



2012 History

Advanced Higher

Finalised Marking Instructions

© Scottish Qualifications Authority 2012

The information in this publication may be reproduced to support SQA qualifications only on a non-commercial basis. If it is to be used for any other purposes written permission must be obtained from SQA's NQ Delivery: Exam Operations.

Where the publication includes materials from sources other than SQA (secondary copyright), this material should only be reproduced for the purposes of examination or assessment. If it needs to be reproduced for any other purpose it is the centre's responsibility to obtain the necessary copyright clearance. SQA's NQ Delivery: Exam Operations may be able to direct you to the secondary sources.

These Marking Instructions have been prepared by Examination Teams for use by SQA Appointed Markers when marking External Course Assessments. This publication must not be reproduced for commercial or trade purposes.

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
- 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 11 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 (not necessarily divided up into separate sections).	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 and conclusion are functional.	The introduction is a competent presentation of the issues; it comes to a suitable, largely summative, conclusion.	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 title.
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 must 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 pass. It is highly unlikely that there will be sufficient depth and breadth of argument to convince a marker that it had covered enough of the 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 on this aspect of the marking.

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 width of detail 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 depth of detail, many essays are a very good review, albeit sometimes superficial, of a lot of the issues that are relevant. Candidates who follow this approach, which may appear light on analysis or evidence, may still have done enough to merit a 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 for the source questions.

The 'how fully' question (12 marks)

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.

The 'how useful' question (12 marks)

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.

The 'two-source' question (16 marks)

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

To what extent does settlement evidence suggest that late pre-Roman Iron Age society was peaceful?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the extent to which settlement evidence suggests peaceful or unstable social conditions during the late pre Roman Iron Age. A range of settlement evidence, probably including brochs, crannogs, hillforts and open settlements could be discussed. The candidate would be expected to reach a conclusion on the extent to which society was peaceful in Celtic Scotland.

Candidates may use evidence such as

Points suggesting peaceful conditions:

- Traditional image of Iron Age suggests warring hierarchical societies – presumption that brochs, forts, crannogs, round houses had an underlying defensive purpose – this can be challenged.
- Defensive ineptitude of many Scottish settlements suggests warfare was not primary concern in construction and maintaining settlements.
- Hillforts suggest a peaceful society concerned with displaying power – not overtly concerned with actual warfare. Some hillforts would be undefendable (too large or overlooked) – not built as a response to warfare/instability.
- Brochs suggests a peaceful society – Armit notes that social stability would be required in order to harness & manage communal manpower needed to build a broch.
- Crannogs suggest peaceful conditions – settled farmers, managing natural environment.
- Roundhouses & hut circles suggest peaceful conditions, primarily concerned with religion, ritual and agricultural cycle - house cosmology - ritual pits filled with animal bones & artefacts.
- Presence of souterrains at some settlement sites suggests peaceful conditions – likely to have been social stability in order to successfully produce a surplus – difficult to do in times of warfare.
- Settlements suggest stable, successful farmers – complex field systems evidence from Orchard Rig in Peeblesshire or Leuchars in Fife.
- Very little evidence of Iron Age settlements being destroyed or attacked – evidence suggests diminishing need for defensive features (Dryburn Bridge & Broxburn, East Lothian – palisaded enclosures followed by unenclosed settlement).
- Domestic or ritual concerns shaped settlement more than warfare.
- Evidence for long-term occupation of settlements (eg deep middens from crannogs in Dumfriesshire) suggests social stability.

Points suggesting instability and warfare

- Warfare, feuding and raiding perceived as rife, especially on tribal fringes and thus expect to see this reflected in settlement evidence.
- Hillforts understood as a response to social instability, "the central aim of the construction of these sites was to provide a fortified place that would be defensible against human attack" (Avery 1976).
- Iron Age hillforts built for defence, 'tribal bickering' - feuding and raiding between tribes would necessitate a degree of defensive capabilities.

- Architectural change in settlements has been interpreted as a result of social instability, warfare or invasion – Piggott's study of Hownam Rings, Borders suggested defensive rings added in response to immigration from Southern England.
- Settlement seen to reveal instability - the purpose of forts, crannogs and brochs was seen as providing refuge, those in the immediate neighbourhood fled to these sites in times of danger.
- Regional variation in settlement types reflects different social conditions – eg in East Lothian and Tweeddale there are so many forts and enclosures can interpret them as evidence of fragmented communities competing/warring to control their own part of land.
- Some evidence for slighted defences.

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

- **Richard Oram** *Scottish Prehistory* – suggests warfare was endemic.
- **Richard Hingley** *The Making Of Scotland – Settlement and Sacrifice* – highlights extent to which society was stable through displaying power.
- **Ian Armit** *Historic Scotland – Celtic Scotland* – highlights the extent to which society was broadly peaceful with small scale, intermittent petty warfare.
- **Graham and Anna Ritchie** *Scotland Archaeology and Early History* – highlights that society was stable but petty raids were the norm.
- **Ian Armit** *Towers In The North – The Brochs Of Scotland* – states that brochs were indicative of a peaceful society.

Question 2

What factors best explain Roman attempts to conquer North Britain?

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to examine arguments on the motives for Roman attempts to conquer North Britain. The title allows for candidates to discuss the aims of the Flavian, Antonine and Severan occupations, though not necessarily chronologically. The candidate could discuss the extent to which Roman attempts were motivated by imperialism and the desire to control the North. They could discuss the extent to which Rome was motivated by the prospect of economic gain and/or the desire to gain personal prestige. The essay should reach a conclusion as to the most likely Roman objective(s).

The candidate might use evidence such as:

Points suggesting Rome motivated by imperialism

- Roman state inherently imperialistic with imperialists' attitudes to other people.
- Rome considered herself free to intervene in affairs of other lesser states.
- D Breeze refers to Romans as having "a belief that they had a mission to rule the world" or "a right to rule the world".
- Motivated by desire to bring benefits of their own civilisation to the barbarians.
- Rome's expansion likened to the advent of the 'world's current superpower' – fixed on expansion.
- Rome sought co-operation from the tribal nobility with offers of citizenship and imperial favour, eg Votadini enjoyed peaceable relationship with Rome, suggests imperial motives over military.

Points suggesting Rome motivated by economic gain

- Army collected custom duties and taxes in the frontier areas.
- Collected taxes in cash or in kind.
- Tacitus relays information on the payment of tax.
- Army did not necessarily pay for goods – dearth of coins and artefacts on native sites suggests Rome seized what they wanted.
- During Pius' reign, regiments on the wall were to protect the province from attack & to control the movement of people – indicative of desire for bureaucratic control to foster economic gain.
- However, little evidence to suggest that North Britain was desirable economically, Aelius Aristides claims that by controlling southern Britain, Rome had all that was worth having and even that brought in little money.

Points suggesting Rome motivated by personal and dynastic need

- Some emperors required a triumph, no mention of acquiring minerals, agricultural produce – personal triumph sought above all else.
- "if it was politics that brought the Romans...it was politics that caused them to leave again" – occupations were a part of broader political and dynastic concerns. DJ Woolliscroft & B Hoffman.
- The Flavians were a new dynasty following civil war, 69AD, and keen to initiate forward movement in Britain to secure prestige.
- Fanfares of victory following Agricola's return to Rome – indicative of prestige and glory.
- Antonine considered a "stop gap successor" – needing military prestige as weak 2nd choice successor.
- Antonine Pius needed easily won military prestige which his advisers believed could be won in Britain, by a recovery of lands already overrun and briefly held by Agricola.

- “Advance under Antonius Pius appears to have been engineered simply in order for the new emperor to gain military prestige” – did not even attempt to complete the conquest of the whole island. D Breeze.
- Antonius Pius biography highlights that the occupation was motivated by desire for glory & prestige, “although the emperor stayed in his palace in Rome and delegated responsibility for the war, he deserved the glory for the whole start and progress of the expedition as though he had taken charge of steering a warship”.
- Dynastically, Pius sought to embark on expansion as a “douceur” to the marshals of Emperor Trajan who had experienced years on inactivity under Hadrian.
- In 142AD Antonius Pius took the title imperator, “Conqueror” – unequivocally bestowing prestige on previously weak emperor.
- Severus regarded expansion as his potential ‘swan song’ – a prestigious and glorious end to his reign.
- Severus took the title “Britannicus”, Conqueror of Britain to glorify military reputation.

Points suggesting Rome motivated by military motives

- Throughout all of the Roman intervals in Scotland, the presence was virtually exclusively military.
- Rome sought, at different times, military control or to embark on military punitive campaigns.
- Vespasian charged Petillus Cerealis, Sextus Julius Frontinus and Gnaeus Julius Agricola with the task of restoring order in Britain and taking forward Roman arms.
- Agricola called to fight a just war, fearing in 82AD, “a rising of the northern tribes”.
- Agricola was responsible for the brief “Britain was conquered” – military aim was met albeit fleetingly (“...and immediately abandoned”).
- Antonine Pius impelled to rely on Lollius Urbicus to “thrust back the barbarians....conquer the Britons” - suggests Antonine occupation was motivated by disturbances and unrest in Northern Britain and by military failure of Hadrian’s Wall.
- Coin issued in 154AD shows Britannia subdued following the quashing of unrest.
- Severus’ arrival in Britain, with his two sons, motivated against unrest of Caledonians and Maetae.
- Severus sought military conquest and to cow the natives, signing treaties with the persecuted natives.
- Severus aimed at conquest of the whole island, establishing strong forts at Carpow and Cramond – something more than just a punitive campaign.
- Severus aimed at military “genocide”, to wipe out every last man, woman and child who opposed Roman rule.

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

- **L Keppie** *Scotland’s Roman Remains*, highlights that under the veil of military motives, expansion was largely a result of personal motives and the need for prestige.
- **David Breeze** *Roman Scotland*, reinforces the imperialistic ambitions of Rome to rule the world, whilst acknowledging personal and military motives.
- **G Maxwell & W Hanson** *Rome’s NW Frontier*, stresses the fact that most expansion coincides with the accession of a new emperor and North Britain as a remote province would fire the imaginations of the populace.
- **Tacitus** *The Agricola*, makes it clear that Vespasian sought to extend the imperial boundaries of the empire and bestow barbarians with Roman civility.
- **D J Woolliscroft & B Hoffman** *Rome’s First Frontier* suggests Severus was “planning for complete and permanent conquest” but for Antonine it was the politics that brought them North.

Question 3

How important was St. Ninian in influencing the development of Christianity in Northern Britain?

The aim of this question is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about the factors which influenced the development of Christianity. The role played by St. Ninian will be discussed. The candidate would benefit from discussing the role played by other Saints as well as the role played by the Romans or even the Vikings. The essay should reach a conclusion as to the most important factor in influencing the development of Christianity.

St Ninian

- Bede introduces us to Ninian, the traditional story that he was born in Britain and travelled to Rome to be trained in the church.
- Ninian was allegedly consecrated by Pope Siricius and travelled to Gaul and spent 10 years with St Martin of Tours, who promoted the building of "White Huts."
- St Ninian was sent as a Bishop, c.395AD, to an existing Roman community at Whithorn, Candida Casa (The White House).
- The local chief Tuduvallus seems to have accepted Ninian and his Christian congregation.
- Ninian preached to converted Christians and developed the structures of an organised Church.
- However, Ninian did more than preach to the converted – he was responsible for the Southern Picts' conversion, "the Southern Picts themselves abandoned idolatry and embraced the faith... by the preaching of the word by St Ninian".
- He reputedly walked the land with handbell and followers, setting up churches across Central Scotland, up the east coast as far north as Orkney and Shetland.
- Evidence for his conversion rests on place names and local tradition – scant evidence but consensus suggests that many sites were Ninianic.
- The site of St Kentigern's Monastery in Glasgow was built on ground consecrated by Ninian.
- His achievements will have been exaggerated as a result of the twelfth century cult of St Ninian, crediting him with founding 150 religious sites – "this is surely implausible" (B Paterson).
- "Ninian existed,...was a very important and influential man" (B Paterson)

Other Christian missionaries

- At an early date Ninian was not the only holy man active in Scotland.
- From 450AD there were Irish monks preaching on the west coast of Scotland.
- Between 450 – 500AD there is evidence for Saint Colmóc and Brendan evangelising over Picts and Scotti. Similarly, Senanaadn Oran, Finan of Molville and Kieron of Clonmacnois and Machar and Kessog were concentrating in the North.
- St Oran established Christian community at Iona – Scots of Dal Riata had been giving kings a Christian burial on Iona for at least 13 years prior to St Columba's arrival.
- The work of St Columba on Iona was another highly important factor. "Columba is a key figure in any study of the Church in Celtic areas." (L & J Laing)
- Columba arrived 563AD with Ninian's Gospels – underpinning his position in Scotland as a legitimate Christian leader.
- He acted as an adviser to the rulers of Dal Riata: he had royal blood himself, which helped. He was the first Patron Saint of Scotland. His burial place, Iona, became that of scores of kings from Scotland, England, Ireland and Norway. The political role he took was taken up by later churchmen.
- He has been dubbed "a Johnny come lately" but no doubt he made a lasting impression on Scotland and assisted some to attaining Christianity.

- Adomnan's (he was a later Abbot of Iona) *Life of Columba* was widely circulated and had a huge influence.
- Columba's arrival, like Ninian's, is hugely significant as laying the foundations of an organised Church.

Rome

- Northern Britons were religious long before the development of Christianity, believing in a pantheon of Gods, totems, sacred places – Northern Britain was disposed to the development of Christianity, another religious idea.
- Christianity could be added without difficulty to the existing pool of belief systems.
- Roman occupation of Northern Britain was a factor in the conversion; it opened Britain to wider influences, first Christians in Britain may have been Jews or Greeks in Roman Britain.
- From 4th century, evidence of Roman Christianity in North England, Bishoprics, Sees and Bishops – potentially influencing those further north.
- Evidence for sub-Roman Christianity – the Latinus tombstone and an even earlier Christian cemetery under the east end of the priory.
- Whithorn could be an offshoot of Roman Christianity filtering north from a Christian colony based around Roman settlement at Carlisle.
- Evidence for Christians in the Roman frontier zone from the 4th century at Carlisle, Chesterholm and Brougham – all support the notion that the development of Christianity spread from the Roman bishopric at York.
- Rome arguably had a profound impact on frontier zone – including development of Christian religion.

Vikings

- Forced conversion – Earl Sigurd & all of Orkney were at least nominally baptised in 995 when King Olaf Tryggvesson demanded, "I want you and all your subjects to be baptised. If you refuse, I'll have you killed on the spot, and I swear that I'll ravage every island with fire and steel." The earl could see what kind of situation he was in and was baptised at once.
- As Vikings integrated, the mother's milk theory led to Vikings adopting religious customs of their spouses and passing faith to their families, took in Christianity with their mother's milk.
- Vikings happy to hedge their spiritual bets and accept Christianity into pool of Gods.

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

- **Smyth** *Warlords and Holy Men* – "Columba is remembered as father of Scottish Christianity...whose monks built up a brilliant Christian civilisation"
- **Thomas** *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* – highlights the role of Columba as founding father, Ninian peripheral.
- **B Paterson** *Saint Wars* – "Ninian v. Columba", suggests Ninian was responsible for laying the foundations of the faith.
- **Lloyd and Jenny Laing** *The Picts and the Scots*, "Columba was the key figure..."

Question 4

“The most likely interpretation of the symbol stones is that they are memorials to the dead.” How accurate is this judgement on the purpose of Pictish symbol stones?

The aim of this essay is to analyse the debate relating to the purposes of Pictish symbol stones. Candidates should discuss the evidence that the symbol stones were memorials to the dead. The candidate could look at the social, religious, military and political purposes of the stones. Equally, the candidate could consider evidence to suggest that the stones were statements of religious and cultural identity. Candidates could also discuss the view that the stones commemorated battles or demarcated tribal boundaries. The essay should reach a conclusion on the accuracy of the interpretation that the stones were memorials to the dead.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Points discussing the view that the symbol stones are memorials to the dead

- Most widely accepted explanation is that the stones were personal memorials & that symbols identify the status and tribe, or occasionally, occupation of the deceased.
- Cummins suggests that the symbols represent names – e.g. double disc & Z rod represents thunder & lightning, akin to the name Drosten, meaning thunder.
- Mirror and comb often seen to mean the memorial has been commissioned by a wife or daughter (the concept of the child being the image of the parent).
- Mirror and comb fulfils purpose of stating, “here lies...”.
- Some symbols may represent afterlife, eg, angels to summon the dead as seen on the Hilton of Cadboll.
- Stones fulfil same purpose as later medieval heraldic devices, representing family names.
- However, only circumstantial rather than conclusive evidence that stones have been found close to burials (Dunrobin Stone had originally been set within a stone burial cairn).
- Problematically, for the argument, the distribution of early Christian long cist cemeteries and symbol incised stones are virtually mutually exclusive.

Points suggesting that the symbol stones had alternative purposes:

Evidence for social purpose

- A means of communication throughout Pictland (A Ritchie).
- Symbols may represent social and cultural values such as the spirit of the forest and the importance of hunting, warfare and strength.
- Stones may reinforce the social hierarchy – as seen on the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab.
- Foster argues that the stones were meant to legitimise claims to land – they represented the transfer of inheritance from one generation to another.
- A Jackson argues that the stones were meant to represent lineages and were public statements of marriage.
- The mirror and comb represents the endowment paid by one lineage to another.
- Stones were territorial boundaries, as at Aberlemno stones set up on the ridge between the South Esk and Lunan valleys – linked to the rebuilt fortifications at Finavon Fort.
- FT Wainwright maintained that the distribution of the stones “marks with precision the known boundaries of Pictland”.

Evidence for military purpose

- Commemorate or celebrate battles – Aberlemno represents an action-packed battle scene, likely the Battle of Nechtansmere, AD 685 – a stone representation of what Ritchie calls a “vital national issue”.
- Purpose of the Sueno Stone may have been to commemorate an unknown victory by the men of Alba, the Gaelicised Picts of the lands south of the Mounth over the men of Moray, those of the lands north of the Mounth.
- The stones depict battle paraphernalia including spears, axes, decorated shield, swords and mounted warriors – evidence of military power.

Evidence for political purpose

- Foster suggests that the stones may have been statements of tribal affiliation.
- By 9th century Picts were under threat from encroaching Scots and this prompted creation of huge nationalistic symbols dominating the back of the cross slab at Aberlemno.
- Stones commissioned by secular chieftains to glorify the Christian God and the waning kingdom of the Picts.
- The political and religious elites are perceived to have controlled the appearance of the symbol stones – stones were used by elites to establish/reinforce the position and status of key members in society.

Evidence for religious purpose

- “Core symbols” on class I stones were of religious value, displaying cult beliefs (such as the cult of the bull head at Burghead).
- Stones perceived to be prayer stations, commissioned by secular chieftains to glorify the Christian God and legitimise their own political power.
- Many of the later symbol stones are cross-slabs and would have belonged to contemporary churches and monasteries – used to communicate Christian teachings (St Vigean, near Arbroath – linked with early church or monastery).
- St Andrews Sarcophagus commissioned by the Church or some rich lay patron of the church – represent Christian and Pictish values.

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

- **Sally Foster** *Picts, Gaels and Scots* considers that the designs cannot be strait jacketed, meant something different in each context though make most sense when looked at in the light of Celtic religious beliefs and practices.
- **G Cruikshank** *The Battle of Dunnichen and the Aberlemno Battle Scene* is of the view that some of the symbol stones were “renditions of an actual historical event”.
- **C Thomas** *The Interpretation of the Pictish Symbols*, saw the symbols tones as memories of late Iron Age weapons and equipment, used as symbols of rank and to commemorate the dead.
- **A Jackson** *The Symbol Stones of Scotland*, suggested the symbol stones are records of marriage treaties and symbols refer to families or kinship groups.
- **R Samson** sees the stones as representing elements of names.
- **I Henderson** *Towards defining the function of sculpture in Alba*, suggests that the role of sculpture as ethnic identifiers cannot be sustained.

Question 5

To what extent was the creation of Alba a result of cultural domination by the Scots over the Picts?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to come to a conclusion about factors which led to the creation of Alba. The evidence for and extent of scoticisation of the Picts would have to be discussed. The candidate could bring to bear other relevant factors and they could discuss the alternative view that Alba was a result of Viking incursions, common Celtic inheritance or even Kenneth Mac Alpin. The essay should reach a conclusion as to the extent to which scoticisation led to the birth of Alba.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Points discussing view that scoticisation of the Picts was a factor in creation of Alba:

- Scots from Dal Riada were penetrating Pictland long before the accession of Kenneth Mac Alpin.
- The Pictish area around Dunkeld was referred to as “New Ireland”, Athfotla as early as 739 AD- Evidently Gaels were already well established in parts during the 8th century.
- By the ninth century, Gaelic place names appearing across Pictland (see Pit being combined with Gaelic personal names).
- Oengus II’s dynasty was ‘essentially Scottish’, suggesting the Gaels had pushed into Pictland a generation before Mac Alpin.
- Increasing Scottish migration in face of Viking threat, a common foe, led to scoticisation of Picts & birth of Alba.

Points discussing the view that other factors led to the creation of Alba

Viking incursions

- S Driscoll suggests that “the Viking predations caused nothing less than the remaking of the political landscape” – Vikings catalysed Gaelic intrusion in Pictland.
- Vikings, in the Battle of Fortrui (839AD), killed Pictish nobility, leaving a Pictish power vacuum for Kenneth and the Scots to exploit.
- Inadvertently, the Vikings created ‘the need for a consolidated kingdom’ of Alba, as this was the only real way to resist the Norse incursions.
- In face of Norse pressure, the Dalriadic nobility would have been increasingly attracted to the wealth and security offered in Pictland.

Kenneth Mac Alpin & Conquest

- Ian Walker asserts that Kenneth ‘almost certainly defeated or subdued any Pictish opposition’ and led a successful takeover of the Picts.
- P. Hume Brown asserts ‘taking advantage of an invasion of Pictland by the Northmen, or possibly acting in concert with them, Kenneth attacked the Picts and forced them into submission’.
- Mac Alpin’s treachery - The Prophecy of Berchan recounts Kenneth’s invitation to the Pictish nobility for a feast at Scone, where they were then made drunk, trapped in pits and massacred – creating opportunity for Kenneth to claim Pictish throne.
- However, Kenneth’s role has been exaggerated – smothered in mythological tradition. Smyth claims that ‘the sustained success [of his dynasty] over many centuries gave added posthumous glory to Kenneth’.
- JD Mackie asserts clearly that ‘the union of Scotland and Pictland was made under Norse pressure’.

Celtic Commonalities

- Dal Riata had virtually become a Pictish province over the preceding century, with Pictish kings as overlords of the Scots.
- Commonality bred through intermarriage between the ruling kindreds - attested to by the Gaelic names of some Pictish kings.
- Common Christian faith - A common faith would have increased ties between peoples and reinforced existing cultural affinities.
- Church was primarily a Gaelic institution and as such it brought the Picts within their cultural sphere for the next 200 years.
- Common Celtic background and values.
- Common foe – the Viking threat.
- Walker refers to 'a slow fusion of two cultural groups over a long period of time'.
- Both Picts and Scots were pastoral, warrior societies, speaking variants of a once common source language, "little other than language would have set them apart" (Stuart McHardy, *A New History of the Picts*).
- The maternal gene pool is more or less the same in Pictland, in Celtic Argyll and in the Highlands.

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

- **Sally Foster** *Picts, Gaels and Scots*, talks of disregard for Pictish characteristics and gaelicisation of Pictland.
- **A Smyth** *Warlords and Holymen, Scotland AD80-1000* – Kenneth did successfully establish an enduring Alba.
- **I Walker** 'a slow fusion of two cultural groups over a long period of time'.
- **S McHardy** *A New History of the Picts*, Picts and Scots were entwined, both basically warrior societies.

Northern Britain from the Romans to AD 1000

Part 2

How useful is Source A as evidence of Roman knowledge of Northern Britain?

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 A** in understanding Roman knowledge of Northern Britain in terms of:

Provenance: Appropriate and relevant comments will earn credit. These may include:

- Ptolemy, c 140AD, ethnically Greek but a Roman citizen, working in Egypt – compiled *Geographia* about the world's geography as known at the time of the Roman Empire.
- Map compiled from afar – Ptolemy never set foot in Britain.
- North of the line of the Tay Ptolemy has bent Scotland through 90 degrees so that, for example, Caithness appears to extend east into the North Sea.
- Likely to be built on information from the Flavian Period, since it lacks features of anything later than then, like the Antonine occupation.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Northern Britain was split into zones and distinct tribal regions – Ptolemy's map reveals 18 separate tribes.
- Tribes such as Novantae, Votadini, Caledones cover large geographical regions indicating degree of social sophistication.
- Celtic society integrated with Rome or impacted upon by Rome as presence of Roman names/sites such as Trimontium.
- Roman knowledge was comparatively accurate – knowledge of the shape of the island, the name of capes, rivers and islands as well as the tribes and settlements.

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

- Ptolemy, like contemporary cartographers, did not believe that people could live in latitudes beyond 63 degrees. So, rather than extend Britain to an impossible 66 degrees, Ptolemy bent it east to fall below the limits of survival – indicates, the extent to which the map is made to suit Roman perceptions rather than represent realities of Celtic Britain.
- Some tribal names reflect Celtic values and ideas of tribal identity – Epidii may mean people of the horse.
- Ptolemy may have omitted lesser tribes, especially those in the south since precise locations and natives' affairs were not his primary interest.
- Tacitus's Boresti seem to have escaped Ptolemy's notice, and there may have been more. Ptolemy's *Geographia* thus should not be accepted as either correct or complete

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

- Rome recognised that tribes within Northern Britain named themselves and had distinct sense of identity.
- Caesar, writing about Gaul, refers to a warrior aristocracy, learned Druids and the mass of population – analogous with Northern Britain.
- Caesar, writing 130 years earlier wrote, “the interior of Britain is inhabited by tribes who claim...to be aboriginal”.
- Ptolemy knew of and mapped the “Caledonian ocean” as well as the Northern and Western Isles.
- Aware of internal geography of the North – maps show the Highland Massif and Rome informed enough to capitalise on geographical isthmuses on Forth-Clyde and Tyne-Solway.
- Cassius Dio records amalgamation of Celtic tribes into the Caledonians by the close of the 2nd century AD.
- Eumenius knew of “Picti” by 297AD, referring to the “woods and marshes of the Caledones and other Picts”.
- Problems of precision – Northern Britain lay on the edge of the known world, shrouded in mystique.
- Knowledge was rarely first hand, even Ptolemy’s *Geography, Roman Map of Britain* was based on third hand information.

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

- **I Armit** *Celtic Scotland*, advocates view of a tribal, economically settled society.
- **Cassius Dio** implies gradual amalgamation of Celtic tribes.
- **Eumenius** first to identify the Picts as an amalgamation of the Caledonians and the Maetae.
- **John C Mann and David J Breeze** Ptolemy, Tacitus and the tribes of north Britain, PSAS, 1987 – Ptolemy correctly identifies names and locations of tribes.

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 as evidence of Roman knowledge of Northern Britain.

Question 2

How fully does Source B illustrate reasons for Roman failure to conquer North Britain?

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 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 B** in providing a full understanding of the reasons for the Romans failure to conquer North Britain:

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Romans failed to conquer due to the tough and spirited opposition put up by the Caledonians.
- It was difficult to lure the Northern Britons out into an open battle – Agricola campaigned for two years before successfully orchestrating the battle at Mons Graupius.
- The Caledonians repeatedly rose in opposition to the Romans.
- The Caledonians were difficult to conquer due to their preference for guerrilla tactics – ambushes, night attacks and raids.

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

- Mons Graupius allegedly involved a furious chariot charge, volleys of javelins – indicative of the “doughty” Caledonians.
- Following the battle of Mons Graupius, Rome felt it necessary to embark upon the huge building project at Inchtuthill, a legionary fortress begun in AD 84 – still necessary to keep the Caledonians in check.
- Even at the close of the 2nd century AD, the Caledonians were still an obstacle – Gov. Virius Lupus was forced to buy peace in the North with them – they received a large bribe in return for the release of prisoners.

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

Rome failed to conquer due to other factors.

Lack of economic incentive:

- Scotland lacked the easily available precious metal resources that places like Wales had and there were low potential tax revenues.
- The cost of manpower required to control Northern Britain exceeded the potential return.
- Romans may have forwarded “lack of economic incentive” as an excuse for not conquering - rarely used it as a reason for conquest.

Impact of natives' social infrastructure:

- Lack of local market mechanisms made army difficult to supply.
- Northern Britain lacked a suitably developed urban system which the Romans could have taken over.
- The North lacked the local administrative, legal and law enforcement systems which Rome usually used to administer provinces.
- Too difficult to coerce a society made up of extended family groupings & too difficult to attack a society which lacks an identifiable seat of power.

Lack of Roman will

- Wider imperial concerns meant that interest in & commitment to conquest in Northern Britain waned in face of more pressing concerns.
- Changes of Emperor impacted upon Rome's commitment to control and occupy the North.
- North Britain was of peripheral interest and forces could be withdrawn with least injury to Rome's vital interests.

External events

- AD 85, Flavian pulled back as a result of "the dangerous crisis on the Danube" – all of Legio II Adiutrix pulled out.
- Death of Severus thwarted 3rd century attempts at control – Caracalla returned to Rome.
- Breeze argues that two serious attempts to conquer and control (Agricola's and Severus') failed because of problems elsewhere in the Empire.

Topography of the North

- Highlands too daunting.
- Dense forestation made communication difficult.
- Highlands no more difficult than other controlled terrain – Yugoslavia, Eastern Turkey, Alps.

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

- **David Breeze** *Roman Scotland* – failed due to interplay of factors
- **D W Woolliscroft** *Why the Romans failed to conquer Scotland* – conquest was impossible due to demilitarization coupled with lack of native infrastructure
- **B Hoffman** *Archaeology vs. Tacitus' Agricola*, A 1st century worst case scenario
- **G Maxwell** *The Romans in Scotland*. Northern Britain was never valued as an important part of the Empire, peripheral Roman investment and interest

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the degree to which a consideration of **Source B** provides a full understanding of reasons for Roman failure to conquer North Britain.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing interpretations of relations between the Vikings and the native peoples of 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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C** and **D** about differing interpretations of the nature of native and Viking interactions/relationships, and provides a structured evaluation in terms of:

Source C

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

- Accurate comment on the Historia Norvegia.
- Written between 1160 and 1220 – one of the earliest surviving texts from medieval Norway.
- One of the Norwegian synoptics providing a relatively brief overview of Norwegian history with reference to Scotland.
- Incomplete – perhaps author died before finishing, perhaps lost, perhaps reflects Orcadian interest of those who brought the text to Orkney.
- Norwegian author – writing either in Orkney, Norway or Denmark!
- Considered to be a mix of historical and geographical fact with legend and pure fiction.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Norsemen drove Picts from their long established homes and settlements.
- Vikings crushed the Picts.
- Vikings dominated the Northern Isles, ruling them in a Scandinavian fashion.
- The Vikings expanded control from the Northern Isles, down across Caithness.

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

- Apparent lack of pre-Norse place names in Orkney would also seem to corroborate the idea that the Norse "overwhelmed" the native Orcadians.
- F T Wainwright concludes that the Picts were overwhelmed politically, linguistically, culturally and socially.
- The Annals of Ulster suggest a brutal interaction, announcing in the year 794 'the devastation of all the islands of Britain by the heathen.'
- Storer Clouston suggests that the Vikings "brought their swords, and if the inhabitants were numerous and offered resistance, they fought them. If they were few and fled, they took their land without fighting."

Source D

Provenance: Appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit. Accurate comment on Ritchie will be credited as historiography.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Natives and Vikings interacted peaceably and Norsemen integrated in the Northern Isles.
- Presence of native artefacts on Norse sites has been interpreted as evidence on peaceful co-existence.
- Vikings were integrating from as early as the first phase of Norse incursion.
- Initial contact was not exclusively raiding since have evidence of early, 9th century female Norse burials – indicates families coming to settle Northern Britain.

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

- Integration evident even in religion – eg St Magnus' Cathedral in Orkney, a Christian Viking Earl of Orkney.
- Interaction was long established due to early trade between natives and Norse – eg trade in reindeer antler from Scandinavia.
- No evidence for mass graves, burials – however, the absence of evidence cannot be seen as conclusive.
- The hand that rocks the cradle led to gradual integration.

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

- Generally left with two opposing viewpoints - the Vikings either slaughtered Pictish inhabitants or settled and integrated peacefully with them. However, situation was not necessarily as "black and white" - elements of both theories came into play, at different times and different locations.
- In Shetland, Orkney and the area around Durness on the Scottish mainland, 60% of the male population have DNA of Norwegian origin – can be seen to indicate a wiping out of natives males or gradual interbreeding between Picts and Viking.
- A Ritchie suggests that the native population of Scotland was regarded by the Vikings as a taxable resource - Frankish Annals of St Bertin record for 847 that in the Western Isles 'The Scotti...were rendered tributary and [the Northmen] took possession, without resistance, of the islands that lie all around and dwelt there'.
- Consensus that the Vikings probably affected the central political development of the Picto-Scottish kingdom.

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

- **A Ritchie** *Viking Scotland*, suggests a close & largely peaceful relationship between Vikings and natives.
- **B Smith** Integration was unlikely, especially in the first instance.
- **F T Wainwright** *The Northern Isles*, emphatic that the natives were entirely overwhelmed.
- **Owen** *The Sea Road*, Vikings impressed their identity on the North – language, place-names, tools, transport & culture.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, offering a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of **Sources C** and **D** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the nature of native and Viking interactions/relationships.

Scottish Independence (1286–1329)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent were the actions of the Scottish nobles characterised by self-interest rather than the interests of the kingdom as a whole between 1286 and 1292?

The candidate is invited to make a balanced judgement about whether or not the actions of the Scottish nobles were characterised by self-interest rather than the interests of the kingdom as a whole between 1286 and 1292. Candidates may use examples from particular Scottish dynastic/factional interests, though some may rely on one or two examples only, such as the Bruces or the Comyns.

Evidence that the actions of the Scottish nobles were characterised by self-interest rather than the interests of the kingdom as a whole between 1286 and 1292

- Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale raised a substantial force following the death of King Alexander III and may have sought to intimidate the parliament at Scone in his favour.
- The composition of the Guardianship in 1286 can be seen more as an attempt to further factional interest than to find a stable way to govern the kingdom during the Maid's minority
- The Comyns appear to have dominated the Guardianship.
- The death of the Earl of Fife, one of the Guardians, suggests chronic factionalism was rife amongst the nobility.
- Following the death of the Maid of Norway both the leading claimants to the throne (Robert Bruce and John Balliol) made pleas to Edward on their own behalf.
- The Appeal of the Seven Earls makes explicit reference to the possibility of civil war.
- The Guardians allowed themselves to be dismissed and then reappointed by Edward in 1291; supporters of both Bruce and Comyn were keen to not to jeopardise their claims.
- Robert Bruce's behaviour at the Great Cause at Berwick in 1292 showed little regard for the legality of his claim in the Scottish tradition.
- His claim of nearness of degree was weak in Scottish law, and he is likely to have fabricated evidence which suggested that King Alexander II designated him as his successor in 1238, prior to the birth of Alexander III.
- Robert Bruce acted with self-interested opportunism in supporting the claim of Florence of Holland once it was clear that his own bid would fail.
- John Hastings acted with little regard for the kingdom when he argued that Scotland could be divided as a fief amongst co-heirs of a female line.
- Of all the nobles, only John Balliol was slow to pay homage to King Edward I when it was demanded.

Evidence that the actions of the Scottish nobles were not simply characterised by self-interest rather than the interests of the kingdom as a whole between 1286 and 1292

- The composition of the Guardianship of 1286 can be seen as a prudent attempt to prevent factionalism from undermining the stability of the kingdom.
- It was made up of equal representatives of the Church, the Earls and the senior nobility and represented both Bruce and Comyn factions whilst excluding the main claimants themselves in the event of the death of the Maid.
- The Treaty of Birgham can be seen as a comprehensive attempt to safeguard the independence of the kingdom whilst accepting the stabilising effect of a royal marriage into the English royal family.
- The Guardians at first refused to pay homage to Edward, or even to cross the border at Norham for fear that would be viewed as a concession of English overlordship.

- The Guardians at first explicitly rejected Edward's claim of overlordship.
- The majority of the Scottish community of the realm appears to have supported the Balliol claim to the throne as the rightful one in law.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** has argued that the composition of the Guardianship was a wise attempt to balance Scottish factional interests.
- Supports the view that there was a genuine 'community of the realm' which sought to protect Scottish interests.
- Argues that it was Edward's intervention, not internal tensions which weakened the guardianships.
- **Alan Young** sees the Guardians as representing continued Comyn dominance of the political leadership of the kingdom.
- **Michael Penman** emphasises the highly factional and divisive nature of the actions of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale.

Question 2

“The ‘Wallace Rebellion’ of 1297-1298 was mainly caused by resentment of English mismanagement of Scotland.” How justified is this view?

The candidate is invited to make a balanced judgement about whether the ‘Wallace Rebellion’ of 1297-1298 was caused more by resentment of English mismanagement of Scotland than by other factors, which might include evidence of an emergent Scottish ‘national’ identity.

