

Oxford Cambridge and RSA Examinations

Advanced Subsidiary GCE (2580)

History Document Studies 871-1099

Additional Materials

Time 1 Hour

Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer book.

Write your answers on the separate answer book provided.

This question paper contains questions on the following three Options:

- The Reign of Alfred the Great 871-899
- The Normans in England 1066-87
- The first Crusade and its Origins 1073-99

Answer both **sub-questions** from **one** Option.

Teachers may indicate to candidates in the examination room the part of the paper which covers the Option studied.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each sub-question.

You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.

The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Option you have studied.

In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.

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The Reign of Alfred the Great 871-899

Study the four Sources on Alfred's Wars with the Vikings, and then answer **both** the sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

1 (a) Study Sources A and C

Compare these Sources as evidence for the different tactics employed by Alfred in dealing with the Vikings.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using all these Sources and your own knowledge, assess the view that Alfred's successes against the Vikings were incomplete.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Alfred's Wars with the Vikings

Source A: King Alfred's contemporary biographer, born in Wales but settled in Wessex and rewarded by the King, describes events in 876.

King Alfred made a firm treaty with the Viking army that they should withdraw from his lands. The army, without any dispute, gave him as many hostages as he alone chose, and they also took an oath on all the holy relics in which the king placed the greatest trust after God himself. They had never before been willing to take an oath
5 to any race. Now they would immediately leave his kingdom.

Asser, Life of King Alfred, written in 893

Source B: The same author describes events in 878.

The Vikings began to besiege the stronghold of Countisbury in Devon, thinking that the garrison would soon give way, forced by hunger, thirst and the siege. But the Christians, long before they were liable to suffer in any way, were divinely inspired to fight and, judging it much better to gain either death or victory, burst out unexpectedly
10 at dawn against the Vikings. By their aggressiveness from the very outset, the Christians overwhelmed the enemy in large part, together with the Viking king, and only a few escaped by flight to their ships.

Asser, Life of King Alfred, written in 893

Source C: A modern historian describes events in 885.

A Viking force besieged Rochester in Kent. Its garrison held out until Alfred arrived with a relieving force and drove the enemy back to their ships. Some returned to the Continent but others, having agreed peace terms, twice raided the country south of
15 the River Thames. Alfred sent a fleet to attack those Vikings settled in East Anglia who gave aid to these raiders, but the King's fleet was badly mauled by the enemy.

D.J. V. Fisher, The Anglo-Saxon Age, 1973

Source D: A contemporary English chronicler gives an account of military operations in 893.

King Alfred turned west towards Exeter with all the English army, except for a very small number of people who went eastwards to strengthen London. These
20 reinforcements and the Londoners then went east to Benfleet in Essex. Hastein, the Viking leader, had already arrived there with his army, and another army had by then arrived as well. Hastein had previously built a fortification at Benfleet; he himself was then away on a plundering raid, but the other great Viking army was still in the fortification. When the English arrived, they put the Viking army to flight and stormed
25 the fortification and seized everything that was inside it. But Hastein's Vikings still carried on plundering Alfred's kingdom.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, written in 896

The Normans in England 1066-87

Study the four Sources on Military Organisation in Norman England, and then answer **both** the sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

2(a) Study Sources B and D

Compare these Sources as evidence for the organisation of military service in Norman England.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that the introduction of feudalism was the **main** reason for the success of the Norman takeover of England.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Military Organisation in Norman England

Source A: A chronicler, writing in the thirteenth century and basing his work on earlier texts, highlights the introduction of military service.

In this year of Our Lord 1070, King William ordered that all the bishoprics and abbeys of the realm, which hitherto had been free from all obligations of secular service, were to be placed under military service. He set out, according to his will, how many knights he wished to be provided to him and his successors in time of war from each bishopric and abbey of the kingdom.

Matthew Paris, History of the English, written after 1250

Source B: A twelfth-century monk at the abbey of Ely records the outcome of a dispute between the Abbot of Ely and William I.

The King, intending to impose heavier obligations on the abbey of Ely, commanded the lord abbot at the royal will to keep a garrison of 40 knights in the Isle of Ely. The lord abbot collected knights who were well-born dependants and followers of his, and bestowed arms on many of them. He maintained the number predetermined by the King's command within the hall of the abbey church and they received their daily provisions and wages from the lord abbot.

The Book of Ely, written between 1131 and 1174

Source C: A modern historian explains how rebellion against King William in 1075 was defeated.

Durham and probably all other English castles were garrisoned against possible Danish invasion. But the rebels whom the invasion was intended to support had been crushed before their overseas allies had sailed. The rebels had been defeated without much serious fighting. Most Englishmen were on the King's side, and his representatives were able to prevent the rebel Earls from uniting their armies. An English bishop and abbot cooperated with the Norman barons to raise armies against the rebel Earls.

Sir Frank Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, 1971

Source D: Late in William I reign, a bishop reinforces the importance of military service.

Robert, Bishop of the church of Hereford, ordered the following arrangement to be recorded as agreed between him and Roger, son of Walter, concerning certain land: this land belongs to the church and the bishop held this land as his own demesne* and for the support of the church. The knight, Roger, asked for this land from the bishop through friends, and he offered the bishop money for it. But the bishop, by the advice of his vassals, gave Roger this same land in return for a promise that he would serve the bishop with 2 knights, as his father did, whenever the need arose.

*[‘demesne’ = land held and farmed directly by a lord]

Charter of Robert Losinga, Bishop of Hereford, issued to Roger, son of Walter, dated 1085

The First Crusade and its Origins 1073-99

Study the four Sources on Crusader Successes against the Muslims, and then answer **both** the sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

3(a) Study Sources A and C

Compare these Sources as evidence for the nature of the Muslim threat. [20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that the Crusaders' success owed more to military skill than to deep religious faith. [40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Crusader Successes against the Muslims

Source A: A Frenchman, who went on the First Crusade and stayed in the East, reports on the important early Crusader victory at the Battle of Dorylaeum (in modern Turkey) in July 1097.

Altogether the enemy numbered 360,000 mounted bowmen. We had both footmen and bowmen but we had no hope of surviving. We humbly begged mercy from God. The Bishop of Le Puy, our leader, and four other bishops called on God to destroy the power of our enemy. The Lord gradually restored our strength and more and more weakened the Turks through division. We praised God, regained our courage and formed into troops to resist the enemy. Then the Turks all fled.

Fulcher of Chartres, History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, written by 1101-1106

Source B: An unknown author, who went on the First Crusade and wrote a valuable chronicle of the Crusade, recounts Crusader success near St Simeon (known also as Seleucia), a port near Antioch, in March 1098.

The Turks' attack was so fierce that our men began to flee and more than a thousand of our knights suffered martyrdom. Angry at the loss of our comrades, we called on Christ and put our trust in the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. We attacked the Turks with one heart and one mind. We knights of the True God, under the sign of the Cross, made a brave attack. The Turks fled swiftly with so much slaughter that the waters appeared all red with their blood. Thus our enemies were defeated by the power of God and the Holy Sepulchre.

The Deeds of the Franks and other Pilgrims to Jerusalem, written by 1100-1101

Source C: A priest from Southern France, who was chaplain to Raymond of Toulouse and who went on the First Crusade and wrote an account of it, outlines the capture of Antioch by the Crusaders in June 1098.

After many months of siege, a happy scene unfolded when the long-time Muslim defenders of Antioch could neither escape from the city nor avoid death in daring flight. We shall not comment upon the amount of booty taken. We cannot estimate the number of enemy slain. The city fell to us in early June, but it had been under attack from around October of the preceding year. But soon the Crusaders were in turn besieged by more Muslims.

Raymond of Aguilers, A History of the Franks who have captured Jerusalem 1098-1099, written by 1105

Source D: The author of Source B reports on the Crusader attack on Maarat an-Numan, south of **Antioch, in December 1098.**

The Crusaders attacked the town very bravely from all sides. Scaling-ladders were set up against the wall, but such was the power of the Muslims that this attack failed. Our leaders then built a wooden siege-tower. Behind this stood the priests, praying to God. On the other side of the city, our knights fought every day with the enemy but the enemy's power was such that they could gain no advantage. Protected by the siege-tower, we were, however, undermining the defences. When the Muslims saw this, they were panic-stricken and fled further into the city. Our men entered the city and killed everyone, man or woman; no corner was clear of Muslim corpses.

The Deeds of the Franks and other Pilgrims to Jerusalem, written by 1100-1101

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Oxford Cambridge and RSA Examinations

Advanced Subsidiary GCE (2581)

History Document Studies 1450-1693

Additional Materials

Time 1 Hour

Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer book.

Write your answers on the separate answer book provided.

This question paper contains questions on the following four Options:

- The Wars of the Roses 1450-85
- The German Reformation 1517-30
- Mid-Tudor Crises 1540-58
- Louis XIV's France 1661-93

Answer both **sub-questions** from **one** Option.

Teachers may indicate to candidates in the examination room the part of the paper which covers the Option studied.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

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You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.

The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Option you have studied.

In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.

The Wars of the Roses 1450-85

Study the four Sources on Edward IV's First Reign, and then answer **both** the sub-questions. It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

1(a) Study Sources A and B

Compare these Sources as evidence for the rift between Warwick and Edward IV.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that the **main** responsibility for the continuing political instability of the 1460s lies with Edward IV himself

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Edward IV's First Reign

Source A: An Italian observer based in London reports to the Duke of Milan on the political situation in England since the King's marriage in 1464.

5 The King married a widow of quite low birth. After her coronation she exerted herself to promote her relatives, to the extent that they took over the entire government of the kingdom. Indeed, there was only one other lord in the government, the Earl of Warwick. He planned to make himself the chief man in the government and on 11 July 1469 the Duke of Clarence married his daughter at Calais.

Newsletter from London, 16 August 1469

Source B: A member of the court of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, describes a meeting between the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV's brother, in 1467.

10 The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence discussed how the French ambassadors were grumbling because the King had shown them so little welcome. Then they spoke about the circle round the King, saying that Lord Rivers and his family dominated everything. The Duke asked how they could remedy this. The Earl replied that if the Duke would trust him, he would make him King of England. When the Duke of Clarence, who was young and trusting, heard the Earl promise so much to him, together with the hand of his daughter in marriage, he agreed to take her as his wife.

Jean de Waurin, Chronicles of Great Britain, written before 1474

Source C: Clarence and Warwick fled to France after the defeat of the Lincolnshire rebellion in March 1470. An English chronicler describes their next moves.

15 The Duke and the Earl took advice what was best to do. They could find no remedy but to negotiate with Queen Margaret and to make a marriage between Prince Edward, King Henry's son, and another of the Earl of Warwick's daughters. It was agreed that King Henry should reign in England again, and after him Prince Edward and his heirs. And if he died without heirs then the kingdom of England should pass to George, Duke of Clarence. All this was done with the advice of the King of France.

Warkworths Chronicle, written between 1478 and 1483

Source D: A modern historian offers a verdict on Edward IV's first reign.

20 Evidence of Edward's political blunders in the first decade of his rule is not hard to find. On the most charitable view, his marriage was an impulsive and unstatesmanlike act. He acted rashly and, as Polydore Vergil aptly remarked, he 'was led by blind affection and not by rule of reason'. His later permissiveness in allowing the Woodvilles to dominate the marriage market provided the Earl of Warwick with a
25 genuine grievance: as father of the two greatest heiresses in England he could now find no suitable husbands for them. The various errors and omissions of Edward's government, especially his failure to do much to remedy the abuses which had spread under Henry VI, were to cost him his throne in 1470.

C. D. Ross, Edward IV, 1974

The German Reformation 1517-30

Study the four Sources on Luther and the Princes, and then answer **both** the sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

2(a) Study Sources B and D

Compare Sources B and D as evidence for Charles V's difficulties in dealing with the Lutheran problem.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the claim that Luther's success depended **entirely** on his relationship with the princes.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Luther and the Princes

Source A: Luther calls on German princes to exclude Rome's nominees from German Church appointments.

I should be very glad if kings, princes, and all the nobles expelled the crooks from Rome from the country, and kept Church appointments out of their hands. Roman greed has seized all the Church offices in Germany. Who has ever heard of such monstrous robbery? Do we not also have the people who need these offices? In our poverty we must enrich the donkey drivers and stable-boys, even the harlots and crooks at Rome, who regard us as fools, and make us the objects of their vile mockery. It is a pity that kings and princes have so little reverence for Christ that they allow such wicked things to happen.

