



## General Certificate of Education

# History 5041/6041

*Alternative T Liberal Democracies, c1787–c1939*

## Mark Scheme

*2005 examination – June series*

Mark schemes are prepared by the Principal Examiner and considered, together with the relevant questions, by a panel of subject teachers. This mark scheme includes any amendments made at the standardisation meeting attended by all examiners and is the scheme which was used by them in this examination. The standardisation meeting ensures that the mark scheme covers the candidates' responses to questions and that every examiner understands and applies it in the same correct way. As preparation for the standardisation meeting each examiner analyses a number of candidates' scripts: alternative answers not already covered by the mark scheme are discussed at the meeting and legislated for. If, after this meeting, examiners encounter unusual answers which have not been discussed at the meeting they are required to refer these to the Principal Examiner.

It must be stressed that a mark scheme is a working document, in many cases further developed and expanded on the basis of candidates' reactions to a particular paper. Assumptions about future mark schemes on the basis of one year's document should be avoided; whilst the guiding principles of assessment remain constant, details will change, depending on the content of a particular examination paper.

## **CRITERIA FOR MARKING GCE HISTORY:**

### **AS and A2 EXAMINATION PAPERS**

#### **General Guidance for Examiners**

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#### **A: INTRODUCTION**

The AQA's revised AS/A2 History specification has been designed to be 'objectives-led' in that questions are set which address the assessment objectives published in the Board's specifications. These cover the normal range of skills, knowledge and understanding which have been addressed by AS and A2 level candidates for a number of years.

Most questions will address more than one objective reflecting the fact that, at AS/A2 level, high-level historical skills, including knowledge and understanding, are usually deployed together.

The revised specification has addressed subject content through the identification of 'key questions' which focus on important historical issues. These 'key questions' give emphasis to the view that GCE History is concerned with the analysis of historical problems and issues, the study of which encourages candidates to make judgements grounded in evidence and information.

The schemes of marking for the new specification reflect these underlying principles. The mark scheme which follows is of the 'levels of response' type showing that candidates are expected to demonstrate their mastery of historical skills in the context of their knowledge and understanding of History.

Consistency of marking is of the essence in all public examinations. This factor is particularly important in a subject like History which offers a wide choice of subject content options or alternatives within the specification for AS and A2.

It is therefore of vital importance that assistant examiners apply the marking scheme as directed by the Principal Examiner in order to facilitate comparability with the marking of other alternatives and across all the specifications offered by the Board.

Before scrutinising and applying the detail of the specific mark scheme which follows, assistant examiners are required to familiarise themselves with the instructions and guidance on the general principles to apply in determining into which level of response an answer should fall (Section B for AS and Section C for A2) and in deciding on a mark within a particular level of response (Section D).

**B: EXEMPLIFICATION OF AS LEVEL DESCRIPTORS**

**Level 1:**

The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place.

**Exemplification/Guidance**

Answers at this level will

- be excessively generalised and indiscriminating with little reference to the focus of the question
- lack specific factual information relevant to the issues
- lack awareness of the specific context
- be limited in the ability to communicate clearly in an organised manner, and demonstrate limited grammatical accuracy.

**Level 2:**

***Either***

Demonstrates by relevant selection of material some understanding of a range of issues.

***Or***

Demonstrates by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of a wider range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links.

**Exemplification/Guidance**

*Either* responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- offer a relevant but outline only description in response to the question
- contain some irrelevance and inaccuracy
- demonstrate coverage of some parts of the question but be lacking in balance
- have some direction and focus demonstrated through introductions or conclusions
- demonstrate some effective use of language, but be loose in structure and limited grammatically

*Or* responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- show understanding of some but not all of the issues in varying depth
- provide accurate factual information relevant to the issues
- demonstrate some understanding of linkages between issues
- have some direction and focus through appropriate introductions or conclusions
- demonstrate some effective use of language, but be loose in structure and limited grammatically.

**Level 3:**

Demonstrates by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of some issues relevant to the question. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight or balance.

**Exemplification/guidance**

These responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- present arguments which have some focus and relevance, but which are limited in scope
- demonstrate an awareness of the specific context
- contain some accurate but limited factual support
- attempt all parts of the question, but coverage will lack balance and/or depth
- demonstrate some effective use of language, be coherent in structure but limited grammatically.

**Level 4:**

Demonstrates by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation.

**Exemplification/guidance**

These responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- be largely analytical but will include some narrative
- deploy relevant factual material effectively, although this may not be comprehensive
- develop an argument which is focused and relevant
- cover all parts of the question but will treat some aspects in greater depth than others
- use language effectively in a coherent and generally grammatically correct style.

**Level 5:**

As L4, but contains judgement as demanded by the question, which may be implicit or partial.

**Exemplification/guidance**

These responses will have the following characteristics: they will

- offer sustained analysis, with relevant supporting detail
- maintain a consistent argument which may, however, be incompletely developed and in places, unconvincing,
- cover all parts of the question with a reasonable balance between the parts
- attempt to offer judgement, but this may be partial and in the form of a conclusion or a summary
- communicate effectively through accurate, fluent and well directed prose.

**C: EXEMPLIFICATION OF A LEVEL (A2) DESCRIPTORS**

The relationship between the Assessment Objectives (AOs) 1.1, 1.2 and 2 and the Levels of Response.

