the territorial terms of Versailles.

Evidence to support the view that Stresemann was a nationalist who was disguising his real intentions

- in a private letter to the Crown Prince Wilhelm (the Kaiser's son) in September 1925 Stresemann said that the priorities for German foreign policy were to settle the reparations question in Germany's favour, to protect those Germans living under foreign rule, to readjust Germany's eastern frontiers
- in the same letter he said that German policy 'must be one of scheming' and that while he could say this in private he had to exercise 'the utmost restraint in his public utterances'
- Stresemann pursued a policy of *erfullungspolitik* (fulfilment) in which he complied with the terms of Versailles in order to deceive Britain and France about Germany's real intentions and so encourage them to agree to revision of the Treaty
- he aimed to get revision of the reparations through the Dawes Plan (1924) and the Young Plan (1929) in order to allow Germany to build up her economic power
- in the Locarno Pact (1925) he accepted that Germany's western borders should remain as agreed at Versailles but managed to have the question of Germany's eastern borders left open so that Germany could in the future pursue expansion in the east
- he aimed to end the Ruhr and Rhineland occupations in order to gain the support of nationalist and conservative opinion in Germany
- in 1926 he managed to negotiate the withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Military Control Commission that monitored Germany's compliance with the military terms of Versailles so he could begin the process of strengthening Germany's military
- he aimed to have Germany's great power status restored and achieved this by ensuring that Germany would only agree to re-join the League of Nations if she had a permanent seat on the Council
- the Treaty of Berlin (1926) contained secret clauses that enabled the Reichswehr to try out new weapons and to train in Soviet territory. This pleased the Reichswehr and symbolised Stresemann's determination to highlight his nationalist credentials.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Ruth Henig	Argues that Stresemann was realistic about Germany's diplomatic situation in Europe and the need to win the trust and respect of her former enemies before revision of Versailles could be secured. But he was also as much of a nationalist as his right-wing opponents, and shared many of their aspirations.
Eberhard Kolb	Contends that Stresemann was a nationalist, but his 'keen sense of reality' meant that he viewed Germany's restoration and European peace as interdependent.
Stephen Lee	Believes that Stresemann was neither a covert nationalist nor a Good European but a pragmatist who adapted to changed times and circumstances and, where he could, created new opportunities.
Sally Marks	Claims that Stresemann was a superlative liar, dispensing total untruths. He was not the Good European he appeared to be but was in reality 'a great German nationalist'. Through his foreign policy, Germany became the pre-eminent member of the European family of nations — which is what he all along intended should happen.

Question 51

Evidence to support the view that the elites played a significant part

- the role of President Hindenburg in accepting the nomination of Hitler as Chancellor
- the actions of von Papen and von Schleicher as figureheads
- support from big business/wealthy industrialists who were able to exert political influence, for example, Hitler had the backing of some leading industrialists including Fritz Thyssen
- support from powerful individuals (Thyssen along with Bosch, Krupp and Hjalmar Schacht petitioned the President to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. This gave Hindenburg the impression of a far wider base of support among businessmen than Hitler actually had)
- financial support from wealthy individuals
- media support, for example, Alfred Hugenburg
- support from the judiciary/civil service who wished to protect their positions.

Evidence to support the view that the other factors played a significant part

Hitler's leadership/party organisation

- Hitler's leadership 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.
- Hitler's insistence on the *Führerprinzip* meant that his authority could not be challenged. He demanded that he be made Chancellor as the leader of the largest political party
- Nazi party organisation was also important. The party was organised into a series of Gaue (Districts/regions) each headed up by a Gauleiter. Local groups appealed to local interests gaining the party greater support
- Nazi organisations were set up for lots of different groups in society from youth to lawyers to factory workers and agricultural workers. Many of these groups voted for the Nazi Party
- the Nazi Party was highly effective as a campaigning organisation with a powerful message/propaganda which mobilised those already inclined to support the Nazis more than it affected those who were committed politically to another party.

Weakness of the opposition

- 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, they were blamed for Versailles and the depression
- 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
- frequent changes of Chancellor from 1930 to 1932 made democratic parties and democracy appear weak.

Other factors

- the Nazis were also helped by the economic collapse of 1929–1932 after which voters turned away from traditional political parties
- the Nazis were helped too by hatred of the Treaty of Versailles which if elected they would destroy.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Richard Evans	Argues that Von Papen and others hoped to bring about a conservative restoration based in Nazi mass support.
Klaus Fischer	Claims that Hindenburg, Von Papen, Von Schleicher and others tried to bypass the constitution to create a government of their own choosing hoping to control/manipulate Hitler.
Jill Stephenson	Contends that Nazi propaganda was a powerful weapon, particularly when it was deployed utterly unscrupulously, with mutually irreconcilable promises made to different social or regional groups at the same time but in different locations.
Ian Kershaw	Believes that the NSDAP came to function increasingly as a 'super-interest' party. In projecting himself and the Nazi movement in that way, Hitler tapped into the burgeoning 'national mood' far more effectively than his rivals.

Question 52

Evidence to support the view that Nazi economic policy was effective

- within the first year of taking office laws and initiatives were introduced which dealt effectively with the number of Germans out of work. Work schemes introduced by Brüning, Papen and Schleicher were continued through the Law to Reduce Unemployment, June 1933
- work schemes included the building of new roads — the Autobahnen
- the so-called 'Battle for Work' also included the government lending money to private companies so they could create jobs
- the Labour Service and Emergency Relief Schemes put thousands into work and were labour intensive
- the regime's attempts to reduce unemployment were successful. In 1933 the percentage of those unemployed was twenty six. By 1936 this had fallen to 7·4%
- the Agricultural Depression, which pre-dated the Great Depression, was dealt with by the Reich Food Estate (Sept 1933) which took control of the planning and organisation of agriculture, and in the same month the Reich Entailed Farm Law attempted to improve the security of ownership of land for the owners of small farms
- in Summer 1934 Hjalmar Schacht, who was appointed President of the Reichsbank in May 1933, launched his New Plan the aim of which was to make the German economy independent of the world economic system
- in 1934 Schacht negotiated a series of trade agreements between Germany and countries in South America and south-eastern Europe aimed at preventing Germany running up a foreign currency deficit while still being able to acquire raw materials
- Schacht also introduced Mefo Bills, bills issued by the government as payment for goods
- by 1936 the economy had recovered sufficiently to allow Hitler to pursue rearmament, but Schacht expressed doubts that Germany could afford this. He was replaced by Göring, who set about making Germany more self-sufficient
- Göring's Four Year Plans were launched to increase production of oil, rubber and steel
- in 1937–1938 the money spent on the military rose to 10 billion RM. By 1938–1939 this had risen to 17 billion.

Evidence which suggests Nazi economic policy did not achieve full recovery

- the reduction of unemployment was in part the result of an upturn in world trade rather than Nazi policies as such although Nazi policies that encouraged women to leave the workplace, forced Jews out of their jobs and the introduction of conscription did help
- some credit might be given to the coming to fruition of pre-1933 measures taken by Brüning
- the 'Battle for Production', which had aimed to increase the production of foodstuffs, did not succeed. There was also a growing lack of consumer goods
- agriculture continued to be in difficulties. In particular, it suffered from a lack of machinery and manpower
- Germany continued to import key raw materials such as copper to sustain rearmament and by 1936 had used up its reserves of raw materials and so was forced to buy raw materials, such as oil, on the open market
- Schacht's 'New Plan' never solved the problem of Germany's ability to afford to import large quantities of food and of raw materials for rearmament
- Göring's attempt to make Germany self-sufficient (autarky) via the Four Year Plans was not a success. For example, by 1938 Germany was running a trade deficit of 432 million RM
- considerable sums were spent on the manufacture of synthetic goods.

Evidence which suggests Nazi economic policy was not the only reason for recovery

- territorial expansion, for example the Anschluss, by 1938 Germany was providing greater access to people, raw materials and markets. Austrian gold reserves vital to bolster German finances at a bad time
- support for the Right in Spain meant that they were provided access to Spanish iron ore.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Tim Kirk	Argues that by the late 1930s Germany perhaps faced something of an economic crisis. Labour shortages contributed to this, as did competition between firms for raw materials and foreign exchange, a problem that persisted and intensified. Furthermore, the army, the airforce and the navy competed with each other within arms enterprises.
Stephen Lee	Contends that although there is a case for saying that by 1939 the Germany economy was in crisis perhaps this argument has been taken too far.
Geoff Layton	Believes that by mid-1936 unemployment had fallen to 1·5 million, industrial production had increased by 60% since 1933, GNP had grown over the same period in real terms by 40%. Although by 1939 the German economy was a long way short of being fully mobilised, it was certainly on more of a war-footing than the economies of either Britain or France.
Roderick Stackelberg	Takes the view that a major source of Hitler's popularity was the improvement of the German economy. While it is true that the Great Depression had bottomed-out in 1932, the Nazis could nevertheless take credit for introducing deficit-spending earlier than other European countries.

Question 53

Evidence that there was opposition to the regime:

- opposition to the Nazi regime needs to be seen as encompassing not just outright and very public opposition such as the criticisms of the Nazis by, say, the Protestant Dietrich Bonhoeffer in 1933 or by the Catholic Bishop Clemens von Galen in 1934 refusal of some young people to join the Hitler Youth. Dissident behaviour could include verbal but private criticism of the regime, listening to BBC radio broadcasts, continuing to attend church and to listen carefully to pastors and sermons that were hostile to Nazi policies
- the successful protest against the Nazis' attempt to remove crosses from Catholic schools is a striking example of opposition that did indeed have active popular support at least among German Catholics
- there was opposition from early on in the regime among some army officers. General Beck's plan to have Hitler arrested in 1938 was foiled by the success of the Munich Conference. There was also opposition in the German military intelligence organisation (the *Abwehr*) led from 1935 by Admiral Canaris
- even within the government to begin with there were some critics. Papen spoke out for greater freedom in June 1934 and Schacht criticised anti-Semitic violence in August 1935
- some judges tried to maintain standards of justice within an increasingly arbitrary system
- many workers, especially among those who had long time connections with the trade unions and the SPD or the KPD, continued to maintain their links with banned socialist organisations
- active popular opposition was also at the root of workers absenteeism, slow-downs and other forms of industrial sabotage
- the SPD in exile (SOPADE) organised some underground groups to distribute leaflets and propaganda
- the KPD formed underground cells including in the DAF
- among some of the traditional elite there was considerable discussion of replacing Hitler. Count Helmut von Moltke's Kreisau Circle centred on a group of army officers and professionals who came together to oppose Hitler beginning in 1933.

Evidence that opposition was ineffective and failed because of its own weaknesses

- opposition did not exist as one unified movement but was rather fragmented, often along class lines
- 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
- Communist and Social Democrat underground opposition remained bitterly divided and completely unable to cooperate
- there was lack of organisation, leadership and the ability to maintain secrecy
- opposition lacked a common purpose and was weakened by diversity of motives
- Youth opposition for example spurred on by political apathy were inexperienced, small and disparate (Swing Pirates etc) and never likely to pose any serious threat (references be suggested by candidates of hangings of youth gangs implicated in opposition but these were mainly in during the war)
- leading army generals while suspicious of Hitler's aims and capabilities were bound by their oath and this proved a key obstacle throughout the Nazi regime.

Evidence that opposition to the regime was limited in scope, in numbers and in its effectiveness because there was limited active popular support

- opposition though wide ranging was not strong enough to pose any real threat to the regime
- successful economic and then foreign policies helped the regime to maintain broad support and made it hard for opposition to gain a foothold
- although resistance mobilized tens of thousands of people it was not centrally organised and was disorientated
- the Gestapo terror successfully kept the opposition fragmented and security police were able to penetrate resistance groups effectively
- opposition groups were isolated and unable to cooperate
- institutions such as the churches and the army provided the best opportunities for opposition but even here it was not strong or organised enough to do the regime real harm
- many Germans were discontented with the regime but only a few exceptional people dared to express their opposition openly. The harsh treatment of these opponents was a powerful disincentive for others tempted to follow their lead
- not all Germans went along with the regime, but the odds were stacked against them if they opted to oppose it. Although the Gestapo is no longer viewed by historians as the all-seeing, all-knowing organisation it used to be portrayed as, it was nevertheless highly effective because of people's willingness to inform on their neighbours and the variety of agencies and institutions that worked with it.

Evidence that opposition was ineffective due to the effectiveness of Nazis methods to supress opponents and potential opposition

- 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
- 24 March 1933: the passing of the Enabling Act. Decrees could now be passed by the Cabinet (in effect Hitler) without recourse to the President so cutting out the need for any debate
- 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
- 20 July 1933: Concordat agreement between the state and the Vatican ensured that opposition from the Roman Catholic Church was neutered
- April 1934: Himmler became chief of the Prussian Gestapo
- June 1934: 'Night of the Long Knives' destroyed internal opposition [from the SA] and won support from the army for Hitler
- success of apparatus of the Nazi Police State from 1933−1939. 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
- the success and effectiveness of *Gleichschaltung*
- terror was highly effective as disincentive to opposition to the regime

Evidence that opposition failed because of the willingness of most Germans to go along with the regime

- 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 1933−1939 seemed to many, proof that Hitler was able to fulfil these promises
- 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
- opponents of the regime had to contend with the fact that whether their opposition was nonconformity or dissent or outright resistance there was a good chance that the Gestapo would get to know about it very quickly
- coercion was important in keeping opposition in Nazi Germany down, but so was the consent of the masses.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Ian Kershaw	Argues that 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 was fragmented, atomised and isolated from any possibility of mass support.
Detlev Peukart	Contends that Resistance can be taken to denote those forms of behaviour which were rejections of the Nazi regime and were attempts…to help bring about the regime's overthrow.
R J Evans	Believes Nazi terror was nowhere more apparent than in the emerging power and fearsome reputation of the Gestapo. Everything that happened in the Third Reich took place in a pervasive atmosphere of fear and terror, which never slackened.
Robert Gellately	Takes the view that it was a characteristic feature of Nazi Germany that the regime found no difficulty in obtaining the collaboration of ordinary citizens… There was no organised resistance

Section 7 — Germany: From Democracy to Dictatorship, 1918–1939

Part B — Historical sources

Question 54

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 contextual recall, including historians' views, that candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source A		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Frederick Ebert, President of the Weimar Republic.	This makes it useful because from the very first days of the Weimar Republic he was instrumental in creating the political structures of the new Republic and was its first President.
Purpose	A private letter to the leader of a neighbouring country informing him of the current political situation.	This makes it useful because it is an authentic representation of the challenges facing the Republic. It is written in confidence to someone he considered a peer.
Timing	September 1920.	This makes it useful because by this time the regime had taken necessary if distasteful steps such as the use of the *Freikorps* to ensure survival. It is during the time of attacks against the Republic and shortly after the Kapp Putsch.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
As enormous as our task seems to be, it would be only half as difficult if the working class were united.	His view is that the opposition is divided/refuses to cooperate with communists.
We are fighting against military putsches and against communist putsches.	His view is that there are threats from the left and the right.
The peace conditions have forced us to accept a troop of mercenaries.	It has been necessary to accept support from outwith the Republic's own forces.
…to remove from this body all the reactionary officers…	He refers to army officers who oppose the Republic.

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

- the murders of Liebknecht/Luxemburg removed important opposition leaders
- the KPD loathed SPD leaders for their reliance on the right-wing *Freikorps* and their alleged involvement in the murders of Luxemburg and Liebknecht
- the SPD and KPD would not work together
- the declaration of a Communist Republic in Bavaria had to be overthrown by force
- the Kapp Putsch saw an attempted coup against the Weimar Republic by right-wing military forces
- the growth of extremist parties led to direct opposition against the Republic and against democracy itself.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- a wave of assassinations of political figures demonstrated violent opposition against the Republic — the Fehm movement and Organisational Consul
- loss of Erzberger and Rathenau particularly felt by the government
- implementing the peace conditions caused challenges for the government — 'November Criminals'
- the worsening economic situation caused disillusion against the new democratic government
- weak coalitions/frequent changes of government undermined confidence in democracy
- the new constitution was greatly admired but making the constitution work, for example, new notions of Free Speech, Free Press proved challenging
- taxation and welfare arrangements provoked much conflict
- the Munich Putsch was a right-wing attempt to overthrow the government of Bavaria
- The role of the Right in terms of general opposition to democratic governments.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Matthew Stibbe	Argues that perhaps Ebert's most serious failure in the years 1919–1923 was his failure to deal with the Reichswehr. The Reichswehr's political interventions were almost entirely against the Left. Ebert's policy, as Reich President, was to back the army and the representatives of law and order in every instance even when their use of force was clearly excessive.
Heinrich Winkler	Believes that Ebert's actions against the extreme Left in particular alienated many Social Democrats from identifying with the new state. This weakened parliamentary democracy considerably and so gave extra impetus to the already strong anti-parliamentarian bourgeoisie.
Hans Mommsen	Contends that the desperate conditions that had been created by the hyperinflation crisis encouraged a process of extreme political polarisation.
AJ Nicholls	Argues that popular faith in the Republican system 'was badly, and in some cases permanently shaken' by the events of 1923.

Question 55

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 panic reaction of the Nazi leadership to the Reichstag fire.	Nazi leadership responded very quickly to the Reichstag fire.
That they would undertake some major show of force.	The Communists were suspected of planning a coup and the Nazis were ready for them.
The emergency decree, 'For the Protection of People and State', was the last item dealt with by the cabinet.	The Nazi Party gained temporary, significant powers to rule.
With another brief paragraph, the autonomy of the Länder* was overridden.	Opposition from regional governments was removed.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source
The candidate might display an understanding of the timetable of the consolidation of power

- 30 January: 1933 Hitler becomes Chancellor heading a coalition government
- 27 February: Reichstag Fire
- 28 February: President Hindenburg signs 'The Decree for the Protection of the German People'
- 5 March: Elections, Nazis make sufficient gains to ensure that they cannot be defeated by a coalition of parties (unlike previous 'Presidential Cabinets')
- 23 March: Enabling Law passed, grants the government four years of emergency powers. The Cabinet/Hitler can pass decrees without involving the president. Dachau, the first concentration camp is opened
- 7 April: 'Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service', co-ordinates the executive with the Nazi will
- 2 May: Free trade unions banned
- 22 June: SPD banned
- 27 June: DNVP dissolves itself.

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Hitler felt under increasing pressure to curb Rohm's ambitions…	This shows that Hitler would not tolerate rivalry.
… approval of Hitler's actions was almost universal.	Most people supported even these violent measures.
The army expressed its support for the purge through the Defence Minister Werner von Blomberg.	Hitler had the support of the military.
Hitler characterised his actions as those of Germany's supreme judge taking decisive measures in the national interest, an argument echoed by Carl Schmitt.	Hitler placed himself above the law of the land but justified it. In this he had the support of the judiciary.

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

- the 'Night of the Long Knives' solved many of the problems that faced Hitler in the early summer of 1934 and secured the consolidation of his power
- getting rid of Rohm and his rebellious SA won him the support of the army and conservative circles, and ended public disquiet over the street violence and terrorism of the SA
- after the 30 June purge the SA lost its importance but the SS was now able to become the most powerful empire within the Nazi state
- the 'Old Fighters' of the SA, without whom Hitler could never have got into power in the first place, were sacrificed in order that he could meet his major objectives, supreme power for himself, the support of the army, political stability and economic recovery
- the 'Night of the Long Knives' increased Hitler's personal standing and authority in the country
- Frick drafted the new law that declared the murders of 30th June legal and it was passed by the Reichstag (which was by now nothing more than a Nazi assembly).