Martin Luther, On the Papacy at Rome, 1520

Source B: The Papal representative in Germany describes what happened when Luther disappeared after the 1521 Diet of Worms.

We believe that Frederick, the Elector of Saxony was involved in Luther's disappearance. The Emperor, all the other princes and virtually the whole Court thought this, so the Elector had to swear before the Diet that he knew nothing of this matter. However, one cannot trust him - especially when it comes to the question of Luther. Many people believe that the Elector wanted to get Luther into a place of safety before the Imperial safe-conduct that Luther was given to attend the Diet had expired. He wanted to give the impression that others had arrested Luther, or murdered him.

Jerome Aleander, Report to the Pope, 1521

Source C: Luther criticises the princes, although he sees them as necessary to maintain order in the secular state.

A wise prince is a rare creature indeed. A truly religious prince is even more rare. They are usually the greatest fools or the worst crooks on earth. Therefore we must constantly expect the worst from them and look for little good from them, especially in divine matters which concern the salvation of the soul. They are God's jailers and hangmen, and his divine wrath needs them to punish the wicked and preserve outward peace.

*Martin Luther, Secular Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed,
a pamphlet dedicated to the brother of the Elector of Saxony, 1523*

Source D: The Pope's advisers in Rome indicate what steps should be taken after Charles V announced the meeting of a Diet to be held at Speyer in 1529 to resolve religious divisions. They are particularly concerned about the influence of Elector John the Steadfast of Saxony.

The Edict of Worms issued at the Diet in 1521 must be obeyed. This is possible if the Emperor can be persuaded to carry out a vigorous policy. The laws on religion should not be changed at the new Diet at Speyer. Particular care should be taken to see if the Emperor can cancel the meeting. If this is not possible, the Diet should be

30 delayed. The Pope should consider doing more about the Elector of Saxony. A lengthy report has been prepared about this, as the Pope ordered. Things have become so bad that the present mild approach needs to be stopped and the harsher penalties of the Church applied. John should be removed as an Imperial Elector.

Report of the Papal Curia, approximately 1528

Mid-Tudor Crises 1540-58

Study the four Sources on Social Problems 1540-58, and then **both** the sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

3 (a) Study Sources A and C

How similar are the accusations levelled at landlords in these two Sources? [20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that price inflation was the **main** reason for social problems in this period. [40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Social Problems 1540-58

Source A: A social commentator attacks the rise of oppressive landlords.

Many landlords oppress the common people. They have increased their rents, so that they charge £40 rather than 40 shillings (£2) for a new lease, and £5 not 5 nobles (almost £2) for its annual rent, so we now pay more to them than we earn. The result is that many thousands of us who once lived honestly upon our labour must now beg, or borrow, or rob and steal, to get food for our poor wives and children. They also compel others to surrender their rights to hold leases for two or three lives and to accept instead leases for just twenty-one years.

A Supplication of the Poore Commons, 1546

Source B: An ambassador in England writes a brief but accurate account of the risings of 1549.

The revolt of the peasants has increased and spread, so that now they have risen in every part of England, asking for things just and unjust. They demand they may use the land that once used to be public property, and that land leased to them shall be considered to be of the same value now as in the time of Henry VII, who died in 1509. This last request is very difficult to meet. In Kent and Essex the risings ended when foodstuffs were taxed at a reasonable price. There is no mention of religion made among any of them, except in Cornwall and Norfolk.

François van der Delft, letter to Emperor Charles V, 19 July 1549

Source C: One of the Commonwealth writers attacks landlords for their grasping behaviour and lack of obedience to the crown in 1548-49.

Contrary to the law against oppression and extortion, you have enclosed from the poor their common land, levied greater entry fees payable on new leases, excluded them from their rightful use of the common land, and raised their rents. What obedience did you show when the King's proclamations were sent forth to open up your enclosures, and yet you continued to enclose? If you had loved your country, would you not have prevented the recent great destruction which followed from your incurable greed?

Robert Crowley, The Way to Wealth, 1550

Source D: A modern historian notes some key economic and social problems, and the government's reactions to them in 1550-52.

The government was faced by difficult economic and social problems. Population, and with it inflation, was still rising. In 1550 the Antwerp cloth market finally collapsed, causing widespread unemployment among textile workers. The debasement of the coinage yet again in 1550-51 raised inflation still further. Grain prices rose rapidly, a situation worsened by harvest failures. The government acted to avoid further disorder. The unpopular 1547

30 Vagrancy Act and the sheep tax of 1548 were both repealed in 1550. The existing anti- enclosure legislation was rigorously enforced and the unpopular enclosure commissions were withdrawn. The restoration of the coinage in 1552 helped to check inflation.

Nigel Heard, Edward VI and Mary: a mid-Tudor Crisis? 1990

The English Civil War 1637-49

Study the four Sources on The Second Civil War of 1648, and then answer **both** the sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

4 (a) Study Sources B and C

How far do these Sources express similar grievances? [20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that 'parliamentary tyranny' (Source A, line 8) was the **main** reason for the outbreak of the Second Civil War [40]

[Total: 60 marks]

The Second Civil War of 1648

Source A: A modern historian outlines events leading up to the outbreak of the Second Civil War.

The 'Heads of Proposals' submitted to Charles I in 1647 proposed limited parliamentary checks on royal powers. But Charles's determination not to surrender control over ministerial appointments and over the militia made him reject these attractive proposals. For the same reason he rejected Parliament's minimum terms
5 contained in the 'Four Bills' (14 December 1647). Instead, he signed an 'Engagement' with the Scots which left his civil and military powers intact. Charles accepted 'The Solemn League and Covenant' and, in return, the Scots promised military assistance against the English Parliament. This Scottish invasion fused with
10 a revolt of the provinces against parliamentary tyranny to produce the Second Civil War.

David Smith, The Impact of the English Civil War, 1991

Source B: The rebels in Kent explain why they have taken up arms against Parliament. Their target is the County Committee, which ruled Kent as the agent of Parliament.

We accuse the County Committee of Kent of increasing the taxes of this county excessively for the private profit of the committee members; also of exercising a power over the freemen of this. County not granted to them by Parliament; also of a tyrannical way of governing, which fills the people's hearts with anger and has
15 overthrown all love and peace in the county:

Manifesto of the Kentish Rebels, 23 May 1648

Source C: The inhabitants of Dorset explain their opposition to parliamentary rule.

We the inhabitants of Dorset having, like the rest of the kingdom, long groaned under the oppressive tyranny of Parliament, demand:

The speedy readmission of our imprisoned King into the House of Lords.

20 That the government of the Church be settled by the advice of a new assembly of Protestant theologians to be chosen by the clergy of each county.

That the laws, the common birthright of all, may be restored to their former purity.

That we may have a speedy and just account of all our money and lands taken from us by loans, taxes, fines or plunder.

25 That we may no longer submit to the boundless ambition and unlimited power of county committees, consisting generally of the lowest of the gentry, men of little wealth and much greed.

The Declaration of the County of Dorset, 15 June 1648

Source D: The Scottish army appeals to Londoners to join them in fighting for Charles I.

30 Fellow subjects, consider how the case stands between his Majesty and you. Is not his case your case too? Have not you and he both been deceived and oppressed? Is he not deprived of his crown, and are you not deprived of your liberties and lands? Is it not obvious that his prerogative and your freedom must fall together? And is not a speedy political settlement the only way to preserve them? And is there any probability of a political settlement until his Majesty is restored to his throne?

An Allarme to the City of London by the Scotch Army, 29 August 1648

Louis XIV's France 1661-93

Study the four Sources on Louis XIV's Economic and Financial Policies, and then answer **both** the sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

(a) Study Sources A and C

Compare Sources A and C as evidence for the nature of Louis XIV's economic and financial policies.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the claim that, to 1693, Louis XIV's policies increased the prosperity of the people of France.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Louis XIV's Economic and Financial Policies

Source A: Louis XIV writes about his concern for his people in 1662, soon after he took power, explaining how he organised food supplies to feed the poor.

I became very well informed about the needs of the people and with their condition. I ordered the richer provinces to aid the others, and wealthy individuals to open their stores and sell their commodities at a fair price. I hastily sent orders everywhere to bring in as much wheat as possible from overseas. I purchased it through my treasury. I distributed most of it free to the lower classes of the biggest cities such as Paris, Rouen, Tours and others. I had the rest sold at a very modest price to those who could afford it and any profit from this was immediately used for the relief of the poor. Finally I appeared to all of my subjects as a true father of a family who provides for his household and distributes food fairly to his children and his servants.

Louis XIV, *Memoirs for the Instruction of the Dauphin*, written before 1681

Source B: The Controller-General of Finances emphasises the need for the government to reform financial abuses and to gather accurate information about the economy and its effectiveness.

We should examine whether people suffer financial harassment, either through the excessive length of trials in the courts or through excessive legal fees. Appropriate and simple remedies must be sought for all these abuses. The extra charges endured by the taxpayers are the result of having such a large number of people in the provinces falsely claiming to be nobles. His Majesty wants to have the fullest information. Commissioners must find out about the people of each province, each region and each town: whether they are suitable for agriculture, commerce or manufacturing; whether the inhabitants are industrious; whether they try to cultivate their land efficiently, and even more, whether they try to put their land to its best use.

Colbert, Instructions to the Commissioners in the Provinces, September 1663

Source C: A French noblewoman who admired Louis describes the reaction in Brittany to the King's reduction of their tax burden.

All Brittany was drunk two days before I left. Forty gentlemen drank forty toasts; the first of these toasts was to the King. This was because of their great joy and gratitude for the hundred thousand crowns in money that the King had returned to them from the taxes collected in Brittany after they had agreed so willingly with his original tax request.

Madame de Sevigne, letter to her friend Madame de Grignan, 1671

Source D: An English writer describes the poverty of the French peasantry around Bordeaux and its neighbouring provinces.

25 A peasant woman told me that their usual food was rye bread and water. They seldom had meat. When they could occasionally afford some more costly meal, they bought the innards of some animal in the market and then they feasted themselves. Yet these peasants who live near Bordeaux are regarded as flourishing. They say that the peasants are more miserable in Saintonge and several other nearby provinces, having very little food.

John Locke, Travels in France, 1675-79

Oxford Cambridge and RSA Examinations

Advanced Subsidiary GCE (2582)

History Document Studies 1774-1945

Additional Materials

Time 1 Hour

Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer book.

Write your answers on the separate answer book provided.

This question paper contains questions on the following seven Options:

- The Origins of the French Revolution 1774-92
- The Condition of England 1832-53
- Italian Unification 1848-70
- The Origins of the American Civil War 1848-61
- The Irish Question in the Age of Parnell 1877-93
- England in a New Century 1900-18
- Nazi Germany 1933-45

Answer both **sub-questions** from **one** Option.

Teachers may indicate to candidates in the examination room the part of the paper which covers the Option studied.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

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The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Option you have studied.

In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.

The Origins of the French Revolution 1774-92

Study the four Sources on The Constitution of 1791, and then answer **both** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

1 (a) Study Sources B and D

Compare these Sources as evidence for the strengths and weaknesses of the Legislative Assembly.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using all these Sources and your own knowledge, assess the view that the Constitution of 1791 was doomed to fail.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

The Constitution of 1791

Source A: The King explains his motives for accepting the Constitution and his hopes for the future.

You have doubtless been informed that I have accepted the Constitution. I want to let you know all my reasons. France is approaching, perhaps, a total disintegration, which will only be accelerated if violent remedies are applied to all the troubles which overwhelm her. The solution is to end selfish party divisions and restore the authority of the government. But for this there are only two means: force or reconciliation. Force would mean war, horror and continuing conflict, and I have therefore set aside this idea. By my adopting the principles of the Constitution and putting them into practice, people will properly assess the Constitution. They will come to know the cause of their misfortunes, and public opinion will change. I would proceed towards a better order by accepting the Constitution rather than by rejecting it.

Louis XVI, letter to his brothers in exile, September 1791

Source B: The Queen writes confidentially to a close friend, giving a hostile view of the Legislative Assembly elected under the new Constitution of 1791.

There is nothing to be done with this Legislative Assembly; it is a gathering of scoundrels, madmen and fools. The few people in it who want order are not listened to and dare not speak. Moreover, it is discredited even in the eyes of the People, whom they try to stir up, but who are only interested in the high cost of bread.