A study of the generic levels of response mark scheme will show that candidates who operate solely or predominantly in AO 1.1, by writing a narrative or descriptive response, will restrict themselves to a maximum of 6 out of 20 marks by performing at Level 1. Those candidates going on to provide more explanation (AO 1.2), supported by the relevant selection of material (AO1.1), will have access to approximately 6 more marks, performing at Level 2 and low Level 3, depending on how implicit or partial their judgements prove to be. Candidates providing explanation with evaluation and judgement, supported by the selection of appropriate information and exemplification, will clearly be operating in all 3 AOs (AO 2, AO1.2 and AO1.1) and will therefore have access to the highest levels and the full range of 20 marks by performing in Levels 3, 4 and 5.

**Level 1:**

*Either*

Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly, or wholly narrative.

*Or*

Answer implies analysis but is excessively generalised, being largely or wholly devoid of specific information. Such answers will amount to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place.

**Exemplification/guidance**

Narrative responses will have the following characteristic: they

- will lack direction and any clear links to the analytical demands of the question
- will, therefore, offer a relevant but outline-only description in response to the question
- will be limited in terms of communication skills, organisation and grammatical accuracy.

Assertive responses: at this level, such responses will:

- lack any significant corroboration
- be generalised and poorly focused
- demonstrate limited appreciation of specific content
- be limited in terms of communication skills, organisation and grammatical accuracy.

**IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN THIS TYPE OF RESPONSE AND THOSE WHICH ARE SUCCINCT AND UNDEVELOPED BUT FOCUSED AND VALID (appropriate for Level 2 or above).**

**Level 2:***Either*

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but lack weight and balance.

*Or*

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links.

**Exemplification/guidance**

Narrative responses will have the following characteristics:

- understanding of some but not all of the issues
- some direction and focus demonstrated largely through introductions or conclusions
- some irrelevance and inaccuracy
- coverage of all parts of the question but be lacking in balance
- some effective use of the language, be coherent in structure, but limited grammatically.

Analytical responses will have the following characteristics:

- arguments which have some focus and relevance
- an awareness of the specific context
- some accurate but limited factual support
- coverage of all parts of the question but be lacking in balance
- some effective use of language, be coherent in structure, but limited grammatically.

**Level 3:**

Demonstrates by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of a range of issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial.

**Exemplification/guidance**

Level 3 responses will be characterised by the following:

- the approach will be generally analytical but may include some narrative passages which will be limited and controlled
- analysis will be focused and substantiated, although a complete balance of treatment of issues is not to be expected at this level nor is full supporting material
- there will be a consistent argument which may, however, be incompletely developed, not fully convincing or which may occasionally digress into narrative
- there will be relevant supporting material, although not necessarily comprehensive, which might include reference to interpretations
- effective use of language, appropriate historical terminology and coherence of style.

**Level 4:**

Demonstrates by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope.

**Exemplification/guidance**

Answers at this level have the following characteristics:

- sustained analysis, explicitly supported by relevant and accurate evidence
- little or no narrative, usually in the form of exemplification
- coverage of all the major issues, although there may not be balance of treatment
- an attempt to offer judgement, but this may be partial and in the form of a conclusion or summary
- effective skills of communication through the use of accurate, fluent and well directed prose.

**Level 5:**

As Level 4 but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question.

**Exemplification/guidance**

Level 5 will be differentiated from Level 4 in that there will be:

- a consistently analytical approach
- consistent corroboration by reference to selected evidence
- a clear and consistent attempt to reach judgements
- some evidence of independence of thought, but not necessarily of originality
- a good conceptual understanding
- strong and effective communication skills, grammatically accurate and demonstrating coherence and clarity of thought.

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**D: DECIDING ON MARKS WITHIN A LEVEL**

*These principles are applicable to both the Advanced Subsidiary examination and to the A level (A2) examination.*

Good examining is, ultimately, about the **consistent application of judgement**. Mark schemes provide the necessary framework for exercising that judgement but it cannot cover all eventualities. This is especially so in subjects like History, which in part rely upon different interpretations and different emphases given to the same content. One of the main difficulties confronting examiners is: “What precise mark should I give to a response *within* a level?”. Levels may cover four, five or even six marks. From a maximum of 20, this is a large proportion. In making a decision about a specific mark to award, it is vitally important to think *first* of the mid-range within the level, where the level covers more than two marks. Comparison with other candidates’ responses **to the same question** might then suggest that such an award would be unduly generous or severe.

In making a decision away from the middle of the level, examiners should ask themselves several questions relating to candidate attainment, **including the quality of written communication skills**. The more positive the answer, the higher should be the mark awarded. We want to avoid “bunching” of marks. Levels mark schemes can produce regression to the mean, which should be avoided.

So, is the response:

- precise in its use of factual information?
- appropriately detailed?
- factually accurate?
- appropriately balanced, or markedly better in some areas than in others?
- and, **with regard to the quality of written communication skills:** generally coherent in expression and cogent in development (as appropriate to the level awarded by organising relevant information clearly and coherently, using specialist vocabulary and terminology)?
- well-presented as to general quality of language, i.e. use of syntax (including accuracy in spelling, punctuation and grammar)? (In operating this criterion, however, it is important to avoid “double jeopardy”. Going to the bottom of the mark range for a level in each part of a structured question might well result in too harsh a judgement. The overall aim is to mark positively, giving credit for what candidates know, understand and can do, rather than looking for reasons to reduce marks.)

It is very important that Assistant Examiners **do not** always start at the lowest mark within the level and look for reasons to increase the level of reward from the lowest point. This will depress marks for the alternative in question and will cause problems of comparability with other question papers within the same specification.



