2011 History

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

General Instructions

Markers are particularly asked to note the following points:

- SQA encourages positive marking. Markers should look to reward what the candidate has written, rather than penalise what the candidate has not
- the full range of marks is available to candidates. Award full marks to a response which is as good as can reasonably be expected from a candidate at this stage
- markers are reminded that they must not write comments on scripts. Markers can put the code letters in the margins (I, P, WCD, H etc) to show how they have awarded marks in pencil
- markers should write comments as fully as they can in the appropriate spaces on the Ex supplement of each candidate
- markers must be consistent. It is vital that a marker marks to the same standard throughout the diet.

All markers will have their marking reviewed on an ongoing basis during the Central Marking diet. Scripts will be selected at random from each marker's allocation. These will be reviewed by the Examining team. By doing this 'marker check' procedure, the Examining team guarantees the equality of the marking standard across the 12 fields, and ensures that, for example an A in *Renaissance* is the same value as an A in *Britain at War*. Until scripts/markers have been standardised, marks awarded should be regarded as provisional, and written in pencil on Ex Supplements and/or scripts.

In all cases, personal and confidential feedback from the Principal Assessor and the Examining team will be available to markers, and markers will be able to adjust their standard appropriately.

Marking should not commence until after the final briefing by the Principal Assessor and your team leader.

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

Open each envelope and:

Check the particulars in the grid of the Mark Sheet against those on the envelope label.

Check that the candidates whose scripts are enclosed are those whose names are listed on the Mark Sheet.

Marking Part 1: The essays

To obtain a pass, there **must** be some reference to historiography, even be it ever so humble. If the candidate is unable to show that they have referred to or quoted from historians, or considered historical schools of thought, then they are not meeting the basic requirements of the marks scheme for a pass. Full guidance on the intention of each essay, and possible format and relevant content of candidates' answers is given in the detailed marking instructions for each field.

The set of **generic criteria** for each grade level follows, and markers must carefully consider the overall merits of each essay against that list.

The following descriptions provide guidance on the features of essays categorised as meriting the ranking D, C, B, A, A+ and A++. Many essays will exhibit some but not all of the features listed, others will be stronger in one area than another. Features of a C essay may well appear in an essay which overall merits a B or A pass. **With the exception of 'Historical interpretations', the criteria should NOT be thought of as hurdles, all of which must be crossed before a grade boundary is reached**. Markers should reward what the candidate has tried to argue rather than penalise what may have been omitted. Remember, a candidate's arguments and evidence may differ substantially from the marks scheme, but the candidate should still be given whatever credit they deserve.

Advanced Higher History Script – Grade Criteria

	D (10-12)	C (13-14)	B (15-17)	A (18-19)	A+ (20-22)	A++ (23+)
Structure	The structure is weak with a poorly organised presentation of the arguments.	The structure displays a basic organisation but this may be loose.	The structure is readily apparent.	Clearly structured	A well defined structure displaying a very confident grasp of the demands of the question.	Structured so that the argument convincingly builds and develops throughout.
Introduction and Conclusion	The introduction and conclusion are ineffective.	The introduction attempts to address aspects such as context, line of argument and has basic conclusions.	The introduction is a competent presentation of the issues; it comes to suitable, largely summative, conclusions.	There is a perceptive presentation of the issues; the conclusion arises logically from the evidence and arguments in the main body and attempts synthesis.	There is a fluent and insightful presentation of the issues; the conclusion gives a robust overview/synthesis and a qualitative judgment of factors.	There is a fluent and insightful presentation of the issues; the conclusion gives a robust overview/ synthesis and a qualitative judgment of factors.
Relevance of Information and Approach	Considerable elements of the factual content and approach relate loosely to the title.	Factual content and approach broadly relate to the title.	Factual content and approach is largely focused on the title.	Factual content and approach are focused on the title.	Factual content and approach are clear and consistent with the title.	Factual content and approach are clear and consistent with the issues raised in the question.
Degree of Analysis	There is much narrative and description rather than analysis.	There is an attempt to answer the question and analyse the issues involved; possibly not deep or sustained.	There is a firm grasp of the aims of the question and the candidate tackles it with a fairly sustained analysis.	There is an assured and consistent control of the arguments and issues.	There is a very assured and consistent control of all the arguments and issues, and a focused approach to the question.	There is detailed and effective analysis which advances the argument and considers various possible implications of the question, going beyond the most obvious ones.
Historical sources/ interpretations	There is no discernible reference to historical works.	There is limited but perceptible reference to historians' interpretations.	There is an awareness of historians' interpretations.	There is an awareness of historians' interpretations and arguments.	There is a sound knowledge and understanding of historians' interpretations.	There is an engagement with current historiography.
Thoroughness	The treatment of the issue shows an elementary knowledge of the issue but has major omissions.	The treatment of the issue shows sufficient knowledge which reflects a basic understanding of the issue.	The treatment of the issue shows an awareness of the width and depth of the knowledge required for a study of the issue.	The treatment of the issue is based on a fair quantity of research demonstrating width and depth of knowledge.	The treatment of the issue is based on wide research and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge.	The treatment of the issue is clearly based on a wide range of serious reading and demonstrates a considerable width and depth of knowledge.
Clarity of Expression	There is a weak sense of expression.	Expression is generally clear and accurate.	Expression is clear and accurate	Expression is clear and accurate with a vocabulary appropriate to the topic.	Expression is clear, accurate and fluent, with a vocabulary appropriate to the topic.	Expression shows sustained fluency, clarity and sophistication.

Further general advice to markers – Essays

Even though all markers will mark positively and reward what is there in the essay, they may still ask themselves if there are any criteria where, if it has not been met, the candidate <u>must</u> fail.

Factors which do lead to an essay failing:

1. **Total misunderstanding of the title.** The essay is set as a particular title, and therefore there **is** a particular issue to be addressed. An essay where the candidate has missed completely the point of the question is almost certain to fail.

    Similarly, a candidate may seem to 'turn' a question to fit a prepared response. While some aspects may be able to be credited, the marker must be convinced that the response adequately and actively addresses the question set for a pass to be awarded.

    In a question which contains an isolated factor, this factor must receive due attention. A response which ignores the isolated factor must fail.

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

3. **Lack of historiography.** The need for historiography in essays is clearly set out in the Grade Descriptions in the Course Arrangements. Essays without recognition of different historical interpretations **must therefore fail**. There is a fairly open definition of 'historical interpretations' as the minimum expected pass standard. What is expected at Advanced Higher level is that **there are signs of the candidate's reading, and therefore some awareness that there are different views on an issue**.

    If a candidate were to introduce a new paragraph with a phrase such as 'Naturally, other historians have argued …' or 'There is another school of thought on this matter …' that will suffice for meeting the C standard. If they start (accurately) quoting historians by name or refer to particular schools of thought, or give quotes from historians and changing views over time, that clearly takes the essay into B and A territory <u>on this aspect of the marking</u>.

Factors which are NOT in themselves fatal to the candidate's chances:

1. **Structure.** This may be poor and the candidate might seem to ramble their way through their piece. However, it may still be that enough other insightful and relevant aspects are explored in enough depth to persuade the marker that the candidate should be awarded a pass at some level. A sense of structure often 'appears' during the essay so a candidate should not be penalised or down-graded just because nothing much seems to have been laid out in the introduction.

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

3. **Relevance.** While relevance is important, it is not the sole criterion on which a response is judged. It is a question of degree; responses should be marked positively. A pass at the C level can be gained by an essay with enough relevance to convince the marker of its overall virtue; and a pass can be granted even despite the odd lapse or digression.

4. **Thoroughness.** This aspect of <u>width of detail</u> is clearly a major discriminating factor in determining a grade. It is NOT a pass-fail factor. If a candidate misses out what a marker thinks is a key factor, but comprehensively discusses a lot of other key factors, the A pass can still be awarded. While the candidate may seem to be presenting a very ill-balanced and distorted view of the width of relevant issues in the chosen title, that selectivity is the candidate's privilege. Therefore the marker should mark the essay for what argument it does contain and not for the degree to which it conforms to the view of the marker.

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

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

6. **Conclusion.** This is an important aspect of the essay; it pulls it all together and shows the marker how the candidate has marshalled their facts and arguments. A good conclusion is often decisive in pulling the essay into the next higher marks band, and a weak conclusion will certainly hinder the chances of getting an A. However, the lack of a conclusion in itself is not a factor leading to an automatic fail.

Marking Part 2: The source questions

The examination paper now has 3 standardised stems on the source questions.

<u>The 'how fully' question (12 marks)</u>

The candidate should establish the view of the source and interpret what that view is, with an opportunity to earn up to 3 marks by discriminatory thinking about which points of the source are relevant to the question. If they select these points, by either quoting them, paraphrasing them or referring to them, then they must be given credit.

The candidate can then earn the remaining marks by the quality and depth of the immediate and/or wider contextual recall that they provide in their overall interpretation of the source's comprehensiveness.

There is no mandatory provenance comment for this question. Therefore there is no allocation of marks put against it. However, candidates may still make some perfectly relevant and appropriate provenance comments which help locate it within its historical context or help define the background and/or authorship of the writer in a way that genuinely helps answer the set question. That should be rewarded but it has to be something more precise and focused than the candidate offering a formulaic 'the value of a secondary source is a modern interpretation etc …'. Contextualised provenance comment is given credit under the 'historiography' marks that are awarded. This style of marking should be encouraged.

<u>The 'how useful' question (12 marks)</u>

The candidate may be awarded up to 3 marks for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source. Candidates may offer this in slightly formulaic form at the lowest level but that will not necessarily merit the full 3 marks.

The candidate can then earn marks (as in the 'how fully' question above), for establishing the view, interpreting the sources and accurately supporting that evaluation with comment from the source.

A combination of provenance comment and interpretation can earn up to a maximum of 5 marks. The candidate can earn the remaining marks from the quality and depth of the immediate and/or wider contextual recall provided in the overall interpretation of the source's value. Markers will award marks particularly in the upper ranges for historiographical issues that the candidate raises.

<u>The 'two-source' question (16 marks)</u>

Candidates should apply the same techniques to the 'two-source' question, as they do to the other two.

One of the two sources may be a primary source. It is likely that the candidate will include provenance comment. This should be rewarded in the same way as if the candidate has answered the question as a single-source 'how useful' question. Marking of both sources will give the candidate a chance to earn 'interpretation' marks as in the section above.

The candidate can therefore possibly earn as many as 7 marks out of the 16 before earning the marks that come from providing the wider contextual recall which will help to complete the process that is demanded by the question, (this always asks them to consider the views in the two sources and weigh up their merits against each other and a range of possible other views that may be supportable).

Marking Scripts and Recording Marks

1.   In everything that you record on a script, make your intentions absolutely clear for the benefit of SQA staff and any others who may refer to the script later.

2.   Mark and value every answer and enter the marks awarded in red, at the end of the answer in the right margin, as indicated in the Detailed Marking Instructions. Occasionally a candidate may skip one or two pages in the script by mistake and proceed to answer questions further on in the script. You should be satisfied that in each case all the answers have been marked.

3.   Where supplementary items are enclosed inside answer books, indicate clearly, on each item, that it has been considered and include any marks awarded in the answer book against the candidate's answer to the same/related question.

4.   If the paper is one on which options are given, ensure that the candidate does not receive credit for answering more than the prescribed number of questions. If the prescribed number has been exceeded, mark all of the answers and select for inclusion in the total the highest marks gained by the candidate consistent with the rubrics of the paper. **Cross through the answers which are not included in the total.** Draw attention on the outside of the script, **not on the Mark Sheet**, to the fact that the candidate has exceeded the prescribed number of questions. If a candidate answers more than one of the options in a question, cross out the option which gains the lower mark and exclude this from the total.

5.   If you refer a candidate's script to the Principal Assessor, put a brief explanation in the "For Official Use" section on the front cover of the script concerned. You should pass such packets to the Principal Assessor for further action.

6.   The total mark for a paper should be entered in the Total box on the front cover of the answer book. (The total mark must be given as a whole number). Markers must check their additions carefully, by summing marks from the first to the last page of the script and then from the last to the first page. The transcription of marks, within booklets and to the Mark Sheets, should also be checked.

It is helpful to the Examining team if all markers of the scripts write something like the marks breakdown illustrated below, on the outside **BACK** page of the candidate's answer booklet, to show how they have assembled their overall mark. This makes it easier to check that the addition is correct.

EXAMPLE

Essay 3	16	
Essay 5	14	
		___
		30
Source Q1	8	
Source Q2	6	
Source Q3	13	
		___
	Total	27
		___
	Total	57

It is vitally important that marks should be entered accurately on the mark sheet(s). The final mark for the question paper should be entered as above.

Ex Supplement

To assist standardisation and to inform decisions on any appeals, markers should complete an Ex Supplement for each candidate. Brief comments explaining marking decisions are most helpful to examiners.

Comments should not be written on the candidate's answer booklet.

A supply of Ex Supplements will be available in the central marking venue. They should be handed in to SQA administrative staff along with the final envelopes of marked scripts.

Special Assessment Arrangements

Transcriptions

You may have been allocated scripts where a candidate has been given permission to have his/her script transcribed. You should mark the candidate's original work and refer only to the transcription where necessary. Diagrammatical material should not be transcribed. If this has been done the transcribed diagrams should be disregarded.

All marks should be shown on the candidate's scripts and the packet should be processed in the normal way.

Suspected Malpractice

Some candidates' responses may contain similarities which suggest that there may have been copying. If it appears that this is likely to be the result of the teaching method by which the candidates have been prepared for the examination, there is no need for attention to be drawn to the case.

If however, 2 or more scripts contain the same errors, or other similarities which suggest possible malpractice, a short report with the relevant details should be prepared on a separate sheet of paper. All scripts, including the suspect scripts, should then be marked in the normal way. Please involve the Principal Assessor and team leader for a discussion of suspect scripts.

Marker Report

This is an important mechanism in our procedures for quality assurance. Comments on candidate performance and the workings of the marking scheme contribute towards the Principal Assessor's report. **This report should be completed before leaving the Central Marking venue.**

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How justified is the view that, in the long term, Northern British society was unchanged by the Roman interlude?

Candidates would be expected to debate the extent to which there was long term change or continuity in Northern British society after Rome's retraction. Candidates might discuss evidence for long term social, political, religious and economic change or continuity. Candidates would benefit from a discussion of Romanisation and from engaging with the debate on the extent to which Celts were still Celts. The debate between long term change and continuity should be obvious in the answer.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Points suggesting society was, in the long term, changed by the Roman interlude

Social, Economic & Political change

- David Breeze talks of a gradual & enduring coalescence of tribes beyond the empire in their bid to oppose the Roman forces.
- Ptolemy's *Geography* lists twelve tribes north of the Forth in the 2nd century but by the end of the century only the Caledonians and Maeatae are mentioned.
- Dio, writing in the 3rd century refers to the Caledonians, stating that "the names of the other have been included in these" – indicative of coalescence.
- By the 3rd century, further amalgamation was suggested with mention of the *Picts* (the Verona List of 314 AD cites the Scoti, Picti and Caledonii rather than Ptolemy's 12 tribes).
- Rome changed Northern Britain by stimulating long term amalgamation of native tribes into a larger state and subsequent single nation.
- Academics in 1960s argued that Roman presence brought major changes in native settlement patterns – the move from defensive to enclosed but non-defensive (G Jobey, Hownam Fort).
- Hints of literacy – ABCD stone from Traprain Law.
- Occasional place-names: for example, Kirkintilloch is Gaelic for "fort of the end of the ridge."

Religious change

- The Roman presence, primarily military, initiated a gradual and piecemeal conversion from paganism to Christianity.
- Leslie Alcock suggests Christianity had its roots in Rome's frontier zone – evidence from southern areas exists of Christian inscriptions, cemeteries & place names.
- From late 4th century there were an increasing number of Christian burials, indicative of Roman conversion (long cists, east-west orientation of graves, and absence of grave goods).
- Alfred Smyth talks of Christians in the frontier zone and evidence of enduring Christianity in sub-Roman period (around Whithorn).

Physical change to the landscape

- Complex road systems established, complete with fords and bridges (Dere Street – in 11th century Edward I marched north by way of Dere Street).
- Lawrence Keppie mentions that roads remained "until the cobbles wore away and stones were dislodged".
- Ian Armit suggests that structures such as the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall would be major and enduring physical impositions on the landscape.
- Ian Armit suggests that the scale of Roman works would have permanently changed perceptions of what constituted social and political power for natives.

Points suggesting society was not, in the long term, changed by the Roman interlude

Social Economic & Political Continuity

- Lloyd Laing's much used phrase, "Celts were still Celts".
- Keppie suggests that "we should not suppose that the tribesmen exchanged their cloaks for togas or began to speak Latin".
- Periods of occupation in the North were too short to alter much of the native way of life for the great mass of the population.
- Vici which grew around Roman settlements & installations failed to survive beyond the Roman occupation – little relevance to the native population.
- Much of the northern land was beyond the reach of routine military surveillance & policing even during the occupation – remained substantially unaffected by the Roman interlude.
- Native economy disrupted in the short term but in the long term remained the same – little change in farming methods, manufacturing or trade.
- Settlement patterns were unaffected by Roman interlude – the move from defensive to enclosed but non-defensive pre-dated the Roman interlude – for example, at Eildon Hill North the hillfort defences had ceased to be maintained before the arrival of the Romans.
- Very few Roman finds or Roman style goods found in sub-Roman sites.
- Society remained essentially Celtic – Hanson states "that for years it is been almost axiomatic that Roman conquest must have had some medium – or long term impact . . . on present evidence this cannot be substantiated either in terms of the environment, economy or indeed, society".
- Core of society remained untouched.

Religious Continuity

- Lawrence Keppie, "it should not be imagined that the Roman presence in Scotland itself influenced the spread of Christianity – which came much later".
- Alfred Smyth highlights possibility that Christianity in the lowlands came via the Atlantic and "owed nothing to the centuries of a Roman presence".
- Christianity did not take root in the Roman period but slowly infiltrated the north from 5th century, thanks to series of holy men (Ninian, Patrick, and Columba).

Physical continuity in the landscape

- Keppie talks of Roman sites being stripped of re-usable materials, left "overgrown and forgotten".
- Military installations dismantled and burnt or cast aside (column shafts and capitals from HQ building at Bar Hill were thrown into adjacent well).
- Only the frontiers really endured and given that people were not travelling around the land, few would be aware of any real physical change to the landscape.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **David Breeze:** *Roman Scotland*: "the greatest gift Rome was able to give her northern neighbours: the impetus to unify."
- **Lawrence Keppie:** *Scotland's Roman Remains*, highlights that Britain was a fringe province and impact was, in long term, minimal.
- **Ian Armit:** *Historic Scotland – Celtic Scotland*: impact would vary greatly across Scotland, much was short-term change.
- **WS Hanson:** *Scotland after the Ice Age*: the core of society was untouched by Rome; the presence was little more than a series of brief interludes.

Question 2

"Native social structures were the most significant difficulty facing early Christian missionaries in converting Northern Britain in the post Roman period." How valid is this view?

The aim of this essay is to analyse the extent to which native social structures were the most serious difficulty facing missionaries, including St Ninian and St Columba, in converting the pagan North to Christianity. The title allows the candidate to discuss difficulties including convincing the natives of the appeal of Christianity, the strength of native beliefs, the native socio-political infrastructure as well as discussing the actual missionaries' work. The essay should reach a conclusion on the most significant obstacles facing missionaries in converting the North.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Historical Context

Christianity was introduced to Northern Britain during the Roman interlude though only in very confined areas and on a superficial level. Conversion began to take place on a larger and more meaningful level at a comparatively late date, 5th-6th century. Evidence of the conversion process is thin and patchy but there is no doubt that progress was slow and problematic. There was never a mass conversion to Christianity and the religion had to slowly filter through society.

Rome's temporary presence as a difficulty

- Arguably, by the late 4th century Christianity was in place in the land between Rome's two northern frontiers, with a Christian community sending to the civic community at Carlisle a request for a bishop to come to Whithorn.
- Even though the Christian church was supposedly organised into "Paruchia" or administrative areas between the walls, Bridget Paterson "wonders how organised this actually was on the ground, especially between the walls".
- Rome's piecemeal and unsustained presence meant that natives were largely unaffected by the Empire's Christian religion.
- The Christian flock which existed during the Roman interlude were likely to be foreign legionaries rather than converted natives – when Rome withdrew from the North, the fragments of Christian faith would have, in the main, been withdrawn at the same time.
- Christian missionaries had shaky, if any, foundations to build upon.

Native social structures as a difficulty

- Arguably, the social structure of the north was insufficiently developed for Christian missionaries to readily impose their faith.
- Native society lacked the structure which was needed to support the faith – little formal administrative structure.
- Society was organised into tribes, headed by kings – the missionaries could attempt to convert the kings or chief (eg Tuduvallus and King Bridei) but this in no way meant that the faith filtered down into the lower echelons of society – partial conversion at best.
- Missionaries would have found Christianity hi-jacked by kings for political gain and with little interest in converting the ordinary natives.
- Population was thinly scattered and communities were small – the Christian message would have remained isolated within specific communities.

Native geography as a difficulty

- Perambulating monks would have found travel and communication difficult.
- Records reveal shipwrecks involving "families" from the monastic community at Iona – travel could be perilous.
- Early Christian monks travelled the land, with hand bell and followers, to convert the population – the extent to which missionaries could have walked the length and breadth of the country is dubious.
- Ninian allegedly travelled across Central Scotland, up the east coast and as far north as Orkney and Shetland – however, this is unlikely given the topography of Scotland.
- The limited road system would have impaired movement and impeded the missionaries progress.
- The Highland Massif, vast and barren, would be difficult to travel through.
- Communication and movement was difficult and limited.

The nature of native beliefs as a difficulty

- Christian conversions were often flawed due to the persistence of native beliefs/practices – conversions were superficial, short term and/or confused.
- One of the earliest conversions, that of chief Tuduvallus in Galloway, may have lacked conviction. Tuduvallus "would have seen the need to swing both ways. He needed to keep the pagans and the Christians in his tribal group happy and choosing one religion over the other would have perhaps alienated one group entirely" B Paterson.
- Celtic native faith was polytheistic – may have meant that Celts struggled to come to terms with Christianity's monotheism – rejecting all existing gods in favour of just one God would have been an alien concept.
- Adding the Christian God to the pool of existing faiths would be more acceptable than rejecting their other Gods – polytheism was both a help and hindrance for Christian missionaries.
- In times of unrest, the natives could be seen "backsliding into paganism, people seeking refuge with the old Gods" B Paterson.
- Christianity, teaching of one God, advocating humility and tolerance was in many respects too different from native faith. Natives were accustomed to a pantheon of God and spirits, worshiping earthly places such as springs and lochs – Christianity may have seemed altogether too remote.

The Missionaries' approach to conversion as a difficulty

- Missionaries seemed to have struggled to bring about large scale conversions.
- King Bridei initially refused to even meet St Columba and kept his fortress locked to the saint, "King Bridei and his druids stuck to their pagan guns" even in the face of Columba's miracles.
- Pagan priests treated saints with open hostility according to A. Smyth.
- The missionaries use of Latin would have impaired progress since Latin was not spoken in the North, least of all by natives.
- Missionaries needed literate men to embed the faith – dearth of these in Northern Britain.
- The Latin Scriptures would be incomprehensible for the ordinary Celt.
- "Little evidence for Columba's active missionary efforts: his journeys into Pictland were geared towards getting protection for his monks working in Pictish territory and produced only small crops of conversions." (Crawford & Clancy).

The Vikings as an obstacle

- Viking raids on Christian sites (Iona, 795, 802, 806) – likely these raids shook the confidence and faith of Northern Britons, for example, Blathmac the "Martyr" may have seemed weak rather than heroic to a pagan population on the verge of conversion.
- Viking presence protracted the use of grave goods within burials by bringing their distinctly pagan practice to Northern shores.
- Destroyed Christian sites and took their wealth – impacting upon churches' ability to impress and influence native communities.
- Invoked such fear that people may have reverted to tried and tested pagan Gods in face of Viking onslaught.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Sally Foster:** *Picts, Gaels and Scots* – highlights possibility of a symbiotic relationship between missionaries and local elites but even then, conversion difficult due to endemic social unrest.
- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen, Scotland AD80-1000* – stresses the natives' determination to maintain their druid/pagan practices.
- **B Paterson:** *Saint Wars – Ninians vs. Columba* – Conversion was prolonged in part due to methods adopted by perambulating monks.
- **C Thomas:** *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD500* – confused picture of Christian conversion, difficult due to strength of native belief.

Question 3

To what extent did Northern British kings, in the fourth to eighth century, derive power from their ability in warfare?

Candidates here would be expected to debate the key factors which allowed kings to wield authority and power. Candidates might begin with a discussion of kingship. The key ideas that power was derived from warfare, the land, from trade and industry and from religion could be examined. Candidates may wish to isolate a key source of power or they may wish to achieve balance by arguing that authority was not derived from one source alone.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Kingship

The 4th-8th century, witnessed a gradual move from petty tribes to centralised kingdoms in which warlike, heroic kings ruled over increasingly defined states. As early as the 6th century sources record the existence of a "*Rex potentissimus*" (most powerful king) in Southern Pictland and by the late 7th century there is a single "*rex Pictorum*". Kings and the concept of kingship were common to Picts, Britons and Scots.

Source of Power – Warfare

- Alex Woolf argues that, "leadership in warfare was one of the main functions of the king and certainly the main quality determining the success of any individual".
- Kings, in touring their land, spent much time at the margins of their kingdom, putting them close to potential enemy territory and raids – thus, kings were "first and foremost, leaders in war".
- The importance of military might was reflected in the Senchus fer nAlban – it recorded a sophisticated system of assessment in Dal Riata to recruit armies and navies used to defend the kingdom.
- The importance of military prowess was seen in Kenneth mac Alpin's rise to power – the alleged treason.
- Creating a strong military force tied up and coming young men into a loyal relationship with the king.
- Local lords had an obligation to provide the king with equipped soldiers and sailors in times of need, while others would submit agricultural produce to support the hierarchy.
- The increasing importance of military might was reflected in the number of symbol stones which depicted royal authorities in a militaristic stance (Dupplin Cross).

Source of Power – Descent

- Sally Foster claims that in Dal Riata power was inherited through tanistry, where successors were nominated from alternating, eligible kin groups.
- Power could be gained through direct patrilineal succession.
- Intermarriage between dynasties or races would bestow power on a individual – though no guarantee that power would be maintained.
- Bede suggests that in Pictland, power was derived from matrilineal succession.
- A Woolf suggests that in Pictland, power was not gained through matriliny since Pictish kings are referred to as the sons of their fathers and no source other than Bede refers to this succession practice.
- A Woolf mentions that power, for Gaels, did not rest solely on descent but on "*febas*", or "worth".

Source of Power – Agriculture

- Sally Foster claims "power came from the land", kings derived authority from their ability to exploit the agricultural potential of the land and control its inhabitants.
- Northern Britain was in places, very agriculturally productive and its inhabitants, such as the Picts, were well capable of producing, storing and redistributing gains from arable and pastoral farming. The plentiful agricultural produce was a currency for power.
- The kings' power depended on their ability to accumulate and redistribute agricultural wealth – hence the abundance of souterrains, storage buildings, nucleated farming settlements with fields and trackways. (Easter Kinnear & Hawkhill in Fife).
- Kings visited their lands on a seasonal basis with the dual purpose of obtaining food renders from the inhabitants whilst using their royal presence to reinforcing control over their clients.
- Touring farms and estates allowed royalty or their officials to meet subjects, dispense justice and collect tax in kind. (there is mention of tax or cain being collected in the form of corn, malt, cattle, swine, sheep, cheese, hides and foals).
- Stephen Driscoll argues that kings derived power from shires/thanages by basing themselves in a "caput"/principal residence from where they controlled the pett, portions of land and nucleated settlements.
- Ian Walker suggests that kings maintained power using the resources of their own royal lands and the dues and hospitality collected from subjects. "The entire hierarchy was supported by farmers."

Source of Power – Trade and Industry

- Kings derived power from their ability to support a range of specialised manufacturing activities.
- In the absence of a monetary economy the manufacture and manipulation of prestige goods was fundamental to a king's power.
- The gift of a prestige good had a contractual character whereby the giver/king reinforced their powerful position whilst determining from whom they could expect loyalty and services.
- Evidence suggests that royal centres incorporated areas for the manufacture of prestige goods – for example, Dunadd in Argyll reveals evidence of gold, silver and garnet working.
- Dunadd also suggests that the control of trade was a source of power since it has produced the largest quantity of imported pottery from anywhere in British Isles.
- Penannular and annular brooches were produced on royal sites and were used as a way of deriving and maintaining the king's authority. (Hunterston brooch, Ayrshire).

Source of Power – Religion

- Kings derived authority through association with Christianity – a fashionable new source of power.
- Association with Christianity lent authority to kings, Sally Foster states that the church "provided ideological sanction and legitimisation for the kings and nobility".
- Symbiotic relationship between the church and kings meant that the church helped kings administer the land and in return the church gained land.
- "Learned clerics provided administrative support, conducted inauguration ceremonies and supported the aspirations of kings." (B Crawford & T Clancy).
- King Nechtan, 716 used the church to gain political unity with Northumbria (changes the Pictish church from Columban to Roman observance, in line with Kingdom of Northumbria).
- Nechtan, in creating a reformed church, the Pictish Church, managed to extend royal authority.
- St Columba was "a close friend of Scottish kings." (A Smyth).
- Kings derived power through association with the Christian church when it gave them access to the technology of writing, as seen on the 9th century Dupplin Cross.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Sally Foster:** *Picts, Gaels and Scots* – above all else control of the land underpinned a king's power.
- **I Walker:** *Lords of Alba, The Making of Scotland* – the main function of the king was to lead men in war.
- **Alex Woolf:** *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070*, emphasises the role of warfare and Christianity for creating and securing a king's power.

Question 4

To what extent had Northern Scotland and the Northern and Western Isles become part of the Scandinavian world in the ninth and tenth centuries?

The aim of this essay is to debate the extent to which the north of Northern Britain, including the Northern and Western Isles, became Scandinavian colonies in the ninth and tenth centuries. Candidates would be expected to discuss evidence indicating that the aforementioned areas were politically, socially and culturally Scandinavian, independent from the rest of Northern Britain. To achieve balance the candidate might consider the survival of "native" traits in these areas. The essay should reach a conclusion on the extent to which Northern Scotland had been incorporated into the Scandinavian sphere of influence.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Points discussing the view that the Northern and Western Isles were part of Scandinavian world

Historical Context

- During the last decades of the 9th century there was Scandinavian settlement of the Northern shores of Scotland and of the Northern and Western Isles – these areas became distinctly Scandinavian.
- One especially Scandinavian part was Orkney – there are two accounts of the creation of the Norse Earldom of Orkney, both featuring Harald Finehair and the granting of the earldom to his close companion, Rognvald More, following the death of the latter's eldest son.
- The *Historia Norwegiae*, referred to the native inhabitants of Orkney (Papae and Peti) being destroyed utterly by members of Rognvald More's family.
- The *Jarls' Saga* suggested that Norse earls had complete control of the islands by the close of the 10th century.
- Barbara Crawford states that the descendants of Rognvald More had sole possession of the Northern and Western Isles, rendering it a Scandinavian colony.
- Alfred Smyth refers to "the Norwegian conquest and occupation of the Isles and the north west had become such an accomplished fact . . . integral part of the Old Norse world".

Socially/Politically Scandinavian

- Viking rulers in the North and Isles owed allegiance to powerful kings in Scandinavia not Northern Britain.
- The Northern and Western Isles were so wholly Scandinavian as to provide "safe winter seats" from where conquerors were able to attack the English, Scots and Irish.
- In Orkney, the establishment of one strong family, the Mores, enabled actual colonisation and settlement to take place since their control provided the stability to allow for the subjection of the natives.
- The Earls of Orkney established their own efficient administration of estate farming and tax collection.
- Wainwright asserts the Northern and Western Isles "were overwhelmed politically, linguistically, culturally and socially" and these places became wholly Scandinavian lands.
- Brian Smith's "genocide theory" suggests that Vikings overwhelmed Picts in the Northern and Western Isles. The invaders took what they wanted, either slaughtering, enslaving or driving away the indigenous Pictish population on the Scottish islands.

Scandinavian Place-Names

- Abundance of Norse farms with Norse names.
- Norse re-naming of the northern landscape.
- The apparent lack of pre-Norse place names in Orkney corroborates the idea that the area became "Scandinavian".
- A Smyth argues that these areas became part of the Old Norse world – place-names were changed, The Orkneys, previously known as "The Boar Islands" were transformed into *Orkneyjar*, the Hebrides became the *Sudreyjar* (southern Isles).
- The Hebrides became so heavily colonised that Gaelic speakers coined a new name for them – *Inse Gall*, Island of the Foreigners.
- Norse place names, with elements such as *stadir* (farmhouse), *setr* (settlement) show dense Scandinavian occupation (56 examples of setr in Caithness).
- Natives gave up their age-old place-names.

Scandinavian Settlement & Economy

- Suggestions forwarded that the North and Western Isles were "overwhelmed by and submerged beneath the sheer weight of the Scandinavian settlement". (Wainwright)
- Some settlements reveal Scandinavian character – rectangular houses replace round houses (Udal on North Usit – native settlement entirely replaced by Scandinavian one).
- Scandinavian crops introduced – flax.

Culturally Scandinavian

- Norse language was dominant in Shetland, Orkney and Caithness – a form of West Norwegian, "Norn" whilst there was Gaelic-Norse bilingualism in West Highland and Isles.
- James Campbell & Colleen Batey refer to inhabitants of Northern Scotland choosing to express their Scandinavian ethnic identity through costume and burial practices.
- Evidence of some changes in material culture – introduction of steatite vessels and flax suggests a change if not subjugation.
- The Viking north was plugged into a trading network with Scandinavia and the Atlantic – different from rest of mainland Britain.

Points discussing the view that the Northern and Western Isles were not part of Scandinavian world

- "Vikings seemed to have recognised the strength of native culture and to have responded with an instinctive need to dominate rather than obliterate." (A Ritchie).
- Native Christian faith remained distinctly North British – Christian communities survive, evidenced by place-names incorporating *papa* (priest) and site of Papil dwellings. (priests' dwelling).
- "All Orkney embraced the faith" – the enforced conversion of Earl Sigurd to Christianity in Orkney led to wholesale adoption of the native faith and "the beginning of the end of the Viking period in the Earldom of Orkney". (J Campbell & C Batey).
- No Scandinavian pagan burials found on any of the "Priests' Islands".
- Vikings established Christian chapels on earlier Pictish chapel sites, suggesting Viking invaders did not overwhelm Picts and their Christian beliefs.
- Northern Isles folk tales still show their Pictish origins.
- Continuity in Shetland for the native tradition of Christian stone memorials, which then spread to Orkney (cross slab at Bressay).
- Carved stones reflect cultural integration – eg Bressay sculpture stone in Shetland shows ogham and Pictish symbols – islanders had a foot in both the native and the Viking camp.
- Native material repeatedly found in Norse houses suggests a degree of active social interchange between Picts and Vikings. (eg houses from Buckquoy, Brough of Birsay and Pool in Orkney).

- Pictish familial social organisation would have been familiar to the Vikings and endured.
- Vikings rebuilt on Pictish sites as they were taking over existing patterns of land ownership and administration. (Birsay, Orkney – house plots on Brough retained).
- Political hierarchy of Vikings and Picts was similar (kings, chiefs, farm workers, slaves) – evidence of continuity rather than change in hierarchical system and thus not overwhelmed.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **A Ritchie:** *Viking Scotland,* emphasis is on integration and mutual co-existence, deemed a member of the "peace school" – peaceful interactions.
- **James Graham-Campbell:** *Vikings in Scotland,* methodical regional survey to reveal over-bearing weight of Scandinavian evidence.
- **B Crawford:** *Scandinavian Scotland,* " . . . firmly part of the Scandinavian world in the ninth and tenth centuries."
- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen*, suggests that the North was a Scandinavian colony, entirely under Norse authority.

Question 5

How real were the achievements of Kenneth mac Alpin in the development of Alba?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to examine the reality of Kenneth mac Alpin's achievements in 9th century Northern Britain. Kenneth's supposed achievements include unifying the Picts and Scots and thus creating the kingdom of Scotland, Alba. Candidates would be expected to evaluate evidence to support these accomplishments. To achieve balance candidates would evaluate the evidence which challenges Kenneth's reputation. The essay should reach a conclusion on the extent to which Kenneth's alleged achievements were or were not actual achievements.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Historical Context

Conventional histories state that Kenneth mac Alpin, a king of the Scots of Dal Riata became King of the Picts as well as King of the Scots. There was then only one king to the north of the river Forth and the Firth of Clyde and there was no more mention of Picts or Pictland but only of Scots and Alba. Kenneth's place in history rested on the fact that he established the "*mac Alpins*" as the dominant dynasty that subsequently came to be recognised as the first kings of Scots.

Unified Picts and Scots – real or unreal

Real achievement

- The "Old Scottish Chronicle" recorded that Kenneth took the throne in Dal Riata, Kingdom of the Scots, before destroying the Picts.
- The idea of Kenneth destroying Picts and becoming the one king of Scotland is substantiated in some later texts, for example, the Prophecy of Berchan, written in the 14th century describes Kenneth as the first "king who ruled in the east".
- Following 843 there was increased centralised administration with independent sub-kings being recast as mormaers.
- There was a rapid demise of Pictish cultural forms – cessation of Pictish symbols on sculptured stones.
- Pictish language was first to become extinct, possibly a direct result of Kenneth's creation of Alba.

Unreal

- Sally Foster argues that the Picts and the term "Pictland" were not destroyed and Picts prevailed after the accession of Kenneth mac Alpin.
- Ian Walker argues there had been a gradual process of amalgamation between the Gaels and the Picts – it was not Kenneth's revolutionary actions which brought Scots and Picts together.
- Stephen Driscoll suggests that Kenneth's annexation of Pictland was more a result of Viking pressure than it was a result of successful conquest.
- There was a Pictish power vacuum, created by the Vikings in 839, which led to coming together of Picts and Gaels – Kenneth was peripheral in the Gaelicisation of the Picts.
- By the 8th century Pictish kings were already sporting Gaelic names and Scottish blood – there had been a gradual process of amalgamation of Picts and Scots.
- Scots and Picts shared common Christian beliefs – a unifying factor.
- Scots and Picts had a common Celtic background – a unifying factor which contests Kenneth's claim to be the unifying factor.

Created Unified Kingdom of Alba – real or unreal

Real

- The Scottish Chronicle, a near contemporary account, looks emphatically to Kenneth/Cinead as the founding father of the Kingdom of Alba.
- The English Huntington Chronicle suggests that Kenneth "was the first of the Scots to obtain monarchy of the whole of Albania, which is now called Scotia".
- Established a 'dynastic kingship' monopolised during the following centuries by his descendents and there was no sharing of power, his descendents dominated the inheritance of the Kingdom of Alba.
- Marked a break with the past where inheritance had determined from a large eligible kin group, following Kenneth inheritance was from a small, tight kin group.
- Created one common royal and inauguration centre, Scone.
- Created one common religious site, Dunkeld – even having St Columba's remains transferred to this common church.
- B Crawford and T Clancy suggest that following the creation of the new kingdom *"a sense of national identity was probably beginning to develop at this time in the kingdom of Alba"*.

Unreal

- He was not the first Scottish king to rule over Scots and Picts.
- Alba was far from unified.
- There was enduring social fragmentation.
- There were linguistic divisions.
- There were some religious divisions – Irish/Celtic cultural zone on Iona endured after the establishment of new eastern Christian centres.

Military Prowess – real or unreal

Real

- Became King of Picts through military conquest.
- Legend has it that Kenneth committed "The treachery of Scone" in 849, in which he duped then slaughtered "all of the nobles of the Picts", before establishing a Scottish kingdom in the east.
- Became a more powerful leader than his peers – "As Kenneth now ruled over two peoples instead of one, he was more powerful than either the king of the Britons or the king of the Angles". P Hume Brown.
- Strong military rule was essential in securing and then maintaining his power over Alba.
- Kenneth reputedly made at least 6 invasions into the Lothians in a bid to expand the Scottish kingdom.