Marie Antoinette, letter to Count Axel Fersen, October 1791

Source C: A contemporary Parisian publisher and political observer comments on the weakness of the Legislative Assembly and continuing problems even after the King's acceptance of the Constitution.

The King's famous and brilliant acceptance of the Constitution does not convince foreign countries, who see it as having been dictated to him by the force of circumstances. The emigration of the few great nobles still in Paris confirms this. Thirty of them came to say goodbye to the King and Queen in a public farewell. They left France to join their fellow emigrants in Coblenz quite openly, as if on a diplomatic mission. The Assembly talks about little except the danger from these *émigrés*. It is time that these long discussions ended and some useful laws were passed.

Nicholas Ruault, letter to his brother, November 1791

Source D: A modern historian gives a favourable view of the Legislative Assembly elected under the Constitution of 1791.

In many respects the Constitution was the achievement of an Enlightenment dream of a 'democratic monarchy'. There were increasingly frequent attempts to proclaim that the Revolution was finished. The Legislative Assembly that replaced the Constituent Assembly after the Constitution of 1791 is often thought of as helplessly marking time between the constitutional monarchy and the later terror. A good case could, however, be made that in sheer political and intellectual talent, the Legislative

30 was the most impressive of all the revolutionary assemblies. The passion and power of its speeches were far greater than in earlier assemblies. And the war that it led France into was, arguably, the single most important event since the decision to call the Estates General in 1789.

Simon Schama, Citizens, 1989

The Condition of England 1832-53

Study the four Sources on The New Poor Law, and then answer **both** sub-questions. It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

2 (a) Study Sources A and B

Compare these Sources as evidence of reasons for opposition to the New Poor Law in the South.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using all these Sources and your own knowledge, assess the view that the New Poor Law was resisted far more successfully in the North than in the South from 1834 to 1847.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

The New Poor Law

Source A: The Poor Law Commissioners report on the implementation of the New Poor Law in southern rural counties.

The New Poor Law of 1834 could not possibly be carried into effect without difficulty and resistance. Pauper labourers quickly understood the Act and in many districts set themselves to seek a livelihood by their own efforts. In other places, where a reliance on the poor rate was habitual, every method has been used to obstruct the law.

- 5 Partial riots have occurred but, with the aid of the Metropolitan police, occasionally aided by military force, these have been put down.

Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commission, 1836

Source B: W. J. Gilbert, one of the nine new Assistant Commissioners and active throughout the south, gives evidence to the Poor Law Commissioners of resistance to the New Poor Law in Devon, a rural south western county.

The leaders of the opposition who benefited from former abuses are old overseers, small shopkeepers, beer-shop keepers and the small farmers who received half of their labour costs from parish funds.

- 10 In North Devon we found that the poor were deceived. Few really understood the intentions of the Guardians. When understood, the most riotous submitted and received the changes gladly. They had believed all bread was poisoned to kill paupers. A story to stir up the small rate-payers was that £20,000 was to be immediately imposed on them for a workhouse.

Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commission, 1836

Source C: A Poor Law Guardian and supporter of the New Poor Law complains of the actions taken by some of the magistrates in a northern industrial town.

- 15 The mob led on by the notorious agitator Richard Oastler, broke open the gates of the workhouse and threatened to pull it down if we the Guardians did not stop our meeting. It was with difficulty that our meeting was moved to another place. On the way to our second meeting, we pro-Poor Law Guardians were surrounded by the mob, and our lives threatened. The magistrate present, despite the broken windows and injured constables, placed us under the 'merciful' protection of Oastler, and refused to take further action. Only eleven out of thirty-nine Guardians present voted to proceed. They were singled out and the mob told their names.

George Tinker, The State of the Huddersfield Union, June 1837

Source D: The Poor Law Commission describes resistance to the New Poor Law in the northern mill town of Todmorden, where the Fielden brothers had their mills and were leading members of the Anti-Poor Law League. They were the largest employers in the area.

25 In Todmorden Poor Law Union an attempt was made by the Fieldens to prevent the new law by throwing their entire workforce out of employment. This attempt to intimidate the Guardians having been defeated by the magistrates, they reopened their works.

30 On the Guardians demanding the sums needed for relief, the Todmorden overseers adopted a course of passive resistance. They have been convicted and fines imposed. Two constables enforcing these fines were violently assaulted by persons assembling by ringing a bell in one of Fieldens' factories, from which a large number of workers emerged and took part in a riot. The magistrates then decided to station troops at Todmorden for the present.

Fourth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commission, 1838

Italian Unification 1848-70

Study the four Sources on The Italian States and Unification, and then answer **both** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

3 (a) Study Sources B and C

Compare these Sources as evidence for the attitude of Italian leaders to foreign powers.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that Rome was essential to the unification of Italy.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

The Italian States and Unification

Source A: A leading nationalist explains why he thought the Roman Republic, established in February 1849, was worth fighting for.

5 The cause which decided us to resist was the aim of my whole life - the foundation of a national unity. Rome was the natural centre of that unity, and it was important to attract the attention of my countrymen towards her. It was essential to save Rome so that Italians might regard her as the temple of their common country. The heroic defence of the city was therefore decided upon by the people of Rome for the honour of Italy and by me as the logical consequence of a long-standing plan.

Mazzini, speaking in exile in England, July 1849

Source B: The Prime Minister of Piedmont explains his thoughts about the position of the Papal States the day after two of them - the Marches and Umbria - were invaded by the Piedmontese army.

10 I note with gratitude that the French Emperor is increasing his garrison in Rome. By reassuring the Catholic world over the apparent danger to the Pope, France is doing us a big service. Moreover it will strengthen our position as regards Garibaldi, who I hope will now listen to reason. Once we have avoided being involved by his recklessness in a struggle *simultaneously* against France and Austria, we will try to regain the confidence of Europe. You must explain to the French government that our policy is always governed by the wish not to embarrass France by seizing Rome.

Cavour, letter to the Piedmontese ambassador in Paris, September 1860

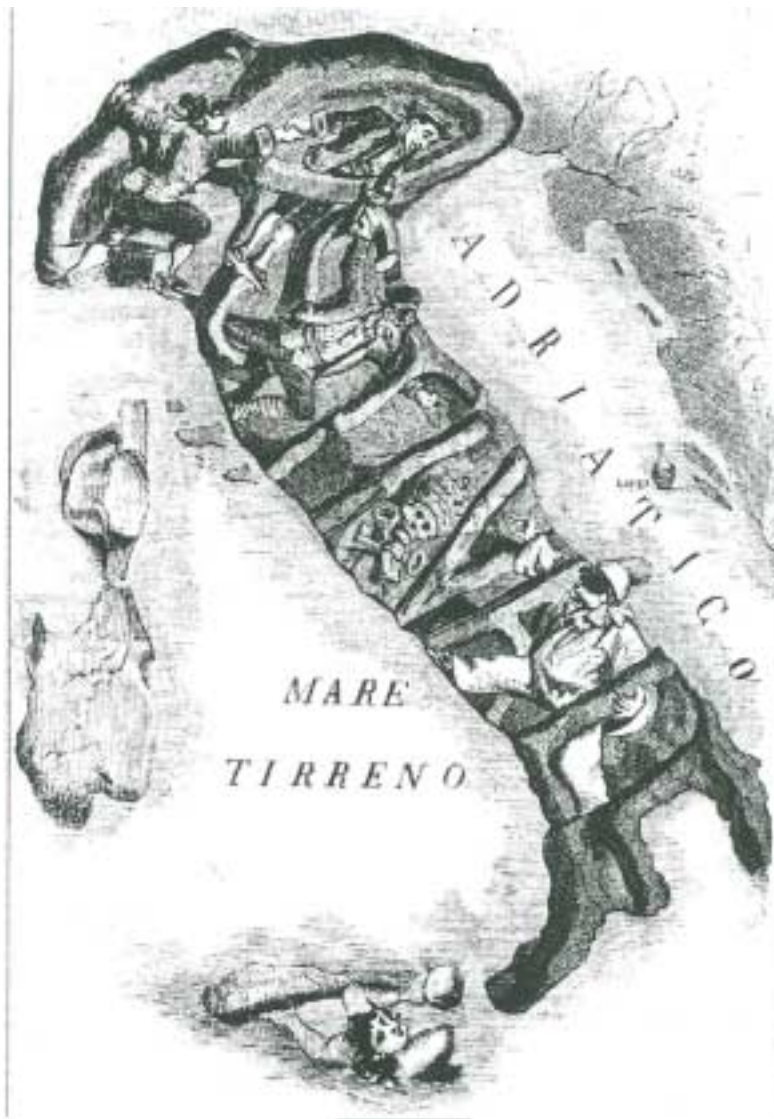
Source C: The Prime Minister of Italy expresses his views on Rome and the role of the great powers of Europe.

15 It is Italy's right to complete her unity. If the powers, instead of opposing this, assured us that our goal will one day be achieved, we would not want to force a solution which could be otherwise achieved by them. Rome is the natural centre of Italy by geographical position and by tradition. It would be hard to think of a strongly established Kingdom of Italy without Rome as her capital. The papal government is protected by the French, under whom acts of brigandage are being organised which
20 are spreading terror over our southern provinces.

Ricasoli, letter to the Italian ambassador in Berlin, July 1861

Source D:

25 On the inclusion of Venetia into the Kingdom of Italy, described as 'The Boot' ('*Lo Stivale*' in Italian, printed down the peninsula), a cartoonist makes the controversial point that the Papal States still block full unification. French Corsica is seen as linked to Italian Sardinia (which together are shown as Emperor Napoleon III). In the Adriatic is marked the island of Lissa where an Austrian-Italian naval battle was fought in 1866. The image representing the Papal States mixes the traditional papal symbols of the crown and crossed keys with a skull and crossed bones.



An Italian cartoon, October 1866

The Origins of the American Civil War 1848-61

Study the four Sources on Late Attempts at Reconciliation between North and South, and then answer **both** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

4 (a) Study Sources A and B

Compare these Sources as evidence for the causes of the sectional crisis. [20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that 'contemporaries expected reconciliation to succeed' (Source D, lines 24-25). [40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Late Attempts at Reconciliation between North and South

Source A: A Northern newspaper blames Northern attitudes for the seriousness of the sectional crisis that had developed.

We shall find good reason why the South should be serious in its present fear when it is remembered how steadily the public mind in the North has been educated in the idea that slavery is an evil and a crime; how for many years this idea has been driven home by schools and churches; how all moral propoganda in the North has to a greater or less degree been turned to the same object of seeing slavery as wicked; and that at last political parties have come to campaign loudly on sectional and geographical grounds.

The New York Herald, 13 November 1860

Source B: Abraham Lincoln's Illinois law partner, writing to a leading anti-slavery politician, argues against any compromise with the South.

Liberty and slavery - civilisation and barbarism - these are *absolute* opposites. One or the other must perish on this Continent. If we make a thousand Compromises this civilisation or that higher and grander one just springing up, will leap at the throat of its foe and choke the life out of it, or die in the attempt. Compromise, Compromise! Why I am sick at the very idea I helped to make the Republican Party; and if it abandons its distinctive ideas, I can help to tear it down and erect a new party that shall never cower to any slave driver. Let this natural war go on - let this inevitable struggle proceed - till slavery is dead-dead-dead!

William H. Herndon, letter to Charles Sumner, 10 December 1860

Source C: After seven states declared their intention to leave the Union and establish the Confederate States of America, proposals to preserve the Union and avoid war are put forward by the representatives of twenty one states.

In all land of the United States that is to the north of the line defined by Congress at the parallel 36 degrees 30 minutes north, slavery, except in punishment of crime, is prohibited. In all land to the south of that defined line, the status of persons held in slavery as it now exists, shall not be changed; nor shall any new law be passed by Congress or by a Territorial Legislature to hinder or prevent the taking of such persons from any of the States of this Union to any Territory in this Union.

Proposals of the Washington Peace Conference, February 1861

Source D: A modern historian analyses the attempts at compromise in 1861.

All previous crises of the Union had ended with some final effort at compromise which succeeded. Although the state of affairs in the early months of 1861 was much graver than it had been in 1850 or in 1820, many hoped and others worked in 1861 for a last-minute compromise solution acceptable to both parties. Hopes were raised because the American system of government was now expert at resolving such conflict. That contemporaries expected reconciliation to succeed and save the Union in 1861 is not surprising. Whether such proposals were workable in 1861 is, however, quite another matter.