## June 2005

### Alternative T: Liberal Democracies, c1787-c1939

#### AS Unit 2: The Emergence of Democracies, 1787-1832

##### Question 1

- (a) Use **Source A** and your own knowledge.

Explain briefly the meaning of “rotten boroughs” in the context of opposition to the 1832 Reform Act. (3 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- L1: Basic explanation of the term using the source, e.g. boroughs which had previously had large populations, but despite a decline in their population still retained two MPs. May give examples (Old Sarum, Dunwich, Gatton etc). 1
- L2: Demonstrates developed understanding of the term and its significance in relation to the context, e.g. links to the context of opposition. Rotten boroughs were considered to be part of the greater whole that should not be disturbed, and also allowed the entry of promising young men into parliament at an age young enough to serve an apprenticeship. They also allowed new wealth access to political power as they could be bought. 2-3

- (b) Use **Source B** and your own knowledge.

How useful is **Source B** as evidence of Tory reasons for their opposition to reform? (7 marks)

Whilst candidates are expected to deploy own knowledge in assessing the degree to which the sources differ/the utility of the source, such deployment may well be implicit and it would be inappropriate to penalise full effective answers which do not explicitly contain ‘own knowledge’. The effectiveness of the comparison/assessment of utility will be greater where it is clear that the candidates are aware of the context; indeed, in assessing utility, this will be very significant. It would be inappropriate, however, to expect direct and specific reference to ‘pieces’ of factual content.

*Target: AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: Basic evaluation of the utility/reliability of the source either from own knowledge or based on provenance, e.g. Twiss is a Tory therefore he represents some of their views, the source dates from the discussions about the first reform bill. May make general comments about ‘bias’ or fail to link comments on content to the issue of utility. Paraphrase of the source is likely. 1-2
- L2: Developed evaluation of utility/reliability of the source in relation to the issue linking source, own knowledge and provenance, e.g. Perceval gives several Tory reasons for reform, based on their fear of damaging a system that works, on the threat to the

Monarchy etc. However, he is trying to persuade fellow members of parliament and so he doesn't mention Tory concerns over aristocratic privilege, loss of rotten boroughs the party could control, uses emotive language ('death blow') etc. Own knowledge may be implicit (i.e. evident in the contextual understanding). **3-5**

L3: Developed evaluation, drawing conclusions about utility/reliability based on strengths and weaknesses and judged against the context, e.g. Twiss presents the Tory case as they would wish the world to be aware of it; he does not share the reasons of self-interest for the party opposing reform to a system that had enabled the Tories to dominate parliament since 1807. **6-7**

(c) Use **Sources A, B** and **C** and your own knowledge.

“Opposition to reform in the period 1830–1832 was driven by fears of revolution.”  
Explain why agree or disagree with this statement. **(15 marks)**

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

L1: The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating, amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place, based *either* on own knowledge *or* the sources. **1-4**

L2: ***Either***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, some understanding of a range of relevant issues.

***Or***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on description, but will have valid links.

***Or***

Demonstrates, by limited selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the relevant issues. These answers, while relevant, will lack both range and depth and will contain some assertion. **5-8**

L3: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, some understanding of the demands of the question. **9-11**

L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation. **12-13**

L5: As L4, but contains judgement, as demanded by the question, which may be implicit and partial.

**14-15**

## Indicative content

The French Revolution was still fresh in Parliament's mind in 1831/32. Moreover the revolution of 1830 in France was part of the immediate context of the Reform movement. Source C refers to the fears that reform would end in a French style disaster, with its reference to violence and anarchy. 'Military rule' was also a real fear, as was the future of the monarchy (Source B) and the aristocracy. Young men of 1789 were in power in 1831/2 and many had read Burke (Source C). The fear of the French disease could be linked to English radicalism, (Birmingham Political Union, Paine, universal suffrage and the secret ballot etc).

Balance should be offered by referring to other factors, e.g. the fact that the system worked well given the wealth of Britain, freedom, the organic nature of the constitution, the way the anomalies allowed talented men to enter the ranks (Source A) as well as allowing new wealth to be represented (Source B), e.g. the vested interest of the aristocracy e.g. the fact that voting was not considered to be a right, that all interests were represented (Source B) by virtual representation.

## Question 2

- (a) Comment on the "Philadelphia Convention" in the context of the USA in 1787. (3 marks)

*Target: AO1.1*

- L1: Basic or partial explanation of the issue based on either the source or own knowledge, e.g. meeting of US states that produced the Constitution. **1**
- L2: Developed explanation demonstrating understanding of the issue based on both the source and own knowledge, e.g. meeting of twelve states (Rhode Island excepted) to rewrite the Articles of Confederation, but wrote a new Constitution. Fifty-five 'founding fathers', convention chaired by Washington etc. **2-3**

- (b) Explain why the "Great Compromise" was adopted at the Philadelphia Convention in July 1787. (7 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- L1: Demonstrates implicit understanding of the issue, e.g. States could not agree on issues of political organisation. **1-2**
- L2: Demonstrates understanding of specific factors through relevant and appropriately selected material, e.g. the Virginia Plan was unacceptable as it threatened small states with its intention to base representation on population, whilst the large states found the New Jersey Plan unacceptable as it would give each state equal representation regardless of size. May be linked to the need to get all the states to agree so that a strong Federal Government could be created to protect the states from domestic and foreign threats. **3-5**

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- L3: Demonstrates explicit understanding of a range of factors, and prioritises, makes links and draws conclusions in order to provide an explanation, e.g. pressure from Federalists for a strong central government saw them attempt any compromise that would allow a United States. **6-7**
- (c) Explain the importance of ideas, in relation to other factors, on the terms of the US Constitution. **(15 marks)**
- Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*
- L1: The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place. **1-4**
- L2: ***Either***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues.
- Or***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a wider range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links. **5-8**
- L3: Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of some of the issues relevant to the question. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight and balance. **9-11**
- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation. **12-13**
- L5: As L4, but contains judgement, as demanded by the question, which may be implicit or partial. **14-15**

### **Indicative content**

Answers need to consider whether the US Constitution reflects ideas, (especially liberalism and democracy), or whether it was motivated by practical concerns. At lower levels answers may simply describe the terms of the constitution, or talk generally about ideas, without any direct reference to the terms of the constitution.