Unreal

- Dauvit Broun questions Kenneth's military achievement in taking over the Picts since "source material . . . is wholly ignorant of Kenneth's achievement".
- Treachery of Scone is likely to be wholly fictitious. S Foster.
- Some defeats towards the end of his reign.
- Made numerous (6) attempts to conquer the Angles – never succeeded.
- When he died, he was still only King of Alba – had failed to extend his kingdom into Lothians.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen, Scotland AD80 – 1000* – he did not bring about a revolutionary development in Scotland, the sustained success of his dynasty has awarded him posthumous glory.
- **S Foster:** *Picts, Scots and Gaels* – Kenneth's achievement can only be recognised with hindsight – he established a dynasty of kings, the mac Alpin's.
- **A Woolf:** *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070* – suggests that Kenneth may have been a Pict and so questions his "pedigree" as the first King of Scots to be King of Picts.
- **S Driscoll:** *Alba, The Gaelic Kingdom of Scotland AD80-1124* – maintains that the traditional version of events exaggerated Kenneth's role and neglect the importance of the Vikings and long term amalgamation.
- **AAM Duncan:** *Scotland, The Making of the Kingdom* – traditional view that attributes Kenneth with pivotal role in creating the united Kingdom of Alba.

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views on the importance of warfare in Iron Age society in Northern Britain?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the views in **Sources A** and **B** on the importance of warfare in Iron Age society in Northern Britain, and evaluates them in terms of:

Source A

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- War was built-in/endemic to Celtic society.
- Warfare was essential to resolve disputes.
- Warfare was necessary to expand a tribes' territory.
- Warfare was a pastime as well as a necessity.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Tacitus' account of Mon Graupius talks of chiefs using chariots.
- Newgrange Burial, Midlothian – shows tribal leader buried with their chariot.
- Calgacus was "the swordsman" – indicates battle tactics.
- Boar-headed carnyx found from Deskford, Banffshire – paraphernalia of warfare.
- Decapitation evidenced with Lochend cist burial in East Lothian – neck vertebrate show evidence of deep sword cuts – symbolises the completeness of the enemies' subjugation.

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Celts perceived as warlike due to Roman writers.
- Warfare was of secondary importance in the construction of hillforts.
- Sites were constructed with religion, prestige and ritual in mind.
- Late Pre-Roman Iron Age was, in fact, settled and thriving, with open settlements across the landscape.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

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

Points which offer a more critical contextualisation of the view in the sources:

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

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **I Armit:** *Celtic Scotland,* emphasises the role that religion, the economy and prestige play in Late Pre-Roman Iron Age – warfare is not perceived as the defining trait.
- **I Armit & B Ralston:** *The Iron Age, in Scotland after the Ice Age* – looks at regional variation to suggest importance of agricultural cycle in Late Pre-Roman Iron Age society.
- **R Hingley:** *Society in Scotland from 700 BC to AD 200* – highlights the importance of kinship, exchange, competition and community over warfare.
- **A & G Ritchie:** *Archaeology and Early History* – stress the existence of a warrior aristocracy securing and maintaining power through warfare.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, offering a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A** and **B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the role of warfare in Iron Age society.

Question 2

How useful is Source C as evidence of Rome's success in controlling Northern Britain during the Antonine Period?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source C** in understanding Rome's success in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include reference to:

- **Source C** is part of a series of highly ornamented distance slabs from the Antonine Wall.
- **Source C** shows only one section of the completed slab, the remaining two sculptures record the work of Legio II Augusta and depicts ritual sacrifice at the beginning of a military campaign. (A bull, sheep and pig await slaughter).
- Designed to celebrate Antonine's successful campaign north of the Forth-Clyde isthmus.
- The Antonine Distance Slabs record the erection of the frontier, revealing the lengths of building work completed by the legion, the titles of the legion responsible for the precise distance completed, either in paces or feet.
- The sculpture is a typical depiction of a Roman triumph more than a record of military consequence.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Sculptural representation of a Roman cavalryman riding down four native barbarians, AD 142–143.
- Depicts Rome's ease of conquest, trampling down naked, helpless natives.
- Depicts Roman specialist arms and equipment – mounted warrior – horse, bridle gear, sword and armour.
- Depicts barbarians as military inferior – naked, decapitated, equipped merely with swords, spears and shields.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- In 138 Emperor Antonius Pius succeeded Hadrian and the army was immediately ordered to move forward again and to begin construction of a new frontier line, in Central Scotland.
- Antonius' biographer, writes some two centuries later, that Antonius "having thrust back the barbarians and having built a second wall, this time of turf, conquered the Britons through his legate Lollius Urbicus" – indicates apparent military success.
- The decision to move north to the Forth-Clyde may be testimony to continued unrest in Northern Britain and even the failure of Hadrian's Wall – suggests unsuccessful military campaigns.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the evidence in the source:

- Antonine, upon his succession, likely needed a victorious military campaign since he lacked military prestige. He may have thought that prestige could be easily won in Britain by recovering lands that had been briefly overrun and held during the Agricolan advance.
- Antonine's military campaign, including the construction of the Antonine Wall, was to protect the province from attack as well as help police the neighbouring provincials – the very fact that the frontier system was needed suggests unrest and military failure.
- Around 155/157 there was trouble on the northern line. Many forts – perhaps the entire system – were abandoned; some were certainly burnt down either by attacking barbarians or departing garrisons. Most were rebuilt but this indicates that the military campaign was not the easy triumph depicted in the slab.
- Birrens, a key fort in Antonine's frontier system, shows evidence of atypical, haphazard destruction, likely at enemy hands – indicates military strife.
- Records of revolts in the 2nd century, Brigantian revolt in the Pennine region indicates faltering military progress.
- A coin issue of Antonius Pius from 154-5AD depicts a seated, defeated and dejected Britannia.
- German troop reinforcements had to be sent to over to the Northern province to control the barbarians.
- Hoarding reaches a peak mid 2nd century – perceived as an indicator of unrest and internal disorder.
- The long accepted explanation for the Antonine withdrawal and abandonment of the wall is that there had been an internal revolution North England (Haverfield).
- Upon the accession of Emperor Marcus Aurelius the wall was abandoned, along with most forts in Scotland and the army returned to Hadrian's Wall – the short life span of Antonine's frontier may suggest that the entire military campaign was a failure.
- Breeze and Dobson suggest "unsettled conditions from the mid second century onwards with sporadic outbreaks of hostility" – far from the scene depicted in the distance slab.
- A Smyth states "the Antonine experiment in Caledonia may have lasted intermittently for a generation, but it was no more successful than Agricola's".

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **David Breeze:** *Roman Scotland* – suggests degree of unrest in the north, contrary to scene depicted in the distance slab.
- **Lawrence Keppie:** *Scotland's Roman Remains* – highlights how Rome stopped attempting to place military forces in the north and were on the defensive.
- **William Hanson & Gordon Maxwell:** *Rome's North West Frontier* – comprehensive review of the Antonine Period, stressing that established views that Antoine's campaign was a short lived failure are exaggerated.
- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen, Scotland AD80–1000* – perpetual unrest among northern barbarians.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the degree to which a consideration of **Source C** is helpful as evidence of Rome's success in controlling Northern Britain during the Antonine Period.

Question 3

How fully does Source D reflect the Vikings' motives for their movement to Northern Britain in the 9th century?

(12 marks)

The candidate may be awarded up to **3 marks** for the ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the value of **Source D** in providing a full understanding of the motives for the 9th century Viking movement.

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit.

- Comment on Barbara Crawford – definitive account of Scandinavian Scotland.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Primary motive for Viking movement was to gain good coastal lands which would allow for good maritime links; safe and navigable sea-routes.
- The Northern and Western Isles offered the ideal combination of farm land and waterways.
- Scotland, topographically, was similar to the Viking's homeland.
- Scottish land would support the Viking means of subsistence – fishing, farming and fowling.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Moving to Northern Britain allowed Vikings to maintain their maritime way of life.
- Northern Britain could support a method of subsistence and a type of agriculture similar to that back home – pastoral farming, raising cattle and sheep, with a little growing of oats and barley where possible.
- Ideal land and abundant land for developing isolated farmsteads – as back in Norway.
- The chain of small islands around the north and west coast of Scotland were an ideal form of stepping stone and the coastline was similar to that in Norway – familiar for Vikings.
- Land provided easy passage through isthmuses and portages – Tarbert in Harris gives access from one side of the island to the other.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the views in the source:

Overpopulation and colonisation

- Norse impelled to move due to overpopulation in Scandinavia.
- Land shortage in conjunction with overpopulation – agricultural resources most limited in Norway.
- Inheritance system by which land was divided equally among sons in Norway produced too many farms to make a living from.
- Polygamy suggests that families have been growing too big to live off their inherited farming units.
- Dispossessed members of royal families looked to transfer their traditional social and political structures unimpeded.

Plunder

- The quest for moveable wealth was the dominating motif of Viking history – direct plundering or the exaction of tribute.
- "Initially the interests of Vikings in Alba appear to be . . . a series of hit and run raids . . ." Clare Downham.
- Northern Scotland could have been used to provide pirate bases.
- "Viking Age in Scotland opened . . . with a violent piratical phase as a prelude to more determined and successful attempts at colonisation." A Smyth.
- Vikings came to "plunder and raid" rich, vulnerable Christian communities such as Lindisfarne, 793.
- Monasteries were like "shop windows crammed with the loot of the centuries, unarmed by monks who worshipped the "White Christ". A Smyth.
- Natives could readily be enslaved and sold by Viking raiders.

Trade

- The Northern and Western Isles were a convenient springboard to Atlantic trade and to the rich and populous parts of Europe.
- Northern resources – fur, walrus, ropes and amber from the Baltic were all highly valued commodities.

Maritime accessibility

- It was comparatively safe and straightforward for Vikings to move to Northern Britain – given a good wind it might be possible to sail from Norway to Shetland in 24 hours.
- Shetland was perfectly accessible even without accurate knowledge of navigation, for being a long archipelago it did not require absolutely spot on seamanship to make a landfall.
- The scatter of Northern and Western Isles allowed ease of Viking movement – the sailors could "touch in" at Shetland, or "storm-stay".
- The direction of prevailing winds lent themselves to Vikings moving to Northern Britain – easterlies in the spring would sail Vikings west on summer expeditions and return them in the autumn, driven by westerlies.
- Hebrides served as stopping-off points for shelter and supplies.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **A Smyth:** *Warlords and Holymen, Scotland AD 80–1000* – Vikings motivated by overpopulation, piracy, trade and colonisation – simultaneously.
- **Claire Downham:** *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland* – initially motivated by piracy.
- **Barbara Crawford:** *Scandinavian Scotland* – an array of topographical, economic and cultural reasons impelling Vikings to move to Northern Britain.
- **Ian Walker:** *Lords of Alba, The Making of Scotland* – initial phase of seasonal hit and run attacks against wealthy coastal sites.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, offering a range of evidence, about the degree to which a consideration of **Source D** provides a full understanding of motives for the Vikings' movement to Northern Britain.

Scottish Independence (1286–1329)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent has King Edward I been unfairly criticised for his handling of the Scottish succession crises between 1286 and 1292?

The candidate is required to make a balanced judgement about whether or not King Edward I has been unfairly criticised for his handling of the Scottish succession crises between 1286 and 1292. Candidates may seek to analyse the views and arguments of historians on this subject, but they may also discuss the views of the contemporary or near contemporary sources.

Evidence that King Edward I has been unfairly criticised for his handling of the Scottish succession crises between 1286 and 1292.

- King Edward expressed his (apparently genuine) sorrow at the death of King Alexander and expressed concern for the welfare of the kingdom.
- The Treaties of Birgham and Salisbury can be seen as intelligent attempts to secure relations between the two kingdoms on a stable footing; preserving the interests of King Edward I in the marriage treaty involving his son whilst preserving the integrity of the Scottish kingdom.
- King Edward only intervened in the succession dispute when he had been invited to do so by leading Scots, notably Bishop Fraser.
- Edward's demand that the Scottish royal castles be put under his control can be seen as a sensible precaution to prevent the process of choosing a new king being undermined by factionalism.
- King Edward's demand of overlordship was perfectly proper and in the tradition of long standing English claims; he would have been considered derelict in his duties had he acted otherwise.
- Great care was taken to choose the correct legal system by which to hear the case; in the end he accepted the advice of the Paris lawyers and chose the local system.
- King Edward was scrupulous in his attention to the law, allowing a lengthy delay for documents to be found which would have supported the claim of Florence of Holland.
- The choice of John Balliol was correct under the principle of primogeniture which had prevailed in Scotland for at least two centuries.

Evidence that King Edward I has not been unfairly criticised for his handling of the Scottish succession crises between 1286 and 1292.

- The Treaty of Birgham allowed King Edward to "reserve his rights", and he moved quickly to disregard it after the death of the Maid.
- The annexation of the Isle of Man can be interpreted as signalling aggressive intent.
- When the Guardians initially refused to accept English overlordship, King Edward, went over their heads to seek admittance of overlordship from the claimants.
- The Scottish Guardians were challenged to prove that King Edward was not already the de jure overlord of Scotland – overlordship was presented as a fait accompli.
- King Edward arrived at Norham with an armed retinue; it can be argued he was prepared to use force to support his claim.
- The Guardians were dismissed and replaced by a single, English, guardian.
- The appointment of Anthony Bek, ostensibly to protect the interests of King Edward's son, marked a major extension of English influence over Scottish affairs.
- The Court which heard the case included Edward's Great Council in its entirety – effectively holding the balance of power in the case.
- The long delay during the case can be seen as allowing King Edward to consolidate his power in Scotland.
- The English altered records of the case five years later.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that the outcome of the Great Cause was the 'triumph of law, common sense and orderly procedure' nevertheless views Edward's decision to go over the head of the Guardians at Norham as his 'first thoroughly discreditable act' emphasises Edward's main aim was securing overlordship, whatever the outcome of the 'Great Cause'.
- **F M Powicke** argues that Edward acted with proper regard for the laws and customs of the Scottish kingdom throughout.
- **Michael Prestwich** sees Edward's demands of overlordship in the context of the longstanding English claim views Edward's sasine of the royal castles as a necessary safeguard for the process.
- **Fiona Watson** emphasises that Edward's alteration of crucial documents in the years after the Great Cause reveal his real motivation.

Question 2

How important were the "test cases" in undermining the kingship of King John?

The candidate is required to make a balanced judgement about how important the test cases were in undermining the kingship of King John. Candidates may examine the importance of the test cases in relation to other factors, though they may also consider the role of the contemporary or near contemporary chroniclers in tarnishing his reputation.

Evidence which shows that the "test cases" were important in undermining the kingship of King John.

- King Edward was keen to use test legal cases to establish the precise meaning of the overlordship which he had extracted from the Scots in 1292.
- The cases were brought, often with English backing, to challenge John's kingly authority.
- The case of Roger Bartholomew was used by King Edward to define the exact nature of the relationship between English overlord and Scots law; the decisions of Scottish courts were overturned.
  - His appeals were brought only one week after King John's enthronement.
  - John Mazun brought a case concerning an unpaid wine bill, dating back to the reign of Alexander III.
    - He appealed to King Edward, as overlord, to intervene in the case.
  - King John was repeatedly summoned to attend the King's Bench to answer in the case of the Abbot of Reading, who had a complaint against Bishop Fraser while he had been guardian.
  - Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham, and close adviser to King Edward presented a claim to include Berwick and Haddington as part of his see.
    - In all these cases, King John was to appear as a witness, undermining the position of a king as the ultimate source of secular justice.
- The MacDuff case was used to overturn King John's judgement in an inheritance case in Fife.
- In 1293, King John appeared in person before the English parliament, where he was declared in contempt of court and sentenced to surrender three royal castles.
- Despite initial attempts to withstand English encroachments in each case, Balliol eventually submitted in all.
- King John's failure to defend his kingship undermined his position in the eyes of many Scottish nobles.

Evidence which shows that other factors were important in undermining the kingship of King John.

- King John's position was undermined as soon as he admitted English lordship.
- He paid homage 3 times.
- King John's personal weakness resulted in the creation of the 'Council of 12', who may have effectively removed decision making power from him.
- King John was undermined by his ability to reconcile the powerful Bruce faction.
- The Scottish nobles refused to accept English requests for knight service in a campaign against France.
  - King John's (or the Council's) refusal to accept this demand led to the final break with England, leading to war in 1296; fatally undermining his kingship.
- Military failure in 1296 led to King John's removal from power by King Edward.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **The 'traditional view'** blames King John for weakness in the face of Edward's demands, leading to the 'Toom Tabard' epithet argues that John faced divine judgement as he was not the 'rightful' king.
- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that King Edward was determined to establish what his newly won overlordship meant in practice shares the view that King John's kingship 'foundered on the question of appeals'.
- Claims that no-one could have 'walked such a narrow tightrope', as imposed by Edward, shows that John's personal weakness in the face of the appeals made his station worse, criticises Scottish unpreparedness and naïveté in the military campaign of 1296.
- **Ranald Nicholson** claims that John set out to be 'no less a king than his predecessors'.
- **Michael Penman** blames Edward for undermining John's kingship, but also accepts that he did not possess a strong character.
- **Alan Young** emphasises the role of the Council of 12 in prompting the French alliance which led to the final breach with Edward, leading ultimately to the renunciation of homage.

Question 3

What factors best explain Robert the Bruce's decision to seize the throne in 1306?

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate the factors which help to explain why Robert the Bruce seized the throne in 1306 in order to arrive at a balanced conclusion. Candidates may look at the motives for the seizure of the throne; or they may focus on why he acted in 1306 in particular.

Evidence which helps to explain Robert the Bruce's decision to seize the throne in 1306.

Personal Motivation

- Robert the Bruce was angered by King Edward's decision to not include him in high office as part of the Ordinance of Scotland (1305).
- The seizure of the throne marked the culmination of a plan which had to be acted out prematurely due to the rash murder of the Red Comyn in the Greyfriars Kirk in Dumfries.
- Bruce may have been prompted by patriotic motives in response to earlier failures to rid Scotland of the English occupation.
- Bruce family's long-standing claims to the throne.

Support from the Scottish Clergy

- The 'Secret Band' of 1304 shows that Robert Bruce knew that Bishop Lamberton and a significant section of the Scottish clergy was prepared to support a Bruce coup.
- Bishop Wishart's role in the coronation shows that he also both knew of and supported Bruce's intentions.
- Duns Scotus had already advised Scottish churchmen that a seizure of the throne in the circumstances of Balliol's exile and English dominance would not be an illegal usurpation.

Political Motives

- Bruce feared that the Ordinance would mark the re-emergence of the Comyns as the dominant political faction in Scotland.
- King Edward may have already received intimations of Robert's involvement in a plot, forcing him to show his hand in 1306.
- Bruce's defection to the English in 1302 had not shown a genuine change of heart; it was prompted by the fear of Balliol restoration and the prospect of the forfeiture of his lands following an English campaign in SW Scotland.
- Bruce was acting out of the genuine conviction that the decision in 1292 in favour of John Balliol had been a miscarriage of justice.
- Robert the Bruce knew that King Edward was in poor health and did not have long to live; he was acting at a time of uncertainty in the English government.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that Bruce was prompted by largely 'patriotic' motives, suggests that Bruce had conceived a plot to take the throne as early as 1304.
- **Michael Penman** emphasises the role of the Scottish bishops in investigating the coup, argues that Robert greatly feared internal division, argues that Robert's kingship was never accepted as legitimate by a great section of the nobility. Suggests that the death of Robert's father in 1305 left him free to pursue a bid for the throne.
- **Caroline Bingham** believes that Bruce was motivated more by anti-English than 'anti-Comyn' sentiment.
- **Ranald Nicholson** argues that Bruce behaved rashly, nearly derailing any pre-existing plan which may have existed, argues that many nobles in the South east opposed King Robert, and that his writ did not run there for a long time as a result.

Question 4

What factors best explain King Robert's decision to launch a military campaign in Ireland?

Candidates might be expected to analyse and evaluate the factors which help to explain why King Robert decided to launch a military campaign in Ireland in order to arrive at a balanced conclusion. Candidates may seek to argue, following most historians, that conclusions are difficult to arrive at due to the limited nature of the evidence.

Evidence which helps to explain King Robert's decision to launch a military campaign in Ireland.

A 'Pan-Celtic' Alliance

- Both Robert and Edward Bruce were keen to establish a 'pan-Celtic' and anti-Plantagenet alliance against the English.
    - King Robert's letter to his 'friends' the kings and prelates of Ireland, 1318.
- Edward Bruce, who led the invasion, enlisted the help of the Gaelic speaking areas of the west of Scotland to press the galloglass into service.
- Several letters from the Bruce brothers emphasise the common linguistic and cultural heritage.
    - This may have been part of a broader plan to encourage a Welsh rising against the English also.
    - Edward Bruce wrote to the Welsh in a similar vein to that adopted by Robert when he wrote to the Irish.

The ambition of Edward Bruce

- King Robert sought to find a useful outlet for the ambitions of his headstrong brother, Edward.
- Edward Bruce styled himself 'King of Ireland' from 1315.
- Some contemporary chronicles suggest bad feeling between the two brothers, especially the months before the Battle of Bannockburn.
- Edward made a series of agreements with Irish lords who sought support in local struggles.

Military Strategy

- Ulster was occupied in order to stop the supply provisions from Ireland to the English Western marches.
    - This supply line was vital for the English castle at Carlisle, which was very dependent on Irish grain.
- Many of Carlisle's garrison came from the Irish lands of English magnates.
- King Robert appears to have viewed Carrickfergus Castle as important a 'border' castle as Berwick or Carlisle.
    - It was essential in maintaining control over the Irish Sea.
- A second front might divert English resources, though this did not happen.
- Poor harvests and a series of famines undermined the ability of the Anglo-Irish colony to pay for its own defence.
- The Bruces wished to subdue many of their Scottish enemies who had taken refuge in Ireland following their expulsion from the west of Scotland.
    - Especially John of Argyll, who had captured the Isle of Man for the English.
- Many Scottish magnates also had significant interests in Ireland, which were jeopardised by the English authorities as a result of their support for Bruce.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Colm MacNamee** emphasises the difficulty in arriving at a definitive interpretation of the Bruce intervention in Ireland, argues that King Robert showed a 'consistent interest' in Ireland, shows that the anti Bruce Scottish émigrés in Ireland were a serious threat to military success in the west, suggests that Edward Bruce's desire to become a King was possibly the most important factor, following Barbour's account.
- **Sean Duffy** emphasises the strong links between the Irish and the Gaels of the Scottish islands and west coast, accepts the notion of a 'Celtic' identity which included Irish, Scots and Welsh, shows that many Irish contributed to King Robert's Scottish campaigns.
- **James Lydon** has shown the importance of Ireland as a 'second front', and argues that the galloglass was essential in giving the Bruces' military superiority during much of the Irish campaign.
- **Ranald Nicholson** argues that a significant military presence was required to bolster Edward Bruce's claim to the throne, but that the main motive was to cut the supply lines to the English garrisons on the western marches.
- **GWS Barrow** suggests that the main motivation behind Scottish involvement was conquest rather than any great desire to forge a 'pan-Celtic' alliance.

Question 5

How valid is the view that support for King Robert amongst the Scottish nobility was "neither widespread nor dependable" between 1314 and 1328?

Candidates are required to analyse and evaluate the nature of support for King Robert amongst the nobility in order to arrive at a balanced conclusion. Candidates may show that there were wide regional variations in support for King Robert and the nature of this support changed over time.

Evidence which supports the view that support for King Robert amongst the Scottish nobility was "neither widespread nor dependable" between 1314 and 1328.

- Some members of the nobility were never reconciled to King Robert, especially in the south of the country.
  – Earl Patrick of Dunbar; Earl Malise of Strathearn.
- The loyalty of some nobles was questionable, and they switched sides.
  – The Earl of Atholl defected on the eve of Bannockburn.
- Supporters of the old Coymn faction, such as the Umfravilles were leading backers of the De Soules plot in 1320.
- The Statute of Cambuskenneth (1314) is evidence of the gravity of the problem facing King Robert; he needed to legislate in order to identify his supporters and expose opponents.
- King Robert was no more successful in making the royal writ run in the western isles than his predecessors.
- The Declaration of Arbroath was not sealed by all the leading nobles of the kingdom; mainly only those in the south east.
- The De Soules plot marked a serious challenge to King Robert's authority.
- King Robert was forced to win support only at the expense of alienating huge amounts of royal land.

Evidence which supports the view that support for King Robert amongst the Scottish nobility was relatively "widespread and dependable" between 1314 and 1328.

- King Robert's position was much more secure after the Battle of Bannockburn.
- It can be argued that the Statute of Cambuskenneth was issued from a position of strength, isolating opponents within the political community.
- King Robert was aided by many very dependable allies in the nobility.
  – James Douglas
  – Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray
  – His brother, Edward
- The De Soules plot was fairly easily crushed, and the 'Black Parliament' demonstrates King Robert's dominance of that institution.
- The Declaration of Arbroath can be seen as a strongly supported assertion of King Robert's royal power.
- The nobles in parliament consented to King Robert's tailizes in the 1320s, as well as to other crucial aspects of legislation.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Geoffrey Barrow** claims that support for Robert the Bruce was very widespread after Bannockburn, suggests that opposition to him, especially in the south east was the result of the continuing occupation, quickly evaporating as King Robert secured that area.
- **Michael Penman** has written extensively on the subject of support for King Robert, arguing that his kingship was never secure, emphasises the significance of the De Soules plot and the 'Black Parliament', has demonstrated the extraordinary lengths Bruce went to in order to secure loyalty.
- **Norman Reid** has written of the careful balancing act which was required in order to avoid the danger of re-emergent faction in his reign.

Scottish Independence (1286-1329)

Part 2
Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of the role of William Wallace in the Scottish resistance to King Edward I?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** in understanding the importance of William Wallace in the Scottish resistance to King Edward I in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- The judgement was made by King Edward's court following Wallace's trial for treason. The court sat for less than a day and the sentence of death was carried out the same day.
- The Court sat at Westminster Hall, where Wallace was taken following his capture in Scotland.
- The Court's account contains a comprehensive account of the English case regarding the feudal superiority of King Edward.
- Wallace was the last surviving leader of the 1296/7 rebellion.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Wallace 'forgot' his allegiance and fealty to King Edward, leading attacks into England.
- Wallace joined an 'immense number of criminals', later attacking and killing the King's sheriff, William Heselrig.
- Wallace led attacks on the cities and castles of Scotland.
- Wallace behaved as though he were 'Lord Superior' of Scotland.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Wallace's name does not appear on the 'Ragman's Roll'; this may have been either deliberate defiance or an administrative oversight. It is interesting that the judgement in the source claims he had 'forgotten' his allegiance.
- Wallace quickly emerged as a leader of a substantial resistance movement in the south of Scotland.
- According to some sources, Wallace attacked Heselrig in revenge for an attack on a 'woman dear to him'.
- Attacks on castles included an assault on Dundee.
- Wallace also attempted to attack and kill the English sheriff William Ormesby in a raid on Scone.
- Wallace, once appointed Guardian may well have behaved as if he were the 'Lord Superior' of Scotland.
- Wallace led a series of largely disorganised and ultimately ineffectual raids on the north of England.
- He was accused of committing atrocities on a religious house at Hexham.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- Arguably, Wallace's most important moment in the wars of Scottish Independence was his victory over the English at Stirling Bridge in 1297.
- As Guardian, he played an important role in re-establishing trade connections with mainland Europe.
- The Lubeck letter, which was an attempt to restore trade links with Europe.
- His period as Guardian came to an end after the defeat at Falkirk.
- Wallace continued in the Scottish resistance for several years after Falkirk.
- He may have been part of the Scottish mission to Paris in 1300.
- He was involved in guerrilla activity in the Borders area in the early fourteenth century.
- The severity of Wallace's punishment shows how important he was; the English regarded his capture and execution as a major triumph.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that Wallace's career represented continuing political resistance in the name of King John, and that he was largely supported in this by his nobility, suggests that Wallace was at least tacitly supported, if not actively backed, by the nobility.
- **Andrew Fisher** sees Wallace's significance, by contrast, as a result of his own decisions – he argues that the nobility played little part in the 1297 rebellion.
- **Chris Brown** emphasises the importance of the symbolism of Wallace's career in the Wars of Independence.
- **Fiona Watson** has been keen to challenge the view that Wallace was acting alone.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful for understanding the importance of William Wallace in the Wars of Independence.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views of the reasons for King Robert's military successes between 1306 and 1314?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** on King Robert's military successes and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- *The Life of Edward II* is of unknown authorship, though possibly John Walwayn, who had close access to his subject.
- It used to be believed that it was written in 1326 but it has been recently suggested that it was compiled during the course of Edward II's reign.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The capturing of strong points, eg castles, taken by stealth.
- The destruction of fortifications to deny their use to the English.
- The assistance of able lieutenants such as James Douglas.
- The role of treachery and people changing allegiance.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Bruce first used the tactics of razing castles in his struggle against his Scottish enemies, notably at Urquhart.
  – Wells were also poisoned to prevent their future use, as at Forfar.
- Other castles, such as Aberdeen, were also taken by treachery.
- Bruce was highly dependent on the efforts of his generals, including Thomas Randolp, later Earl of Moray.
- Douglas used ingenious methods, such as hiding his men amongst cattle, to gain entry to other castles.
- The use of grappling hooks became a staple of Bruce's tactics.
- These means were necessary as the Scots lacked siege equipment or the means to mount a major siege for long periods.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- Alan Young is a prominent historian of the period, who has focused on the role of the Comyns and gone some way to challenge the traditional 'pro-Bruce' view.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The author claims Bruce benefited from Edward II's poor leadership.
- Edward II abandoned the 1307 campaign, and did not launch campaigns in 1308, 1309 or 1310.
- Local commanders were encouraged to make truces with Bruce.
- Perth, and possibly some other castles were poorly garrisoned.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Robert Bruce benefited from the death of Edward I in July 1307, just as he was about lead a major campaign into Scotland.
- Bruce used the absence of English campaigns in the following years to quell his Scottish enemies.
- Bruce used funds raised to buy the support of Scottish nobles, especially in the west.
- By 1310, he had all but defeated his Scottish enemies.
- The best example of Bruce benefiting from the poor leadership of Edward II was at Bannockburn in 1314.

Points which offer a wider contextualisation of the views in the sources:

- Bruce successfully broke out of southwest Scotland in 1307 after defeating Aymer de Valance at Loudon Hill.
- The encounter at Glen Trool may have been prompted by the desire to steal English funds on the way to their garrisons.
- Bruce quickly subdued magnates in the west before bringing the Earl of Ross to his peace.
- The Comyns were destroyed after the Battle of Inverurie in 1308, and the Herschip of Buchan consolidated his grip on that area.
- Bruce was careful to avoid pitched battle, preferring 'secret war'.
- Bannockburn was the exception to Bruce's avoidance of pitched battle; and he only engaged Edward II when he had a clear topographical advantage on the second day.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that Bruce's campaign to regain Scotland is one of the greatest episodes in British military history, praises Bruce's generalship, in both strategy and tactics and argues that it was his genius in guerrilla warfare which was decisive.
- **Michael Penman** whilst accepting Bruce's talents, also emphasises the weaknesses of his opponents as a decisive factor.
- **Colm MacNamee** has emphasised the importance of the winning of the west to Bruce's overall strategy.
- **Caroline Bingham** mentions that the skill with which Bruce managed his generals was essential.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** is helpful in offering a full perspective of Robert the Bruce's military successes between 1306 and 1314.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain King Robert's attempts to win the support of foreign powers in the struggle for Scottish independence?

(12 marks)

The candidate may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of King Robert's attempts to win the support of foreign powers in the struggle for Scottish independence in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- Michael Penman is a contemporary historian who was written extensively, analysing the nature and depth of support for King Robert's regime.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- King Robert made great efforts to win support from both the French and from the Papacy.
- His success in this area is evidenced by the largely sympathetic accounts of his reign and of the 'Great Cause' which appear in the contemporary chronicles.
- Many of the Scottish chroniclers were working in France as they produced their 'pro-Bruce' chronicles.
- Bruce scored his greatest diplomatic successes with the French despite the residence of both John and Edward Balliol in that kingdom.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Robert gained formal recognition of both his kingship and of the independence of his kingdom from King Philip of France in 1310.
- As the French king had considerable influence over the Papacy, this was a useful lever in trying to win the backing of the Holy See.
- Bruce was desperate to avoid a situation where the English would make a separate peace with the French.
- The Treaty of Corbeil (1326) therefore added urgency to King Robert's search for a 'final' settlement in 1328.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- Papal support was essential in order to provide legitimacy for the regime and also to lift the excommunication which was imposed in 1317, on both Bruce personally and on the kingdom.
- Robert rejected the overtures of Papal legates who refused to acknowledge his title.
- The English had also lobbied the Papacy hard, in an attempt to prove that Scotland was not a kingdom.
- The Declaration of Arbroath was written to the Pope.
- Pope John appears to have been less sympathetic to the Scottish case than his predecessors.
- The excommunication on the kingdom was lifted in 1323.
- The Papacy played an important role in urging the truces of the 1320s.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Geoffrey Barrow** has argued that King Robert was 'more successful in diplomacy than in war'.
- **Alan Young** claims that foreign pressure was crucial in bringing the English to the negotiating table.
- **Michael Penman** suggests that King Robert was cautious in his dealings with the French, and was aware that French support might prove unreliable.
- **Ranald Nicholson** has shown the effectiveness of the various Scottish missions to Rome.
- **Colm MacNamee** argues that the Scots never received very much substantial benefit from the French alliance.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of King Robert's attempts to win foreign support in the struggle for Scottish independence.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How valid is the view that the cultural developments associated with the Italian Renaissance were only enjoyed by a narrow elite?

The aim of the essay is to enable candidates to assess the view that only a very narrow and wealthy group enjoyed the cultural developments associated with the Renaissance in Italy.

Evidence supporting the view that the Renaissance was only enjoyed by an elite

- Since the elites were the chief record-keepers of their societies, most of the surviving evidence from this period relates to them and to the images they projected of themselves.
- Writers such as Machiavelli and Castiglione wrote for the elite and so focus exclusively on the world of the court.
- In the main art was commissioned by an elite, the Medici in Florence, the Montefeltro or the Gonzaga. Much of it was to decorate their palaces and so would not have been seen by anyone other than other members of the elite. Federigo da Montefeltro's studiolo in Urbino or that of Isabella d'Este in Mantua were private studies.
- Humanism was a self-indulgent study of the past for the love of it. It required a knowledge of Greek or Latin, which excluded most people.
- Most fifteenth-century peasants were far too busy with day-to-day necessities to find time or energy to appreciate fine art or classical allusions.
- Women were in the main excluded from the Renaissance. There are some well known exceptions (Isabella d'Este) but the social and political role of most women was marginal.

Evidence challenging the view that the Renaissance was only enjoyed by an elite

- Some works of art were commissioned by "ordinary people". The statues in Orsanmichele in Florence, for example were paid for by the guilds. The competition for the Baptistery gates in Florence was conducted by the wool guild.
- Church art was intended to be seen by the entire congregation during mass. A triptych would have been seen and admired by all.
- Florence and Venice were at least outwardly republics. As such, a much wider circle of people, still in the main very wealthy, held power and acted as patrons of the arts.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views.

These may include reference to:

- **Jacob Burckhardt** took the view that the Renaissance was limited to an elite.
- **Peter Burke** defined a creative elite of 600 people for the period 1420–1540, divided among artisans and the upper class. Only seven of these 600 did he identify as "unconventional".
- **Lauro Martines** reduced this figure to just 11 individuals, who were "almost the only Florentine humanists of the period". Touchy, ambitious, erratic, they never exhibit vital contacts with any sector of the lower class". "In surveying the age, historians constantly suppose, like the humanists themselves, that the heroic vision spoke for all men. Not at all. It spoke for an elite, and to ignore this is both to get the Renaissance wrong and to show that we see the forces and social interests that lie behind our own values." "Even in republican Florence, the Renaissance touched relatively few people, and in places like Urbino and Mantua it was practically confined to the court. This is contrary to our modern sense of equality, but one can't help wondering how far civilisation would have evolved if it had been entirely dependent on the popular will."
- **J. R. Hale** famously wrote that unless the word "humanism" retains the smell of the scholar's lamp it will mislead".

Question 2

How important was classical influence on the artistic and architectural innovations in Florence in the early fifteenth century?

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to examine the importance of classical influence on the artistic and architectural innovations in the early fifteenth-century. Candidates are expected to refer to the work of Masaccio, Brunelleschi and Donatello. They may choose to balance classical influence with other factors, including sound financial support and artistic genius.

Evidence of classical influence in the work of the three men

- Brunelleschi employed rounded Roman arches in his Ospitale degli Innocenti (1419) in Florence. He placed classical triangular pediments over the windows. His dome for Florence cathedral was influenced by the dome on the Pantheon in Rome.
- Donatello's equestrian statue, the "Gattemelata", was inspired by the ancient Roman equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.
- Donatello's "David" was the first life-size nude statue since Graeco-Roman times.

Evidence of sound financial support behind the three men

- Cosimo de Medici was Brunelleschi's patron for his work on the church of San Lorenzo. He was also Donatello's patron for the pulpit in San Lorenzo.
- Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel was commissioned by the Pazzi banking family, the rivals of the Medici.
- Donatello had a number of patrons alongside the Medici family. His statue of David was to stand on a pedestal in the centre of the courtyard of their newly-constructed palace.
- Donatello assisted Ghiberti with the "Gates of Paradise", the doors of the Florentine baptistery, sponsored by the guilds. He also sculpted a statue of St Louis of Toulouse to be placed in the niches of Orsanmichele for the city's trade guilds.

Evidence of artistic genius

- Massacio made excellent use of perspective in his work. Though this was not technically an innovation, it was new to fifteenth-century Italy. His "Trinity" in the church of Santa Maria Novella is still very striking, with the focus drawn in on God the Father by the use of perspective. Similarly, in his "Tribute Money" perspective is used such that the vanishing point lies in the head of Christ and therefore gives the central figure additional emphasis.
- Masaccio's work must have been striking for contemporaries because of its austerity. All extraneous material is stripped away (for example in "The Tribute Money"), leaving only the human scene with its tensions between characters.
- Brunelleschi's dome was the largest roof to a building constructed since classical times. The architectural skills and knowledge required to span such a large area required architectural genius. He devised a continuously self-supporting masonry system without centring. It was a remarkable fear of structural engineering.

Other factors which might be considered

- Donatello's work exhibits a fervent asceticism, notably in a series of prophets he carved for the campanile of the cathedral between 1415 and 1435. He turned his back on the convention of depicting the saints and prophets as heavenly courtiers. His figures are gaunt religious fanatics, for example his Mary Magdalene.
- Eroticism: A mysterious, self-consciously erotic energy characterises Donatello's famous bronze David. It was one of the first free-standing naked figures to have been created since antiquity. David, the giant-killer, was a symbol of Florence, the giant-killing republic. The work is sexually suggestive.
- Violence: Donatello's "Judith and Holofernes" is intensely violent.
- The personality of the artist may also have been a factor behind the impact of the work. Donatello, for instance, according to Vasari, possessed a fiery temper and famously pushed a new bust off the battlements, shattering it, rather than accept a low price for the bust from a Genoese merchant.

Candidates may make use of a range of historians, including:

- **Antonio Manetti**, the fifteenth-century biographer, wrote that Brunelleschi "restored the ancient Roman manner of building."
- **George Holmes** describes Donatello's "David" as one of the most revolutionary and puzzling works of the Renaissance. The face and figure are remarkably sensual, with a somewhat feminine physical beauty, rather than the fortitude which is a more common characteristic of David.
- **Caroline Elam** argues that Brunelleschi's dome was influenced more by Byzantine or Ravennate dome-types than by classical Roman ones.
- **Vasari** claims that the young Brunelleschi and Donatello travelled to Rome to see for themselves the great buildings and monuments of the classical world.

Question 3

Has the contribution of Lorenzo the Magnificent to Renaissance humanism been exaggerated?

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to show their knowledge of humanism during the Renaissance, but also to explain how much of this movement can be attributed to the influence of Lorenzo. Candidates will need to conclude with a judgement on the extent to which Lorenzo's contribution has been exaggerated. Good candidates will also provide evidence of who, past or present, might be responsible for such exaggeration.

What was Renaissance humanism?

- Humanism derived from the "studia humanitatis", the old arts syllabus in schools and universities. This included the study of Greek and Latin texts on grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy. It was a secular programme, concerned with man, his nature and his gifts, though Renaissance humanism did not cross the boundary into a non-religious approach to life. Humanists saw in the ancient world a source of models from which to learn about statecraft, the waging of war, and the creation of works of art.