Brian Holden Reid, The Origins of the American Civil War, 1996

The Irish Question in the Age of Parnell 1877-93

Study the four Sources on The Fall of Parnell, and then answer **both** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

5 (a) Study Sources A and C

How far does Source C support the views expressed in Source A about the consequences for the Home Rule movement if Parnell had continued as leader?

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that the Irish Home Rule Party was wrong to betray its leader Parnell in 1890.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

The Fall of Parnell

Source A: The leader of the Liberal party, in a letter to a friend and colleague which was intended for publication, expresses the view that Parnell must resign after his relationship with Mrs Katherine O'Shea became public knowledge.

The conclusion at which I had arrived was that, despite the splendid services rendered by Mr Parnell to his country, his continuance in the leadership of the Home Rule movement would lead to consequences which would be disastrous to the cause in a position of great embarrassment, but would make my retaining the leadership of the Liberal party, based as it is on supporting the Irish cause, almost impossible.

Gladstone, letter to John Morley, 24 November 1890

Section B: In the meeting of the Home Rule party held to discuss the consequences of the O'Shea affair for Parnell's position as leader, one of the leading Home rule MP's speaks out against Parnell.

Why do I have to take notice of English opinion? Why did we take notice of it in the attempt to introduce Home Rule in 1886? We did so because we were led by Charles Stewart Parnell. There was no hope for Ireland before Mr Parnell succeeded in obtaining from Mr Gladstone the promise of a Home Rule settlement. But I now say to Mr Parnell that his power is gone. He derived that power from the Irish people. We, the Home Rule party, are the representatives of the Irish people. We can not base our position on sentiment, upon the claims of friendship, upon anything except the Irish cause.

Tim Healy, speech to fellow Home Rule MPs, 1 December 1890

Source C: Parnell's brother outlines the pressures on Parnell in December 1890.

It was at the meeting of 1 December 1890 of the Irish Home Rule party in Parliament that the question was first raised as to how the position of the evicted tenants who were being supported under the Plan of Campaign would be affected by the continuation of Charley's [Parnell's] leadership. The view expressed then and afterwards was that the loss of support of the English Liberals, and most likely of American nationalist sympathizers, would make it impossible to continue to provide the funds to enable them to resist the landlords. This question was undoubtedly the one that weighed most heavily with Charley and his party.

John Howard Parnell, Charles Stewart Parnell: a Memoir, 1916

Source D: A modern historian and commentator on Irish affairs defend the Home Rule Party's decision to abandon Parnell in December 1890.

Parnell had no particular affection for democracy. He was not, and never pretended to be, a democrat. The National League, which developed from the Land League, was a model of authoritarian control. An admirer wrote after his fall, 'Think of his servants voting out the dictator! In another age, he would have shot them and he would have been right!'

30 If Parnell had controlled an Irish state he would not have allowed any majority to remove him peacefully from office. For the later development of parliamentary democracy in Ireland, we have to thank not the principles of Parnell, but the Home Rule party.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, Parnell and his Party, 1957

England in a New Century 1900-18

Study the four Sources on Tariff Reform, Taxation and the People's Budget, and then answer **both** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

6 (a) Study Sources Band C

Compare these Sources as evidence for differing views on the benefits of Free Trade.

[20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using all these Sources and your own knowledge, assess the view that during this period Tariff Reform offered an acceptable solution to England's economic and social problems.

[40]

[Total: 60 marks]

Tariff Reform, Taxation and the People's Budget

Source A: The leader of the Tariff Reform movement argues his case for Imperial Preference and against Free Trade.

We have to consolidate the British race. We have to meet the clash of competition. I tell you that all is not well with British industry. The USA and Germany are doing better than us in exports. We are sending less and less of our manufactures to them; and they are sending more and more to us. This means that our Imperial trade is essential to our prosperity; and it is only by a system of Colonial Preference that we can preserve our ties with the Empire. Through Preference, we will retain customers, and provide employment at home. In return, we must tax food. This would add about four pence a week to a worker's expenditure: but only if he should pay the whole of the new duties which I propose. However, I propose no duties on corn coming from the Empire. And, with lower duties on tea and sugar, in practice a working man may be no worse off than before.

Joseph Chamberlain, speech in Glasgow, 1903

Source B: The senior Liberal politician who led the party's opposition to Chamberlain's Tariff Reform Campaign makes the case for keeping the policy of Free Trade.

You cannot retaliate against your foreign competitors without taxing raw materials and food. Tariff Reform is a proposal to tax British industry, to tax the food of the people, and so lower their wages. It is a scheme based on unproved assumptions. In fact, there is no ground for saying either that British trade is stagnating and in decline, or that the Empire can only be maintained by going back to measures of Protection which were found inadequate in earlier times. Instead of raising the price of bread, let us try to raise the standard of life. Temperance, reform and the taxation of land: these should be the aims of the Liberal party.

H. H. Asquith, speech in Gloucestershire, 1903

Source C: The Labour party explains its position on economic and social policy.

We are more than Free Traders. We do not regard Free Trade alone as offering a solution to the problem of poverty. As a policy, it is economically sound, and so we support it in the present crisis. It is right as far as it goes. Free Trade has helped us to accumulate national wealth, but the Labour party must now add other policies to Free Trade to enable us to distribute that wealth equally.

A policy statement of the Labour party, 1906

Source D: A modern historian comments on the position of the political parties on trade and taxation in the General Election of January 1910.

By 1910, the Liberals claimed to have shown that Britain could keep Free Trade, and afford expensive social reforms, in a way that Tariff Reformers had been declaring impossible since 1903. However, the recession of 1908-09 allowed the Conservatives to campaign for Tariff Reform as a cure for unemployment. They also

30 emphasised the unfairness of the People's Budget which taxed not only agriculture, but the working man's beer and tobacco. Tariffs would spread the financial burden more evenly than narrow and selective taxation.

David Brooks, The Age of Upheaval, 1995

Nazi Germany 1933-45

Study the four Sources on The Police State, and then answer **both** sub-questions.

It is recommended that you spend two thirds of your time in answering part **(b)**.

7 (a) Study Sources Band C

Compare these Sources as evidence for the ways in which the police state in Nazi Germany justified itself. [20]

(b) Study all the Sources

Using **all** these Sources **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that the police state in Germany was more concerned with 'creating the new order' (Source D, line 26) than with fear and terror. [40]

[Total: 60 marks]

The Police State

Source A: The head of the SS sets out the principles of the SS.

- 5 I know there are some people in Germany who feel sick at the sight of this black uniform; we do not expect many of our people to love us. All those who have the interests of Germany at heart, however, will and should respect us and those who have guilty consciences towards the Fuhrer or the nation should fear us. To deal with these people we have built up an organisation called the Security Service (SO), and also we as the SS provide the men for service in the Gestapo. We shall ensure that never again will the Jewish-Bolshevist threat of sub humanity be unleashed on Germany. We shall be a merciless sword of judgement for all these dangerous forces.

Heinrich Himmler, speech to SS leaders, November 1935

Source B: A senior member of the SS, Heydrich's deputy, justifies the role of the Gestapo.

- 10 The police never act in a lawless or illegal manner so long as they act in accordance with the law as laid down by their superiors, up to the highest authority. So long as the police carry out the will of the Government, the police are always acting legally. Whether the will of the Government is right is no longer a question of law, but a question of destiny.

Werner Best, speech to Nazi party members, 1937

Source C: The head of the SS justifies the use of concentration camps.

- 15 I know how foolishly people abroad write and tell tales about these camps, and run them down. Concentration camps are certainly, like any prison, a tough and strict measure. Hard productive labour, a regular life, exceptional cleanliness in matters of daily life and personal hygiene, splendid food, strict but fair treatment, instructions on learning how to work again and on how to learn the necessary crafts for useful work -
20 these are all methods of education used in these camps. The motto which stands above the entrance to each of these camps reads: 'Work Makes Free'. Its milestones to freedom are obedience, hard work, honesty and love of the Fatherland.

Heinrich Himmler, a broadcast on German radio, September 1939

Source D: A modern historian discusses the role of police organisations in Nazi Germany.

25 The SS was not merely a police, surveillance and paramilitary organisation. Its main objective, from which it derived its legitimate use of force, was to create the racially pure *Volksgemeinschaft**. The SS evolved from a police organisation to become independent. It became the active agent of the Nazi regime, making all important political decisions. Yet the SS did not simply safeguard the regime. In Himmler's words, it was also entrusted with creating the new order. Police power became creative power within the Third Reich. Its protective role was enlarged to allow it to
30 make policy beyond the limits of normal state activity and to fuse together elements of the new racial community. The police could do anything in the name of *Volksgemeinschaft*.

*['*Volksgemeinschaft*' = People's Community]

B. C. Sax, Inside Hitler's Germany, 1992

**Revision to OCR AS GCE in History
From First Phase of Curriculum 2000 Review
Revised question paper format, AS Period Study Units 2583-2586
June 2002 exams and onwards**

[any one question to be answered from the Unit; paper to be answered in 45 minutes]

Europe 1789-1849

1 The French Revolution 1789-95

Answer either:

(a) Compare the importance of Paris and the provinces in shaping the course of events in France between 1789 and 1794.

or

(b) How far do you agree that economic problems were the **most** important reason for political instability in France between 1789 and 1794?

2 Napoleon and Europe 1799-1815

Answer either:

(a) 'The **most** important reason for Napoleon's downfall was the continental system.' How far do you agree with this statement?

or

(b) How far were Napoleon's domestic reforms during the Consulate influenced by the principles of the French Revolution?

3 France 1814-48

Answer either:

(a) Compare the importance of Louis Philippe's domestic and foreign policies in explaining his lack of popularity by 1848.

or

(b) To what extent was Charles X responsible for his own downfall?

4 Revolution and Repression in Europe 1815-49

Answer either:

- (a) To what extent do you agree that economic crisis was the reason for the outbreak of revolution across Europe in 1848?
or
- (b) Compare the importance of three major reasons, common to all the revolutions of 1848-49, which explain their failure.

Oxford Cambridge and RSA Examinations

Advanced GCE (2587)

History Historical Investigations 768-1216

Additional Materials

Time 1 Hour 30 minutes

Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer book.

Write your answers on the separate answer book provided.

This question paper contains questions on the following two Options:

- Charlemagne
- King John

Answer on one option only. In that Option, answer the document question and **one** other question.

Teachers may indicate to candidates in the examination room the part of the paper which covers the Option studied.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each sub-question.

You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.

The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Option you have studied.

In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.

Charlemagne

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 1** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

1 Study all the passages.

Using these **four** Passages **and** your own knowledge, discuss the importance Charlemagne attached to the imperial title.

[45]

A From: *The Annals of Lorsch* for the year 800. The writers had very close connections with the Carolingian court and so was well informed about thinking and events in the immediate circle of Charlemagne.

5 Since the name of 'emperor' was at this time lacking amongst the Greeks and they had female rule among them, it seemed to Pope Leo and all the holy fathers present in Rome, as well as to the rest of the Christian people, that they ought to bestow the name of emperor upon Charles himself, king of the Franks, who held Rome itself, where the Caesars had always been accustomed to have their throne, and the rest of the thrones throughout Italy, Gaul and Germany. Since Almighty God had granted all these thrones into Charles' power, it seemed to them to be right that, with the help of God and at the request of the entire Christian people, he should have that name. King Charles was himself unwilling to deny this request of theirs and, having submitted with all humility to God, received the name of emperor, with the consecration of the Lord Pope Leo, on the very day of the Nativity of Our Lord Christ.

10

B From: P. Riche, *The Carolingians. A Family who Forged Europe*, published in 1983, an historian who emphasises the effects of the events of 800 upon Byzantium.

15 Byzantium reacted negatively to the coronation of Charlemagne in 800. The Byzantines rejected it as a usurpation perpetrated by the pope and the Franks; they found scandal in the very notion that a barbarian could be crowned emperor. In 802 the Empress Irene was overthrown and replaced by the energetic Nicephorus I. To oblige the new emperor to recognise him, Charles invaded Venice which was Byzantium's outpost in the West. After many years of haggling, a compromise was negotiated between Charlemagne and Michael I, Nicephorus' successor. In 812 Michael recognised the Western Emperor as his brother, relinquishing to him all Italy with the exception of Venice and Dalmatia.

20

C From: R. Chamberlin, *Charlemagne, Emperor of the Western World*, published in 1986, an historian who believes the coronation of Charlemagne was a result of papal initiative.