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

The 'Night of the Long Knives' was not the only significant action in the consolidation of power. Other significant developments in the process of Gleichschaltung ('Coordination') included

- 28 February 1933: Emergency Decrees following the Reichstag fire. These became the basic law of the Third Reich and were used to suspend constitutional rights, to give the secret police the power to hold people indefinitely in 'protective custody', and to suppress the KPD. The KPD, its nature and its potential as a threat to the Nazis
- 13 March: The takeover of the press and the media through the establishment of the Ministry for Enlightenment and Propaganda
- 24 March: The Enabling Act (became the virtual constitution of the Third Reich)
- 7 April: Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (Jews and non-Germans excluded from Public service)
- 2 May: Trade Unions abolished
- 14 July: Law Against the Formation of New Parties (Germany became a one party state)
- 14 October: Reichstag dissolved. In the elections of 12 November the Nazis won 92% of votes
- January 1934: Elected state assemblies dissolved and Reich governors created to run the states
- 1 August: Law Concerning the Head of State of the German Reich merged the offices of Chancellor and President in the new position of the Führer and Reich Chancellor of Germany. Hitler became Head of State
- 30 June 1934: Night of the Long Knives
- 2 August 1934: Death of Hindenburg. The army then took an oath of personal loyalty to the Führer
- the seven bastions of constitutionalism confronting Hitler [i] the Constitution itself, [ii] federal structure of the Reich, [iii] the Reichstag and the party system, [iv] the President and presidential powers, [v] the civil service, [vi] the judiciary and [vii] the Army
- the notion of 'gleichschaltung' (coordination) both of the seven bastions (above) and of wider areas of German life (eg youth organisations, the churches, sport etc)
- the Reichstag Fire is thus only one in a substantial number of factors, but is it of pivotal significance?
- in the process of consolidation of power infighting ensued both within the governing coalition and Chancellor Hitler's inner circle. Hugenberg was quickly marginalised and by summer 1934 von Papen was isolated. Himmler's power grew as did that of the SS, and the bellicose SA leadership became seen as a threat to the Chancellor's authority
- role of propaganda in securing Hitler in power.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Helmut Krausnick	Views the decree of 28 February, passed the day after the fire, as 'the decisive stage in the consolidation of power'. It gave the government the power to silence any opponent.
Jeremy Noakes	Contends that the Enabling Act emasculated the Reichstag and freed the Reich ministries from parliamentary control.
Peter Fritzche	Argues that the killings of 30 June 1934 helped the regime 'by burnishing its law-and-order credentials and promoting Hitler's statesmanlike image'.
Ian Kershaw	Highlights the view that the unrestrained brutality of the 'Night of the Long Knives' provides 'a further pointer to the truth of Mao's dictum that political power "grows out of the barrel of a gun"'.

Question 56

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

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
… the problem of the Roma. There is a hereditary disposition towards criminality which is produced by inter-breeding with 'blood' and 'criminal stock'.	In respect of the Roma, there was a widespread belief amongst the top Nazis that criminality was a result of miscegenation.
Preventing the further emergence of primitive asocials and the offspring of criminal stock by way of segregation of the sexes or sterilisation.	Controlled all future births to protect racial purity.
The Roma question can be solved only when the majority of asocial and unproductive Roma are placed in large work camps.	Kept apart but used purposefully.
Other asocials should be dealt with in the same rigorous manner. Only then will future generations of the German people be freed from this burden.	Not only Roma but all deemed asocials would be similarly treated. This will guarantee that a future Germany will have racial purity.

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

- hereditary criminality
- purifying the racial stock, for example, policies such as sterilisation of those who deemed to be 'hereditarily defective'
- treatment of Roma/Sinti — classification by racial type of almost 30,000 Roma living in Germany, medical and anthropological examinations, interviews and recording of genealogy
- Ritter's interviewers threatened their subjects with arrest and incarceration in concentration camps unless they identified their relatives and residences
- treatment of those regarded as asocials, for example, treatment of ethnic minorities (for example, black children born in 1924), homosexuals, mentally handicapped and infirm.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Nazi anti-Semitism 1933–1938 had increasingly marginalised and threatened Jews in Germany, from the boycott of Jewish businesses, 1 April 1933 to the Nuremberg Laws of September 1935
- no mention in the source of Hitler, but 11 weeks later, 30 January 1939, the Führer spoke in public of 'the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe'
- Anschluss of mid-March 1938 saw the beginning of forced emigration of Jews, first in Austria (Eichmann's remit), then from January 1939 the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration run by Eichmann and Heydrich
- ensuing decree for the Exclusion of Jews from German Economic Life interlinked to the regime's Four Year Plan
- April 1939: suspension of measures to protect Jewish tenants, ghettoisation
- euthanasia policies before 1939
- the attempt to create a racial state through *volksgemeinschaft*
- the quest for Lebensraum.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Stephen Lee	Takes the view that the Nazi regime was totally committed to the pursuit of a racial policy.
Mary Fulbrook	Argues that 'To ignore the sheer extent of Nazi racism is to miss what was arguably the most fundamental aspect of any conceivable Nazi social revolution'.
Ian Kershaw	Contends that a belief in history as racial struggle was at the heart of Hitler's world-view.
Adam Tooze	Believes that Hitler had an abiding fear of the world Jewish conspiracy plotting Germany's enslavement.

Section 8 — South Africa: Race and Power, 1902–1984

Part A — Historical Issues

Question 57

Importance of maintaining the position of the British Empire (Imperialism) in the policies of Milner and Selborne

- Milner and Selborne saw Union of South Africa as central to Imperialism while anti-Imperialists among Afrikaners believed Union would weaken imperial influence
- Vereeniging saw the two Boer republics swearing allegiance to the British King
- war had not been decisive and Britain found it very difficult to impose control
- many of the large diamond and gold companies were English owned and based in London
- Milner — a passionate British imperialist — sought to unify the four republics. Accelerated by Selborne
- Civil Service was run by talented but controversial young Oxford graduates 'Milner's Kindergarten' who shared his aims
- Nigel Worden cites Milner and his 'hawkish expansionist goals' as contributing to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism in this period and the strengthening of Afrikaner political mobility
- resentment over Milner's Anglicisation of South Africa with an influx of British settlers as he is seen to be trying to expand the empire
- Milner's aim of developing a British society through immigration failed. He had planned to increase English-speakers in the Transvaal by nearly 20% to achieve a majority over Afrikaners
- Selborne regarded as more liberal — supports movement for union to avoid disputes between the colonies. Aims to enhance British influence through stimulation of the economy and increase in British settlers, but supports self-government for the Boers
- Liberal Party post 1906 grant instant self-government to Boer colonies going some way to improve relations with Britain. Many had opposed the Boer War with Campbell-Bannerman condemning the British 'methods of barbarism' during the conflict
- belief amongst Afrikaners that the British were so keen to achieve political union that they would make considerable concessions to the Afrikaners
- many Afrikaners believed imperial connection would enhance economic progress
- Milners' dictatorial attitude to negotiating peace infuriated de Wet and Boer leaders. Regarded his imperialism as unacceptable
- Botha accepted inevitability of Union and the need to work with the English speaker inside the Empire, building alliance of Boers and English speakers
- Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902, although compensating the Boers for property loses, still laid the blame at the feet of the Boers.

Influence of the South African economy

- Milner's post war 'Reconstruction' period saw 60,000 Chinese workers join the mines. Immigration policy and the use of African labour was opposed by those who wished to see white only labour used
- Milner's government was 'determined to transform all black tenants into wage labour' (Marks and Trapido) to maintain cheap labour for the mines
- Milner believed that unity of the four colonies was key to economic growth
- promotion of economic recovery in order to build conditions for unification. Customs Union (1903), restoration of land to Boer farmers and reparations paid for war damages, regeneration and extension of railways, encouraged investment by finance capitalists and restore productivity of mines to pre-war levels
- labour shortages 1901–1905 resulted in a focus on maintaining cheap labour — Mozambicans forced to migrate to gold mines
- Selborne aims to avoid further disputes with colonies by co-operating on taxation, transport and native affairs
- reforms target social reconstruction by improvements in agriculture and the economy.

Attitudes to race determining governing policies

- aim to preserve white control when a demographic minority
- against Black ownership of land (linked to franchise and place in the economy)
- 1906, Milner acknowledges his major error of 'the abandonment of the principle of equal rights for every civilised man'
- failed de-nationalisation policies of Milner and Selborne led to increase in Dutch speakers establishing Afrikaaner/Christian National Schools. Afrikaners increasingly identify themselves as a national group
- establishment of Lagden Commission to try and standardise race laws across the four colonies. Non-Whites suffered a series of attacks on their positions, effectively cut off from full citizenship which was later enshrined in the Constitution
- Selborne did not advocate political unity. Native participation in elections was 'absurd, futile and dangerous'. The franchise was accepted for Coloureds so as to avoid 'common cause' with Africans
- Andre Odendaal argues Blacks were better off before the war than under British dominion
- backlash in Transvaal and Orange Free State resisting English encroachment, establishment of *Het Volk* and *Orangia Unie* to protect Afrikaner culture
- 1906 Bambatha Rebellion stressed need for White unity and increases calls in some areas for imperial protection
- Boer Republic resentment at Vereeniging negotiations delaying the question of the native franchise.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Rodney Davenport	Argues that Milner held strong racist views and saw blacks as being 'low on the Great Chain of Being'. 'There were stricter laws, more strictly enforced' with regards to social policies.
Leonard Thomson	Argues that other countries were becoming industrialised, notably Germany and the United States, and they were eroding the pre-eminence on which British global strength had rested. Therefore British policy in South Africa aimed to 'prevent rivals encroaching on territories hitherto dominated by British trade and capital, such as those in the Southern African interior'.
Judd and Surridge	Argue that British policy in Southern Africa was focused on security — the maintenance of a naval base, capital and maintaining a foothold in Africa.
James Barber	Argues that by 1908 'the political balance across South Africa had swung against the old imperialism' and acknowledges the role of Afrikaner parties including Het Volk in the Boer Republics in increasing opposition to British rule'.

Question 58

Smuts' commitment to the Allies in World War II

- Smuts was invited to the Imperial War Cabinet in 1939 as the most senior South African in favour of war. May 1941, Smuts appointed a Field Marshal of the British Army, becoming the first South African to hold that rank. Ultimately, Smuts would pay a steep political price for his closeness to the British establishment, to the King, and to Churchill which had made Smuts very unpopular amongst the Afrikaners, leading to his eventual downfall
- about 334,000 men volunteered for full-time service in the South African Army during the war (including some 211,000 whites, 77,000 blacks and 46,000 coloureds and Indians). The Commonwealth War Graves Commission has records of 11,023 known South Africans who died during World War II
- split in the United Party between Smuts and Hertzog over entry into War on side of Britain in September 1939 weakens UP
- reunion of Malan and Hertzogite Nationalists as the HNP in 1940 strengthens opposition to the war and the UP
- formation of breakaway Afrikaner Party and the OB, partly due to their support for the German war effort, further splits Afrikaner vote
- relaxation of colour bar in a range of industries including engineering and manufacturing in order to secure sufficient workers to meet production targets for the war seen to threaten white jobs
- squatter camps and squatter action in Johannesburg as a result of the relaxation of pass laws to allow sufficient workers in war time industries increased opposition to UP economic policy
- greater bargaining power for Africans due to labour shortage as a result of the impact of war on industry and agriculture
- government run by Hofmeyer and Eiselen, therefore Smuts seen increasingly as distant while he focussed on the international demands of war
- housing shortages and demobbed soldiers led to increasing resentment of Smuts' 'out of touch' government
- Smuts discussing liberty and democracy while abroad post war but not in South Africa
- tensions increase as a shortage of basic commodities, adequate housing and servicemen gaining little support in finding jobs.

Criticism of the United Party

- increased urbanisation of blacks increased fear of 'black swamping' amongst whites as black workers were used to fill vacancies of whites mobilised for war and to support the growing war industry
- consequences of urbanisation during the war for South African farmers led to criticism of UP agricultural policy. Hostility towards Smuts' price control policy. Alienated rural producers
- rent strikes and bus boycotts during war led to criticism of UP handling of situation
- emergence of black trade unionism and strike action among black workers concerned white workers
- Smuts post war increasingly saw himself as 'trustee' of government over blacks
- Fagan Commission appointed to assess Urban Blacks/Labour provisions concludes migration could not be stopped 'might as well try to sweep the ocean back with a broom' (Smuts)
- Post War Immigration Scheme (1946) to attract European workers. Nationalists felt this would 'plough the Afrikaner under'
- UP aligned with left-leaning Labour Party
- Smuts government favoured the profitability of the mines over the interests of the working class (Clark and Worger)
- Smuts increasingly criticised by Nationalists as an 'apostle of the kaffir state'
- increasing racism in workplace as Black urbanisation grows
- White workers in skilled and semi-skilled positions in industry felt threatened by the breaches in the colour bar
- Afrikaners thought teacher training should be taught bilingually but the UP rejected bilingualism.

Growth of the National Party

- Malan's allegiance with the Dutch Reformed Church as former minister reflecting orthodox and conservative political views
- Malan's victory over his own Afrikaner nationalist constituency after 1943 to establish himself as Afrikanerdom's unchallenged leader. 1943 election, with Malan's NP forming the official opposition
- NP coalition with the Afrikaner Party
- commissioning of the Sauer Report and apartheid
- NP shaped policy to serve the economic interests of certain white South Africans
- NP stance on republicanism during the election to aid the attraction of 20% of the English-speaking electorate
- Malan's rhetoric including 'the perception that Afrikaners had been discriminated against by the Smuts administration' (Dubow)
- high inflation — poor whites turned to NP as their main aim was to eradicate white poverty
- a quarter of Afrikaners were members of the Ossewabrandweg in 1942 — showing right wing view of many Afrikaners.

Other factors

- development of a more robust African opposition through the 1940s increased fear amongst those wanting to maintain white supremacy
- ANC re-organisation during the war, opens membership to all
- Electoral System arguably lent advantage to NP — Electoral system ensured the NP won more seats although the UP received over 11% more votes.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Dan O'Meara	Emphasised the economic mobilisation of Afrikaners during and immediately after the war to create a single economic identity by 1948. He argues that the war enabled Malan to create a new class alliance under the banner of 'Afrikaner Nationalism'.
Albert Grundlingh	Points out that the solidarity engendered by common wartime experiences (among Whites in the armed forces) was not readily translated into a common post-war political consciousness. The war did not radicalise Black ex-servicemen.
James Barber	'The war exposed the very questions that Hertzog and Smuts had pushed aside, neutrality and loyalty to the crown'. He argues that Afrikaner nationalism was deeply divided.
William Beinart	Had it not been for the war then the compromises hammered out by Smuts and Hertzog may have lasted.

Question 59

The work of the ANC

- rise to prominence of Mandela and the Youth League — ideas of mass and increasingly militant action
- first time ANC planned and executed national campaign — National Day of Protest (26th June 1950) and Defiance Campaign of 1952
- congress able to confirm claim of being dominant in Anti-Apartheid movement
- reaffirms commitment to mass mobilisation
- defiance represented co-operation between the ANC and SAIC
- campaign had overcome apathy and aroused spirit of militancy and determination
- Luthuli (of Congress Youth League) replaces Moroka as ANC President
- organisational difficulties highlighted in the Youth League over Defiance Campaign and political inexperience evident (Dubow)
- Charterists versus Africanist faction in Congress results in formation of the PAC
- 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 need to act if they were to keep up with the popular mood and prevent things from getting out of hand
- Treason Trial — good publicity for the liberation movement but disrupts momentum and created power vacuum in ANC leadership
- Mandela's M-Plan to tackle organisational difficulties of the ANC
- ANC membership grew rapidly in the 1950s from approximately 5,000 in 1948 to more than 100,000 by the end of the 1950s.

Work of other organisations

- 1955 Congress of the People (3,000 delegates) showed popular strength of co-operative approach despite police presence
- powerful 10-point Freedom Charter set tone and aims of future opposition
- Federation of South African Women founded in 1954 co-ordinated campaigns against the pass laws — demonstration of 26,000 in Pretoria
- formation of the PAC in 1959 under Sobukwe
- Communist Party contributions to Freedom Charter and trade unionism
- pressure for militant actions coming from across political spectrum.

Socio-Economic factors leading to growing resistance

- resistance predominantly an urban movement at this time
- 1956 thousands of women march on Pretoria demanding end to Pass Laws
- Alexandria bus boycotts
- frustration over limits of ANC/resistance success in the 1950s
- rise of African nationalism and belief that there was no hope for a policy of peaceful agitation
- 1st May 1950 — National Stay Away. Violent clashes in Transvaal. First example of combined worker action/country-wide
- boycott of Bantu Education Schools in 1954. Initially successful but collapsed due to government threats
- opposition to re-location of Sophiatown
- localised resistance — Zeerust in Western Transvaal (1957) chiefs appointed by Bantu Affairs Department deposed. Similar action in Natal and Transkei
- reaction to worsening conditions for Blacks. Low standard of living in the new homelands, most lacked water and electricity — Poverty characterised the homelands, indicators include rates of infant mortality, child malnutrition and incidence of disease.

Political factors and government

- Defiance Campaign directed against discriminatory legislation introduced by Malan's government — especially Bantu Authorities Act of 1951
- defiance of Pass Laws, apartheid regulations at park benches, railway stations, post offices and other institutions ignored
- government reasserted control by banning leaders and newspapers. Mandela's banning extended until 1961
- by inviting arrest and imposing intolerable burdens on capacity of state to police apartheid, the system would be rendered inoperable
- June–December 1952 8,000 arrests
- security of the apartheid state not seriously threatened — not one 'unjust' law repealed
- new measures introduced to contain protests including whipping as a punishment for political dissent
- impact of Petty Apartheid policies and rhetoric surrounding Separate Development prior to its introduction.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
John Pampallis	Writing from an ANC perspective, has argued that the ANC and CYL were key in planning and sustaining the popular movements of the 1950s.
Dan O'Meara	Has argued that the ANC, working alongside the labour movements, created a political base for which a new class consciousness would emerge in the 1950s. Is critical of the CYL and ANC leadership, drawing attention to substantial rural protest which was local in origin and which the ANC was unwilling or unable to spearhead.
Colin Bundy	Argues that the ANC was out of touch with substantial rural protest which was local in origin. The ANC was unable — or unwilling — to spearhead this which was ultimately a failure of ANC leadership in terms of developing mass mobilisation.
Tom Lodge	Argues that both the Women's campaign against passes and rural Peasant resistance (for example in the Transvaal where government appointed Chiefs were deposed), were the two most successful resistance movements. He cites the 1957 unrest in the Transvaal as lacking any CYL/ANC involvement. Fines and Davis agree that many local campaigns were not supported at all by the ANC.

Question 60

Economic changes

- growth of corruption in the Black bureaucracies
- lack of local industry meant Africans had to travel long distances to work
- by the late 1960s, White South Africans could invest directly in homelands and in the 1970s there was considerable growth in decentralised industries and 'displaced urbanisation'
- industries in White areas to be as mechanised as possible and staffed mainly by Whites. Development of more industries on borders of Homelands so labour could commute daily thus avoiding residence in White areas
- the growth of Sun City brought money to Bophuthatswana
- new classes of economically successful African traders and entrepreneurs in the homelands
- the government did not allow individual White owned risk capital to be invested in the Homelands which meant an overall lack of investment
- historical debate about the extent to which the need for cheap labour was the driving force behind the Homelands Policy.