Evidence of Lorenzo's contribution to Renaissance humanism

- A myth has grown up about Marsiglio Ficino's "Platonic Academy" at Lorenzo's Villa Careggi. It was suggested that a community of scholars lived together and students, including the young Michelangelo, flocked from Florence to sit at their feet and listened to Neoplatonic ideas being expounded. Lorenzo, it was claimed, presided over the academy as a benign patron after the death of Cosimo de' Medici.
- Marsiglio Ficino from the 1460s till the 1480s was the leading proponent of late-fifteenth-century Neoplatonism. He carried out a long programme of translation including the works of Plato and Plotinus. He was protected by Lorenzo.
- Lorenzo's court included other humanists such as Angelo Poliziano, a poet and classical scholar, and Pico della Mirandola, a literary critic who wrote new interpretations of Dante and Virgil.
- Lorenzo was an intellectual and a poet. He wrote thoughtful Neoplatonic poetry as well as bawdy ditties to be sung during the excesses of Carnivale.
- Lorenzo was a patron of artists such as Botticelli. Botticelli's "Primavera" is a product of this environment, an allegory which combines Neoplatonic and Christian ideals. The "Primavera" was probably commissioned to celebrate a marriage of a relation of Lorenzo in the Medici household, where the painting was originally hung. Contemporary Florentine philosophy saw the Three Graces (described by the Latin author Seneca) in the picture as symbols of the three phases of love – beauty, desire and consummation. "Primavera" has complex references to ancient myths and literature. For example at Venus's left is a scene from Ovid's poetical calendar of the Roman year.
- In Laurentian Florence gods and their stories became for the first time an accepted subject matter for high art.

Evidence of exaggeration

- There is no evidence that Pico della Mirandola or other leading scholars like Poliziano, the tutor of Lorenzo de' Medici's children, were ever part of a Careggi school.
- Cosimo was only the patron of Marsiglio Ficino for the last two years of his life, and after his death Ficino sought and found other patrons than Lorenzo.
- Ficino's translation of Plato was complete in 1469 but was not published until 1484, and even then the cost was underwritten not by Lorenzo but by the Valori family.
- Clearly Lorenzo played some part in group's proceedings, but was not the presiding patron.

Candidates may use a range of historians, including:

- **George Holmes** who accepts that Lorenzo was patron of Ficino but stresses that the "Platonic Academy" was not a formal institution. Rather he sees it as a group of friends who met frequently at Medici residences. However, he fully recognises the importance of Ficino and Lorenzo. "This pro-classical tolerance is one main reason for the importance of Laurentian Florence in the history of thought."
- Neoplatonism was "the unofficial ideology of "Laurentian Florence"", according to **Gene Brucker**. It exulted in the human spirit and the value of love as an uplifting power. It saw the body as the soul's terrestrial prison.
- There was certainly a small school at the Villa Careggi but as **James Hankins** writes, "the number of young men fully initiated into the Platonic mysteries was probably quite small."

Question 4

To what extent was the art of the High Renaissance different in both subject matter and character from the art of the fifteenth century?

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to demonstrate a sound knowledge of the art of the High Renaissance and to contrast this with that of the fifteenth century. Candidates will be expected to make and support a judgement on the extent to which the art of the High Renaissance was different in terms of subject matter and character.

What was the High Renaissance?

- It has become customary to regard the first quarter of the sixteenth century as the climax of the Italian Renaissance and, by extension, the climax of the Renaissance itself. The term High Renaissance implies a new level of attainment in art, a new "golden age." Such a view was established at an early stage by Vasari, who saw in Michelangelo, Leonardo and Raphael the culmination of artistic achievement.

Evidence of a difference in subject matter (or continuity)

- There was much continuity of themes and subject matter, for example Paulo Uccello's "Rout of San Romano" and Leonardo's "Battle of Anghiari" are both battle scenes. However, Uccello's work looks static in comparison to the ecstasy of action in Leonardo's (lost) work.
- Religious art continued to dominate. It had been the most common subject for painting and sculpture during the fifteenth century. This was continued and arguably intensified by papal patronage of the arts during the High Renaissance.
- Classicism is prevalent in both periods, in the work of Massacio and also that of Bramante. However, the discovery of the ancient statue of Laocoon in 1506 intensified the classical influence, influencing for example Michelangelo's "Battle of the Centaurs."
- Fascination with the male nude can be seen in two statues of David, one by Donatello and the other by Michelangelo.

Evidence of a difference in the character of the art

- George Holmes sees the art of the High Renaissance as more serious and grand than that of the fifteenth century. He identifies three key differences in character: the depiction of the face with a fuller and more affective sensitivity; the depiction of human body in a more complex range of movements; a relationship between figures which was more satisfying in both an aesthetic and an emotional sense.
- Leonardo's backgrounds and settings went far beyond the simpler perspective and anatomical accuracy of the fifteenth century. His pictures seem to be sections taken from an emotional natural world. See for example his "Virgin of the Rocks." Here St John and Christ are set against a background of water and rocks, a vision of the structure of the earth.
- Leonardo's "Last Supper" presents the same figures in roughly the same poses as had been done by thousands of artists in the fifteenth century. Leonardo added a greater depth in the depiction to the faces, figures and emotions. He captures the movement of the thirteen individuals.

Other differences of subject matter or general continuity

- The scale of the artistic projects of the High Renaissance was in general greater and more ambitious than in the fifteenth century. Examples include the rebuilding of St Peter's, the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the rooms of the Vatican (by Raphael), and the tomb of Julius II.
- One significant difference between the early and High Renaissance was that whilst Florence was emphatically the home of the early Renaissance, Rome was assuredly the centre of the High Renaissance, mainly because of the influence of papal patrons.

Candidates may make use of a range of historians, including:

- **George Holmes** suggests that all this constituted an advance well beyond the comparatively static painting of the age of Botticelli. Figures of this period catch the extremes of physical action and inner emotion in a way that had not been achieved before.
- **Margaret L. King** suggests that key characteristics of High Renaissance art include larger canvasses, figures gained bulk, colours were lusher, ornamentation richer.
- **Robert Hole** argues that the terms Early and High Renaissance have become convenient labels, but they are imprecise terms and are identified as much by place as time. In other words, the Early Renaissance refers primarily to events in Florence and High Renaissance refers primarily to events in Rome.

Question 5

To what extent did the economic success of the Venetian Empire have its foundation in sound government?

The main aim of this question is to enable candidates to show the extent to which the economic prosperity of the Venetian Empire during the Italian Renaissance was directly related to the strong and effective government provided by the constitution. Whilst candidates will be expected to examine the governance of Venice they may bring in a number of alternative factors.

The economic success of the Venetian Empire

- Trade lay at the heart of the Venetian Empire. A network of trade routes stretched through the Greek islands to Egypt and the Orient, to Constantinople and the Black Sea ports. Venetian ships brought grain and salt, fruit and cheap wine from the Mediterranean, as well as more exotic goods from the east – spices and silk, cotton, drugs and jewels. From Venetian warehouses the goods were re-exported throughout Europe.

How was Venice governed?

- Power was restricted to the patrician families, numbering about 150, who dominated the Great Council. This ruling group was closed to new entrants, a situation known as the "serrata." To avoid the resentment and frustration caused by this closed system, the Venetian republic created a second rank of privilege – the Citizenry, who dominated the civil service. This meant that Venetian government was more broadly based than any other major Italian state. The Great Council elected the Doge, the Senate and the Council Of Ten.
- There was discord within the Patriciate between the old (or "long") families and the new (or "short") families. Families whose right to sit in the Great Council dated only from the 1380s.
- The Doge was elected for life but could be deposed. He had to operate within strict constitutional limits. If he overstepped these he could be removed (as Francesco Foscari was in 1457). When elected a doge's political powers were curtailed as his ceremonial grandeur was increased.
- Real power lay with the Dieci. This Council of Ten imposed severe punishments upon those who threatened the stability of the Republic.
- While the members of the noble caste constituted all the political class of Venice, in fact a narrow group of a few hundred experts were recycled through the main government councils. The appearance of republican government was carefully preserved, through in reality there was a trend towards oligarchy.

Criticisms of the government of Venice

- Few Venetians actually understood the condition. It was overly-complex and bureaucratic. The fact that there was no prince meant that change was slow to come about since it was first necessary to convince a large number of committees. The doge was no substitute for a "benign dictator."

Ways in which sound government supported economic success

- Most of the patriciate were involved in imperial trade as well as holding office under the constitution. Their law-making and political actions reflect this economic priority.
- Taxes on trade were relatively light and so encouraged economic enterprise.
- The confidence of investors rested on the belief that Venice was politically stable, more so than Florence, Milan or Rome in this period.

Alternative explanations of the economic prosperity of Venice

- The Venetian Republic was dependent upon its European trade routes, notably the Alpine passes to reach markets in Austria and Germany. The expansion of the Milanese Empire under Giangaleazzo Visconti posed a threat and so the Venetians began to build up the territory surrounding the city – the terra firma. Cities such as Vicenza, Verona and Padua came under Venetian rule.
- Venice was very cosmopolitan. The crowded wharves of the Rialto and Riva degli Schiavoni saw Gentile and Jew, Moslem and Greek, haggling over rich cargoes from the Orient. The Germans possessed a vast warehouse – decorated by frescoes by Giorgione – on the Grand Canal; the Turks another. Venice possessed the earliest ghetto in Europe, and the Armenians freely practised their religion. Venice was the greatest market of the Western world.
- Venetian banks avoided loans to non-Venetians and acted essentially as an adjunct to Venetian mercantile activity.
- Its geographical position, between the sea and terra firma, made it impregnable to either army or navy. This contributed to its political and economic stability.

Candidates may make use of a range of historians, including:

- **Guido Ruggiero** shows that the chief rigours of the law were reserved for those who were seen to threaten the safety and stability of the state. When that happened, be he rich or poor, he was shown little mercy. The violence of the crime was frequently outdone by the violence of the punishment.
- **John Najemy** writes of how Venice, alone among the republics, was a closed and hereditary nobility whose members constituted the Great Council and had the exclusive right to hold major executive offices. This engendered an enviable political stability in the city and beyond that, in the Venetian empire.
- **D.S Chambers** wrote that the belief that "the Venetian constitution was near perfect came to be commonly believed in the imperial age, as did the fiction that Venetians were the new Romans". Certainly, he argues, the Venetian system of government lasted, and was served by a remarkable number of able men, but it was only relatively stable, concordant, peaceable, just, uncorrupt and possessed of all the other attributes of perfection so often claimed for it.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of the relationship between artists and patrons during the Italian Renaissance?

(12 marks)

The candidate may be awarded up to **5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source and for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. Marks may be divided 3:2 or 2:3.

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of the relationship between artists and patrons in the Italian Renaissance in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include:

- Vasari's "*Lives*" is a vital source for the study of the Renaissance. It is in effect the first work of art history.
- Vasari was apprenticed to Michelangelo at an early age in Florence and became an ardent follower and admirer of his master's style.
- Vasari held Michelangelo in the highest esteem. His work was the culmination of artistic achievement.
- Vasari coined the term "High Renaissance" to describe the work of Michelangelo (and Leonardo and Raphael). He sees these artists as mortal gods.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The patron was often in a powerful position. Julius had sufficient control of Michelangelo to tell him to stop work on his tomb against the artist's wishes.
- A powerful patron could bring pressure to bear to force an artist to undertake a commission. Michelangelo was forced into painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel against his will and judgement.
- Artists had some control over the completion of a commission however. Michelangelo would not allow the pope to see the Sistine Chapel ceiling before it had been completed.
- A great artist was sufficiently venerated to be able to be rude to his patron. Michelangelo points out to Julius his wealth and lack of holiness.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Julius had commissioned Michelangelo to sculpt his tomb, laying down both the massive size and iconography. Julius's tomb was to imitate antique sepulchral monuments but bring in biblical figures to show the marriage of the classical and Christian worlds. Michelangelo was summoned to Rome in 1505 to begin work on Pope Julius' tomb.
- The tomb was originally intended to be of an unprecedented scale with forty figure statues, the greatest tomb in Christendom. The project was demoted in Julius' priorities in 1506 as funds were diverted to the construction of the new basilica of St Peter's. Michelangelo left Rome in a fit of temper.
- The tomb was later scaled down after Julius' death in 1513 and ended up a much more modest affair. However, it still occupied Michelangelo on and off for forty years, 1505-1545.
- Michelangelo worked on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel from 1508 till 1512. He was to be paid an annual salary of 10,000 ducats whilst working on the tomb. This was ten times the average income of most sculptors or goldsmiths. He was also to receive a final payment of 10,000 ducats.
- Michelangelo was reluctant to undertake the task both because of its enormity, but also because he considered painting to be an inferior art form to sculpture.
- Vasari had tales of Julius secretly sneaking into the chapel, against the artist's wishes, so great was his desire to see the masterpiece.
- Julius is best known as the "Warrior Pope", a man of action with an appetite for the things of this world. He was very wealthy. In contrast his piety has been called into question.
- Julius proved to be very unreliable in paying Michelangelo. This was a cause of friction between the two.
- Most patrons played a very strong role in the creation of a work of art. They laid out their expectations, drew up contracts and paid for the work.
- Artists of the calibre of Michelangelo enjoyed a measure of artistic liberty. The final vision was theirs.
- Commissions were prone to change, as patrons changed their minds, or indeed as the patron died and the project acquired a new patron. Following Julius' death in 1513 his heirs adapted the original plan of the tomb.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the source:

- There were many different relationships between the art provider and the art buyer. Some artists sold straight from their workshops to whoever wished to buy a previously-completed piece of work.
- Better known artists were invited to live in the patron's household, or under his aegis and produce work to his patron's taste. Andrea Mantegna, for example, was allowed to build a house for himself in Mantua. He produced a large number of paintings for his patrons, the Gonzaga family.
- The relationship between artists and patrons evolved during the Renaissance, as the role of the artist grew in esteem.
- The relationship also evolved over the career of an artist, as he moved from anonymity and obscurity towards wider public appreciation.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Margaret L. King** describes patronage as the "crucial engine of artistic production and innovation".
- **Peter Burke** suggests that part of the reason for the tension between Julius and Michelangelo lay in Michelangelo's objection to his work being seen before it was finished. He may have felt he was tackling his task in a way which might not meet Julius's approval so he insisted that Julius not see the work until it was completed. Burke made a detailed study of the social origins of 136 artists, many of whom came from artistic dynasties. He argues that given their social status Renaissance artists generally did what they were told.
- **John Stephens** suggests that the artist had the ultimate say in the work of art.
- **E.H. Gombrich** described the "liberation of the artist" in the Renaissance. "At last the artist was free."
- **Leon Batista Alberti** did much to enhance the status of the artist through his book, "*On Painting*".

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views of the ways in which Cosimo de' Medici was able to control Florence?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** on the ways in which Cosimo de' Medici was able to control Florence, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance:

- Pope Pius II's pontificate dates from 1458 to 1464, as such he was a contemporary of Cosimo. They even died in the same year.
- He was Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini.
- He had little to do with secular leaders who ignored his calls for a crusade against the Turks who had in 1453 conquered Constantinople.
- His "Commentaries" are a Latin account of Pius' own life and thoughts. It is the only autobiography of a pope.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Cosimo was very powerful within Florence and Italy and beyond.
- He was in effect the master/king of Florence.
- The political councils were held at this house.
- His nominations for magistrates were elected.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source

- The manipulation of the constitution by Cosimo: the use of emergency balie and the Council of 100.
- Cosimo was given the title "Pater Patriae" in 1464, implying a paternalist rather than self-seeking control of the city.
- The rigging of the taxation system to favour Medici supporters.
- Cosimo controlled Florentine foreign policy. He encouraged and supported Francesco Sforza's takeover of the Duchy of Milan, despite the concerns of many Florentines.
- Cosimo preferred to run Florence from behind the scenes. He took office as head of state only three times for a total of six months in thirty years.
- Cosimo was a merchant, banker and manufacturer and so could be relied upon to do what was in the interest of those other merchants, bankers and manufacturers who were the republic's leading citizens.
- Cosimo carried out business transactions all over Europe and beyond.
- Cosimo had correspondents all over the world.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on Burckhardt can earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Cultural leadership is a better explanation of Cosimo's power and influence than politics.
- Cosimo was in effect a prince.
- Cosimo had on his side thinkers, writers and investigators.
- Cosimo recognised the importance of Platonic philosophy and inspiring his friends with it.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Cosimo's power was strengthened by patronage. He bought manuscripts from Vespasiano da Bisticci in Florence and founded libraries (at S. Marco, at the Badia of Fiesole, and his own – now known as the Laurenziana for the church of S. Lorenzo which houses it).
- Cosimo supported scholars of the calibre of Argyropoulis and Marsilio Ficino.
- He took a strong interest in Donatello and Michelozzo (who designed his palace).
- A myth has grown up about Ficino's "Platonic Academy". At Cosimo de' Medici's (later Lorenzo's) Villa Careggi, it was suggested, a community of scholars lived together, and students including the young Michelangelo flocked from Florence to sit at their feet and listen to Neo-Platonic ideas being expounded.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources:

- Some Florentine contemporaries such as Salutati and Bruni described the city as a republic though it is unclear whether they were describing the reality or their aspirations.
- Cosimo inherited a fortune from his father, the banker Giovanni de' Medici, banker to the papacy.
- Cosimo took over the palaces of his rivals and undermined them.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Dale Kent** describes Medici rule as the almost complete triumph of unofficial government in the private interest over constitutional government in the public interest. He does also acknowledge the inclusive nature of the Medici oligarchy: "a single party embraced the state".
- **John Hale** describes Medici control of Florence as a "quiet revolution". He adds that "in spite of the lip service still paid to the ideal of wide representation, the current had long been set in the direction of taut oligarchic control".
- Hale claims the Medici control of Florence's foreign policy was indisputable.
- Hale senses in Cosimo an appreciation of genius in others, an appreciation that was derived from values beyond his own aspirations.
- **Anthony Molho** claims power belonged to Cosimo "not because of force, not because of his control of the electoral processes, but…because he had created a political machine which made it possible to reward those who cooperated with him".

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on Cosimo de' Medici's control of Florence.

Question 3

How fully does Source D describe the contribution of the princely courts to the Italian Renaissance?

(12 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of the contribution of the princely courts to the Italian Renaissance in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The courts of north east Italy contributed very little to the early development of humanist thought and art.
- The princes in these courts acted as important patrons of the arts.
- These princes adopted and forced humanism towards the end of the fifteenth century.
- These principalities became secondary centres of Renaissance activity, in contrast to the city republics, which were primary centres.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Federigo da Montefeltro used the wealth he earned through soldiering to build a magnificent palace in Urbino, employing the skills of the architect Luciano Laurana (1425-79). He was an avid collector of codices and owned 1100 of them. He also commissioned work from Piero dalla Francesca. Piero painted the well-known portraits of Federigo and his wife Battista Sforza, as well as the enigmatic "*Flagellation*" in 1474.
- Vittoriano de Feltre, the humanist rhetorician, was active in Mantua. In 1423 he accepted an invitation from Gianfrancesco Gonzaga to establish a school in Mantua for his sons and those of his principal courtiers. The school was housed in Gianfrancesco's splendid villa "La Giocosa". Vittoriano taught in this school for twenty-two years. He taught the liberal arts.
- Ercole d'Este was Duke of Ferrara from 1471 to 1505. He was little influenced by Florence. Music was a particularly important part of the Ferraran Renaissance.
- Pisanello struck bronze medallions for the Este family.
- There is a delight in nature which is less obvious in the arts of the city republics. Pisanello's "*Vision of S. Eustace*" for example. Francesco del Cossa decorated a room in Ferrara devoted to the months of the year in the Schiffanoia palace.
- There is little evidence of a flowering of humanism in Ferrara in the fifteenth century.
- The Gonzaga family who ruled Mantua were a fine example of Renaissance despots.
- The contribution of these courts to the Renaissance lay in self-promotion and the life of the court. This is a different contribution from the city republics.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the views in the source:

- Federigo de Montefeltro tried to live the ideal of the active and contemplative life.
- The intarsia work in Federigo's studiolo suggests that there was more to Federigo than public show. He adopted a style of life in which he surrounded himself with the arts.
- Castiglione's "*Book of the Courier*" was written about the princely court in Urbino.
- The wealth of both Gonzaga and Montefeltro families was based on their positions as condottiere.
- Art and architecture were used in both Mantua and Urbino to express power, influence and prestige.
- Andrea Mantegna became court artist to Ludovico Gonzaga. In accepting the post he became the first court artist of the Renaissance. He painted the Camera Picta in Mantua in the Marquis' palace in 1474.
- The patronage of artists by Isabella d'Este in Mantua.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Vasari** saw a clear distinction between the art of the princely courts and the arts of the republics.
- **Alison Cole** makes it clear that the civilising arts of peace were only made possible by the prudent conduct of war. She says that the "ideal of courtly recreation in all its diverse forms – intellectual, physical, theatrical, musical – lies in the very heart of Este patronage".
- **Richard Mackenny** describes Federigo de Montefeltro as the equal of Cosimo de' Medici as a patron of the arts and learning.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the contribution to the Italian Renaissance of the princely courts.

Georgians and Jacobites: (Scotland 1715-1800)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent did dissatisfaction with the Treaty of Union cause the 1715 rising?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the extent to which dissatisfaction with the Union caused the Jacobite rising of 1715. The impact of dissatisfaction with the Union should be examined in relation to other contributory factors, thus reaching a balanced conclusion.

Candidate might use evidence such as:

An analysis of the Treaty of Union and its initial impact on the Scottish Economic, including regional variation

- Widespread dissatisfaction amongst Scots whom believed the Union had failed to deliver economic success; eg in 1713 the Scottish peer, the Earl of Findlater, was narrowly defeated in his House of Lords motion to dissolve the Union on the basis of its lack of economic stimulus in Scotland.
- Prevailing adverse economic conditions created anti-Hanoverian sentiment and consequentially support for Jacobitism. This was enthusiastically exploited by Jacobite propaganda.

Regional Variations

- Unlike 1745, the 1715 rising did enjoy support from parts of the lowlands eg the Earls of Panmure and Southesk, yet there is little evidence of Jacobite support in southern Scotland prior to the Union.
- There were important regional variations – especially Glasgow. By 1717 the Glasgow tobacco boom had made the city Britain's largest exporter of tobacco outside London. Whatley notes that the city provided few supporters for the 1715 rising, a fact he links to the economic buoyancy of the area. "Glasgow was the only sizeable place thriving in the politically sensitive year of 1715."
- An anxious Hanoverian remarked "we hear less of Jacobitism in the west country than in other places."

An analysis of the Treaty of Union and its initial impact on Scottish Politics

- The Treaty of Union abolished the Scottish Parliament and Privy Council. Discontented Scottish Peers were forced to compete to gain entry to the House of Lords for 16 seats.
- The Privy Council's decision making function was not replaced, creating a vacuum of leadership in Scotland. Decisions affecting Scots were made in the distant Westminster.
- Some Scottish nobles were further discontented by a lack of Hanoverian patronage, notably the Earl of Mar who, as a direct result, led the rebellion in Scotland.
- Some Tories argued that the constitutional loyalty should return to the 'rightful monarchs', while Prebble states that Whig repression of such Jacobite sympathies was 'foolish and spiteful'.

Other factors linked to the 1715 rising

Long Term Anti-English Sentiment

- Jacobitism benefited from a general anti English feeling.
- 1689-97 William of Orange's war with France, partly paid for by increased Scottish taxes.
- Royal Navy's enforcement of the Navigation Laws caused a decline in illicit Scottish trade with England's American colonies.
- Darien and the lack of English financial and military aid.
- The Alien Act, 1705, threatened significant tariff barriers to English markets.
- English tariffs imposed on Scottish salt, coal and linen in the 1690s.

Religion/Dynasty

- Episcopalian Protestants believed the House of Stuart were the lawful, natural Royal line. Monarchs were appointed by God, and the removal of James II was thus a 'great crime and act of blasphemy against the sacred rights of kingship'.
- James II's Declaration of Indulgence attempted to grant freedom of conscience to people of all faiths. However, the Act of Toleration (1689) excluded Catholics. This and his Catholic faith attracted some support from the Catholic populace.
- A balanced analysis may also note that James's Catholicism dissuaded some Scots from supporting the Jacobite cause. Also, Catholics accounted for only 2% of the population, thus the role of Catholicism has previously been exaggerated by some commentators.

Feudal Loyalty

- The House of Stuart attracted particularly strong loyalty amongst Highland clans, which were remote from government authority and easily motivated. Some Jacobites clans were Catholic, and many more were Episcopalian.
- Some clan chiefs were prepared to rise in 1715 for reasons of local rivalry in opposition to the Hanoverian clans such as the Campbells and House of Sutherland.
- Other were more opportunistic, hoping to choose the winning side. Initially, the Jacobites looked like they would prevail.
- The chief's authority was beyond question – his clan would follow his loyalty, and would be forced to fight alongside him.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Whatley:** "In the immediate post 1707 decade many Scots felt economic promises were broken. In the Jacobite rising of 1715, led by the Earl of Mar, dissatisfaction with the Union had been a highly effective recruiting agent."
- **Devine:** Stresses the impact of the Union as a boon which Jacobite propaganda deployed for their own ends – "Loyalty to the Stuarts had been originally founded on religious and dynastic principles…now the Jacobites could pose as champions of Scottish nationalism and defenders of Scottish liberty."
- **Herman:** Widens the causation of the rising beyond the impact of the Treaty of Union to a general antipathy towards England – "Therefore, it is safe to say that negative attitudes to England won the Jacobites a fair amount of support, and in turn were a cause of the 1715 rebellion."
- **Prebble:** Argues that the Scots were unhappy with the Union and with their relationship with England, though he dismisses the James's Catholicism as anything but a handicap. "Discontent in Scotland was both wide and deep. The 'Fifteen' at its outset seemed to have all the elements of success. The Scots were by now tired of the Union."

Question 2

How important were illegal activities in the rise of the Scottish tobacco trade?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse and assess the reasons for the growth of the Scottish tobacco trade and arrive at a balanced conclusion, based on an evaluation of the importance of fraudulent practice and other key factors.

Ways in which fraudulent practice was important

- Illicit practices pre-existed the Union, enabling the establishment of a small scale industry. Smuggling and fraud were endemic practice from the very beginning of the industry.
- The Union created an unofficial toleration zone for Glasgow merchants, as growing levels of smuggling were ignored which would've been unlikely had Scotland remained apart from English markets.
- 1740s – secret agreement with British customs officials enabling Glasgow companies to send large quantities of tobacco to England duty free.
- It's estimated that under weighing incoming cargoes by custom officers resulted in Scottish merchants paying duty on as little as 2/3rds of the tobacco imported in the 20 years following the Treaty of Union.
- This illegal competitive advantage enabled Glasgow firms to accumulate capital quicker than their rivals, thus allowing investment in new innovations and the establishment of strong relationships with customers.
- The Union also provided legal access to markets previously monopolised by the English, though as Devine and others have pointed out, it did not guarantee success.
- Thus the Union provided a legal framework for the Glasgow tobacco trade, and paradoxically, an illicit context in which it flourished.

Ways in which the effect of fraudulent practices was limited

- Resultant protests from rival ports and government concern resulted in new legislation (1723 and 1751) and the reform of the customs authority resulting in a sharp decline in fraudulent practice.

Other factors which may explain the rise of the tobacco industry

Efficient Business Practices

- Shrewd business methods continually evolved as Glasgow merchants were prepared to invest in them.
- Ship design was altered to enable ships to navigate the shallow coastal waters of Chesapeake combined with an increased familiarity of trade routes by captains to reduce voyage time and freight cost. Resultantly, many Glasgow ships completed two round trips a year, a feat rarely achieved from other ports.
- Faster passages enabled the quicker return of investors' money and thus encouraged further investment.
- 1762 – First dry dock opened in Glasgow, enabling ships to be careened, resulting in quicker, cheaper repair and ultimately more ships being sea worthy at any one time.
- Glasgow tobacco merchants established chains of stores in the colonies along the Potomac, James and Chesapeake rivers, enabling the storage of tobacco prior to the landing of ships.
- Established firms increasingly owned rather than chartered ships, resulting in lowered costs. By 1775 over 90% of the Clyde's tobacco fleet were 'company ships'.
- Glasgow merchants were able to draw credit from newly established banks. They also invested profits into high yielding bonded loans, providing further capital for investment.

Geography

- Some commentators including Whatley have noted the westerly location of Glasgow, well placed for the prevailing trade winds to allow shorter, cheaper voyages than the continent.
- Lowered freight cost created more competitive prices on a product which had arrived several days more quickly from the American colonies.
- However, as Devine has pointed out, Glasgow held little real geographical advantage as although it was closer to the colonies than the English ports such as London and Bristol, they in turn were closer to the European markets of France and Holland.
- Also, Whitehaven on the north west coast of England was a developing centre for the tobacco trade which shared a similar position to Glasgow yet was eclipsed by its rival.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Smout:** "Glasgow found it had to push hard (and smuggle hard) to muscle in on a market occupied for a century by English merchants in near monopoly conditions."
- **Mitchison:** Suggests the avoidance of tax on exports to England continued until the 1760s.
- **Devine:** Argues that while the Union was important in providing a context where growth of the tobacco trade was possible and smuggling played a role, it was business methods which were pivotal – "The Union did not cause growth in the Atlantic trades; it simply provided a context in which growth might or might not take place…the golden age of the tobacco trade was based on efficient business practice rather than clandestine smuggling."
- **Whatley:** Confirms the importance of Glasgow's geological position – "The Clyde was ideally located for ships sailing from the Chesapeake by the safer route the north of Ireland during the war of Jenkin's Ear (1739) and the Austrian Succession (1740). The price difference was considerable."
- **Campbell:** Notes the lag in the growth of the industry following the Treaty of Union, "legality helped…but alone it was not enough, and its benefits were certainly not immediate."
- **Price:** Stresses the vital role of the French market, arguing that the fortunes of the Glasgow merchants dramatically rise as the (French) United General Farms begin purchasing from them rather than English ports in 1730.

Question 3

To what extent were the developments in Scottish agriculture between 1707 and 1800 long-term patterns of change rather than a "revolution"?

The aim of this essay is to assess the nature of agricultural improvement that took place in Scotland between 1715 and 1800. The candidate should consider the evidence of both the rapidity and extent of change, coming to a balanced conclusion. It should be noted that much of the debate is concerned with the existence of agricultural change in the 17th century and its relationship with changes which took place between 1707 and 1800. In addition, the process of change was gradual until the 1740s, after which the pace of change accelerated particularly during the 1760s and 70s.

The candidates might use evidence such as:

Candidates may point to 17th century agricultural development to suggest change between 1707-1800 represented patterns of long term change.

- Pace of change was particularly gradual prior to the 1740s
- Many 18th century changes represented a continuation of earlier patterns beginning in the 17th century – the reduction in the number of multiple tenancies, increasing use of longer, written leases and the expansion of land under cultivation through drainage of marsh and the removal of peat.
- 17th century – Scottish agriculture was already responding to commercialisation – eastern cereal growing areas such as the Lothians, Moray Firth and the Orkneys were exporting to Europe in addition to shipping produce to expanding market opportunities in the west of Scotland.
- Increased yields were already being achieved during the 17th century by liming, manuring and four-crop rotations. Tree planting introduced by some landed gentry.

Reasons for thinking that the changes represented 'revolution'

- Revolution in this context would involve concepts such as a sudden or significant shift in terms of technology or organisation used.
- Examples of change which represented clear progression from previous practice, for example; abandonment of 'paring and burning', as a means to expand the area under cultivation, and the withdrawal of free grazing and run-rig.
- Many 'improvements' had a fundamental impact upon the physical appearance of the land – draining, reforesting, walling etc.
- Establishment of new organisations – 1723 Honourable Society of the improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture and the impact of 'improvers' such as John Cockburn of Ormiston (through some, including Cockburn, went bankrupt).
- Enclosure – present in the 17th century but limited to a few gentry. By the 18th century, although progress was varied, by 1790 69% of farms in Angus, Fife, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire had some enclosure activity, with more than a 1/3rd of them having completed enclosing. However, many irregular undivided fields remained.
- The rising of 'Levellers' who destroyed fences in Galloway in 1724 was so violent it had to be suppressed by military intervention, in addition to low resistance to change amongst tenants. This provides an interesting contemporary view on the nature of agricultural change.
- 1760s as a watershed – newly available bank lending and expanding urban markets are linked to a rapid acceleration of agrarian innovation. New techniques, such as James Small's plough became widespread in the 1760s – as did an intensification of liming resulting in 300% increases in yields in some areas between 1750-1800.
- Rising prices at the end of the century provided further stimulus to landowners to improve.
- Tenants insufficiently committed to improving were removed under 'improving' leases, resulting in the complete dislocation of traditional life-styles.
- Planned villages, such as Inveraray, represented real economic and social reconstruction. Although construction was gradual during the 18th century, there was a tendency of these 'colonies' to house only 'suitable' tenants – Whatley labels 'social selection'.

Regional variation

- Enormous variation between regions, neighbouring estates and even within estates. No single pattern of improvement.
- Highlands – replacement of the traditional agricultural as cash rents, rather than payment in kind, were paid directly to landlords. Prohibition of hand querns as tenants were obligated to take grain to estate mills for grinding. Clearance and the introduction of the black face sheep.
- Dairy and fruit common in Ayrshire and Clydesdale – Lothians and Fife specialised in barley.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Lynch:** maintains that agricultural change was gradual to the point that it formed a significant barrier to general economic development – "Agriculture was undoubtedly the most important bottleneck which had to be passed through before general economic growth could establish itself."
- **Smout:** Emphasises the scale of change in some areas of Scotland which he points out compared favourably to the continent – "the farming system in many parts of Scotland became the envy of Europe"
- **Whatley:** "To a large extent Lowland agriculture developed along lines established in the seventeenth century. The effects of some ambitious landowners notwithstanding, the period prior to 1760 was not one of significant rural reorganisation, and changes in farming systems proceeded slowly."
- **Devine:** presents a similar assessment of agricultural development prior to the acceleration of improvement in the second half of the eighteenth century. "…in most areas, outside the progressive south eastern countries the landscape had hardly changed at all. Enclosure had made little progress…and the 'improved' agricultural methods were rarely practised."

Question 4

How valid is the view that "the Kirk played a fundamental role in the lives of Scots during the 18th century"?

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to examine the impact the Kirk had upon the lives of ordinary Scots. A thorough analysis of the Kirk's social, educational and judicial roles should be used as key areas of church activity. Credit should also be awarded for the analysis of the changing role of the church as the century progressed. The conclusion will be a balanced assessment of the evidence presented.

The candidates might use evidence such as:

Points which might suggest that Kirk had a fundamental role in Scots' lives

Justice

- By 1750 Kirk Ministers were established in all Scottish parishes apart from the Western Isles, supported by a well organised infrastructure of elders.
- Lack of religious dissent in comparison with England enabled Kirk to control the population. For example, Kirk Sessions issued good behaviour reports under the testificat system. This testificat was required as proof of high moral behaviour before adults could move from one parish to the next. Kirk judicial function, upheld Calvinist belief in 'godly discipline' – tried both religious and civil offences ranging from adultery to theft.
- Most common cases concerned sexual sin including 'improper marriages' and illegitimacy.
- Convictions of paternity resulted in payment to support children for a number of years.
- Other penalties included public appearances in front of the congregation in sackcloth and fines.

Education

- Book of Discipline placed education at the heart of the Calvinist religious tradition – the curriculum was based upon the Bible and religious instruction, reinforcing the religious ethos of the wider community.
- 1696 – Parliament passed an Act backed by the Kirk which taxed heritors to pay for parish schools – the minister or clerk of the session was often also the teacher. By the 1790s the programme of establishing a school in each parish was virtually complete, charging nominal fees to maximise the number of pupils who could attend.
- Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge established 176 schools in the Highlands by 1758.

Provision for the poor

- Half of collection went to support the poor.
- Parishes provided pensions for the elderly, schooled and housed orphans, provided some support for poor University students and contributed towards some medical costs.
- Provision was made for the burial and wake of paupers.
- 1790s – some parishes subsidised food prices during a period of particularly fast price increases.

Points which may suggest the Kirk had a lessened role upon Scots' lives

Justice

- The landed classes were always largely outside the authority of the church's judiciary, generally escaping through a contribution to the poor fund. In addition, army officers and vagrants were also exempt as they did not reside in any one parish.
- 1707 – Presbyterian Form of Process – only sins which were outwardly manifested could be tried, rather than inward sin of thought such as greed or pride.
- Power of the testificat declined as Scots increasingly migrated to towns or emigrated to America in the second half of the 18th century.
- After 1712 the civil authorities no longer supported the Kirk's disciplinary measures such as 'lesser excommunication'.
- Also in 1712, the Toleration Act allowed the Episcopalian Church to hold its own services further diluting the power of Kirk's judiciary.
- Impact of the 1712 Patronage Act – from the 1730s onwards proliferation of dissenting churches weakened the power of the Kirk.
- Some dissenting churches, such as the Relief Church, stressed the commitment of individual Christians rather than the observance of traditional Kirk moral values.
- Declining power of the Kirk sessions – increasing use of fines rather than public appearances, previously largely the preserve of the landed and professional classes.
- The Kirk session was the lowest court in the land – more serious offences were referred to the civil authorities.

Education

- The Kirk did not have a monopoly over education – after 1750 increasing migration between parishes led to an inability of parish schools to cope with demand and the growth of private schools.
- Burghs controlled schooling in urban areas. 'English' and grammar schools were less focused on Bible based curriculums.
- Town academies, established in the 1760s onwards, were focused upon 'modern' vocational subjects such as Maths and Science.

Provision for the poor

- Expansion of the 18th century Poor Law – increased burden paid for by taxing landowners and their tenants.
- 'Civil humanism' of the gentry – in years of crisis, such as 1740, landlords provided gifts of fuel and food.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Smout:** Argues that the church was the dominant influence in Scottish society – the Kirk commanded a "deep respect and exercised a profound power" over most Scots' daily lives.
- **Herman:** Stresses the educational role of the church which ensured Scotland became Europe's first literate society. "One thing is certain: Scotland's literacy rate would be higher than that of any other country by the end of the eighteenth century."
- **Devine:** points out that despite its power, the Puritanism of the Kirk was ineffectual in preventing the flourishing of a "rich, bawdy tradition (in which)…New Year and Shrove Tuesday offered plentiful opportunities for heavy drinking and fornication."
- **Whatley:** notes the pervasive extent of social control exercised by the church, stating that in well organised parishes households could expect a visit by an elder at least once a year to determine the religiosity of the household. "There were limits to godliness, but even so the church did continue thereafter to have a powerful effect on cultural life."

Question 5

How elitist was the Enlightenment?

The aim of this essay is for candidates to ascertain the extent to which the impact of the Enlightenment was felt beyond the confines of the great figures of the movement, using evidence from wider Scottish society and beyond to come to a balanced conclusion. Better candidates should draw from all aspects of the Enlightenment, and in particular should refer to the relationship between a relatively small number of intellectual thinkers and the wider practical application of ideals based on toleration, improvement and reason.

The candidates might use evidence such as:

Points which suggest the Enlightenment was elitist

- At its core, the Enlightenment was the product of creative thinking by a small number of intellectuals, self styled 'literati', many of whom were either urban middle class or aristocratic.
- The 'great men' of the Enlightenment were often university professors, lawyers or church ministers, living in the relatively closed society of Edinburgh's private clubs. David Hume was the most notable example, he was also the son of a landed laird.
- Learned dynasties emerged in discipline including maths and medicine as sons succeeded fathers in the same or related university chairs.
- 18th century Scottish intellectuals were dependent on finance and social approval of the landed classes.
- Important areas of advancement, such as art and architecture, remained the preserve of the social elite. Both portrait and landscape artists, heavily influenced by classicism, benefited from the patronage of the gentry allowing them to visit Italy and France. Notable artists included Henry Raeburn and Allan Ramsay. Even Burns' poetry benefited from the patronage of the gentry.
- Foremost amongst the many great architects of the Enlightenment were William and Robert Adam. The spectacular combining of neo-classicist architecture and town planning, famously seen in Edinburgh's New Town, created an exclusive urban environment for the wealthy.
- Many of the great houses of the landed aristocracy, such as Hopetoun, were built or re-built during this period.
- Numerous other key individuals benefited from the approval and association of the social elite – for example Adam Smith resigned his chair at Glasgow University to become tutor and companion to the Duke of Buccleuch.
- By their nature some of the key areas of advance, such as Hutcheson and Hume's pioneering philosophy, are associated with academia, intellectualism and arguably elitism. It should be noted, however, that philosophy's basis upon morals could be used to argue that the great philosophers were thus interested in all of society, dominated as it was by moral considerations.
- Close association with the landed classes underlined by an absence of social comment regarding privilege and property in stark contrast to Hume's attack on religion or Smith's critique of mercantile economics.