25 On 25 December 800, Charlemagne attended mass in St Peter's, dressed in Roman costume and, while kneeling in prayer, was startled to see Pope Leo approaching him with a glittering, golden object in his hand. With a rehearsed gesture Leo raised the imperial crown high and placed it on the head of the Frank. Simultaneously, and again obviously rehearsed, the entire congregation burst out: 'To Charles Augustus,

crowned by God, mighty and pacific emperor, be life and victory.' Disconcerted, the new Emperor rose. Later he was to tell Einhard forcefully that 'he would not have entered the church that day, although the chief festival of the Church, if he could have foreseen the design of the pope'.

D From: R. Collins, *Charlemagne*, published in 1998, an historian who examines the precise nature of Charlemagne's view of empire.

- 30 The document known as the 'Division of the Empire' was issued at the palace at Thionville and dated 6 February 806. In this, Charles formally recognised his three sons as partners in his kingdom while he continued to live and as his heirs after his death. Louis received Aquitaine and Gascony. Most of Bavaria was added to Pippin's Italian kingdom. The younger Charles's kingdom comprised the lion's share of the
- 35 territories: Burgundy and the rest of Francia. How the partnership in power that is referred to in the 'Division' would have worked thereafter is not clear. What has aroused much comment is that no mention is made in this document of the imperial office. Argument over this has included the suggestion that Charles viewed the imperial office as a personal rather than a heritable title. Alternatively, he may have
- 40 seen it as essentially different in kind and not directly related to the territorial division in 806. Certainly in the end he did not allow the imperial title to lapse with his death. He summoned his son Louis in 813 and crowned him emperor with his own hands.

Answer **either**

2 Assess the reasons why it took Charlemagne so long to triumph over the Saxons.

or

3 Examine the extent to which modern historians have taken a favourable view of Charlemagne's achievements.

[45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

King John

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 4** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

4 Study all the passages.

Using these **four** Passages **and** your own knowledge, evaluate the view that John lost his continental lands in 1204 because of his own failure of leadership.

[30]

A From: *The History of William the Marshal*, an epic life of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. The author, John, a member of the Marshal household, is explaining the reasons for John's disasters that followed his success at the battle of Mirebeau in 1202.

5 It was through the counsel and deeds of William des Roches, the most powerful baron in Anjou, that King John had undertaken to relieve Mirebeau and it was through him that he had succeeded. Nothing of note was decided without des Roches who, later, was not at all happy with what had been done. But when he was at Chinon, King John treated his nephew Arthur and the others made prisoner at Mirebeau so badly that even those who were with him and present at this cruelty were ashamed of it. The King kept none of the promises he had made to des Roches, who made him pay for it by joining the French King's side. It thus cost John for not having put his trust in him. It was through des Roches that he afterwards lost Anjou, Maine and Poitou.

B From: W. L. Warren, *King John*, published in 1961, an historian who compares John unfavourably with his predecessor, King Richard I (1189-99).

15 It is difficult to see how John could have averted disaster. Not even the ablest commander can hold a disaffected province indefinitely against a determined invader. With all available resources at full strength, he was never able to bring a strong force to bear against the French army, save only for the failed night attack to relieve Chateau Gaillard. Philip had luck and the hearts of the Normans. King Richard himself could not have beaten that combination. But if Richard had lived for another five years, there would have been one notable difference in the course of the campaign: the king himself would have been on the heights above Chateau Gaillard as dawn broke, to give the signal for the combined attack on the French camp; however ready the Normans were to surrender, Philip would not have been able to march to Caen without fear of sudden assault by Richard and his household cavalry and, even when all else had gone, Richard would have been urging the citizens of Rouen to arms, and parrying the first assault with blows from his great sword. King John, however, stayed in England biting his nails.

C From: J. C. Holt, *The Northerners*, published in 1961, an historian who thinks of John as an able King and emphasises the financial problems that he faced in trying to wage war.

- 25 If the administration to 1204 was harsh and burdensome, it was severely conditioned by the situation in France and the increasingly desperate state of Angevin fortunes. It became more and more necessary to sacrifice thoroughness to speed. In financial terms, John was never able to pursue well thought out policies which might, in the long run, have provided more income because in the short run he desperately
- 30 needed money. He was, therefore, often obliged to accept a lesser yield because it would be gathered quickly. Tremendous sums were being drafted to King John in Normandy but, in the last years of the Norman war, English resources became inadequate for the task.

D From: J. W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, published in 1986, an historian who has focused attention on the need for awareness of the development of royal power in France under Philip Augustus (King 1180-1223) if King John is to be understood properly.

- 35 The accounts of 1202-03 give a sufficiently full picture of French royal finances to permit plausible conclusions. Philip's government realised an annual income of 115,000 livres. There were 60,000-77,000 livres of ordinary income and 26,000 from the 'War Tax' [*prisee des sergents*] and other unspecified sources. This was more than sufficient to cover the 83,000 livres of war expenses for the fighting on the Norman marches. In fact these incomes provided enough money to carry on the
- 40 fighting against John. The accounts of 1202-03 therefore convey the distinct impression that Philip's finances were more than adequate for his political designs against the Angevin lands on the continent.

Answer **either**

5 To what extent was the failure to defeat Philip Augustus of France in 1214 the fault of King John? [45]

or

6 Assess the reasons why King John agreed to *Magna Carta* in 1215. [45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

Oxford Cambridge and RSA Examinations

Advanced GCE (2588)

History Historical Investigations 1556-1725

Additional Materials

Time 1 Hour 30 minutes

Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer book.

Write your answers on the separate answer book provided.

This question paper contains questions on the following four Options:

- Phillip II
- Elizabeth I
- Oliver Cromwell
- Peter the Great

Answer on one option only. In that Option, answer the document question and **one** other question.

Teachers may indicate to candidates in the examination room the part of the paper which covers the Option studied.

INFORMATION FOR CANDIDATES

The number of marks is given in brackets [] at the end of each sub-question.

You should write in continuous prose and are reminded of the need for clear and accurate writing, including structure of argument, grammar, punctuation and spelling.

The time permitted allows for reading the Sources in the one Option you have studied.

In answering these questions, you are expected to use your knowledge of the topic to help you understand and interpret the Sources, as well as to inform your answers.

Philip II

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 1** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

1 Study all the passages.

Using these four Passages and your own knowledge, how far do you agree that Philip II's foreign policy was defensive?

[45]

A From: Michele Suriano, Venetian ambassador to Spain, who comments in 1559 on Philip II's attitude to foreign policy.

King Philip's efforts are directed not to increase his possessions by war but to preserve them by peace. Although he resembles his father in his features, he is dissimilar in many respects. Emperor Charles V delighted in all that pertained to war, but his Majesty has neither knowledge of war nor delight in it. The Emperor undertook great military expeditions but these the King avoids. The Emperor planned great designs but the King thinks less of increasing his own power than of obstructing the power of others. He has no esteem for any other nation but the Spanish.

B From: Peter Pierson, *Philip II*, published in 1975. This historian observes the defensive and conservative nature of Philip II's foreign policy.

In formulating policy, Philip tended to refer to the motivating assumptions and understandings of his father. Charles V had seen himself as the defender of Christian Europe against the Ottoman Empire, as the sword of Catholic civilization against the spread of Protestantism, and as a brake on the ambitions of the king of France. He had tried 'to forge his dominions and allies into an interrelated system to realize these purposes. Philip II's foreign policy, however, was essentially defensive and conservative. He had no universal plan for extending his power, or even the sway of the Church of Rome. In general, he reacted, with varying degrees of decisiveness, only to particular situations rather than implementing some grand design. This leaves the student of his reign looking at a seemingly disjointed series of events with no unifying thread save the universal consideration of cost, which from time to time forced Philip to reassess each course he was pursuing and give one priority.

C From: Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, published in 1997. This historian denies that Philip's foreign policy was aggressive or imperialist.

Phillip was not consciously imperialist. He never held or voiced theories about imperial power and never possessed any recognizable principles of empire. His court, except in the triumphalist years of the early 1580s, was not imperialist. When the king entered Lisbon in 1581, one of the triumphal arches erected for him declared: 'Now will be fulfilled the prophecies of the wise, that you will be sole king and sole shepherd on earth'. The universal monarchy had arrived. He now definitively changed his focus from the Mediterranean towards the Atlantic. His future strategy, military efforts, concern for security all shifted westwards. His objectives were clear: to settle the Netherlands problem and marginalize England. If France became

30 Protestant, the Netherlands would be lost, and all Western Europe beyond the Pyrenees. Every move by Spain looked like aggression, and it was easy to interpret Spanish policy as a lust for power. From first to last, his ventures into foreign entanglements were a result of his concern to protect the Netherlands.

D From: Geoffrey Parker, *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*, published in 1998. This historian sees some justification in fears of Spanish aggression.

35 English, French and Papal fears of Spain's aggressive aspirations were not entirely misplaced. Despite their protestations to the contrary, Philip and his ministers clearly believed that, at least sometimes, 'to defend it is necessary to attack', since protecting all vulnerable areas would cost far more and achieve far less than a well aimed stroke at any undeclared, or even potential, enemy. A 'global' strategic vision clearly underlay initiatives undertaken by his government. Philip and most of his courtiers saw the unification of the peninsula as a vital step on Spain's road to global mastery. His confidence that God intended him to annex England made Philip review several possible strategies for achieving this. In 1590, Philip informed Parma that 'the strategy for assisting the French Catholic cause that I have followed, although correct until now, will not serve any longer'. He commanded the Duke to invade France at once.

Answer **either**

2 'Prudent' may be defined as either 'wise' or 'cautious'. How far did Philip II live up to his reputation as 'the Prudent King' in governing mainland Spain? 45]

or

3 Assess how far religion was the factor that determined Philip II policy towards the Netherlands. [45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

Elizabeth I

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 4** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

4 Study all the passages.

Using **all** these passages **and** your own knowledge, assess the claim that in 1559 Elizabeth 'obtained as conservative and all-inclusive a Church as was possible' (Passage B, lines 13-14).

[45]

A From: a letter from the Spanish ambassador in England, the Count de Feria, to Philip 11, 19 March 1559, in which he criticises Elizabeth for her tendency towards Protestantism.

Elizabeth was disturbed and excited and resolved to restore religion as her father left it. At last I said that I did not consider her to be a heretic and could not believe that she would agree to the things which were being discussed in Parliament. I said that if she changed the religion she would be ruined. She said she would rather not take the title of Head of the Church, but that so much money was taken out of the country for the Pope every year that she must put an end to it, and that the bishops were lazy cowards. I replied that the cowards were the preachers she listened to, and that it added little to her honour and was a great scandal that so many rogues should come from .Germany, and stand in the pulpit before her and great congregations, and preach a thousand absurdities without being learned or worthy to be listened to.

B From: John Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments*, 1559-1581, published in 1953. This historian considers the main influence in shaping the Church Settlement was the Protestants in the Commons.

The main structure of the Elizabethan Church Settlement was decided. In giving way to the Protestant clergy Elizabeth had been wise. Thereby she obtained as conservative and all-inclusive a Church as was possible. It may seem strange to say that 1559 was the most favourable occasion for a compromise: the beginning of the reign, which brought the exiles home from the continent, excited by the miraculous ways of God - 'The Lord has caused a new star to arise' - an occasion, moreover, that witnessed a similar upsurge in the country and in the House of Commons. No subsequent Elizabethan House of Commons would have agreed to the Prayer Book of 1559. However, to have delayed a settlement would in itself have made an all-inclusive Church so difficult as to be practically unattainable.

C From: Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558-1603*, published in 1994. This historian considers that the Catholics in the House of Lords had most influence in shaping the Church Settlement.

Elizabeth's government intended to introduce a religious settlement in 1559 which would enforce a Protestant form of service through an Act of Uniformity. It also planned to introduce an Act of Supremacy which would make this royal reformation of the Church legal. Opposition to the legislative programme, however, was mounted

25 by Catholic activists, led by the bishops in the House of Lords, whose resistance was
so vigorous that the Supremacy and Uniformity Bills nearly failed. They were
eventually passed only because the Queen effectively applied a mixture of
30 compromise and coercion. As a result of the bishops' refusal to accept the
Supremacy even after it became law, Elizabeth had to rely on the Marian exiles and
other zealous Protestants to fill vacant positions in the Church. The new leadership of
the English Church was therefore more committed to Protestant reform than
Elizabeth would ideally have wished.