Evidence that the ‘Wallace Rebellion’ of 1297-1298 was motivated more by resentment of English mismanagement of Scotland than by Scottish patriotism

- John de Warenne, appointed Lieutenant of Scotland had very little interest in the country and did not visit until the country was in open rebellion.
- Warenne’s deputy, Hugh de Cressingham, became a hated figure amongst the Scots for enforcing punitive taxation.
- Tax revenues dried up across Scotland as local officials found themselves unable to impose the law.
- The imposition of English sheriffs and law officers to replace their Scottish equivalents caused much bitterness.
- Traditional Scottish justiciars for the north and south of the country were to sit alongside English judges.
- King John was still seen as the rightful King by many, if not most Scots, and they were prompted into rebellion by the very heavy-handed treatment of him by King Edward I.
- The resistance of the nobility proved to be very muted indeed given the surrender at Irvine in 1297.
- Many nobles, including Robert Bruce appear to have been motivated more by concerns for their own lands than by ‘patriotism’.

Evidence that the ‘Wallace Rebellion’ of 1297-1298 was motivated more by Scottish patriotism

- William Wallace’s uprising appears to have enjoyed ‘spontaneous’ support amongst commoners in the absence of overt noble leadership.
- Wallace may have made a conscious political decision not to affix his seal to the ‘Ragman Roll’ in 1296.
- Wallace always claimed to be fighting in the name of King John and never sought political power in his own right.
- Scots were particularly angered by the removal of the symbols of Scottish ‘nationhood’; the Stone of Destiny and the Black Rood of St. Margaret.
- The rebellion of Andrew Moray in the north is evidence of the ‘national’ nature of the uprising.
- Wallace struck at symbols of English authority in order to remove them, not simply because of a resentment at the regime’s incompetence.
- The murder of the sheriff at Lanark
- The raid on Scone.
- Wallace later claimed, at his trial in 1305 that he could never be a traitor to a King (Edward I) to whom he had never owed loyalty.
- The rebellion was financed by Scottish nobles, including the Stewart and Bishop Wishart of Glasgow.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** sees the Wallace rebellion as the “resumption of the national cause under new leadership”.
Argues that English mismanagement fired a latent Scottish patriotism which was already discernible by the 1290s.
Sees the rebellion as having the support of representatives of the entire political community, including the Comyns.
- **Andrew Fisher** sees Wallace as inspired by patriotic motives, in response to the lacklustre response of the Comyn led nobility.
Accepts the view that Wallace’s uprising was one which was largely inspired by the ‘common folk’.
- **Fiona Watson** emphasises the highly punitive nature of the English management of Scotland, with particular reference to garrisoning and taxation.
- **Alan Young** has pointed out the significance of Andrew Moray’s rising in the north of Scotland.

Question 3

To what extent was the failure of Scottish resistance between 1298 and 1305 caused by the rivalry between Robert the Bruce and John Comyn?

Candidates are invited to analyse and evaluate the view that the main reason for the failure of Scottish resistance between 1298 and 1305 was the rivalry between Robert the Bruce and John Comyn. In so doing they might also evaluate the impact that other factors had in leading to the failure of Scottish resistance by 1305.

Evidence which helps to explain why Scottish resistance failed between 1298 and 1305 due to the rivalry between Robert the Bruce and John Comyn.

- The Bruce and Comyn families had been rivals for political power in Scotland for many years before the Guardianship of 1298.
- Robert the Bruce, in particular failed to give his full support to the resistance offered by the Guardianship for fear that its success might lead to a Balliol restoration.
- The retinues of Bruce and Comyn appear to have been consistently at odds with each other; Bruce and Comyn (or at least their supporters) came to blows whilst in hiding in Selkirk forest
- The issue was what would happen to the lands of the dispossessed Malcolm Wallace.
- The Guardianship was so weak that Lamberton was invited to join.
- Bruce resigned the Guardianship in 1300, possibly as a result of his growing concern that a Balliol restoration was becoming a real possibility.
- He was replaced by Ingram de Umfraville.
- By 1300 John de Soules was operating as sole Guardian.
- Robert the Bruce defected to the English side in 1302.
- King Edward exploited Bruce/Comyn rivalry by making generous terms with the Comyn led political community in 1305 whilst not allowing Bruce a position of real power under the terms of the Ordinance of Scotland.

Evidence which helps to explain other reasons why Scottish resistance failed between 1298 and 1305.

- The English retained significant military superiority throughout the period.
- The 'warwolf' was constructed to assault Stirling castle in 1303.
- Several full-scale campaigns were launched into Scotland by the English during this period.
- The Guardianship, even when not led by Bruce or Comyn (i.e. under de Soules) still failed to defeat the English.
- Other factional considerations apart from the Bruce/Comyn rivalry undermined the strength of the Guardianships.
- The Earl of Menteith was instrumental in turning William Wallace over to the English in 1305.
- The Treaty of Asnieres of 1302, which ended the English war with France allowed King Edward I to concentrate his resources on Scotland.
- Scotland suffered by the absence of a legitimate king wielding direct royal authority.
- John Balliol was in exile.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** believes that the 1298 Guardianship was a genuine attempt to forge 'national' leadership'. Explains Robert Bruce's as a tactical decision which does not reflect the underlying strength of his commitment to Scottish independence.
- **Ranald Nicholson** blames Robert the Bruce's opportunism for his desertion of the Guardianship and of the Scottish cause.
- **Michael Penman** emphasises the insurmountable problems of faction in the period.
- **Michael Prestwich** emphasises King Edward I's continued desire to deliver a crushing military blow to Scotland in the period.
- **Michael Keen** has made a comprehensive study of the superiority of King Edward's military might in the period.

Question 4

“King Robert I’s skill as a general between 1306 and 1314 has been massively exaggerated.” How accurate is this statement?

Candidates are invited to analyse the evidence which suggests that King Robert I’s skill as a general has been massively exaggerated. Candidates may wish to argue that either he lacked skill, or that other factors (such as luck) were more important in his success.

Evidence which helps to explain that King Robert I’s skill as a general between 1306 and 1314 has been massively exaggerated.

- King Robert was unwise to offer battle at Methven and was routed in 1306.
- He suffered further military defeat at Dalry the same year, and by the end of 1306 he can barely be said to have commanded an army at all.
- King Robert’s return to Carrick in 1307 can be said only to have succeeded because of the lack of serious English opposition.
- The death of King Edward I in 1307 removed King Robert’s most serious military adversary.
- His successor, King Edward II did not lead a major campaign into Scotland for several years, missing an opportunity to exploit King Robert’s weakness in this period.
- The murder of Comyn in 1306 at a stroke removed the leadership of King Robert’s only significant Scottish rivals.
- Bruce relied more on force and intimidation rather than skill e.g. the herschip of Buchan.
- It has been argued by some that Robert took an unnecessarily dangerous gamble in offering pitched battle at Bannockburn in 1314.
- Many of King Robert’s successes may be due to the role of his leading commanders, such as Randolph and Douglas.

Evidence which helps to explain that King Robert I’s skill as a general between 1306 and 1314 has not been massively exaggerated.

- King Robert quickly learned from his mistakes at Methven and avoided major pitched battle until Bannockburn.
- Bruce consistently showed mastery of guerrilla warfare in evading the English in 1307.
- He showed tactical skill in the defeat of Aymer de Valance at Loudon Hill in 1307.
- By 1308, his military reputation was preceding him into the north of Scotland.
- The Comyns were routed without a significant encounter at Oldmeldrum in 1308.
- King Robert encouraged the use of innovative tactics to take castles, given his army’s lack of siege equipment; grappling hooks, rope ladders etc.
- He pursued guerrilla attacks against the north of England which were much more effective than Wallace’s had been.
- Bruce’s decision to give battle at Bannockburn was based on a shrewd understanding of the advantages of his tactical position and of the poor morale of his enemy.

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

- **GWS Barrow** accepts the view that Bruce was a major military genius. He praises his use of guerrilla tactics and the tactics he used against castles. He argues that Bruce learned quickly from early mistakes at Methven.
- **Michael Penman** whilst generally accepting the view that Bruce was a ‘good general’ also emphasises the degree of luck which helped his campaign before 1314. He also highlights the lack of serious opposition either from the English, or from the Comyns.
- **Ranald Nicholson** also praises Bruce’s military leadership.
- **Colm Mcnamee** has argued that Bruce’s military strength has been overstated.

Question 5

What factors best explain why neither the English nor the Scots were able to achieve a decisive outcome in the Wars of Independence between 1314 and 1328?

Candidates are invited to analyse and evaluate the reasons why neither the English nor the Scots were able to achieve a decisive outcome in the Wars of Independence between 1314 and 1328. Candidates may address social, economic, political or military factors.

Evidence which explains why the Scots were unable to achieve a decisive outcome in the Wars of Independence between 1314 and 1328

- The Scots remained militarily weaker than the English after Bannockburn
- They could harry the English but never deliver a crushing blow.
- The Scots lacked significant heavy cavalry and siege machinery.
- The Scots were distracted by the campaign in Ireland between 1315 and 1319; King Robert was out of the country in 1315.
- The Scots lacked international support for their case.
- Bruce and the kingdom of Scotland was excommunicated in 1317.
- The Scottish raids into England only seriously affected northern English magnates.
- The Scots were unable to table any negotiations with the English during the truces of the 1320s in which the independence of Scotland was a substantive issue.
- King Edward II proved a remarkably intransigent, if not always effective, opponent.
- King Robert's position was weakened by his lack of an adult male heir.
- 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.
- Failure of Bruces's Irish Campaign.

Evidence which explains why the English were unable to achieve a decisive outcome in the Wars of Independence between 1314 and 1328

- King Edward II's position was seriously compromised by the defeat at Bannockburn.
- English campaigns in subsequent years, eg 1319 were ineffective.
- The Scots pursued 'scorched earth tactics' to deny supplies to the English army in the Lothians.
- King Edward II lacked the political resolve of his father to force a military solution on the Scots.
- The English magnates were increasingly disillusioned by what many saw as an 'unwinnable war' in Scotland.
- Some, such as Andrew Harcla, were prompted into open rebellion against Edward II by joining the Scottish side.
- Bruce inflicted further major defeats on the English, such as at Old Byland in 1322.
- The Papacy shifted its position to favour the Scottish cause by lifting the excommunication of Scotland.
- The nobles in parliament consented to King Robert's tailzies in the 1320s, as well as to other crucial aspects of legislation.
- Edward II was seriously weakened by internal faction in England throughout his reign, leading to his eventual deposition.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** has argued that the intransigence of King Edward II was the major reason why no decision could be reached before 1328.
- **Michael Penman** argues that King Robert faced serious domestic opposition which meant that he could not focus on the war with England. He emphasises the importance of lack of Papal support for the Scottish cause.
- **Michael Prestwich** has stressed the importance of internal division and weakness in England; and the lack of political will of King Edward II.
- **Michael Lynch** has argued that neither side possessed the military or the diplomatic weight to deliver a decisive blow.

Scottish Independence (1286-1329)

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the difficulties John faced as king between 1292 and 1296? **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 A** 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.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Balliol had never been destined to become king.
- Balliol was primarily an English vassal who did his best to remain loyal to his king, despite provocation.
- He was weak and ineffectual.
- King John was dominated by his advisers from the Comyn faction.

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

- King John paid homage to King Edward I three times.
- Despite initially standing up to Edward in the 'test cases' he quickly caved in under pressure.
- Balliol, as a younger son, appears to have been destined for a career in the church.
- Balliol's family had been substantial and influential English landholders for generations.

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

- King John appears to have lost the confidence of the Scottish political community, resulting in the creation of the 'Council of Twelve'.
- Scottish nobles were appalled by his weakness in the face of Edward's humiliation of him during the 'test cases'.
- The 'test case' saw Balliol have to accept far-reaching intervention in the Scottish kingdom.
- King John's alliance with France prompted the English invasion of 1296.
- King Edward stripped King John of the throne arguing that he was a 'contumacious vassal'.
- King John never enjoyed the full support of the whole political community; the Bruces were openly hostile and supported the English.
- The Scots were heavily defeated at Dunbar in 1296 and King Edward was able to march, unopposed, as far north as Elgin.

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

- **Geoffrey Barrow** argues that the major reason for Balliol's failure was the impossible position he was put in by King Edward I.
- **Alan Young** sees Balliol as largely the 'puppet' of the Comyn faction; the decisions which led to his removal were largely forced on him by his nobility.
- **Michael Penman** agrees that King John was weak and sees him as largely responsible for his own downfall.
- **Amanda Beam** expands on the views given in the source which see John as a loyal English vassal, arguing that he genuinely accepted Scotland's position as a 'vassal kingdom'.

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 John faced as king between 1292 and 1296.

Question 2

How useful is Source B as evidence of the reasons for the decision by the Scots to launch a military campaign in Ireland in 1315? 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 B** in understanding the importance of William Wallace in the Wars of Independence in terms of:

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

- An extract from a biography of Bruce, written some seventy years after the events it describes.
- Barbour was Archdeacon of Aberdeen, a well-informed, but very biased 'pro-Bruce' writer. He was writing during the reign of Bruce's grandson, King Robert II and clearly aimed to support the Bruce/Stewart dynasty.
- 'The Brus' is largely hagiographical and was intended as a poetic comment on chivalry rather than as a 'History' in the modern sense.
- He was keen to emphasise the achievements of King Robert and James Douglas in particular; he is notably less generous to Edward Bruce.
- Most modern historians, notably AAM Duncan, regard Barbour's general account of the facts to be largely reliable, however.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Edward Bruce felt that Scotland was too small for both him and his brother Robert, who was now increasingly secure as King of Scots.
- Edward Bruce sought the Irish throne for himself.
- He sought the support of the Irish in the struggle against the English.
- He aimed to win the fealty of Irish lords.

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

- Edward Bruce had been instrumental in securing his brother Robert the throne of Scotland, and like Bruce's other senior lieutenants sought his reward.
- He was responsible for the harrying of Galloway in 1307.
- King Robert may have sent Edward to Ireland in an attempt to find an outlet for his restless energy and ambition.
- Some contemporary sources suggest bad feeling between the two brothers in the months before Bannockburn.
- Edward Bruce often offered support to Irish lords in their local struggles in return for allegiance.
- King Robert wrote letters to the Irish kings in support of his brother's campaign.
- He hoped to arouse anti-English sentiments amongst the Irish.
- The Bruces already had close family links with Ireland, through their mother's lineage and by marriage, albeit into an Anglo-Irish family.

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

- King Robert wished to create a 'pan-Celtic' alliance which ultimately would have included the Welsh.
- King Robert and Edward both emphasised the cultural and linguistic similarities between the two kingdoms.
- King Robert may also have desired to open a 'second front' against the English. Ulster was occupied in order to stop the supply of provisions from Ireland to the English Western marches.
- 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.
- The Bruces wished to subdue many of their Scottish enemies who had taken refuge in Ireland following their expulsion from the west of Scotland.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentaries 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. He suggests that Edward Bruce's desire to become a King was possibly the most important factor, following Barbour's account.
- **Sean Duffy** accepts the notion of a 'Celtic' identity which included Irish, Scots and Welsh. He shows that many Irish contributed to King Robert's Scottish campaigns.
- **James Lydon** has shown the importance of Ireland as a 'second front'.
- **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.

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 useful for understanding the reasons why the Scots launched a military campaign in Ireland in 1315.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about differing views of the way in which Robert I dealt with the de Soules Conspiracy of 1320? **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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C and D** on King Robert's handling of the De Soules conspiracy, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- King Robert was keen to downplay the threat which the De Soules conspiracy represented, and not emphasise the 'Balliol backed' nature of the plot.
- King Robert's treatment of the conspirators at the 'Black Parliament' was cruel.
- Propaganda version of the plot.
- De Soules had aimed at the throne, not the Balliols.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- King Robert may have used the Declaration of Arbroath as a way of identifying those who opposed his rule.
- The Declaration of Arbroath asserts the security and widespread support for King Robert's regime.
- He may already have known of the existence of the De Soules plot.
- Very few plotters were pardoned.
- Ingram de Umfraville was so appalled by the treatment of the conspirators that he left Scotland forever.
- John De Soules may have escaped execution as he was perhaps not seeking the throne for himself, but for Edward Balliol.

Source D

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- De Soules, Moubray and Brechin were convicted of treason at the Black Parliament of 1320.
- De Soules was treated leniently.
- The Declaration of Arbroath was an attempt to win the support of opponents; a move of which the author approves.
- Sound move though not wholly successful.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Moubray was already dead when tried for treason; his body was presented at the trial – only in this way could King Robert legally disinherit him.
- The Black Parliament appears to have been packed with Bruce supporters.
- The Declaration of Arbroath may not have been backed by King Robert at all, as it was a letter from the leading nobles of the realm.
- Its primary purpose appears to have been to persuade the Papacy to lift the excommunication.

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

- The De Soules conspiracy represented widespread dissatisfaction with the kingship of Robert Bruce.
- Many still questioned his legitimacy.
- De Soules was a relatively minor figure and therefore the threat can be seen as not having been particularly serious.
- De Soules was almost certainly operating with the backing of the English court.
- Precise details of the plot remain very sketchy; they were mainly recorded by pro-Bruce chroniclers much later.
- Other points - money, raids, military campaigns, political allegiances.

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

- **AAM Duncan**, following Barrow, has tended to argue that the De Soules plot did not pose a serious threat to the Bruce regime.
- **Colm MacNamee** accepts that the De Soules plot posed a significant problem for the royal authorities.
- **Caroline Bingham** has emphasised the relative ease with which the plot was quashed.
- **Chris Brown** suggests that the De Soules plot reflects widespread disquiet with the Bruce regime.

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 perspective on the way Robert I dealt with the De Soules Conspiracy of 1320.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

**“In looking at Italian art and architecture from the first half of the fifteenth century we should be struck more by the continuity with medieval art than by the innovations.”
To what extent do you agree?**

The aim of the question is to enable candidates to weigh up the evidence of continuity from early styles and the evidence of innovation in the art and architecture of the first half of the fifteenth century in Italy. They may then make a judgment as to which is the more striking.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Evidence of continuity from late medieval art

- Much art was commissioned by the same families as in medieval times and for the same purposes, for instance as burial chapels or sites of memorialisation where masses and prayers for the dead could be provided. Contracts for the works often show similarities in terms of the quality of the materials, the time the work would take, and the final cost.
- Many works tell the same Biblical stories with the same characters as in previous centuries.
- Not all fifteenth-century art shows increased attention to spatial awareness or contains references to ancient buildings. For example the Sienese painter Giovanni di Paolo (active 1420-1483) seems very dated by comparison with Masaccio's frescoes which had been painted decades earlier.
- Much iconography was consistent throughout the period.
- The work of Giotto in the early 14th century (for example in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua) is characterised by naturalism, and is more reminiscent of fifteenth-century art than typical of its own time.

Evidence of innovation

- Masaccio's "Trinity" fresco c1427 in Santa Maria Novella in Florence and the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine made striking and innovative use of perspective, assisted by his friend Filippo Brunelleschi.
- Paolo Uccello (1397-1475) made dramatic use of space, applying mathematical principles to the correct portrayal of complicated objects, well-illustrated by his "Battle of San Romano" c.1445.
- Late medieval art is often referred to as gothic. This involved pointed arches, an emphasis on height, and a church design characterised by long naves crossed by short transepts. Renaissance architecture, beginning with Brunelleschi, was based on the rounded arch. His loggia outside the "Ospitale degli Innocenti", 1419-23, was in an architectural style entirely different from the gothic.
- Setting art in a classical background was a novelty in the fifteenth century.
- Brunelleschi's dome harped back to classical Rome, to the Pantheon. There were no domes of this kind in late medieval art.
- The sculptures of Donatello (1386-1466) are strikingly original. His "David" is unique. Donatello produced the first free-standing human figures since classical times.

Which is the more striking?

- Placing art in categories is dangerous. Such rigidity is often contradicted on closer analysis. Early Renaissance art evolved out of late medieval art and therefore has remarkable continuity with it. However, we should not understate the importance of remarkable individual artists and their ability to innovate and create something entirely fresh. Continuity and change are both to be seen in the art of this period. Some would argue, from Vasari onwards, that the innovation is so striking as to outshine the continuity.

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

- **Giorgio Vasari** describes the lives of a number of great artists and in each case shows the remarkable originality of each. His theory of the development of art towards perfection was based on the observable progress through innovation made by generations of artists, culminating in Michelangelo.
- **George Holmes** describes Masaccio's "Trinity" as "revolutionary". He refers to "the revolution in the visual arts which took place at Florence".
- **Andrew Graham-Dixon** shows that Donatello was influenced by earlier Italian masters such as Nicola and Giovanni Pisano. In many ways his work is best seen not as a sudden departure from medieval art – as it is often described – but as an intensification of its physical and psychological realism.

Question 2

To what extent did Florentine art of the fifteenth century reflect Florentine society?

The aim of this essay is to give candidates the opportunity to present their understanding of the key features of Florentine society in the fifteenth century and then suggest the extent to which this society was reflected in Florentine art.

Features of this society which are reflected in the art/culture

- Devoutly Christian. Much of the art is religious in the form of triptychs, frescoes in churches and statues of biblical figures for churches. Examples might include Michelangelo's or Donatello's "David"; Masaccio's "Trinity"; Ghiberti's panels for the Baptistery doors; Donatello's pulpit in the church of San Lorenzo.
- Proudly republican, seeing themselves as heirs to the Roman Republic. Michelangelo's "David" shows the youthful slayer of kings as a mighty force, an image of male perfection. Representations of Judith and Holofernes convey a similar message of death to the tyrants. The violence of Florentine society is reflected in the art. The decapitation of Holofernes is a common subject and is graphically presented.
- Medici domination of political life. Cosimo was more subtle in his exercise of power than Lorenzo. Medici art tended to glorify the Medici. For example Gozzoli's frescoes in the Medici Chapel or Sandro Botticelli's "Adoration of the Magi".
- Male dominated. Men are seen as active and martial in Florentine art. Women are seen as beautiful and passive. Examples might include the battling soldiers in Paolo Uccello's "Battle of San Romano"; men dominate Gozzoli's "Journey of the Magi", with angelic women for decoration. Biblical scenes tend to show more men than women but this may be as much a reflection of the Bible stories as a reflection on the status of women in Florentine society. The most common female representation in Florentine art must be the Madonna. She is hugely important, whether more passive and beautiful, or in agony at the deposition from the cross.
- Florentine society was elitist. A few families dominated the political life of the state. Art was to some extent less elitist though. The guilds were some of the most important sponsors of artistic projects and their membership was broader. They commissioned work to glorify their guild, representing their craft when possible. For example at the base of the niches in Orsanmichele there are stone sculptures of the sponsoring guilds.
- The influence of Florentine humanism and neo-platonism can be seen in the art. For example Sandro Botticelli's "Birth of Venus" or "La Primavera". The ideal of love in "La Primavera" was probably influenced by the neo-platonic philosopher Marsiglio Ficino, although the poet Angelo Poliziano may have devised the painting's imagery. It depicts fertility and sexual love in its purest form. Piero di Cosimo's paintings take their theme and story from the poetry of Ovid.
- Setting and clothing are often taken from contemporary Florence. For example Massaccio's "Healing of the crippled man" is clearly set in fifteenth-century Florence, with two Renaissance figures walking past scenes populated with figures in biblical dress.
- Domestic settings. Ghirlandaio's "Birth of the Virgin" is clearly set in a Renaissance house. Friends of the Virgin, dressed as well-to-do Renaissance women, visit the home to congratulate the Virgin.

Balancing factors

- Whilst much of the art reflects Florentine society, other work appears to step outside it. Gozzoli's "Adoration of the Magi" is full of eastern references, exotic costumes and rare animals. Bethlehem is not Florence.
- Candidates might argue that the degree to which the art reflected the society varies by degree between the various factors already mentioned. The number of works influenced by neo-platonism, for example, is relatively small. Most art was religious.
- Candidates might also take the view that much of the art was propaganda, promoting the image of a patron. As such it was an idealised image and not a true reflection of Florentine reality. Equally, the values presented in the art were not always those by which the people actually lived. The values may be no more than aspirational.

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

- **George Holmes** tells of how Michelangelo's "David" was originally placed in front of the Palazzo della Signoria. David was an accepted symbol of the republic's struggle against superior odds. As such it reflected the aspirations of Florentine society.
- **Peter Burke** considers the Medici domination of art to be so great that he divided a study of artistic patronage into two groups: Medici sponsored work and non-Medici sponsored work.
- **Robert Hole** writes that "Renaissance art reflected the beliefs and preoccupations of the society which produced it". By extension he implies that the same is true of Florence.

Question 3

How damaging was the impact of the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France in 1494?

The aim of this question is to enable candidates to show their knowledge of the invasion of Charles VIII and to consider the impact it had on the politics of the Italian states themselves but also on the Italian confidence and psyche. They will need to make a judgment as to how damaging that impact was.

Evidence of political and military and economic damage

- Italy had proved unable to defend itself. The invitation of Ludovico il Moro, Duke of Milan, meant the Alpine passes were open. He wanted to bring about the removal of Ferrante II, the Aragonese duke of Naples. Venice sat on the fence; Piero de' Medici was mindful of Florence's commercial interest and put up no resistance to the expedition. Instead he handed over the keys of the republic's fortresses to Charles. Charles entered Florence with his lance on his thigh, signifying conquest.
- Piero was punished by the Florentines by his removal from power, ending 60 years of Medici domination, opening the door to Savonarola.
- Savonarola had prophesied the French invasion. He was able to claim that Charles VIII was acting as the scourge of God, bringing divinely ordained vengeance, cleansing the Florentines of the sins of the Medici. Savonarola became unofficial leader of a new godly republic of Florence in a form of theocracy.
- Pisa was given its freedom from Florence by the French. This exposed Florentine trade routes to attack.
- Alexander VI was powerless to stop Charles and instead offered him the crown of Naples. Charles failed to reciprocate by organising a crusade to win back Constantinople. Charles brought with him an army of 18,000 men, half of whom were cavalry.
- When he left Naples to begin the long march back to France he was intercepted at Fornovo near Parma by an alliance of powers which had now turned against him (Venice, the Pope, Emperor Maximilian I, Ferdinand II of Aragon). The French broke through and returned home apparently having achieved little.
- The invasion sparked off a string of foreign invasion of Italy in succeeding years, culminating in Charles V's sack of Rome in 1527.

Evidence that invasion was not so damaging

- Guicciardini exaggerated the stability of Italy in 1490 in order to highlight the catastrophe of the invasion. He writes of "peace and quietness, rich in population, merchandise and wealth, adorned to the highest degree by the magnificence of many princes."
- Alexander VI built an alliance against Charles. Naples proved ungovernable by an absentee monarch.

Evidence of damaging impact on the self-confidence of contemporaries

- Castiglione's claim that the combination in one person of soldier and scholar, arms and letters, was a characteristic Italian virtue destroyed by the invasion. Castiglione had been very critical of the French, claiming that they were inferior because they only focused on arms. He claimed that the combination of the two virtues was a winning combination. Yet the Italian states were humiliated by the French in 1494.

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

- **Robert Hole** sees the significance of the invasion in the damage it did to Italian self-confidence and self-belief.
- **Gene Brucker** claims that the loss of Pisa was a “bitter blow to Florentine pride and a grave threat to the economy, which slumped as a result of the disturbances. The loss of the coastal fortresses weakened Florence’s defences and intensified the feelings of vulnerability and insecurity which had been aroused by the French invasion”. The psychological impact of these events upon the city of Florence was deep and permanent. “The Florentines did not recover their self-confidence. Never again... did they see themselves as masters of their own destiny”. The invasion shattered the Florentine belief that the prosperity and peace they had enjoyed were the consequences of their virtue and intelligence.
- **Alison Brown** writes of a “ubiquitous crisis of confidence in the humanist culture that had created and nourished the distinctive identities of the independent city-states”.

Question 4

Why did the Papacy play such a dominant role in the High Renaissance?

The aim of this question is to give candidates the opportunity to show their understanding of the High Renaissance and to demonstrate that the Papacy played a dominant role in this phase of the Renaissance. They must also though suggest why the Papacy played such a key role.

What was the High Renaissance?

- The High Renaissance is the term most commonly applied to the period at the end of the 15th century and stretching in the 1520s when artistic achievement was at its finest. The leadership of this movement evolved away from Florence, establishing Rome as the significant centre of this phase of the Renaissance.
- The High Renaissance is said to have ended with the Sack of Rome in 1527, with the resulting impact of this on the Papacy and on general Italian self-confidence.
- Vasari saw the artists of this period, principally Leonardo, Raphael and Michelangelo, as the culmination of all that had come before, god-like in their achievements.

Why did the Papacy play such a dominant role?

- A desire to reassert Rome as the centre of the Christian world. Rome had fallen into decay since Roman times and once more during the Black Death and the Avignon Papacy.
- During the pontificate of Martin V (1417-31) the split in the Church, the Great Schism, was in part healed.
- Pope Julius II (1503-13) and Leo X (a Medici, 1513-21) played a key role in the High Renaissance.
- The Papacy put increased emphasis on artistic patronage to compensate for the decline in religious authority being felt in the 1520s. It seemed fitting that the fabric of Rome should reflect its spiritual importance. The Roman Catholic Church needed to re-establish its position, not least from the challenge from Luther from 1517. The best way to do that seemed to be to reassert the beauty of holiness and to invest in temporal splendours to reflect the spiritual supremacy.
- If the spiritual role of the Papacy was to be credible the Vatican and St Peter's must reflect that importance. It was fitting that the greatest church in Christendom should be in Rome. Hence Bramante was employed to rebuild St Peter's during the High Renaissance. Michelangelo was employed to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the Pope's personal chapel. A rebuilt Papacy was to be visible proof of the glory of the Church.
- Rome was home also to the cardinals and as wealthy men of position they wanted their homes to reflect their importance. Fine artists were employed to make their affluent homes magnificent.
- The ambition of Julius II should not be underestimated as a factor in placing Rome at the centre of the artistic movement. He employed Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel and Raphael to paint frescoes (including "The School of Athens") in the Vatican palace. Julius also commissioned for himself a huge tomb from Michelangelo, an undertaking so over-ambitious it was never completed.

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

- **J.H.Plumb** wrote that the popes of this period were ambitious men and did not wish to be outshone by their rivals in the symbolic display of wealth and greatness. They were determined to build vast churches, huge palaces, magnificent fountains; to employ the finest painters, sculptors, craftsmen. These were necessities of state. Hand in hand with resurgent power of the Papacy went the artistic Renaissance in Rome.
- **George Holmes** writes that two important popes of the Pre-Reformation period, Julius II (1503-13) and Leo X (1513-21), were devoted to the embellishment of their see and prepared to pay for it on a scale with which there was nothing comparable in Florence. Holmes also implies that the fact that both Leo X and Clement VII (1523-34) were members of the Medici family shows that Roman patronage was influenced by Florentine traditions.
- **George Holmes** also suggests that the fact that Florence fell into a period of unrest and foreign invasion from 1494 meant that artists found in Rome far more generous than they could have found in Florence. As a result, many of the artistic ideas that had their roots in Florence found their culmination in Rome. He refers specifically to Leonardo and Michelangelo.
- **Francesco Guicciardini** suggests that the popes were motivated by earthly greatness and increasing their temporal power. They became interested in the accumulation of treasure. He implies that Rome became a great artistic centre because of the earthly ambition of the popes.

Question 5

How accurate is the view that in the Italian Renaissance women “stood on a footing of perfect equality with men”?

The aim of this question is for candidates to demonstrate their understanding of the status of women in the Italian Renaissance and to show whether or not this was on a par with men at this time.

Evidence of equality

- In the fifteenth century some people accepted that women could be educated. Educated women included Isotta Nogarola of Verona, Laura Cereta of Brescia (1420-1479), who studied philosophy at the University of Padua, Cecilia Gonzaga, Vittoria Colonna and Cassandra Fedele of Venice.
- Some men conceded that women had the faculty of reason and therefore were to be respected intellectually. Leonardo Bruni in 1424 granted women the natural ability for advanced humanist study. They should study the best ancient authors, both secular and sacred, and the discipline of grammar, moral philosophy, poetry and history.
- Some women acted as patrons of the arts. For example Isabella d'Este.

Evidence that the status of women was not equal to men

- Women were expected on the whole to centre their lives on the home.
- Obedience to her husband was seen as the wife's most important duty.
- Amongst the few women who escaped from domesticity we might include courtesans. These were in effect the highest stratum of prostitutes. Such a role does not imply equality.
- The role of women was constrained by childbirth and child rearing.
- The Church preached that women were subordinate to men.
- The phenomenon of the female humanist is strictly limited. Barely a dozen women could properly be identified as humanists, and some of these have left scant record, or none at all.
- Leon Battista Alberti's "On the Family" presents an image of women having strictly limited abilities.
- The extent to which there was equality may be related to which social class we are considering.

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

- **Jacob Burckhardt** in his "Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy" wrote that at this time women "stood on a footing of perfect equality with men".
- In **Castiglione's** "The Courtier" one character, Gaspare Pallavicino, aged twenty, is depicted as a misogynist who attacks women, but the others rush to their defence, affirming the equality of women to men in every respect. Giuliano de' Medici points out that throughout history some women have excelled in philosophy and others have waged war and governed cities, and he lists the heroines of classical times. Pallavicino, piqued, hints that Giuliano is wrong, but in the end he concedes that he himself has been wrong.
- **Margaret King** and **Joan Kelly** describe the Renaissance as a misogynist age, arguing that women were disempowered since their lives were reduced to the home.

The Renaissance in Italy in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views of the way in which Lorenzo de Medici ruled Florence? **16 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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A and B** on the rule of Lorenzo de Medici and offers a structured evaluation in terms of:

Source A

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Lorenzo's approach was different from Cosimo or Piero de' Medici.
- He acted like a prince from an early stage, placing himself at the centre of all decision-making as well as the cultural life of the city.
- No one felt safe acting without his approval.
- Support for Lorenzo was precarious.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Lorenzo adopted a far more overt style of leadership than Cosimo, presenting himself openly as ruler of the city.
- Lorenzo used culture to project and promote his position. He keenly promoted the arts. Botticelli amongst many others worked for him. He also favoured humanist scholars, enjoying the neo-Platonist appreciation of the philosopher-king.
- Lorenzo's apparent monopoly of the political life of Florence created enemies. The Pazzi conspiracy of 1478 stemmed from rival attempts to exert influence over Florentine politics.

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

- Cosimo had claimed to be just another Florentine citizen. He did not wish to challenge the impression that Florence was a republic with a wide involvement in decision-making. Cosimo's approach was self-effacing.
- Lorenzo carefully rigged elections to the Signoria, manipulating the electoral process to ensure a compliant council. This was a major undertaking, given that there were elections for the signoria six times a year. He established the Council of Seventy in 1480 and used this as a way of disguising his own influence.

Source B

Provenance:

- Guicciardini (1483-1540) served the Medici regime in Florence and the Medici papacy in Rome. For several years he was administrator of the Papal States.
- He fell from favour during the republican government of 1527-30.
- He became very pessimistic about the future of his enfeebled and degraded country. The trouble began, in his view, on the death of Lorenzo in 1492.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Lorenzo played an important role in maintaining stability/happiness in Italy.
- Though only an ordinary citizen, he in effect governed Florence. He was a “pleasing tyrant”, that is to say someone who enjoyed very considerable power over his city but acted in the interests of all, governing according to his counsels.
- Thanks to his close relations with the Papacy, Lorenzo was influential throughout Italy.
- He had authority and influence in joint affairs with a zeal for public good.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- The rule of the Medici faced opposition. The most famous example of this is the Pazzi Conspiracy of 1478. They tried to murder Lorenzo and his brother Guiliano whilst they attended mass in the cathedral. They would then seize control of the government of the city. Lorenzo was injured but escaped. However, Guiliano was successfully murdered. The pope, Sixtus IV, had given his support to the Pazzi family, who were then the papal bankers. The Medici had thwarted papal ambitions in central Italy.
- Lorenzo’s daughter Maddalena made the politically advantageous marriage to a son of Pope Innocent VIII.
- Relations with the Papacy were often strained. Pope Sixtus IV was aware of the Pazzi Conspiracy but allowed the plot to proceed nonetheless without interfering, and, after the failed assassination of Lorenzo, also gave dispensation for crimes in the service of the church.

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

- Lorenzo broke with tradition by marrying not into another Florentine merchant family but instead making a dynastic match with the influential Roman family of the Orsini. This suggests that he was ambitious in new ways for a Medici.
- The rule of Lorenzo was strengthened by the failure of the Pazzi Conspiracy. Over seventy conspirators were executed by Lorenzo. One was even brought back from Constantinople to face trial. The people of Florence did not take advantage of the dislocations brought about by the conspiracy to unseat the Medici. The cry of the people was “Palle!”, a reference to the Medici coat of arms.
- Lorenzo’s death was closely followed by the toppling of Piero de’ Medici and the beginning of the rule of Savonarola. Savonarola was firecey critical of Medici in general and Lorenzo in particular.

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

- **Lauro Martines** believes that the Pazzi Conspiracy represented a serious challenge to the Medici and it weakened their rule, at least in the short term. After the conspiracy there was an attempt to disarm the population of Florence. He takes this as evidence that the Medici regime lived in fear of a repetition of the conspiracy.
- **Ralph Roeder** suggests that the Pazzi Conspiracy strengthened the Medici. To prevent its recurrence, Lorenzo surrounded himself with armed guards and ruled in the very way which the Pazzi had denounced as tyrannous. After the conspiracy Lorenzo became “the most masterful”.
- **Robert Hole** suggests that Lorenzo conducted foreign policy as if he was the Prince of Florence, negotiating directly with other powers then getting the Florentine signoria to rubber stamp his decisions.

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 differing views of the way in which Lorenzo de Medici ruled Florence.