Points which may suggest the Enlightenment was not elitist

- Breadth of disciplines which experienced significant development – education, philosophy, literature, art, architecture, science and economic.
- Broad acceptance of these ideas was achieved through a wide diffusion throughout the educated classes through analysis in the press, journals and church sermons.
- Application of Enlightenment ideals of reason and order to agriculture and industry contributed generally to new efficiencies gained in both the agrarian and industrial revolutions, and so ultimately to economic growth.
- Key figures, such as Adam Smith, based their theories on practical experience – in Smith's case the Wealth of Nations was based on the commercial activity he observed in Scotland. Lord Kames combined philosophy with agrarian improvement in The Gentlemen Farmer. **Devine** notes this relationship between theory and practice ensured the dissemination of key ideas.
- Application of scientific advances to technology and thus industry. 18th century Scottish scientists such as Joseph Black and James Watt were applied scientists who developed practical application from research and teaching.
- Similarly, medical advances through scientific discovery can be argued to benefit the wider population, though medical treatment remained the preserve of those who could pay.
- Agriculture revolution influenced by 'rational improvement', the belief of human intervention in the natural world through the practical innovation of enclosure and new crops.
- Enlightenment architecture was not confined to grand housing for the rich – numerous planned model estate villages were contracted across Scotland.
- Strengthening resistance to Calvinist intolerance prevalent at the end of the 17th century through the fundamental belief in reason benefited the wider population.
- Literature – egalitarian theme of much of Robert Burns' work stands at odds with concepts of elitism, written in Scots, the language of the Ayrshire peasant society to which he belonged. Hogg and Thomas Telford came from similarly modest backgrounds.
- Position of education as a national institution was reinforced as schools and Universities became increasingly focused upon applied arts, social sciences and science teaching.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Devine:** "The Scottish Enlightenment was much more than a period of unparalleled creativity by a small number of 'great men'… Nor was reason confined to the lecture theatre or the scholarly textbook. It affected all aspects of human behaviour."
- **Smout:** Argues that the Enlightenment had a close relationship with the elite landed classes of Scotland, who acted as key patrons rather than featuring as the actual great minds. "It was surely one of the necessary preconditions for the cultural golden age that the landed classes should be its friendly patrons, even if they could not be its finest participants." These great minds, he goes on to describe as being "in the great majority" from the professional middle classes.
- **Prebble:** Uses the construction of the New Town as a metaphor for the elitism inherent in the Enlightenment. "the bed of the Nor' Loch became a class gulf. Rank and privilege, profession and trade paraded their manners on George Street and Princess Street, and the tall lands they had left became the homes of the diseased and poor.
- **Mackie:** Confirms the importance of patronage from the elite of Scots' society to the great minds of the movement – "patronage (from the gentry) gave a livelihood to men of learning."
- **Broadie:** Argues that the terminology used by the great minds of the European Enlightenment of the 18th century was that of self congratulatory – the thinkers believed it was they rather than the wider population had become enlightened.

Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715-1800)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of attitudes at the time towards the Highland clearances of the late 18th century?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence for investigating the Highland clearance in the late 18th century.

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include reference to:

- Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster was a famously progressive Highland landowner – an agriculturist and Improver who wrote profusely on the improvement of Highland estates. He also sponsored and organised the Statistical Account of Scotland.
- 'Agricultural Sir John' was also MP for Caithness, founder of the Society for the Improvement of British Wool and the first President of the Board of Agriculture.
- The purpose of his *General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties and Islands of Scotland*, a contemporary source written during the process of clearance, was to describe the advantages of improvement to encourage other landowners and for the consideration of the Board of Agriculture.
- Sir John Sinclair also promoted other forms of employment including fishing and weaving, arguing for a joint stock company to prevent emigration and establish industry in the Highlands.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The crux of the clearance debate is focused upon the responsibility of the landlords and the necessity of clearance. **Source A** challenges the simplistic interpretation of aristocrat versus the community.
- Criticises the conversion from cattle to sheep farming, and the resultant clearing of the indigenous population, warning of the limited employment opportunities for the Highlanders in the running of sheep farms.
- Offers an alternative method of developing agricultural land use in the Highlands. Rather than the exclusive rearing of sheep, Sinclair states sheep could be a *component* of the Highland economy.
- Rejects any notion of clearance – states as many Highlanders as possible should be retained on the land, and that they should gradually exchange their cattle for sheep thus enabling the preservation of Highland farms.
  *Note – the source never uses the word '**clearance**', which only came into common use in the mid nineteenth century.*

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Cheviot sheep, the 'four-footed clansmen', arrived and thrived in the Highlands from the early 1780s, despite the prevailing wisdom amongst indigenous Highlanders that they wouldn't survive Highland winters.
- Sinclair was a particularly paternalistic landlord. His numerous books and journals argued that small farmers should be persuaded to combine their capital and holdings, to hire native shepherds and small flocks of sheep. He also stated that rents should be taken in kind in mutton and wool.
- There were other like minded landlords such as the Duke of Argyll who also opposed clearance. However, some Highland landowners ignored these sentiments, instead adopting sheep farming and clearance as commercial landlords, largely due to indebted estates and the increasing profitability of sheep rearing.
- Typical was Sir George MacKenzie of Coul, who argued for the necessity of clearance and the mass introduction of flocks of Cheviots in his *General View of the Agriculture of Ross and Cromarty*.
- A high quality analysis may note the irony inherent in **Source A**. Although Sinclair imported sheep into the Highlands to benefit his people, his example was followed by other landlords who did not share his empathy towards the indigenous Highlanders. Thus, the process of clearance may have been inadvertently contributed to by Sinclair.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of those in the source:

- Long-term change in the use of Highland land predates the source by at least a hundred years. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the traditional system of tenure was under significant strain. Famine was a continual threat as unproductive methods allowed for only subsistence agricultural.
- Jacobite defeat at Culloden accelerated change. The destruction of clan society and the transformation of chiefs to commercial landlords led to a wave of voluntary emigration in the 1760s.
- 'Clearance' as a process of dispossession was not only as a result of large sheep farms. The establishment of crofts displaced established communities, while many small tenants gave up their land due to spiraling rents, endemic poverty, lack of local opportunities and various 'pull factors' from abroad.
- Lowland and Northumbrian sheep farmers were eager to lease Highland estates, providing an instant and profitable solution to indebted estates, while allowing landlords to remain absentee.
- The regional variation of the Highlands is an important consideration. The expansion of sheep farming *was* incompatible with traditional Highland husbandry, and required a fundamental change in land tenure in some parts of the Highlands in the late eighteenth century. However, as **Smout** has noted, the pattern was not uniform. For example, there is little evidence of clearance due to the import of sheep in the Western Isles until as late as the mid nineteenth century.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Prebble:** Although a harsh critic of Highland landlords, he acknowledges the importance of Sir John Sinclair as amongst the most important Highland Improvers, describing him as "the most intelligent and progressive landowner in Caithness." According to Prebble, Sinclair "was probably the only Scot of his age who used the word 'Improvement' objectively. Moreover, he states that had more landowners copied his example, "half a century of evictions, burnings, riots and exile… might have been avoided."
- **Smout:** Notes that there were a number of landowners who attempted to provide employment and housing for their dispossessed tenants during the latter part of the eighteenth century by building new villages, such as Ullapool, Beauly and Grantown. However, he also acknowledges that many other Highland landowners were concerned largely with profit, being "both greedy and short-sighted."
- **Devine:** Underlines the incompatibility of traditional Highland society and large-scale sheep farming. He also outlines the advance of the 'big sheep'. In 1750 there were almost no Highland farms, yet 50 years later they were widespread in Argyll, Mull, Skye, Ross and the far north.
- **Steel:** Confirms the paternalistic role of a number of Highland landlords, and in particular, the Duke of Argyll, who housed an expanding population in the model town of Inveraray and provided employment by developing the kelp and herring industries.
- **Richards:** Warns that the term 'Highland Clearance' lends itself to an over simplification of a process which lasted over a hundred years, and encapsulates a wide diversity of agricultural change and landowner's attitudes.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful as evidence for investigating the Highland clearances in the late 18th century.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views on the measures taken to stabilise the Highlands in the aftermath of Jacobite defeat at Culloden?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** on the impact of the measures, the reasons for them and their effectiveness, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

Accurate comment on Bishop Robert Forbes, a committed Jacobite and minister to the Episcopal congregation at Leith who was imprisoned at Stirling Castle during the rising.

His motivation for writing 'The Lyon in Mourning' due to Hanoverian persecution of Episcopalian Ministers who refused to swear allegiance to George III, and the severity of government troop reprisals in the Highlands. Despite obvious bias, recognised as one of the best records of the Jacobites rising of 1745.

Points from the source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Indiscriminate murder of unarmed civilians
- Abuse of prisoners
- Summary executions
- Degradation of corpses

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Hanoverian troops arrested, killed, raped and intimidated Highlanders often with little care to prove their Jacobite tendencies or otherwise.
- Most Jacobite prisoners were taken to barges for transportation to London for trial. Treated brutally, 88 died of neglect before being tried.
- Brutal punishments enacted under martial law being immediately after Culloden – Hanoverian soldiers ordered to kill all wounded left on the battlefield. More akin to revenge than justice.
- Although 120 executions appears comparatively small, a further 684 Jacobites perished in unknown circumstances in the aftermath of the battle.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit.

Points from the source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Treatment of the Jacobites "not unduly harsh."
- Government action guided by the failure of the more moderate policies following the 1715 rebellion.
- Over a third of all prisoners captured were released.
- Contemporary government ministers concerned with outcome of policies – successful in achieving objective.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- In 1715 many Jacobite leaders were released after temporary imprisonment. The 1716 Disarming Act was barely enforced.
- In 1745 936 Jacobites were sentenced to transportation (the majority to indentured employment), 91 were sentenced to death at Carlisle and 71 at York though many were ultimately reprieved. Ultimately, 120 Jacobites were executed.
- Some candidates may question how many of the 1,287 prisoners were erroneously arrested without evidence of Jacobites' sympathy in 1745.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources:

- Widespread property damage – homes of clans folk burned, cattle killed, estates of Jacobite leaders plundered represented an extension of Cumberland's initial reprisals.
- 41 estates were seized by the crown.
- 1747 Abolition of Heritable Jurisdiction – removed clan chiefs right to hold private courts, though Devine argues the impact of this legislation was not significant as the military measures were already becoming obsolete.
- Disarming Acts after the 1745 rising rigorously enforced by patrols of detachments based in hill bothies – banned the carrying of weapons, playing of the bagpipes and wearing of tartan. Sentences for the guilty were transportation or execution.
- Act to suppress Non-juring Episcopalian meeting houses.
- Garrisoning of the Highlands and the building of Fort George, expansion of Fort Augustus and the consolidation of Wade's roads.
- Personal disposition of Cumberland, and his successor the Earl of Albemarle – "Nothing but fire and sword can cure their cursed, vicious ways of thinking."

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Devine:** The missed opportunity through leniency following 1715 wasn't repeated – "Cumberland's explicit intention was to teach the people a lesson they would never forget."
- **Mackie:** states Charles' supporters paid heavily for their loyalty by underlining the resulting persecution of Episcopalians and the forfeiture of 'traitors' land.
- **Prebble:** describes an inexorable policy of repression manifesting itself in the "sustained terrorisation of highlanders…the structure of the clan system was torn down and left to its inevitable decay."
- **Macinnes:** Government policies amounted to "systematic state terrorism."
- **Lynch:** provides a different interpretation "a programme of calculated social engineering."
- **Davidson:** describes the atrocities following the Jacobites' defeat. "The atrocities committed by Cumberland's men in the weeks immediately after the battle of Culloden included the summary executions of countless fugitives."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the impact of government policy in the Highlands in the aftermath of Jacobite defeat at Culloden.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the methods used by Henry Dundas to manage Scotland on behalf of the government?

(12 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.
The remaining mark will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views that the candidate provides in their overall interpretation of the source's fullness in explaining/analysing the issue.

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate explanation of what the methods used by Henry Dundas to manage Scotland were, how effective they were and how he used them in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Controlling the Scottish electoral system
- Use of direct patronage – appointments to government
- Local networking
- Maximised his loyal supporters in the House of Commons.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- His position as keeper of the Signet was only one of a number of pivotal positions held by Dundas. He had been appointed Solicitor General in 1766 and Lord Advocate in 1775, both positions providing legal, political and administrative opportunities to expand his power of patronage.
- His appointment as Commissioner of the Board of Control (1784) then President (1793) of the Dutch East India company gave him access to vast patronage opportunities for Scots to benefit from Asian trading opportunities.
- Dundas served many political masters – in 1782-3 he was a member of 3 different governments.
- His meteoric rise resulted in the nickname "King Harry the 9th", in 1780 Dundas controlled 12 of 41 Scottish constituencies, by 1784 22 and by 1790 34.
- Many middling and lesser landowners were denied the vote, as it was often feudal superiors rather than owners who were enfranchised. In 1788 the 30 country MPs were elected by 2,662 voters. Thus Dundas had relatively few interests groups to establish relationships with.
- Burgh electorates were confined to a similarly small electorate – Edinburgh's electorate numbered 33. Again, burgh elections were characterised by widespread corruption.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the source:

- Candidates may comment upon the endemic corruption within Scottish politics, such as the creation of 'parchment barons' which lent itself to 'management', the technique of sourcing and distributing patronage, as used by the Earl of Islay prior to the ascendancy of Dundas.
- For example the splitting of superiorities by landowners creating 'faggot' votes and pocket counties which they controlled, eg Sutherland, Buccleuch and Argyll.
- Dundas secured further power through his close relationship with Pitt the Younger. This relationship greatly increased his power of patronage still further. By 1800 Scotland had obtained more than a quarter of all state pensions and a third of government sinecures whilst accounting for only a sixth of England's population.
- This success ultimately caused a backlash in England against the volume of patronage enjoyed by 'greedy Scots.'
- Dundas's methods were not universally popular – he was unswervingly opposed to reform during Parliamentary debate for fear of sacrificing his own position, resulting in part with the burning of "Old Corruption" – Dundas's effigies, and stoning of his house during the King's birthday celebration in 1792.
- Henry Cockburn labelled Dundas "the absolute dictator of Scotland whom had the means of rewarding submission and of suppressing opposition beyond what were ever exercised in modern times by one person in any part of the Empire." "Zeno", the campaign for reform by liberal advocates was also ignored by Dundas.
- In response to the revolutionary era of the late 1790s Dundas cracked down upon political reformers, suspending Wrongous Imprisonment, and thus increasing his popularity amongst the electorate. Resultantly, in 1796, his control over parliamentary and burgh seats reached its peak.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Devine:** Points out that Dundas's method of patronage had an important multiplier effect upon wider Scottish society. Opportunities to gain patronage attracted increasing numbers of Scottish applicants allowing Dundas to select on the basis of talent and potential.
- **Herman:** "In good times his political machine had kept Scotland on an even keel. In bad times it provoked hostility and frustration. And the 1790s were bad times."
- **Prebble:** Suggests Dundas was able to secure favour amongst not only the aristocracy but also the emerging middle classes, gaining "the unqualified support of most of the landed gentry and middle classes, and were well served by agents and informers."
- **Smout:** Notes that the influence of Dundas, "the past master of gentlemanly management" extended beyond politics and business to church preferment.
- **Mackie:** Argues the methods Dundas used to manage politics were not for his own personal advantage, but rather his objective was to gratify his friends and further what he considered to be the interests of Scotland. Mackie also argues that while there was some discontent during the 'Dundas Despotism', this label can be misleading as "the most influential part of Scotland approved of what he did."
- **Lynch:** Dundas's reputation as the supreme manipulator of patronage in a corrupt electoral system is an oversimplification. Appointments lubricated the politics, but were not guaranteed. He was the patronage broker for jobs in the church, universities, and government both in Scotland and the wider Empire.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the methods used by Henry Dundas to manage Scotland.

"The House Divided": The USA (1850-1865)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How justified is the claim that slavery was a "benign" institution in the ante-bellum South?

The aim of the essay is to enable the candidate to make an assessment of slave conditions in the ante-bellum South. The candidates may draw on the historiographical debate to assess the nature of slavery as a benign institution.

The candidate might use such evidence as:

Benign View

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

Harsh View

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

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Phillips:** Apologist for slavery: protect Blacks from American savagery. Treatment of slaves governed by high, gentlemanly code – a form of benign authoritarianism. Slaves were content with their lot. Relationship between slave and owner was marked by 'gentleness, kind-hearted friendship and mutual loyalty.'
- **Stampp:** Cruelty was endemic in all slave-holding communities. Fear among slaves of being sold on by their master. Slave unhappiness as shown by acts of resistance and sabotage, but not open rebellion. The typical plantation was an area of persistent conflict between master and slave.
- **Elkins:** Slaves were dependent on the mood of an authoritarian master.
- **Fogel and Engerman:** Slave accommodation and standard of living was superior to that of free Americans living in New York in 1893. Slaves were controlled with minimal force; whippings have been exaggerated: only 0.7% of hands per year.
- **David:** Lack of hard evidence led Fogel and Engerman to speculate and over generalise eg stats related to slave whippings.
- **Gutman and Sutch:** Critique of Fogel and Engerman's methodology eg rewards do not equal wages; whipping was just one of a range of punishments open to overseer/master.

Question 2

How accurate is it to attribute the main cause of the Civil War to a "blundering generation"?

The aim of the essay is to allow the candidate to explore the issue of the 'blundering generation' and assess its importance as one of several causes of the Civil War. The candidate would be expected to analyse the role of the 'blundering generation' as part of the long term factors leading to civil war and assess their role in exacerbating the difficulties that were already present in the ante-bellum period.

An essay that simply describes the 'blundering generation' and their actions is not answering the question and should be marked accordingly.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

'Blundering Generation'

- Identify the origin of the quote/argument – from James Randall's 1940 paper 'A Blundering Generation.' Part of the revisionist school of historians.
- Zachary Taylor – prevented compromise during the 1850 crisis.
- Franklin Pierce – reignited the dispute in 1852 with the Cuban Fiasco, Ostend Manifesto and the Gadsden Purchase. Theory of a 'slave power conspiracy' emerges in the North as a consequence.
- Stephen Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Act 1854 led to the downfall of the Whigs, emergence of the Republican Party and 'Bleeding Kansas'.
- James Buchanan's adoption of the fraudulent pro-slavery Lecompton constitution and inept leadership furthered the divide.
- Lincoln accused of engineering a conflict in his handling of the crisis at Fort Sumter. Debates with Douglas in 1858 led to widespread fear in the South regarding Northern attitudes to slavery.
- Role of the Abolitionists and the fire-eaters.

Alternative Causes of the Civil War

Economic

- Sectionalism – economic, social and ideological divisions were apparent from the outset.
- Disputes over tariff legislation.
- Economic disagreements over funding of internal improvements.

Slavery

- Issue of slavery and more importantly slavery expansion.
- Northern perception of a 'slave-power' conspiracy.
- Seward's doctrine of an 'irrepressible conflict'.
- Abolitionist activity and anti-slavery opinion.
- The role of Abolitionists exacerbating the fears in the South.
- Impact of John Brown's raid – struck a sensitive nerve in the Southern psyche.

Politics/Constitution

- The breakdown of the two-party national political system.
- The emergence of the Republicans as a sectional political party.
- Splits within the Democratic Party.
- Southern fears of becoming a minority within the federal union.
- Southern press hostile to all northern actions eg portrayal of Republicans as the party of the black, which would encourage social and racial chaos.
- Lincoln portrayed as a direct threat to the social/economic status of the South, and this justified immediate secession if he were to be elected.
- Political disagreements over the future nature of the American republic.
- Doctrine of states' rights.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Randall:** revisionist historian – leading proponent of the 'blundering generation' thesis.
- **Charles and Mary Beard:** have argued that economic divergence between the North and the South led to tensions culminating in war.
- **Rhodes:** Slavery was the sole cause of the Civil War.
- **Stampp:** Slavery was the prime cause of the Civil War.
- **Craven:** War was the result of the irresponsible actions of the Abolitionists.
- **Foner:** the ideology of the Republican Party was at odds with Southern values.
- **Nevins:** the moral issues associated with slavery was the catalyst for civil war.
- **Davis:** The South seceded in defence of states' rights. The Republican Party had engineered war to further their political and economic domination over the South.
- **Frank Owsley:** would agree, noting that a Northern long-term conspiracy aimed to undermine Southern agrarian values.

Question 3

To what extent were Southern economic problems during the Civil War the result of mismanagement by the Confederate Government?

The aim of the essay is to allow the candidate to analyse the Southern economic problems during the Civil War and assess the importance of the Confederate Government's policies as one of several reasons for the difficulties the Southern States faced in financing the war effort.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Confederate mismanagement

- Failed to develop an appropriate taxation policy as a means of raising revenue.
- Loans resulted in massive debt eg Erlanger Loan, January 1863.
- Paper money resulted in massive inflation.
- Attempts to fix prices added to inflation.
- Confederate bonds had limited success.
- Informal embargo on cotton exports resulted in stockpiles of cotton which may have been an invaluable source of income at the start of the war.
- Failure to supervise the railroads meant supplies often failed to reach troops.
- Impressment Act, March 1863 and Taxation-In-Kind-Act, April 1863 were unpopular and caused resentment.
- Many of the successful initiatives were arguably achieved by private enterprise rather than the Confederate Government eg Tredegar Iron Works, Richmond.

Alternative explanations for Southern Economic Problems

Problems from the outset

- The South was overwhelming rural and dependent on cotton.
- Limited industry and urbanisation in the South.
- Problems of moving from cotton cultivation to food cultivation.
- The Confederacy had few gold reserves – most of its wealth was in land and slaves.
- Collecting taxation had been a state power. It was difficult to initiate national taxation given southern traditions. High and direct taxes would have been resented and counter-productive.
- Unlikely that a fully comprehensive fiscal programme could have been established in 1861/ 62.

Union advantages and initiatives

- Union naval blockade prevented the South selling cotton.
- Union naval blockade led to shortages of basic commodities.
- Manufacturing production was x12 greater in the North.
- Crucial raw materials were steadily lost to Union forces.
- Counterfeiting was encouraged by Union forces and contributed to inflation.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Douglas Ball:** The Confederacy's greatest failure was in the area of finance. Memminger was solely responsible for this failure. Misguided fiscal policies were a major cause of Southern defeat.
- **Donald, Baker and Holt:** Memminger mismanaged the Treasury Department. He failed to distribute funds efficiently, leaving the army unpaid and without food, clothing and shelter. He failed to raise sufficient revenue for the war effort, forcing the Confederacy into debt. He failed to persuade the Southern people of the importance of making sacrifices for the war effort.
- **Parish:** The Southern people could not adapt quickly or efficiently enough to the new ways thrust upon them. Despite the upheavals of war, the Confederacy remained a predominantly rural and agricultural society.
- **McPherson:** Southern wartime taxation exacerbated class tensions and caused growing alienation of the white lower classes from the Confederate cause.
- **Thomas:** Ante-bellum agrarian inertia proved a formidable obstacle for the South during the Civil War. Transformation of the Southern political economy was a temporary response to the demands of the war.
- **Ashworth:** The war years were ones of increasingly severe economic dislocation and for most of the Southern white citizens, one of severe economic hardship. Southern Capitalism was damaged by the war.

Question 4

To what extent has Robert E. Lee's reputation as a great military commander been exaggerated?

The aim of the essay is to enable the candidate to evaluate the relative ability of Robert E. Lee as a general within the civil war period. Candidates may choose to define their assessment criteria which may cover areas such as victories, tactics, personality, man-management, resources and strength of the opposition. Reference may be made to other civil war generals to evaluate Lee as a military commander.

NB An essay that just describes battles which Lee fought in is not answering the question and should be marked accordingly.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Exaggerated reputation

- Lee's strategic vision was limited. He did not have the overall strategic vision as demonstrated by Grant.
- Focused excessively on the defence of the Virginian theatre.
- Neglected the Western theatre, therefore the Confederacy lost the west and consequently the war.
- Lee took the fight to the North, making costly attacks and losing key military figures.
- A guerrilla war has been argued as a more effective war measure.
- Lee nicknamed 'Granny Lee' or 'King of Spades' for his defensive earth works.
- Lee demonstrated several weaknesses in his command that resulted in disastrous attacks eg Pickett's Charge.
- His tactics were dated – he struggled to take advantage of new technologies eg minie-ball rifle.
- Lee failed to give clear directions to his subordinates.
- Feuding in the Confederate Army.
- Theory that early success was due to Stonewall Jackson and after his death, Lee was not so good.

Defence of Lee's reputation

- Lee defended a less well armed and less populated Confederacy from Union attacks for four years.
- Despite being outnumbered in every major battle and campaign which he fought, Lee won many crucial victories.
- Victories boosted Southern morale.
- Without Lee, the Confederacy would have collapsed earlier.
- Lee's offensive strategy almost brought outright Confederate victory.
- Lee displayed great ability in a defensive campaign also eg 7 days battle of 1862.
- Other generals who adopted a total defence strategy were disastrous eg Joe Johnson.
- Lee forced many Union commanders to retreat despite their superior numbers eg McClellan from the Potomac or the Wilderness Campaign.
- Skilled and brave tactician eg splitting his armed forces to great effect at 2nd Manassas.
- Lee had excellent relations with both military generals and Confederate political leaders.
- Lee's dignified surrender and refusal to blame impressed.
- Lee realised that the defence of Virginia, the industrial heartland of the Confederacy was crucial.
- Lee made excellent use of economic and geographical resources.
- Lee made excellent use of the Confederacy's interior lines of communication.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Fuller:** Lee lacked overall strategic intelligence.
- **McWhinney:** Lee was too attack minded.
- **McWhinney and Jamieson:** the confederacy bled itself to death in the first three years of the war by making costly attacks. Confederacy lost 97,000 men, compared to 20,000 Union troops in 8 of the first 12 battles.
- **Douglas Southall Freeman:** Lee hesitated to give direct orders to subordinate commanders, preferring to suggest actions rather than to demand them.
- **Bevin:** Lee never understood the revolution that the minie-ball rifle had brought to the battle, however Stonewall Jackson and James Longstreet did.
- **McPherson:** Of all the Confederate commanders, Lee was the only one whose victories had some potential for winning the war.
- **Bevin:** Although Lee did not want to fight a defensive war, he was in fact more gifted in conducting one than he was fighting offensively.
- **Connelly:** Lee was 'a hero for the nation…who represented all that was good and noble.'

Question 5

To what extent was European neutrality during the Civil War a result of Northern diplomatic skill?

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

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Northern diplomatic skill

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

Alternative arguments for foreign neutrality

Popular opinion in Europe

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

Self-interest of European powers

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

Impact of military events

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

Economic factors

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

Failure of Southern diplomacy

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

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Graebner:** key role Seward played in preventing foreign recognition.
- **Paludan:** Seward waved the sword in 1861 as a diplomatic threat. Trent affair scared both Britain and the North and both sought to retain dialogue in preference to war.
- **Thomas:** role of C.F. Adams in London and W.L. Drayton in Paris ensured good US relations in Europe. Emancipation introduced a moral dimension which could not be ignored. Confederacy hopes depended on success of its armies. Lack of success prevented European recognition which was essential if Southern armies were to succeed. It was a vicious diplomatic circle.
- **Owsley:** Britain pursued policy for her own ends.
- **Rowland:** South created the wrong type of pressure at the wrong time and applied it in the wrong way.
- **Crook:** diplomatic considerations directed British policy.
- **Boaz:** South only needed to withhold cotton to force British/French intervention. US blockade declaration allowed Britain to declare its neutrality and trade with both sides.
- **Holden Reid:** South's belief in the power of King Cotton deluded her into believing foreign intervention would come. France would not act unilaterally. She would only follow Britain's lead. Britain desired to avoid confrontation and this explains why the conflict did not spread.

"The House Divided": The USA (1850-1865)

Part 2
Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the motives that encouraged people to fight for the Confederacy?

(12 marks)

The candidate may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support the evaluation with comment from the source.

The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, which the candidate provides in their overall interpretation of the source's fullness in explaining/analysing the issue.

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source A** as an explanation of the motives which encouraged people to fight for the Confederacy.

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Southerners united by the threat that a Republican government posed to them.
- Southerners fought to defend the institution of slavery and resist the abolitionist threat from the North.
- Southerners united in a defence of the Southern way of life. They fought to protect state autonomy.
- Forcing the Yankees to recognise their rights and also their status.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The election of Lincoln as President in 1860 and the dominance of the Republicans in Federal Government terrified Southerners as they were perceived as abolitionist and a real threat to the South.
- Resist perceived Northern oppression.
- The South felt they had no political representation in Federal Government given that the Republicans represented Northern values and had received no support in the South.
- John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, 1859, convinced many Southerners that there was a Northern attempt to incite a slave insurrection.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- Southern nationalism or at least patriotism to the South.
- Defend their homeland against an invader.
- Fought for ideological reasons.
- Defend liberty and self government.
- Fight for independence of the South.
- Fought to defend property and property rights, which, they argued, included slaves.
- Defend Southern womanhood from Northern depredation.
- Desire for revenge as the war continued.
- Use of bounties to encourage recruitment.
- Comradeship.
- After 1862 – conscription.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **James McPherson:** Confederate soldiers tacitly supported defence of Southern institutions.
- **Susan-Mary Grant:** political and ideological factors played a large part in sustaining the 'Civil War Soldiers' will to fight.
- **Reid Mitchell:** Loyalties to fellow soldiers were important.
- **A Haughton:** men filled with thoughts of excitement and drama of war. In the South, many fought for independence and defence of their own institutions and laws. Real affinity towards their community and section.
- **Bell Wiley:** Southerners volunteered due to deep-seated hatred of the North, northern hostility to local institutions, a desire for adventure and a sense of it being the right thing to do.
- **Katcher:** above all, the Confederate soldier was loyal to the South, saw the Northerner as an invader and feared for home and family.
- **Parish:** combined forces of nationalism and democracy produced a massive increase in commitment to the cause of one side or the other, which made this a people's war. Huge response of 1861 was the product of individual enthusiasm, state action and local initiative. Men joined due to encouragement of family and friends, motivated by a mixture of patriotism, fear of being thought a coward and anxiety that it would all be over before they could get involved.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering an explanation of the movements that encouraged people to fight for the Confederacy.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about the differing views on Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

The candidate may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support the evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** as interpretations of Lincoln's decision and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Lincoln did not agree with slavery and therefore aimed to remove it.
- Lincoln was cautious due to the lack of majority support.
- Lincoln introduced the Emancipation Proclamation as the first step towards equality between Black and White Americans.
- Black soldiers need to be reassured that their efforts will be rewarded.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Lincoln's personal view on slavery; opposed slavery but not regarded as an abolitionist.
- Lincoln perceived as the 'Great Emancipator'.
- Lincoln adopted a pragmatic approach to slavery – aware that there were a range of views on slavery.
- Slavery was a 'moral evil' which opposed the Declaration of Independence.
- Lincoln's administration was under constant pressure from Abolitionists to introduce emancipation.
- The Republican Party were committed to liberty.
- The Proclamation allowed Lincoln to relax his stance on the recruitment of Blacks to the Union army.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The Emancipation Proclamation would take the war to the South as it was a direct attack on the South and its way of life.
- Emancipation would punish/discipline the South for secession.
- Slavery held the South together and was crucial to the economy of the South.
- Slavery has caused the Civil War and Emancipation would tackle that fundamental cause.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The North had struggled in the first 2 years of the war as the Confederacy achieved significant military success.
- Union victory at the Battle of Antietam allowed Lincoln to build on the success by focusing on an attack of the South.
- Southern economy based on slavery – Emancipation would potentially weaken the South's ability to fight.
- Transform Union war aims from 'Union as it was' to 'Union as it should be'.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources:

- Lincoln's concern regarding foreign attitudes to slavery.
- Undermine Confederate attempts to win foreign recognition.
- Concerns over alienating radicals within the Republican Party.
- Added a moral element to the Civil War.
- Emancipation Proclamation was of military necessity.
- Finally end the divisive slave issue – crucial for post war peace, Lincoln believed.
- Aimed to weaken the Confederacy's manpower if slaves fled to Union lines while swelling Union ranks with former slaves.
- Forced into the Proclamation by the demands of war.
- Actions of generals: Butler, Fremont and Hunter.
- Role of black Americans in bringing about emancipation.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Tulloch:** Lincoln had been fighting for the Union but was forced to change his mind due to the exigencies of war. The Emancipation Proclamation was justified not only on the grounds of necessity but also because it was just.
- **Stampp:** Lincoln was a reluctant emancipator.
- **La Wanda Cox:** Lincoln's actions looked towards long-term racial equality.
- **Oates:** perceived Lincoln as a radical politician.
- **Parrish:** Lincoln condemned slavery, wanted the slaves to have their liberty, but did not believe they could gain equality. Lincoln was the Great Emancipator, but his beliefs/policy was frequently interrupted by the events of the war.
- **Sewell:** Lincoln's decision was shaped by changing circumstances and his own sense of moral and constitutional propriety.
- **Reid:** act was justified as an exercise of presidential war powers and would destroy the Southern war effort.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** and **C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the Lincoln's decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as an explanation of the importance of military events in the 1864 Presidential election?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the value of **Source D** in providing an adequate explanation of the importance of military events on the 1864 election in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- Published on 3rd September 1864 – the date Union forces captured the city of Atlanta.
- General Grant and the Union forces had overturned mixed military fortunes with crucial victories in August 1864. Sherman's victories in Georgia and the capture of Atlanta being crucial.
- Lincoln's relief at the victories as he believed he would lose the Presidential election of November 1864.
- Lincoln's re-election in November allowed the Union to complete their war aims.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- In the order, Lincoln specifically thanks General William T. Sherman for his key military victories in the summer and autumn of 1864.
- Lincoln refers directly to Sherman's successful march through Georgia between May and July 1864.
- Lincoln notes the crucial Union capture of Atlanta city.
- Lincoln also thanks Admiral Farragut and General Canby for their successful capture of Mobile Bay, Alabama in joint naval and land attacks.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- General Sherman replaced General Grant in the west in March 1864 and ordered to capture Atlanta, Georgia.
- May 1864, Sherman left Chattanooga with 100,000 men for Atlanta.
- Sherman out-manoeuvred General Johnston, forcing him to retreat through Georgia. Jefferson Davis was forced to replace Johnston with John Bell Hood in July 1864.
- Sherman resisted Hood's attack and forced the Union forces back into Atlanta.
- Sherman threatened Confederate railway supply lines, forcing them to abandon the city of Atlanta. Union forces took Atlanta on 3rd September 1864.
- Admiral Farragut won an important Naval victory at Mobile, Alabama in August 1864.
- Mobile Bay was the last blockade-running port in the Gulf.
- With no naval defence the three forts around the bay, Fort Powell, Fort Gaines, and Fort Morgan, were forced to surrender.
- Major Canby was crucial in securing the land around Mobile Bay and worked well with the navy in Mobile Bay to secure the victory.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- Lowering of Northern morale in the first 8 months of 1864 due to high casualties and lack of progress.
- Increasing appeal of Democratic calls for a negotiated peace.
- Lincoln appoints General U.S. Grant as Commander-in-Chief of all Union armies, March 1864.
- Sherman's march on Georgia was part of Grant's call for 'simultaneous movement all along the line.'
- May/June 1864 – bloodiest 6 weeks of the war as 'Butcher' Grant attacked Lee in the Virginia campaign and siege of Petersburg.
- Lincoln stated in August 1864 in relation to the November election – 'I am going to be beaten and unless some great changes take place, badly beaten.'
- Grant's Virginia Campaign against Lee emerged successful as Lee's forces were now stretched.
- Autumn 1864, Sheridan captured the Shenandoah Valley.
- Military victories boosted northern morale and ended 'copperhead' calls for peace.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Paludan:** Military victory was the major factor in Lincoln's re-election. Opposition to Lincoln grew when the war went badly; it faded when Union armies won. Sherman's military advances were reflected in state victories – from that point on Republican momentum grew.
- **Liddell-Hart:** Sherman understood the concept of deep strategic penetration.
- **Tulloch:** Davis' dismissal of Johnston from the army of Tennessee gave Sherman a free hand to march into the southern heartland.
- **Jones:** need for generals to be aware of political effect of military actions.
- **McPherson:** critical of South's cordon defence as it spread men too thinly, allowing Union forces to break through at will. South adopted a policy of waiting to be attacked.
- **Reid:** resourcefulness and finesse of Grant.
- **Tulloch:** Sherman's capture of Atlanta guaranteed Lincoln's electoral victory, but then Lincoln, as commander-in-chief, had provided the necessary military support for Sherman's victory.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is useful for understanding the importance of military events in the 1864 Presidential election.

Japan: From Medieval to Modern State (1850s-1920)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How far could it be argued that traditional Japanese religious beliefs were in decline by 1868?

The aim of this essay is for candidates to identify and discuss the traditional Japanese religious beliefs during the Tokugawa period, and to analyse if they were in decline. Candidates should be able to instantly challenge the question with regards the Shinto religion, but highlight that Neo-Confucianism as a form of social control was somewhat in decline with the blurring of the caste structure and anti-Chinese sentiment. Buddhism had continued to be used to support Neo-Confucianism as a form of social control. It would also be relevant to discuss any perceived threat from Christianity.

Shintoism

- Indigenous religion.
- The indigenous spiritual beliefs of Shinto dates back to nature worship of pre-historic period.
- It was a loose collection of beliefs and practices associated with worship of Kami or 'spirit.'
- Shinto was used to support the claims of the imperial family to the throne.
- The emperor was the high priest – represented as living Kami by virtue of his descent from the sun goddess.
- During the Tokugawa period there was official patronage of Neo-Confucianism and Buddhism as instruments of social control.
- Formal institutions of organised Shinto (eg shrines) being deprived of funding or placed under the control of Buddhist priests although rituals continued.
- However, as disillusionment with the Tokugawa regime continued, there was a Shinto Revivalist Movement, which used the Shinto religion as justification to get the Emperor restored as central to Japanese government.
- Associated with National Learning movement – the Nativist scholars.
- Arrival of Perry and subsequent signing of first Unequal Treaty led to a huge upsurge in support for the Shinto religion.

Neo-Confucianism

- Confucianism originated in China.
- During Tokugawa times this was promoted as main set of beliefs and moral code.
- Used as a form of social control to underpin their decentralised nature of control.
- Advocated filial piety and respect and loyalty.
- Underpinned Caste structure.
- However, the Caste structure was blurring by the mid 19th century and Neo-Confucianism was being challenged for importance by Shintoism as the Revivalist movement gained momentum.
- Its association with China meant it was increasingly criticised in late Tokugawa times, especially by members of the National Learning movement.
- However, the notions of filial piety, respect and loyalty continued to be exploited by Japan's leaders after 1868.

Buddhism

- Buddhism formally entered Japan by the 6th century through the influx of Chinese scholarship.
- Japanese virtues multiplied.
- It provided rituals and practices for specific aspects of life and death.
- Little evidence to suggest there was much change in its status during Tokugawa period.

Christianity

- There was little threat from Christianity during Tokugawa times to have any impact upon traditional Japanese religion.
- During Tokugawa times banned – association with colonisation.
- 1720 – ban on Western books lifted – except for the Bible.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Tipton:** 'popular anxiety was reflected in' the late Tokugawa period 'in pilgrimages to traditional religious centres. In 1830 an exceptionally large number of people converged upon the grand shrine of Isa, the sacred centre built for the Shinto Sun Goddess Amaterasu.'
- **Benson & Matsumara:** 'Christianity is sometimes linked with Shinto, Buddhism and Confucianism as one of Japan's leading religions. This is seriously misleading.'
- **Hunter:** 'the ruling class had long viewed both religion and education as vehicles for furthering the purposes of the state.'
- **Jansen:** 'a vigorous anti-Confucian and anti-Chinese polemic was mounted by a new school of Nativist scholars.'
- **Waswo:** 'Neo-Confucianism stressed the ethical nature of government, stressing obedience to one's superiors.'