D From: Christopher Haigh, *Elizabeth I*, published in 1998. This historian considers
the main influence in shaping the Church Settlement to have been Elizabeth's
Protestant councillors.

Only nineteen Marian exiles were elected to the 1559 Parliament, and some returned
too late to play any active role. The Protestant radicals were not an active pressure
35 group able to dominate the Commons, which was usually controlled by the new
Council and its agents. The Queen's tactics had been designed to contain
conservative opposition in the Lords, not radical pressure in the Commons. Above
all, the Neale version of 1559 simply does not fit with what we know of the religion of
Elizabeth and her advisers. Even if the Queen herself is dismissed as indifferent in
40 religion, it is difficult to see that her advisers, William Cecil, Nicholas Bacon, Francis
Knollys and the Earl of Bedford, could have headed a regime aiming for anything less
than a Protestant settlement.

Answer **either**

5 How successfully did the Elizabethan authorities deal with Puritanism from 1563? [45]

or

6 To what extent was the contemporary image of Elizabeth I the product of
government propaganda? [45]

*Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations
in developing the argument in their essay.*

Oliver Cromwell

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 7** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

7 Study all the passages.

Using these **four** Passages **and** your own knowledge, assess why there have been disagreements about Cromwell's motives in rejecting the crown in 1657.

[45]

A From: a letter from John Bridge MP to Henry Cromwell, Lord Deputy in Ireland, 13 April 1657. This contemporary believes that Providence and army influence prevented Cromwell from accepting the crown.

5 A committee was appointed for a free conference with his Highness, Oliver Cromwell, to satisfy him of the reason and necessity of Parliament's demands. And yesterday his Highness gave answer to them. That for his part he values not one title more than another. But since many godly men that have risked their lives in this cause are dissatisfied with it, and Providence has eradicated the old title of king, he thinks it his duty to beg Parliament not to force upon those good men what they cannot swallow, though it may be their weakness. I believe his Highness is afraid there may be some disorder in the army.

B From: Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell Our Chief of Men*, published in 1973. This historian regards the influence of the army as critical in Cromwell's refusal of the crown.

10 The long-drawn-out drama enthralled everyone in London, and indeed far abroad: The answer, finally, was to be 'yes'. That we must believe, on the definite testimony of Secretary Thurloe, who reported that on 6 May Cromwell told several people that he intended to accept.

15 His mind made up, Oliver took one of those walks in St. James's Park, habitual to him. There he encountered the army leaders Lambert, Fleetwood and Desborough. It matters little that their presence there could hardly have been coincidental. It was their message which was momentous; for here was no idle joking on the subject of monarchy, but a definite announcement from all three that they would not tolerate its acceptance. So finally, on 8 May, Parliament got its answer with regard to Oliver Cromwell: 'he cannot undertake this government with the title of king'.

C From: Barry Coward, *Oliver Cromwell*, published in 1991. This historian considers that political reasons as well as Cromwell's belief in Providence influenced his decision on the crown.

20 Why did Cromwell agonise over the offer of the kingship and why did he eventually, on 8 May, turn it down? It is difficult to believe, given his successful bravado confrontation with army officers on 27 February, that fear of the army's reaction was a major consideration. At moments of crisis in the past he had had no difficulty in crushing army discontent. Probably the main political consideration that told against
25 accepting the crown was his calculation that as 'King Oliver' he would find it harder

than ever to resist the influence of those conservative MPs like Broghill who were hostile to godly reformation. Yet Cromwell's political decisions can rarely be fully understood without reference to his belief in Providence. Accepting the crown would have helped increase the support for his regime, but the deciding argument against acceptance for Cromwell was the possibility that God would interpret its acceptance as a sign that Cromwell had opted for worldly advancement rather than godly reformation.

D From: Jonathan Davis, *Oliver Cromwell*, published in 2001. This historian argues that Cromwell's belief in Providence was the most important reason behind his rejection of the crown.

An incident which seems a bad fit with the allegation of personal advancement is Cromwell's comprehensive rejection of the crown when it was offered to him in the spring of 1657. He may have hesitated at the title of king and hereditary office as it was presented to him in 1653 in an early version of the Instrument of Government, but his rejection of the kingship in 1657 was public, deliberate and definitive. The key feature of the rejection was respect for God's own decisiveness in blasting the title of king as well as in blasting the Stuart dynasty. Historians have recently come round to the view that this was a more important factor in Cromwell's decision than military opposition.

At critical moments he seems to have played his cards very close to his chest, and to have been almost solely reliant on his own conscience. John Thurloe, who worked closely with him, completely misread Cromwell's intentions in 1657 when he was sure that the Protector would accept the crown.

Answer **either**

8 To what extent did Cromwell's rise to prominence by 1646 depend on personal and social ties?

[45]

or

9 Why did Cromwell forcibly dissolve the Rump in April 1653, despite having fought to defend Parliament in the Civil Wars?

[45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

Peter the Great

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 10** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

10 Study all the passages.

Using these four Passages and your own knowledge, evaluate the claim that 'Peter created a great gulf between a westernised elite and the mass of Russians' (Passage C, lines 32-33).

[30]

A From: P. Miliukov, *Outlines of the History of Russian Culture*, written in the late 1890s. Miliukov was a Russian historian who was a non-Marxist critic of the Tsarist regime. He sees St. Petersburg as a reflection of Peter the Great's ineffectiveness as a planner.

5 St. Petersburg was the embodiment of all the strong feelings of Peter: his love for the sea and the navy, his need for wide open space, his habit of dabbling in the new cultural fashions, and his fear in the face of the hollow hostility of Moscow, the old capital. The new city reflected not only the full substance of his reforms in miniature, but also all of their methods. On the small patches of land, divided up by the mouth of the River Neva, Peter thrashed about for ten years without tiring, and the result was again a mass of unproductive wasted efforts, a mass of beginnings without ends, magnificent and expensive plans left without realization, and nothing coherent.

B From: M. S. Anderson, *Peter the Great*, published in 1978. This historian sees St. Petersburg as a success for Peter the Great that was achieved at, great cost.

10 The new intellectual and cultural forces at work in Russia found a symbol and a geographical focus in St. Petersburg. Its growth was rapid, helped by incessant government direction and compulsion. The establishment of an extensive apparatus of government offices was one aspect of this. Another was the forced settlement in the new city of many kinds of workers who were compelled to live there with their wives and children. Russian nobles and gentry resented bitterly their removal from
15 their estates, hundreds or even thousands of miles away, to the fogs and floods of the Neva and to a city where life was so much more expensive and demanding than anywhere else. Well before the end of Peter's reign, the city had begun to arouse the admiration of foreign observers. A German wrote in the early 1720s, 'Petersburg may with reason be looked on as a Wonder of the World, considering its magnificent
20 palaces, thousands of houses and the short time that was employed in building it'.

C From: G. Treasure, *The Making of Modern Europe, 1648-1780*, published in 1985. This historian believes that St. Petersburg broke Russian traditions.

25 St. Petersburg, that modern capital built by the sweat and blood of conscript serfs, was the symbol of Peter's work and his lasting monument. It was begun in 1703, first fruit of the Tsar's conquest of the Baltic provinces, on marshes around the mouth of the River Neva. Military outpost, administrative centre and port, it expressed at first in
30 makeshift wooden buildings, later in severe but handsome architecture, the Tsar's maritime and commercial ambitions. It represented progress to Peter and to the more advanced of his ministers, but to most Russians it was an enormous burden. Peter's new colleges functioned in St. Petersburg: that did not commend them, or the place, to his subjects. Inconveniently remote for a capital, in outrageous defiance of
Muscovite tradition and of geography, the capital was to remain outside the mainstream of Russian life. Peter created a great gulf between westernised elite of office-holders and courtiers and the mass of Russians. One Russian wrote in 1811, 'We became citizens of the world but we ceased in certain respects to be Russian. The fault is Peter's'.

D From: D. J. Sturdy, *Fractured Europe, 1600-1721*, published in 2002. This historian emphasises the positive achievements of St. Petersburg.

35 If any physical creation exemplified Peter's concept of the state, it was St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg was the physical proof of a certain ideal of Russia. Its buildings were western in style; foreigners were not confined to the suburbs; it made no claims to religious importance; it was given over to government and commerce; it was the main Russian naval base in the Baltic; and it had lively secular
40 entertainments in its theatres and music halls. Peter could not refashion Russia as a whole, but in St. Petersburg he created a city which invited his successors to continue the incentive towards constant reform.

Answer either

11 Discuss the reasons why Peter the Great believed it necessary to control the Russian Church.

[45]

or

12 How far do you agree that Peter the Great's personality was more of a disadvantage than an advantage in his attempts to reform Russia?

[45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

Oxford Cambridge and RSA Examinations

Advanced GCE (2589)

History Historical Investigations 1799-1955

Additional Materials

Time 1 Hour 30 minutes

Write your name, centre number and candidate number in the spaces provided on the answer book.

Write your answers on the separate answer book provided.

This question paper contains questions on the following seven Options:

- Napoleon I
- Gladstone and Disraeli 1846-80
- Bismarck and the Unification of Germany 1858-71
- Roosevelt's America 1920-41
- Lenin and the Establishment of Bolshevik Power 1903-39
- Chamberlain and Anglo-German Relations 1918-39
- Stalin and the Development of the Cold War in Europe 1941-55

Answer on one Option only. In that Option, answer the document question, and one other question.

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Napoleon I

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 1** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

1 Study all the passages.

Using these **four** Passages **and** your own knowledge, how far do you agree with the view that the Continental System was the **main** cause of Napoleon's downfall?

[45]

A From: D. M. G. Sutherland, *France 1789-1815. Revolution and Counterrevolution*, published in 1985. This historian argues that the Continental System, and Napoleon's determination to enforce it, were major causes of Napoleon's downfall.

So long as the war with England continued, the Continental System had to be regulated, refined and expanded. Thus French economic dominance over the continent tightened while the nature of the System meant further expansion. For those countries already within it, this meant increasing resentment among the
5 conquered; for those outside, the threat of conquest. Resistance to the expansion of the System also inspired resistance among those already conquered, and thus gave the English another opportunity to subsidize continental allies. There was a straight logic, therefore, between the rising of the Portuguese and the Spanish in 1808,
10 English intervention in the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 and the new war in 1809 with Austria. The Treaty of Schanbrunn following that war also contributed to the growing alienation of Russia. Napoleon could have prevented the forging of many of the links in the logical chain, but his increasing preference for forceful solutions resulted in the unravelling of the Grand Empire.

B From: Martyn Lyons, *Napoleon Bonaparte and the Legacy of the French Revolution*, published in 1994. This historian acknowledges the damaging impact of the Continental System on Britain.

The Continental System hurt Britain especially badly in 1810-11. The British market
15 was then flooded with unsold goods and there was a wave of bankruptcies. Industrial production fell by 20% between 1809 and 1811, although the blockade was only one contributing cause. The severe depression caused unemployment and the outbreak of machine-breaking in various counties. Revolutionary conspirators assassinated the Prime Minister in 1812. Gold reserves fell as the war effort produced financial
20 strain. There was a worsening balance of payments deficit. The value of the pound fell over 25% in 1811. Grain had to be purchased overseas to compensate for domestic food shortages. British exports tumbled until Napoleon's invasion of Russia once again signalled the relaxation of the Continental Blockade.

C From: Philip G. Dwyer, *Napoleon and the Drive for Glory: Reflections on the Making of French Foreign Policy*, published in 2001. This historian downplays the significance of the Continental System as a weapon of war against Britain.

The traditional view is that Napoleon's foreign policy was subordinated to the
25 strategic necessity of implementing the Continental System. He had to oblige all

Europe to submit to it in order to make it work, which is why he invaded Portugal in 1807, Spain in 1808 and Russia in 1812. However, the Continental System was far more an attempt to bring Europe under French economic control and far less an attempt to defeat Britain. Napoleon knew that the Blockade against British goods was not working and he had virtually abandoned it as a means of defeating Britain well before he decided to invade Russia. If one accepts this argument, Napoleon's justification for invading Spain, Portugal and especially Russia becomes incomprehensible except as part of a general pattern of conquest and expansion.

D From: Paul Johnson, *Napoleon*, published in 2002. This historian is highly critical of Napoleon and here outlines the negative impact of the Continental System.