Higher level answers should link ideas to the terms of the constitution. *Liberalism* (no religious tests for office) and especially, *democracy*: House of Representatives elected by the people every two years, number of representatives in direct relation to the size of each state's population, local state government remained, some separation of powers, e.g. the President could not be part of the Congress, both Houses had to approve a bill for it to become law, no monarchy or elected positions. Alternatively they might reject ideas and focus on practical concerns, linked to specific terms.

Balance could be provided by some assessment of both ideas and practical concerns. The practical concerns over the need to gain ratification by large and small states alike, the threats to stability in 1789 and the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation could all be mentioned to argue against ideas, with reference to the ‘Great Compromise’ and the ‘3/5ths compromise’ on slavery. Practical terms of the constitution include the lack of *freedom*, limits to state power. Congress’s right to impose direct taxation on the states; and the lack of *democracy* – the property qualification to vote, gender, colour and age bars, Senators appointed by state legislators meaning indirect election at best, two senators per state, regardless of the state’s size. President had to be over thirty-five and was chosen by indirect election, the executive had immense powers.

At Level 5 answers should consider both arguments before reaching a judgement – that the context meant that democracy had to be ensured, but liberalism was restricted by omission to prevent a re-occurrence of the problems the US faced under the Articles of Confederation.

### Question 3

- (a) Comment on the “National Assembly” in the context of the French Revolution in 1789. (3 marks)

*Target: AO1.1*

- L1: Basic or partial explanation of the issue based on either the source or own knowledge, e.g. government established in 1789. 1
- L2: Developed explanation demonstrating understanding of the issue based on both the source and own knowledge, e.g. the body established following the Tennis Court Oath that governed France from 1789. Dominated by the Third Estate and responsible for reforms like the abolition of feudalism. 2-3

- (b) Explain why religious liberty was granted to non-Catholics in France in the years 1790 and 1791. (7 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- L1: Demonstrates implicit understanding of the issue, e.g. to give non-Catholics freedom. May identify Protestants and Jews as the non-Catholics given freedom. May paraphrase the source and suggest they were needed in the army etc. 1-2
- L2: Demonstrates understanding of specific factors through relevant and appropriately selected material, e.g. the fundamental liberal belief in religious toleration, the influence of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the general climate of anti-clericalism in revolutionary France. 3-5
- L3: Demonstrates explicit understanding of a range of factors, and prioritises, makes links and draws conclusions in order to provide an explanation, e.g. may suggest the reforms were far more symbolic than practical as there were so few Protestants in France anyway. 6-7
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- (c) Did the reforms introduced by the National Assembly in the years 1789 to 1791 make France a liberal democracy? Explain your answer. (15 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: The answer is excessively generalised and indiscriminating amounting to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place. **1-4**
- L2: ***Either***  
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. **5-8**
- Or***  
Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a wider range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links. **5-8**
- L3: Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of some of the issues relevant to the question. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight and balance. **9-11**
- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the question and provides a balanced explanation. **12-13**
- L5: As L4, but contains judgement, as demanded by the question, which may be implicit or partial. **14-15**

### Indicative content

The question focuses on the impact of the reforms of the years 1789-1792, and required assessment of how far they created a genuinely liberal and democratic country.

Low level answers may simply describe the reforms without linking them to the question, or make general statements about liberalism and democracy. The source may be used to make reference in religious liberty. Higher level answers should offer analysis with reference to both the issues of Feudalism, hereditary titles, Parlement and the absolute monarchy, along with religious toleration. *Democracy* could be addressed by considering the creation of a single-chamber elected legislature. Balance would be provided by considering evidence that there were still restrictions on freedom (*liberalism*) – privileges were maintained in the short term by the abolition of feudalism with compensation – and *democracy*, with indirect election and a limited franchise; by age, occupancy, occupation and level of tax paid. Membership of the National Assembly was restricted to those who paid the equivalent of fifty days labour in taxes. The powers of the monarchy were also not extinguished. For Level 5 judgement is also required, though this may take the form of an extended conclusion. The contemporary perception of the idealistic revolution may be contrasted with the 21st century view.

## June 2005

### Alternative T: Liberal Democracies, c1787-c1939

#### A2 Unit 5: The Development of Democracies

##### Question 1

- (a) Study **Sources A** and **B** and use your own knowledge.