Question 2

How important was Western intervention in bringing about the downfall of the Tokugawa Bakufu by 1868?

The aim of this essay is to evaluate the significance of Western incursion in undermining the control mechanisms of the Bakufu. Discussion of other factors is relevant after the isolated factor has been appropriately addressed, especially when drawing a conclusion.

Role of Western incursion

- Tokugawa had successfully maintained relations with the Dutch and Chinese without it undermining their control mechanism.
- Pressure from the west had been growing in the first half of the nineteenth century – from Russia, Britain and America.
- Perry arrived in 1853 with a third of US navy – left the Tokugawa feeling threatened.
- Tokugawa Bakufu in a genuine state of uncertainty – approached Imperial Court for their opinion – marked a huge turning point in their control as they had never before consulted the Emperor on issues to do with the state.
- They later disregarded this opinion when they agreed to the terms presented by the Americans.
- Agreed to the signing of the first Unequal Treaty with US.
- Outrage amongst men of Shishi and those associated with the new nationalist school of thought.
- Bakufu had disregarded Imperial opinion – further fuelled their demands for some form of restoration of the Emperor – who was still the theoretical head of the Bakufu's control system. Tokugawa regime was accused of usurping imperial power.
- Enemies of regime took up the rally cry of 'Sonno Joi.'
- Bakufu's members became divided over how far to adhere to traditional policies and how far to adapt to changing foreign environment – they seemed incapable of decisive action.
- Western incursion highlighted the inherent weakness of decentralised government.

Other factors which undermined control mechanism of Bakufu

- Inherent weakness of decentralised government already becoming apparent before arrival of Perry – as illustrated by the failure of the Tempo Reforms.
- Socio-economic changes were weakening important forms of social control – especially the caste structure.
- Daimyo and Samurai falling into debt to merchants because of their increasing lavish and decadent lifestyles.
- Increasing burden of taxation upon peasants leading to an upsurgance in their discontent and incidents of riots.
- Control mechanism based upon rice as staple currency – which was being replaced by money by 19th century.
- Tokugawa Bakufu suffering from a sense of inertia in responding to these changes – and only had direct control over 25% of the land.
- 1866 – important alliance between 2 leading opponents. Satsuma and Choshu, which was an important contribution in the timing of the collapse of the Tokugawa's control mechanisms.
- The fact that the Emperor had always been the theoretical head of the control mechanism meant that it was always going to be open to exploitation.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **R. Storry:** 'The undoubted fact that the whole regime had been under indirect attack from many quarters inside Japan long before Perry arrived.'
- **J. Hunter:** 'The dynamic forces within society and in the economy eventually came into conflict with a national polity which sought to avoid change.'
- **T. Huber:** 'It was Perry's arrival which finally made it possible for serious reformers in Choshu and elsewhere to convert their theoretical understanding into an urgent public demand for change.'
- **H. Boritho:** 'In the country the authority of the Shogun and Daimyo alike was successfully flouted by pursing land reclamation schemes.'
- **R. Wall:** 'Arrival of Perry in July 1856 brought the whole complicated debate to a head.'
- **M. Hane:** 'Most important event that provoked this was the arrival of western powers… Economic difficulties that the Bakufu and Daimyo domains were experiencing weakened the feudal order and caused discontent…But this was not sufficient to undermine Bakufu.'

Question 3

How significant was Western thought in shaping social and political reforms between 1868 and 1912?

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

The candidate may use evidence such as:

- Declaration from Charter Oath – 'knowledge shall be sought throughout the world.'

Social Reforms

- Initial impact on Education – American influence shaped development of texts and teacher training, German ideals for developing student's moral character. Students sent abroad to study.
- Christian schools established by missionaries – offering educational opportunities for females.
- Limited impact upon religion.
- Western art and music initially emulated – national fine arts school, employing the Italian painter Antonio Fontanesi to teach Japanese artists to paint in western styles.
- Foreign architects hired to design new public buildings such as dance halls.
- Men copying hairstyles and methods of dress.
- Western styles social etiquette – shaking hands, ball room dancing.
- Abolition of the caste structure.
- Could discuss conscription with regards social impact.

- But – indigenous backlash in 1890s – Imperial Rescript on Education very much a piece of 'Japanese' reform, re-establishing Japanese ethics and principles.
- Assassinations of key individuals who they blamed of excessive westernisation – eg Mori Arinori, Okubo Toshimichi.

Political Reforms

- There were no functioning governments outside the US and Europe, yet following their contact with the west, Japan adopted one.
- Role of Herman Roesler, leading German scholar, who went to Japan as an advisor.
- Leading Japanese architects, such as Hirobumi, went on Iwakuri Mission and observed and learnt from the west.
- Constitution broadly in line with Prussian – called the Diet with an Upper and Lower House – the House of Peers and House of Representatives.
- Legal system along French lines; Western style cabinet system.
- Establishment of Western style political parties.
- Very limited male franchise established.

- But – constitution still reflects unique nature of Japanese society – especially the position of the emperor.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **S. Wood:** 'Western activity was to be critically evaluated and shaped to suit Japan.'
- **Jansen & Rozman:** 'Their search for institutions and procedures helped to initiate a selective utilisation of foreign advisors and examples.'
- **Benson & Matsumura:** on the Iwakura Mission 'they went to learn how best to mobilise the country's political, economic and social resources to meet the demands of modern age.'
- **Fahs:** 'Japan's strong feeling of national identity was helpful in preventing blind acceptance of everything western. To its due Japan succeeded in retaining many of her own rich traditions.'
- **Buruma:** 'They recognised the power of western ideas and wished to learn more, so Japan could one day compete with the best of them.'
- **Jansen:** 'A modern consciousness was advancing steadily among responsible members of rural communities in Japan. The impact of the west provided the catalyst, but in its essence it included a reformulation of older and earlier moral and political traditions of benevolence.'

Question 4

How effectively did the abolition of the caste structure actually liberate Japanese individuals?

The aim of this essay is to evaluate whether the ending of the caste structure, with all its limitations on social mobility, actually freed up Japanese individuals to have more direct control over their own lives.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

Evidence which supports notion that the caste structure did liberate Japanese people

- Abolition of the caste structure in theory freed up greater movement of workers and population.
- Previously there was little social mobility between castes.
- Increased educational opportunity for all.
- Freed up individuals to move to the towns and cities to work in agriculture – had an especially big impact upon women.
- Those closest to urban commercialised centres were affected the most. As these areas were drawn into national market, cities offered opportunities for work to younger sons and women.
- Enhanced position of the village elite of large landowners of commercial and industrial enterprises.
- Middle level landowners responded positively to urban demand and opportunities of the growing national market.
- After the abolition of the caste structure, women formed significant proportion of workforce – around 250,000 by 1900.
- Number of women outside the home grew rapidly, but millions of women continued to work in the manual labour of farm work. Other women became secretaries, telephonists, teachers, nurses, clerks – growing in number after 1890.
- 1918 – first 'commoner' prime minister in Japanese history (Seiyukai Hara Kei).

Evidence which suggests limitations still existed

- Could argue that although the formal structure of the caste structure had been abolished, the neo-Confucianism principles underpinning it continued.
- Main motivation of the authorities was not altruistic in promoting social mobility and improving people's lives, but to free up an industrial and military workforce to help them achieve their Meiji reforms.
- Women and children were still largely under the control of their fathers and husbands within the structure that the Meiji authorities were pushing.
- Many peasants (a huge proportion female) that went to work in industry were from farming villages who sent most of their wages home to their families and worked for the years before they were married.
- Working lives controlled by fathers and husbands.
- Other argued that the impact of the abolition of the Caste Structure was having a detrimental effect upon Japanese family life.
- Women, who were expected to be looking after the home, were working.
- Children were being deprived of an education because they were working.
- Rise of factories, mills and machines seen as the cause of this 'unnatural state of affairs.'
- The nature of agricultural work altered very little.
- New factories that were established attempted to echo loyalty and patriarchal society that Neo-Confucianism had been cultivating.

- Agriculture continued to be the most important form of industry and largest employer.
- Theoretical freeing up of social mobility was not accompanied by political freedoms.
- Legislation such as the Peace Regulation 1887 and Peace Police Law 1900 restricted ability of individuals to exploit their potential new freedoms.
- Small landowners and tenant farmers lost some rights, for example to common land, rent burdens high, land tax fixed.
- Reactions against conscription.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Waswo:** 'Many felt liberated by the Meiji Restoration and the lifting of restrictions on their personal and occupational mobility. Encountering new opportunities, they set about to improve their lives and the lives of their families.'
- **M. Hane:** 'in general the living conditions of the working class, rural and urban, did not improve significantly.'
- **M. Hane:** 'Effort to organise unions to improve the plight of workers met with resistance by big business leaders and the government.'
- **Molony:** 'The migration of these women from the countryside to the urban mills had tremendous demographic and social implications: it fuelled Japan's urbanisation and created a link that permitted the social and economic integration of city and countryside.'
- **Totman:** 'Industrialists continued to talk about Japan's beautiful custom of master-servant relations firmly based upon a spirit of sacrifice and compassion.'

Question 5

How important were conditions prior to 1868 in contributing to economic development after the Meiji Restoration?

The aim of this essay is to explore the importance of the economic foundations that had been established during the Tokugawa regime that contributed towards the Meiji rapid success in industrialisation. Credit can also be given to any counter argument introduced by the candidate.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

Economic situation prior to 1868

- Details of the Tokugawa legacy, providing a sound basis for industrial development.
- Japan had an abundance of human labour who were well educated and loyal.
- Growth of commercial activities around castle towns.
- Growing influence of merchants – blurring of caste divisions.
- Movement away from rice based to money based economy already occurring.
- Relative high literacy rates.
- United country that had not been colonised, permitting indigenous commercial activities to develop.

Other relevant factors

- The effects of the Unequal Treaties in promoting industrial development – Japan's desire to be accepted as equal.
- The international environment led to Japan expanding and adopting the new industrial technologies which helped her catch up.
- Iwakura Mission.
- Cultural borrowing like ship building, iron and steel mills, banking and commerce, textiles (positive impact of silkworm disease in Europe).
- Using foreign experts then dismissing them once Japan confident to continue.
- Highly developed agriculture with inter-regional trade and good communication infra-structure to build upon.
- Role of state in process and policies they implemented – built model factories such as Tomioka silk-reeling mill.
- Zaibatsu.
- Military reform and connection with industrial expansion.
- Government having limited reliance on foreign loans took firm control over expenditure – partial funding of large scale private enterprises and support for Zaibatsu.
- Improvements in infrastructure.
- Role of WW1 – gained foothold in Asian market.
- Ending of imports from west forced development, especially in chemical industry.
- Japan reversed balance of payments deficit during the war years.
- But agriculture still important.
- Until late 1920s agriculture accounted for over 25% of net domestic production.
- As late as 1930 50% of population still dependent on agriculture.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Jansen:** 'The (Tokugawa) urban centres with their large populations required food and raw materials.' 'From village to domain, Japan became less self-sufficient and more attuned to exchange.' 'In the first century of Tokugawa rule, Osaka quickly became the centre of the Japanese economy. Feudal lords from all parts of Japan were able to ship their surplus rice to Osaka for sale in what became a national commodities market.'
- **Hane:** 'The industry that developed rapidly from the early Meiji years and remained a key component of the economy was textile manufacture…by 1904 it had become the world's largest producer with a 31% share.'
- **Macpherson:** 'While it is true that development depended on the actions of individual industrialists, peasants and factory workers responding to material incentives, they operated in an environment conditioned by the nation state pursuing the goals of economic greatness, and, therefore, of a strong army and industrial growth.'
- **Maddison:** 'There was a heavy emphasis on education and the creation of a situation in which the rate of investment ultimately became very high.'
- **Hane:** 'Modernisation would depend heavily upon the adoption of western science, technology and industrialisation.'

Japan: From Medieval to Modern State (1850s-1920)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A in explaining the nature of Japanese society in the mid-nineteenth century?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source A.**

Provenance:

- Written by an eye-witness who lived in Japan, but after the Meiji Restoration so reflecting back upon a social structure he had not directly experienced.
- Written by a westerner so there is still some scope for cultural misinterpretation.
- Written by a journalist – possible pros and cons to this – such as author may well have researched his topic or he may be more interested in selling a story than a realistic account.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Samurai most respected class with many privileges.
- Below them were peasants, artisans and then merchants in that hierarchical order.
- These classes had to be respectful to the Samurai, who had the privilege to cut down any person who did not act in that manner.
- Below the merchants were actors, beggars and then the eta class.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Their position was formalised by first Tokugawa Shogun, Ieyasu.
- Samurai were granted many privileges such as the right to carry swords. They were separated from other social groups when it was dictated that they live in castle towns.
- Peasants were deemed to be above artisans and merchants because they produced Japan's staple crop and currency – rice.
- Artisans and merchants, handling money, were deemed to be below them.
- This caste structure was implemented by Ieyasu and enforced by later Tokugawa shoguns to help maintain control through a decentralised system of government.
- Black uses misleading term class, rather than caste, example of cultural misunderstanding.
- This was a rigid caste structure with little theoretical social mobility.
- Linked to Neo-Confucian notions of filial piety and loyalty to ensure everyone knew their place in society and did not challenge it.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the sources:

- Source does not highlight how the caste structure also included the Emperor, Bakufu and daimyo within the upper echelons of the caste structure and their administrative roles.
- Period of relative stability of Tokugawa regime meant the samurai assumed largely administrative roles.
- By 1850 this class system was blurring (fact author not a direct eye-witness of this period might explain this).
- Position of merchants – many samurai and daimyo were falling into debt to them.
- Divisions were appearing within the samurai caste – selling off their privileges.
- Money was replacing rice as the main form of currency, threatening the position of the samurai and daimyo, and increasing the social standing of the merchants.
- Agriculturalists (term not used in Japan) were beginning to engage in commercial activities, especially those living close to castle towns.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Hane:** 'In order to ensure political and social stability the Tokugawa Bakufu set out a rigid class system.'
- **Beasley:** 'The classic description of Tokugawa society is one of fixed stratification: a descending hierarchy…In reality this is misleading. Overwhelming the most important distinction was that between samurai and the rest.'
- **Waswo:** 'Neo-Confucianism stressed the ethical nature of the government, stressing obedience to one's superiors.'
- **Duus:** 'In the Confucian vision of society, all people could be divided into four classes – officials, peasants, artisans and merchants.'

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is useful in explaining the nature of Japanese society in the nineteenth century.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views on the role of the Emperor within the new Meiji Government?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** towards the role of the Emperor within central government, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

Accurate comment on **Source B** being a primary source, an article of the actual constitution itself, produced by the new Meiji oligarchy in the name of the emperor. The role of the emperor was pivotal in the new constitution to ensure its rapid and unquestioning acceptance, and this document would therefore stress his importance.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Emperor is stressed as the head of the empire with all the powers of a sovereign.
- Stresses the historic power of the emperor, deeply embedded in Japanese history.
- He has power over all legislative and executive powers of the state, including responsibility for the new constitution.
- However, Article V, does state the Emperor has to get the consent of the Diet and therefore his powers can in theory be restrained – a contradiction open to exploitation.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The Emperor's position was legally established by the Meiji Constitution, which declared his inviolability and allowed him theoretical wide ranging powers.
- The Emperor had the right to declare war, make peace, conclude treaties and adjourn the Diet.
- Position of Emperor reinforced by Imperial Rescript in Education.
- Theoretically did have power, but did not really exploit them during Meiji and Taisho years.
- The Emperor was used to unite and promote a national unity as the rapid changes were taking place.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

Provenance comment on Gluck and title of his book '*Modern Myths*', indicating that the purpose of the book is to challenge certain aspects of Japanese society as 'myths.'

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Argues powers of emperor were strictly ceremonial eg the opening of the Diet – did not actually exercise much direct power himself.
- He did meet with ministers and appeared to speak in 'infrequent' rescripts.
- Did not decide anything for himself, despite being described as believing in principles of progress.
- Does initially describe him as the bestowal of the constitution.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Authority lay with the clan leaders from Satsuma and Choshu who led the rebellion.
- Charter Oath of 1868 proclaimed by the Emperor – yet was really the product of Kido Koin.
- The Constitution of 1889 was a gift from the Emperor to his people yet it was shaped by Ito Hirobumi.
- Significance of age of Emperor, modest and conscientious leader, decrees issued in name only.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the view in the sources:

- Source offering two contrasting interpretations about the power distribution – the first emphasising the power of the emperor, the second challenging these assertions (provenance can explain this).
- Emperor did have theoretical powers, but the Meiji and Taisho emperors rarely exploited these, and were largely puppet rulers.
- Undoubtedly the Emperor's symbolic role was crucial to permit the Meiji oligarchy to push through their unprecedented rate of rapid reform in his name – that of a living deity.
- Real power lay with Prime Ministers and other politicians – elected by only a tiny percentage of the population. Aspects of Article 5 in source B used to legitimise this.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Jansen:** 'a modenising elite had emerged; the power lay with this oligarchy.' 'Restoration leaders kept the court at the centre of national identity and that emphasis diffused amidst the population as a means of control.'
- **Storry:** 'The nominal head of the new government in Tokyo was a court noble but the real controllers of power were men from much junior rank from the western clans.'
- **Beasley:** 'The Emperor's importance as a source of legitimacy for the Meiji leadership has never been in doubt.' To the Meiji leaders he was 'useful as a symbol and occasionally as a weapon of last resort.'
- **Wall:** 'At first the new government made a show of being open; soon, however, power was concentrated in the powers of the samurai from the western han.'

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, offering a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** is helpful in understanding the role of the Emperor within central government.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the reasons for Japan's transition from a position of isolation to international recognition?

(12 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** and the extent to which it explains the reasons for Japan's transition from a position of isolation to international recognition in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Importance of military success in increasing Japanese self-confidence and self-respect.
- Highlights military success as being directly responsible for overturning the unequal treaties.
- Military success also led to Japanese acquisition of colonies – which increased their standing in the eyes of western nations.
- Alliance with Britain highlights the transition from isolation.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Defeat of China helped establish Japan as leading Asian nation.
- Defeat of Russia forced the rest of the world to take notice of Japan. American President especially impressed.
- Details about colonies gained – Formosa, Pescadores Islands, southern half of the island of Sakhalin, Korea.
- Britain emerged from period of isolation to sign alliance with Japan in 1902. They wanted an ally against Russia's threatening position to their colonies in area, and saw Japan as offering that potential.
- Unequal Treaties finally overturned in 1911.
- Military success was highly important, but was only achieved because of Meiji reforms.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- Role of other Meiji reforms, especially military reform, which contributed towards Japanese success.
- Role of Iwakura Mission. Use of French, Prussian and British experience in military and naval reforms.
- Abolition of caste structure to permit establishment of a standing army.
- Introduction of conscription.
- Economic success also important. Rapid process of industrialisation impressed west and underpinned military expansion.
- Japan's support for allies in WW1 helped improve their international recognition and they benefited enormously by taking over allied trade routes. Also gained German concessions in region.
- Japanese inclusion in the Paris Peace Conference.
- Mention could also be made of the deep humiliation felt following the Tripartite Intervention. Military threat forced Japan to hand back the Liaodung Peninsula. This only made Japan even more determined to achieve equality with the west and avoid such embarrassing situations in the future.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Jansen:** 'between 1868 and 1812 – the 45 years of the Meiji emperor's rule – Japan came to acquire all the ingredients of a modern state.'
- **Huber:** 'In theory at least Japan was now equal of the western powers.'
- **Hunter:** 'By 1919 Japan had secured for herself a formal position as one of the world's most powerful nations.'
- **Benson:** 'As Japan's economic transformation became more widely known, it won her considerable international respect.'
- **Ayira Iriye:** 'The Japanese were rewarded by being invited to the peace conference, the first time Japan attended a conference as a full-fledged member.'
- **Wall:** After the acquisition of Korea, 'Japan at one and the same time obtained the status of a great power and began a policy of imperialism.'

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the reasons for Japan's transition from a position of isolation to international recognition.

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How far was resentment against the Treaty of Versailles the cause of instability in the Weimar Republic in the period 1919-1923?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to review and evaluate the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on German politics from 1919-1923 and to weigh up those arguments that suggest the Treaty undermined the Republic and democracy against those arguments that suggest that factors other than the treaty caused instability in the years after 1919.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Points suggesting that the treaty undermined the Republic and democracy

- The treaty created a deep and widespread resentment that came to be aimed at the Republic and the democrats who had accepted it.
- Most Germans hated the treaty.
- SPD dominated government was divided over whether or not to accept it.
- There were strong objections to the territorial and military terms of the treaty.
- Clause 231 – the 'War Guilt' clause – was regarded by Germans as humiliating.
- Reparations were viewed as little more than an attempt to destroy Germany.
- By accepting the treaty – even though it had no choice but to do so – the newly elected democratic government was blamed for Germany's humiliation.
- The treaty became a focus for right wing nationalist opposition to the Republic and to democracy; to the 'November criminals' who had 'stabbed Germany in the back.'
- Resentment of the treaty enabled conservatives and extreme nationalists such as the Nazis to argue that democracy was un-German and parliamentarianism weak and ineffectual.
- In March 1920 the Kapp *putsch* was a direct response from the disaffected right to the military terms of the treaty. Although it failed to galvanise opposition to the Republic and democracy it was nevertheless an indication of just how dangerous right wing opposition might prove to be.
- The hyperinflation crisis of 1923 was also blamed on the treaty, this time on what most Germans regarded as the punitive reparations clauses.
- The Nazis seized on the 1923 crisis as the moment to mount a *putsch* against the Republic. As with the Kapp *putsch* it was not successful but it demonstrated that implacable opposition to the treaty had not gone away and that the judiciary was not unsympathetic to the arguments put forward against the Republic by right wing extremists such as Hitler (Hitler was charged with high treason yet served only 9 months in jail).

Points suggesting other factors helped to undermine the Republic and democracy, with or without association with Versailles:

- The revolution left a damaging legacy. For instance, Ebert's use of the *Freikorps* to crush the Spartacists in January 1919 created a permanent alienation from democracy among Communists.
- KPD's attacks on democracy frightened the middle and business classes; they feared democracy would not be able to hold back Communism.

- Political violence (between the Communists and the Nazis, for instance) and political assassinations throughout the years 1919-23 frightened people and made them uncertain about democracy's ability to maintain law and order.
- Hyperinflation crisis of 1923 caused widespread anger and frustration with the government. Collapse of confidence in the currency was very damaging for confidence in the democratic system.
- Frequent changes of government and each resulting coalition created a sense of instability. There were six governments between June 1919 and November 1923 and six different chancellors yet there was only one election during this period.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary on the creation of the Weimar Republic to support their views. These might include reference to:

- **Collier and Pedley (2000):** Hatred of the treaty and the 'stab in the back myth' peddled by the anti-republican right undermined support for the Republic and the parties who were involved in its creation.
- **Stephen Lee (1998):** The Treaty 'set in motion influences which were to prove more damaging to the republic than the treaty itself. Its impact was therefore indirect but real nevertheless.'
- **William Carr (1991 edn):** 'The signature of the peace treaty cast a long shadow over the political life of the 1920s'. Right wing denigration of the republican parties and party leaders of signing the Treaty confirmed for influential sections of the community, anti-democratic by instinct and tradition, that democracy was a disaster for Germany.
- **Ruth Henig (1998):** Versailles meant that the parties of the moderate left and centre found themselves 'increasingly on the defensive against nationalists and supporters of the former regime.' The treaty was a significant factor in the recovery of right-wing political forces from 1919.'
- **Richard J Evans (2003):** Versailles was only one reason for the republic's weakness. The republic was 'beset by insurmountable problems of political violence, assassination and irreconcilable conflicts about its right to exist. It was unloved and undefended by its servants in the army and bureaucracy…It had to face enormous economic problems…'

Question 2

To what extent did the apparent stability of the Weimar Republic in the so-called "Golden Years", 1924-1929, hide acute tensions?

The aim of this essay question is to enable candidates to review the economy and politics of 1924-1929 and to weigh up those arguments that suggest that these years were genuinely a 'Golden Age' for the Republic against those arguments that suggested that while on the surface Germany appeared to have achieved stability economically and politically, beneath the surface all was far from well.

The candidate might make use of evidence such as:

Points for the view that during 1924-29 Germany did experience a period of genuine recovery and stability

- As the new German Chancellor in November 1923 Stresemann took decisive action to restore the currency and thereby brought about an end to the hyperinflation crisis. This paved the way for new investments to flow into Germany following the Dawes Plan.
- The Dawes Plan seemed to be beneficial to Germany. The loans agreed under the plan helped to boost the economy and to enable reparations payments to be met.
- The Dawes Plan removed the threat of invasion if reparations payments were not made.
- Following Dawes Plan 16,000 million Reichmarks came into Germany but only 7,000 million were paid out in reparations. This favourable balance of credit enabled industry to recover its pre-war level of output and to modernise factories and manufacturing.
- The rationalisation of German industry led to a more organised division of labour and together these developments increased productivity dramatically.
- Workers benefited from the economic boom. Wages increased and the labour's share of the national income was 10% higher in the mid 1920s than it had been before 1914.
- The number of strikes fell.
- The government was able to increase expenditure on welfare services – housing, health and education – to 68% of spending by 1932.
- There were no attempts to overthrow the Republic, the number of political assassinations fell as did the number of right wing paramilitary formations.
- In spite of changes of government, Stresemann remained as the dominant figure throughout 1924-29.
- The moderate parties seemed to consolidate their position and the vote for extremist parties of both the left and right seemed to be in decline.
- The last years of the period saw the return of the grand coalition of the early years of the Republic with the collaboration of SPD, Centre, DDP and DVP.
- Stresemann's foreign policies re-established Germany at the centre of European politics. Following the Locarno Pact and the pursuit of *erfullungspolitik*, Germany was readmitted to the League of Nations in the autumn of 1926.

Points for the view that during 1924-29 Germany *appeared* to have achieved recovery and stability but beneath the surface all was not well:

- The economic recovery was based on American investments in the form of short-term loans, which were used to fund long term capital projects. This left Germany highly exposed. If the American stockmarket got into difficulties so would the German economy. This is indeed what happened following the Wall Street Crash in 1929.
- Industrial recovery was superficial. Increased production did not translate into increased volumes of foreign trade, for instance.
- Modernisation and 'cartelisation' of industry led to price fixing, which did not benefit consumers. The costs of living rose but wage increases were not significant to keep pace.
- Modernisation was patchy. In the agricultural sector of the economy, for example, there was little investment to encourage modernisation so much so that the agricultural sector was in crisis from the end of 1927.
- Although the number of strikes fell this was largely because of compulsory government arbitration, which alienated employers and the unions.
- Unemployment never fell below 1 million throughout the period. This put strain on the welfare state.
- The expanding welfare state was a source of resentment among those who felt that their taxes were going towards a welfare system from which they themselves did not benefit.
- Although the grand coalition revived towards the end of the period, in reality there was a breakdown of political consensus and fragmentation of the centre ground of politics.
- The horse-trading that was needed to form administrations was an inevitable result of a multiplicity of parties pursuing individual interests, and this process of wheeling and dealing excluded and alienated voters.
- The forces of the anti-republican right achieved greater cohesion during 1924-29.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary on the 'Golden Years' 1924-29 to support their views. These might include reference to:

- **Detlev Peukert (1987):** The years 1924-29 seem stable 'only by contrast with the periods of crisis that preceded and followed them.'
- **William Carr (1991 edn):** The extent of the boom 'has been greatly exaggerated and indeed superficial prosperity and growing international structure masked a chronic state of political weakness.'
- **Ruth Henig (1998):** By 1928 there was 'growing disillusionment with the Republic' among workers and employers, among farmers and the middle classes, and among the young. While the economy was growing many Germans nevertheless felt they were not getting a fair share of the rewards.
- **Stephen Lee (1998):** The stability of the Weimar economy and political system 'was partly illusory.'
- **A J Nicholls (2000 edn):** Despite signs of political improvement the Republic and democracy 'were unable to root themselves firmly in German society. The economy still faced very serious problems not the least of which was an unhealthy dependence on foreign loans.'
- **Eberhard Kolb (2004 edn):** Stabilisation was fragile and superficial. 'The Republic did not succeed in consolidating its political and economic system sufficiently enough to be capable of withstanding serious crisis. In economic and social affairs 1924-29 was the period when tension between hostile camps built up rather than diminished.'

Question 3

How important was the SS-Police system in strengthening Hitler's dictatorship, 1933-1936?

The aim of this question is to enable candidates to explore the ways in which Hitler managed to strengthen his dictatorship in the years immediately after January 1933 and to weigh up the importance of the SS-Police system as an instrument in that strengthening process against the importance of other factors such as the role of propaganda and the leadership of Hitler himself.

The candidate might make use of evidence such as:

A review of the role of the SS-Police system in strengthening Hitler's dictatorship

- Alongside the Gestapo, the SS became the most powerful and feared organs of repression in Nazi Germany. Terror played a vital role in strengthening Hitler's dictatorship by stifling opposition.
- Authorised by Hitler to act as an auxiliary police, the SS used the Emergency Power Decree of February 1933 (which remained in force permanently) to take suspects into protective custody.
- After the purge of the SA in the 'Night of the Long Knives' in June 1934, the SS became the chief police arm of the Nazi Party.
- In 1936 all police powers were unified under Himmler's control as Chief of the German Police. As *Reichsfuhrer* SS, Himmler had a massive police apparatus under his control and answerable directly to Hitler. By 1936, then, the SS-Police system had become a key power bloc in Nazi Germany and supported the Nazi Party.
- Between 1933 and 1936 tens of thousands of Germans were convicted and imprisoned for political crimes or had been taken into 'protective custody.'
- The SS sought to defend Hitler and the Nazi dictatorship from all 'enemies' whether political or racial and took over responsibility for concentration camps.
- From 1933 until the appointment of Himmler as head of the German police and *Reichsfuhrer* SS in 1936 the foundations were laid for the emergence of the SS-Gestapo-SD complex as a 'state within the state' organised to enforce the will of the regime.

A review of the importance of other factors that contributed to strengthening of Hitler's dictatorship 1933-36

- The process of *Gleichschaltung* ('Coordination') Jan 1933 – Aug 1934 which included such measures as the *Enabling Act* (which effectively gave Hitler dictatorial powers), the replacement of top civil servants by Nazis, the ban on all political parties except for the Nazis, the 'Night of the Long Knives' which destroyed the power of the SA, the merger of the offices of President and Chancellor following Hindenburg's death and the Oath of Allegiance whereby the army took an oath of personal loyalty to Hitler.
- From 1933 the Ministry of Propaganda was vital to the strengthening of the Nazi regime. The Ministry of Propaganda took over the newspapers and the radio and these were used to carry the messages of Nazi propaganda. Mass rallies and sports and other festivals were organised by Goebbels to deepen commitment to the regime.
- In particular Goebbels and the Ministry of Propaganda perpetuated and developed the Hitler Myth – the image of the all-powerful, all-knowing, strong Fuhrer – which was widely believed.
- The consent of most Germans was a key factor in supporting and strengthening the Nazi regime. The Third Reich was based on terror and repression but also on popular support.
- The Nazis also actively sought to build up popular support by pursuing a range of social and economic policies that appeared to benefit the people. Hitler was given credit for lifting Germany out of depression through public works, reducing inflation and restoring business confidence (by suppressing free trade unions).

- Hitler's charismatic leadership, sustained by the Hitler Myth, undoubtedly helped to strengthen the regime. The leadership principle of the Nazi Party was now applied to the whole of Germany.
- The regime also benefited from the apparent success of Hitler's foreign policies. Thus, for example, the announcement of the expansion of the *Luftwaffe* and of conscription (March 1935), the Anglo-German Naval Agreement (June 1935) and the remilitarisation of the Rhineland (March 1936) occasioned little opposition within Germany. On the contrary, they boosted the image of Hitler as an international statesman (who was fulfilling his promise to 'smash Versailles') and the feeling among the people that Hitler was restoring Germany to great power status.
- 95% of Germans voted 'Yes' in the plebiscite (Nov 1933) following Germany's departure from the League of Nations and World Disarmament Conference; 99% voted 'Yes' in the plebiscite (March 1936) following the remilitarisation of the Rhineland.
- The Nazis also used the courts and legal system to maintain support for the regime. Established courts adapted to the new system and lawyers were 'coordinated' in the German Lawyers Front. The new People's Court and special courts were set up in March 1933 to by-pass the existing court system.
- Although Hitler left the army structurally unchanged until 1938, the army generally cooperated with the regime to reflect a Nazi approach. In particular, the Oath of Loyalty administered in August 1934 following the death of Hindenburg undoubtedly secured the support of the army for Hitler.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Richard J Evans (2005):** Terrorism was only one of the Third Reich's techniques of rule but the Nazis also wanted to rouse the people 'into positive endorsement of their ideals and policies and to change people's minds and spirits…This meant propaganda…'
- **Tim Kirk (2007):** The Nazis used coercion though did not rely on it alone to maintain order. 'They also sought to win acclamation using propaganda and censorship to do so.'
- **Roderick Stackelberg (2007):** A major source of Hitler's growing popularity 'was the improvement of the German economy.'
- **Evans and Jenkins (2008 edn):** Although there were limits to the power of the SS, its influence was varied and extensive.'
- **Jeremy Noakes (2008):** One explanation for the regime's initial relative success is that it created an 'overarching consensus by mobilising the German people behind a programme of national revival identified with Hitler's leadership. 'Furthermore, the traditional German elites – army, civil service, business and professionals – 'perceived in National Socialism some aims and values which they shared, most notably a strong German nationalism.'

Question 4

To what extent was Nazi economic policy determined by the needs of an aggressive foreign policy?

The aim of this essay question is to enable candidates to examine the motives behind Hitler's economic policy and in particular to come to a judgement about the importance of the needs of his foreign policy as a determinant of his economic policy. Candidates may choose to discuss in depth the relationship between economic policy and foreign policy imperatives or they may choose to discuss foreign policy as one factor in a range of factors determining economic policy.

The candidate might make use of evidence such as:

Commentary and discussion of Hitler's aggressive foreign policy as a determinant of his economic policy

- Hitler was determined to rearm Germany quickly and to develop a self-sufficient economy that would enable him to wage war.
- In order for him to achieve these ends he had to get people back to work and to restore productivity and business confidence.
- Public expenditure and investment were increased to stimulate consumer demand eg public works schemes such as the building of motorways, initiated by Bruning in 1932, were extended.
- Tax concessions and special grants (eg to newlyweds) also stimulated demand.
- Trade unions were destroyed and this helped to restore confidence among businessmen.
- The Youth Service took the young off the unemployed register and from 1933 the reintroduction of conscription took all males 18-25 off the register too (the armed forces grew from 100,000 in 1933 to 1.4 million by 1939).
- Hjalmar Schacht, the man widely credited with saving Germany in the 1923 hyperinflation crisis, was appointed President of the *Reichsbank* in 1933 and then in August 1934 was appointed Economics Minister. By using state regulation Schacht played a major role in economic recovery and in funding rearmament.
- Schacht's New Plan of 1934 tackled the problem of Germany's balance of trade. This gave the government strong powers to control and regulate imports through controlling the allocation of foreign exchange.
- By 1936 confidence had been restored and unemployment reduced to 1.6 million. But Schacht was judged to be too cautious in the drive for rearmament so he was replaced by Goering who became Head of the Office of the Four Year Plan.
- The Office of the Four Year Plan intervened throughout the economy. The plan was to make Germany ready for war within four years.
- Priority was now given to rearmament and, to avoid any damage that might be inflicted on the economy during war by economic blockade, Germany had to be made self-sufficient in food and industrial production.
- Self-sufficient (Autarky) proved to be hard to achieve; Germany still depended on imports for one third of its raw materials by 1939.
- However, gradually another method of achieving self-sufficiency was given more stress: conquering other countries to use their resources eg Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Commentary and discussion of the extent to which Hitler was not able and did not want to subordinate the whole economy to the drive for rearmament

- Neither Hitler nor Goering actually argued for total concentration on rearmament and the abandonment of supplying consumer goods.
- Hitler did not want to squeeze domestic consumption too far because he knew that he needed the support of the people if the regime was to survive.
- From 1933-36 public works and a revival of consumer demand were more important in economic recovery than rearmament whereas from 1936-39 rearmament needs predominated as Hitler geared the economy for war.
- The rapid improvement in employment after 1933 and a small rise in the living standards of many people meant that German workers in particular felt that life was better under the Nazis.
- Hitler also wanted to appeal to the *Mittelstand* – the small farmer or trader – and did this through policies such as the *Reich Entailed Farm Law* of 1933 (designed to protect traditional small farms) and the *Law to Protect the Retail Trade* also of 1933 (which placed taxes on large stores and banned new department stores).
- Moreover, landowners benefited from the growing demand for food while industrialists benefited from the destruction of the trade unions and the government's public works schemes as well as the drive for rearmament.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Richard Overy (1994):** Hitler viewed the economy as 'primarily an instrument of power.' It was not simply an arena for generating wealth and technical progress. 'Its *raison d'etre* lay in its ability to provide a material springboard for military conquest.' Hitler's equation of a strong economy with national revival and military success meant that in the early years of the regime (1933-36) 'priority was given to national revival as a precondition for the revival of Germany's international position.'
- **Wolfgang Benz (2006):** From 1933-36 Nazi economic policy was more concerned with recovery although rearmament was nevertheless a priority. However, from 1936 and the launch of the Four Year Plan rearmament became the absolute overriding priority and 'was pursued without regard for cost-benefit relationships. Driven by the prospect of booty and victory in war, the government engaged in a predatory exploitation of the national economy…'
- **Tim Kirk (2007):** The Nazi regime 'sought to harness Germany's resources as fully as possible to its programme of rearmament, war and territorial expansion: the economic policies of the Nazi state only make sense when they are seen as part of a greater, combined economic and foreign policy.'
- **Adam Tooze (2008):** For Hitler, conquest not free trade 'was the necessary precondition for social reconstruction. Conquest, however, clearly depended on rearmament and it was rearmament that was clearly the dominating feature of economic policy in the Third Reich.'
- **Roderick Stackelberg (2009 edn):** After 1936 preparation for war was 'the chief economic goal of the Nazi regime.' The Four Year Plan 'ran counter to Schacht's goal of restoring and maintaining economic prosperity through production for consumption and export.'

Question 5

How valid is the view that the extent of opposition to the Nazi regime has been underestimated?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to examine the issue of how much opposition there was to the Nazi regime and where that opposition came from. Candidates may wish to set their responses in the context of the difficulties that arise when trying to describe different *types* of opposition and of the need to view opposition in broad terms ranging from grumbling to action that challenged the regime.

The candidate might make use of evidence such as:

Points suggesting that there was a breadth of opposition and that the number of opponents has been underestimated

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

Points suggesting that opposition to the regime was limited in scope and opponents limited in number and effectiveness

- Opposition though wide ranging was not strong enough to pose any real threat to the regime.
- Successful economic and then foreign policies helped the regime to maintain broad support and made it hard for opposition to gain a foothold.
- Although the resistance mobilised tens of thousands of people it was not centrally organised and was disorientated. The Gestapo terror successfully kept the opposition fragmented and security police were able to penetrate resistance groups effectively.
- Opposition groups were isolated and unable to cooperate.
- Institutions such as the churches and the army provided the best opportunities for opposition but even here it was not strong or organised enough to do the regime real harm.
- Many Germans were discontented with the regime but only a few exceptional people dared to express their opposition openly. The harsh treatment of these opponents was a powerful disincentive for others tempted to follow their lead.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Detlev Peukert (1987):** We must distinguish 'between the many and varied expressions of nonconformist behaviour'…Even so, 'active resistance was only a minority affair.' Although thousands of people 'performed acts of courage and self-sacrifice', resistance remained disorganised and ineffectual.
- **Ian Kershaw (2000 edn):** Political dissent and opposition to specific measures of the Nazi regime '*were* indeed widespread', but "resistance" in its 'fundamental sense lacked a popular base of support.'
- **Mary Fulbrook (2005):** To begin with 'there were common aims between the Nazi leadership and the key elite groups in the economy, the Army, the civil service and among national conservatives.' This only began to break down as the regime became more radical in the late 1930s. There was 'much popular support for certain aspects of the regime' and 'widespread complicity in the regime's treatment of those seen to be potentially dangerous.'
- **Wolfgang Benz (2006):** 'Not all Germans made their peace with the National Socialist state.' Members of the SPD, the KPD and the churches all opposed the regime in one form or another. Mention must be made in particular of the Jehovah's Witnesses who were 'the only community of faith that resisted the Nazis unconditionally.' Jehovah's Witnesses refused to perform the Hitler salute and refused to join the army. The Nazi responded 'with implacable persecution, arresting nearly 10,000 of them.'
- **Tim Kirk (2007):** 'Although only a tiny minority were involved in active resistance, it seems that opposition to the Nazis occurred on a number of levels ranging from industrial sabotage in factories…to small principled acts of defiance, such as refusing the Hitler salute…Popular opposition was often a temporary and limited response to specific policies.'