Bonaparte took the Continental System with unusual earnestness and spent much time and energy trying to make it work. This was in vain because the System was counterproductive. It produced vast amounts of smuggling from which the British benefited. Moreover, inland efforts by Bonaparte's army and police to control smuggling were expensive in manpower and highly unpopular. Outside France, it seemed to those who suffered under the System to be the worst side of French imperialism, designed as much to boost French exports as to ruin Britain's. The result was that governments not directly controlled by the French, although part of the System, made little or no effort to enforce it. This was something Bonaparte's pride could not tolerate and it tipped him into two disastrous wars, the first with Spain, the second with Russia.

Answer **either**

2 Assess the view that Napoleon betrayed the French Revolution in his domestic policy.

[45]

or

3 How far is Napoleon's successful domination of much of Europe to 1810 best explained by the weaknesses and divisions amongst his enemies?

[45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

Gladstone and Disraeli 1846-80

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 4** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

4 Study all the passages.

Using all these Passages **and** your own knowledge, examine the reasons why the Conservatives proposed widening the franchise in 1866-67.

[45]

A From: J. K. Walton, *The Second Reform Act*, published in 1983. This historian sees the unstable nature of both political parties as contributing to the passing of the 1867 Reform Act.

5 The nature of the 1867 Act was determined by the complex and fragmented political system with several overlapping groups rather than by a sharp divide between two well defined parties. Disraeli's tactics were governed by the need to please enough Whigs, Liberals and radicals to maintain his majority, without losing the support of more than the small die-hard fringe of Conservative opponents of reform at any price. Maybe the Conservatives had a more flexible approach to franchise reform as they set more store by national identity and links between the classes, while the Liberals expected individual voters to pursue their own self-interest at the expense of the common good. But to argue that Disraeli had a vision of 'Tory democracy' towards
10 which he had been 'educating' his party for years, or to suggest that he deliberately reached downwards to catch a hidden layer of working-class Tory voters, is to mistake his subsequent self-justification for his policy at the time.

B From: I. A. Jenkins, *Disraeli and Victorian Conservatism*, published in 1996. This historian argues Disraeli did have consistent principles in passing the Reform Act

15 In a speech in Edinburgh in 1867, Disraeli rejected the idea that reform was a Liberal monopoly, arguing that in the Great Reform Act of 1832, the Whigs had deprived working men of the right to vote. His aim in passing the 1867 Act had been to remedy the sense of grievance arising from this fact. He said that the new Act had not created a 'democracy' but was based on the clear principles of household suffrage and personal payment of rates. He maintained that the Reform Act was part of a preconceived plan. It was true that it had been necessary for him gradually to
20 'prepare the mind of the country' and to 'educate' his own party. He also claimed to have been engaged in this exercise ever since the earlier failure of a reform scheme in 1859. He insisted that the 1867 Act justified his party's claim to represent the interests of the whole nation.

C From: P. Smith, *Disraeli*, published in 1996. This historian believes Gladstone's opposition to the Reform Bill was counter-productive.

25 Disraeli was able to frustrate Gladstone's opposition to the Bill and enjoy an outstanding parliamentary triumph. Gladstone suffered from the fact that he understood a good deal of the technical side of the reform, but few others did. In the

30 end his detailed condemnations became boring. His desire to paralyse a government measure which was based on a clear principle alienated MPs on all sides who wanted to get rid of the question. MPs were also afraid that Parliament would be dissolved only two years after they had had to meet the expenses of the last general election. Gladstone's arrogance and irritability contrasted strongly with Disraeli's natural calm. Disraeli's tireless devotion, his endless tact and his agility of mind were an outstanding display and brought him to the summit of his parliamentary career.

D From: I. Machin, *The Rise of Democracy in Britain 1830-1918*, published in 2001. This historian suggests Disraeli was motivated by the hope of party advantage.

35 The need to take up Reform arose from the growing number of mass meetings, but even more from the government's minority position in the House of Commons. They believed that a larger Bill than the Liberal measure was desirable because, by going below the respectable Liberal element, they could tap into a layer of popular Tory support. The idea that a minority government might help its prospects by carrying through parliament a measure over the heads of its squabbling opponents was a very
40 tempting one. There was an air of adventure and daring about the scheme which was well suited to Disraeli's political abilities.

Answer **either**

5 How important was Gladstone's contribution to the development of Liberalism from 1852 to 1868? [45]

or

6 How far was Disraeli an Imperialist? [45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay

Bismarck and the Unification of Germany 1858-71

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 7** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

7 Study all the passages.

Using these **four** Passages **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that Bismarck went to war with France in 1870 in order to complete the unification of Germany.

[45]

A From: Horst Kohl, *A Guide through Bismarck's 'Reflections and Reminiscences'*, published in 1899, a nationalist German author who used Bismarck's memoirs to explain how, following concessions already made to France, Bismarck edited the Ems Telegram. According to Kohl, he did so in order to provoke France into war, thus upholding German unity and national honour.

5 Bismarck saw that any further concessions must damage beyond repair our prospect of unity. He was convinced that 'the breach which has been caused by the divergence of dynastic and race feeling, and by the different habits of life between north and south Germany, would be effectively bridged by a national war against the neighbour who for centuries had been the aggressor. He gave the Telegram a form which forced the hand of the French, compelling them either to declare war or to take the slap in the face dealt them by Bismarck. It was not Bismarck who brought on the war - he was always opposed to any preventative war because no one can foretell the results - but he did not shrink from war when it could not be avoided without loss of honour. This is his greatest merit in the eyes of history.

10

B From: L. C. B. Seaman, *From Vienna to Versailles*, first published in 1955. This historian argues that Bismarck provoked war with France in 1870 not to fulfil any national purpose or plan but for reasons of dynastic and personal pride.'

15 Bismarck did not necessarily have to go to war in 1870 to 'unite' Germany in the sense of getting the south German states into a German empire. In all but name, that unification' was complete in both military and economic affairs before 1870. The practical differences between the structure of Germany after 1866 and after 1871 were altogether too small to be worth a large-scale war. As for satisfying German national aspirations, Bismarck never became the instrument of these. He made war therefore for reasons as criminally irrational as those which influenced the French. To avoid a setback to Prussian influence and prestige, and to himself, he deliberately impelled both the Germans and the French into war.

C From: Golo Mann, *A History of Germany since 1789*, published in 1968. This historian accepts the argument that in July 1870 Bismarck wanted war with France, but dismisses the idea that the war was necessary to complete the unification of Germany.

20 In July 1870 each side tried to outdo the other. To an unimportant, though foolish,
French demand Bismarck replied with a press statement which to us, in our violent
age, seems almost laughably harmless, but which according to the chivalrous code
still in existence then was certainly equal to a declaration of war. Bismarck almost
25 certainly preferred war to the humiliation of Prussia, particularly as he regarded war
as inevitable anyway and because a war would probably open up a satisfactory
avenue along which he could pursue 25 policies which otherwise would reach a dead
end. However, the war of 1870 was not fought over a genuine reason for war. For the
attainment of the Prussian goal, the establishment of 'little' Germany, no war against
France was, or should have been, necessary.

D From: Edgar Feuchtwanger, *Bismarck*, published in 2002. This historian argues
that Bismarck, though not wholly responsible for causing the Franco-Prussian War,
worked to provoke a conflict with France and in doing so ensured that Germany
would be united in the face of French threats against the Prussian monarchy.

30 The account given by Bismarck in his *Reminiscences* of the editing of the Ems
Telegram is seriously misleading. No doubt he was dining with Roon and Moltke that
evening and Moltke may have said, when shown the edited version, 'It sounded like a
retreat but now it sounds like an attack'. What Bismarck did not reveal is that he had
35 already taken steps to cover the king's retreat with plenty of threats. But this does not
add up to war guilt on Bismarck's part. Both sides were equally guilty. Bismarck was,
however, much more skilful in setting the scene and in recovering from unpredictable
attacks. He succeeded in convincing most of the powers of Europe that they had no
reason to sympathise with France. Most importantly, Bismarck succeeded in
40 convincing the German public, north and south, that it was their patriotic duty to rise
up against French aggression. The perfect reason for war, which he had often
speculated might be necessary to motivate Germany, had been found.

Answer **either**

8 Evaluate the contribution of the *Zollverein* to the unification of Germany in the
period 1858-67. [45]

or

9 Discuss the extent to which, in the period 1868-71, the new Germany was based
on nationalist principles. [45]

*Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations
in developing the argument in their essay*

Roosevelt's America 1920-41

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 10** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

10 Study all the passages.

Using these **four** Passages **and** your own knowledge, evaluate the view that the New Deal failed to deal adequately with the social and economic problems facing the United States from 1933 to 1941.

[45]

A From: Donald R. McCoy, *Coming of Age. The United States during the 1920s and 1930s*, published in 1973. This historian criticises F. D. Roosevelt's approach to dealing with the social and economic problems faced by the United States during the New Deal years.

Roosevelt, despite his great leadership ability, the people's confidence in him and a huge majority in Congress, was unable to do more than he did. The failure to devise an overall programme of national reconstruction must be ascribed in part to his sense of what was possible and in part to his political opportunism. He could perceive the nation's immediate problems, but he could not formulate a profound plan to deal with them. Indeed, Roosevelt did not seek one. He met problems piecemeal, and his opportunism forced him too often to keep one eye on the next election and therefore to cater to the interests of individual groups, instead of those of the country as a whole. The President was seldom willing to risk his political popularity to champion any controversial programme.

B From: Maldwyn A. Jones, *Limits of Liberty, American History, 1607-1992*, published in 1983. This historian argues that the New Deal had some serious faults and brought only a partial recovery in the 1930s.

Not even the staunchest admirers of the New Deal could claim that it had brought about more than partial recovery. By 1939 there had been great improvement in some sectors of the economy. Manufacturing production, for example, had returned to the level of 1929 - though critics alleged that this had occurred in spite of New Deal policies, not because of them. But investment still lagged and there remained nine and a half million unemployed -17% of the working population. Not until 1941 would full employment and prosperity return, and only then because of the war and rearmament. Some New Deal policies did more harm than good: the 1933 National Industrial Recovery Act [NIRA] for example. New Deal agricultural policies did nothing to help the worst-off farmers. The New Deal's social-welfare programme was seriously deficient. There were also major omissions, notably the failure to embark on a large-scale housing programme.

C From: James T. Patterson, *America in the Twentieth Century, A History*, published in 1994. This historian argues that the New Deal was, on balance, successful in dealing with the social and economic problems facing the United States in the 1930s.

25 Roosevelt's detractors tend to neglect his accomplishments. In part because of the New Deal, the economy stopped its disastrous slide of 1930-32. Farm prices increased, debtors received relief, banks reopened. The New Deal introduced modest centralisation of banking and limited Federal regulation of stocks. It created landmark achievements such as social security and the Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA], and pioneered the Federal development of public welfare. The Wagner Act of 30 1935 helped to give protection to workers. And while Roosevelt rejected deficit spending as a long-range policy, so did most of his contemporaries: his willingness to resort to it at all stamped him as a flexible leader. These acts maintained the capitalist system. But they were also reforms, and they were partially successful. They resulted in a measure of political modernisation capable of struggling with the economic centralisation of previous decades. Compared with what had come before, 35 the growth in the 1930s of the welfare state was considerable.

D From: Peter Clements, *Prosperity, Depression and the New Deal*, published in 1997. This historian highlights the achievements of the New Deal in providing relief to the unemployed and the poor.

One of the great achievements of the New Deal was in the changing expectations of the role of the Federal government. This was particularly true of help to less fortunate members of society. Relief agencies were set up to offer hope to millions. There were 40 new departures in government responsibilities. The 1935 Social Security Act was not strictly a relief measure as it was financed through contributions paid by the recipients. But it did set up a national system of old age pensions and unemployment benefit for the first time. While it is true that the amounts spent were inadequate for the needs of a population suffering from a prolonged depression, important 45 precedents were set by the initiation of this legislation. It could be built on in the future. Never before had the Federal government become involved in direct relief or benefits.

Answer **either**

11 Discuss the view that in foreign policy the United States was isolationist from 1920 to 1933, but increasingly interventionist during Roosevelt's presidency from 1933 to 1941.

[45]

or

12 To what extent were the policies of the Republican governments of 1921-29 responsible for **both** the economic boom of the 1920s **and** the subsequent economic collapse of 1929-33?