Question 2

How fully does Source C explain the inspiration and values of Italian humanists of the fifteenth century? 12 Marks

Candidates may be awarded up to **3 marks** for their ability to establish the view 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, 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 C** as an adequate explanation of the inspiration and values of Renaissance humanists in terms of:

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Humanists were concerned with man. In that sense their concern was secular.
- Humanists saw the study of the ancient world as an opportunity to learn about government, war and art.
- Humanism may have encouraged active participation in society and government.
- Humanists did not see their studies as an attack on Christianity.

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

- Leonardo Bruni argued that an education based on classical civilizations was the best preparation for the civic life. Knowledge and understanding of classical languages and literature was seen as the best preparation for the life of a citizen. He admired the virtues of the Roman Republic, seeing Florence as the natural heir to that republicanism.
- Hans Baron put forward the idea of civic humanism, that humanism, far from being a contemplative pursuit for scholars was in fact a very effective programme for training the civil servants and political and military leaders of the future. He saw a humanist education as a response to the threat to Florentine republican liberty from the imperialist aggression of Giangaleazzo Visconti, the Duke of Milan.
- Humanism is often accused of being secular but that is not the same as being anti-Christian. Humanists looked to pagan ancient Greece and Rome for models of behaviour but this in no way represented a rejection of Christian morality.

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

- Renaissance neo-platonists such as Marsilio Ficino in his "Theologica Platonica" discussed the relationship between Christian theology and Plato's ideas on the immortality of the soul. Plato was said to have foreshadowed the later Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul.
- Renaissance humanists tended to gloss over the pagan aspects of Plato which clearly challenge Christian doctrine: the belief that the soul exists before birth; belief in the transmigration of the soul, being re-incarnated as an animal or bird; Plato's sympathetic depiction of homosexual love.

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

- **Hans Baron's** thesis of civic humanism in "The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance". He saw humanism as a practical response to the threat to the republican liberty enjoyed by Florence in the early fifteenth century. The threat from Milan galvanised Florentine political attitudes into a civic ethos of participatory republicanism and converted many humanists from apolitical classicism to a patriotic defence of republican liberty.
- **George Holmes** argues that in spite of its origins in its enjoyment of the pagan classics, humanism did not come seriously into conflict with ecclesiastical authority. Popes, notable Nicholas V (1447-55), happily patronised the translation of Thucydides and other Greek writers into Latin with as much equanimity as they planned the rebuilding of Rome to revive ancient glories. He writes of a "friendly alliance of classics and Christianity".
- **Carol Everhart Quillen** shows that humanists edited and translated classical texts; they imitated classical styles and genres; and they argued that Latin grammar, ancient history, and reading ancient authors from Plato to the church fathers provided a better moral education than did scholastic dialectic and philosophy. They grappled with the idea of taking aspects of the past as a cultural model, and they competed with each other for jobs and fame and patrons.

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 helpful in offering a full explanation of the inspiration and values of Italian humanists of the fifteenth century.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as evidence of life in the princely courts during the Italian Renaissance?

12 Marks

Candidates may be awarded a **total of 5 marks** for the quality of their evaluation of the provenance of the source and 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 contextual 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 D** as evidence of life in the princely courts during the Italian Renaissance in terms of:

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

- "The Courtier" is a series of fictional conversations by courtiers of the Duke of Urbino that take place in 1507, when Baldessare Castiglione was himself attaché to the Duke.
- The book seeks to show the reader what it took to be the "Perfect Courtier" and "Court Lady".
- Baldassare Castiglione, count of Novilara (1478 – 1529), was an Italian courtier, diplomat, soldier and a prominent Renaissance author.

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

- The ideal courtier should be proficient in arms and use this in the service of his lord.
- The ideal courtier should also be well read in the classical languages and the humanities.
- The ideal courtier should be able to write in prose and verse in the vernacular.
- The ideal courtier should be pleasant in the company of ladies.

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

- The ideal courtier was both soldier and scholar, a man of thought and of action. His life had elements of contemplation as well as action.
- Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, tried to present himself as an ideal soldier and scholar in a portrait by Justus of Ghent. He is depicted in his library wearing his armour whilst reading a weighty tome.
- Competence in arms was the basis of power of several princes. Federigo da Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, was a condottiere, a professional soldier, an illegitimate mercenary commander. He used the wealth he built up from fighting to build a magnificent palace, with a library containing 1100 codices.

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

- Gianfrancesco Gonzaga was made Marquis of Mantua in 1433 by the emperor Sigismund as recognition of his contribution as a mercenary.
- Castiglione goes on to describe Urbino in the days of Federigo da Montefeltro: "he brought together a large number of the finest and rarest books, Greek, Latin and Hebrew, all of which he decorated with gold and silver, judging that this was the supreme excellence of his great palace". Clearly literacy was valued in Federigo's court.
- Castiglione also describes how in Urbino Federigo's ornaments were "not only what is usual, such as silver vases, tapestries of the richest cloth of gold, silver and the like, but also an infinity of antique statues of marble and bronze, the most singular pictures, every kind of musical instrument". Clearly the arts were appreciated in Urbino.

- In Mantua Andrea Mantegna was appointed as court painter to the Gonzaga in the 1460-70s.
- It could be argued that much of the art of the princely courts was valued less for its intrinsic worth than for its dynastic propaganda.
- Castiglione wrote that the Renaissance prince should appreciate painting and be able to draw. Both Urbino and Mantua became centres of artistic importance, places where great artists might find a home. Raphael and Mantegna would be good examples of this.

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

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

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 as evidence of life in the princely courts during the Italian Renaissance.

Georgians and Jacobites: (Scotland 1715-1800)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent was Charles Edward Stuart's leadership responsible for the defeat of the Jacobite rising of 1745?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to assess the extent to which Charles Edward Stuart's leadership caused the defeat of the Jacobite rising of 1745. The impact of his leadership should be examined in relation to other contributory factors, thus reaching a balanced conclusion.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest Charles' leadership was responsible for the defeat of the rising

- Charles' popularity amongst his army wasn't enough to prevent desertions which continually hampered his cause. It's noteworthy that this was already an issue as early as the capture of Edinburgh, when the Prince's currency was at its peak.
- His charisma failed to win the support of many important clan chiefs including Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod of Dunvegan. Mitchison notes that support in the 'sincerely Jacobite' north-east lowlands was patchy. Worse, recruitment in the lowlands and particularly in England was lamentable. The latter raised only a few hundred men in Manchester.
- Hanoverian incompetence handed the Jacobites initial successes. In 1744 due to financial pressures there were only three thousand soldiers in Scotland who were 'mainly raw'.
- Military success at Prestonpans and Falkirk and the well-ordered retreat from Derby were largely thanks to Lord George Murray and, in the instance of the latter, achieved in spite of the sulking Prince. Further, Prestonpans is widely regarded as a victory won through considerable good fortune.
- Charles' advance into England was premature. His initial victories affected his judgement and encouraged unrealistic optimism. He'd failed to establish a secure hold on Scotland. Counter-revolution occurred across the country – Edinburgh reverted to Hanoverian control.
- Charles was prone to petulance. His relationship with his officers and particularly Lord George Murray deteriorated, and discipline resultantly slackened.
- Charles' assurances of promised French support proved dishonest, further eroding goodwill amongst his officers.
- His insistence to fight a set battle at Culloden rather than wage a guerrilla war, ignoring the advice of many of his officers. Drummossie moor was poorly suited for the Highland charge, yet suited the Hanoverian artillery perfectly.
- The failure to secure adequate food supplies hampered the campaign throughout, and was of particular importance prior to Culloden.
- The Prince gave no rallying call at the mustering point of Ruthven barracks despite considerable numbers of survivors expressing a willingness to continue resistance.

Factors which may suggest Charles' leadership was not responsible for the defeat of the rising

- Inspirational, charismatic and physically fit. His persuasiveness was instrumental in convincing clan chiefs such as Lochiel and Young Clanranald to join the rising.
- Evident courage unusual in a twenty-five year old – prepared to borrow money and sail with only a few companions to challenge the Hanoverian state
- Did have some previous if limited military experience as a youth at Gaeta (1734).

- Took advantage of the element of surprise – used Wade’s roads to proceed quickly to Edinburgh whilst evading Hanoverian forces.
- Following victory at Prestonpans many historians claim much of Charles’ time in Edinburgh was devoted to balls and other social functions. However, Mackie notes that he spent several weeks working hard to organise his army into effective Clan Regiments.
- Charles’ determination to advance into England in October 1745 was based on sound military planning as he intended to forestall the return of the British army from Flanders. Further, his advance was successful in both evading Wade and capturing Carlisle.
- Charles was powerless against the decision to retreat at Derby. Although a controversial polemic, it may be argued that his desire to proceed to London would have been the right course of action. The capital was poorly defended, Welsh loyalties remained ambiguous and the capture of London may yet have spurred French assistance.
- Despite the moral sapping retreat north, he retained sufficient authority to command an army of around eight thousand men and to oversee victory over Hawley at Falkirk in January 1746.
- Bad luck played a considerable role in the defeat of the rising. For example, the explosion of the Jacobite magazine depleted scarce munitions, while a considerable amount of French coin was intercepted immediately prior to Culloden.
- Candidates may legitimately argue some key factors were outwith Charles’ control including the failure of the French to provide military assistance, the failure of English Jacobites to rise and pivotal misjudgements of his lieutenants.

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

- **Lenman** recognises both Charles’ role in driving the rebellion but also his stubborn and ultimately flawed leadership – ‘the obstinate, insensitive egotism of Prince Charles which drove the rebellion to its relentless bloody climax’.
- **Prebble** questions the personal qualities of the Prince whom he describes as ‘handsome, self-centred and tragically reckless...he brought little but the innocent appeal of his personality’. However, Prebble also concedes that Charles was ‘strong and healthy, ill educated and charming’.
- **Mackie** emphasises the importance of Charles Edward Stuart’s drive in the rising’s apparent near success which he partly ascribes to the ‘personality of one young man’. However, he also suggests Charles’ optimism may have led him to over-estimate the strength of his army which was bolstered by ‘uncertain adventurers, including even a few deserters from the British army’.
- **Mitchison** suggests that many of the Jacobite successes occurred by luck rather than design. ‘By chance, by force and by the failure of various nominal adherents of the government to decide promptly on which side their loyalty lay, the Jacobite army was built up and able to get through the passes into the Lowlands effectively unopposed.’

Question 2

How far can it be argued that the Highlands had undergone significant change in the period before 1745?

The aim of this essay is for candidates to ascertain the extent to which the Highlands had experienced significant change prior to the consequences of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. Candidates should interpret 'change' within an economic, social and political context using the relevant evidence to come to a balanced conclusion. Better candidates may distinguish long and short term patterns of change. Credit will also be given to answers which note the pronounced regional variations within the Highlands which have made definitive conclusions contentious.

Candidates may use such evidence as:

Points which suggest that the Highlands had undergone significant change prior to 1745

- The Highlands became increasingly assimilated to lowland norms due to the changing role of the clan chief from paternalism to commercial landlord.
- Market forces enabled the increased absenteeism and consumerism of clan chiefs, sustained by growing markets for Highland produce, particularly cattle. The auctioning of leases by the Duke of Argyll from 1710 onwards was symptomatic of the changing attitude of clan chiefs.
- Emigration to Canada began in the 1730s due in part to rising rents as clan chiefs increasingly neglected their patriarchal duties in favour of profit. Greater numbers of Highlanders migrated to the lowlands.
- Marked decline in the arbitrary powers of chiefs. Their private courts no longer extended to execution – the last hanging occurred in 1728.
- Customs of past significance fell into disuse, such as the right of passage which obliged young chiefs to lead raids on neighbouring lands before gaining acceptance by the clan.
- Declining militarism of clans – last major battle between clans took place at Spean Bridge in 1688. Tensions between clans no longer escalated into full scale military conflict.
- Increasing government intervention during the seventeenth century, as witnessed by the Glencoe massacre, and the early eighteenth century such as Wade's road and bridge building in the 1720s.
- The SSPCK had established twenty five schools by 1725, while government sponsored promotion of Protestantism began in 1725 through an annual grant to the General Assembly.

Points which suggest that the Highlands had not undergone significant change prior to 1745

- Continued existence of the clan system, the ability of chiefs to mobilise for war through the feudal system of landholding and the emotional bond between clansfolk and their chief.
- The Disarming Acts of 1716 and 1725 were not effectively enforced allowing the military nature of clan society to endure.
- Apparent failure of the 'law of progress' as the Highland economy failed to match the growth of lowland commerce. Barter remained common while agriculture remained primitive and largely subsistence. Trade, services and industry developed only sporadically.
- Townships remained the most common form of settlement – the development of burghs in the lowlands was not replicated in the Highlands.
- The authority of the Episcopalian church remained unchallenged in parts of the Highlands as the Church of Scotland made only partial inroads, particularly in the north-east.
- Many Highlanders rarely saw a minister or priest due to the large scale of parishes and low density of the population. Thus local folklore and taboo unrelated to Christianity endured in some areas.

- Rule of law remained inconsistent – cattle raiding continued in large areas especially around Lochaber.
- Gaelic remained the language of the Highlander – only the chief, church ministers and a few others spoke English

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

- **Richards** "The Highlands had certainly belonged to the pre-literate and pre-statistical world...arrangements were poorly documented. Hence it is always difficult to measure and evaluate living standards, social welfare and the security of life in the Highlands"
- **Whatley** notes that the success of Glasgow as Scotland's "imperial entrepot" had multiplier effects in the Highlands in the early eighteenth century.
"Parts of the Highlands reaped gains from and responded to the rise of Glasgow...Argyll was best placed and saw the development of inshore fishing, tobacco, spinning and various textile related operations."
- **Devine** "Culloden and the aftermath were the climax, not the beginning of the imposition of state authority on Gaeldom...to be seen against an ongoing process of decline in clan values which had already developed deep roots long before the 1740s."
- **Smout** "It is tempting to say of such a society that it must also have had a timeless and unchanging character. By 1700 or 1730 this was not in fact true, several things were manifestly different from what they had been within the living memory of most men's fathers. Nevertheless the pace of change was undeniably sluggish and it did not go very far in any direction."
- **Lynch** argues change in the Highlands prior to 1745 was considerable, particularly through the new commercial attitudes of landowners. "Highland society was far from being unresponsive to change in the eighteenth century. Highland society was not a dinosaur, unable to adjust to new conditions. On the contrary it showed itself highly adaptable."
- **Prebble** confirms the changing lifestyle of the clan chief "He travelled abroad more often than his father had done, sometimes spoke French or Latin as well as Gaelic or English, wore velvet and lace above his tartan trews, drank claret from glass and whisky from silver, tied back his hair with a ribbon and matched his gentility against a Lowland peer."

Question 3

To what extent has the importance of the Union in the development of the Scottish economy been exaggerated?

The aim of this essay is to assess the impact of the Treaty of Union upon Scotland's economic development. The causation and regionalised nature of Scottish economic growth is key to this question. Candidates should balance the potential benefits of the Union with the danger of exposing a relatively weak Scottish economy to English competition. Candidates should come to a balanced conclusion.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Reasons for thinking that the importance of the Union has not been exaggerated

- Article IV – Allowed Scottish interests to export into English domestic and colonial markets. Scottish merchants were able to legally trade in American commodities such as tobacco, rum and sugar within the biggest free trade zone in Europe.
- Most spectacularly, the legal and illegal practices of the Glasgow tobacco merchants developed soon after 1707. By the early 1720s Scots controlled around 15% of the legal trade in American tobacco.
- Demand from the English domestic market acted as a catalyst to key Scottish industries. Grain and meal exports more than doubled between 1707-12 and 1717-22 encouraging more efficient agricultural practices such as larger single tenancies and enclosure. Similarly, increased competition for the Scottish linen industry forced increased quality control and more efficient production.
- Article V – Scottish ships were now considered British within the Navigation Acts, thus providing the protection of the Royal Navy. This was particularly important following the Darien disaster.
- The terms of the Treaty did provide Scottish industry with some protection. Scottish salt, malt and paper were granted temporary relief from higher rates of English duty.
- Modern estimates suggest that additional revenue generated from increased taxation was largely spent within Scotland.
- Government aided economic growth of the textile and fishing industries through the establishment of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Fisheries in 1727.
- Enormous range of opportunities for Scots through the British Empire. Employment in companies such as the East India Company and the establishment of overseas markets for Scottish based industries.

Reasons for thinking that the importance of the Union has been exaggerated

- Following the lean years of the 1690s Scotland's economy was weak and dangerously exposed to direct competition from one of the most advanced economies in Europe.
- Scotland's fledgling manufacturing sector was poorly equipped to compete with English industry. This was particularly in the case of textiles. For example, soon after 1707 the Scottish woollen industry was unable to cope with English competition.
- In spite of the terms of the Treaty, duties were imposed upon key industries such as linen (1711 and 1715), salt (1711) and malt (1725). In the case of malt, serious riots resulted in Glasgow.
- In the decade following Union demand for some Scottish manufactures in both England and the colonies remained sluggish while the immediate impact upon Scottish agriculture was regionalised. Aside from east Lothian most Scottish farming remained subsistence.
- Danger of Scotland following Ireland's economic development as an English economic satellite providing cheap labour and raw materials whilst failing to establish a viable manufacturing sector.
- Enforcement of the terms of the Union was subject to the vagaries of English party politics as, by definition, the Union had diluted Scottish parliamentary power.

- Despite the terms of the Treaty, much of the period following 1707 was characterised by disinterest in Scotland from Westminster. The Scottish economy rarely benefited from government policy, rather the Earl of Islay sought only to achieve political stability through management.

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

- **Devine** argues that the Union benefited some key areas such as the linen industry, though he also states that the impact of the Treaty remained uncertain until after 1740. "Union could well have been the political prelude to the 'development of underdevelopment' rather than the catalyst for a new age of progress and prosperity".
- **Lynch** warns against the dangers of definitive conclusions when analysing the impact of the Treaty of Union. "Olympian pronouncements' about the economic effects of the Union have gone out of fashion. It will be a brave historian who tries to return to the simpler world when they were in vogue".
- **Mitchison** notes the risks which the Union held for Scottish political power. "The Scots who had suspicions that their country's views would be swamped in a largely English Parliament were proved right".
- **Maclean** states that many Scots, including MPs and Presbyterian ministers, feared the erosion of their power under the terms of Union. "Scotland was now 'but a county of Britain ...subject to the sovereignty of England, she must be governed by English maxims and laws'".

Question 4

“It was no despotism. Rather it was an enlightened manipulation of the system.”
How valid is this view of the political dominance of Henry Dundas in the late eighteenth century?

The aim of this essay is to allow the candidate to analyse and assess the various methods which Henry Dundas used during his political career and arrive at a balanced conclusion. A high quality answer should evaluate whether these practices were despotic, with reference to absolutism, tyranny or the unreasonable use of authority or whether Dundas' career is more accurately characterised as merely manipulation of the existing political system.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Factors which may suggest the manipulation of the political system

- His stellar political career built upon the pursuit of self-promoting political alliances, most notably with William Pitt. Thus he achieved positions of power including Minister for Scotland, Home Secretary and Secretary for War.
- A formidable parliamentary politician, Dundas deployed intimidatory tactics such as 'trash talking' MPs, who became isolated and often ultimately surrendered their loyalty.
- Symptomatic of Dundas' parliamentary techniques was his rebuttal of Sheridan's proposed burgh reform. NB – a candidate could argue that this legislation would have benefited the populace, yet was sacrificed to maintain Dundas' power.
- A further example of Dundas' parliamentary tactics was his manipulation of MPs into returning to the House of Commons to ensure the passing of Acts of Parliament restricting public gatherings and free speech. NB. – the *impact* of this legislation could be interpreted as indicating despotism.
- Dundas maximised the number of MPs loyal to him. Thus, became almost indispensable to a succession of governments. He'd served in three by 1783.
- Key to Dundas' power was his control of the Scottish constituencies – by 1790 he controlled 34 out of 41 constituencies. The expansion of his power was based upon corrupt practices in both parliamentary and local elections and his effective use of patronage. However, the candidate may legitimately argue endemic corruption was not the creation of Dundas, he simply took advantage of it.
- In addition to outright corruption was the careful management of elections which remained within contemporary political convention.
- Despotism has obvious associations with tyranny, yet Dundas commanded unqualified support from most of the landed gentry and much of the emerging middle classes.
- Widely held contemporary belief amongst the governing classes that the sedition espoused by radicalism could only be defeated by coercive measures. Thus, Dundas was merely restoring order following unprecedented challenges to the established order, such as the Edinburgh riots of 1792.

Factors which may suggest despotism

- Ruthless suppression of the radical movement by a repressive state which deployed informers, spies, troops and a judiciary aligned to the government.
- Such tactics provoked unusually personalised attacks including the burning of Dundas effigies, the personification of Old Corruption, in Edinburgh in 1792.
- Ferocious judicial sentences, such as the transportation of Thomas Muir and many other leaders of the radical movement despite petitions of leniency from jurors. Also the dubious execution of Robert Watt, following the so-called Pike Plot in 1784.
- Draconian government reprisals such as the suspension of the Act of Writings. Imprisonment which enabled arbitrary imprisonment and the 1797 Parliamentary Act which declared all members of the United Scotsmen liable for transportation.
- Dundas' belief in the creation of local militias to reinforce the existing social hierarchy by encouraging loyalty to traditional leaders whilst diluting 'democratical' sentiment.

- Harsh repression of the 1797 Militia Riots. Cavalry sabres killed eleven colliers and seriously injured another twelve in Tranent. Following the slaughter, soldiers ran amok, looting and raping in surrounding villages.
- Candidates may refer to contemporary sources such as the famous Gillray cartoon which depicts Dundas as an Oriental despot controlling London, Scotland and India.

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

- **Prebble** notes that violence and persuasion by threat had been an established tool of government in Scotland since the Reformation, and that Dundas' opposition to the Radicals enjoyed considerable support. "The government's fierce determination to crush the reform movement was supported by the weight of the middle class, now alarmed by the nightmare of republican terror".
- **Lenman** argues that Dundas was not despotic, but instead a skilled manager whom enjoyed significant support.
- **Shaw** "the common assumption that Dundas used his position to increase his powers in Scotland is wrong".
- **Devine** suggests that much of Dundas' success was built upon the development of previously established and accepted practices used by such eighteenth century luminaries as Sir Robert Walpole and the Earl of Islay "in honing the techniques of political management he was able to comfortably control most of the Scottish electoral system in his interest".
- **Whatley** states that Dundas' became convinced that the radicals had singled him out as a target during the 1790s.

Question 5

How justified is the view that by the end of the eighteenth century Scottish universities were characterised by “academic excellence, egalitarian values and a modernised curriculum”?

The aim of this essay is for the candidate to analyse the nature and development of Scottish universities during the eighteenth century. An examination of the reform of the teaching methods and subjects taught are central issues which should be focused upon, in addition to the entrance requirements which enabled students of comparatively modest means to attend. The conclusion will be a balanced assessment of the evidence presented.

Candidates may use evidence such as

Evidence which supports the view that the Scottish universities were characterised by academic excellence, egalitarian values and a modernised curriculum

- Scottish universities developed into international centres of learning, educating Protestant students from across Europe.
- Many of the great minds of the Enlightenment were educated at Scottish universities – for example, Adam Smith and David Hume. Many gained international standing whilst holding teaching positions at Scottish universities.
- Individual universities gained international recognition in specific fields of excellence. Aberdeen gained prominence in the fields of moral philosophy and political economy while Edinburgh’s medical faculty, established in 1726 as the first faculty of medicine in Britain, became the pre-eminent place to study anatomy in Europe.
- At the beginning of the eighteenth century Scots studied medicine in Europe yet by the end of the century Scottish doctors attended royalty and nobility throughout Europe.
- Latin, often taught at parish schools, was the usual entrance requirement. Fees were affordable for many. Glasgow University’s fees were approximately a tenth of those charged at Oxford and Cambridge.
- Unlike Oxford and Cambridge, Scotland’s universities did not accept only Anglicans.
- Due to increased literacy rates Scottish universities provided a dual role as centres of both academic study and popular education.
- Glasgow University developed particularly strong links with the middle class merchant community. By 1790 half the students enrolled were sons of ‘industry and commerce’ in comparison with less than eight percent at Cambridge.
- External lectures to the townsfolk enabled women and other townsfolk to benefit from an education in both Glasgow and Edinburgh.
- New Professorships were gradually created in faculties such as history, philosophy, law and medicine, enabling the parallel development of both science and the humanities.
- 1708 – system of specialised professors replaced regenting at Edinburgh University. Thus, lecturers no longer taught students the entire curriculum. By the mid-eighteenth century lectures were increasingly delivered in English rather than Latin.
- Examples of individual reformers, such as Francis Hutcheson’s curriculum reform at Glasgow which moved contemporary observers to consider students of Glasgow more intellectually complete than those of Edinburgh.
- Expansion of the curriculum included the establishment of new institutions such as the School for the Art of Design (1753).

Evidence which contradicts the view that the Scottish universities were characterised by academic excellence, egalitarian values and a modernised curriculum

- Scottish universities were Protestant medieval institutions whose curriculum had been dominated by Calvinist doctrine. Eighteenth century boards of regents remained divided between enlightened reformers and Presbyterian hardliners.
- Religious tests, which had famously denied David Hume, a Chair at Edinburgh, continued to be rigidly applied for professorial appointments.
- Bursaries remained very limited, and although fees were lower than in England they remained too expensive for the majority to afford. Women were excluded from Scottish universities throughout the eighteenth century.
- Although cheaper than in England, fees remained sufficiently high to ensure upper and middle rather than working class students were in the majority. Typically students were the sons of merchants and skilled tradesmen rather than the genuinely poor.
- Smout estimates that the percentage of the Scottish population who attended Scotland's universities at the beginning of the nineteenth century was around four thousand, less than 1 in five hundred of the total population.
- Examples of notable Scots of modest backgrounds including Thomas Telford, Hugh Millar, Robert Burns and Alexander Somerville who achieved their success without the benefit of a university education.
- Despite gradual curricular change, divinity remained at the heart of Scottish universities. The evolution of newer disciplines was gradual, and the width and depth of curricular reform was not uniform across the four institutions.
- Smout notes that Edinburgh was the 'pacemaker' throughout the eighteenth century, while the other universities lagged behind. For example, lectures continued to be made in Latin rather than English at St Andrews until the late 1780s.
- Although abandoned elsewhere by 1735, Marischal College, Aberdeen continued to use regents as general tutors across all subjects rather than deploying subject specialists.
- Curricular reform was deemed insufficient by some contemporaries – as exemplified by the establishment of Anderson's Institution in 1796 which was committed to teaching practical subjects applicable to commerce, industry and applied science.

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

- **Mackie** reminds us that the tradition of students from modest means pre-dated the 18th century. "Nor was university barred against the poor man's son. At the beginning of November, when he had finished helping his father with the harvest, the poor student came up to college...until the end of the session in April when he left his books and returned to the plough."
- **Smout** scrutinises the legitimacy of the 'lad o' pairts' tradition, questioning the ability of any but the better off to attend. "The plain fact of the matter was that throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Scottish universities were well outside the pocket of the majority of the Scottish people...universities were largely the preserves of the middle class and effectively closed to the children of labourers."
- **Devine** underlines the growing academic credentials of Scotland's universities and their influence on the Enlightenment. "the Scottish universities would be at the heart of the enlightenment, with many of the leading thinkers drawn from the professoriate."
- **Lynch** analogously emphasises the increased stature of Scottish universities and the widening of the curriculum. "There was a broad based advance amongst Scottish universities, and especially in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, in the study of mathematics, law and some of the physical sciences."

Georgians and Jacobites: Scotland (1715-1800)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A as evidence of the reasons for the outbreak of 1715 rebellion?

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 A** as evidence for investigating the Earl of Mar's role in causing the 1715 rebellion.

Provenance:

- The Earl of Mar initiated and led the 1715 rising by raising the standard on the Braes of Mar on September 6th, 1715.
- Although formerly a supporter of the Treaty of Union, he found himself out of favour and political power under George I's government. Mar's change of allegiance earned him the nickname 'Bobbing John'.
- His motivation for his conversion to Jacobitism has been widely interpreted as personal ambition and political desperation.
- The purpose of this revealing letter to his lawyer brother Lord Grange written 9 months before the rebellion is to provide his personal assessment of the results of the Treaty of Union.

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Underlines the unpopularity of the Treaty of Union in Scotland and the potential of this ill feeling to repeal the Treaty. However, also acknowledges the regionalised nature of this discontent – 'If these feelings from Scotland were to come from across the *whole* country'.
- Outlines the unrest amongst some members of the political classes in both the Tory and Whig parties, and the resultant likelihood of their support for the dissolution of the Union.
- Similarly notes the religious aspect of the terms of the Union and those disaffected by them in relation to the Protestant succession.
- Describes opposition to the Union from disenfranchised Scottish peers denied a seat in the British parliament.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- The Treaty of Union was initially unpopular in Scotland. Mar's role was to identify, and subsequently harness this disquiet as a recruitment tool for the Jacobite cause and his own advancement.
- Mar's Jacobite standard raised on the Braes of Mar summed up his motivation for leading the '15 through the following motto; 'For our wronged king and oppressed country. No union. For ourselves. Who dare meddle with me?'
- His reference to the discontent amongst members of both political parties reflects significant political restiveness in England. The '15 was the only rising which featured a significant English rebellion.

- The reference to the Union's insistence on Protestant succession is instructive. The English Jacobite army was largely drawn from the Catholic populace in south-west Lancashire. In Scotland, much support was drawn from the Episcopalian and Catholic clans.
- Many Scottish peers were unhappy at a lack of Hanoverian patronage. This discontent increased as they were forced to compete to gain entry to the House of Lords, as there were only 16 Scottish peers.

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

- The Earl of Mar launched the '15 without detailed consultation with the Jacobite court despite Mar's claims to have had a commission from James.
- Many Scots were hostile to the Union as it failed to deliver immediate economic results. 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 economic ineffectiveness.
- Acknowledgement of regional variation of support for the Jacobites – before the Union very few Jacobite supporters were drawn from the lowlands. Also, as emphasised by Whatley, Glasgow's tobacco based prosperity coincided with very few Jacobite supporters coming from the city.
- Consideration of other causes of the '15:
 - Dynastic loyalty of the Episcopalian clans to the Stuarts. Remote from authority & easily mobilised they formed the backbone of Mar's army. Though less in number, Catholic clans were similarly loyal during the '15.
 - Long term anti-English sentiment due to Darien and increased taxes to pay for William of Orange's wars with France. Abolition of the Privy Council meant decisions affecting Scots were made in distant Westminster.

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

- **Lenman** "There is no doubt that, though he exploited existing discontents, John Earl of Mar was the key to the outbreak of the '15 which he organized and launched by raising the Jacobite standard."
- **Devine** "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."
- **Whatley** "In the immediate post 1707 decade, many Scots felt economic promises were broken."
- **Herman** "it (Jacobotism) served largely as a vehicle for anti-English feeling."

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 reasons for the outbreak of the 1715 rebellion.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about the state of schooling in both Highland and Lowland Scotland in the eighteenth century? **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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B** and **C** about the state of schooling in eighteenth century Scotland and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source B

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

- As Moderator of the parish of Gairloch, the writer held an influential position as the religious leader of the community.
- In addition, an educated man.
- His motivation for writing this letter was to complain on behalf of the inhabitants of the parish to the SSPCK regarding the inadequate schooling facilities they'd provided.

Points from the source which show, by more than mere repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Rejects the assertion that basic school facilities were adequate as SSPCK schools were intended only for the poor.
- Argues that a quality local school will reduce the likelihood of the wealthy educating their children outside the parish, and in turn will encourage the poor to ensure their children attend school.
- Demands funding to establish a 'proper school' and to enable the funding of an educated school master able to teach Latin.
- The poor follow the rich in relation to schooling.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- As noted by Withrington, Source B is symptomatic of complaints made to the SSPCK by representatives of Highland communities.
- Was an increasing tendency for those Highlanders that could afford to send their children to board at private schools, thus raising questions regarding the quality of local schooling.
- The SSPCK's policy of restricting its teachers to reading, writing, arithmetic and religious instruction aroused further contemporary criticism.
- The SSPCK's ability to resource Highland schools was finite. Finances were limited, the society received no direct funding from the state, relying instead upon the General Assembly and charitable donations.

Source C

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

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Limited impact of the charity school movement in the Highlands – less than ten per cent of the Highland population was enrolled in school by the early nineteenth century.
- Approximately half of the population remained illiterate. Source C suggests that those able to write or undertake arithmetic was likely to be even fewer.
- Educational attainment was far from uniform due to pronounced regional variation. Literacy rates fluctuated significantly.
- Acknowledges endeavour of the charity school movement, but underlines its lack of success in comparison to the schooling available in the Lowlands.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Charity schools faced a huge challenge due to the absence of tradition of schooling in the Highlands – “there were very few schools in the Highlands before the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and very few Highlanders who saw the point of attending one” (Devine).
- Tuition in the ‘3Rs’ was a stated purpose of the SSPCK. However, the thin, even distribution of the population, size of parishes and lack of significant settlements ensured literacy rates remained problematic.
- The Highland charity schools were explicitly places to learn English – the use of Gaelic was forbidden until 1766.
- The regional variation of educational attainment is partially explained by enormous geographical obstacles and an inadequate transport infrastructure. Thus, comparisons with educational provision in the Lowlands should be made within an appropriate context.

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

Wider contextualisation relevant to the development of schooling in the Highlands

- Geographic, religious and political factors meant schooling in the Highlands in the eighteenth century differed fundamentally from that in the Lowlands.
- There was significant expansion in the provision of schools in the Highlands – by the mid-eighteenth century it is estimated that more than eighty per cent of Highland parishes had a school.
- The SSPCK had established 176 schools by 1758, educating 6500 pupils.
- Some Highland parishes opted not to establish a permanent school but rather deployed mobile schools which regularly re-located to best facilitate the education of a scattered populace.
- SSPCK schools were Presbyterian and overtly Hanoverian. The establishment of the society was partially motivated by a fear of Catholic missionaries and possible links to Jacobitism.

Wider contextualisation relevant to the development of schooling in the Lowlands

- Expansion of parish schools – statute of 1696 decreed every parish must have a school paid for by taxing the local landowner and tenants. This had been largely achieved prior to the legislation and was complete by 1760.
- Kirk Sessions paid for the fees of the poor in addition to bursaries and private charity. Fees were kept cheap to ensure schooling remained affordable within this structure.
- Establishment of ‘adventure schools’ and the growth in private schools.

- Reform of burgh schools – by 1700 few burghs did not have a town or grammar school. The majority were grammars. Latin remained prominent in their pedagogy.
- Burgh schools run by the town council, not the Kirk.
- SSPCK did establish some schools outside the Highlands in Aberdeenshire, Fife, Edinburgh and the Borders.
- Declining standards of living for schoolmasters and associated difficulties of recruitment and retention.

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

- **Withrington** "The assumption that the Highlands and Islands were all but bereft of schooling needs to be corrected. Reports of visitors in the mid-1750s surveying school provision and need on behalf of the SSPCK allow us to survey a wide range of parishes...at least 88 (84%) certainly had public schools."
- Both **Lynch** and **Herman** question the long term impact of the Education Act of 1696 during the eighteenth century.
- **Lynch** "far from producing a framework which would eventually lead to a school in every lowland parish marked the acknowledgement of what had already largely been achieved."
- **Herman** "Historians are still arguing about how many Scots really learned to read and write as a result of the School Act (1696). In this, as in so many any other things, the Highlands lagged far behind."
- **Steel** "By the middle of the eighteenth century the desire of the Calvinists like Knox to have a school in every parish had become a reality, certainly in the lowlands."
- **Buchan** notes the expansion of boarding schools in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century.

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 state of schooling in eighteenth century Scotland.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the impact of the ideas of the Improvers on Scottish agriculture in the eighteenth century? **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 impact of the ideas of the Improvers on Scottish agriculture in terms of:

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

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Agricultural improvement was primarily driven by the nobility and wealthy professional classes.
- New drainage schemes transformed bog into cultivatable farmland.
- Importance of the spread of English techniques such as the iron plough.
- Notes regional variation – more traditional techniques such as the heavier traditional plough continued to be used in 'backward parts'.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Numerous examples of aristocratic improvers: In 1706 Lady Henrietta Mordaunt introduced hay-making, foreign grasses and the English plough to Moray. Sir Archibald Grant transformed his lands at Monymusk.
- Drainage of marshland significantly expanded farmable land as pioneered by the Earl of Stair in 1716 who also fertilised the soil with lime.
- In addition to the import of English techniques there were examples of Scottish innovation including James Small's swing plough and Andrew Meikle's threshing machine.
- Enclosure met with resistance in some areas as free grazing land was lost – in 1724 a rising of 'Levellers' had to be quelled by the military.
- Regional variation was pronounced. Lothian and Berwickshire became grain specialists, Ayrshire excelled in dairy while sheep farming dominated the Borders. Huge sheep farms appeared in the Highlands from the 1760s, causing social dislocation, unemployment and ultimately emigration.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the source

- Improvement pre-dated the eighteenth century, particularly in the more progressive areas of Lothian and Fife.
- Introduction of new crops such as turnips and potatoes. The latter significantly improved the diet of the peasantry.
- Exemplification of English techniques such as sowing, drilling, crop rotation and the replacement of run-rig with enclosure.
- Adoption of more scientific selective breeding – the average weight of livestock doubled during the eighteenth century.
- Though influenced by the spirit of enquiry typified by the Enlightenment, improvement was primarily commercial. However, not all improvers were ultimately successful. Famously John Cockburn's improvements at Ormiston, which included a model village and ancillary works for craftsmen, ultimately led to his bankruptcy.