Ideology

- promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act 1959 — aim to secure white dominance in a smaller state. Impact felt in the 1960s
- 1961 election campaign fought on security, White unity and Apartheid, 'I see it as the party stands for the preservation of the White man, of the White government of South Africa' Verwoerd
- ends African representation in White politics, ends Hertzogian model where Africans were represented by Whites. Blacks excluded from White politics on the basis of their alleged political rights within the Bantustans
- homelands policy gave considerable wealth, patronage and power to local Black politicians and bureaucrats, many of whom were Pretoria's puppets
- separate development stimulated ethnic differences, even where this ethnic identity was based on created, rather than historic, tribalism
- independence to Bantu areas — Verwoerd's vision of a multi-national not a multi-racial state
- eight homelands (later ten) were established
- South Africa becomes a Republic
- British Prime Minister Macmillan's winds of change speech and Verwoerd's response by talking about 'co-existence' and that 'we will see that we remain in this White South Africa'
- Vorster succeeds Verwoerd following his assassination in 1966 — fiercely defended Separate Development
- reaction to worsening conditions for Blacks. Low standard of living in the new homelands, most lacked water and electricity — Poverty characterised the homelands, indicators include rates of infant mortality, child malnutrition and incidence of disease
- record immigration of Whites, post 1960
- Coloureds and Indians also defined by race with disagreements within the National Party over how they should be represented.

Fear of resistance

- response to Sharpeville — opportunity for government to implement policies with greater determination — Granite response
- government's Bantu policy evolved over time — partly a reaction to the rise of African nationalism
- impact of Separate Development — Ends African representation in White politics ends Hertzogian model where Africans were represented by Whites. Blacks excluded from White politics on the basis of their alleged political rights within the Bantustans
- forced relocation of millions of Africans
- overpopulation let to environmental degradation, land was cleared in search for firewood
- Bantu states to become 'foreign'
- led to forced relocation of millions of Africans
- low standard of living in the new homelands, most lacked water and electricity
- population of Bantustans rose by 70% in the 1970s
- poverty characterised the homelands, indicators include rates of infant mortality, child malnutrition and incidence of disease
- population of Bantustans rose by 70% within a decade
- Defence Act of 1961 extended the period of military training with the establishment of a new police reserve that year also
- police given greater powers to detain without charge.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Deborah Posel	Describes a 'second phase' of apartheid emerging after 1960. This new phase of apartheid was more unyielding and ambitious and focussed more on the promotion and safeguarding of Afrikaners than whites as a whole. This Afrikaner superiority simultaneously promoted white economic prosperity.
James Barber	Argues that the development of the Bantustans marked a 'remarkable shift in the government's position', that the concept of apartheid was reshaped into a multi-national mould. 'Verwoerd's change of policy came as much from pragmatism as conviction'.
Martin Legassick	Argues that in fact later apartheid remained concerned with political domination, the reserves and migrant labour — as early apartheid and segregation had beforehand. Rather there was a tightening of loopholes.
Herman Giliomee	A liberal Afrikaner historian who saw Separate Development as a means of nurturing the identity of the Volk. 'For this brief period (Verwoerd) there was indeed a sense of purpose, dedication and destiny'.

Question 61

Pressure from the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM)

- Anti-Apartheid Movements in the United Kingdom (UK), Holland and the United States of America (USA) mounted the most serious challenges to the apartheid state, the UK's perhaps being the most effective of all such organisations throughout the world
- by the late 1980s the UK's Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) had unleashed a wide range of campaigns and established branches throughout the country
- AAM had to contend with new forces in the liberation movement and re-emergence of the trade union movement, especially after 1975
- AAM contribution to Biko's memorial services, for example, St Paul's Cathedral
- AAM exposed NATO collaboration with Apartheid government in Project Advokaat (secret underground naval surveillance system)
- linked up with Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in a drive to 'Stop the Apartheid Bomb' after the regime exploded a nuclear bomb in the South Atlantic, October 1979
- AAM compiled list of those who broke sporting boycott and campaigned against the 1980s British Lions tour that went ahead in South Africa
- cultural boycott, endorsed by UN resolution in 1980 was reinforced by the AAM drawing up register of entertainers who had performed in South Africa (Tom Jones, Shirley Bassey etc had performed in Sun City and pledged not to return)
- campaigns against Banks including Barclay's Bank resulted in them pulling out of South Africa due to customer pressure (students encouraged to close accounts by the AAM)
- Free Mandela Campaign taken up by AAM. Produced film *South Africa's Other Leader*, watched by millions during PW Botha's visit to the UK
- 1983 Special AKA recorded *Free Nelson Mandela* song, supported by AAM
- the protests were massively successful, thousands turned out at games to protest while the STST used direct action tactics to disrupt whichever games they could. Planned cricket tour drew an even more intense series of protests
- virtually every sector of British society was involved, from the Labour and Liberal parties to the Afro-Caribbean communities, the churches, unions, students and the British aristocracy. African countries threatened to boycott the Commonwealth Games to be held in Edinburgh in July 1970 and the government, facing an election, ordered the Cricket Council to call off the tour.

The collapse of the Portuguese Empire

- Black majority rule in front line states meant SA faced 'total onslaught' from neighbouring African states. Loss of 'buffer zone' of friendly neighbours Angola and Mozambique
- the impact of liberation movements elsewhere in southern Africa
- the ANC set up guerrilla bases within easy reach of Johannesburg and Pretoria — MK organised raids from Mozambique in the early 1980s
- establishment of MK training grounds and supply routes through former Portuguese colonies
- fear of communist influence over neighbouring Black states and consequent communist support of Black resistance movements operating in South Africa
- continued support from West as South African seen as a bastion against Communism and the requirement to maintain trade of uranium for nuclear weapons.

Other external threats to the South African Government

- Churches and Christian based organisations significant in spreading awareness and fostered links with the ANC, SACP or PAC
- the role of the ANC in exile
- pressure from the United Nations including 1968 — General Assembly requested all States and organisations 'to suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice apartheid'
- withdrawal of South African Police Force from supporting Smith's minority White government in Rhodesia in 1974. Mugabe wins election — strongly Anti-South African
- success of Mugabe's Zanu-PF party in Zimbabwe (March 1980) left South Africa exposed as the only racist regime remaining in Africa.

Politics and The Cold War

- influence of Cold War in limiting Western pressure on SA government — failure of arms embargoes related to Cold War
- British government dropped veto at the UN and voted for mandatory arms embargo on South Africa
- large amounts of western capital — over $26 billion — 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 or die'.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
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.
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.
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 emphasising 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.

Section 8 — South Africa: Race and Power, 1902–1984

Part B — Historical sources

Question 62

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)
Dutch leaders set up private Afrikaans schools to revive morale and teach the tenets of Calvinism.	Separate Afrikaner schools established to preserve and promote Afrikaner culture.
DRC preachers were active in school committees.	The Dutch Reformed Church was actively involved in Christian-National schools educating Afrikaners and promoting Afrikanerdom.
Afrikaner leaders became concerned and, when the language issue sharpened, the DRC began intensive agitation for Christian-National Education.	Afrikaans was not an official language under the Constitution until the 1920s which led to resentment from many Afrikaners. This led to an increase in Afrikaners supporting the development of Afrikaans speaking schools.
It is a reaction to forces that have threatened to drown Calvinist influence. It is another attempt to *laager* (protect themselves).	The establishment of Christian-Nationalist schools was a deliberate attempt to preserve Afrikaner culture and traditions from external influences perceived as a threat to Afrikanerdom.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- origins of beliefs about Afrikaners in DRC/neo-Calvinist theology
- the distortion of Afrikaner history to justify such beliefs
- examples of the alleged status of Afrikaners as a 'chosen' people, that is, God's Covenant with the Voortrekkers at Blood River in 1838
- role of Dutch Reformed Church, including Malan as former Minister.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
By contrast, the Afrikaner Broederbond was founded in 1918.	The Broederbond was established as a secret society dedicated to the advancement of Afrikaner interests.
In 1929, it generated in turn the organisation of a broad cultural organisation, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereenigings (FAK), which brought it to a wider public.	The FAK was established by the Broederbond in order to forge cultural unity amongst Afrikaners.
From here, the Bond also tended to reorient itself towards constructing economic power (convening the first Ekonomiese Volkskongres in 1939).	The Broederbond also aimed to promote and protect Afrikaners economically through the work of the Volkskongres.
There was towards the end of this period a growing shift toward the construction of effective, viable business enterprises dominated by Afrikaners.	Afrikaner economic unity developed as Afrikaner businesses were established and grew in the 1930s, supported by the Broederbond and Volkskongres.

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

- the FAK organised the Volkskongres of 1939 as a result of a special findings commission established to investigate poverty among Afrikaners
- new Afrikaner financial institutions including SANTAM and SANLAM
- Eufees celebrations of 1938 and Malan's Blood River speech orchestrated by the FAK
- Broederbond leadership drawn largely from the intelligentsia
- Broederbond saw political power as a means to establishing social and economic goals
- Broederbond fostered ethnic identity through economic means.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- the language movement and the way in which Afrikaans was used to create and increase a sense of national identity and exclusivity
- the activities of the Broederbond and FAK
- O'Meara's economic class-based explanation of the appeal of Afrikaner nationalism as put forward in *Volkskapitalisme*
- establishment of the Afrikaner Relief Fund (Reddingsdaadbonds) to support poor whites in crisis
- emergence of Afrikaner nationalism as a political force with appeal to 'Poor Whites' and the White working class
- significance of Malan's Purified National Party
- the Broederbond was clear in its aim of creating total Afrikaner dominance and were increasingly successful in recruiting the Afrikaner elite
- Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereeniginge (FAK) role in promoting Afrikaner culture and identity
- the Ossewa Brandweg (1938) — cultural organisation which grew out of the Voortrekker celebrations
- nationalist propaganda including Die Burger
- impact of the Great Depression including growth of Black squatter camps, growing awareness of inequality of poor Afrikaners and Malan's commitment to the poor white question
- establishment of Afrikaner Trade Unions to win the allegiance of Afrikaner workers (Spoorbond, 1934)
- longstanding Afrikaner hostility to British Imperialism
- earlier 'Liberal' views also argued that Afrikaner nationalism was a product of fear
- distrust of the Fusion Government and subsequent establishment of the United Party and its leadership.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Dan O'Meara	Argues as a Marxist Revisionist that the Depression brought increasing class awareness to poor whites. This was capitalised on by National Party leaders.
Hermann Giliomee	Places emphasis on ethnic mobilisation as the reason for the growth of Afrikaner nationalism.
Isobel Hofmeyr	Emphasises the role of language, and Afrikaner publication, in creating a sense of national identity.
Charles Bloomberg	Argues that the role of organisations such as the Broederbond and the Dutch Reformed Church were important in forging Afrikaner nationalism.

Question 63

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

Point identified in Source C	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Isolated and unprotected, their direct action … tended to be dispersed and individual.	A lack of cohesion and unity meant that resistance was weaker.
Mobility was often the best defensive strategy.	Rural Africans often left areas under direct control rather than directly oppose segregation.
For some on the farms the best option seemed to be in playing the segregationist game and seeking restoration of land.	Some Africans chose to operate within the system of segregation and, in some cases, saw it as being in their best interest.
When legal cases and a deputation to Britain failed, they identified themselves as a tribe with a chief to claim reserved land.	Africans had tried and failed in appeals to Britain to protect them against segregationist policies.

Points of knowledge which develop and contextualise the points in the source
- division amongst resistance groups over the acceptability of segregationist legislation
- John Dube criticised for advocating segregation would advantage blacks
- rural discontent was often aimed at relieving specific/immediate problems
- ANC does not mobilise masses in early years, accused of ignoring the will of protesting rural Africans
- delegation representing African interests at the Versailles Conference failed to achieve aims in 1919.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source
- the nature and make-up of the ANC (as a small and weak party) limited its effectiveness. Like other nationalist organisations, it was middle class
- resistance organisations were divided along racial lines
- different aims of organisations resulted in a lack of universal appeal
- early ANC leaders were disdainful of popular agitation
- the Communist Party (CPSA) failed to create a mass movement in spite of its intention
- women's protest limited to the Black Sash, especially as they were not allowed in the ANC
- early leaders drawn from educated, Christian elite. Described as 'Black Englishmen' with basic acceptance of British values
- Communist Party seen to be dominated by whites, led to distrust particularly corresponding to the rise of Garveyism
- African politics fell mute in the 1930s
- the ANC lacked a voice in the 1930s due to Seme's leadership
- Seme became pre-occupied with dealing with other nationalist groups
- Seme did not tackle root problems causing the lack of co-ordination
- the diversity of African resistance movements resulted in limited co-operation between the ANC, ICU, Communist Party, and Wellington Movement
- the ANC did not support the development of a mass movement at this time and played a secondary role throughout much of the 1920s and 1930s
- the nature of white rule in southern Africa after 1910 increasingly restricted the avenues resistance could explore to protest against government legislation
- ANC leaders became fragmented and divided with Africanists and Communists in opposition
- the extension of state and employer control made co-ordination of resistance harder
- the ICU and its success was short lived, it failed to identify with everyday problems of ordinary Africans
- financial scandals and internal disputes destroyed the ICU, in spite of membership peaking at 100,000

- the early methods of protest included deputations and petitions
- strikes by Africans had been made illegal and were harshly put down
- impact of the Depression arguably brought other matters to the forefront as protestors concerned with more immediate issues.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Tom Lodge	Contends that ANC leadership was out of touch with the masses as leaders were middle class men who feared 'being thrust back into the ranks of the urban and rural poor'.
William Beinart	Has shown through localised studies that there was widespread involvement of ordinary Africans in rural areas in attempts to resist the extension of government intervention (resistance to taxation and sheep dipping).
Nigel Worden	'African protest lacked the link to political mobilisation'. 'The national political organisations largely failed to identify with the kinds of struggles and grievances of the majority of South Africans'.
Dale McKinley	Holds the Marxist view and suggests that movements (most notably the ANC) failed to establish grassroots organisations among the masses and that leadership was preoccupied by petit bourgeois interests such as obtaining a free market. The ANC's policy of working with those in political power bound them more closely to the ruling class. Marks and Trapido, disagree with McKinley and argue that powerlessness inclined resistance movements towards co-operating with the state.

Question 64

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 candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source D		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Nelson Mandela.	MK High Command, Congress Youth League and future president of South Africa.
Purpose	to present the main argument for the Defence during their trial for sabotage.	Ten leading opponents of apartheid, including Mandela, went on trial for their lives accused of sabotage. Mandela, a trained lawyer, spoke from the dock and condemned the court as being 'illegitimate'. Eight were handed life sentences.
Timing	20 April 1964.	Conviction in 1964 led to the incarceration of Mandela and others in Robbin Island and resulted in a vacuum in the leadership of the ANC and MK.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
'We believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable'.	The government had left Africans no alternative other than to resort to violent protest.
Outbreaks of terrorism.	The threat of violence was so high that only the leadership of the ANC was able to contain it.
All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation.	Violence was the only way in which Africans could combat White supremacy.
Crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.	The ANC and MK had exhausted all options for opposing ever tightening government controls.

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

- government use of force against protestors at Sharpeville suggested to many that peaceful protest was no longer an option
- establishment of MK (Umkhonto we Sizwe) to lead the armed struggle in the early 1960s
- 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
- division over tactics to resist apartheid continued as the ANC supported a militant campaign whereas some ANC members and other resistance organisations disagreed.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- rebirth of African trade unions
- poor living conditions and reaction to oppression
- developments in other African countries, especially the liberation of Angola and Mozambique
- increased size of the African urban workforce, including skilled and semi-skilled workers
- growing unpopularity of the homelands policy of the National Party
- examples of violent campaigns — Targets included Electricity Pylons, Post Offices, Bantu Administration Offices and Railway Stations
- MK largely organised in townships
- ANC in disarray and unable to operate within South Africa
- in early 1969 the ANC were struggling to resist Apartheid and their contribution was arguably worsening
- the trial provided good publicity for the ANC and Mandela who provided his own defence
- banning of the PAC also led to the establishment of POQO
- 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
- ANC and PAC headquarters set up abroad. Oliver Tambo given job of winning international support for the ANC
- 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
- in the 1960s African resistance was gradually transformed from a loosely organised movement into a clandestine revolutionary elite
- economic growth of the 1960s arguably limited resistance. GNP grew at 5% per annum Black unemployment fell to less than 10%
- limited international support, although the UN was highly critical of the SA government by the end of the 1960s
- problems facing the exiled organisations in terms of training, limited funds and the SA government's effective propaganda alleging the link between the SACP and the ANC
- organised opposition was difficult when measures were taken to forcibly remove Africans from urban areas — the traditional breeding ground for organised opposition
- 1969 Morogoro Conference summoned to deal with issues of poor organisation, poor leadership and discipline experienced during the 1960s
- early developments of Black Consciousness including SASO and Biko roles.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Dale McKinley	Writes from a Marxist perspective having been an activist in the SACP until his expulsion in 2000. He regards the ANC as being out of touch with popular resistance and therefore methods used were also criticised. 'The ANC was no closer to seizing power than it had been in the late 1950s'.
Leonard Thompson	Argues that 'quiescence did not mean acquiescence' while Worden is optimistic stating that 'the expectation of mass mobilisation raised in the early 1960's did not materialise'.
Francis Meli	Finds encouraging signs of continuing resistance, 'The ANC concentrated on heightening the political consciousness of its cadres and keeping up their morale'.
Davis and Fine	Have argued that the move to armed struggle in the 1960s was not just a consequence of the Sharpeville Massacre, but that local armed resistance had in effect been in evidence before, for example, in Pondoland in 1960.

Section 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914–1945

Part A — Historical issues

Question 65

Candidates might be expected to consider

Role of different parts of the military

- 25 February onwards — soldiers going over to crowd and some unpopular officers shot, orders to fire on crowds disobeyed
- *Officer attitudes* — lack of respect for soldiers from officers — brutal discipline and remoteness of officers was common in Imperial Army especially garrison troops
- Status of soldiers — soldiers in Russia had low status — not allowed in public parks, ride trams: wages low and conditions of service harsh, peasants traditionally reluctant to serve in the Armed Forces of Imperial Russia
- *Wartime officer change* — wartime change in Imperial Army — by 1917 some junior officers from student or lower-class background — sympathy for Radical politics. These were not usual army officers — not enough of regular officers left from 1914 army due to huge loss in combat of front-line officers
- *Army garrison* — 160,000 soldiers in Petrograd Military District — were either wounded, recovering soldiers or newly drafted from the ranks of peasantry or from urban centres. Lack of loyalty to Tsarist government — NCOs in garrison — high proportion were educated townsmen — they were not sympathetic to Tsarism
- *Loyalty of Tsar's Guard* — regiments such as the Preobrazenski Regiment — known not to be loyal to regime from 25 February 1917 onwards. 1st Machine Gun Regiment — NCOs technically trained soldiers from urban working-class background. Had experience of strikes and socialist politics before army service. The pre-war army generally did not recruit or conscript these types of men in large numbers as they were suspected of disloyalty to the Tsarist regime
- *Cossacks* — Don Cossacks in Petrograd were from poorest areas of the Don. They were reluctant to attack crowds before 25 February — signs of disaffection already apparent in the armed forces in early stages of the revolution — 'Comrade Cossack'.

Role of economic factors

- demand by population for bread, higher wages, International Women's Day demonstration mostly economic grievances at first
- factory workers wanting higher wages, increased supplies and lessening of employers and managers authority. Women textile workers began strikes and encouraged workers in Vyborg area to come out on strike
- breakdown of railway transportation for food and fuel supplies to Petrograd
- factory closures due to lack of supplies and lockouts from employers resisting workers' demands
- rural economy — villages starting to hold back grain from the cities as urban-manufactured metal industry workers needed fed agricultural goods became scarce and expensive. Generally, village life was quiet as the forces of Tsarist order had not been challenged before February 1917.