[45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

Lenin and the Establishment of Bolshevik Power 1903-24

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 13** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

13 Study all the passages.

Using these **four** Passages **and** your own knowledge, evaluate the reasons put forward to explain the Bolsheviks' adoption of the policy of Red Terror in the summer of 1918.

[45]

A From: A letter sent on 11 August 1918 by Lenin to Bolshevik leaders in the Penza province of Russia. The letter was published in full for the first time in Russia in 1992. Richard Pipes included it in *The Unknown Lenin: from the Secret Archives*, published in 1998. During the Stalinist era, the letter had been 'apparently lost' (Pipes).

Comrades!

The uprising of the five kulak districts should be mercilessly suppressed. The interests of the entire revolution require this because now 'the last decisive battle' with the kulaks is underway everywhere. One must give an example.

- 5 1. Hang no fewer than one hundred known kulaks, rich men, bloodsuckers.
2. Publish their names.
3. Take from them all grain.
4. Identify hostages - as per yesterday's telegram.

10 Do it in such a way that for hundreds of miles around, 'people will see, tremble, know and then shout, 'they are strangling and will strangle to death the bloodsucker kulaks'.

Telegraph receipt and confirmation of implementation.

PS. Find some really hard people

B From: Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago*, published in 1973. This Russian dissident writer's book, which is about the Red Terror, was so unacceptable to Soviet authorities that the first volume was published in the West only, a move which resulted in his exile from the USSR.

15 Lenin, at the end of 1917, in order to establish 'strictly revolutionary order' demanded 'merciless suppression of attempts at anarchy on the part of drunkards, hooligans counter-revolutionaries and other persons'. In January 1918 he proclaimed the common, uniting purpose of 'purging the Russian land of all insects'. Under the term *insects* he included not only all class enemies but also 'workers malingering at their work'. In August 1918, several days before the attempt on his life, Lenin sent a
20 telegram to the Penza Provincial Executive Committee which was unable to cope with a peasant revolt. He told them to 'lock up all the doubtful ones in a *concentration* camp outside the city'. (Solzhenitsyn adds in brackets: 'not "guilty", mind you, but *doubtful*'.] The telegram added 'carry out merciless mass terror'. Only on 5 September 1918, ten days after this telegram, was the Decree on Red Terror

25 published. In addition to the instructions on mass executions, it stated: 'Secure the Soviet Republic against its class enemies by isolating them in *concentration camps*.'

C From: Geoffrey Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union*, published in 1985. This historian identifies two schools of thought concerning the origins of Red Terror, having first of all explained his view that Lenin was ruthless in using terror against all his enemies, whether real or imagined.

Lenin certainly introduced and made habitual the ruthless use of violence against real and imagined 'enemies' while also creating, outside local Soviet or party control, the institutions to enable this to be done. Whatever the Bolsheviks' intentions when they
30 came to power, there can be no doubt that during the civil war they withdrew or cancelled most of the benefits they had given to the people in October 1917. 'During the civil war' does not necessarily mean 'because of the civil war'. In fact, there is considerable controversy among historians over this. Soviet historians, and some
35 Western ones, attribute the extreme authoritarianism of Bolshevik rule at the time to the emergencies the regime faced. Many Western historians, on the other hand, have always insisted that such authoritarianism was to be found in Lenin's attitude from the outset and the way he broke with all who were unable to agree with him wholeheartedly.

D From: Dmitri Volkogonov, *Lenin: Life and Legacy*, published in 1994. This Russian historian argues that Lenin prompted the Red Terror, though not publicly because of concern about his reputation. Volkogonov was a Soviet general who from the 1980s has challenged traditional Soviet interpretations.

During the civil war, Lenin told his commanders to shoot anyone for a widening range
40 of offences: from resisting arrest to carelessness and false reports. Despite the fact that he preferred to remain in the Kremlin or his comfortable villa, Lenin did much to make the cruelty worse by these orders. It is true that in the many articles he published and the many speeches he made during this period, he rarely called for the shooting of counter-revolutionaries or traitors. He preferred to issue his harsh
45 instructions in coded telegrams or anonymous decrees. He cared about his reputation and did not want to stain it with the notoriety of the hangman. In this he was moderately successful because history has not on the whole judged him badly in this light.

Answer **either**

14 Discuss the extent to which the Bolshevik party changed its ideology and tactics in the period from 1903 to February 1917. [45]

or

15 Assess the view that the role of the Provisional Government in causing the October 1917 Revolution has been exaggerated. [45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.

Chamberlain and Anglo-German Relations 1918-39

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 16** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

16 Study all the passages.

Using **all** these passages **and** your own knowledge, assess the view that, in 1938 and early 1939, there was no realistic alternative to the policy of appeasement of Germany.

[45]

A From: Winston Churchill, a speech in the House of Commons on 14 March 1938 following the *Anschluss* (union of Germany and Austria), in which he puts forward a distinct alternative to the government's policy of appeasement.

5 If a number of states were assembled around Great Britain and France in a solemn treaty for mutual defence against aggression; if they had their forces assembled in what might be called a Grand Alliance; if they had their military arrangements concerted; if all this rested, as it can honourably rest, upon the Covenant of the League of Nations; if it were sustained, as it would be, by the moral approval of the world; and if it were done in 1938 - and believe me it may be the last chance there will be for doing it - then I say that you might, even now, prevent this approaching war.

B From: William Rock, *British Appeasement in the 1930s*, published in 1977. This historian argues that Churchill's proposed 'Grand Alliance', devised in response to events of early 1938, received little immediate support mainly because of Churchill's reputation as a rebel.

10 Churchill was not a determined opponent of appeasement before 1938, partly because its ultimate form and direction were ill-defined. In March 1938, after Eden's resignation and the shock of the Austrian *Anschluss*, he swiftly emerged as an outspoken critic of what he now believed was the sheer inadequacy of government policy. From then on, Churchill's outlook consisted of his proposal for a Grand Alliance and the belief that a continuation of appeasement would mean a series of
15 surrenders until all of Britain's friends had been 'thrown to the wolves' and Britain was left to face its fate alone. But his long reputation as a Conservative party rebel, and an aggressive one at that, prevented his views from carrying full weight until the international situation had drastically deteriorated.

C From: R. A. C. Parker, *Chamberlain and Appeasement*, published in 1993. This historian argues that 1938-39 saw a political struggle between Churchill's and Chamberlain's policies towards Germany, with Chamberlain in 1939 having to adopt much of Churchill's policy.

20 In 1938 and early 1939 there was a clearly stated alternative to the government's policy towards Germany. Where the government stressed reconciliation towards Hitler, Chamberlain's opponents preferred 'the language of the mailed fist'. They wanted military alliances to encircle Germany; alliances dressed up in the language of the League of Nations. Opposition to Chamberlainite appeasement was widely spread by September 1938. The almost complete agreement on policy towards
25 Germany which had existed in 1936 was gone. An intense and well-matched political struggle replaced it. Chamberlain's opponents were superior to his supporters in talent and eloquence. On the other hand, they were dispersed and did not form a united campaign front. To add to Chamberlain's workmanlike debating skill and his careful preparation, the Prime Minister had the advantage of an obedient majority in
30 the House of Commons. Chamberlain, however great his political assets, was compelled, after his meeting with Hitler at Godesberg, and still more after the German occupation of Prague, to accept in appearance much of the alternative policy pressed on his government.

D From: John Charmley, *Churchill: the End of Glory*, published in 1993. This historian argues that Churchill's 'Grand Alliance' remained unrealistic until its possible members were brought together by the demands of war.

35 The 'Grand Alliance' was a wonderful slogan but it was not practical politics. Britain was not ready for war; nor were the French. In any case, neither of them was preparing for an offensive war. Russia, whom Churchill wanted to join the proposed Alliance, had recently purged her armed forces extensively. Moreover, Russia caused more problems than she solved as a member of the potential 'Alliance'. The
40 Czechs, the Poles, the Rumanians all distrusted the Russians at least as much as they distrusted the Nazis. Then there remained the problem of the Americans. Churchill was always apt to become a slave of his own ideas and to assume that to coin a brilliant phrase was to solve a problem. However, the road to the 'Grand Alliance' was a long and a hard one. It came about only when dire necessity convinced its possible members that if they did not hang together they would each
45 hang separately.

Answer **either**

17 How far do you agree that, in the period 1920-37, British attitudes towards Germany were greatly affected by the establishment of the Third Reich in 1933-34? [45]

or

18 Discuss the view that the **only** reason why the British government declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939 was because it was pushed into doing so by the British House of Commons. [45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay

Stalin and the Development of the Cold War in Europe 1941-55

If answering on this Option, candidates **MUST** answer **Question 19** and **ONE** other question.

You are advised to spend one half of your time answering each question.

19 Study the following picture **A** and passages **B**, **C** and **D**.

Using Picture **A** **and** the **three** Passages **and** your own knowledge, evaluate the reasons for the collapse of the Wartime Alliance.

[45]

A From: An American newspaper, the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*, February 1945.

The policeman on the right, with a large moustache, represents Stalin. He is helping a burglar to escape. The other policeman has come from the other building, labelled 'WORLD LEAGUE POLICE STATION'. In February 1945, the Allied leaders had agreed at Yalta to create a new United Nations.



Officer Stalin's idea of policing the world.

B From: Bernard A. Weisberger, *Cold War, Cold Peace*, published in 1985. This historian argues that propaganda was used in the USA during the Second World War to create a false image of the USSR.

Wartime 'public information' created new images of the Russians, fitting the American habit of seeing international confrontations in terms of shoot-outs between good-guys and bad-guys. Now the Soviet leaders were 'good-guys'. Suddenly they were not only brave anti-fascists, but virtually undistinguishable from next-door neighbours.

5 *Life Magazine* in 1943 labelled the Russians 'one hell of a people' who 'to a remarkable extent look like Americans, dress like Americans and think like Americans'. The *New York Times* told readers in 1944 that 'Marxist thinking is out. The competitive system is back' in Russia. Not all were totally convinced, but the propaganda war, which inflated a few small truths with lots of hot air, created
10 expectations that were cruelly disappointed afterwards, leading to overreaction in the opposite direction.

C From: Scott Harrison, *World Conflict in the Twentieth Century*, published in 1987. This historian argues that the alliance between the USSR and the Western Powers was liable to collapse in 1945.

Even before 1945 it seemed likely the alliance would collapse. There were deep-seated reasons why a new confrontation was likely. First, the Alliance had not always been harmonious. For example, the USSR had suffered by far the greatest number
15 of casualties and damage during the war. As early as 1941, Stalin had asked the Allies to set up a second front to relieve pressure on the Soviet Union. In his eyes they had been very slow to act, causing his country to make an even greater sacrifice. Second, the Western powers feared the expansion of communism, and especially Stalin's brand of communism with its commitment to world domination.

20 Third, the USSR feared the expansion of capitalism, especially in the light of Europe's post-war weakness and the power of the USA, with its strong economy and its atomic bomb.

D From: Jeremy Isaacs & Taylor Downing, *Cold War*, published in 1998. These historians argue that Soviet mistrust of the West made the alliance likely to collapse.

At the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917, Churchill had written that 'civilisation is being completely extinguished'. In the 1920s he had spoken of building up defeated
25 Germany in order to fight communism. No wonder Stalin believed that the West posed a real danger to the USSR. When the 'Big Three' wartime leaders met at Tehran in late 1943, Stalin believed rightly that the USSR was bearing the brunt of the war and repeated his demands that the Allies open a second front in Northern Europe. When the 'Big Three' met again at Yalta in February 1945, it was clear that
30 there were serious cracks in the Grand Alliance and only the common objective of defeating Hitler was still keeping it together. Stalin now sought post-war security for the Soviet Union. The USSR had suffered dreadful destruction during the Nazi invasion and, in consequence, Stalin made sure that one Russian foreign policy objective now overrode everything else: to build a buffer zone along his country's
35 western border so that another invasion would be impossible. His view never changed. Stalin was convinced that Russia's security was always threatened by the fundamental hostility of the West.

Answer **either**

20 Discuss the view that the USA developed the policy of 'containment' of communism in the period from 1945 to 1948 **only** because of the aggressive actions of the USSR.

[45]

or

21 Assess the view that Stalin's take-over of Eastern Europe from 1944 to 1948 was provoked by the need to defend the USSR from future attack.

[45]

Candidates are reminded that they must refer to and evaluate relevant interpretations in developing the argument in their essay.