- Improvers also planted woods and hedges, built dykes and laid new roads.
- Tenants were awarded longer leases to encourage improvement while some landlords provided alternative employment for displaced agricultural labourers and tuition for their children.

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

- **Smout** stresses the lack of uniformity which characterised agricultural change in Scotland during the eighteenth century. "It is wrong to imagine the agricultural revolution as something that hit a district in a given decade, and in an intense storm of enthusiasm and upheaval left it all transformed in a few years."
- **Fry** underlines the lack of progress until the 1780s. "One of the ironies of that age is that although there were many improvers, there was comparatively little improvement – until economic circumstances made it profitable in the last two decades of the eighteenth century."
- **Buchan** "The greatest advance in the Scotland of the eighteenth century was in agriculture...everybody, but everybody was farming in this new style."
- **Prebble** "The agricultural revolution created a competitive farming class from the old gudeman tenant, and a land labour-force from a peasantry with no nostalgia for its brutal past with no serious resistance to change after the defeat of the western levellers."
- **Donnachie and Hewitt** note that while much improvement was the result of the activities of an enlightened gentry and agricultural societies the government played a part through the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures which encouraged the growth of crops such as flax for use in the linen industry.

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 impact of the ideas of the Improvers on Scottish agriculture in the eighteenth century.

“The House Divided”: The USA (1850-1865)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

“Slavery, in one aspect or another, pervaded all of the aspects of sectionalism”. How valid is this explanation of the differences between North and South in the mid-nineteenth century?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to explore the similarities and differences between North and South and to assess the importance of slavery in permeating the differences that may have existed. The candidate may choose to consider the economic, social and ideological differences between North and South and/or choose to challenge the statement by making closer reference to the similarities between North and South. While candidates may refer to events of the 1850s, this should not simply be a narrative of the time.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Economic differences

- Industrialisation in the North versus agriculture in South underpinned by the existence of slavery.
- Limited industrialisation in South.
- Limited urbanisation in South.
- Belief in the power of ‘King Cotton’.
- Southerners believed in further investment in slaves and cotton production.
- Key differences in attitudes to fiscal policy and in particular the protective tariff.

Social and cultural differences between North and South

- Majority of immigration to the North – very few immigrants in the South.
- Northerners better educated.
- Northerners responsive to new developments and initiatives.
- Limited freedom of speech in the South in comparison to the North.
- South arguably a more violent society.

Ideological differences

- Differing attitudes to abolitionism – Abolitionist writing tolerated in the North and had a reasonable following, whereas Southerners feared abolitionist discussion.
- Differing views on Fugitive Slave Laws.
- Differing attitudes to education.
- Southerners increasingly believed in the idea that slavery could only be protected outwith the Federal Union.
- States’ Rights versus Federal Government.

Similarities between North and South:

The candidate may choose to challenge the statement with reference to features of a common identity:

- common heritage and history
- language
- religion
- faith in the Constitution
- failure of the Nashville Convention
- some support for the various bills that comprised the 1850 Compromise
- strong belief in the values of the 1776 Revolution and the 1787 Constitution
- most white Northerners and White Southerners had similar racial views
- Manifest Destiny
- Economic interdependence.

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

- **Beard** economic competition between a Feudal South and Industrial North.
- **Potter** rejects Beard's views, no gulf between North and South. However, he argues that slavery was an inescapable ethical question which precipitated a sharp conflict of values. It was a transcendent sectional issue in its own right and a catalyst of all sectional antagonisms.
- **Craven** South had the same level of economic enterprise as the North. Slavery became a symbol and carrier of all sectional differences.
- **Owsley** a clash of values rather than economic differences. Ideological differences were crucial.

Question 2

To what extent did internal divisions limit the impact of the Abolitionist movement during the ante-bellum period?

The aim of this essay is to allow candidates to assess the extent of the Abolitionist movement's influence in the period up to 1861. The candidate should consider the lack of unity within the movement as one of several factors that limited the overall impact of the Abolitionists in the ante-bellum period.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Internal Divisions

- Several Abolitionist organisations in existence ranging widely in their approach.
- Aims of the movement were divided – immediate versus gradual approach.
- Influence of and attitudes towards William Lloyd Garrison and 'The Liberator'.
- 'The Liberator's' circulation did not exceed 3,000, of which 75% were free blacks.
- Role and influence of Frederick Douglass.
- Attitude of anti-slavery societies towards blacks.

Other limiting factors

Lack of interest

- Limited appeal of the group in the free states.
- Complete failure of the movement in the South.
- Background of Northern hostility towards blacks.
- Northern fears.
- One of several reform movements at the time eg temperance, women's rights.

Political limitations

- 'Gag rule' limited the political impact of abolitionism.
- Lack of political forum to achieve their aims.
- 1850 Fugitive Slave Law.
- Liberty Laws in some Northern states.
- Emergence of the Republican Party.
- Dred Scott Case.
- Failure to win the support of either Whigs or Democrat Parties.
- Limited impact of the Liberty Party.

Reactions to the movement

- Impact of the novel Uncle Tom's Cabin.
- Reaction to the attack led by John Brown.

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

- **Temperley** has argued that the abolitionist movement found it more difficult to agree upon how to achieve its aims, rather than the aims themselves, and this handicapped its effectiveness.
- **Beard** saw the role of the Abolitionists as insignificant since, in his view, slavery was not the cause of the conflict between the North and the South.
- **Barnes and Dumond** suggest that most abolitionists had a simple and straightforward approach. The moral attack, not the violence of Garrison or Brown, convinced a majority of Northerners to join the side of the abolitionists and emancipation came in a violent struggle with the South.
- **Craven** attacked the abolitionists as he believed their militant strategies were inadmissible and unacceptable.
- **Freehling** has highlighted the practical implications of abolitionist strategy. The Federal Government had limited powers, states' rights were seen as sacrosanct, and autonomy was fiercely guarded. As long as slavery was maintained in 15 states, it could not be abolished by amendment.
- **Huggins** has seen in the role of Frederick Douglass the pragmatist at work. He argued for the need to gain the franchise and the need for economic assistance for the freedman in order for him to secure his future.
- **Litwack** has pointed out the indifference of Northerners on the question of race.
- **Tulloch** has concluded that though the abolitionists may have been heroes with feet of clay, nonetheless they were heroes.

Question 3

How accurate is it to claim that, at the outbreak of Civil War in 1861, Union victory was the most likely outcome?

The aim of the essay is to assess the advantages of the Union at the outbreak of Civil War in 1861 in comparison to the advantages of the Confederacy. The candidate may choose to analyse a range of criteria in assessing the extent of Union advantages at the outbreak of Civil War and therefore whether the Union would inevitably win the war as a consequence.

Specific factors within each side:

Union advantages

- Superior manpower available.
- Greater industrial capacity.
- Naval supremacy.
- The Union's 'inland navy' allowed it to establish and maintain control in the major Western rivers, thus control the West.
- North had twice as much railway track with well-trained engineers to maintain the track.
- North had superior agricultural strength – no issues with feeding, clothing and arming soldiers.
- Most men in the US Army remained loyal to Union, as did two thirds of officer corps.
- Support of Border slave states.
- Steady flow of blacks escaping the Confederacy and willingly joining the Union army.

Confederate advantages

- Size of Confederacy made it difficult to blockade and conquer.
- No need for the South to invade North and capture Washington.
- South's interior lines of communication allowed her, in theory, to concentrate its forces against dispersed Union armies.
- Southern belief that her men were better soldiers than the Northerners would make, for example, farmers knowledgeable about weapons would make better soldiers than Northern industrial workers.
- Belief in the supremacy of King Cotton – gain practical support from Europe.
- War of Independence showed that a determined small nation could defeat a much more powerful opponent.
- River systems in the East blocking northern route to Richmond.
- Lee- both sides wanted him.

The candidate may discuss broadly similar issues facing both North and South:

- The problems both sides faced over mobilisation and organisation.
- The problem of command in both North and South.
- The issue of the inexperience of both armies and commanders eg Lincoln to McDowell: "You are green, it is true; but they are green; you are all green alike".
- The need to re-organise after First Bull Run (Manassas) as a way of explaining why there was little further military operations during 1861.

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

- **McPherson** North's superior numbers, whilst a necessary pre-requisite for victory, did not guarantee it.
- **Luraghi** South responded rapidly to outbreak of war in terms of recruiting men and mobilising industry.
- **Grant** South's strategic advantage was that it simply had to hold onto its independence and vast landmass while the North was compelled to invade to force the South back into the Union.
- **Adams** Northerners believed in Southern martial superiority and this crippled Northern operations in the East.
- **Cunliffe** South had more graduates from West Point than the North.
- **Jenkins** existence of pro-Southern sentiment in Britain likely to win the South support.

Question 4

How effectively did Lincoln demonstrate his political abilities as a wartime leader?

The aim of the essay is to assess Lincoln's political abilities in his leadership of the Union during the American Civil War. Candidates may make a comparison with Jefferson Davis but this should not be the sole consideration of the essay. Rather the candidate should consider Lincoln's political strengths and limitations with possible reference to Davis as a comparison.

Lincoln's political strengths

- Lincoln's personal attributes have been praised – he demonstrated honesty, diligence, tenacity with an unassuming style.
- Lincoln was articulate and effectively presented Union war aims through his eloquent speeches.
- Lincoln was pragmatic and flexible throughout the war.
- Lincoln established and effectively led a cabinet of politicians that had considerably more experience than him. Lincoln's man-management skills were crucial in this respect.
- Lincoln was a consummate politician, working diligently to maintain party unity throughout the war – crucial by 1864.
- Lincoln's pragmatic approach was crucial in maintaining the war effort.
- Demonstrated great skill in 1861 in ensuring the loyalty of the Border States.
- The political crisis of December 1862 demonstrates Lincoln's range of abilities.
- The Emancipation Proclamation.
- Lincoln did not avoid his responsibilities as Commander-in-Chief, improvising and stretching his powers beyond normal practice in order to give the Union an early advantage in the war.
- Lincoln maintained two party politics during the war, thus encouraged opposition and political debate.
- Lincoln allowed the 1864 election to be held in the interests of democratic politics, therefore submitted himself for re-election in the midst of a potential military and political crisis.

Lincoln's limitations

- Poor bureaucrat, perhaps as a consequence of his limited administrative experience. Union administration was slow during the war.
- Foreign diplomatic success in dealing with Britain during the Civil War was broadly achieved by Seward's skills rather than Lincoln himself.
- Union economic matters were dealt with by Congress.
- Union financial measures were handled effectively by Salmon Chase.
- Lincoln's decision to suspend the writ of habeas corpus has been argued as an abuse of the constitution. Lincoln has been accused of using excessive executive power in suppressing civil liberties.
- Lincoln himself claimed he was controlled by events. He reacted to what was happening around him.
- Lincoln arguably had an easier role than Davis in that the machinery of government was already in place at the start of the war.

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

- **Potter** if the North and South had exchanged Presidents, the South might have gained their independence.
- **Potter** the continued operation of two-party democratic politics in the North helped rather than hindered the war effort. This is credit to Lincoln and his ability to handle opposition.
- **McKittrick** the unity of Lincoln's Cabinet versus divisions in the South.
- **Monaghan** Lincoln was a consummate politician
- **T. Harry Williams** Lincoln was a brilliant strategist.
- **James Ford Rhodes** "Lacking him (Lincoln) in the North would have abandoned the contest. His love of country and abnegation of self, make him a worthy leader."
- **James Ford Rhodes** the preponderant asset of the North proved to be Lincoln.
- **Randell** Lincoln was always "moderate, temperate and far seeing."

Question 5

How accurate is it to claim that Blacks made a vital contribution to the war effort on both sides during the American Civil War?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidate to discuss the role of African Americans in the Civil War and analyse the importance of their contribution to both Union and Confederate war efforts. The essay may focus on the military contribution or the contribution of blacks in the war effort in general. Candidates should be rewarded for either/or/both of these approaches

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Essential contribution to the Civil War – North

- Numbers of blacks involved in Union war effort – 10% of Union total in 1865.
- Use of these regiments as support for white fighting forces.
- Contribution of individual regiments eg 54th Mass. As characterised in the film 'Glory'.
- Use of blacks crossing into Union lines and providing Northern commanders with valuable strategic information.
- Black involvement helped alter Northern opinion towards blacks by seeing their contribution and sacrifices for the Union cause.
- Blacks did release more white manpower for the front.
- Blacks played a crucial role when the need for their labour in army was greatest. Non-combatant war work just as important.
- Runaways destabilised Southern economy and their ability to wage war. Many of the runaways fought for North.
- Black recruits provided fresh impetus to a flagging war effort in 1863.
- Black recruits added to "overwhelming numbers" of Union troops (180 000) that Lee "yielded" to.
- War was not over in 1863; African-American soldiers need for "movement on all fronts".
- Lincoln believed sight of African-American soldiers would quell the rebellion "if vigorously applied".

Essential contribution to the Civil War – South

- Blacks made up more than a third of Confederate population, therefore they were crucial in supporting the Confederate war effort in factories, mines and agriculture.
- Military role of blacks was crucial despite their lack of combat; digging trenches and aiding Confederate efforts behind the lines.

Limited contribution – North

- Contradictory policy of Federal government in refusing to enlist blacks into army yet welcoming them into Federal navy.
- Issue of discrimination in terms of rates of pay, blacks excluded from officer corps.
- Discussion of impact of Emancipation Proclamation on black recruitment.
- Contribution of blacks was limited in that of 30,000 killed, only 3,000 died in combat.
- Entry date of African-American soldiers in the war at end/key battles already taken place.
- The prospect of freedom for blacks threatened to divide Northern opinion.

Limited contribution – South

- Most blacks remained slaves throughout the war.
- Slaves took opportunities to escape from the Confederacy; estimated 500,000 slaves fled to join the Union army with a devastating effect on the Southern economy.
- With white women and black slave drivers in the South due to the absence of white men on plantations, slaves became insubordinate and less productive.

- Some plantation owners moved 'their property' to safety from advancing Union troops, thus limiting their efforts.
- March 1865 – Confederate Congress passed laws allowing 300,000 slaves to serve in the Confederate army, however this was too late in the war to make any impact.

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

- **Quarles** blacks entered Union forces at time of serious depletion and made up 10% of Union total by end of conflict.
- **McPherson** enlistment of Negro troops in Union army was one of the most significant events of the Civil War.
- **S-M Grant** decision to raise black regiments was viewed as a necessary war measure.
- **Batty** black contribution, though seldom spectacular, was still notable and caused many Northern whites to revise opinion of blacks.
- **Parish** arming of blacks was only one phase in a revolution that remained uncompleted. However, African-Americans gained pride, recognition and self respect as a result of service.
- **Farmer** little doubt African-American troops had a positive effect on northern war effort, but not decisive.
- **Dawson** African-American recruitment a revolutionary step.
- **Boritt** their absence would have limited Grant's Total War tactics.
- **Parish** black freedom threatened to divide the North.
- **Paludan** blacks saw military service as way of gaining citizenship.
- **Farmer** had the Confederacy recruited slaves sooner, it might have won the war.

“The House Divided”: The USA (1850-1865)

Part 2

Question 1

How far do Sources A and B illustrate differing interpretations of the significance of the Kansas–Nebraska Act? **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 the evaluation with comment from the source.

Contextual and historical interpretations (maximum 10 marks)

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

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians’ views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A** and **B** as interpretations of the significance of the Kansas-Nebraska Act 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 the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Douglas believed the Kansas-Nebraska Act would provide the absolute solution to the issue of slavery in the territories.
- The Act was viewed as offering something to both North and South as a means of providing a compromise on the organisation of the territories.
- Douglas hoped that the Act would heal the divisions within the Democratic Party and unite them as a national party.
- Most accepted that Kansas and Nebraska would emerge as free states given their climate and geography.

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

- Initially kept Southerners happy through repeal of ban on slavery in Nebraska.
- Assisted in the continuation of manifest destiny, settlers gaining land and water rights and opened up the territories for the trans-continental railroad.
- Allowing popular sovereignty was a miscalculation as it was open to sectional abuse for voting.
- Douglas did admit however that repealing the Missouri Compromise and introducing popular sovereignty may ‘cause a hell of a storm.’
- Douglas had aspirations to be a Democratic Presidential candidate. Success with the Kansas-Nebraska Act he hoped, would propel his career.
- ‘Appeal of the Independent Democrats’ showed that the Act divided the Democrats further rather than uniting them.
- Popular sovereignty made Kansas the focus for tension; both sides attempting to stake political claim.
- In the 1855 Kansas election problems lead to two rival Governments.

Source B

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- The Kansas-Nebraska Act angered Northerners and united them in opposition to it – the conspiracy of the ‘Slave Power’ concerned Northerners as they felt the South always got its way on political decisions at the North’s expense.
- Northerners were opposed to the expansion of slavery into the territories.
- Northerners sought to establish their own political parties dedicated to defending their interests.
- The Republican Party emerged to unite and represent these various political groups.

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

- Kansas-Nebraska Act repealed the Missouri Compromise and opened up the territories to potential slave expansion.
- Further evidence of Southern stranglehold on political power in Congress.
- Many Northerners opposed the extension of slavery on economic grounds, others were morally opposed to the institution.
- Anti-slavery Democrats, Whigs and Free Soilers had already met in Ripon, Wisconsin to propose the formation of a new political party based on opposition to the spread of slavery.
- The early movement had no leader, no real national organisation and little direction. The name anti-Nebraska was suggested but also Opposition and The People’s Party. The Republican Party emerged as a rainbow coalition of differing views across the North.
- Nativist concerns in North progressively overshadowed by slavery issue and concerns over Kansas-Nebraska.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- The Republican ideology appealed to Northern farmers, businessmen, abolitionists, Free-Soilers. Emphasised by the Republican platform in 1854 ‘Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men, Fremont’.
- The Republicans believed that slavery retarded the South’s economic growth due to its restrictions on the operation of the free market economy.
- Many in the North tired of Southern complaints and the apparent favouritism towards the South by Democrats.
- Northerners wished to see demographic majority of North reflected in all aspects/offices of public life.
- “Bleeding Kansas” reemphasised slave power conspiracy in North & led to extremists being sanctioned on both sides, eg, Lawrence raid & Pottawatomie Creek.
- Meant other events take on new prominence, eg, “Bleeding Sumner”, again linked to Slave Power Conspiracy & Brooks a Southern hero.
- 1856 Presidential Election Buchanan (Democrat) for Kansas-Nebraska & Fremont (Republican) against = more North/South split.
- The Act became a focus for Lincoln-Douglas debates.

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

- **McPherson** “Even more important than the Fugitive Slave issue in arousing Northern militancy was the Kansas-Nebraska Act which was passed by Congress in May 1854. Coming at the same time as the Anthony Burns case, this law may have been the most important single event pushing the nation toward civil war.”
- **Tulloch** Kansas-Nebraska erased the stability of Missouri Compromise. The Republican Party, born as a result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act attracted those opposed to Southern determination to maintain slavery.
- **Farmer** Douglas did not predict Northern outrage and so weakened his party, damaged own presidential ambitions and revived North-South rivalry.
- **Craven** territorial extension was perceived as vital to continuation of both sides.
- **Holden Reid** slavery was central to the sense of cultural divergence between the North and the South. Rise of sectional northern party dedicated to restriction of slavery signalled an end to a desire for compromise.
- **Parish** rivalry between North and South exacerbated by imbalance in political power brought about by territorial expansion.
- **Gienapp** Republicans united in opposition to ‘slave power’. Know-Nothings had eroded previous party loyalties.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which a consideration of the **Sources A** and **B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the significance of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.

Question 2

How fully does Source C explain Southern attitudes to Lincoln's election in 1860?

12 Marks

Candidates 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 C** as an explanation of Southern attitudes to Lincoln's election in 1860

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Southerners believed Lincoln and all Republicans were abolitionists and would end slavery if elected to office.
- Lincoln believed slavery was 'morally wrong' and wished to see the end of slavery. South outraged by his branding slavery as 'evil'
- Lincoln emphasised that he would not interfere with slavery where it already existed but only opposed its expansion. South unconvinced by his pledge not to interfere.
- Lincoln's election would leave Northerners in control of federal government.

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

- Regardless of the Republican candidate, Southerners viewed them as abolitionists as a consequence of the purely sectional nature of the Republican ideology.
- During the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, Lincoln had made it clear that he wished to see the 'ultimate extinction' of slavery.
- Lincoln had attempted to appease the South emphasising that he would and could not interfere with slavery where it already existed.
- As President, Lincoln could appoint Republicans to key positions of government and begin the process of limiting slavery, the fugitive slave act and introduce economic policies that would put slavery on the road to extinction.

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

- The Republicans were a sectional party with Lincoln's name absent from the ballot paper in ten of the Southern states.
- Lincoln remained quiet during the election campaign which failed to allay Southern fears.
- Republicans emphasised the Slave Power Conspiracy during the election while Southern Democrats played on the 'Black Republicans' image.
- Lincoln won 40% of the vote, all in the North.
- There were calls for secession but there was much Unionism in the South.

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

- **Tulloch** Lincoln's election triggered off secession because the Republican Party threatened the extension of slavery and because Lincoln threatened the honour and survival of the planter class. "It was the coming of the Republican Lincoln to power in 1860 that triggered off secession and a civil war".
- **Holden-Reid** sectional issues were crucial to the Republican victory. The message received in the South was not one of compromise or Union.
- **Gienapp** the Republicans had united in opposition to the 'slave power'. If they directly opposed the institution that formed the foundation of Southern economic and political life, Southerners could not see a future within the Union.
- **Beard** Southerners advocated secession as they refused to become economically subservient to the North.
- **Donald** tensions and paranoia between North and South intensified. The politicians were to blame for failing to respond with clear policies that would reduce tensions and calm the escalating conflict.
- **Geyl** although Lincoln was constitutionally elected in 1860, he was a minority President and the majority of public opinion understandably wanted to avoid extreme solutions to the slavery issue.
- **Nichols** "Frequent elections kept us in hot water."

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 helpful in offering an explanation of Southern attitudes to Lincoln's election in 1860.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as an explanation of the reasons for Southern defeat in the American 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 value of **Source D** in providing an adequate explanation of the reasons for Southern defeat in the American Civil War:

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

- Letter sent on April 12th 1865 – the date on which General Robert E Lee surrendered his (Army of Northern Virginia) Confederate army to General Grant at Appomattox Court House, Virginia.
- After a series of communications between General Lee and General Grant, they agreed to meet on April 9, 1865, at the house of Wilmer McLean in the village of Appomattox Courthouse.
- The surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia allowed the Union to bring increased pressure to bear in other parts of the South and would result in the surrender of the remaining field armies of the Confederacy over the next few months.
- Relationship between Jefferson Davis and Robert E Lee.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- The Confederacy was simply overwhelmed by the superior size of the Union army.
- Likelihood of South losing too many casualties.
- Confederate forces had no supplies to continue fighting.
- Confederate forces were worn out.

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

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

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

- **Richard Current** would subscribe to the idea of 'God and the strongest battalions' as an explanation of Southern defeat.
- **T. Harry Williams** would add the superiority of Northern military leadership towards the end of the conflict.
- **J.F.C. Fuller** would stress the importance of the roles of Grant and Sherman in securing Northern success.
- **James McPherson**, on the other hand, would point to chance and circumstance as a partial explanation for Southern defeat.
- Political explanations for Southern defeat would include **Frank Hesseltine's** assertion that in the North a strong central government appeared that drove the Union war effort.
- **Eric McKittrick** would point to the central role of the Republican Party in uniting the North.
- **David Donald** has argued that the South was too democratic to prosecute the war.
- **Frank Owsley** would attribute Southern defeat to the issue of states' rights.
- **Joseph Glatthaar** has taken the view that the leadership on neither side saw the varied and dramatic contribution that black soldiers would make to Confederate defeat.
- **Peter Batty** would agree with this pointing out that, although seldom spectacular, the black contribution was still notable and caused many Northern whites to revise their opinion of the blacks.

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 reasons for Southern defeat in the American Civil War

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

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent was Tokugawa Japan an isolated country?

The aim of this question is to examine the extent to which the Tokugawa actually implemented a policy of complete isolation during its regime. Although there was an attempt to cut off the country completely from the threat of Western missionaries and colonisation, contact with outside countries was maintained in several different forms.

Extent to which Tokugawa Japan was isolated

- Policy of isolation adopted in 1630s, restricting foreign trade to reduce the political threats associated with Western missionaries and deprive Daimyo of income.
- Attitude to Christianity very much at the heart of the issue – belief that missionaries would lead to full blown colonialism.
- All Western books banned for most of Tokugawa period.
- Foreign visitations rejected.
- Travel outside country highly limited – many who left were not allowed to return.
- Another form of social control for Tokugawa to limit the influx of any new, potentially revolutionary ideas from the West.
- Led to development of a highly indigenous socio-economic structure.
- Tokugawa Bakufu suffered from a fundamental sense of inertia and were very reluctant to review this policy, despite changing socio-economic conditions.

Extent to which Tokugawa Japan was not isolated.

- Argument that isolationism has been overstated because of a lack of understanding regarding Tokugawa society.
- Historic connection with China.
- Dutch permitted to remain in Japan – although highly controlled. They demonstrated that they were only interested in commerce. Dutch were confined to a man-made island in Nagasaki harbour.
- Dutch also influential in spread of medical knowledge.
- Also some trade with Korea and Ryukyu islands.
- Long history of cultural borrowing from China and private trade did continue.
- Western books permitted from 1720 except for Bible.
- Choshu Five visited London in 1863. They purchased weapons and ships and were helped by Scottish businessman, Thomas Glover.
- Satsuma and Choshu clans had ships built for them in Aberdeen.
- Post-Perry, and for the last decade and a half of Tokugawa rule they were forced to abandon policy of isolation.

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

- **E Tipton** 'While limiting contact with Europe, Japan thus maintained active relations with other East Asian countries, so that the image of a closed country should not be overdrawn.'
- **Peter Kornicki** 'It is common place to assert that it was Commodore Perry who was responsible for opening Japan in 1853-4, but this is misleading...Japan was never completely closed, owing to the Dutch presence in Nagasaki and the active trade conducted by Japan with China and Korea.'
- **Buruma** 'Perry's assumption of Japanese ignorance (in 1853) could not have been further from the truth. At the time of his arrival in Edo bay, the Japanese knew more about America than the Americans knew about Japan.'
- **Waswo** 'To those westerner observers who saw the return of the West to Japanese shores as the primary cause of the Meiji Restoration, it was taken as given that national seclusion had been a disaster for Japan. Deprived of the stimulus of unrestricted foreign trade and of free contact with Europe, they reckoned that the country must have stagnated economically and culturally for over 200 years. Subsequent empirical research has shown that this was not the case.'

Question 2

“The continuing importance of agriculture between 1868-1920 highlights the fact that the industrial transformation of the Japanese economy has been exaggerated.” How accurate is this view?

The aim of this essay is to examine the continuing importance of agriculture in the Meiji period within the context of wider economic development. The questions permit the candidate to engage in analysis and discussion about the relative importance of agricultural versus industrial development.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

The continued importance of agriculture

- As late as 1930 50% of the population was still dependent on agriculture.
- Until the 1920s agriculture accounted for over 25% of net domestic production.
- Rate of annual growth throughout Meiji period estimated at 1.8% annual growth in output.
- New techniques were introduced, including fertilisers. The granting of individual landownership rights also increased incentives.
- Rice remained main crop but there was diversification.
- Silk and tea production rose and contributed greatly to Japan's exports.
- The agricultural sector managed to support Japan's expanding population.
- Rice remained main crop but there was diversification.

Links between agricultural and other economic reforms

- Industrial development after 1868 partially based upon economic and commercial activities farmers had diversified into – whilst maintaining their farms.
- Nature of Japanese agriculture led to the development of a hybrid system. The uneven demands of rice production freed some of peasants (mainly female) to work in factories for part of the year.
- Silk production became a major part of Japanese economy – providing one third of Japan's exports by value on the eve of WW1 and employed large numbers of workers, competing successfully with foreign markets.

Factors which suggest industrial development not been exaggerated

- Meiji period saw the significant development of new industries, such as shipbuilding, textiles, mining, iron and steel production.
- By 1890 Japan had achieved self sufficiency in many items of military equipment.
- There were accompanying improvements in infrastructure – by 1920 almost 24 000km of track had been built.
- Development of shipping – dominated at Mitsubishi – formed the nucleus of a powerful merchant fleet.
- Development of huge monopolistic concerns – the Zaibatsu.
- Wool, cement, bricks and glass became central to the government's programme for the introduction of new industries.
- WW1 also important in furthering industrial economic expansion as they gained a stronger foothold in the export market and serves to illustrate industrial expansion not exaggerated.
- Japan made in-roads into Asian cotton markets, their merchant shipping doubled, and the end of imports from the West forced industrial development within Japan (especially in chemical industry).
- Important role played by Meiji state in encouraging industrial development can be used as evidence to suggest that it has not been exaggerated.
- Military strength and success depended upon industrial economic development.

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

- **Totman** 'The most important aspect of early Meiji growth was expansion of industrial production, which permitted both population growth and the deployment of more social resources to other tasks.'
- **Moore** 'Between Meiji Restoration and the First World War Japanese agriculture made what can be legitimately regarded as a successful adaptation to meet the economic requirements of a modern industrial society.'
- **Benson and Matsumara** 'Farming was too slow to change.'
- **Hane** 'The industry that developed rapidly from the early Meiji years and remained a key component of the economy was textile manufacture.'

Question 3

How justified is the view that the Meiji reforms were a “radical departure from the Tokugawa system of political authority and administration”?

In this question the candidate is expected to show their clear understanding of the nature of political authority and administration under the Tokugawa, and evaluate the extent to which the reforms that were introduced after the Restoration of 1868 really did alter the locus of power. Were there real changes in administration and authority or did power simply shift from one elite group to another? The emphasis is on the changes in political systems but credit will be given where candidates convincingly link in other Meiji reforms to show how radical were the changes from the ruling system of the Tokugawa.

Ways in which political reforms were a radical departure

- Radical new ideas laid down in Charter Oath such as ‘Assemblies to hold discussions to be set up and state affairs decided by open discussion’ and ‘all classes would unite to administer the state’.
- Re-establishment of emperor as central symbol of the political structure and a living deity.
- Dismantling of Bakufu-han system and the gradual destruction of the Daimyo and Samurai caste.
- Establishment of cabinet style government and a Privy Council.
- Establishment of a centralised form of government based upon a Prussian style constitution. Country divided into prefectures.
- New constitution – 1889 – establishment of parliament – lower House of Representatives and upper House of Peers.
- Provided Japan with the first Parliament east of Suez.
- Franchise granted to limited proportion of male population – 5%.
- Establishment of political parties such as the Liberal and Progressive Parties.

Ways in which political reforms were not a radical departure

- Restoration coup d’etat rather than a revolution – power simply passed from one elite to another.
- Franchise so limited that majority of population had no say in the running of country.
- Political parties heavily censored and suppressed.
- Elected House held very little power as any of their legislation could be vetoed by Upper House.
- Confucianist ideology continued to underpin much of political reform – emphasis on family structure meant notions of filial piety and loyalty remained of utmost importance – as they had been prior to 1868.
- Emperor in theory was back as the focal point of political society, but in reality his role arguably more symbolic than real.

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

- **Pyle** ‘The most noteworthy change in the political system was the growth in power and influence of the parties.’
- **Hane** ‘The diet became an institution which provided the people with a voice in government.’
- **Buruma** ‘Japanese democracy was a sickly child from the beginning’. ‘Constitution was a vaguely worded document that put sovereignty into imperial hands.’
- **Benson & Matsumura** ‘This was no western-style liberal democracy. As Article 3 of the Constitution implied, the basic aim of those drawing up the Meiji Constitution was to retain theoretically absolute (if symbolic) sovereign power in the hands of the emperor, and actual political power in the hands of the ruling elite who acted as his advisors.’

Question 4

How far had living and working conditions for most Japanese men and women improved by 1920?

The aim of this essay is to reflect upon the social and economic impact of the reforms implemented between 1868-1929 upon Japanese men and women.

Ways in which living and working conditions had improved

- Abolition of the caste structure had opened up new employment opportunities that the previous caste structure had hitherto prevented.
- Some Zaibatsu concerned themselves with the welfare of their workers.
- Funds set up to support some workers in times of sickness and retirement.
- 1911 – legislation introduced to control factory conditions which stopped the employment of children under 12 and established a 12 hour limit for boys and girls up to 15.
- Street lighting provided for towns (gas then electric).
- Trade Unions were slowly emerging, although the government (and businesses) manipulated workers by emphasising loyalty.
- Most employees in Japan remained in the same firm until retirement; therefore stability of employment was a feature.
- Skilled workers sometimes offered incentives to remain with the same firm.
- Family-like relationships developed within firms, especially in large textile firms, eg Kanebo Cotton Textile Company, who offered crèche, company houses for married couples, funeral expenses etc.
- Creation of agricultural co-operatives in 1900 – this meant farmers could form credit, consumer, marketing and producers' co-operatives. By 1913, 10 000 existed with a membership of 1 160 000.
- Whole new areas of employment opened up for women. Other women became secretaries, telephonists, teachers, nurses, clerks – growing in number after 1890.
- Introduction of new technology which eased working conditions.
- Abolition of Bakufu-han structure meant that peasants could, in theory, own their own land.
- Different impact upon different social classes. Former Samurai received large financial pay-off from Meiji authorities which many of them invested in industry and became highly successful. Contributed to the development of Zaibatsu.

Ways in which living and working conditions had not improved –

- Very long hours of work living in factory barracks which are often compared to prisons.
- Low levels of wages in some industries – especially for women.
- Women and girls were vital to the textile industry but many contracted TB and pleurisy as a result of their living and working conditions.
- City dwellers had high rents, expensive public transport and electricity.
- Trade union activity heavily suppressed through legislation such as the Peace Reservation Law.
- Young unmarried women, often sold into contracts to factory owners.
- But majority of people's lives relatively untouched as they continued to live in rural communities.
- High inflation during war years led to the price of rice increasing three fold in as many years.
- Impact of the introduction of conscription on living and working conditions.

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

- **Hane** 'In general the living conditions of the working class, rural and urban, did not improve significantly.'
- **Pyle** 'contracts were signed with the girls' parents, who received an advance that had to be paid in full if the contract were not fulfilled. Girls were thus caught between obligations to family and the severity of supervisors overseeing their work.'
- **Hane** 'Efforts to organise unions to improve the plight of the workers met with resistance by business leaders and the government.'
- **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.'
- **Tsurumi** 'Dormitories were intended to keep female workers from running away. The prison-like function is clear from their construction.'

Question 5

To what extent did the Taisho years (1912-20) mark Japan's emergence as a world power?

The aim of this essay is to evaluate the importance of the years 1912 – 1920 in Japan's emergence as a world power. WW1 was a most pivotal event during this time.

- Japan had already made much progress before 1912, with the final Unequal Treaty being eventually overturned in 1911, and victories over China and Japan, but there was still significant progress made in the Taisho years.
- Taisho years was a period of stabilisation after rapid reform of Meiji years, within the context of peaceful co-operation with the major Western powers.

Impact of WW1

- Japan joined the conflict on the winning side, acquiring Germany's Chinese sphere of influence in Shantung, extending its control of Manchuria and its overall influence on China.
- Taisho years witnessed imperial expansion becoming more aggressive and planned – 21 Demands in 1915 which was interpreted by the West as an attempt to bring China under its control.
- From 1915 Japanese industry underwent considerable expansion because it was able to capture markets from European powers actively involved in the war eg the Indian markets for textiles had been dominated by Lancashire products before 1914.
- Japan emerged on the winning side in 1918 virtually as a non-combatant without having incurred any of the costs of war, unlike Britain and America.
- Significance of Japan's participation in Paris Peace Conference – confirmation of Japan's position as a Westernised nation.
- Became a council member of the new League of Nations.
- The expansion of other Japanese industries, for example ship building and heavy engineering.

Taisho Democracy

- Political parties in the Diet came to dominate the cabinets – influenced by other world powers and their interactions with them.
- Influenced by foreign developments (such as Russian Revolution, establishment of Labour Party) led to demands for more social justice and equality, advanced by social movements of the period.

Evidence which suggests Japan still not viewed as a world power

- Japan's desire for racial equality clause as part of League of Nations Charter was not accepted.
- Although maintained control of the former German Mariana Islands, it was through a League mandate rather than outright ownership.
- Attitude in US to Japanese immigration – 1908 they attempted to limit the flow of Japanese migrants, not allowed to own land in California.

Evidence which suggests Japan had achieved world power status before the Taisho years.

- Victory over China then Russia.
- Overturning final vestige of Unequal Treaty in 1911.
- Signing of Alliance with Britain in 1902.

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

- **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.'
- **Benson and Matsumura** 'The rejection by the Powers of Japanese proposals for the inclusion of a racial equality clause in the Versailles Settlement heightened the grievance of the Japanese towards the unequal treatment to which the coloured races were subjected by Western peoples.'
- **R. Storry** 'It was not long before Japan became a creditor instead of a debtor among the nations.'
- **Pyle** 'The outbreak of WW1 in Europe in the summer of 1914 provided extraordinary opportunities to advance the twin objectives of empire and industry.'