Role of social factors

- Petrograd overcrowded by February 1917 — war refugees from western provinces and increased number of workers from countryside resulted in an over-crowded city. Increased pressure on housing, health and food supplies. Typhus danger
- strikes and International Women's Day March — began by non-political demands but soon these become political demanding change to Government. This demonstrated long-term discontent with the Tsarist regime
- war-weariness of urban population, lack of patriotism/dissatisfaction evidenced by Okhrana interception of mail — lack of support for Tsarist regime.

Role of political factors

- reputational damage to autocracy and thus Tsar Nicholas II — Russo — Japanese War, withdrawing from society because of the Tsarevich, influence of Tsarina and Rasputin
- February Revolution was evidence of the weaknesses of the tsarist state. The evaluation of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Tsar Nicholas II might make mention of his role in war, the effect of the Tsarina and Rasputin's influence upon her decision-making as she was in charge of the Home Front from 1915 when the Tsar left for Stavka HQ
- alienation of the elites — army generals had a positive response to coup proposals in late 1916, conspiracy between Duma politician Guchkov and General Alekseyev. 'Progressive Bloc' is evidence of Duma becoming more critical of government in 1916/early 1917. Aristocratic circles welcomed assassination of Rasputin by Tsar's cousin
- revolutionary leaders abroad or in exile — the spontaneous revolution not guided by Bolshevik, Menshevik or SR leadership. Which revolutionaries were there?
- role of Shop Stewards in Putilov factory for example in organising strikes and increasing political nature of the events of February. Revolutionary parties at lower level had influence on the February Revolution but limited in importance
- long-term weakness of autocracy — failed to democratise Russian Empire. Reliance solely on force and obedience of population. Tsarist autocracy brittle and resisted opportunity during War to work with elected representatives from Duma; 'Progressive Bloc'.

Role of wider military problems

- 1914–1917, 5 million casualties — dead, wounded and POWs
- 1915 — Great Retreat — western provinces of Russian Empire occupied by Germans and Austrians. Poland, Courland and Lithuania occupied. Loss of status for Tsar and Government
- officer casualties — regular officers suffer huge casualties. Replacement officers seen by peasant conscripts as 'landowner in uniform'. Lack of empathy in garrison units but in front line units more shared suffering especially between junior officers and enlisted men
- war materials — shell storage and rifle shortages in 1915. 12 million men under arms but only 7 million rifles in 1915. By January 1917 equipment production had vastly increased both due to domestic and foreign production orders being fulfilled. Military supplies were sufficient by late 1916 for the Imperial Army.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Orlando Figes	Believes that the Revolution was 'born in the bread queues'.
Leon Trotsky	Claimed 'Nicholas II inherited from his ancestors not only an empire but a revolution'.
Richard Pipes	Contends that 'The peasant-soldiers were the reason a riot turned into a revolution'.
Laura Englestein	Takes the view that the government's failure to cope with the economic crisis lead to worker discontent.

Question 66

Candidates might be expected to consider

Safeguarding the Revolution — Brest-Litovsk

- the immediate aim was to secure peace with the Central Powers, to demobilise the old Army and to secure the revolution, role of Trotsky as Commissar for Foreign Affairs
- treaty was punitive for new Bolshevik state. Vast lands, people and resources lost to Central Power control and influence
- expected strikes and revolutionary violence did not break out in working class areas of Germany and Austria-Hungary after the Bolshevik regime was established in Russia immediately after October 1917 as the Bolshevik government expected/hoped for
- treaty hugely unpopular in Russia. The Left SRs left Sovnarkom in protest. There were the beginnings of an organised 'White' movement to undo the 'treason' of Bolshevik regime
- Lenin used personal authority to ensure Bolsheviks agreed to sign Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

National Minorities

- nations formerly subject to Tsarist rule such as Finland, Baltic States were recognised as independent states after German collapse post-November 1918 but others were re-incorporated in to new Soviet state such as Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Central Asian republics all now ruled from Moscow as they had been before 1917.The borders of the 1914 Russian Empire were mostly re-established by 1924.

1920 — Russo-Polish War

- attempt to export Bolshevik revolution to western Europe was defeated by Polish armed forces in the 'Miracle of the Vistula' in August 1920. Bolshevik western strategy was to inflame Polish Peasantry/Urban Workers against rulers. This failed in Poland as Nationalism and Catholicism proved a stronger identity than class warfare. Hopes of invading Germany after defeat of 'Bourgeois Poland' ended. Lenin's hopes for spread of the revolution were dashed by this defeat for the Red Army
- Treaty of Riga 1921 expanded Poland's eastern frontiers into Belorussia and western Ukraine, as cities such as Lvov were lost to Poland.

Relations with Capitalist Nations — 1918–1920/1921

- reference to the role of Chicherin
- the initial hopes of revolutions breaking out abroad were not realised. Foreign governments were anti-Bolshevik and were determined to stop the spread of Bolshevism at home. The Bolshevik state was now seen as a danger to internal peace and order. Bolsheviks labelled them as 'Imperialist Powers' who were enemies of the Proletariat.
- Allied nations saw Bolshevism as a danger to their stability and took action against extreme socialist movements and individuals at home. Bolsheviks denied access and representation at Versailles Conference. Denied *de jure* recognition of Bolshevik regime by Allied Powers.

The establishment of the Comintern in 1919

- the ideology of Bolshevism was internationalist. The desire to spread the Revolution was a part of the Bolshevik ideology. Lenin's stated aim was to spread the revolution abroad. This was mostly propaganda as the immediate aim of the Bolshevik state was to survive the rigours of the Civil War and Foreign Intervention
- the period 1919–1920 saw some efforts to aid revolution abroad, for example, The 'Spartakists' (Berlin), 'Rater Republik' (Munich) in Germany. Bela Kun in Hungary was given assistance in terms of money, personnel and moral support. All these attempts failed as they were defeated by counter-revolutionary forces
- Comintern policies were set by Soviet government and the main effort was to support the regime in Russia. Comintern fully dependent upon Soviet government for funds, personnel and direction. This was widely viewed as a Soviet 'front organisation' but there was sometimes difficulty separating Comintern policies from those of the Soviet Government; which one actually was Soviet government policy?
- an example of the Soviet government moving away from engagement with the West is the moving of the state capital to the ancient Russian city of Moscow from Petrograd in 1918.

1920 — Second Congress of Third International

- 41 national Communist parties joined this movement to support international revolution. The guiding agenda was to support the Soviet Union and to defend the policies of the Soviet Government. It was brimming with idealism. Zinoviev, as Chair of Comintern announced that 'in a year the whole of Europe will be Communist'
- John Reed, American author of *10 Days That Shook the World* resigned from Comintern due to disagreements over Soviet Government attempts to enlist Islamic rebels against British Empire in India/Afghanistan/Persian sphere of influence. He wanted Class War not Jihad as befits a Marxist interpretation of revolution. Lord Curzon, British Foreign Secretary, warned off Soviet government against interference in British Empire/Sphere of influence. Soviets agreed not to promote rebellion.

Peace and recovery — 1922–1924

- from 1922–1924 Soviet foreign policy sought to normalise relations with Capitalist Powers. Soviet diplomatic isolation was lessened by treaties/agreements such as trade agreement with Britain in 1921 and treaty of Rapallo in 1922 with Germany. Soviet Union sought rapprochement with Western Powers to facilitate trade and recovery following Civil War. NEP allowed foreign trade and co-operation with foreign companies who were given concessions to operate inside Soviet Russia
- Lenin was more pragmatic. Now he wanted a policy of co-existence with Capitalist Powers rather than fight for international revolution. 'We have now entered a new period in which we have won the right to our international existence in the network of capitalist states'.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Ronald Suny	Argues that 'Ideology served as a source of ideas, a prism through which the world was viewed, and a rationalisation for actions taken….'.
Orlando Figes	Contends that the peace of Brest-Litovsk was the completion of Lenin's revolution. It was the culmination of October!
Norman Davies	States that anti-Soviet historians viewed the Soviet invasion of Poland as the likely catalyst to foment revolution in Europe.
Beryl Williams	Lenin may have come to realise that peaceful co-existence was the best policy, but she argues that this 'was a means to an end… the goal remained a European, indeed a world Communist state.'

Question 67

Candidates might be expected to consider Lenin's role in

Bolshevik Government, 25 October,1917 initial policies

- 25 October 1917 Bolshevik coup launched against Provisional Government in Petrograd succeeded
- Bolshevik Party took control of Russia's capital city and heralded the downfall of the Provisional Government of Kerensky. Lenin head of Sovnarkom
- Sovnarkom announced new policies — end the War, nationalise Church land, abolishes titles/class privileges, confiscation of land from Gentry/Aristocracy immediate worker control of industry
- Cheka established to combat counter-revolution (even before organised anti-Bolshevik forces mobilised)
- non-Bolshevik Press closed down and bourgeois opposition parties abolished
- left SRs had a minority role in new government, but Bolshevik dictatorship established in name of Soviet Democracy.

Domestic policies

Social change

- Bolshevik government viewed all religion as reactionary, as part of the class-oppression of the Proletariat by the bourgeoisie. Lenin's views were those of Marx who viewed religious beliefs as the 'Opium of the People'
- Under Lenin's leadership Bolshevik regime persecuted Orthodox Church and the other religions in Russia. Bolsheviks had already nationalised Orthodox Church lands in October 1917, but by 1921 organised campaign began to discredit Church hierarchy for not surrendering liturgical vessels to be sold for famine relief. Lenin led this attack against the Church supported by Trotsky and Stalin
- widespread hostility of Bolshevik leadership towards Orthodox Church and Christian churches in general. In the Bolshevik regime, persecution of religion lessens after NEP begins but increases under Stalin in 1930s
- Religious education made illegal outside the family home; Orthodox schools nationalised. Church marriages lost state recognition
- Komsomol encouraged to combat religious holidays and going to church; forbidden to contract religious marriages
- Sunday made a normal working day, Christmas, Epiphany and Easter were not given status of Public Holidays as they were under Tsarist regime. Saints' Day holidays abolished in 1919.

Victorious Red Army 1918–1921

- Whites and Foreign Interventionists defeated after 3 years of war ensured Bolshevik regime survived first serious threat
- Lenin's role as head of Government crucial to Red victory. Lenin instituted War Communism to control economy, discipline labour, requisition food and to provide Red Army with resources needed to win
- Lenin supported development of Red Army along non-revolutionary lines. 35,000 ex-Tsarist officers and 125,000 ex-NCOs recruited into the Red Army. Recognised need for military competence, strict discipline and end to Soldiers' Committees. Lenin's agreed with Trotsky on creating traditional armed forces rather than revolutionary plan
- left Communists opposed traditional structure of Red Army as did Stalin, but Lenin supported traditional Army structure to overcome growing threat to Bolshevik rule post-Brest-Litovsk
- class war against 'former people' of bourgeois/Aristocratic background was a feature of life in Bolshevik cities of northern Russia. Lenin encourages violence by policy of '*Looting the looters*.'

Economic policies

- War Communism was failing as Russian economic production had collapsed by 1921. Factory production levels at 13% of 1914 levels in finished metal goods
- 'Bourgeois Specialists' — former managers and owners — retained in industry to organise and supervise workers as Factory Committees incapable of organising production and enforcing labour discipline. Lenin, despite criticism from inside Bolshevik Party, used their expertise to keep industries functioning
- Lenin saw need for economic change to allow recovery by restoring market economics to peasantry and small-scale industry. Lenin is flexible enough to lead this ideological retreat as necessary to ensure Communist state survives
- Kronstadt uprising 'lit up reality' for Communist rule as they saw a former bastion of Bolshevik support rebel against the Communist dictatorship
- Lenin faced opposition inside the Party but persuaded at 10th Party Congress to accept NEP as '*One step backwards, two steps forwards.*' Lenin shown to be a political realist who tempered ideology with the reality of Bolshevik weakness.

Communist Party and Lenin

- Lenin able to maintain Party unity during years of crisis. He dominated events by his authority as undisputed leader of both Party and Government. There were no rivals to Lenin within Bolshevik Party despite disagreement over policies: for example, the end to Workers' Control in Industry, the restoration of labour discipline by abolition of both 8-hour day and strike action
- 10th Party Congress 1921, ban on factions led to increase in power of leadership over dissenters such as Workers Opposition
- Politburo- Lenin dominated Politburo which became centre of political power in Soviet Russia. Sovnarkom by 1924 lost authority as decision-making body. Communist Party bodies were more important than State ones: for example, by 1924 the Congress of Soviets, Central Executive Committee and Sovnarkom met less frequently
- Lenin incapacitated — by 1922 a series of strokes seriously incapacitated Lenin's ability to exercise political power. Wrote *Political Testament* in 1922 which offered critique of potential successors and expressed serious doubts regarding Stalin's fitness for high office after he had verbally abused Krupskaya. From 1922–1924 Lenin receded from active political leadership due to ill-health.

Other agencies which informed domestic policies until January 1924

Political opponents

- Bourgeois and Socialist opponents were not able to compete with Bolsheviks in terms of violence and organisational discipline during Civil War era. Cheka by 1922 had eliminated all opponents' organisations/newspapers consolidating Bolshevik dictatorship
- workers and peasants during Civil War era were likely to give the Bolsheviks support, however grudgingly, as Whites offered possibility of return to Tsarist era social/economic norms
- Mensheviks/SRs not able to co-operate together by organising workers/Peasants against Bolshevik regime despite oppression from Cheka
- Foreign Interventionists did not really commit to overthrowing Bolshevik government. Mostly interested in reactivating Eastern Front in 1918. Post-1918 war-weariness of populations in Britain and France meant they wanted to end intervention in Russia. USA mostly interested in stopping Japanese expansion in Siberia.

Bolshevik leaders

- Trotsky's leadership of Red Army created a strong disciplined army based on traditional lines with ex-tsarist officers employed as 'Military Specialists' who lead the Red Army to victory. Trotsky's leadership crucial to victory in Civil War of 1918–1920. Trotsky organised crushing of Kronstadt mutiny in 1921.Lenin endorsed Trotsky's policies
- Red Army had successful strategic leaders — Frunze, Yegorov, Tukhachevsky — who were able to defeat Whites/Foreign Interventionists and Greens by 1921
- Cheka led by Felix Dzerzhinsky ruthless in oppressing opponents post-October 1917. Dzerzhinsky totally loyal to Lenin and carried out orders against Whites, class enemies, striking workers and peasants withholding food supplies from cities and Red Army during Civil War years. Unleashed Red Terror following assassination attempt on Lenin by Fanya Yefimovna Kaplan in 1918
- Stalin as Commissar for Nationalities organised Red Army invasion of Georgia which defeated Menshevik independent government and re-incorporated Stalin's homeland to the RSFSR. Caucasus nations reincorporated into RSFSR by 1923.

Women and extension of Civil Rights

- abortion legalised in 1918 — world's first legal abortion policies introduced to end pregnancy. Widely used in cities, among young city-dwellers and Communists in 1920s compared to countryside/older women
- sexual mores loosened — divorce made easier to obtain by both parties; marriages witnessed by state only. Lenin had traditional views on sexual relations unlike other leading Bolshevik politicians such as Alexandra Kollontai who viewed the Revolution as the ending of 'Bourgeois marriage'
- child-care facilities set up in factories, paid maternity leave and right to education for both sexes. 1917–1924
- most non-Communist marriages still celebrated in church and majority of babies still baptised. Russian traditional culture remains in place from 1917–1924.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Richard Pipes	Believes Lenin's charisma and ruthless personality were paramount to Bolshevik regime defeating opponents.
Christopher Read	Contends that Lenin dominated Bolshevik Party and Government. After he died the factions fought and the bloodletting began.
N N Sukhanov	States that Lenin's ideas and drive were able to conquer the masses, the Soviet and the Bolshevik Party.
E H Carr	Takes the view that Lenin was able to manipulate and control social forces that produced the Bolshevik revolution, leading to the establishment of the new regime.

Question 68

Fear of war/weakness of USSR

- Red Army weakness by late 1920s: Tukhachevsky, future Marshal of the Red Army, gave report in 1925 as Inspector General that Red Army was 'unfit for modern war'
- a weak industrial base would not allow a mass mechanised army to be built which would be able to fight, potentially, a two-front war against invaders from the West — Germany, Poland and war on the Soviet Eastern border against Japan
- Red Army was, by late 1920s, speculating that a future war would require mass mechanisation to succeed, as the technology of the Great War and the Civil War was now becoming outdated
- late 1920s there were 'War Scares' and skirmishes on the Soviet Far East with Chinese forces which seemed to demonstrate that war might not be too far off
- Stalin was aware that military weakness was directly linked to industrial weakness
- Soviet industrial production by late 1920s was at same level as 1914 largely due to lack of repair and limited modernisation of existing industrial plant
- Lacked large-scale state industrialising policies which would change the nature of the Soviet economy in order to compete with the capitalist world
- after 1933 the rise of Nazi Germany and the re-armament of the capitalist powers meant the USSR needed to be able to build and maintain a modern mass-mechanised army to defend the 'Soviet Motherland'
- the Second Five Year Plan had intended to prioritise consumer goods but due to increased tension with capitalist powers the military budget and armament production were given priority as a means to defend the USSR.

Other factors which explain the drive to industrialise the USSR

Ideological motivation: Socialism

- by 1928 the USSR was still a primarily agricultural economy
- Peasant production was in private hands and low-level private enterprise was still a facet of economic life
- a socialist state required state-controlled economy with large-scale industry and agriculture enterprises all directed by the Communist Government
- a socialist state was one where the majority were proletarians and not peasants
- 'Socialism in One Country' was Stalin's adopted policy rather than Trotsky's one of 'Permanent Revolution'
- the debate influenced what a future socialist society would be like
- industrialisation of the USSR was needed to build a society capable of being an authentically socialist one that had to exist in a hostile capitalist world
- Stalin wanted to build a modern country that could rival the other world powers all of which had industrialised
- the USA, Britain, Germany demonstrated the ideals of the modern world — they had started recovering from the Depression by 1933 and their advancing economies posed a threat to the Socialist State
- the USSR was supposed to be the 'superior system' yet it was needing to catch up the Capitalist enemy
- after the years of NEP, Stalin had support from the younger Communist Party members in Komsomol who wanted to change their country into a socialist one
- the lack of progress in living standards for the working class in the cities, who should have benefited from the Revolution, was an issue
- Stalin was less likely to be motivated by a genuine concern for the lives of ordinary people, but his ideological stance allowed him to favour bettering the lives of the working class
- Stalin took up the mantle of Lenin as the great revolutionary leader as 'Lenin for today 'and industrialisation helped lift his status and develop the Cult of Personality to keep him in power.

Attack on the Peasantry

- assertion that NEP had allowed the peasants to effectively have a 'stranglehold' over the Soviet economy and state
- the threat of starvation in the cities was all too real and by refusing to market grain the peasants held up the progress of socialism
- class struggle against the peasants was essential in the move towards socialism
- industrialisation policies were required to work in tandem with the agricultural collectivisation
- the control of agriculture was to achieve control of food supplies, to force peasant labour to become urban/proletariat and to provide food exports to purchase capital goods from abroad
- industrialisation was a part of the wider class struggle that was a key part of the 'modernist' Marxist world-view
- 'Kulak' prisoners were used as forced labour to build new factories and towns.

Patriotism

- along with the desire to build a strong economy to defend the USSR the beginnings of a Soviet Patriotism were emerging in the early 1930s
- the consequence of 'Socialism in One Country' was that pride in the (Socialist) Nation was officially back in favour
- Stalin in 1931 said 'The people have a Fatherland, and we will protect its freedom'
- the Soviet Union was now a state where the people were rulers and they were now to have pride in their creation
- industrialising was a sure way to enhance and protect the workers' state.