To what extent does **Source B** support the conclusions of **Source A** on the success of the Conservative Party in the years 1867 to 1900? (10 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2*

- L1: Extracts simple statements from the sources or refers to own knowledge to demonstrate agreement/disagreement on the issue/event which is the subject of debate. 1-2
- L2: Demonstrates explicit understanding of aspects of agreement/disagreement on the issue/event which is the subject of debate, with reference to either sources and/or own knowledge. 3-5
- L3: Demonstrates explicit understanding of similarity and difference of interpretation in relation to the debate and offers some explanation. 6-8
- L4: Uses appropriately selected material, from both sources and own knowledge, to reach a sustained judgement on the extent of similarity and difference in interpretation in relation to the debate. 9-10

##### Indicative content

Source A argues that the 1867 Reform Act benefited the Conservative Party ('positive advantages') and Source B supports this as Conservative seats in London grew from 3 in 1868 to 51 by 1900. Source A also argues that 1867 did not give the working class direct political power, which should have damaged the Conservative Party, and Source B supports this as the trend throughout the period is of increased Conservative support. Furthermore, Source A suggest that the 1880s saw the 'fundamental break in English political life' and closer examination of Source B reveals that the Conservatives major breakthrough in London came in 1885, which can be linked to the 1884 Third Reform Act and more specifically the 1885 Redistribution Act.

However, Source A suggests that the period was one of Conservative success as the party gained the most advantages from the 1867 Reform Act, whereas Source B would suggest that the Conservatives actually benefited little in London until the 1884 Reform Act. Own knowledge could be used to talk about the working class support for the Liberals and Gladstone in 1868 and 1880.

Own knowledge could also be used to expand on points made as suggested above, or to place arguments in context.

- (b) Use **Sources A, B** and **C** and your own knowledge.

“The growth of democracy, rather than the errors of the liberal Party, was responsible for the success of the Conservative Party in the years 1874 to 1905.”

Assess the validity of this view. (20 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly, or wholly, narrative. **1-6**
- L2: ***Either***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands but will lack weight and balance.
- Or***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. These answers, while relevant, will lack both range and depth and will contain some assertion. **7-11**
- L3: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial. **12-15**
- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope. **16-18**
- L5: As L4, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with a selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question. **19-20**

### **Indicative content**

Answers should assess the relative importance of the benefits to the Conservative Party of the democratic developments of the period and the mistakes of the Liberal Party. Other synoptic factors could also be considered, including the leadership of Disraeli and Salisbury, the potency of conservatism, party organisation and contingent factors like the Boer War. Synoptic understanding may be demonstrated by arguing that the Conservatives reacted to the growth of democracy better than the Liberals who made mistakes with their policies and strategy.



### **Democracy**

The 1867 Reform Act enfranchised the urban working class. Fearing the growth of working class power the majority of the middle class transferred allegiance to the Conservatives after 1874, the so-called ‘Villa Toryism’. Redistribution benefited the Conservatives; in 1867, +25 to Tory counties, only +20 to Liberal dominated boroughs; borough electorate increased by 135%, counties by only 45%, yet county seats increased from 253 to 280, while borough seats declined from 399 to 369; Conservative areas were over-represented e.g. Wiltshire with an electorate of 450,000 had 25 seats, while London with 3 million voters had 24 seats; 1885 redistribution bill introduced single member constituencies, with the boundaries drawn to separate inner-city working class areas which voted Liberal from the middle-class suburbs where ‘Villa Toryism’ was becoming a crucial phenomenon – Source B can be used to illustrate this, along with Source A with its reference to advantages of electoral strategy.

### **Liberal Mistakes**

Party were divided for much of the period (Source C), the most damaging example of which is the split of the party over Home Rule in 1886. Liberal Unionists left the party and fought a bitter election campaign against the Liberal Party in 1886; Liberals managed to upset their natural supporters at various points e.g. non-conformist fury at 1870 Education Act, Whig magnates finally deserted in 1874 following the Land Act and the abolition of the purchase of army commissions, working class engaged by 1872 Criminal Law Amendment Act and by tax cuts planned before the 1874 election; 1872 Licensing Act; Liberal foreign policy 1868–1874 lacked glory as it emphasised on peace. The Conservative weaknesses that Source C refers to suggest that the Liberals’ mistakes were significant as they failed to take advantage of them.

### **Leadership**

Disraeli was quick to recognise the change to age of mass politics; he argued that 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act would secure working class support for the future. Tory pragmatism and simple message to the electorate of what Conservatism meant – maintaining the institutions, Empire and paternalism. Salisbury understood significance of redistribution bill attached to Third Reform Act; ensured redrawn boundaries benefited Conservatives; passed 1888 Local Government Act to provide democratic county councils to appease newly enfranchised labourers – always understood the significance of the need to respond to the electorate (Source C); held election soon after the Liberal Party split to ensure it became permanent; fought and won the Boer War (Source C).

### **Party Organisation**

Wealth; 1870 Central Office set up to co-ordinate the party and elections; 1871 Gorst made National Party Agent; 1873 National Union of Conservative associations had 400 branches; 1891 National Society of Conservative Agents set up, along with newspaper, ‘The Tory’ which provided advice on how to register; 1891 30 full-time Conservative agents; Captain R.W.E. Middleton ran national Union of Conservative Associations; 1883 Primrose League, by 1910 2 million members.

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## Section B

Questions 2-7 are synoptic in nature and the rewarding of candidates' responses should be clearly linked to the range of factors or issues covered in the generic A2 Levels of Response mark scheme and by the indicative content in the specific mark scheme for each question.

### Standard Mark Scheme for Essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

**L1: *Either***

Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly or wholly narrative.

***Or***

Answer implies analysis, but is excessively generalised, being largely or wholly devoid of specific information. Such responses will amount to little more than assertion, involving generalisations which could apply to almost any time and/or place. **1-6**

**L2: *Either***

Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands, but will lack weight and balance.