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views of the reasons for the Ebert-Groener telephone pact?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A** and **B** on the reasons for the Ebert-Groener pact and offers a structural evaluation of how much the two perspectives reveal in terms of:

Source A

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include:

- **Source A** is from distinguished historian Detlev Peukert's classic work on the Weimar Republic in which he argues that uncertainty was the hallmark of the period and the Republic. The book is subtitled 'The Crisis of Classical Modernity.'

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Ebert's first priority was the restoration of law and order.
- Ebert was worried about the impact of a Bolshevik-style revolution as had occurred in Russia happening in Germany not because he feared Bolshevism as such but rather because he feared the disorder that the revolution had caused.
- Ebert realised the country needed order if it was to return to a stable peacetime economy and move away from a war economy.
- Ebert also thought order was essential if the country was to be able to cope with the demobilisation of the army. The huge numbers of men returning to civilian life would need jobs, for example. Ebert realised that the state would have a huge role to play in restoring the German economy and in dealing with demobilisation so order in the state was absolutely essential.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Ebert had good reason to fear disorder. Strikes in the towns and cities and the mutinies at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven in the first week of November, desertions from the army and the rapid spread of soviets across the country all persuaded him that a Bolshevik-style revolution was a distinct possibility.
- Evidence that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia had indeed led to chaos and disorder.
- Ebert was right to be concerned about the possibility of Germany descending into a bloody civil war. He was caught between extremists on the left and the right.
- On 8 November Kurt Eisner (USPD) had led a demonstration in Munich that led to his supporters taking over the main public buildings there and to the proclamation of a Bavarian Republic.
- Ebert also had to find some way of dealing with widespread rioting in the Ruhr and disturbances in Berlin, Cologne, Dresden and elsewhere across the country.
- Ebert's concerns seemed to have been borne out by the Spartacist Uprising in January 1919.

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Common sense and mutual interest dictated co-operation.
- Ebert was extremely worried by developments in Russia and his first priority was to prevent a similar revolution occurring in Germany because he was anti-Bolshevik; he wanted to establish a parliamentary not a soviet democracy.
- Ebert was in fact part of a larger coalition of the centre ground, which did not want to see the triumph of the extreme left or the extreme right.
- Fears of further uprising from the left meant that Ebert had to get support for the new Republic from the army so he could not afford to alienate the officer corps (because he needed the army to be able to stop any future rising from the left).

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Ebert had hoped for a smooth transfer of power from Max von Baden's government. His plans were upset by the spread of councils (soviets) across Germany.
- Ebert and the SPD leadership feared that the councils would have the effect of encouraging a Russian-style revolution even though the councils themselves were not Bolshevik.
- A general strike was called for by the Workers and Soldiers Council of Berlin for 9 November 1918, the day after Kurt Eisner had declared Bavaria a republic.
- Rumours of a *putsch* and reports that the leader of the Spartacist League, Karl Liebknecht, was on his way to central Berlin to declare Germany a socialist state prompted another leading Social Democrat, Philip Scheidemann, to declare a republic on November 9th.
- Although the pact with the army seemed like a missed opportunity to set up a people's army and to sweep away the old order that led Germany to catastrophe, in fact Ebert's options were limited.
- Ebert could not afford to do without the army not least because the threat of further risings from the extreme left was real and the new Republic had no army of its own to deal with this or any other threats from the left.
- As far as the SPD was concerned most political goals had been achieved with the October reforms.
- The councils themselves were becoming sites of a power struggle between moderates wanting a social republic and radicals wanting a socialist republic.

- The number of Spartacists may have been small, but they had charismatic leaders and combined with other radical left wing groups to mount demonstrations which terrified the German conservatives – the military, landowners, industrialists, businessmen, financiers and the professional upper and middle classes.
- Left wing agitation was invariably seen as Bolshevik-inspired.

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

- Ebert and the SPD had never been in government but they had operated highly successfully in the Reichstag before the war. Ebert himself would have been quite content to accept a constitutional monarchy.
- Ebert and the SPD leadership wanted to ensure that the Republic would win as much support as possible and could not afford to align themselves with the radical left, which they viewed as a danger to the Republic.
- Ebert was on the centre-right of the SPD and it was he who had persuaded the SPD to support the war.
- The actions of the SPD and of Ebert in the chaotic period of the German Revolution were conditioned by the SPD's history. In the 1880s and 1890s the SPD had been subject to repression and thereafter was always afraid of renewed repression that would put their organisation at risk. For this reason the SPD emphasised their legalistic outlook, favoured gradual reform through parliament and rejected radical revolution.
- Ebert wanted to restore order in Germany because he wanted the country to be stable and secure when he took it into the negotiations for the peace. This was what motivated his decision to strike a deal with the army in the pact with Groener.
- Ebert's options were limited in November 1919. He was constrained by the fact that he needed the experienced army officers, civil servants, judges and academics to run the country.
- Ebert's hope that the army would be loyal to the Republic proved to be mistaken.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Eberhard Kolb (2004 edn):** The threat from the left 'provoked a strong defensive reaction' from the middle class and confirmed the belief of the SPD 'that it was only in co-operation with the officer corps and the traditional bureaucracy that they could maintain order and solve day-to-day problems.'
- **William Carr (1991 edn):** The 'sincerity of the SPD's belief in the principles and practice of parliamentary democracy cannot be doubted.' But they were 'obsessed' with correct constitutional procedures. The SPD leaders 'were harassed men, deeply concerned about the German fatherland, but morbidly suspicious of left wing critics.'
- **Ruth Henig (1998):** For Ebert 'the aim was clear: to stabilise the political situation sufficiently to enable elections to take place as soon as possible for a National Assembly.' General Groener 'correctly surmised' that Ebert was as anxious as the army to defeat the Bolshevik challenge 'which threatened to spread revolution through the major urban centres of Germany' and that Ebert needed military assistance to restore order.
- **A J Nicholls (2000 edn):** For Ebert 'the problem of maintaining order and discipline in the army seemed far more serious than the need to build up new contingents loyal to socialism and to the Republic.'
- **Stefan Berger (2008):** The SPD 'did more than any other party to establish and, subsequently, to defend the Republic against its enemies.' The SPD aimed 'at building a social republic that would lead to a gradual transformation of capitalism and the emergence of a socialist state.'

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A** and **B** reveal differing views on the reasons for the Ebert-Groener pact.

Question 2

How useful is Source C in explaining the electoral success of Nazi Party from 1929-1932?

(12 marks)

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

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

Candidates offer a structured evaluation of the usefulness of **Source C** as an explanation of the reasons for the NSDAP's electoral success from 1929-32 in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit.

These may include comment on the fact that the source is:
- an extract from an SPD anti-Nazi declaration that is biased against the Communists and seeks to blame them for the Nazis' successes
- published in the SPD newspaper *Vorwarts* (*Forwards*) to appeal to working class voters
- after the presidential elections of March and April 1932 (in which Hitler had come second to Hindenburg) and before the Reichstag elections of July 1932.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The source highlights the lack of unity and argument that division of the left was an important factor in enabling the Nazis to achieve political and especially electoral success. The source calls for unity among all of the working classes against the threat of Nazism.
- The Communists (KPD) are accused of making common cause against the Nazis impossible, by actually cooperating with the Nazis in the Reichstag and outside parliament when instead they should be working with the Social Democrats against the Nazis.
- The Communists are criticised for trying to subvert and destroy working class organisations for their (the Communists') own ends.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The KPD hated the SPD because of the treatment meted out to the Communists in the Spartacist Uprising of January 1919. Ebert's Defense Minister, Noske, had not only used the army to crush the Spartacists but also the notoriously extreme nationalist and violent Freikorps.
- The Communists were for introducing revolutionary trade unions, that is, trade unions that focused on fomenting a Bolshevik-style revolution in Germany rather than on improving pay and conditions for workers through parliamentary politics.
- The KPD was also accused of destroying any hope of unity among socialists and workers against the Nazi threat by spreading the message that the real threat is not the Nazis at all but the Social Democrats. This was in line with the instructions from Moscow where Stalin had decreed that Social Democrat parties in Europe should be attacked as 'social fascists.'
- The Communists are criticised for actually cooperating with the Nazis in the Reichstag and outside parliament when instead they should be working with the Social Democrats against the Nazis.
- The crushing of the Sparacists included the brutal murders of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg who thus became martyrs in KPD mythology.

- From this point on the Social Democrats were in Communists eyes little better than 'tools' of capitalism and exploitation of the workers and supporters of nationalism and the anti-Communist right. The KPD refused to cooperate with the SPD for the remaining years of the Weimar Republic.
- The KPD's hatred of the Social democrats was reinforced by the violent suppression of attempts to bring about a radical revolution in Germany during the period 1919-23 when Ebert, now President of the Republic, used Article 48 to declare emergency powers and authorised the use of the police, the army and Freikorps against the Communists. For instance, in March 1920 the Communists formed a Ruhr army of 50,000 workers to resist the pro-Kapp *putsch* army and Freikorps. The army then obeyed Ebert's order to crush this Communist uprising with the help of the Freikorps, some of who had been involved in the Kapp *putsch* itself.
- The KPD maintained its policy of non-cooperation with the Social Democrats even when it was clear that the forces of the right were gaining ground, especially during the later 1920s. The SPD was forced constantly to look over its shoulder to a KPD determined to exploit every opportunity to attack SPD politics as 'bourgeois' and a betrayal of the working class.
- For the KPD ample confirmation of the 'treachery' of the SPD was provided in the SPD's support for Hindenburg in the presidential elections of 1932. The Communists fielded their own candidate, Ernst Thalmann.
- Division on the left was undoubtedly a factor in the Nazis' electoral success. The Nazis won 37.4% of the vote in the Reichstag elections of 1932 but the SPD and KPD vote combined was 36.1%. Had the KPD cooperated with the SPD (instead of with the Nazis) there would have been a greater chance of opposing the Nazis effectively in the Reichstag and outside. Indeed in the elections of November 1932 the combined vote of the SPD and KPD was 37.3% while the Nazis' vote fell to 33.1%.

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

- Division on the left was only one reason for the Nazis' political success between 1929 and 1932.
- The Nazis benefited from the economic depression of 1929 but even before then they were picking up support in the countryside because of the agricultural depression that had begun towards the end of 1927.
- The Nazis were well organised in the regions and set up associations covering most groups in society.
- The Nazis had been reorganised by Hitler after the Munich *putsch* and the *Fuhrerprinzip* gave them cohesion.
- The Nazis made skilful use of propaganda.
- The Nazis promised something for everyone even though their promises were often contradictory.
- Hitler's charismatic leadership and his image as a strong, decisive leader made him an attractive alternative to the leaders of the parliamentary parties.
- Hitler's profile as a strong leader was enhanced by his participation in the presidential election campaigns of March and April 1932.
- Widespread discontent and disillusion with democracy enabled the Nazis to win support from across society and among all age groups so that they effectively became a 'catch-all' party of protest.
- Continuing bitterness about the Treaty of Versailles made the Nazis' nationalism and promises to smash Versailles attractive to voters.
- The Nazis' authoritarianism and anti-parliamentarianism, and their relatively conservative social values, as well as their promises to restore German greatness, were especially appealing to the middle classes who not only voted Nazi but also joined the Nazi Party.
- The SA certainly frightened people but they also reinforced the image of the Nazi Party as a party of purpose, order, strength and efficient organisation.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Conan Fischer (1995):** It has been estimated that 'the SPD and the KPD together received about half the working class vote during the Weimar era.' But the crushing of the Spartacist Uprising by the Freikorps 'alienated the radical socialists from the Social Democrats for the duration of the Republic.'
- **Dick Geary (2000):** The transformation of the electoral fortunes of the NSDAP between 1929 and 1932 was 'not simply a consequence of the party's propaganda or Hitler's charismatic leadership, important as these were, but really depended upon the climate within which Weimar politicians operated.'
- **Muhlberger (2003):** The middle classes 'responded strongly' to the Nazis but 'there was also a surprisingly high level of support from the working class.' Indeed, the NSDAP was supported at the polls by around 40% of working class voters. The NSDAP 'was what it claimed to be: a *volkspartei*, not a class or middle class affair.'
- **Tim Kirk (2007):** By the time it reached its peak of electoral success in July 1932, the NSDAP represented a greater range of social and economic groups than any of its competitors. Despite the diversity of the party's appeal, however, the middle classes remained over-represented both as members and as voters before 1933.
- **Peter Fritzsche (2008):** The Great Depression 'speeded up the Nazis gains after 1929', but had little to do with the transformation of middle class politics after 1918. 'It was this latter process that prepared the Nazi breakthrough and without which Nazi gains cannot be explained.'

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the usefulness of **Source C** as an explanation of the reasons for the electoral success of the Nazi Party from 1929-32.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the Nazis' attempts to create a *volksgemeinschaft* ("racial community") between 1933 and 1939?

(12 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to 3 marks for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

Candidates offer a structured consideration of the extent to which **Source D** provides a full explanation of the Nazis' attempts to create a *volksgemeinschaft* in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include:

- Accurate commentary on the fact the source is from a Nazi pamphlet at the beginning of the Third Reich, which explains policy not yet implemented.
- Comment on the fact that the pamphlet is propaganda (as well as Nazi policy) for public consumption trading on traditional values.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Marriage must be between genetically healthy people of the same race.
- The purpose of marriage is to produce genetically healthy and racially pure children.
- Mothers must provide homes where children can be nurtured in nationalist and racial culture.
- The community of the family is a microcosm of the national community. The purpose of having and rearing children is so that they can grow up to become physically and mentally fit adults who are fully aware first and foremost of their responsibility to the nation and to the race.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The *volksgemeinschaft* was the Nazis attempt to unite all Germans in a racially pure, classless society.
- The status of Germans would be determined by racial purity and ideological commitment to the state.
- Relations between, for instance, husband and wife and parents and children were to be less important than the demands of the state.
- Women were viewed as having a crucial role to play in the formation of the *volksgemeinschaft*. For women 'Children, Kitchen and Church' (*Kinder, Kuche, Kirche*) was the central theme of Nazi policy.
- The first duty of women was to produce healthy Aryan children. This emphasis on childbearing reflected the Nazis' concerns about the declining birth rate.

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

- Women were not the only group expected to play a key role in the creation of the *volksgemeinschaft*. The Nazis also needed to win the support of the workers. For this reason, the Labour unions were destroyed and replaced with the Nazi Labour Front (DAF) in May 1933.
- The Nazis also attempted to win the workers' support through employment schemes and through workers' organisations such as *Beauty of Labour* (designed to persuade employers to improve working conditions) and *Strength through Joy* (designed to reward loyal workers with, for instance, package holidays and cultural excursions.)
- As well as targeting workers and women the Nazis also sought to indoctrinate the young. To this end youth organisations were set up and became compulsory for boys and girls – the *Hitler Youth* for Boys and the *League of German Girls* for young women, for example.
- The Nazis also attempted to use education to indoctrinate young people. Teachers were 'coordinated' and the curriculum was revised to ensure that all subjects were organised around racial ideology.
- The Nazis also pursued racial policies designed to rid German of all people deemed to be 'racially unfit' and these policies targeted in particular, but not exclusively, the Jews.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Dick Geary (2000):** The Nazis 'certainly claimed to be creating a new kind of society, a *volksgemeinschaft*,' in which the divisions that had in the past torn Germany apart would be overcome 'and Germans would unite in common purpose behind their leader.' This would be 'a racial but classless community…Women's role in this was to breed for the Fatherland…'
- **Tim Kirk (2007):** The Nazis 'wanted to transform German society forever.' They wanted to create 'a *volksgemeinschaft*, a national community of all the people, regardless of wealth or rank, that would transcend the divisions and conflicts of modern society. It was an idea with mythical qualities, promising the restoration of a shared sense of national purpose' and at the same time 'concealing contradictions.' Youth was 'at the core' of the Nazis' vision. For their part, women were expected 'to produce healthy Aryan children for the national community: this was their biological destiny.'
- **Lisa Pine (2007):** The Nazis 'sought to create a "national community" made up of "racially pure", "hereditary healthy", physically fit, politically stable and socially responsible *Volksgenossen* ('national comrades'). The Nazis 'made it abundantly clear who belonged and who did not'… 'As child-bearers and protectors of the future of the *Volk*, women had a particularly significant role assigned to them in the "national community",'
- **Jill Stephenson (2008):** The creation of a national community or *volksgemeinschaft* was an aspiration of the Nazi leadership…It was conceived as the collective body of 'valuable Aryan' Germans who would live and work in harmony together under the leadership of the Nazi Party. The primary criterion of belonging to it was membership of the 'Aryan' race.
- **Roderick Stackelberg (2009):** An avowed aim of the Nazis was 'to produce a uniform, harmonious and militant *Volksgemeinschaft*, a national community based on cultural and "racial" kinship and pursuing the common goal of national reconstruction.'

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which **Sources D** offers a full explanation of the Nazis' attempts to create a *volksgemeinschaft*.

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How valid is the view that agriculture exerted at least as much influence as mining on government policy between 1910 and 1948?

This question invites candidates to consider the relative importance of agriculture and mining in influencing government policy. Both Smuts and later Hertzog were influenced by the demands made by these two important sectors of the South African economy, although it is usually accepted that mining was more influential than agriculture, since it produced most of South Africa's wealth. Candidates may choose to distinguish between the influence of capital and the labour force, and some may refer to the omission from the question of manufacturing industry which was increasingly influential in the period after 1945.

The candidates might use evidence such as:

Evidence relating to the influence of agriculture

- Despite the numbers employed, farming produced only 12% of national income in 1936.
- Vast majority of Bills passed by the SA Parliament between 1910 and 1935 were designed to assist farming.
- The 1913 Native Land Act protected white agriculture.
- The laws of 1913 and 1936 ensured that most of the best land stayed in white hands.
- Hertzog promoted the export of agricultural produce through transport subsidies.
- Hertzog's Land bank made money available to white farmers.
- UP's 1937 Marketing Act helped maize farmers.
- Grants given to tackle drought relief and rural unemployment.
- Concerns about the impact of Smuts' policies led many farmers in the Transvaal and Free State to switch support to Malan in 1948.

Evidence relating to the influence of mining

- Widely recognised that mining was the lifeblood of the Union.
- The importance of gold as a source of revenue.
- The SAP and Smuts favoured mining capital before 1924.
- Smuts seen as the ally of 'Hoggenheimer' ie mining capital represented by the Chamber of Mines.
- White mine workers demanded greater job protection and the safeguarding of wage differentials in the post war period.
- Smuts use of force to suppress the Rand strikes of 1922.
- The Pact government (Hertzog) responded to pressure from white mine workers.
- Mines and Works Amendment Act (1926) excluded black workers from certain jobs.
- Chamber of Mines objected to the Act of 1926 but had to accept it.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Feinstein:** 'It was revenue raised from the gold mines that enabled the state to give huge sums to other sectors, especially the commercial farmers, with an array of subsidies, relief grants and loans.' With regard to agriculture, 'persistent poverty and slow progress created strong economic and political pressures on the government to intervene in support of white farmers, and they (the government) responded vigorously.' Feinstein recognises the continuing inefficiency of agriculture before 1945, but argues that the foundations had by then been greatly improved and there was finally a basis for more rapid advance and modernisation in the post war years.
  In the 1970s Marxist historians (**D. Kaplan, D O'Meara** and others) argued that under Hertzog those industries, including agriculture, where the capital came from within South Africa, dominated government thinking, and the creation of the UP brought about some kind of 'alliance of gold and maize' which dominated government policy. They saw the state as the pawn of different types of capital.
- **Yudelman** challenged this interpretation, arguing that the South African State should be viewed not simply as an instrument in the hands of class interests (as the Marxists suggest) but as an independent force which used industrial conflicts to legitimise its own control over public policy.
- **Davenport**, following Yudelman, challenges the view that while Smuts favoured mining capital, there was a change of direction under Hertzog, and policies were more favourable to mineworkers. According to Davenport, 'White mineworkers may have been on the rampage after their defeat in 1922; but their power had been broken by their defeat that it never effectively recovered.'

Question 2

"Merely a debating forum far removed from the real political action." How valid is this assessment of the contribution of the Broederbond to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism?

The quotation (adapted from Herman Giliomee) challenges the widely accepted view of the role of the Broederbond in the growth of Afrikaner nationalism. The candidate is invited to assess the contribution of the Broederbond, and to consider a range of other factors which may also have contributed to the growth of Afrikaner nationalism.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Evidence suggesting the importance of the contribution of the Broederbond

- Broederbond established in 1918.
- In 1929 the Broederbond established the FAK.
- FAK promoted Afrikaans' literature and culture.
- Very influential in Afrikaner education and culture.
- The economic role of the Broederbond, in alliance with SANLAM.
- Influential in establishing an Afrikaner 'People's Bank' in 1934.
- Organised the People's Economic Congress (Volkskongress) in 1939.
- Malan and Verwoerd were members of the Broederbond.

Evidence suggesting the role of the Broederbond has been exaggerated

- Broederbond largely confined to the Transvaal and the OFS.
- In 1933 the Bond had only 1,003 members.
- Consisted largely of Transvaal clerics and intellectuals.
- Bond attempts to establish Afrikaner Trade Unions were ineffectual.
- The first significant Afrikaner press, National Pers, and newspaper, *Die Burger*, was established in the Cape in 1914.
- The Bond was much less influential than the Cape NP and *Die Burger*.
- Hertzog attacked the Bond's 1934 claim that 'the Afrikaner Broederbond shall rule South Africa' and the Bond subsequently retracted this statement.

Other factors that should be taken into consideration

- Popularisation of Afrikaner history, especially after the centennial celebrations of the Great Trek (*Eeufees* celebration).
- Role of the Dutch Reformed Church.
- Growing awareness of disparities between the standard of living of Afrikaners and English speakers.
- Concerns about the impact of 'poor whiteism' on the future of the *volk*.
- SANLAM and SANTAM worked to stimulate Afrikaner economic activity.
- The promotion of *volkskapitalisme*.
- Afrikaner anger at involvement in World War Two.
- Political mobilisation of Afrikanerdom under the leadership of Malan.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- Writing in 1990 **Charles Bloomberg** argued that the Broederbond was 'the central policy making organ, coordinating the entire mechanism of the nationalist movement and forming its front-line shock troops.'
- **Herman Giliomee** argues that historians are prone to exaggerate the role of the Broederbond and regard it as a *deus ex machina* to explain every development. He sees the Nationalist movement as a complex organisation with diverse sources of influence and claims that involvement in World War Two was crucial, acting as a catalyst which enabled the NP to draw together diverse people in a powerful alliance of cultural nationalists, farmers seeking labour, businessmen seeking capital and clients and workers seeking racial protection. All of these groups sought to secure Afrikaner political survival and a changed relationship between South Africa and Britain.
- **ELP Stals** has shown that the Bond had very little influence on policy; instead it reflects the divisions among Afrikaners and encouraged debate until consensus emerged.
- **Leonard Thompson** argues that the Broederbond, the FAK, the Afrikaner churches, the Reddingsdaadbond and the National Party 'combined to mobilise Afrikaner cultural, economic and political power.'
- **Beinart** also argues that 'Smuts' commitment to the war touched the raw nerve of Afrikaner anti-imperialism.

Question 3

Did the increased radicalisation of African resistance in the 1940s owe as much to the changes brought about by World War Two as it did to changes in the ANC?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to evaluate the relative importance of two identified explanations of the increased radicalisation of African resistance, while also taking other possible factors into consideration. The issue is of historical significance in that much of the history of this period has been written from an uncritical ANC perspective.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Demographic and social changes brought about by World War Two

- Large numbers of black workers were drawn to cities as permanent residents.
- Growth of huge squatter encampments in urban areas such as Johannesburg.
- Growth of African urban culture (maribi).
- Growth of an urbanised African working class.
- Returning black soldiers demanded liberation at home.
- Emergence of pan-Africanist ideas.
- Popular and community radicalism resulted in localised rent and bus boycotts.
- Squatters' movements threatened the authority of the state.

Increased Union activity

- The African Mineworkers Union was established in 1941.
- By 1945 CNETU represented over 150,000 workers.
- In 1946 more than 70,000 African mineworkers went on strike in support of improved pay and conditions.
- Some (limited) links with ANC.

The role of the ANC

- Xuma (ANC President 1940-49) rebuilt the organisational structures of the ANC.
- Branch structure was expanded and membership increased.
- Women were given full membership rights.
- Publication of African Claims (1943) with its more radical demands.
- 1947 Doctors' Pact reflected growing need for oppressed people to work together.
- Internal divisions weakened the organisation.
- ANC leadership did little to support the bus boycotts or squatters' movements.
- ANC leadership opposed strikes which threatened war effort.
- Formation of the ANC Youth League led to a protracted struggle between Old Guard and Youth Leaguers.
- By 1949 Sisulu, Mandela and Tambo had assumed dominant position in the ANC.
- Programme of Action committed the ANC to mass action and greater militancy.

Other factors

- CPSA membership increased rapidly, especially among Africans.
- Communists influential in promoting Trade Unions.
- Some contacts between CPSA and ANC, but generally Youth Leaguers were suspicious.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Saul Dubow:** Emphasises the difficulty of generalising about the ANC in the 1940s. Congress was in the throes of transition into a radical mass nationalist movement but it was not organisationally or ideologically united. Nevertheless, it can safely be asserted that the ANC was increasingly engaging with popular struggles and adopting a more confrontational attitude towards the state.
- **Beinart** points out that the African Trade Unionism of the 1940s was not deep-rooted and largely died out after 1946 when Communist Party priorities changed and white workers again prioritised racial protection. 'The 1946 Mineworkers' strike turned out to be the end of a phase of militant unionism, not the beginning.'
Marxist historians have emphasised the growth of an African urban proletariat which, when unionised, created a first 'wave of resistance.' **Fine and Davis** have cautioned against placing too much emphasis on 'the oversimplified image of the organisation and combativeness of black workers ever escalating in the 1940s and of the defeats inflicted on labour struggles…serving only as a stimulus for yet more militancy.'
- **Hein Marais** is critical of the ANC. 'The late 1940s saw a drift away from class politics – preparing the way for the dramatic rise of African nationalism. Grass roots resistance stood at an angle to the demonstrable failure of the policies followed by the ANC…Still lodged on an accommodationist track, the ANC was unable to capitalize on those struggles and transform them from sporadic expressions of discontent into a challenge that threatened the ruling bloc.'

Question 4

How valid is the view that the Sauer Report provided a master plan for the development of apartheid in the 1950s?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to consider the view that the proposals put forward by the Sauer Commission constituted a master plan for the development of apartheid in the 1950s, while recognising the more recent view that the Sauer Report did not constitute a master plan and that the development of apartheid in the 1950s was largely a pragmatic response to a range of different factors.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

The proposals of the Sauer Report (1947)

- Established complete separation of Africans and whites as the ultimate goal.
- Proposals reflected ideas publicised by Afrikaner academics and SABRA.
- Labour bureaux would regulate the supply of African labour.
- Native Representatives in Parliament would be abolished, as would the Native Representative Council.
- Mission control over African education would end.
- BUT there were major inconsistencies within the Sauer Report.

Developments in the 1950s which suggest that the Sauer Report served as a blueprint for the development of apartheid in the 1950s

- Group Areas Act of 1950 and its consequences.
- Labour bureaux established under auspices of NAD (1951).
- Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act tightened the Pass laws (1952).
- Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 and its consequences.
- Bantu Education Act of 1953 and its consequences.
- Petty apartheid measures.

Developments in the 1950s which challenge the view that the Sauer Report provided a blueprint for apartheid

- As it emerged in the 1940s, apartheid was never a single cohesive policy.
- The needs of agriculture and urban employers determined government policy.
- Section 10 of Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act of 1955 represented the triumph of a more pragmatic approach to 'total' separation.
- Labour Bureaux did not succeed in imposing tight influx control and there was a steady increase in the number of Africans in urban areas.
- The government was reluctant to undertake large scale urban removals when its majority remained uncertain.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Liberal historians** viewed apartheid as a seamless 'grand design' based on a master plan drawn up by Afrikaner zealots.
- The Marxist historian **Dan O' Meara** argued that the notion of 'total separation' was never taken seriously, since this would have disrupted the process of capital accumulation. The Sauer report aimed to protect the economic interests of Afrikaner capitalists, especially farmers. He presented the Sauer Report as an Afrikaner capitalist blueprint for apartheid. Other historians who accepted the 'master plan' view of the Sauer Report includes **D Hindson**, **D Welsh** and **Brian Bunting**.
- In 1991 **Deborah Posel** challenged this view: since the Nationalists could not agree in the 1940s on such issues as the long-term need for African labour, the Sauer Report simply 'reproduced rather than resolved these divergences and therefore cannot have provided a single master plan for the building of apartheid.' **Posel** goes on to argue that forces outside Afrikanerdom influenced the development of apartheid, including the English speaking business community and black extra-parliamentary opposition.
- **Nigel Worden:** the Sauer Report was sufficiently vague to accommodate the interests of both those who favoured total separation and those who favoured a more 'practical' apartheid.
- **Clark** and **Worger** point out that even after they came to power in 1948, Nationalist leaders – including Malan, Eiselen and Verwoerd were still struggling with the meaning of 'apartheid'.
- **Hermann Giliomee** writing in *The Afrikaners: a Biography of a People* **(2003)**: 'The Sauer Report did not constitute a blueprint for apartheid to which all Afrikaner nationalists subscribed, but rather reflects the contradictory tendencies in the nationalist movements'… 'Apartheid was a flexible operational ideology for Afrikaner nationalism.'

Question 5

How important a part did de-colonisation elsewhere in Africa play in determining the foreign policy of the South African government, 1960-1984?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to consider the extent to which decolonisation elsewhere in Africa determined the South African government's foreign policy between 1960 and 1984, while taking into consideration other factors which may have affected South Africa's relations with other countries.

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Evidence suggesting that decolonisation elsewhere in Africa was an important factor in determining SA foreign policy after 1960

- The declaration of the Republic and withdrawal from the Commonwealth 1961.
- South African support for UDI in Rhodesia.
- The impact of the end of the Portuguese Empire in Africa.
- The South African Border War.
- Attempts to destabilise neighbouring countries through government aid to RENAMO in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola.
- SA government encouraged economic dependence through the South African Customs Union.
- Botha's attempts to create a constellation of southern African states to defeat the 'Marxist threat'.
- Increased military spending and strengthening of the security forces to meet defence needs in Southern Africa.
- Botha's 'total strategy' was aimed at the challenges posed by liberation movements with Marxist leanings in neighbouring states.

Evidence suggesting the significance of other factors

- SA's administration of South West Africa threatened to bring it into direct confrontation with the world community.
- Relations with the West, especially the US, Great Britain, West Germany and France.
- The Cold War.
- US 'constructive engagement' under Reagan.
- More favourable attitudes of the Thatcher government.
- The role of the United Nations' resolutions.
- Economic sanctions, disinvestment and trade boycotts.
- The anti-apartheid movement and the contribution of sporting boycotts.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **TR Davenport:** '…The spread of decolonisation made the government's task progressively harder.'
- **James Barber:** identifies three overlapping but distinctive settings within which SA's foreign policy was pursued: (1) the regional context of Southern Africa (2) relations with the West (3) the broader world context. Of these, Southern Africa was the most active setting from the late 1960s on. Barber argues, despite the efforts of Pretoria, South Africa remained a pariah state in all three settings.
- **Leonard Thompson** emphasises the South African government's position of relative strength in Southern Africa, even into the 1980s. 'The Botha government used SA's economic superiority to dominate neighbouring countries and prevent them from providing sanctuary for militant refugees…It also used its military superiority to restrain neighbouring governments from pursuing anti-apartheid policies.' He also points out that South Africa foreign propaganda was well tuned to the Cold War fears and prejudices of Europeans and Americans.'
- Botha's total strategy comprised of three elements, according to **RW Johnson**. Firstly, a general diplomatic effort to convince the West that meaningful reform was taking place; secondly, targeted strikes against ANC bases in Botswana and SWAPO bases in Angola; thirdly, attempts to maintain a political status quo in southern Africa which would not be supportive of SA's enemies.

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the reasons for Fusion and the formation of the United Party in 1934?

(12 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of the explanation given in **Source A** of the reason for Fusion and the formation of the United Party in 1934 in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include:

- Giliomee and Mbenga are two well respected South African historians who collaborated with 31 other distinguished academics to produce the first major history of South Africa to be published in South Africa since 1994.
- The *New History* is an attempt to produce a single History of South Africa which draws on different historiographical perspectives and incorporates recent scholarship.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Farmers from both political parties and favoured coalition government.
- Tielman Roos announced that he was about to re-enter politics.
- Both Smuts and Hertzog were fearful about their own positions.
- The result of the General Election of 1933 demonstrated the popularity of the coalition government and paved the way for Fusion.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Fusion and the subsequent formation of the UP was a consequence of the Great Depression in South Africa.
- Transvaal farmers were key National Party supporters; Cape farmers tended to support the SAP.
- The consequences of unemployment were highlighted by the Carnegie Commission Report of 1932.
- Tielman Roos and business leaders urged devaluation throughout 1932.
- Devaluation boosted the value of gold shares.
- The Statute of Westminster (1931) alleviated Hertzog's fear of the Imperial connection.
- The agreed Programme of Principles (June 1934) was the basis on which Fusion formally took place.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of those in the source:

- The Depression particularly affected diamond mining and agriculture in SA.
- Developments in SA were influenced by responses to Depression elsewhere in the world.
- In Britain a National Government had been established to tackle the problems created by Depression but the Labour Party split over the decision.
- The 1929 election had been bitterly contested between Smuts and Hertzog, with Hertzog campaigning on the claim that white civilisation was endangered by the SAP, which made Fusion more surprising.
- Fusion was based on continuing ambiguity about the relationship with the Commonwealth.
- Some Afrikaners felt betrayed by Hertzog's actions and Malan created the break-away Purified National Party, committed to a South African Republic.
- Some SAP supporters remained suspicious of Hertzog and formed the Dominion Party.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **James Barber:** Although Smuts and Hertzog had been political opponents for more than twenty years 'the aftermath of the (economic) crisis underlined their common ground rather than their differences.'
- **GHL le May:** Fusion was not achieved easily. Some difficulties were concealed by semantics, some agreed to differ. For Hertzog, 'the creation of the United Party was the justification of all that he had stood for.'
- **Nigel Worden:** Hertzog's alliance with Smuts in the Fusion government of 1934 marked a clear rejection of Afrikaner separatism and an alliance with British capital interests.
- **William Beinart:** 'Despite their rhetoric, Smuts and Hertzog had a good deal in common.'
- **Marian Lacey:** The SAP had already accepted the government's proposals relating to the Native franchise before Fusion took place. **Davenport** rejects this view.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the reasons for the Fusion and the formation of the United Party in 1934.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views of the ANC's decision to resort to violence and armed struggle in the 1960s?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the differing views in **Sources B** and **C** of the ANC's decision to resort to violence and armed struggle and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit.

- Oliver Tambo was a leading member of the ANC.
- Tambo led the ANC in exile and succeeded Luthuli as President.
- Tambo became a figure of international standing in the struggle against Apartheid.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Tambo emphasises that the ANC espoused violence with great reluctance and only because the organisation was forced to do so by government actions.
- The ANC had continued its non-violent approach even when the government used violence against demonstrators.
- In 1961 the government had called out the army in response to an ANC strike.
- If the government was prepared to use the army, then the ANC would have to change its tactics.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- ANC president, Luthuli, was committed to passive resistance.
- The non-violence of the ANC was stressed by the defendants at the Treason Trail.
- Government use of force, especially at Sharpeville.
- The heavy handed response at Sharpeville resulted in 69 deaths.
- Government banning of the ANC made non-violent protest much more difficult.
- Sabotage campaign began on 16 December 1961.
- In June 1961 Mandela and Joe Slovo (SACP) were mandated to establish Umkhonto (MK).
- MK was the military wing of the ANC.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Mandela and others were considering abandoning non-violence by 1960.
- Pressure for violent action was coming from across much of the political spectrum.
- Guerilla tactics were used in the Pondoland uprising.
- Mandela and others within the ANC believed they needed to act if they were to keep up with the popular mood and prevent things getting out of hand.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Details relating to the Pondoland uprising.
- PAC established Poqo at the same time.
- Govan Mbeki was demanding a strategy that would unite urban and rural blacks.
- Widespread protests and strikes followed Sharpeville, suggesting strength of popular movement.
- The differences which emerged between Sisulu and Luthuli, on the one hand, and Mandela on the other.
- The largely white radical student group, The African Resistance Movement, also espoused violence.

Points which offer a wider contextualisation of the views in the sources:

- Failure of passive resistance in the 1950s to achieve any significant results.
- Military emphasis in strategy briefly influenced by Che Guevara, who believed guerrilla activity by a group could induce mass political mobilisation.
- Involvement of the SACP in the planning of MK.
- Plans relating to armed struggle were produced at the Rivonia Trial.
- ANC in exile concentrated on the armed struggle.
- The armed struggle achieved very little during the 1960s.
- Cooperation between MK and SACP.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

Historians disagree about what the ANC had achieved in the 1950s and about the subsequent resort to armed struggle. While there is a debate – as these sources show – about the reasons for the decision to resort to armed violence within the ANC, others have been more fundamentally critical of the decision. Marxist historians highlight the middle class values and failings of the ANC and criticise the resort to armed struggle arguing that the ANC should have been more committed to internal mass action.

- **McKinley:** 'In the early 1960s a small group of ANC leaders turned its back on the radical possibilities of internal mass struggle by unilaterally deciding to set up an armed wing and embark on an exile-based armed struggle.'
- The radical **Hein Marais** regards the ANC's abandoning of mass mobilisation after 1960 in favour of the armed struggle as indicative of the ANC's betrayal of the black working class.
- **Howard Barrel** is also critical of the ANC decision: 'after 1961, ANC exiles spent the first two decades imprisoned within an unhelpful set of assumptions about what means of struggle were sufficient to achieve the outcome they sought.' They attached too much significance to the armed struggle and disregarded mobilisation by political means.

- **Saul Dubow** takes a more conventional view: he recognises that the weeks of mass protest after Sharpeville put the country's future in the balance but it was not a revolutionary movement. Dubow argues that Sharpeville revealed the weakness of non-violent resistance. 'With the liberation movements driven underground, the ANC's need for a military capacity became inescapable.'
- **Meli** follows Mandela in arguing that the original decision to establish MK was not organisational but was taken by individuals. When MK was established 'none of constituent organisations of the Congress Alliance had formally adopted the policy of armed struggle'.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the differing views of the ANC's decision to resort to violence and armed struggle in the 1960s.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as an explanation of the growing unrest in South Africa which led to the Soweto Uprising?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of the usefulness of **Source D** as an explanation of the growing unrest in South Africa which led to the Soweto Uprising in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit.