Pragmatism

- industrialisation policies also contained a high degree of pragmatism
- the use of foreign specialists, the use of wage differentials from 1931 onwards, the Stakhanovite movement all led to a widening gap between different sectors of the Soviet workforce
- managers and 'shock workers' received large bonuses, improved living conditions and food supplies
- the egalitarian ethos of the 1920s was now over
- large scale projects like the Dnieper Dam, Moscow Metro or Magnitogorsk relied heavily on convict labour to be completed
- the death toll was high from those the state considered 'class enemies' but were former peasants , workers or party members
- it can be argued that the process of industrialising was actually a negation of building a socialist state for the betterment of the lives of the masses.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Robert Service	Argues that the desire to build a military and industrial state was what Stalin wanted. He desired to change society from top to bottom.
Simon Sebag Montefiore	Contends that the desire to make Russia a great power was uppermost. The Kulaks would be defeated, and the West would never again humiliate Russia as had happened in the past.
Edward Acton	Takes the view that the success of collectivisation of agriculture led to the perceived need for the economy to industrialise.
Norman Stone	Considers that there was no master plan just a policy of 'one foot in front of another'.

Question 69

Evidence that Germany's military mistakes were the main factor leading to Soviet victory

Operation Barbarossa 1941
- this plan was too ambitious — unrealistic plan to destroy the world's largest state in six months
- Red Army in 1941 was over 300 divisions strong and almost unlimited manpower to wage a long war
- Wehrmacht was outnumbered by Red Army in terms of numbers of men in 1941 and by 1944/1945 Red army out-numbered depleted Wehrmacht by a ratio of 3 to 1
- German racial prejudice severely under-estimated Soviet and especially Russian patriotism and the ability of the Red Army to resist the invader.

Russian Winter
- Equipment of Russian troops far superior and also the tactics to pursue. German equipment freezing.

Leadership Issues by Stalingrad
- Field Marshal Paulus refused to break out of Stalingrad with 6th Army when he could have done so but would not disobey Hitler, sealing the fate of the 6th Army
- Hitler's obsession with reputation over strategy and misled by Göring that Stalingrad could be saved by air supply.

German weaponry production and the home front
- Nazi weapon procurement was not streamlined and too many weapons produced were not compatible with each other, for example, Panzer Mark III and Panzer Mark IV had different engines and spare parts were incompatible
- Soviet weapon production was geared to mass production — 45,000 T-34 tanks produced viz 35,000 German tanks of all types
- women in Germany were not allowed under Hitler's orders to be heavily used in war production until 1944 in mass mobilisation undertaken when Albert Speer was made Minister of Production. Soviet women were heavily involved in war production in numbers as they were already employed in factories since the 1930s Industrialisation
- Soviet Union had vast natural resources such as oil, iron ore, titanium etc that allowed the Red Army to fight with abundant resources
- Germany reliant on Rumanian oil as their only source of oil, diesel and petrol
- in last 9 months of the war German experienced huge shortages of fuel resorting to 'ersatz' supplies.

Evidence that Soviet strengths were the main factor leading to their victory

Western Allies

- Germany was facing three military superpowers from 1941–1945. USA, Great Britain
- (including Commonwealth and Imperial resources) and USSR were highly advanced economies with enormous military resource/potential
- Germany was never able to compete with the industrial competition to equip mass armies whose numbers outstripped Germany's
- 'Lend Lease' supplies to Soviet Union — food, fuel, weapons and equipment were sent by Western allies especially from late 1942 onwards
- supplemented Soviet production in transport was crucial in allowing the Red Army to be heavily motorised by 1943 by use of Studebaker Trucks and 'Jeep' cars
- food supplies sent to Soviet Union to keep population and Red Army fed — canned meat named 'Second Front' by Red Army soldiers. Factory workers fed by US/British rations.

Red Army

- despite losing 3 million men by end of 1941 Red Army had stopped the Wehrmacht outside Moscow in December 1941
- Germany found Red Army soldiers to be fierce fighters and tough opponents who were willing to die for 'the Motherland'
- Red Army received modern weapons and tactics were changed in light of German attack to cope with concentrated armoured thrusts of Blitzkreig
- Red Army generals such as Zhukov, Koniev and Rokossovsky were experts in modern warfare, and Stalin by 1943 was willing to listen to their advice and allow them to plan major operations such as 'Bagration' and 'Uranus'. Contrast this with Hitler interference in German operations by over-ruling commanders at all stages of the war. German 6th Army trapped by Soviet encirclement after Operation Uranus due to Hitler
- Red Army soldiers subjected to strict discipline and propaganda that emphasised 'love of the Motherland', 'Holy Russia' rather than Communist ideology
- traditional uniforms and privileges restored to Officers — shoulder boards restored in 1943 after Stalingrad victory as well as increased pay, rations and status for Officers — no longer 'Commanders' as the Red Army named command leadership in 1918–1943
- political Commissars reduced in status and power viz Officers of the Red Army after Stalingrad. Unified Command now the norm in the Army, Political Commissars relegated to morale and Party meetings, enrolling soldiers into CPSU in Red Army.

Stalin's leadership

- Stalin was able by 1942–1943 to listen to advice of Red Army generals who were competent
- relegated old cronies such as Budyenny and Voroshilov who were outclassed by Wehrmacht in 1941–1942 to unimportant roles outwith strategic command posts
- Stalin also aware of the need to promote Russian patriotism at expense of Communism to make people fight to defend the USSR
- Russian Orthodox Church given role in Great Patriotic War-Church allowed to re-open monasteries and parish churches, to publish books and to raise money for War Loans. Patriarch re-established in 1943 as focus of Orthodox loyalty to the State
- Imperial Russian generals and saints invoked by Stalin in the November 1941 military parade to celebrate 24th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution
- ruthlessness of Stalin in wartime, for example, Order 270 and 227 from Stavka penalised Soviet POWs, their families and 'Not a Step Backwards'!.

Women's role in the Soviet Victory

- war effort in Soviet Union made use of huge numbers of women in various roles from frontline soldiers, pilots, nurses and partisans
- women worked in factories and Collective farms to maintain production and looked after children too. Nazi Germany for ideological reasons refused women these roles until 1943−1944
- Soviet women were able to share in the defeat of the Wehrmacht due to established Communist belief in women being able to take on roles traditionally viewed as masculine as a symbol of liberation. Role of Soviet women played down after War had ended.

Propaganda

- Soviet propaganda made use of patriotism, appeals to Russia's imperial past and visceral hatred of the invader promoted to stiffen resolve to resist
- traditional appeals to Communist internationalism or working class solidarity dropped
- Soviet National Anthem was Communist 'Internationale', replaced in 1944 for anthem that extolled the greatness of the Soviet Union. Soviet Patriotism emphasised over Communist Internationalism as part of war effort.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Evan Mawdsley	Argues that Soviet weaponry was superior to Germans due to 1930s Industrialisation policies.
Christopher Ward	Believes that Hitler's blunders were a factor in the Soviet victory. Soviet Union also had more resources and the Red Army developed skilful tactics from 1943 onwards.
Catherine Merridale	Views that the Red Army was an instrument of revenge against German cruelties against Soviet population. Red Army men fought to avenge the atrocities committed by Nazi Germany.
Ian Kershaw	Takes the view that Hitler's decision to launch Operation Barbarossa was delusional.

Section 9 — Russia: From Tsarism to Stalinism, 1914–1945

Part B — Historical sources

Question 70

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

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The Provisional Government does not possess any real power since its directives are carried out only to the extent that it is permitted by the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.	Provisional Government losing authority to the Soviet in Petrograd.
The Soviet enjoys all the essential elements of real power because the troops, the railways, the post and telegraph are all held by them.	Soldiers, workers and communications controlled by the Soviet and owe their loyalty to Soviet not Provisional Government.
Production continues to fall in the shipyards and factories in Petrograd, for example arms factories are only producing at 30 to 60% of what they did before the revolution.	Industrial production declining rapidly due to extremist elements. Has negative effect on war production.
Even the Council of Soldiers' and Workers' Deputies is powerless to contend with this.	Fear of a future clash between Provisional Government and the extremist elements when the future of Russia will be decided.

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

- Guchkov was a conservative figure — member of the Oktobrists — who wanted Russia to more effectively pursue the war against Germany including territorial expansion into Constantinople as per the agreements the Tsarist government made with Western Allies
- army units in Petrograd loyal to Soviet Order No 1 gave the soldiers power and loyalty to the Soviet viz Provisional Government
- workers in factories were wishing to pursue more radical social policies as they demanded control of factories, increased food and fuel supplies
- strikes and lockouts were becoming common in the industrial centres of Russia causing production of military supplies and civilian supplies to decline
- political prisoners and exiles returning to Russia due to freedoms from the February Revolution caused issues of increased radicalism.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- Provisional Government lacked authority as it was composed of ex-Duma politicians who had not been elected by the people. Not reflective of the democratic Russia emerging after February revolution
- Provisional Government wished to continue the war despite the de-stabilising effects upon the economy and social structure of Russia in midst of revolution. Refused to countenance Land Reform, radical social reform or increased autonomy for National Minorities
- Role of Kerensky, as Minister of War then Prime Minister; his strengths and weaknesses, his perception of the way forward
- Bolsheviks were gaining support from workers and soldiers in urban centres of Russia in summer of 1917
- effects of Lenin's 'April Theses' on the workers, soldiers and peasants compared to non-Bolshevik socialists [Mensheviks] who were compromised by co-operation with Provisional Government
- position and attitudes of the other main parties; Kadets and SRs
- failure of Summer Offensive as Russian army suffered huge losses and breakdown of Officers' authority accelerated
- July Days in Petrograd was a premature Bolshevik coup. It failed but showed depth of grievance by Kronstadt sailors, workers and some troops of the Petrograd garrison
- Kornilov Affair — Kerensky's authority diminished while Bolsheviks increased as 'Saviours of the Revolution'
- September 1917 — Bolsheviks gained majorities on both Petrograd and Moscow Soviet
- Trotsky elected as head of the Soviet and formation of MRC.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Orlando Figes	Argues that the Summer Offensive was over. It was Russia's last. The army begins to fall apart.
Robert Service	Believes that for most of the year the Provisional Government survived on guile and rhetoric.
Richard Pipes	Contends that it was only a matter of time before Kerensky was overthrown by a group who could provide firm leadership.
Ronald Kowalski	Takes the view that the Provisional Government was undermined by a series of accidents and improbable coincidences such as the Kornilov Affair.

Question 71

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 candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source B		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Leon Trotsky.	Stalin's main defeated rival for leadership of the USSR after the death of Lenin in 1924. Trotsky was driven in exile in 1927 and his followers including family and friends were ruthlessly persecuted by Stalin in the 1930s.
Purpose	propaganda.	Intentions of the book to outline Stalin's cunning and ambition to seek power at expense of fellow-Bolsheviks from his earliest time as a party member.
Timing	1941.	This book was published after Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico City by an NKVD agent who was part of his household in August, 1940.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
He has revised the facts of history in the same way, with regard to all the Old Bolsheviks, time and time again.	Stalin has changed history to inflate his personal role at the expense of other Bolsheviks.
One is forced to pause in sheer amazement before the cold, patient and cruel persistence directed toward one personal goal.	Stalin determined to gain and keep power for himself from beginning.
Now he tirelessly schemed in order to push aside anyone who eclipsed him or interfered with his ambition.	Potential rivals to Stalin are eliminated.
He used each concrete situation to entrench his own position at the expense of his comrades.	Stalin amasses power throughout his career at the expense of others in the Party.

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

- Stalin in the Caucasus region as a young member of the party and then onwards in his career was able to bolster prestige and power at expense of other Bolsheviks. Stalin ruthlessly ambitious to overcome any slights he felt or inferiority due to proletarian background viz more educated/ bourgeois Bolsheviks such as Trotsky
- Stalin as he had defeated both 'Left' and 'Right' in the leadership struggles post-1924 showed personal ambition and cunning to defeat rivals at the top of the Bolshevik leadership. Stalin able to form alliances with top ranking Bolsheviks to outmanoeuvre opponents and then turn against erstwhile allies such as Bukharin
- Stalin, by using his offices such as General Secretary of the CPSU, Orgburo to increase power and patronage so further increasing his power. Created mass party in 1925 with 'Lenin Enrolment' as more Working Class and less-educated were allowed party membership
- the struggle over power gave Stalin the mantle as 'Lenin for Today' as 'Lenin's closest comrade'. Claims such as these are untrue as Lenin had by 1923 serious doubts about Stalin's fitness for power. Stalin was never Lenin's closest disciple.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

Trotsky weaknesses

- Trotsky seen in 1920s as a danger to the Party as he was in charge of the Red Army — the 'Man on the Horse' — who would assume the mantle of Napoleon Bonaparte and subvert the revolution into a military dictatorship
- Trotsky being a Jew and only joining the Bolshevik Party in the summer of 1917 was also a factor in him not becoming the leader after Lenin died
- Trotsky's arrogance and aloofness made him enemies in the higher echelons of the Party long before 1924 compared to the 'Jolly Georgian' (Stalin)
- not publishing Lenin's Testament nor attending Lenin's funeral were political mistakes.

Stalin's strengths

- Stalin manipulated the 1927 'War Scare' for his own benefit
- able to use rivals against one another, for example, Zinoviev and Kamenev used at 13th Party Congress to defeat Trotsky
- able to portray Trotsky as anti-Lenin in 1924 November speech titled 'Leninism or Trotskyism'
- Stalin humiliated and isolated Bukharin in 1928 during Grain Crisis and NEP. Bukharin denounced Stalin in 'Notes of an Economist'
- 'Socialism in One Country' had more patriotic appeal to the Party than Trotsky's 'Permanent Revolution'. Soviet patriotism had greater appeal to the Party and masses, the USSR alone will provide the blueprint for the spread of Socialism throughout the world
- Stalin used Lenin's 'Ban on factions' to stifle debate and opponents
- Stalin had luck on his side as two rivals such as Dzerzhinsky (Head of the Cheka) and Sverdlov (Chair of the All-Russian central Executive Committee) died in 1926 and 1918 respectively.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Isaac Deutscher	Argues that Stalin used his immense power to gain a majority. Trotsky was the one who underestimated Stalin more than anyone at the top of the Party.
Robert Conquest	Believes that Stalin was able to outmanoeuvre all his rivals.
Martin McCauley	Takes the view that Stalin had luck on his side. When Dzerzhinsky died he was able to infiltrate his supporters into the secret police.
Stephen Kotkin	In his recent work asserts that Stalin was actually the best man for the job.

Question 72

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)
Systematic murder started soon after Lenin took power in 1917 and continued until Stalin's death.	Culture of killing/purging opponents had already started under Lenin and only continued under Stalin.
Terror was not just a consequence of Stalin's monstrosity but it was certainly formed, expanded and accelerated by his uniquely overpowering character.	Stalin's personality alone is not to blame for the purges but his 'paranoia' or cruelty made it worse
Reflected village hatreds of the incestuous Bolshevik sect where jealousies had seethed since the years in exile and war.	Bolshevik Party had internal decisions that were long-term, going back to the early days of the Party
Responsibility lies with the hundreds of thousands of officials who ordered, or perpetrated, the murders.	Lower officials within the apparatus enthusiastically murdered millions of citizens, and even tried to over-fulfil quotas

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

- references to the Red Terror as early precursor of the idea of purges
- *Chistki* in 1920s under Lenin where the Party was 'cleaned out'. Purges were a natural part of life in the Communist Party and seen as essential within it
- *Chistki* in the early 1930s, as a result of Collectivisation, was a non-violent cleaning out of the Party. Stalin saw how easily he could take this much further forward
- References to the long-standing rivalries/factions within the Party which had been simmering for decades… reference to the fragmented system of Party control where individuals like Kamenev, Zinoviev, Kirov etc could establish a base for support, competing with other bases and backing 'their man'
- in references to 'jealousies', candidates may bring in here the significance of the 17th Party Congress of 1934, the rise of Kirov as a rival to Stalin and therefore Stalin's recognition that the Party might not be totally behind him
- role of NKVD in creating a quota system and being over-zealous in meeting targets
- recognition that the view in the source questions the 'top-down' approach and is 'revisionist' in suggesting that the lower institutions/officials took their own active role in spreading terror.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Stalin himself was the inspiration behind the Terror.	Stalin was the main cause of it all.
… anti-Soviet elements … purpose was the extermination or imprisonment of anyone… considered a current and potential threat.	Justifying the idea of the threat posed by those who were considered to be against the regime.
NKVD Order No 00447 had quotas for the destruction of human lives.	There was a quota system which the NKVD tried to meet, which caused large numbers of deaths.
The goal was even more clear-cut in the nationalities operations.	The intention was also to purge national minority groups in Russia.

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

- reference to the 'totalitarian' or 'top-down' approach and discussion of the evidence supporting the view that Stalin should be heavily blamed
- the speedy progress from the first accusations of anti-Soviet elements and widespread belief in 'Trotskyites', 'Zinovievites' etc and towards the first show trials
- Stalin getting rid of old Bolsheviks; those with the dirty secrets?
- the second and third great show trials involving Radek and Pyatakov, then Bukharin and even Yagoda, ex head of NKVD [for not completing quotas fast enough]
- Stalin created NKVD out of the former OGPU in July 1934; ready for a key role in implementing his purges
- Stalin recognised the threat to the regime posed by many national groups; Chechen, Ingush, Crimean Tartars were re-located wholesale or large numbers killed. Also major purging programmes by NKVD on Baltic states and Poles
- from February 1938 'National Operations' became 'the prime function of NKVD activity' (McDemott).

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Stalin had recognised, as early as 1932, that there was internal party opposition; the Ryutin platform was highly critical of Stalin; he needed to do something about it
- reference to the murder of Sergei Kirov in December 1934, which is often regarded as the start of the Terror. Role of the NKVD in this
- role of Yezhov in stoking up killing rate even more; the Yezovshchina of 1936–1938
- reference to and details of the extent of the purges of all the armed forces, the Central Committee of the Party elected by the 17th Party Congress, anyone with links to abroad [including returning servicemen from the Spanish Civil War]
- discussion of the economic state of Russia in 1930s, the need to find scapegoats both for failings in the 5-year plans for industry, and in the implementation of collectivisation
- the growing threat of 'external enemies' as a reason for the purges
- the encouragement to Russian citizens to denounce their fellows.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Alan Bullock	Believes the events of the Purges/Terror were due to Stalin's initiative only.
Richard Sakwa	Contends that Stalin alone should bear responsibility for the Purges and the Show Trials.
J Arch Getty	Believes that denunciations by Party functionaries led to a widening of the Purges as they spiralled out of control.
Robert Conquest	Sees the significance of the internal threat from former opponents of the Bolsheviks. There were still many anti-Soviet elements within the country who needed to be eliminated.

Section 10 — Spain: The Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945

Part A — Historical Issues

Question 73

The Pact of San Sebastian

- this was a meeting and agreement of August 1930 which brought together virtually all of the pro-republican parties in Spain and went on to include Catalan Nationalists. It set up a Revolutionary Committee headed by Zamora, which became a government in waiting and later formed the Provisional Government after Alfonso stepped down
- it also plotted for a coup led by sections of the army, but a mix up in dates led to this being aborted in December followed by the execution of two captains
- the significance of the pact was the unanimity among most of Spain's politicians that they should work together for a Republic
- individual socialists, including Prieto, were there, later backed by the PSOE and UGT. Officers present included Quiepo de Llano
- the pact became a focal point for opposition to Alfonso and was to provide the government after he was gone
- however the pact can also be seen as the culmination of forces already at work which would ensure the Monarchy could not last.