***Or***

Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, implicit understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will be dependent on descriptions, but will have valid links. **7-11**

**L3:** Demonstrates, by selection of appropriate material, explicit understanding of a range of issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial. **12-15**

**L4:** Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope. **16-18**

**L5:** As L4, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the selection of a wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question. **19-20**

## Question 2

How far does the personality of Louis Napoleon explain the revival of republicanism in 1848 and its collapse by 1852? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

Candidates should assess the reasons for the fall of Louis-Phillippe and the collapse of the 2nd Republic by focusing initially on the role of Louis Napoleon in both events. It is perfectly reasonable, indeed likely, that candidates will argue that Louis Napoleon was of little significance in 1848, but crucial in 1852. They will demonstrate synoptic understanding by reference to other factors that explain the changing fortunes of republicanism. Lower level answers may struggle with the two-pronged focus of the question and may describe the events.

Louis Napoleon was of limited significance to the rise of republicanism in 1848. Instead, republicanism was strong in 1848 partly because of the inability of Louis-Phillippe to create a positive image for the monarchy due to his personal failings (less than glamorous image, unsuccessful foreign policy, lack of progressive/any domestic policy in the face of economic and social change), but also due to successful propaganda (including the banqueting campaign) and the inherent strength of republicanism, especially in Paris, since 1793. Social and economic circumstances were also powerful forces that could be compared to the social and economic circumstances. Synoptic links could be offered by arguing that socially the culture of republicanism was strong, and seemed to offer the solution to the economic problems facing France in 1848 (e.g. poor harvests in 1846/7 and artisan unemployment in Paris).

However, Republicanism was increasingly associated with failure by 1852, with the problems caused by the National Workshops and the limited attempts to use progressive taxation which pleased no one. The divisions amongst the movement could also be discussed (between the radical Parisians and the conservative/monarchist Provinces, the division amongst republicans between ‘Reds’ and the moderates, between landowners and the working class etc.).

The personality of Louis Napoleon though was also critical in 1848 and should be explored as a contrast to republicanism. His appeal as nephew and heir to the memory of Napoleon as well as the strength he derived from being the intellectual heir to Bonapartism could be explored, as well as the strength he derived from symbolising order, his support from the army and Catholic church and his actions in the coup of 1851/52.

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**Question 3**

How far did the Dreyfus affair intensify the social and political divisions that had existed in France since 1871? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

**Indicative content**

Answers should consider the reasons for the great divisions in French society. The Dreyfus affair was clearly responsible for exposing the conservative-liberal split in France, and the contrast between the bigotry of the church and army and the idealism of the intellectual community.

However, the actions of the Republic's governments could also be discussed, e.g. anti-clericalism, social and economic reform to benefit the urban working class which was limited because of opposition from the middle class and the rural majority. It might be argued that the Dreyfus affair reflected existing divisions as much as it intensified them, or that it created new divisions.

**Question 4**

“For the majority of its citizens, France by 1905 was neither liberal nor democratic.”  
How far do you agree with this statement? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

**Indicative content**

Candidates are asked to assess the extent of freedom (liberalism) and democracy in France by 1905. Reference to the key events of the years 1871 to 1905 may be seen, used to exemplify arguments in high level answers, or just as part of a narrative in low level answers.

**Democracy** is suggested by the system 1871-75 (effective republic, bicameral), constitution of 1875 (Wallon Amendment, limits to Presidential powers), and the effective ‘bottom-up’ system that developed, featuring government by the Deputies and Senators, whilst Ministers became merely administrators. Accountability of Ministers also suggests high-levels of democracy. The popularism of Boulanger may be argued to be the ultimate expression of democracy, whilst his refusal to seize power and establish military rule suggests a vibrant democratic culture.

However, the establishment of the Republic by default could be seen as undermining any real commitment to a democratic tradition, as could the custom adopted of allowing all members of the Chambers of Deputies to serve their full four year term, which meant there was no real accountability.

**Liberalism** could include reference to release of the Communards, freedom of the press, defence of Dreyfus and Waldeck-Rousseau's government of national defence. There might also be reference to economic liberalism, limited taxation and intervention in the economy so that business faced very few restrictions at least until the socialist Millerand began to intervene.

However, this was balanced by the crushing of the Paris Commune, restrictions on the rights of the clergy, the initial treatment of Dreyfus and economic intervention (tariffs, social insurance, minimum wages, 8 hour day etc).

### Question 5

“Issues were more important than personalities.”

How far do you agree with this explanation of the reasons for the outbreak of civil war in the United States in April 1861? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

Answers should consider the causes of the civil war, and should be rewarded for the range of synoptic factors they consider based on the two general factors of personal responsibility and social, economic and political issues.

Analysis of issues will undoubtedly include the role of slavery. State rights could also be considered, with reference to state sovereignty, the right to secede and the position of Fort Sumter. In both cases general points must be linked directly to the outbreak of war, perhaps by considering the south's fear that Lincoln would force abolition, or his defence of the Union in the face of the assertion of state rights. Clearly understanding of the inter-relationship of these factors, or indeed of personality and the social-economic context would suggest synoptic understanding.

Assessment of personalities offers the possibility to consider a range of individuals personal contributions to the outbreak of war. Lincoln is the most likely individual to be considered, though his involvement could be considered next to Davis. Lincoln's desire to preserve the union should be considered, with reference to his decision to force the seceding states back into the fold due to his belief in 'majority rule democracy'. His belief in slavery as a 'monstrous injustice' and the South's view of him as a northern abolitionist might be discussed. Davis's decision to attack Fort Sumter was the direct cause of the outbreak of war in April 1861.