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

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing views on the structure of Japanese society in the mid-nineteenth century? **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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A and B** towards the nature of Japanese society in the mid-nineteenth century, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

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

Accurate comment on **Source A** a primary source, written by Yoshida Shoin, who had tried and failed to travel to America with Perry's squadron. He was highly critical of the Bakufu's handling of dealing with the West, and embarked upon acts of terrorism to alert and hopefully change society. He was executed for showing disrespect to a higher authority.

Points from source which show, by more than mere repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- He argues that the Tokugawa have not been selecting and utilising all the capable individuals within Japan in their governing of the country.
- This has undermined 'sound government' by not incorporating all men of talent
- This has undermined loyalty and potential military success.
- In addition, the peasants have become so over-burdened with taxation that their loyalty to the Tokugawa state is on the wane.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- The rigidity of the caste structure did prevent men of merit born outwith the Daimyo caste from participating within ruling elite.
- In addition, the sub-division of the Daimyo into the Tozama and Fudai further reduced the number of potential administrators.
- There were increased numbers of peasant uprisings in the latter half of the nineteenth century, illustrating the increased levels of peasant discontent.
- Taxation levels had increased as the Daimyo and Samurai had fallen into debt to the merchants due to their extravagant lifestyles.

Source B

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Crump is positive about Japanese society in the mid-nineteenth century.
- He argues that the foundations for modern development were already in place.
- He highlights the high degree of urbanisation in the growth of castle towns such as Edo and the development of commercialisation.
- He gives the impression that the Tokugawa government was organised and rational, which led to an orderly and stable society.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Development of Castle towns during Tokugawa period stimulated commercial activity.
- Many peasants became engaged in commercial pursuits as well as agriculture.
- Growing influence of the merchants – movement away from rice based to money based economy already occurring.
- Tokugawa had created a stable, organised decentralised form of government that had brought order and stable to Japan for many years.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- Sources offering two contrasting interpretations about the effectiveness of the Tokugawa and their implementation of a stable social structure.
- The Ruling elite, the Tokugawa, only controlled 25% of the land, so had to enforce a rigid form of social control to ensure their stability.
- Their difficulty in implementing the Tempo Reforms highlights the difficulty the ruling elite were beginning to experience towards the end of their reign.
- High rates of literacy in Japanese society during Tokugawa times.

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

- **Berry** 'The Tokugawa shogunate was not conspicuous in public life. The Bakufu created no judiciary, assembled no bureaucracy, and opened no public treasury. It capitalised on medieval forms of attachment.'
- **Hane** 'In order to ensure political and social stability the Tokugawa Bakufu set out a rigid class system.'
- **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.'
- **Hane** 'Economic difficulties that the Bakufu and Daimyo domains were experiencing weakened that feudal order and caused discontent among the lower level Samurai and commoners.'

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 understanding the structure of Japanese society in the mid-nineteenth century.

Question 2

How useful is Source C in explaining the nature of educational reforms implemented by the Meiji Regime? 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 nature of educational reforms implemented by the Meiji Regime, in terms of:

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

- Mori Arinori, Satsuma Samurai, visited West in 1865.
- Became minister of Education in 1885 – he established Japan's pre-war education system with its rigidly centralised lower schools.
- Assassinated in 1889.

Points from source which show, by more than mere repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Cultivation of organisation cohesion where orders of those in authority taken in good faith and acted upon smoothly and without delay.
- Camaraderie– aim of fostering a sense of common belonging to a particular organisation and ultimately an efficient administration – overcome rivalries between clans and factions.
- Sense of duty – when a person is given an order they follow it with a sense of professional responsibility.
- Highlights the importance of education reform in underpinning all of the other work of the Meiji regime – if they achieved their education reforms the majority (nine tenths) of their work would be achieved.

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

- Attempting to establish for the first time a national educational system under a recently established cabinet system and national bureaucracy.
- Meiji government viewed education as a primary means of developing a sense of nation.
- Such ideas went on to form the basis of the Imperial Rescript on Education (1889).
- Moral education based upon a combination of traditional cultural values and modern nationalism became the core of the school curriculum.
- The divine position of the Emperor is very much exploited within the Imperial Rescript to enforce a compliant attitude and unquestioning sense of responsibility towards the Japanese state.
- Japanese people defined as subjects of an absolute monarch rather than citizens in a democratic state.
- Confucian notions of loyalty and filial piety obvious in the Rescript.
- In addition there was modern emphasis on upholding the constitution and the law, and being willing to sacrifice oneself for the nation state.

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

- Immediately after the Restoration and Iwakura Mission there had been some Westernisation of the education system in Japan.
- School system introduced in 1872 had followed a centralised French model, but had within it considerable diversity.
- Curriculum from the West had been adopted and Christian-based schools established.
- The cost of schooling meant attendance rates rose slowly.
- By the late 1880s there was a desire for a more uniform and centralised system designed to serve state purpose – hence the Imperial Rescript.
- Fees were abolished in 1899 – by 1909 almost 100% of boys and girls attended primary school.
- The proportion of commoners in middle schools and universities rose to over 50%.
- Gender inequality still existed – girls did not have access to education beyond the compulsory 4 years until 1899, when at least one girls' higher school set up within each prefecture.
- Universities remained accessible only to males.

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

- **Tipton** 'The government's attempt to define Japan and Japaneseness with the imperial institution at its core may be seen in the shift in education policy which took place in the late 1880s.'
- **Jansen** 'He (Mori) was concerned with the role of education in nation building, and with the primacy of state over personal interest...and was convinced of the importance of the imperial institution for education in Japan of the future.'
- **Benson & Matsumura** 'Those who came to power in 1868 made it one of their priorities to establish a new system of education which would further the aims of the new state...There is no denying that the system which was put in place from the 1870s onwards was both highly centralised and tightly controlled. Its aims were to enable Japan to compete with her rivals in the west, to encourage meritocratic competition and to bind the nation together by inculcating...unquestioning loyalty to the emperor and those who ruled in his name.'
- **Jansen** 'Mori was concerned with the role of education in nation building, and with the primacy of the state over personal interests. Education was not only for the pupils, but for the state of the country.'

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 in explaining the nature of educational reform during the Meiji period.

Question 3

How fully does Source D explain the consequences of the Treaty of Portsmouth?

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** and the extent to which it explains the consequences of the Treaty of Portsmouth in terms of:

Provenance appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from source which show, by more than mere repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Russia forced to recognise Japan's interest in Korea.
- Treaty highlights Japan's progress towards being recognised as a global power.
- There was a rebirth of patriotism and loyalty – including the British following their experience in the Boer War.
- Made other nations realise the power of nationalism and other nationalities who often were victims of imperialist powers – such as the Arabs.

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

- Defeat of Russia forced the rest of the world to take notice of Japan. American President especially impressed. Transfer of power from Russia to Japan in many areas.
- They gained control of the Southern Manchuria Railroad rights and Korea recognised as their sphere of influence.
- Gained Liaotung Peninsula especially significant following the humiliation of the Tripartite Intervention 1874.
- Korea viewed as 'dagger pointing to heart of Japan' – falling within Japanese sphere of influence viewed as crucial in securing the safety of Japan.
- Japanese victory did inspire many nationalist groups across the globe – especially those subjected to colonisation.
- Treaty of Portsmouth also fuelled growing discontent towards Russian Tsar.

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

- Gained territories – Liaotung Peninsula and southern half of Sakhalin.
- Source fails to mention the huge nationalist backlash against the Treaty of Portsmouth within Japan itself. Sept 1905 angry crowds rioted for 3 days in Tokyo against the Treaty of Portsmouth. Martial law was imposed upon the capital for a few days.
- The nation had been whipped up into such a sense of patriotism and nationalism, fuelled by government propaganda, that they felt the Treaty was not harsh enough upon Russia. There was an overwhelming sense of betrayal.
- The lack of indemnity was a particular bone of contention.
- Treaty paved the way for the full annexation of Korea in 1911.
- Victory and the Treaty undoubtedly contributed towards the overturning of the final vestige of the Unequal Treaties in 1911, and Japan's participation within the Paris Peace Conference.
- Defeat of Russia heightened Western fears of the emergence of an Asian or 'Oriental' imperialist power – the 'yellow peril'.

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

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

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 consequences of the Treaty of Portsmouth.

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

“Simply the consequence of the old political structure crumbling away in the face of defeat.” How justified is this explanation of the reasons for the German Revolution of 1918-1919?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to discuss the reasons for the German Revolution of 1918-1919. Candidates could be expected to discuss the crumbling of the old regime as a reason for the revolution and weigh this up against other factors that led to revolution.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Points suggesting that the revolution was the consequence of the old political structure crumbling away in the face of defeat

- Even before the war there were deep divisions in German society and these divisions and tensions were exacerbated during the war in spite of the Kaiser’s attempt to create a civil truce (*Burgfrieden*) for the war’s duration.
- By 1917 the civil truce was breaking down. Many people, especially socialists, questioned why Germany was still fighting.
- By August 1918 the failure of the German offensive begun in March completely undermined the credibility and authority of the old regime and in particular the authority of the army itself – a key institution in the *Kaiserreich* – began to disintegrate.
- To the SPD leaders Ebert and Scheidemann the war and the prospect of defeat increased the stresses and strains on the old order that had been present before the war. It was the mistaken policies of the old regime, they argued, that led to Germany’s collapse and thence to revolution and not revolution that led to Germany’s collapse.
- When spontaneous protests spread across the country in the course of late October/early November 1918 the old regime offered little resistance because it no longer could.
- The collapse of monarchy (culminating in the Kaiser’s abdication on 9 November 1918) was as much a cause of revolution as a consequence of it.

Points suggesting that the crumbling of the old order in the face of defeat is not a sufficient explanation of the reasons for the revolution

- There was a revolution ‘from above’ generated by the actions of the German High Command itself. On 29 September 1918 Ludendorff recommended that a new civilian government be formed and that it should negotiate an armistice.
- On 3/4th October Prince Max von Baden was appointed Chancellor at the head of a majority government including Socialists (SPD) and Centre and Liberal politicians, and based on the Reichstag.
- By the end of the month Baden’s ‘October Reforms’ were complete and Germany had become a constitutional monarchy. The Chancellor and secretaries of state were now responsible to the Reichstag, the Kaiser’s power over the army was curtailed and parliamentary reforms were set in motion in Prussia and in other German states.
- But there was also a revolution ‘from below’ that was in part precipitated by dissatisfaction with Baden’s reforms (even after the October Reforms the Kaiser was still on his throne, a prince was still in charge, in towns and cities across the country people were suffering from privations, and the war still continued).
- An attempt by German admiralty to send the High Seas Fleet out for one last engagement with the British navy provoked mutinies in Kiel and Wilhelmshaven that are usually viewed as the first actions in the popular revolution.

- In the wake of the naval mutinies, soviets sprung up across the country, troops deserted from the front, strikes in towns and cities multiplied and people's shock at defeat was transformed into anger.
- The proclamation of a Bavarian Republic on November 8 (following the actions of the Independent Socialists there led by Kurt Eisner) highlighted for Baden and his cabinet the gravity of the situation.
- As strikes and popular unrest threatened to get out of hand, Baden (with the support of the Generals and the SPD) forced the Kaiser to abdicate and handed power to Ebert on 9 November 1918.
- A German Republic was proclaimed on 9 November and the new government set about implementing constitutional changes that would further transform Germany.
- Influence of the Russian Revolution.

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

- **William Carr** The German Revolution, like the February Revolution in Russia [in 1917], 'was spontaneous in its origins. As the old order crumbled away under the strain of war and defeat, a political vacuum appeared which the politically active sections of the people filled.'
- **Ruth Henig** Even before the war Germany was 'a dynamic but deeply divided society'. The war did nothing to resolve pre-existing political, social and economic tensions and indeed exacerbated them. In the wake of defeat a revolutionary situation was created by those pushing for far reaching reforms, by the reluctance of the Kaiser to accept any changes, by the ill-judged attempt of the German admiralty to order a last-ditch attack on the British navy, and by revolutionary Marxists who saw in defeat and the ending of the war their chance to overthrow capitalism and to establish a workers' state of the kind that had been set up by the Bolsheviks in Russia.
- **E Kolb** When Germans' belief in victory faded and military defeat was in sight 'the political and social tensions of the German Empire, which were partly latent and partly manifest, rapidly developed into an acute political crisis that ended in the collapse of the state, the coming of the revolution and the founding of the republic'.
- **Detlev Peukert** The Revolution from below took place in the context of the collapse of the monarchy. Indeed, the speed with which popular protest spread in the first week of November 1918 and the fact that protests assumed the same form everywhere across the country 'demonstrated that the military and civil structures of the monarchy had forfeited all remnants of their legitimacy'.

Question 2

How serious was the crisis faced by Germany in 1923?

The aim of this essay is to enable candidates to discuss the seriousness of the economic and political impact of hyperinflation on the Weimar Republic in 1923. Some candidates may choose to weigh up the political impact against the economic impact, others the seriousness of the impact of hyperinflation against other factors that caused serious difficulties for the Republic in 1923.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Points suggesting that the 1923 crisis was very serious for the Republic:

- The devastating impact of the hyperinflation crisis on savings and fixed incomes meant that many among the middle classes were ruined. They never recovered confidence in the Republic and democracy, and indeed in the period from 1924 deserted the parties of the middle ground in particular the DDP and moved gradually towards the right. The fragmentation of middle class political parties created space in later years for the growth of extremist parties.
- Among the working classes the purchasing power of wages was reduced to nothing in 1923. They were not saved from destitution by trade unions or by the dominant socialist party – the SPD or by the rights that the Constitution guaranteed. Consequently, for workers the memory of the 1923 crisis was never very far away and it significantly and negatively affected their attitude towards the Republic and democracy.
- Extremist parties, especially the Nazis and the Communists, were able to use the 1923 crisis to stoke up peoples' insecurities and in particular blamed the crisis on the weaknesses and failings of democracy and capitalism.
- In the agricultural sector farmers initially benefited from the hyperinflation because they could pay off their mortgages with depreciated currency, for example. But in the longer term the Great Inflation did nothing to ease the structural problems of German agriculture and farmers blamed the 'Weimar system' for this.
- The fact that many landowners and industrialists benefited from the hyperinflation crisis while working people and many among the middle classes were left destitute meant that many voters lost confidence in the power of democratic institutions even to deliver basic fairness.

Points suggesting that other factors presented serious difficulties for the Republic:

- Although the hyperinflation did occasion loss of faith in democracy among some people, much more serious – even before 1923 – was the impact of the Treaty of Versailles.
- The territorial clauses of Versailles, reparations and the 'War Guilt' clause caused fundamental disaffection with the republic and this disaffection was then accelerated by the hyperinflation crisis.
- Extremist parties, especially right wing extremists like the Nazis, gained much more political capital out of their attacks on Versailles in part because the hyperinflation crisis while a disaster for Germans and Germany was nevertheless brief and Stresemann managed to restore stability remarkably quickly.
- Frequent attacks on the Republic from political extremists (the Kapp *putsch* of March 1920, for example) before 1923 and the fact that these attacks were sometimes very serious contributed to a feeling that democracy was weak and that a more authoritarian system would be better than the democracy delivered by the revolution and the Constitution.
- Voters were also increasingly sceptical about the Republic and democracy because of the fact that government was by coalitions, which were formed without recourse to the wishes or views of the electorate. The horse-trading that went on behind the scenes after elections alienated voters because deals were struck by the politicians regardless of what voters had actually voted for. This too was a problem that pre-dated the crisis of 1923 and was exacerbated by it.

- Some people among the middle classes may have had particular cause to turn against the Republic because of the 1923 crisis, but middle class disillusion was also rooted in suspicion of the revolution settlement. For many the revolution had taken Germany too far to the left and had made too many concessions to socialism.
- The impact of the hyperinflation crisis was not enough to destroy the Republic and indeed its true impact was not felt until the Great Depression. It was at this point that many people feared a re-run of 1923 and lost all faith in the Republic and democracy.

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

- **Detlev Peukert** The dramatic breakdown in 1923 had a profound effect on the German psyche and left a long-lasting psychological scar that undermined faith in democracy.
- **Mary Fulbrook** The psychological shock of the hyperinflation crisis 'eroded democratic values' and caused 'a heightened fear of the possibility of economic instability.'
- **Eberhard Kolb** The hyperinflation crisis 'unnerved the population' to such an extent that its specific short term effects combined with living under the fear of its return to create a deep unease about the effectiveness of democracy.
- **Hans Mommsen** The desperate conditions that had been created by the hyperinflation crisis encouraged a process of extreme political polarisation.
- **A J Nicholls** Popular faith in the Republican system 'was badly, and in some cases permanently shaken' by the events of 1923. The collapse of the currency 'left behind it a legacy of resentment', especially among the lower middle class.

Question 3

How important were economic factors in the collapse of the Weimar Republic, 1929-33?

The aim of this question is to enable candidates to examine critically the contribution of the effects of the Great Depression to the collapse of the Republic and to compare the contribution of economic factors with other factors that contributed to that collapse.

Points supporting the view that economic factors are very important in any explanation of the collapse of the Republic:

- Germany's economy was heavily dependent on loans before 1929 (the Dawes Plan) and one consequence of this was that when the slump hit Germany, American loans were withdrawn, especially from 1931 onwards.
- Between 1929 and 1932 production nearly halved and unemployment rose to 6 million. This mass unemployment was a powerful signal that the Weimar Republic was in deep crisis and many Germans concluded that it had to go.
- The slump led to rapidly growing support for extremist parties and seemed to confirm all their criticisms of the democratic republic and so fuelled disillusion and resentment of it.
- Democratic government was discredited not least because little action was taken to counter the Depression. The social fabric of the country was breaking down and there was increasing demand for strong, decisive government.
- Brüning's chancellorship in particular failed to resolve the crisis quickly enough and indeed the fact that his policies made matters worse strengthened opposition to the Republic among extremists like the Nazis but also among industrialists, the army and large landowners in the east.
- The crisis for the Republic was highlighted and heightened by the presidential elections of 1932 in the course of which Hitler received 11.3 million votes to Hindenburg's 18.5 million.
- The policies of the Stresemann years had not in fact produced a real recovery but rather the appearance of recovery. Many of the structural problems of the German economy were not resolved during the so-called 'Golden Years' so much so that when the financial crisis of 1929 broke Germany was in no position to be able to weather the storm.
- Even before the 1929 crash there were clear signs that Germany was in a vulnerable state. In particular the agricultural depression beginning in late 1927-early 1928 created a substantial minority of voters in the countryside who were embittered by the failure of the Republic and expressed their bitterness by voting for the Nazis after 1929 – the 'farmers' revenge'.

Points supporting the view that other factors are important in any explanation of the collapse of the Republic:

- Long before the Depression of 1929 support for, and confidence in the Republic had been eroded because of continuing resentment of the Treaty of Versailles.
- The Right in particular were able to capitalise on resentment of the Treaty and were able to present the Dawes Plan and then the Young Plan as yet further examples of the Republicans' willingness to capitulate to the demands of Versailles and so to the allies.
- The rise of the Nazi Party in particular was an important reason for the collapse of the Republic. Although it is true that the Nazis benefited from the depression it is also the case that they were in a strong position to benefit. Hitler's charismatic leadership, the Nazis' effective propaganda, the actions of the SA and the organisation of the party at local and regional level together meant that the Nazis were well-placed to exploit the fear and resentment that the Depression caused among all sections of the population.
- The strength of the Nazis was aided by the fact that the left opposition was divided. The socialist parties – the SPD and the KPD in particular – found it impossible to work together to oppose the Nazis. The KPD never forgave the SPD for the crushing of the Spartacist uprising in 1919 and the KPD was also, by this point, being directed by the Comintern and followed its line of not cooperating with 'social-fascist' parties like the SPD.

- The KPD, whose vote rose during the Depression years, was fiercely opposed to democracy and added to the sense of a system in terminal decline.
- The actions of the political elite from 1930 onwards must also be placed at the centre of any explanation of the collapse of the Republic. It was this political elite that from 1930 allowed and encouraged government by presidential decree so undermining democracy and paving the way for authoritarian government.
- Furthermore, it was the actions of the elite which led directly to the appointment of Hitler as chancellor in January 1933.

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

- **William Carr** The collapse of the Republic was 'a complex historical phenomenon into which many separate strands were interwoven'; the shock of the Depression, the paralysing effects of unemployment on the parties of the left, the tenuous roots of parliamentary democracy, the failure of the parties of the left to coalesce against the Nazis, the power and drive of Hitler's movement, the intrigues of the political elite around Hindenburg – 'all these factors played a part in this tragedy.'
- **Eberhard Kolb** The downfall of the Republic ought 'to be imputed first and foremost to...the nationalist and authoritarian opponents of the Weimar democracy who mounted a major offensive against the state and destroyed it by unscrupulous methods.'
- **Detlev Peukert** The end of the Republic did not happen overnight and was not the product of any single set of causes. But after 1930 in particular, the presidential regimes destroyed the Republican constitution.
- **Eric Weitz** 'The toll of the war and the Versailles Treaty, hyperinflation, and, finally, the Depression left a battered population that by the winter of 1932 was desperate for some solution...'

Question 4

To what extent did the Nazis succeed in creating a *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community) between 1933 and 1939?

The aim of this question is to enable candidates to discuss the extent to which the Nazis managed to achieve the goals of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. In other words, how successful were the Nazis in creating a racially pure state in which 'traditional' gender roles were maintained, young people were ideologically motivated and not disaffected, workers were content and social harmony instead of class strife prevailed.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

A review of evidence pointing to the success of policies designed to create a *Volksgemeinschaft*. This could include:

Policies for the workers. For example:

- The destruction of the existing working class organisations including the trade unions and the socialist political parties and their replacement by the German Labour Front.
- The Nazis attempted to win the support of the workers by a combination of material improvement and state welfare. The economic recovery after 1933 created around 6 million jobs and was vital in attracting the working class to the regime and its ideology.
- Thousands of workers got jobs in public works schemes, labour service or, after 1935, in the army.
- The *Beauty of Labour* organisation was set up to persuade employers to improve the conditions of workers; the *Strength through Joy* organisation was set up to reward loyal workers with evening classes, recitals, art exhibitions, package holidays.
- Most workers enjoyed increases in real wages after 1933 and skilled workers prospered with a return to full employment by 1936.

Policies for the *Mittelstand*. For example:

- Policies were also directed at persuading the *Mittelstand* to embrace Nazi ideology. Cut-price competition between businesses was banned; the state and party agencies gave preferential treatment to small businesses; the establishment of new department stores was banned on 12 May 1933; the state made available low interest loans and a share of confiscated Jewish trade.

Policies for peasant farmers. For example:

- The Nazis put forward a policy of 'Blood and Soil' in an attempt to protect a healthy and economically secure rural community. Tariffs on imported foods were increased and farmers' debts were cancelled; an attempt was made to safeguard small and middling sized farmers by the *Reich Entailed Law* of 29 September 1933 which identified farms of 30 acres as being hereditary farms which had to be passed on to the eldest son without being broken up. As a result of such interventions farming income did recover from post-1929 levels.

Policies for women. For example:

- Nazi ideology stressed that women should be confined to the domestic sphere and that their duty was to produce healthy Aryan children, uphold conservative family values and comfort their husbands in their service to the state – *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (Children, Kitchen, Church)
- On 10 May Robert Ley announced the creation of the *Women's Front*. All 230 of Germany's women's organisations had to expel Jewish members and integrate into the Women's Front or be disbanded.

- In 1933 nearly all of the 19 000 female civil servants lost their jobs as did around 15% of women teachers.
- In the first years of the regime the number of women in employment generally remained low.
- In 1933 marriage loans of up to 1000RM were offered to newlyweds on the grounds that the wife would not work outside the home. By 1937 70 000 married couples had received a loan

Policies for the youth. For example:

- The establishment from 1933 of the Hitler Youth for boys aged 14-18 and the *League of German Girls* for girls aged 14-17. The Hitler Youth offered a wide range of activities to its male members from outdoor pursuits to music interspersed with lots of drill and PE. This was an attempt to prepare boys for military service later on. By contrast the League of German Girls was designed to prepare girls for a purely domestic role later in life and so focused activities related to keeping house and rearing children.
- 'Coordination' of school teachers: by 1937 97% of teachers had joined the National Socialist Teachers' League. Members had to attend one month training courses that stressed Nazi ideology and physical fitness.
- The Nazification of the curriculum. For instance, History and Biology became vehicles for the inculcation of nationalism and racism.

Policies to exclude 'racial undesirables' from the German Volk. For example:

- The Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service, April 7 1933, banned all Jews from employment; the Nuremberg Laws of September 1935 forbade marriage between Jews and 'Aryans' and deprived Jews of citizenship; the '*Kristallnacht*' pogrom of November 1938; the Decrees for the Exclusion of Jews from Economic Life of November 1938.
- Policies attacking other 'biological outsiders': the Roma and Sinti; homosexuals; mentally and physically 'handicapped'.

Policies on the churches. For example:

- The *Concordat* with the Roman Catholic Church, July 1933. Church and state agreed to respect each other's roles.
- The creation of a Reich Church to co-ordinate all Protestant churches.

A review of evidence pointing to a lack of success for Nazi policies designed to create a *Volksgemeinschaft*. This could include:

- By 1936 there were growing signs of workers' discontent expressed in, for example, go-slows, absenteeism and rapid turnover of staff.
- By 1936 there were increasing levels of boredom, mistrust and indifference to the regime among the workers.
- Although there was economic recovery, workers increasingly resented the regimentation of their lifestyle and did not trust state propaganda.
- The policy of rearmament after 1936 favoured big business and the small craft industries could not compete. The number of self-employed craft workers – the backbone of the *Mittelstand* – fell by half a million between 1936 and 1939.
- After 1933 farming income did recover but from 1937 it fell again as labour costs rose yet prices stayed fixed.
- Nazi policies on women in fact failed to keep women out of the labour market. Between 1933 and 1939 the number of women working actually increased from over 11 million to over 14 million.
- The birth rate did not rise dramatically as a result of Nazi policies but in fact remained fairly constant throughout the 1930s.

- Initial enthusiasm for the youth organisations gave way to increasing disillusion with Nazi ideology and the repetitive, quasi-military aspects of activities.
- The Nazis' attempts to replace the influence of Christianity failed. Indeed membership of the churches remained high and was strengthened by Nazi anti-church policies.

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

- **Evans and Jenkins** Hitler's determination to create the *Volksgemeinschaft* of Aryans of a healthy physical and mental condition 'proved to be the most consistent, coherent and revolutionary aspect of Nazism.'
- **Ian Kershaw** One aspect of the attempt to create the *Volksgemeinschaft* was the removal of the Jews from participation in German society. In this the Nazis were completely successful. Otherwise the attempt to create the *Volksgemeinschaft* was not successful. The churches still retained people's loyalty; there was little change in traditional class loyalties, especially among the workers; the impact on the youth was limited and signs of tension, conflict and opposition among youth were apparent by the later 1930s.
- **Tim Kirk** Despite 'the ambitious rhetoric of its propaganda' the Nazi regime did not bring about the *Volksgemeinschaft*.
- **B Sax and D Kuntz** The Nazis only partially realised National Socialist ideology...Failure resulted from inner contradictions within the ideology itself and from the gap between Nazi ideals and the realities of German society...Nazi policy often ignored the great difficulties confronting modern industrial societies, and it therefore failed to create the *Volksgemeinschaft*.
- **Jill Stephenson** The creation of the *Volksgemeinschaft* was 'an aspiration of the Nazi leadership that remained at best only partially fulfilled.' As an ideal it had considerable appeal in the early 1930s, but ultimately the kind of commitment the theorists of the *Volksgemeinschaft* required was lacking.

Question 5

How important was the “Hitler Myth” in maintaining Nazi rule in Germany, 1933-39?

The aim of this question is to enable candidates to examine the contribution of the “Hitler Myth” in the Nazi rule of Germany and weigh up its contribution against other factors that were crucial in maintaining Nazi rule.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Commentary on the importance of the “Hitler Myth” in the Nazi rule of Germany 1933-39 that might include evidence such as:

- The “Hitler Myth” was fundamental in the Nazi rule of Germany and was successful in part because he was a charismatic leader who inspired real devotion. But it was also the product of powerful propaganda.
- The “Hitler Myth” contributed to Hitler’s great personal popularity after 1933. By the late 1930s, 90% of Germans admired him.
- The “Hitler Myth” was a unifying factor in that it brought Germans together.
- Through the successful propagation of the myth, Hitler came to be viewed as the saviour of the nation: the leader who had wrought an ‘economic miracle’, the leader who represented selflessness and justice, the leader who understood the ordinary German people, the leader who would defend Germany against its enemies – external and internal.
- The myth also enabled the regime to paper over the cracks and disguise real failures (which could be blamed on other party leaders but not Hitler).
- The myth was reinforced by Hitler’s successes in foreign policy - the Rhineland (1936), the *Anschluss* (1938), the takeover of the Sudetenland (1938).
- Such was the strength of the myth that it enabled Hitler to bypass the Civil Service, the Judiciary, and other institutions of the state so there were few restraints on him.

Commentary on other factors that were important in the Nazi rule of Germany 1933-39 that might include evidence such as:

- There can be little doubt about the centrality of Hitler in the Nazi regime but he was not much involved in day-to-day decision-making and administrative matters.
- Hitler was in fact surrounded by party leaders and officials who set themselves the task of interpreting the Fuhrer’s will, and drawing up and implementing policies accordingly.
- This process of ‘working towards the Fuhrer’ was crucial in the Nazi regime. It refers to the fact that other party leaders and officials competed to win his approval and often therefore came up with extremely radical plans and policies.
- Other party leaders were central to Nazi rule including in particular Goebbels (Nazi propaganda chief) and Himmler (SS chief and so head of all the apparatus of the police-state).
- Propaganda was a key aspect of the Nazi regime. Propaganda was responsible for the spread of the “Hitler Myth” but the Nazis also deployed propaganda relentlessly and sought to use all aspects of culture and society as vehicles of propaganda.
- The SS-Gestapo was another important tool of Nazi rule. Not only did the SS-Gestapo instil fear, the SS and the Gestapo really did carry out brutal acts of repression.
- For the most part, traditional power structures were nazified and went on to serve the Nazi state. Thus, for example, civil servants generally enacted Nazi laws and the courts and the legal system adapted to the new regime. However, the Nazis increasingly operated outside these structures altogether so that the Civil Service was simply by-passed and acted outside the law.
- The Nazi Party was also important in the Nazi regime. In particular the regional party bosses – the *Gauleiters* – directly influenced how Germans experienced Nazi rule. The *Gauleiters* ensured that people kept, and were kept, in line, and headed regional

- bureaucracies running a hierarchical party. They communicated directly with Hitler and often successfully resisted the directives from central government that they did not like.
- Support for the Nazi regime was also generated by the apparent success of Nazi economic policies. For example, the Nazis were able to claim that their government's intervention in the economy had ended unemployment and had assisted economic recovery.
 - The Nazis also gained popular support because there were real triumphs in Hitler's foreign policy. For example, Hitler had consistently said that once in power he would 'smash Versailles' and that is indeed exactly what he did. In March 1935, for instance, he announced that Germany now had a military air force and that he would be reintroducing conscription to build up an army of 750 000 – each of these actions was a clear breach of the Treaty of Versailles, but no action was taken by Britain or France or the League of Nations against Germany.
 - Other foreign policy initiatives that were also breaches of Versailles and were even more popular included the remilitarisation of the Rhineland (March 1936) and the *Anschluss* with Austria (March 1938) and the transfer of the Sudetenland to Germany (September 1938). And again, no action was taken by Britain or France or the League of Nations against Germany.

The candidate may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentaries to support their views. These may include reference to:

- **Ian Kershaw** Adulation of Hitler made the person of the Fuhrer 'the focal point of basic consensus' and formed 'a crucial integratory force' in the Nazi system of rule; that is, it brought most Germans together and had a strong emotional appeal. The "Hitler Myth" legitimated the actions of the regime, defused opposition and enabled Hitler to be freed from the constraints of traditional political elites and institutions. It sustained the regime and helped to cover up its failures.
- **Robert Gellately** The crucial factor in the Nazi rule of Germany was the willingness of most people to go along with it or at least not oppose it. So, for example, however frightening the police state was, the efficient functioning of what was a seriously understaffed secret police was dependent on the cooperation of ordinary Germans in denouncing their fellow citizens.
- **Roderick Stackelberg** The linchpin of the Nazi system of rule was Adolf Hitler, who made or approved all final decisions on matters of strategy and policy.
- **Jeremy Noakes** The Nazi Party and the SS were crucial organisations in implementing Nazi rule. So, for instance, at regional level the *Gauleiters*, who were directly responsible to Hitler, played a key role in governing the country. The SS controlled the police and its own prison camp system and this gave it 'awesome power'.

Germany: Versailles to the Outbreak of the Second World War

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the reasons for the suppression of the Spartacist Revolt in January 1919? **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 and 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 evaluation of **Source A** as an adequate explanation of the reasons for the suppression of the Spartacist Revolt in terms of:

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

- Arnold Brecht was a civil servant working in government at the time of the suppression of the Spartacists and was in a position to know the 'mind' of the government; that is, the workings of government politicians and policies from the inside.

Points from source which show by more than repetition alone that the candidate has interpreted the significant views:

- The success of Spartacism would have led to the formation of a Communist Germany.
- Ebert, Scheidemann and the SPD wanted to avoid a Bolshevik-style revolution at all costs.
- The majority of people in Germany at the time did not support the Spartacists.
- Ebert and the SPD in 1918-19 understood that the priority had to be to stabilise the country following the disaster of defeat.

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

- In the wake of the revolution 'from below' (late October/early November 1918) Max von Baden, fearful that he could no longer prevent the spread of Bolshevism and a slide into civil war, handed power to Ebert and the Social Democrats.
- Ebert's determination to pursue a moderate revolution was illustrated by his anger at Scheidemann's unilateral declaration of a Republic from a window/balcony in the Reichstag on 9 November 1918 and the Ebert-Groener Pact of 10 November 1919 which secured the army's support for the new regime.
- Ebert feared that the Soviets that had been spreading across the country following the naval mutinies at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven could be taken over by Communists and used as a springboard for a Bolshevik-style revolution.
- The German Communists were not sitting back waiting on events but were actively engaged in fighting with extremists nationalists in the streets of Berlin and other major cities. This further fuelled Ebert's concerns about a breakdown of law and order and a slide into civil war.
- The Spartacist Uprising was bloodily suppressed by the army and the *Freikorps* under the terms of the Ebert-Groener Pact.

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

- Brecht's view that most Germans, including most among the working classes, supported Ebert is broadly correct. Most Germans were weary from war and its privations and wanted peace and stability to be established as quickly as possible.
- The majority of Soviets were opposed to the radical revolution demanded by the Communists but Ebert could not be sure how long that would last and so had to act against the Spartacists in an effort to consolidate his position.
- The middle classes and the members of the institutions of government – the Civil Service, the Judiciary, the Army – were deeply hostile to Communism and afraid of it, and Ebert knew that he would need these institutions if he was to restore stability and set up a parliamentary democracy and return Germany to law and order and good government.
- Although the actual number of Spartacists was small – perhaps as few as 5 000 – Ebert was aware that he was waging an ideological battle he had to win if the Republic was to survive.
- In December 1918 there were an increasing amount of armed clashes in Berlin and at the end of the month, the USPD representatives left the government. Ebert was more concerned than ever, then, about a Communist uprising.
- Given the violent talk and actions of the Spartacists he felt he had no alternative but to crack down hard. He was acutely aware, as were all Germans, of the turn of events in Russia and the prospect of similar revolution and civil war developing in Germany filled him with horror.

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

- **Paul Bookbinder** Ebert saw Germany's defeat as an opportunity for real political and economic reform, but he was opposed to radical transformation. He feared that a radical revolution would provoke Britain and France to abandon the ceasefire and invade Germany. He also feared that a radical revolution would reduce the chance of cooperation between socialists and members of moderate parties which he thought was the basis for a stable Germany.
- **Eberhard Kolb** The primary aim of the SPD leaders from November 9 onwards was to convene a national assembly (based on parliamentary elections) as soon as possible. It was, in their view, for the national assembly, and it alone, to take decisions as to the future organisation of state and society.
- **A J Nicholls** Ebert was 'not a man to risk chaos.' In view of Germany's desperate situation and the confusion of the German radical left, 'it is hard to condemn him.' To most Germans the defeat of the Spartacist rising seemed 'to be a victory for moderation and legality... Ebert...personified these qualities.'
- **Eric Weitz** More than anything else Ebert 'feared that the Russian Revolution would be replicated in Germany.' He and his leading SPD colleagues believed that what had been accomplished in Russia was the creation of economic chaos and political terror, the very opposite of democracy and a progressive social system. Germany needed to recover quickly from the war and 'would not, could not, tolerate "Bolshevik conditions", as he and his supporters repeated time and time again.'

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** explains the reasons for the suppression of the Spartacist Revolt of January 1919.

Question 2

How useful is Source B as evidence of the key ideas behind German foreign policy, 1924-1929?

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 B** as evidence of the key ideas behind Stresemann's foreign policy in terms of:

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

- This is an extract from a speech by Gustav Stresemann, German Chancellor from 13 August to 23 November 1923 and then Foreign Minister from 30 November 1923 to 4 October 1929.
- Stresemann is speaking to the League on the day that Germany was formally accepted into it. Germany had been excluded from the League since its establishment in 1919.
- The speech was to highlight Stresemann's internationalism – Stresemann as a 'Good European'.