Other factors which may have been important in bringing about Alfonso's downfall

Alfonso

- the Dictadura had become linked with the Monarchy in a way which discredited both. The removal of Primo de Rivero in 1930 lost further support from sections of the Army and others. Alfonso was seen as untrustworthy by all sides
- the Monarchy had failed to act on fundamental problems in Spanish society, including agrarian reform, regional tension and the power of the church. Alfonso appeared increasingly aloof
- the growing political unrest increasingly focused on the Alfonso and the Monarchy as a barrier to reform. Alfonso became the personification of the problems of Spain and his removal a necessity
- the actions of Alfonso in his private life meant that he was perceived as being incompetent and unworthy as a leader and out of touch with his people.

Social factors

- decline of the church and loss of faith in the clergy amongst many of the poor
- Alfonso was 'His Most Catholic Majesty' and had become linked to an increasingly anti-liberal institution, now dominated more than ever by the large land owners. Those who were anti-clerical were therefore anti-Monarchy
- the army was a massively powerful force in Spain and could put down any rebellion, as happened in the failed coup of December 1930, but they failed to provide support to Alfonso in the end which meant he could not continue. The Monarchy could not continue because the Army had decided that it should not.

Economic factors

- bad harvests had made a poor agrarian situation even worse and the economy was badly affected by the world economic crisis in 1930
- the schemes of Primo in the 1920s, having met with some initial success were too timid to make a difference in a country where 'Half of Spain went to bed hungry'
- the deficit doubled between 1925 and 1929 and there was a flight of capital. By 1931, the peseta had lost half of its value.

Political factors

- there had been a growth of political ideologies in Spain which were pro-republican such as liberalism, socialism and anarchism
- both the Turno Pacifico and the Dictadura were discredited, a Republic seemed the only viable political model.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Anthony Beevor	Argues that a political opposition to the dictatorship had developed in left-liberal and intellectual circles. The most important became known as Alianza Republicana, its aim was to do away with not just the dictatorship, but also the monarchy. The republican alliance officially came into being in the Basque coastal resort of San Sebastian in August 1930.
Richard Carr	Takes the view that the Republicans rejected monarchy as an illegitimate and outmoded form of government, the Carlists rejected the Alfonsine branch … The Socialists considered (it) reactionary … The anarchists rejected it. To the regionalists it … strangled local interests … the radical regenerationists believed (in) root and branch reform… (it was) the personal unpopularity of the King himself (which brought down the monarchy). The conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy.
Gerald Brenan	Argues that the ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes … to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too. Since 1788 not a single Spanish sovereign had had a natural reign. The Army had become increasingly sensitive to any criticisms….
Paul Preston	Believes that the loss of Imperial power coincided with emergence of left wing movements. (The monarchy) had fallen into disrepute by the time Primo seized power.

Question 74

Reform areas

Constitution
- during the Bienio Reformista, a new constitution was introduced which radically altered women's rights, the role of the Church (see below) and other social aspects in addition to the political changes it brought, including electoral reform
- by and large the social reforms this brought about including divorce and universal franchise of both men and women remained in place
- the Constitution was left largely untouched during the Bienio Negro however much of the legislation that it had allowed for, including land seizures, was reversed.

Army
- the Army reforms which had been introduced previously had been largely ineffectual and yet still provoked opposition from the Right
- there was a possibility that over a longer period of time, a democratisation of the army, with officers promoted on merit and loyal to the Republic could have been achieved, however events moved too quickly for this
- the army reforms were halted during this time. Generals such as Yague and Franco were given important postings and the army and Civil Guard were used to brutality repress workers' uprisings, particularly in the aftermath of Asturias
- after October 1934, Gil Robles continued Azaña's modernisation of the army with new equipment and motorisation.

Agrarian
- the land reforms of Azaña had been heavily criticised by both Left and Right
- the election of the centre-right meant that the limited reforms which had been taking place were stopped
- in May 1934, Lerroux also cancelled the confiscation of land belonging to the Grandees and annulled the law which had given agricultural workers the same rights as industrial ones
- the Government containing five CEDA members which formed in the wake of the Asturias uprising went further
- they indemnified the Grandees for the expropriation of their land and ignored other agrarian reforms.

Church

- one of the most controversial areas of reform had been those pertaining to the Church
- the disestablishment and freedom of religious worship guaranteed in the constitution was coupled with the loss of the Church's traditional role in education and the dissolution of the Jesuits and other orders
- the loss of state subsidies would impoverish the Church and the lack of an official position weakened its credibility and tenuous hold on a largely non-religious population
- the election of CEDA as the largest single party was partly due to their appeal to those worried by the anti-clerical nature of Azaña and CEDA demanded reversal of some of these measures even before being in Government to secure their support from the backbenches
- this included laws affecting Primary schools and other ecclesiastical measures
- once they had secured cabinet positions, CEDA further rolled back Church reform including returning property to the Jesuits. However, one of the clashes between the different forces within the governments of the Bienio Negro was over the Church
- Lerroux and his radicals were anti-clerical and prevented Robles and CEDA from dismantling much of the anti-church legislation from before, including over education and Robles met with little success in his attempts to amend the Constitution over the Church's role in education.

Regions

- during the Bienio Reformista, one of the most bitterly contested pieces of legislation was the Catalan Statute of Autonomy
- in 1934, the Generalitat of Catalonia initially provided an opposition to the new Government in Madrid
- once the inclusion of CEDA had provoked a left-wing uprising, Companys declared Catalonia to be an autonomous state within a federal Spain
- this caused a furious backlash from the Government which attempted to crush what it saw as sedition
- the local army commander acting with reserve brought Barcelona back under central control and arrested Companys and the other leaders
- the Statute of Autonomy was suspended, local councils abolished and there would be no further decentralisation before 1936.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Richard Carr	Argues that 'Robles had declared … that socialism must be defeated at all costs'.
Hugh Thomas	Takes the view that (during the Bienio Negro) El Socialista regularly argued that the Republic was as bad as the monarchy had been.
Antony Beevor	Considers that 'The new Government (after October 1934) turned back the Republic's clock'.
Paul Preston	Argues that 'Despite CEDA's much vaunted aim of beating the revolution with a programme of social reform, proposals for moderate land reform and tax reforms were defeated by right-wing intransigence'.

Question 75

Internal divisions

- the Republic was divided internally in political terms. The Popular front had included both the communists and the socialists however neither were in the Government under President Azaña and Prime Minister Quiroga. Prieto and his followers in the PSOE were prevented from joining the government by Largo Caballero who wanted a purely socialist leadership of the country. The Government therefore faced an increasingly violent Right and a hardline left, particularly the PSOE under Caballero. This meant there was no coherence or unity among the Popular Front parties, never mind the Cortes as a whole. When the 'dream ticket' of Azaña as President and Prieto as Prime Minister was only partly successful, Azaña took on a much more hands off approach to politics, embracing the ceremonial trappings of the Presidency. Quiroga was too weak, physically and politically, to be able to satisfy the demands of the Left, reassure the moderates and deal with the Right wing violence
- the openly anti-democracy, anti-Republic Falange were relatively small in number but being swollen by disillusioned CEDAists, frustrated at the lack of democratic success. The growth in left-wing militias, including the communist MAOC, the socialist Motorizada and the anarchist FAI, to combat the fascist killing squads, heightened tension, violence and division in the months preceding the rebellion. The Government was wary of giving arms to one of these sides which helps explain the slowness of the response
- in June, a strike by construction sections of the UGT and CNT saw violent clashes with the Falange. The Government, hopelessly caught in the middle, took action against the CNT in particular, closing some of their offices. The Right continually compared Azaña to Kerensky and reminded the army of the fate of the Tsarist officers. Calvo Sotelo openly called upon the army to remember its duty to Spain
- at the time of the actual coup, the Government was divided between those who saw the gravity of the situation — and therefore wanted immediate action — and those who did not. As political tension and murder increased, on 13 July, Prieto lead a delegation of socialist and communist deputies to Quiroga demanding that he arm the workers to help quell an imminent army revolt, the Prime Minister refused.

Other factors

Government indecision

- as late as 6pm on the 18 July, with bad news pouring in, Quiroga was 'appalled' by Largo Caballero's request that he arm the workers. Quiroga resigned later that evening. The new Prime Minister, Martinez Barrio tried to negotiate with the army rebels, even offering Mola the position of Minister of War in a new Government. Barrio had resigned by noon on the 19th, after wasting the morning in fruitless attempts to negotiate with the rebel Generals. It wasn't until that afternoon that the new Prime Minister, Jose Giral finally gave orders to arm the workers. Two days had been lost.

The planning of the coup

- as soon as the election results were known in February there were those plotting a coup. Gil Robles was asked to lead one and General Franco, as chief of staff, tried to enlist the help of the Civil Guard in preventing the Popular Front from taking power. Franco also tried to persuade the Prime Minister to ignore the election result and keep governing, with the backing of the army
- the Carlist requetes trained for a coup in the Pyrenees with arms from Germany and elsewhere, while their leaders trained with Mussolini's men in Italy. They held talks with the Union Militar Espanola (right-wing officers who wanted to overthrow the Government) through Colonel Varela. The Falange had also been plotting with officers for months before the coup
- immediately after the election General Mola began conspiring and by the end of March had been in contact with all the other officers who would form the plot. In May he issued a directive stating that the coup must involve the armed forces working with the other right wing groups. The coup's figurehead was Sanjurjo
- the plans for the plane which would take Franco from the Canaries to Morocco had begun on the 5 July. The involvement of Franco had not been certain, though the plotters were determined to go ahead with or without him. The degree of detail with which the transport of Franco was arranged shows the amount of planning that went into the coup
- the plotters were well aware of the mistakes that had been made during the Sanjurjada of 1932, when a similar attempt at an uprising was stopped virtually at the start because it was not widespread enough. This time the Generals were aware of the need to attempt to take every garrison with them and coordinate the uprising. Casual pronunciamientos would no longer work against an organised and partly armed proletariat.

Military Strength

- the Nationalists had the 40,000 strong Army of Africa, who also had combat experience and were by far the better of the two main groups of infantry. About 50,000 men from the Peninsular army along with 17 Generals and 10,000 officers. Two-thirds of the carabineros, 40% of the Assault Guards and 60% of the Civil Guard, totalling about 30,000 from the three paramilitary forces, around 130,000 men and officers in total. The Republic had 50,000 men from the army, 7,000 officers, seven Generals and 33,000 from the paramilitary forces, a total of around 90,000. The Republic also had almost all of the small air force and around three-quarters of the navy. The loss of a crucial layer of junior officers severely weakened the Republic
- intervention of Germany and Italy
- the Army of Africa was stranded after the failure of the rebels to take over the ships which were to have transported them. Mola thought all was lost but fought on rather than surrender as a traitor. The intervention of both Italy and Germany providing air transport and naval protection was crucial in moving the Army of Africa and their equipment to the Spanish mainland. Hitler said that Franco should erect a monument to the Junkers 52 as it won him the war.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Paul Preston	Contends that the divisions between Largo and Prieto weakened the Republic. The Left wing of the Party made regular statements which Prieto regarded as insanely provocative. If the Government had taken the decisive action of issuing guns to the workers, the rebellion might have been crushed at birth. Mussolini and Hitler turned a coup d'état going wrong into a bloody and prolonged civil war.
Antony Beevor	States that no group on the Right did more to cause disorder and therefore provoke a coup than the Falange. The hesitancy of the Republican Government was fatal in a rapidly developing crisis.
Helen Graham	Believes that the rebellion shattered the command structure of the army, leaving the Madrid government without troops and unsure of which officers it could trust.
Julian Casanova	Considers that on 25 July, the French government followed the advice of its principal ally in Europe and announced its decision of complete non-intervention in Spain's internal conflict. Hitler and Mussolini had already begun to send aid to Franco and the Republic, a legitimate regime, was left initially without aid.

Question 76

Abilities as a General

- Franco had been the youngest General in the Spanish army, promoted due to his bravery and daring in Morocco. He was highly regarded in military circles and beloved by many of his troops and junior officers
- Franco took a bold decision to relieve the Alcázar at Toledo instead of pushing on for Madrid. This was done for political reasons as he wanted a personal, symbolic victory just before the announcement of a unified army command. He therefore used his position as General to further his own cause
- all aid from Germany and Italy was channelled through him. This gave him de facto military control and was crucial in him gaining actual unitary command. Hitler and Mussolini chose Franco largely because of his abilities as a General
- Franco was in charge of the Army of Africa, 'the jewel in the crown' of the Spanish armed forces. This gave him both strategic advantage and prestige. This made him a frontrunner to be the head of the military
- Franco instilled military discipline on the militias and others he found on his arrival in Seville. Part of his strategy was to make everyone in the movement subject to the Army and by being head of the Army he would be in effective control
- Franco took a cautious, plodding approach to victory in the Peninsula campaign. Although criticised by many for this, it meant he could consolidate every victory both militarily and politically before moving on, thereby eliminating rivals of any persuasion from the conquered territory.

Other factors

- Franco was able to carefully unite disparate groups of the Right. In this he was aided by Serrano Suner, who helped him manipulate others at arms' length. Having become commander of the Nationalist army, Franco first cultivated the 'cult of the absent one' when Jose Antonio was in prison and then played the Carlists and the Falange off against each other and the Falange factions against themselves until he was the political head as well. Franco was able to create and become leader of a new movement which united the groups on the right
- Franco and his representatives successfully lobbied both Germany and Italy for supplies. These proved vital to the Nationalists, firstly for the transport to airlift the Army of Africa and then to wage the war
- Franco proved time and again that he had the ability to keep the Right united. Although in comparison to the Left it may be argued that the Right were pre-disposed to unite behind one, strong leader, there was no guarantee of this. There were many disparate groups fighting for the Nationalists, Falangists, Carlists, Religious zealots, moderate right-wingers and others so that there was no certainty that they could be brought behind a single command, especially politically. Franco managed to do this by uniting the groups by a mixture of diplomacy, subterfuge and force behind his new movement whose only real ideology was Franco himself
- Franco was seen by the Catholic Church as a defender of the faith and he used this position to portray himself as a modern crusader. In this way he transcended the military and political aspects of the Nationalist cause. Like the Kings of old he was practically ordained by God to lead his country. Any attack on Franco soon became an attack on religion and upon Spain itself
- Franco was helped by the death of many potential rivals, General Sanjurjo was meant to be the leader of the coup and become the head of state, however his plane crashed on take-off from Portugal at the beginning of the rebellion. Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera was the leader of the Falange and the leading political figure on the Right. He was captured at the start of the Civil War and executed in November 1936. Calvo Sotelo was the 'darling' of the Right and a gifted politician. His kidnapping and death was the spark for the uprising. General Mola was head of the Nationalist army in the North. He was a genuine military rival to Franco, but he wanted to win the Civil War first and then worry about leadership. He was killed in a plane crash in June 1937. Hitler reportedly said, 'The real tragedy for Spain was the death of Mola, there was the real brain, the real leader'
- Franco was ruthless in eliminating rivals. Manuel Hedilla was a would-be leader of the Falange after the death of Jose Antonio, he was manipulated into eliminating his internal rivals and subsequently imprisoned when he refused to accept a subordinate role to Franco.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Hugh Thomas	Takes the view that Franco's achievements in the Civil War were considerable. 'There were almost as many potential fissures in the Nationalist side as there were in the Republican.' 'He established himself as the political leader of the most passionately concerned country in the world by a contempt for political passions.' '…no doubt he was assisted … by Serrano Súñer…'. '…Franco's calm, effortless, professional superiority first obtained him the leadership…'.
Antony Beevor	Considers that '(Franco) had no effective rival and the very nature of the Nationalist movement begged a single, disciplined command'.
Paul Preston	Contends that 'With his major political rivals all dead, Franco was free to control… the political direction of the Nationalists'.
Richard Carr	Believes that 'The secret of Franco's power lay in his manipulation of the political families (and for this purpose we must include the Falange, the Army and…the Church)'.

Question 77

Evidence which suggests that Franco was still at war

- during the first three post-Civil War years, the regular Spanish (Francoist) army, including the Foreign Legion and artillery units fought against groups of resistance fighters loyal to the old Republic in many parts of Spain
- Spanish Maquis, fighting in France with the resistance targeted Francoists as well as Nazis. In 1944 a group of around 6,000 of them invaded Spain from France
- after 1944 the resistance in Spain was reinforced by those Spaniards who were fighting with the French resistance. The guerrilla war carried out by them lasted until 1952
- there were tens of thousands of killings committed by the regime after the end of the war. The true figures are difficult to determine as records were deliberately destroyed in the 1960s and 1970s
- the killings were carried out by both pseudo-judicial means and by armed groups
- there were mass imprisonments often in concentration camps, which led to more deaths. There was forced labour for prisoners which continued for many years
- the Francoist regime wanted to eliminate the opposition, including anyone pro-republican or pro-democracy. Franco stated that they were vermin to be exterminated
- the Church gave a legitimacy to Franco's reign, including the persecution. The Church was openly complicit in the removal of children from suspected republican families and the imprisonment, torture and execution of others.

Evidence which suggests Franco was not still at war

- for many in Spain, although life was difficult, there was no armed conflict going on. War as they had known it for almost three years, was over. Most people wanted to live in peace
- schools and most of civic life returned to 'normal' albeit a regression from the social gains of the 1930s. There was a gradual increase in economic activity
- there was little armed opposition to the regime. Most of the guerrilla conflict was sporadic and uncoordinated. This was not so much a war as an anti-terrorist campaign, which was successful
- even as World War II raged on around them, Spain maintained superficial neutrality which meant that the vast majority of the population lived in peace. As the fortunes of the Franco's erstwhile allies waned, Franco was able to solidify his regime against the possible threat from US and British intervention. This demonstrates a more unified country emerging in the 1940s
- the Spanish Government was not denounced by the Allies, which gave Franco a legitimacy at home. Although Franco backed Hitler in the early stages he never entered the war and the country was too weak to fight. Franco's domestic position was therefore relatively secure and he went about building his idea of Spain. At no point was there a credible threat from outside and without foreign aid there was no real hope of his overthrow. Therefore, Franco had no need to be at war within Spain, only vigilant and cunning in his foreign policy strategy
- regardless of which side had won the Civil War there would have been reprisals and blame apportioned to the other side. The behaviour of Franco and his regime may be despicable but were on a par with other dictators. This was the nature of the regime, not signs of a war
- when the Maquis invaded in 1944, they were easily repelled and they failed to gain popular support for any uprising against Franco or re-ignition of the Civil War. The Spanish people were tired of war and its hardships regardless of what they thought of Franco.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Antony Beevor	Believes that 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	Contends that every effort was made to maintain the division between the victors and the vanquished.
Richard Carr	Takes the view that from 1939 until Franco's death, Spain was governed as if it were a country occupied by a victorious foreign army. Franco's aim was 'to destroy the nineteenth century', that is, parliamentary liberalism.
Shelagh Ellwood	Suggests that 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 10 — Spain: The Civil War — Causes, Conflict and Consequences, 1923–1945

Part B — Historical sources

Question 78

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 candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source A		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Gil Robles was the leader of CEDA, a right-wing, Catholic political movement.	Gil Robles was a controversial figure who flirted with fascism.
Purpose	a speech made just before an election which tries to get people to support CEDA.	Attempts to portray Spain as polarised so that people will vote for him against Marxism. Designed to boost supporters.
Timing	1933 at the end of the first government of the Second Republic.	The speech is set against the background of the recent Nazi takeover in Germany and clearly influenced by those events. Just before the Right became the largest block in the Parliament.