Answers may also consider extremists on each side like John Brown or Preston Brooks, or even other prominent politicians that might be said to share the blame – Calhoun for his ‘platform of the South’ and its principle of nullification, Douglas for his unwitting promotion of Lincoln and his role in the Kansas-Nebraska fiasco, Buchanan for his failure to heal the divisions in 1859/60 etc.

### Question 6

“The search for personal freedom was less important than the chance for economic improvement.”

How far do you agree with this explanation of the reasons for the westward migration of Americans in the period 1840 to 1890? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

Answers should assess the different factors responsible for the western expansion of the Union in the period 1840-1890. Good answers will consider general factors supported by relevant examples of town/city/state development and offer some sense of the changing imperatives during the fifty-year period.

Personal freedom could be related to the frontier spirit of America and the liberty inherent in the establishment of the nation. The Mormons’ trek to Salt Lake City and the establishment of Utah is relevant, as is the influence of European immigrants like the Russian and Poles who brought strands of grain that would grow in the dust bowls of Kansas. Government encouragement through the promotion of the concept of Manifest Destiny might also be considered, linking O’Sullivan’s belief in the USA’s god-given right to dominate the continent to the belief in personal freedom. Consideration of Manifest Destiny might be offered as a further synoptic factor, drawing on material related to the conflict with the Mexicans, the British and especially the Native Americans, culminating at Wounded Knee in 1890. Weaker answers may descend into narratives of the Indian Wars.

Economic factors should include the gold rushes that led to the settlement of California and Dakota, the fortunes to be made from cattle rearing, especially after McCoy established the great railhead at Abilene, and the impetus from the 1862 Homestead Act with its offer of 160 free acres if they were settled and worked for five years.

Higher-level answers may offer evidence that other factors were more important, for example technological (e.g. barbed wire, wind-pumps, the steel-bladed plough and windmills). Alternatively, they might explore the inter-relation of the factors – the spirit of the age that was Manifest Destiny encouraged people to consider movement west, but the prospect of economic enhancement made this zeitgeist far more attractive.

### Question 7

“For the majority of its citizens, the United States by 1890 was neither liberal nor democratic.”

How far do you agree with this assessment? (20 marks)

Use standard mark scheme for essays at A2 (*without* reference to sources).

Marks as follows:

**L1: 1-6      L2: 7-11      L3: 12-15      L4: 16-18      L5: 19-20**

### Indicative content

Lower level answers will be limited to generalisations about rights and freedoms and the system of election, perhaps based on knowledge from the AS module, relating to the US Constitution as written in 1787. Answers which are narratives will probably focus on describing the position of African-Americans; the role of slavery in causing the civil war, the reconstruction period and the backlash after 1877. Analytical answers may consider the same material but with clear reference to democracy and individual rights. However, such answers would lack weight unless they looked beyond the position of African-Americans. Equally answers that assess only one of the two factors would also be limited, in this case by their lack of balance.

Reference might be seen to the 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> amendments relating to the abolition of slavery and equal rights for African-Americans (**liberal**), but also to the treatment of American Indians – reservations, destruction of bison, Americanisation and the cultural imperialism it implied, culminating in the Battle of Wounded Knee. The effect of immigration on the dominant WASP population and the Mormons’ movement to Utah are also examples of **illiberalism**.

US **democracy** could be discussed with reference to: the impact of public opinion on officials – resignation of Richardson (1874), Belknap (1876), the new constitutions for Southern states during reconstruction, the attempts by federal government to control big business when it acted undemocratically (1877 Interstate Commerce Act & the 1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act), civil service reform (Pendleton CS Act, 1883). The **lack of democracy** could be addressed by reference to the franchise and African-Americans (intimidation of Negro voters in the south, poll tax and the ‘grandfather clause’, exclusion from voters in Democratic primaries, literacy tests in 1880s, to the continued exclusion from women from voting), but also to the powers of patronage that culminated in the formation of the Civil Service Reform League in 1881, the power of big business, and the use of the veto 413 times by Cleveland.

Judgement might involve direct comparison of 1840 with 1890. It might take the form of assessing the extent of change across the period, or of the difference between theoretical rights and the practice.

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**June 2005**

**Alternative T: Liberal Democracies, c1787-c1939**

**A2 Unit 6: Great Britain and Appeasement in the 1930s**

**Question 1**

(a) Use **Source A** and your own knowledge.

Assess the validity of the interpretation offered by **Source A** of Chamberlain's policy in September 1938.

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- |     |  |             |
|-----|--|-------------|
| L1: | Summarises the content of the extract and the interpretation it contains.  | <b>1-2</b>  |
| L2: | Demonstrates understanding of the interpretation and relates to own knowledge.   | <b>3-5</b>  |
| L3: | As L2, and evaluation of the interpretation is partial.  | <b>6-8</b>  |
| L4: | Understands and evaluates the interpretation and relates to own knowledge to reach a sustained and well supported judgement on its validity. | <b>9-10</b> |

**Indicative content**

Healey identified three reasons why Chamberlain's policy was disastrous, though he only develops one; that it was a strategic disaster to hand over the Sudetenland as it cost the allies thirty divisions as well as the Czech fortifications. Furthermore, he stressed that the time bought was detrimental as the Germans used it more effectively than the British. Own knowledge could be deployed to support this – the number of German divisions grew from 81 to 130 between 1938 and 1939.

Reference could also be made to Healey's criticism of the policy as politically disastrous and morally contemptible. Own knowledge could be used to relate this to Hitler's continued expansionist actions post-Munich, the rush of smaller states to deal with him and even the Nazi-Soviet Pact (political) and the legitimacy of abandoning a fellow democracy, created by Britain at the Paris Peace Conference, on spurious grounds – Chamberlain's false belief the Sudetenland was formerly German.