- In 1976 Mandela was imprisoned on Robben Island for his part in the Rivonia conspiracy.
- As a prisoner he had little access to information about what was happening within South Africa.
- The ANC was keen to demonstrate early involvement in the developing unrest in South Africa.
- *Long Walk to Freedom* was written in the 1990s by which time the world regarded Mandela as a key figure in the struggle to overthrow apartheid.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Protests in Soweto focused on the proposed compulsory use of Afrikaans in secondary schools, the language of the oppressors.
- The demonstrations led to the death of Hector Peterson, who was shot by the police.
- ANC activists supported the demonstrators.
- Young urban Africans were better educated than in the past, despite the limitations of the education available to them, and therefore more aware of injustices.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The number of High School students in Soweto increased from 12,656 to almost 35,000 between 1972 and 1976 but the recession of 1973-6 made it difficult for school leavers to find jobs.
- Expenditure on white pupils was 15 times that spent on Africans.
- Student leaders were influenced by the Black Consciousness Movement.
- Rioting spread to other towns on the Witwatersrand, as well as Durban, Pretoria and Cape Town.
- ANC pamphlets were distributed in the days after June 16th, urging students to extend the protest.
- Worldwide media coverage encouraged demonstrators.
- Protestors attacked facilities and buildings associated with apartheid, since these facilities symbolised their oppression.
- Estimated that 20% of Soweto population participated.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of those in the source:

- Numerous strikes occurred in the early 1970s.
- There were no formal links between workers organisations and the school students.
- The findings of the Cillie Commission blamed 'outside' agitators for the uprising.
- Cillie Commission also highlighted problems caused by the Group Areas Act and poor housing.
- Lack of political rights, pass laws and influx control legislation also caused discontent.
- A campaign against rent increases in Soweto was successful.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- The Trotskyite **Baruch Hirson** argued that the increase in worker militancy explained the township revolts that began in Soweto.
- **Archie Mafeje:** The lack of links with worker organisations made Soweto a lost opportunity.
- **James Barber:** Recognises the significance of the language dispute, and the role of the BCM. 'On one side of the language dispute stood Afrikaner nationalism. On the other side stood black consciousness.'
- **Saul Dubow:** The role of the ANC in the Soweto Uprising was minimal. Student activists later recorded that the ANC had barely figured in their political consciousness. Most non-ANC historians, including **Nigel Worden** and **James Barber**, agree.
- **Francis Meli** argues that Soweto brought new, younger activists into the ANC. These 'young, militant cadres' were put at the immediate disposal of the movement which was particularly important since the resumption of the armed struggle was an extremely urgent matter.' According to Meli, after 1976, the armed struggle was combined with unarmed demonstrations.
- **Khehla Shebane (in Gilliomee and Mbenga):** At the core of it all was the lack of political rights and freedom. Black students were not only tired of the education system, but of the system of the country, the ways laws are made by the white minority.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful as an explanation of the growing unrest in South Africa which led to the Soweto Uprising.

Soviet Russia (1917-1953)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How far is it true to say that the February Revolution was "born in the bread queues" of Petrograd?

The aim is to allow the candidate to give an account and analysis of the events leading up to and causing the February Revolution. It invites the candidate to classify the information and ideas they have into causes for the social unrest and economic breakdown of the regime. Candidates may consider the variety of influences which were brought to bear at this time – from the immediate war-time background to the existing power structure to outside and even revolutionary factors. This might lead to a discussion of the longer term factors against the immediate downfall of the Tsar in February 1917.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Points to support this claim

- Increasing problems by 1917, the demand for bread, food shortages, queuing and inflation. The immediate events of 25th February and International Women's Day as evidence of discontent.
- Economic change and its impact – the economic situation, the demand for bread, the pressures of modernising Russia as seen at Putilov and others. The key was reform of situation…not a brief protest here.
- Workers were aggrieved by deteriorating conditions in the factories and by food shortages.
- The role of the Army joining the rioters from 25th February onwards – the failure of the Tsar to retain loyalty, again longer term discontent. Soldiers deserting the Front.
- The failure to support Tsarism might have seemed spontaneous and the revolution uncoordinated but it quickly changed in a few days to a more politicised protest, showing the underlying problems.

Points against this claim

- Peasants taking land by force and killing landowners.
- Impact on the Russian army from the outset to the crisis of 1916 highlighting withdrawal of support from Tsar by top commanders.
- February was evidence of the failure of autocracy – the nature of Tsarism by 1917 and actions of the Tsar, an evaluation of his strengths and weaknesses, including his role in the War, the effect of the Tsarina's role and influence of Rasputin.
- An awareness of the range of disillusioned groups, revolution from above: the role of the elites, the alienated intelligentsia and the possible palace coup – Yusupov.
- The development of opposition parties as evidence of discontent.
- Revolution from below; soldiers, sailors, peasants and workers.
- Lenin and Trotsky – their writings and influence and noting that although the major leaders were abroad, no political party organised the revolution, political influence was part of the failure of many to support Tsarism.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Figes:** argues that the Revolution was 'born in the bread queues.'
- **Pipes:** 'Rebellions happen, revolutions are made.'
- **Kenez:** 'there was not to be found anywhere in the country any groups of the population… which were ready to put up a fight for the old regime.'
- **McKean:** 'the Great War acted as the spark which set the combustible of mass discontent alight.'
- **Trotsky:** 'Nicholas II inherited from his ancestors not only a giant empire, but also a revolution.'
- **Wade:** 'The long awaited revolution had come swiftly, arising out of strikes and popular demonstrations…'.
- **Corin and Fiehn:** 'The main push came from the workers in the cities.'
- **Briggs:** the Tsarina "was unable to appease mounting discontent with the Imperial Government."

Question 2

"No Russian government had ever been more responsive to pressure from below or less able to impose its will on society." How accurate is this assessment of Bolshevik economic policy 1917-1921?

An evaluation of how and why Bolshevik economic policy developed between 1917 and 1921 was implemented. Candidates should cover the reasons for its introduction, its economic success and its role as part of the socialist revolution. Hence candidates may present evidence of the impact in both economic and political terms. It should be looked at as part of the socialist programme not in isolation.

Pressure from 'below' and inability to impose its will on society

- Precarious position of new government; local soviets not willing to accept instructions from Petrograd.
- Handing over control to peasants and workers and the subsequent chaos.
- A list of decrees issued by the Sovnarkom beginning in October 1917: Maximum eight-hour day for workers, social insurance, and women were declared as equal to men and were able to own property.
- Lenin reluctantly introduced the 'Rights of the People of Russia decree' that gave total autonomy to the minorities of Russia. This could be seen as a dangerous move after they had already lost 62 million of the population to Germany and with a damaged economy one of the only defences Russia had at this time was its large population.
- Pressure from below that had to be dealt with, so power was distributed to local soviets to manage their own issues, initially they were not under central control.
- Land – pressure to deal with the land question – 1917 Land Decree – abolishing private ownership but also recognising the peasants' demands. Land could no longer be bought, sold or rented as it belonged to the 'entire people'. This was not what the Bolsheviks wanted. Privately owned land was the complete opposite to the envisioned Communist Russia they had intended to establish.
- The Decree on Workers 14 Nov 1917. Contradicted the ideal of Socialism the Bolsheviks had in mind when they gave factory committees the right to control industrial production and finance in workplaces and to 'supervise' management. This went far beyond what many of the Bolshevik leaders wanted, but they could not resist the strength of the workers' pressure to reform.
- Left Communists (within the party) led by Bukharin insisted that there was an alternative to Brest Litovsk and also under Bogdanov had concerns about economic management being too centralised.
- Kronstadt Rebellion March 1921 brought about the end of War Communism and grain requisitioning.
- Peasant revolt in Tambov, August 1920 and June 1921, the Bolsheviks were 'powerless to resist rebels' March 1921 (**Figes**).
- Party divisions over War Communism by 1921, eg Bukharin and Preobrazhensky.

Bolsheviks imposing their will on society

- 1917 Land Decree – expropriation of big landowners.
- 2 Dec 1917 Vesenkha was set up to impose tighter central control on the economy.
- February 1918 the nationalisation of industry and the socialisation of land and agriculture were established as the final decrees allowing for greater state control.
- The adoption of War Communism in 1918 ensured that economy would be sustained and the Army would be fed.
- May 1918 the Food-Supplies Dictatorship was set up to activate the forcible requisitioning of grain as the standard policy. Unsurprisingly, the peasants resisted bitterly.
- Grain requisitioning was applied by the Bolsheviks by sending Red guards to the countryside to find grain for the starving cities.
- Private trade was banned and manufacture was implemented. State trading organisation was chaotic and industry was simply not producing enough goods.
- War Communism was a big step in the consolidation of power of the Bolsheviks as it proved the progress they had made. Originally the Reds could not implement any form of legislation that actually suited them but by now they had ceased to submit decrees just to please the masses and forced the Communist regime upon its people within a time of utter chaos.
- The Red Terror, Autumn 1918, after attempted assassination of Lenin.
- By 1921 famine had killed 5 million because of drought and the requisitioning programme, international aid, it became one of worst famines of Twentieth Century.
- Industrial output fell to 20% pre-war levels (**C Ward**).
- By January 1921 the bread ration had been cut by one third in cities.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Hosking:** "Even Lenin had no clear conception of how he was going to run the enormous, divided, war torn country."
- **Buldakov/Shiskin:** see the Bolsheviks as 'destructive demagogues.'
- **Kowalski:** states that there was 'an even greater centralisation of power in the hands of the Sovnarkom and its spawning bureaucracy at the expense of the power of the local soviets' and 'they lost whatever legitimacy they had in October and clung to power by dictatorial means.'
- **Figes:** War communism was a political response to the urban crisis of 1918.
- **Fitzpatrick:** wonders how far it was a radical measure to cope with a desperate situation.

Question 3

To what extent was Stalin's success in the leadership struggle due to his opponents underestimating him?

Here it is expected that the candidate might review the different reasons for Stalin's rise to power and to place significance on the extent to which Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Bukharin and Rykov underestimated the merits of Stalin. They may also discuss key themes such as: policy issues, personalities, the mechanics of power, the influence of Lenin's Testament and pragmatism.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Stalin's strengths

- As an administrator (Commissar for Nationalities).
- Pragmatist/opportunist (Lenin's death, the cult of Lenin and Stalin's self-adopted role as Lenin's disciple).
- Patron (as General Secretary, Lenin Enrolment). The creator of the mass Party by 1925.
- Control of the Party organisation and Party membership, the Orgburo and Secretariat.
- Manipulating situations to his own benefit (eg during the 'war scare' of 1927).
- His determination and ruthlessness.
- Stalin's use of contenders, eg Zinoviev (sidelining Comintern) and Kamenev, plus the roles of other key figures including Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky.

The struggle between Stalin and other contenders

- **Trotsky:** "Our party's most outstanding mediocrity". Leon Trotsky (on Stalin).
  The intellectual who lacked any real power base this could be highlighted for example by considering his action/inaction over the Georgian issue. Trotsky's arrogance led him to reject posts eg 1922 – deputy, rejected because of work overload. The 'Lessons of October' (1924). Influenced perception eg Civil War anti Red propaganda anti-Semitic prejudice, this was used by Stalin in the struggle for power. By 1927 Trotsky expelled from the party. 1924 November – Stalin's speech 'Leninism or Trotskyism' result – Trotsky seen as anti-Leninist. Trotsky made no attempt to come back from isolation, frequent absence from Government. Not attending Lenin's funeral – misled by Stalin or not. Not publishing Lenin's Testament.
- **Rykov:** chairman of Sovnarkom while Stalin controlled the Secretariat.
- **Bukharin:** NEP & Grain Crisis, by 1928 this was used by Stalin to embarrass Bukharin and enabled grain requisitioning. Bukharin warned party at Fifteenth Party congress about Stalin's power. Bukharin also denounced Stalin's plans for accelerated industrialization in 'Notes of an Economist' Sept 1928.
- **Zinoviev and Kamenev:** used by Stalin at Thirteenth Party congress 'The Triumvirate' to defeat Trotsky.

Other Factors

- Lenin's Testament: Trotsky: "too arrogant", I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with significant caution." Zinoviev and Kamenev – criticised for role in October Revolution. Bukharin: he was considered the favourite of the whole Party.
- Factionalism and infighting: Ban on Factions was used by Stalin to keep opponents quiet.
- Ideology: Stalin's 'Socialism in One Country' appealed to Bolsheviks more than 'Permanent Revolution'. Stalin insisted that the Russia model would be the blueprint for the rest of the world and would be completed using internal resources from Russia itself.
- Civil War: wiped out the Communist Challengers.
- Debates over NEP: Party disputes over it's future backed by Bukharin.
- Stalin had luck on his side for example: the fact that two powerful Bolsheviks who could possibly have stopped him, Sverdlov in 1918 (who was chairman of All-Russian Central Executive Committee) and Dzerzhinsky in 1926 (head of the Cheka), had both died.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- There may be discussion of schools of thought, eg Structuralist or Internationalist approach, party history, ideological approach and/or revisionists.
- **Pipes:** "Stalin was in an unrivalled position that assured his future career for some time before Lenin's death."
- **Deutscher:** Stalin always followed the majority viewpoint.
- **McCauley:** Stalin had luck on his side. Dzerzhinsky's death allowed him to infiltrate his supporters into the political police.
- **Hosking:** "Comrade Card Index."
- **Deutscher:** Stalin used his immense power to gain a majority. Trotsky was the one who underestimated Stalin more than anyone.
- **Conquest:** Stalin simply outmaneuvered his colleagues.
- **Soviet historians:** Trotsky dictatorial in style and would have been same in power.

Question 4

How effective was Stalin's policy of industrialisation in achieving its aims by 1941?

The aim of this essay is to examine the effectiveness of industrialisation by 1941 in achieving its aims, up until the outbreak of war. Known as the 'Great Turn'. Candidates can discuss the various claims as to what the aims and intentions of the plans were; then move on to analyse the impact Industrialisation as an economic policy but also to allow them to discuss the features as they impacted on Soviet society socially and politically; to transform the Soviet Union into an industrial superpower based on a system of central planning.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Aims of Industrialisation

- Huge economic growth to create a "Soviet America".
- The USSR needed to industrialise to survive a potential European war.
- "We are 50-100 years behind the advanced countries…" Stalin 1931.
- Some Marxists believed the Wall Street Crash was evidence of the final collapse of Capitalism, but by 1933 it was evident this was not going to happen.
- To move toward a socialist society/Ideology.
- To secure Stalin's power base.
- Russian patriotism "In the past we didn't have and couldn't have a fatherland. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, the people – and we – have a fatherland and we will protect its independence." Stalin 1931.
- To improve standards of living, wages by 1928 had just reached pre-war levels in the towns. Unemployment persisted until the end of the 1920s.
- Housing was a major problem.
- To resolve the eternal agricultural problems of not being able to feed the people, and to stimulate the Collectivisation of agriculture.

Features

- Gosplan – state planning organisation worked out production needs, top down method of management.
- Party via government set priorities for plans and targets.
- People's Commissariat worked out details in 4 main areas: heavy industry, light industry, timber and agriculture.
- Workers control receded, TUs told not to interfere, focus on productivity.
- Senior party officials appointed and dismissed planners, often done for political not economic reasons.
- Consumer industries downgraded and citizens sacrificed standard of living for long term objectives.
- Stalin and Supreme Economic Council: Vesenkha.
- Huge agricultural; construction projects – the Stalingrad Tractor Factor, the Rostov-on-Don agricultural machinery plant.

Focus of the Five Year Plans

- 1928-32 – coal, steel, iron focus because infrastructure needed.
- 1933-37 – move to consumer goods but quickly moved to defence because of fascism.
- 1938 onwards – arms production because of build up for war.

Successes of Industrialisation

- Considering situation of appalling backwardness – therefore unrealistic targets designed to achieve the impossible and drive people forward. Resources were directed to key industries.
- Amazing achievements – even if Soviet estimates grossly falsified.
- Largest rises: coal, iron, electricity.
- Smaller rises: steel chemicals esp. fertilisers.
- Providing machinery for agriculture.
- Plans declared achieved one year ahead of time – better than West, psychologically beneficial.
- New centres; Magnitogorsk, Kuznetz – most east of Urals.
- 'Gigantomania': Dnieprostroi Dam, Moscow Metro and Volga Canal.
- Foreign involvement – eg Ford – designed cars in Gorky.
- Good workers exceeded targets – rewarded higher pay, better working conditions, housing, celebrated in newspapers and on work notice boards.

Problems created by Industrialisation

- Command economy major weaknesses: unrealistic targets, use of bribery, corruption, crooked deals to achieve targets, major shortages and products of dubious quality. Failure to produce enough for agriculture.
- Reports of large projects ruined by workers' ignorance.
- "Target mania", Gosplan's targets had started off optimistic, but increased by astonishing amounts, eg coal up from 35 to 75 million tons – seemed unachievable to many. High targets put strain on industry – some parts underproduction due to shortages; other parts over production (= wastage) and sub-standard products.
- Not well organised or planned – costs could have been avoided priority to heavy industry,. Urban standards of living never improved – in Leningrad and Moscow, 1929-33, meat, milk and fruit consumption declined by two-thirds, shortages of water, shops and catering facilities, queues. Consumer goods, chemicals and transport and consumer goods neglected.
- Forced labour creation of the Gulag.
- 1940: absenteeism became a crime, 2 offences = imprisonment; no striking.
- 1938 onwards – labour books and internal passports.
- Skilled workers were at a premium so competition for them meant bonuses introduced; egalitarianism in wages abandoned by 1931.
- Intimidation and terror used.
- Quicksand society (Moshe Lewin): peasants forced off land by collectivisation; poor discipline and punctuality, resentful, high rate of absenteeism.
- The fabled Stalingrade Tractor Factory rolled out its first tractor with much fanfare in June 1930, but instead of the projected 2,000 tractors expected by September a mere 43 were produced. And these began to fall apart after seventy hours of operation!

Propaganda

- Shock-brigade campaigns (eg Dams), socialist competition, Stakhanovite movement, recordmania, names – Ogorodnikov, Chernysh, Bogatyrenka, Tischenko.
- Wartime patriotism.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Ward:** Soviet economy fundamentally transformed, did what it intended.
- **Nove:** Economy inefficient, resources concentrated in key area so got job done, considering USSR's situation in 1930s, good policy to stop economic impasse. Without rapid industrialisation for industrial base, no success for USSR in WW2. "Targets were far beyond practical possibility…caused great disorganisation".
- **Service:** gross industrial output rose by remarkable 137%, but controversial figures.
- **Fitzpatrick:** "'gigantomania', the worship of size for its own sake."
- **Stone:** no master plan, rather a process of "simply putting one foot in front of the other as he went along."
- **Lynch:** there was "very little planning from the top."
- **Corin and Fiehn:** with economy "in a rough crude way progress was made."

Question 5

How significant was the contribution of the Soviet generals to victory in the Great Patriotic War?

Candidates would be expected to debate the key factors which allowed Russia to prevail in WW II. They should debate the significance of Stalin's Generals against other relevant factors. These other factors may include heroism of individuals, the role of Stalin and the weaknesses of the enemy are the key points in the traditional viewpoint of the outcome of conflict.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

The Generals

- The Red Army after Stalin's purges of the late thirties had been left weakened and leaderless. The initial catastrophic defeats can be put down to the inexperience of the newly appointed Soviet officers and commanders.
- General Zhukov's defence of Moscow in the winter of 1941-42 was the Soviet forces first real successful counter.
- Zhukov did have the benefit of calling on newly arrived Siberian shock troops, trained to fight in harsh winter conditions, unlike their German counterparts.
- General Chuikov's role was vital in the defence of Stalingrad, especially in Operation Uranus when the German Sixth Army was captured.
- Chuikov's successes relied too much on the Soviets' sheer weight in numbers, rather than any tactical expertise that he showed. German officers were shocked at Chuikov's careless counter attacks and willingness to send his soldiers to near certain deaths in persistent counter attacks.
- General Vasilyevsky could also be considered.

Stalin's leadership

- The Wehrmacht enjoyed astounding successes during the summer of 1941 partly down to Stalin's indecisiveness.
- Stalin was unwilling to believe German forces were invading, ordering troops not to retaliate to "provocation" from German forces. Despite intelligence reports from Fitin.
- STAVKA (General Staff) set up 23 June 1941 – responsible for military operations. 30 June, GKO, more important (State Committee of Defence): military, political, economic life, highly centralised control.
- Stalin used "scorched earth policy" nothing valuable left for Germans if Reds retreat.
- Gosplan (under Voznesensky) produced war plans, decisions went to small centralised GKO, met almost daily (Stalin chairman).
- The role of Stalin in rallying the people Generalissimo.
- Stalin had able individuals such as Molotov (diplomacy), Voznesensky (economic planning), Kruschev (administration) and Zhukov (military). The latter commended Stalin on his readiness to learn about military strategy.
- Mistakes made in ruthless purging (especially in national groups) were compensated by his ability to command the loyalty of the nation to fight for 'Mother Russia'.

Geo-strategic issues

- The Russian traditional strategy of trading space for time and taking the Germans deeper into a Russian Winter, when the Germans were far from prepared for a long war, the size of the country, climate etc., made it difficult for the Wehrmacht.
- Stalingrad may be discussed in terms of the type of fighting required; suiting the Russians; the use of snipers; manipulating the war zone. Stalingrad is seen at this level as 'a matter of prestige between Hitler and Stalin', which alongside the 'dogged, rugged, Siberian obstinacy' and 'the stamina of Soviet soldiers was incredible' shows the determination involved.
- Considering enemy weaknesses (dealing with Russian climate, land mass meaning Germans over-stretched & cannot apply same tactics as in France, and so errors occurred – altered the focus of the offensive and delayed the attack on Moscow.
- General Field Marshal Friedrich's German Sixth Army, failed to capture Stalingrad and became trapped and overrun by the Soviets, as Hitler refused to let them retreat.
- Effects of Allied bombing of Germany; Allied invasion in the West.
- Answers may take a longer perspective to explain victory.

Relocation of Industry

- The relocation of industries to beyond the Urals (evacuation of approx 10 million people).
- The economic system was already suited to war because of established central planning, unlike Germany which did not have total war economy until 1942.
- Russian strengths might include the economic stability attained allowing the supply of the military with adequate material; the constant upgrading of the Red Army; opening up new fronts and Allied support; Kursk evidence of Russian military development enough to beat the Germans in tank battles.
- Victor Kravchenko criticised the view of relocation. He states that a minor part was moved, that Stalin had actually supplied Hitler during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and that the retreat after the invasion left Hitler rich resources and abandoned millions.

Propaganda

- The War for the Russian Motherland…now not the USSR, and loyalty to the Motherland and to Stalin.
- Role of propaganda and the Orthodox Church, turning around the negatives of rationing, conscription, loss of homes.

Failings of German Generals

- Mid-December 1941 the German forces had reported more than 100,000 inadequately equipped soldiers suffering from frostbite.
- German General Bock admitted "no further hope of 'strategic success'" remained.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Service:** sees the contribution of generals in the Red Army, as being equally as important to the Soviet victory as Stalin's.
- **Nove:** Stalin can be held directly responsible for the loss of influential military leaders during the Purges, he can therefore be held, at least in part, responsible for the early military blunders. The organised nature of the Nazi invasion meant that early Soviet defeats were inevitable, no matter what Stalin or his generals did.
- **Beevor:** "they (the Russian generals) were severely hampered by the political demands of the state leadership and suffered a 'basic fear of responsibility'".
- **McCauley:** contests that the defence of Moscow was chiefly down to Zhukov's leadership and tactical expertise. Argues it was down to an overstretched German army.
- **Ward:** two main historical views: Germany's military and political failures compared to Soviet Union's tenacity and responsiveness in war.
- **Overy:** reasons for Soviet victory: popular patriotism encouraged to some extent by government, Stalin, political planning and mobilisation. The people and the government, though not trusting each other, were bound together "by mutual necessity", and caused success. Soviet defence against German attack "could not have been worse," defence belts not finished, reserve army just formed, poor organisation + preparation.
- **Medvedev:** criticises the Generalissimo as being 'short-sighted and cruel, careless of losses'

Soviet Russia (1917-1953)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of the difficulties faced by the Provisional Government?

(12 marks)

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

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

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

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include:

- Written the day before the formation of the Provisional Government to protect the interests of the Petrograd Soviet.
- Written by the Petrograd Soviet made up of predominantly Menshevik intellectuals and Socialist Revolutionaries.
- Written at the very beginning of the period of Dual Power and the significance of events in Petrograd and the lack of order and authority.
- The tone of the piece is militaristic and decrees what the workers and soldiers can and cannot do.
- Also published in 'Izvestiya' to ensure it was spread rapidly.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Soldiers and sailors had representation for the time through elected committees.
- They were only answerable to the Soviet.
- Orders must be followed only when the Soviet has sanctioned them.
- Soldiers committees controlled all weapons and this created problems in terms of military power.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Dual Power caused major difficulties due to the Provisional Government having power without authority and the Soviet having authority in the cities and towns.
- Military shortages due to the War: Summer Offensive.
- Met in the Tauride Palace under same roof as the Duma.
- Role of Kerensky's rule as he made tenuous alliances with both the Right and Left when he needed them to stay in power.
- Soviet monitored the work of the Provisional Government so it did nothing to damage the interests of the working classes.
- Provisional Government was unelected and temporary until Constituent Assembly elections.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the views in the source:

- Economic difficulties in getting grain to the cities.
- Lack of control in the country going with land seizures and violence.
- The 'peasant' army was disillusioned: failures at the front and Bolshevik supporting peace.
- April Thesis was influential in signifying a break with conventional Marxism, stating Russia was ready for revolution.
- Lenin's return was triumphant being met by massive crowds who now supported Bolshevik ideals and speeded up the demise of the Provisional Government.
- July Days were an attempted coup by the Bolsheviks however easily put down by Korniliov's soldiers.
- This was therefore a popular uprising and Kerensky disastrously underestimated the extent of support for the Bolsheviks.
- Kornilov coup and Kerensky's reaction; he had appointed him.
- The coalition and status quo were no longer tolerated.
- That the Provisional Government's attitude to war was a negative factor "predatory imperialist war" which allowed Bolshevism to flourish.
- War heightened the struggle between the Soviets wanting an early peace and Milyukov's determination to fight on, leading to his resignation. After 'The April Crisis' the Mensheviks joined the government and popularity was gained amongst the rank and file. But there remained the desire for peace, as the fraternisation of Russian and German troops showed.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

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

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source A** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the difficulties faced by the Provisional Government.

Question 2

How fully does Source B explain why the Whites were defeated in the Civil War?

(12 marks)

The candidate may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source. The remaining marks will be awarded for the quality and depth of the immediate and wider context recall, including historians' views, that the candidate provides in their overall interpretation of the source's fullness in explaining/analysing the issue.

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source B** as an adequate explanation of why the Whites were defeated in the Civil War in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit. These may include:

- British politician at the time and later to become PM and respected statesman.
- To synthesise opinion and to question and to state the limits of Denikin's Land Decrees.
- To consider the reasons why Denikin failed to succeed as a White general.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Size of the area or land captured by Denikin caused many problems. Scale of responsibilities without resources.
- Little active support from the people.
- Refused to give land to the Peasants which impeded him.
- Refused to allow independence to the National Minorities.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Analysis of Whites losing because of leadership weaknesses: Kolchak, Yudenich, Wrangel and other White armies.
- Lack of wider support from peasantry.
- Geographical factors: scattered around edges of Central Russia.
- Disunity of White forces; made up of monarchists, republicans, pro Constituent Assembly. His support base was too politically divided.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of those in the source:

- Reference to Red strengths: Bolshevik propaganda, Trotsky's leadership, training and loyalty of Red Army and unity of purpose.
- Allied intervention and provision of supplies and weapons.
- Czech legion.
- Geographical factors: Bolshevik control of the heartland; central, with all resources.
- September 1919; Allies evacuate Archangel, 1920 Kolchak captured in January, executed by Bolsheviks.
- Role of the Greens and the insurgents.
- Officers of the White armies often lived in brothels and indulged in vodka and cocaine.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Pipes:** White Army better than Red Army, but lost because it faced huge disadvantages.
- **Lynch:** Red Army better than White Army, Whites made bad mistakes.
- **G Swain:** "…the Civil War became a war between Red Bolsheviks and the White Generals."
- **E Mawdsley:** "…foreign intervention was often half-hearted and militarily ineffective."
- **R Service:** outlining the brilliance of Trotsky.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source B** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the reasons why the Whites were defeated in the Civil War.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing viewpoints on daily life in the Stalinist State?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C** and **D** on the rise to power of Stalin and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- Nina Lugovskaya, wrote in secret and was imprisoned for her writing.
- Writing from 1932, when she was 13 until her capture in 1937.
- Known as the Soviet Anne Frank.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Her father was imprisoned after being on trial.
- Imprisonment has become commonplace and normal.
- The family are upset that they cannot all visit their father.
- The role of a mother was to fulfil her duties until she died.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- The Lubyanka and any details of KGB headquarters.
- Details of Nina's family or family life in the Gulag.
- Mass arrests due to denunciations of family members.
- Children would inform on their parents.
- Families were 'collectively responsible' for the behavior of any member and imprisoned by association. Details of Kamenev's and Trotsky's families' imprisonment and execution.

Source D

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- Well known contemporary British academic.
- Figes has made a significant contribution to the development of oral history in Russia.
- His work is criticised by Putin government.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Preferential treatment given to Soviet elites.
- Better housing was given to high ranking officials or employees.
- Luxuries given to elites.
- Country homes were safer and people could speak out without fear of being arrested.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Alexandra Kollontai – 1930-45 Soviet ambassador to Sweden. She had been a prominent Bolshevik since 1914. She had also been a critic of Lenin but was promoted by Stalin.
- The Children of the Soviet elites would be given preferential treatment in jobs and education.
- However, not all members of the party elite were treated well. Kamenev and Trotsky's families died in the Gulag or were shot.
- Details of the massive inequalities as most Russians did not live like this.

Points which offer a more critical contextualisation of the view in the sources:

- Increased numbers of orphans due to Civil War.
- Indoctrination of youth through education.
- Millions of families uprooted by Collectivisation.
- 1930s Great Retreat back to family values.
- Prostitution banned.
- Homosexuality outlawed.
- Family Code, May 1936: Abortion outlawed, divorce made harder, fines for divorce increasing from 50 roubles for the first up to 300 for the third.
- Mothers with six or more children were handsomely remunerated by the state.
- Illegitimate children were stigmatised.
- Divorce and marriage rates declined.
- High rates of male desertion after 1936 led to increase in single parent female run households.
- Youth Organisations: Komsomol and Pioneers.
- Birth rate rose from under 25 per 1000 in 1933 to almost 31 per 1000 in 1940.
- That this spread to every aspect of society and perhaps could be justified in that it aims to produce '*vintiki*' (party followers, party faithful, the true soviet citizen).
- *Homo Sovieticus*: (Soviet Man) – Stalin tells writers they are "engineers, directing the reconstruction of the human soul"
- Changing role of the Church before and during the Great Patriotic War.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Williams:** "It was a macho world for all the talk of equality." "Women cared and supported. Men built socialism".
- **Figes:** Violence against women was commonplace in peasant communities.
- **Lewin:** "Quicksand society."
- **Fitzpatrick:** Wives of Soviet elite mimicked Western middle class women running charities and forgoing paid work.
- **Nove:** important to stress thousands (mostly young people) took part in "great construction of socialism", a "real sense of comradeship". Though, others such as prisoners, deportees and peasants not so enthusiastic.
- **Figes:** "the children of the party elite had a well-developed sense of entitlement."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources C** and **D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of daily life in the Stalinist State.

The Spanish Civil War (1931-1939)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent did social and economic problems contribute to the downfall of Alfonso in XIII in 1931?

The candidate is asked to explain the fall of the Spanish Monarchy in 1931 and the extent to which social and economic factors played a role in its downfall. The candidate should be able to compare a variety of key factors which contributed to Alfonso's demise and to compare these and their relative importance.

The candidate would be expected to use evidence such as:

Social

- Decline of the church and loss of faith in the clergy amongst many of the poor.
- Alfonso was 'His Most Catholic Majesty' and had become linked to an increasingly anti-liberal institution, now dominated more than ever by the large land owners.
- As a 'Soldier King' he was also allied to this anti-liberal 'failed' relic of Spain's imperial past.
- The King's personal life also added to the image of an uncaring, incompetent monarch.

Economic

- The Agrarian problem, at its simplest was Spain's inability to feed and nurture its population due to an inefficient, unfairly maintained rural economy.
- Bad harvests also played their part as did the economic depression of the 1930s.

Political

- Spain's history of removing monarchs ruled out retaining the throne due to 'divine right'.
- Alfonso refused to embrace any form of autonomy and presided over legislation which effectively advantaged large landowners over industrialists. This was particularly disliked in the major industrial areas such as Catalonia and the Basque Region.
- The option of a constitutional monarchy with an elected parliament along the lines of the British model was unattractive to Spaniards who had witnessed a corrupt 'mirror' of this system for many years. The king insisted on involving himself frequently in politics and could, therefore claim neither ignorance nor competence.
- The system itself involved the King in choosing legislation and therefore he appeared 'complicit'.
- The growth of other political ideologies went in tandem with the poverty and loss in faith of the corrupt political system and the Church.

Dictadura

- Alfonso had aligned himself to 'My Mussolini', alienating both liberals and the working classes.
- Alfonso failed to distance himself fully from dictatorship by attempting to install successors (Berengeur etc.), thus further angering pro-democrats, while alienating the army by accepting Primo's resignation.
- Failure of the Dictadura discredited autocracy.
- Incompetence of Primo's successors left no room for reconciliation.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Carr:** 'The Republicans rejected monarchy as an illegitimate and outmoded form of government; the Carlists rejected the Alfonsine branch…The Socialists considered (it) reactionary…The anarchists rejected it in toto. To the regionalists it…strangled local interests…the radical regenerationists believed (in) root and branch reform…'
'The destruction of the historic provinces and their replacement by 'artificial entities'…was at the root of the regionalist movements.'
'(it was) the personal unpopularity of the king himself (which brought down the monarchy).
'the conservative classes, during 1930, lost confidence in the monarchy.'
- **Brenan:** 'Unlike England and France there was no upward movement from one (class) to another.' '…the corruption of all the upper layers of society.'
'The ease with which the dictator had been brought down encouraged the middle classes…to think that Alfonso could be got rid of too.'
'Since 1788 not a single Spanish sovereign had had a natural reign.'
'The Army had become increasingly sensitive to any criticisms…'
- **Callachan:** '(The church) was weakest in the great latifundia lands…where a rural proletariat lived in desperate circumstances.'
- **Malefakis:** '…the large domains were managed without initiative or imagination…'
- **Esenwein and Shubert:** 'Where rapid industrialisation and massive immigration (took place) traditional culture and identity were seen as seriously threatened.'
- **Fraser:** 'A state within a state, (the Army) came to see itself as the incarnation of national will.'
- **Preston:** '(the monarchy) had fallen into disrepute by the time Primo seized power.'

Question 2

What factors best explain the failure of Azaña's reforms of 1931-1933?

The candidate is expected to evaluate the problems facing the administration of 1931 to 1933 and its own performance during this period. Key areas between 1931 and 1933 would focus on the Church, the Army, Regional Identity and the Agrarian Problem. The candidate should establish the depth of these problems and to draw conclusions on the extent to which the administration were successful in relation to the problems of the period.

The candidate may be expected to use evidence such as:

Background

- The extent of the problems facing the Republic and their historical roots.

Army

- Huge cost – 40% of budget.
- Questionable loyalty and need for 'Republicanisation' of officer corps.
- Powerful position in society.

Reforms

- Reduction of Officer Corps.
- Closing of Academies. Reserved academy places for N.C.Os.
- Access to promotion through ranks to officer posts.

Reasons why the reforms failed

- Angered enemies, created paid malcontents, no real sign of budget cuts being effective.
- Some short-term reduction in costs, anger of, amongst others, Franco.
- Some long term solutions which made little difference in 1931-33 period.
- Symbolic and arguably necessary but the Army continued to be used for 'civil' order throughout period.

Church

- Powerful role in society.
- Close connection to latifundias and army.
- Control over education, in decline since 19th century.
- Need to 'republicanise' the nation.

Reforms

- Constitution.
- Attacks on Jesuits.
- Control over Education removed from church – secular schools established.
- Azaña's rhetoric 'ceased to be Catholic', 'all the convents in Madrid', etc.

Reasons why the reforms failed

- Secular state established with right to worship for all.
- Some argue wrong priority – agrarian reforms and the army were bigger issues.
- There was personal malice in some reforms – taxes on bell-ringing.

Agrarian

- Centuries of neglect had left a hugely inefficient rural sector, often unable to meet the demands of its population. Polarisation of rich and poor had carried on apace.
- South was mainly large estates in the hands of a few wealthy people. North had more small holdings.

Reforms

- 8 hour day, compulsory cultivation, security of tenure – evictions almost impossible, blocked rent rises, restrictions to hiring of outside labour, confiscation of land.

Reasons why the reforms failed

- Revolutionary measures?
- However: Latifundias remained; many were recompensed for land; Mini-Fundias and other small-holders also suffered, despite many being pro-Republic.
- Many reforms were openly ignored by the rich.
- Little done to encourage industry and a long-overdue 'Industrial Revolution'.

Regions

- The reasons for the growth of separatism in Catalonia and the Basque territories.
- The opposition to regionalism and its effects on the left and the right.

Reforms

- Catalan Statute.
- Little for Basques, nothing for Galicia and other areas.

Reasons why the reforms failed

- Difficult to please 'regional nationalists' without destroying Spain.
- Impossible to initiate any reform without angering the army.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Shlomo Ben-Ami:** 'It was the style …rather than the content of the reforms which was revolutionary'
- **Beevor** (*The Spanish Civil War*): "The Church was detested by the workers and labourers for preaching acceptance of poverty while amassing vast riches."
- **Thomas** (*The Spanish Civil War*): 1927 Catechism as evidence of attitude – "What kind of sin is liberalism?...a mortal sin."
- **Carr** (*The Civil War in Spain*): This attack (on the Church by Azaña) was understandable, given the enormous emotional significance of the Church as a pillar of the ancient regime.
- **Preston:** 'the statute (of Catalan autonomy) was regarded by the army and conservative classes as an attack on national unity'
  Several issues caused friction between the government and the armed forces…none more so than the readiness to concede regional autonomy.
  'The laws of obligatory cultivation were effectively ignored…'
  '(the reforms)…did nothing to abate the revolutionary nature of the countryside…'
- **Thomas:** The Reforms '…adversely affected migrant workers…'
  '…if it had been carried through effectively…it might have had a striking effect…'
- **Brenan:** '…unless very radical land reforms were introduced (Spain) would cease to be (governable).'

Question 3

How effective was the policy of collectivisation in Republican Spain during the Spanish Civil War?

The candidate is asked to assess the effectiveness of collectivisation in Spain during the Spanish Civil War and may refer to issues relating to morale and ideology or the effect on the simple logistics of supplying civilians and military through such systems.

Positive outcomes of collectivisation

- Huge morale booster to some.
- In principle, a great symbol of a new, equal Spain.
- Distribution of resources and land in Spain had been major issue and moderate reforms had always failed.
- Reduced power and influence of Latifundios who were generally against the Republic anyway.
- In some areas, such as Barcelona, there was huge enthusiasm for collectives, many of which worked well and 'even the boot blacks' collectivised.
- Broke down class barriers for many.

Negative outcomes of collectivisation

- Too revolutionary for many.
- In practice, often inefficient and unproductive.
- Removing rich did not immediately solve the problem of how redistribution should actually happen: shared land, a series of small holdings. All solutions involved a compromise.
- Small land owners who had been loyal to the Republic became a real dilemma. Argument between 'purists' and those who agreed in principle but had worked hard to establish their small farms.
- Many 'class' enemies' who were removed were capable, with expert knowledge.
- Involved massive reorganisation of agriculture and industry at a time when Republic was fighting a war. Another distraction from the battle against Franco.
- Discussion of 'how' to collectivise raised old divisions between communists, socialists, anarchists etc.
- In practice, it was quickly realised, in some areas that the old 'bosses' were still needed and were now 'comrades.'

General points might include

- Specific examples exist of successful and unsuccessful collectives.
- Regionally, the wishes of those who fought for the Republic varied massively. In particular, the rural South had little in common with the industrial North, where even the rural areas had been characterised by small holdings rather than the large estates of the south.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Fraser:** "The utopian elements of the experiment, mainly the abolition of money, complicated matters."
  "…as a form of war communism, collectivisation suffered from serious defects."
- **Bolloten:** "Collectivisation was a means of uplifting the peasant intellectually."
  "…individual farmers viewed collectivisation with dismay…farm workers of the CNT and UGT saw it as the commencement of a new era."
  "…small (uneconomic) plants were closed down…machinery was gathered…into a single workshop…production was simplified…and more effective."
- **Graham:** "…atomised rural collectivisation carried out by local committees (in Valencia)…had fragmented the region's economy to such an extent it was jeopardising the basic process of distribution and supply crucial to the Republic's defences."
- **Preston:** (Collectives) all faced the problem of putting into practice what had been up to that point only abstract theory.
  (In Monzón and Valencia) there were few clear ideas as to how to run collectives in practice.
  War was hardly the best context for massive economic experiments.
  As general rule, rural collectivisation was accepted whole-heartedly by the landless *braceros* but resented by the small holders.
  'economic chaos'

Question 4

To what extent was fear of Communism the main reason for the decision of Britain and France to pursue a policy of Non-intervention towards the Spanish Civil War?