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Catholics should unite to defend it and safeguard the principles of Christian civilisation.	CEDA appealed to the religious by claiming that Christianity and its values were under threat.
I see only the formation of Marxist and anti-Marxist groups and it is necessary now to defeat socialism.	CEDA tried to make the election a fight between themselves and Marxism, which people had to choose between.
We must give Spain a true unity, a new spirit, a totalitarian policy.	He proposed Spain must become unified and hoped this will gain support for CEDA.
Democracy is not an end but a means to the conquest of the new state, either parliament submits or we will eliminate it.	CEDA is prepared to challenge parliamentary democracy to create a new state.

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

- the Anti-Clericalism of the Azaña Government had frightened some voters into the arms of the Right. By painting themselves as the defenders of Catholicism and Christianity, CEDA had provided a rallying point and a platform for rejection of other reforms
- there was a polarisation in Spanish society at the time and many from both Right and Left who believed that there would either be revolution or a right-wing takeover
- the rhetoric of Gil Robles may have scared some people, but the language of some on the Left such as Caballero was enough to make many believe that a revolution was in store unless they had strong, anti-Marxist government
- CEDA were able to point to the deficiencies of the reforms of the previous two years. The attempts at agrarian reform had not satisfied the Peasants but had infuriated the landowners
- Gil Robles wanted to roll back the reforms of the previous two years and get those affected to support him
- Robles was the acceptable face of fascism, with language such as this designed to gain the support of would-be Falangists.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- there were many who admired the centralist approach taken by CEDA to regional reform. For those frightened by the pace of change, CEDA appeared to offer stability
- CEDA was a coalition of different groups, including social Christians, conservatives, monarchists and opportunists
- many in the army backed CEDA as they were Catholic, centralist and anti-Marxist
- CEDA appealed to those on the right who believed that they could have a socially conservative government via the ballot box
- women were given the franchise for the first time and provided many of CEDA's voters
- the unity that had brought the pact of San Sebastian three years previously and ushered in the centre left was gone. Some former pro-Republicans rejected the chaos of the Azaña coalition for supposed stability of CEDA
- CEDA were well supported in the media and from pulpits. The dire warnings of a godless, communist state from the press and priests drove voters to CEDA
- CEDA were well financed. Juan March, the Mallorcan millionaire bankrolled their campaign
- CEDA were quite happy to ally themselves with the catastophist Right, such as the Carlists and Revonación Espanola, and in other areas with the corrupt Radicals, thus taking full advantage of the electoral laws which favoured coalitions.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Hugh Thomas	Believes that Robles was an accomplished parliamentarian who, nevertheless, disliked Parliament and thought that it might soon be soon to have had its day.
Paul Preston	Contends that Nazism was much admired on the Spanish Right because of its emphasis on authority, the fatherland and hierarchy — all three central preoccupations of CEDA propaganda.
Richard Carr	Suggests that the aim of CEDA was the defence of the Catholic church against the onslaught of the secularising left. The ultimate aim was the implanting in Spain of a Catholic corporate state.
G Esenwein and A Shubert	Believes that with a well-financed campaign modelled on the propaganda techniques of the Nazis, which Gil Robles had witnessed first-hand, the CEDA could expect to do well.

Question 79

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

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The Republic had most of Spain's industry in Catalonia and the Basque country.	The main industrial areas including Barcelona, the Asturias and around Bilbao were in Republican hands.
The cereal areas around central Spain were almost equally divided.	In terms of feeding their populations there was approximate parity.
The rebels' possession of Morocco, the Canaries and the Balearics together with most of the territory surrounding friendly Portugal gave them a strategic advantage.	Although the Republic had more land, the strategic land, especially entrance points was more evenly split with the Nationalists having islands, Morocco and the Portuguese border through which they could be supplied.
On the other hand the Republic had the two main entry points for rail and road to France as well as the North coast.	The Republic had the French border and the Northern sea ports, both vital for supplies.

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

- economically, the Republic seemed at an advantage, in addition to the industrial areas they also had most of the railways and motorised infrastructure
- in terms of crops, the Republic had most of the grape and olive growing areas, though the Nationalists had most of the sheep, pig and cattle regions
- with the majority of the land came the majority of the population, with around 14 million people in the Republican zone and 10 million in the Nationalist one
- strategically there were points to commend both sides. Morocco was only any use if the troops there could move to the Peninsula. Similarly, the Republican ports could only be used if there was no outside naval blockade
- in Asturias, Republicans controlled the coal of the country, as well as the chemical and explosive plants
- the Navy was largely retained by the Republic thanks to ordinary sailors overpowering their officers, however this meant that they had few captains and admirals. The Nationalists held most of the Naval ports and dockyards.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- the Republic had the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain. This meant they could buy weapons if anyone would sell them to them
- militarily both sides seemed to have approximately equal resources
- the Civil and Assault Guards were split as were the soldiers of the army into roughly equal parts. The junior officers went more to the Nationalists
- the air-force was mainly with the Republic, although it was relatively small and the planes not of the highest quality
- army equipment and munitions were fairly evenly split, although the Nationalists had more automatic weapons and artillery, the Republic had the factories to make more
- the Nationalist possession of the Army of Africa outweighed any numerical superiority that the Republic had in troop numbers — if they could be brought from Morocco
- around one-third of mainland Spain had been seized by the Nationalists.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
G Esenwein and A Shubert	Contends that in the early weeks of the fighting, the insurgents enjoyed several major advantages over their opponents. However, a number of factors mitigated against a quick Insurgent triumph.
Antony Beevor	Believes that for a long war it looked as if the Republicans had the advantage. However, the Nationalists were more than compensated by help from outside Spain and control of the main agricultural areas.
Richard Carr	Takes the view that since the military balance was equal in the Peninsula itself, the decisive factor would be the elite corps, the Army of Africa.
Paul Preston	Suggests that the conspirators held about one-third of Spain in a huge block, the rebels also held the main wheat growing areas, but the main centres of both heavy and light industry in Spain remained in Republican hands.

Question 80

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)
Concern for the safety of capital.	There were a lot of British investments in Spain and the government did not want to risk them by backing the losing side.
Division within the Government especially under the prime ministership of Stanley Baldwin.	The government were split, those who backed Franco, those who were worried about the rise of fascism and those with little interest in foreign affairs which did not directly affect Britain.
Political balance within the cabinet moved against Eden.	The change in Prime Minister and subsequent changes to the cabinet meant that Eden was more isolated in his opposition of Mussolini.
The massive Italian intervention in Spain, ensured that for the British Government, the Spanish Civil War would be inextricably bound up with appeasement.	The overriding European policy in the latter half of the 1930s was appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini, doing anything to ensure there was no major war, Spain was another victim of this.

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

- Britain had many companies which traded with Spain, for example Rio Tinto was a major exporter from Spain of pyrites, crucial to the armaments industry
- there were a number of arguments in Cabinet about the correct path to take. As Eden became warier of Franco and his allies he was often defeated at Cabinet meetings by Hoare and Chamberlain, eventually leading to his resignation
- part of the Pan-European British foreign policy at the time was not to force Italy into a position where it felt Germany was its natural ally. Britain wanted to avoid a military alliance between the two
- many historians of appeasement view the Spanish Civil War as an example of this policy and allowing the destruction of a democratic state by Germany and Italy as being a price worth paying for 'peace'.

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The outbreak of hostilities in France came at a time when France was facing a domestic crisis.	Although France had a Popular Front government it faced opposition from the Right.
Blum was fearful that French involvement in Spain would serve as a catalyst for the volatile mix of social, economic and political conditions developing in France which threatened at any moment to boil over into civil war.	Blum worried that French involvement could be the spark that ignited the French tinderbox and result in an attempt at a right-wing takeover there.
Blum's initial hopes were all but abandoned when it became apparent that Britain would not support independent French action in Spain.	Blum sought ways to aid the Spanish Republic, but Britain's refusal meant that his plans could not come to fruition.
Blum had a greater fear of what would happen if France were to be isolated from the rest of Europe.	Although facing another fascist neighbour would be bad, facing them without the help of allies would be worse.

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

- Blum's Government was under bombardment from a right-wing press and fascist murder gangs
- many considered France at the time to be as volatile as Spain and just as divided, there was every possibility of the Civil War spreading across the border if the French government became involved on the Republican side
- Blum's plan was to not directly intervene but to aid the Republican government with weapons and other support. Britain made it clear that this brought France into a wider conflict they would not have their support
- France was stuck between a rock and a hard place. On the one hand if they did not intervene and the Nationalists won they would have right-wing dictatorships on three borders. However, if they did intervene they could lose the support of their strongest ally, Britain.

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
- as the breaches of non-intervention became impossible to ignore there was tension between Britain and France. Blum returned to power in January 1938 and called for an end to non-intervention. The British government worked with others in France to replace Blum with Daladier in April 1938
- in Britain, the Labour Party initially agreed with the non-intervention policy, largely due to fears about France. As the war developed the calls of many of the rank and file for more direct action grew stronger as the intervention by Italy and Germany became more apparent. The Labour Spain Committee and the leadership backed Spain Campaign Committee often clashed over the level of support that should be given
- the Nyon Conference was held in September 1937 to address the attacks on international shipping, largely due to Italian submarine warfare. Italy and Germany did not attend. French and British naval presence was increased
- later in the war there was a need to 'buy time' to rearm
- Britain and France led the call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops (including the International Brigades) in 1938
- 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
- local groups across Britain set up Pro-Spain committees and sent ambulances and supplies to the Republic.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Enrique Moradiellos	Believes that the response of Britain and France to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War was at all times subject to the basic objectives of this general appeasement policy.
Julian Casanova	Contends that the British Ambassador (in Paris) made no secret of his sympathies for the military rebels, nor did Anthony Eden, the British foreign secretary, nor, above all, did the British Ambassador in Spain, Sir Henry Chilton.
Helen Graham	Takes the view that almost no one in the British government felt that a Francoist victory really posed a threat to British interests.
Jill Edwards	Suggests that in the first weeks of the rebellion it was the thread of anti-communism which formed the warp of British Government attitudes.

Section 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938–1951

Part A — Historical issues

Question 81

The Norway Campaign and the subsequent parliamentary debate

- the poorly planned and executed Norway Campaign which resulted in the Germans occupying Norway
- Chamberlain, as Prime Minister, had ultimate responsibility for the Norway Campaign
- the failure of the Norway Campaign was seen as an indictment of Chamberlain's lacklustre wartime leadership
- Churchill rather surprisingly emerged blameless for the failed Norway Campaign and was a prime candidate to replace Chamberlain
- the resultant vote in parliament at the conclusion of the Norway Debate — Chamberlain's usual huge majority of over 200 was reduced to 81 — 60 Conservatives abstained and 41 Conservatives voted with the opposition,
- however Chamberlain was still reluctant to resign as Prime Minister
- the changing attitudes of numerous members of the Conservative Party, including members of the Watching Committee, towards Chamberlain by May 1940
- mutual long-standing Labour Party distrust and dislike of Chamberlain
- Labour Party's refusal to serve in any coalition government led by Chamberlain.

The performance of the economy

- to prepare for war the British workforce had to be organised in such a way to maximise its potential. One of the major criticisms levelled at Chamberlain was his inability to organise the workforce
- whilst there was a demand and a need for extra workers to provide the manpower for rearmament there was still an estimated one million unemployed by April 1940. This reflected badly on Chamberlain's organisational skills at a time of national emergency, when full employment was not only achievable but necessary
- the consequence of this economic mismanagement was the failure of essential industries to work at peak capacity because there was a lack of manpower, especially skilled workers
- throughout the 1930s, the relationship was poor between Chamberlain, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer before becoming PM, and the Trades Union movement due to the austere government policies and the consistently high unemployment
- when Chamberlain needed the unions' cooperation to fulfil his economic targets they refused to work with the man that many believed was responsible for causing so much misery during the 1930s
- the Trades Unions had a close relationship with the Parliamentary Labour Party
- at the beginning of the war there was a concern that the government would limit access to resources and goods usually needed by the domestic market. The consequence of this was a serious threat of uncontrolled inflation which would ultimately increase the cost of living thereby making people poorer. After the lean years of the early 1930s this was not popular
- to allow the government to control inflation they restricted the supply of foodstuffs and more importantly raised taxation. These policies were not popular with the general public. Nevertheless, there was some understanding concerning the need for more revenue to be generated to pay for the conflict
- arguably Chamberlain's overall failure in the management of the economy was his failure to appoint a Cabinet member with overall control for the economy. The result was that there was no holistic view of the economy. Therefore, the transition from a peacetime economy to wartime economy was slow and uncoordinated
- these issues exposed failings in Chamberlain as a wartime Prime Minister at a time of national emergency putting his leadership under increasing scrutiny.

Appeasement/Foreign Policy

- appeasement was criticised by some at the time as an attempt to avoid conflict by using inappropriate concession and negotiation that led the country to the verge of defeat
- Chamberlain was closely associated with this failed policy which was one of the main reasons for his unpopularity when war broke out
- belief that Chamberlain was still prepared to negotiate with Hitler in 1940, not a popular position
- Cato argued that appeasement had made war inevitable by allowing Germany to rearm
- Chamberlain was criticised for adhering to the policy of appeasement as it gave Germany and her allies the time to rearm and prepare for war
- whilst the argument about the importance of appeasement continues we need to consider the fact that at that time it was not the policy of appeasement which was the issue, because it had cross party support, it was the leadership style or the lack of leadership of Chamberlain himself
- 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 to negotiate with Germany once again. This belief reduced his credibility even with his own party
- whilst fears were allayed on the 3rd September, the preceding weeks and months of inactivity led his critics to question his appetite for war.

Allies

- with war a distinct possibility Chamberlain tried but was unsuccessful in gaining meaningful alliances to fight a successful war in Europe
- Chamberlain has been criticised over his leisurely negotiations with the Soviet Union. He stated that he had a 'most profound distrust of Russia'
- Chamberlain did not give the French Governments enough support during her period of political instability. Addison stated, 'he seemed to treat the French with as much contempt as he showed for the Labour Party'
- the USA confirmed their isolationist policy and were determined to stay clear of European conflicts through Neutrality Acts passed in 1935,1936 and 1937
- Czechoslovakia, with its large army, was conceded after the Munich agreement of September 1938.

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 misplaced, was shared by other leaders of both major parties.
Mark Donnelly	Argues that the Norway Campaign was seen as a manifestation of the deeper malaise which the Prime Minister's consistent failures of leadership since the outbreak of war had produced.
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.
Paul Addison	Argues that the major criticism of Chamberlain centred on his refusal to institute stronger coordination of the economy.

Question 82

The actions of the Royal Navy

- the belief amongst the Navy that fast-moving ships at sea were safe from German air attack
- no capital ship had been sunk by an aircraft up to that point
- that the German threat of stretching a minefield across the channel to prevent the Navy assisting in repelling an invasion force was an empty one since the German fleet contained very few of these mine laying ships anyway
- Britain had 52 minesweepers and 16 minesweeping trawlers arrayed against four German minelayers
- that a slow moving German invasion fleet of barges filled with soldiers would have been sitting ducks for the Navy and that the certainty of massive loss of human life from such attacks by the Royal Navy would have dissuaded the Germans from launching any invasion even if they had gained temporary air superiority
- the disparity between the navies was huge with Britain having 36 destroyers close by and a similar number two days away. The Navy also had five capital ships on hand, whereas the Kriegsmarine had lost ships during their invasion of Norway
- German naval losses in Norway meant that no German capital ships were available for an invasion of Britain in 1940
- the Kriegsmarine's Commander in Chief Admiral Raeder stated, 'the Norway losses weighed heavily upon us for the rest of the war'
- the German navy could now not prevent the evacuation of the BEF at Dunkirk
- invasion was not necessarily inevitable in the summer of 1940, and many German commanders had serious misgivings — and a fear of the Royal Navy
- recent research suggests that the German Navy had utterly rejected the notion of an invasion on all of these grounds if only because it would have been almost impossible to supply and reinforce any German troops from the first wave of landings who did make it ashore
- further evidence suggests that Churchill himself thought an invasion highly unlikely but talked up the prospect as a method of drawing the USA into the conflict, keeping the British public behind the war effort and the trade unions quiet during his period of political difficulty in late 1940
- after Dunkirk the Royal Navy transported Navy and Army demolition parties to Europe to destroy oil stocks, 2 million tons, which the Germans could have used in any invasion of Britain
- the Royal Navy attacked potential invasion harbours including Zeebrugge, Calais and Boulogne in 1940 putting them out of action for a time
- British warships blew invasion barges out of the water. Hitler ordered the dispersal of the barges to safer areas.

RAF/Battle of Britain prevented invasion

- a review of the events of the Battle of Britain in the summer of 1940 with an explanation of the reasons why the RAF was able to defeat the Luftwaffe
- the RAF had 644 fighters to the Luftwaffe's 725 at the beginning of the battle. However, by October 1940 Britain was far out-producing the enemy
- evidence of the severity of the Luftwaffe's attacks on the RAF and its bases and the loss of life which accrued because of this. Some assessment of the degree to which these attacks stretched Fighter Command to its utmost limits and how German losses compared. How close Germany came to achieving its stated goal of air superiority
- out of these heroic efforts, the idea that a few hundred pilots and ground crew thwarted the German aim of achieving control of the skies and therefore, thwarted any attempt at invasion
- Churchill's Battle of Britain phrase was hijacked by the British propaganda machine in 1940
- an examination of the nature of Operation Sealion and the extent to which Hitler believed he had to win air superiority over the Channel in order to allow the invasion to take place.

Bomber Command and the threat of German invasion

- the Air Ministry claimed that Bomber Command destroyed many invasion barges
- but precision bombing was extremely difficult and Churchill was unconvinced about the raids. He stated, 'what struck me was the apparent inability of the bombers to hit these very large masses of barges'.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Gary Sheffield	Suggests that an analysis of Bomber and Coastal Command's contribution might be given. They would both make a significant contribution to the battle by attacking the German invasion preparations and airfields across the Channel.
Angus Calder	Suggests that indeed, Bomber and Coastal Command lost proportionately more men than Fighter Command. In winning the Battle of Britain, Fighter Command lost 537 pilots killed. Bomber Command lost 718 aircrew killed in action. Coastal Command lost 230 airmen. Therefore, a candidate may come to the conclusion that their contribution may be underestimated.
Richard Overy	Believes that a holistic view of Britain's defences in 1940 is required to make sense of this period of the war.
Andrew Gordon	Contends that the Germans stayed away because while the Royal Navy existed they had no hope of capturing these islands.

Question 83

Evidence that suggests Churchill was effective as a wartime Prime Minister

Churchill's personality/leadership qualities

- Churchill had consistently spoken out during the 1930s against the threat posed by Nazi Germany, making him the only credible prime minister after Chamberlain was forced to resign in May 1940
- 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 devastation he witnessed. Churchill's empathy was well received by the British public
- 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 to his Cabinet colleagues that he had no intention of negotiating with Hitler in May/June 1940 despite the advice of some 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
- Evacuation at Dunkirk of approx. 340,000 British and French soldiers who could fight another day
- 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 HMS Hood). This action was said to have impressed President Roosevelt as it demonstrated Churchill's and Britain's determination to continue the fight against Nazi Germany
- Churchill appointed Montgomery, who defeated Rommel at El Alamein
- D-Day was a great military success and contributed greatly to Hitler's defeat
- This opening of a Second Front was delayed until the Allies had a realistic chance of success
- RAF Bomber Command laid waste much of Germany, following Churchill's instructions, which played a major role in the defeat of Germany.

Churchill the statesman

- Churchill was a skilled diplomat who improved Britain's chances of success such as securing crucial Lend Lease from the USA
- Churchill persuaded President 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 2% interest rate. A triumph for Churchill who had exerted considerable diplomatic pressure in his efforts to win the loan from the Americans
- Churchill 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 Grand Alliance of Britain, USA and the 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 Ernest 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 or simply wrong, 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 until June 1944 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 devastated many of Germany's cities even when it was clear that the Allies were close to victory, for example, the controversial bombing of Dresden in February 1945 which caused huge loss of civilian life
- argument that Churchill made a 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 unfairly?