However, Healey's belief that 'the allies' lost 30 divisions exaggerates the level of political unity in 1938; Britain was not an ally of Czechoslovakia, nor was she an ally of France, who had allied herself to the Czechs and the USSR in 1935. Nor did Britain waste the year, as Spitfires and radar were produced. Politically the Dominions were all behind Britain by 1939; morally, Munich was a victory for national self-determination.



Good answers might assess which of Healey’s arguments hold most validity, or point out that Healey has taken a narrow viewpoint due to his own political views, for example he over-plays the idea of a Soviet alliance.

(b) Use **Source B** and your own knowledge.

How useful is **Source B** as evidence of the motives behind Chamberlain’s policies in September 1938? (10 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO2*

- L1: Summarises the content of the extract in relation to the issue presented in the question. 1-2
- L2: Demonstrates some appreciation either of the strengths and/or of the limitations of the content of the source in relation to its utility/reliability within the context of the issue. 3-5
- L3: Demonstrates reasoned understanding of the strengths and limitations of the source in the context of the issue and draws conclusions about its utility/reliability. 6-8
- L4: Evaluates the utility/reliability of the source in relation to the issue in the question to reach a sustained and well supported judgement. 9-10

### **Indicative content**

The source is useful due to its provenance, date and content. It was written by a military expert to convey the services’ view on the possibility of armed action in support of Czechoslovakia. It was produced to inform Chamberlain between his first and second flights to Germany in September 1938, and it broadly reflects the policy that Chamberlain adopted, namely of delaying war to enable the German air threat to be neutralised. Britain used the year gained at Munich to equip fighter squadrons with new Spitfires and Hurricanes, and radar offered protection from what Ismay calls the ‘greatest danger’.

However, the source only offers the military perspective. Chamberlain was keen to avoid war because of his own abhorrence for all forms of warfare. Furthermore, he was concerned about public opinion and the opposition to war recorded at the time by mass observation polls. As a former Chancellor of the Exchequer he also feared the impact of war on the economy, which was slowly recovering from depression post-1929.

Good answers may conclude that the source is useful as it offers a view that Chamberlain could concur with, but that it was not wholly persuasive by itself.

- (c) Use **Sources A, B** and **C** and your own knowledge.

“Chamberlain’s decision to abandon Czechoslovakia at Munich was motivated by his concern that public opinion was pacifist.”

Assess the validity of this view.

(20 marks)

*Target: AO1.1, AO1.2, AO2*

- L1: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *either* from appropriate sources *or* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of the question. Answers will be predominantly or wholly narrative. **1-6**
- L2: ***Either***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *either* from the sources *or* from own knowledge, some understanding of a range of relevant issues. Most such answers will show understanding of the analytical demands, but will lack weight and balance.
- Or***  
 Demonstrates, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, implicit understanding of a wide range of relevant issues. These answers, while relevant, will lack both range and depth and will contain some assertion. **7-11**
- L3: Is able to demonstrate, by relevant selection of material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the issues relevant to the question. Judgement, as demanded by the question, may be implicit or partial. **12-15**
- L4: Demonstrates, by selection of a wide range of precisely selected material, *both* from the sources *and* from own knowledge, explicit understanding of the demands of the question and provides a consistently analytical response to it. Judgement, as demanded by the question, will be explicit but may be limited in scope. **16-18**
- L5: As L4, but also shows appropriate conceptual awareness which, together with the wide range of precisely selected evidence, offers independent and effectively sustained judgement appropriate to the full demands of the question. **19-20**

### Indicative content

The question requires consideration of the range of motives for the specific instance of appeasement, that of the Munich Agreement. As such answers might offer indicators of ‘pacifist’ or pro-appeasement public opinion (East Fulham by-election, Oxford Union Debate, Peace Ballot, literature), but this should be brief. Material specifically related to the context of September 1938 will clearly be of more value; mass observation polls, cheering for Chamberlain on his return from Munich indicating he had caught the public mood (the ‘widespread hatred of war’ of Source C), and the government candidate’s victory at the Oxford by-election of October 1938, all suggest Chamberlain was tapping into the public mood. Healey in Source A argues that no strategic or political benefits were derived from Munich, whilst the policy was morally reprehensible. Public opinion may well have been the factor that caused Chamberlain to ignore these other imperatives.

Against this, however, it might be argued that opinion was not pacifist, with reference to the public reaction to the Hoare-Laval Pact, East Fulham fought on domestic issues etc, with

better answers again focusing on September 1938 and the crowds in Trafalgar Square protesting against the agreement.

There were also other factors responsible for the government's actions: Neville Chamberlain's personal view that in war there were only losers, motivated partly by the loss of his cousin in the First World War and partly by his concerns over the vulnerability of London to German air-attack (*Finney*); the economic problems (lack of skilled labour force, housing – *Kennedy*); the diplomatic picture (three threats, lack of reliable allies, position of the Dominions – *Kennedy, Pearce and Stewart*); and the state of re-armament/lack of credible defences (Source B and *Ranson*).

Good answers may argue that the government was immune from public opinion due to the huge victory won in the 1935 General Election, and that Chamberlain manipulated public opinion to support a policy of which he personally approved, or that public opinion and Chamberlain were of one mind, perhaps in relation to the moral right of the Sudeten Germans to be ruled by their fellow Germans in Berlin (Source C).