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- The speech illustrates the gradualist, cooperative and internationalist approach that Stresemann pursued in order to end Germany's diplomatic isolation.
- Stresemann argues that peace is his first priority and depends on nations' understanding of, and respect for, one another.
- Stresemann says that Germany has been pursuing a policy of cooperation [with the Allies] as shown by the Pact of Locarno.
- Stresemann suggests in this speech that Germany will continue to pursue the route of cooperation and will accordingly devote herself to the duties associated with being in the League.

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

- Stresemann argues that Germany's entry into the League is the culmination of her development (since the end of WWI) as a peaceful power. It reflects Stresemann's determination to win the confidence of the western powers and end Germany's diplomatic isolation.
- Stresemann's speech does not quite present the full picture. He had insisted, and the Allies eventually agreed, that Germany would only come into the League if given a permanent seat on the Council thus recognising Germany's great power status.
- The 'cooperation' to which Stresemann refers includes in particular cooperation with the Allies in the matter of implementing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. It was this aspect of cooperation - known as *erfüllungspolitik* ('fulfilment') – that led to the Locarno Pact of 1925 as a precursor to Germany's entry into the League.
- The Locarno Pact was with Britain, France, Belgium and Italy.
- At Locarno Germany accepted her western borders as laid down in the Treaty of Versailles (but not the eastern borders) and so reassured France. All countries renounced the use of invasion and force except in self-defence.
- Stresemann's speech stressed Germany's willingness to act as a 'good' European power.

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

- Given the context of **Source B** it is not surprising that Stresemann chose to deliver an address that emphasised Germany's willingness, and efforts, to cooperate with the Allies and to ensure that she was included in the new international order that the League was supposed to represent. However, **Source B** does not represent all the key ideas behind Stresemann's foreign policy because, among other things, it disguises the fact that when speaking to German audiences he was keen to present himself not only or even mainly as a 'Good European' but rather as a German nationalist.
- **Source B** does not reveal either that the policy of cooperation in relation to the Treaty of Versailles (*erfüllungspolitik*) was pursued in an attempt to get the Allies to view Germany sympathetically and to get the terms of the Treaty diluted.
- In his speech to the League Stresemann makes no mention of the fact that in April of 1926 he had signed a Treaty with the USSR which had public and secret clauses, and which was in part designed to put pressure on the Allies to improve their relations with Germany rather than see Germany move too close to the USSR.
- Stresemann's speech to the League of course makes no mention of views he had expressed earlier (1925) in a letter to Crown Prince Wilhelm, the former Kaiser's son. In this letter Stresemann set out what he thought were the three great tasks for German foreign policy: to get reparations sorted out in a way that was tolerable for Germany; the protection of Germans living under foreign control following the Treaty of Versailles; and readjusting Germany's eastern frontiers including the recovery of Danzig and the Polish Corridor.
- Although it is true that most Germans broadly supported Stresemann, there was a highly vocal and powerful minority view – that of the nationalist right – which loathed everything Stresemann was doing and thought instead that he should simply 'smash Versailles'.

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

- **Wolfgang Elz** Stresemann wanted to restore Germany to great power status and believed that this could only be achieved 'in cooperation with the other powers and in a largely peaceful Europe.' This aim was to govern his foreign policy. He was 'principally concerned with German interests', but in this he was no different from the French or the British who likewise put their national interests first.
- **Ruth Henig** Stresemann was a 'realistic nationalist' who pursued a course which entailed accepting some elements of the Treaty of Versailles and recovering Germany's status as a great power as speedily as possible.
- **Eberhard Kolb** Stresemann 'saw the recovery of German power as an aim to be secured by degrees and in the long term, by negotiation and conciliation.'
- **Detlev Peukert** Stresemann combined the policy of fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles with piecemeal revision and pursued a policy of rapprochement with the West.
- **Jonathan Wright** There is general agreement that Stresemann's aim 'was to revise the Versailles Treaty and re-establish Germany as an equal among the great powers' and that 'his method was peaceful revision and détente with the western powers.' He believed that 'by creating common interests...revision and détente would go together.'

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which **Source B** is useful as evidence of the key ideas behind German foreign policy, 1923-29.

Question 3

How well do Sources C and D illustrate differing interpretations of the significance of the Reichstag fire in the Nazi consolidation of power? 16 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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources C and D** on the significance of the Reichstag fire and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

- Appropriate comment on Rudolf Diels who, as Head of the Prussian Gestapo, was given the task of destroying Communism in Prussia.

Points from source which show by more than repetition alone that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Diels notes that the leading Nazis immediately claimed that the fire was the work of the Communists.
- Diels's account of the fire also shows that Hitler intended to use the fire as an excuse to cut down his political opponents especially those on the Left – the Communists, but also the SPD.
- The fire enabled Hitler to promise to unleash brutal violence against opponents of the regime and that a violent response was necessary in order to save Germany.
- The fire enabled Hitler and the Nazis to get people on their side.

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

- The leading Nazis' claim that the Reichstag fire was the start of a Communist uprising was entirely in keeping with Hitler's opportunistic approach to politics and power.
- Hitler's claim that the Communists had caused the Reichstag fire was entirely in keeping with his virulent anti-Communism. He blamed the Communists for Germany's defeat and for allowing the Treaty of Versailles to be imposed on Germany.
- The Nazis had no compunction about using the Reichstag fire as propaganda and as a lever with which to get their power increased.
- The Nazis understood that there was a deep fear of Communism among the middle and upper classes.

Source D

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

Points from source which show by more than repetition alone that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- The Reichstag fire provided the Nazis with the excuse they needed to destroy the Communists and the SPD.
- Hitler pretended that the fire was the start of a Communist revolt so he had an excuse to declare a state of emergency, which would then give him the legal cover he wanted to attack the Communists and all other political opponents.
- The Reichstag fire ensured the Nazis could destroy parliamentary democracy.
- The fire provided the excuse to get the president to agree to suspend civil liberties and created the legal basis for the Nazi police state.

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

- From their very beginnings the Nazis had campaigned against not just Communism but also parliamentary democracy, which they regarded as an imposition on Germany by the Allies and as an un-German system of government and politics.
- Throughout the period from their big electoral gains in 1930 and then 1932 the Nazis in the Reichstag had done everything they could to disrupt proceedings and stage demonstrations and protests.
- The Emergency Decree following the Reichstag fire – passed on February 28, 1933 – became the basic law of the Third Reich and was used to suspend constitutional rights, to give the secret police the power to hold people indefinitely in 'protective custody', and to suppress the KPD and then the SPD.
- The use of the Reichstag fire as an excuse for unleashing violence on the Communists and others and the 'cover of legality' the Reichstag fire decree gave the Nazis, served as a model for future action by the Nazis, culminating in the violence of the 'Night of the Long Knives' in June 1934.

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

- Historians are still divided in their opinions about the involvement of the Communists or the Nazis in setting the Reichstag fire. Marinus van der Lubbe, the young Dutch ex-Communist who was arrested for setting the fire and then tried and executed by the Nazis, always claimed he had acted alone.
- Although the fire was an advantage to the Nazis, the Communists did not have much to gain by it.
- The Feb 28 Decree set a precedent for future Nazi actions most notably the Enabling Act of 24 March 1933.
- The Feb decree was issued by Hindenburg using Article 48 of the Constitution and was the real significance of the Reichstag fire because it replaced constitutional government with a permanent state of emergency, freed Hitler from any remaining dependence on Nationalist allies, took away the people's liberties that had been guaranteed in Part II of the Weimar Constitution and gave the Nazi regime a legal basis for repression, terrorism and persecution of all opposition.
- Goering reacted to the fire immediately. The police were placed on emergency alert. 4 000 Communist Party members were arrested including the KPD leader, Ernst Thälmann.
- Anti-Communist hysteria was whipped up by Goebbels's propaganda machine and the other political parties were attacked too.

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

- **Michael Burleigh** The Nazis interpreted the Reichstag fire to their own advantages. It provided the pretext for the decree of 28 February, which abolished the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Hitler informed the cabinet that the struggle against the KPD must not be dependent on legal considerations. The police and the SA embarked on a wave of arbitrary arrests. The Reichstag fire rested on a fiction since there was in fact no connection between Van der Lubbe and a Communist conspiracy.
- **William Carr** The Reichstag fire 'occurred at precisely the right moment for the Nazis. At once they claimed the fire was the signal for a Communist uprising, which they knew was a remote possibility. On the strength of this, Hitler obtained the president's agreement to a decree suspending most civil and political liberties...The Nazi dictatorship had begun.'
- **Richard J Evans** A few hours after the Reichstag fire, police squads began 'to dig out lists of Communists prepared months or even years previously for the eventuality of a ban on the party.' In fact, subsequent investigation turned up 'a mass of documentary evidence confirming Van der Lubbe's story that he had been acting alone.'
- **Peter Fritzsche** The Nazis had 'the luck to exploit the Reichstag fire', and the decree of Feb 28 provided Hitler with 'unprecedentedly wide emergency powers' including powers of detention without trial. Such decrees 'effectively destroyed democratic and civil rights that had been guaranteed by the Constitution' and 'cleared the streets of the Nazis' opponents.'
- **J Noakes and G Pridham** 'Whoever was responsible for the Reichstag fire the Nazis exploited the opportunity to the full.' Their fear of a Communist uprising 'prompted them to take precipitate and drastic action' which resulted not only in arrests but also in the most important single legislative act of the Third Reich: the Emergency Decree of 28 February.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which **Sources C** and **D** illustrate differing interpretations of the significance of the Reichstag fire in the Nazi consolidation of power.

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How important was the Constitutional Settlement of 1910 in the development of South African politics between 1910 and 1939?

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the importance of the Constitutional Settlement of 1910 on political development between 1910 and 1939. Candidates should show awareness of a range of factors set out in the Constitutional settlement that had long term significance in SA's politics in this period.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Status within the Empire

- The Union of South Africa safeguarded British interests at a time when they were being challenged.
- Also safeguarded economic interests since the effective disenfranchisement of Africans facilitated the exploitation of black labour.
- Many Afrikaners had sought South African unity in the belief that it would weaken imperial influence.
- Economic ties between South Africa and Britain were strengthened and expanded by Union.
- Hertzog's anti-imperialist statements.
- SA's status within the Empire resulted in entry to World War One on the side of the British.
- Smuts' affiliation with Empire led to Hertzog and others splitting from the UP over entry into World War Two on the side of the British. Many Afrikaners expressed favour at siding with the Germans.
- Contributes to rise in Afrikaner nationalism through Afrikaners condemning Smuts' 'imperialist and capitalist' influences – eg 1922 Rand Revolt when he was seen to side with the mine owners.
- Subsequent attempts to clarify the relationship with Britain, leading to the Balfour Declaration.
- Flag dispute.
- Hertzog's split with the South African Party and establishment of the National Party in 1914 was a reaction against imperial ties of Smuts and Botha.
- Relations with Britain had been an issue for Hertzog until the Statute of Westminster which satisfied the demands of the moderate Afrikaner.

White Supremacy/dominance of the Afrikaners

- White South Africans were the main beneficiaries of the Act of Union.
- Had the British government sought to safeguard the interests of Africans, no agreement would have been reached.
- With regard to 'native policy' ie the status of Africans, the Union Constitution represented a triumph of the Boers.
- Boer values – and so the values embedded in the Constitution – were based on assumptions about race and the privileges of races.
- Milner describes the settlement: 'All power is with the Boers and will remain with them'.
- Concessions made to Afrikaners included recognition of Dutch as one of the official languages.
- Rural constituencies could have up to 15% fewer voters which favoured Afrikaners Afrikaner pressure changes Cape franchise, 1936.
- Afrikaners dominated all administration post 1910 – EVERY union Prime Minister came from an Afrikaner background.

Development of segregation/resistance

- The (limited) Cape franchise for Africans was retained, but it was not extended to the other three provinces.
- Membership of Parliament was reserved for whites.
- Legislation introduced by successive parliaments favoured whites at the expense of Africans.
- South African Native National Congress (SANNC) was established in response to the Union of South Africa Act which had denied Africans any say in the running of the country.
- No provision of a Bill of Rights in the Constitution made the extension of segregation harder to resist.

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

- Liberal historians, including **C W de Kiewiet** writing in the first half of the twentieth century, trace the origins of SA's racial policies to Afrikaner attitudes even before the union, disagreeing with the view that the Constitutional settlement facilitated segregation.
- **Davenport** argues that Hertzog was much less hostile to the British Empire than later Afrikaner nationalist governments, largely because of Hertzog's personal restraint.
- Revisionist historians of the 1970s emphasised the Imperial contribution to the development of segregation. **Legassick** argued that imperialism, capitalism and segregation were inextricably linked.
- **Sempe Terreblanche** "An Act of the British parliament was therefore the bridgehead that enabled whites in South Africa to perpetuate the power relations of European colonialism".
- **Hermann Giliomee** "The Union of South Africa confirmed black fears that whites did not want to share the land but would fight to keep it in their hands".

Question 2

How justified is the view that the National Party victory in the 1948 election was ensured by “a decisive measure of Afrikaner unity”?

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the view that the National Party victory of Smuts' United Party in the 1948 election was primarily due to the level of Afrikaner unity and support for the National Party. Candidates should show awareness of a range of factors resulting in the election result and should not concentrate solely on the reasons for increased Afrikaner nationalism.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

NP appeal, including Afrikaner unity

- 1934-48 there had been a conscious effort to win power by mobilising Afrikaners across divisions of class and region.
- The role of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK), the Broederbond and Christian National Education, which stressed the need for *volkseenheid* (unity of the volk).
- The Eufees celebration of the centenary Great Trek in 1938.
- The language movement made rapid progress.
- *Die Huisgenoot* reached 20% of all Afrikaner families by the 1930s & *Die Transvaaler* edited by Verwoerd from 1937.
- The creation of Afrikaner Trade Unions, winning Afrikaner workers away from the Labour Party.
- The role of Afrikaner capitalism in creating ethnic identity.
- The split in the United Party between Hertzog and Smuts in 1939 was met with the reunion of Malan and Hertzogite Nationalists as the Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP) in 1940.
- The Sauer Report (1948) proposed apartheid as the solution to the apparent problems of the day, promising controls over African urbanisation, increased segregation and the abolition of white representatives of Africans in parliament.
- Apartheid guaranteed white supremacy but in other ways it embraced a range of different interpretations – the ambiguity of apartheid was its electoral strength (Worden).
- Apartheid was the basis of Malan's campaign in 1948 – using Sauer's message of “putting the Kaffir in his place” and “getting our country back”.
- In the 1943 election the NP had become the official opposition.

Social and economic changes were accelerated by the war

- Pass laws had been relaxed.
- White farmers were forced to pay higher wages because of a shortage of seasonal workers.
- Black Trade Unions were increasingly effective.
- 1946 African mineworkers' strike.
- The state appeared to be incapable of dealing with black protest and strikes.
- Rising cost of living.

The weaknesses of the UP

- Smuts acceptance of the permanency of African urbanisation.
- Smuts' decision to enter the war on the side of Britain had divided his power base.
- The government's Fagan Commission Report also accepted African urbanisation.
- The Fagan Report defended Smuts' wartime policies and offered no remedies.
- Smuts was 78 in 1948 and increasingly out of touch.
- His likely successor, Hofmeyer, was regarded as dangerously liberal.
- Farmers opposed Smuts' food price control policy.
- The vagaries of the electoral system favoured the NP.

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

- **Gilliomee** emphasises the importance of the language movement ('cultural nationalism') and the growing interest in Afrikaner history. "The crucial turning point was the Afrikaner nationalists' outrage over the country being taken into the World War on a split vote, confirming in their eyes SA's continuing subordination to British interests".
- **Dunbar Moodie** draws attention to the role civil rituals and their commemoration of national events in creating a common purpose and destiny and uniting Afrikaners "in their sense of unique identity and destiny, inspiring the faithful, converting the sceptical, and ever reminding them of their sacred separation from English and black African".
- **Nigel Worden** "The main thrust of support for Malan (during and immediately after the war) came not from far-right organisations, but from an alliance of voters who saw their own position threatened by the economic and social changes within South Africa."
- **Le May** With reference to the campaign "the UP scarcely recognised the changing tide of world opinion. The National Party did – and promised to swim against them".
- **Barber** concludes that "increasingly it was race which dominated the scene".
- **O'Meara** By 1948 the UP was in difficulties on all the major political issues of the day.

Question 3

What factors best explain the revival of African resistance after 1948?

This question invites the candidate to evaluate the significance of a range of developments that took place within the African resistance movement after 1948, and to consider which of these factors best explain the revival of the movement. The candidate should not focus solely on the African National Congress (ANC).

Candidates may use evidence such as:

The changing nature of the ANC

- The revival of the ANC under Xuma.
- The Congress Youth League's (CYL) Programme of Action (1949) adopted by the ANC.
- The growing recognition of the need to relate to the masses.
- Increased awareness of the importance of direct action, culminating in the establishment of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK) after Sharpeville.
- Increased popular protest after World War Two.
- The emergence of radical Africanist ideas and a new sense of African identity.
- Doctors' Pact of 1949 between ANC and South African Indian Congress.
- The Defiance Campaign.
- Freedom Charter and the Congress Alliance.
- Alexandra bus boycott and popular resistance.
- The PAC's anti-communist approach opposed the influence of the CPSA on the ANC. This generated international support as the Cold War intensified.

Appeal of Black Consciousness (BC)

- BC aimed to "rebuild and recondition the mind of the oppressed in such a way that they would be ready to demand what was rightfully theirs" (Gerhart).
- Biko saw a need for blacks to win psychological emancipation after generations of conditioning themselves to see himself as the underdog.
- The influence of the Black Consciousness Movement in strikes and protests of 1972-3.
- The Azanian People's Organisation was formed in 1978, bringing together BCM, Black People's Convention and South African Students Organisation, all organisations which had been banned in 1977.
- Practical appeal of BC through the Black People's Convention and through the Black Community Programmes.
- BC ideas had considerable appeal in the late 1960s and early 1970s because more blacks were receiving some education as a result of the hated Bantu Education Act – a result that the Act's creators clearly did not anticipate.
- Limited impact of BPC as a political body, partly as a result of fear becoming involved with an overtly political movement.
- Role of BC in the Soweto Uprising and subsequent impact of Biko's death (international repercussions).

Other factors

- The significance of rural resistance was not recognised until the late 1950s.
- In the 1960s African resistance was transformed gradually from a loosely organised movement into clandestine revolutionary elite.
- The impact of Sharpeville spurred further unrest.
- The impact of the liberation movements elsewhere in southern Africa.
- The 1980s saw the emergence of a vigorous black labour movement.

- Withdrawal of the Portuguese from Mozambique and Angola allowed training of MK and Poqo under black governments.
- International community increasingly willing to condemn apartheid regime following Soweto Uprising.

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

- **Worden** argues that Black Consciousness went some way to fill the vacuum left by the banning of the ANC and PAC. He also links the heightened African resistance of the early 1980s to the economic recession which caused African living standards to fall.
- **Clark & Worger** emphasise that after Soweto, many young activists joined the ranks of the ANC and PAC in exile, and these new recruits would make a major contribution to the sabotage campaign which was under way by the early 1980s.
- The likes of **O'Meara and Pampallis** believe that after 1948 the ANC was now a mass movement with more radical goals; others (**Lambert, Feit and McKinley**) believe that the fundamental weakness of the ANC lay in failure to link with local, popular movements.
- The ANC historian **Francis Meli** claims that BC was not a new phenomenon and that it was descended from earlier nationalism and from the activities of the ANC.
- **Dubow** claims that later African resistance was strengthened by events outside South Africa such as the liberation of Mozambique and the growing liberation struggle in Zimbabwe 'which underlined the growing vulnerability of white South Africa'. Dubow also makes it clear that he believes the achievements of the 1940s enabled the ANC to lead resistance with new authority in the 1950s.
- **Gerhart** explored the development of African nationalism and identifies common themes which linked the CYL to the PAC and BC. Gerhart emphasises the difficulties facing the ANC in the late 1950s.
- **Lodge** although rural resistance succeed in stalling state intervention, they remained parochial in impact.

Question 4

To what extent did the methods of white control change between 1948 and 1984?

This question invites candidates to consider to what extent a change can be seen in the methods of white control in South Africa after World War Two up until 1984, while taking into consideration a variety of factors.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Evidence of change in methods of political control

- The introduction of Separate Development (1959) and 'independent' homelands.
- 'Total separation'.
- Intensified efforts to decrease the African urban population and withdraw Section 10 rights.
- After 1960 the Broederbond infiltrated the Bantu Affairs Department and worked to undermine the practical apartheid of the 1950s.
- Verwoerd's 'Granite Response' to Sharpeville 'gave him an opportunity to implement his policies with greater determination' (Barber).
- Preference given to industries willing to relocate to areas near the reserves.
- No net increase in the number of urbanised Africans.
- Soweto Uprising forced Pretoria into reforms which caused deep fissures among whites 'adapt or die'.

Evidence of change in control of internal threats

- Banning of the ANC / PAC resulted in the establishment of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Poqo – and a move to militant protest from previous policies of non-violence.
- 1967 Terrorism Act.
- 1975 SASO banned.
- Soweto Uprisings: Pik Botha (Foreign Minister) urged whites to "stand like a rock against the waves of the ocean".
- Pretoria acted swiftly and without mercy – Jimmy Kruger (Minister of Justice) said blacks must be made 'tame to the gun'. Thousands arrested and denied trial.
- Death of Biko in police custody, 1977.
- Verwoerd's 'Granite Response' - power of the state to achieve a massive crack-down.
- Botha's 'Total Strategy' against a 'Total onslaught' from Communist forces – establishment of State Security Council.
- Introduction of compulsory military service (from 1972).
- Military spending rose from 700 million rand in 1974 to 3,000 million rand by 1981.
- MK carried out over 200 small-scale attacks over 18 months.
- Sharpeville.
- 1961 election campaign: Verwoerd campaigned on themes of security, white unity and apartheid.
- In the 1960s African resistance was gradually transformed from a loosely organised movement into clandestine revolutionary elite so government response had to change to a more direct threat.
- Rural protest employed more militant methods, including Pondoland in 1960.

Changes in foreign policy

- Increasing international condemnation of apartheid as evident in Luthuli's campaigning resulting in him being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961.
- Decolonisation in many parts of Africa.
- South Africa's growing international isolation.
- Economic growth of the 1960s.

- Deliberate campaign in 1970s and 1980s to destabilise those African countries which were hostile to the white government in South Africa.
- By 1980s, Botha was head of a major military power.

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

- **Posel** describes apartheid after 1960 as having entered a 'second phase'. Apartheid "underwent an important change of direction . . . which ushered in a discrete second phase of policy making".
- **Brian Bunting** offers a contemporary communist perspective, arguing that there was continuity between the 1950s and 1960s. "Operating on the basis of a preconceived ideology ... the Nationalists have planned their strategy with care and worked step by step towards their goal. Nothing has been left to chance."
- **Giliomee, Mbenga et al** present apartheid as a coherent body of discriminatory laws, while acknowledging that after 1960 Verwoerd saw the homelands as an alternative form of political representation for black South Africans at a time when political rights were increasingly on the agenda throughout the continent.
- **Barber** describes a 'remarkable shift from the government's previous position' during the 1960s.
- **Adrian Guelk** Botha sought to influence Western opinion towards South Africa directly through domestic reform.
- **Swilling** "Total Strategy was an attempt to reconstitute the means of domination in terms favourable to the ruling groups."
- **Ross** emphasises threat from Soviet inspired and funded international communism, personified by individuals such as Joe Slovo and Chris Hani.

Question 5

To what extent was the worldwide anti-apartheid movement the most significant international threat to the government of South Africa in the 1970s and early 1980s?

This question invites candidates to assess a range of factors, including the world-wide anti-apartheid movement, which were involved in the developing crisis which brought considerable pressure to bear on the SA government in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Pressure from the world-wide anti-apartheid movement

- Public opinion in the West was increasingly critical, although this was limited by the supportive stand of right wing Western governments.
- Significance of sanctions.
- International protest following the Soweto Uprising in 1976 and the death of Steve Biko in police custody in 1977.
- Support for boycotts and embargos.
- International consumer boycott on South African goods.
- All African Convention (AAC) – did not solely focus on South Africa but also on surrounding regimes.
- The AAC co-operated with similar anti-apartheid groups which existed in many countries around the world, exchanging information and meeting at international conferences.
- The Thatcher and Reagan years: British and United States governments ignored anti-apartheid lobby.
- Implication of lack of immigrants.

Other external threats to SA government

- Black majority rule in front line states meant SA faced ‘total onslaught’ from neighbouring African states.
- Communist support from front-line states – the role of Mozambique and Angola.
- The impact of liberation movements elsewhere in southern Africa.
- The role of the ANC in exile.
- MK organised raids from Mozambique in the early 1980s.
- Influence of Cold War in limiting Western pressure on SA government - failure of arms embargoes related to Cold War.

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

- The classic liberal view of the 1960s and early 1970s argued that capitalism and apartheid were incompatible and that economic growth would erode apartheid and usher in a period of declining discrimination and Western style democracy.
- Writing in 1985, **Merle Lipton** argued that “The trend (among capitalists) is towards increasing opposition (to apartheid) and it has been accelerating”. She argued that in many ways capitalist interests in SA were already working to undermine apartheid by the late 1970s and early 1980s and that therefore capitalists should be seen as allies in the fight to get rid of apartheid. For those who accepted this view, disinvestment was unnecessary.
- **Nigel Worden** argues that ‘total strategy’ intensified the very problems which it sought to defuse and emphasises the role of African Trade Unions.
- **Adrian Guelke** provides a balanced evaluation, claiming that changes in the region of Southern Africa, and the end of the Portuguese empire in Africa, had weakened the position of the SA government. These developments outside SA stirred revolt within SA and as a result substantial reform of apartheid was undertaken within the framework of maintaining white supremacy. However, “reform did not stabilise the situation. On the contrary the changes that the government introduced had the effect of strengthening opponents of white minority rule . . .”

South Africa (1910-1984)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about the influence of the poor white problem in the development of segregation between 1910 and 1948? 16 Marks

Interpretation (maximum of 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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A** and **B** as explanations of the significance of the poor white problem in the development of segregation between 1910 and 1948, and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives of:

Source A

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

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Failure to maintain the important job bar.
- 'violent resistance' by white unions.
- The Chamber's announcement it would withdraw the Status Quo Agreement thereby increasing the ratio of Africans to whites led to white unions calling a strike.
- The Nationalist-Labour Pact victory in 1924 reversed the Chamber's decision and returned to 'civilised labour' policies.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- The problem of the poor whites was recognised before 1910.
- The Colour Bar ensured that black workers remained unskilled.
- The 1922 strike, during which time mine owners attempted to reduce white wages, rapidly escalated into the 'Rand Rebellion'. Smuts, then Prime Minister, called in troops resulting in over 200 strikers being killed.
- Smuts was seen to side with the mine owners and his footsteps 'dripped with blood'.
- The South African Party (SAP) lost the support of white workers to the National and Labour Parties, resulting in the SAP loss of the 1924 election and emphasising that the loyalty of these Afrikaner poor was up for grabs.
- Efforts to win back support with the Industrial Conciliation Act (1924) failed.

Source B

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

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- White farmers were promised a ready supply of labour.
- The mines were assured the system of migrant labour would be upheld.
- White workers believed segregation would protect their jobs from competition.
- Segregation also was evidence of broader fears based on anxieties of racial 'deterioration'.

Points which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Yudelman argues that legislation after 1924 was driven by government attempts to reconcile the interests of three groups (state, mining and white workers).
- Turrell supports the view that white racism was mobilized as a means to unite and protect them.
- Hertzog broke with the SAP because of its capitalist policies.
- According to Malan, the 'native question' was at the heart of the poor white issue.
- Malan believed that segregation was essential to avoid direct black-white competition.
- Farmers wanted an end to African land ownership, giving whites control over either wage or labour tenancies.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources

- Urbanisation was chaotic and traumatic; by 1936, 50% of Afrikaners lived in towns.
- In the 1930s, in light of the 1932 Carnegie Report, Malan and Verwoerd attacked the UP for its alleged failure to tackle the problem of the poor whites and demanded more radical solutions.
- 1926 Commission reported these whites were in direct competition with the 'natives'.
- After 1914, poorer Boer farmers (*bywoners*) and poor voted for Hertzog and his promises of greater security to white workers.
- The United Party's Slums Act (1934) ended racially integrated slums: whites were rehoused but blacks were moved to new townships away from the cities.

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

- **Giliomee** (*The Afrikaners*) examines economic impact of the civilised labour policy.
- Debate over the extent to which poor whiteism gave rise to the racist attitudes developed during segregation.
- Other main debates on the extension of segregation include the maintenance of the migrant labour system to maximise profit from the mines (Marxist-revisionists such as **Wolpe**). This in turn increased conflict between natives and poor whites over jobs.
- 1970s Radicals: **Legassick** argues that the foundations for segregation were laid prior to union, when the poor white problem was also evident through the displacement caused by the Boer War.
- Liberal historians such as **Thompson and Wilson** blamed the Afrikaners for the extension of segregation, ignoring the contribution made by the English speaking community. They argue the deterioration in race relations was a direct result of Afrikaner nationalism overwhelming the more flexible views of the English-speaking community.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which consideration of **Sources A and B** is helpful in offering a full perspective on the significance of the poor white problem in the development of segregation between 1910 and 1948.

Question 2

How fully does Source C explain the limited achievements of African resistance to segregation before 1948?

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 candidates provide in their overall interpretation of the source's fullness in explaining/analysing the issue.

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source C** as an adequate explanation of the limited achievements of African resistance to segregation before 1948 in terms of:

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Between the mid-1920s and the mid-1930s the African National Congress (ANC) had lost its coherence following the collapse of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU).
- Black intellectuals maintained support for education and working within the existing system despite the impact of the Depression.
- Most believed that if they were economically successful then whites would give them political representation.
- Economic success would only be possible with good (and equal) education for blacks.

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

- Early ANC leaders aimed for equal opportunity, not political power, or African domination.
- They hoped improved understanding, and greater justice, would allow Africans to make a growing contribution to South African society.
- Most of the early leaders (Dube, Plaatje, Gumede, Seme) were mission educated and, as doctors, lawyers, ministers etc they were from the African middle class.
- The methods of the early ANC including deputations and petitions.
- Some leaders, including Dube, were reluctantly prepared to accept rural segregation as long as there was a just distribution of land.

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

- By the 1930s ANC membership probably did not exceed 1000. The more radical ICU was far more significant in the 1920s because they attempted to establish a mass movement.
- The ANC failed to recognise the significance of rural resistance.
- By the 1930s the ANC leadership was bitterly divided and split into warring cliques, not least due to Gumede's flirtation with the Communist Party which deeply divided the ANC.
- Opposition to Hertzog's Native Bills was led by the All African Convention (AAC), not the ANC.
- 1940s can be seen as a 'decade of renewal and radicalisation' with the revival of the ANC under Xuma.

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

- **Peter Walshe** early leaders were hugely influenced by the 'Cape tradition' of relative liberalism. The ultimate goals were equal opportunity and equality before the law.
- **Dubow** argues the ANC was "dormant and fractious"; the ANC and Communists were trying to pull the organisation in different directions in the 1930s
- **Nigel Worden** The ANC "failed to identify with the kinds of struggles and grievances being faced by the majority of South Africans".
- **William Beinart** argues that regional organisations of the ANC tended to go their own way – Transvaal leaders were drawn into workers' issues; the Western Cape was influenced by Garveyism. Furthermore, the level of rural resistance was underestimated.
- **Dale McKinley**, a Marxist historian, argues the ANC failed to establish grassroots organisations among the masses in South Africa, that they were preoccupied by their petty bourgeois interests such as obtaining a free market.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion, using a range of evidence, about the extent to which consideration of **Source C** is helpful in offering a full explanation of the limited achievements of African resistance to segregation before 1948.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as an explanation of the reasons why the National Party implemented the policy of apartheid after 1948?

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 evaluation of the usefulness of **Source D** as an explanation of the reasons why the National Party implemented the policy of apartheid after 1948.

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

- Strijdom was Prime Minister of South Africa from 1954-1958, following Malan's resignation.
- Served as Minister of Land (agriculture) after the 1948 National Party victory having been a part-time farmer in the Transvaal.
- Loyal supporter of Hertzog initially, he remained with Malan rather than Hertzog in joining the United Party in the 1930s. Partly due to his conviction that South Africa should be a Republic which he pursued in the 1950s.
- His tenacity in political matters earned him the title 'Lion of Waterberg'/'Lion of the North'
- Strijdom's tenure as Prime Minister cemented the apartheid policies that Malan had initiated through legislation.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Stresses that Europeans (whites) must maintain their sense of race.
- Apartheid in all spheres of life is essential to preserve whites – unity is damaging.
- Whites must remain dominant if South Africa is to remain in their hands (and not controlled by other races).
- This dominance is based on the control of the government of the country.

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

- Apartheid was based on assumptions about race. The state could legitimately make unequal provision for different racial groups.
- Strijdom was closely associated with *baaskap* (white domination) apartheid. **Charles Feinstein:** "Apartheid was designed . . . to sustain and strengthen racial separation in order to ensure white domination."
- Apartheid ideas were incorporated into legislation such as the Population Registration Act (1950).
- The Group Areas Act (1950).
- The Reservation of Separate Amenities.
- The division of Africans into different racial groups undermined notions of 'the black majority'.
- The extension of representation to whites in South West Africa, adding an additional six seats in the House of Assembly in 1950.
- Many Afrikaner nationalist organisations – centred on Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK)/Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) activities - emphasised the Afrikaners' status as 'God's chosen' to remain dominant in South Africa.
- Rapid urbanisation and the relaxation of existing pass laws during the war revived 'black peril' fears among whites.

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

- Migrant labour had been used in industry for over 75 years.
- Manufacturing industry was growing rapidly and apartheid offered a solution to demand for labour.
- The reserves totalled only 14% of South African territory, usually the least fertile areas. Developing apartheid demonstrated the rejection of the proposals of the Tomlinson Commission (1955).
- Transvaal and Free State farmers had criticised Smuts because urbanisation reduced their source of cheap labour.
- Much apartheid legislation had its roots in the legislation of the segregation era (the Reserves dated back to the 1913 Land Act).
- Residential segregation was based on the recommendations of the Stallard Commission, which influenced the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923.
- In 1948 the NP did not have a sufficient majority to implement apartheid without taking into account the impact on the electorate.
- In the 1950s influx control was not straightforward, with many businesses demanding greater flexibility, leading to what **Posel** has called 'flexible apartheid', embracing a series of compromises.

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

- Afrikaner historian **Hermann Giliomee** describes apartheid as a "radical survival plan" rooted in the DRC.
- Radical historian, **Harold Wolpe**, argued apartheid ideology was a way of justifying the extension of cheap labour to the manufacturing industry.
- **Allister Sparks** "It was in the Broederbond where all these ideas and influences were synthesised into the ideology of apartheid . . . It was the Broeders who were the real authors of apartheid."
- **Dunbar Moodie** emphasises the negative aspects of apartheid ideology such as the belief that miscegenation led to racial decline, racial integration was sinful since it defied God's will, whereas racial separation represented the Divine Will.
- While **Posel**, **Guelke** and **Worden** all reject the view that there was a 'master plan' on the basis that there were too many factions within government and pressures outside the government to accommodate this.

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 reasons why the National Party implemented the policy of apartheid after 1948.

Soviet Russia (1917-1953)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

To what extent was it military defeat rather than the actions of the Bolsheviks that brought about the downfall of the Provisional Government?

The aim is to allow the candidate to evaluate the main causes of the collapse of the Provisional Government in October 1917. Military defeat itself should be analysed and compared with the impact of revolutionary groups. There should be a sense of continuous debate and an awareness of the players involved. Personalities, policies, actions and miscalculations will inform the piece. Discussion should include the key issues such as the war, social reform, the land question, the economy and food distribution.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Military defeat

- Milyukov, Minister for War wanted to continue an offensive war to hopefully make gains but was forced to resign because of this.
- Menshevik (Tsereteli) and Socialist Revolutionary (Chernov) leaders in the Soviet who were committed to a defensive strategy.
- The forces of the Right (Kadets, Liberals, and Generals) hoped this move would put the Generals back in control of the armed forces and hopefully temper the pace of change in Russia.
- It was hoped the June Offensive would bring about a speedy end to the war on the Eastern front and that the Provisional Government would strengthen their position in victory.
- Kerensky was held responsible as Minister for War – but he was very popular and it was hoped that he could inspire popular support for the continuation of the war.
- The Provisional Government would have liked to negotiate a “peace without annexation or indemnities” but they were too weak militarily to bargain.
- Desertions from the army in their thousands, soldiers turning the transport system into chaos by commandeering trains.
- The June Offensive 1917 – Provisional Government commit Russian troops on the Eastern Front to take pressure off British and French in the West. Losses of around 400,000 men.

Actions of the Bolsheviks

- Significance of Lenin’s return, the April Theses and the radicalisation of the workers’ policies from that time: ie ‘Peace Bread and Land!’ and ‘All Power to the Soviets!’
- Kerensky’s actions served only to bring the Bolsheviks back in the aftermath of the Kornilov affair.
- By September the Bolsheviks were in control of both the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets, though they were still in a minority in the country as a whole.
- Discussion about the seizure of power in October: the roles of the main leaders, Lenin and Trotsky.
- The issue of the popular revolution as evidence of the complete failure of the Provisional Government.
- The coup d’état by the Bolsheviks as further evidence of limited opposition.
- The Bolsheviks offered exactly what the Russian people wanted and no-one else did.
- The July Days are evidence of Bolshevik failure to carry out a revolution. BUT so much was learned from this failure.
- But objections by Zinoviev and Kamenev would support the view that not all Bolsheviks felt October was the right time.