The candidate will examine the reasons for the policy of non-intervention pursued by Britain and France and discuss fear of communism and compare this to other motives of those involved and the significant events which help contextualise the policy.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

Fear of Communism

General points

Fear of Russian domination.
Fear of war – Maginot mentality.

Britain

- Amongst British Conservatives, anti-communist feeling was rife. Many by reasons of 'class and education' were sympathetic to Franco.
- Baldwin in memo to Eden: 'Do not bring us in on the side of the reds.'

France

- France was polarised, however those on the right feared Soviet expansion throughout Europe.

Both

- Although initially bourgeois, left of centre, Republican Government increasingly became linked to Soviets due to need for aid.
- Earlier Soviet declared expansionism frightened West.

Other reasons for Non-intervention

Britain

- Sensitive area for UK due to Straits of Gibraltar. Frightened of backing 'loser'.
- Fear of World War – enhanced by Guernica: 'The bomber will always get through.'
- Lack of military preparedness as illustrated by fears of Chiefs of Staff.
- Attitude to Spain in keeping with general policy of Appeasement. Chamberlain continually believed Hitler's promises and therefore believed he could 'contain' conflict.
- Later in conflict, a need to 'buy time' to rearm.
- British public more sympathetic towards Spain than other areas but still not willing to risk war as can be seen by hugely positive reaction to Munich.
- Soviet historians argue Appeasement was an attempt to encourage Hitler and Mussolini to move eastwards for expansion.

France

- Popular Front unstable although initially willing to give aid.
- Stronger stance would have required reliable ally.
- Eden: 'It is your affair, but I ask you one thing. Be prudent.' Clearly illustrating lack of support for intervention.
- French 'Maginot mentality' was primarily defensive.
- Fear of uprising from French right.

Both

- Major world events played their role: Abyssinia, Rhineland, Anschluss, Franco-Soviet Pact etc.
- Role of Spanish and international media during war ensured continued Non-intervention.
- Anti-church atrocities by Left reduced international sympathy.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Preston:** 'Both sides denied aid though the Republic had a legal right.'
  'a quiet glee that they may turn Hitler and Mussolini against the European Left.'
  'Inclined by their considerable commercial interests to be…anything but sympathetic to the Republic.'
- **Thomas:** (Eden) 'British interests would be best served by a stalemate.'
  'Negrin talked…to Eden who said British public opinion did not want Franco to win.'
- **Alpert:** 'Britain was an insular society for whom abroad was very far away.'
  '(At the Labour Conference) the block vote system ensured that the motion against Non-Intervention was defeated by 3,029,000 to 51,000 votes.'
  Non-intervention was based on the wider aims of GB and France ie an alliance with Italy and appeasement of Hitler.
- **Carr:** 'The British stationed at Gibraltar were Nationalist sympathisers to a man.'
- **Thomas:** Non-intervention graduated from equivocation to hypocrisy.
- **Moradiellos:** UK wished Franco to win and did not wish to upset the Axis powers.
- **Meneses:** it was cynical detachment.

Question 5

How important was German and Italian aid in Franco's victory in 1939?

The candidate will evaluate the importance of German and Italian aid in the final outcome of the Spanish Civil War and may compare this to other factors. The quantity, quality and timing of aid are all possible areas of discussion as is the nature of the aid, possibly in comparison to that given to the Republic which was arguably aimed at continuation rather than victory.

German and Italian Aid

German Aid

- Logistics, financial, equipment and Condor Legion all crucial. All unqualified with a view to nationalist victory.
- Coup's initial failure saved by transport planes for Army of Africa.
- Condor Legion crucial in major battles, most famously in the destruction of Guernica.

Italian Aid

- Sizeable but of poorer quality and less effective.
- Also given with a view to securing victory.
- Sheer numbers gave considerable advantages but debacle of Guadalajara shows limitations.

In both cases a wealth of information on specific campaigns is available and should be credited.

Other Factors

- Divisions within the left: Popular Front politicians had little in common. Similarly, many of the Republican combatants hated each other as much as the rebels. This exploded in May '37.
- Franco's leadership: Often argued to lack direction and to tend towards procrastination (to Hitler's chagrin) but also interpreted as cleverly controlled to ensure total political control. Franco also merits acclaim for personal involvement in securing aid without conceding much.
- Geographical/Political advantages: Rebels held farmland and raw materials as well as southern ports. Republic held key industrial areas.
- Britain's stance and NI: West focused on other events during this period and policy often directed in relation to fear of Communism and desire to appease Fascist powers. Argument also made that Britain favoured Franco victory and French policy dominated by need for alliance with Britain.
- Other: Mexico also gave limited assistance to the Republic and many foreigners joined militias. Writers, poets and artists attempted to popularise cause.
- Although Soviet aid may have helped or extended the life of the Republic, ultimately it was counterproductive in labelling it communist and therefore ensuring the western democracies would not come to their assistance.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Preston:** Western democrats betrayed Spain.
- **Brenan:** foreign intervention was crucial.
- **Knight:** timing and quality of aid was more important than quantity.
- **Carr:** "The war was kept going by Soviet supplies and the Popular Army."
  "(del Vayo)…was unconditionally in the service of the communist party."
  "Many conservatives (in Britain)…because of their fear of bolshevism privately hoped Franco would win."
- **Brenan:** "Stalin saw to it that the arms which he supplied…should secure the predominance of the communist party."
- **Esenwein:** "For many, the foreign volunteers who had come to Spain embodied the international spirit of anti-fascism."
- **Carr:** Axis fears of rebel defeat led to extra aid in November 1938. Republican government blamed lack of unity.

The Spanish Civil War (1931-1939)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views on the methods of the right in Spain during the Bienio Negro?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A** and **B** on the methods of the right during the Bienio Negro, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Wage cuts.
- Reduction of the legal rights of the labour organisations.
- Admission into the cabinet of CEDA.
- Creation of the Falange.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Wages already low due to previous failures to reform. Workers had only tolerated this in the belief that they were sacrificing for a better future. The entrance of CEDA destroyed this hope.
- CEDA openly dismissive of the Republic. Democracy was stated as not being 'an end' and their refusal to commit themselves to democracy or republicanism left many suspicious (not least Alcalã Zamora who refused to allow Gil Robles to form a government for this reason).
- Falange openly anti-democratic. Their rhetoric was alarmingly reminiscent of that of Hitler's National Socialists and Primo de Rivera made no apology for this.
- Repression of Asturias Rising. Much of this had exemplified the polarisation which had taken place as the right wreaked (often petty) revenge, closing workers' societies, driving Trade Unions miles from home and leaving them stranded. Franco's force included field weapons, tanks and the prophetic appearance of an invading army and not a restoring order.

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The authorities' worst atrocities were saved for after their opponents had surrendered – this was more than restoring order, it was an attack on a perceived enemy:
- Using Army to subdue rising, street fighting.
- Notable savagery of the Army of Africa.
- Execution without trial.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Violence was prevalent throughout Spain.
- Rhetoric of the Left had been revolutionary and in some cases even anti-Republican.
- Actions of authorities were disproportionate and often illegal – many examples. Trade Unionists were arrested without trial, Azaña and other democratic political leaders were also arrested despite having played no part.
- Seizing arms by torture to find out the whereabouts of hidden weapons.

Points from recall which offer wider contextualisation of the view in the sources:

- Sanjurjo had attempted to overthrow the State and was therefore a traitor.
- Schools scarce and felt crucial by many to 'Republicanising' the masses.
- Asturias rising clearly more than a 'strike.'
- Catalonia crucial to Spanish industry.
- Asturias rising was 'undemocratic' – CEDA were the largest party and should, in normal circumstances have been asked to form a government – Alcalã Zamora refused.
- Regional tensions were high in other areas too, with Basques, in particular, angry at lack of progress since 1931.
- Increasingly hostile rhetoric of major politicians on both sides – Azaña, Caballero, Robles.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

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

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources A** and **B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the methods of the right in Spain during the Bienio Negro.

Question 2

How useful is Source C in illustrating the impact of regionalism during the Spanish Civil War?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured consideration of the usefulness of **Source C** in providing an adequate explanation of the effect of regionalism on the defence of the Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War with respect to:

Provenance:

- A speech by Louis Companys, Catalan hero and separatist.
- Illustrates mood and dominant forces from very early stage in the war.
- True of mood in Barcelona, not necessarily Spain at large.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- CNT and FAI dominant force in Catalonia.
- President of Catalonia subservient to extreme left.
- Companys committed to the 'struggle against fascism'.
- Catalonia referred to as 'country', therefore stance pro-Catalan, more than pro-republic.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- 'Power lay in the streets' according to Orwell who emphasised role of extreme left.
- Subsequent urban collectivisation illustrated nature of dominant politics.
- May Days would show struggle between Communists and Anarchists.
- Basque separatists politically very different – also questions over their commitment.

Points from recall which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the source

- Historical background to regionalism, which had often been crushed through force by Castilian Spain.
- Basques had much in common with the right and were fundamentalist Catholics with a hatred of anything which 'diluted' their culture. Arguably, their loyalty to the Republic was solely related to issues of autonomy.
- Madrid was an area divided by class more than regional identity. The unions controlled the masses despite being in 'central Spain.'
- Basque and Catalonian regions were more heavily industrialised, arguably politicising the Catalans and angering the Basques for whom it was another destruction of their traditions.
- Valencia, Galicia, Balearics and many other areas had strong independent issues of languages and culture.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Preston:** 'the statute (of Catalan autonomy) was regarded by the army and conservative classes as an attack on national unity.'
- **Hugh Thomas:** "…the CNT were in the minority, even amongst organised workers in Barcelona. But their verve and violence commanded attention."
- **Brenan:** "The anarchists claimed 600,000 members in June 1932, 250,000 in Barcelona."
- **Carr:** "The Carlists, strong in Navarre, detested (PNVs) radical separatism; the Socialists, strong in Bilbao, denounced its reactionary Catholicism."

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source C** is useful as evidence illustrating the impact of regionalism during the Spanish Civil War.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the motives of those who fought for Franco?

(12 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** in providing an adequate explanation of the reasons for the arguments around the motives of those who fought for Franco during the Spanish Civil War.

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show that the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Patriotic Spaniards – patriotic about Spain, a traditional, conservative Spain.
- Pious Catholics – to defend the Church.
- Aspiring fascists – who sympathise with Nazism.
- Anti-semites – who were against Jewish people.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Many of Franco's forces were not from Spain eg Moroccan troops.
- Generals each had their own motives, such as personal ambition (eg Franco and Zaragoza).
- A struggle against communism and separatism as traditional Spain felt threatened.
- Coup was carefully planned by the army and was supported by the Falange, the monarchists and the Carlists – all wanted a traditional Spain without liberal democracy.
- Actual fascists, the Falange were not a major force but served to give Franco an ideology.
- Pious Catholics may have played a role but Church attendance would question their motivation.
- The media had certainly helped portray a Spain under threat and the country was suffering from major public disorder issues with killings frequent on both sides.

Points from recall which offer wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- Anti-Communism was a strong motive for many.
- CEDA had utilised Catholicism as the vehicle for unity, Franco's 'Crusade' did the same.
- Primo became the 'absent one', Falange youth movement stayed loyal, even when Hedilla attacked.
- Many in Spain saw Communism as the 'real' threat giving unified purpose.
- Loss of election in 1936 had convinced the Right that violence was needed and ended split with 'Accidentalists.'
- The election had been fought on the basis of civilisation versus barbarism.
- CEDA had declined and 'Catastrophists' had gained support.
- Apparent communists' support for the government caused alarm and the army was given the message that a coup might be the answer.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Preston:** The Generals saw the government as helpless to stop…the breakup of Spain and responsible for the policies that were undermining the structure of society and many groups agreed.
- **Beevor:** Carlists famous for their 'ferocious rejection of modernity.'
- **Robinson:** Sotelo (believed) that the revolution of 1934 proved that the Left were not willing to accept a parliamentary system which allowed the Right to govern.
- **Thomas:** (between February and June 1936 according to Robles)…160 churches had been burned to the ground, 269 mainly political murders and 1,287 assaults…69 political centres had been wrecked, there had been 113 general strikes and 228 partial strikes, while 10 newspaper offices had been attacked.
  The conditions in the country and the *regime* were as grave as Robles described them. This unified the right behind the 'Crusade.'
- **Payne:** …a very large number of people wanted a new Spain – which would be worthy of Spain's great past…Murders for political reasons (in 1936) were reported almost daily…

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the motives of those who fought for Franco.

Britain at War and Peace (1939-1951)

Part 1
Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How significant was unemployment in contributing to social and economic inequalities in Britain by 1939?

This question invites candidates to assess the significance of this particular factor in relation to others. The scale of unemployment is certainly an explanation of inequality at the time as are the differing employment patterns in the heavily industrialised north to the service sector and light industry which dominated the economy of the south. This should be considered alongside other factors such as education, healthcare and lack of social mobility.

The candidate will offer an explanation for Britain's social and economic inequalities in terms of evidence such as

- The scale of unemployment acknowledging regional disparity and sector disparity. Heavy industry and manufacturing industry in the midlands and the north were adversely affected because of the global economic downturn. Industries such as coal, iron and steel, textiles and shipbuilding were affected because of the lack of capital and disposable income. Moreover, the ancillary services for the industries were affected by their decline.
- The effect of unemployment upon the pre war economy. With high unemployment the treasury finds itself in a situation where tax revenue is reduced and government spending on welfare is increased. This becomes a burden upon a government which needs to expand its economy to stimulate growth and in turn increase employment.
- The social implications of large scale unemployment. High unemployment caused stagnation in social mobility; it allowed many to descend into poverty. Especially those workers who were on or teetering around the breadline. Rents were not met and choices were made about the quantity, and quality of food bought. High unemployment gave rise to political unrest. Riots and demonstrations by the unemployed were not uncommon in the industrialised heartland of Britain. This was at a time when neighbouring countries like Germany were mobilising their unemployed to complete government funded projects to improve their infrastructure.
- A critique of any political pressure which highlighted the effects of unemployment.
- An evaluation of how the unemployed were provided with an income and how they were incentivised to work by government and non-governmental organisations.

Other reasons for economic and social inequality in the 1939s include

- The effect of the class system in the 1930s.
- The part of the economy mainly heavy industry that were floundering by 1939.
- The falling cost of living compared against the poor diet, standards of living suffered by the working classes.
- The effect of the decline in overseas trade and the global economic downturn.
- Unequal access to education. Although education was supposed to reflect a meritocratic philosophy, the reality was that intelligent children from the working class still found it difficult to access an academic education because there was still an element of payment needed. There were also issues with gender in our education system and the opportunities for girls to progress academically regardless of class were still limited.
- At this time Britain's housing stock was mainly owned by private landlords. This housing was occupied in the main by the working class. Housing conditions were poor, rents were high and overcrowding was common. These conditions had an effect on the overall health of the urban population. Nevertheless, this government had planned on clearing these "slums" to provide better housing for the working classes; however the economic downturn prevented them from committing fully to large capital projects like this.

Possible arguments made in favour of a *reduction* in inequality

- There were parts of the economy that were thriving and the inequality suffered was regional and not national. Light engineering and electrical engineering in the south east were thriving. In the same area the service and banking sectors were also considered successful as was new technology. Even with these industries predominately centered in the south and east of England a perception of a reduction in inequality was created.
- There was a growth in leisure activities which indicates higher disposable income for some. The 'golden age' of advertising and cinema, the popularity of professional sport and a thriving fashion industry aimed at the middle classes were all apparent during this time and examples of people with more money in their pocket to spend on luxuries rather than necessities.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Tony Mason:** He is critical of the unequal distribution of wealth in Britain at this time despite its position as one of the richest countries in the world.
- **John Stevenson**, however, points out that the interwar years were marked by substantial growth. Whilst this view is not disputed the argument is about who gets the wealth once it is created.
- **Mowatt:** would like us to believe in a divided nation whose social and economic problems are characterised by the success of the dominant industry in that area. He would lead us to believe that a national class consciousness emerged in the thirties brought about through literature and the threat of Fascism in Spain.

Question 2

How important was the army's role in the British contribution to victory in World War Two?

It is anticipated that this question will be treated by most candidates as an isolated factor essay rather than one which focuses exclusively on the role of the British army. Candidates should therefore be given credit where they expand the question to include reference to other theatres of war which were instrumental in ensuring allied victory. Nevertheless, the candidate will be expected to assess the contribution of the British army in the following terms.

The candidate may be expected to use evidence such as:

The importance of the British Army

- Background detail on the army; its size, composition/training since conscription in May 1939, the BEF, Dunkirk, the role of its generals.
- The contribution of the army to the defeat of the Italians and Germans in North Africa by May 1943.
- The impact of the invasion of Italy and the subsequent German counter-attack.
- The part played by the army in the Far East campaigns against the Japanese.
- The ultimate contribution of the army to the Normandy landings and subsequent defeat of Germany.
- Statistics detail on its contribution; death rates.

Other Factors

The candidate may also make reference to other factors which made significant contributions to the defeat of the Germans such as:

The Air Force

The candidate ought to consider Bomber Command's part in reducing Germany's military capacity and denting her civilian morale. An evaluation of the effectiveness of the large scale bombing of military and civilian targets; including raids on Bremerhaven, Hamburg and Dresden may be offered. The contribution of Coastal Command might also be considered. It was heavily involved in reconnaissance and it worked with the Navy to provide convoy protection. Finally the impact of Fighter Command's victory in the Battle of Britain may also be considered.

The Navy

An evaluation of the role of the Navy in the Battle of the Atlantic may be given along with its contribution to the protection of our overseas Empire. The candidate may also offer an explanation of the Navy's role in the convoy system as well as its contribution to the defeat of the U-boat menace. Consideration may also be given to the role of the merchant fleet and its strategic role in the supplying the Soviet Union, which ultimately kept them in the war.

Diplomacy and Political Leadership

Candidates may also give an analysis of the diplomatic role of Winston Churchill. His ability to form alliances and keep those allies focused upon the European theatre of war cannot be underestimated as a factor. Moreover, his unorthodox political leadership might be examined as a positive aspect of the British contribution to allied victory.

The Allies

Candidates might give a brief description of the role played by the Red Army in the east and the USA's contribution both in a military and financial sense to ultimate victory. Nevertheless, candidates must be careful not to focus too much on the parts played by the USA and Soviet Union since this question focuses on the British contribution.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Michael Gannon:** Acclaims the British army for taking the fight to the Axis powers in the early days of the war.
- **Correlli Barnett:** Stresses the importance of the navy.
- **John Keegan:** Overall survey of the war; places only limited emphasis on British military contribution.
- **Richard Overy:** sees the part played by Bomber Command in a domestic context as being vital; emphasises the role of the Red Army.
- **Max Hastings:** focuses more on the role of the air force than the land forces.

Question 3

How important was conscription in enabling the British economy to meet the demands of war?

The question invites the candidate to evaluate the reasons behind the success of the economy at the time of the Second World War. The impact of the war was bound to make a massive impact not only on the workforce but also on industry, agriculture and trade. The candidate not only might consider who worked and where, but how the war was financed. Candidates might also consider the legacy of a wartime economy. For example, candidates might discuss the contribution conscription made to Britain's competitiveness in post war markets.

The candidate may be expected to use evidence such as:

Conscription

- The reception industrial conscription received from the population which remained at home.
- Exempted occupations such as mine workers, dock workers, farmers, policemen and scientists.
- Conscription in the coal mining industry. To replace those who had enlisted before coal mining became a reserved occupation, 48,000 men were conscripted into service. Half of those were selected by a ballot the other half chose to serve in the mines rather than be conscripted into the armed services.
- The contribution of women and volunteers. The contribution of women in munitions, shipbuilding, aircraft and armoured vehicle industries cannot be underestimated. Consequently in the post war period there was an abundance of skilled labour for light engineering as well as the technological industries that emerged from the war. Furthermore, volunteer organisations such as St. John's Ambulance and the Red Cross joined together to form the Joint War Organisation which helped civilians involved in the home front.
- The role of the Trade Unions during the war years. Trades Unions whilst patriotic did not give up fighting for their members during the war. There were disputes with the government over pay and job protection and the role of women in the workforce. Trades Unions also played an active role in the education of the men who were being demobbed out of the armed services after the war.

The candidate might look at these other factors which enabled the economy to succeed

- The impact of war on overseas investment. Overseas investment is curtailed because the money is now needed to finance the war effort.
- The sale of overseas assets. Overseas investments were sold by the government to pay for the war.
- By abandoning the balance of payments it allows monies to be directed to the war effort.
- Taxation. The burden of the cost of war cannot be met by taxation alone. Indeed taxation levels during the war can be described as being exorbitant. There was definitely a need to explore other avenues of investment to finance the war. The cost of war was as much as ten million pounds per day in 1941.
- Lend Lease agreements and borrowing. Britain borrowed large sums of money as well as military equipment from the U.S. and other countries in the empire. As a result $4.3 billion (£2.2 billion) of funds were provided at a two per cent interest rate for British use, a triumph for then-prime minister Winston Churchill who had exerted considerable diplomatic pressure in his efforts to win the loan from the Americans.

Industry and Agriculture

- The expansion of the weapons industry.
- The contribution of industries such as coal, iron and steel textiles and shipbuilding.
- New technologies and industries.
- The contribution of agriculture to the war effort.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Correlli Barnet** who insists that the success of the economy and the impressive production of war materials was primarily due to the Lend-Lease programme and despite such successes the economy would have been even more successful if it were not for the classic symptoms of the "British disease". Nevertheless, **Howlett** provides us with a more optimistic view, he tells us that the economy over performed under difficult circumstances and the development of new technology improved Britain's post war economic position. However **Tomlinson** describes the workforce as exhausted after the war as well as identifying Britain's capital equipment as being rundown or destroyed.
- **Summerfield** and **Marwick** cite the importance of women's contribution to the war effort and **Calder** concerns himself with "Bevinism" and his vision of an "industrial democracy".
- **MacKay** on the other hand gives us a useful overview of the success of the economy at war. More balanced accounts of the explanations of industrial performance are likely to be obtained from **Tiratsoo**, **Fielding**, **Milward**, **Thoms** and most recently **Floud and McCloskey**. However, **Harris** takes the opposite viewpoint and talks of the illusion of collectiveness. He criticises the process of conscription and its impact. Addison agrees with Harris to some degree citing the amount of illegal localised industrial actions in the four major industries of coal mining, shipbuilding, the metal trades and engineering as examples of industrial disarray. Nevertheless, he tell us in the grand scheme of industrial mobilisation its impact was minimal.

Question 4

How adequate were Britain's civil defence measures in protecting the British population between 1939 and 1945?

The question allows the candidate to make an evaluation of the effectiveness of the civilian defence measures put in place by the government. The candidate may explain the role of a number of initiatives including, the government's attempts to control the civilian population, their successes and failures to protect the population from air attack and their plans to defend the British population in the face of impending invasion.

The candidate may be expected to use evidence such as:

Controlling the population

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

Coping with Air Attacks

- The Blackout and its consequences. Candidates may give an evaluation of blackout procedures and their effectiveness in protecting the civilian population. Whilst not essential, candidates might allude to their unpopularity and the unpopularity of those who were sent to enforce it. People were fined and the power of the ARP warden was considered to be excessive. The Blackout also caused deaths for example of pedestrians as well as giving the criminal fraternity a natural cloak for their activities.
- Evacuation. Whilst it is recognised that the experience of evacuation is a factor in this question, candidates who use this issue as their only example of civil defence measures will not be successful. An analysis of the positive or negative impact of evacuation is expected as is an evaluation of its success as a civil defence measure.
- Sheltering from air raids. The candidate is expected to make an evaluation of the success of the shelter provision. The effectiveness of the Anderson and Morrison shelter may be given. Included in this evaluation there ought to be a critique of their distribution, affordability and effectiveness. The candidate also might provide an evaluation of the use of London Underground Stations as shelters and the government's opinion of this. In this section the candidate might also give examples of class difference in shelter provision and access. In considering sheltering and civilian protection candidates may offer an analysis of the distribution of gas masks and their effectiveness. The candidate might also offer an evaluation of how the government would deal with an attack using chemical or biological weapons.
- Civilian casualties. Good candidates will give statistical analysis of the casualties in relation to the air raid provision and link to the effectiveness of government initiatives in civil defence. This includes the impact of the Blitz not only in London but in Coventry and more importantly Clydebank. What also may be considered are the consequences of advanced weaponry such as the V1 and V2 rockets and the ability of the government to counter their threat.

Defending Britain

- The Role of Civilian Services. Candidates may offer an evaluation of the effectiveness and sacrifice of the fire service. Indeed, it was one of the services that were vital in keeping the country's infrastructure intact during the many air attacks that Britain endured during the war. Candidates may also analyse the effectiveness of the police in protecting the civilian population and the effectiveness of the medical services and its structure at this time.
- The Home Guard and Anti-aircraft defences. Candidates may also offer an explanation of the effectiveness of the Home Guard and the plans put in place to provide protection in the event of invasion by Axis forces. There might also be recognition given to the effectiveness of the Observer Corps and the Anti-aircraft defences in preventing increased casualties in densely populated areas.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Stuart Hylton** and **Nick Tiratsoo** neither historian giving much credit to the government for adequately defending the public against bombing. There is real disagreement amongst historians as to the degree to which the civil defence wing of the military was effective.
- **Mowatt** and **Howard** disagree about the effectiveness of the civil defence measures.
- Whilst **Andrew Roberts** maintains it was as effective as it could have been under the circumstances.
- Others such as **Calder**, **Tiratsoo** and **Ponting** are much more critical of the lack of deep shelters (particularly in the East End of London). **Calder** also gives us an evaluation of evacuation, nevertheless **R Mackay** is prepared to take a middle ground stance on this and questions the degree to which any democracy can effectively prepare for total war.

Question 5

To what extent were divisions in the Labour Party responsible for their defeat in the 1951 election?

The candidate should present their argument as an examination of the factors which inspired an unpopular Labour administration to lose power in 1951. The candidate should decide whether the isolated factor of divisions in the Labour Party carries more weight in explaining the election result of 1951 than the other factors which they will discuss but with the added caveat that Labour polled more votes in 1951 than it did in 1945 so some explanation of the idiosyncrasies of the British electoral system should also be evident.

The candidate may use evidence such as:

Ideology and Foreign Policy

- The involvement in the Korean War was less than universally popular and the split which it caused in the cabinet in April 1951 between the Bevanites and Gaitskellites rent the party asunder and presented the electorate with a picture of a party much divided.
- Where the heroic efforts of the Red Army during the war had lifted support for the Labour Party in 1945, the onset of the Cold War had the opposite effect by 1951. Where communism was seen as stifling individual freedom, comparisons could be made with the limitations of personal freedom in Britain under Labour.
- Right/Left split within the Party over the extent of social and economic reform.

However this isolated factor should also be weighted in importance against other significant factors which explain the decline of the Labour Party such as:

Economy and Electoral System

- Labour's continued economic difficulties certainly put wind in the Tories' sails and by 1950 there is ample evidence to suggest that the electorate was heartily sick of austerity, rationing, shortages and bureaucracy as witnessed by the creation of the Housewives League as a pressure group.
- Other critics would argue that Attlee had no need to go to the polls in October 1951 since the economic indicators for 1952 were reasonably healthy and that he made a tactical error in doing so.
- Of course the candidates may well point out that Labour polled more votes than the Conservatives in October 1951 and more than they had in 1945 yet lost more seats. The influence of the missing Liberal candidates should be referred to.

Revival of the Conservatives

- The work done by Lord Woolton as Chairman of the party in reorganising the party at both local and national level, appointing full time agents, instigating a membership drive and founding the Young Conservatives movement. By 1950 the party membership has risen to 3 million and funding was vastly improved through local constituency efforts and donations from big business and from abroad.
- Rab Butler's development of the Industrial Charter in 1947 was a significant ideological step forward and saw an acceptance of the political consensus or post-war settlement based on an acknowledgement of the role played by the trade unions in economic life, support for the policy of full employment and an abandonment of the traditional laissez-faire based policies of the 1930s.
- In 1949 the "Right Road for Britain" policy document pledged to preserve the welfare state and to the continuation of a mixed economy, whilst also promising to build 300, 000 new homes.
- The candidate should also point out that the Conservative vote in 1945 was still 8.7 million and that its support had held up reasonably well.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Addison and Jefferys:** point to the rebirth of the Conservatives *a la* New Labour as a vital factor in explaining Labour's defeat.
- **Murphy:** emphasises the disillusionment of the electorate with austerity and the impact of the Cold War on the popularity of socialism as such.
- **Kenneth Morgan:** would agree that austerity was a significant factor in reducing labour popularity saying "It is not remarkable that Labour duly lost the October 1951 election. What is surprising is that the defeat was so narrow."
- **Sked and Cook:** wrote of the wider disaffection of middle opinion (not necessarily middle-class opinion) which was "at best puritanical and drab and at worst illiberal and restrictive of individual choice."
- **Pearce:** looks at involvement in the Korean War as a significant factor whilst the left-wing historian **John Saville** claims that by 1951 Labour was "morally and politically bankrupt."

Britain at War and Peace (1939-1951)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as an explanation of why Neville Chamberlain had to resign his post as Prime Minister?

(12 marks)

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

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of the usefulness of **Source A** as evidence of Neville Chamberlain's resignation in 1939 in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- This is a memoir of Eden's who is stating his reasons for his resignation as Foreign Secretary.
- This is showing us his private thoughts about the leader of his party this is at odds with his public opinion.
- He was a well known anti-appeaser however never an ally of Churchill.
- He was an influential member of the Conservative party who could have persuaded a vote of no confidence in Chamberlain at this time.
- Nevertheless he abstained in the Munich vote and he maintained a low profile in Westminster after his resignation.
- He was considered a poster boy for the Conservative party, the antithesis of the dowdy Edwardian Chamberlain.
- He would have been a serious contender for the Premiership if he was politically active at the time however he pursued a commission in the army at the outbreak of war.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- Eden shows his dissatisfaction of the way Britain has prepared for war.
- He criticises Chamberlain's leadership style who he regards as lacking in experience and intelligence.
- He is predicting the failings of the party's leader will not benefit them during an election campaign.
- As a prominent Conservative he disowns the government in its current form.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Chamberlain's failure to forcefully prosecute the war in the hope that Germany would succumb to economic strangulation before a full military confrontation was necessary.
- The perception amongst the public that Chamberlain was not cut out to be a war PM and that he was open to suggestions of a negotiated peace with Germany long after the policy of appeasement had been discredited.
- The extent to which the Norway fiasco showed up the incompetence within the armed forces leadership and that of the politicians responsible and the subsequent "Guilty Men" assertions.
- The growing unease within the Conservative Party over the prosecution of the war and the development of Interest groups led by men like Boothby and Macmillan whose intentions were to topple Chamberlain.
- The naked ambition of Churchill in the aftermath of the Commons debate on the Norway campaign and an analysis of why so many Tories either abstained or voted against Chamberlain in this confidence vote.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- The opposition from Labour who saw Chamberlain as a class enemy who "treated us like dirt."
- A man who was seen as responsible for the hated means test and who presided over mass unemployment in his spell as Chancellor prior to becoming PM.
- Labour's indication that in a period of national crisis, they would be willing to join a coalition government as long as Chamberlain was not its leader.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Paul Addison** argues that Chamberlain was not cut out personally nor ideologically to be a Prime Minister in a war which demanded massive government intervention. He believed Chamberlain could not manipulate the economy or assign adequate distribution of the country's resources to prepare for war.
- Others like **Kevin Jefferys** would concur, citing disaffection amongst the Tory ranks as a major contributory factor to his downfall.
- **Tony Corfield** in his article "Why Chamberlain Really Fell" cites the implacable opposition of the Labour rank and file to any participation in a Coalition Government which had Chamberlain as PM.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which **Source A** is useful as an explanation of the resignation of Neville Chamberlain.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about the differing views on the nature of the coalition government?

(16 marks)

Interpretation (maximum 6 marks)

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of **each** source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

These **10 marks** will be awarded for:

- the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- the range and quality of historians' views
- provenance comment – (if appropriate).

The candidate considers the interpretations in **Sources B** and **C** and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- Paul Adelman is a historian who has written a number of books about the political history of Britain.
- His expertise is the rise of the Labour Party and the influence it exerts upon British society.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- It was intended to be a political partnership of equals. The evidence alludes to the pride and achievement Churchill felt in achieving cross-party representation in his cabinet.
- Most of the anti-appeasers were not given office, through political necessity. Churchill's choice of government ministers was dependent upon the support he received from his own party.
- To keep the Conservatives united, his choice of cabinet was a calculated political strategy in order to court favour with those in his party who did not support his premiership.
- In all it strengthened Churchill's position.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- Churchill was not the favoured candidate for the premiership indeed Halifax and maybe Eden were seen as the preferred candidates.
- His anti-appeasement stance saw him at odds with the party line and this gave him a reputation as a maverick.
- He was careful not to appoint members to his cabinet who were stridently anti-appeasement. Realising this he includes Chamberlain in his initial plans and this earns him respect within his party and avoids a schism at a time when the country needed to stand united.
- Other appointees include Atlee and Greenwood, as Leader and Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, Churchill himself, who was Minister of Defence as well as Prime Minister, and two other Conservatives, Chamberlain and Halifax.
- For some the inclusion of Labour ministers in his cabinet was seen as tokenism whilst others thought the step radical and necessary considering we were at war.

Source C

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. These may include:

- Professor of Contemporary History, with particular teaching and research interests in British political and social history since the Second World War.
- He is an expert in British political history who has analysed the pivotal political events which have shaped Britain in the twentieth century.
- His book about Churchill and his coalition is a frank description of the role Churchill played during the Second World War. It is an antidote to Churchill's own wartime recollections.

Points from source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

- The coalition's role as a new political entity should not be exaggerated. There was not such a long break with the past. Compromise to preserve continuity.
- Churchill's claims that the new administration was broad-based when 2/3rds were reappointed and only 12 new ministers appointed.
- The administration broadly consisted of members who could be described as orthodox Conservatives.
- Labour had to be satisfied with their minimal inclusion in the government and getting rid of Chamberlain.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise those in the source:

- By organising government in this way it let Churchill focus upon the military aspect of the war whilst entrusting others with running the home front.
- It was a calculated risk to include experienced members of other parties in the cabinet but a necessity considering the situation the country was in.
- With a majority of orthodox Conservatives scrutinising decisions made by the Labour ministers Churchill thought a system of political checks and balances would be in place therefore giving an illusion of autonomy of decision.
- It was a strategic move by Churchill to allow those linked to the union movement a say in the likes of rearmament. It allows for the least amount of friction when asking the workers of these industries to focus on rearming the country for war.
- Labour out of power for so long as a governing party see this as an opportunity through necessity to gain the vital governmental experience need to compete as a political force when the war finally ends.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- There is an illusion of shared power and responsibility however for the most part it was "business as usual" for the Conservative Party who were still in power.
- Churchill's strategy could be categorised as evolutionary rather than revolutionary. This dispels the standard view that the Coalition Government at the start of the war was a radical departure from normal politics. Indeed we only need to look at the previous decade to understand that this is not the case.
- There is criticism about the nature of the Coalition Government. It may be described as being born out of Churchill's political self preservation rather than a reaction to a national crisis.
- In contrast to the view above the ability of the Coalition to represent all aspect of social strata at this time was said to enable the country to provide a cohesion that was not evident under Chamberlain's tenure.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Richard Lamb** is enthusiastic about Churchill's aptitude for the job as a wartime leader.
- **Addison** calls the start of Churchill's premiership as the beginning of a more pugnacious regime.
- **Gilbert** also congratulates Churchill on his strategic ability to politically unite the country at this time of need.
- **Fielding** also sees worth in the new government, he calls it truly national. Furthermore he is surprised by the speed of the transition.
- **Reynolds** tells us of the distrust that the Conservatives displayed in private over the appointments Churchill made.
- **Roskill** and **Charmley** do not share the same enthusiasm and they are critical of Churchill's political and military strategies at this time. Candidates may also use some of the vast amounts of primary source materials available for the issue. There are the diaries of **Eden**, **Halifax** and **Chamberlain** that could be considered invaluable for an insight to this unique time in Britain's political history.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion using a range of evidence about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources B** and **C** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the nature of the coalition government.

Question 3

How fully does Source D illustrate the achievements of Labours' social reforms in the initial post war era?

(12 marks)

Candidates may be awarded **up to 3 marks** for their ability to establish the views of the source and accurately support that evaluation with comment from the source.

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

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source D** as an adequate analysis of the success of Labours' social reforms in the initial post war era in terms of:

Provenance: appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from the source which show the candidate has interpreted, by more than repetition alone, the significant view(s):

• The Labour government introduced a comprehensive system of social welfare replacing the patchwork of services at that time.
• It established a society with much less poverty and much greater equality.
• The Labour government did this despite the tight economic constraints at this time without undue adverse impact on economic recovery.
• The source indicates a social evolution rather than a social revolution, and it recognises that it did not accomplish a complete social revolution.

Points from recall which support, develop and contextualise the views in the source:

• Labour had fulfilled all of its election manifesto commitments.
• The raft of legislation passed in this period with specific examples in the social and economic context.
• An analysis of the creation of the welfare state including comment on:
    • The National Insurance Acts. The legislation instituted a comprehensive state health service, effective from 5th July 1948. The Act provided for compulsory contributions for unemployment, sickness, maternity and widows' benefits and old age pensions from employers and employees, with the government funding the balance.
    • The formation of the NHS. The formation of the NHS was an incredible achievement against enormous opposition, not least from a layer of doctors who felt their interests were threatened. But major government concessions were made, such as allowing GPs to maintain their self-employed status. Some argued the service should be means tested and open to the poorest or neediest only. However, Bevan felt that universality would be a guarantee of a high quality service for all, rather than a two tier one based on ability to pay.
    • Full employment a Keynesian policy. Post-war full employment did significantly narrow the gap between rich and poor. The improved safety net put in place in the 1940s (the legislation above) prevented a repeat of the misery of the 1930s. Growth rates also improved because of full employment and this allowed monies created from growth to be spent on welfare.
• Labour's legislative programme resulted in a complete social and economic regeneration of the country compared to the pre-war situation. From economic despair the country aspired and achieved economic respectability.
• The task was unfinished by 1951 and much still had to be accomplished.

Points from recall which offer a wider contextualisation of the view in the source:

- The rightwing view of the perceived success of Labours' policies which is in contrast to the author's view. This might include the view of Barnett – His highly critical assessment of the Labour governments' policies.
- Focuses heavily on what he sees as the folly of pursuing New Jerusalem policies which were expensive and at the cost of economic regeneration.
- Criticised the Labour welfare reforms for creating a culture of welfare dependency and low educational standards, thus creating a "nanny state."
- Nevertheless there were commentators who welcomed reform. Indeed there is a consensus that after the war there was a climate for relief but when the system matured it was a major factor in rebuilding a beleaguered Britain.
- Welfare reforms provided universal health care, a reformed education service and a commitment to reduce substandard housing. Overall these successes paved the way for prosperity and modernity in the post war period.
- The success of the Labour policy and the need for such legislation can be illustrated by the amount of people who accessed medical services in its first year of operation; 8.5 million dental patients treated, more than 5 million spectacles distributed and medical prescriptions doubling.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentary to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Kenneth Morgan** is a staunch supporter of Labour's economic and social record, citing it as one of the most successful governments of the 20th century.
- **Peter Hennessy** also praises Labour's ability to deliver a large measure of welfarism in the face of economic adversity and commends its Keynesian approach to demand management.
- Critics from the left such as **Fielding** bemoan the lack of genuine socialism in its policies, criticising nationalisation plans for not incorporating workers' representatives on boards of management and failing to pursue redistributive taxation policies.
- From the right we have the familiar litany of complaints from **Barnett** that nothing was done to regenerate industry or recapitalise it in terms of plant and capacity. Equally he bemoans the creation of an expensive welfare state, ill-affordable in a time when there were other more pressing priorities such as education and which led, he says, to a dependency culture from which Britain has never broken free.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Source D** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the success of Labours' Social Reforms in the initial post war era presenting a balanced viewpoint ranged around the points made above.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]