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 ministers. Arguably Churchill's neglect of the Home Front was a serious political error which consequently helped the Labour Party to win the 1945 General Election.

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 Lord 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 RAF to primarily bomb Germany rather than support the Navy during the Battle of the Atlantic.

Question 84

Industry

- an analysis of the degree of government regulation and control of industrial location, allocation of manpower, demand and supply management and products produced. The role of the Ministries of Food and Supply ought to be discussed as well as the ability of the two industries to meet certain government targets
- the role of conscription, especially that of women into the workplace. The candidate might offer a description of the vital role of women and those on the reserved occupations as well as an analysis of their contribution
- an analysis of the state of industrial relations at this time in both industries. Whilst the common view is that the country pulled together at this time of need it has been recognised that there was disputes over pay and working conditions at this time which may have had a negative effect on overall production
- the reliance on the USA for machine tools and other essential production tools even prior to the programme
- there are also other factors such as war fatigue, bad management and a reluctance to adopt contemporary working practices that also affect overall productivity
- lastly the official economy was shadowed by a black market economy which could have been a factor in the country not meeting optimum output.

Agriculture

- the significant increase in agricultural production brought about by food shortages through the U-boat campaign and increased mechanisation
- new methods of food production, the increased use of fertiliser and animal husbandry to produce more food for the domestic market. In five years the domestic production of food almost doubled, despite at the start of the war only 5% of the population working in agriculture
- the use of public space to grow food as well as the 'victory garden' as a morale booster to combat the growing disaffection to rationing
- an analysis of whether the agriculture industry met government set targets needs to be offered to evaluate if the industry coped with governmental demands
- the Government's ability to manipulate the populace into eating surplus foods as substitutes for fresh fruit and vegetables that were not available. This may be discussed as one of the successes of agricultural policy. For example, the myth of extensive carrot consumption allowing you to see in the dark
- the impact of the Land Army on working relations. Price controls and agricultural wages and agriculture as a reserved occupation.

Financial

- a detailed analysis of government policies on import and export controls. This may include a discussion of exchange controls to keep capital in Britain. The decision to sell gold and dollar reserves as well as the curtailment of luxury goods to concentrate on war manufacture. The candidate may offer a description of the importance of imports from the Empire in keeping Britain's economy stable
- fiscal policies such as increasing the basic rate of tax and the use of excess profits tax to inject much needed capital to the war effort. 'Finance is the fourth arm of defense', said Chancellor Sir John Simon in the first war Budget. Taxation being 29% standard and 41% surtax for incomes over £50,000. The rate of tax for the rich was increased to 50% towards the end of the war with the allowance cut from £50,000 to £20,000. With the introduction of PAYE as a more efficient collection system
- the impact on export trade and the trade deficit by 1945. This may include a discussion about the long-term effects of 'Lend Lease' on British export trade during and post war
- the origins, nature and extent of the Lend-Lease programme (£5·5 billion)
- why 'Lend-Lease' was needed and an explanation of the shortcomings in the British economy.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Correlli Barnett	In *The Audit of War* is critical of Britain's economic performance citing poor productivity, poor worker/management relations and out-dated machinery and working practices.
J K Bowers	Contends that British agriculture during the war prospered. Prices and productivity of cereal crops increased for some 16% more than pre-war levels. However, he does record that livestock production remained stagnant for cattle whilst the production of sheep actually declined.
Peter Howlett	Describes the success of the industrial wartime economy and its rapid shift from a 7% GDP spend on wartime activities at the start of the war to 55% spent by 1943. This would suggest a corresponding increase in war productivity during this timeframe.
Jim Tomlinson	Cites the success of the management of the wartime economy taking into account its vulnerability to shortages.

Question 85

Bevin's successes

- Britain's position relative to the competing Superpowers of USA and USSR and whether Bevin himself was in any way responsible for the onset of the Cold War mentality by his attitude to the Soviet Union. Bevin was scathing about the USSR and arguably saw through Britain's former allies before the US did
- the abandonment by Bevin of the Labour philosophy of 'left speaking to left' in Britain's relationship with the USSR. Bevin's stance angered many of his own left wing MPs, the Keep Left Group, but was generally supported by the Conservatives
- Bevin was a firm supporter of the US in the early years of the Cold War and a leading advocate of British involvement in the Korean War. Was Bevin successful in maintaining a place for Britain at the top table of international affairs and if so, how was it done and at what cost to our economy and global standing?
- Bevin's prominent role in the foundation of NATO and enthusiastic supporter of the Marshall Plan and his success in tying the USA permanently to the preservation of European security rather than seeing the USA return to her traditional isolationist role in world affairs
- Bevin worked closely with Attlee and Attlee relied heavily on Bevin
- Bevin understood that Britain's days of imperial greatness were over, something he did not regret, for, in his view, the working class had never benefited from the Empire.

Possible criticisms of Bevin

- Bevin has been accused of being a bully
- Bevin has been accused by some of his critics as being anti-Semitic as he refused to remove limits on Jewish immigration to Palestine at the end of the war
- some discussion of the extent to which critics have suggested that British foreign policy became an extension of the USA's due to our financial dependency on America. A successful partner in a joint attempt to secure world peace and reshape the world geopolitically or merely 'airstrip one' and an obedient junior, dominated by a significantly more powerful ally and forced to follow her lead in world affairs
- the whole issue of decolonisation and retreat from overseas commitments in places like Palestine and Greece and Turkey. A shoddy example of abrogating responsibility for previous commitments or a realistic re-appraisal of our capabilities?
- Indian independence and the issue of further decolonisation, successfully achieved and a noble foreign policy initiative or an abandonment of the Indian sub-continent to civil war with undue haste? How far the decision to decolonise was forced upon Britain by the Superpowers for different reasons and how far was it a rational decision taken for sound political and ethical reasons?
- the creation of a British unilateral nuclear deterrent a significant statement of British foreign policy independence given the refusal of the USA to engage in further nuclear co-operation, or a futile and costly example of Britain trying to retain world power status when it had already evaporated?

Historians	Perspective on the issue
John Saville	Argues that Bevin's anti-communism and strong belief in the intrinsic value of the British Empire were significant factors which shaped our foreign policy in this period.
Kenneth Morgan	Stresses the difficulties faced in determining a role for Britain in the changed post-war circumstances and credits Bevin with significant success in carving out such a role.
Alan Bullock	Seminal work on Bevin and his conviction that Bevin was a truly great Foreign Secretary and one who clearly preserved Britain's independent status as a world power.
Prof Michael Howard	Placed Bevin with Palmerston as two of the greatest British Foreign Secretaries in defining Britain's global power.

Section 11 — Britain: At War and Peace, 1938–1951

Part B — Historical sources

Question 86

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

Point identified in Source A	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Territorial Army would be doubled in size.	The Territorial Army was to be dramatically increased in size.
Equipment of even the existing force was totally inadequate.	The existing Territorial Army did not have adequate resources.
Conscription would be introduced.	Conscription was to be introduced although Chamberlain had previously said that he was opposed to it.
The Expeditionary Force of four infantry divisions would assemble in France.	The Expeditionary Force would fight in France.

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

- the financial stringency of the 1930s. The government was fully aware of the exorbitant cost of rearmament
- the Army was given the lowest priority of the three armed services
- detailed evidence of the preparedness of the armed forces for warfare and the changing ideas of the role likely to be played by the Army in any future war
- defence of the Empire was the main priority for the Army during the 1930s
- analysis of the strength of the Army, its equipment and its training of soldiers
- the Emergency Powers (Defence Act) of August 1938 allowed the government to take measures in defence of the nation and to maintain public order
- the Defence Act contained around 100 measures aimed at calling up military reservists and Air Raid Precautions (ARP) volunteers for mobilisation
- the Military Training Act of 27 April 1939. All British men aged 20 and 21 who were fit and able were required to undergo six months' military training
- the National Service (Armed Forces) Act made all able men between the ages of 18 and 41 liable for conscription, as part of the legislation it was decided that single men would be called up before married men
- men aged 20 to 23 were required to register on 21 October 1939 — the start of a long and drawn-out process of registration by age group, which only saw 40-year-olds registering in June 1941
- by the end of 1939 more than 1·5 million men had been conscripted to join the British armed forces. Of those, just over 1·1 million went to the British Army and the rest were split between the Royal Navy and the RAF.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source:

The Navy

- the Royal Navy was the largest in the world in 1939. It consisted of 15 large battleships, 15 heavy cruisers, 46 light cruisers, 7 aircraft carriers, 181 destroyers and 59 submarines. However, only about half had been modernised and the rest were deficient in horizontal armour needed for protection against modern, long-range shellfire
- The strategic role of the Royal Navy, defending the Empire and protecting Britain's sea routes
- anti-submarine measures to combat the U-boats menace. However Coastal Command was not sufficiently prepared in 1939 to locate and destroy U-boats.

The RAF

- the relative strengths of Bomber and Fighter Command at the beginning of the war
- in September 1939 Bomber Command consisted of 55 squadrons (920 aircraft). However, only about 350 of these were suitable for long-range operations. Fighter Command had 39 squadrons (600 aircraft) but the RAF only had 96 reconnaissance aircraft
- development and introduction of impressive new RAF fighters (which replaced biplanes) Spitfires and Hurricanes, which were a match for the Luftwaffe
- development of radar (RDF) and its crucial importance to the defence of Britain.

The Norway Campaign

- the degree to which the Norway campaign and the evacuation at Dunkirk showed up exactly how unprepared the armed forces were.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Charles Loch Mowatt	Argues that the Army had been the most neglected of the services.
Robert Mackay	Contends that Britain was unprepared for a role in land warfare, half-prepared for war in the air. Only for naval warfare was Britain equipped like a Great Power and ready for action.
David Dilks	Believes that the RAF's requests for appropriations were over fulfilled and this pattern of emphasis on the RAF remained more or less constant until 1939.
Robert McKay	Suggests that the Royal Navy was in a reasonably healthy state in September 1939.

Question 87

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 candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

Aspect of Source B		Possible comment on the provenance of the source
Author	Winston Churchill.	Written by the wartime Prime Minister, 1940–1945, who dominated and directed both political and military matters.
Purpose	to record the history of the Second World War as seen through Churchill's eyes.	To promote his role as a war leader. The account may be biased in Churchill's favour. 'History will be kind to me. I know, for I shall write it' (apt paraphrase).
Timing	written in 1948.	Shortly after the conflict was over and when these events were a very recent memory. Churchill was in opposition having lost the 1945 General Election.

Point identified in Source B	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
Londoners were seen at their best. On my way to King's Cross the sirens sounded, the streets began to empty, except for long queues of very tired people waiting for the last bus.	When the sirens sounded the streets of London became deserted with the exception of exhausted people waiting for the last bus.
I feared that the long nights for millions in the crowded street shelters would perhaps produce epidemics of influenza, diphtheria, the common cold.	The very large number of individuals sheltering together could result in the spread of illness.
Six or seven million people living in a great built up area, the smashing of their sewers and water supply.	Very many people facing a potential threat to public health by the destruction of the sewers which may lead to contamination of the water supply.
Whole streets had every window smashed by the blast of a single bomb.	Huge amount of damage to property caused by one bomb.

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

- over 13,000 people were killed in September and October 1940, and however much suffering this represented, it was much smaller figure than had been feared
- it is argued that very many people ignored the air raid sirens and did not shelter and simply remained in bed
- 60% of London's buildings were damaged or destroyed
- the number of Londoners made homeless by the middle of October 1940 was around 250,000 — far greater than expected.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the source

- the Blitz commenced in September 1940 and came to an end in May 1941
- London was bombed for 57 nights in a row
- 10th May 1941 London suffered its worst night, but this was the last night of the Blitz
- 30,000 people were killed during the Blitz
- on the 13th and 14th March 1941 Clydebank was bombed with over 500 killed and over 600 injured
- in Clydebank over 4,000 houses were completely destroyed
- Clydebank raids were not a military success from the German perspective
- Coventry was bombed in November 1940 and was the single most concentrated attack on a British city in World War Two
- in Coventry over 550 people were killed and more than 43,000 homes, just over half the city's housing stock, were damaged or destroyed in the raid
- in areas of extensive bombing, London, Clydebank and Coventry people had to be recruited as fire crews and air raid wardens to prevent large scale damage to infrastructure
- Southampton, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield were bombed
- however German bombing did not seriously hamper British war production
- German bombing had little effect on British morale, in fact there is an argument that bombing may have helped morale, the 'Blitz Spirit'
- contemporary newsreels show the spirit of the Blitz, people pulling together and helping each other in their hour of need
- those who advocate that a spirit of the Blitz did exist claim that the British were at their best in this period of extreme adversity
- there was no wide scale collapse of civilian morale
- some would argue that the theory that there was unity at this time was indeed a myth. Class was used as a barrier for people to access air raid shelters in the more expensive London hotel, where only customers and guests were allowed to use the facilities
- there was a large black market in rationed goods, these were affordable to those who could afford to pay a premium price for them
- argument that the government were slow to make available Anderson Shelters to those who couldn't afford them
- overall shelter provision was poor in the areas most affected by bombing
- the Blitz caused widespread homelessness and medical care for the victims had to be planned carefully to offer the best service
- second wave of evacuation due to the Blitz.

Historians	**Perspective on the issue**
Andrew Roberts	Remains steadfast in his adherence to the 'finest hour' argument and insists that the British people were indeed at their best in this period of crisis and that morale was rock solid.
Nick Tiratsoo and Stuart Hylton	Are more sceptical view of this thesis and their assertion that morale was nowhere near as high as suggested, citing widespread panic and anger in the East End of London at inadequate shelter provision as well as the widespread incidence of industrial unrest especially on the Clyde where workers often saw their employers as a greater enemy than Hitler.
Angus Calder and Harold L Smith	Makes several references to the huge increase in opportunistic crime during the Blitz.
Juliet Gardiner	Highlights government concerns about morale and the efforts made to gauge the mood of the people.

Question 88

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 forces' vote was very strong.	The armed forces vote went overwhelmingly to the Labour Party.
Think it was a feeling that if the war had been won on a collective basis, and if you win the war on that basis you could organise the peace on that basis.	There was popular support for the continuation of a more cohesive society as the war had been won by a collective effort.
Four or five Labour leaders had become familiar.	During the war several Labour ministers had a high public profile and it was eminently feasible for the public to envisage these same individuals to be members of a Labour Government.
Churchill's rather ill-judged attempt to present them as close colleagues during the war who'd suddenly become wild men overnight, obviously backfired.	Churchill worked well with socialists in the War Cabinet. He tried now to present them as extreme socialists which was not believed.

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

- unpopular Conservative austerity policies of the 1930s
- the 'never again' mentality was well to the fore in 1945 and that fears of a return to mass unemployment and the hungry 30s persuaded many to vote Labour
- ABCA was accused by some Conservatives of unfairly encouraging the members of the armed services to vote Labour
- the result of the 1945 General Election came as a surprise to many. The votes of men serving in the Forces were decisive — Alfred Duff Cooper, (Conservative politician).

Point identified in Source D	Possible comment which shows the candidate has interpreted the significant view(s)
The Conservatives seeking to exploit Churchill's experience on the world stage when compared with Attlee, placed an altogether greater emphasis on overseas policy in their campaign.	Conservatives placed more emphasis on foreign policy in their campaign which played to Churchill's strength.
The Labour campaign was both carefully orchestrated and purposefully conducted.	The Labour Party ran a well-planned and organised campaign.
Labour's manifesto commitment was to a more far-reaching national insurance scheme based upon reinstating the principle of subsistence level payments.	Labour wanted to implement a more ambitious national insurance system than the Conservatives were proposing.
Labour candidates throughout the campaign emphasised their belief that a free and comprehensive health service was a central component of any new welfare system.	Labour candidates promised the creation of an NHS if elected to power.

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

- Churchill broadcast a very negative speech about the Labour Party in the run-up to the 1945 election, his ill-judged 'Gestapo Speech'. He expressed views that the public largely rejected and subsequently the Conservatives lost votes at the election
- Labour Ministers such as Attlee, Dalton, Morrison and Bevin were high profile during the war and had gained a great deal of experience organising the Home Front
- the popular view was that these Labour ministers now had the experience to run the country during peacetime
- election manifestos — the Labour Party manifesto, Let Us Face the Future, was more in tune with what the public wanted rather than the dated Conservative manifesto
- the Conservatives were associated with the then unpopular policy of appeasement and the poverty and unemployment of the 1930s, 'the Ghost of Neville Chamberlain'
- the perceived success of large scale government intervention in all aspects of daily life during the war led many to believe that such an approach to government should be tried in peacetime and that Labour was the only party advocating such an approach
- the Soviet Union had a planned economy and the Red Army had been pivotal in defeating Nazi Germany. The Labour Party was associated much more with central planning than the Conservatives were which possibly helped the Labour Party at the polls.

Points of knowledge which offer wider contextualisation of the sources

- Churchill neglected Conservative Party interests during the war
- Churchill was too reliant upon his war reputation
- the Conservatives took for granted a public gratitude for winning the war which they wrongly assumed would result in support for them at the polls
- the Conservatives focused too much on Churchill's charismatic leadership, Conservatives were blamed for the military defeats at the beginning of the war, 'Tories were unlikely to win any general election after the evacuation of British forces from Dunkirk in June 1940' Paul Addison
- published in December 1942, the Beveridge Report sold a very impressive 635,000 copies
- the contrasting response of Labour and the Conservatives to the Beveridge Report. Churchill said that decisions about implementing the Beveridge Report must await the outcome of the election at the end of the war
- Churchill and the Conservatives failed to appreciate the widespread support which the Beveridge Report enjoyed, this was a crucial missed opportunity on their part
- Labour firmly tapped into the mood of the nation for a 'New Jerusalem', a better future for all post war
- the Conservatives appeared reluctant to engage in a national discussion about future welfare reform which counted against them at the polls
- many would argue that the Tories' lukewarm response to the Beveridge Report sealed their fate at the election and that the electorate trusted Labour far more with the task of reconstructing Britain and delivering the 'New Jerusalem'
- the significance of the ten-year election gap. Prior to 1945 there had not been an election since 1935 due to war. Arguably if there had been an election in 1940 the Labour Party would have won many seats. The number of Labour MPs was 'artificially low'
- Labour campaigned in favour of full employment, nationalisation of certain industries, social security and housing in its manifesto, Let Us Face the Future
- the Conservatives complained that the Labour Party's election agents had been in place throughout the war whilst theirs had been serving in the forces Hence the Conservatives were not well organised when an election was called
- the Labour Party was much better organised than the Conservatives. Indeed, some constituencies were not contested by the Conservatives and the prospective candidates effectively were handed a seat in parliament
- the General Election of 1945 was not a betrayal of Winston Churchill, rather it was a positive vote in favour of a dream — the New Jerusalem that so many wanted to build and they trusted Labour to build it
- the role of the media. Left wing ideas and beliefs were increasingly promoted by individualists such as JB Priestley's Postscript on the radio.

Historians	Perspective on the issue
Paul Adelman	Argues that Conservative smear tactics during the election campaign was an important factor in them losing the election.
Michael Jago	Contends that the Prime Minister's most violent criticism turned out to be his biggest blunder of the election (on Churchill's Gestapo Speech).
Henry Pelling	Justifies the overwhelming support for Labour as a reaction to Conservative rule in the 1930s.
Steven Fielding	Argues that the winner of the election would simply be the party who whole heartedly advocated the social change proposed in the Beveridge Report regardless of label and campaign style.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]