Other factors

- The positive achievements at the outset in the 'honeymoon period' of the first month.
- Short term gains after July Days.
- Consideration of the right (Kornilov Affair).
- The weaknesses inherent in the government.
- Divided government (Dual Power and the Petrograd Soviet), the composition of the Provisional Government and the Soviet.
- The constitutional problem (the Constituent Assembly).
- Different groups with conflicting demands which were difficult to meet, and the resulting splits.
- Demands for Ukrainian independence and other National Minorities.
- Social unrest in major cities.
- The undermining of authority in the army by Order No 1.
- The policies, the land question and the food crises.

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

- **Howard** contends that it collapsed 'under the immense stress imposed by an industrialised war'.
- **Figes** argues that "...there is no doubt that the launching – let alone the failure – of the offensive led directly to the summer crisis which culminated in the downfall of the provisional Government...".
- **Pipes** states that 'it was only a question of time before Kerensky would be overthrown by someone able to provide firm leadership'.
- **Service's** view that 'for most of the year the Provisional Government survived on guile and rhetoric'.
- **Rabinowitch** states that the long term causes of unrest made 'the desire for an end to the coalition government very nearly universal'.
- **Kowalski** noted that the system was also victim to 'a number of unpredictable accidents and improbable coincidences... such as, for instance, the attempted coup by General Kornilov'.
- **Wade** claim that 'Lenin's programme of extreme social and political antagonisms was out of keeping with the mood of the country' but that things changed.
- **Pipes** coup d'état.
- **Ponomanov** popular uprising.

Question 2

How far was Red victory in the Civil War due to superior economic resources?

This essay should be an evaluation of the role of economic resources as a factor that led to Red victory. The candidate should demonstrate a more detailed understanding of the range and importance of the different social, political and economic factors involved and the variety of influences on the outcome of the conflict.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Superior economic resources which led to Red victory

- Geographical advantages, control of central Russian 'Sovdepiya' including Moscow and Petrograd. Moving capital to Moscow. Access to raw materials to make armaments/heavily populated.
- Control of railway network making it easier to transport troops, armaments and propaganda tool.
- War Communism, whereby the Bolsheviks requisitioned grain from the peasants, gave priority to the Red Army.
- Industrial plants were taken over by the government. The regime had at its disposal the entire national resources to carry on a war against its enemy.

Other factors

- The organisational skills of the Bolsheviks strong leadership, role of Trotsky, a sense of unity, and the skill of the Red Army.
- Tough discipline of Red Army – death penalty for desertion or cowardice.
- Propaganda, Red exploitation of White weaknesses (eg efficient use of propaganda, terror).
- Supports of the Peasantry as Whites were not offering land.
- Whites had little access to raw materials to peruse war effort or build an economic base.
- Patriotic support for the Bolsheviks due to Allied intervention.
- At first Kornilov was inspiring, part of the Don Cossack army but killed, April 1918.
- At the beginning the Volunteer Army (3,000) was largely an officers' army, and much better organised – Denikin's defeat of the Red Army in the Don region.
- Inability of the Whites to forge a common purpose or military front against the Reds, the inadequacies of the White leaders policies and methods.
- Disunity between White leadership and soldiers – Denikin "I can do nothing with my army".
- Role of non-White opposition to the Bolsheviks (eg the Greens, the foreign interventionists) and their impact on events.
- Failure to get support from the peasantry on Land issue. Kolchak returned land to pre-revolution landlords.
- Whites lost the support of the nationalist groups by their pre-1917 policy on the borders which would deny autonomy to some.
- Kolchak's soldiers sold uniforms for money to drink and carouse.
- Limited impact of foreign interventionists and their half-hearted attempts did little to aid the White cause. Here the Reds did not win, the Whites were losing.
- Difficulties at the front, with the Whites having problems maintaining a cohesive front-line force, given the variety of people involved – conscripts, workmen, peasants, colonists.
- Nationalities – White Great Russian nationalism caused problems, as did anti-Semitism, which was pandemic. In 1919 Denikin's Volunteer Army going through Ukraine towards Moscow were responsible for extensive pogroms.
- The motivation of the Greens and Makhno's Insurgent Army. **G Swain** described 'the unknown civil war' and notes that their influence and potential success is greater than previously thought.

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

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

Question 3

How significant was the Kronstadt Rebellion in bringing about the end of War Communism?

The aim of this essay is to examine the many factors surrounding the end of War Communism. The candidate should outline the policy and ideology behind it and evaluate it against the issues faced by the Bolshevik government and the eventual demise of the policy.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Kronstadt Rebellion

- Kronstadt sailors supported strikers in Petrograd due to martial law being declared in January 1921. March 1921 they mutinied and demanded multi-party democracy.
- As heroes of the revolution the Bolsheviks were threatened.
- Tukhachevsky and government troops fought for several days to quell the mutiny. Ringleaders rounded up and shot without trial or sent to prison camps.
- Lenin – the Kronstadt rebellion was the “flash that lit up reality more than anything else”.

War Communism

- Ideologically closer to Marxist ideology.
- Handing over control to peasants and workers to ensure Bolshevik survival in these early days. BUT problematic as subsequent chaos ensued.
- Key features eg grain requisitioning, the banning of private trade, state controlled industry.
- The adoption of War Communism in 1918 to ensure the economy would be sustained and the Army would be fed.

Limitations:

Nationalisation of industry

- Factories/Industry (nationalised – controlled by the *Vesenkha*) General Nationalisation decree passed in June 1918 – usually regarded as the measure which started War Communism.
- Factories were focused on supporting the war effort.
- Factories could not get the materials they needed.
- Total industrial output fell to around 20% of pre-war levels industrial production had greatly declined, so shortage of industrial goods for peasants to buy.

Rationing

- Labour force and Red Army given priority rations smallest rations given *burzhui* (the middle classes).
- Famine in the south and hunger in northern cities.
- Goldman (eyewitness): Horrific scenes in the streets of Petrograd – “living corpses...heart-rending sight.”

Problems:

Grain requisitioning

- Peasants refused to hand over grain. Grain harvest in 1921 fell to 48% of the 1913 figure and amount of livestock had dramatically fallen. Famine in the Volga region.
- Disease: Hundreds of thousands died of disease – typhus, cholera, dysentery, influenza.
- 5 million people died at this time, estimated that the population fell by 28 million between 1913 and 1921.
- Now Civil War was over – series of revolts all over the countryside – out of Moscow's control, eg Tambov region (1920-21) Cheka sources say – there were 118 uprisings in Russia in February 1921.
- Lenin, at the Tenth Party Congress on 8 March 1921, said the peasant wars were “far more dangerous than all the Denikins, Yudeniches and Kolchaks put together.”

Banning of private trade

- State trading organisation was poorly run and organised.
- Black Market prevented starvation.

Opposition from the Workers

- Martial Law imposed in Moscow and Petrograd.
- Severe Winter 1920-21 = Strikes, early 1920 (Workers discontented).
- Calls for “soviets without Communists” (Communists = new name for Bolsheviks) – revival of support for other socialist parties.
- ‘Workers Opposition’ led by Shlyapnikov and Kollontai to give workers more rights.
- Party spokesmen howled down at workers’ meetings.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians’ commentaries to support their views. These may include reference to

- **Service** peasant revolts were the main reason for changing from War Communism to NEP.
- **Fitzpatrick** Kronstadt revolt was main reason for policy change.
- **McColgan** Lenin planning change before Kronstadt revolt speeded up process.
- **Lynch** divisions in the Party important reason for policy change.
- **McColgan** “By War Communism, the Communists took it upon themselves to control the entire resources of the state in order to defend their revolution.”
- **Corin and Fiehn** peasants were the main threat to the Communist Government.

Question 4

**“Federalism was nothing but a cover for a centralised dictatorship based in Moscow.”
How valid is this view of Soviet policy regarding national minorities 1917-24?**

The aim is to allow the candidate to explain the changing nature of Bolshevik policy towards the National Minorities. Candidates should outline the initial decrees made by Lenin supporting the policy of self-determination and the different degrees of autonomy granted. A further examination of how committed the Bolsheviks really were to the policy should be exemplified citing examples from 1917-1924 during the period of increased centralisation of the Soviet Union.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Initial policy which promoted self-determination

- Lenin’s policy of self-determination – October 1917: “The right of free self-determination of people even to the point of separating and forming independent states.” It was hoped this would unite workers of all nationalities under the Bolshevik banner.
- November 1917: Declaration of Rights of Peoples of Russia with no frontiers drawn.
- Finland became independent in November 1917. On 18 December the Soviet government issued a Decree, recognising Finland's independence, and on December 22 it was approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VtsIK).
- January 1918: Declaration of Rights of Toiling Peoples: nationalities could secede.
- The Rada (Ukrainian People’s Army) Ukraine declared independence in January 1918.
- Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan allied to form a Transcaucasian state.
- Creation of RSFSR in July 1918 with different national minorities having different degrees of autonomy within the overall set up. Ukraine, Belorussia, Estonia and Latvia were given Soviet Republic status.

Move away from self- determination to centralisation

- By January 1918, there was a move towards the view of creating a Federal Soviet state (3rd Congress of Soviets) which would exert greater control of the national minorities.
- Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities argued that ‘bourgeois chauvinist elements’ in the non-Russian areas would set up anti-Soviet governments.
- Where did national minorities stand during the civil war? The Russo-Polish war 1920 (where invading Russians were definitely NOT received as fraternal socialists) confirmed in Lenin’s mind the error of his previous policy.
- Separatist movements (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia etc) crushed by the Red Army.
- Propaganda attacking separatism became the policy towards national minorities in order to keep them in the Soviet state.
- Conflict between views of Lenin (still pro-self-determination) and those against – Stalin, Bukharin and Piatakov (Ukrainian Bolshevik leader). Stalin’s views prevailed over Lenin’s.
- By 1921 10th Party Congress took a stronger line on national minority republics within RSFSR, arguing that they could not defend themselves and therefore should be placed much more under Russian control. Lenin’s realisation that the Marxist ‘no-borders between the workers of the world’ was a dream and that Soviet Russia would have to fight for its land boundaries.
- 14th February 1921 the Red Army invaded Georgia and re-established Bolshevik power.
- 1923 a new approach started, Korenizatsiya (taking root) where there was a great liberalisation of attitudes towards the distinctive cultures of the national minorities. For example in Ukraine within a decade of this policy Ukrainian had replaced Russian as the dominant language and culture.
- By 1923, the USSR was created which was very Russia-dominated, creating a highly centralised state and leaving the national minority republics with little economic, political or military authority.

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

- **Martin** The USSR became the 'Affirmative Action Empire' promoting local languages and encouraging them to be written down.
- **Service** Lenin advocated a federal structure to try and recreate the Russian state.
- **Kowalski** "...self-determination was limited to the colonies and dependent nations, that is those without equal rights."
- **Acton** At no stage was there any question of permitting the minority republics to exercise their formal right to secede.
- **Acton** "Soviet leaders did not regard the suppression of national consciousness, language and customs as the surest way to build supranational identity and allegiance."
- **Pipes** Lenin 'had no sympathy with nationalism in any form and was a complete stranger to feelings of both patriotism and xenophobia.'
- **Pipes** Lenin was proposing "a special form of pseudo-federalism".
- **Service** The policy of self-determination was implemented much more restrictedly than Lenin had promised.
- **Kowalski** "for many Bolsheviks self-determination was increasingly little more than a diplomatic game."

Question 5

To what extent were the Purges prompted mainly by social and economic factors?

Candidates would be expected to debate the main causes of the Purges by evaluating political factors against social and economic factors. There should also be an awareness of main debates surrounding Stalin's role, role of NKVD and external threats to the Soviet Union.

Relevant areas for discussion might include:

Social factors

- Yezhov instigated period of terror called Yezhovshchina (known by Western historians as the Great Purge) – reached height in mid 1937 and lasted until 1938.
- People looked for personal gain from Purges – denounced others.
- Government worried about loss of support/control of the masses.
- Purges caused so much social instability that impossible for society to challenge government.
- Purges induced fear and submission, like under Lenin and the Tsars.
- Campaign encouraging people to criticise officials = to deflect criticism from government.
- People forced to look after their own interests, so difficult to unite with each other.
- In some ways responsible for the spread of terror to such an extent as people encouraged to denounce others.

Economic factors

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

Political factors

- Stalin replaced Yagoda criticised for not finding enemies of the people quickly enough. Terror prevented criticism of the leadership.
- Debatable who was behind the Kirov murder – the murder provided a good excuse for the Purges – if the Party leadership (Stalin) was behind it, Purges came from above, if not, Party members destroying each other – leadership forced to cover-up inner destruction of the Party and carry out the Purges.
- Caused by Lower Party (Local Level) – little control from top people denouncing others for their own advantage.
- Show Trials not from thin air: Trotsky formed "bloc" = threat.
- The "top down" view – Stalin intended to kill his opponents to increase his personal power. Use of high profile Show Trials such as Zinoviev and Kamenev and Bukharin.
- Stalin simply followed Lenin's lead from the Red Terror.

- Wanted party to be always insecure so kept control – especially with the *nomenklatura* around the Central Committee: lieutenants not sure who Stalin would adopt as “his people”.
- Central Party’s lack of control over local party branches.
- Local Party often had conflicting interests with the Central Party, eg to find Kulaks, valuable men to community: local party bosses wanted to reach production targets.
- By 1939, less than 1/5 of the membership at the beginning of 1921 remained – but, over 70% of 1939 members had been recruited since 1929.
- Encouraged lower levels of the party to criticise those higher up = rush of accusations which got out of control and developed momentum of their own.
- Stalin wanted to remove anyone who could form an alternative government.

Other Factors

- Stalin’s personality – vengeful and paranoid especially after suicide of his wife in 1932 – as he believed others around him would try to betray him.
- Stalin’s self-image – hero of the revolution.
- Purges sustained the importance of the NKVD and they increased the scope of Purges.
- Stalin thought he was acting in the interests of the party.
- Stalin had to save the revolution from external threats – war looming.
- No master plan - response to circumstances in Soviet Russia.

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

- **Nové** replacing Yagoda with Yezhov was clear sign Stalin wanted to move terror on.
- **Fitzpatrick** the Purges came from “below” – the Purges were the result of decisions made by the Communist leadership in reaction to a series of crises in the mid-1930s.
- **Tucker** anyone who refused to accept Stalin’s vision were traitors.
- **Service** Stalin’s personality determined the form the Great Purges took.
- **Gill** People arrested wanted to gain leniency for themselves and their families by co-operating with the NKVD so were more willing to denounce others.
- **Lewis and Whitehead** “the murder of Kirov was organised by Stalin, through Yagoda and the NKVD.”
- **Cohen** Stalin knew old Bolsheviks could see he was not Lenin’s equal. By end of the 1930s, the party was completely different – most members had joined since 1929.
- **Volkogonov** Lenin = “true father” of the terror, camps, executions – created organs used by Stalin for Great Purges (gave him idea as well).
- **Deutscher** due to threat of war, Stalin purged the opposition who might interfere with his war plans and war could unite people against Stalin and overthrow him.
- **Corin and Fiehn** Stalin correct to blame NKVD and Yezhov for extent of terror.

Soviet Russia (1917-1953)

Part 2

Question 1

How much do Sources A and B reveal about differing interpretations of the immediate causes of the abdication of the Tsar in February 1917? **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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources A and B** about differing interpretations of the immediate causes of the abdication of the Tsar in 1917 and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source A

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

- Significant document written by the Tsar under duress the day before the Revolution.
- Was signed after the Tsar had been re-routed to Pskov by the Russian High Command.
- The purpose was to inform the population that the Tsar had agreed to go to avoid civil war.
- Pre-written for Tsar by Alexeyev who had it in his pocket?
- State of mind of Tsar at time.. possibility of nervous breakdown?

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

- Unrest in the cities is getting out of control.
- War must be won.
- Unity is needed to win the war.
- Agreed with Duma that the Tsar has to go.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Tsarism in decline because of Nicholas himself, personality, German wife, reliance on Rasputin. Plus his failures previously eg Russo-Japanese War.
- Duma undermined by Tsar, limiting power. Tsarina and Rasputin dismissing ministers on a regular basis when the Tsar had gone to the front.
- The conduct of the war – failed offensives, Tannenberg, Masurian Lakes, war-weariness by 1917 with Tsar directly in charge from September 1915.
- Demonstrations and strikes were not uncommon, but the key leaders were not Bolshevik.

Source B

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

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

- Catalyst was industrial conflict.
- People were being paid less than in pre-war era.
- Nicholas II was complacent.
- Army would no longer support the Tsar.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Economic problems of the time – shortages, queuing for 24 hours, excessive inflation.
- By 1917 the average working woman was spending 60 hours a week in bread lines.
- Terrible living conditions as everything went into war effort: widespread hunger, lack of fuel, unemployment, inflation (cost of living rose by 300%).
- Role of High Command and the Duma in persuading the Tsar to abdicate.

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

- Actions of the elites (Yusupov) in 1916 killing Rasputin.
- February 23rd International Women's Day – the temperature rising to -5 degrees, more people on the streets, Putilov workers join and the soldiers mutiny.
- 1916 bread ration from 2.5lb to 1.5lb, prices rise six fold in Petrograd.
- War casualties 1917 1,700,000 deaths and 6,000,000 wounded.
- Schliapnikov the leading Bolshevik scoffed at the idea that this was a revolution "What revolution?"
- Russia's economy and administration = too weak to equip soldiers at Front properly, 1/3 of troops = no rifles, terrible losses: 1914-1916, 1/2 of 15 million army casualties.
- Role of the Progressive Bloc.

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

- **Figes** stated that the mutiny turned disorder into revolution.
- **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."
- **Pipes** "rebellions happen, revolutions are made."
- **Shapiro** "the only solution lay in the complete democratisation of the system of government."

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 explanation of the causes of the abdication of the Tsar.

Question 2

How fully does Source C explain the strategies used by Stalin in his rise to power in the 1920s? **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 contextual recall, including historians' views, that the candidate provides in their overall interpretation of the source's value.

The candidate offers a structured evaluation of **Source C** as an adequate explanation of the issues surrounding Stalin's rise to power in terms of:

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

- Source shows an awareness of Bukharin's role and that he still had influence at this time.
- Written six months after Trotsky's exile and after the defeat of the Left.
- Bukharin was on the Right of the party being the main defender of gradualist approach allowing the peasantry time to develop.
- Written during the Shakhty Trials.

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- His actions as an unprincipled intriguer.
- That he subordinates everything to his preservation of power.
- Changes his views to get rid of people he wants out.
- Makes concessions to isolate his opponents.

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

- By 1926 Zinoviev, Trotsky and Kamenev expelled from Politburo.
- Politburo fails to remove Stalin.
- Ideological debates 'Socialism in One Country' versus 'Permanent Revolution' and NEP/industrialisation debate.
- Lenin's Testament: views on several Party leaders, including Trotsky, Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

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

- Attempts to keep the 'Testament' a secret/ban on factions.
- Details of previous battle against Trotsky before his exile in 1927.
- The qualities and deficiencies of each candidate.
- The 'Lessons of October' (1924).
- Factionalism and infighting.
- Stalin's power base in the party: as an administrator (Commissar for Nationalities) Patron (as General Secretary, Lenin Enrolment).
- Control of Party organisation and Party membership, the Orgburo and Secretariat.
- Pragmatist/opportunist (Lenin's death, producing the cult of Lenin and Stalin's self-adopted role as Lenin's disciple).
- Manipulating situations to his own benefit (eg during the 'war scare' of 1927).
- His determination and ruthlessness.

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

- There may be discussion of schools of thought, eg the Structuralist or Intentionalist approach, party history, ideological approach and/or revisionists.
- **Ward** Stalin's policy of 'socialism in one country' made sense to many.
- **Deutscher** states that Trotsky did not attack Stalin because he felt secure.
- **Conquest** highlights Stalin's ability as he manoeuvres the political situation.

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 helpful in offering a full explanation of the strategies Stalin employed in his rise to power in the 1920s.

Question 3

How useful is Source D as an explanation of the reasons for rapid industrialisation in the 1930s? **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 consideration of the usefulness of **Source D** in explaining reasons for the development of the Five Year Plans and Russia's rapid industrialisation.

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

- Written towards the end of the First Five Year Plan 1928-1932.
- Stalin was writing at a time when his dictatorship was not complete and his leadership was not fully yet established.
- To hail the future, to motivate and perhaps to threaten.
- To accelerate the 5 Year Plan, to push ahead by raising the spectre of foreign aggression.

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- To get rid of backwardness – catch up with advanced countries.
- To defend the independence of the fatherland – Russia is now ready to make the fatherland strong again and is united in this pursuit.
- To build up the Bolshevik socialist economy – the pace of change must be speeded up 'Either we do it or we shall go under'.
- Russia must learn from history not to fall behind in any sphere – to avoid being beaten.

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

- Huge economic growth to create a "Soviet America".
- The USSR needed to industrialise to survive a potential European war.
- 1st FYP 1928-32 – coal, steel, iron focus because infrastructure needed.

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

- To move toward a socialist society/Ideology.
- To secure Stalin's power base.
- Russian patriotism.
- 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.
- 1933-37 – move to consumer goods but quickly moved to defence because of fascism.
- 1938 onwards – arms production because of build up for war.
- Good workers exceeded targets – rewarded higher pay, better working conditions, housing, celebrated in newspapers and on work notice boards.

- 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 but smaller rises: steel, chemicals (especially 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.

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

- **Acton** The perceived success of Collectivisation led to a need for the economy to rapidly industrialise.
- **Ward** Soviet economy fundamentally transformed, did what it intended.
- **Nové** 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”.

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 as an explanation of the reasons for rapid industrialisation in the 1930s.

The Spanish Civil War (1931-1939)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How successfully did Azaña's administration reform the Army between 1931 and 1933?

The candidate is expected to evaluate the Army Reforms of the Republican Government of Azaña between 1931 and 1933 and to draw conclusions on the extent to which they were successful in relation to the problems of the period.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Background

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

Main issues

- Huge cost – 40% of budget.
- Questionable loyalty and need for 'Republicanisation' of officer corps.
- Powerful position in society. Army saw itself as a 'State within a State'.

Reforms

- Reduction of Officer Corps.
- Closing of Academies.
- Reserved academy places for NCOs.
- Attempt to improve military education.
- Recruitment and Promotion Law.
- Access to promotion through ranks to officer posts.
- Annulled promotions.
- Dissolved Supreme Military Council.
- Abolition of post of Captain-General.

Effects

- Attacks on officers angered enemies, created paid malcontents, no real sign of budget cuts being effective.
- Closing of Academies and annulments angered those reduced (Franco) and made limited difference.
- Short-term reduction in costs, anger of, amongst others, Franco.
- Long-term solutions such as NCO and promotions reform made little difference in '31-'33 periods.
- Dissolution of Council and abolition of Captain-General symbolic and arguably necessary but the Army continued to be used for 'civil' order throughout period.
- Allowed Right to present Republic as anti-army.

Other issues

- Azaña's rhetoric showed willingness to challenge Army.
- "No-one speaks for the Army, nor does the Army itself speak."

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentaries 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.'
- **Esenwein and Shubert** 'The retirement law was undoubtedly a success'.
'All the governments of the Republic ...used the military to retain public order' (law enforcement not 'civilianised').
'Military men continued to dominate police posts'.
'the Army was in the forefront of internal and civil disputes'.
- **Thomas** 'Azana's reforms did not succeed...in cutting the military budget, training was not improved, and preparation for combat neglected.'
- **Carr** '...his reforms failed in their main purpose: the depoliticization of the army'.
'(Army Generals) resented the reforms...because of the vindictive spirit with which they perceived those reforms to be inspired.'

Question 2

To what extent were Azaña's Church Reforms motivated by his personal dislike of the Church?

The candidate is asked to evaluate the motives for Church Reforms presented by the administration between 1931 and 1933. The candidate may argue that the reforms were unnecessary and link this to an alternative motive, or discuss Azaña's own background and beliefs. Some background relating to the standing and role of the Church and the difficulty posed in loosening their grip on Spanish society may be used to place the reforms in context. Some discussion of the anti-clerical nature of the new constitution would be credited.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Reasons why Church Reforms could be seen as necessary

- Actions of the government.
- Powerful role in society.
- Close connection to latifundistas and army.
- Control over education.
- In decline since 19th century.
- Control over education gave Jesuits access to 'hearts and minds'.
- Need to 'republicanise' the nation.
- Church opposed land reforms which were crucial to a 'new' Spain.
- Religion not 'outlawed'.
- Dominant position of Catholicism still 'standing'.
- Many churchmen anti-republican (Segura 'what kind of sin is liberalism?').

However

- This was the wrong priority- agrarian reforms and the army were greater threats.
- There is clear evidence from Azaña's upbringing that he bore resentment against Catholic schooling.
- There was personal malice in some reforms – taxes on bell-ringing, "all the convents in Madrid are not worth the life of one Republican."
- In education, there was no viable alternative to Catholic education.
- Restrictions on teaching and banning of orders 'anti-liberal'.
- Segura did not speak for all Catholics.
- Arguably, debate over the religious clause of the constitution led to even greater polarisation of Spanish society and loss of working class support from the 'faithful'.

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

- **Beevor** (The Spanish Civil War):
“The Church was detested by the workers and labourers for preaching acceptance of poverty while amassing vast riches.”
“Republican attitude was that...the stranglehold of the Church must be broken.”
“The Catholic press ...presented (the Constitution) as a blueprint for the persecution of religion.”
- **Thomas** (The Spanish Civil War):
1927 Catechism as evidence of attitude – “What kind of sin is liberalism?...a mortal sin.”
Azana – Spain had ‘ceased to be Catholic’.
Cardinal Segura's letter in May 1931 attacking Republic further illustrated attitude.
“No clear statement can be made of the political attitude of the Church.”
“It would have been wise...if the Republic had concentrated on the creation of good schools...rather than attacking orders which maintained good, if exclusive ones.”
“The difficulty was that Spanish Catholics were forced into having to oppose the constitution...if they wished to criticise its educational policy.”
“Bishops explicitly advised Catholics to vote against the Popular Front.”
'30s Spain- “20,000 monks, 60,000 nuns and 35,000 priests (financed by state).”
“90 percent of those who were educated in religious schools did not confess or attend mass...”.
“Though (Catholic schools) favoured the status quo and the better off (they) were charitable and educational.”
“..The village priest was often looked on as an...amiable counsellor.”
“Nearly 20 Spanish provinces had an illiteracy rate of 50 per cent or over.”
“...the Church in Spain did incorporate a long tradition in Spanish life.”
“It was easy...to represent anti-clericalism with ‘anti-Spain.’”
- **Carr** (The Civil War in Spain): This attack (on the Church by Azana) was understandable, given the enormous emotional significance of the Church as a pillar of the ancient regime.

Question 3

To what extent were the actions of the government during the “Bienio Negro” responsible for raising tensions in Spain between 1933 and 1936?

The candidate is required to evaluate the effect of the right wing government of 1933 to 1936 and the extent to which civil war was probable by the time of its defeat at the polls. This evidence can be contrasted with other causal factors.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

- The regressive nature of Robles' anti-reform legislation.
- The failure of Jimenez (the 'White Bolshevik') to secure reasonable reform and the opposition of his colleagues.
- The dangerous rhetoric of Robles.
- Reactions to FNTT strikes-banning on grounds of harvest being 'sacred', suspension of *El Obrero de la Tierra*, suspension of strike meetings.
- The brutal reaction to the Asturias Rising, Brutality of Casas Viejas.
- Azaña, Companys, Caballero imprisoned (with others).
- Government of Catalonia disbanded, Statute of autonomy suspended.
- Martial law.
- Hundreds of municipal governments unseated.
- Also replacement of personnel in key bodies meant workers' rights and protests were largely ignored.
- Re-establishing the domination of the Catholic Church.
- Robles' frequent attempts to increase the likelihood of his own advancement, destabilising the government further hoping to be asked to form a government himself.
- Labour conditions in Asturias were horrendous and strike action was justified.

However

- Cortes not disbanded, no right wing coup.
- Socialist Party and Trade Unions not proscribed.
- Field inspectors were ordered to prevent discrimination in hiring.
- Government urged arbitration boards to quickly agree favourable contracts for workers government strengthened legislation forcing landowners to hire local labour wages established high as Azaña era.
- Declaration of Catalan State on announcement of CEDA delegates – undemocratic.
- Asturias rising inspired by legal democratic inclusion of elected members.
- Insurrectionary behaviour of CNT, UGT, FAI.
- Society polarised and arguably both sides were now 'catastrophists'.
- SCW did not break out until 1936 and when it did, it was initiated by the right.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentaries 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 polarization.”
- **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.
- **Thomas** Largo “reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of preparing a proletarian rising.”
“a fatal error of judgement.”

Question 4

Was the slow response of the Republican Government the main reason why the failed coup developed into a civil war between 1936 and 1937?

The candidate is required to evaluate the extent to which the main delayed response of the Republican Government was responsible for allowing the coup to develop into a civil war between 1936 and 1936. The candidate may compare this to other factors.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

Reasons Rebels failed

- Role of Miaja and Rojo.
- Government departure allowed the Communists to assume the lead in defending Madrid.
- Decision to liberate the Alcazar allowed the delivery of Soviet aid and also the formation of the International Brigades.
- Connected battles such as Guadalajara (North-East of Madrid). Victory due partly to weather and poor Italian troops.
- Role of Russian tanks and aircraft in stemming the Nationalist advance.
- Arrival of the first International Brigade units to reach the front-line.
- Popular defence – Women and children helped with food, communications and medical supplies.
- Prominent Communists such as Dolores Ibarruri, 'La Pasionaria', rallied the defenders with ringing oratory: 'It is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees.'
- Many of armed forces remained loyal to Republic.
- Nationalist battle plan in pocket of dead Italian soldier.
- Poor planning – unaware of support on the ground for Republic.

Reasons Government failed

- Role of General Emilio Mola.
- Disbelief as to seriousness of coup.
- Sizable amount of armed forces rebelled.
- Failure to arm workers.
- Navy 'disabled' and unable to stop Army of Africa crossing.
- Divisions, politically and militarily.
- Unsure of loyalty of officers.
- Advantage of loyalty in industrial/urban areas.
- Arrival of foreign planes to transport Army of Africa.

Reasons for Civil War

- Polarisation had already taken place.
- Relatively even divide of armed forces.
- Relatively even geographical split.
- Industry in hands of Republic, raw materials with rebels.
- Continued foreign intervention on both sides.
- Stalin's deliberate policy to keep conflict going.
- Fear on both sides of consequences of defeat/surrender.
- Incompatible aims – Republican, monarchical, religious, political sects, regionalism.
- Franco's attitude to compromise or negotiation.

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

- **Thomas** "(locally) militias of sorts existed since 1934 under the guise of athletics association."
"(Early in the defence)...these (Russian) tanks...were shown to be effective. One Russian tank was said to have destroyed eleven Italian ones." (Republican Russian) "...tanks made little impact...partly because the Spaniards now manning them were baffled by their complexity."
"...new Russian fighters showed their superiority in dispersing a squadron of Fiat fighters which escorted some Junkers 52." "Much of the organization of the resistance, emanating from (Maija's) headquarters... derived less from Maija than from the Russian General Goriev."
"...it does seem that Voronov was the inspiration behind the artillery."
"the Republican army had checked Varela before the arrival of the (12th) Brigade...The bravery and experience of the Brigades was, however, crucial."
- **Payne** "In Madrid...the revolt never had much chance of success. The organised revolutionary groups were so large compared to the military..." "In Madrid...the revolt was uncoordinated in the extreme.." "recent reassignments had broken up whatever unity there had been earlier. the police...accepted the bent of the population and fought valiantly for the leftist authorities."
- **Bolloten** "...far fewer generals on active service supported the rebellion than remained with the government."
- **Thomas** "The system of communications with Mola was bad and their morale was low."
- **Mola** "failed to coordinate (in Madrid) the diverse elements...there was doubt whether... Maija was or was not with the rebels."

But

- "...much of the forces of law and order...were with the rebels"
"(In Barcelona) ...the loyalty of the security forces was not unquestionable."
- **Preston** "The plotters had not foreseen that their rising would turn into a long and bloody civil war."
"...they had not counted on the strength of working-class resistance."
"Even those areas which had been won by the rebels had produced sufficient popular hostility to suggest...a major war of conquest."
"In rural districts...supporters of the Republic were usually able to overpower small Civil Guard garrisons."

But "In the Catholic heartlands...the rising had enjoyed instant success..."

Question 5

“Spain was governed as if it were a country occupied by a victorious foreign army.” How justified is this view of the immediate consequences of Franco’s victory in the Spanish Civil War?

The candidate is required to assess the immediate consequences of Franco’s victory including the named factor and highlighting others. The candidate should review the immediate/short term economic, social and political impact of the war on the Spanish people and discuss the cases for and against the view. Examples of later legislation, some of which was ‘back-dated’ to legitimise the actions of the regime, may be used to exemplify the attitudes and priorities of the victorious Nationalists.

Negative consequences

- Return to dictatorship and strict social control.
- Military courts in place until 1943.
- Secret Police system along with official party – FET y de las JONS intelligence brigade.
- Social welfare linked to regime loyalty- power of party official.
- Bribery and corruption rife.
- Documentary evidence used to persecute individuals connected to TUs.
- 26,000 political prisoners by mid-1940s.
- Re-establishment of the power of the Church, Army and Landowners.
- Repression of opposition in Basque area and, particularly in Catalonia.
- Repressive systems of education, employment, policing, courts.
- Widespread killings.
- Franco's maintaining of polarisation.

Other evidence providing counter-view

- Unity secured.
- Spanish Neutrality in WW2.
- Eventual recognition by all major powers.
- Left Spain in position to secure wartime alliances with West and to maintain them in the post war period due to its anti-Communist nature.
- Regime was to be the basis of Spain's most economically successful period for centuries.
- The regime was popular with many.
- Franco was never removed and his appointed monarch was popular enough to remain through the transition to democracy.

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

- **Ellwood** ‘Plurality and diversity were replaced in every sphere.’
‘...acts of individual cruelty, however brutal, were easily surpassed by the collective cruelty [of the Dictatorship].’
‘even children who had participated in union organised picnics ...were listed.’
- **Preston** ‘Wages were slashed, strikes treated as sabotage.. The CNT and UGT were crushed.’
‘Travel and search for jobs were controlled.’
‘Every effort was made to maintain the division between the victors and the vanquished.’
- **Carr/Fusi** His (Franco) aim was ‘to destroy the nineteenth century; that is, parliamentary liberalism.’
- ‘The secret of Franco's power lay in his manipulation of the political families (and for this purpose we must include the Falange, the Army and...the Church).’
- ‘His early governments were...paralysed by the mutual mistrust of soldiers and civilians.’

The Spanish Civil War (1931-1939)

Part 2

Question 1

How useful is Source A in explaining the nature of British Foreign Policy towards the Spanish Republic in 1936? **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 A** in providing an adequate explanation of the nature of British Foreign Policy towards the Spanish Republic in 1936 in terms of:

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

- Memoirs – view from British foreign minister at the time.
- Written in 1962 well after the event and with plenty of benefit of hindsight.
- Written when he was a retired Prime Minister.
- To justify his actions during the non-intervention period.
- Show support for general policy of appeasement? Eden's views were known to have grown more anti-Appeasement over time.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Discusses the problems facing the French government if they intervene.
- Impact of possible war on Britain ... leading to European war; shared point of view of French and British over this.
- Lack of desire of British government to become involved.
- Britain's view that Spanish government wouldn't appreciate foreign intervention.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Britain's policy throughout the 1920s and 1930s had been aimed at avoiding general conflict.
- France had a Popular Front Government and initially favoured aiding the Republic.
- French Government was extremely unstable and action could have united the right in opposition.
- Non-intervention was initially suggested by the French.
- French policy was partly the result of Eden's veiled threat 'Be prudent'.

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

- Britain's 'appeasement' policy was nothing more than hypocrisy; regarded by Nehru as: 'The supreme farce of our time'.
- Chamberlain made the controversial decision to send Sir Robert Hodgson to Burgos to be the British government's link with the Nationalist government in 1937.
- When Blum began to argue for an end to the country's non intervention policy, Chamberlain and the Foreign Office joined with the right-wing press in France to bring him down.

- It has been claimed that the British secret service was involved in the military rebellion in Madrid by Segismundo Casado. Soon afterwards, on 27th February 1939, the British government recognised General Francisco Franco as the new ruler of Spain.
- Until 1930s USSR had made their intention to expand apparent.
- A poor relationship with Spain and Portugal would cut off crucial sea routes and bases for Britain.

Candidates may bring a range of appropriate historians' commentaries 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.

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 an explanation of the nature of British Foreign Policy towards the Spanish Republic in 1936.

Question 2

How much do Sources B and C reveal about differing views on the reasons why unity was achieved within the Nationalist forces? **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:

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the views in **Sources B and C** on reasons why unity existed or apparently existed amongst the Nationalists and offers a structured evaluation in terms of:

Points from Source B

Provenance: Appropriate and relevant comments on provenance will earn credit

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- 'Victorious General...the hope of all of the middle-class and all on the Right' illustrates unity created by military success.
- Alternatives, 'Calvo Sotelo, Sanjurjo, José Antonio, and Goded were either dead or unavailable.' forcing unity.
- 'Mola was... looked upon as a Republican Monarchist.' Showing divisions.
- 'Only Franco had remained politically neutral in the past' therefore, unlike other contenders, offending no-one and acceptable to most.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Sotelo was assassinated and Primo captured, allowing Franco to act 'on their behalf'.
- Sanjurjo's plane had crashed killing him.
- Goded captured and executed in Barcelona.
- Queipo de Llano supported the Popular Front, and his daughter was even married to one of Alcalá-Zamora's sons.

Points from Source C

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- ‘...anyone who wanted to object only exposed himself to the charge of treachery towards the nationalist movement.’ Forced unity. Some, clearly ‘wished to object’.
- Conflict with Hedilla’s clearly illustrates divisions.
- ‘He had no effective rival.’ Unity a consequence of necessity rather than preference.
- ‘...nature of the Nationalists begged a single, disciplined command.’ Unity of purpose.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Many of the conspirators did indeed ‘acquiesce’ to unity under Franco rather than celebrate it. Cabanellas opposed Franco.
- Franco’s position, as leader of the Army of Africa was crucial and inspired unity.

Points from recall which offer wider contextualisation of the views in the sources.

- The sources focus on the good fortune of Franco.
- Arguably tactics, such as Franco’s deliberate delay in his campaign to allow time to consolidate political power, also forged unity.
- Franco, by no means a Falangist, was fortunate Primo died but may also have been instrumental in preventing his ‘exchange’. His cult of the ‘absent one’ brought many Falangists on board.
- Franco (and Suñer) courted all on the Right in a Catholic Crusade from which it was difficult to dissent.
- Polarisation in Spain meant many of the right were united due to their hatred of the ‘communist, godless’ left.
- Reference to the motives and perceived aims of Alfonsists, Carlists, Falangists, former CEDA supporters, Army officers, Church supporters and individuals such as Cabanellas , Mola, Yague, Queipo de Llano and Sanjurjo.

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

- **Thomas** ‘There were almost as many potential fissures in the Nationalist side as there were in the Republican.’
- **Beevor** ‘(Franco) had no effective rival and the very nature of the Nationalist movement begged a single, disciplined command.’
- **Preston** ‘With his major political rivals all dead, Franco was free to control... the political direction of the Nationalists.’

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 explanation of the reasons why Franco was able to achieve unity of the Nationalist forces.

Question 3

How fully does Source D illustrate the divisions within the left during the Spanish Civil War?

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 an evaluation of **Source D** in providing an adequate explanation of the reasons for and arguments around the divisions within the Left during the Spanish Civil War in terms of:

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

Points from source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views:

- 'P.S.U.C. confronted the C.N.T.' Role of political groups/parties.
- 'Communist pressure on the government had become great.' Showing difference of their ideas.
- 'a combination of all the other parties' against Communists. Showing the divisions.
- Communists being in favour of greater centralisation; and Socialists and Communists fighting among themselves in Barcelona.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Political parties were fiercely opposed to each other as were many trade unions.
- Key issues (regular army instead of party militias, for an end to all revolutionary measures), seemed beyond compromise.
- Communist pressure would become more apparent as the conflict went on, with the importance of Soviet aid increasing, their grip on control would see them oust a succession of Prime Ministers.
- Other parties may have united on this occasion but the Anarchists had little in common with any others and there was little unity at times on key issues of control, discipline and centralisation.

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

Variety of reasons for divisions:

- Personal enmity, between Prieto and Caballero, for instance, meant individuals put their cause before the republic.
- Other individuals stuck by the beliefs of their specific party, often incompatible with bourgeois republicanism (Ibarruri, Durruti).
- Regionalism, and the diverse politics which it also brought, meant that some groups sought different outcomes from others from the conflict.
- Some sought a negotiated settlement, whilst others saw this as a betrayal.
- The economic position of many 'on the ground' influenced their support or otherwise for concepts such as collectivism.

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

- **Heywood** Republic's key problem was re-establishing order which had effectively passed on to revolutionary groups (Barcelona- CNT, Madrid-UGT).
'Revolutionary experiments' (spontaneous and forced collectivisation) had drastically undermined the government's authority (Heywood).
'the brutality and cynicism with which the Communists imposed discipline and built up the Popular Army contributed to the disillusionment of many on the Republican side.'
- **Preston** 'If the communists had been able to find some way to harness the revolutionary spirit...instead of simply crushing it, they may have won.' 'The Republican force as a whole suffered from its internal political divisions despite the Popular Army's discipline.'
- **Preston** 'A civil war within a civil war'.
'Morale in the Republican zone was increasingly being undermined by political disputes.'
Personal enmity existed between senior protagonists (Caballero and Prieto).
Political ideologies of Anarchists and Communists were entirely incompatible.
Arguments also arose as to military tactics (Communist criticisms over Aragon offensive.
Prieto's criticisms of Teruel (campaign).
Influence from outside Spain (Soviet influence over Communists).
- **Thomas** 'the political parties (of the Left) all held back such a proportion of their arms as they could for possible use against their friends.'

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** provides a full explanation of the divisions within the Left during the Spanish Civil War.

Britain at War and Peace (1939-1951)

Part 1

Each question is worth 25 marks

Question 1

How well prepared was the British economy for the outbreak of war in 1939?

The objective of this question is to get the candidate to discuss the arguments relating to the different degrees of Britain's preparedness for war in economic terms. One area of debate centres around the degree to which Chamberlain's adoption of the 'long game strategy' and forceful pursuit of appeasement as a policy designed to placate German anger over perceived injustices was responsible for hampering the rearmament programme in the late 1930s and its part in a possible economic recovery. Equally, the candidate should consider the ideological standpoint of Chamberlain with regard to the management of the economy for total war and how this hampered effective preparations for the conflict.

Arguments on the state of the economy

Financial

- A discussion of what he meant by playing the long game and how that impinged on policymaking especially in relation to economic policy leading to failings in economic planning.
- Britain was recovering from the bleakness of the "Hungry Thirties"; it relied upon trade using the resources gathered from its empire.
- Britain was a free market economy before the war, lacking in government intervention. To be effective it had to move from little governmental economic guidance to structured planning of Soviet proportions.
- Chamberlain was criticised because he was ideologically opposed to such intervention. This led to the impression of Britain's unpreparedness for war.
- There are however relevant and powerful economic decisions being made such as exchange controls and the selling off of gold and dollar reserves to buy war essentials.
- Britain's public sector was over twice as large in 1938 as 1870 with almost all of that growth due to transfer payments, of which the largest element was spending on welfare, national insurance for pensions, health and unemployment.
- The cost of servicing the enlarged national debt forced to defend Britain's geo-political status was also a factor.
- There was an overall fear engulfing British politicians. At this time they did not want to jeopardise political and economic stability by sacrificing living standards and social expenditure in favour of rearmament.
- Rearmament costs were met by increased taxation and extra borrowing. These fiscal policies were the cause of an increased budget deficit in 1938 and 1939. To such an extent economists were predicting an overall collapse in the economy. This was averted when the Treasury provided the funds needed to sustain rearmament.

Labour

- Chamberlain's unwillingness to consult with the trades unions over mobilisation of labour and production targets. And the unwillingness of the trade union movement to work with him because of his associations with the "Hungry Thirties".
- One and a quarter million were still unemployed by June 1940.
- By August 1939 there was a Ministry of Supply, a Ministry of Labour and National Conscription. There was also a list of conserved occupations that were seen as being more important to victory than military service.

Industry

- Whilst Britain had adequate coal reserves it had to import other raw materials for war production such as iron ore and aluminium (Bauxite). These had to be paid for and we chose to borrow money to pay for these essential raw materials.
- The British government found it difficult to persuade privately owned business to change production from civilian products to war products, especially after the economic disaster which was the 1930s.
- Nevertheless British industry was gradually transformed from a civilian economy to a militarised economy. From 1936 shadow factories were introduced to supply the aircraft industry. Essentially a plan to build factories beside the established automotive industry. These factories would allow government in time of need to switch production from civilian motor cars to aircraft or armoured vehicles.
- These changes can be seen in just about every aspect of the British manufacturing economy as Britain gears up for total war. Not only is there a need for large military assets such as tanks, ships and aircraft but there is a great number of people being employed in the components industries for these capital assets.
- Whilst we cannot forget the essential industries needed to manufacture the sufficient numbers of small arms and personal weapons such as rifles and ultimately the ammunition for these weapons.

Candidates will be expected to comment upon the effectiveness of the preparations above in achieving readiness for war. They may allude to the speed of change, the reluctance to accept government policies or give a comparison of the effectiveness of British rearmament compared to other allies such as France.

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

- **CL Mowatt** and **Michael Howard** who tell us about the differing economic aspects of the topic.
- **Paul Addison** is scathing about Chamberlain's economic complacency and his deep seated desire not to let the trade unions have any say in manpower distribution or production targets nor to upset the normal workings of market forces in the economy.
- **Andrew Roberts** maintains rearmament was as effective as it could have been under the circumstances.
- **R Mackay** is prepared to take a middle ground stance on this one and questions the degree to which any democracy can effectively prepare for total war.
- **R. Overy** tells us of the precarious economic position Britain finds itself in the immediate years before the outbreak of war.

Question 2

To what extent was Britain's survival in 1940 due to the Navy rather than the RAF?

The basis of the essay's argument lies in the controversy over whether the role of the Battle of Britain in saving Britain from defeat in 1940 has been overstressed to the detriment of other theatres of war involving the British military, in particular the role of the Navy. Did so many necessarily need to owe so much to so few or should we focus more on the role of the Navy in protecting our shores? The candidate therefore would be expected to review the case for the role of Britain's naval forces before reviewing the part played by the RAF in retaining control of the skies over Britain: and come to a supported judgement on which factor seems most vital in ensuring we were not invaded.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

- The belief amongst the Navy that fast-moving ships at sea were safe from German air attack.
- The evidence that no capital ship had been sunk by an aircraft up to that point.
- That the German threat of stretching a minefield across the channel to prevent the Navy assisting in repelling an invasion force was an empty one since the German fleet contained very few of these mine laying ships anyway.
- Britain had 52 minesweepers and 16 minesweeping trawlers arrayed against four German minelayers.
- That a slow moving invasion fleet of barges filled with soldiers would have been sitting ducks for the Navy and that the certainty of massive loss of human life from such attacks by the Royal Navy would have dissuaded the Germans from launching any invasion even if they had gained temporary air superiority.
- The disparity between the navies was huge with Britain having 36 destroyers close by and a similar number two days away. The Navy also had five capital ships on hand, whereas the Kriegsmarine had lost or had damaged their battleships.
- Invasion was not necessarily inevitable in the summer of 1940, and many German commanders had serious misgivings – and a fear of the Royal Navy.
- Recent research suggests that the German Navy had utterly rejected the notion of an invasion on all of these grounds if only because it would have been almost impossible to supply and reinforce any troops from the first wave of landings who did make it ashore.
- Further evidence suggests that Churchill himself thought an invasion highly unlikely but talked up the prospect as a method of drawing the USA into the conflict, keeping the British public behind the war effort and the trade unions quiet during his period of political difficulty in late 1940.

The candidate would then be expected to scrutinise the counter argument that it was the RAF, largely as a result of their work in the Battle of Britain, that saw off the Germans and deterred them from considering an invasion using evidence such as:

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

- An analysis of Bomber and Coastal Command's contribution might be given. They would both make a significant contribution to the battle by attacking the German invasion preparations and airfields across the Channel.
- Indeed Bomber and Coastal Command lost proportionately more men than Fighter Command. In winning the Battle of Britain, Fighter Command lost 537 pilots killed. Bomber Command lost 718 aircrew killed in action. Coastal Command lost 230 airmen. Therefore, a candidate may come to the conclusion that their contribution may be underestimated.

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

- **Dr A. Gordon, Dr Christina Goulter and Prof G. Sheffield** who are all in broad agreement that a holistic view of Britain's defences in 1940 is required to make sense of this period of the war. They tell us that consideration needs to be given to Bomber and Coastal command as well as the Royal Navy and Fighter command. (This is clarification of their views which is in contrast to the article "Pie in the Sky" published in *History Today* by **Brian James**. **James** incorrectly claimed the above academics endorsed the view that the Navy's role in the Battle of Britain was more important than the role of the RAF).
- This view is also held by **Hubert Allen** who defines the Battle of Britain as more than just an air battle. He concludes that the importance of the air and maritime dimensions had been respectively exaggerated and underestimated.
- **Clive Ponting** has produced statistical evidence to show that far from being heavily outnumbered, the RAF had changed its production methods to such effect that by October 1940, the RAF outnumbered the Luftwaffe.
- **Angus Calder** asserts that the need for a myth of a generation of flying heroes was paramount and that such a myth energised the population and sustained morale.
- Respected Historian **Richard Overy** concurs that the Battle of Britain has assumed the epic proportions of a Stalingrad and that the facts were juggled to produce a picture of the campaign which was in fact a caricature of itself.
- **Max Hastings** would profoundly disagree and retains his belief in the primacy of the Battle of Britain in safeguarding the country.
- This view is shared by **John Keegan** who tells us that it was the 2,500 young pilots of the RAF alone who were responsible for preserving Britain from invasion.
- **Anthony J Cumming** gives us a controversial, revisionist account of the Battle of Britain, weighing the outcome more firmly in the hands of the Royal Navy, rather than the RAF.
- **Duncan Grinnell-Milne** in "The Silent Victory" and in "The Navy at War" explores the contribution not only of the Navy but the short comings of the German instruments of sea power.

Question 3

How successfully did Britain's agriculture and industry cope with the demands put upon them during the war?

This essay specifically relates to the two industries and should not be answered in the context of the impact of the war on the whole economy. However, an acknowledgement of fiscal policy and its effect upon the two industries above may be given.

Candidates may be expected to use evidence such as:

Industry

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

Agriculture

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

Financial

- A detailed analysis of government policies on import and export controls. This may include a discussion of exchange controls to keep capital in Britain. The decision to sell gold and dollar reserves as well as the curtailment of luxury goods to concentrate on war manufacture. The candidate may offer a description of the importance of imports from the Empire in keeping Britain's economy stable.
- Fiscal policies such as increasing the basic rate of tax and the use of excess profits tax to inject much needed capital to the war effort. 'Finance is the fourth arm of defence', said Chancellor Sir John Simon in the first war Budget. Taxation being 29% standard and 41% surtax for incomes over £50,000. The rate of tax for the rich was increased to 50% towards the end of the war with the allowance cut from £50,000 to £20,000. With the introduction of PAYE as a more efficient collection system.
- The impact on export trade and the trade deficit by 1945. This may include a discussion about the long term effects of "Lend Lease" on British export trade during and post war.
- The origins, nature and extent of the Lend-Lease programme (£5.5 billion).
- Why "Lend-Lease" was needed and an explanation of the shortcomings in the British economy.

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

- In historiographical terms the main critic of Britain's economic performance is **Correlli Barnett** in his book *Audit of War*, he tells us about low productivity, poor worker/management relations and out-dated machinery and work practices.
- More balanced accounts of the explanations of industrial performance are likely to be obtained from **Tiratsoo, Fielding, Milward, Thoms.**
- Most recently **Floud** and **McCloskey** are more likely to stress the factors affecting industrial performances which were outwith human control, eg war-weariness through exhausting shift-working, lack of materials and the general ill-preparedness of industry for such an examination.
- **J.K. Bowers** contends that British agriculture during the war prospered. Prices and productivity of cereal crops increased for some sixteen per cent more than pre-war levels. However, he does record that livestock production remained stagnant for cattle whilst the production of sheep actually declined.
- **Peter Howlett** tells us of the success of the industrial wartime economy and its rapid shift from a seven per cent GDP spend on wartime activities at the start of the war to a fifty-five per cent spent by 1943. This would suggest a corresponding increase in war productivity during this timeframe.
- **Jim Tomlinson** tells us of the success of the management of the wartime economy taking into account its vulnerability to shortages.

Question 4

“The welfare state was born from a new desire for equality in society.” How successful was the Labour Government in achieving this objective?

The candidate can take it as read that one of the main reasons behind the raft of social welfare legislation passed after 1945 was the feeling that it had been a "People's war" (**Calder**) in which all had suffered equally and that the suffering had not simply been endured in the pursuit of military victory over Nazism but in the fervent expectation that there would be a better society in Britain after the war: ie " a People's peace." (**Calder**) The issue now is: across the range of legislation that the Labour government introduced, how close did it come to achieving this ideal?

Candidates may use evidence such as an evaluation of:

Want

- The National Insurance Act (1946) was inherited from the wartime coalition government. It was far more comprehensive than the previous Act. Workers made regular contributions to the scheme in return for benefits in the event of sickness and unemployment; the act also provided maternity payments, widows benefits and death grants.
- The Industrial Injuries Act gave compensation to workers who suffered injuries in the workplace. The National Assistance Act (1948) made further provision for the most vulnerable in society: the disabled, infirm and elderly.
- The Family Allowance Act again inherited from the wartime coalition government gave child benefits to families of two or more children.
- National Insurance Benefits were at a 'fixed rate' for 5 years and failed to keep pace with the cost of living. Many more people claimed benefits than expected. The financial cost to the government rose alarmingly. The unpopular Means Test remained.

Disease

- The NHS Act was passed in 1946 and came into operation in 1948, under the guidance of Aneurin Bevan the Minister for Health & Housing. It was designed to provide a free and comprehensive health-care system for all. The scheme faced huge opposition from doctors who feared the loss of income from private patients. Bevan had to compromise and offer financial incentives to compensate doctors.
- The NHS proved very popular with the public but the number of patients overwhelmed doctors, dentists and opticians.
- Costs soared: the NHS became massive burden to the tax-payers, costing £358 million per year by 1950, including £7 million per month on prescription charges alone.
- Bevan had to compromise on free treatment, introducing prescription charges. Plans for new hospitals were shelved.
- Nonetheless, the NHS is still regarded as the greatest achievement of Attlee's Government.

Ignorance

- The Education Act was another piece of legislation inherited from the wartime coalition government. All pupils had to stay on at school until the age of 15.
- The government introduced the controversial 11 plus test, creating a socially divisive tripartite system of 'Grammar', 'Secondary Modern' and 'Technical' schools depending on ability.
- This was intended to create a system better suited to pupils' needs but seriously limited the educational opportunities for children from working-class backgrounds and deprived areas.
- The quality of education offered at Secondary Moderns was criticised; few Technical Schools were ever built; the system was gradually phased out, replaced by Comprehensive Schools.

Squalor

- Due to aerial bombing there was a chronic shortage of housing at the end of WWII.
- There was also a lack of building materials and construction workers. Bevan made working class areas a priority by building council houses to a good standard. Thousands of pre-fabricated houses were also built using cheap materials.
- These were intended only as a temporary solution but many became permanent.
- The New Towns Act (1946) helped reduce overcrowding in the cities. At first, some new towns lacked public amenities and became 'concrete jungles'. Depopulation of the cities ripped the heart out of traditional communities.
- Despite the Labour government's housing programme, slum areas remained; by 1951 there was still a shortfall of 750,000 houses.

Idleness

- To meet the cost of welfare benefits, low unemployment was essential. Beveridge had estimated a figure below 3% was required.
- The Chancellor Hugh Dalton claimed the reduction of unemployment to 2.5% was a remarkable achievement.
- Unemployment remained at a low level, but this was partly due to industries being nationalised and heavily-subsidised by the government.
- This led to an inefficient economy and the devaluation of the pound. Marshall Aid from the USA also helped to keep unemployment artificially low.

The candidate may record the success of the Labour government's policies by offering an analysis of the view of its supporters:

- Labour went beyond even Beveridge's idea on welfare. Bevan built an NHS system from scratch, despite the formidable opposition of the BMA.
- Universality meant an end to the hated means test. (This was an aim rather than policy.)
- Some attempt at public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy was made.
- Public housing was given higher priority than private.
- There was an element of redistributive taxation.
- The degree to which the electorate accepted the welfare reforms as implemented was an indication of their success.
- The massive uptake of health care may be an indication not only of need but the necessity of the NHS.

The candidate, as a balance, may offer an analysis of the views of the Government's critics:

- The National Insurance Act 1946 would need many officials to run it; therefore it would not be cost effective.
- Benefits only went to those who made 156 weekly contributions and benefit was only given for limited period. Benefit levels did not change with price rises – in 1948 benefits were only 19% of average industrial wage.
- More people than expected had to apply for minimum wage.
- Some people would not apply for National Assistance as it had stigma of a Means Test. This reminded them of the 1930s.
- Government efforts were hindered by lack of building materials. They were also expensive because the timber was imported from Sweden & USA.
- In 1947 the housing programme was cut back as the import of raw materials was affecting UK Balance of Payments.
- Labour's promise to create Housing Ministry went unfulfilled. Still major housing shortages people squatted on disused army camps.
- The 1951 census shows 750,000 fewer houses in UK. The same level of homelessness as in 1931.

- Very few secondary technical schools built. Children mainly went to grammar schools & secondary modern schools. The 11 plus exam created socially divisive system. Few secondary schools built only around 250 by 1950. Some of the Labour leaders had little understanding of the state school system.
- In the NHS progress was hampered by old, inefficient buildings it was hugely expensive.
- General taxation had to be used because National Insurance contributions were not enough. This led to charges introduced for some services in 1950 undermining the principles of free health care which was the ultimate aim of the NHS and of the Labour government.
- The electorate's disenchantment with the continuation of rationing and other austerity measures and their intolerance of the perceived bureaucracy of state control was turning them against future Labour policies on welfare.
- Disquiet about the degree to which economic decision making was being influenced by the USA ultimately affected their overall popularity.

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

- **Kenneth Morgan, Henry Pelling, Alec Cairncross and Peter Hennessy** all come to the conclusion that this period was Labour's "Finest Hour". They provided support for the theory that the government satisfied the electorate's desire for a "New Jerusalem". They think the government was ultimately responsible for substituting the wartime economy for a viable peacetime economy, reducing unemployment and staying true to the ideology of "cradle to the grave" welfare reform.
- Critics of Labour's reforms include **Jim Firth** and **John Saville** who both criticise the government for missing an opportunity for wholesale socialist reform. They find the cautious approach of the Attlee government actually alienated its own fervent supporters.
- Conversely, other critics such as **Corelli Barnett**: takes the view that the country was seduced by dreams and illusions of a "New Jerusalem" which it could not afford and were ultimately ruinous to the country's fortunes. He believes that the socialist ideology of the Attlee government went too far. He thinks that the opportunity cost of welfare reform was the missed opportunity to increase the nation's wealth in the post war period.
- **Kevin Jeffreys** tells us whilst **Barnett's** view may have been popular with right-wing Conservatives wanting to roll back state intervention in the 1980s, his views found little support amongst academics.

Question 5

Can the decline of Britain's imperial influence be directly attributed to the Second World War?

The candidate would be expected to review the extent of decolonisation that had taken place by 1951, setting it within the context of imperial decline, and offering an appreciation of the factors at work in hastening decolonisation and a degree of analysis of whether the war was the primary agent in bringing about this process or merely an accelerating agent.

Candidates may use evidence such as:

- An analysis of the extent to which the process of decolonisation was underway before the war.
- Reference to specific examples of decolonisation, in particular India and Pakistan independence (1947) but also Transjordan (1946), Burma and Ceylon (1948), Palestine (1948) and Libya (1951).
- Pressure from anti-colonial movements during and after the war.
- An analysis of the cost of the war and Britain's additional military and financial obligations as a reason for decolonisation.
- Britain's retreat from her status as an imperial power in the Middle East and the reasons for that.
- The pressure placed on Britain by the superpowers to decolonise and in particular the desire of the USA to gain access to British colonial markets.
- The attitude of the Labour party to the issue of decolonisation.
- Influence of other decolonising nations such as the French and Dutch.
- Britain's concept of 'an informal empire', post 1947.

Other factors the candidate may be expected to cover

- Nationalism, economic constraints, and Britain's relative decline all played a part, but the international dimension was the single most important factor. In particular, four main concerns influenced the decolonization process as successive British governments had to face the imperative of economic recovery and after the Second World War, the threat of communist expansion.
- First, the special relationship with the United States and the support of its cold war policies.
- Secondly, the growing Commonwealth and the emerging European Community, as potentially conflicting circles of interest, influenced the pace of decolonization and Britain's relations with its former territories.
- Finally, two forces accelerated the end of the Empire as Britain sought to salvage its international image: criticism at the United Nations and decolonization in the other European empires.
- Britain's decolonisation can be attributed to pragmatism and prestige, with officials convinced that refusing to decolonize would tarnish Britain's image forever or even that decolonizing required strength.

Some candidates may offer the argument that Britain did not experience an imperial decline during this period. Evidence for this may include:

- Britain's self-interest was still served in large parts of Africa as well the Caribbean and Hong Kong.
- Economically international trade was still dominated by the performance of Sterling in the immediate post war era, despite growing challenges from markets dominated by the Dollar.
- A military association with the USA and the development of an independent nuclear capability consolidated Britain's belief that it was the world's third greatest power.
- British diplomacy brought the USA into NATO this demonstrated to others that they still had considerable global influence.
- As a permanent member of the UN Security Council they had a potential influence in global affairs.

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

- **Jefferys, Morgan, Pearce and Tomlinson** who are all generally agreed on the importance of the war as a precipitating factor.
- **John Darwin** cites the changing economic relationship brought about by the war, between Britain and her colonies/dominions as a vital reason for their desire to extend economic independence to a full political one. He refers to 'the convulsive moment in Asia' in 1947-48 as a fundamental harbinger of change.
- **Roger Lewis** is more specific and attributes the process to specific decisions taken by the Attlee government of 1947-1948. Others blur the focus and describe a more gradual and spasmodic process.
- **W David McIntyre** sees the abandonment of Palestine as "the more decisive and traumatic episode in the Attlee phase of decolonisation".
- **Reynolds** suggests that "the war had undermined the foundations of British power in some of its dependencies."
- **John Gallagher** traces the decline right back to the aftermath of the Great War.
- **Barnett** produces the most savage critique of global overstretch and the pursuit of the illusion of power as a primary cause of British imperial decline in the post-war period.
- **Ronald Hyam** portrays the recovery from the Second World War, Britain's special relationship with the USA and the expansion of communism as factors involved in Britain's imperial decline.

Britain at War and Peace (1939-1951)

Part 2

Question 1

How fully does Source A explain the issues resulting from evacuation in wartime Britain?
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 an evaluation of **Source A** in providing an adequate explanation of the reasons for the issues arising from evacuation in wartime Britain, in terms of:

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

- Evacuation had been implemented eighteen months earlier.
- Scottish dimension highlighted with numbers of children evacuated from Glasgow to the West Coast.
- Typical view of a parochial newspaper.
- No obvious censorship. The article is written with some sincerity, but sees only problems.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- The evidence relates to the difficult nature of implementing an evacuation policy.
- The source discusses who is to blame for these problems and asks for toleration.
- The evidence tells the reader about wilful destruction and lack of parental control.
- The source highlights that placing evacuees was not always easy due to attitudes held by the more affluent.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- The view in the source is not an uncommon experience for many evacuees at this time.
- Initially 176,000 children were assembled. Within three days 120,000 were evacuated Glaswegians typically went "doon the water" to Rothesay or Kintyre, some even went to rural Perthshire. If you were from Edinburgh you were likely to be billeted in the Borders or the Highlands. Around 500,000 Scots were eligible for the Government's evacuation scheme. Not only children, but those in the vulnerable categories such as mothers with children under school age, invalids and the blind were also eligible. Nevertheless, the uptake of the scheme was less than 40%. Some who were wealthy or had relatives in rural areas made private arrangements.
- The Scottish system was fundamentally different from the English system. In Scotland the children were placed in family groups rather than their counterparts in England who were placed in school class groups. This may have been due to the peculiarities of the Scottish education system. The consequence was Scottish children were less likely to be placed away from their siblings.
- There was evidence that some children were not treated as they had ought to have been in regards to their physical or emotional wellbeing, however this was not a common occurrence.
- When the evacuees arrived at their destinations it was apparent from the start that urban and rural experiences of life were indeed in polar opposition. Suddenly rural communities were faced with children from socially deprived urban areas and they brought with them the

maladies of the urban poor, such as, lice, scabies, nits, rickets, tuberculosis and diphtheria. In many studies bed wetting is also used as an indicator of social deprivation. However, we need to be sceptical of this because hosts were paid extra if their evacuees soiled their bedclothes. It has been suggested that records about this were easily falsified to gain extra income. Evacuees also came with little in the way of clothing and some rural hosts could not believe how their poverty was reflected in their attire.

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

- The system of evacuation was considered a success however there were shortcomings. The system seemed haphazard and the quality of organisation across the nation differed from the excellent to the emotionally uninvolved. Whilst evacuees were taken from the major cities for their own safety a number went back during the “Phoney War” because the imminent bombing campaign by the Luftwaffe did not materialise. Problems due to re-evacuation from SE after the Blitz.
- The education of most was disrupted as rural schools could not cope with the influx of children from the cities.
- Those who found it most difficult were those who came to Britain as refugees from Eastern Europe. Not only did they have to deal with suspicion because of increased xenophobia at this time they were also unsure that they would ever see their parents or homeland ever again.
- Nevertheless for some it was a grand adventure and the experience has been described as the best of times.
- Overall evacuation was seen as a success of the highest order (candidate may exemplify its successes) and the impact of it is regarded as being long lasting.

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

- It would be expected that some reference would be made to the views of **Mackay, Smith, Macnicol, Marwick, Titmuss, Harris** and **Calder**.
- Modern historians such as **Macnicol** suggest that far from pricking middle-class conscience and promoting social welfare reform, evacuation served only to reinforce existing class prejudice about feckless mothers and poor parenting and that what was required to solve the problems of verminous children was better parental education not a welfare system. Echoes of this argument certainly resounded round Whitehall.
- **Calder** would look more to the impact of big government on people’s lives, instilling the notion that what worked in wartime could certainly work in peace time. **John Stewart** and **John Welshman**, however, have investigated a Scottish dimension to the attitude in which evacuees were received. In England they blamed the structure of society or the socio-economic status of the evacuee for their apparent poverty; absolving them of responsibility for their appearance or demeanour.
- However, **Stewart** and **Welshman** have indicated that in Scotland there was an element of blame laid at the door of the parents of evacuees who were poorly presented or who were perceived to have an attitude that was considered aggressive or anti-social.

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 issues raised by evacuation.

Question 2

How useful is Source B in explaining the strengths and weaknesses of Churchill as a war leader? **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 historian's 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 B** as evidence of the strengths and weaknesses of Churchill's leadership, in terms of:

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

- Bevan a Welsh Socialist was a constant thorn in Churchill's side. He was against Churchill's appointment as Prime Minister.
- Bevan actively campaigned against media censorship during the war.
- He was ultra-critical of the British Army's leadership and class-led structure as well as calling for nationalisation on the Home Front to allow Britain to function fully in its time of need.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Bevan has a negative view of Churchill's capabilities as a leader.
- Suggests that Churchill cannot be trusted to have sole responsibility for the military progress of the war because the pressure of such a task leads him to rash and irrational decisions.
- Bevan comments that he has not appointed people to advise him in the appropriate manner to conduct all the aspects of war efficiently. This he feels is one of the weaknesses of his leadership style. He also tells us that ultimately Churchill and his decision making process ought to be closely monitored.
- Bevan tells us Churchill confuses the use of language ("We shall fight them on the beaches. Never in the field of human conflict") instead of action as the best inspiration. Did his speeches engage all or just a few?

Points from recall which support and contextualise those in the source;

Further exploration of the issues of Churchill's weakness for example:

- His interference with his army commanders in all fields, his failure to open up the much argued for second front in Europe to relieve the pressure on the Soviets and his persistence with the controversial area bombing campaign of Germany.
- Further examination may be made of Churchill's role on the Home Front and the assertion that he was too preoccupied with his military role to pay enough attention to domestic politics and was hence open to criticism that he allowed the Labour coalition ministers to seize the initiative on the reconstruction debate and set the agenda for reform.
- Mention may be made of the right wing view that the war was fought unnecessarily and resulted in the exhaustion of Britain's economic resources, her relegation to a second rate world power and the loss of her empire.
- The Tory view that Churchill was above party politics and was largely an absentee leader of a political party he cared little for and as such ensured their electoral defeat in 1945.

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

Further exploration of the issues of Churchill's strengths for example:

- Churchill's opposition to appeasement, his galvanisation of the war effort and his stubborn determination to ensure that Britain would stand alone against the Nazi menace when Europe had succumbed.
- An appraisal of Churchill's oratorical skills against the view presented by Bevan and his binding of the nation to the cause of victory when lesser politicians may have sought a compromise of peace.
- It would be appropriate to discuss his single-minded pursuit of victory at all costs and his embodiment of the British spirit of resistance in the face of formidable odds.
- Churchill's ability to persuade Roosevelt that the defeat of Germany was the first priority of the Allies after Pearl Harbour.
- Nevertheless, the disaster that was Tobruk with over 25,000 troops captured is still fresh in everybody's mind.
- Far from being a reckless adventurer, Churchill may even have been overly cautious in his approach to military matters to preserve lives and prevent significant disasters.

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

- **John Charmley's** assertion that the war was needlessly prolonged; fought for the wrong reasons and would not have been so had Halifax replaced Chamberlain.
- **Alan Clark** would concur with this and points to the huge damage done to both the Conservative Party's core values and the status of the Empire and Britain's world power role by the prosecution of the war.
- The candidate may compare the above views with much more sympathetic writers like **Gilbert** and more recently **Reynolds and Ian Wood** as well as **Andrew Roberts** who all support the view that Churchill and his leadership were the only chance Britain had for redemption at this time.
- Moreover, **Richard Lamb's** work is also very supportive of the traditional Churchillian image of national saviour and military bulldog.

The candidate is therefore able to come to a conclusion using a range of evidence about the extent to which **Source B** is useful as an explanation of the strengths and weaknesses of Churchill's war leadership.

Question 3

How much do Sources C and D reveal about the differing interpretations of why Labour won the 1945 election? **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 sources.

Contextual and historical interpretation (maximum 10 marks)

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

- [i] the quality and depth of the contextual recall
- [ii] the quality and depth of the wider perspectives
- [iii] the range and quality of historians' views
- [iv] provenance comment [if appropriate]

The candidate considers the interpretations of why Labour won the 1945 election, in **Sources C and D** and offers a structured evaluation of the two perspectives in terms of:

Source C

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

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Conservative pre-war allegiance was forged on the fear that a vote for the Labour Party would be a vote that would not benefit the middle classes. This was no longer the case. Labour had proven their ability to work within the national interest during their management of the home front.
- The Labour Party's support for Beveridge pledged it towards a policy of economic security for everybody which in the immediate post war situation was seen as the patriotic reward.
- Labour was now able to present itself as a party of equality in a classless society. This was attractive to a majority of the electorate.
- Labour's victory in the '45 election was not a significant shift in the ideology of the electorate but it was more accurately the peculiarity of the first past the post system which enabled a landslide victory.

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

- Labour seen as the natural successor because of their active involvement in the Home Front during the war.
- The Conservatives misinterpreted the desire for change and campaigned as they did in the pre-war period using class as a battleground for votes.
- The contribution of organisations such as ABCA may have influenced the vote in favour of the Labour Party.
- The Labour Party made a concerted effort to have a co-ordinated campaign.
- Detail on the electoral system and why it favoured Labour.

Source D

Provenance appropriate and relevant comments on provenance can earn credit.

Points from the source which show, by more than repetition alone, that the candidate has interpreted the significant views

- Churchill was reliant upon his war reputation to attract votes from the electorate.
- Churchill didn't show enough concern for reconstruction after the war.
- Jeffreys asserts that the biggest mistake for the Conservatives was to ignore the mood for social change after the war [New Jerusalem].
- He tells us that to avoid engagement with Labour over post war policy, like the Beveridge Plan, was to be decisive in the Conservatives' lack of popularity in the 1945 election.

Points from recall which develop and contextualise those in the source

- Whilst Churchill was considered by most to be an excellent leader during war, his disassociation with the Home Front placed in doubt his ability to lead the country at a time of regeneration. This gave Labour an advantage.
- Churchill's plan to demonise his opponents and equate welfare reform and proposed state control of regeneration only possible in a "Gestapo" like state backfires.
- The reluctance to engage in a national discussion about welfare reform reaffirms a fear in the electorate that if the Conservatives win the election, the social and economic disparity experienced during the 1930s would be resurrected.

Points which offer wider contextualisation of views in the sources

- Argument that Labour did not win the election but it was the complacency of the Conservatives which lost it.
- The ten year election gap.
- The Labour Party was much more organised than the Conservatives indeed some constituencies were not contested by the Conservatives and the prospective candidates effectively were handed a seat in parliament.
- Overwhelming support for Labour because of the "Ghost of Neville Chamberlain".
- Labour firmly tapped into the mood of the nation for a "New Jerusalem".

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

- **Paul Adelman** who assesses the importance of the Conservative smear campaigns as a factor in losing the election and thus Labour winning. He criticises the use of such tactics and he tells us they "backfire" as a plausible vote winner.
- **Henry Pelling** however, justifies the overwhelming support for Labour as a reaction to Conservative rule in the 1930s.
- Whilst **Jefferys, Pugh and Addison** all agree that the responsibility for the Home Front held by Labour members of the Coalition Government was a major vote winner, nevertheless, we cannot discount **Clark's** view that Armed Service votes and the contribution of organisations such as **ABCA** played a major role in the defeat of the Conservatives.
- The nonconformist view of **Fielding** presents the hypothesis that the winner of the election would simply be the party who whole heartedly advocated the social change proposed in the Beveridge Report regardless of label and campaign style.

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 the reasons why Labour won the 1945 General Election.

[END OF MARKING INSTRUCTIONS]